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ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,  
AND ILLUSTRATED BY REMARKS,

BY

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LATE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

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PART FOURTH.

COMPARISON OF THE VEDIC WITH THE LATER REPRESENTATIONS  
OF THE PRINCIPAL INDIAN DEITIES.



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## P R E F A C E .

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THE object which I have had in view in the present Volume is to compare the representations which are given of the Indian deities Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, and of the goddess Ambikā, in the Vedic Hymns and Brāhmanas, with the accounts which we find in the legendary poems called Itihāsas and Purāṇas, and to shew how far, and by what steps in each case, the earlier conceptions were gradually modified in the later works.

The First Chapter (pp. 3–53) treats of the deity who is described in the later hymns of the Rig-veda, and in the Atharva-veda, under the different titles of Viśvakarman, Hiranyagarbha, and Prajāpati, and appears to correspond with the Brahmā of the more modern legendary books.

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

Brahmā was from the beginning considered as the Creator, and he continued to be regarded as fulfilling the same function even after he had sunk into a subordinate position, and had come to be represented by the votaries of Vishṇu and Mahādeva respectively as the mere creature and agent of one or other of those two gods (see pp. 156, 162, 193, 226, 230). In later times Brahmā has had few special worshippers ; the only spot where he is periodically adored being at Pushkara in Rajputana.\* Two of the acts which the earlier legends ascribe to him, the assumption of the forms of a tortoise and of a boar, are in later works transferred to Vishṇu (see pp. 23, 29 ff., 374).

The Second Chapter first of all describes the original conception of Vishṇu as he is celebrated in the hymns of the Rig-veda (pp. 54–83). The particular attribute by which he is there distinguished from every other deity is that of striding across the heavens by three paces. This phrase is interpreted by one of the ancient commentators as denoting the threefold manifestations of light, as fire on earth, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as the sun in the sky ; and by another as designating the three stages of the sun's daily movement, his rising, culmination, and setting. The latter explanation seems to satisfy best the idea of movement expressed in the description ; but it must be confessed that an obscurity rests over this conception. Some of the highest divine functions and attributes are also assigned to Vishṇu ; and we might

\* See Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the Padma Purāna, in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. X. p. 309, and the same author's Oxford Lectures, p. 21.

thus be led to suppose that the authors of these hymns regarded him as the Supreme Deity. But this supposition is invalidated by the fact that Indra is sometimes associated with Vishṇu in the performance of these functions, and that several other deities are magnified in terms of similar import (pp. 84–101). The Third Section (pp. 101–106) treats of Vishṇu as one of the sons of Aditi. The origin here assigned to this god would lead us to conclude that he was originally considered as of no higher rank than the other beings who bear the same name of Ādityas. The Fourth Section contains the legends relating to the same god in the Brāhmaṇas, in which he is identified with sacrifice ; while in one of them he is spoken of as a dwarf. The later accounts of the dwarf incarnation are next adduced as recorded in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and in the Vishṇu and Bhāgavata Purānas (pp. 107–131). In the Fifth Section a passage is quoted from the Nirukta (pp. 131 ff.) in which the gods are classified, and the most prominent places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu or Indra, and Sūrya, who seem to have been regarded by the author as the triad of deities in whom the Supreme Spirit was especially revealed, while Vishṇu and Rudra are merely mentioned as gods who were worshipped conjointly with Indra and Soma, respectively. The later triad of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Rudra, seems therefore to have been then unknown. The remainder of this Section, and pp. 377–413 of the Appendix, are chiefly occupied by quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, containing a great variety of details relating to Rāma and Krishṇa, the two heroes

who came ultimately to be regarded as incarnations of Vishṇu; and an attempt is made by an examination of these texts to elucidate the question whether or not a divine nature was ascribed to these two personages by the authors of the two poems as they originally stood. The passages adduced from the Mahābhārata relating to Krishṇa make frequent mention of Mahādeva also, and illustrate the conceptions entertained of him at that epoch of Indian history. This Section contains also many texts which indicate the existence of a strong rivalry between the adherents of these two gods. In different passages here cited, Vishṇu and Rudra (Mahādeva) are both described by their respective votaries as one with the Supreme Spirit; while in some places they are identified with one another.

The Third Chapter traces the mythological history of Rudra as he is represented in the Rig-veda (pp. 252-267), in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (267-276), in the Atharva-veda (276-282), in the Brāhmaṇas (282-296), in the Upanishads (297-305), and in various further texts from the Itihāsas and Purānas which describe some of this god's proceedings, and indicate the struggles of his votaries to introduce his worship, as illustrated in the story of Daxa's sacrifice (305-332). A summary of the conclusions deducible from these Sections is given in pp. 332-343, to which I refer. Pages 343-356 contain an enquiry into the origin of the Linga worship, though unfortunately nothing better than a negative result is obtained. This Chapter concludes with an account of the different representations of the goddess called variously

Ambikā, Umā, Kālī, Karālī, Pārvatī, Durgā, etc., which we find in the Kena and Muṇḍaka Upanishads, in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, in the Rāmāyana, Harivaṅsa, and Mahābhārata, and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

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

It will be apparent to all Sanskrit scholars that the main results at which I have arrived in regard to Viṣṇu, Rudra, and Ambikā, are not new. Rosen (in the notes to his translation of the R. V. p. li.), Burnouf (Pref. to Bhāg. Pur. vol. iii. p. xxii.), and Wilson (Pref. to transl. of R. V. i. p. xxiv.), had already drawn attention to the text of Yāska and to the Commentary of Durga, by which it is shewn that the three steps of Viṣṇu were interpreted by the ancient commentators in the manner which I have indicated in pp. 55 f.

In the same way Wilson, Weber, and Whitney (see pp. 332 ff. of this Volume), had pointed out that the Rudra of the Rig-veda is very different from the Rudra or Mahādeva of the Purāṇas. And in pp. 357 ff. I have quoted the dissertations of Professor Weber on the mythological history of Ambikā or Umā. The whole, therefore, that I can claim to have effected is to have brought together, and to have illustrated to the best of my power, all the most important texts which I could discover to have any bearing on the subjects which I have handled.

My best thanks are due to the different scholars who



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

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## ERRATA.

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- Page 83, line 8 from the bottom, for "A. V. 525, 5," read "5, 25, 5."  
,, 130, line 1, and line 5 from the bottom, for "sect. 21," read "sect. 23."  
,, 224, verse 20, for "Devakā," read "Devaki."  
,, 240, line 33. The reference (221) should have been placed after the word  
"Vishṇu" in the next line.  
,, 252, line 13, for "representation," read "representations."  
,, 256, line 10, for "your," read "thy."  
,, 257, line 18, for "is celebrated," read "is devoutly celebrated by heroes."  
,, 266, line 11 from the bottom, for "R. V. x. 126, 1," read "R. V. x. 136, 1."  
,, 267, line 22, for "Rudrāy adhanur," read "Rudrāya dhanur."  
,, 282, line 22, for "tsayaitāni," read "tasyaitāni."  
,, 283, lines 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, and 34, for "asato 'smi," read "ato 'smi."  
,, 284, lines 23 and 27, and page 385, lines 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19, for "I am  
greater than one who does not exist," read "I am greater than this."  
,, 300, line 4, for "34, 4," read "32, 4."  
,, 307, line 7, for "48," read "44."  
,, 309, line 17, for "Gandavas," read "Gandharvas."  
,, 310, line 23, for "Vibhūshana," read "Vibhīshana."  
,, —, line 8 from the bottom, for "Vana-pava," read "Vana-parva."  
,, 311, last line. Compare A. V. xi. 2, 7, in pp. 278, 279.  
,, 350, line 15, for "26," read "28."  
,, 394, line 12 from the bottom, for "490," read "390."  
,, 395, line 14 from the bottom, for "sect. x. 40, 44," read "sect. 40, 44."  
,, 404, line 10, omit the words, "Araṇya Kāṇḍa."

# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

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## PART FOURTH.

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### PLAN OF THE PRESENT VOLUME.

REFERENCE has already been made in the Second Part of this work (pp. 212-216) to the great difference which is discoverable between the mythology of the Vedas and that of the Indian epic poems and Purānas; and this difference was there illustrated by comparing the representations of Vishṇu and Rudra which are given in the hymns of the Rig-veda, with those which we find in the productions of a later age. On the same occasion I intimated my intention of treating the same subject in greater detail in a subsequent portion of my work. In pursuance of this design, I propose to collect in the present volume the most important texts regarding the origin of the universe, and the characters of the three principal Indian gods, which occur in the Vedic hymns, and Brāhmaṇas, and to compare these passages with the later legends and popular speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, and the Purānas.

This gradual modification of Indian mythological conceptions will indeed be found to have already commenced in the Rig-veda itself, if we compare its later with its earlier portions; it becomes more clearly discernible when we descend from the hymns to the Brāhmaṇas; and continues to exhibit itself still more prominently in the Purānic writers, who, through a long course of ages, gave free scope to their fancy in the embellishment of old, and the invention of new, legends in honour of their favourite gods, till at last the repre-

representations given of the most popular divinities became not only at variance with the characteristics ascribed to their prototypes in the Vedas, but even in some respects different from the descriptions which occur in the older Purāṇas themselves.

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

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

I shall then proceed in a similar order with the various texts which relate to the gods Viṣṇu and Rudra, with occasional notices of any other Indian deities whose history it may appear desirable to illustrate.

## CHAPTER I.

TEXTS FROM THE VEDIC HYMNS, BRAHMANAS, AND PURANAS,  
ETC., RELATING TO THE CREATION OF THE UNIVERSE, AND  
TO THE GOD HIRANYAGARBHA, PRAJAPATI, OR BRAHMA.

SECT. I.—*Texts from the Rig-veda regarding the creation and  
Hiranyagarbha.*

SPECULATIONS ABOUT CREATION,—RIG-VEDA, x. 129.

R. V. x. 129, 1 ff.—*Na asad āsīd no sad āsīt tadānīm na āsīt rajo  
no vyoma paro yat | kim āvarivaḥ kuha kasya śarmann ambhaḥ kim āsīt  
gahanaṁ gabhīram | 2. Na mṛityur āsīt amṛitaṁ na tarhi na rātryā  
ahna<sup>1</sup> āsīt praketaḥ | ānīd avātaṁ svadhayā tad ekaṁ tasmād hūnyad  
na paraḥ kīnchanāsa | 3. Tama āsīt tamasā gūlham agre<sup>2</sup> apraketaṁ  
salilaṁ sarvām ā ilam | tuchhyena ābhv apihitaṁ yad āsīt tapasas tad  
mahinā 'jāyataikam | 4. Kāmas<sup>3</sup> tad agre samavarttatādhi manaso retaḥ  
prathamaṁ yad āsīt | sato bandhum asati niravindan hṛidi pratishyā  
kavayo manīṣā | 5. (Vāj. S. xxxiii. 74) Tiraschīno vitato raśmir eśhām*

<sup>1</sup> The Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 2, 21 f., quotes (from some source which is not indicated) a verse which seems to be in some degree founded on the text before us and employs it in support of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of Pradhāna: *Veda-vāda-vido viprā niyatā  
Brahma-vāḍīnaḥ | paśhanti vai tam evārtham Pradhāna-pratipādakam | 22. Nāho  
na rātrir na nabho na dhūmīr nāsīt tamo jyotir abhūd na vā 'nyat | śrotrādi-  
buddhyānupalabhyam ekam prādhānikam Brahma pumāṁs tadāsīt |* "Brahmans  
learned in the tenets of the Veda, firm assertors of its principles, repeat the  
following statement establishing the doctrine of Pradhāna: 22. 'There was neither  
day nor night, neither sky nor earth; there was neither darkness nor light, nor  
anything else. There was then the One, Brahmā in the form of Pradhāna, the Male,  
incomprehensible by the ear, or other senses, or by the intellect.' "

<sup>2</sup> These words are quoted by Kullūka or Manu, i. 6, of which passage this may  
be the germ.

<sup>3</sup> In the passages which I shall quote from the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, etc. further  
on, we shall see that the creative acts of Prajāpati are constantly said to have been  
preceded by desire: so 'kāmayata, "he desired," etc.



*adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt | retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan svadhā  
avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt | 6. Ko aṅga veda ka iha pravochat kuta ōjātā  
kuta iyañ visriṣṭiḥ | arvāg devā asya visarjanena atha ko veda yata  
ābabhūva | 7. Iyañ visriṣṭir yata ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na |  
yo asyādhyaxaḥ parama vyoman sa aṅga veda yadi vā na veda |*

“There was then neither nonentity, nor entity; there was no atmosphere, nor sky beyond it. What covered [all?] where was the receptacle of each thing? was it water, the deep abyss? 2. Death was not then, nor immortality; there was no distinction of day or night: That One breathed calmly, with *svadhā* (nature); there was nothing different from It [that One] or beyond It. 3. Darkness there was; originally enveloped in darkness, this universe was undistinguishable water; the empty<sup>4</sup> [mass] which was concealed by a husk [or by nothingness] was produced, single, by the power of austerity (or heat). 4. Desire first arose in It, which was the first germ of mind. This the wise, seeking in their heart, have discovered by the intellect to be the bond between nonentity and entity. 5. The ray which shot across these things,—was it above, or was it below? There were productive energies, and mighty powers; Nature (*svadhā*) beneath, and Energy (*prayati*) above. 6. Who knows, who here can declare, whence has sprung, whence, this creation? The gods are subsequent to its formation; who then knows from what it arose? 7. From what source this creation arose and whether [any] one created it or not,<sup>5</sup>—He who in the highest heaven is its ruler, He knows, or He does not know.”

See Professor Müller's translation of this remarkable hymn, his enthusiastic appreciation of its merits, and his remarks in regard to its age, in his “History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,” pp. 559-566; and Professor Goldstücker's observations on the same subject in his “Pāṇini,” pp. 144 f.

VIŠVAKARMAṆ,—RIG-VEDA, X. 81 AND 82.

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 17-23).—*Ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni  
juhvad riṣir hotā nyashīdat pitā naḥ | sa āśishā draviṇam ichhamāna*

<sup>4</sup> See Boehling and Roth's Lexicon under the words *ābhu* and *tuchhya*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ob Einer sie schuf oder nicht.* Boehling and Roth's Lexicon, under the root *dhā* (p. 903).

*prathama-ahad avarān āviveśa* | 2. *Kiṁ svid āsīd adhishṭhānam āram-  
bhānam kathamat svīt kathā 'sīt* | *yato bhūmiṁ janayan Vīśvakarmā vi-  
dyām aurnod mahinā viśvachaxāḥ* | 3. (A. V. 13, 2, 26) *Vīśvataśchaxur  
uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt* | *sam bāhubhyāṁ dhāmati  
sam patatrair dyāvā-bhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ*<sup>6</sup> | 4. *Kiṁ svid vanaṁ  
ka u sa vṛixa āsa yato dyāvā-prithivī nishṭataxuh* | *manīshino manasā  
prichhatedu tad yad adhyatishṭhad bhuvanāni dhārayan* | 5. *Yā te  
dhāmāni paramāni yā 'vamā yā madhyamā Vīśvakarmann utemā* | *śizā  
sakhībhyo havishi svadhāvaḥ svayam yajasva tanvaṁ vṛidhānaḥ* | 6. (=S.  
V. 2, 939.) *Vīśvakarman havishā vāvṛidhānaḥ svayam yajasva prithivīm  
uta dyām*<sup>7</sup> | *muhyantu anye abhito janāsa*<sup>8</sup> | *ihāsmākam maghavā sūrīr  
astu* | 7. (=Vāj. S. 8, 45.) *Vāchaspatiṁ Vīśvakarmānam ūtaye manojū-  
vaṁ vājo adyā huvema* | *sa no viśvāni havanāni joshad viśvasambhūr  
avase sādhu-karmā* |

R. V. x. 82, 1 ff. (=Vāj. S. 17, 25-31).—*Chaxushas pitā manasā  
hi dhiro ghrītam*<sup>9</sup> | *ene ajanad namnamāne* | *yadā id antā adadṛihanta  
pūrve ād id dyāvā-prithivī aprathetām* | 2. *Vīśvakarmā vīmanā ād  
vihāyā dhātā vidhātā paramota samdṛik*<sup>10</sup> | *teshām ishṭāni sam ishā  
madanti yatrā sapta ṛishān para ekam āhuḥ* | 3. (=A. V. 2, 1, 3.) *Yo  
naḥ pitā janitā yo vidhātā dhāmāni veda bhuvanāni viśvā* | *yo devānām  
nāmadhā eka eva tam sampraśnam bhuvanā yanti anyā* | 4. *To āyajanta  
dravinām sam asmai ṛishayaḥ pūrve jaritāro na bhūnā* | *asurte sūrte  
rajasi nishatte yo bhūtāni samakṛivann imāni* | 5. *Paro divā para enā  
prithivyā paro devebhir asurair yad asti* | *kaṁ svid garbham prathamam  
dadhre ūpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve* | 6. *Tam id garbham pra-  
thamam dadhre ūpo yatra devāḥ samagachhanta viśve* | *ajasya nādhāv  
adhy ekam arpitaṁ yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthuḥ* | 7. *Na tam  
vidātha ya imā jajāna anyad yushmākam antaram babhūva* | *nīhāreṇa  
prāvṛitā jalpyā cha asurīpa ukthaśāsas charanti* |

R. V. x. 81, 1 ff.—“Our father, who, a rishi and a priest, celebrated a sacrifice, offering up all these worlds,—he earnestly desiring substance, veiling his earliest [form], entered into later [men]. 2. What

<sup>6</sup> The readings in the A. V. differ a good deal from those of the R. V.

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *prithivīm uta dyām* the S. V. reads *tanvām svā hi te*.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *janāsaḥ* the Vāj. S. reads *sapatnāḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> Compare R. V. v. 83, 8.

<sup>10</sup> See R. V. iv. 1, 6, and iv. 6, 6, and Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 26, p. 141.

was the position, what, and of what kind was the beginning, from which the all-seeing Viśvakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? 3. The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth, blows it forth<sup>11</sup> with his arms and with his wings. 4. What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth? Enquire mentally, ye sages, what that was on which he took his stand, when establishing the worlds. 5. Grant, Viśvakarman, to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle. Do thou who art rich in oblations, augmenting thyself, worship thyself<sup>12</sup> at the sacrifice. 6. Do thou, Viśvakarman, growing by the sacrifice, thyself offer up heaven and earth. Let other men who are against me become fools. May Maghavan [or the opulent god] be here our sage. 7. Let us to-day invoke at our sacrifice the lord of speech, who is swift as thought, Viśvakarman, for succour. May he who is the source of all prosperity, the beneficent, with a view to our protection, receive graciously all our invocations.”

R. V. x. 82, 1.—“The protector of the eye, wise in mind, generated moisture when these two [worlds] were bowing down. When their eastern ends were fixed, then the heaven and earth extended. 2. Viśvakarman is wise, pervading, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of vision. The objects of their desire inspire them with gladness in the place where men say that the One dwells beyond [the abode of] the seven rishis. 3. He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all regions and worlds, who alone assigns to the gods their names,<sup>13</sup> to him the other worlds go as their refuge (?). 4. The former rishis, his worshippers, who formed these creatures in the remote, the near, and the lower atmosphere, offered to him substance in abundance. 5. That which is beyond the sky, beyond this earth, beyond gods and spirits,—what earliest embryo did the waters<sup>14</sup> contain, in which all the gods were beheld? 6. The waters contained that earliest embryo in which all the gods were collected. One

<sup>11</sup> Compare R. V. x. 72, 2, below.

<sup>12</sup> See Roth S. V. *tanu*, and R. V. x. 7, 6; vi. 11, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Nāma cha pitā eva karoti* | Mahīdhara.

<sup>14</sup> Compare verses 1 and 3 of R. V. x. 129, above, p. 3.

[receptacle] rested upon the navel of the unborn, wherein all the worlds stood. 7. Ye know not him who produced these things; something else is within you. The chanters of hymns go about enveloped in mist, and unsatisfied with idle talk."

I have placed these two hymns together, as they are so similar in character. The verses of which they are made up, are all to be found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, (xvii. 17-23, and 25-31) in the same order in which they occur in the Rig-veda; and without any various readings of importance. Some of them also occur in the Nirukta; viz., R. V. x. 81, 6 in Nir. x. 27; R. V. x. 82, 2 in Nir. x. 26; the second half of R. V. x. 82, 4 in Nir. vi. 15; and R. V. x. 82, 7 in Nir. Parisiṣṭa, ii. 16. Professor Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, (pp. 141, f.) offers some remarks on the 2nd verse of the second, and the 6th verse of the first, of the hymns before us, which I shall translate. He renders the former verse thus: "Viśvakarman, wise and mighty in act, is the creator, the orderer, and the highest image [for the spiritual faculty]. That which men desire is the attainment of good in the world where the One Being dwells beyond the seven rishis." He then proceeds to observe: "Viśvakarman, who is no mythological personage, but the 'creator of all things,' and who in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 12, 61,<sup>15</sup> is so far rightly identified with Prajāpati, is here celebrated as equally wise in design, and powerful in execution (the highest conception which can be attained by man); and from him the fulfilment of every desire is obtained beyond the starry heaven, where he resides alone, without the numerous deities of the popular creed. . . . . The legend, which relates that Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, after he had offered up all beings in sacrifice, concluded by offering up himself, belongs, in my opinion, to the numerous class of stories which have arisen out of a misunderstanding of Vedic passages, viz., in the present instance, verses 1 and 5 of R. V. x. 81."

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

*Tatretihāsam āchaxate | Viśvakarmā Bhauvanāḥ sarvamedhe sarvāṅi  
bhūtāni juhavāñchakāra sa ātmānam apy antato juhavāñchakāra | tad-  
abhicādīny eṣhā ṛig bhavati 'ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni juhvad' iti |*

<sup>15</sup> Prajāpatir Viśvakarmā vimuñchatsu.

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

On the 6th verse of the first of the hymns before us (R. V. x. 81), Professor Roth remarks thus : “For the correct understanding of the second pāda (the latter half of the first line), and similar passages, the reader should compare R. V. x. 7, 6, *yathā 'yaja ṛitubhir deva devān evā yajasva tanvañ sujāta* | ‘As thou (o Agni) at the measured times, o god, didst sacrifice to the gods, so sacrifice also to thyself.’ Agni is to accept the offering for himself also. In the same way are the words of the 5th verse of the hymn before us to be understood ; *svayāñ yajasva tanvañ vṛidhānaḥ* | ‘sacrifice to thyself for thine own glorification’ : the idea of self-immolation has arisen from a misunderstanding of the word *tanū*,<sup>16</sup> and of the construction of the root *yaj*. The 1st verse of the same hymn (R. V. x. 81, 1) is, as it appears to me, to be understood in a similar manner : ‘He who received all these creatures as offerings.’ In the passage before us (the 6th verse of R. V. x. 81) the words would therefore be rendered as follows : ‘Viśvakarman, glorify thyself by the sacrifice, offer up to thyself heaven and earth.’ The idea of sacrifice is introduced, because every portion of the created universe which is given as a possession to the gods, comes to them in the shape of a sacrifice. The god who takes anything into his possession, is said to offer it to himself. The various reading which we find in the Sāma-veda, ii. 939, as compared with the verse before us (viz., *tancām svā hi te*, ‘offer thy body, for it is thine,’ instead of *prithivīm uta dyām*, ‘offer earth and heaven’) may be an amendment in support of the legend.”

I do not know whether this view is consistent with the 6th and 7th verses of the Purusha Sukta. See the First Part of this work,

<sup>16</sup> In his remarks on the word *Tanūnapāt* in p. 117 of his Illustrations, Professor Roth observes : “The signification has been overlooked, which *tanū* obtains in the older Sanskrit, as well as in Zend and modern Persian, as it there designates our own person, our self, in contrast to things belonging to us. Hence I might explain the word *Tanūnapāt* as meaning ‘his own son.’ Agni is his own son, because he springs into life either as lightning, or from the friction of wood, without being the product of similar phenomena, or powers.” See also Boetlingk and Roth’s Lexicon, under the word *Tanūnapāt*.

pp. 7, 8. Perhaps both conceptions (that of the gods sacrificing themselves, and that of their sacrificing to themselves) may have been entertained by the Vedic writers.

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

21. *Yadā 'sya nābhyād nalinād aham āsam mahātmanah | nāvindaṃ yajña-sambhārān Purushāvayavān ṛite |* 22. *Teshu yajñasya paśavaḥ sa-vanaspatayaḥ kuśāḥ | idaṅcha deva-yajanaṃ kālaśchoru-guṇānvitaḥ |* 23. *Vastūny ośhadhayaḥ snehā rasa-loha-mṛido jalam | ṛicho yajūṃshi sāmāni chāturotraṅcha sattama |* 24. *Nāmadheyāni mantrāścha daxiṅ-āścha vratāni cha | devatānukramaḥ kalpaḥ saṅkalpas tantram eva cha |* 25. *Gayo matayaś chaiva prāyaśchittaṃ samarpaṇam | Purushāvayavair ete sambhārāḥ sambhṛitā mayā |* 26. *Iti sambhṛita-sambhārāḥ Purushāvayavair aham | tam eva Puruṣaṃ yajñaṃ tenaivāyajam īśvaram |*

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

In his note on the Nirukta, vi. 15, Professor Roth translates the 4th verse of the second hymn before us (R. V. 82), as follows : “They who in still, in moving, and falling vapour (*rajas*) created those beings . . . . . furnished to him the material.” In his Lexicon, however, he renders the word *asūrta*, not by “still,” but by

"distant;" and quotes A. V. x. 3, 9, as another passage in which it occurs.

BRAHMANASPATI, DAXA, AND ADITI,—RIG-VEDA, x. 72.

R. V. x. 72, 1 ff.—*Devānām nu vayaṁ jānā pravochāma vipanyayā | uktheshu śaśyamāneshu yaḥ paśyād uttare yuge*<sup>17</sup> | 2. *Brahmaṇaspatir etā saṁ karmāra*<sup>18</sup> *ivādhamat | devānam pūrve yuge asataḥ sad ajāyata*<sup>19</sup> | 3. *Devānām yuge prathame asataḥ sad ajāyata | tad āśāḥ anv ajāyanta tad Uttānapadas pari* | 4. *Bhūr jajñe Uttānapado bhūva āśā ajāyanta | Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditih pari* | 5. *Aditir hi ajanishṭa Daxa yā duhitā tava | Tām devā anv ajāyanta bhadrā amṛita-bandhavaḥ* | 6. *Yad devā adaḥ salīle*<sup>20</sup> *susaṁrabdhāḥ atishṭhata | atra vo nṛityatām iva tiro reṇūr apāyata* | 7. *Yad devā*<sup>21</sup> *yatayo yathā bhuvanāni spinvata | atra samudre āgūḥam ā sūryam ajabhartana* | 8. *Ashṭau putrāso Aditer yo jātās tanvas pari | devān upa prait saptabhiḥ parā Mārttāṇḍam āsyat*<sup>22</sup> | 9. *Saptabhiḥ putrair Aditer upa prait pūryaṁ yugam | prajāyai mṛityave teat punar Mārttāṇḍam ābharat*<sup>23</sup> |

"1. Let us celebrate with praise the births of the gods, in uttered hymns, [every one of us], who may behold them in [this] later age. 2. Brahmaṇaspati blew forth all these [births] like a blacksmith. In the former age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-

<sup>17</sup> See Benfey's Glossary to the Sāma Veda, under the word *yuga*.

<sup>18</sup> *Karmāraḥ | sa yathā bhastrayā 'gnim upādhamaty evam udapādayat* | (Sāyaṇa) "As a blacksmith blows up a fire with a bellows, so he created them." Compare R. V. x. 81, 3, above p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Atharva-veda x. 7, 25.—*Bṛihanto nāma te devā ye 'sataḥ pari jajñire | ekaṁ tad aṅgaṁ Skambhasya asad āhuḥ paro janāḥ* | "Great are those gods who sprang from nonentity. Men say that that remote nonentity is one member of Skambha." This production of the gods out of nothing seems to be contrary to the doctrine of the Chhāndogya Upanishad. *Tad ha eke āhur "asad evedam agre āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṁ tasmād asatāḥ saj jōyeta"* | *Kutas tu khalu saumya evaṁ syād iti hovācha katham āsataḥ saj jōyeta iti* | (Biblioth. Ind. vol. iii. pp. 389, 392.) "Some say 'this was originally non-existent, one without a second; therefore the existent must spring from the non-existent.' 'But how, gentle friend,' he said, 'can it be so? how can the existent spring from the non-existent?'"

<sup>20</sup> Compare R. V. x. 129, 1, 3, above, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> This word *yatayah*, "devotees," is applied to the Bhṛigus in R. V. viii. 6, 18. Here Sāyaṇa makes it *meghāḥ*, "clouds."

<sup>22</sup> *Parāsyat = upari prāxipat*, "tossed aloft" (Sāyaṇa).

<sup>23</sup> *Abharat = ābharat = dyuloke adhārayat*, "placed in the sky" (Sāyaṇa).

existent. 3. In the first age of the gods the existent sprang from the non-existent. Then the different regions sprang forth from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad; and the regions sprang from the earth. Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi [came] forth from Daxa. 5. For Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, o Daxa. After her the gods came into being, beneficent, sharers in immortality. 6. When ye, o gods, stood, strongly agitated, in that water, there a violent dust issued forth from you, as from [persons] dancing. 7. When ye, o gods, like devotees [or strenuous men], replenished the worlds, then ye disclosed the sun which had been hidden in the ocean [or in the sky]. 8. The eight sons who were born from the body of Aditi,—with seven [of these] she approached the gods, but cast away [the eighth] Mārttāṇḍa [the sun]. 9. With seven sons [only] Aditi approached [the gods in?] the former age. Again, for birth as well as for death she disclosed Mārttāṇḍa.<sup>24</sup>

In R. V. vi. 50, 2, mention is made of certain luminous gods (*sujoyotishah*) as being the sons or descendants of Daxa (*Daxa-pitrin*). These notices of Daxa which occur in the Rig-veda have been greatly developed in the later mythology, as may be seen by a reference to the passages given in the First Part of this work, pp. 25-27. Uttānapāda is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to have been a son of Manu Svāyambhuva by Satarūpā (*ibid.* p. 25).

On the fourth verse of this hymn Yāska remarks as follows in the Nirukta, xi. 23: *Ādityo Daxa ity āhur Āditya-madhye cha stutaḥ | Aditir Daxāyaṇī | “Aditer Daxo ajāyata Daxād u Aditiḥ pari” iti cha | tat katham upadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām ity api vā deva-dharmena itaretara-janmānau syātām itaretara-prakṛitī | “Daxa is, they say, a son of Aditi, and is praised among the sons of Aditi. And Aditi is the daughter of Daxa, [according to the text] Daxa sprang from Aditi, and Aditi came forth from Daxa. How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin; or according to the*

<sup>24</sup> The word *Mārttāṇḍa* is compounded of two words *mārtta*, apparently derived from *mṛityu*, death, and *anḍa*, an egg, or place of production. The last line seems to contain an allusion to this derivation of the word. The Harivaṃsa v. 549, thus interprets the word: *Na khalv ayaṃ mṛito 'nḍastha iti snehād abhāshata | aṇḍānūt Kasyapaḥ tasmād Mārttāṇḍa iti chochyate | “Kasyapa, from affection, but in ignorance, said, ‘he is not dead, abiding in the egg;’ hence he is called Mārttāṇḍa.”*



nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other,—have derived their substance from one another.”

Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta (p. 151), translates the 4th and 5th verses of the hymn before us: “Bhū (the world) was born, and from her opened womb (Uttānapad) sprang the Spaces: from Aditi was born Daxa (spiritual force), and from Daxa again Aditi. Yes, Aditi was born, o Daxa, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were produced, the blessed possessors of immortality.” He then proceeds to remark: “Daxa, spiritual force, is the male power, which generates the gods in eternity. As Bhū (the World or Being) and Space are the principles of the Finite, so to both of these is due the beginning of divine life.”

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

“*Ashṭau putrāśaḥ*” *putrā Mitrādayo 'diter bhavanti | “Ye Adites tanvas pari” śarīrāj “jātāḥ” utpannāḥ | Aditer ashṭa-putrā Adh-varyava-brāhmaṇe pariganitāḥ | tathā hi | “tān anukramiṣhyāmo Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Amśaścha Bhagaścha Vivasvān Ādityaścheti” | tathā tatraiva pradeśāntare Aditīm prastutya āmnātam “tasyā uchchheshānam adādhus tat prāśnāt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai chatvāra Ādityā ajāyanta sā dvilīyam apibad” ityādinā ash-tānām Ādityānām utpattir varṇitā |*

“Eight sons, Mitra and the rest, were born to Aditi, who sprang from her body. Eight sons of Aditi are enumerated in the Brāhmaṇa of the Adhvaryus, thus: ‘We shall state them in order, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Amśa, Bhaga, Vivasvat, and Āditya.’ In another part of the same work, after reference has been made to Aditi, it is recorded: ‘They placed before her the remnant of the sacrifice. She ate it. She conceived seed. Four Ādityas were born to her. She drank the second [portion],’ etc. Thus is narrated the birth of the eight Ādityas.”

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

*Ashṭau ha vai putrā Aditeḥ | Yāms tv etad “devā Ādityā” ity āchaxate sapta ha eva te | avikṛitām<sup>25</sup> ha ashṭamāṃ janayāñchakāra Mārttāṇḍam | sandegho<sup>26</sup> ha evāsa | yāvān evordhvas tāvāms tiryaḥ*

<sup>25</sup> *Avikṛitam kara-charaṇādi-vikāra iti tad-rahitam | Comm.*

<sup>26</sup> *Samyag upachītaḥ sama evāsīt | Comm.*

*puruṣha-sammīta ity u ha eke āhuḥ | 4. Te u ha ete āhur devā Ādītyā*  
*"yad asmān anv ajanimā tad amuyeva bhūd | hanta imān vikaravāma"*  
*iti | taṁ vichakrur yathā 'yam puruṣho vikṛitas tasya yāni māmsāni*  
*saṅkrītya sannyāsus tato hastī samābhavat | tasmād āhur "na hastīnam*  
*parigrīhṇīyāt puruṣhājāno<sup>27</sup> hi hastī" iti | yam u ha tad vichakruḥ sa*  
*Vīvasvān Ādītyas tasya imāḥ prajāḥ |*

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

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

HIRANYAGARBHA,—RIG-VEDA, x. 121.

R. V. x. 121, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 13, 4: A. V. 4, 2, 7)—*Hiranyagarbhaḥ<sup>28</sup>*  
*samavarttatāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ<sup>29</sup> patir eka āsit | sa dādharā pṛithivīm*  
*dyām utemām kasmai devāya<sup>30</sup> havishā vidhema | 2. (Vāj. S. 25, 13:*

<sup>27</sup> *Puruṣhājānaḥ puruṣha-prakṛitikaḥ |* Comm.

<sup>28</sup> *Hiranye hiranya-puruṣha-rūpe brahmānde garbha-rūpeṇa avasthitaḥ Prajāpatir*  
*Hiranyagarbhaḥ bhūtasya prāṇijātasya agre samavarttata prāṇijātōtpatteḥ purā*  
*svayam śarīra-dhārī babbhūva |* "Prajāpati Hiranyagarbha, existing as an embryo,  
 in the egg of Brahmā, which was golden,—consisting of the golden male (*puruṣha*),  
 sprang into being before all living creatures—himself took a body before the pro-  
 duction of all living creatures." Mahādhara on Vāj. S. 13, 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Jātaḥ.* Compare R. V. ii. 12, 1: R. V. x. 133, 2, *asatruḥ Indra jajñishe |*  
 "Indra, thou hast been born without a rival;" and R. V. viii. 21, 13. . . . *tvam*  
*anōpir Indra janushā sanūd asi |* "Indra of old art thou *by nature* without a fellow."

<sup>30</sup> *Kasmai devāya | Kasmai Kāya Prajāpataye devāya |* "Kasmai, 'to whom,' is  
 for *Kāya*, the dative of *Kā*, the god Prajāpati." Comm. on Vāj. S. 13, 4. *Prajāpatir*  
*vai Kaḥ tasmai havishā vidhema |* "Ka is Prajāpati: to him let us offer our oblations."  
 Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 7, 4, 1, 19.

A. V. 4, 2, 1.) *Ya ātmadā baladā yasya viśve upāsate praśisham yasya devāḥ | yasya chhāyā 'mrītaṁ yasya mrityuḥ kasmai devāya ityādi |* 3. (Vāj. S. 23, 3 : A. V. 4, 2, 2.) *Yaḥ prāṇato nimishato mahitvā eka id rājā jagato babhūva | ya īśe asya dvipadaś chatuśpadaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 4. (Vāj. S. 25, 12 : A. V. 4, 2, 5.) *Yasyeme himavanto mahitvā yasya samudraṁ rasayā<sup>31</sup> sahāhuḥ | yasyemāḥ pradīśo yasya bāhū kasmai ityādi |* 5. (Vāj. S. 32, 6, 7 : A. V. 4, 2, 3, 4.) *Yena dyaur ugrā pṛithivī cha dṛiḥhā yena svah stabhitaṁ yena nākaḥ | yo antarize rajaso vimānaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 6. *Yaṁ krandasī<sup>32</sup> avasā tastabhāne abhy aizetām manasā rejanāne | yatrādhi sūra udīto vibhāti kasmai ityādi |* 7. (Vāj. S. 27, 25 : A. V. 4, 2, 6, 8.) *Āpo ha yad bṛihatir viśvam āyan garbhāṁ<sup>33</sup> dadhānā janayantir agnim | tato devānām samavarttatāsaur ekaḥ kasmai ityādi |* 8. (=Vāj. S. 27, 26.) *Yaś chid āpo mahinā paryapaśyad dazaṁ dadhānā janayantir yajñam | yo dovesho adhi deva eka āsit kasmai ityādi |* 9. (=Vāj. S. 12, 102.) *Mā no himsij janitā yaḥ pṛithivyā yo vā divāṁ satyadharmā jajāna | yaś chāpas chandrā bṛihatir jajāna kasmai<sup>34</sup> ityādi |* 10. (=Vāj. S. 10, 20 : A. V. 7, 79, 4 ; 7, 80, 3 : Nir. x. 43.) *Prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā jātāni paritā babhūva | yatkānās te juhumas tan no astu vayan syāma patayo rayīnām |*

"1. Hiranyagarbha arose in the beginning; he was the one born lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky: to what god shall we offer our oblation? 2. He who gives breath, who

<sup>31</sup> On the word *rasā*, see the Second Part of this work, pp. 357 and 494.

<sup>32</sup> *Krandasī* | "This word is explained in Boetlingk and Roth's Lexicon as meaning (not heaven and earth, but) two armies engaged in battle. See the references there given.

<sup>33</sup> Compare with verses 7 and 8, the preceding hymns, x. 129, 1, 3 ; x. 82, 5, 6 ; and x. 72, 6.

<sup>34</sup> I have observed another hymn in the R. V., the 168th of the tenth Maṇḍala, of which the fourth verse ends with words similar to those which conclude the first nine verses of the 121st, except that instead of *kasmai* the 168th hymn has *tasmai*. I quote this verse with the last words of the 3rd. . . . . *kva svij jātaḥ kuta ābabhūva |* 4. *ātmā devānām bhuvanasya garbho yathāvasāṁ charati deva eśaḥ | ghoshā id asya śrinire na rūpaṁ tasmai Vātāya havishā vidhema |* "Where was he produced? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, and source of the world, this deity marches at his will. His sounds are heard but [we see] not his form: to this Vāta (wind) let us offer our oblations." Compare St. John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

gives strength, whose command all, [even] the gods, reverence, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death—to what god shall we offer our oblation? 3. Who by his might became the sole king of the breathing and winking world, who is the lord of this two-footed and four-footed [creation],—to what god, etc.? 4. Whose greatness these snowy mountains, and the sea with the Rasū [river], declare,—of whom these regions, of whom they are the arms,—to what god, etc. 5. By whom the sky is fiery, and the earth fixed, by whom the firmament and the heaven were established, who in the atmosphere is the measurer of the aerial space;—to what god, etc.? 6. To whom heaven and earth, sustained by his succour, looked up, trembling in mind; over whom the sun shines,—to what god, etc.? 7. When the great waters pervaded the universe, containing an embryo, and generating fire, thence arose the one spirit (*asu*) of the gods,—to what god, etc.? 8. He who through his greatness beheld the waters which contained power, and generated sacrifice, who was the one god above the gods,—to what god, etc.? 9. May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who, ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who formed the great and brilliant waters,—to what god, etc.? 10. Prajāpati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches.”

The whole of this hymn is to be found repeated in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and most of the verses recur in the Atharva-veda. In making my translation, I have had the assistance of Mahīdhara's Commentary on the former Veda, as well as of the version given by Professor Müller in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 569 f. In his annotations on verse 7, the commentator refers to the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. 1, 6, 1:

*Āpo ha vā idam agre salīlam evāsa* | “This [universe] was in the beginning waters, only water;” and explains the words *garbham dadhānāḥ*, “containing a germ,” thus: *tathā garbham Hiranyagarbha-laxaṇam dadhānāḥ dhārayantyaḥ ata eva agnim janayantiḥ agni-rūpam Hiranyagarbham janayantyaḥ utpādayishyantyaḥ* | “And also containing an embryo (*garbha*) distinguished as the golden embryo (*Hiranyagarbha*); and consequently generating (being about to produce) fire,—*Hiranyagarbha* in the form of fire.” The *Atharva-veda* reads this

seventh verse somewhat differently, thus (A. V. 4, 2, 6): *Āpo viśvam āvan garbhaṁ dadhānā amṛitā ṛitajñāḥ | yāsu devīshv adhasit kasmai ityādi* | “In the beginning, the waters, immortal, versed in the sacred ceremonies, protected (covered?) the uni- containing an embryo; over these divine [waters] was the god, The verse which comes next, the seventh in the A. V., is the in the R. V. The eighth in the A. V., which has none answer to it in the R. V., is as follows: *Āpo vatsaṁ janayantir garbham samairayan | tasyota jāyamānasya ulba āsīd hiraṇyayaḥ | kasmai ityādi*—“In the beginning the waters, producing a child, brought forth an embryo, which as it was coming into life, was enveloped a golden covering.”

The idea of the production of a god from the embryo generated in the waters, seems to be contained in the seventh verse of the before us (R. V. x. 121, 7); but whether the author would have identified that god with the Brahmā of the later mythology, I do not decide. In the verse attached to the hymn as the 10th, at the deity celebrated in the hymn is addressed by the appellation Prajāpati, which became a title of Brahmā. The last verse I have quoted from the A. V. (iv. 2, 8) assigns a “golden covering to the embryo produced by the waters.

In another part of the same Veda (A. V. x. 7, 28) the following verse occurs: *Hiraṇyagarbham paramam anatyudyam janāva Skambhas tadagre prāsiñchad hiraṇyam loke antarā* | “Men Hiraṇyagarbha, the supreme, the ineffable: before him Skambha [the Supporter] shed forth gold in the midst of the world.”

I shall make some additional quotations from the hymn of the in which the last cited verse occurs, and the next following.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE ĀTHARVA-VEDA, X. 7, AND X. 8.

A. V. x. 7.—*Yasmin stabdhvā Prajāpatir lokān sarvān adhāra Skambhaṁ tam brūhi katamaḥ svid eva saḥ* | 8. *Yat paramam anatyachcha madhyamam Prajāpatiḥ sasṛje viśva-rūpam | kiyatā Skambha praviveśa tatra yan na prāviśat kiyat tad babhūva* | 9. *Kiyatā Skambha praviveśa bhūtaṁ kiyad bhaviśyad anvāśaye 'sya | ekaṁ yad aṅgam not sahasradhā kiyatā Skambhaḥ praviveśa tatra* | . . . 17. *Ye pu*

*brahma vidus te viduḥ parameshṭhinam | yo veda parameshṭhinam  
yaścha veda Prajāpatim | jyeshṭham ye brāhmaṇam vidus te Skambham  
anusāṃviduḥ | . . . . 24. Yatra devā brahmavido brahma jyeshṭham upā-  
sate | yo vai tān vidyāt pratyazaṃ sa brahmā veditā syāt | . . . . . 32.  
Yasya bhūmiḥ pramā antarizam utodaram | divaṃ yaś chakre mūrdhānaṃ  
tasmai jyeshṭhāya Brahmane namaḥ | . . . . 35. Skambho dādḥāra dyā-  
vā-prīthivi ubho ime Skambho dādḥāroḥ antarizam | Skambho dādḥāra  
pradīśaḥ shadḥ urvi(ḥ?) Skambha idaṃ viśvam dhuvanam āviveśa | 36. Yaḥ  
śramāt tapaso jāto lokān sarvān samānaśe | somaṃ yaś chakre kevalaṃ  
tasmai jyeshṭhāya brahmane namaḥ | . . . . 41. Yo vetasaṃ<sup>35</sup> hiranyayaṃ  
tishṭhantam salile veda | sa vai guhyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ |*

A. V. x. 8, 2.—*Skambheneme viśṭabhite dyauś cha bhūmiś cha tish-  
ṭhataḥ | Skambha idaṃ sarvam ātmanvad yat prānad nimishachcha yat |  
. . . . 11. Yad ejati patati yachcha tishṭhati prānad aprānan nimishach-  
cha yad bhuvat | tad dādḥāra prithivīm viśvarūpaṃ tat sambhūya bhavaty  
ekam eva | . . . . . 44. Akāmo dhīro amritaḥ svayambhū rasena tripto  
na kutāśchanonaḥ | tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛityor ātmānaṃ dhīram  
ajaraṃ yuvānam |*

A. V. x. 7, 7.—“Tell who that Skambha (supporter) is, on whom Prajāpati has supported, and established all the worlds. 8. How far did Skambha penetrate into that highest, lowest, and middle universc, comprehending all forms, which Prajāpati created; and how much of it was there which he did not penetrate? 9. How far did Skambha penetrate the past? and how much of the future is contained in his receptacle? how far did Skambha penetrate into that one member which he separated into a thousand parts? . . . . . 17. Those men who know Brahma (the divine Being?) in the Male (*Purusha*), know him who occupies the highest place (*Parameshṭhin*): he who knows Parameshṭhin, and who knows Prajāpati,—they who know the ancient Brāhmaṇa (Deity?), they know Skambha. . . . . 24. In the place where the gods, the knowers of Brahma, reverence the ancient Brahma,—that priest (*brahmā*) who knows them clearly, is the knower. . . . . 32. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, of whom the earth is the measure, the atmosphere the belly, who

<sup>35</sup> I know not whether this word has here its ordinary meaning, or the same sense which is assigned to the word *vaitasa* in R. V. x. 95, 4, 5; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 5, 1, 1; and Nir. iii. 21.

made the sky his head. . . . . 35. Skamba established both these [worlds] the earth and sky, Skambha established the wide atmosphere, Skambha established the six wide regions, Skambha pervaded this entire universe. 36. Reverence to that eldest Brahma, who, sprung from toil and from devotion, has pervaded all the worlds, who made Soma for himself alone. . . . . 41. He who knows the golden reed standing in the water, is the mysterious Prajāpati."

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

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

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

SECT. II.—*Creation; primeval waters; mundane egg, Prajāpati, etc., according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu, the Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, etc.*

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa contains the following legends about the creation.

I. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 1 ff. (pp. 499 of Weber's ed.)—*Asad vā idam agre āsīt | tad āhuḥ 'kiṁ tad asad āsīt' iti | rishayo vāva te 'agre 'sad āsīt' tad āhuḥ | 'ke te rishaya' iti | prānā vā rishayas te*

*yat purā 'smāt sarvasmād idam icchantaḥ śramaṇa tapasā 'rishāṁś tas-*  
*mād rishayaḥ | 2. Sa yo 'yam madhye prāṇa esha evendrah | tān esha*  
*prāṇān madhyata indriyenaindha | yad aindha tasmād Indhaḥ | Indho*  
*ha vai tam Indra ity āchazate paroṣam | paroṣa-kāmā hi devās te iddhāḥ*  
*sapta nānā puruṣhān asṛjanta | 3. Te 'bravan "na vū itthāṁ santaḥ*  
*śaxyāmaḥ prajānayatum imān sapta puruṣhān | ekam puruṣhaṁ kar-*  
*avāma" iti te etān sapta puruṣhān ekam puruṣham akurvan | yad*  
*ūrddhvaṁ nābhes tau dvau samaubjan | yad avāṅ nābhes tau dvau |*  
*pazaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pazaḥ puruṣhaḥ | pratishṭhā eka āsit | . . . . . 5. Sa*  
*eva puruṣhaḥ Prajāpatir abhavad ayam eva sa yo 'yam Agniś<sup>26</sup> chīyate |*  
*6. Sa vai sapta-puruṣo bhavati | sapta-puruṣo hy ayam puruṣo yach*  
*chatvāra ātmā trayāḥ paza-puchhāni | chatvāro hi tasya puruṣhasya ātmā*  
*trayaḥ paza-puchhāni | atha yad ekena puruṣheṇa ātmānaṁ vardhayati*  
*tena vīryeṇa ayam ātmā paza-puchhāni udyachhati | . . . . . 8. So*  
*'yam puruṣhaḥ Prajāpatir akāmayata 'bhūyān syām prajāyeya' iti | so*  
*'brāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa śrāntas tepāno brahmaiva prathamam*  
*asṛjata trayim eva vidyām | saivāsmāi pratishṭhā 'bhavat tasmād āhur*  
*'brahmāsya sarvasya pratishṭhā' iti | tasmād anūchya pratitishṭhati*  
*pratishṭhā hy eshā yad brahma | tasyām pratishṭhāyām pratishṭhito*  
*'tapyata | 9. So 'po 'sṛjata vācha eva lokād vāg evāsya sū 'sṛjyata*  
*sā idam sarvam āpnot | yad idam kiñcha yad āpnot tasmād āpaḥ<sup>27</sup> | yad*  
*asṛjnot tasmād vāḥ | 10. So 'kāmayata 'ābhyo 'dbhyo 'dhi prajāyeya'*  
*iti so 'nayā trayyā vidyayā saha āpaḥ prāviśat tata āṇḍam samavarttata*  
*tad abhyamṛśad 'astv' ity 'astu' bhūyo 'stv' ity eva tad abraoīt | tato*  
*brahmaiva prathamam asṛjyata trayy eva vidyā | tasmād āhur 'brah-*  
*māsya sarvasya prathamajam' ity | api hi tasmāt puruṣhād brahmaiva*  
*pūrvam asṛjyata tad asya tad mukham eva asṛjyata | tasmād anūchānam*  
*āhur 'Agni-kalpa' iti mukhaṁ hy etad Agner yad brahma |*

"In the beginning this [universe] was indeed non-existent. But men say, 'what was that non-existent?' The rishis say that in the beginning there was non-existence. Who are these rishis? The rishis are breaths. Inasmuch as before all this [universe], they, desiring this [universe], strove (? *arishan*) with toil and austerity, therefore they are called *Rishis*. 2. This breath which is in the midst

<sup>26</sup> Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 1, 2, 13, and 27 (pp. 502, 3); ix. 2, 2, 2 (p. 713); vi. 2, 1, 1; and xi. 1, 6, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 1, 1, 3.



is Indra. He by his might kindled these breaths in the midst: inasmuch as he kindled them, he is the kindler (*Indha*). They call Indha Indra imperceptibly: for the gods love that which is imperceptible. They being kindled, created seven separate men (*purusha*). 3. They said, 'being thus, we shall not be able to generate these seven men; let us make one man.' So speaking, they made these seven men one man (*purusha*). Into the part above the navel, they compressed two of them, and two others into the part below the navel; [one] man [formed one] side; [another] man [another] side; and one formed the base. . . . . 5. This [one] man became Prajāpati. The man who became Prajāpati is the same as this Agni who is kindled on the altar. 6. He verily is composed of seven men (*purusha*): for this man is composed of seven men, since four [make] the soul, and three the sides and extremity (*lit.*, tail). For the soul of this man [makes] four, and the sides and extremity three. Now inasmuch as he makes the soul [which is equal to four] superior by one man, the soul, in consequence of this [excess of] force, controls the sides and extremity [which are only equal to three]. . . . . 8. This man (*purusha*) Prajāpati desired, 'may I become more, may I be reproduced.' He toiled, he performed austerity. Having toiled and performed austerity, he first created the Veda (*brahma*), the triple science. It became to him a foundation; hence men say, 'the Veda (*brahma*) is the foundation of all this.' Wherefore having studied [the Veda] a man has a foundation (?), for this is his foundation, namely the Veda. Resting on this foundation, he performed austerity. 9. He created the waters from the world [in the form of] speech.<sup>35</sup> Speech belonged to him. It was created. It obtained (pervaded?) all this. Because it *obtained* (*āpnōt*) all this which exists, it (speech) was called waters (*āpah*); and because it *covered* (*avṛinōt*), it was called *vāh* (another name of water). 10. He desired, 'May I be reproduced from these waters.' So saying, with this triple science he entered the waters. Thence an egg arose. He pondered on it (?). He said, 'let there be,' 'let there

<sup>35</sup> This is illustrated by a passage in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 2, 21 (617) which says: *vāg vā ajo vācho vai prajā Viśvakarmā jajāna* | "Speech is the mover [or, the unborn]. It was from speech that Viśvakarman produced creatures." And in the Bṛihad Aranyaka (p. 290 of Bibl. Ind.) it is said | *trayo lokā ete eva | vāg evāyaṁ loko mano 'ntarīza-lokaḥ prōyo 'sau lokaḥ* | "It is they which are the three worlds. Speech is this world, mind is the aerial world, and breath is that world (the sky.)"

be,' again, 'let there be.' From it the Veda was first created, the triple science. Hence men say, 'the Veda is the first-born of this whole [creation]. Further, [as] the Veda was first created from that Man, therefore it was created his mouth. Hence they say of a learned man that he is like Agni; for the Veda is Agni's mouth."

The same idea about Prajāpati being composed of seven men, occurs again in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 1 (p. 767).—*Yān vai tān sapta purushān ekam purusham akurvan sa Prajāpatir abhavat | sa prajā asṛijata | sa prajāḥ sriṣhṭvā ūrdhva udakrāmat sa etaṁ lokam agachhad yatra esha etat tapati | no ha tarhy anya etasmād atra yajñiya āsa tam devā yajñenaiva yashṭum adhriyanta | tasmād etad ṛishinā 'bhyanūktāṁ 'yajñena yajñam ayajanta devā' ityādi |* "These seven men whom they made one man (*purusha*) became Prajāpati. He created offspring. Having created offspring, he mounted upwards; he went to this world where he scorches this. There was then no other object of worship: the gods began to worship him with sacrifices. Hence it has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 90, 16), 'the gods worshipped the sacrifice with sacrifice.'" Part of the passage, Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 6 is repeated in Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 2, 2, 5.

II. In the preceding legend, the gods are represented as the creators of Prajāpati, who in his turn is stated to have generated the waters, and the mundane egg. In the following story, the order of production is different. The waters generate the egg, and the egg brings forth Prajāpati, who creates the worlds and the gods.

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (pp. 831 ff.).—*Āpo ha vā idam agre salilam evāsa<sup>39</sup> | tā akāmayanta 'kathaṁ nu prajāyemahi' iti tā aśrāmyāṁs tās tapo 'tapyanta | tāsu tapas tapyamānāsu hiraṇmayam āṇḍam sambabhūva | ājāto ha tarhi saṁvatsara āsa | tad idaṁ hiraṇmayam āṇḍam yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā tāvat paryaplavata | 2. Tataḥ saṁvatsaro puruṣaḥ samabhavat sa Prajāpatiḥ | tasmād u saṁvatsaro eva strī vā gaur vā caḍabā vā vijāyato saṁvatsaro hi Prajāpatir ajāyata |*

<sup>39</sup> Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 7, 1, 17.—*Tasyāpa eva pratishṭhā | apsu hi ime lokāḥ pratishṭhītāḥ |* "Waters are its support: for these worlds are based upon the waters." Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 8, 6, 1 (=Bṛihad Aranyaka Upanishad, p. 974).—*Āpa evedam agre āsuh | tā āpaḥ satyam asṛijanta satyam Brahma Brahma Prajāpatim Prajāpatir devān |* "In the beginning waters alone formed this universe. These waters created Truth, Truth created Brahma, Brahma created Prajāpati, and Prajāpati the gods."

sa idam hiranmayam āndaṁ vyarujat | nāha tarhi kāchana pratishṭhā āsa | tad enam idam eva hiranmayam āndaṁ yāvat saṁvatsarasya velā āsīt tāvad bibhrat paryaplavata<sup>40</sup> | 3. Sa saṁvatsare vyājihīrshat | sa 'bhūr' iti vyāharat sā iyam pṛithivy abhavad<sup>41</sup> 'bhuvā' iti tad idam antarixam abhavat 'svar' iti sā asau dyaur abhavat tasmād u saṁvatsare eva kumāro vyājihīrshati saṁvatsare hi Prajāpatir vyāharat | . . . . 6. Sa sahasrāyur jajñe | sa yathā nadyai pāram parāpaśyed evam svasyāyushaḥ pāram parā chakhyau | 7. So 'rchañ chhrāmyaṁs chachāra prajākāmāḥ | sa ātmany eva prajātim adhatta sa āsyenaiva devān asrijata | te devā divam abhipadya asrijyanta tad devānāṁ devatvāṁ yad divam abhipadya asrijyanta | tasmai sasrijānāya divevāsa<sup>42</sup> | tad eva devānāṁ devatvāṁ yad asmai sasrijānāya divevāsa | . . . . 14. Tū vā etāḥ Prajāpater adhi devatāḥ asrijyanta Agnir Indrah<sup>43</sup> Somah Parameshṭhi prajāpatyah | . . . . 18. Sa Prajāpatir Indram putram abravīd ityādī |

"In the beginning this universe was waters, nothing but water. The waters desired, 'how can we be reproduced?' So saying, they toiled, they performed austerity. While they were performing austerity, a golden egg came into existence. Being produced, it then became a year. Wherefore this golden egg floated about for the period of a year. 2. From it in a year a man (*purusha*) came into existence, who was Prajāpati. Hence it is that a woman, or a cow, or a mare, brings forth in the space of a year, for in a year Prajāpati was born. He divided this golden egg. There was then no resting-place for him. He therefore floated about for the space of a year, occupying this golden egg. 3. In a year he desired to speak. He uttered *bhūḥ*, which became this earth; *bhuvāḥ*, which became this firmament; and *svāḥ*, which became that sky. Hence a child desires to speak in a year, because Prajāpati spoke in a year. . . . . 6. He was born with a life of a thousand years. He perceived the further end of his life, as [one] may perceive the opposite bank of a river. 7. Desiring

<sup>40</sup> *Tasya Prajāpater āspadaṁ kimapi na babhūva sa cha nirādhāratevāt sthūtam aśaknuvann idam eva bhinnam hiranmayāndaṁ punaḥ saṁvatsara-paryantam bibhrad dhārayan tāsv evāpsu paryasravat* | <sup>41</sup> There was no resting place for Prajāpati; and he, being unable to stand, from the want of any support, occupying this divided golden egg for a year, floated about on these waters." Comm.

<sup>42</sup> Compare vol. iii. of this work, p. 68, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 141.

<sup>43</sup> *Divevāsa* | *ākāśa iva babhūva* | Comm.

<sup>44</sup> In R. V. x. 134, 1 ff. Indra is said to be the son of a mother whose name is not mentioned.

offspring, he went on worshipping and toiling. He conceived progeny in himself: with his mouth he created the gods. These gods were created by attaining heaven. This is the godhead of the gods (*devāḥ*) that they were creating by attaining heaven (*divam*). To him while he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose (?). This is the godhead of the gods, that to him as he was continuing to create, heaven, as it were, arose. . . . . 14. These [following] gods were created from Prajāpati, Agni, Indra, Soma, and Parameshṭhin, son of Prajāpati. . . . . 18. Prajāpati said to his son Indra," etc.

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

Sátapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 3, 5 (p. 609).—*Sa yat kūrmo nāma etad vā rūpaṁ kṛtvā Prajāpatiḥ prajā aśrijata | yad aśrijata akarot tad yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | Kāśyapo vai kūrmas tasmād āhuḥ 'sarvaḥ prajāḥ Kāśyapya' iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo 'sau sa Ādityaḥ |* "Having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajāpati created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); hence the word *kūrma*. *Kāśyapa* means tortoise; hence men say, 'all creatures are descendants of *Kāśyapa*.' This tortoise is the same as *Āditya*."

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

Thus in the chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāna descriptive of Viṣṇu's incarnations it is said (i. 3, 16): *Surāsurāṇām udadhīm mathnatām mathanāchalam | dadhre kamaṭha-rūpeṇa prishṭhe ekūdaśe vibhuḥ |* "In his eleventh incarnation, the Lord in the form of a tortoise supported on his back the churning-mountain, when the gods and Asuras were churning the ocean."

In its application of the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 37, 5, the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 2, 11 (p. 1025) makes the following allusion to the elevation of the earth by a boar: "*Iyaty agre āsid* (Vāj. S. 37, 5) *iti | iyati ha vā iyam agre pṛithivy āsa prādeśa-mātri | tām Emūsha iti carāha*" *ujjaghāna* | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatis tenaiva enam etan-mithunena priyeṇa dhāmnā" <sup>45</sup> *samarādhayati kṛitenaṁ karoti ityādi |*

" 'She (the earth) was formerly so large,' etc.; for formerly this earth

<sup>44</sup> See R.V. viii. 66, 10.

<sup>45</sup> In regard to these words compare Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, 3, 9, 4, 20.

was only so large, of the size of a span. Emūsha, a boar, raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence, prospers him (the boar?) with love (?) and the object of his desire, and makes him complete," etc.

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

In the following he is said to have in the beginning constituted the universe, and to have created Agni (see above, pp. 19, 22).

Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 151).—*Prajāpatir ha vā idam agre eka evāsa | sa aizata 'katham nu prajāyeya' iti so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata so 'gnim eva mukhāj janayāñchakre ityādi |* "Prajāpati alone was all this [universe] in the beginning. He considered, 'how can I be reproduced?' He toiled, and performed austerity. He generated Agni from his mouth."

In the next passage he is identified with Daxa :<sup>46</sup>

Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 1 (p. 173).—*Prajāpatir ha vā eten- āgre yajñeneje prajākāmo 'bahuh prajāyā pašubhiḥ syām śriyam gachhe- yaṁ yaśaḥ syām annādaḥ syām' iti | sa vai Daxo nāma ityādi |* "Prajāpati formerly sacrificed with this sacrifice, being desirous of progeny, [and saying] 'may I abound in offspring and cattle, attain prosperity, become famous, and obtain food.' He was Daxa."

In Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 8, 1, 14 (p. 565) Prajāpati is said to be the supporter of the universe (a function afterwards assigned to Vishṇu) : *Prajāpatir vai bhārataḥ sa hīdam sarvam bibhartī |* "Prajāpati is Bharata (the supporter), for he supports all this universe."<sup>47</sup>

Compare the first verse of the Muṇḍaka Upanishad, where Brahmā is called the preserver of the world (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

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

Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 2, 4, 1 (p. 977).—*Prajāpatir akāmayata*

<sup>46</sup> See R. V. x. 72, 4, 5 (above pp. 10, 11).

<sup>47</sup> In R. V. i. 96, 3, the epithet *Bharata* is applied to Agni. The commentator there quotes another text, no doubt from a Brāhmaṇa, *esha prāṇo bhūtva prajā bibhartī tasmād esha bhārataḥ |* "He becoming breath, sustains all creatures; hence he is the sustainer."

'*ubhau lokāv abhijayeyāṁ devalokañcha manushya-lokañcha*' ityādi | "Prajāpati desired, 'may I conquer both worlds,' that of the gods, and that of men," etc.

In Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 6, 1 (p. 997) Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa is introduced: *Puruṣo ha Nārāyaṇo 'kāmayata 'atitishṭheyāṁ sarvāni bhūtāny aham eva idaṁ sarvaṁ syām' iti | sa etam puruṣa-medham pañcha-rātraṁ yajñakratum apaśyat tam āharat tena ayajata tena ishṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati ya evaṁ vidvān puruṣa-medhena yajate yo vā etad evaṁ veda* |

"Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa desired, 'may I surpass all created things; may I alone become all this?' He beheld this form of sacrifice called *puruṣa medha* (human sacrifice) lasting five nights (?). He took it; he sacrificed with it. Having sacrificed with it, he surpassed all created things, and became all this. That man surpasses all created things, and becomes all this, who thus knowing, sacrifices with the *puruṣa medha*,—he who so knows this." The Puruṣa-sūkta is shortly afterwards quoted.

In Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 1 (p. 838) Brahma (in the neuter) is introduced as being the original source of all things: *Brahma vā idam agre āsit | tad devān asṛijata | tad devān sṛishṭvā eṣhu lokeshu vyārohayaḍ asminn eva loka 'gnīm Vāyum antariḥ divy eva sūryam* | "In the beginning Brahma was all this. He created the gods. Having created the gods, he placed them in these worlds, in this world Agni, Vāyu in the atmosphere, and Sūrya in the sky."

In Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 1 (p. 1000) Brahma is described as sacrificing himself: *Brahma vai svayambhu tapo 'tapyata | tad aivata 'na vai tapasy ānantyam asti hanta aham bhūteshṭv ātmānaṁ juhavāni bhūtāni cha ātmani' iti | tat sarveshu bhūteshṭv ātmānaṁ hutvā bhūtāni cha ātmani sarveshām bhūtānām sṛaishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryait | tathaiiva etad yajamānaḥ sarvamedhe sarvān medhān hutvā sarvāni bhūtāni sṛaishṭhyaṁ svārājyam ādhipatyam paryeti* | "The self-existent Brahma performed austerity. He considered, 'in austerity there is not infinity. Come let me sacrifice myself in created things, and created things in myself.' Then having sacrificed himself in all created things, and all created things in himself, he acquired superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion (compare Manu, xii. 91),

Therefore a man offering all oblations, all creatures, in the *śarvamedha* (universal sacrifice), obtains superiority, self-effulgence, and supreme dominion.<sup>48</sup>

The following is the account of the creation, given at a later period by Manu, i. 5 ff., founded, no doubt, on the passages of the *Śātipatha Brāhmaṇa*, given above (pp. 19, 21, 22), or some other ancient source of the same character, with an intermixture of more modern doctrines :

*Āsīd idam tamobhūtam aprajñātam alaxanam | apratarkyam avijñeyam prasuptam iva sarvataḥ | 6. Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyañjāyann idam | mahābhūtādi vṛttanyāḥ prādūrāsīt tamonudaḥ | 7. Yo 'sāv atīndriya-grāhyāḥ sūxmo 'vyaktaḥ sanātanaḥ | sarva-bhūtanayo 'chintyāḥ sa eva svayam udbabhau | 8. So 'bhidyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛixur vivīdhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarijādau tāsu vijam avāsrījat | 9. Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam sahasrāṁśu-samaprabham | tasmīn jājñe svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavāḥ | tā yad asyāyanam pūrvaṁ tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitāḥ | 11. Yat tat kāranam avyaktam nityam sadasadātmakam | tad-visṛiṣṭaḥ sa puruṣo loka Brahmēti kīrtiyate | 12. Tasmīn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivat-saram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akarod dvidhā | 13. tābhyaṁ sa śakalābhyaṁcha divam bhūmīṁcha nirmame ityādi |*

5. "This universe was enveloped in darkness, unperceived, undistinguishable, undiscoverable, unknowable, as it were entirely sunk in sleep. 6. Then the irresistible self-existent Lord, undiscerned, causing this universe with the five elements and all other things, to become discernible, was manifested, dispelling the gloom. 7. He who is beyond the cognizance of the senses, subtle, undiscernible, eternal, who is the essence of all beings, and inconceivable, himself shone forth. 8. He desiring to produce various creatures from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and deposited in them a seed. 9. This [seed] became a golden egg, resplendent as the sun, in which he himself was born as Brahmā,<sup>49</sup> the progenitor of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārā*, because they are the offspring of Nara; and

<sup>48</sup> See the discussion on the sense of R. V. x. 81, 1, 5, 6 (above, pp. 7-9).

<sup>49</sup> Or, in which Brahmā himself was born, etc.

since they were formerly his receptacle, he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa*. 11. Being formed by that First Cause, undiscernible, eternal, which is both existent and non-existent, that Male (*puruṣa*) is known in the world as *Brahmā*. 12. That lord having continued a year in the egg, divided it into two parts by his mere thought. 13. With these two shells he formed the heavens and the earth; and in the middle he placed the sky, the eight regions, and the eternal abode of the waters."

It will be observed from verses 9-11, that the appellation *Nārāyaṇa* is applied to *Brahmā*, and that no mention is made of *Vishṇu*.

On verse 8 Kullūka annotates thus: '*Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimam*' *iti | tad vijam Paramēṣṭarechhayā haiman aṇḍam abhavad haimam eva haimam buddhi-guṇa-yogād na tu haimam eva | tadīyaika-śakalena bhūmi-nirmāṇasya vaxyamānatvād bhūmeśchāhaimatvasya pratyaṣatvād upa-śāstrāyanam | . . . . . tasminn aṇḍe Hiranyagarbho jātavān yena pūrva-janmani 'Hiranyagarbho 'ham asmi' iti bhedābheda-bhāvanayā Paramēṣṭaropāsānā kṛitā tadīyaṁ liṅga-śarirāvachhinna-jīvam anupra-śītya svayam Paramātmaiva Hiranyagarbha-rūpatayā prādurbhūtaḥ |* "That [seed] became a golden egg,' etc. That seed by the will of the deity became a golden egg. Golden, *i.e.* as it were golden, from the quality of purity attaching to it, and not really golden; for since the author proceeds to describe the formation of the earth from one of the halves of its shell, and since we know by ocular proof that the earth is not golden, we see that a mere figure of speech is here employed. . . . . In that egg *Hiranyagarbha* was produced; *i.e.* entering into the soul,—which was invested with a subtle body,—of that person by whom in a former birth the deity was worshipped, with a contemplation on distinctness and identity, expressed in the words, 'I am *Hiranyagarbha*,' the supreme spirit himself became manifested in the form of *Hiranyagarbha*."

The creation is narrated in a similar manner, but without the introduction of any metaphysical elements, in the *Harivaṁśa*, vv. 35 ff.: *Tataḥ svayambhūr bhagavān sisṛixur cividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva sasarpjā-ḍau tāsu vijam avāṣijāt | āpo nāra iti proktā āpo vai nara-sūnavaḥ | ayanam tasya tāḥ pūrvaṁ tena nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitaḥ | hiranyavarṇam abhavat tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | tatra jāñe svayam Brahmū svayambhūr iti naḥ brūtam | Hiranyagarbho bhagavān uhitvā parivatsaram | tad*



*aṅḍam akarod dvaidhaṁ divam bhuvam athāpi cha | tayoḥ śakalayoḥ  
madhye ākāśam asrijat prabhuh | apsu pāriplavām pṛithvīm dīśāscha  
daśadhā dadho |*

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

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

Harivamśa, vv. 12, 425 ff.—*Jagat-srashtu-manū devaś chintayāmāsa  
pūrvataḥ | tasya chintayato vaktrād niḥsṛitaḥ puruṣaḥ kila | tataḥ sa  
puruṣo devaṁ kiṁ karomīty upashthitaḥ | pratyuvācha smitaṁ kṛtvā  
deva-devo jagat-patiḥ | ‘vibhajātmānam’ ityuktvā gato ‘ntardhānam  
īśvaraḥ | antarhitasya devasya saśarīrasya bhāscataḥ | pradīpasyeva  
śāntasya gatis tasya na vidyate | tatas teneritām vāṇīm so ‘nvachintayata  
prabhuh | “Hiranyagarbho bhagavān ya esha chhandasā stutaḥ | ekaḥ  
prajāpatiḥ pūrvam abhavad bhuvanādhipaḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti tasyādyo  
yajña-bhāgo vidhīyate | ‘vibhajātmānam’ ity uktas tenāsmi sumahāt-  
manā | katham ātmā vibhajyaḥ syāt saṁśayo hy atra me mahān” |*

“Being desirous to create the world, the deity formerly meditated. As he meditated, a man (*puruṣa*) issued from his mouth. This man then approached [or adored] the deity, [saying] ‘what am I to do?’ The god of gods, the lord of the world, answered smiling, ‘divide thyself.’ Having thus spoken the lord vanished. The path of the radiant embodied deity, when he has vanished, is not known, like that [of the flame] of an extinguished taper. The lord then meditated [thus] upon the word which the deity had uttered: ‘This divine Hiranyagarbha, who is celebrated in the Vedic hymn, was formerly the one sole Prajāpati, the ruler of the world. Thenceforward the first half of the sacrifice is allotted to him. *Divide thyself*,—thus have I been

commanded by that mighty being. But how is the self to be divided? Here I have great doubt." Then follow the verses which have been quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 10, to which I refer.

The Rāmāyaṇa, which I quote first according to the recension of Schlegel (which here coincides with the Serampore edition), thus describes the origin of the world :

Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's ed.), ii. 110, 2 ff.—*Imām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛithivī yatra nirmītā | tataḥ samabhavād Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha | 4. Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām | aṣṛijachcha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmaḥ | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāścato nityam avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjayāne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutāḥ | 6. Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jayāne Manur Vivasvataḥ smṛitāḥ | sa tu Prajāpatiḥ pūrvam ityādi |*

Vāśisṭha says, "Lord of the world, understand from me this [account of] the origin of the worlds. 3. All was water only, in which the earth was formed. Thence arose Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*. 4. He then, becoming a boar,<sup>50</sup> raised up the earth, and created the whole world *with the saints, his sons*. 5. Brahmā, eternal, and perpetually undecaying, sprang from the æther; from him was descended Marīchi; the son of Marīchi was Kaśyapa. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat, and Manu is declared to have been Vivasvat's son. He (Manu) was formerly the Prajāpati," etc.

It will be observed that here it is Brahmā who assumes the form of a boar to raise up the earth from under the ocean. In the *Gauḍa* recension of Gorresio, however, this function is transferred to Viṣṇu; and this I regard as a proof that this recension of the text is more modern than that followed by Schlegel. I have indicated by italics in my translations, the important points in which the two recensions differ from one another.

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's ed.), ii. 119, 2 ff.—*Inām loka-samutpattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt vasudhā yena nirmītā | tataḥ samabhavād Brahmā svayambhūr Viṣṇur avyayaḥ | 4. Sa varāho*

<sup>50</sup> Compare Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 14, 1, 2, 11, quoted above, p. 23.

'*tha bhūtvenām ujjāhāra vasundharām | asrijachecha jagat sarvām sacharā-  
charam avyayam | 5. Ākāśa-prabhavo Brahmā śāsvato nityam avyayaḥ |  
tasmād Marīchiḥ sañjajñe Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Tataḥ paryāya-  
sargena Vivasvān asrijad Manuḥ ityādi |*

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

It will be noticed that at the end of the 3rd śloka, the reading of the first recension, viz., *Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha*, “Brahmā, the self-existent, *with the deities*,” is, in the second, changed into *Brahmā svayambhūr Vishṇur avyayaḥ*, “Brahmā, the self-existent, *the imperishable Vishnu*,” whereby Brahmā becomes a mere manifestation of Vishṇu,—a character of which we have no hint in the earlier recension. Similarly the words which are given in Schlegel’s recension, at the close of the 4th śloka, viz., *saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ*, “with the saints, his sons,” are in the other recension altered into *sacharācharam avyayam*, “moveable and immoveable, and imperishable”—epithets descriptive of the world. This second alteration was rendered necessary by the first: for as soon as the god who is the subject of the passage had been changed from Brahmā to Vishṇu, the mention of sons became inapplicable; as Vishṇu is not described in the accounts of the creation as having any sons, whereas Brahmā is. Compare with the 5th verse of the passage before us (in Schlegel’s text), the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff.; and i. 7, 26, quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 25, 26. The accounts of Brahmā’s descendants are not, however, always consistent. See Manu, i. 32 ff., and Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 12 ff., quoted in pp. 15 and 25 of Part First.

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Before proceeding to quote the other texts which I have to adduce regarding the egg of Brahma, I shall here introduce two quotations, to show

how the assumption of the form of a boar, ascribed in the older recension of this passage of the Rāmāyana, to Brahmā, is in works of a later date, represented as the act of Vishṇu. The first passage is from the rapid enumeration of the twenty-two incarnations of Vishṇu, in the Bhāgavata Purāna, i. 3, 7: *Dvītyaṁ tu bhavāyāsya rasā-tala-gatām mahīm | uddharishyann upādatta yajñesaḥ saukaraṁ vapuḥ* | “Secondly, with a view to the creation of this universe, the lord of sacrifice, being desirous to raise up the earth, which had sunk into the lower regions, assumed the form of a boar.”

The second passage to be adduced, is from the Vishṇu Purāna, i. 4, 1 ff. (p. 27 ff. of Wilson’s English trans.), and has been already partly quoted in the First Part of this work, pp. 19, 20 :

*Maitreya uvācha | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyo 'sau kalpāḍau bhagavān yathā | sasarija sarva-bhūtāni tad ācharva mahāmune<sup>51</sup> | Parāśara uvācha | prajāḥ sasarija bhagavān Brahmā Nārāyaṇātmakaḥ | prajāpati-patir devo yathā tan me nisāmaya | atīta-kalpāvasāne nisū-suptothitāḥ prabhuḥ | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyaṁ lokam avaizata | Nārāyaṇaḥ paro 'chintyaḥ pareśhām api sa prabhuḥ | Brahma-svarupī bhagavān anādiḥ sarva-sambhavaḥ | toyāntaḥ sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave prabhuḥ | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ Prajāpatiḥ | akarot sa tanūm anyām kalpādīshu yathā purā | matsya-kūrmādīkām tadvad vārāhaṁ vapur āshthitāḥ | veda-yajñamayaṁ rūpam āśesha-jagataḥ sthitau | sthitāḥ sthirātmā sarvātmā paramātmā Prajāpatiḥ | janaloka-gataiḥ siddhaiḥ Sanakādyair abhishṭutaḥ | praviveśa tada toyam ātmā-dhāro dharādharāḥ | nīrtvya taṁ tadā devī pātāla-talam āgatam | tushṭava praṇatā bhūtvā bhakti-namrā vasundharā | Pṛithvy uvācha | Namas te*

<sup>51</sup> I take the opportunity of quoting here an answer given in the Vishṇu Purāna, i. 3, 1 ff. (p. 21 of Wilson’s trans.), to the question how it is conceivable that Brahmā should create;—an answer which if admitted as the only solution of the problem, would have rendered many speculations of the Indian philosophers unnecessary. *Maitreya uvācha | nirguṇasyāprameyasya śuddhasyāpyamalātmanaḥ | kathāṁ sargādi-kartṛitvam Brāhmaṇo 'bhyupapadyate | Parāśara uvācha | śaktayaḥ sarva-bhāvānām achintyā [?] jñāna-gocharāḥ | yato 'to Brahmaṇas tāstu sargādyā bhāva-śaktayaḥ | bhavanti tapasāṁ śreṣṭha pāvakaśya yathoshnūtū* | “Maitreya asks: How can the agencies of creation, etc., be possible to Brahma, who is devoid of the [three] qualities, immeasurable, pure, and free from stain? Parāśara answers: Since powers which could not be imagined, are actually known to belong to all natures, therefore, o chief of ascetics, these powers of creative agency, etc., belong to the essence of Brahmā, as heat is an attribute of fire.”

*sarva-bhūtāya tubhyaṃ śankha-gadā-dhara | mām uddharāsmād adya tvam  
 tvatto 'ham pūrvam utthitā | . . . . . sambhaxayitvā sakalāṃ jagaty  
 ekārṇavīkrīte | śeṣhe tvam eva Govinda chintyamāno maṇishibhiḥ | bhavato  
 yat paraṃ rūpaṃ tanna jñāti kaśchana | avatāreshu yad rūpaṃ tad  
 archanti divaukaśaḥ | tvām ārādhya paraṃ Brahma yātā muktīm mu-  
 muxavaḥ | Vāsudevam anārādhya ko moxaṃ samavāpsyati | . . . . . tvam  
 yajñas tvam vashaṭkāras tvam oṃkāras. tvam agnayāḥ | . . . . . Evaṃ  
 samstūyamānastu Prithivīyā pṛithivī-dharaḥ | sāma-svara-dhvaniḥ śrīmān  
 jagarjja pariḥgurgharam | tataḥ samutxipyā dharāṃ sa daṃśhṛayā  
 mahāvarāhaḥ sphuṭa-pādma-lochanaḥ | rasātulād utpala-patra-sannibhaḥ  
 samutthito nīla ivāchalo mahān | . . . evaṃ samstūyamānastu Paramātmā  
 mahīdharaḥ | ujjahāra mahīm xipraṃ nyastavāṃścha mahāmbhasi |  
 tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatavāt tu dehasya na  
 mahī yāti samplavam |*

“Maitreya said : Tell me, great Muni, how, at the beginning of the Kalpa, that divine Brahmā called Nārāyaṇa created all beings. Parāśara replied : Hear from me how the divine Brahmā, lord of the Prajāpatis, who was formed of Nārāyaṇa, created living beings. At the close of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, awoke from his night-slumber, and beheld the universe void. He [was] the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by others, existing in the form of Brahmā, the deity without beginning, the source of all things. [The verse given in Manu i. 10, and the Harivaṃśa, v. 36, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa, is here quoted.] This lord Prajāpati, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, assumed another form, taking the body of a boar consisting of the Vedic sacrifices, as he had before, at the commencement of the [previous] Kalpas, taken the shape of a fish, a tortoise, etc. Then Prajāpati, residing in the entire existing universe, the unchanging, supreme, and universal soul, sustainer of soul, and supporter of the earth, hymned by Sanaka and other saints, entered the water. Beholding him then descended to Pātāla, the goddess Earth, reverential, and prostrated through devotion, sang his praise : ‘Reverence, bearer of the shell and club, to thee who art all things : raise me to-day from this place : by thee have I been formerly lifted. . . . Having swallowed up the universe, when the world has become one

ocean, thou, Govinda, sleepest, meditated upon by the wise. No one knows that which is thy highest form: the gods adore that form which [thou takest] in thy incarnations. Worshipping thee, the supreme Brahma, men desirous of final liberation have attained their object. Who shall obtain liberation without adoring Vāsudeva? . . . . . Thou art sacrifice, thou art the *vashatkāra* (a sacrificial formula), thou art the *omkāra*, thou art the fires. . . . . Being thus celebrated by the Earth, the glorious upholder of the earth, with a voice like the chanting of the Sāmaveda, uttered a deep thundering sound. Then the great boar, with eyes like the expanded lotus, tossing up the earth with his tusk, rose up resembling the leaf of the blue lotus, from the lower regions, like the great blue mountain . . . . [The boar is then again lauded by Sanandana and other saints, in a hymn, in the course of which his different members are compared in detail to different parts of the rite of sacrifice, etc.—See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, p. 31.] . . . . . Being thus hymned, the supreme Soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted the earth up quickly, and placed it upon the great waters. Resting upon this mass of waters, like a mighty ship, the earth does not sink, owing to the expansion of its bulk." <sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Another instance in which an act ascribed to Brahmā by earlier writers is transferred to Vishṇu in the later Purāṇas, may be found in the story of the deluge in the Mbh., Vanaparva, 12, 797 ff. (see the Second Part of this work, pp. 329-332); towards the conclusion of which, vv. 12, 797 f., the Fish declares himself to be Brahmā: *Athābraṣṭī animishas tñ rishīn sa hitas tadā | aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-parañ nādāhigamyate | matsya-rūpeṇa yūyañcha mayā 'smād moxītā bhayāt |* "Then the god (*lit.* the unwinking), kindly-disposed, said to those rishis, 'I am the Prajāpati Brahmā, above whom no Being is discoverable: by me in the form of a fish you have been delivered from this danger.'" Compare the story as told in the Bhāg. Pur., (and see Burnouf, Pref. to Bhāg. Pur., iii. p. xxiii.), Bhāg. Pur. viii. 24, 4: *Ity ukto Vishṇurātēna bhagavān Vādarāyaṇiḥ | uvācha charitaṃ Vishṇor matsya-rūpeṇa yat kṛtām | 'Suka uvācha | . . . . . 7. āsīd atīta-kalpānte Brāhma naimittiko layaḥ | samudropaplūtās tatra lokā bhūrādāyo nṛpa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya dhātuh śisoyi-shor balī | mukhato niḥsrīṭān vedān Hayagrīvo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Jñātvā tad dānavendrasya Hayagrīvasya cheshṭitam | dadhāra sapharirūpam bhagavān Harir īsvara ityīdī |* "Being thus addressed by Vishnurāta, the divine Vādarāyaṇi related the deed of Vishṇu done by him under the form of a fish. Suka said . . . . 7. At the end of the past Kalpa there was a *Brāhma*, or partial, dissolution of the universe (see Wilson's Vish. Pur., pp. 56, and 630); in which the earth and other worlds were submerged under the ocean. The powerful Hayagrīva [coming] near, snatched away the Vedas which had issued from the mouth of the creator, who from drowsiness, which had supervened through time, was disposed to sleep. Having discovered this act of Hayagrīva, chief of the Dānavas, the divine lord, Hari, took the form of a saphari fish," etc.

The Linga Purāna, which is of the Śaiva class, and has not, as such, any interest in glorifying Viṣṇu, describes Brahmā as the deity who took the form of a boar: Part i. 4, 59 ff.: *Rātrau chaikārṇave Brahmā nashṭe sthāvāra-jaṅgame | sushvāpāmbhasi yas tasmād Nārāyaṇa iti smṛitaḥ | śarvāry-ante prabuddho vai dṛiṣṭvā śūnyaṁ charācharam | sraṣṭum tadā matiṁ chakre Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | udakair ūplū-tām xmām tām samādāya sanātanaḥ | pūrva-vaṭ sthāpayāmāsa vārāhaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ |* "In the night, when all things moveable and immoveable had been destroyed in the universal ocean, Brahmā slept upon the waters, and is hence called Nārāyaṇa. At the close of the night, awaking, and beholding the universe void, Brahmā, chief of the knowers of Brahma, then resolved to create. Having assumed the form of a boar, this eternal [god] taking the earth, which was overflowed by the waters, placed it as it had been before."

To return to the mundane egg. In the Viṣṇu Purāna i. 2, 45 ff. we have the following account of its production, in which the simplicity of the older mythical conceptions is destroyed by the intermixture of metaphysical ideas borrowed from the Sāṅkhya philosophy. In fact, though it forms the subject of a magniloquent description, the egg was an element in the cosmogonic traditions with which any writers less ingenious and fanciful than the authors of the Purānas, would, perhaps, have found it somewhat inconvenient to deal in such a way as to harmonize with their philosophical speculations: *Ākāśa-vāyu-tejāṁsi salilam pṛithivī tathā | śabdādibhir gunair brahman saṁyuktāny uttarot-taraiḥ | śāntā ghorāścha mūdhāścha viśeshās tena te smṛitāḥ | nānā-vīryyāḥ pṛithag-bhūtās tatas te saṁhatiṁ vinā | nāśaknuvan prajāḥ sraṣṭum asamāgāmya kṛitsnaśaḥ | sametyānyonya-saṁyogam paraspara-samāśrayāḥ | eka-saṅghāta-laxyāścha samprāpyaikyam aśeshataḥ | Purushādhishṭhitatvāchcha Pradhānānugraheṇa cha | mahādādayo viśeshāntā aṅdam utpādayanti te | tat kramēna vivṛidhhaṁ tu jala-budbuda-vaṭ samam | bhūtebhyo 'ṅdam mahābudde vṛihat tad udake śayam | prakṛitam Brahma-rūpasya Viṣṇoḥ saṁsthānam uttamam | tatrācyakta-sva-rūpo 'sau vyakta-rūpī jagat-patiḥ | Viṣṇur Brahma-svarūpeṇa svayam eva vyavasthitaḥ | Meru-tulyam abhūt tasya jarāyuscha mahādharaḥ |*

*garbhodakam samudrāscha tasyāsan sumahātmanaḥ | sādri-dvīpa-samu-  
drāscha saṃyotir loka-saṅgrahaḥ | tasminn aṅḍe 'bhavad vipra sa-devāsura-  
mānushaḥ | vāri-vahny-anilākāsais tato bhūtādīnā vahiḥ | vṛitaṃ daśa-  
guṇair aṅḍam bhūtādir mahatā tathā | avyaktenāvṛito brahmaṃs taiḥ  
sarvaiḥ sahito mahān | ebhir āvaranair aṅḍam saptaḥḥiḥ prakṛitair vṛi-  
tam | nārikela-phalasyāntar vījaṃ vāhyadalair iva | jushan rajo-guṇān  
tatra svayaṃ viśveśvaro Hariḥ | Brahmā bhūtvā 'sya jagato viśiṣṭau  
sampravarttate |*

“Æther, air, fire, water and earth, when joined in order, with sound and the other qualities in succession, are then called specific, being soothing, terrific, or stupefying,<sup>53</sup> but being of different powers, and separated from one another, they could not, without contact, and without being combined together, produce living creatures. [At length] having attained to mutual conjunction, becoming associated with each other, having a tendency to amalgamation, and having so attained an entire unity,—being presided over by Purusha (spirit) and prospered by Pradhāna (matter),—these principles, commencing with Mahat (intellect), and down to the gross elements inclusive, generate an egg. Gradually augmented from the elements, smooth like a bubble of water, that vast egg, resting on the water, was the material and appropriate receptacle of Vishṇu in the form of Brahmā. There undiscernible in his essence, Vishṇu, the lord of the world, himself abode in a discernible shape, in the form of Brahmā. It was like mount Meru; the mountains were the womb, and the seas were the uterine fluids of that vast [production]. In that egg, o Brahmān, were collected the worlds, with their hills, continents, and oceans, the luminaries, the gods, Asuras, and men. This egg was enveloped externally by water, fire, air, æther, and the source of the elements (*bhūtādi*, i.e. *ahankāra*) increasing in tenfold progression; and in the same way *ahankāra* was invested by *Mahat*; and *Mahat* with all these [aforesaid principles] was surrounded by the indiacreer principle (*Pradhāna*). The egg is enveloped in these seven material coverings, as the seed within the cocoa-nut is surrounded by the outward husks. Assuming there the quality of passion (*rajas*) Hari, the universal lord, himself becoming Brahmā, engages in the creation of this world.”

<sup>53</sup> See Wilson's Sankhya Karikā, pp. 119 ff., and Vishṇu Pur., p. 17.



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

The Linga Purāṇa, Part i., 3, 28 ff., gives a similar description of the egg: *Mahādādi-viśeshāntā hy anḍam utpādayanti cha | jala-bud-buda-vat tasmāt avatīrṇaḥ Pitāmahaḥ | sa eva bhagavān Rudro Viśṇur viśvagataḥ prabhuḥ | tasminn anḍe tv ime lokā antar viśvam idaṁ jagat | anḍam daśa-guṇenaiva nabhasā vāhyato vṛitam | ākāśaś chāvṛitas tadavad ahankāreṇa śabdajāḥ | mahatā śabda-hetur vai pradhānenāvṛitaḥ svayam | saptāṇḍāvarāṇy āhus tasyātmā Kamalāsanaḥ | koṭi-koṭy-ayutāny atra chāṇḍāni kathitāni tu | tatra tatra chaturcaktrā Brahmāno Harayo Bhavāḥ | sriṣṭāḥ pradhānena tadā labdhvā Sambhostu sannidhīm ityādi |*

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

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

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 20, 12 ff.—*Maitreya evācha | Daivena durvitarkyeṇa parenūnimishēna cha | jātaxobhād bhagavato mahān asid guṇa-trayāt |*  
 13. *Rajaḥ-pradhānād mahatas trilingo daiva-choditāt | jātaḥ sasarija bhūtādir viyadādīni panchaśaḥ |* 14. *Tāni chaikaikaśaḥ srasṭum asam-arthāni bhautikam | saṁhatya daiva-yogena haimam anḍam avāsrījan |*  
 15. *So 'sayiṣṭābhi-salile anḍa-kosho nirātmaḥ | sāgram vai varsha-sāhasram anvavātsit tam īśvaraḥ |* 16. *Tasya nābher abhūt padmaṁ sahasrārkorudīdhīti | sarva-jīva-nikāyauko yatra svayam abhūt Svarāḥ |*  
 17. *so 'nuviṣṭo bhagavatā yaḥ śeto salilāsāye | loka-saṁsthām yathā-pūrvaṁ nirmame saṁstheyā svayā |*

“Maitreya said:

12. “The Great principle (Intelligence) arose from the three qualities

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

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

Bhāg. Pur. iii. 26, 50 ff.: *Etāny asaṁhatya yadā mahad-ādīni sapta vai | kāla-karma-guṇopeto jagadādir upāviśat | 51. tatas tenānuvid-dhebhyo [xubhitebhyaḥ, Comm.] yuktebhyo 'ṇḍam achetanam | utthītam Puruṣho yasmād udatiṣṭhad asau Virāt | 52. Etad aṇḍam viśeṣākhyam krama-vṛiddhair daśottaraṁ | toyādibhiḥ parivṛitam pradhānenāvṛitair vahiḥ | yatra loka-vitāno 'yaṁ rūpam bhagavato Hareḥ | 53. hiraṇ-mayād aṇḍa-koshād utthāya salile śayāt | tam āviśya mahādevo bahudhā nīrbībheda kham [chhidram, Comm.] 54. nīrabhidyatāsyā prathamam mukhaṁ vānī tato 'bhavad ityādi |*

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

The same process is also described in the second book of the same

Purāna, sect. 5, 32 ff.; but it is unnecessary to adduce more than a verse or two of the passage.

34. *Varsha-pūga-sahasrānte tad aṇḍam udakeśayam | kāla-karma-svabhāva-stho jīvo 'jivam ajīvayat | 35. sa eva puruṣas tasmād aṇḍam nirbhīdya nirgataḥ | sahasrorv-aṅghri-bāhv-azaḥ sahasrānana-śīrshavān |*

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

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

Bhāg. Pur. ii. 10, 10 f.: *Puruṣo 'ṇḍam vinirbhīdya yadādau sa vinirgataḥ | ātmano 'yanam anvichhann apo 'srāzich chhuchiḥ śuchiḥ | tāsv avātsīt svaspīṣṭāsu sahasra-parivatsarān | tena Nārāyaṇo nāma yad āpaḥ puruṣodbhavāḥ |*

10. "When, splitting the egg, Puruṣa first issued from it, seeking a receptacle for himself, he created the pure waters, himself pure. 11. In these waters created by himself he dwelt a thousand years. Hence he is named Nārāyaṇa, because the waters were produced from Puruṣa."

The story about the sexual intercourse of Brahmā with his own daughter, which is sometimes alluded to in the Purānas, is thus noticed in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7, 4, 1 ff.—*Prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitaram abhidadhyau divaṁ vā ushasaṁ vā 'mithunī enayā syām' iti taṁ sambabhūva | 2. Tad vai devānām āga āsa 'ya itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti' iti | 3. Te ha devā ūchur 'yo 'yaṁ devaḥ paśūnām īshṭe 'tisandhaṁ vā ayaṁ charati ya itthaṁ svām duhitaram asmākaṁ svasāraṁ karoti vidhyemam' iti | taṁ Rudro 'bhyāyatya vityādha tasya sāmī retaḥ prachaskanda tathā id nūnam tad āsa | 4. Tasmād etad ṛishiṇā 'bhyānūktam 'pitā yat svām duhitaram adhiṣṭkan xmayā retaḥ sañjagmāno nishiñchad' iti tad āgni-mārutam ity ukthaṁ tasmīns tad vyākhyāyate yathā tad devā retaḥ prajānayan | teshāṁ yadā devānām krodho vyaid atha Prajāpatim abhishajyaṁs tasya taṁ śalpaṁ nirakṛintan | sa vai yajña eva Prajāpatiḥ |*

“Prajāpati cast his eyes upon his own daughter, either the Sky, or the Dawn, [desiring] ‘May I pair with her.’ So [saying] he had intercourse with her. 2. This was a crime in the eyes of the gods, who said: ‘[He is guilty] who acts thus to his own daughter, our sister.’ 3. The gods said: ‘This god who rules over the beasts, commits a transgression in that he acts thus to his own daughter, our sister: pierce him through.’ Rudra assailed (?) and pierced him. Half of his seed fell to the ground. So it happened. 3. Accordingly this has been said by the rishi (R. V. x. 61, 7), ‘when the father approaching his daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed,’ etc. This is a hymn addressed to Agni and the Maruts; and it is there related in what manner the gods generated this seed. When the anger of the gods had passed away, they applied remedies to Prajāpati, and cut out of him the arrow (?). Prajāpati is sacrifice.”

The following is the context of the passage of the Rig-veda referred to in the preceding legend. It is obscure and difficult to translate, even with the aid of Sāyana’s Comment, for a copy of which I am indebted to Professor Müller. The commentator regards verses 5-7 as intended to show how “Rudra Prajāpati created Rudra Vāstoshpati with a portion of himself:” (*Yathā scumśēna bhagavān Rudraḥ prajāpatir Vāstoshpatiṁ Rudram asrijat tad etad-ādibhir tisribhir vadati.*)

R. V. x. 61, 4: *Krishnā yad goshu arunīshu sīdād divo napāta Aś-einā huve vām | vītam me yajñam āgatam me annaṁ vacanvāmsā na isham asmrīta dhṛū |* 5. *Prathishṭa yasya vīrakarmam ishṇad anushṭhitāṁ nu naryyo apauhat | punas tad āvṛihati yat kanāyā duhitur ā anubhṛitam anarvā |* 6. *Madhyā yat kartvam abhavad abhike kāmāṁ kṛinvāne pītari yuvatyām | manānag reto jahatur viyantā sānau nishiktaṁ sukṛitasya yonau |* 7. *Pitā yat svām duhitaram adhishkan xmayā retah sañjagmāno nishiñchat | svādhyo ajanayan brahma devā vāstoshpatiṁ vratapām nira-taran |*

“When the night stands among the tawny cows (rays of the dawn), I invoke you twain, Aśvins, sons of the sky. Come to my sacrifice, come to my oblation, desiring it as food, ye who do not disappoint my longings.<sup>54</sup> 5. That friend of men, whose prolific, hero-generating

<sup>54</sup> Such is the meaning given by Professor Roth to *asmrīta-dhṛū*. Sāyana renders it, *asmrīta-drohau mayi droham asmarantau* | “not forgetting injury—not forgetting injury to me.”

[seed] was diffused, disseminated it far and wide, after it had been sent forth. Again the irresistible [god] expands that [germ] which had been fostered in [the womb of] his youthful daughter. 6. [They then did] that which was to be done by contact in the midst, when the father loved the youthful damsel,—approaching each other, they discharged a little seed, which was shed on the surface of the place of sacrifice. 7. When the father, impregnating his own daughter, uniting with the earth, discharged his seed, the contemplative gods generated prayer, they fashioned Vāstoshpati, the protector of sacred rites.”

The same story is repeated in the later literature, as in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 28 ff., only that Vāch is the daughter of Brahmā who is there spoken of: *Vācham duhitaram tanvīm Svayambhūr haratīm manaḥ | akāmām chakamo xattāḥ sakāma iti naḥ śrutam | 29. tam adharmo kṛita-matim vilokya pitaram sutāḥ | Marīchi-mukhyā munayo viśrambhāt pratyabodhayan | 30. Naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛitaṁ tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare | yas tvam duhitaram gachher anigrihāṅgajam prabhūḥ | 31. tejīyasām api hy etad na suślokyam jagadguro | yad vṛittam anutishṭhan vai lokāḥ zemāya kalpatē | 32. tasmai naṁo bhagavate ya idam svens rochishā | ātmastham vyañjayāmāsa sa dharmam pātum arhati | 33. Sa ittham grīnataḥ putrān puro dṛishṭvā prajāpatin | prajāpati-patis tanvaṁ tatyāja vṛiditas tadā | tāṁ diśo jagrihur ghorām nīhāram yad vidus tamaḥ |*

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

This legend of Brahmā and his daughter, though, as appears from the

passage in the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, it has occasioned scandal among the Indian writers from an early period, is not to be regarded in the same light as many other stories regarding the licentious actions of some of the other gods. The production of a female and her conjunction with the male out of whom she was formed, is regarded in Manu i. 32, as one of the necessary stages in the cosmogonic process (and finds its near parallel in the book of Genesis): *dvidhā kṛtvā "tmano dehaṃ arddhena puruṣo bhavat | arddhena nārī tasyām sa Virājam asṛijat prabhuḥ |* "Dividing his own body into two, [Brahmā] became with the half a man, and with the half a woman; and in her he created (i.e. according to the commentator, begot)<sup>55</sup> Virāj." Compare also the passage from the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 12 ff. quoted in the First Part of this work, p. 25.<sup>56</sup> On the injustice of ascribing an immoral character to the Hindu writings, or to the deities whom they describe, on the ground of such legends as the one before us, or of the dialogue between Yama and Yamī in the 10th hymn of the tenth Mandala of the Rig-veda, see some instructive remarks by Prof. Roth in the 3rd Vol. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp. 332-337.

The case is different, however, with another class of stories, which are frequently to be met with in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, in which various adulterous amours, of the Aśvins, Indra, Varuṇa, and Kṛishṇa, are described.—See the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 150, the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, v. 10, 316 ff. Indische Studien, i. 198; the Rāmāyaṇa i. 48, 16 ff., Schlegel's ed.; and the passages quoted from the Mbh. in the First Part of this work, pp. 70, 165 (with Note 9), and 166. In all these cases a licentious character is evidently attributed to the gods.<sup>57</sup> In the case of Kṛishṇa the following is the reasoning by which the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa attempts to quiet the scruples of some of the purer-minded

<sup>55</sup> *Maithuna-dharmena Virāj-saṅgānam puruṣam nirmītavān |*

<sup>56</sup> "The Matsya P. has a little allegory of its own on the subject of Brahmā's intercourse with S'atarūpā; for it explains the former to mean the Vedas, and the latter the Sāvitrī, or holy prayer, which is their chief text; and in their cohabitation there is therefore no evil: *Veda-rāsīḥ smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhitā | tas-māna kāsched doṣhaḥ syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ |*"—Wilson's Vishṇu Pur. p. 53, note.

<sup>57</sup> Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, however, attempts to explain allegorically not only the dalliance of Brahmā with his own daughter, but also the adultery of Indra with Ahalyā.—See the passage quoted from him and translated in Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 529 f.

among the devotees of the pastoral deity, and to vindicate his morality, by seeking to impart a mystic character to those loose adventures which had been the occasion of scandal to them, though, no doubt, well suited to the taste of his coarser worshippers.

Bhāg. Pur., x. 33, 27 ff.—*Rājā uvācha | saṁsthāpanāya dharmasya praśamāyetarasya cha | avatīrṇo hi bhavagān aṁśena jagadīśvaraḥ | 28. Sa kathaṁ dharmā-setūnām vaktā kartā 'bhiraxitā | pratīpam ācharaḥ brahman paradārābhīmarśanam | 29. Āptakamo Yadu-patīḥ kṛitavān vai jugupsitam | kimabhiprāya etaṁ naḥ saṁśayaṁ chhindhi suvata | Srī-Suka uvācha | 30. Dharma-vyatikramo drishṭa īśvarāṅgāṅcha sāhasam | tejiyasāṁ na doṣhāya vāneḥ sarvabhūjo yathā | 31. Naitat samāchareḥ jātu manasā 'pi hy anīśvaraḥ | vīnaśyaty ācharan maudhīyād yathā 'rudro 'bdhijāṁ visham | 32. Īśvarāṅgāṅ vachāḥ satyaṁ tathāivāchāritāṁ kvachit | teshāṁ yat sva-vacho yuktam buddhimāṁs tat samācharet | 33. Kuśalācharitenaishāṁ iha svārtho na vidyate | viparyyayena vā 'nartho nirahaṅkāriṇām prabho | 34. Kimutākḥila-sattvānām tiryāṅmarttya-divaukasām | īśitūś cheśitavyānām kuśalākuśalānvayaḥ | 35. Yat pāda-pankaja-parāga-niṣheva-triptā yoga-prabhāva-vidhutākḥila-karmandhāḥ | svairāṁ charanti munayo 'pi na nahyamānās tasyechhayā 'ttavapushaḥ kuta eva bandhaḥ | 36. Gopīnām tat-patīnāṅcha sarveśhām eva dehinām | yo 'ntaś charati so 'dhyaxaḥ kṛīḍaneneha deha-bhāḥ | 37. Anugrahāya bhūtānām mānuṣhāṁ deham āśritāḥ | bhajate tādrīṣīḥ kṛīḍāḥ yāḥ śrutvā tat-paro bhavet | 38. Nāsūyan khalu Kṛīṣṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā | manyamānāḥ sva-parśvathān svān svān dārān Vrajaukasāḥ | 39. Brahma-rāttre upāvṛitte Vāsudevānumodītāḥ | anichchantyo yayur gopyāḥ sva-gṛihān bhagavat-priyāḥ<sup>68</sup> |*

“The king said : 27. The divine lord of the world became partially incarnate for the establishment of virtue, and the repression of its opposite. 28. How did he, the expounder, author, and guardian of the bulwarks of righteousness, practise its contrary, the corruption of other men's wives? 29. With what object did the lord of the Yadus (Krishna) perpetrate what was blameable? Resolve, devout saint, this our doubt. Suka said: 30. The transgression of virtue, and the daring acts which are witnessed in superior beings, must not be charged as faults to those glorious persons, as no blame is imputed to

<sup>68</sup> This passage is partly quoted in my *Mata-parīkshā*, published in Calcutta in 1852, p. 87; and in Prof. Banerjea's *Dialogues*, p. 383 f.

fire, which consumes fuel of every description. 31. Let no one other than a superior being ever even in thought practise the same: anyone who, through folly, does so, perishes, like any one not a Rudra [drinking] the poison produced from the ocean.<sup>59</sup> 32. The word of superior beings is true, and so also their conduct is sometimes [correct]: let a wise man observe their command, which is right. 33. These beings, o king, who are beyond the reach of personal feelings, have no interest in good deeds done in this world, nor do they incur any detriment from the contrary. 34. How much less can there be any relation of good or evil between the lord of all beings, brute, mortal, and divine, and the creatures over whom he rules? (i.e. since he is entirely beyond the sphere of virtue and vice, how can any of his actions partake of the nature of either?) 35. Since Munis, who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen from the lotus of his feet, and by the force of abstraction have shaken off all the fetters of works,—since even they are uncontrolled, and act as they please, why should there be any restraint upon him (the Supreme Deity) when he has voluntarily assumed a body? 36. He who moves within the *gopīs* (milkmen's wives) and their husbands, and all embodied beings, is their superintendent, who only in sport assumed a body upon earth. 37. Taking a human form out of benevolence to creatures, he practises sports such as that those who hear of them may become devoted to himself. 38. The [male] inhabitants of Vraja harboured no ill-will to Krishna, since, deluded by his illusion, they each imagined that his own wife was by his side. 39. When Brahmā's night had arrived, the *gopīs*, beloved and gladdened by Krishna, departed unwillingly to their own homes."

This passage is followed by an assurance on the part of the author of the Purāṇa, that the person who listens with faith to the narrative of Kṛṣṇa's sports with the cowherds' wives, or who repeats it to others, shall attain strong devotion to that deity, and shall speedily be freed from love, that disease of the heart.

I quote the remarks of the commentator, Sṛīdhara Svāmin, on verses 30 ff. of this passage: 30. *Paramēśvare kaimutika-nyāyena parihartuṃ sāmānyato mahatām vṛttam āha 'dharmavyatikrama' iti | sāhasaṅcha dṛiṣṭam Prajāpatindra-Soma-Viśvāmitrādīnām tacheha teshāṃ*

<sup>59</sup> This refers to the poison drunk by 'Siva at the churning of the ocean. See Rāmāyana i. 45, 26, Ed. Schlegel, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, note p. 78.



*tejasvinām doshāya na bhavatiti* | 31. *Turhi 'yad yad ācharati śreshthaḥ' iti nyāyenānyo 'pi kuryād ity āsaṅkyāha 'naitad' iti | anīśvaro dehādi-para-tantro yathā Rudra-vyatirikto visham ācharan bhaxayan* | 32. *Kathaṁ tarhi sadāchārasya prāmānyam ata āha 'īśvarānām' iti | teshām vachāḥ satyam atas tad-uktam āchareḥ eva | ācharitām kvachit satyam ataḥ 'sva-vacho yuktaṁ' teshām vachasā yad uktam aviruddhaṁ tat tad evācharet* | 33. *Nanu tarhi te 'pi kim evaṁ sāhasam ācharanti tatrāha 'kusalē'ti | prārabdha-karma-xapaṇa-mātram eva teshām krītyaṁ na anyad ity arthaḥ* | 34. *Prastutam āha 'kimuta' iti | kuśalākuśalānvyayo na vidyate iti kim punar vaktavyam ity arthaḥ* | 35. *Etad eva sphuṭi-karoti | yasya pāda-pankaja-parāgasya nishavanena triptā yadvā yasya pāda-pankaja-parāge nishevā yeshām te tathā te cha te triptāścha iti bhaktā ity arthaḥ | tathā jñānīnaś cha na nahyamānā bandhanam aprāpnuvantaḥ | para-dāratvaṁ gopīnām angīkrītya parihrītam* | 36. *Idānim bhagavataḥ sarvāntaryāmīnaḥ para-dāra-sevā nāma na kāchid ity āha 'gopīnām' iti | yo 'ntaś charaty adhyaxo buddhy-ādi-sāzī sa eva krīḍanena dehabhāk na tv asmad-ādi-tulyo yena doshaḥ syād iti* | 37. *Nanu evaṁ ched āptakāmasya nindite kutaḥ pravṛtittir ity āha 'anugrahāya' iti | śringāra-rasākṛishṭa-chetaso'ti-bahir-mukhān api sva-parān karttum iti bhāvāḥ* | 38. *Nanu anye 'pi bhinnāchārāḥ sva-cheshṭitam evam eva iti vadanti tatrāha 'nāsūyann' iti | evambhūtaiśvaryyābhāve tathā kurvantaḥ pāpā jñeyā iti bhāvāḥ* |

“In order to refute [the charge of immorality] in regard to the Supreme Deity, by the *à fortiori* argument, the author states generally the conduct of great persons in the words ‘the transgression,’ etc. The ‘daring acts witnessed,’ etc., i.e. of Prajāpati, Indra, Soma, Viśvāmitra, and others; and it is not to be charged to them as a fault. 31. Having intimated the doubt that according to the reasoning ‘whatever an eminent person does,’<sup>60</sup> etc., etc., there is a danger that another person may do the like,—he says ‘Let no one do the same,’ etc.; ‘no one other than a superior being,’ i.e. no one who is in subjection to a body, etc.; ‘as anyone separate from Rudra using,’ swallowing ‘poison.’ 32. Whence, then, is the authority for pure conduct? He tells us in the words, ‘of superior beings,’ etc. Their word is true; therefore let their declarations be followed. Their conduct is sometimes true [cor-

<sup>60</sup> This text, from the Bhagavad Gītā, will be quoted below.

rect]: therefore, let 'their correct words,' viz., that, not being contrary [to right], which is declared by their word, be followed. 33. In answer to the question whether these superior beings also thus practise 'daring acts,' he states, in the words 'good deeds,' etc., that they have no other concern whatever than merely to nullify the consequences of their commenced works [so as to prevent these works from interfering with their final liberation]. 34. He arrives at his main subject in the words 'how much less,' etc.: i.e. there is no such relation of good or evil: What more is to be said? 35. He makes this clear. [The first words here mean either] 'they who are satisfied by worshipping the pollen of the lotus of his feet;' or 'they who are worshippers of the pollen of the lotus of his feet, and are also satisfied, i.e. devotees;' further, who are wise men, not bound,—finding no restraint. The fact that the *gopīs* were other men's wives is [here] admitted, and obviated. 36. Now he [further] asserts, in the words 'the *gopīs*,' that in the case of the divine, all-pervading, Being there is no such thing as an attachment to *other men's* wives [since he pervades, and is one with, everything]. It is 'he who moves within,' the superintendent, the witness of the understanding, etc., who in sport takes a body; but he does not resemble such persons as ourselves, so that he should be in fault. 37. He now, in the words 'out of benevolence,' answers the question why, if the case be so, the Being who has no want unsatisfied should engage in acts which have been censured: the purport is, that he seeks to incline to himself such persons as are attracted by sensual love, and greatly devoted to external things.<sup>61</sup> 38. But do not others of a very different mode of life represent their own conduct as of this very description? In reference to this he says 'they harboured no ill-will,' etc. The drift is, that those who without such divine character act in the same way are to be considered sinners."

The following is the passage referred to by the commentator in his annotation on verse 31. It will be seen that it inculcates a doctrine diametrically opposed to that urged in the earlier part, at least, of the argument by which the author of the Bhāgavata endeavours to justify the adulteries of Krishṇa, and is perfectly coincident with the tenor of the condemnation which the same author (who is inconsistent with

<sup>61</sup> I find this sense of the word *bahirmukha* in Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary.

himself), had, in an earlier part of his work, pronounced on Brahmā by the mouth of his sons (above, p. 40):

Bhāgavad Gitā, iii. 20 ff.—*Karmaṇaiva hi saṁsiddham āsthitā Janakādayaḥ | loka-saṅgraham evāpi sampaśyan karttum arhasi | 21. Yad yad ācharati śreṣṭhas tat tad evetaro janaḥ | sa yat pramāṇaṁ kurute lokas tad anuwarttate | 22. Na me Pārthāsti kartavyaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana | nānavāptam avāptavyaṁ vartta eva cha karmaṇi | 23. Yadi hy ahaṁ na vartteyaṁ jātu karmaṇy atandritaḥ | mama varttmānuvarttante manushyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ | 24. Utsideyur ime lokā na kuryāṁ karma ched aham | saṅkarasya cha karttā syām upahanyām imāḥ prajāḥ | 25. Saktāḥ karmaṇy avidvāṁso yathā kurvanti Bhārata | kuryād vidvāṁs tathā 'saktaś chikīrṣhur loka-saṅgraham | 26. Na buddhi-bhedaṁ janayed ajñānāṁ karma-saṅginām | joshayet sarva-karmāṇi vidvān yuktaḥ samācharan |*

“ 20. For it was by works that Janaka and other sages attained perfection. You also ought to act, seeking the edification of mankind.<sup>62</sup> 21. Whatever a person of eminence practises, that the rest of men also [do]. Whatever authoritative example he sets, the people follow. 22. There is nothing in the three worlds, son of Pṛithā, which I have to do, nor anything unattained which I have to attain; and yet I continue in action. 23. If I were not to continue diligently engaged in works, o son of Pṛithā, men would follow my course in every respect. 24. These people will be ruined if I do not practise works; and I shall occasion a confusion of castes: I shall destroy these subjects. 25. In the same way as the ignorant, who are attached to works, perform them, so let the wise man perform them without attachment, seeking the edification of mankind. 26. Let not the wise man create a difference of opinion among ignorant persons who are attached to works: let him fulfil all ceremonies with alacrity, while he practises them with abstracted mind.”

I quote here some other interesting legends which I have observed in the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa regarding Prajāpati, the creation of the gods, and the manner in which they acquired immortality, and became

<sup>62</sup> Compare Raghuvamśa iii. 46. . . . *pathaḥ śucher darśayitōra īścarū malīmasām ādadate na paddhatim |* “Our lords, who point out to us the pure way, do not [themselves] pursue an unclean path.”

superior to the Asuras, or to other deities. The first two tell how Prajāpati himself became immortal.

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 1, 3, 1 (p. 761 ff.)—*Prajāpatiḥ prajā asrījata | sa ūrdhvebhya eva prāṇebhya devān<sup>63</sup> asrījata ye 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo marttyāḥ prajāḥ | athordhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asrījata | 2. Tasya ha Prajāpater ardham eva marttyam āsīt ardham amṛitam | tad yad asya marttyam āsīt tena mṛityor abibhet | sa vibhyad imām praviśad dvayam bhūtvā mṛichcha āpaścha | 3. Sa mṛityur devān abravīt 'kva nu so 'bhūd yo no 'sṛiḥṣṭa' iti | 'tvad bibhyad imām prāvixad' iti | so 'bravīd 'taṁ vā anvichhāma taṁ sambharāma na eū ahaṁ taṁ hiṁsishyāmi' iti | taṁ devā asyā adhi samabharan | yad asya apso āsīt tā apaḥ samabharann atha yad asyāṁ tām mṛidam | tad ubhayaṁ sambhṛitya mṛidañcha āpaścha ishṭakām akurvaṁs tasmād etad ubhayaṁ ishṭakū bhavati mṛichchāpaścha | 4. Tad etā vā asya tāḥ pañcha marttyās tanva āsan loma tvaṅ māṁsam asthi majjā atha etā amṛitā mano vāk prāṇās chaxuḥ śrotam | . . . . . 6. Te devā abruvann 'amṛitam imāṁ karavāma' iti | tasya etābhyām amṛitābhyāṁ tanūbhyām etam marttyām tanūm pariḡrihya amṛitām akurvann ityādi | . . . . . 7. . . . . tato vai Prajāpatir amṛito 'bhavat . . . | . . .*

x. 1, 4, 1.—*Ubhayaṁ ha etad agre Prajāpatir āsa marttyāṁ chaiva amṛitāñcha | tasya prāṇā evāmṛitā āsuḥ śarīraṁ marttyam | sa etāna karmaṇā etayā ōvṛitā ekadhā 'jaram amṛitam ātmānam akuruta |*

“Prajāpati produced creatures. From his upper breaths he created the gods, and from his lower breaths mortal creatures. After the creatures he created Death the devourer. 2. Of this Prajāpati, half was mortal, and half immortal. With that part of him which was mortal, he was afraid of Death. Fearing, he entered this [earth], having become two things, earth and water. 3. Death said to the gods, ‘what

<sup>63</sup> The gods are sometimes mentioned in the Rig-veda (see i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2), as being thirty-three in number. Here is an enumeration of them in the Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 5, 7, 2 (p. 401): *Aśṭau Vasava ekūdaśa Rudrā dvādaśādityā ime eva dyāvā-prithivī trayastriṁśyau | trayastriṁśad vai devāḥ Prajāpatīḥ chatustriṁśaḥ |* “There are eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Adityas, and these [two] heaven and earth are the [thirty-second and] thirty-third. There are thirty-three gods, and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth.”

has become of him who created us?' [They answered], 'fearing you, he has entered this earth.' Death said, 'let us search for, and collect him. I will not kill him.' The gods then collected him on this [earth]. The part of him which was in the waters, they collected those waters, and the part which was in this [earth], they [collected] that earth. Having collected both of these, the earth and the waters, they made a brick. Hence these two things make a brick, viz., earth and water. 4. Then these five parts of him were mortal, hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow; and these immortal, mind, voice, breath, eye, ear . . . . . 6. The gods said, 'let us make him immortal.' So [saying], having surrounded this mortal part with these immortal parts, they made it immortal . . . . . thence Prajāpati became immortal . . . . ."

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

The next extracts tell how the gods acquired immortality.

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 3, 1 ff. (p. 787): *Esha vai mṛityur yat sām̐vatsaraḥ | Esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyuh̐ x̐noty atha mriyante tasmād esha eva mṛityuh̐ | sa yo ha etam mṛityuṁ sām̐vatsaram̐ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyuh̐ x̐noti sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti |* 2. *Esha evāntakaḥ | esha hi martyānām aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhaty<sup>64</sup> atha mriyante | tasmād esha evāntakaḥ | sa yo haitam antakaṁ mṛityuṁ sām̐vatsaram̐ veda na ha asya esha purā jaraso 'ho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ gachhati sarvaṁ ha eva āyur eti |* 3. *Te devā etasmād antakād mṛityoḥ sām̐vatsarāt Prajāpater bibhayāñchakrur 'yad vai no 'yam aho-rātrābhyām āyusho 'ntaṁ na gachhed' iti |* 4. *Te etān yajñakratūṁs tenire 'gnihotraṁ darśa-pūrṇamāsau chāturmāsyaṇi paśubandhaṁ saumyam adhvaram | te etair yajña-kratubhir yajamānā na amṛitatvam ānaṣire |* 5. *Te ha apy Agniṁ chikyire | te parimitā eva parisṛita upadadhur aparimitā yajushmatir aparimitā lokampr̐ṇā yāthā idam apy etarhy eke upadadhati iti devā akurvann iti te ha naiva amṛitatvam ānaṣire | te 'rechantaḥ śrāmyantaś cherur amṛitatvam avarurutsamānāḥ | tān ha Prajāpatir uvācha 'na vai me sarvāni rūpāny*

<sup>64</sup> *Gachhati-gamayati |* Comm.

*upadhattha ati vaiva rechayatha na vā 'bhyāpayatha tasmād na amṛitā bhavatha' iti* | 7. *Te ha ūchuḥ* | 'tebhyo vai nas tvam eva tad brūhi yathā to sarvāni rūpāny upadadhāma' iti | 8. *Sa ha uvācha shashṭim cha trīni cha śatāni pariśrita upadhatta shashṭim cha trīni cha śatāni yajushmatir adhi shaṭ-triṁśatam atha lokamprinā daśa cha sahasrāny aṣṭau cha śatāny upadhatta atha me sarvāni rūpāny upadhāsyatha atha amṛitā bhaviṣyatha' iti* | *te ha tathā devā upadadhus tato devā amṛitā āsuḥ* | 9. *Sa mṛityur devān abravīd 'ittham eva sarve manushyā amṛitā bhaviṣyanty atha ko mahyam bhāgo bhaviṣyati' iti* | *te ha ūchur 'na ato 'paraḥ kaśchana saha śarīreṇa amṛito 'sad yadā eva tvam etam bhāgam harāsai* | *atha vyāçṛitya śarīreṇa* [śarīram vihāya, Comm.] *amṛito 'sad yo 'mṛito 'sad vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' iti* | *yad vai tad abruvan 'vidyayā vā karmaṇā vā' ity eṣhā haiva sā vidyā yad Agnir etad u haiva tat karma yad Agniḥ* | 10. *Te ye evam etad vidur ye vaitat karma kurvate mṛitevā punaḥ sambhavanti* | *te sambhavanta eva amṛitateam abhi sambhavanti* | *atha ye evaṁ na vidur ye vaitat karma na kurvate mṛitevā punaḥ sambhavanti te etasyaivannam punaḥ punar bhavanti* |

Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 787.—“It is this year which is death; for it wears away the life of mortals by days and nights, and then they die; wherefore it is it which is death. Whoso knows this death [which is] the year,—it does not wear away his life by days and nights before [the time of] his decay: he lives through his whole life. 2. This [the year] is the ender; for it by days and nights brings on the end of the life of mortals, and then they die: hence it is the ender. Whosoever knows this ender, death, the year, it does not by days and nights bring on the end of his life, before his decay: he lives through his whole life. 3. The gods were afraid of this ender, death, the year [which is] Prajāpati, ‘lest he should by days and nights bring on the end of our life.’ 4. They performed these rites of sacrifice, viz. the *agnihotra*, the *darśa*, and *pūrṇamāsa*, the *chāturmāsya*s (oblations offered at intervals of four months), the *paśubandha*, and the *saumya adhvara*; but sacrificing with these rites they did not attain immortality. 5. They moreover kindled sacrificial fires; they celebrated *pariśrits*, *yajushmatis*, *lokamprinās*, without definite measure, as some now<sup>65</sup> celebrate them. So

<sup>65</sup> This seems to be a polemical hit aimed by the author of the Brāhmaṇa at some contemporaries who followed a different ritual from himself.

did the gods, but they did not attain immortality. They went on worshipping and toiling, seeking to acquire immortality. Prajāpati said to them, 'Ye do not celebrate all my forms; ye carry them to excess [?] and ye do not duly carry them out; hence ye do not become immortal.' 7. They said, 'Tell us how we may celebrate all thy forms.' 8. He said, 'perform 63 hundred *pariśrits*, 63 hundred and 36 *yajushmatis*, and 10 thousand 8 hundred *lokamprinas*: ye shall then celebrate all my forms, and shall become immortal.' The gods celebrated accordingly, and then they became immortal. 9. Death said to the gods, 'In the same way all men will become immortal, and then what portion shall remain to me?' They said, 'no other person shall henceforward become immortal with his body, when thou shalt seize this portion [the body]: then everyone who is to become immortal through knowledge or work, shall become immortal after parting with his body.' This which they said, 'through knowledge or work,' this is that knowledge which is Agni, that work which is Agni. 10. Those who so know this, or those who perform this work, are born again after death; and being born, they are born for immortality. And those who do not so know, or those who do not perform this work, and are born again after death, become again and again his (death's) food."

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. i. 2, 12 (p. 828).—*Martyā ha vā agre devā asuḥ | sa yadaiva te saṁvatsaram āpur atha amṛitā āsuḥ | sarvaṁ vai saṁvatsaraḥ | sarvaṁ vā axayyam | etena u ha asya axayyaṁ sukṛitam bhavaty axayyo lokaḥ* | "The gods were originally mortal.<sup>66</sup> When they obtained the year, they became immortal. The year is all: all is undecaying: by it a man obtains undecaying welfare, an undecaying world."

Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 2, 3, 6 (p. 839).—*Martyā ha vā agre devā asuḥ | sa yadaiva te brahmanā pur (vyāptāḥ, Comm.) atha amṛitā āsuḥ* | "The gods were originally mortal. When they were pervaded by Brāhma, they became immortal."

From the next passage, as from two others already quoted (p. 47), it appears that Prajāpati himself was not entirely exempt from the power of death. Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 4, 4, 1 (p. 790).—

<sup>66</sup> See Sātapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 2, 8 (p. 146), quoted in Part II. of this work, p. 388, note 36, for another legend on this same subject, in which the gods are said to have become immortal by another means.

*Prajāpatiṁ vai prajāḥ srijamānam pāpmā mṛityur abhipari-jaghāna |  
sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānaṁ vijihāsann ityādi |*  
“Sin, death, smote Prajāpati when he was creating living beings.  
He performed austerity for a thousand years, to get free from Sin.”

The following legend describes how the gods became distinguished from, and superior to, the Asuras. Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 5, 1, 12 ff. (p. 741).—*Devāścha Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ Prajāpateḥ pitur dāyam upēyur vācham eva satyānṛite satyañchaiva anṛitañcha | te ubhaye eva satyam avadann ubhaye 'nṛitam | te ha sadṛiṣaṁ vadantaḥ sadṛiṣā evāsuḥ | 13. Te devā utsrījyānṛitaṁ satyam anvālebhire | asurā u ha utsrījya satyam anṛitam anvālebhire | 14. Tad ha idaṁ satyam īxāñchakre yad asureshv āsa 'devū vā utsrījya anṛitaṁ satyam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad devān ājagāma | 15. Anṛitam u ha īxāñchakre yad deveshv āsa 'asurā vā utsrījya satyam anṛitam anvālapsata hanta tad ayāni' iti tad asurān ājagāma | 16. Te devāḥ sarvaṁ satyam avadān sarvam asurā anṛitam | te devā āsakti<sup>67</sup> satyaṁ vadanta aishāvīratarā iva āsur anāḍhyatarā iva | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti satyaṁ vadaty aishāvīratarā ivaiva bhavaty anāḍhyatarā iva | sa ha te evāntato bhavati<sup>68</sup> devā hy evāntato 'bhavan | 17. Atha ha asurā āsakti anṛitaṁ vadanta ūsha iva pipisur<sup>69</sup> āḍhya ivāsuḥ | tasmād u ha etad ya āsakti anṛitaṁ vadaty ūsha ivaiva pisyaty āḍhya iva bhavati parā ha tv evāntato bhavati parā hy asurā bhavan | tad yat tat satyaṁ trayi sā vidyā | te devā abruvan 'yajñam kṛitvedaṁ satyaṁ tanavāmahai' | . . . . . 27. Teshu preteśhu tṛitīya-savanam atanvata | tat samasthāpayan | yat samasthāpayaṁs*

<sup>67</sup> *Āsakti satyam | kevalaṁ satyam | Comm.*

<sup>68</sup> Some such preposition as *abhi* might appear to be wanted here; but Dr. Aufrecht suggests to me that *bhavati* may be taken in a pregnant sense as meaning, “he really exists, continues, or prevails.” Compare the words at the close of the 27th paragraph of this passage.

<sup>69</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me another passage of the Sātāpatha Brāhmaṇa where the word *pisyatī* occurs, and which throws light on the one before us. The passage in question occurs in pp. 71, 72, of the Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 3, 18: *Pesukam vai vāstu pisyatī ha prajāyū paśubhir yasyaivaṁ viduṣho 'mush-ṭubhau bhavataḥ |* “His house becomes flourishing, he increases in progeny and cattle,—that man who, when he knows this, has the two *amushṭubs*.” The commentator explains the word *pesukam* as equal to *abhivardhana-sīlam*, “whose nature is to increase,” and *pisyatī* as meaning *atieriddho bhavati*, “he becomes exceedingly augmented.”



*tat sarvañ satyam āpnuvañs tato 'surā apapupruvire | tato devā abhavan parā 'surāḥ | bhavaty ātmanā parā 'sya dvishan bhrātrivyo bhavati ya evañ veda |*

“The gods and Asuras, both descendants of Prajāpati, obtained their father Prajāpati's inheritance, speech, true and false, both truth and falsehood. They both spoke truth, and both [spoke] falsehood. Speaking alike, they were alike. 13. Then the gods, abandoning falsehood, adopted truth; while the Asuras abandoning truth, adopted falsehood. 14. The truth which had been in the Asuras, perceived this, ‘the gods, abandoning falsehood have adopted truth; let me go thither.’ So [saying, truth] came to the gods. 15. Then the falsehood which had been in the gods, perceived, ‘the Asuras, abandoning truth have adopted falsehood; let me go thither.’ So [saying, falsehood] came to the Asuras. 16. The gods [then] spoke entirely truth, and the Asuras entirely falsehood. Speaking truth alone (or devotedly) the gods became, as it were, weaker, and, as it were, poorer. Hence it happens that the man who speaks only truth, becomes as it were, weaker and poorer; but in the end he becomes [superior?] for the gods became so in the end. 17. Then the Asuras, speaking only falsehood, increased like saline earth, and became, as it were, rich. Hence it happens that he who speaks only falsehood, increases like saline earth, and becomes, as it were, rich; but is overcome in the end, for the Asuras were overcome. That which is truth is the triple science (the three Vedas). Then the gods said, ‘let us, after performing sacrifice, spread truth.’” The gods then performed a variety of sacrifices, which were always interrupted by the arrival of the Asuras. At length, 27. “When these had gone, they instituted the third *savana*, and accomplished it. That which they accomplished, they obtained entirely true. Then the Asuras went away, and these gods became [superior and] the Asuras were worsted. The man who knows this becomes in his own person superior, and his hater, his enemy, is defeated.”

The next legend explains how inequality was introduced among the gods. Śatapatha Brahmana, 4, 5, 4, 1 (p. 397 f.)—*Sarve ha vai devā agre sadriṣā āsuḥ sarve punyāḥ | teshāñ sarveṣhāñ sadriṣānāñ sarveṣhāñ punyānāñ trayo 'kāmayanta 'atishṭhāvānaḥ syāma' ity Agnir Indraḥ Sūryaḥ | 2. Te 'rchantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ | te etān atigrāhyān da-*

*dr̥isus t̄an atyagr̥ih̄nata | tad yad en̄an atyagr̥ih̄nata tasmād atigr̥āhyā nāma | te 'tish̄ṭhāv̄ano 'bhavan | yathaitē etad atish̄ṭhā iva atish̄ṭhā iva ha vai bhavati yasya evaṁ vidusha et̄an grah̄n̄ grih̄nanti |* 3. *No ha vā idam agre 'gnau varcha āsa yad idam asmin varchaḥ | so 'kāmāyata 'idam mayi varchaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agr̥ih̄n̄ta tato 'sminn etad varcha āsa |* 4. *No ha vā idam agre Indre oja āsa yad idam asmin ojaḥ | so 'kāmāyata 'idam mayy ojaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agr̥ih̄n̄ta tato 'sminn etad oja āsa |* 5. *No ha vā idam agre sūrye bhr̄āja āsa yad idam asmin bhr̄ājaḥ | so 'kāmāyata 'idam mayi bhr̄ājaḥ syād' iti | sa etaṁ graham apaśyat tam agr̥ih̄n̄ta tato 'sminn etad bhr̄āja āsa | etāni ha vai tej̄āmsy etāni vīryany ātman dhatte yasya evaṁ vidusha et̄an grah̄n̄ grih̄nanti |*

“Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them, being all alike, all pure, three desired: ‘May we become superior,’ viz., Agni, Indra, and Sūrya (the sun). 2. They went on worshipping and toiling. They saw these *atigr̥āhyas*; <sup>70</sup> they took them over and above. Because they did so, these draughts (or cups) were called *atigr̥āhyas*. They became superior. As they [obtained?] thus, as it were, superiority, so superiority is, as it were, acquired by the man, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas* (draughts, or cups). 3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is [now] in him. He desired: ‘May this flame be in me.’ He saw this *graha*, he took it; and hence there became this flame in him. 4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc., etc. [as in para. 3.] 5. Originally there was not in Sūrya the same lustre, etc., etc. [the same as in para. 3.] That man has in himself these forces, these energies, of whom, when he knows this, they receive these *grahas*.”

<sup>70</sup> By this name are called “three particular *grahas*, or sacrificial vessels, with which libations were made in the Jyotishṭoma sacrifice to Agni, Indra, and Sūrya.” Prof. Goldstücker’s Dict. The word is explained by Boehtlingk and Roth, as meaning “*haustus insuper hauriendus*,” a draught to be drunk over and above; the designation of three fillings of the cup, which are drawn at the Soma offering.

## CHAPTER II.

VISHNU, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC HYMNS, THE BRAHMANAS, THE ITIHASAS, AND THE PURANAS.

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

R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. : 16. (=S. V. 2, 1024) *Ato devā avantu no yato Vishnur vichakrame | pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ |* 17. (=S. V. i. 222; Vāj. S. 5, 15; A. V. 7, 26, 4.) *Idaṁ Vishnur vichakrame tredhā nīdadhe padam | samūlham asya pāṁsure [pāṁsule] |* S. V. 18. (=S. V. 2, 1020; Vāj. S. 34, 43; A. V. 7, 26, 5.) *Trīṇi padā vichakrame Vishnur gopā adābhyah | ato dharmāṇi dhārayan |* 19. (=S. V. 2, 1021; Vāj. S. 6, 4; A. V. 7, 26, 6.) *Vishnoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspāse | Indrasya yujyah sakhā |* 20. (=S. V. 2, 1022; Vāj. S. 6, 5; A. V. 7, 26, 7.) *Tad Vishnoḥ paramam padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayah | divīvi chazur ātatam |* 21. (=S. V. 2, 1023; Vāj. S. 34, 44.) *Tad viprāso vipanyavo jāgrivāṁsah samindhate | Vishnor yat paramam padam |*

16. "May the gods preserve us from the place from which Vishnu strode<sup>1</sup> through the seven regions of the earth."<sup>2</sup> 17. Vishnu strode over this [universe]; in three places he planted his step : [the world,

<sup>1</sup> Mbh. Sānti-Parva, v. 13, 171: *Kramaṇāch chāpy aham Pārtha Vishnur ity abhisamjñītaḥ |* "And from striding, o son of Prithā, I am called Vishnu."

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the words *pṛithivyāḥ sapta dhāmabhiḥ*, the Sāma-veda reads, *pṛithivyā adhi sānavi*: "over the surface of the earth." This verse, as well as the following ones, is rendered by Professor Benfey, in his translation of the Sāma-veda, as well as in his "Orient and Occident," i. 30. He understands the place from which Vishnu strides to be the sun, referring to verse 20. For the sense given by Sāyana to this and the following verses, see Wilson's translation of the Rig-veda and notes *in loco*. Compare also Rosen's Latin version.

or, his step, was] enveloped in his dust.<sup>3</sup> 18. Vishṇu, the unconquerable<sup>4</sup> preserver, strode three steps, bearing from thence fixed observances. 19. Behold the acts of Vishṇu, through which this fitting (or intimate) friend of Indra perceived<sup>5</sup> religious ceremonies. 20. Sages constantly behold that highest position of Vishṇu, like an eye fixed in the sky. 21. Wise men, singing praises, and ever wakeful, light up<sup>6</sup> [by the power of their hymns?] that which is the highest station of Vishṇu."

The 17th verse of this hymn is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 19;<sup>7</sup> where we have the following explanation of its purport:—

*Yad idam kiñcha tad vikramate Vishṇuḥ | tridhā nidhatte padaṁ | 'trodhā-bhāvāya prithivyām antarixe divi' iti Śākapūṇiḥ | 'samārohane vishṇupade gayasīrasi' ity Aurnavābhaḥ | 'samūḍham asya pāmsure' | pyāyane 'ntarixe padaṁ na dṛśyate | apivā upamārthe syāt | samūḍham asya pāmsule iva padaṁ na dṛśyate ityādi |*

"Vishṇu strides over this, whatever exists. He plants his step in a three-fold manner,—i.e. 'for a three-fold existence, on earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky,' according to Śākapūṇi; or, 'on the hill where he rises, on the meridian, and on the hill where he sets,' according to Aurnavābha. 'Samūḍham asya pāmsure,' i.e. his place is not seen in the atmosphere (*pyāyane antarixe*): or the phrase may be

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

<sup>4</sup> *Adābhya* may also mean "who cannot be deceived." The idea of Vishṇu being pre-eminently the preserver of the universe which became current in later times, may possibly have been derived from this verse.

<sup>5</sup> Sāyana gives to the root *spas* the sense of "hindering," or "touching." Benfey, in his S. V., renders *paspaśe* by "received," and, in the "Orient and Occident," by "firmly fixed." The sense, he says, is this: "Look to the sun, where the terminus lies from which Vishṇu started (verses 16, 21), and in which all the powers which work in Nature have their source." Roth, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, pp. 138 f., thinks that the sense of "beholding" is suitable in all the texts where forms of the root *spas* occur in the R. V.

<sup>6</sup> Benfey renders *samindhate* "glorify." The Commentator on the Vaj. S. 34, 44, makes it *dīpayante* = *upāsate*. Roth, under the word, explains "they kindle [Agni?] when Vishṇu is in his highest position."

<sup>7</sup> Formerly cited in part in the Second Part of this work, p. 187.

metaphorical, enveloped in the mist, as it were, his place is not seen, etc.

The following is the comment of Jambhachāryya\* on this passage of the Nirukta :

*Tasmān ādīvaḥ. Iḥān it. yata ānā 'treṣṭhā nīśāthe padam' nīśāthe yatañ nīśāman yatañ. Iḥa taḥ tātā. 'prithivyaṃ antariḥ ān' it. Śākāpūṇi. pūṭhānā gaur bhāre prithivyaṃ yat kīṅchid asti tad ākramānta taḥ aḥniśāthā. antariḥ 'aiśvurātmanā | dēri suryātmanā. yat ākran. 'tam i bhūmā treṣṭhā bhūre kam' R. V. x. 88, 10' it. 'samūrohāni' uḥāre-prēḥ. uḥān yāṅam ekañ nīśāthe | 'riśhṇupada' māchraṇānā nīśāre | 'pṛthakrasī' astāṅgirāt ity. Aurnavabha Achāryya*

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

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

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

*Tara eva devata itī Nairuktā Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntarīva sthānaḥ Suryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā apī bahūni namadheyaṇi bhavanti apī vā karma-prithakteād yathā hota'dhvaṅgur brahma udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | apī vā prithag eva syuh | prithag hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhīdhānāni ityadi |*

\* Already quoted in the Second Part of this work, p. 215.

“There are only three deities, according to the Nairuktas (etymologists), Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya, whose place is in the sky. These [deities] each receive many designations, in consequence of their greatness,<sup>9</sup> or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotṛi*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātṛi* are applied to one and the same person. Or [the gods in question] may all be distinct, for distinct hymns and appellations are addressed to them,” etc.<sup>10</sup>

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

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

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

*Viṣṇus trivikramāvatāraṁ kṛitā idaṁ viśvaṁ vichakrame vibhajya kramate sma | tad evāha | tredhā padaṁ nidadhe bhumāv ekam padaṁ antarixo dvitīyaṁ divi tṛitīyam iti kramād Agni-Vāyu-Sūrya-rūpeṇa ity arthaḥ |*

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

The commentator combines the view that the Dwarf incarnation of

<sup>9</sup> Καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία, Æschylus Prom. Vinct. v. 217.

<sup>10</sup> In a previous part of this passage, vii. 4, it is said, *Mahābhāgyād devatūyā eka ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasyūtmano ’nye devāḥ pratyangūni bhavanti |* “From the greatness of the Deity one Soul is celebrated in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul,” etc. Compare Mr. Colebrooke’s Essays, i. 26 f.; or p. 12 f. of W. and N.’s Ed.

Vishnu is referred to in the hymn, with the conception that his different steps on the earth, in the atmosphere, and in the sky, were taken in the successive characters of Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya, which is the interpretation of Śákāpūni, as explained by Durga. There is no trace in the words either of Śákāpūni, or of Aurnāvābha, as handed down by Yaska of any allusion to such a Trivikrama incarnation of Vishnu.

I proceed to quote from the Rig-veda some further texts relative to Vishnu.<sup>11</sup>

R. V. i. 85, 7: *To avardhanta sva-tavaso mahitranā ā nākaṁ tasthur uru chakrirc sadah | Vishnur yad ha āvad vṛishanāṁ mada-chyutaṁ rays na ādānu adhi barhiṣi priye |*

"They (the Maruts) strong in themselves, increased in greatness. They ascended to heaven, and have made [for themselves] a spacious abode. When Vishnu assisted the hero [Indra?] who humbles pride,<sup>12</sup> they sat down like birds on the sacrificial grass which they love."

R. V. i. 90, 5, 9.—*Uta no dhiyo go-agrāḥ Pūshan Vishno eva-yāraḥ | karta naḥ svatimataḥ | 9. sām no Mitraḥ sām Varunaḥ sām no bhacatu Aryama | sām na Indro Bṛihaspatiḥ sām no Vishnur urukramaḥ |*

5. "Pushan, Vishnu, swift goer, make our prayers to bring us cattle as their principal fruit: make us prosperous. . . . . 9. May Mitra, may Varuna, may Aryaman, may Indra, may Bṛihaspati, may the wide-striding Vishnu, all grant us prosperity."

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

R. V. i. 154 ( Vāj. S. 5, 18; A. V. 7, 26, 1).—*Vishnor nu kaṁ rir-gāni pravochaṁ*<sup>13</sup> *yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṁsi | yo askabhāyad uttaruṁ sadhasthāṁ vichakramāṅgas tredhā urugāyaḥ | 2. (=A. V. 7, 26, 2, 3;*

<sup>11</sup> The word occurs in R. V. i. 61, 7, *Mushāyad vishnuḥ pachatam ityādi*; but it may there be an epithet of Indra.

<sup>12</sup> Though the commentator *in loco* renders *mada-chyutam* by *mudasya harsahasya-śaktaram*, "dispenser of joy," he interprets it in his note on R. V. i. 51, 2—where it is an epithet of Indra—by *satruṅām mudasya garvasya chyāvayitāram*, "who brings down the pride of his enemies." In R. V. viii. 1, 21, the word *mada-chyut* is again applied to Indra, and in R. V. viii. 85, 5, to his thunderbolt.

<sup>13</sup> The same form of expression occurs in a hymn to Indra (R. V. i. 32, 1), *Indrasya nu vryāni pravocham*, etc. Compare R. V. ii. 15, 1.

Nir. 1, 20): *Pra tad Vishṇuḥ stavato vīryeṇa mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ*<sup>14</sup> | *yasyorushu trishu vikramaṇeshu adhixiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā* | 3. *Pra Vishṇave śūsham etu manma girixite urugāyāya*<sup>15</sup> *vṛishṇo | yah idaṁ dīrgham prayataṁ sadhastham eko vimame tribhīr it padebhīḥ* | 4. *Yasya trī pūrṇā madhunā padāni aśiyamānā svadhayā madanti | ya u tridhātu prithivīm uta dyām eko dādḥāra bhuvanāni viśvā* | 5. *Tad asya priyam abhi pātho aśyām naro yatra devayavo madanti | urukramasya sa hi bandhur itthā Vishṇoḥ pado parama madhva utsaḥ* | 6. (Vāj. S. 6, 3; Nir. 2, 7): *Tā vām vāstūni ūsmasi gamadhyai yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛiṅgā ayāsaḥ | atrāha tad urugāyasya vṛishṇaḥ paramam padam ava bhāti bhūri* |

"I declare the valorous deeds of Vishṇu, who measured the mundane regions, who established the upper world, striding thrice, the wide-stepping. 2. Therefore is Vishṇu celebrated for his prowess, terrible like a wild beast, destructive, abiding in the mountains [or, clouds, if this be an epithet of the god]; he within whose three vast paces all the worlds abide. 3. Let the hymn proceed [as a source of] strength to Vishṇu, the dweller in the aerial mountains, the wide-stepping, the vigorous, who alone measured with three steps this wide, stable firmament;—4. Whose three stations, replenished with honey, imperishable, gladden us spontaneously; who alone sustained the triple universe, the earth, and the sky, [yea] all the worlds. 5. May I attain to that beloved heaven of his, where men devoted to the gods rejoice; for (such a friend is he) there is a spring of honey in the highest abode of the wide-stepping Vishṇu. 6. We desire to attain to those abodes of you two, where the many-horned and swiftly-moving cows abide. Here

<sup>14</sup> On this verse the Nirukta remarks: "*Kuchara*" *iti charati karma kutsitam | atha ehad devatābhūdhānaṁ keva ayaṁ na charati iti | girishṭhā girishṭhāyī giriḥ parvataḥ*, . . . *tat-prakṛiti itarat sandhi-sāmānyād megha-śṭhōyī megho 'pi girir etas-mōd eva* | "*Kuchara*" is one who does (*charati*) a blameable action. If the word be a designation of the god, it will mean 'where does he not go?' '*Girishṭhāḥ*' means 'abiding in the mountains;' for *giri* means 'mountain.' . . . . The author then gives various etymologies of the word *parvata*, "mountain," one of which is that it is derived from *parvan*, "a joint;" and then proceeds: "From this sense is derived another (owing to the idea of joint being common to both), viz., that of 'abiding in the clouds,' for a cloud also is called *giri* for the same reason." See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 17. The same comparison *mṛigo na bhīmaḥ kucharo girishṭhāḥ* is applied to Indra in R. V. x. 180, 2 (= S. V. ii. 1223, and A. V. 7, 84, 3).

<sup>15</sup> *Urugāyasya = prithu-gamanasya adhi-kastuter vā*.—Sāyaṇa on R. V. iii. 6, 4. *Urugāyasya = mahāgateh*.—Nir. ii. 7.



that supreme abode of the wide-stepping, vigorous [god] shines intensely forth."

I shall quote a portion of the explanation Sāyana gives of the words, *pārthivāni rajāmsi*, in the first verse of the preceding hymn: *Yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhīni rajāmsi rañjanātmakāni xity-ādi-loka-trayābhīmānīny Agni-Vāyv-Āditya-rūpāni rajāmsi vimame viśeṣeṇa nirmame | atra trayo lokā api prithivī-śabda-vāchyāḥ | tathā cha mantrāntaram (R. V. i. 108, 9), 'yad Indrāgnī avamasyām prithivyām madhyamasyām paramasyām uta stha' iti | Taittirīye 'pi 'yo 'syām prithivyām asy āyushā' ity upakramya 'yo dvitīyasyām tṛtīyasyām prithivyām' iti | tasmāl lokatrayasya prithivī-śabda-vāchyatvam | . . . yadvā yo Vishnuḥ pārthivāni prithivī-sambandhīni rajāmsi adhastana-sapta-lokān vimame | . . . rajah-śabdo loka-vāchī 'lokā rajāmsy uchhyante' iti Yāskenkotatvāt | . . . athavā pārthivāni prithivī-nimittakāni rajāmsi lokān vimame | bhūr-ādi-loka-trayam ity arthaḥ | bhūmyām upārjita-karma-bhogārthatvād itara-lokānām tat-kāraṇatvam |*

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

The following is the passage of the Nirukta, iv. 19, referred to by Sāyana, which gives the meanings of *rajas*: *Rajo rajateḥ | jyotī raja*

*uchyate | udakañ raja uchyate | lokā rajāmsy uchyante | asrig<sup>16</sup>-ahanti  
rajāsī uchyete | 'rajāmsi chitrā vicharanti tanyava' ity api nigamo  
bhavati |*

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

In R. V. i. 164, 6, mention is made of six worlds (*rājāmsi*): *vi yas tastambha shaḷ imā rajāmsi*, “who established these six worlds.”

The verb *vimame* cannot, I think, have the meaning, which the commentator assigns to it, of “constructing.” It occurs, not only in verse 1, of the hymn before us, but in verse 3 also, where it must have the sense of “measuring,” or “traversing,” as it could not fitly be said of Vishṇu that he constructed the firmament *with three steps*. The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ*, “measurer of the world,” occurs in R. V. x. 121, 5 (above p. 14), and in R. V. x. 139, 5, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 158. In R. V. i. 50, 7, the participle *mimānaḥ* seems to have the same sense: *vi dyām eshi rajaso prithvāhā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyan janmāni sūrya* | “Sun, thou traversest the sky, measuring the broad space (*rajas*), and the days, with thy rays,<sup>17</sup> beholding created things.”

The phrase *rajaso vimānaḥ* occurs also in R. V. iii. 26, 7 (=Vāj. S. 18, 66), where Agni says of himself that he is *arkas tridhātū rajaso vimānaḥ*<sup>18</sup> | “the threefold light, the measurer of the world,” which the commentator explains thus: *tredhā ātmanam vibhajya tatra Vāyur-ātmanā rajaso 'ntarixasya vimāno. vimātū 'dhisḥhāta 'emi* | “Triply dividing myself, I am, in the character of Vāyu, he who abides in the atmosphere.”

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

I shall adduce one other passage (R. V. v. 81, 3 = Vāj. S. 11, 6), in which the same phrase occurs, where this function of measuring the

<sup>16</sup> Roth conjectures that the word *asrig* here is spurious.—Illust. of Nir., p. 46.

<sup>17</sup> The word *aktubhiḥ* is rendered “nights” by Yāska in his explanation of this passage, Nir. xii. 23, and by the commentator; but the latter explains the same word by *raśmibhiḥ*, “rays,” in his annotation on R. V. i. 94, 5.

<sup>18</sup> This verse is explained in a spiritual sense in Nirukta Parisiḥṣṭa ii. 1.

world is ascribed to Savitṛi (the sun): *Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur devā devasya mahimānam ojasā | yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśo rajāmsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā* | “He who measured out the terrestrial regions by his power, this god Savitṛi is a steed, whose course, and [whose display of] might, the other gods have followed with vigour.”

This text is quoted and commented on in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 3, 1, 18 (p. 520). ‘*Yasya prayānam anv anye id yayur*’ *iti | Prājāpatir vā etad agre karmākarot | tat tato devā akurvan* ‘*devā devasya mahimānam ojasā*’ *iti | yajño vai mahimā | devā devasya yajñān vīryyam ojasā ity etad* | ‘*yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa etaśaḥ*’ *iti | yad vai kiñcha asyām tat pārthivaṁ tad esha sarvaṁ vimimīte | raśmibhir hy enad abhyavatanoti* | ‘*rajāmsi devaḥ Savitā mahitvanā*’ *iti | ime vai lokā rajāmsy asāv Ādityo devaḥ Savitā | tān esha mahinnā vimimīte* | “‘Whose course the other gods have followed.’ Prajāpati formerly performed this rite. The gods afterwards did it, [according to the words] ‘the gods [followed] his [display of] power with vigour.’ Power means sacrifice. This, [then, is said, that] the gods [followed] the sacrifice, the energy, of the god with vigour. ‘He who measured out the terrestrial [regions] is a steed.’ Whatever is on this [earth] is terrestrial. All this he measures out: for he stretches over [all] this with his rays. ‘The god Savitṛi [measured out] the regions by his power.’ These worlds are the regions: that Āditya (sun) is the god Savitṛi. He measures them out by his power.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa introduces the words *pārthivāni vimame rajāmsi*, with a part of R. V. vii. 99, 2, at the close of its account of the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu, assigning to them, however, a different meaning from that which they have in the hymn,—Bhāg. Pur. viii. 23, 29: *Pāram mahimna uru-vikramato grināno yaḥ pārthivāni vimame sa rajāmsi marttyaḥ | kiṁ jāyamāna uta jāta upaiti marttya ity āha mantradṛig ṛishih purushasya yasya* | “The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of this wide-striding (Viṣṇu’s) greatness, computes the [particles of the] dust of the earth. Can the mortal who is being born, or has been born, attain to it? Thus speaks the ṛishi who saw a hymn regarding Puruṣa.”

This verse is explained by the commentator thus: *Uru bahu vikramato Viṣṇor mahimnaḥ pāraṁ yo grināno bhavati sa marttyaḥ pārthivāni rajāmsy api vimame ganitavān | yathā pārthiva-paramānu-gaṇa-*

*nam asakyaṃ tathā Viṣṇor guṇa-gaṇanam asakyaṃ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'Viṣṇor nu kaṃ vīryāni' iti | etad eva mantrāntarārthaṃ sūchayann āha yasya puruṣasya pūrṇa-mahimnaḥ pāram mantra-dṛig ṛishir Vasishṭha ity evam āha | katham | kiṃ jāyamāno jāto vā upaiti na ko'pi iti vadann anantatvena evāha ity arthaḥ | tathā cha manthro 'na te Viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa' iti |*  
 "The mortal who celebrates the utmost limits of the greatness of the wide-striding Viṣṇu, has computed also the particles of the dust of the earth. The meaning is, as the computation of the atoms of the earth is impossible, so also the enumeration of Viṣṇu's qualities is impossible. Thus a hymn (R. V. 1, 154) says: *I declare the valorous deeds of Viṣṇu*, etc. Alluding to the sense of another hymn, he says the same thing in these words: 'regarding the utmost limit of the full greatness of which Puruṣa, Vasiṣṭha, the seer of a hymn, thus speaks: 'How? 'Can any man being born, or already born, attain it?' No one. By this expression he intimates its infinitude. Thus the hymn says: *No one who is being born, or has been born, has attained, o divine Viṣṇu, to the furthest limit of thy greatness.*"

The sixth verse of the hymn before us is thus commented on in the Nirukta, ii. 6, 7: *Sarve 'pi rāsmayo gāva uchyante | . . . tāni vām vāstūni kāmāyāmahe gamanāya yatra gāvo bhūri-śṛiṅgāḥ . . . ayāso 'yanāḥ | tatra tad urugāyasya Viṣṇor mahāgateḥ paramam padam parārdhyastham avabhāti bhūri |* "All rays are called *gāvaḥ*." Then, after quoting the verse, the author proceeds to explain it: "We desire to attain to these regions of you two, where are the many-horned cows, . . . the moving. There the highest abode, situated in the loftiest place, of that wide-stepping, large-pacing, Viṣṇu shines forth brightly."

The verse is rendered thus, by Roth (Illustrations of Nir., p. 19): "May we arrive at your abodes, where the many-horned, moving, cattle are; for thence shines brilliantly down the highest place of the far-striding Showerer." Roth then proceeds to remark: "This verse occurs in a hymn to Viṣṇu; consequently the dual *vām* ("of you two"), cannot refer to the deity of the hymn. Durga meets the difficulty, as the commentators frequently do with inconvenient duals, by saying *vām iti dampāti abhipretya*, etc. "*vām* refers to the sacrificer and his wife." But here we have rather a proof of the fact that, in the arrangement of the Veda, many verses have been inserted in wrong

places. The verse is addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa; and, perhaps, belonged to one of the hymns to those two gods which immediately precede this in the Sanhitā. The verse has been introduced into the wrong place because Viṣṇu is named in it. Compare verse 3. The inconvenient reading has been already altered in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (6, 3), which, instead of *tā vām vāstūny uśmasi gamadhyai*, "we desire to go to these abodes of you two," etc., reads, *yā te dhāmāny uśmasi*, etc., "to which realms of thine we desire," etc., etc.

In the next hymn Indra and Viṣṇu are jointly extolled :

R. V. i. 155.—*Pra vaḥ pāntam*<sup>19</sup> *andhaso dhiyāyate mahe śūrāya Viṣṇave cha archata | yā sūnuni parvatānām adābhyā mahas tashatur arvateva sādhuṇā | 2. Tvesham itthā samaraṇam*<sup>20</sup> *śimvator Indrā-Viṣṇū suta-pā vām uruśyati | yā marttyāya pratidhīyamānam it kri-śānor astur asanām uruśyathaḥ | 3. Tā im vardhanti mahi asya pauṁsyam ni mātarā nayati retase bhūje | dadhāti putro avaram param pitur nāma tritīyam adhi rochane divaḥ | 4. Tat tad id asya pauṁsyam grī-ṇīmasi inasya trātur avrikasya mīlhuṣhaḥ | yaḥ pārthivāni tribhir id vigāmbhir uru kramiṣṭorugāyāya jivase | 5. Dce id asya kramas svarḍriśo abhikhyāya marttyo bhuranyati | tritīyam asya nakir ā dā-dharshati vayas chana patayantaḥ patatrināḥ | 6. Chaturbhiḥ sākām navatīncha nāmabhiḥ cakram na vrittam vyātūr avīvipat | bṛihachchhā-rīro vicimāna rikvabhir yuvā 'kumāraḥ prati eti āhavam |*

"Sing praises to the great hero (Indra), who desires the draught of your soma, and to Viṣṇu, who both stood, great and invincible, on the summit of the [aerial] mountains, as if [mounted] on an excellent steed. 2. Indra and Viṣṇu, the drinker of the libation escapes the assault, so fierce, of you two who are energetic,—who avert from the [pious] mortal that which is aimed at him,—the bolt of the archer Kṛiṣṇu. 3. These [libations] augment his (Viṣṇu's) virility; he conducts the parents (heaven and earth) to receive the fertilizing seed; the son has the inferior name; the superior belongs to the father; the third is above the light of heaven. 4. We celebrate this virility of him, the strong, the deliverer, the uninjuring, the fecundator, who with three steps traversed<sup>21</sup> far and wide the mundane regions, for the sake

<sup>19</sup> *Pāntam* = *pānīyam*.—Nir. vii. 25.

<sup>20</sup> *Samaraṇam* s. = *saṅgrāma-nāma*.—Nigh. 2, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Compare R. V. i. 22, 17, 18 (above, p. 54, f.), and R. V. i. 154, 1, 3 (p. 58, f.)

of [granting us] a prolonged (*lit.* wide-stepping) existence.<sup>23</sup> 5. A mortal, contemplating, can approach two of the steps of this heavenly [deity]; but no one dare attempt his third step, not even the soaring, winged birds. 6. He has set in motion, like a rolling wheel, the revolutions of time (?), with their four times (?) ninety names (days?). Conceived by his encomiasts to be vast in body, the youthful, full-grown [deity], advances to the combat.”

R. V. 1, 156.—*Bhavā mitro na śevyo ghr̥itāsutir vibhūta-dyumna evayā u saprathāḥ | adhā te Vishṇo vidushā chid ardhyaḥ stomo yajñāścha rādhyo havishmatā | 2. Yaḥ pūrvyāya vedhase navīyase sumajjānaye Vishṇave dadāsati | yo jātam asya mahato mahi bravat sa id u śravobhir yujyāṃ chid abhi asat | 3. Tam u stotāraḥ pūrvyaṃ yathā vida ritasya garbhāṃ janushā piparttana | ā asya jānanto nūma chid vitaktana mahas te Vishṇo sumatim bhajāmahe | 4. Tam asya rājū Varuṇas tam Aśvinā kratuṃ sachanta mārutasya vedhasaḥ | dādḥāra daxam uttamam aharevidāṃ vrajāṃ cha Vishṇur sakhivān apornute | 5. Ā yo vivāya sachathāya daivya Indrāya Vishṇuḥ sukṛite sukṛittarāḥ | vedhā ajinvat trishadhaṣṭha uryyam ritasya bhāge yajamānām ā bhajat |*

“Be to us beneficent like a friend [or like *Mittra*], worshipped with butter, greatly renowned, swiftly-moving, broadly diffused. Truly, *Vishṇu*, thy praise is to be celebrated by the sage, and sacrifice is to be performed to thee by the worshipper. 2. He who worships *Vishṇu*, the ancient, the disposer, the recent, the [god] with the noble spouse,<sup>23</sup>—he who extols the birth [or offspring] of this mighty Being, shall excel his rival<sup>24</sup> in [renown]. 3. Encomiasts, strive to the

<sup>23</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 69, 5 (p. 71, below).

<sup>23</sup> *Sāyaṇa* gives two explanations of the word *sumaj-jāni*. The first makes it *svayam evotpannāya*, “born by his own power” (in proof of which sense he quotes *Nir.* vi. 22: *Sumat svayam ity arthaḥ | “sumat means svayam, self.”*) The second meaning is thus stated: *Sutarām mādayati iti sumat | tadriṣī jāyā yasya as . . . . | tasmai sarva-jagan-mādana-śīla-Srī-pataye | “su-mat means ‘greatly gladdening.’ Sumaj-jāni then signifies ‘one who has such a wife.’ The phrase will thus mean, ‘to the lord of Sri, whose nature it is to gladden the world.’”* Dr. Aufrecht thinks that *jāni* has always the sense of wife, and supposes the wife here alluded to to be the world. Prof. Roth, *Illust. of Nir.*, p. 90, supposes *sumat* to be derived from *su*, and to mean “easily,” “gladly.”

<sup>24</sup> Compare the words *yujyo vā sakhā vā* in R. V. ii. 28, 10, where *yujya* is explained by *Sāyaṇa* as = *yojana-samarthaḥ pitrādir vā*; and R. V. i. 22, 19, where the same word *yujya* is said to be equivalent to *anukūla*, “friendly.” Compare also *ayuja* in R. V. viii. 51, 2.

utmost of your skill to please him who, by his nature, is the primeval source of sacred rites. Knowing his name (renown?), declare, 'Vishṇu, we seek the good will of thee, the mighty one.' 4. King Varuṇa and the Aśvins wait on the decree of this ruler attended by the Maruts. Vishṇu possesses excellent wisdom, which knows the proper day;<sup>25</sup> and with his friend, opens up the cloud. 5. The divine Vishṇu, who has chosen companionship with the beneficent Indra, [himself] more beneficent,—this wise [god], occupying three stations, has gratified the Aryya, and renders the worshipper a sharer in the sacred ceremony."

R. V. i. 164, 36 (A. V. 9, 10, 17; Nir. Par. ii. 21).—*Sapta ardhagarbhā bhuvanasya reto Vishṇos tishṭhanti pradiśā vidharmani | te dhātībhir manasā te vipāśchitāḥ paribhuvāḥ pari bhavanti viśvataḥ |* "Seven half-children (?), the prolific sources of the world, abide by the command of Vishṇu in the function of supporting [the universe]. They by thought, and by mind, they intelligent, circling, revolve in every direction."

I do not attempt any explanation of this obscure and mystical utterance. Compare, however, R. V. ix. 86, 29, which will be quoted below, and in which the same words *pradiś* and *vidharman* occur.

R. V. i. 186, 10.—*Pro Aśvināv avase kṛiṇudhcam pra Pūshanaṁ svatavaso hi santi | advesho Vishṇur Vātaḥ Rībhuxāḥ achhā sumnāya vavṛītiya devān |* "Dispose the Aśvins, dispose Pūshan, to succour us, for they have power in themselves. Vishṇu is free from malice, and so is Vāta (Vāyu) and Rībhuxan. May I incline the gods to be favourable to us."

R. V. ii. 1, 3.—*Tvam Agne Indro vṛishabhaḥ satām asi tvam Vishṇur urugāyo namasyaḥ | tvam brahmā rayivid brahmanaspati tvam vidharttaḥ sachase purandhyā |* "Thou, Agni, art Indra, bountiful to the excellent; thou art Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, the adorable; thou, Brahmanaspati, art a priest, acquainted with wealth; thou, sustainer, art associated with Purandhi (Devotion).

R. V. ii. 22, 1 (S. V. i. 457).—*Trikadrakeshu mahisho yavāsīraṁ twiśushmas tripat somam apibad Vishṇunā sutam yathā 'vasat | sa im māda mahi karma karttave mahām uruṁ sa enaṁ saśchad devo devaṁ satyam Indraṁ satya Induḥ |* "The great [Indra] of mighty force,

<sup>25</sup> See the interpretation of the word *ahorvid* given by Sāyana on R. V. i. 2, 2.

delighted, has drunk with Vishṇu the soma, mixed with barley-meal, poured forth at the *Trikadruka* festival, as much as he desired. He [Soma] has stimulated the great and vast [god, Indra,] to achieve mighty acts. He, the god, the true Indu (Soma), has attended him, the god, the true Indra."

R. V. iii. 6, 4.—*Mahān sadhasthe dhruva ā nishatto antar dyāvā māhino haryamānaḥ | āskre sapatnī ajare amṛikto sabardughe urugāyasya<sup>26</sup> dhena* | "The great [god, Agni,] firm, seated in his abode, aspires to [the space] between the mighty heaven and earth,—the two cows, joint-wives of the wide-stepping [god], aggressive,<sup>27</sup> undecaying, inviolable, dispensers of water."

R. V. iii. 54, 14.—*Vishṇuṁ stomāsaḥ puru-dasman arkā bhagasyeva kārino yāmani gman | urukramaḥ kakulo yasya pūrvir na mardhanti yuvatayo janitriḥ* | "Our hymns and praises have proceeded to Vishṇu, the worker of many wonders, like bards proceeding in the train of victory. He is the wide-stepping, the exalted, whose primeval, creative wives are indefatigable."

R. V. iii. 55, 10.—*Vishṇur gopāḥ<sup>28</sup> paramam pāti pāthaḥ priyā dhāmāni amṛitā dadhānaḥ | Agniḥ śā viśvā bhuvanāni veda mahad devānām asuratvam ekam* | "Vishṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the dear,<sup>29</sup> undecaying regions. Agni knows all these worlds: great and incomparable is the divine nature of the gods."

R. V. iv. 2, 4.—*Aryamaṇaṁ Varuṇam Mitram eṣhām Indrā-Vishṇu Maruto Aśvinā uta | su-āsvo Agne su-rathaḥ su-rūdhāḥ ā id u caha suhaviṣhe janāya* | "Agni, [do thou, who hast] beautiful steeds, a beautiful car, and great power, bring to the pious worshipper from among these [gods], Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra and Vishṇu, the Maruts, and the Aśvins."

R. V. iv. 3, 7.—*Kathā mahe puṣṭim-bharāya Pūshno kad Rudrāya su-makhāya havir-do | kad Vishṇave uru-gāyāya reto<sup>30</sup> bravaḥ kad Agne*

<sup>26</sup> *Prithugemānasya adhika-stuter vā*; Sāyana, who names Agni as the god; though he makes heaven and earth to be the wives of the sun.

<sup>27</sup> Or, "united," according to Prof. Roth.

<sup>28</sup> Compare R. V. i. 22, 18. The word Vishṇu is here regarded by the commentator as an epithet of Agni, and rendered by "pervading."

<sup>29</sup> Or, "vast." The commentator renders the word *priya* by *aparimita*, "unmeasured," in his note on R. V. iii. 32, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Dr. Aufrecht suggests that the original reading here may have been *repaḥ = āgas*,



*Sarave bṛihatyaī* | “Why, Agni, [shouldst thou declare our sin] to the great supplier of nourishment, Pūshan? why to Rudra, the adored, the giver of oblations? why shouldst thou declare our sin to the wide-stepping Viṣṇu? why to the great Saru (Nirṛiti?).”

R. V. iv. 18, 11.—*Uta mātā mahisham anvavenad amī tvā jahati putra devāḥ* | *Atha abravīd Vṛittram Indro hanishyan sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva* | “And his mother asked the mighty [Indra], ‘My son, do those gods forsake thee?’ Then Indra, being about to slay Vṛittra, said, ‘Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly.’”

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

R. V. viii. 89, 12.—*Sakhe Viṣṇo vitaraṁ vikramasva dyaur dehi lokam vajrāya vishkabhe* | *hanāva Vṛittraṁ riṇachāva sindhūn Indrasya yantu prasave viṣṛiṣṭāḥ* | “‘Friend Viṣṇu, stride vastly;’ sky, give room for the thunderbolt to strike; let us slay Vṛittra, and let loose the waters; let them, when released, flow in the path [opened out by?] Indra.”

R. V. iv. 55, 4.—*Vī Aryamā Varuṇās cheti panthām ishas-patiḥ sv- vitam gātum Agniḥ* | *Indrā-Viṣṇū nṛi-vad u shu stavānā śarma no yan- tam amavad varātham* | “Aryaman and Varuṇa point out our path; so too Agni, the lord of strength, [shows us] a prosperous road. Indra and Viṣṇu, when they are lauded, according to human ability, bestow on us prosperity and strong protection.”

R. V. v. 3, 1-3.—*Tvam Agne Varuṇo jāyase yat tvam Mitro bhavasi yat samiddaḥ* | *tvē viśve sahasas-putra devūs tvam Indro dāsushe mart- yāya* | 2. *Tvam Aryamā bhavasi yat kanīnām nāma svadhāvan guhyam bibharshi* | *añjanti mitraṁ sudhitaṁ na gobhir yad dampatī samanasā kṛiṇoshi* | 3. *Tava śriyo Maruto marjayanta*<sup>31</sup> *Rudra yat te janima chāru chitram* | *padaṁ yad Viṣṇor upamaṁ nidhāyi tena pāsi guhyaṁ nāma gonām* |

“Thou, Agni [art] Varuṇa, when thou art born; thou art Mitra when thou art kindled: son of strength, in thee [reside] all the gods;

“sin.” But as the text stands he would connect *retas* with *śarave*, so as to give the sense, “our sin (understood), which is the occasion for the great arrow of destruction.”

<sup>31</sup> Compare R. V. vii. 3, 5.

thou art Indra to the man who sacrifices. 2. Thou art Aryaman when thou, self-controuled, possessest the secret name of the maidens. Men anoint thee, like a benevolent friend, with milk, when thou makest husband and wife of one mind. 3. For thy glory, Rudra, [or, terrible Agni], the Maruts prepare that beautiful and wondrous birth of thine.<sup>23</sup> Through that which has been fixed as the highest abode of Vishṇu, thou possessest the mysterious name of the cows (stars, or rays.)

R. V. v. 46, 2-4 (=Vāj. S. 33, 48, 49).—*Agne Indra Varuṇa Mitra devāḥ śardhaḥ pra yanta Māruta uta Vishṇo | ubhā Nāsatyā Rudro adha gnāḥ Pūshā Bhagaḥ Sarasvatī jushanta | 3. Indrāgnī Mitrā-Varuṇā Aditiṁ evaḥ pṛithiviṁ dyām Marutaḥ parvatān apaḥ | huve Vishṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Bhagaṁ nu Saṁsaṁ Savitāram ūtaye | 4. Uta no Vishṇur uta Vāto asridho draviṇodāḥ uta Somo mayas karat | uta Ṛibhavaḥ uta rāyo no Aśvinā uta Tvashṭā uta Vibhṛvā anu maṁsate |*

2. "Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, ye gods, give us strength, and ye host of Maruts and Vishṇu. May both the Aśvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pūshan, Bhaga, and Sarasvatī, be pleased with us. 3. I invoke, for our protection, Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aditi, heaven, earth, sky, the Maruts, the mountains, the waters, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Bhaga, Saṁsa, and Savitṛi. 4. And may Vishṇu, and the Wind, uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness. And may the Ṛibhus, Aśvins, Tvashṭṛi, and Vibhvan be favourable to us, so as to [grant us] wealth."

R. V. v. 51, 9.—*Sajūr Mitrā-Varuṇābhyāṁ sajūḥ somaṁ Vishṇuṁ | ā yāhi Agne Atri-vaṭ suto rana |* "Associated with Mitra and Varuṇa, associated with Soma and Vishṇu, come Agni, and rejoice in our libation, as [in that of] Atri."

R. V. v. 87, 1 (S. V. i. 462).—*Pra vo mahe matayo yantu Vishṇavo Marutato girijā evayāmarut | pra śardhāya prayajyavo sukhādayo taraso bhandaḥ-ishṭāyo dhuni-vaṭāya śavase | . . . . 4. Sa chakrame mahato nir uru-kramaḥ samānasmāt sadasa evayāmarut | yadā ayukta tmanā svād adhi shṇubhir vishpardhaso vimahaso jigāti śerṛidho nṛibhiḥ | . . . . 8. Advesho no Maruto gātum ā itana śrotā havaṁ jaritur evayā-*

<sup>23</sup> This refers, as Dr. Aufrecht suggests, to the production of lightning in the air at the time of a storm.

*marut | Vishṇor mahah samanyavo yuyotana smad rathyo na daṁsanā  
apa dveshāṁsi sanutaḥ |*

“May your hill-born (or, voice-born), hymns proceed to the great Vishṇu, attended by the Maruts, o Evayāmarut, (swiftly-moving Marut?); and to the troop of Maruts, adorable, wearing beautiful rings, strong, worshipped by praise, to that power which delights in storm.<sup>33</sup> . . . 4. The wide-striding [god] strode forth from the great common abode, o Evayāmarut; when by himself he has yoked his emulous and vigorous [steeds], he issues from his own [abode] with his swift heroes, augmenting our felicity. . . . 8. Maruts, come without malice to our song, hear the invocation of your worshipper, Evayāmarut; of the same mind with the great Vishṇu, like men riding in chariots, drive our enemies away far from us by your might.”

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

R. V. vi. 17, 11.—*Vardhān yaṁ viśve Marutaḥ sajośāḥ pachat śatam mahishān Indra tubhyaṁ | Pūshā Vishṇus trīni sarāṁsi dhāvan vṛitrahānam madīram aṁśum asmai |* “For thee, Indra, whom all the Maruts, in concert, magnified, Pūshan and Vishṇu cooked a hundred buffaloes. For him three lakes discharged the Vṛitra-slaying, exhilarating soma.”<sup>34</sup>

R. V. vi. 20, 2.—*Divo na tubhyam anu Indra satrā asuryaṁ devebhīr dhāyi viśvam | Ahiṁ yad Vṛittram apo vavṛivāṁsaṁ hann ṛijīshin Vishvunā sachānaḥ |* “All divine power, like that of the sky, was completely communicated to thee, Indra, by the gods,<sup>35</sup> when thou, o impetuous [deity], associated with Vishṇu, didst slay Vṛitra Ahi stopping up the waters.”

R. V. vi. 21, 9.—*Pra ūtaye Varuṇam Mitram Indram Marutaḥ kṛishva avase no adya | pra Pūshanaṁ Vishṇum Agnim Purandhim Savitāram oshadhīḥ parvatāṁścha |* “Dispose to-day to our help and succour Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pūshan, Vishṇu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitṛi, the plants and the mountains.”

R. V. vi. 48, 14.—*Taṁ vaḥ Indram na sukratuṁ Varuṇam iva māyi-*

<sup>33</sup> Or, “loud-resounding.”—Roth.

<sup>34</sup> To illustrate the last line, Dr. Aufrecht has pointed out to me another passage, R. V. viii. 66, 4: *Ekayā pratidhā'pibat sākam sārāṁsi trīṁśatam | Indrah somasya kūṅkūḥ |* “Indra swallowed at one draught thirty lakes of Soma.” . . . This verse is quoted in Nir. v. 11. I have not attempted to translate the difficult word *kūṅkūḥ*, at the close. See Roth's Illust. of Nir., p. 60, f.

<sup>35</sup> *Stotṛibhiḥ*, “worshippers,” according to Sāyaṇa.

*nam* | *Aryamanam na mandram sipra*<sup>35</sup> *bhojasam Vishnuam na stushe adite* | “I praise thee (Pūshan?), beneficent like Indra, wondrous in power like Varuṇa, wise like Aryaman, conferring extended enjoyment like Viśṇu, that thou mayest bestow wealth.”<sup>37</sup>

R. V. vi. 49, 13.—*Yo rajāmsi vimame*<sup>38</sup> *pārthivāni tris chid Vishnur Manave bādhitāya* | *tasya te śarmann upa-dadyamāne rāyā madema tanvā tanā cha* | “May we, ourselves and our offspring, be gladdened by wealth, in the home given by thee, that Viśṇu who thrice measured the mundane regions for Manu when he was oppressed.”<sup>39</sup>

R. V. vi. 50, 12.—*Te no Rudraḥ Sarasvatī sajośhāḥ mīlhuśmanto Vishnur mṛṣiantu Vāyuh* | *Ribhuxāḥ Vājo daivyo vidhātā Parjanya-vātā pipyatām ishām naḥ* | “May these dispensers of blessings, Rudra, Sarasvatī, Viśṇu and Vāyu together be gracious to us. May Ribhuxan, Vāja, the divine Vidhātṛi (or disposer), Parjanya and Vāta increase our energy.”

R. V. vi. 69, 1-8.—*Sām vām karmaṇā sam ishā kinomi Indrā-Vishnū apasas pāre asya* | *jushethām yajñam dravinām cha dhattam arishṭair naḥ pathibhiḥ pārayantā* | 2. *Yā viśvāsām janitārā matinām Indrā-Vishnū kalasā soma-dhānā* | *pra vām girāḥ śasyamānā avantu pra stomāso gīyamānāso arkaiḥ* | 3. *Indrā-Vishnū mada-patī madānām ā somām yātām draviṇo dadhānā* | *sām vām añjantu aktubhir matinām sām stomāsah śasyamānāsah ukthaiḥ* | 4. *Ā vām aśvāso abhimāti-śāhah Indrā-Vishnū sadhamādo vahantu* | *jushethām viśvā havanā matinām upa brahmāni śṛiṅgutaḥ giro me* | 5. *Indrā-Vishnū tat panayāyāḥ vām somasya made uru chakramātho* | *akṛiṅgutam antarixam carīyo aprathatām jivase no rajāmsi* | 6. *Indrā-Vishnū havishā vāvṛidhānā agrādvanā namasā rāta-havyā* | *ghṛitāsvatī dravinām dhattam asme samudraḥ sthāḥ kalasāḥ somadhānāḥ* | 7. *Indrā-Vishnū pibatam madhvo asya somasya dasrā jaḥharam pṛiṇethām* | *ā vām andhāmsi madirāṇi agmann upa brahmāni śṛiṅgutaḥ havam me* | 8. (A. V. 7, 44, 1) *Ubhā jigyathur na parā jayetho na*

<sup>35</sup> The word *sipra* occurs also in R. V. i. 96, 3; i. 181, 3; iii. 18, 5; iv. 50, 2; viii. 25, 5; and viii. 32, 10 = S. V. i. 217. By Yāska, Nir. vi. 17., it is derived from the root *sip*, “to go” (see Roth’s Illust., p. 83); and is rendered by Sāyana *sarpana-sīla*, “going,” *prasṛita*, “extended,” etc. (see also Benfey’s Glossary to the S. V.)

<sup>37</sup> Such is the sense assigned to *adīś* by Sāyana: in Wilson’s Sanskrit Dictionary I find the word *pradeśana* rendered “a gift or offering, anything given to the gods, superiors, or friends,” etc.

<sup>38</sup> *Tribhīr eva cikramaṇaiḥ parimitavān* | “measured with three strides.”—Sāyana. Compare R. V. i. 154, 1, above (p. 58, ff.), and vii. 100, 4., below (p. 75).

<sup>39</sup> *Asursir hiṃsitāya* | “injured by Asuras.”—Sāyana.

*parā jigye kataraschanainoḥ | Indrascha Vishno yad apaspridhethām  
tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām |*

“Indra and Vishṇu, I stimulate you twain with this rite and oblation : at the conclusion of this ceremony do ye accept our sacrifice, and grant us wealth, conducting us to our object by secure paths. 2. Indra and Vishṇu, ye who are the generators of all prayers, and the bowls which hold the soma-juice, may the words which are now recited gratify you, and the hymns which are sung with praises. 3. Indra and Vishṇu, ye two lords of exhilarating draughts, come to the soma-juice, bringing with you wealth ; may the hymns uttered with praises anoint you<sup>40</sup> twain with the unguents of our prayers. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, may your steeds, vanquishing foes, and sharing in your triumph, bear you hither. Accept all the invocations of our hymns, and hear my devotion and prayers. 5. Indra and Vishṇu, this deed of you twain is worthy of celebration that, in the exhilaration of the soma-juice, ye took vast strides ;<sup>41</sup> ye made the atmosphere wide, and stretched out the worlds, for our existence. 6. Indra and Vishṇu, growing by our oblation, swallows of the essence of the soma, ye who are worshipped with reverence, and to whom butter is presented, bring us wealth, for ye are the receptacle, the bowl, in which the soma is held. 7. Indra and Vishṇu, workers of wonders, drink this sweet potion ; fill your bellies with soma ; the exhilarating soma-draughts have reached you ; hear my prayers and invocation. 8. Ye two have both conquered, and are not vanquished. Neither of these twain has been vanquished. Vishṇu, when thou and Indra strove, ye scattered thrice a thousand [of your foes].”<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Compare R. V. iii. 17, 1.

<sup>41</sup> The commentator remarks on this : *Yadyapi Vishṇor eva vikramas tathāpy ekārthatvād ubhayor ity uchyate |* “Though ‘striding’ is an act of Vishṇu only, yet it is so [described as here] owing to both gods having one end in view.” In R. V. vii. 99, 6 (see below), the epithet *urukrama*, “far-stepping,” is applied in the same way to both these deities. In the Harivansa, 7418, it is applied to Śiva.

<sup>42</sup> The commentator explains this as follows : *Yad yad vastu praty apaspridhethām asurairḥ saha aspridhethām tredhā loka-veda-vāgūtmanū tridhā sthitaṁ sahasraṁ amītaṁ cha vi tad airayethām vyakramethām ity arthaḥ | tathā cha brāhmaṇam “ubhā jigyathur ity achchhāvākasya | ubhau hi tau jigyathur na parōjayethe na parōjigye iti na hi tayoh kataraschana parōjigye ‘Indras cha Vishno yad apaspridhethām tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad airayethām’ iti | Indras cha ha vai Vishṇus cha asurair yuyūhāto tōn ha sma jitev ūchatuḥ kalpamāhā iti | te ha tathā ity asurā ūchuḥ | so ‘bravid Indro yāvad evāyaṁ Vishṇus trīr vikramate tavad asmākam atha yushmākam itarad iti | sa imān lokān vichakrame’tho vedān atho vācam | tad āhuḥ kīm tat sahasraṁ*

R. V. vii. 35, 9 (=A. V. xix. 10, 9).—*Sam no Aditir bhavatu vratebhiḥ sam no bhavantu Marutaḥ su-arkāḥ | sam no Vishṇuḥ sam u Pūshā no astu sam no bhavitraṁ sam u astu Vāyuh |* “May Aditi be propitious to us with her acts: may the well-hymned Maruts be propitious to us: may Vishṇu, may Pūshan, may the Air,<sup>43</sup> may Vāyu, be propitious to us.”

R. V. vii. 36, 9.—*Achha ayaṁ vo Marutaḥ ślokaḥ etu achha Vishṇuṁ nishikta-pām śravobhir ityādi |* “Maruts, may this hymn reach you: may it [reach] Vishṇu, the preserver of embryos, with its eulogies,” etc.

R. V. vii. 39, 5.—*Ā Agne giro diva ā prithivyā Mitraṁ vaha Varuṇam Indram Agnim | Ā Aryamānam Aditiṁ Vishṇum eśhām Sarasvatī Maruto mādayantām |* “Agni, [whether thou art] in heaven or earth, carry our words to Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishṇu, among these gods: may Sarasvatī and the Maruts be pleased.”

R. V. vii. 40, 5.—*Asya devasya miḥhušo vayāḥ Viṣṇor eśhasya*<sup>44</sup>

*iti ime lokā ime vedā atho vāg iti brūyāt | airayethām airayethām [ity achhāvāka ukthye 'bhyasyats]” |* Ait. Br. 6, 15. | “In reference to whatever thing ye two strove, i.e. strove with the Asuras, over that, in its three characters, i.e. as existing in its character of world, Veda, and speech, and in number a thousand, i.e. immeasurable, ye strode. Thus a Brāhmaṇa [the Aitareya, 6, 15,] says: *ye both conquered*; this is what the Achhāvāka priest [repeats]: *for ye both conquered, ye are not vanquished, neither was vanquished, for neither of these two was vanquished*: [the last line of the verse before us is then cited]. Indra and Vishṇu fought with the Asuras. Having conquered them, they said, ‘let us divide [the world].’ The Asuras said, ‘be it so.’ Indra said, ‘As much as this Vishṇu strides over in three strides, so much is ours; the rest is yours.’ He strode over these worlds, then the Vedas, then speech. When people say, ‘what is that thousand?’ let him say, ‘These worlds, these Vedas, then speech.’ The Achhāvāka priest repeats at the Ukthya ritual ‘ye scattered, ye scattered.’”

<sup>43</sup> The word *bhavitra* is explained by Sayana as = *bhuvanam antarizam udakam vā*. “The world, or the atmosphere, or water.” The word, Dr. Aufrecht informs me, does not occur again in the Vedas.

<sup>44</sup> Sāyana interprets the first words of the verse before us thus, *Vishṇoḥ sarva-devātmakasya asya devasya anye devā vayāḥ sākḥā iva bhavanti |* “Other gods are, as it were, branches of this god, who is the soul of all the gods.” He explains *eśhasya* as follows: *Prabhṛithe havirbhīr havi-rūpair annaiḥ eśhasya prāpraṇīyasya*. “One who, in the sacrifice, can be reached by oblations of food.” The same epithet *eśha* is applied to Vishṇu in the other two following passages referred to in Bocht. and Roth’s Lexicon under this word. R. V. ii. 34, 11.—*Tān vo maho Maruta evayāvno Viṣṇor eśhasya prabhṛithe havāmahe | ityādi |* “In the sacrifice of the rapid Vishṇu we invoke you the great, and impetuous Maruts,” etc. R. V. viii. 20, 3.—*Idmā hi*

*prabhṛithe havirbhiḥ | vīde hi Rudro rudriyam mahitvān yāsishṭam varttir Aśvināv irāvat |* “ [The other gods are ?] branches of this bountiful and rapid (?) deity Vishṇu [who is to be worshipped?] with oblations in the sacrifice. For Rudra possesses impetuous power. Come, Aśvins, to our place of sacrifice which is provided with food.”

R. V. vii. 44, 1.—*Dadhikrām vaḥ prathamam Aśvinā Ushasam Agniṁ samiddham Bhagam ūtaye huve | Indraṁ Vishṇum Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim Ādityān dyāvā-prithivī apaḥ svaḥ |* “ I invoke for your succour first Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Ushas, the kindled Agni, Bhaga, Indra, Vishṇu, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, the Adityas, heaven and earth, the waters, the sky.”

R. V. vii. 93, 8.—*Etā Agne āsushānāsa ishtir yuvoh sachā abhiśyāma vājān | mā Indro no Vishṇur Marutaḥ parikhyan ityādi |* “ Breathing forth these petitions, may we, Agni [and Indra], with [the help of] you twain obtain food. Let not Indra, Vishṇu, and the Maruts despise us,” etc.

R. V. vii. 99, 1.—*Paro mātrayā<sup>45</sup> tanvā vṛidhāna na te mahitvam amu aśnūvanti | ubhe te vidma rajasī prithivyāḥ Vishṇo deva tvam paramasya vitse |* 2. *Na te Vishṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ param antam āpa | ud astabhnāḥ nākam ṛishvaṁ bṛihantaṁ dādhartha prāchīm kakubham prithivyāḥ |* 3 (=Vāj. S. v. 16). *Irāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtām sūyavasiniṁ manushe<sup>46</sup> dāsasyā | Vi astabhnāḥ rodasī Vishṇo ete dādhartha prithivīm abhito mayūkhaiḥ |* 4. *Uruṁ yajñāya chakrathur u lokaṁ janayantā Sūryam Ushāsam Agniṁ | dāsasya chid vṛishasīprasaya māyā jaghnathur narā pritanājyeshu |* 5. *Indrā-Vishṇū dṛiṁhitāḥ Sāmbarasya nava puro navatiṁ cha śnathishṭam | śataṁ varchinaḥ sahasraṁ cha sākaṁ hatho aprati asurasya vīrān |* 6. *Iyam manishā bṛihatī bṛihantā urukramā tavasā vardhayanti | rare vām stomān vidatheshu Vishṇo pinvatam isho vṛijaneshu Indra |* 7. (S. V. 2, 977.) *Vashaṭ te Vishṇo āsaḥ ā krīṇomi tad me jushasva śipivishṭa haryam | vardhantu tvā sushṭutayo giro me yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |*

*Rudriyānām iushmam ugram Marutām śimīvatām | Vishṇor eshasya mīthushām |* “ For we know the fiery vigour of the sons of Rudra, the destructive Maruts; who dispense [the gifts] of the rapid Vishṇu.” Dr. Aufrecht considers the interpretation of *esha* very doubtful, and does not see why all three passages should not be referred to Rudra rather than Vishṇu. As, however, they contain the word *Vishṇu*, I have retained them.

<sup>45</sup> Compare *paro-mātram ṛichīshamam Indram*; R. V. viii. 57, 1.

<sup>46</sup> Yajur-veda v. 16 reads *manave*.

“Thou who, with thy body, growest beyond our measure, [men] do not attain to thy greatness: we know both thy two regions of the earth; thou, divine Vishṇu, knowest the remotest [world]. 2. No one, o divine Vishṇu, who is being born, or who has been born, knows the furthest limit of thy greatness. Thou didst prop up the lofty and vast sky; thou didst uphold the eastern pinnacle of the earth.<sup>47</sup> 3. [Ye two worlds] be ye abundant in food, cows, and pastures, through beneficence to man. Vishṇu, thou didst prop asunder these two worlds; thou didst envelop the earth on every side with beams of light. 4. Ye (Indra and Vishṇu) have provided ample room for the sacrifice, producing the sun, the dawn, and fire. Ye, o heroes, destroyed in the battles the illusions of the hostile (*dāsa*) Vṛishasīpra. 4. Indra and Vishṇu, ye smote the ninety-nine strong cities of Sambara; together, ye slew, unopposed, a thousand and a hundred heroes of the Asura Varchin. 6. This great hymn magnifies you two, the great, the wide-striding, the powerful; Vishṇu, and Indra, I present to you twain a hymn at the sacrifices. Increase my vigour, should [I fall] into calamity. 7. Vishṇu, I utter to thee this invocation from my mouth. Śipivishṭa, receive this my oblation. May my laudatory hymns magnify thee: do you always preserve us with blessings.”

R. V. vii. 100.—*Nū maritto dayate sanishyan yo Vishṇave urugāyāya dāsāt | pra yaḥ satrāchā manasā yajāte etāvantaṁ naryam ūvivāsat |*  
 2. *Ivaṁ Vishṇo sumatiṁ viśvajanyām aprayutām evayāvo matiṁ dāḥ |*  
*percho yathā naḥ svitasya bhūrer aśvāvataḥ puruśchandraśya rāyaḥ |*  
 3. *Tvir devaḥ pṛithivīm eśha etāṁ vi chakrame śatarchasam mahitvā |*  
*pra Vishṇur astu tavasas tavīyān tvoshāṁ hi asya śhāviraśya nāma |*  
 4. *Vi chakrame pṛithivīm eśha etāṁ zetrāya Vishṇur manushe daśasyan |*  
*dhruvāso asya kirayo janāsaḥ uruxitiṁ sujanimā chakāra |* 5. (S. V. 2, 976; Nir. 5, 9.) *Pra tat te adya śipivishṭa nāma ayaḥ śāmsāmi*  
*vayunāni vidvān | taṁ tvā grīṇāmi tavasam atavyān zayantam asya*  
*rajaśaḥ parāke |* 6. (S. V. 2, 975; Nir. 5, 8.) *Kim it te Vishṇo*  
*parichazyam bhūt<sup>48</sup> pra yad vavaxe śipivishṭo asmi | mā carpo asmad*  
*apa gūha etad yad anyarūpaḥ samitḥo babhūtha |* (The seventh verse is repeated from the last hymn.)

“That man never repents who, seeking [for good], brings offerings to

<sup>47</sup> Compare Isaiah xl. 22; xlv. 12, 18.

<sup>48</sup> The Śāma-veda reads *parichazi nāma*.



Vishṇu, the wide-stepping, who worships him with his whole heart, and propitiates such a powerful [god]. 2. Vouchsafe to us, swiftly-moving Vishṇu, thy benevolence, which embraces all mankind, thy unpreoccupied regard; that thou mayest grant us abundant good, and brilliant wealth, with horses. 3. Thrice this god by his greatness has traversed this earth with its hundred lights. May Vishṇu be the strongest of the strong: for awful is the name (power?) of that immoveable [being]. 4. This Vishṇu traversed the earth to bestow it for a habitation on Manu [or man]. The men who praise him are secure: [the god] of exalted birth has given them an ample abode. 5. I, a master, who know the sacred rites, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa; I, who am weak, laud thee who art strong, and afar off, reignest over this lower world. 6. What, Vishṇu, hadst thou to conceal, that thou declarest, 'I am S'ipivishṭa?' Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another shape in the battle."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The following illustration of this verse is quoted by Professor Benfey from the commentary on the corresponding passage of the S. V. : *Purā khalu Vishṇuḥ svām rūpam parityajya kṛitrimañ rūpāntaram dhārayan saṅgrāme Vasishṭhasya sākḥyayāṁ chakāra | tañ jānann ṛishir anayā pratyāchashṭe |* "Vishṇu formerly abandoning his own form, and assuming another artificial shape, succoured Vasishṭha in battle. Recognising the god, the rishi addresses him with this verse." In Nir. v. 8 and 9, Yāska quotes verses 5 and 6 of the hymn before us in inverse order. After telling us, (v. 7) that "Vishṇu has two names, S'ipivishṭa, and Vishṇu, of which, according to Aupamanyava, the former has a bad sense," (*S'ipivishṭo Vishṇur iti Vishṇor dee namanī bhavataḥ | kutsitārthīyam pūrvam bhavati ity Aupamanyavaḥ*), Yāska quotes verse 6, on which he observes: *Kiñ te Vishṇo prakhyātam etad bhavaty aprakhyāpanīyāñ yan nah prabrūshe | śepa iva nirecshṭito 'smi ity apratipanna-raśmiḥ | api vā praśāmsā-nāmaiva abhipretāñ syāt | kiñ te Vishṇo prakhyātam etad bhavati prakhyāpanīyāñ yad uta prabrūshe S'ipivishṭo 'smi iti pratipanna-raśmiḥ | śipayo 'tra raśmaya uchayante tair āvishṭo bhavati | mā varpo asmad apagūha etat | varpa iti rūpa-nāma . . . | yad ayya-rūpaḥ samithe saṅgrāme bhavasi saṁyata-raśmiḥ |* "What, Vishṇu, is this undeclared thing of thine not to be declared, which thou tellest? 'I am enveloped like a private member,' i.e. with rays obscured. Or, by *S'ipivishṭa* a laudatory appellation may be intended; 'what is this declared thing of thine, which is to be declared, that thou tellest? 'I am *S'ipivishṭa*, i.e. one whose rays are displayed.' The word '*śipi*' here means 'rays;' with these he is pervaded. 'Do not conceal this form: ' *varpas* is a word meaning 'form' . . . . 'That thou art of another form in the battle (*samithe = saṅgrāme*), with thy rays obscured (?)'" On v. 5, Yāska remarks: Nir. v. 9: "*Tat te 'dya S'ipivishṭa nāma ayyaḥ śāmsāmi*" | *aryyo 'ham asmi śvarah stomānām | ayyas tvam asi iti vā | tañ tvā staumi tavasam atavyāms tavasa iti mahato nāmadheyam udīto bhavati | nivasantam asya rayasaḥ parāke parākṛānte |* "'I, a master, to-day celebrate this thy name, S'ipivishṭa.' I am *ayyaḥ*, a master of songs. Or, thou art a master. 'I, weak, praise thee, the strong.' *Tavas* is a word used for 'great.' 'Dwelling beyond (*parāke = parākṛānte*) this lower world.'" In the Mahābhārata,

R. V. viii. 9, 12.—*Yad Indrena saratham yātho Aśvinā yad vā Vāyunā bhavathah samokasā | yad Ādityebhir Rībhuhhīh sajoshasā yad vā Vishnor vikramaneshu tishṭhathah* | “When, Aśvins, ye ride in the same car with Indra, or when ye dwell in the same abode with Vāyu, or when ye are associated with the Adityas and the Rībhush, or when ye abide in the strides of Vishṇu.”

R. V. viii. 10, 2.— . . . . *Bṛihaspatiṁ Viśvāndevān aham huve Indrā-Vishṇu Aśvināv āsu-heshasā* | “I invoke Bṛihaspati, the Viśvedevas, Indra and Vishṇu, and the Aśvins with swift steeds.”

R. V. viii. 12, 16 (=S. V. i. 384; A. V. 20, 111, 1).—*Yat somam Indra Vishnavi yad vā gha Trita Āptye | yad vā Marutsu mandase sam Indubhīh* | . . . . 25. *Yad Indra pṛitanājye devās tvā dadhire puraḥ | ad it te haryatā hari vavazatuḥ* | 26. *Yadā Vṛittraṁ nadi-vṛitaṁ savasā vajrinn abadhīh | tad ad id ityādi* | 27. *Yadā te Vishṇur ojasā trīni padā vichakrame | ad id ityādi* |

“Whether, Indra, thou enjoyest soma, along with Vishṇu, or with Trita Aptya, or with the Maruts, [partake also of our] libations. . . . 25. When, Indra, the gods placed thee in their front in the battle, then thy dear steeds grew. 26. When, thunderer, thou didst by thy might slay Vṛittra, who stopped up the streams, then thy dear steeds grew. 27. When by thy force Vishṇu strode three steps, then thy dear steeds grew.”

R. V. viii. 15, 8 (=S. V. 2, 996 f.; A. V. 20, 106, 26).—*Tava dyaur Indra paum̐syam pṛithivī vardhati śravaḥ | tvām āpaḥ parvatāsāś cha hinivire* | 9. *Tvām Vishṇur bṛihan zayo*<sup>60</sup> *Mitro grīṇāti Varunaḥ* |

S'āntiparva, vv. 13229, ff, Krishna is introduced as explaining the sense of the word *S'ipivishṭa* thus; (If the writer intended to represent Yaska as the rishi by whom the word was first applied to Vishṇu, he could not have been a particularly good Vedic scholar): *S'ipivishṭeti chākhyayām hīna-romā cha yo bhavet | tenāvishṭam tu yat kinchieh Chhipivishṭeti cha smṛitah* | *Yāsko mām pishir aeyagro naika-yajñeshu gītavān* | *S'ipivishṭa iti hy amād guhya-nāma-dhoro hy aham* | *stutvā mām S'ipivishṭeti Yāskah sarshir udāra-dhīh* | *mat-prasādād adho nashṭam Niruktam abhijagmivān* | “A bald man is designated by the word *S'ipivishṭa*. Anything which is penetrated by that (what?) is called *S'ipivishṭa*. Yaska, the serene rishi, celebrated me at many sacrifices. In consequence of this I bear the mysterious name of *S'ipivishṭa*. Yaska, that rishi of large understanding, having lauded me as *S'ipivishṭa*, recovered by my favour the *Nirukta*, which had been destroyed.”

<sup>60</sup> Benfey, in his translation of the Sama-veda, renders *zaya* by “king.” Roth, in his *Lexicon*, thinks this sense is not established, and renders the words *bṛihan zayaḥ*

*tvām śardho madati anu mārutam | 10. Teaṁ vṛishā janānām mañ-  
hisṭhaḥ Indra jajñishe | satrā viśvā su-apatyāni dadhishe |*

8. "Indra, the sky augments thy manhood, and the earth thy renown. The waters and the mountains stimulate thee. 9. Vishṇu, the high ruler, Mitra, and Varuṇa celebrate thee; the troop of Maruts follows thee with exultation. 10. Thou, Indra, hast been born the greatest fertilizer of beings; thou hast made all things altogether prolific."

R. V. viii. 25, 11.—*Te no nāvam urushyata divā-naktaṁ sudānavaḥ |  
arishyanto ni pāyubhiḥ sachemahi | 12. Aghnate Vishṇave vayam arish-  
yantaḥ sudānava | śrudhi svayāvan sindho pūrva-chittayo | 13. (Nir. v. 1)  
Tad vāryam vṛinīmahe varishṭhaṁ gopayatyam | Mitro yat pānti  
Varuṇo yaḍ Aryamā | 14. Uta naḥ sindhur apāṁ tad Marutas tad  
Aśvinā | Indro Vishṇur mādhwāmsaḥ sajoshasaḥ |*

"Do ye, bountiful [gods], preserve our bard<sup>51</sup> night and day. May we, free from injury, receive your protection. 12. Free from injury, we [offer praise] to the innocuous, and bountiful Vishṇu. Listen, o self-moving ocean, to our early hymn. 13. We desire that excellent treasure, worthy to be guarded, which Mittra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman possess. 14. And may the ocean of waters, may the Maruts, may the Aśvins, Indra, and Vishṇu, the beneficent, associated together, [bestow] that."

R. V. viii. 27, 8.—*Ā prayāta Maruto Vishṇo Aśvinā Pūshan  
mākinayā dhiyā | Indra āyātu prathamah sanishyubhir vṛishā yo  
vṛittrahā grīne |* "Come hither, ye Maruts, Vishṇu, Aśvins, Pūshan, at my hymn. May Indra come the first, he who is celebrated by those who desire to honour him, as the vigorous, the slayer of Vṛittra."

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

R. V. viii. 29, 1 ff.—*Babhrur eko vishuṇaḥ sūnaro yuvā añḷi aṅkte  
hiraṇyayaṁ | 2. Yonim eka ā sasāda dyotano antar doveshu medhiraḥ |*

by "high abode, i.e. heaven, or those who dwell in the high abode, the gods." He also conjectures that the correct reading in this passage may be *bṛihat-xayah*, "who dwells on high."

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Aufrecht tells me that the word *nāvam* is so accented that it cannot mean "ship." He regards it as a masc. noun from the root *nu*, "to praise;" and assigns to it the sense of "bard," or "hymn." That there is such a word as *nāva* is proved by its occurrence in R. V. ix. 45, 5: *Induṁ nāvōḥ anūshata |* where it must mean "the bards, or hymns, celebrated Indu."

3. *Vāśim eko bibhartti haste āyasim antar deveshu nidhruviḥ* | 4. *Vajram eko bibhartti haste āhitam tena vrittrāni jighnate* | 5. *Tigmam eko bibhartti haste ayudham śuchir ugro jalāsha-bheshajaḥ* | 6. *Patha ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā eṣa veda nidhīnām* | 7. *Trīṇi eka urugūyo vi chakrame yatra devāso madanti* | 8. *Vibhir dvā charataḥ ekayā saha pra pravāso iva vasataḥ* | 9. *Sado dvā chakrāte upamā divi saṃrājā sarpir-asuti* | 10. *Archanta eko mahi sāma manvata tena sūryam arochayan* |

“One<sup>53</sup> is a youth, brown, [now] hostile, [now] friendly. A golden lustre invests him. 2. Another,<sup>53</sup> luminous, has seated himself on the place of sacrifice, wise, amidst the gods. 3. Another<sup>54</sup> holds in his hand an iron axe, firmly placed amid the gods. 4. Another<sup>55</sup> holds the thunderbolt poised in his hand, with which he burns to slay his enemies. 5. Another,<sup>56</sup> bright, fiery, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand. 6. Another<sup>57</sup> occupies the roads like a robber: he knows the treasures. 7. Another,<sup>58</sup> wide-stepping, strode three [strides, in the regions] where the gods rejoice. 8. Two [others]<sup>59</sup> ride on horses with one [goddess]: they dwell afar, as if abroad. 9. Two [others],<sup>60</sup> the highest, have made their abode in the sky, monarchs, worshipped with butter. 10. Some [of us], worshipping, have meditated the great *sāma*-hymn, by which they have caused the sun to shine.”

R. V. viii. 31, 10.—*Ā śarma parvatānām vṛiṇimāho nadīnām ā Viṣṇoḥ sachā-bhuvāḥ* | “We seek for protection from the mountains, the rivers, and Viṣṇu who is associated with them.”

R. V. viii. 35, 1, 14.—*Agninā Indreṇa Varuṇena Viṣṇunā Ādityaiḥ Rudrair Vasubhiḥ sachā-bhuvā* | *sajoshasā Ushasā Sūryeṇa cha somam pibatam Āśvinā* | 14. *Angirasvantā uta Viṣṇuvantā Marutvantā jaritur gachhatho havam ityādi* | “Āśvins, drink the soma-juice, united with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, the Ādityas, Rudra, the Vasus,

<sup>53</sup> Soma, as the moon, according to the commentator. M. Langlois thinks the sun is meant. Dr. Aufrecht thinks the troop of Maruts, *Marud-gaṇa*, may be meant, to whom, he remarks, the epithet *bābhru*, “dark-brown, tawny,” is as applicable as it is to their master, Rudra, to whom it is frequently given.

<sup>54</sup> Agni, according to the commentator. *Atra yonim iti līngād Agnir uchyate* |

<sup>55</sup> Tvaṣṭri. <sup>56</sup> Indra.

<sup>56</sup> Rudra. Compare R. V. i. 43, 4, where Rudra is named, and the same epithet *jalāsha-bheshaja* is applied to him, and R. V. vii. 35, 6, where he is called *jalāsha*, “healing.”

<sup>57</sup> Pūshan.

<sup>58</sup> Viṣṇu.

<sup>59</sup> The Āśvins. The goddess is *Ushas*, the dawn.

<sup>60</sup> Mitra and Varuṇa.

and associated with Ushas and Sūrya. 14. Attended by Angiras, by Vishṇu, and by the Maruts, you come at the invocation of your worshipper."

R. V. viii. 66, 10.—*Viśvā it tā Viśṇur ābharād urukramas tvā ishitaḥ | śatam mahishān xīra-pākam odanañ varāham Indra emuṣham |* "The wide-striding Vishṇu, urged by thee, o Indra, carried off all [these things], a hundred buffaloes, broth cooked with milk, and a fierce (?) hog."

This verse is considered by Dr. Aufrecht to contain an allusion to some myth (also referred to in R. V. i. 61, 7), in which Vishṇu appears to have been represented as carrying off cattle, a hog and other provisions for the use of Indra. Compare Professor Wilson's note (d) on R. V. i. 61, 7. The same story may be alluded to in R. V. vi. 17, 11, above, p. 70.

R. V. viii. 72, 7 (=Vāj. S. 33, 47).—*Adhi na Indra eshāñ Viśṇo saḥjātyānām | itā Maruto Aśvinā |* "Remember, Indra, Vishṇu, Maruts, Aśvins, us thy kinsmen."

R. V. ix. 33, 3 (S. V. 2, 116).—*Sutā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Maruḍbhyaḥ | somā arshanti Viśṇave |* "The soma-draughts poured forth, hasten to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 34, 2.—*Suta Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Maruḍbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viśṇave |* "The soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 56, 4.—*Tvam Indrāya Viśṇave svādur Indo pari srava | nṛiṇ stotrīṇ pāhi amhasaḥ |* "Indu, do thou flow sweet to Indra, to Vishṇu. Preserve from sin the men who praise thee."

R. V. ix. 63, 3.—*Suta Indrāya Viśṇave somaḥ kalaśe azarat | madhumān astu Vāyave |* "The soma flowed into the vessel for Indra, for Vishṇu. May it be homied for Vāyu."

R. V. ix. 65, 20 (S. V. 2, 345).—*Āpsā Indrāya Vāyave Varuṇāya Maruḍbhyaḥ | somo arshati Viśṇave |* "Pouring forth streams, the soma hastens to Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, the Maruts, and to Vishṇu."

R. V. ix. 90, 5.—*Matsi Soma Varuṇam matsi Mitram matsi Indram Indo pavamāna Viśṇum | matsi śarddho Mārutam matsi devān mṛtsi mahām Indram Indo madāya |* "Soma, Indu, purifier, thou exhilaratest Varuṇa, thou exhilaratest Mitra, thou exhilaratest Indra, thou exhilaratest Vishṇu, thou exhilaratest the troop of the Maruts,

thou exhilaratest the gods, and the great Indra, that they may be merry."

R. V. ix. 96, 5 (=S. V. ii. 293).—*Somaḥ pavate janitā matinām janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ | janitā Agner janitā Sūryasya janitā Indrasya janitā uta Viṣṇoḥ* | "Soma purifies, [he who is] the generator of hymns, the generator of the sky, the generator of the earth, the generator of Agni, the generator of Sūrya, the generator of Indra, and the generator of Viṣṇu."

This verse is quoted, and thus explained in the Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa, ii. 12: *Somaḥ pavate | somaḥ sūryaḥ prasavanāt | janitā matinām prakāśa-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām divo dyotana-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām prithivyā prathana-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām Agner gati-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām Sūryasya svikarāna-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām Indrasya aiśvaryya-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām Viṣṇor vyāpti-karmanām āditya-raśmīnām ity adhidaivatam | atha adhyātmanam | soma ātmā 'py etasmād evendriyānām janitā ity arthaḥ | api vā sarvābhir vibhūtibhir vibhūtata (?) ātmā ity ātma-gatim āchakṣe* | "Soma purifies. Soma is sūrya (the sun), from generating (*prasavanāt*). He is the generator of hymns (or thoughts), i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to reveal; of the sky, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to shine; of the earth, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to spread; of Agni, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to move; of Sūrya, i.e. of those solar rays whose function it is to appropriate (*svikarāna*); of Indra, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is sovereignty; of Viṣṇu, i.e. of those solar rays whose function is diffusion: such is the mythological explanation. Now follows the spiritual interpretation, i.e. that which refers to soul. Soma is also the soul; and for this cause he is the generator of the senses: such is the meaning. Or, he thus declares the course of the soul, that it is variously modified by all its changing manifestations."

R. V. ix. 100, 6 (=S. V. ii. 366).—*Parasva vāja-sātamah pavitre dhārāyā sutah | Indrāya Soma Viṣṇave devobhyo madhumattamah* | "Soma, purify, dispenser of much food, poured out in a stream into the filter, for Indra, for Viṣṇu, for the gods, most honied."

R. V. x. 1, 3.—*Viṣṇur itthā paramam asya vidvān jāto bṛihann abhi pāti tṛitīyam | dā yad asya payo akrata svām sachetaso abhi archanti atra* | "Viṣṇu, the great being, knowing thus his (Agni's)

highest [birth-place], protects his third [birth-place, on earth]. Men unanimously worship him here, when they offer him their libation face to face."<sup>61</sup>

R. V. x. 65, 1.—*Agnir Indro Varuṇo Mitro Aryamā Vāyuh Pūshā Sarasvatī sajoshasah | Ādityāḥ Viṣṇur Marutaḥ svar bṛihat somo Rudro Aditir Brahmanaspatiḥ |* “Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Vāyu, Pūshan, Sarasvatī, associated together, the Adityas, Viṣṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, Soma, Rudra, Aditi, Brahmanaspati.”

R. V. x. 66, 4, 5.—*Aditir dyāvā-prithivī ritam mahad Indrā Viṣṇu Marutaḥ Svar bṛihad | devān Adityān avase havāmahe Vasūn Rudrān Savitāraṁ sudaṁsasam | 5. Sarasvān dhībhīr Varuṇo dhṛitavrataḥ Pūshā Viṣṇur mahimā Vāyur Aśvinā | brahma-kṛito amṛitāḥ viśva-vedasaḥ śarma no yaṁsan trivarūtham aṁhasah |*

“We invoke Aditi, heaven and earth, the great rite, Indra and Viṣṇu, the Maruts, the great sky, the divine Adityas to our succour, the Vasus, Rudras, and Savitri, whose works are excellent. 5. May Sarasvat, through our prayers, may Varuṇa who upholds pious acts [or, whose ordinances are fixed], Pūshan, Viṣṇu the great, Vāyu, the Aśvins, the offerers of prayer, the omniscient immortals, grant us a triple protection from evil.”

R. V. x. 92, 11.—*Tē hi dyāvā-prithivī bhūri-retasā Narāśāmsāḥ chaturango Yamo 'ditiḥ | devas Tvashṭā Dravinodā Ribhuxanaḥ pra rodasī Maruto Viṣṇur arhire |* “The prolific heaven and earth, the four-limbed Narāśansa, Yama, Aditi, the god Tvashṭri, Dravinodas, the Ribhuxans, the two worlds, the Maruts, Viṣṇu have been honoured.”

R. V. x. 113, 1.—*Tam asya dyāvā-prithivī sachetasā viśvebhīr devair anu śushmam ācatām | yad. ait kṛivāno mahimānam indriyam pitṛi somasya kratumān avaradhata | 2. Tam asya Viṣṇur mahimānam ojasā aṁśuṁ dadhanvān madhuno vi rapṣate | devebhīr Indro maghavā sayāvabhir Vṛittraṁ jaghanvān abhavad varenyah |* “The concordant heaven and earth, with all the gods, have stimulated that vigour of his. When he went on displaying his energetic greatness, drinking the soma, the powerful god increased. 2. Viṣṇu, bringing to him the plant of the soma, celebrates his greatness and might. Indra, the opulent, with the gods attending, having slain Vṛittra, became distinguished.”

<sup>61</sup> Compare R. V. i. 95, 3; and x. 45, 1, ff.

R. V. x. 128, 2 (A. V. 5, 33).—*Mama devā vihave santu sarve Indra-  
canto Maruto Vishṇur Agnir ityādi* | “May the gods all attend on my  
invocation, the Maruts with Indra, Vishṇu, Agni,” etc.

R. V. x. 141, 3 (Vāj. S. 9, 26; A. V. 3, 20, 4).—*Somañ rājānam  
avaso 'gniñ gīrbhir havāmahe*<sup>63</sup> | *Ādityān Vishṇuñ Sūryam brahmā-  
ṇācha Bṛihaspatim* | . . . 5. (Vāj. S. 9, 27; A. V. 3, 20, 7.) *Arya-  
manam Bṛihaspatim Indrañ dānāya chodaya* | *Vātañ Vishṇuñ Sara-  
svatīm Savitāraṇcha vājinam* | “We invoke with hymns king Soma,  
to our aid, and the Ādityas, Vishṇu, Sūrya, and the priest<sup>64</sup> Bṛihaspati.  
5. Excite Aryaman, Bṛihaspati, Indra to generosity, and Vāta, Vishṇu,  
Sarasvatī, and Savitri, giver of food.”

R. V. x. 181, 1.—*Prathascha yasya Saprathascha nāma ānushu-  
bhasya havisho havir yat* | *Dhātur dyutānāt Savituscha Vishṇoḥ rathan-  
taram ā jabhārā Vasishṭhaḥ* | 2. *Avindan to atihitañ yad āsīd yajñasya  
dhāma paramaṁ guhā yat* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituscha Vishṇor Bhar-  
advājo bṛihad ā chakre Agneḥ* | 3. *Te 'vindan manasā didhyānā yajuḥ  
shkannam prathamam devayānam* | *Dhātur dyutānād Savituscha Vishṇor  
ā Sūryād abharan gharma ete* |

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

R. V. x. 184, 1 (=A. V. 525, 5).—*Vishṇur yoniñ kalpayatu Tvashṭā  
rūpāni pīśatatu* | *ā siñchatu Prajāpatir Dhātā garbham dadhātu te* |  
“Let Vishṇu form the womb; let Tvastṛi mould the forms; let  
Prajāpati infuse [the seminal principle]; let Dhātṛi form the  
embryo.”

<sup>63</sup> The Vājasaneyi Sanhitā reads *anvārabhāmahe* instead of *gīrbhir havāmahe*.

<sup>64</sup> I hesitate to regard the word *brahman* here as designating the god of that  
name.



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

The preceding passages are all, or nearly all, which the Rig-veda contains regarding Vishṇu. In my remarks on R. V. i. 22, 16 ff. (above p. 55 ff.), I have quoted the opinions of two of the most ancient interpreters of the Veda, Śākapūṇi and Aurnavābha, on the character of Vishṇu. The former regards him as a god who, in his three strides, is manifested in a threefold form, as Agni on earth, as Indra or Vāyu in the atmosphere, and as the Sun in heaven. The second writer, Aurnavābha, on the other hand, interprets Vishṇu's three strides as the rising, the culmination, and the setting of the sun. These three strides are also noticed, as we have seen above, in R. V. i. 154, 1, 2, 3, 4; i. 155, 4, 5; vi. 49, 13; vii. 100, 3, 4; viii. 29, 7; while in other places (R. V. ii. 1, 3; iii. 54, 14; iv. 3, 7; iv. 18, 11; viii. 89, 12; v. 3, 3; v. 87, 4; viii. 9, 12; viii. 66, 10; x. 1, 3) the epithet "wide-stepping," or "wide-striding," is either applied to this deity, or, at least, some allusion is made to this function, or to this god's station in the heavens. In R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 6, Indra is associated with Vishṇu as taking vast strides. Some other acts of even a higher character are attributed to Vishṇu. In R. V. i. 154, 1, 2; vii. 99, 2, 3, he is said to have established the heavens and the earth, to contain all the worlds in his strides; in R. V. vi. 69, 5, and vii. 99, 4, to have, with Indra, made the atmosphere wide, stretched out the worlds, produced the sun and the dawn; in R. V. i. 156, 4, to have received the homage of Varuṇa; and in R. V. vii. 99, 2, to be beyond mortal comprehension. The attributes ascribed to Vishṇu in some of these passages are such that, if these hymns stood alone in the Rig-veda, they might lead us to suppose that this deity was regarded by the Vedic Rishis as the chief of all the gods. But, as we have already seen, Indra is associated with Vishṇu even in some of those texts in which the latter is most highly magnified (as R. V. i. 155, 1 ff.; vi. 69, 1 ff.; vii. 99, 4 ff.; viii. 15, 10); nay, in one place (R. V. viii. 12, 27), the power by which Vishṇu takes his three strides is described as being derived from Indra; in two other texts (R. V. viii. 15, 9, and x. 113, 2) Vishṇu is represented as celebrating Indra's praises; while, in R. V. ix. 96, 5, Vishṇu is said to have been generated by Soma.

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

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

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

I shall first adduce a number of passages in which divine attributes and functions of the highest character are ascribed to Indra.

R. V. i. 7, 3—*Indro dirghāya chaxase ā sūryaṁ rohayad divi ityādi* | “Indra has raised up the sun in the sky to be seen from afar,” etc.

R. V. i. 52, 8.— . . . . *ayachyathāḥ bāhvor vajram āyasam adhārayo divi ā sūryaṁ driṣe* | . . . . 12. *Tvam asya pāre rajaso vyomanah svabhūty-ōjāḥ avase dhrishan-manah | chakrishe bhūmim pratimānam ojaso 'paḥ svah paribhūr eshi ā divam* | 13. *Tvam bhuvah pratimānam pṛithivyā rishva-vīrasya bṛihataḥ patir bhūḥ | viśvam āprā antarikṣam mahitvā satyam addhā nakir anyas tvāvān* | 14. *Na yasya dyāvā-pṛithivī anu vyacho na sindhavo rajaso antam ānaśuḥ | nota sva-vṛiṣṭim made asya yudhyata eko anyach chakrishe viśvam ānushak* |

“Thou hast grasped in thine arms the iron thunderbolt; thou hast placed the sun in the sky to be viewed . . . 12. [Dwelling] on the

further side of this atmospheric world, deriving thy power from thyself, daring in spirit, thou, for our advantage, hast made the earth, the counterpart<sup>64</sup> of [thy] energy; encompassing the waters and the sky, thou reachest up to heaven. 13. Thou art the counterpart of the earth, the lord of the lofty sky, with its exalted heroes. Thou hast filled<sup>65</sup> the whole atmosphere with thy greatness. Truly there is none other like unto thee.<sup>66</sup> 14. Whose vastness neither heaven and earth have equalled, nor the rivers of the atmosphere have attained its limit,—not when, in his exhilaration, he fought against the appropriator of the rain; thou alone hast made everything else in due succession.”

R. V. i. 55, 1.—*Divas chid asya varimā vi papratho Indram na mahā pṛithivī chana prati* | “His vastness is extended even beyond the sky: the earth is not comparable to Indra in greatness.”

R. V. i. 61, 9.—*Asya id eva praririche mahiteam divas pṛithivyāḥ pari antarixāt ityādi* | “His greatness transcends the sky, the earth, and surpasses the atmosphere,” etc.

R. V. i. 81, 5.—*Ā paprau pāthivam rajo badbadhe rochanā divi | na tvāvān Indra kaśchana na jāto na janishyate ati visvam vacarītha* | “He has filled the terrestrial region: he has fastened the luminaries in the sky. No one like thee, Indra, hath been born, or shall be born: thou hast transcended the universe.”

R. V. i. 102, 8.—*Trivishṭi-dhātu pratimānam ojasas tisro bhūmīr nripate trīni rochanā | ati idam visvam bhuvanam vacarītha aśatrur Indra janushā sanād asi* | “The three worlds, o king, the three luminaries are a triple counterpart of [thy] energy. Thou hast transcended this whole universe. By nature, Indra, thou art of old without an enemy.”<sup>67</sup>

R. V. i. 103, 2.—*Sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha vjreṇa hatvā nir apah sasarjja | ahann Ahim ityādi* | “He established the earth and stretched it out; smiting with the thunderbolt, he let loose the waters. He slew Ahi,” etc.

<sup>64</sup> Compare R. V. i. 102, 8; ii. 12, 9; x. 111, 5 (below). The word *pratimāna* also occurs in R. V. x. 138, 3.—See the Second Part of this work, p. 378.

<sup>65</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; ii. 15, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 20, 4; vii. 98, 3; and x. 134, 1 (below).

<sup>66</sup> Compare R. V. i. 81, 5; iv. 30, 1; vi. 30, 4; and vii. 32, 23 (below).

<sup>67</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 21, 13; x. 133, 2 (below).

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

R. V. ii. 12, 1 (Nirukta, x. 10).—*Yo jātaḥ eva prathamō manasvān devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣhat*<sup>66</sup> | *Yasya śuśhmād rodasī abhyasetām nṛṣimṇasya mahnā sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 2. *Yaḥ pṛithivīm vyathamānām adṛṣṭhad yaḥ parvatān prakupitān aramṇāt* | *yo antariṣam vimame vāriyo yo dyām astabhṇāt sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 9. . . . *Yo viśvasya pratimānam babhūva yo achyuta-chyut sa janāsa Indraḥ* | 13. *Dyāvā chid asmai pṛithivī namete śuśhmāch chid asya parvatāḥ bhayante ityādi* |

“He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, o men, is Indra. 2. He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured<sup>66</sup> the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, o men, is Indra. 9. . . . He who has been a counterpart of the universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, o men, is Indra. . . . . The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid,” etc.

R. V. ii. 15, 1.—*Pra gha nu asya mahato mahāni satyā satyasya karaṇāni vocham* | *trikadrakeshu apibat sutasya asya made ahim Indro jaghāna* | 2. *Avamśe dyām astabhāyad bṛihantam ā rodasī aprīṇad antariṣam* | *sa dhārayat pṛithivīm paprathachcha somasya tā made Indras chakāra* | 3. *Sadmeva prācho vimamāya mūnair vajreṇa khāni atṛiṇad nadinām ityādi* |

“I declare the mighty deeds of this mighty one; the true acts of this true one. At the trikadruga festival Indra drank of the soma, and in its exhilaration he slew Ahi. 2. He propped up the vast sky in empty

<sup>66</sup> *Kratunā karmaṇā paryabhavat pāryagṛiṇāt paryaraxad atyākṛmad vā . . . . nṛṣimṇasya mahnā balasya mahattvena.*—Nirukta. At the end of the comment the writer adds: *isi risher dṛiṣṭfārthasya pṛitir bhavaty ākhyāna-sam̐yuktā* | “Thus when the rishi has seen the subject [of his hymn], gratification ensues, conjoined with a narrative.”

<sup>67</sup> Compare R. V. i. 164, 1, 3, and the other corresponding passages above p. 59 ff.; and R. V. ii. 15, 3, immediately following. With the first part of the verse compare R. V. x. 149, 1, below (p. 96).

space;<sup>70</sup> he hath filled the two worlds, and the atmosphere. He hath upheld the earth, and stretched it out. Indra has done these things in the exhilaration of the soma. 3. He hath meted with his measures the eastern [regions], like a house; with his thunderbolt he has opened up the sources of the rivers," etc.

R. V. iii. 30, 9.—*Nī sāmanām ishirām Indra bhūmim mahīm apārān sadane sasattha | astabhñād dyām ṛishabho antarizam arshantu āpa trayeha prasūtāḥ |* "Thou, Indra, hast fixed in its place the level, the moving,<sup>71</sup> earth, the great, the boundless. The vigorous god has propped up the sky, and the atmosphere: may the waters flow, sent forth now by thee."

R. V. iii. 32, 7.—*Yajāma id namasā ṛiddham Indram brīhantaṃ ṛisham ajaram yurānam | yasya priye mamatur yajñiyasya na rodasi mahimānam mamāte | 8. Indrasya karma sukṛitā puruṇi vratāni devā na minanti risre | dādḥāra yaḥ pṛithirīm dyām utemām jajāna sūryam ushasām suduṃsāḥ | 9. Adrogha satyaṃ tava tad mahitcaṃ sadyo yaj jāto apibo ha somaṃ | na dyāva Indra tarasas te ojo nāhā na māśāḥ śarado varanta<sup>72</sup> |*

"Let us worship, with reverence, the mighty Indra, the powerful, the exalted, the undecaying, the youthful. The beloved<sup>73</sup> worlds (heaven and earth) have not measured, nor do they [now] measure, the greatness of this adorable being.<sup>74</sup> 8. Many are the excellent works which Indra has done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him, who established the earth, and this sky, and, wonder-working, produced the sun and the dawn. O innoxious god, thy greatness has been veritable since that time when, as soon as thou wast born, thou

<sup>70</sup> Compare R. V. x. 149, 1 (below); and Job xxvi. 7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing." See also R. V. x. 111. 5; and vi. 72, 2 (below).

<sup>71</sup> Prof. Roth explains *ishira* as meaning "fresh," "blooming."

<sup>72</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 77, 3: *Nā tvā brīhanto adrayo varante.*

<sup>73</sup> Sāyana explains *priye* as meaning *aparimite*, "immeasurable."—See vii. 87, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. Aufrecht proposes to translate the last clause thus: "his beloved (spouses), heaven and earth, imagine, but do not measure (=comprehend) the greatness of this holy being." He regards the repetition of the root *mā* "to measure" in two different forms as purposeless, and conjectures that *mamatur* may be the perfect of *man*, and used for *mamanatur* or *mammatuh*. Compare the aorist *amata*, and *sasarūn* for *sasarūn*; see also R. V. vii. 31, 7: *Mahān asi yasya te 'nu svadhāvarī sahaḥ | mamante I. 'va rodasi |*

didst drink the soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons can resist the energy of thee [who art] mighty.

R. V. iii. 44, 3.—*Dyām Indro haridhāyasam pṛithivīm harivarpasam | adhārayad ityādi* | “Indra upheld the sky with its golden luminaries, and the earth with its verdant form,” etc.

R. V. iv. 16, 5.—*Vavaxe Indro amitam ṛijīshī ubho ā prapan rodasī mahitvā | atas chid asya mahimā virechi abhi yo viśvā bhuvanā babhūva* | “The impetuous<sup>75</sup> Indra hath waxed immeasurably; he has filled both worlds with his vastness. Even beyond this extends the majesty of him who transcends all the worlds.”

R. V. iv. 30, 1.—*Nakir Indra tvad uttaro na jyāyān asti Vṛittrahan | nakir eva yathā team* | “There is none, Indra, higher than thee, or superior to thee, thou slayer of Vṛittra; neither is there any like thee.”

R. V. vi. 17, 7.—*Pāprātha xām mahi daṁso vi ūrvīm upa dyām ṛishvo brihad Indra stabhāyah | adhārayo rodasī devaputre pratne mātārā yahvī ṛitasya* | “Thou hast filled the broad earth with thy mighty works; thou, Indra, exalted, hast mightily (?) propped up the sky; thou hast supported the two worlds, the productions of the gods, the ancient and mighty parents of sacrifice.”

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

R. V. vi. 31, 2.—*Tvad-bhiyā Indra pārthivāni viśvā achyutā chit chyaṁvayante rajāṁsi | dyāvā-xāmā parvatāso vanāni viścam dṛiḥham bhayate ajmann ā te* | “Through fear of thee, Indra, all the mundane regions, however steady, begin to totter; heaven and earth, mountains, forests, everything that is fixed, is afraid at thy coming.”

R. V. vi. 38, 3.—*Tam vo dhīyā paramayā purājām ajaram Indram abhi anāshi arkair ityādi* | “I have lauded with an excellent prayer, and with praises, thee, Indra, born of old, and undecaying.”

R. V. vii. 20, 4.—*Ubhe chid Indra rodasī mahitvā ā paprātha tu-eishibhis tuvishmah ityādi* | “Thou, powerful Indra, hast filled both worlds with thy mighty deeds,” etc.

<sup>75</sup> See Bochtlingk and Roth's Lexicon under the word *ṛijīshin*, and Benfey's note 263, on R. V. i. 32, 6, in his “Orient and Occident.” The verse before us (iv. 16, 5) is translated by the same author in his Glossary to S. V., p. 162.

R. V. vii. 32, 16.—*Tava id Indra avamañ vasu tvam pushyasi ma-dhyamam | satrā viśvasya paramasya rājasi nakis tvā goshu vṛiṅvate |* . . . . 22. *Abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhāḥ iva dhenavaḥ | īśānam asya jagataḥ svarāṛiṣam īśānam Indra tasthushaḥ |* 23. *Na tvācān anyo divyo na pārthivo na jāto na janishyate ityādi*<sup>76</sup> |

“Thine, o Indra, is the lowest wealth; thou sustainest the middle; thou rulest over all the very highest; no one resists thee among the cows. . . . 22. We, o heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord of this moving, and of the stationary [world]. 23. No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to thee.”

R. V. vii. 98, 3 (=A. V. 20, 87, 3).— . . . . *Ā Indra paprātha uru antarixam yudhā devebhyo varivaś chakartha |* . . . . “Indra, thou hast filled the wide sky: thou hast by battle acquired ample space for the gods.”<sup>77</sup>

R. V. viii. 3, 6 (=S. V. ii. 938).—*Indro mahñ rodasī paprathach chhavaḥ Indrah sūryam arochayat | Indro ha viśvā bhuvanāni yemire ityādi |* “The mighty Indra by his power has spread out the two worlds; Indra has lighted up the Sun: in Indra all the worlds are contained,” etc.<sup>78</sup>

R. V. viii. 21, 13 (=S. V. 1, 399; A. V. 20, 114, 1).—*Abhrātrivyo anā tvam anāpir Indra janushā sanād asi | yudhā id āpitvam ichhase |* “Indra, by thy nature, thou art of old without a rival, without a fellow. By battle thou seekest alliance.”

R. V. viii. 36, 4.—*Janitā divo janitā prithivyāḥ ityādi |* “Generator of the sky, generator of the earth,” etc. (Indra).

R. V. viii. 37, 3.—*Ekarād asya bhuvanasya rājasi ityādi |* “Thou rulest a sole monarch over this world,” etc. (Indra).

<sup>76</sup> This entire hymn is translated in Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 543 ff.

<sup>77</sup> The words at the close of this verse occur also in R. V. i. 59, 5 (see below). In regard to *varivaḥ*, compare R. V. i. 63, 7: *amhaḥ rājan varivaḥ Pūruvo kaḥ |* “Thou affordedst relief to Pūru from his strait.” The word occurs R. V. ix. 97, 16, in the plural, *varivāmsi kṛiṅvan*. In the Nighantu, 2, 10, it is said to mean “wealth.”

<sup>78</sup> In the 8th verse of this hymn (=S. V. 2, 924; Vāj. S. 33, 97; A. V. 20, 99, 2) the following words occur: *asyed Indro vācridhe vṛishnyam śavo mado utasya vishnavi*; “Indra increased his fecundating strength, in the penetrating exhilaration of this soma.” *Vishnavi*, the word here rendered “penetrating,” is the locative case of *vishnu*. The commentator of the Vāj. Sanhitā explains it by *sarva-sarīra-eyāpako*, “That which pervades the whole body.” Sāyana, too, makes it=*kṛiṣṇa-dehasya vyāpako |*

R. V. viii. 51, 2.—*Ayujō asamo nṛibhir ekaḥ kṛiṣṭir ayāsyāḥ | pūrvīr ati pravāṛidhe viśvā jātāny ojasū ityādi |* “Without a fellow, unequalled by men, [Indra] alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations,<sup>79</sup> and all creatures.”

R. V. viii. 59, 5 (==S. V. i. 278).—*Yad dyāva Indra te śataṁ śatam bhūmīr uta syuḥ | na tvā vajrin sahasraṁ sūryāḥ anu na jātam aśṭa rodasi |* “If, Indra, a hundred skies, and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor could the two worlds attain to thee, when thou hadst been born.”

This verse is quoted and briefly commented on in the Nirukta Parisiṣṭa i. 1, ff: *Athemā atistutaya ity āchaxate 'pi vā sampratya eva syād mahābhāgyād devatāyāḥ | . . . Yadi te Indra śataṁ divaḥ śatam bhūmayāḥ pratimānāni syur na tvā vajrin sahasram api sūryā na dyāvā-prithivyāv apy abhyaśnuvitām iti |* “Now these [which follow] are what are called exaggerated praises; or they may be expressions of perfect faith owing to the grandeur of the Deity.” Then, after citing passages referring to Agni and Varuṇa, the writer quotes the verse before us, and thus paraphrases it: “If, Indra, a hundred skies, a hundred earths be the counterparts [with which thou art compared], not even a thousand suns, o thunderer, nor heaven and earth can equal thee.”

R. V. viii. 67, 5.—*Naktm Indro nikarttave na Sakraḥ pariśaktave viśvam śṛiṇoti paśyati |* “Indra is not to be overcome, Śakra is not to be overpowered. He hears and sees all things.”<sup>80</sup>

R. V. viii. 77, 4.—*Yoddhā 'si kratvā śavasota daṁsanā viśvā jātā abhi majmanā | ā tvā ayam arka ūtaye cavarttati yaṁ Gotamā ajījanan |* 5. (S. V. 1, 312.) *Pra hi ririxo ojasū divo antobhyas<sup>81</sup> pari | na tvā vivyācha raja Indra pārthivam anu svadhām varaxitha |*

“A warrior, thou surpasses all creatures in power, in vigour, in exploits, in strength. This hymn, which the Gotamas have generated, incites thee to succour us. 5. For by thy might thou hast overpassed

<sup>79</sup> Dr. Anfrecht explains *pūrvīḥ kṛiṣṭīḥ* of the races of gods anterior to Indra, the latter deity, like Jupiter, belonging to a recent generation of divinities. See Prof. Roth's articles on the “principal gods of the Arian nations,” in the Journal of the German Oriental Society.

<sup>80</sup> This hymn is translated by Professor Müller, Zeits. D. M. G. for 1853, p. 375.

<sup>81</sup> Instead of *antobhyas* the S. V. reads *sadobhyas*.



the bounds of the sky. The mundane region hath not contained thee: thou hast grown according to thine own will."<sup>82</sup>

R. V. viii. 78, 5 (=S. V. ii. 779 f.)—*Yaj jāyathā apūrvya Maghavan Vṛittra-hatyāya | tat pṛithivīm aprathayas tad astabhñā uta dyām | 6. Tat te yajño ajāyata tad arka uta haskrītiḥ | tad viśvam abhībhūr asi yaj jātaṁ yachecha jantvam |*<sup>83</sup>

“When thou, o unrivalled Maghavan (Indra), wast born for the destruction of Vṛittra, then thou didst spread out the earth, and then thou didst establish the sky. Then was thy sacrifice produced; then thy hymn and thy song of praise. Then thou didst transcend all things that have been born, and shall be born.”

R. V. viii. 82, 11.—*Yasya te nū chid ādīsaṁ na minanti svarājyaṁ na devo na adhrigur janaḥ |* “Whose command, and empire, no one,—whether god, or audacious mortal,—can resist.”

R. V. viii. 86, 9.—*Na tvā devāsa āśata na martyāso adrivaḥ | viśvā jātāni śavasā abhībhūr asi ityādi | 10. (S. V. i. 370): Viśvāḥ pritanā abhībhūtaraṁ naraṁ<sup>84</sup> sajūs tataxur Indraṁ jajanuś cha rājase | kratvā varishṭaṁ vare<sup>85</sup> āmurim utogram ojiṣṭhaṁ tavasam<sup>86</sup> tarasvinam |*

“Thee, o hurler of rocks, neither gods nor mortals have overcome. Thou transcendest in power all creatures, etc. 10. They, united, have formed and generated for dominion the heroic Indra, the vanquisher of all armies, eminent in power to bless (?), destroyer, fierce, strong, vigorous, and swift.”

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

R. V. x. 43, 5 (=A. V. 20, 17, 5; Nir. 5, 22).—*Kṛitaṁ na śvaghñī vichinoti devane saṁvargaṁ yad Maghavā sūryaṁ jayat | na tat te anyo anu vīryaṁ śakad na purāṇo Maghavan na uta nūtanah |* “When Maghavan

<sup>82</sup> At the end of the verse the S. V. reads *atī viśvam vavazitha* | “Thou hast transcended the universe.” On the sense of *svadhā*, see Roth, *Illust. of Nir.* pp. 40 f. and 135.

<sup>83</sup> Compare the words *yad bhūtaṁ yachecha bhūeyam* in the Purusha Sūkta, R. V. x. 90, 2. See First Part of this work, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *naraḥ*.

<sup>85</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *kratve vare sthemanī āmurīm*.

<sup>86</sup> The Sāma-veda reads *tarasaṁ*.

has conquered spoils<sup>87</sup> from the sun, he is like a gamester who distributes his gains at play.<sup>88</sup> No other, Maghavan, either old or recent, can equal thy prowess."

R. V. x. 48, 3.—*Mahyaṁ Tvashṭā vajram ataxad āyasam mayi devāso avrijann api kratum | mama anīkaṁ sūryasya iva dustaram mām āryanti kṛitena kartvena cha |* "Tvasṭri fashioned for me (Indra) an iron thunderbolt; into me the gods have infused force. My splendour is unsurpassed, like that of the sun. Men praise me for what I have done and shall do."

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

R. V. x. 111, 1.—*Manīshīnaḥ pra bharaadhvam manīshām yathā yathā matayaḥ santi nṛiṇām | Indram satyair erayāmā kṛitebhiḥ sa hi viro girvanasyur vidānaḥ |* 2. *Ṛitasya hi sadaso dhītir adyaut saṁ gārshṭeyo vṛishabho gobhir ānaḥ | ud atishṭhat tavishena ravena mahānti chid saṁviryāchā rajāṁsi |* 3. *Indrah kila śrutyai asya veda sa hi jishnuḥ pathikṛit sūryāya | ād menām kṛiṇvann achyuto bhuvad goḥ patir divaḥ sanajā apratitah |* 4. *Indro mahnā mahato arnavasya vratā aminād Angirobhir grīṇānaḥ | purūni chid ni tatāna rajāṁsi dādharma yo dharuṇam satyatātā |* 5. *Indro divaḥ pratimānam prithivyā viśvā veda savanā hanti Sushnam | mahim chid dyām ā atanot sūryeṇa chāskambha chit skambhanena skabhīyān |*

"Sages, present the prayer, according as are the various thoughts of men. Let us by our sincere rites bring hither Indra, for he is a hero, he loves our hymns, and he is wise. 2. The intelligent [god] has shone forth from the abode of sacrifice. The bull, offspring of a heifer, has approached the cows; he has arisen with a loud bellowing; he has pervaded the vast regions. 3. Indra surely knows the fame of this. For

<sup>87</sup> Sāyana explains *saṁcargam* as = *saṁyag vṛishṭer varjayitūram |* "discharger of rain." The word, as Dr. Aufrecht informs me, occurs only once again in the R. V. viz. in viii. 64, 12: *saṁcargam saṁ rayiṁ jaya |* and he adds that the translation "spoils" is supported by several passages of the S. P. Br. e.g. i. 7, 2, 24 (p. 69): *pītur āśyama upreyūḥ . . . kathaṁ ne imam api saṁvērūjīmahī* (Schol. *apaharemahī*). Ibid. *saṁvērūjāta, saṁvērūkte*. S. P. Br. i. 9, 2, 34: *sarvaṁ yajñāṁ saṁvērūya* (= *saṁvōpti-pūrvaṁ saṁhṛitya*). In the R. V. Indra is called *samerik samatsu* "the spoiler in battles."

<sup>88</sup> The same comparison occurs in R. V. x. 42, 9, and A. V. 7, 50, 6; 20, 89, 7.

he, victorious, immoveable, forming a path for the sun, and creating the female of a bull (?), became, in consequence, the eternal and matchless lord of the sky (compare R. V. i. 51, 13; i. 121, 2). 4. Celebrated by the Angirases, Indra has destroyed the labours of the great streaming [cloud-demon];<sup>89</sup> he has stretched out many worlds, he who has laid a foundation by truth. 5. Indra, [who is] the counterpart of the heaven and of the earth, knows all sacrifices, slays Sushṇa; with the sun, he has extended the vast sky, and, [being] a strong supporter, he has supported it with a support."<sup>90</sup>

R. V. x. 133, 2 (=S. V. ii. 1151).—*Tvaṁ sindhūn avāsrījah adharācho ahann Ahiṁ | āsātrur Indra jajñishhe viśvam pushyasi vāryam ityādi* | "Thou hast let loose the streams to flow downwards; thou hast slain Ahi. Indra, thou hast been born without a foe; thou possessest all that is desirable," etc.

R. V. x. 134, 1 (=S. V. i. 379).—*Ubhe yad Indra rodasī āpaprātha ushā iva | mahāntāṁ tvā mahināṁ samrājāṁ charshajñinām | devī janitrī ajñjanad bhadrā janitrī ajñjanat*<sup>91</sup> | "When thou, Indra, like the dawn, didst fill both the worlds, a divine mother bore thee, the mighty monarch of mighty creatures,—a gracious mother bore thee."

How great soever the attributes assigned to Indra may be, we see that here he is not regarded as a self-existent being, but as the son of a mother.

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

R. V. vi. 72, 2.—*Indrā-Somā vāsāyatha ushāsam ut sūryam nayatho jyotishā saha | upa dyāṁ skambhathuḥ skambhanena aprathatam pṛithivīm mātaram vi* | "Indra and Soma, ye cause the dawn to appear, ye make the sun to rise with the light. Ye have propped up the sky with a support,<sup>92</sup> ye have spread out the earth, the mother."

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

<sup>89</sup> That this is the allusion in the word *arṇava*, is shown by the following passage: R. V. x. 67, 2.—*Indro mahnū mahato arṇavasga vi mūrāhānam abhinad Arbudasya ityādi* | "Indra by his power split asunder the head of the great streaming Arbuda," etc.

<sup>90</sup> Compare R. V. vi. 72, 2, below.

<sup>91</sup> The last line is repeated at the close of each of the five following verses.

<sup>92</sup> Compare R. V. ii. 15, 2; x. 111, 5; and x. 149, 1, below.

The passages next following celebrate the divine attributes of Varuṇa :

R. V. i. 24, 8.—*Uruṁ hi rajā Varuṇas̄ chakāra sūryāya panthām anu-etavai u ityādi* | “King Varuṇa hath made a broad path for the sun to follow,” etc.

R. V. ii. 27, 10.—*Tvaṁ viśveshām Varuṇāsi rājā yo cha devā asura yo cha maritāḥ* | “Thou, divine Varuṇa, art king of all, both of those who are gods, and of those who are men.”—Quoted in Müller’s *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 534.

R. V. vi. 70, 1.—*Ghṛitavatī bhuvanānām abhiśriyā ūrvī pṛithvī madhu-dughe supēśasā | dyāvā-pṛithivī Varuṇasya dharmaṇā viśkabhite ajare bhūri-retasā* | “Full of fatness, the common abodes of creatures, wide, broad, dropping sweetness, beautiful in form, heaven and earth are held asunder by the support of Varuṇa, undecaying, abundant in fertility.”

R. V. vii. 86, 1.—*Dhīrā tu asya mahinā janūmshi vi yas tastambha rodasī chid ūrvī | pra nākam rishvaṁ nunude bṛihantaṁ dvitā nazatram paprathach cha bhūma* | “Wise are his creations who by his power propped asunder the two vast worlds. He raised up the high and wide firmament, and spread out apart the stars and the earth.”—This hymn is translated in Müller’s *Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 540 f.

R. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Radat patho Varuṇaḥ sūryāya pra arṇāṁsi samudriyā nadinām | sargo na sṛiṣṭo arcatir ṛitāyan chakāra mahir avanīr ahabhyaḥ* | 2. *Ātmā te vāto raja ā navinot paśur na bhūrṇir yavaso savān | antar mahī bṛihati rodasīme viśvā te dhāma Varuṇa priyāni* |

“Varuṇa has opened out paths for the sun, and the aerial courses of the rivers. Like a troop of horses let loose, following the mares, he has made great channels for the days. 2. The wind is thy breath, which has agitated the atmosphere, like an impetuous beast grazing in a pasture. Within [thee ?] are these two great and vast worlds; all thy realms, o Varuṇa, are beloved [or, unlimited].”<sup>93</sup>

R. V. viii. 42, 1.—*Astabhnād dyām Asuro viśvavedā amimita varimānam pṛithivyāḥ | āsidad viśvā bhuvanāni samrād viśvā it tāni Varuṇasya vratāni* | 2. *Evā vandasvā Varuṇaṁ bṛihantaṁ namasyā dhīram amṛitasya gopām | sa naḥ śarma trivarūthaṁ viyaṁsad ityādi* |

“The omniscient Spirit (*Asura*) has propped up the sky; he has

<sup>93</sup> See note on R. V. iii. 32, 7, above.

measured<sup>94</sup> the expanse of the earth; he has pervaded all the worlds, the monarch: all these are the achievements of Varuṇa. 2. Reverence, then, the mighty Varuṇa, bow down before the wise guardian of immortality. May he impart to us triple prosperity," etc.

The next texts refer to the Sun (Sūrya, Aditya, or Savitṛi):

R. V. i. 50, 7.—*Vi dyām eshi rajas prithv ahā mimāno aktubhūḥ | paśyan janmāni Sūrya |* "Thou traverses the sky, the broad expanse, measuring (forming?) the days with thy rays; beholding created things, o Sun."

R. V. i. 160, 4.—*Ayaṁ devānām apasām apastamo yo jajāna rodasī viśvasāmbhuvā | vi yo mama rajasī sukratūyayā ajarebhiḥ skambhanebhiḥ samānṛiche |* "He, the most active of the active gods, who produced the heaven and earth which are beneficent to all; who from a desire to benefit [men] measured (constructed?) the worlds, with their undecaying supports,—he has been lauded [by us]."<sup>95</sup>

R. V. viii. 90, 11, 12 (=S. V. ii. 1138, 9).—*Baḍ mahān asi Sūrya baḍ Āditya mahān asi | mahas te sato mahimā panasyate addhā deva mahān asi | Baḍ Sūrya śravasā mahān asi satrā deva mahān asi | mahnā devānām asuryaḥ purohito vibhu jyotir adābhyam |*

"Verily, Sūrya, thou art great; verily, Āditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated: certainly, god, thou art great. 12. Verily, Sūrya, thou art great in renown: o god, thou art very great; through thy greatness thou art the divine leader of the gods, the pervading, irresistible luminary."

R. V. x. 149, 1.—*Savitā yantraiḥ prithivīm aramṇād askambhane Savitā dyām adriṁhat | āsvam iva adhuzad dhunim antarixam atūrte badhām Savitā samudram | 2. Yatra samudraḥ skabhito vi-aunad apām napāt Savita tasya veda | ato bhūr ata ā utthitaṁ rajo ato dyāvā-pri-thivī aprathetām |*

"Savitṛi has established the earth by supports; Savitṛi has fixed the sky in unsupported space;<sup>96</sup> Savitṛi has milked the atmosphere,

<sup>94</sup> See above, p. 61.

<sup>95</sup> See R. V. x. 111, 5, and vi. 72, 2.

<sup>96</sup> In later times, as is well known, the earth is represented in Hindu mythology as resting on the head of the serpent Śeṣha, or on some other support. Thus it is said in the Vishnu Pur. ii. 5, 19 (Wilson, p. 206): *Sa bibhrat śekharibhūtam aśeṣhaṁ xiti-maṇḍalam | āste pātāla-mūla-sthaḥ Śeṣho 'śeṣha-surārchitaḥ |* "Śeṣha, worshipped by all the gods, supports the whole region of the earth like a diadem, and is

restless (or noisy) as a horse, [or, Savitṛi has extracted from the atmosphere the ocean, etc., restless as a horse],—the ocean fastened in the impassable expanse. 2. Savitṛi, the son of the waters, knows the place where the ocean, supported, issued forth. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose; from him the heaven and earth extended.”

The first of the preceding verses is quoted by Yāska (Nir. x. 32), and illustrated as follows: *Savitā yantraīḥ pṛithivīm aramayāt | anārambhānō'ntarize Savitā dyām adṛimhad āsvam iva adhuxad dhunim antarize megham baddham atūrte baddham atūrṇe iti vā 'tvaramāṇe iti vā Savitā samuditāram iti | kam anyam madhyamād evam avaxyāt | Ādityo 'pi Savitā uchyate.* “Savitri by supports has caused the earth to rest; Savitri has fixed the sky like a horse in the place which has no resting place (?)—the atmosphere. Savitri has milked the watery cloud fastened in the atmosphere, the impassable, or the unhasfening. What other god than the intermediate one (*i.e.* the deity residing in the atmosphere) would he have thus described? The sun also (whose place is in the sky) is called Savitri.”

the foundation of Pātāla.” The Siddhāntas, or scientific astronomical works of India, however, maintain that the earth is unsupported. Thus it is said in the Siddhānta-Siromaṇi, iii. 2: *Bhūmeḥ pīṇḍaḥ śāsānka-jña-kavi-ravi-kujejyārki-naxatra-kaxā-erittair vṛitāḥ san mṛid-anila-salila-vyoma-tejomayo'yam | nānyādāhārah sva-śaktyaiva viyati niyatām tisthati ityādī | . . . 4. Mūrto dhartā ched dharitṛyās tad-anyas tasyāpyanyo 'syaivam atrānasasthā | antye kalpyā chet sva-śaktiḥ kim ādye kiṁ no bhūmir ityādī |* which is thus translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson in the *Bibl. Indica* (new series), No. 13: “2. This globe of the earth formed of [the five elementary principles] earth, air, water, the ether, and fire, is perfectly round, and encompassed by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and by the constellations. It has no [material] supporter; but stands firmly in the expanse of heaven by its own inherent force. On its surface throughout subsist [in security] all animate and inanimate objects, Danujas and human beings, gods and Daityas.” . . . “4. If the earth were supported by any material substance or living creature, then that would require a second supporter, and for that second a third would be required. Here we have the absurdity of an interminable series. If the last of the series be supposed to remain firm by its own inherent power, then why may not the same power be supposed to exist in the first—that is, in the earth? For is not the earth one of the forms of the eight-fold divinity, *i.e.* of Śiva?” Aryya Bhatta, one of the most ancient of Indian scientific astronomers, even maintained that the alternation of day and night is the result of the rotation of the earth on its own axis. His words, as quoted by Mr. Colebrooke (*Essays*, ii. p. 392) are these: *Bha-yanjaraḥ sthiro bhūr eva vṛitā vṛiṣṭya pṛātidivasikāv udayāstamayau sampādayati naxatra-grahāṇām |* “The starry firmament is fixed. It is the earth, which, continually revolving, produces the rising and setting of the constellations and planets.”

Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nir., p. 143) thus translates the verse: "Savitri has fixed the earth with supports, he has fastened the heaven in unsupported space; he has milked the atmosphere shaking itself like a horse, the stream which is confined within limits which cannot be overpassed." (In his Lexicon, however, Prof. Roth gives to *dhuni* the sense of "sounding.") He then observes: "According to Yaska the Savitri who is here mentioned must be the intermediate one, on account of his function in causing rain."

The following passages refer to Agni:

R. V. i. 59, 5.—*Divaś chit te bṛihato Jātavedo vaiśvānara pra ririche mahitvam | rājā kṛishṭīnām asi mānushīvām yudhā devebhyo varicāś chakartha |* "Jātavedas, present with all men, thy greatness surpasses even that of the vast sky. Thou art the king of human creatures; by battle thou hast obtained an ample space for the gods."

R. V. i. 67, 3.—*Ajo na xām dādāhara prithivīm tasthambha dyām mantrebhiḥ satyair ityādi |* "Like the moving [sun, or the unborn] he upheld the broad earth; he supported the sky with true hymns," etc.

The next verses celebrate the greatness of Parjanya:

R. V. vii. 101, 4.—*Yasmin viśvāni bhuvanāni tasthus tisro dyāvā tredhā sasrur āpa ityādi |* 6. *Sa rotodhā vṛishabhaḥ śaśvatīnām tasmīn ātmā jagataś tastuśaścha |* (Compare R. V. i. 115, 1). "He in whom all the worlds abide, and the three heavens, and [by whom] the waters flowed in three directions, etc. 6. He is the bull that impregnates all the cows: in him is the soul of the moving and stationary world."

This next passage refers to the god called Gandharva:

R. V. x. 139, 5.—. . . *Divyo Gandharvo rajaso vimānah |* "The divine Gandharva, measurer of the world," etc.

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

R. V. ix. 61, 16 (=S. V. 1, 484).—*Pavamāno ajjjanad divaś chitraṁ na tanyatum | jyotir vaiśvānaram bṛihat |* "The purifier [Soma] has generated the great light which is common to all mankind, like the wonderful thundering of the sky."

R. V. ix. 86, 28.—*Tavemāḥ prajā divyasya retasas tvam viśvasya bhuvanasya rājasi | athedaṁ viśvam pavamāna te vaśe tvam Indo prathamo dhāmadhā asi |* 29. *Tvam samudro asi viśvavit kave tavemāḥ pañcha pradīśo vidharmaṇi | tvam dyām cha prithivīṁ chāti jabhrishe tava*

*jyotīṃśhi pavamāna sūryaḥ | 30. Tvam pavitre rajaso vidharmanī  
 devobhyaḥ soma pavamāna pūyaso | tvām Uśijaḥ prathamā agrībhṅata  
 tubhyemā viśvā bhuvanāni yemire |*

“All these creatures spring from thy divine seed; thou art the lord of the whole universe. All this, purifier, is under thy control; thou, Indu, art the first sustainer of the regions. Thou, sage, art an omniscient ocean; all these five quarters of the world are upheld by thee. Thou hast transcended the sky and the earth; thine, o purifier, are the luminaries and the sun. In the filter which is the support of the world, thou, pure Soma, art purified for the gods. The Uśijas first gathered thee. In thee all these worlds are contained.”

R. V. ix. 89, 6.—*Viśṭambho divo dharuṇaḥ prithivya viśvā uta xitayo  
 haste aya ityādi |* “He is the supporter of the sky, the upholder of the earth: all men are in his hand.”

R. V. ix. 96, 5, which has been quoted above (p. 81), should be again referred to here.

R. V. ix. 97, 24.—*Pavitrebbhiḥ pavamāno nṛichazāḥ rājā devānām uta  
 marttyānām ityādi |* “[Soma], purified by filters, the beholder of men, is the king of gods, and of mortals,” etc.

R. V. ix. 100, 8.—*Pavamāna mahi śravaś chātrebhir yāsi raśmībhiḥ<sup>97</sup> |  
 tarddhan tamāñsi jighnase viśvāni dāsusho grihe | 9. tvaṃ dyāṃ cha  
 mahivrata prithivīm chāti jabhrisho ityādi |* “Thou, pure [Soma], marchest onward to great renown, by thy varied rays; daring, thou willest to destroy all darkness in the house of thy worshipper. 9. Thou, achiever of great deeds, hast transcended heaven and earth,” etc.

R. V. ix. 107, 7.— . . . *tvaṃ kavir abhavo deva-vītamaḥ ā sūryaṃ  
 rohayo divi |* “Thou art a sage most pleasing to the gods; thou hast caused the sun to rise in the sky.”

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

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

The following passage from Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit

<sup>97</sup> Compare R. V. ix. 4, 1: *Sanā cha Soma jeshi cha pavamāna mahi śravaḥ |* and ix. 83, 5: *Jayan śravo bṛihat |*



Literature (p. 532 f.) shows that all the principal Vedic deities are, in their turn, addressed by their worshippers as supreme :

“When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods. He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers. ‘Among you, o gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you are all great indeed,’<sup>98</sup> is a sentiment which, though, perhaps, not so distinctly expressed as by Manu Vaivasvata, nevertheless, underlies all the poetry of the Veda. Although the gods are sometimes distinctly invoked as the great and the small, the young and the old (R. V. i. 27, 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and no where is any of the gods represented as the slave of others. It would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every single god is represented as supreme and absolute. In the first hymn of the Second Maṇḍala, Agni is called the ruler of the universe,<sup>99</sup> the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men;<sup>100</sup> nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni. The hymn belongs, no doubt, to the modern compositions; yet, though Agni is thus highly exalted in it, nothing is said to disparage the divine character of the other gods. Indra is celebrated as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brāhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book<sup>101</sup> is: *Viśvasmād Indra uttarah* | ‘Indra is greater than all.’ Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.<sup>102</sup> He is called the king of the world,<sup>103</sup> he has the power to prolong the life of men,<sup>104</sup> and in one sense he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu.<sup>105</sup> If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa

<sup>98</sup> R. V. viii. 30, 1, quoted by Müller, p. 531.

<sup>99</sup> “*Teaṁ viśvāni svaṅka patyase* | ii. 1, 8.—See Nirukta Parisiṣṭa i.

<sup>100</sup> ii. 1, 9.

<sup>101</sup> x. 8, 6.

<sup>102</sup> ix. 59.

<sup>103</sup> ix. 96, 10: *bhuvanasya vājā*.

<sup>104</sup> ix. 96, 14.

<sup>105</sup> ix. 96, 5.

(ὀδρανός), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and almighty. Nevertheless, he is one of the gods who is almost always represented in fellowship with another, Mitra; and even in our hymn there is one verse, the sixth, in which Varuṇa and Mitra are invoked in the dual. Yet what more could human language achieve, in trying to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what our poet says of Varuṇa: 'Thou art lord of all, of heaven and earth.' Or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), 'Thou art the king of all; of those who are gods, and of those who are men,' etc., etc.

SECT. III.—*Vishṇu as one of the Ādityas.*

In the hymns of the Veda the Ādityas, or sons of Aditi, are alluded to as being seven or eight in number; but only six deities, of whom Vishṇu is not one, are specified by name as belonging to this class.<sup>106</sup> The following are the only texts which I consider it necessary to cite on this subject:

R. V. ii. 27, 1 (Nir. xii. 36).—*Imā girāḥ Ādityebhyo ghṛitasnūḥ sanād rājabhyo juhvā juhomi | śrinotu Mitro Aryamā Bhago nas tsvijāto Varuṇo Daxo Amśaḥ |* "With my tongue I offer up these praises, dropping with butter, to the Ādityas, who have been kings for ever: may Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, the mighty Varuṇa, Daxa, Anśa, hear us." Yāska makes *tsvijātaḥ* to be=*bahujātaś cha Dhātā*, thus understanding it to designate Dhātri.

R. V. ix. 114, 3.—*Sapta diśo nānā-sūryāḥ sapta hotāra ritvijāḥ | devā Ādityā ye sapta tebhīḥ Somābhiraxa naḥ |* "The seven points of the compass, with their respective suns, the seven *hotṛi* priests, and the seven gods, the Adityas,—with these, o Soma, protect us."

In another text (R. V. x. 72, 8, 9), which has already been quoted in p. 10 f., it is said that Aditi had eight sons, though she only presented seven of them to the gods, and cast out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth.

In his explanation of the first text, which I have now quoted (R. V. ii. 27, 1), Śāyana observes of the Ādityas: *Te cha Taittirīye 'aṣṭau*

<sup>106</sup> See Boeckling and Roth's Lexicon under the word *Āditya*: and Prof. Roth's dissertation on the Adityas in his paper "on the principal gods of the Arian nations," Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. vi., pp. 68 ff. Sūrya (the Sun) is however called *Āditya* in R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29).

*pitṛāso Aditer' ity upakramya spashṭam anukrāntāḥ | 'Mitraścha Varuṇaścha Dhātācha Aryamācha Amśuścha Bhagaścha Indrascha Vivasvāścha eto' iti |* "They (the Ādityas) are distinctly specified in the passage of the Taittirīya, beginning with the words 'The eight sons of Aditi,' as 'these, Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Anśu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat.'"

In a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. 1, 3, 3 ff.) quoted above (p. 12, f.), the Ādityas are alluded to as eight in number in conformity with the text of the R. V. x. 72, 8, 9. In other texts of the same Brāhmaṇa mention is made of twelve Ādityas :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 2, 8.—*Sa manasaiva vācham mithunaṁ samabhavat sa dvādaśa dropsān garbhya abhavat | te dvādaśa Ādityā asriyyanta tān divy upādadhāt |* "With his mind he [entered] Speech. There became a pair. He became pregnant with twelve drops. They were created the twelve Ādityas. Them he placed in the sky."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 8 (=Bṛih. Ar. Up. iii. 9, 5, p. 646). *Katame Ādityā iti | dvādaśa māsaḥ saṁvatsarasya eto Ādityāḥ | eto hi idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti | te yad idāṁ sarvam ādadānā yanti tasmād Ādityā iti |* "How many Ādityas are there? There are twelve months of the year. These are the Ādityas. For they go taking (ādadānāḥ) all this. Since they go taking all this, they are called Ādityas."

The Nirukta, ii. 13, speaks thus of the Ādityas : *Ādityāḥ | kasmād | ādatte rasān | ādatte bhāsaṁ jyotishāṁ | ādīpto bhāsa iti vā | Aditeḥ putraḥ iti vā | alpaprayerogaṁ tu asya etad ārchābhyāmnāye sūkta-bhāḥ "sūryam āditeyam" Aditeḥ putram | evam anyāsām api devatānām Āditya-pravādāḥ stutayo bhavanti | tad yathā etad | Mitrasya Varuṇasya Aryamṇo Daxasya Bhagasya Amśasya iti |*

"The Āditya : whence [so called]? He takes up the fluids.<sup>107</sup> He takes up the light of the luminaries; he is illuminated (ādīptaḥ) by light; or, he is the son of Aditi. But this [appellation] is seldom

<sup>107</sup> *Sahasra-guṇam utsrashtum ādatte hi rasān raviḥ |* "For the sun takes up the fluids [from the] earth, to discharge them again a thousand-fold."—Raghuvansa, i. 18. *Ashṭau māsaṁ yathā "dityas toyāṁ harati rasṁbhīḥ | tathā haret karaṁ rāśītrād nityam arkavataṁ hi tat |* "As Āditya (the sun) during eight months draws up water by his rays, so let him (a king) extract revenue from his country, for that is his continual solar function."—Manu, ix. 305.

applied to him in the text of the Rigveda. *Sūrya Āditya*, Surya the son of Aditi, is mentioned in a hymn.<sup>108</sup> In the same way there are praises of other deities, addressed to them as Ādityas; as in the case of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Daxa, Bhaga, Anśa."

In the following texts from the Mahābhārata and Puraṇas, the Adityas, though their names are not always uniformly given, are stated or understood to be twelve in number, except in one case where only eleven are specified. Viṣṇu is always named as one of them, and as by the time when these works were written, his dignity had become enhanced in general estimation, he is declared to be the greatest of the twelve.

Mahābhārata, i. 2,519, 2,522 ff.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu imāḥ prajāḥ | prajāñīre mahābhāgā Daxa-kanyās trayodaśa | . . . 2,522. Adityāṃ dvādaśādityāḥ sambhūtā bhuvaneśvarāḥ | yo rājan nāmataḥ tāṃs te kīrttayiṣyāmi Bhārata | Dhātā Mitro 'ryamā Śakro Varuṇas tv Aṃśa evacha | Bhago Vivasvān Pūṣhā cha Savitā daśamas tathā | ekādaśas tathā Tvashṭā dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | jaghanyajas tu sarveṣhām Ādityānāṃ guṇādḥikāḥ |*

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

Mahābhārata, i. 2,598.—*Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapasya Surāsurāḥ | jajñire nṛipa-śārdūla lokānāṃ prabhavas tu saḥ | . . . 2,600. Dvādaśaivāditeḥ putraḥ Śakra-mukhyā narādhipa | teshām avarajo Viṣṇur yatra lokāḥ pratishṭhitāḥ |*

"From Kaśyapa, who was the son of Marīchi, were produced, o king, the deities and the Asuras; and he was the source from which all

<sup>108</sup> Dr. Aufrecht conjectures that the word *sūkta-bhāk* should be read *asūkta-bhāk* "has not a hymn devoted to him;" as he appears to be only mentioned in one verse, R. V. x. 88, 11 (Nir. vii. 29). Durga, however, as quoted by Roth (Illust. p. 21), says: *sūkta-bhōg eva chaitad abhidhānāṃ na havirbhāk* | "This appellation has a hymn devoted to it, but no oblation is ordained [to be offered to the god under this name]." By "hymn" Durga may only mean part of a hymn.

beings sprang. . . 2,600. Aditi had twelve sons, beginning with Sakra. The youngest of them was Vishṇu, on whom the worlds are supported."

Mahābhārata, xiii. 7,092 f.—*Aṁśo Bhagaścha Mitraścha Varuṇaścha śaśvaraḥ | tathā Dhātū 'ryamā chaiva Jayanto Bhāskaras tathā | Tvashṭā Pūshā tathāivendro dvādaśo Viṣṇur uchyate | ity ete dvādaśā-dityāḥ Kāśyapeyā iti śrutiḥ |*

"Anśa, Bhaga, Mitra, Varuṇa, lord of the waters, Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Jayanta, Bhāskara, Tvashṭṛi, Pūshan, Indra, and Viṣṇu who is called the twelfth: these are the twelve Ādityas, the sons of Kāśyapa, according to tradition (or the Veda, śruti)."

Mahābhārata, v. 3,501 ff.—*Axayās chāvyaś chaiva Brahmā lokapitāmahaḥ | tathāiva bhagavantau tau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛiṣhi | Ādityā-nām hi sarveśhām Viṣṇur ekaḥ sanātanaḥ | ajayyās chāvyaś chaiva śāśvataḥ prabhur īśvaraḥ | nimitta-maraṇās chānye chandra-sūrya-mahijalam | Vāyur agnis tathā "kāśām grahās tārā-gaṇās tathā | te cha xayānto jagato hitvā lokā-trayaṁ sadā | xayām gachhanti vai sarve śṛijyante cha punaḥ punaḥ | mukūrta-maraṇās tv anye mānuṣhā mṛigapazinaḥ |* "Brahmā, the parent of the world, is undecaying and imperishable; and so too are the venerable Ṛiṣhis, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa. Viṣṇu alone of all the Ādityas is eternal, invincible, imperishable, everlasting, potent, the lord. Other beings perish on some occasion, [as at the end of a Kalpa],—<sup>109</sup> the moon, the sun, the earth, water,<sup>110</sup> air, fire, the æther, the planets, and the stars. At the dissolution of the universe, all these invariably abandon the three worlds, and perish, and are created again and again. Other [creatures], men, beasts, and birds, die after a brief interval (*mukūrta*)."

Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1, 15, 90 ff. (p. 122 of Wilson's translation)—*Pūrvamanvantare śreṣṭhā dvādaśāsan surottamāḥ | Tushitā nāma te 'nyonyam ūchur Vaivasvate 'ntare | upasthite 'tiyaśasās Chāxushasyāntare Manoḥ | samavāyīkrītāḥ sarve samāgamyā parasparam | Āgachhata drutaṁ devāḥ Aditiṁ sampraviśya vai | Manvantare prasūyāmas tan naḥ śreyo bhaved īli | evam uktvā tu te sarve Chāxushasyāntare Manoḥ | Mārīchāt Kāśya-*

<sup>109</sup> I suppose *nimitta-maraṇāḥ* is to be understood practically in this sense.—See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, pp. 56, 630, and note. Nārāyaṇa, in his commentary on the Mahābhārata, explains the phrase thus: *Nimittam pralāyādi-nimittam maraṇām nāśo yeshām te nimitta-maraṇāḥ |*

<sup>110</sup> Said in the Rāmāyaṇa to have preceded Brahmā.—See above, p. 29. See also above, the order of creation described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 19-22, and in Mann, p. 26 above.

*pāj jātās te 'dityā Daxa-kanyayā | tatra Vishṇuścha Sakraścha jajñāte  
punar eva hi | Aryamā chaiva Dhātācha Tvashṭā Pūshā tathaiva cha |  
Vivasvān Savitā chaiva Mitro Varuṇa eva cha | Aṁśo Bhagaś chātītejā  
Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ | Chāxushasyāntare pūrvam āsan ye Tushitāḥ  
smṛitāḥ | Vaivasvato 'ntare te vai Ādityā dvādaśa smṛitāḥ |*

“In the former Manvantara there were twelve eminent and renowned deities called Tushitas; who, being assembled together, said to each other in the Chāxusha Manvantara, when the Vaivasvata Manvantara was approaching, ‘Come quickly, deities, let us enter into Aditi, and be born in the [next] Manvantara: this will be for our welfare.’ Having thus spoken in the Chāxusha Manvantara, they were all born from Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, and Aditi, daughter of Daxa. In this way Vishṇu, and Śakra (Indra) were again born, and Aryaman, Dhātri, Tvashṭri, Pūshan, Vivasvat, Savitri, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, and the energetic Bhaga: these are known as the twelve Ādityas. Those who formerly in the Chāxusha Manvantara were called the Tushitas, are known as the twelve Ādityas in the Vaivasvata Manvantara.”

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

The following is another passage from the Harivamśa, verses 11,548 ff: *Ādityām jajñire rājann Ādityāḥ Kaśyapād atha | Indro Vishṇur Bhagas  
Tvashṭā Varuno 'mśo 'ryamā Raviḥ | Pūshā Mitraścha varado Manuḥ  
Parjanya eva cha | ity ete dvādaśādityā varishṭhās tridivaukasah |*  
“From Kaśyapa and Aditi were born the Ādityas, Indra, Vishṇu, Bhaga, Tvashṭri, Varuṇa, Anśa, Aryaman, Kavi, Pūshan, Mitra, the bestower of boons, Manu, and Parjanya,—these are the twelve Ādityas, most eminent celestials.”

In the same work, verses 12,456 f., we read: *Aryamā Varuṇo  
Mitraḥ Pūshā Dhātā Purandaraḥ | Tvashṭā Bhago 'mśaḥ Savitā Par-  
janyaścheti visrutāḥ | Ādityām jajñire devāḥ Kaśyapāl loka-bhāvanaḥ |*  
“The gods, creators of the worlds, known as Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūshan, Dhātri, Purandara (Indra), Tvashṭri, Bhaga, Anśa, Savitri, and Parjanya, were sprung from Kaśyapa and Aditi.”

Only eleven names occur in this list.

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

Harivamśa, 589 ff.—*Tato nirbhāsitaṁ rūpaṁ tejasā saṁhatena vai | kāntāt kāntataraṁ drashtum adhikaṁ śuśubhe tadā | mukhe nirvarttitaṁ rūpaṁ tasya devasya gopateḥ | tataḥ-prabhṛiti devasya mukham āsit tu lohitaṁ | mukha-rāgantū yat pūrvam Mārtaṇḍasya mukha-chyutam | Ādityā dvādaśaiveha sambhūtā mukha-sambhavāḥ | Dhātā 'ryamā cha Mitrāścha Varuṇo 'ṁśo Bhagaṥ tathā | Indro Vivasvān Pūshā cha Parjanyaś daśamas tathā | tatas Tvashṭā tato Vishṇur ajaghanyo jaghanyajāḥ | harshaṁ lebhe tato devo drishtvā "dityān sva-deha-jān |* "Then his appearance, illuminated with concentrated lustre, shone forth more brilliantly, fairer than the fairest to behold. This appearance was produced in the face of that god, the lord of rays. Henceforward the face of the god was red. From the previous colour of the face which fell from the countenance of Mārtaṇḍa were produced twelve face-born Ādityas: Dhātṛi, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Anśa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya the tenth, then Tvashṭṛi, then Vishṇu not the last, though the last born. The god then rejoiced, beholding the Ādityas, sprung from his own body."

This story is not only in opposition to the ordinary account of the Ādityas being sons of Aditi, but it contradicts itself. *Vivasvat* is one of the Ādityas, who is produced from *Vivasvat*; and *Tvashṭṛi* was already existing, and playing a part in the former part of the legend. (See Langlois's note 7, p. 50 of his French version of the *Harivamśa*). The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* tells the same story about *Vivasvat*, but says nothing of the birth of the Ādityas. (See Wilson's translation, p. 266).

*Bhāgavata Purāṇa* vi. 6, 24 f.—*Śṛiṇu nāmāni lokāṇāṁ mātṛiṇāṁ śaṁkarāṇi cha | atha Kaśyapa-patṇināṁ yat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | Aditiḥ Ditiḥ ityādi | . . . . 36 f. Athataḥ śrūyatāṁ vaṁśo yo 'diter anupūrvasāḥ | yatra Nārāyaṇo devo svāṁśenāvātarad vibhuḥ | Vivasvān Aryamā Pūshā Tvashṭā 'tha Savitā Bhagaḥ | Dhātā Vidhātā Varuṇo Mitrāḥ Śakra Urukramaḥ |*

"Hear now the auspicious names of the wives of Kaśyapa, the mothers of the worlds, from whom this universe was produced; Aditi, Diti, etc. . . . . 36 f. Hear now, in order, the race of Aditi, in which the all-pervading god, Nārāyaṇa descended in a part of himself,—*Vivasvat*, *Aryaman*, *Pūshan*, *Tvashṭṛi*, *Savitṛi*, *Bhaga*, *Dhātṛi*, *Vidhātṛi*, *Varuṇa*, *Mitra*, *Śakra*, *Urukrama* (the wide-strider = *Vishṇu*)."

SECT. IV.—*Legends regarding Vishnu from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purānas.*

The following legend from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (in which Vishnu is represented as a dwarf, and as having, under the form of sacrifice, conquered the whole earth) may contain the germ of the story of the Dwarf Incarnation :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 5, 1 ff.—*Devāścha vā Asurāścha ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspridhīre | tato devā anuvyam iva āsur | atha ha Asurā menire 'āsmakam eva idaṃ khalu bhucanam' iti | 2. Te ha ūchur 'hanta imām pṛithivīm vibhajāmahai tām vibhajya upajivāma' iti | tām auzṇaiś charmabhiḥ paśchāt prāñcho vibhajamānā abhīyuh | 3. Tad vai devāḥ śuśruvur 'vibhajante ha vai imām Asurāḥ pṛithivīm preta tad eshyāmo yatra imām Asurā vibhajante | ke tataḥ syāma yad asyai na bhajemahi' iti | te yajñam eva Vishṇum puraskṛitya īyuh | 4. Te ha ūchuh 'anu no 'syām pṛithivyām ābhajata astv eva no 'py asyām bhūgaḥ' iti | te 'surāḥ asūyanta iva ūchur 'yāvad eva eṣa Vishṇur abhiśete tāvad vo ādamaḥ' iti | 5. Vāmano ha Vishṇur āsa | tad devā na jihīdire 'mahad vai no 'dur ye no yajña-sammitam adur' iti | 6. Te prāñchaṃ Vishṇum nīpādya chhandobhir abhitaḥ paryagṛihṇan 'gāyatrena tvā chhandasā parigrīhṇāmi' iti daxiṇatas | 'traishṭubhena tvā chhandasā parigrīhṇāmi' iti paśchāt | 'jāgatena tvā chhandasā parigrīhṇāmi' iti uttarataḥ | 7. Tām chhandobhir abhitaḥ parigrīhya agnim purastāt samādhāya tena arehantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruh | tena imām sarvām pṛithivīm samavindanta | tad yad onena (anena?) imām sarvām samavindanta tasmād vedir nāma | tasmād āhur 'yāvatī vedis tāvatī pṛithivī' iti | etayā hi imām sarvām samavindanta | evaṃ ha vai imām sarvām sapatnānām sam-erīṅkte nirbhajaty asyai sapatnān yaḥ evam etad veda | 8. So 'yam Vishṇur glānaś chhandobhir itaḥ parigrīhīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam āsa | sa tata eva ośadhīnām mūlāny upa mumlocha | 9. Te ha devāḥ ūchuh 'kva nu Vishṇur abhāt kva nu yajño 'bhūd' iti | te ha ūchus 'chhandobhir itaḥ parigrīhīto 'gniḥ purastād na apakramaṇam asty atraiva anvichhata iti tam kṣananta iva anvīshus tam tryaṅgule*



'*nvavindaṁs tasmāt tryaṅgulā vedīḥ syāt | tad u ha api Pāñchis tryaṅgulām eva saumyasya adhvarasya vedīm chakre | 10. Tad u tathā na kuryād ityādi |*

“ The gods and Asuras, who were both sprung from Prajāpati, strove together. Then the gods were, as it were, worsted, and the Asuras thought, ‘this world is now certainly ours.’ 2. Then they spake, ‘Come let us divide this earth, and having divided it, let us subsist thereon.’ They accordingly went on dividing it with ox-hides from west to east. 3. The gods heard of it, [and] said, ‘The Asuras are dividing this earth; come, we shall go to the spot where they are dividing it. Who shall we become (i.e. what shall become of us), if we do not share in it?’ Placing at their head Vishṇu, the sacrifice, they proceeded [thither], 4. and said ‘put us in possession of this earth; let us also have a share in it.’ The Asuras, grudging as it were, answered, ‘We give you as much as this Vishṇu can lie upon.’<sup>111</sup> 5. Now, Vishṇu was a dwarf. The gods did not reject that offer; [but said among themselves], ‘They have given us much, [these Asuras], who have given us what is co-extensive with sacrifice.’ Then having placed Vishṇu to the east, they surrounded him with metres; [saying], on the south side, ‘I surround thee with the Gāyatrī metre;’ on the west, ‘I surround thee with the Trisṭubh metre;’ on the north, ‘I surround thee with the Jagatī metre.’ 7. Having thus surrounded him with metres, they placed Agni (fire) on the east, and thus they went on worshipping and toiling. By this they acquired the whole of this earth; and since by this they acquired (*samavindanta*) it all, therefore [the place of sacrifice] is called *vedī* (from the root *vid*, ‘to acquire.’) Hence men say, ‘as great as is the altar, so great is the earth;’ for by it (the altar) they acquired the whole of this [earth]. Thus he who so understands this, conquers all this [earth] from rivals, expels from it rivals. 8. Then this Vishṇu, being wearied, surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, did not advance; but then hid himself among the roots of plants. 9. The gods then exclaimed, ‘What has become of Vishṇu? what has become of the sacrifice?’ They said, ‘Surrounded by metres, with Agni to the east, he does not advance; search for him here.’ So digging, as it were, they searched for, and found him at a depth of three fingers; therefore let

<sup>111</sup> Compare with this legend the similar one quoted above in the note on R. V. vi. 69, 8 (p. 72 f.) from the *Aitareya Brahmaṇa*, 6, 15.

the altar [have a trench] three fingers deep; therefore, also, *Pāñchi*<sup>112</sup> made an altar of this description for the soma sacrifice. 10. But let no one do so," etc.

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

*Sātapattha Brāhmaṇa*, xiv. 1, 1, 1 ff.—*Devā ha vai sattraṁ nishedur Agniṁ Indraḥ Somo Makho Viṣṇur viśve-devā anyatraiva Aśvibhyām* | 2. *Teshāṁ Kuruxetraṁ devayajanam āsa | tasmād āhuḥ 'Kuruxetraṁ devānām devayajanam' iti | tasmād yatra kva cha Kuruxetrasya nigachhati tad eva manyate 'idaṁ devayajanam' iti tad hi devānām devayajanam* | 3. *Te āsata | 'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma' iti tatho evame sattraṁ āsate 'śriyaṁ gachhema yaśaḥ syāma annādāḥ syāma' iti* | 4. *Te ha ūchur 'yo naḥ śramaṇa tapasā śraddhayā yajñena āhutibhir yajñasya udṛicham pūrvo 'vagaçhāt sa naḥ śreṣṭho 'sat tad u naḥ sarveshām saha' iti 'tathā' iti* | 5. *Tad Viṣṇuḥ prathamah prāpa | sa devānām śreṣṭho 'bhavat tasmād āhur 'Viṣṇur devānām śreṣṭhah' iti* | 6. *Sa yaḥ sa Viṣṇur yajñah sa | sa yaḥ sa yajño 'sau sa Ādityah | tad ha idaṁ yaśo Viṣṇur na śāsaka saṁyantum | tad idaṁ apy etarhi naiva sarva iva yaśaḥ śaknoti saṁyantum* | 7. *Sa tisri-dhanvam ādāya apachakrāma | sa dhanur-ārtnyā śiraḥ upastabhya tasthau | taṁ devā anabhidhriṣṇuvantaḥ samantam pariṇyaviśanta* | 8. *Tū ha vamrya ūchuḥ | imā vai vamryo yad upadikāḥ | 'yo 'sya jyām apyadyāt kim asmai prayachheta' iti 'annādyam asmai prayachhema api dhanvann apo 'dhigachhet tathā asmai sarvam annādyam prayachhema' iti* | 9. *Tasya upaparāṣṛitya jyām apijaxus tasyām chhinnāyāṁ dhanur-ārtnyau vishphurantyau Viṣṇoḥ śiraḥ prachichhidatuḥ* | 10. *Tad ghrīṇṇ iti papāta | tat pativā 'sāv Ādityo 'bhavat | atha itaraḥ prāṇ eva prāvṛijyata | tad yad ghrīṇṇ ity apatat tasmād gharmah | atha yat prāvṛijyata tasmād pravargyah* | 11. *Te devāḥ abruvan | 'mahān vata no vīro 'pādi' iti tasmād mahāvīrah | tasya yo raso vyazarat tam pāñibhiḥ sammamṛijus tasmāt samrāt* | 12. *Taṁ devā abhyamṛijyanta yathā vittim vetsyamānā evaṁ | tam Indraḥ prathamah prāpa | tam anvangam anunypad-*

<sup>112</sup> *Pāñchīḥ soma-yāgasyāpi vedīm tryaṅgula-khātām eva mene* | "Pāñchi thought that the altar for the soma sacrifice also should have a trench three fingers deep." Pāñchi is again mentioned in the *Sātapattha Brāhmaṇa* 2, 1, 4, 27 (p. 143), along with Āsuri and Mūdhuki, where the commentator speaks of them as three munis (Asuri-prabhṛitayas trayo munayah). See Weber's *Ind. Stud.* i. 192, 434.

*yata | tam paryagrihāt | tam parigrihya idam yaśo 'bhavad yad idam Indro yaśaḥ | yaśo ha bhavati ya evaṁ veda | 13. Sa u eva makhah sa Vishnuḥ | tata Indro makhavān abhavad | makhavān ha vai tam Maghavān ity āchaxate paroxam | paroxa-kāmāḥ hi devāḥ | 14. Tābhyo vamrībhyo 'nnādyam prāyachhan | āpo vai sarvam annam tābhir hi idam abhikāyam iva adanti | yaś idam kiṁvadanti | 15. Atha imān Vishnuṁ yajñam tredhā vyabhajanta | . . . . . tena apaśirshnā yajñena devā archantaḥ śrāmyantaś cheruḥ |*

"The gods, Agni, Indra, Soma, Vishnu the Sacrifice, and all the [other] deities, excepting the Aśvins, were present at a sacrifice. 2. Kuruxetra was the place of their divine worship. Hence, men say that Kuruxetra is the country where the gods sacrifice. Consequently, to whatever part of Kuruxetra a man goes, he looks upon it as a place for divine worship, since it was the spot where the gods worshipped. 3. They were [there. They said], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' And in the very same way these [men] attend a sacrifice [saying], 'May we attain prosperity, become famous, and eat food.' 4. Then [the gods] said, 'Whoever among us, through exertion, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations, first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us : this [shall be] common to us all.' [To this they consented, saying], 'Be it so.' 5. Vishnu first attained that [proposed object]. He became the most eminent of the gods : wherefore men say, 'Vishnu is the most eminent of the gods.' 6. He who is this Vishnu is sacrifice; he who [is] this sacrifice is the Āditya. Vishnu could not support this fame.<sup>113</sup> And the same is the case now, that every one cannot support fame. 7. Taking his bow and three arrows, he departed. He stood, resting his head on the end of his [bended] bow. Being unable to overcome him, the gods sat down all around him. 8. Then the ants said to them (now the ants were the same as *upadikas*), 'What will you give to him who gnaws the bowstring?' [The gods replied], 'We will give him the enjoyment of food, and he shall find waters even in the desert; so shall we give him every enjoyment of food.' 9. [The ants, then], approaching, gnawed his bowstring. When that was divided, the ends of the bow, starting asunder,

<sup>113</sup> It seems as if there were a play of words here, the word *yaśaḥ*, "fame," having reference to the words *sa yaḥ sa Vishnuḥ*, etc., *sa yaḥ sa yajñah*, etc. "He who [is] this Vishnu," etc. "He who [is] this sacrifice," etc.

cut off the head of Vishṇu. 10. It fell, making a sound (*ghṛiṇ*). That having fallen, became that Aditya. Then the rest of him became extended towards the east. Since the head fell with the sound of *ghṛiṇ*, hence *gharma*, ['the sacrificial kettle,' received its name]; and since he became extended, (*prāvṛijyata*), the *pravargya* [received its appellation]. 11. The gods then said, 'A great hero (*mahān vīrah*) of ours has fallen.' Hence arose the name of *mahāvīra* (a sacrificial vessel).<sup>114</sup> They wiped (*sammamṛijuh*) with their hands the fluid (blood) which flowed from him. Hence arose the name of *samrāt*. 12. The gods touched (?) him (Vishṇu), as men wishing to know property (?) do. Indra first reached him. He came into contact with him limb by limb. He embraced him. Having embraced him, he became this fame, which Indra is. He who so knows this becomes fame. 13. That Vishṇu was indeed sacrifice (*makha*). Hence Indra became the possessor of sacrifice (*makhavān*). He is *Makhavān*: they call him *Maghavān* transcendently; for the gods love what is transcendental (*lit.* beyond the reach of the senses). 14. They (the gods) gave food to those ants. All food is water; for with water men, as it were, moisten the food which they eat: as the common saying is. 15. Then they divided into three portions this Vishṇu, the sacrifice. . . . . With that headless sacrifice (see above), the gods went on worshipping and toiling."

I am indebted to Professor Weber for the next two passages; the first from the Taittirīya Aranyaka, and the second from the Pañchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, which both relate the same legend which has just been given from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Taittirīya Aranyaka, v. i. 1-7.—1. *Devā vai satram āsata yiddhi-parimitam yasaskāmāḥ | to 'bruvan "yan naḥ prathamam yaśa ricchāt sarveshām naḥ tat saḥśad" iti | teshām kuruzetraṁ vedir āsīt | tasyai Kṣaṇḍavo daxiṇārdha āsīt Tūrghnam uttarārdhaḥ Parīṇaj jaghanārdho Marava utkaraḥ | 2. teshām Makhaṁ Vaiśhṇavaṁ yaśa ārechhat | tad nyakāmayata | tena apākramat | taṁ devā ancāyan yaśo 'varurutsamānāḥ | tasya ancāgotasya savyād dhanur ajāyata daxiṇād ishavaḥ | tasmād ishudhanvam punya-janma yajña-janma hi | 3. tam ekaṁ santam bahavo na abhyadhriśhṇvan | tasmād ekam ishudhanvaṁ vīram bahavo 'nishudhanvā na abhidhriśhṇvanti | so 'smayata "ekam mā santam bahavo na abhy-*

<sup>114</sup> A long account is given of the *gharma*, *pravargya*, and *mahāvīra* in Katyāyāna's S'rauta Sūtras, xxvi.

*adharskishur" iti | tasya sishmīyānasya tejo 'pākrāmat | tad devā osha-*  
*dhishu nyamṛijuh | te śyāmākā abhavan | smayākā vai nāma ete | 4. tat*  
*smayākānām smayākatvam | tasmād dixitena apigrihya smetavyam tejaso*  
*dhṛityai | sa dhanuḥ pratiskabhya atishṭhat | tā upadikā abruvan | "varaṁ*  
*vṛiṇāmahai | atha vā imaṁ randhayāma | yatra kva cha khaṇāma tad*  
*apo 'bhitṛiṇadāma" iti | tasmād upadikā yatra kva cha khaṇanti tad apo*  
*'bhitṛindanti | 5. varavṛitaṁ hy āsām | tasya jyām apyādan | tasya*  
*dhanur vipravamānaṁ śira udavarttayāt | tad dyāvūprithivī anuprā-*  
*varttata | yat prāvarttata tat pravargyasya pravargyatvam | yad ghrām*  
*ity apatat tad gharmasya gharmatvam | mahato vīryam apaptat iti tad*  
*mahāvīrasya mahāvīratvam | 6. yad asyāḥ samabharaṁs tat samrājāḥ*  
*samrāṭtvam | taṁ strītaṁ devatās tredhā vyagrihṇata | Agniḥ prātaḥ-*  
*savanam Indro mādhyaṇḍinaṁ savanaṁ Vīśvedevās tṛitīya-savanam | tena*  
*apaśīrshnā yajñena yajamānāḥ na āśisho 'vārundhata na swargaṁ lokam*  
*abhyajayan | te devā Aśvināv abruvan | 7. "bhishajau vai sthaḥ | idaṁ*  
*yajñasya śiraḥ pratiḍhattam" iti | tāv abrūtām "varaṁ vṛiṇāvahai graha*  
*eva nāv atrāpi grihyatām" iti | tābhyām etam āśvinam agrihṇan | tāv*  
*etad yajñasya śiraḥ pratyadhattaṁ yat pravargyaḥ | tena saśīrshnā*  
*yajñena yajamānā ava āśisho 'rundhata | abhi swargaṁ lokam ajayan |*  
*yat pravargyam pravīnakti yajñasyaiva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhāti | tena*  
*saśīrshnā yajñena yajamāno 'va āśisho rundho 'bhi swargaṁ lokam jayati |*  
*tasmād esha āśvina-pravayā iva yat pravargyaḥ |*

“The gods, desirous of fame, were attending a sacrifice complete in every respect. They said ‘whatever fame first comes to us, that shall be common to us all.’ Kuruxetra was their altar. Khaṇḍava was its southern, Tūrghna its northern, and Parīṇah its hinder section. The Marus were the earth dug from it. 2. Fame came to the Sacrifice derived from Vishnu [*Makha Vaishṇava*] among their number. This fame he eagerly desired; with it he departed. The gods followed him, seeking to obtain [this] fame. From the left [hand] of him while thus followed, a bow was produced, and from his right hand arrows. Hence a bow and arrows have a holy origin, for they are sprung from sacrifice. 3. Though many, they could not overcome him, though he was only one. Therefore many men without bows and arrows cannot overcome one hero who has a bow and arrows. He smiled, ‘Though they are many, they have not overcome me who am only one.’ Virile strength issued from him as he continued to smile. This the gods put upon the plants. They

became *śyāmāka* grain. For they are smilers (*smayākāḥ*). 4. Hence this grain derives its name. Wherefore a person who has been consecrated should smile with reserve, that he may retain his virility. He stood leaning on his bow. The ants said [to the gods], 'let us choose a boon; and after that we shall subdue [or kill him]. Wherever we dig, let us open up water.' Hence wherever ants dig, they open up water. 5. For this was the boon which they chose.<sup>115</sup> They gnawed his (Vishṇu's) bowstring. His bow, starting asunder, hurled his head upwards. It travelled through heaven and earth. From its so travelling (*prāvartata*), the *pravargya* derives its name. From its falling with the sound of *ghrām*, *gharma* obtained its name. Virile energy (or seed, *vīryam*) fell from the mighty one (*mahataḥ*): hence the *mahā-rīra* got its name. 6. From their making a collection (*samabharan*) of it <sup>116</sup> (what?) the *samrāt* obtains its appellation. The gods divided him when prostrate, into three parts; Agni [took] the morning oblation; Indra the midday oblation, and the Viśvedevas the third oblation. Sacrificing with this headless sacrifice, they (the gods), neither obtained blessings, nor conquered heaven. 7. The gods said to the Aśvins, 'Ye two are physicians, replace this head of the sacrifice.' They said 'Let us ask a boon, let our *graha* (libation of Soma) be received here also. [The gods accordingly] received this [libation] to the Aśvins for them. [The Aśvins] replaced this head of the sacrifice, which is the *pravargya*. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, they obtained blessings, they conquered heaven. When one spreads out the *pravargya*, then he replaces the head of the sacrifice. Sacrificing with this sacrifice with a head, a man obtains blessings, and conquers heaven. Hence this *pravargya* is principally concerned with oblations to the Aśvins."

Panchavimśa Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 6—*Devā vai yaśaskāmāḥ satram*

<sup>115</sup> The word thus translated is *vāreṣṭam*, as written in the copy (in Roman letters) sent to me by Prof. Weber. If, however, one may judge from the two following passages of a similar nature from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the true reading must be *varavṛitam*, which I have adopted in the text:—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 1, 7: *Yajño vai devebhya udakrāmāt | te devā na kinchenōśākuwan kartum | . . . na prajānans te 'bryawan Aditīm 'twayemañ yajñāṃ prajānāmeti' | sū tathety abravīt | sā vai varam avṛiṇā iti | vṛiṇiṣkreti | sātām eva varam avṛiṇā | matprāyaṇā yajñāḥ sontu mad-udayanā iti | tatheti | tasmād ādityas charuḥ prāyaṇīyo bhavaty | āditya udayanīyo | varavṛito hy asyāḥ. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 2, 3: *Agnishomābhyām vā Indro Vṛitram ahañs tāv enam abrutām | āvābhyām vai Vṛitram avadhīr varam te vṛiṇāvahā iti | 'Vṛiṇāthām' iti | tāv etam eva varam avṛiṇātām | śvaḥsutyāyām paśum | su enayor esho 'chyuto | varavṛito hy enayoh.**

<sup>116</sup> It does not appear to what *tasyāḥ* (in the feminine) refers.

*āsata Agnir Indro Vāyur Makhas te 'bruvan 'yan no yāsa rīchhāt tan naḥ saḥāsad' iti | teshām Makhaṁ yāsa ārchhat | tad ādāya apākramat | tad asya pra saḥāditsanta tam paryayatanta | sa dhanuḥ pratishṭabhya atishṭhat tasya dhanur-ārttnir ūrdhvā patiteā śiro 'chhinat sa pravargyo 'bhavat | yajño vai Makhaḥ | yat pravargyam pravṛiñjanti yajñasyaiva tach chhiraḥ pratidadhati |*

“Desirous of fame, the gods, Agni, Indra, Vāyu and Makha (Sacrifice) were attending a sacrifice. They said, ‘whatever fame comes to us that shall be common to us. Fame came to Makha among their number. Taking it, he departed. The others wished to take their share in it. They followed [or, strove with] him. He stood leaning on his bow. The end of his bow, springing upwards, cut off his head. He became the *pravargya*. Makha is sacrifice. When men spread out the *pravargya*, they replace the head of Makha.”

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has these two passages relating to Vishṇu, 1, 1: “*Agnir vai devānām avamo | Vishṇuḥ paramas | tadantarena sarvā anyā devatāḥ*. “Agni is the lowest, Vishṇu the highest among the gods; between them both are placed all the other deities.” In his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 390, note, Prof. Müller remarks that “this passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu.” Again, 1, 30, on quoting R. V. 1, 156, 4, the Aitareya says: *Vishṇur vai devānām dvārapaḥ | sa evāsmā etad dvāraṁ vivṛiṇoti*. “Vishnu is the door-keeper of the gods; he opens for him that door.”

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

“Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's Ed.), i. 31, 2 ff.—2. *Iha Rāma mahābāho Vishṇur deva-namaskṛitaḥ | tapaś-charaṇa-yogārtham uvāsa sa mahātapaḥ |* 3. *Esha pūrvāśrama Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātāḥ siddho yatra mahātapaḥ |* 4. *Abhibhūya cha devendram purā Vairochanir Baliḥ | trailokya-rājyam bubhuje balotseka-madānritaḥ |* 5. *Tato Balau tadā yajñam yajamāne bhayārditāḥ | Indrādayaḥ suragaṇā Vishnum ūchur ihāśrame |* 6. “*Balir Vairochanir Vishṇo yajate 'sau mahābalaḥ | kāma-daḥ sarva-bhūtānām maharaddhir asurādhipaḥ |* 7. *Ye chainam abhivarttante yāchitāra itastataḥ | yachcha yatra yathāvaccha sarvaṁ tebhyaḥ prayachchhati |* 8. *Sa tvam sura-hitārthāya māyā-yogam upāśritaḥ | vāmanatvaṁ gato Vishṇo kuru kalyāṇam uttamam*” | 9.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>117</sup> The following verses 9–16 are rightly enclosed in brackets by Schlegel, as inter-

[*Etasminn antare Rāma Kāsyapo 'gni-sama-prabhaḥ | Adityā sahito Rāma dīpyamāna ivaujasā | 10. Devi-sahāyo bhagavān divya-varshasahasrakam | vrataṁ samūpya vara-daṁ tushṭāva Madhusūdanam | 11. "Tapomayaṁ tapo-rāsiṁ tapo-mūrttiṁ tapo-dhanam | tapasā tvāṁ sutaptena paśyami purushottamam | 12. Sarīre tava paśyāmi jagat sarvam idam prabho | tvam anādir anirdēśyas tvāṁ ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ gataḥ"* | 13. *Tam uvācha Hariḥ pritaḥ Kāsyapaṁ dhūta-kalmasham | varaṁ varaya bhadrāṁ te varārho 'si mato mama | 14. Tach chhrutvā vachanaṁ tasya Mārīchaḥ Kāsyapo 'bravit | "putratvaṁ gachohha bhagavann Adityā mama chānagha | 15. Bhrātā bhava yavīyāṁs tvāṁ Sakrasyāsura-sūdana | lokārttānāṁ tu devānāṁ sāhāyāṁ karttum arhasi"* | 16. *Atha Viṣṇur mahātejā Adityāṁ samajāyata | chhatrī bhixuka-rūpeṇa kamaṇḍalutikkhojjvalaḥ | ] 17. Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanim upāgamyā trīn yayāchātmanaḥ kramān | 18. Labdhvā cha trīn kramān Viṣṇuḥ kṛtvā rūpam athādbhutam | tribhiḥ kramais tadā lokān ājahāra tri-vikramaḥ | 19. Ekena hi padā kṛitanāṁ pṛithivīṁ so 'dhyatiśṭhata | divītyonāvyaṇāṁ vyoma dyāṁ trītyena Rāghava | 20. Taṁ chāsuraṁ Baliṁ kṛitvā pātāla-tala-vāsinam | trailokya-rājyam Indrāya dadāo uddhṛitya kaṅṭakam |*

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

Rāmāyaṇa (Gorresio's Ed.) i. 32, 2 ff.—*Esha pūrvāśramo Rāma vāmanasya mahātmanaḥ | siddhāśrama iti khyātaḥ siddho yatra mahāyasāḥ | 3. Viṣṇur vāmana-rūpeṇa tapyamāno mahat tapaḥ | trailokya-rājyo 'pahṛite Balinendrasya Rāghava | [verses 4, 5, 6 correspond word for word with those of Sehlegel's edition] 7. Taṁ tvāṁ vāmana-rūpeṇa gatvā bhixitum arhasi | vikramāṁs trīn mahābāho dātā hi niyataṁ sa te | 8. Bhixito vikramān etāṁs trīn vīrya-bala-darpitaḥ | paribhūya jagannāthaṁ tubhyaṁ vāmana-rūpeṇo | 9. Ye hy enam abhiyāchante lipśamānaḥ svam Ipsitam | tān kāmair Ipsitūiḥ sarvān yojayaty asureśvaraḥ | 10. Sa tvāṁ trailokya-rājyaṁ no hṛitam bhūyo jagat-pate | dātum arhasi nirjitya vikramair bhūribhis tribhiḥ | 11. Ayaṁ siddhāśramo nāma siddha-karmā bhaviṣhyati | tasmin karmani saṁsiddhe tava satya-parā-*  
 polated. A comparison of verse 8 with verse 17 clearly shows that the latter must originally have followed immediately after the former. Compare the versions of the story given below from the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, where the dwarf is said to have been the son of Kāsyapa and Aditi. This is also the parentage of Viṣṇu as one of the twelve Adityas.—See above, pp. 103 ff.



*krama* | [Gorresio's edition does not contain any verses corresponding to those marked by Schlegel as spurious, viz. lines 9-16 of his edition.]

12. *Evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇur vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthitaḥ | Vairochanin upāgamyā trīṇ ayāchata vikramān |* [The remaining verses are word for word the same as in Schlegel's recension].

The following is a translation of the passage according to Schlegel's edition :

Viśvāmitra speaks : " 2. In this place, o large-armed Rama, Viṣṇu, the great ascetic, revered by the gods, dwelt for the purpose of performing austerity, and contemplation. 3. This, Rama, was the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, renowned as the ' Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic was perfected. 4. Formerly, Bali, the son of Virochana, after conquering the chief of the gods (Indra) enjoyed the empire of the three worlds, intoxicated with the increase of his power. 5. When Bali was then celebrating a sacrifice, Indra and the other gods, disturbed with apprehension, addressed Viṣṇu in this hermitage. 6. 'That mighty Bali, son of Virochana, o Viṣṇu, is now performing sacrifice,—he who grants the desires of all creatures, the prosperous lord of the Asuras. 7. Whatever suppliants wait upon him from whatever quarter, he bestows on them all whatever, wherever, and in whatever manner [they wish]. 8. Do thou, o Viṣṇu, assuming a magical state for the benefit of the deities, take the shape of a dwarf, and bring about our highest welfare.' [9. At this period, o Rama, the divine Kasyapa, luminous as fire, glowing, as it were, with splendour, attended by the goddess Aditi, 10. having completed an act of austerity which had lasted for a thousand years of the gods, celebrated [thus] the praises of the boon-bestowing Madhusūdāna : 11. 'Through intense austerity I behold thee the supreme Spirit, whose essence is austerity, who art a congeries of austerity, the impersonation of austerity, whose wealth is austerity. 12. In thy body, lord, I behold this whole universe ; thou art unbeginning and ineffable ; to thee I have resorted as my refuge.' 13. Then Hari, gratified, spake to Kaśyapa, whose taint of sin had been purged away : 'Ask a boon ; may good attend thee ; thou art regarded by me as deserving a boon.' 14. Hearing these words of his, Kaśyapa, son of Marīchi, replied : 'Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi and myself. 15. Slayer of the Asuras, become the younger brother of Śakra (Indra). Thou oughtest to

succour the gods who are oppressed with grief.' 16. Vishṇu, of mighty energy, was accordingly born of Aditi, shaded by an umbrella, in the form of a mendicant, resplendent with a drinking gourd, and a lock of hair on his crown]. 17. Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu took the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged three of his own paces. 18. Having obtained three paces, the thrice-stepping Vishṇu assumed a miraculous form, and with three paces took possession of the worlds. For with one step he occupied the whole earth, with a second the eternal atmosphere, and with a third the sky, o Rāghava. Having then assigned to the Asura Bali an abode in Pātāla (the infernal region), he gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra, after removing his enemy.

As the text of Gorresio's edition varies somewhat from that of Schlegel, I shall subjoin a translation of those parts of it which are different.

"2. This, Rāma, is the former hermitage of the magnanimous dwarf, called the 'Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the illustrious Vishṇu was perfected, 3. when performing a great act of austerity in the form of a dwarf, [at the time] when the empire of the three worlds had been taken away from Indra by Bali. [Verses 4-6 correspond word for word with those of Schlegel's edition]. 7. 'Now thou shouldst go in the form of a dwarf, and beg three paces, o large-armed; 8. For, proud of his valour and strength, after his victory over the lord of the world (Indra), he, when supplicated, will certainly give these three paces to thee [appearing] in the form of a dwarf. 9. For that lord of the Asuras fulfils the desires of all those persons who supplicate him with that view. 10. Thou, lord of the world, oughtest to give us back the empire of the three worlds which has been taken away from us, after thou hast conquered it by three vast strides. 11. This which is called the hermitage of the perfect, (or *fulfilled*), shall be [a place] where *this work is fulfilled*, when this work has been accomplished by thee, o possessor of real might.' Thus addressed by the deities, Vishṇu assumed the form of a dwarf, and approaching the son of Virochana, begged for three paces." (The rest corresponds with Schlegel's edition).

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

Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, vv. 1294, 3 ff.—*Virochanasya balavān*

*Baliḥ putro mahāsuraḥ | abadhyaḥ sarva-lokānām sa-devāsura-razasām | bhavishyati sa Sakraṅcha sva-rājyād chārayishyati=(chyāvayishyati?) | trailokyē 'prahṛite tena vimukhe cha Sachīpatau | Adityān dvādaśādityāḥ sambhavishyāmi Kāśyapāt | tato rājyam pradāsyāmi Sakrāyāmita-tejase | devatāḥ sthāpayishyāmi sveshu sthāneshu Nārada | Baliṅchaiva karishyāmi pātāla-tala-vāsinam | Dānavaṅcha Balim śreṣṭham abadhyaḥ sarva-daivataiḥ |*

Vishṇu says to Nārada: "The great Asura Bali, the strong son of Virochana, shall be indestructible by all beings, including gods, Asuras, and Rāxasas. He shall oust Sakra (Indra) from his kingdom. When the three worlds have been taken by Bali, and the lord of Sachi (Indra) has been put to flight, I shall be born as the twelve Adityas, the son of Kāśyapa and Aditi. I shall then restore his empire to Sakra of boundless energy; shall reinstate the gods in their several positions; shall place Bali in Pātāla, and [make] the eminent Dānava Bali indestructible by all the gods."

Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, vv. 484 ff.—<sup>118</sup> *Aditer api putratvam etya Yādava-nandana | tvāṁ Vishṇur iti vikhyāta Indrād avarajo vibhuḥ | śīśur bhūtvā divaṁ khaṅcha prithivīṅcha parantapa | tribhir vikramaṅaiḥ Kṛishṇa krāntavān asi tejasā | samprāpya divam akāśam āditya-sadane sthitah | atyārohaścha bhūtātman bhāskaraṁ svena tejasā | prādurbhāva-sahasreshu teshu teshu tvayā vibho | adharmaruchayaḥ Kṛishṇa nihatāḥ śataśo' surāḥ |* "And thou, Kṛishṇa, of the Yādava race, having become the son of Aditi, and being called Vishṇu, the younger brother of Indra, the all-pervading, becoming a child, o vexer of thy foes, hast by thy energy traversed the sky, the atmosphere, and the earth, in three strides. Having attained to the sky and the æther, and occupied the abode of the Ādityas, thou, o soul of all beings, hast overpassed the sun by thine own force. In these thousands of thy manifestations, o all-pervading Kṛishṇa, thou hast slain hundreds of Asuras who delighted in iniquity."

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

Vish. Pur. iii. 1 (p. 265 of Wilson's translation).—*Manvantare tu samprāpte tathā Favasvate dvija | vāmanaḥ Kāśyapād Vishṇur Adityān sambabhūva ha | Tribhiḥ kramāir imān lokān jtvā yena mahātmanā |*

<sup>118</sup> See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, vol. i., p. 489, note, and p. 779 f. and note.

*Purandarāya trai lokyaṁ dattaṁ nihata-kaṅṭakam* | “So when the Vaivasvata manvantara was arrived, Vishṇu was born as a dwarf, the son of Aditi and Kaśyapa. By this great being, after he had conquered these worlds by three paces, the three worlds were given to Purandara (Indra), their enemy being destroyed.”

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

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 15, 1.—*Baleḥ pada-trayam bhūmeḥ kasmād Harir ayāchata | bhūtveśvaraḥ kripaṇa-val labdārtho 'pi babandha tam* | 2. *Etat veditum ichhāmo mahat kautūhalaṁ hi naḥ | yajñeśvarasya pūrvasya bandhanaṁ chāpy anāgasah* |

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

The preceptor replies (verses 15, 28 ff.): *Jānāmi Maghavan śator unnater asya kāraṇam | śiṣhyāyopabhṛitaṁ tejo Bhṛigubhir brahma-vādibhiḥ* | 29. *Bhavad-vidho bhavān vā'pi varjayitveśvaraṁ Harim | nāsya śaktaḥ puraḥ sthātum kṛitāntasya yathā janāḥ* | 30. *Tasmād nilayam utsṛijya yūyam sarve trivishṭapam | yāta kalam pratix-anto yataḥ śator viparyayaḥ* | 31. *Esha vipra-balodarkaḥ sampraty ūrjita-vikramaḥ | teshām evāvamānena sānubandho vīnaṅxyati* |

“I know, Maghavan, the cause of the exaltation of this your enemy

to be the might imparted to their pupil by the Bṛiḡus, the utterers of the Veda. 29. No one such as you, nor even you yourself, [nor any one] excepting only Hari the lord, is able to stand before him, as men [are unable to confront] death. 30. Wherefore do ye all, abandoning heaven, your abode, depart, expecting time, from which [shall come] the overthrow of your enemy. 31. He now reaps the fruits of Brahmanical power, and thus his prowess has become augmented. Through contempt of these same Brahmans, he shall perish with all his dependants."

(The prophecy here uttered in regard to the fall of Bali as a result of his disregard of the Brahmans, will hereafter be found to be fulfilled. See below, sect. 20, vv. 14 ff., p. 125).

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

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

(Sect. 16, vv. 18 ff.)—*Evam abhyarthito 'dityā Kas tām āha smayann iva | aho māyā-balaṁ Viṣṇoḥ sneha-baddham idaṁ jagat | 19. Kva deho bhautiko 'nātmā kva chātmā prakṛiteḥ paraḥ | kasya ke pati-puttrādyā moha eva hi kāraṇam | 20. Upatishṭhasva Puruṣham bhagavantaṁ Janārdanam | sarva-bhūta-guhāvāsaṁ Vāsudevaṁ jagad-gurum | 21. Sa vidhāsyati te kāmān Harir dīnānukampanaḥ | amoghā bhagavad-bhaktir netareti matir mama |*

18. "Being thus entreated by Aditi, Ka<sup>119</sup> (Kaśyapa) answers her, as it were smiling, 'O, the power of Viṣṇu's illusion! this world is bound by affection. 19. Where is this elemental body, which is not soul? and where is soul, which is superior to matter? (*i.e.* how great is the superiority of soul to the body!)"<sup>120</sup> Who are the husband, or the sons, or other relatives, of any person? "<sup>121</sup> (*i.e.* there are no such things

<sup>119</sup> For an explanation of this word see above, p. 13, note 30.

<sup>120</sup> Compare for this idiom the Raghuvamśa, i, 2: *Kva sūrya-prabhavo vaṁśaḥ kva chāṭpa-viśayaṁ matih |*

<sup>121</sup> See Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel's edition), ii, 108, 3 ff.

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

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

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

(Sect. 17, v. 18 ff.)—*Tvayārchitāś chāham apatyā-guptaye payo-  
vratenānugunaṁ samīḍitāḥ | svāmśena putratvam upetya te sutān gop-  
tāsmi Mārīcha-tapasy adhishṭhitāḥ | 19. Upadhāva patim bhadre pra-  
jāpatim akalmaṣam | mām cha bhāvayatī patyāṁ evaṁrūpam avasthitam |  
20. Naitat parasmā ākhyeyam prīṣṭayā 'pi kathañchana | sarvaṁ sam-  
padīyate devī deva-guhyāṁ susaṁvṛitam | 21. Suka uvācha | etāvad  
uktvā bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | Aditir durlabhaṁ labdhvā Harer  
janmātmani prabhoḥ | upādhavat patim bhaktyā parayā kṛita-kṛitya-vat |  
22. Sa vai samādhi-yogena Kaśyapas tad abudhyata | pravishṭam ātmani  
Harer aṁśaṁ hy avitathezanaḥ | 23. So 'dityāṁ vīryāṁ ādhatta tapasā  
chīra-sambhṛitam | samāhita-manā rājan dāruṇy agniṁ yathā 'nilaḥ |*

“ ‘Worshipped by thee with the milk ceremonial for the deliverance of thy offspring, and lauded according to my attributes, I shall, with a portion of myself, become thy son, and deliver thy children, presiding over the austerity of Mārīcha (Kaśyapa). 19. Wait, virtuous female, upon thy husband, the sinless Prajāpati, meditating on me, who in this form abides within him. 20. This must not in any way be disclosed by thee to any one, even though thou art asked. The secrets of the gods, o goddess, issue in good [only] when they are kept concealed.’ 21. When the deity had said so much, he disappeared on the spot. Aditi, having obtained the [boon], so hard to obtain, that Hari, the lord, should be born of her, waited on her husband with the greatest devotion, like one who had obtained her object. 22. Kaśyapa with certain in-

tuition understood by the power of contemplation that a portion of Hari had entered into him. 23. With contemplative mind, he impregnated Aditi with the generative fluid which he had accumulated by long austerity, as the wind forces fire into wood."

I have already observed that Vishnu, in his character as one of the Ādityas, also, was the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi (see above, p. 115). The connection with the old legend is therefore here preserved.

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

(Sect. 18, v. 12).—*Yat tad vapur bhāti-vibhūṣaṇāyudhair avyakta-  
chid vyaktam adhārayad Hariḥ | babhūva tenaiva sa vāmano vaṭuḥ sam-  
paśyator divya-gatir yathā naṭaḥ |* "While Hari, the invisible spirit, was invested with that body, which was manifested by splendour, by its ornaments, and by weapons, he, whose ways are supernatural, became with that very body, while [his parents] were looking on, a young dwarf, as an actor [changes his character]."

He afterwards went to attend the *āśvamedha* sacrifices celebrated for Bali by the Bhrigus on the banks of the river Narmadā.<sup>122</sup> Bali welcomes the young Brahman dwarf with respect, offers him a seat, and washes his feet. The narrative then proceeds:

(Sect. 18, v. 28 ff.)—*Tat-pāda-śaucaṁ jana-kalmashāpahaṁ sa  
dharmā-vid mūrdhny adhāt sumāṅgalaṁ | yad deva-devo Giriśaś chandra-  
maulir dadhāra mūrdhnā parayā cha bhaktyā | 29. Balir uvācha |  
svāgataṁ te namas tubhyam brahman kiṁ karavāma te | brahmarshīṇāṁ  
tapaḥ sāxād manye tv ārya vapur-dharam | . . . . 32. Yad yad vaṭo  
vāñchasi tat pratichha me tvām arthinam vipra-sutānutarkaye | gām  
kāñchanaṁ guṇavad dhāma mṛiṣṭaṁ tathā 'nna-peyam uta vā vipra-  
kanyām | grāmān samṛiddhāṁs turagān gajān vā rathāṁs tathā 'rhattama  
sampratichha | 28. "Acquainted with duty, he placed upon his head  
the auspicious water with which the Brahman's feet had been washed,  
which removes the sins of men, and which Giriśa (Śiva), the god of  
gods, who wears the moon for a frontal ornament, bore on his head,  
with supreme devotion. 29. Bali said: 'Welcome to thee, reverence  
to thee, Brahman, what can we do for thee? honourable man, I regard*

<sup>122</sup> It is to be noticed that the scene of this sacrifice is on earth, though Bali, as we were told above, had taken possession of Indra's heaven.

thee as the visible, impersonated austerity of Brahman-sages. . . . .

32. Ask of me, youth, whatever thou desirest, (son of a Brahman, I conclude that thou art a suppliant), ask, most respectable man, a cow, pure gold, an embellished house, food and drink, or a Brahman's daughter, flourishing villages, horses, or elephants, and carriages.'"

In section nineteenth the dwarf answers Bali in a speech complimentary to himself and his ancestors, and craftily ends with the seemingly moderate demand of three paces of ground :

(Sect. 19, v. 16 ff.)—*Tasmāt tvatto mahīm īśhad vṛiṇe 'haṁ varadar-  
shābhāt | padāni trīṇi daityendra sammitāni padā mama | 17. Nānyat  
te kāmāya rājan vadānyāḥ jagadīśvarāt | naināḥ prāpnoti vai vidvān  
yāvad-artha-pratigrahaḥ | 18. Balir uvācha | Aho Brāhmaṇa-dāyāda  
vāchas te vṛiddha-sammataḥ | tvam bālo bālīśa-matiḥ svārtham pra-  
ty abudho yathā | 19. Mām vachobhiḥ samārādhyā lokānām ekam  
īśvaram | pada-trayaṁ vṛiṇīte yo 'buddhimān dvīpa-dāsusham | 20.  
Na pumān mām upravrajya bhūyo yāchitum arhati | tasmād vṛitti-  
karīm bhūmiṁ vaḥ kāmam pratichha me | 21. Śrī-bhagavān uvācha |  
yāvanto vishayāḥ preshṭhās trilokyām ajitendriyam | na śaknuvanti te  
sarve pratipūrayitum nṛipa | 22. Tribhiḥ kramair asantushto dvīpenāpi  
na pūryate | nava-varsha-sametena saptadvīpa-varechhayā | . . . . .  
27. Tasmāt trīṇi padāny eva vṛiṇe tvad varadarshābhāt | etāvataiva  
siddho 'ham vittaṁ yāvat prayojanam | 28. Suka uvācha | ity uktaḥ sa  
hasann āha vāñchhitam pratigrihyatām | vāmanāya mahīm dātum jagrāha  
jala-bhājanam |*

"Wherefore I ask from thee, the chief of the bountiful, a small portion of ground, three paces, lord of the Daityas, measured by my step. 17. I desire nothing more from thee, the generous lord of the world. A wise man incurs no sin when he asks [only] as much as he needs. 18. Bali answered : 'Thy words, son of a Brahman, are such as beseem an old man. Thou art a youth, with the mind of a stripling, and like one ignorant regarding his own interest. 19. He is not wise who, having by words revered me, the sole lord of the worlds, asks me, the bestower of continents, for three paces of ground. 20. It is not fit that a man should come to me and make repeated requests : wherefore freely ask me for ground sufficient for thy subsistence.' 21. The deity replied : 'All the desirable objects in the three worlds cannot, o king, satisfy the man whose senses are unsubdued. 22. He who is not contented with three



paces of ground will not be satiated even with a continent, and its nine *varshas*, since he will desire the gift of the seven continents.<sup>123</sup> 27. Wherefore I desire from thee, who art the chief of the bountiful, only three paces of ground. With so much as suffices for my maintenance I am complete.' Being thus addressed, Bali said, smiling, 'take what thou desirest;' and with the view of giving the land to the dwarf, he took a vessel of water."

Uśanas, however, Bali's priest and preceptor, recognizing Vishṇu in the dwarf, and knowing the god's designs, here interposes, and warns the monarch against granting the ground solicited :

(Sect. 19, v. 29 ff.)—*Vishṇave xmām pradāsyantam Uśanā asure-  
śvaram | jānanś chikīrshitaṁ Vishṇoḥ śishyam prāha vidāṁ varaḥ | 30.  
Śukrāchāryya uvācha | Esha Vairochane sākād bhagavān Vishṇur avya-  
yaḥ | Kaśyapād Aditer jāto devānām kārya-sādhaḥ | 31. Pratiśrutam  
tvayaitasmai yad anartham ajānatā | na sādhu manye daityānām mahān  
upagato 'nayaḥ | 32. Esha te sthānam aiśvaryaṁ śriyaṁ tejo yaśaḥ  
śrutam | dāsyaty āchhidya Sakrāya māyā-mānavako Hariḥ | 33. Tribhiḥ  
kramair imān lokān viśva-kāyaḥ kramishyati | sarvasvaṁ Vishṇave dattvā  
mūḍha varttishyase katham | 34. Kramato gām padaikena dvitīyena  
divaṁ vibhoḥ | khaṁ cha kāyena mahatā tārtyasya kuto gatiḥ | 35. Nish-  
ṭhām te narake manye hy apradātuḥ pratiśrutam | pratiśrutasya yo  
'nīśaḥ pratipādāyitum bhavān | 36. Na tad dānam praśāmsanti yena  
vṛillir vipadyate | dānaṁ yajñas tapaḥ karma loka vṛittimato yataḥ |*

29. "Uśanas, chief of the wise, knowing Vishṇu's intention, thus addresses his pupil, the chief of the Asuras, who was about to give the land to that deity: 30. 'This, o son of Virochana, is manifestly the divine, undecaying Vishṇu, born of Kaśyapa and Aditi, the fulfiller of the purposes of the gods. 31. That ill-advised promise which thou, unknowingly, hast made to him, is not, I consider, to the advantage of the Daityas;—a great error has been committed. 32. This illusory dwarf having bereft thee of thy place, dominion, prosperity, splendour, renown, and sacred knowledge, will give them to Sakra. 33. He whose body is the universe, will traverse these worlds in three strides; fool, where shalt thou abide, when thou hast given all thy possessions to Vishṇu? 34. Where shall there be room for the third pace

<sup>123</sup> See the First Part of this work, pp. 184 ff. for an account of these continents and *varshas*.

of the all-pervading being when he has traversed the earth with one pace, the sky with a second, and [filled] the atmosphere with his vast body? 35. I think that thy abode shall be in hell, when thou art unable to give all that thou hast promised, since thou shalt not be master (so as to carry it out) of what thou hast promised. 36. Men do not approve that gift by which [the donor's] livelihood is ruined : for [it is understood] in the world that gifts, sacrifices, austerities, ceremonies, are only performed by those who have the means."

In the verses which follow it is apparently the preceptor's object to show that the monarch may consider himself as absolved by the necessities of the case from fulfilling his promise already given to the dwarf.

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

(Sect. 20, vv. 14 ff.)—*Evam asraḍḍhitaṁ śishyam anādeśa-karaṁ guruḥ | śāsāpa daiva-prahitaḥ satyasandham manasvinam | 15. Dṛḍham paṇḍita-māny ajñāḥ stabdho 'sy asmad-upexayā | mach-ḥhāsānātigo yas tvam achirād bhraśyase śriyaḥ | 16. Ecaṁ śaptaḥ sva-guruṇā satyād na chālito mahān | vāmanāya dadāv enām architvodaka-pūrvakam | 17. Vindhyāvalis tadā "gatya patnī jālaka-mālīni | āninye kalāśaṁ haimam avanejany apām bhṛitam | 18. Yajamānaḥ svayaṁ tasya śrīmat-pādayugaṁ mudā | avaniyyāvahad mūrdhni tad-āpo viśva-pāvanīḥ |*

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

This magnanimous act of Bali is applauded by the celestials, and rewarded by them with a shower of flowers, and by strains of music. Immediately, however, the body of the dwarf begins to expand :

(Sect. 20, v. 21).—*Tad vāmanaṁ rūpam avarāhatādbhutaṁ Harer anantasya guṇa-trayātmakam | bhūḥ khaṁ diśo dyaur vivarāḥ payodhayaḥ tiryāṅ-nṛi-devā rishayo yad āsata |* “That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari, consisting of the three qualities, increased miraculously, [that body] which composed the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, brutes, men, gods, and rishis.”

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

(Sect. 20, v. 33).—*Xitim padaikena Baler vichakrame nabhaḥ śarīreṇa dīśascha bāhubhiḥ | padaṁ dvitīyaṁ kramatas trivishṭapaṁ na vai tritīyāya tadīyam anv api | urukramasyāṅghrir upary upary atho maharjanābhyāṁ tapasaḥ paraṁ gataḥ |* “He traversed the earth of Bali with one pace; and [filled] the air with his body and the points of the compass with his arms. His second pace, as he strode, [occupied] the heaven; and not even the minutest fraction of it remained for a third pace. The foot of the wide-striding deity rose upwards and upwards, and then reached beyond the Mahar-, Jana-, and Tapo-lokas.<sup>124</sup>

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

(Sect. 21, vv. 8 ff.)—*Jāmbavān rīxa-rājas tu bheri-śabdair manojavaḥ | vijayaṁ dixu sarvāsu mahotsavam aghoshayat | 9. Mahīm sarvām hṛitāṁ dṛishṭvā tri-pada-vyāja-yāchñāyā | ūchuḥ sva-bharttur asurā dixitasy-ātyamarshitāḥ | 10. Na vā ayam brahma-bandhur Viṣṇur māyāvināṁ varāḥ | dvija-rūpa-praticihanno deva-kāryyaṁ chikīrshati | 11. Auena yāchamānena śatruṇā vaṭu-rūpiṇā | sarvasvaṁ no hṛitam bharttur nyastadandasya varhishi | 12. Satya-vratasya satataṁ dīṛitasya viśeshataḥ | nānṛitam bhāshītuṁ śakyam brahmanyasya dayācatuḥ | 13. Tasmād asya badhe dharmo bharttuḥ śuśrūshane cha naḥ | ity āyudhāni jagṛihur Baler anucharāsuraḥ | 14. Te sarve vāmanaṁ hantum śūla-paṭṭīṣa-pāṇayaḥ | aniehhato Baleḥ rājan prādravan jāta-manyavaḥ |*

8. “Jāmbavat, King of the bears, swift as thought, proclaimed this victory, the occasion of great festivity, with sound of kettledrums, in all the regions. Beholding the whole earth taken from their master

<sup>124</sup> See Wilson's Vishnu Puranā (p. 48, note 10, and p. 213) for an account of these Lokas.

when consecrated for sacrifice, by an artful request for three paces of ground, the Asuras greatly incensed, exclaimed: 10. 'This is certainly not a petty Brahman, but Vishṇu, the chief of magicians; disguised under the form of a twice-born man, he seeks to accomplish the purposes of the gods. By this enemy in the form of a stripling suppliant, has been taken all the property of our master, who had laid down his sceptre on the sacrificial grass. 12. Untruth cannot be uttered by one who is always devoted to truth—especially when he is consecrated,—by one who is the friend of Brahmins, and compassionate. 13. Wherefore it is our duty to slay him, and obey our master;—so saying, the Asuras, followers of Bali, seized their weapons. 14. Against the wish of Bali, they all ran, infuriate, pikes and axes in hand, to slay the dwarf."<sup>125</sup>

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

(Sect. 21, v. 26).—*Atha Tārxa-suto jñātvā Virāt prabhu-chikīrshitam | babandha Vāruṇaiḥ pāsair Baliṁ sautyē 'hani kratau | 27. Hāhākāro mahān āsīd rodasyoḥ sarvato-dīśam | gṛihyamāne 'sura-patau Viṣṇunā prabhacishṇunā | 28. Tam baddhaṁ Vāruṇaiḥ pāsair bhagavān āha vāmanah | nashṭa-śriyam sthira-prajñam udāra-yaśasaṁ nṛipa | 29. Padāni trīṇi dattāni bhūmer mahyaṁ tvayā 'sura | dvābhyaṁ krāntā mahi sarvā trītiyam upakalpaya | 30. Yāvat tapaty asau gobhīr yāvad Induḥ sahoḍubhiḥ | Yāvad varshati Parjanyaś tāvatī bhūr iyāṁ tava | 31. Padaikena mayā krānto bhūrlokaḥ khaṁ dīśas tanoḥ | svarlokaś tu dvītiyena paśyatas te svam ātmanā | 32. Pratiśrutam adātus te niraye vāsa ishyate | viśa tvaṁ nirayaṁ tasmād guruṇā chānumoditāḥ | 33. Vṛithā manorathas tasya dūra-svargaḥ pataty adhaḥ | yo viprāya pratiśrutya na tad arpayate 'rhitam | 34. Vipralabdho dadāmiti tvayā 'haṁ chādya-māninā | tad-ryalika-phalam bhujṣva nirayaṁ katichit samāḥ | 26.* "Then Virāt (Garuḍa), the son of Tārxa, knowing the purpose of

<sup>125</sup> It will be observed that here the dwarf is still represented as having that shape, though he had been above described as assuming a superhuman form and filling all the worlds. Yet though he is spoken of as a Brahman dwarf, he is said to have had followers who easily defeated the Asuras of Bali.

the lord, bound Bali with the bonds of Varuṇa<sup>126</sup> at the sacrifice on the day of the Soma libation. 28. A great lamentation arose in all the quarters of the two worlds (heaven and earth), when the Lord of the Asuras was seized by the puissant Viṣṇu. 28. Him bound with the bonds of Varuṇa, whose prosperity was destroyed, but whose understanding was firm, and whose renown was vast, the divine dwarf thus addressed: 29. 'Asura, three paces of ground were given to me by thee: with two paces the entire earth has been traversed: find a place for the third. 30. This earth of thine extends as far as that [sun] warms with his beams, as far as the moon shines with the stars, as far as Parjanya rains. 31. With one pace I traversed the region of the earth, and [occupied] the air and regions with my body; and whilst thou wast looking on, I [traversed] the sky with a second [pace, filling] thy possessions with myself. 32. As thou hast not given what was promised, it is my pleasure that thou shalt dwell in the infernal regions; enter therefore thither, with the approbation of thy preceptor. 33. That man's desires are frustrated, and he falls downward, far from heaven, who after promising to a Brahman, does not deliver to him what he had solicited. 34. I have been deluded by thee, thinking thyself wealthy, when thou saidst 'I give.' Endure the infernal regions for some years as the penalty of that deceit.' "

Bali answers as follows (Sect. 22):

(Sect. 22, v. 2).—*Yady uttama-śloka bhavān mameritaṁ vacho vyalīkaṁ sura-varyya manyate | karomy ṛitaṁ tad na bhavet pralambhanam pādaṁ trītiyaṁ kuru śīrshṇi me nijam | 3. Bibhemi nāhaṁ nīrayāt pada-chyuto na pāsa-bandhād vyasanād duratyayāt | naivārtha-kṛichhrād bhavato vinigrahāt asādhu-vādād bhṛīsam udvije yathā |*

2. "If, renowned chief of the gods, you consider the word which I uttered to be deceitful, I [now make it true, or] I do what is sincere, and can be no deception,—place your third step on my head. 3. Fallen from my position, I fear not the infernal regions, nor binding in bonds, nor misfortune difficult to escape, nor loss of wealth, nor your restraint, so much as I am afflicted by a bad name."

He then goes on to express his sense of his conqueror's superiority,

<sup>126</sup> See Manu, viii. 82; ix. 308. In R. V. vii. 65, 3, Mitra and Varuṇa are said to be *bhūri-pāsāv anṛitasya* "[gods] who have many bonds for falsehood."—See Roth's art. on the principal gods of the Arian nations, "Journal of the German Oriental Society," vol. vi. p. 73.

and submission to his fate. He is now visited and consoled by his grandfather Prahrāda. His wife Vindhyaṅvali next worships Viṣṇu; and then Brahmā intercedes in behalf of the Asura monarch. Viṣṇu, after making some general reflections, replies as follows :

(Sect. 22, v. 28).—*Esha dānava-daityānām agraviḥ kirtti-varḍhanaḥ |*  
*ajaiśhīd ajayām māyām sīdann api na muhyati | 29. Xīna-rikthaś*  
*chyutaḥ sthānāt xipto baddhaścha śatrubhiḥ | jñātibhiścha parityakto*  
*yātānām anuyāpitaḥ | 30. Gurunā bhartsitaḥ śapto jahau satyām na*  
*suerataḥ | chhalair ukto mayā dharmo nāyam tyajati satyavāk | 31. Esha*  
*me prāpitaḥ sthānām dushprāpam amarair api | Sāvārner antarasyaṅyam*  
*bhavitendro mad-āśrayaḥ | 32. Tūvat sutalam adhyāstām Viśvakarma-*  
*vinirmitaḥ | yan nādhayo vyādhayaścha klamas tandrā parābhavaḥ |*  
*nopasargā nivasatām sambhavanti mamechhayā |*

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

(Sect. 23, v. 2).—Bali replies thus : *Aho praṅmāya kṛitaḥ samud-*  
*yamaḥ prapanna-bhaktārtha-vidhau samāhitaḥ | yallokapālais tvad-*  
*anugraho 'marair alabdha-pūrvo 'pasade 'sure 'rpitaḥ | 3. Suka uvācha |*  
*ity ukteḥ Hariḥ ānamya Brahmānaḥ sa-Bhavaḥ tataḥ | viveśa sutalam*  
*prīto Balir muktaḥ sahāsuraiḥ | 2. "O, even the effort made to adore*  
*thee succeeds in effecting the object of the devout man who seeks thee ;*  
*seeing that thy favour, such as has not been before attained by the*  
*immortal guardians of the worlds, has been bestowed on me, a degraded*  
*Aśura.' 3. Having thus spoken, and bowed down to Hari, to Brahmā,*  
*and to Bhava (Siva), Bali, being released, entered Sutala with joy, along*  
*with the Asuras. Viṣṇu now addresses Uśanas the priest of Bali :*

(Sect. 21, v. 13).—*Athāhośanasam rājan Harir Nārāyaṇo 'ntike | āśīnam riteijām madhye sadasi brahma-vādinām | 14. Brahman santanu śishyasya karma-chhidraṁ vitanvataḥ | yat tat karmasu vaishamyam brahma-dṛishṭam samam bhavet | 15. Sukra uvācha | Kutas tat-karma-vaishamyam yasya karmesvaro bhavān | yajñeśo yajñāpurushaḥ sarva-bhāvena pūjitaḥ | 16. Mantratas tantratas chhidraṁ deśa-kālārha-vas-tutaḥ | sarvaṁ karoti niśchhidram anusañkirttanaṁ tava | 17. Tathāpi vadato bhūman karishyāmy anuśāsanam | etach chhreyah param puṁsām yat tavājñānupālanam | 18. Suka uvācha | abhinandya Harer ājñām Uśanā bhagavān iti | yajña-chhidraṁ samādhatta Baler viprarshibhiḥ saha | 19. Ecam Baler mahim rājan bhixitvā vāmano Hariḥ | dadau bhrātre Mahendrāya tridivāṁ yat parair hṛitam | 13. "Hari Nārāyaṇa then approaching Uśanas sitting among the priests, in an assembly of reciters of the Veda, thus addressed him: 14. 'Brahman, rectify the irregularities of thy pupil in performing the ceremonial: whatever fault there is in any rite is removed if it be seen by a Brahman.' 15. S'ukra (Uśanas) replied: 'How can there be any irregularity in that ceremony of which you are the lord, the lord of sacrifice, the sacrificial male [or victim], adored in every aspect? 16. Whatever defects there may be in respect of texts, of order, of place, of time, of persons, or of materials,—the mere celebration of thee obliterates them all. 17. Nevertheless, great being (?), I shall fulfil the injunction which thou utterest: this is the highest happiness of men, to obey thy commands.' 18. Having assented to the order of Hari, the divine Uśanas with the Brahman-rishis, rectified the irregularities of Bali's sacrifice. 19. Having in this manner begged the earth from Bali, the dwarf Hari gave [back] to his brother Mahendra<sup>127</sup> the heaven which had been taken from him by his enemies."*

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

(Sect 21, v. 20).—*Prajāpati-patir Brahmā devarshi-pitri-bhūmipaiḥ | Daxa-Bhrigv-Angiro-mukhyaiḥ Kumāreṇa Bhavena cha | 21. Kāśyapasy-āditeḥ prityai sarva-bhūta-bhavāya chā | lokānām loka-pālānām akarod vām-*

<sup>127</sup> Vishṇu is called Upendra (the inferior or younger Indra), the brother of Mahendra, the great Indra.—See above, p. 116, last line.

*anam patim* | 22. *Vedānām sarva-devānām dharmasya yaśasaḥ śriyaḥ* | *maṅgalānām vratānāncha kalpaṁ svargāpavargayoḥ* | 23. *Upendraṁ kalpāyānchakre patiṁ sarva-vibhūṭaye* | *tadā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhṛīsam mu-mudīre nṛipa* | 20. "Brahmā, the lord of the Prajāpatis, together with the gods, rishis, Pitris, with Daxa, Bhṛigu, Angiras, and other lords of the earth, with Kumāra, and Bhava, 21. with a view to the gratification of Kaśyapa and Aditi, and the good of all creatures, made the dwarf master of the worlds and of the guardians of the worlds. 22, 23. He made Upendra (Vishṇu) master of the Vedas, of all the gods, of righteousness, renown, prosperity, blessings, and ceremonies, and lord of heaven and final liberation, in order that he might have command of all things. Then all creatures rejoiced exceedingly."

The section concludes with the verse I have already quoted above (p. 62) in glorification of Vishṇu, followed by a statement of the benefits resulting from hearing the legend of the dwarf incarnation.

SECT. V.—*Vishṇu as represented in the Nirukta, Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, and Purānas.*

From the passages adduced in the preceding pages, it is clear that Vishṇu is not regarded as the supreme god either in the Rig-veda, or in the Brāhmaṇas. In these ancient works he is considered only as one of the gods, and not as superior to the rest. It is also manifest from the passage I have cited from the Nirukta (xii. 19) in p. 55 that neither Yaska himself, nor Sākapūṇi and Aurnavābha the ancient interpreters of the Veda, whose opinions he quotes, assigned to Vishṇu any higher rank than they did to the other members of the Indian Pantheon. From another text of the Nirukta (vii. 5) which I have cited in p. 56, it appears that the old expounders of the Veda regarded the deities worshipped in the Veda as mainly represented by three gods of primary importance, and that of these Vishṇu is not one. As the passage from which this extract was made is of great interest and importance, I shall quote it here at length :

Nir. 7, 4.—*Tad ye 'nādishṭa-devatā mantrās teshu devatopaparīṣā* | *yad-dāvataḥ sa yajño vā yajñāṅgaṁ vā tad-devatā bhavanti* | *atha anyatra*



yajñāt prajāpatyā iti yājñikāḥ | nārāsaṁsā iti nairuktāḥ | api vā sā  
kāma-devatā syāt prāyo-devatā vā | asti hy āchāro bahulaṁ loke deva-  
devatyam atithi-devatyam pitri-devatyam | yājña-daivato mantra iti |  
api hy adevatā devatā-vat stūyante | yathā 'śva-prabhṛitīny oshadhi-  
paryantāny athāpy aṣṭau dvandvāni | sa na manyeta āgantūn iva arthān  
devatānām pratyaxa-dṛīṣyam etad bhavati | mahābhāgyād devatāyā eka  
ātmā bahudhā stūyate | ekasya ātmano 'nye devāḥ pratyangāni bhavanti |  
api cha sattvānām prakṛiti-bhūmabhir ṛishayaḥ stuvanti ity āhuḥ | pro-  
kṛiti-sārcvanānnyāch cha itaretara-janmāno bhavanti itaretara-prakṛit-  
ayaḥ karma-janmāna ātma-janmānaḥ | atmā eva eṣhām ratho bhavaty ātmā  
'śvāḥ ātmā' yudham ātmā ishavaḥ ātmā sarvaṁ devasya | 5. Tisra eva  
devatāḥ iti nairuktāḥ Agniḥ prithivī-sthāno Vāyur vā Indro vā 'ntarixa-  
sthānaḥ Sūryo dyu-sthānaḥ | tāsām mahābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni  
nāmadheyāni bhavanti | api vā karma-prithaktvād yathā hotā 'dhvanyur  
brahmā udgātā ity apy ekasya sataḥ | api vā prithag eva syuḥ | prithag  
hi stutayo bhavanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | yatho etat "karma-prithaktvād" iti  
bahavo 'pi vibhājya karmāni kuryuḥ | tatra saṁsthānaikatvaṁ sambho-  
gaikatvaṁ cha upeẓitavyam | yathā prithivyām manushyāḥ paśavo devā  
iti sthānaikatvam | sambhokaikatvaṁ cha dṛīṣyate yathā prithivyāḥ  
Parjanyaena cha Vāyu-Ādityābhyām cha sambhogo 'gninā cha itarasya  
lokasya | tatra etad nara-rūṣṭram iva | 6. Athākūra-chintanaṁ deva-  
tānām | puruṣa-vidhāḥ syur ity ekam | chetanāvad-vad hi stutayo bha-  
vanti tathā 'bhidhānāni | athāpi pauruṣa-vidhikair aṅgaiḥ saṁstūyante |  
. . . . athāpi pauruṣa-vidhikair dravya-saṁyogaiḥ | . . . . athāpi  
pauruṣa-vidhikaiḥ karmabhiḥ | . . . . 7. Apuruṣa-vidhāḥ syur  
ity aparam | api tu yad dṛīṣyate 'puruṣa-vidhāṁ tat | yathā 'gnir  
vāyur ādityaḥ prithivī chandramā iti | yatho etat "chetanāvad-vad  
hi stutayo bhavanti" ity achetanāny apy evaṁ stūyante yathā 'xa-pra-  
bhṛitīny oshadhi-paryantāni | yatho etat "pauruṣa-vidhikair aṅgaiḥ  
saṁstūyante" ity achetaneshv apy etad bhavati | "abhi krandanti harite-  
bhir āsabhir" iti grāva-stutiḥ | yatho etat "pauruṣa-vidhikair dravya-  
saṁyogair" ity etad api tādṛīṣam eva | "sukhaṁ rathāṁ yuyujo Sindhur  
āśvinam" iti nadī-stutiḥ | yatho etat "pauruṣa-vidhikaiḥ karmabhir"  
ity etad api tādṛīṣam eva | "hotuṣ chit pūrve havir ādyam āśata" iti  
grāva-stutir eva | api cha ubhaya-vidhāḥ syuḥ | api vā puruṣa-vidhānām  
eva satām karmātmāna ete syuḥ | yathā yajño yajamānasya | eṣha cha  
ākhyāna-samayaḥ | 8. Tisra eva devatā ity uktam purastāt | tāsām

*bhakti-sāhacharyam vyākhyāsyāmaḥ | atha etāny Agni-bhaktīny ayaṁ  
lokaḥ prātaḥ-savanaṁ vasanto gāyatrī trivṛit-stomo rathantaram sāma  
ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātāḥ prathame sthāne 'gnāyī prithivī ilā  
iti striyaḥ | atha asya karma vahanaṁ cha havishām āvahanaṁ cha  
devatānām yach cha dārshṭi-vishayikam Agni-karmaiva tat | atha  
asya saṁstavikā devā Indraḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Parjanya ṛitvaḥ |  
Āgnā-Vaiṣṇavaṁ havir na tu ṛik saṁstavikī daśatayīshu vidyate | a'ha  
apy Āgnā-Pauṣhaṁ havir na tu saṁstavaḥ | . . . . . 10. Atha etāni  
Indra-bhaktīny antarixa-loko mādhyaṇḍinaṁ savanaṁ grishmas trishṭup  
pañchadaśa-stomo brihat-sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā madhyam  
sthāne yāścha striyaḥ | atha asya karma rāsānupradānaṁ Vṛitra-vadho  
yā cha kā cha bala-kritir Indra-karmaiva tat | atha asya saṁstavikā devā  
Agniḥ Somo Varuṇaḥ Pūshā Brihaspatir Brahmanaspatih Parvataḥ Kutso  
Vishnur Vāyuh | atha api Mitro Varuṇena saṁstūyate | Pūshnā Rudrena  
cha Somaḥ | Agninā cha Pūshā | Vātena cha Parjanyaḥ | 11. Atha  
etāny Āditya-bhaktīny asau lokas tṛitīya-savanaṁ varshā jagatī saptadaśa-  
stomo vairūpaṁ sāma ye cha deva-gaṇāḥ samāmnātā uttame sthāne yāścha  
striyaḥ | atha asya karma rasādānaṁ raśmibhiḥ cha rasādihāraṇaṁ yach  
cha kiñchit pracalhitam Āditya-karmaiva tat | Chandramasā Vāyunā  
Saṁvatsareṇa iti saṁstavaḥ | eteshv eva sthāna-vyūheshv ṛitu-chhandah-  
stoma-prishṭhasya bhakti-śesham anukalpayīta | śarad-anuṣṭub-ekaviṁśa-  
stomo vairājaṁ sāma iti prithivy-āyatanāni | hemantaḥ pañktis triṇava-  
stomaḥ śākvaṛam sāma ity antarixāyatanāni | śiśiro 'tichhandās trayas-  
triṁśa-stomo raivatam sāma iti dyu-bhaktīni |*

4. "We shall now enquire who are the deities in those hymns in which no deity is indicated. They are addressed to the god to whom the sacrifice or part of a sacrifice [in which they are employed] belongs. The hymns which are unconnected with a sacrifice are, according to the ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*), addressed to Prajāpati; according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), they are spoken in praise of men.<sup>128</sup> Or in such cases the deity may be an optional one, or a class of deities: for it is a very prevalent practice to [classify rites] as those which have a god, a guest, or a progenitor, respectively, for their deity. In reference to

<sup>128</sup> Professor Roth refers to Nir. ix. 9, where the word *nārāśaṁsa* is thus defined: *yena nārāḥ praśasyante sa nārāśaṁso mantraḥ* | "a hymn in which men are eulogised is a *nārāśaṁso* hymn." As an instance of this kind of hymn Yaska quotes R. V. i. 126, 1.

what has been said that hymns are either (1) sacrificial, or (2) addressed to a god, [it is remarked that] beings other than gods are lauded as gods, as *e.g.* the objects beginning with horses and ending with herbs (see Nighaṅṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 1-28), and also the eight pairs (see Nighaṅṭu, 5, 3, and Nir. ix. 35 ff.) But let him [the student] not regard any matters relating to the gods as if they were accidental: this may be clearly seen. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is lauded in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. And [the learned] say that the rishis address their hymns according to the numerous natures of the [celestial] existences; and [further] from the universality of the definition of their nature [these existences] are produced from each other, and possess the natures of each other (compare Nir. xi. 23, quoted above, p 11); they are produced from the ceremonial; they are produced from soul. It is soul that is their car, soul their steeds, soul their weapon, soul their arrows, soul is a god's all.

5. There are three deities according to the etymologists (*nairuktāḥ*), viz. Agni, whose place is on earth, Vāyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere, and Sūrya (the Sun), whose place is in the sky. These [deities] receive many designations in consequence of their greatness, or from the diversity of their functions, as [the appellations of] *hotri*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, and *udgātri*, are applied to one and the same person. Or the gods in question may all be distinct, for the praises addressed to them, and also their appellations, are distinct. As [regards the view that] this [diversity of appellation] arises from difference of function [and not from distinctness of personality, it may be objected that] a plurality of individuals also may each fulfil their separate allotted functions. In this latter case, a community of locality, and of possession, must be remarked. Thus, men, beasts, and gods, occupy the earth; here is community of place. Community of possession, too, is seen in such instances as that of the joint occupation of the earth both by Parjanya, and by Vāyu, and Āditya, and of the rest of the world by [Vāyu, Āditya, and] Agni. Here the case is like that of a kingdom and its inhabitants, (*i.e.* the one realm is occupied by different classes of persons [?]).

6. We have now to consider the forms of the gods. One [mode of representation in the hymns makes] them resemble men: for they are praised and addressed as intelligent beings. They are also celebrated with members such as those of men. (An instance is here given where

Indra is so introduced.) They are also [celebrated] with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men; . . . and with functions of a similar character to the human. . . .

7. Another [mode of representation makes them] unlike men. But further, that which is seen [of them] is unlike what is human, as Fire, Air, Sun, Earth, Moon. As [regards the assertion] that 'they are praised as intelligent beings,'—it is also true that senseless things are in like manner praised, as the objects beginning with dice and ending with herbs (Nigh. 5, 3; Nir. 3, 7 ff.) Again, as [regards the remark] that the gods are 'celebrated with members such as those of men,'—the same thing is done in the case of senseless objects, as stones are celebrated in the words, 'they cry with their green mouths' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Further, the same is the case as [regards the remark] that the gods are [celebrated] 'with the accompaniment of possessions such as those of men;' for a river is praised in the words, 'Sindhu has yoked his beautiful car drawn by steeds' (R. V. x. 75, 9). And the same thing applies to the remark that the gods are described with 'functions similar to those of men;' for stones are lauded in the words, 'even before the priests they eat food of melted butter' (R. V. x. 94, 2). Or the gods may be described under both forms (either as having, or as not having, a human form). Or, again, when they are described as similar to men, this may be merely in their character of actors in a particular function, as sacrifice is only the [temporary] act of the man who offers it. This is the condition of all narrations.<sup>129</sup>

8. It has been declared above (par. 5) that there are three deities. We shall now declare the various objects which are associated with their worship. Now these which follow are connected with Agni's worship: viz. this world, the morning oblation, spring, the gāyatri metre, the trivṛit stoma, the rathantara sāma, the classes of gods who in the Nighaṅṭu are enumerated in the first sphere, with the goddesses Agnāyī, Pṛithivī, and Ilā. Then Agni's function is to carry away the oblations, and to bring the gods: and whatever has reference to things visible (?)

<sup>129</sup> The commentator Durga, (as I learn from Prof. Roth's note, *Illust. of Nir.* p. 104), refers this observation to the *Mahābhārata*, and adduces, as illustrations of the remark in the text, the appearances of the Earth in the form of a woman to request a Brahman to relieve her of her load, and of Agni in the form of a Brahman to beg the Kāṇḍava wood from Vāsudeva and Arjuna, and in the form of a man, and of fire, to burn the wood in question.

is the work of Agni. Then the deities who are lauded along with him are Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Parjanya, and the seasons. There is an oblation made to Agni and Vishṇu in common; but in the ten books [of the R. V.] there is no *rich* which praises these two gods together. There is also an oblation made to Agni and Pūshan in common, but no conjoint laudation. . . . .

10. The following are the objects connected with Indra's worship: viz. the atmosphere, the midday oblation, summer, the trishtubh metre, the pañcadaśa stoma, the bṛihat sâma, the classes of gods and the females who are enumerated in the second sphere. Indra's function is to bestow moisture, to slay Vṛittra: and all exertions of force are the work of Indra. The deities lauded along with him are Agni, Soma, Varuṇa, Pūshan, Bṛihaspati, Brahmaṇaspati, Parvata, Kutsa, Vishṇu, and Vāyu. Further, Mitra is lauded along with Varuṇa, Soma with Pūshan and Rudra, Pūshan with Agni, and Parjanya with Vāta.

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

[The student] is to class the remaining seasons, metres, stomas, and *prishthas*, as objects connected with the service of the different gods, under [one or other of the three] spheres as above arranged. Autumn, the anushtubh metre, the ekavinśa stoma, and the vairāja sâma, belong to the sphere of earth. The early winter, the pankti metre, the triṇava stoma, and the śākvara sâma, belong to the atmospheric sphere. The later winter, the atichhandas metre, the trayastrinśa stoma, and the raivata sâma, are connected with the celestial worship."<sup>130</sup>

It will be observed that in the preceding classification of the gods, the principal places are assigned to Agni, Vāyu, or Indra, and Sūrya, who appear therefore to have been regarded in the time of Yāska, as the triad of deities in whom the supreme spirit was especially revealed. Vishṇu is only alluded to as one of the divinities who were worshipped conjointly with Indra; and Rudra is only mentioned as worshipped

<sup>130</sup> The whole of this passage is translated by Prof. Roth in his *Ill. of Nir.* pp. 101 ff.

along with Soma. The conjunction of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra as the triple manifestation of the deity (*trimūrti*) would therefore appear to have been unknown to Yāska.

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

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

Bṛihaddevatā, i. 13.—*Bhavad-bhūta[śya bha]vyasya jaṅgama-sthāvarasya cha | asyaśke sūryam evaikam prabhavam pralayaṁ viduḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva yonir eśha Prajāpatiḥ | yad āxaram cha vāchyaṁ (?) cha yathaiḥva Brahma śāśvatam | kṛitvaiśha hi tridhā "tmānam eśhu lokeshu tiśḥhati |* Ibid. i. 14 . . . *tiśra eva devatāḥ | etāśām eva mähātmyā nāmānyatvaṁ vidhiyate | taś cha sthāna-vibhāgena tatra tatreha dṛiśyate |* i. 13: "Some consider Sūrya (the Sun) to be the only cause of the production and destruction of this [universe] present, past, and future, moving and stationary. And this lord of creatures (Prajāpati) is the source of nonentity and entity, which is undecaying and describable (?) like the eternal Brahma. He, having made himself threefold, abides in these worlds. i. 14: . . . There are but three deities; and from their greatness, a variety of names is assigned [to each of them]. This is seen in different instances according to the distinction of places."

From the passage cited above (p. 26 f.) from Manu, it appears that the word Nārāyaṇa is there applied to Brahmā, and that no mention whatever is made of Viṣṇu, as concerned in the creation. In fact Viṣṇu is only once mentioned<sup>131</sup> by Manu, viz. in the following verse xii. 121:

<sup>131</sup> Lassen Ind. Ant. i. 777, note.

*Manasīndum diśaḥ śrotrṣe krānto Viśṇum bale Haraṃ | vāchy Agnim Mītram utsarge prajāne cha Prajāpatiṃ |* " [He may contemplate] in his mind the Moon (Indu), in his hearing the regions, in his going Viśṇu, in his strength Hara, in his voice Agni, in excretion Mitra, and in procreation Prajāpati." Viśṇu is not spoken of here as in any way superior to the other gods with whom he is associated.

In the text quoted above (p. 29) from the older recension of the Rāmāyaṇa too, it is Brahmā who is spoken of not only as the creator, but also as the god who raised up the earth from the bottom of the ocean.

Again, those texts of the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas (see above, pp. 103 ff.) where Viśṇu is described as one of the twelve Ādityas, confirm the conclusion that he must have been originally looked upon as a deity of no more elevated rank than the other sons of Aditi; and the circumstance that he is in some of those passages distinguished from the rest of the gods by epithets expressive of some higher characteristics is easily explicable, as I have already remarked, by the supposition that those passages have been composed or modified at a period when his superiority had come to be recognized.

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

Rāmāyaṇa, i. 14, 1 ff.—*Medhāvī tu tato dhyātvā sa kiñchid idam uttaram | labdha-saṅjñas tatas taṃ tu veda-jño nṛipam abravīt | iśṭīm te 'nyām karishyāmi putriyām putra-kāraṇāt | atharvaśirasī proktair mantraiḥ siddhāṃ vidhānataḥ | tataḥ prachakrame karttum iśṭīm kāma-samṛiddhaye | tasya rājño hitānveshī Vidhāṇḍaka-suto vaśī | tatra devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ Siddhāścha munibhiḥ saha | bhāga-pratigrahārthaṃ vai pūrvam eva samāgatāḥ | Brahmā sureśvaraḥ Sthāṇus tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | Indrāś cha bhagavān sākṣād Marud-gaṇa-vṛitas tathā | aśva-medhe mahāyajñe rājñas tasya mahātmanaḥ | tatra bhāgārthino devān āgatān so 'bhyayāchata | ayam rājū Daśarathaḥ putrārthī taptavām*

*tapaḥ | iṣṭavān aśvamedhena bhavataḥ śraddhayā 'nvitah | iṣṭiṃ cha  
 putra-kāmo 'nyām punaḥ karttuṃ samudyataḥ | tad asya putra-kāmasya  
 prasādaṃ karttum arhatha | abhiyāche cha vaḥ sarvān asyārthe 'haṃ  
 kṛitāñjaliḥ | bhaveyur asya chatvāraḥ putrās trailokyā-viśrutāḥ | te tath-  
 ety abruvan devā rishi-putraṃ kṛitāñjalim | mānanīyo 'si no vipra rājā  
 chaiva viśeshataḥ | prāpsyate paramaṃ kāmam etayeshṭyā narādhipaḥ |  
 ity uktvā 'nlarhitā devās tataḥ Sakra-purogamāḥ | tāḥ sametya yathā-  
 nyāyaṃ tasmin sadasi devatāḥ | abruvan loka-karttāram Brahmāṇaṃ  
 vachanaṃ tataḥ | tvat-pradiṣṭa-varo Brahman Rāvaṇo nāma rāzasaḥ |  
 sarvān no bādhta darpaḍ maharshimś cha tapo-ratān | tvayā hy asya  
 varo dattaḥ pritenā bhagavan purā | deva-dānava-yazūpām abadhyo 'siti  
 kāmataḥ | mānayantaścha te vākyaṃ sarvam asya saḥāmahe | sa bādhayati  
 lokāṃś trīn vihiṃsan rāzaseśvaraḥ | . . . . 19. Tad mahad no bhayaṃ  
 tasmād rāzasaḍ ghora-darśanāt | badhārthaṃ tasya bhagavann upāyaṃ  
 karttum arhasi | evam uktaḥ suraiḥ sarvaiś chintayitvā tato 'bravīt |  
 hantāyaṃ vihitas tasya badhōpāyo durātmanaḥ | tena "gandharva-yaz-  
 āñām deva-dānava-rāzasaṃ | abadhyaḥ syām " iti proktaṃ tathety uktaṃ  
 cha tad mayā | avajānya tu tad rāzo manushān nānvakīrttayāt | tasmāt  
 sa mānushād badhō mṛityur nānyo 'sya vidyate | etach chhṛutvā priyaṃ  
 vākyaṃ Brahmaṇā samudāhṛitam | devāḥ Sakra-purogās te harshitāḥ  
 sarvato 'bhavan | etasmīn antare Viṣṇur upayāto mahādutyaiḥ | śaṅkha-  
 chakra-gadā-pāñiḥ pīta-vāsā jagat-patiḥ | Vainateyaṃ samārūhya bhāska-  
 ras toyadaṃ yathā | tapta-haṭaka-keyūro vandyamānaḥ surottamaiḥ |  
 tam abruvan surāḥ sarve samabhishṭutya sannatāḥ | ārttānām asi lokānām  
 ārtti-hā Madhusūdana | yāchāmahe 'tas tvām ārttāḥ śaraṇaṃ no bhavā-  
 chyuta | brūta kiṃ karavāñti Viṣṇus tān abravīd vacchaḥ | iti tasya  
 vacchaḥ śrutvā punar ūchur idaṃ surāḥ | rājā Daśaratho nāma taptavān  
 sumahāt tapaḥ | iṣṭavāṃś chāśvamedhena prajā-kāmaḥ sa chāprajāḥ |  
 asman-niyogāt tvāṃ Viṣṇo tasya putratvam āpnuhi | tasya dhāryāsu  
 tisṛishu Hṛi-Sṛi-Kīrtty-upamāsu cha | Viṣṇo putratvam āgachha kṛitvā  
 "tmāṇaṃ chaturvidham | tatra tvam mānusho dhūtvā pravṛiddhaṃ loka-  
 kaṇṭakam | abadhyaṃ daivatair Viṣṇo samare jāhi Rāvaṇam | . . . . .  
 34. Tvāṃ gatiḥ paramā deva sarveshām naḥ parantapa | badhōya deva-  
 śatrūṇām nṛiṇām loka manaḥ kuru | sa niyuktas tathā devaiḥ sāxād  
 Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | tān uvācha ityādi |*

"Then that sage, skilled in the Veda, having meditated for a little on  
 this answer, having acquired an insight [into what he should do], said



to the king: 'I shall perform for thee another sacrifice, celebrated according to rule with the texts enjoined in the Atharva-śiras, to obtain for thee a son. The self-subdued son of Vibhāndaka, desiring the king's welfare, then began to perform the sacrifice for the attainment of his desire. The gods, with the Gandharvas, Siddhas, and Munis, had previously come thither to receive their portions [of the sacrifice], both Brahmā, lord of the deities, Sthāṇu (Mahādeva), the lord Nārāyana<sup>122</sup> (Vishṇu), and the divine Indra in visible presence, surrounded by the host of Maruts. He (Ṛishyasringa thus) supplicated the gods who had come, desiring their shares, to the great aśvamedha sacrifice [described in the preceding section] of that high-souled king: 'This King Daśaratha, desiring a son, has performed austerity, and possessed with faith, has worshipped you with an aśvamedha. Longing for a son, he is also prepared to celebrate another sacrifice. Ye ought, therefore, to show favour to him, who is anxious for a son; and with joined hands, I entreat you all on his behalf. Let him have four sons, renowned in the three worlds.' The gods said to the rishi's son whose hands were joined, 'So be it. Thou, Brahman, art deserving of honour from us, and so especially is the king. The lord of men shall obtain the highest object of his desire by means of this sacrifice.' Having thus spoken, the gods, headed by Śakra (Indra), then disappeared.

"Having duly assembled in that abode,<sup>123</sup> these gods then addressed a word to Brahmā, the creator of the world: 'A Rāxasa named Rāvaṇa, having obtained a boon from thee, o Brahmā, in his pride harasses us all, and the great rishis devoted to austerity. For, o lord, a boon was formerly granted to him voluntarily by thee when well-pleased, viz. *Thou shalt be indestructible by gods, Dānavas or Yaxas.* Obedient to thy words, we endure everything at his hands. This lord of the Rāxasas vexes the three worlds by his acts of cruelty . . . 19. We are therefore in great fear of this Rāxasa of horrible aspect. Thou, lord, oughtest to imagine some device for his slaughter.' Being thus addressed by all the deities, [Brahmā], after reflection, thus spoke to them: 'O, this device has been imagined [by me] for the slaughter of that malignant being. He said, "Let me be indestructible by Gandharvas, Yaxas, gods, Dān-

<sup>122</sup> Here it will be observed that Vishṇu, like the other gods, comes for his share.

<sup>123</sup> It seems as if there was something left out here, as no "abode" has been mentioned before. Vishṇu, too, ought to have been among the gods, as he is not said to have separated from the others, and yet his arrival is afterwards mentioned below.

avas and Rāxasas;" when I replied, "Be it so." But despising men, the Rāxasa made no mention of them. He must therefore be slain by a man: no other death is possible for him.' Having heard this acceptable word spoken by Brahmā, the gods, headed by Śakra, were altogether delighted. In the meantime the glorious Viṣṇu arrived, bearing in his hand the shell, discus, and club, in yellow garments, lord of the world, mounted on Garuḍa, like the Sun on a cloud, with an armlet of refined gold, adored by the chief of the deities. After lauding him with prostrations, all the gods said: 'Thou, Madhusūdana, art he who removes the affliction of the afflicted worlds. Wherefore we, afflicted, beseech thee be our refuge, o Achyuta (unfalling).' Viṣṇu said to them, 'Tell me what I shall do.' Hearing this answer of his, the gods again said: 'A king named Daśaratha has performed great austerity, and celebrated an aśvamedha sacrifice, desirous of offspring, for he is childless. Do thou, Viṣṇu, according to our appointment, take upon thee his sonship. Making thyself fourfold, do thou become the offspring of his three wives who resemble Hṛī, Śrī, and Kīrti (Modesty, Prosperity, and Renown). Having then become man, do thou slay in battle Rāvaṇa, the powerful enemy of the worlds, who is indestructible by the gods. . . . 34. Thou, god, vexer of thy foes, art the highest refuge of us all; resolve to destroy in the world of men the enemies of the deities.' The manifested lord Nārāyaṇa, being thus appointed by the gods," replies by asking for further explanations in regard to the occasion which demanded his intervention. This explanation the gods give and say, that he alone of all the celestials can kill the wicked one (*tvatto hi nānyas tam pāpaṃ śakto hantuṃ divaukasām*). Viṣṇu, then, "the lord of the gods" (*deveśa*), "the most excellent of the immortals" (*tridaśa-puṅgava*), "adored by all the worlds" (*sarva-loka-namaskṛita*), reassures the deities, promises to slay Rāvaṇa, and to reign on earth for eleven thousand years.

I have said that the representation given of Viṣṇu in the preceding passage is of a different character from that which we find in writings of a later age. But it is not certain that even this passage formed part of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it originally existed. I extract the following remarks from "Lassen's Indian Antiquities," vol. i. p. 488, in regard to the interpolations which he supposes to have been made in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata:

“It is true that in the Epic poems Rāma and Krishna appear as incarnations of Vishṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men,—acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Vishṇu. It is impossible to read either of these two poems with attention, without being reminded of the more modern character of such sections as ascribe a divine character to the heroes, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced; and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress.”<sup>134</sup>

In p. 489, note, he remarks more particularly: “As regards the Rāmāyana, Mr. von Schlegel has often observed to me that the chapters in which Rāma is conceived of as an incarnation of Vishṇu, might be entirely omitted without injuring the connexion of the story. In fact, at the point where the incarnation of Vishṇu in the four sons of Dasaratha is described (Rām. i. 14 ff.), the proper great sacrifice is already concluded, and the priests have all been presented with gifts at its close,

<sup>134</sup> In the Preface to his Vishṇu Purāna, p. ix., Professor Wilson had previously made some observations of the same tenor: “But the ascription to individual and personal deities of the attributes of the one universal and spiritual Supreme Being, is an indication of a later date than the Vedas certainly, and apparently also than the Rāmāyana, where Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears in his human character alone. There is something of the kind in the Mahābhārata in respect to Krishna, especially in the philosophical episode known as the Bhagavad Gītā. In other places the divine nature of Krishna is less decidedly affirmed; in some it is disputed or denied; and in most of the situations in which he is exhibited in action, it is as a prince and warrior, not as a divinity. He exercises no superhuman faculties in the defence of himself, or his friends, or in the defeat and destruction of his foes. The Mahābhārata, however, is evidently a work of various periods, and requires to be read throughout carefully and critically before its weight as an authority can be accurately appreciated.” Professor Goldstücker, too, observes in the Preface to his Mānava Kalpa Sūtra, p. xxxi.: “It is of course impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to every one who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature.”

when the new sacrifice is commenced, at which the gods appear, then withdraw, and now for the first time propose to Vishṇu to become incarnate. If this had been an original portion of the story, the gods would certainly have considered the matter sooner, and the ceremonial of sacrifice would have proceeded without interruption. In the same book, ch. 74, 75, a scene with the earlier [or Paraśu-] Rāma is suddenly interpolated, in order that he may be made to declare the new Rāma to be Vishṇu."—p. 469.

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

Rām. i. 8, 1 ff.—*Tasya tv evam-prabhāvasya dhārmikasya mahātmanaḥ | sutārtham tapyamānasya nāsīd vaṁśa-karaḥ sutaḥ | tasya chintayato buddhir utpanneyam mahāmateḥ | sutārtham vāji-medhena kimarthaṁ na yajāmy aham | suniśchitām matiṁ kṛtvā yashṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ* | "But a son to prolong his race was not born to this king so mighty, and righteous, and great, though he performed intense austerity for that purpose. As this wise man reflected, the idea arose in his mind, 'why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice to obtain a son?' Having then formed this fixed opinion that he ought to sacrifice, the king, etc."

Again, in Sect. 11, 1, it is said: *Atha kāle vyatikrānte śiśire tad-anantaram | vasanta-samaye prūpte rājā yashṭum mano dadhe | tataḥ prasādya śirasā taṁ vipraṁ deva-varchasam | yajñāya varayāmāsa santānārthaṁ kulasya vai* | "Then when the winter had passed, and the spring had arrived, the king set his mind upon sacrificing. Having then propitiated, by [bowing] his head, that Brahman of divine splendour, he solicited him to [perform] a sacrifice for the prolongation of his race."

Then after calling his spiritual advisers, Vāmadeva, Jāvālī, Vasishṭha,

etc., he says to them (v. 8): *Mama tātapyamānasya putrārthaṁ nāsti vai sukham | tad ahaṁ haya-medhena yajeyam iti me matiḥ | tad-arthaṁ yashṭum ichhāmi haya-pūrveṇa karmaṇā |* “I get no satisfaction, though I perform intense austerity for a son. It is therefore my resolution to celebrate a sacrifice in which a horse is the first victim.”

We are again told (v. 20):

*Tataḥ sa gatvā tāḥ patnīr narendro hṛidayangamāḥ | uvācha dīzām viś-ata yaxye 'haṁ suta-kāraṇāt |* “Then going to his beloved wives, the king said to them, ‘Enter upon a course of consecration; I am about to sacrifice for a son.’”

And at the beginning of the 12th section it is said: *Punaḥ prāpte vasante tu pūrṇaḥ saṁvatsaro 'bhavat | prasavārtham gato yashṭum haya-medhena vīryavān |* “Then, when the spring arrived, a year had elapsed, and the heroic king went to celebrate a horse-sacrifice for the sake of offspring.”

Preparations are then made for the sacrifice (sect. 12), and it is duly celebrated (sect. 13). The queen, Kausalya, “through desire of a son,” remains in close contact with the slaughtered horse for one night (13, 36: *Patatrinā tadā sārddham sushṭhitena cha chetasā | avasat rajanīm ekām Kauśalyā putra-kāmyayā*), and the other two queens beside her (v. 3, 7).<sup>135</sup>

The conclusion of the sacrifice is thus recorded at the end of section 13, vv. 54 ff.:

*Daxiṇāḥ pariḡrihyātha supṛita-mānasā devijāḥ | ūchur Daśarathaṁ tatra kāmāṁ dhyāyeti vai tadā | tato 'bravīd Rishyaśṛiṅgaṁ rājā Daśarathas tadā | kulasya varāddhanaṁ tat tu karttum arhasi suvṛata | tatheti sa cha rājānam uvācha devija-sattamaḥ | bhaviṣyanti sutā rājāṁś chatvāras te kulodvahāḥ |* “Having received the gifts with great gratification, the Brahmans then said to Daśaratha, ‘Think of the object you desire.’ The king then said to Rishyaśṛiṅga, ‘Thou oughtest, saint, to effect that increase of my race.’ The most excellent of Brahmans replied, ‘So be it; king, there shall be to thee four sons, the continuators of thy race.’”

We are then told at the beginning of section 14, as above quoted

<sup>135</sup> See Wilson's translation of the R. V., vol. ii., Introd., p. xiii.; the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, xxiii. 20 ff., and commentary; S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 990 ff.; Kātyāyana Sūtras, p. 973; and Mahābhārata, xiv. 2645.

(p. 138), that Rishyaśṛṅga, after thinking over the preceding reply, offers to celebrate another sacrifice with texts from the Atharva-śiras, in order to procure offspring for the king; and proceeds accordingly to do so, though, in striking contrast to the particular description given of the *āsvamedha*, no details of this additional ceremony are supplied. We are then told (verse 4) that the gods had *previously* come to the *āsvamedha* sacrifice, to obtain their shares of the oblations, and that Rishyaśṛṅga now tells them that the king had performed austerity in order to obtain offspring, that he had also celebrated an *āsvamedha* sacrifice, and was now about to perform another rite. The necessity for this second sacrifice does not appear; it seems strange that a ceremony of such importance as the *āsvamedha* should be insufficient; there appears to be no reason why the gods should not have been told at first, on that occasion, that the king was anxious for a son, since that was the very object for which the first sacrifice was offered; and that this communication should have been reserved till the commencement of the second sacrifice.

In section 15 we are told that Vishṇu, considering how he shall fulfil his promise to the gods, makes himself fourfold, and chooses Daśaratha for his human parent. He then, after respectfully addressing Brahmā, disappears from heaven, and when Daśaratha is offering the second sacrifice for progeny, the god issues forth from the fire in the form of a glorious being, calling himself a son of Prajāpati (*prājāpatyaṁ naram*), and bearing a large vessel full of nectar. This nectar he desires Daśaratha to administer to his wives, who would then bear sons. Vishṇu then disappears.

In section 19 the birth of Daśaratha's sons, twelve months after the conclusion of the sacrifice, is related (*tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛitūnām śhaṭ samatyayuh | tataśchā dvādaśe māse ityādi*). After specifying the month, day, and planetary influences under which Rāma was born, the writer proceeds: . . . . . *Jagannāthaṁ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kauśalyā 'janayat Rāmaṁ divya-laxaṇa-saṁyutam | Kauśalyā śuśubhe tena putren-āmita-tojasā | yathā 'dhipena devānām Aditir Vajra-pāṇinā | [\* bhavāya sa hi lokānām Rāvaṇasya badhāya cha | Vishṇor vīryārddhato jajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanah | Bharato nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parākramaḥ | sāzād Vishṇoś chaturbhāgaḥ sarvaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ | atha Laxmaṇa-Satruḡhṇau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau | dṛiḍha-bhakti mahotsāhau Vishṇor*

*ardha-samanvitau | ] pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-lāgne prasanna-dhīḥ |  
sārpe jātau tu Saumitrī kulīre 'bhyadīte ravau |*

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

If the supposition of Schlegel that the 13th and following sections are interpolated, be correct, it is quite conceivable that the verses of the section before us describing Daśaratha's sons as portions of Vishṇu, which I have marked with an asterisk and included in brackets, may also have been interpolated, as they can be spared without detriment to the connexion; and if they are retained, the births of Bharata, Laxmaṇa, and Śatrughna, are related twice. In that case the epithets “lord of the universe,” and “adored by all worlds,” which occur in the first of the verses I have quoted, may have been afterwards substituted for some of a less magnificent character which stood there before. And in fact, if Rāma was originally regarded as an incarnation of Vishṇu, it does not appear so suitable to compare his birth to that of Indra (a personage of less dignity than Vishṇu), as is done in one of the verses which I presume to be ancient, and genuine.

In a later section of the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 75, we are told that Rāma was met by Parasurāma, who related to him a fight which had taken place between Vishṇu and Mahādeva. Two celestial bows, he says, were made by Viśvakarman, of which one was given by the gods to Mahādeva, the other to Vishṇu. The narrative then proceeds (14 ff.):

*Tadā tu devatāḥ sarvāḥ prichhanti sma Pitāmaham | Sitikanṭhasya  
Vishṇoś cha balābala-nirizayā | abhiprāyaṃ tu vijñāya devatānām Pitā-  
maham | virodhaṃ janayāmāsa tayoh satyavatāṃ varah | virodhe tu mahad*

*yuddham abhavād roma-harshanam | Sītikanṭhasya Vishṇōś cha paraspara-jayaishinoḥ | tadā tu jṛimbhitam śaivaṁ dhanur bhīma-parākramam | hūṅkāreṇa Mahādevaḥ stambhito 'tha trilochanaḥ | devais tadā samāgamyā sarshi-saṅghaiḥ sa-chāraṇaiḥ | yāchitau praśamaṁ tatra jagmatus tau surottamau | jṛimbhitam tad dhanur dṛishṭvā śaivaṁ Vishṇu-parākramaiḥ | adhikam menire Vishṇuṁ devāḥ sarshi-gavās tathā | dhanū Rudras tu saṅkruddho Vīdeheshu mahāyaśāḥ | Devarātasya rājarsher dadau haste sa-sāyakaṁ | idaṁ tu Vaiṣṇavaṁ Rāma dhanuḥ para-purañjayaṁ | Rīchike Bhārgave prādād Vishṇuḥ sa nyāsam uttamam |* "The gods then all made a request to Brahmā, desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sītikanṭha (Mahādeva) and Vishṇu. Brahmā, most excellent of the true, learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sītikanṭha and Vishṇu, each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Śiva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed, and the three-eyed Mahādeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Chāraṇas, then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Śiva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishṇu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishṇu to be superior. Then the illustrious Rudra, incensed, gave the bow and arrows into the hand of the royal rishi Devarāta [who dwelt] among the Vīdehas. But this, Rāma, is the bow of Vishṇu, which vanquishes hostile cities. Vishṇu gave this excellent deposit to Rīchika, the descendant of Bhṛigu." From him it came to Jamadagni, father of Paraśurāma, from whom the latter got it. Paraśurāma asks Rāma to bend it, if he can. Rāma bends the bow, fits an arrow on the string, and tells Paraśurāma that he will not shoot at him, because he is a Brahman. Paraśurāma confesses Rāma's superiority (sect. 76, vv. 17 ff.)

In whatever light the author of these lines may really have looked upon Vishṇu, whether as identical with the supreme Spirit or not, the passage itself contains no epithet or expression which necessitates such an interpretation. At the same time it is to be observed that the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Wilson's trans. pp. 594 ff.) the Harivaṁśa (sections 183 and 184), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (x., 64th and previous sections), which indubitably regard Vishṇu as the supreme Deity, also relate a combat between him and Mahādeva. There is no doubt, however, that the 119th section of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,



which I now proceed to quote from the text of the recently published Calcutta edition, distinctly speaks of Rāma as an incarnation of the supreme Spirit. This Calcutta text, though it follows the Devanāgarī recension of Upper India, does not, in this section, differ materially, except in the arrangement of the verses, from that of Gorresio. I should judge from the nature of the epithets which are here applied to Vishṇu, that this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. In the preceding part of the poem it had been related that Sitā, after being recovered by Rāma on the defeat and death of Rāvana, had been suspected of unchastity by her husband, and had in consequence entered the fire. The 119th section then goes on thus:

Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, Sect. 119, 1 ff.—*Tato hi durmanā Rāmaḥ śrutraivam vadatām girah | dadhyau muhūrtaṁ dharmātmā vāshpa-vyākula-lochanah | tato Vaiśravaṇo rājā Yamaś cha pitṛibhiḥ saha | Sahasrāzaś cha deveśo Varuṇaścha jāleśvaraḥ | śhaḍ-ardha-nayanaḥ śrīmān Mahādevo vṛiṣha-dvajaḥ | karttā sarvasya lokasya Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ |* [<sup>136</sup> *sa cha rājā Daśaratho vimānenāntarīca-gaḥ | abhyājagāma taṁ deśaṁ deva-rāja-sama-dyutiḥ |*] *ete sarve samāgamyā vimānaiḥ sūrya-sannibhaiḥ | āgamyā nagarīm Laṅkāṁ abhijagmuś cha Rāghavam | tataḥ sa-hastābharāṇāṁ pragrihya vipulān bhujān | abruvan tridaśa-śreṣṭhā Rāghavam prāñjaliṁ sthitam | karttā sarvasya lokasya śreṣṭho jñānavidāṁ vibhuḥ | upezaso katham Sītām patantīm havyavāhane | katham deva-gana-śreṣṭham ātmānam nāvabudhyase | Rīta-dhāmā Vasuḥ pūrvaṁ Vasūnām cha Prajāpatiḥ | tvam trayāṇām hi lokānām ādikarttā svayam prabhuḥ | Rudrāṇām aṣṭamo Rudraḥ Sādhyānām api pañchamaḥ | Aśvinau chāpi te karnau chandrādityau cha chaxushī | ante chādau cha bhūtānām dṛiśyase tvam parantapa | upezaso cha Vaiḍekīm mānushaḥ prākṛito yathā | ity uktō lokapālais taiḥ svāmī lokasya Rāghavaḥ | abravīt tridaśa-śreṣṭhān Rāmo dharmā-bhṛitāṁ varaḥ | ātmānam mānusham manye Rāmāṁ Daśarathāt-majam | so 'haṁ yaścha yataś chāhaṁ bhagavāṁs tad bravītu me | iti bruvā-ṇāṁ Kākutsthaṁ Brahmā brahma-vidāṁ varaḥ | abravīt śriṇu me vākyāṁ satyaṁ satya-parākrama | bhavān Nārāyaṇaḥ devaḥ śrīmāṁś chakrāyudhaḥ prabhuḥ | eka-śṛiṅgo varāhas tvam bhūta-bhavya-sapatna-jit | azaram Brahma satyaṁ cha madhye chānte cha Rāghava | lokānām tvam paro dharmo Viścaksenaś chaturbhujah | Sūrṅga-dhanvā Hṛiṣhīkeśaḥ puruṣhaḥ puruṣhot-tamaḥ | ajitah khadga-dhṛig Viṣṇuḥ Kṛiṣṇaś chaiva vṛihadbalaḥ | Senā-*

<sup>136</sup> This verse is found in Gorresio's edition only.

nīr grāmanīḥ satyas tvam buddhis tvam xamā damaḥ | prabhavaś chāpyayaś  
 cha tvam Upendro Madhusūdanaḥ | Indra-karnā Mahendras tvam padma-  
 nāḥho rañānta-kṛt | śaranyam śaranaṁ cha tvam āhur divyā maharsha-  
 yaḥ | sahasra-śṛiṅgo vedātmā śata-śīrshā maharshabhaḥ | tvam trayānām  
 hi lokānām ādi-karttā svayam prabhuh | siddhānām api sadhyānām āśrayas  
 chāsi pūrvaḥ | tvam yajñas tvam vashaḥkāras tvam oṁkāraḥ parāt paraḥ |  
 prabhavaṁ nidhanaṁ vā te na viduḥ ko bhavān iti | drīśyase sarva-bhū-  
 teshu brāhmaṇeshu cha goṣhu cha | dixu sarvāsu gaganē parvateshu nadīshu  
 cha | sahasra-charanaḥ śrīmān śata-śīrshaḥ sahasra-dṛik | tvam dhārayasi  
 bhūtāni vasudhām cha sa-parvatām | ante pṛithivyāḥ salile drīśyase tvam  
 mahoragaḥ | trin lokān dhārayan Rāma deva-gandharva-dānavān | ahaṁ  
 te hṛidayam Rāma jihvā devī Sarasvatī | devā romāni gātreshu Brahmaṇā  
 nīrmitā prabho | nimeshas te smṛitā rātrir unmeṣho divasas tathā | sam-  
 skārās te 'bhavan vedā naitad asti tvayā vinā | jagat sarvaṁ śarīram te  
 sthairyam te vasudhā-talam | Agniḥ kopas prasādas te somaḥ śrīvatsa-  
 lazana | tvayā lokās trayas krāntāḥ purā svair vikramais tribhiḥ | Mahen-  
 dras cha kṛito rājā Balim baddhvā sudūruṇam | [<sup>137</sup> yat paraṁ śrūyate  
 jyotir yat paraṁ śrūyate tamaḥ | yat param paratās chaivā paramātmoti  
 kathyase | paramākhyam paraṁ yach cha tvam eva pariḡīyase | sthity-  
 utpatti-vināśānām tvam āhuḥ paramām gatim | ] Sītā Laxmīr bhavān  
 Viṣṇur devaḥ Kṛishṇaḥ prajāpatiḥ | badhārthaṁ Rāvanasyeha pravishṭo  
 mānushīm tanum ityādi |

“Then the righteous Rama, dejected, on hearing the words of those who thus spoke, meditated for a moment, with his eyes disturbed by tears. Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitṛis, and Indra, lord of the gods, and Varuṇa, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahādeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Brahmā, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda; [\* and that King Daśaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods]; these all having come on cars brilliant as the sun, and arrived in the city of Lankā, came near to Rāghava (Rāma). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rāma, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands: ‘How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sītā throwing herself into the fire? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods? [Thou

<sup>137</sup> These two lines occur in Gorresio's edition only.

wast] formerly the Vasu Ritadhāman, and the Prajāpati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sādhyas. The Aśvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes. Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created things. And yet thou disregardest Sitā like a common man.' Being thus addressed by these guardians of the world, Rāma, the lord of the world, chief of the supporters of righteousness, said to the most eminent gods, 'I regard myself as a man,<sup>138</sup> Rāma, son of Daśaratha; do you, divine being, tell me who and whence I am.' Brahmā, chief of the knowers of the Veda, replied to Kākutstha (Rāma) thus speaking: 'Hear my true word, thou, o being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Nārāyaṇa, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Visvakṣena, the four-armed; the bearer of the bow Sārṅga, Hṛishikeśa (lord of the senses), Puruṣa (the male), the highest of Puruṣhas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Viṣṇu, and Kṛiṣṇa<sup>139</sup> of mighty force, the general, the leader, the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), and Madhusūdana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra, he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the thousand-horned, composed of the Veda, the hundred-headed, the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the

<sup>138</sup> In the parts of the Mahābhārata where Kṛiṣṇa is identified with the supreme Deity, he is always represented as perfectly conscious of his true character. The commentator explains away this eleventh verse in the following manner: *Atha Brahmānugrahād eva Brahma-vidyaunmukhyasya śruty-ādi-siddhatayā tad-aunmukhyasya "ātmānam nāvabudhyase" iti Brahmaṇaiva kṛitatvāt taj-jñāsur iva svīyāya svarūpa-bodhanāya Brahmānam gurum ajña iva upāsad ity āha "ātmānam" iti* | "As it is established by the Veda, etc., that the aspiration after the science of Brahma comes only from the grace of Brahmā, and since Brahmā had just prompted that aspiration by the words 'how doest thou not perceive thyself?' Rāma, assuming the appearance of a desire to know, applies to Brahmā, as an ignorant student to his teacher, to explain his own nature, and says 'I regard myself,' etc."

<sup>139</sup> If this means, as it seems to do, Kṛiṣṇa the son of Devakī, it must, if not an anachronism, be regarded as prophetic. The commentator makes it mean merely the "black-coloured" (*kṛiṣṇas tad-varṇaḥ*).

self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sādhyas, o thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashaṭkāra, and the omkāra, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains; thou art seen, Rāma, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas. I am thy heart, Rāma, the goddess Sarasvatī is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahmā the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts.<sup>140</sup> This [universe] exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, o thou whose mark is the Śrīvatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. [\*That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is higher than the highest,—thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and [is] the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production, and destruction]. Sitā is Laxmī, and thou art Vishṇu, the divine Kṛishṇa, the lord of creatures, who hast entered a mortal body for the slaughter of Rāvāṇa,'” etc.

In the same way as Vishṇu is associated with Rāma in the Rāmāyaṇa, so is he connected with Krishna in the Mahābhārata, the Vishṇu, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivartta Purāṇas, and other Vaishnava works of a later date. In the two first-named Purāṇas though Krishna is sometimes spoken of as a partial incarnation of Vishṇu (see the passage from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, quoted above, p. 42, and another from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, which will be adduced below), he is generally regarded as a perfect manifestation of that deity, who, again, is identified with the supreme Spirit. In the Mahābhārata—which, as we have

<sup>140</sup> The commentator explains *saṁskārūḥ* thus: *Saṁskriyante bodhyante ebhir lokāḥ ūi saṁskārūḥ pravṛitti-nivṛitti-nyavasthā-bodhakāḥ* | “Sanskāras are the things by which people are instructed, the things which prescribe the rules of acting and forbearing to act.” But this cannot well be the sense here.

seen, contains a vast collection of heterogeneous materials originating in different ages, and embodying the opinions of various sects—we shall find that Krishna is diversely represented in different parts of the work. I have already (p. 142) quoted some remarks of Professors Wilson and Lassen on this subject. According to these authors Krishna, in so far as he is introduced as an actor in the events of the poem, is generally made to play a merely human part, and to manifest no superhuman power in succouring friends, or overcoming enemies; while, as professor Wilson remarks, his divine character is frequently disputed. In the Chhândogya Upanishad he is spoken of simply as the son of Devakī. In various parts of the Mahābhārata he is described as rendering homage to Mahādeva, and as receiving from him boons of various kinds. In many passages he is identified with the rishi Nārāyaṇa, while his friend Arjuna appears as one with the rishi Nara, the inseparable companion of the former. In these various passages, however, Krishna is by no means regarded in general as an ordinary mortal. He receives various divine weapons from Mahādeva; in his character as the rishi Nārāyaṇa, he lives through successive ages, and displays superhuman faculties. Even while acting as the ally of the Pandus, he destroys Śiśupāla supernaturally with his discus. And in numerous passages he is identified in the clearest manner with Vishṇu, who again, as I have said, is commonly assumed to be one with the supreme Spirit. I shall now proceed to adduce a variety of passages illustrative of these various assertions.

I. The following short passage from the Chhândogya Upanishad (pp. 220 ff. of the Bibl. Ind.) is, I believe, the oldest text yet known in which Krishna the son of Devakī is mentioned. It is extremely unfortunate that it is so brief; that it leaves us without any particulars of a personage about whom we should have been glad to possess the fullest details, who in after times became so famous as to obtain the honour of deification,—except the meagre information that he was the son of Devakī, the pupil of a teacher named Ghora,<sup>141</sup> and that he was so enthusiastically devoted to the pursuit of mystical lore as to become indifferent to every thing else :

*Tad ha etad Ghora Āngīrasaḥ Kṛishṇāya Devakī-putrāya uktvā uvācha*

<sup>141</sup> I am not aware whether Ghora is mentioned in connection with Krishna in any other work.

*apipāsa eva sa babhūva so 'nta-velāyām etat-trayam pratipadyeta "axitam asy achyutam asi prāṇa-saṁśītam asi" iti* | "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this [the preceding mystical lore] to Krishna the son of Devakī, said to him that [which, when he heard], he became free from thirst [*i.e.* desire], viz.: 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, *Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath.*'"

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

*Tad ha etad yajña-darśanaṁ Ghoro nāmata Āngiraso gotrataḥ Kṛishnāya Devakī-putrāya śishyāya uktvā uvācha tad "etat trayam" ityādi-vyavāhītena sambandhaḥ | sa cha etad darśanaṁ śrutvā apipāsa eva anyābhyo vidyābho babhūva | itthaṁ cha viśiṣṭā iyaṁ vidyā yat Kṛishnasya Devakī-putrasya anyāṁ vidyāṁ prati triḍ-vichheda-karī iti puruṣa-yajña-vidyāṁ stauti | Ghora Āngirasaḥ Kṛishnāya uktvā imāṁ vidyāṁ kim uvācha iti tad āha | sa evaṁ yathokta-yajña-vid anta-velāyām maraṇa-kāle etan-mantra-trayam pratipadyeta japed ity arthaḥ | . . . . prāṇa-saṁśītam prāṇasya saṁśītaṁ samyak tanūkṛitaṁcha sūx-maṁ tatteam asi . . . . | "A person, Ghora by name, and an Angirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishna the son of Devakī, his pupil, then said, etc. The connection of the last word 'said,' is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three,' etc. And having heard this doctrine, he became free from desire for any other kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the *Puruṣa*-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krishna, the son of Devakī, for any other knowledge. He now tells us what Ghora Āngirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishna. It was this: 'Let him who knows the afore-said sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts . . . . *prāṇa-saṁśītam* means, 'thou art the very minute, subtle principle of breath.'"*

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

At a later stage of the poem (Droṇa-parva, v. 2838) Arjuna is advised

by Krishna to apply again to Mahādeva for the same Pāsupata weapon, as if the author (if indeed he is the same by whom the earlier passage was written) had forgotten that he had already got it. Arjuna, it appears, had vowed (vv. 2681 ff.) to slay Jayadratha on the following day, though all the inferior deities should stand forward as his protectors. Subsequently, however, he becomes dejected, reflecting that the enemy's leaders would do their utmost to preserve Jayadratha, and that he would thus be unable to fulfil his promise (vv. 2830 ff.). Krishna hereupon advises Arjuna to supplicate Mahādeva for the Pāsupata weapon with which that god himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas, and with which he (Arjuna) would be able to slay Jayadratha on the morrow (vv. 2838 ff.). Arjuna and Krishna then arrive (it does not clearly appear whether mentally or bodily) with the speed of the wind, at the mountain on the summit of which Mahādeva abode, where they obtain a vision of that deity, with Pārvatī and his attendant Bhūtas (demons). On seeing him Vāsudeva (Krishna) bows down to the earth:

Mahābhārata, Droṇa-parva, vv. 2862 ff.—*Vāsudevas tu taṁ dṛishṭvā jagāma śirasā zitim | Pārthena saha dharmātmā grīṇan brahma sanātanam | lokādiṁ viśva-karmāṇam ajam īśānam avyayam | manasaḥ paramāṁ yoniṁ khaṁ vāyuṁ jyotishāṁ nidhim | srashtāraṁ vāridhārāṇām bhavascha prakṛitīm parām | deva-dānava-yaxāṇām mānavānāṅcha sādhanam | yogānāṅcha param brahma triptam brahma-vidāṁ nidhim | charācharasya srashtāram pratihartāram eva cha | kāla-kopam mahātmānaṁ śakra-sūrya-guṇodayam | vavande taṁ tadā Krishṇo vāṇ-mano-buddhi-karmabhiḥ | yam prapadyanti vidvāṁsaḥ sūxmādhyātma-padaishinaḥ | tam ajaṁ kāraṇ-ātmānaṁ jagmatuḥ śaravam Bhavam | Arjunaś chāpi taṁ devam bhūyo bhūyo 'py avandata | jñātvā taṁ sarva-bhūtādiṁ bhūta-bhavya-bhaco-dbhavam | tatas tāv āgatau dṛishṭvā Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | suprasannamanāḥ Sarvaḥ provācha prahasann iva | āgataṁ vāṁ nara-śreshṭhāv uttishṭhetāṁ gata-klamau | kiṅcha vāṁ īpsitaṁ virau manasaḥ xipram uchyatām | yena kāryeṇa samprāptaṁ yuvāṁ tat sādhayami kim | vriyatām ātmanaḥ śreyas tat sarvam pradadāmi vāṁ |*

“The righteous Vāsudeva (Krishna) then, together with the son of Prithā (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him, the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the

oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Dānavas, Yaxas, and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world, and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, original of the attributes of Indra and Sūrya. Krishna then revered him with voice, mind, understanding, and act.<sup>142</sup> Those two [heroes] had recourse to Bhava (Mahādeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle and spiritual abode, seek after,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again revered that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Nārāyana, arrived, Sarva (Mahādeva) then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling: ‘Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all.’”

Krishna and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahādeva, in the course of which he is designated as the “soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things” (*viśvātmane viśva-sriḥ viśvam āvṛitya tiṣṭhate*). Arjuna then, after reverencing both Krishna and Mahādeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahādeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahādeva and uttering the Satarudriya.<sup>143</sup> Through the power of Mahādeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow (v. 2899), which Krishna and Arjuna bring to Mahādeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahādeva the Pāśupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha (vv. 2906 ff.); after which they both return to their camp.

The Anuśāsana-parva also contains several sections in which the

<sup>142</sup> In a passage from the Sāntiparva, which I shall quote further on, Krishna explains away the worship which here and elsewhere he is said to have rendered to Mahādeva, by saying that it was done for the sake of example to others, and was in reality offered to himself, Mahādeva being one of his manifestations. But Mahādeva himself is here, and in the next passage, identified with the supreme Deity (Brahma).

<sup>143</sup> A hymn from the Yajur veda, which will be quoted further on in the chapter on Rudra.



praises of Mahādeva are celebrated at considerable length, and in which he is declared to have been worshipped by Kṛishṇa. At v. 588 of that book Yudhishtira asks Bhīshma to declare the names of that deity, when the latter replies as follows (vv. 590 ff.):

*Asakto 'haṁ guṇān vaktum Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | yo hi sarva-gato  
devo na cha sarvatra dṛīsyate | Brahma-Vishṇu-sureśānām sraśṭā cha  
prabhur eva cha | Brahmādayaḥ Piśāchāntā yaṁ hi devā upāsate | pra-  
krīlīnām paratvena puruṣasya cha yaḥ paraḥ | chintyate go yoga-vidbhīr  
rīshībhis tattva-darśibhiḥ | azaram paramam Brahma asachcha sad-asachha  
yat | prakṛitīm puruṣaṅchaiva xobhayitvā sva-tejasā | Brahmānam  
asṛijāt tasmād deva-devaḥ prajāpatiḥ | ko hi śakto guṇān vaktuṁ deva-  
devasya dhīmataḥ | garbha-janma-jarā-yukto martyo mṛityu-samanvitaḥ |  
ko hi śakto Bhavaṁ jñātum mad-vidhaḥ Paramēśvaram | rīte Nārāyaṇāt  
puttra śaṅkha-chaakra-gadā-dharāt | esha vidvān guṇa-śreṣṭho Vishṇuḥ  
parama-durjayaḥ | divya-chaxur mahātejā vīxyate [vīxate?] yoga-chaxushā |  
Rudra-bhaktiyā tu Kṛishṇena jagad vyāptam mahātmanā | tam prasādya  
tadā devaṁ Badaryyām kila Bhārata | arthāt<sup>144</sup> priyataratvaṁ cha sarva-  
lokeshu vai tadā | prāptavān eva rājendra suvarṇāxād Mahēśvarāt | pūr-  
ṇaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu taptavān esha Mādhaveḥ | prasādya varadaṁ  
devaṁ charāchāra-guruṁ Sivam | yuge yuge tu Kṛishṇena toshito vai  
Mahēśvaraḥ | bhaktiyā parāmayā chaiva prītaśchaiva mahātmanaḥ |  
aiśvaryyaṁ yādṛīṣaṁ tasya jagad-yoner mahātmanaḥ | tad ayaṁ dṛīṣṭa-  
vān sāxāt putrārthe Harir achyutaḥ | tasmāt parataraṅchaiva nānyam  
paśyāmi Bhārata | vyākhyātuṁ deva-devasya śakto namāny aśeshataḥ |  
esha śakto mahābhūr vaktum bhagavato guṇān | vībhūtiṅchaiva kārtsnyena  
satyāṁ māheśvarīm nṛipa |*

“I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahādeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahmā to the Piśāchas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Puruṣa), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (*yoga*), and possessing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both nonexistent, and at once existent and nonexistent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajāpati) thence created

<sup>144</sup> The MS. of the Mahābhārata in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *annāt*.

Brahmā. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord,—[who can do this] except Nārāyana, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club? This Viṣṇu, wise, eminent in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds<sup>145</sup> [him] with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahādeva) at Badari, he (Krishna) obtained from the golden-eyed Maheśvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth (?). This Mādhava (Krishna) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Śiva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (*yuga*) Maheśvara has been propitiated by Krishna, and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishna), when [seeking] for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him (Mahādeva ?) I behold none greater. This long-armed [Krishna] is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine [being], and the real might of Maheśvara in all its extent.”

Bhīṣma then calls upon Krishna (whom he designates as Viṣṇu, and as the divine teacher of gods and Asuras) to celebrate Mahādeva's greatness. Krishna accordingly says (vv. 610 ff.):

*Na gatiḥ karmaṇāṁ śakyā vettum īśasya tattvataḥ | Hiranyagarbha-pramukhā devāḥ sendrā maharshayaḥ | na vidur yasya bhavanam Adityāḥ sūzma-darśināḥ | sa kathaṁ nara-mātreṇa śakyo jñātum satām gatiḥ | tasyāham asura-ghnasya kāmśchid bhagavato guṇān | bhavatām kirttayishyāmi vrateśāya [vrateśāya ?] yathātatham |* “The course of the deeds of Iśa (Mahādeva), cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Adityas the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras, of the lord of religious ceremonies.”

<sup>145</sup> The printed text reads *vīśyate* “is beheld,” but the sense seems to require *vīśate*, “beholds.”

Krishna then relates how he had formerly seen Mahādeva. It appears that his wife Jāmbavatī (v. 616), daughter of the king of the monkeys<sup>146</sup> (*kapindra-putrī*, v. 629), had come to him desirous of a son; she says (vv. 619 f.):

*Na hi te 'prāpyam astīha trishu lokeshu kiñchana | lokān sṛjies tvam aparān ichhan Yadu-kulodvaha | tvayā dvādaśa-varshāni vratibhūtena śushyatā | āvādhyā paśubharttārām Rukmiṇyām janitāḥ sutāḥ |* "For there is nothing in these three worlds unattainable by thee (Krishna). Thou, scion of the race of Yadu, couldst create other worlds. By thee after twelve years' fasting and mortification,<sup>147</sup> and worship of the nourisher of beasts (Mahādeva), sons were begotten on Rukminī (another of his wives)."

Krishna promises to bring about the accomplishment of Jāmbavatī's wishes. The story proceeds that he was then conveyed by the celestial bird Garuḍa to the Himālaya (v. 632), where he sees the delightful hermitage of the saint Upamanyu, which is described at length (vv. 634-652).<sup>148</sup> Krishna enters and is reverentially saluted by Upamanyu (v. 655), who tells him that after propitiating Mahādeva by austerities, he shall obtain a son equal to himself (v. 658).<sup>149</sup> The saint then goes on to celebrate the greatness of Mahādeva, who, he said, had given boons to various beings, and to Vishṇu his discus (vv. 662 ff.):

*Hiranyakaśipur yo 'bhūd dānavo Meru-kampanaḥ | tena sarvāmaraiś-varyyam Sarvāt prāptaṁ samārbudam | tasyaiva putra-pravaro Mandaro nāma viśrutaḥ | Mahādeva-varāch chhakraṁ varshārbudam ayodhayat | Vishṇoś chakrañcha tad ghorāṁ vajram Ākhaṇḍalasya cha | śīrṇam purā 'bhavat tāta Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | yat tad bhagavatā pūrvaṁ dattaṁ*

<sup>146</sup> He is, however, called king of the bears in the Vishṇu Purāna.—See Wilson's translation, p. 547.

<sup>147</sup> This twelve years' austerity performed before for the sake of progeny is alluded to further on in the Anusāsana-parva, v. 6397, and the birth of a son is mentioned, v. 6889. As Krishna is represented in that passage in a higher character than he is in the one before us, it will be more appropriately quoted further on.

<sup>148</sup> One of the features of the hermitage is thus depicted in v. 651: *Kṛḍanti sarpaiv nakulā mṛigair vyōghrāścha mitra-vat | prabhāvād dīpta-tapasām sannikarshād mahātmanām |* "Weasels sport in a friendly fashion with serpents, and tigers with deer, through the power of those saints of brilliant austerity, from the proximity of those mighty ones."—Compare Isaiah, xi. 6 ff: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid," etc.

<sup>149</sup> In v. 655 the appellation *punḍarikāya*, "lotus-eyed," and in v. 659, that of *adhovaja*, are applied to Krishna.

*chakraṃ tavānagha | jalāntara-charaṃ hatvā daityaṅcha bala-garvitam |  
utpāditaṃ Vṛishāṅkena dīptaṃ jvalana-sannibham | dattam bhagavatā  
tubhyaṃ durdharshaṃ tejasā 'dbhutam | na śakyaṃ drashtum anyena var-  
jayitvā Pinākinam | Sudarśanam bhavaty evam Bhavenoktaṃ tadā tu tat |  
Sudarśanaṃ tadā tasya loka nāma pratishṭhitam | taj jīrnam abhvat tāta  
Grahasyāṅgeshu Keśava | Grahasyātibalasyāṅge varadattasya dhīmataḥ |  
na śastrāṇi vahanty ange chakraṃ vajra-śatāny api | ardamānāścha  
vibudhā Graheṇa subalīyasā | Śiva-datta-varān jaghnur asurendrān Surā  
bhṛīṣam |*

“Hiranyakaśipu, the Dānava, the shaker of mount Meru, obtained from Sarva (Mahādeva) the sovereignty of all the immortals for a hundred million years. He had an eminent and renowned son, called Mandara, who by the grace of Mahādeva fought with Indra for a hundred million years. Formerly both the dreadful discus of Viṣṇu and the thunderbolt of Akhaṇḍala (Indra) were shattered against the limbs of Graha (Rāhu). That discus, resplendent and fiery, which was formerly given to thee by the god after slaying the marine monster, and the Daitya, proud of his strength, was produced by Mahādeva.<sup>180</sup> Bestowed upon thee by the god, resistless, and wonderful in its potency, it could not be looked upon by any other than Pinākin (the bearer of the bow, *i.e.* Mahādeva). It then received from Bhava (Mahādeva) the name of Sudarśana, and by that name it is celebrated in the world. That discus was shattered against the limbs of Graha. On the body of the wise and very powerful Graha, who had received a boon, no weapons, not even the discus, or a thousand thunderbolts, produce any effect. The gods being harassed by the most mighty Graha, slew on many occasions the Asuras who had received boons from Śiva.”

After telling that many other persons had obtained boons by worshipping Mahādeva, the saint Upamanyu relates a story about himself, how his mother, after smelling him on the head (*mūrdhany āghrāya*) had fully declared to him the greatness of this deity (vv. 724 ff.) In addition to the more general attributes assigned to the god, the follow-

<sup>180</sup> In an account of Kriṣṇa's exploits in the Droṇa-parva, however, it is said (v. 402) that the chakra was obtained by worshipping Agni: *Kṛhāṅḍave Pārtha-sahītas toshayitvā Hutāśanam | Āgneyam astraṃ durdharshaṃ chakraṃ lebhe mahābalaḥ |* In the same passage (v. 401) he is said to have obtained his shell (*śaṅkha*) by conquering Panchajana in the infernal regions.

ing are some characteristics of a more special description (some of them sufficiently horrible or disgusting), as detailed with admiration by this female devotee. He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishṇu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. (v. 731 ff.). He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires (v. 742 f.). He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe (v. 745). He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins (v. 746). He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments (v. 747). He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones (v. 748). He laughs terrifically (v. 749). He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth (v. 751). He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance,<sup>151</sup> naked, with excited look (v. 742 : *kriḍate rishi-kanyābhir rishi-patnībhir eva cha | ūrdha-keśo mahāśepho nagno vikṛita-lochanaḥ* |) He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Such is the deity, of whom, after hearing this description, Upamanyu becomes a constant devotee, and whom he gratifies by long austerities, standing for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, during the first hundred years of which period he lives on fruits, the second hundred on withered leaves, the third hundred on water, and the remaining seven hundred on air (v. 758 ff.) Mahādeva at length appears to him in the form of Indra, and offers him his choice of a boon. Upamanyu, however, is indifferent about Indra, and declares that he cares nothing about any other god than Mahādeva, and will accept no boon however great at the hand of any other, adding many passionate expressions of devotion to this deity. And a further occasion being offered by a question of Indra, the saint again proceeds to expatiate at some length on the attributes of his favourite god (vv. 784-829), of which I shall only quote the following lines (v. 822 ff.) :

*Hetubhir vā kim anyais tair īśaḥ kāraṇa-kāraṇam | na śuśruma yad anyasya liṅgam abhyarchyate suraiḥ | kasyānyasya suraiḥ sarvair liṅgam*

<sup>151</sup> Literally, *ingenti membro virili præditus*.

*muktvā Maheśvaram | archyate 'rohita-pūrvaṁ vā brāhi yady asti te śrutīḥ | yasya Brahmā cha Viṣṇuś cha tvam chāpi saha daivataiḥ | archayethāḥ sadā liṅgaṁ tasmāch chhreshṭhatamo hi saḥ | na padmāṅkā na chakrāṅkā na vajrāṅkā yataḥ prajāḥ | liṅgāṅkā cha bhagāṅkā cha tasmād Māheśvarī prajā | Devyāḥ kāraṇa-rūpa-bhāva-janitā[h] sarvā bhagāṅkā[h] striyo liṅgenāpi Harasya sarva-purushāḥ pratyaxa-chikniḥkritāḥ | yo 'nyat kāraṇam īśvarāt pravadata devyā cha yad nāṅkitāṁ trailokyē sa-charāchare sa tu pumān vāhyo bhaved durmatīḥ | puṁliṅgaṁ sarvam Īśanaṁ stri-liṅgaṁ viddhi chāpy Umām | dvābhyāṁ tanubhyāṁ vyāptāṁ hi charācharam idaṁ jagat |* "Is Īśa (Mahādeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other being's linga except that of Maheśvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods? He whose linga Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and thou (Indra), with the deities, continually worship, is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahmā's), nor of the discus (Viṣṇu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Maheśvara. All women produced from the nature of Devī as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Īśvara (Mahādeva) or [affirms] that there is any [female] not marked by Devī in the three worlds, including all things moveable or immoveable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Īśana, and all that is female to be Umā, for this whole world, moveable and immoveable, is pervaded by [these] two bodies."

Indra is not much pleased with this address; but Mahādeva himself appears with his spouse Pārvatī (vv. 837-841 f.); and a long description of the vision is given. Brahmā and Viṣṇu stand on Mahādeva's right and left, and celebrate his praises (v. 869, f.):

*Savya-deśe tu devasya Brahmā loka-pitāmahaḥ | divyāṁ vimānam āsthāya haṁsa-yuktam mano-javam | vāma-pārśva-gataś chāpi tathā Nārāyaṇaḥ sthitaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samāruhya śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | . . . . .*  
875 f. *Astuvan vividhaiḥ stotrair Mahādevaṁ surās tadā | Brahmā Bhavaṁ tadā 'staushid rathantaram udirayan | jyeshṭha-sāmnā cha deve-  
tāṁ jagau Nārāyaṇas tadā | grīṇan brahma paraṁ Sakraḥ śata-rudriyam*

*uttamam | Brahmā Nārāyaṇaś chaiva devarājaścha Kauśikaḥ | āsōbhanta mahātmānas trayas trayā ivāgnayah |* 869. "On the left (right?) of the god was Brahmā, patriarch of the world, standing on a celestial car, drawn by swans, and fleet as thought. On the left was Narayana (Vishṇu) mounted on Garuḍa, bearing a shell, discus, and club. . . . 875. The gods then lauded Mahādeva with various hymns. Brahmā celebrated him, reciting the *rathantara*, while Nārāyaṇa hymned the god of gods with the *jyeshtha sāman*, and Indra, uttering that most eminent prayer, the excellent *Satarudriya*. Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, and the king of the gods (Indra) the son of Kuśika,<sup>152</sup> the three mighty deities, shone like the three fires."

Upamanyu himself then lauds Mahādeva (vv. 880-923). At the conclusion of his hymn a shower of flowers falls from the sky on his head, accompanied by celestial odours, and music (v. 925 f.), and Mahādeva addresses him, offering to bestow everything he wishes. Upamanyu sheds tears of joy, falls on his knees, makes repeated prostrations, and after acknowledging with gratitude the god's condescension in granting him this vision, proceeds to say (vv. 839 ff.):

*Sa esha bhagavān devaḥ sarva-sattvādīr avyayaḥ | sarva-tattva-vidhāna-jñāḥ pradhāna-purushaḥ paraḥ | yo 'srijad dacinād aṅgād Brahmāṇaṁ loka-sambhavam | vāma-pārsvāt tathā Vishṇuṁ loka-raxārtham Īśvaraḥ | yugānte chaiva samprāpte Rudraṁ Īśo 'srijat prabhūr ity ādi |* "This is the glorious god, the beginning of all existences, undecaying, who knows the formation of all principles, who is Pradhāna and Purusha (or the principal Purusha), the supreme; who, the lord, created from his right side Brahmā, the originator of the worlds, and from his left side Vishṇu, for the preservation of the universe; and when the end of the age (*yuga*) had arrived, the mighty lord created Rudra," etc.

Upamanyu concludes by asking these boons, viz. that his devotion to the god may be perpetual, that he may know the past, the present, and the future, that he may always eat food cooked with milk (*xīraudana*) with his relations, and that they may ever enjoy the near presence (*sānnidhya*) of Mahādeva in their hermitage (vv. 945, ff.). The god bestows all these and many other blessings, and disappears (vv. 949 ff.).

Having heard all this account from Upamanyu, Krishṇa expresses a

<sup>152</sup> The epithet of *Kauśika* is given to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11.

desire that the god may vouchsafe to him a similar vision and the like favour. Upamanyu promises that Mahādeva shall appear to Kṛishṇa in six months, and bestow on him twenty-four boons, and pays him the compliment of saying that any of the gods would consider it as a highly laudable act to have an interview with such a pious, innocent, and devout person as he (Kṛishṇa) is (vv. 964 ff.). Kṛishṇa is then consecrated by the Brahman (973 ff.). Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee, and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahādeva and his wife (v. 978), whom all the gods were worshipping, and among them Indra, Viṣṇu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahmā, uttering the rathantara sāma (*Satakratus cha bhagavān Viṣṇus chāditi-nandanah | Brahmā rathantaram sāma irayanti Bhavāntike*). Kṛishṇa then describes the effect of this vision on himself (vv. 997 ff.):

*Purastād dhishṭhitah Sarvo māmāsīt tridāśesvaraḥ | purastād dhishṭhitān dṛishṭvā mameśānañcha Bhārata | sa-Prajāpati-Sākṛāntām jagad mām abhyudaicata | ixituṁ cha Mahādevam na me śaktir abhūt tadā | tato mām abravīd devaḥ “paśya Kṛishṇa vadasva cha | tvayā hy āradhitaś chāham śataśo 'tha sahasraśah | tvat-samo nāsti me kaśchit trishu lokeshu vai priyaḥ” | śirasā vandite deve devī prītā hy Umā 'bhavat | tato 'ham abruvam Sthānuṁ stutam Brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ |* “Before me stood Siva the lord of the gods. Beholding, as I then did, Iśāna standing before me—the world from Prajāpati to Śakra (Indra) gazed upon me (?)—I had no power to look on Mahādeva. The god then said to me, ‘Behold, Kṛishṇa, and speak. I have been adored by thee hundreds and thousands of times. There is no one in the three worlds so dear to me as thou.’ The god having been revered by obeisance, the goddess Umā was gratified. I then said to Sthānu (Mahādeva) who had been praised by Brahmā and the rest of the gods.”

Kṛishṇa proceeds to laud Mahādeva (vv. 1002–1018) as the supreme Deity. Mahādeva then says (v. 1023): *Vidmaḥ Kṛishṇa parām bhaktim asmāu tava śatruhan | vriyatām atmanaḥ śreyaḥ prītir hi tvayi me parā | vṛiṇishvāshṭau varān Kṛishṇa dātāsmi | tava sattama | brūhi Yādava-śārdūla yān ichhasi sudurlabhān |* “We know, Kṛishṇa, slayer of foes, thy eminent devotion to us. Choose what is most advantageous to thee, for my love for thee is extreme. Choose eight boons; I will give them



to thee, most excellent being. Specify, chief of the Yadus, those boons which are most difficult to obtain." Krishna then asks these eight boons: (1) steadfastness in righteousness, (2) the destruction of his foes in battle, (3) eminent renown, (4) the greatest strength, (5) abstraction (*yoga*), (6) amiability (*priyatvam*), (7) close proximity to Mahādeva, and (8) a hundred hundreds of sons,—all of which were accordingly granted by Mahādeva. Umā next offers him his choice of eight more boons, and he selects (1) the goodwill of the Brahmans, (2) the favour of his father, (3) a hundred sons, (4) eminent enjoyment, (5) the affection of his tribe, (6) the favour of his mother, (7) tranquillity of mind, and (8) ability. These boons are granted by the goddess, who superadds sixteen thousand wives whose affection he should retain, and several other blessings. Mahādeva and his spouse then disappeared, and Krishna related to Upamanyu all that had happened (v. 1034). That sage then goes on to tell him a story about a rishi called Taṇḍi, who had formerly worshipped Mahādeva, in the Kṛita age, and praised him in a long hymn (which is given vv. 1049–1103) as the supreme Deity whom even Brahmā, Indra, and Vishṇu did not perfectly know (vv. 1052, and 1103–5). Taṇḍi had come to Upamanyu's hermitage and recited to him the eleven thousand mystical names of Mahādeva, which Upamanyu repeated to Krishna (vv. 1144 ff.). This hymn, existing in the heart of Brahmā was, we are told (vv. 1287 ff.), declared by that deity to Indra, by him to Mṛityu (Death), by him to the Rudras, and from them it came to Taṇḍi, etc.

A little further on (vv. 1358 ff.) we are told that Upamanyu expressed himself thus to Krishna :

*Aśubhaiḥ pāpakarmāṇo ye narāḥ kaluṣhīkṛitāḥ | Īśānaṁ na prapadyante tamo-rājasa-vṛittayaḥ | Īśvaraṁ samprapadyanto dvijā bhāvita-bhāvanāḥ | sarvathā varttamāno 'pi yo bhaktāḥ paramēśvare | sadriṣo 'raṇyavāsānāṁ munīnāṁ bhāvitātmanām | Brahmatvaṁ Keśavtvaṁ cha Sakratvaṁ vā suraiḥ saha | trilokyasyādhipatyāṁ vā tuṣṭo Rudraḥ prayaçhhati ityādi |* "Those sinful men who are soiled by unhallowed (deeds) do not seek Iśāna, living under the dark and passionate qualities. Brahmans who have meditated on the cause [of all things] seek Iśvara. The man who is devoted to Maheśvara—whatever mode of life he follows—is equal to those contemplative munis who dwell in the forests. Rudra, when he is gratified, bestows the rank of Brahmā, or of Keśava

(Kṛṣṇa is a name of Kṛṣṇa), or of Indra, or the supreme lordship of the three worlds, including the deities."

In a later part of the Anuśāsana-parva, 7402 ff., Kṛṣṇa relates to Yudishthira the benefits which had resulted to himself from his patient submission to the caprices and freaks of the irritable Brahman Durvāsas (an incarnation of Śiva, as it is stated below, pp. 166, 169) who, among other tricks, had yoked Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukminī to his car, and had wounded her with a goad, while drawing him on the road, and as a reward of Kṛṣṇa's patient endurance of all this annoyance, had offered him his choice of boons, and had promised to Rukminī that she should be eminently renowned in the world, and the most distinguished of the sixteen thousand wives of Kṛṣṇa, whom she should worship. The Brahman then disappeared, and Kṛṣṇa performed an *Upāṅśu* rite, i.e. muttered prayers, with his wife. Then entering his house he found that all the articles which Durvāsas had broken or burned, were replaced.

Yudishthira then says to Kṛṣṇa (vv. 7458 ff. : *Durvāsasaḥ prasādāt te yat tadā Madhusūdana | avāptam iha vijñānaṁ tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | mahābhāgyaṅcha yat tasya nāmāni cha mahātmanaḥ | tattvato jñātum icchāmi sarvam matimatām vara | Vāsudeva uvācha | Hanta te kīrttayishyāmi namaskṛitya Kaparddine | yad avāptam mayā rājan śreyo yach chārjītām yasaḥ | prayataḥ prātar utthāya yad adhīye viśāmpate | prāñjaliḥ śatarudrīyaṁ tan me nigadataḥ śṛiṇu | Prajūpatis tat sasriḷe tapaso 'nte mahātapaḥ | Saṅkaras tv asriḷat tāta prajāḥ sthāvara-jaṅgamāḥ | nāsti kiñchit param bhūtam Mahādevād viśāmpate | iha trishv api lokeshu bhūtānaṁ pravaro hi saḥ | na chaivotsahate sthātum kiñchid agre mahātmanaḥ | na hi bhūtaṁ samaṁ tena trishv lokeshu vidyate | gandhenāpi hi saṅgrāme tasya kruddhasya śatravaḥ | visañjñā hata-bhūyishṭhā vepante cha patanti cha | ghoraṅcha ninadaṁ tasya Parjanya-ninadopamam | śrutvā viśiḷyod hṛidayam devānām api saṁyuge | yāṁścha ghoreṇa rūpeṇa paśyet kruddhaḥ pināka-dhṛik | na surā nāsurā loko na gandharvā na pannagāḥ | kupite sukham edhante tasminn api guhāgatāḥ | Prajūpates tu Daxasya yajato vitate kratau | vivyādha kupito yajñam nirbhayas tv abhavat tadā | dhanushā vāṇam utṛijya saghosham vinanādī cha | tena śarma kutāḥ sāntiṁ vishādam lebhire surāḥ | viddhe cha sahasā yajñe kupite cha Mahēsvare | tena jyā-tala-ghoshēna sarve lokāḥ samākulāḥ | babhūvur avasāḥ Pārtha vishedaś cha surāsurāḥ | āpaś chuxubhire chaivī chakampe cha vasundharā | vyādravan girīryaś chāpi dyauḥ paphāla cha*

sarvaśaḥ | andhena tamaśā lokāḥ prāvṛitā na cakāśire | pranashṭā jy-  
 tishām bhās cha saha sūryeṇa Bhārata | bhṛīśam bhītās tataḥ śāntiā  
 chakruḥ svastyayanāni cha | ṛishayaḥ sarva-bhūtānām ātmanāś cha  
 hitaiśhināḥ | tataḥ so 'bhyadravad devān Rudro raudra-parākramaḥ |  
 Bhagasya nayano krudhah prahāreṇa vyaśātayat | Pūshānam chakhi-  
 dudrāva pādēna cho rushānvitah | puroḍāśam bhaxayato dasanāmś cha  
 vyaśātayat | tataḥ pranemur devās te vepamānās tu Saṅkaram | pūmā  
 cha sandadhe Rudro dīptam sunīśitām śaram | Rudrasya vikramā  
 dṛishṭvā bhītā devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | tataḥ prasādāyāmasuḥ sarve te  
 vibudhottamāḥ | jepus cha śata-rudriyām devāḥ kṛitvā 'ñjalim tadā |  
 saṁstūyamānas tridāśaiḥ prasasāda Mahēśvaraḥ | Rudrasya bhāgam yojū  
 cha viśiṣṭam te tv akalpayan | bhayena tridāśā rājan śaraṇam cha pr-  
 pedire | tena chaiva hi dushṭena (tushṭena?) sa yajño sandhito 'bhavat | yad  
 yach chāpahritam latra tat tathaiva sa jivoyat | Asurānām purānyāśāna  
 trīni vīryavatām divi | āyasaṁ rājatām chaiva sauvarṇam api chāparām |  
 nāsakat tāni Maghavā bhettuṁ sarvāyudhair api | atha sarve Mahārūdraṁ  
 jagmuḥ śaraṇam arddhitāḥ | tata ūchur mahātmanō devāḥ sarve samāgatāḥ |  
 Rudra raudrā bhavishyanti paśavaḥ sarva-karmasu | jāhi daityān sāha  
 purair lokāms trāyasya mānada | sa tathoktas tathety uktvā kṛitvā Viś-  
 nuṁ śarottamam | śalyam Agniṁ tathā kṛitvā punkham Vāivasvātān  
 yamam | vedān kṛitvā dhanuḥ sarvān jyām cha sāvitṛim uttamām | Brāh-  
 mānām sārathiṁ kṛitvā viniyujya cha sarvaśaḥ | triparvaṇā trisālyeṇa  
 kāle tāni bibheda saḥ | śarenāditya-varṇena kulāgni-sama-tejasā | te surāḥ  
 sa-purās tatra dagdhā Rudreṇa Bhārata | tam chāivāṅka-gataṁ dṛishṭvā  
 bālam pañchaśikham punaḥ | Umā jijnāsamānā vai ko 'yam ity abravīt  
 tadā | asūyatas cha Śakrasya vajreṇa praharishyataḥ | sa vajram stambha-  
 yāmāsa tam bāhum parighopamam | na sambubudhire chaiva devās tam  
 bhuvaneśvaram | sa-prajāvatayaḥ sarve tasmin sumahatiśvare | tato dhyā-  
 tvā tu bhagavān Brahmā tam amitaujasam | ayaṁ śreshṭha iti jñātva  
 vavande tam Umā-patim | tataḥ prasādāyāmasur Umām Rudraṁ cha te  
 suraḥ | babhūva sa tadā bāhur balahantur yathā purā | sa chāpi brāh-  
 mano bhūtvā Durvāsā nāma vīryavān | Dvāravatyām mama pure chīrān  
 kālam upāvasat | viprakārān prayujkte sma subahūn mama veśmani |  
 tān udaratayā chāham chaxamo chāti-duḥśahān | sa vai Rudraḥ sa cha  
 Sivaḥ so 'gniḥ Sarvaḥ sa sarva-jit | sa vai chendras cha Vāyus cha so  
 'śvinau sa cha Vidyutah | sa chandramāḥ sa cheśānaḥ sa Sūryo Varuṇas  
 cha saḥ | sa kālāḥ so 'ntako mrityuḥ sa tamo rātry ahāni cha | māśār-

*dha-māsā ritavaḥ sandhye saṁvatsaras̄ cha saḥ | sa dhātā sa vidhātā cha  
 viśvakarmā sa sarva-vit̄ | naxatrāṇi grahās̄ chaiva dīśo'tha vidīśās̄ tathā |  
 viśva-mūrttir ameyātmā bhagavān amara-dyutiḥ | ekadhā cha dvīdhā chaiva  
 bahudhā cha sa evi hi | tathā sahasradhā chaiva tathā śata-sahasraśah̄ |  
 īdriśah̄ sa Mahādevo bhūmah̄ sa bhagavān ajah̄ | na hi śakyā guṇā vaktum  
 api varsha-satair̄ api | Yudhishtira mahābāho mahābhāgyam mahāt-  
 manah̄ | Rudrāya (?) bahurūpāya bahu-nāmne nibodha me | Vadanty  
 Agnim Mahādevam̄ tathā Sthānum̄ Mahēsvaram | ekāxam tryambakam̄  
 chaiva viśva-rūpaṁ Sivaṁ tathā | dve tanū tasya devasya brāhmaṇā veda-  
 jñā viduḥ | ghorām̄ anyām̄ śivām̄ anyām̄ te tanū bahudhā punah̄ | ugrā  
 ghorā tanūr̄ yā sō so 'gnir̄ vidyut sa bhāskarah̄ | śivā saumyā cha yā tv  
 aśya dharmas̄ tv āpo'tha chandramāḥ | ātmano 'rddham̄ tu tasyāgniḥ somo  
 'rddham̄ punar̄ uchyate | brahmacharyyam̄ charatȳ ekā śivā yā 'sya tanus̄  
 tathā | yā 'sya ghoratamā mūrttir̄ jagat saṁharate tadā | īśvaratvād mahat-  
 vāch̄ cha Mahēsvara itī smṛitah̄ | yad̄ nirdahati yat̄ tixno yad̄ ugro yat̄  
 pratāpavān | māṁsa-śoṇita-majjādo yat̄ tato Rudra uchyate | devānām̄  
 sumahān̄ yach̄ cha yach̄ chāsya vishayo mahān̄ | yach̄ cha viścam mahat  
 pāti Mahādevas̄ tataḥ smṛitah̄ | dhūmra-rūpaṁ cha yat̄ tasya dhūrjatity  
 ata uchyate | sa medhayati yad̄ nityam̄ sarvān̄ vai sarva-karmabhiḥ |  
 manushyān̄ śivam̄ anvichhaṁs̄ tasmād̄ eva Sivaḥ smṛitah̄ | ityādi*

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7458 ff.—Yudhishtira says to Krishna: “Thou oughtest, Madhusūdana, to expound to me that knowledge which thou then obtainedst by the favour of Durvāsas. I wish, most eminent of sages, to know exactly all the grandeur of that great Being, and his names. Vāsudeva replies: Yes, I shall declare to thee, after bowing down before the god with the braided hair (Mahādeva), the happiness which was obtained by me, and the glory which was acquired. Hear from me, o king, the Satarudrīya, which, when risen in the morning, I intently repeat with joined hands. The great devotee, Prajāpati, created that [prayer<sup>153</sup>] at the end of his austerity. Sankara has created [all] beings, stationary and moving. There is nothing, o king, which exists superior to Mahādeva; for he is the most excellent of beings in all these three worlds. And nothing can stand before this great deity: for there is no being like him in the three worlds. In battle, when he is even in the slightest degree (*lit.* ‘even by a scent’)

<sup>153</sup> It is a part of the Veda. Compare Part III. of this work, on the modes in which the Veda is conceived to have been produced.

incensed, his enemies tremble and fall senseless, and mostly slain. And the heart even of the gods would be withered in battle, on hearing his dreadful voice, resembling the sound of Parjanya (*i.e.* of the thunder clouds). And neither gods, nor Asuras, nor Gandharvas, nor Pannagas, nor whomsoever the Holder of the bow (Mahādeva), incensed, looks upon with his direful aspect, can enjoy tranquillity when he is angry, even though they hide themselves. When the Prajāpati Daxa was sacrificing, and his ceremonial was arranged, Mahādeva in his wrath pierced the sacrifice, and was then devoid of fear, and discharging an arrow with his bow, he uttered a loud sound. The gods received from this no pleasure or tranquillity, but rather dejection. And forthwith, the sacrifice being pierced, and Maheśvara being incensed, all the worlds were disturbed at the sound of his bowstring; both gods and Asuras became helpless and cast down; the waters were troubled, and the earth shook; the mountains were dissolved; the sky was rent in all directions; enveloped in thick darkness, the worlds did not shine, and the light of the luminaries and of the sun was quenched. Being greatly alarmed, the rishis then sought to appease Mahādeva, and recited texts to avert his anger, seeking their own welfare, and that of all creatures. Rudra of dreadful power then ran up to the gods, and, in his rage, knocked out the eyes of Bhaga with a blow, and incensed, assaulted Pūshan with his foot, and knocked out his teeth, as he was eating the puroḍāśa offering. The gods trembling then made obeisance to Sankara, and he again fitted on the string (?) the glittering, well-whetted arrow. Beholding the prowess of Rudra, the gods, with the rishis, terrified, propitiated him, and with joined hands, muttered the Satarudriya. Being thus lauded by the gods, Maheśvara became pleased; and they apportioned to him a distinguished share in the sacrifice, and, through fear, resorted to him as their refuge. He then became pleased and replaced the sacrifice, and whatever was removed he restored to life as it had been before. There were in the sky three cities of the valorous Asuras, one of iron, another of silver, and a third of gold,<sup>154</sup> which Maghavan (Indra) could not demolish, with all his weapons. Then all the great gods, distressed, went to the great Rudra as their refuge, and said to him, after they were assembled: 'Rudra, there

<sup>154</sup> See the Second Part of this work, pp. 395 ff., and the *Karṇa-parva*, vv. 1402 ff., below.

shall be beasts devoted to thee in all the sacrifices. Bestower of honour, destroy the Daityas with their cities, and deliver the worlds.' He, being thus addressed, said, 'So be it;' and making Vishṇu his arrow, Agni its barb, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, its feather, all the Vedas his bow, and the excellent Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī) his bowstring, and having appointed Brahmā his charioteer,<sup>168</sup> he in due time pierced through these cities with a three-jointed three-barbed arrow, of the colour of the sun, and in fierceness like the fire which burns up the world. These Asuras with their cities were there burnt up by Rudra. Again, beholding him a child in the lap, with five locks (?), Umā, desiring to know, asked, 'Who is this?' And when Indra, envious, was about to smite him (the child) with the thunderbolt, he stayed the thunderbolt, and that arm resembling a club. All the gods, including Prajāpati, did not understand the lord of the worlds, [existing] in that most mighty deity [in the form of an infant?]. Then the divine Brahmā, meditating on that being of boundless glory, and knowing that he was supreme, adored the lord of Umā. Then these gods propitiated Umā and Rudra; and the arm of slayer of hosts became as before. And again, Mahādeva, becoming a powerful Brahman, by name Durvāsas, dwelt a long time in my city Dvāravatī. He practised very many perversities in my house, which, though difficult to support, I, through generosity, endured. He is Rudra, he is Śiva, he is Agni, he is Sarva, the all-conquering; he is Indra, he is Vāyu, he is the Aśvins, he is the lightning, he is the moon, he is Īśāna, he is Sūrya, he is Varuṇa, he is time, he is death the ender, he is darkness, and night, and the days, he is the months, and the half months, and the seasons, the morning and evening twilight, and the year. He is Dhātṛi, and Vidhātṛi, Viśvakarman, the all-knowing, the constellations, the planets, the regions or [points], and intermediate regions or [points of the compass]; universal-formed, immeasurable in essence, divine, of undecaying splendour. He is simple, twofold, manifold, a thousand-fold, and a hundred-thousand-fold. Such is Mahādeva, the vast (?), the divine unborn being; his qualities cannot be declared in a hundred years." Krishṇa proceeds uninterruptedly at the beginning of a new section: "Large-armed Yudishthira, understand from me the greatness of the glorious, multiform, many-named Rudra. They call Mahādeva Agni, Sthāṇu,

<sup>168</sup> See the story from the Karṇa-parva, cited below, vv. 1515 ff.

Maheśvara, One-eyed, Tryambaka, the universal-formed, and Śiva. Brahmans versed in the Veda know two bodies of this god, one awful, one auspicious; and these two bodies again have many forms. The dire and awful body is fire, lightning, the sun. The auspicious and beautiful body is virtue, water, and the moon. The half of his essence is fire, and the moon is called the [other] half. The one, which is his auspicious body, practises chastity: while the other, which is his most dreadful body, destroys the world. From his being lord (*īśvara*) and great (*mahat*), he is called *Maheśvara*. Since he consumes, since he is fiery, fierce, glorious, an eater of flesh, blood, and marrow,—he is called Rudra. As he is the greatest of the gods, as his domain is wide, and as he preserves the vast universe,—he is called Mahādeva. From his smoky colour, he is called Dhūrjāti. Since he constantly directs all men in all their acts, seeking their welfare (*śiva*), he is therefore called Śiva," etc. etc.

In the Bhīshma-parva (vv. 793 ff.) Kṛishṇa is introduced as recommending Arjuna to worship the goddess Durgā :

*Sañjaya uvācha | Dhārttarāshṭram balaṁ dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samu-  
sthitam | Arjunasya hitārthāya Kṛishṇo vachanam abravīt | Srī-bhagavān  
uvācha | Suchir bhūtvā mahābāho saṅgrāmābhimukhe sthitah | parā-  
yāya śatrūnām Durgā-stotram udīraya | Sañjaya uvācha | evam ukto  
'rjunaḥ saṅkhye Vāsudevena dhīmatā | avatīryya rathāt Pārthah stotram  
āha kṛitāñjaliḥ |*

"Beholding the host of Dhṛitarāshṭra come near to the conflict, Kṛishṇa, for the good of Arjuna, addressed to him these words: 'Having purified thyself, o large-armed hero, standing in front of the battle, utter a hymn to Durgā for the overthrow of thine enemies.' Arjuna, being thus addressed in battle by the wise Vāsudeva, descending from his chariot, uttered a hymn with joined hands."

III. In the passage which I have quoted above (p. 142, note 134) from Professor Wilson, it is remarked that in some places of the Mahābhārata the divine nature of Kṛishṇa is disputed or denied. An instance of this denial is to be found in the following passage of the Sabhāparva, in which Śiśupāla, prince of the Chedis, is introduced as objecting to the divine honours which had been paid to Kṛishṇa, and as ultimately suffering the penalty of his proud and contemptuous impiety at the hands of the incarnate deity.

Yudhisthira having proposed to perform the Rājasūya sacrifice, numerous kings assembled to witness the celebration (Sabhā-parva, 1260 ff.) On this occasion Bhīshma proposed that apart from the customary presents bestowed on all the kings, Kṛishṇa should be singled out as the most eminent of the chiefs to receive gifts indicative of his superiority (vv. 1333 ff.).

Sabhā-parva, 1333 ff. :—*Esha hy'eshām samāstānām tejo-bala-parā-kramaiḥ | madhye tapann ivābhāti jyotishām iva bhāskaraḥ | asūryam iva sūryeṇa nirvāta[m?] iva vāyunā | bhāsitaṁ hlāditaṁ chaiva Kṛishṇeṇa daṁ sado hi naḥ | tasmai Bhīshmaḥ dhyaniḥ jñātaḥ Sahadevaḥ pratūpavan | upajahre 'tha vidhivaḥ Vārshneyāyārgham uttamam | pratijagrāha tat Kṛishṇaḥ śāstra-dishṭeṇa karmūnā | Sīsupālas tu tām pūjām Vasudeve na chārame |* “For he, by his energy, force and valour, appears shining in the midst of all these princes, like the sun among the luminaries. This assembly of ours is enlightened and gladdened by Kṛishṇa, as a sunless place is by the sun, and a windless spot is by the wind. Commissioned by Bhīshma, the majestic Sahadeva then presented in due form to Vārshneya (Kṛishṇa) a most excellent offering, which the latter received with the act prescribed by the śāstra.”

Sīsupāla, as I have said, could not endure that this compliment should have been paid to Kṛishṇa, and states at length a variety of objections to what had been done (vv. 1338 ff.). He urges that Kṛishṇa was a “transgressor of the injunctions of law (*smṛiti*), a contemptible and ill-instructed person” (v. 1340: *Ayam cha smṛity atikrānto hy apageyo 'pa-darśanaḥ*); that he was not a king, or a person venerable from age, his father Vasudeva being still alive (v. 1343: *Athavā manyase Kṛishṇam sthaviṛam Kurū-puṅgava | Vasudeve sthite vṛiddhe katham arhati tat-sutaḥ |*); that in other respects he was inferior to other chiefs present, and that he had unjustly killed Jarāsandha (v. 1360, compare verses 1474 ff.); and taunts him with being greatly elated with the undeserved honour that had been paid him, like a dog devouring in a secret place the leavings of an oblation which he has discovered (v. 1364: *Ayuktām ātmanaḥ pūjām tvam punar bahu manyase | haviṣaḥ prāpya nisyandam prāsītā śveva 'nirjane |*). Having thus vented his indignation, Sīsupāla leaves the assembly, followed by Yudhisthira, who endeavours to soothe him. Bhīshma then defends Kṛishṇa's claims to the honour which he had received (vv. 1377 ff.):



*Na hi kevalam asmākam ayam archyatamo 'chyutaḥ | trayāṇām api lokānām archanīyo mahābhujāḥ | Kṛishṇena hi jitā yuddhe bahavaḥ xatriyarshabhāḥ | jagat sarvaṁ cha Vārshṇeye nikhilena pralīsthitam | tasmāt satsv api vṛiddhesu Kṛishṇam archāmi netarān | . . . . 1382 : Nā kevalam vayaṁ kāmāch Chedi-rāja Janārdanam | na sambandham puraskṛitya kṛitārthaṁ vā kathañchana | archāmahe 'rchitaṁ sadbhir bhuvi bhūta-sukhāvaham | Yasaḥ śauryaṁ jayaṁ chāsya vijñāyārcham prayujmahe | na cha kaśchid ihāsmābhiḥ subālo 'py aparīxitaḥ | guṇair vṛiddhān atikramya Harir archyatamo mataḥ | jñāna-vṛiddho dvijātīnām xatriyāṇām balādḥikaḥ | " 1377 : This unfalling being (Achyuta) is not only deserving of the utmost worship from us, but, large of arm, he is also to be worshipped by the three worlds. For many eminent Xatriyas have been conquered by Kṛishṇa; and the whole world rests upon Vārshṇeya. Wherefore, even though there be aged men [present], I worship Kṛishṇa and not the others. . . . " 1382 : It is not therefore from interested motives, king of the Chedis, nor in consequence of our connection, nor for the sake of anything he has done for us, that we worship Janārdana, who is worshipped by the good on earth, and who promotes the happiness of creatures. But knowing his renown, heroism, and victories, we offer him our worship. Nor is there here any mere youth whom we have never tried. Hari, surpassing the aged in his virtues, is regarded by us as most worthy of worship. In knowledge he excels Brahmans, and in force Xatriyas." . . . .*

*1386 : Pūjyatāyāñcha Govinde hetū dvāv api saṁsthitau | veda-vedāṅga-vijñānam balaṁ chāpy adhikaṁ tathā | nṛinām loke hi ko 'nyo 'sti viśiṣṭaḥ Keśavād rite | dānaṁ dāxyaṁ śrutaṁ śauryaṁ hrīḥ kīrttir buddhir uttamā | sannatiḥ śrīr dhṛitis tushṭiḥ pushṭiṣcha niyatā 'chyuto | tam imaṁ loka-sampannam āchāryam pitaraṁ gurum | arghyam architam archārhaṁ sarve saṁxantum arhatha | ritvig gurur vivāhyaś cha snātako nṛipatiḥ priyaḥ | sarvaṁ etad Hṛishīkeśas tasmād abhyarchito 'chyutaḥ | Kṛishṇa eva hi lokānām utpattir api chāpyayaḥ | Kṛishṇasya hi kṛite viśvam idam bhūtaṁ charācharam | esha prakṛitir avyaktā karttā chaiva sanātanaḥ | paraś cha sarva-bhūtebhyas tasmād pūjyatamo 'chyutaḥ | Buddhir mano mahad vāyus tejo 'mbhaḥ kham mahī cha yā | chaturvidhaṁ cha yad bhūtam sarvaṁ Kṛishṇe pratīsthitam | . . . . . 1396 : Sa-devakeshu lokeshu bhagavān Keśavo mukham | ayam tu purusho balaḥ Śiśupālo na budhyate | sarvatra sarvadā Kṛishṇam*

*tasmād evam prabhāshate | yo hi dharmam vichinuyād utkrishṭam  
matimān naraḥ | sa vai paśyed yathā dharmam na tathā Chedi-rāḍ ayam |  
sa-ṛiddha-bāleshu athāvā pārhiveshu mahātmasu | ko nārham manyate  
Kṛishṇam ko vā py enam na pūjayet | athainām dushkrītām pūjām Siśu-  
pālo vyavasyati | dushkrītāyām yathānyāyām tathā 'yam karttum arhati |*

“There are two reasons why Govinda is worthy of honour: his knowledge of the Vedas and Vedāngas, and his superior strength. For who in the world of men is distinguished except Keśava? Generosity, ability, sacred learning, heroism, modesty, eminent renown, intelligence, humility, splendour, endurance, cheerfulness and joyousness, exist continually in Achyuta. You ought all to tolerate this teacher arisen in the world (or successful in the world), this father, preceptor, venerable, honoured, deserving of honour. Priest, preceptor, marriageable man, householder, king, beloved,—Hrishīkesa is all this, and therefore he has been honoured. It is Kṛishṇa who is the origin and the destruction of the worlds: all this univérse, moveable and immoveable, has come into being through (or for the sake of) Kṛishṇa.<sup>155</sup> He is undistinguishable matter (*prakṛiti*) and he is the eternal maker, transcending all beings: hence Achyuta is most worthy of honour. Intellect, mind, the great one (*mahat*), air, fire, water, sky, and earth—whatever fourfold being exists—all depends upon Kṛishṇa. . . . 1396: The divine Keśava is chief among the worlds including the gods. But this foolish man, Siśupāla, does not know that Kṛishṇa [is] everywhere and always—and hence he speaks thus. For this king of the Chedis does not regard righteousness in the same way as an intelligent man who can distinguish eminent righteousness. Who is there, whether among old or young, or among mighty kings, who will not regard Kṛishṇa as honourable, or who will not reverence him? Siśupāla treats this honour as unduly paid. But it having been unduly paid, he should act as is befitting.”

Siśupāla afterwards renews his denunciations of Kṛishṇa, in a long harangue, of which the following is a specimen (vv. 1433 ff.):

<sup>155</sup> The grounds urged for honouring Kṛishṇa in this and the following verses are of a different character from those in the preceding lines, which do not ascribe to him any qualities of a superhuman character; whilst the succeeding ones do. It is quite possible that the whole of this description of Kṛishṇa's qualities may not be of one age, but may contain interpolations subsequently introduced.

1433. *S'isupāla uvācha | vibhīshikābhir bahvibhir bhīshayan sarva-  
pārthivān | na vyapatrapase kasmād vridhhaṅ san kula-pāmsanaḥ | yuk-  
tam etat tritīyāyām prakṛitau varttatā tvayā | vaktuṁ dharmād apētār-  
thaṁ tvaṁ hi sarva-kurūtlama[h] | nāvi naur iva sambaddhā yathā 'ndho  
vā 'ndham anvīyāt | tathā bhūtā hi Kauravyā yeshām Bhīshma tvam  
agranīḥ | Pūlanā-ghāta-pūrvāni karmāny asya viśeshataḥ | tvayā kīrtita-  
yatā 'smākam bhūyaḥ pravayathitam manaḥ | avaliptasya mūrkhasya Keśa-  
vaṁ stotuṁ ichhataḥ | katham Bhīshma na te jihvā śatadheyaṁ vidīry-  
yate | yatra kutsā prayoktavyā Bhīshma bālatarair naraiḥ | tam inam  
jūnāna-vṛiddhaḥ san gopam saṁstotum ichhasi | yady anena hatā bālye  
śakuniś chitram atra kim | tau vā 'śva-vṛishobhau Bhīshma yau na  
yuddha-viśaradau | chetanā-rahitaṁ kāshthaṁ yady anena nipālītam |  
pādena śakaṭam Bhīshma tatra kim, kṛitam adbhutam | valmīka-mātraḥ  
saptāhaṁ yady anena dhṛito 'chalaḥ | tadū Govardhano Bhīshma na tach  
chātram matam mama | bhuktam etena bahv annaṁ kṛīdatā naga-mūrdhani |  
iti te Bhīshma sṛivānāḥ paraṁ vismayam āgatāḥ | yasya chānena dhar-  
ma-jña bhuktam annam balīyasaḥ | sa chānena hataḥ Kāmśaḥ ity etan na  
mahādhutam | na te śrutam idam Bhīshma nūnaṁ kathayatāṁ satām |  
yad' evaṅyō tvām adharmā-jñaṁ vākyaṁ Kuru-kulādharma | strīshu goshu  
na śastrāni pātayed brāhmaneshu cha | yasya chānnāni bhūñjīta yasya  
cha syāt pratiśrayaḥ | iti santo 'nuśāsanti sajjanaṁ dharmīnaḥ sadā |  
Bhīshma loke hi tat sarvaṁ vitathaṁ tvayi dṛīśyate | jūnāna-vṛiddhaṁ cha  
vṛiddhaṁ cha bhūyāmsaṁ Keśavam mama | ajānata ivākhyāsi saṁstuvan  
Kauravādharma | go-ghnaḥ strī-ghnaś cha san Bhīshma tvad-vākyaḥ yadī  
pūjyate | evam-bhūtaś cha yo Bhīshma kathaṁ saṁstavam arhati | . . .*

1451. *Nūnam prakṛitir eśhā te jaghanyā nātra saṁśayaḥ | atah pāpīyāśī  
chaishām Pāṇḍavānām apīshyate | yeshām archyatanaḥ Kṛīshnas tvaṁ  
cha yeshām pradarsakaḥ | dharmavāms tvam adharmā-jñaḥ satām mārgād  
avaplutaḥ | ityādi |*

S'isupāla answers Bhīshma: "How is it that thou, disgracing thy race, art not ashamed, old man as thou art, to terrify all the kings with many alarming [speeches]? It is very fitting [forsooth] that thou who art now existing in the neuter gender (*i.e.* an old man, and passionless) shouldst utter things contrary to righteousness, seeing thou art the most eminent of all the Kurus! For as a boat is tied to a boat, or as one blind man follows another, so is it with the Kurus of whom thou, Bhīshma, art the leader. Our minds have frequently been harassed by

thee when detailing his (Krishna's) slaughter of Pūtanā<sup>157</sup> and other feats. How is it, Bhīshma, that thy tongue, thou proud fool, is not split into a hundred pieces, when thou seekest to magnify Keśava? Thou who art ripe in knowledge, art eager to eulogise the cowherd who ought to be vilified even by the silliest of men! If in his childhood he slew Sakuni (or the bird), or the horse and bull, who had no skill in fighting, what is the wonder? If a waggon, an inanimate piece of wood, was upset by him with his foot,<sup>158</sup> what wonderful thing did he do? If the mountain Govardhana, a mere ant-hill, was held up by him for seven days,<sup>159</sup> I do not regard that as anything remarkable. Hearing that when playing on the hill-top, he had eaten a great quantity of food, these people were very much astonished. And it is no great miracle, o Bhīshma, thou judge of duty, that he slew Kansa, the powerful king whose food he had eaten. Hast thou not heard virtuous men declaring this which I shall tell thee, who art ignorant of duty, Bhīshma, basest of the tribe of Kurus? 'Let no one smite with his weapons women, cattle, or Brahmans, or him whose food he eats, or on whom he is dependent?' Such is the instruction which good and virtuous men always give to a virtuous [pupil]. All this, Bhīshma, is seen by all to be falsified in thee. Thou, basest of the Kurus, eulogizing, speakest of Keśava as old in knowledge, and mature, and superior, as if I did not know him. If he, being a slayer of cattle, and of women, is to be revered,—how, Bhīshma, can such a person merit encomium? . . . 1451. Certainly this nature of thine is base, of this there is no doubt; and hence [the nature] of these Pāṇḍavas also is shewn to be most wicked,—[these Pāṇḍavas] to whom Krishna is an object of the highest honour, and of whom thou art the virtuous preceptor,—thou, who art ignorant of duty, and hast gone astray from the path of good men!"

This speech excites the wrath of Bhīmasena (v. 1482), who, however, is restrained by Bhīshma from assaulting Śiśupāla, though the latter is anxious to fight him. Bhīshma then goes on (1494 ff.) to give Bhīmasena an account of Śiśupāla's infancy and early history. He had, it seems, been born with three eyes and four arms; and his parents, alarmed at his portentous appearance, were disposed to cast him out, but were prevented by a voice from the sky, which declared to them that the

<sup>157</sup> A female demon slain by Krishna.—See Wilson's *Vishṇu Purāna*, p. 506.

<sup>158</sup> See *Vishṇu Purāna*, p. 508.

<sup>159</sup> See *Vishṇu Purāna*, p. 526.

time fated for his death had not yet arrived. In answer to his mother's enquiry, the voice informed her that her son was doomed to die by the hands of the person who should take him into his lap, and by so doing should occasion his two superfluous arms to drop off, and his third eye to disappear. A part of this prediction was fulfilled when Krishna came and took him into his lap, and the infant got rid of his superfluous members.<sup>169</sup> On seeing this, his mother begged a boon from Krishna, viz., that he would forgive S'isupāla's offences. Krishna promises to pardon a hundred. Bhīshma then proceeds (v. 1518 ff.):

*Evam esha nṛipaḥ pāpaḥ S'isupālah sumanda-dhīḥ | tvām samāhvayate  
vīra Govinda-vara-darpitaḥ | Naishā Chedi-pater buddhir yayā tvā "hva-  
yate 'chutam | nūnam esha jagad-bharttuḥ Kṛishnasyaiva viniśchayaḥ |  
ko hi mām Bhīmasenādya xitāv arhati pārvivaḥ | xeptuṁ kāla-pari-  
tātmā yathaiśha kula-pāmsanaḥ | esha hy asya mahābāhus tejo 'mśāś cha  
Harer dhruvam | tam eva punar ādātum icchaty uta tathā vibhuh |  
yenaisha Kuru-śārdūla śārdūla iva Chedi-rāt | garjaty ativa durbuddhiḥ  
sarvān asmān achintayan |*

"Thus this wicked king S'isupāla, slow of understanding, proud of the boon conferred by Govinda, challenges thee, o hero. This does not shew wisdom in the lord of the Chedis, that he challenges thee who art Achyuta. For this is the fixed opinion of Krishna, the sustainer of the world, 'What king on earth, o Bhīmasena, ought to-day to revile me, deprived by destiny of his reason, like this degrader of his race?' For this large-armed (S'isupāla) is certainly [an emanation of] the strength, and a portion, of Hari, which the pervading [deity] wishes to draw back again [into himself]; in

<sup>169</sup> On this story of S'isupāla Lassen remarks (Indian Antiquities, i. 674): "S'isupāla here represents S'iva, and the conflict of the S'iva-worship with that of Vishnu: for he was born with three eyes and four arms, and the legend attributes the falling off of his two superfluous arms and the disappearance of his frontal eye to the look and embrace of Krishna. This story is of especial importance for the purpose of determining the periods to which the different parts of the Mahābhārata belong. Krishna's deification belongs to the period after Buddha. In the attack upon Jarāsandha he is still exhibited principally as a hero, acts upon human motives, and performs actions unworthy of a god: but there are evident beginnings of his deification." The same author adds in a note on the same page: "S'isupāla is probably an earlier name of S'iva, who is called *Paśupati*, or lord, protector, of beasts. *S'isu* denotes the young of men and beasts, and *pāla* protector. He had a second name *Sunītha* (Sabhāp. v. 1410), which no doubt was the proper one."

consequence of which, o chief of the Kurus, this foolish king of the Chedis growls loudly, like a tiger, disregarding us all."

Sisupāla here breaks in angrily (v. 1524 ff.) and asks why Krishna should be so praised to the exclusion of all other warlike kings. Bhīshma replies (1551), that he values not a straw all the other chiefs who were present. On hearing this, some of them became greatly incensed; and some cried out that Bhīshma should be killed or burned. Bhīshma replied that they might slay or burn him if they pleased, but that Krishna, the object of his reverence, would survive, and that anyone who was desirous to incur speedy destruction should challenge him to fight. Sisupāla hereupon challenges Krishna; and the narrative proceeds:

(Verses 1561 ff.): *Tataḥ śrutvaiva Bhīshmasya Chedi-rāḍ uru-vikramah | yuyutsur Vāsudevena Vāsudevam uvācha ha | ahvaye tvām ranaṁ gaccha mayā sārddhaṁ Janārdana | yāvād adya nihanmi tvām sahitaṁ sarva-Pāṇḍavāḥ | saha tvayā hi me badhyāḥ sarvathā Kṛishṇa Pāṇḍavāḥ | nṛipatin samatikramya yair arājā tvam architah | ye tvām dāsam arājānam bālyād archanti durmatim | anarham arha-vat Kṛishṇa badhyās te iti me matih | ity uktvā rāja-sārdūla[s?] tasthau garjann amarshanaḥ | evam ukte tataḥ Kṛishṇo mṛidu-pūrvam idaṁ vacchaḥ | uvācha pārthivān sarvān sa samaxam cha Pāṇḍavān | eṣha naḥ śatrur atyantam pārthivāḥ Sātcati-sutaḥ | Sātcatānām nṛiśaṁsātmā nahito 'napakāriṇām | Prāgyotisha-puram yātān asmān jñātvā nṛiśaṁsa-kṛit | adahaḍ Dvārakām eṣha svasṛiyāḥ san narādhipāḥ | kṛiḍato Bhoja-rājasya eṣha Raivatake girau | hatvā badhdvā cha tān sarvān upāyāt sva-puram purā | āśvamedhe hoyam medhyam ulsṛishṭaṁ raxibhir vṛitam | pitur me yājñā-vighnārtham aharat pāpa-niśchayaḥ | Sauvīrān pratiyātāṅcha Babhror eṣha tapasvinaḥ | bhāryām abhyaharad mohād akāmā[m?] tām ito gatām | eṣha mayā-praticchannaḥ Kārūshārthe tapasvinim | jahāra bhadrām Vaiśatim mātulasya nṛiśaṁsa-vat | pitṛi-svasuḥ kṛite duḥkhaṁ sumahad marshayāmy aham | diṣṭyā hidaṁ sarva-rājñām sannidhāv adya varṭtate | paśyanti hi bhavanto 'dya mayy atva vyatikramam | kṛitāni tu paroḥam me yāni tāni nibodhata | imaṁ tv asya na śazyāmi xantum adya vyatikramam | avalepād badhārhasya samagre rāja-maṇḍale | Rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāsid mumūrshataḥ | na cha tām prāptavān mūḍhaḥ śūdraḥ vedaśrutim iva | evam-ādi tataḥ sarve sahītās te narādhipāḥ | Vāsudevavacchaḥ śrutvā Chedi-rājaṁ vyagarhayan | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā*

*S'isūpālah pratāpavān | jahāsa svanavaddhāsaṁ vākyaṁ chedam uvācha  
 ha | mat-pūrvām Rukminīm Kṛishṇa saṁsatsu parikīrttayan | viśeshalah  
 pārthiveshu vrīdāṁ na kurushe katham | manyamāno hi kaḥ satsu puruṣhaḥ  
 parikīrttayet | anya-pūrvām striyaṁ jātu tvad-ānyo Madhusūdana | xama  
 vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā Kṛishṇa mama xama | kruddhād vā 'pi  
 prasannād vā kiṁ me tvatto bhavishyati | tathā bruvata evāsya  
 bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ | manasā 'chintayach chakraṁ daitya-garva-  
 nisūdanam | etasmīn eva kāle tu chakre hasta-gate satī | uvācha  
 bhagavān uchchair vākyaṁ vākya-viśāradaḥ | śrīnvantu me mahīpālā  
 yenaitat xamitam maya | aparādha-śataṁ xāmyam mātūr asyaiva yāchane |  
 dattam mayā yāchitām cha tad vai pūrṇam hi pārthivāḥ | adhunā ba-  
 dhayishyāmi paśyatām vo mahīxitam | evam uktvā Yadu-śreṣṭhāś Chedi-  
 rājasya tat-xanāt | vyapāharach chhīraḥ kruddhaś chakreṇāmitra-kar-  
 shaṇaḥ | sa papāta mahābāhur vajrahata ivāchalah |*

“ Having heard Bhīshma, the king of the Chedis, mighty in valour, desirous to fight with Vāsudeva, then addressed the latter : ‘ I challenge thee, approach to combat with me, Janārdana, till I slay thee with all the Pāṇḍavas. For together with thee, Kṛishṇa, I must utterly destroy the Pāṇḍavas, who, passing over kings, have honoured thee who art no king. They who, through childishness, honour thee, a fool, who art a slave, and no king, and who art unworthy, as if thou wert worthy, [they, I say,] ought in my opinion to be slain.’ Having so spoken, the chief of kings stood raging and impatient. Kṛishṇa then addressed these mild words to all the kings and the Pāṇḍavas, in their presence : ‘ This son of Sātvatī, o princes, is the bitter enemy, truculent and ill-disposed, of us the Sāttvatas, who have done him no wrong. This malignant man, our sister’s son, knowing that we had set out for the city of the Prāgjyotishas, burned Dvārakā. While the king of the Bhojas was formerly amusing himself on the Revata mountain, he slew and captured them all, and then returned home. Bent upon wickedness, to interrupt my father’s sacrifice, he carried off the horse intended as a victim, which had been let loose, attended by keepers. He in his infatuation carried off the wife of the devotee Babhru, who had set out to return to [the country of] the Sauvīras, who had gone hence, and who had no passion [for him]. Under a magical disguise, he wickedly carried off for the Kārusha the devout and virtuous Bhadrā Vaiśālī, [the daughter] of my maternal uncle. For the sake of my father’s sister (S’isūpālā’s

mother), I submit to great vexation. Luckily, this occurs to-day in presence of all the princes, for ye all behold the great transgression committed against me. As for the offences which have been done out of your sight, learn them now from me. I shall not to-day be able to endure this transgression of this infatuated man, who, for his presumption, deserves to be slain in the assembly of princes. He who is doomed to die, sought to gain Rukmiṇī, but the fool did not obtain her, as a Sūdra is excluded from the veda.' Hearing these and such other words of Vāsudeva, all the princes together then reviled the king of the Chedis. But the mighty Sīsupāla, hearing these words, laughed a sonorous laugh, and thus spake: 'How is it that thou art not ashamed, Kṛishṇā, thus in the assembly, and especially before the princes, to make mention of Rukmiṇī, who was betrothed to me?'<sup>161</sup> For what man but thou, Madhusūdana, after reflection, would mention among respectable persons a woman who had been betrothed to another? Forgive me, Kṛishṇa, if thou hast generosity, or refuse\* to forgive me. What shall happen to me from thee whether thou art well-pleased or angry?' As he thus spake, the divine Madhusūdana in his mind thought upon the discus, the humbler of the pride of the Daītyas. The discus having come into his hand at that very time, the divine being, skilled in words, uttered aloud this word: 'Let the kings listen to me by whom this forgiveness has been practised. At the request of his mother, a hundred offences were to be pardoned. That request was granted by me, and it has been fulfilled, o kings. I shall now slay him, while you kings look on.' Having thus spoken, the chief of the Yādus, the vexer of his foes, incensed, instantly struck off the head of

<sup>161</sup> Rukmiṇī had been betrothed to Sīsupāla, as we are told in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, v. 26, 1 ff. (Wilson, p. 573): *Bhīshmakah Kuṇḍine rājā Vidarbha-vishayo 'bhavat | Rukmī tasyābhavat putro Rukmiṇī cha varāṅganā | Rukmiṇīm chakame Kṛishṇah sā cha tīm chāru-hōsinī | na dadau yāchate chainām Rukmī deeshena chakriṇe | dadau cha Sīsupātāya Jarāsandha-prachoditah | Bhīshmako Rukmiṇā sārādham Rukmiṇim uru-vikramah |* "Bhīshmaka was king in Kundina, in the country of the Vidarbhas. Rukmin was his son, and the beautiful Rukmiṇī (his daughter). Kṛishṇa loved Rukmiṇī, and the sweet-smiling maid (loved) him, but Rukmin did not give her to the wielder of the discus, when he asked her; but urged by Jarāsandha, Bhīshmaka, mighty in valour, together with Rukmin, gave her to Sīsupāla." Kṛishṇa comes to witness the nuptials of his rival, and carries off the princess on the eve of the wedding.



the king of the Chedis with his discus. The great-armed (warrior) fell like a mountain smitten by a thunder-bolt."<sup>162</sup>

Duryodhana, the son of Dhritarāshṭra, and the principal leader of the Kurus, is represented as manifesting a similar disbelief of Kṛishṇa's divine character, or at least as maintaining a proud and contumacious resistance to his claims. In the Udyoga-parva (vv. 2523 ff.), Sanjaya unfolds the divine nature of Kṛishṇa, "who," he says, "being distinct in nature, and self-subdued, is able, by a thought, to subject to himself the earth, the air, and the heaven" (*pr̥thivīñchāntarīxañcha dyāñchaiva Purushottamaḥ | manasaiva visishṭātmā nayaty ātma-vaśaṃ vaśī |*) He then goes on to say :

*Ekato vā jagat kṛitsnam ekato vā Janārdanaḥ | sārato jagataḥ kṛitsnād  
atirikto Janārdanaḥ | bhasma kuryād jagad idam manasaiva Janārdanaḥ |  
na cha kṛitsnam jagach chhaktam bhasmikarttuṃ Janārdanam | yataḥ  
satyaṃ yato dharmo yato hr̥r ārjamaṃ yataḥ | tato bhavati Govindo  
yataḥ Kṛishṇaś tato jayaḥ | pr̥thivīm chāntarīxañcha divāñcha Purush-  
ottamaḥ | vicheshṭayati bhūtātmā kṛidanniva Janārdanaḥ | sa kṛitvā  
Pāṇḍavān sattraṃ lokaṃ sammohayann iva | adharma-niratān mūdhān  
dagdhum ichhati te sutān | kāla-chakraṃ jagach-chakraṃ yuga-chakrañcha  
Keśavaḥ | ātma-yogena bhagavān parivarttayato 'nisam | kālasya cha  
hi mr̥ityoścha jañgama-sthāvarasya cha | īsate bhagavān ekaḥ satyam etad  
bravīmi te | īsann api mahāyogī sarvasya jagato Hariḥ | karmāny āra-  
bhate karttuṃ kīnāsa iva varddhanaḥ | tena vañchayate lokān māyāyogena*

<sup>162</sup> We are told in the Vishṇu Purāna (see Wilson's translation, p. 437) that S'isūpala had been in a former birth the Daitya Hiranyakasipu, who was killed by Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation. He afterwards became Ravana, who was slain by Rāma. In his character as S'isūpala he evinced a greater hatred than ever towards Vishṇu, "a portion of the supreme being, who had descended to lighten the burthens of the earth," and was in consequence slain by him; but as his thoughts were "constantly engrossed by the supreme being," S'isūpala became united with him after death; for the lord gives "to those to whom he is favourable whatever they desire," and "bestows a heavenly and exalted station even upon those whom he slays in his displeasure." This is further explained in the next section, where we are told that Kṛishṇa as an object of hatred was ever present to S'isūpala's thoughts, and that he was constantly uttering his names, and though this was done disrespectfully and in malediction, yet he at last beheld the deity in his true character when he was being slain by him, and that then all his passion and hatred ceased, and his sins were consumed by his divine adversary, with whom he became united. The attempt of S'isūpala's brother, king of the S'ūlvas (whose capital was Saubha), to revenge his death, his assault on Dyārakā, his desire to slay Kṛishṇa, and the destruction which he thereby drew upon himself, are narrated in the Vana-parva, vv. 615-890.

*Keśavaḥ | ye tam eva prapadyante tena muhyanti mānavāḥ | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | katham tvaṁ Mādhaveṁ vettha sarva-loka-maheśvaram | katham enaṁ na vedāhaṁ tad mamācharva Sañjaya | Sañjaya uvācha | śrinu rājan na te vidyā mama vidyā na hiyate | vidyā-hīno tamo-dhvasto nābhijānāti Keśavam | vidyayā tāta jānāmi triyugam Madhusūdanam | karttāram akṛitaṁ devam bhūtānām prabhavāpyayam | . . . māyāṁ na see bhadrāṁ te na vṛithā dharmam āchare | śuddha-bhāvaṁ gato bhaktyā śāstrād vedmi Janārdanam | Dhṛitarāshṭra uvācha | Duryodhana Hṛishīkeśam prapadyasva Janārdanam | āpto naḥ Sañjayas tāta śaravaṁ gachha Keśavam | Duryodhana uvācha | Bhagavān Devakī-putro lokāṁś ched nihanishyati | pravaḍann Arjune sakhyaṁ nāhaṁ gachhe'dya Keśavam |*

“On the one side the whole world, on the other Janārdana,—in his essence Janārdana exceeds the whole world. He could by a thought reduce this world to ashes; but the whole world could not reduce him to ashes. Since he is truth, righteousness, modesty, rectitude,—therefore is he Govinda; since he is Krishna, he is therefore victory. The chief of males (or spirits), Janārdana, the soul of beings, imparts activity to the earth, air, and sky, as if in sport. He having made the Pāndavas a sacrifice, deluding, as it were, the world, wishes to burn up thy (Dhṛitarāshṭra's) infatuated and unrighteous sons. The divine Keśava by his own abstraction (*yoga*) makes the circles of time, of the world, and of the ages (*yugas*), continually to revolve. This divine being alone is lord of time, of death, and of things moveable and immoveable,—this I tell thee as a truth. Hari, the great contemplator, though the lord of the whole world, undertakes to perform works, like a poor peasant seeking gain. He deceives the world by this display of delusion whereby the men who seek him are bewildered. Dhṛitarāshṭra said: How dost thou know Mādhave, the great lord of the whole world? and how is it that I do not know him?—tell me that, Sanjaya. Sanjaya answered: Hear, o king, thou hast not knowledge; but to me knowledge is not wanting. He who is devoid of knowledge, and sunk in darkness, does not recognize Keśava. By knowledge I recognize Madhusūdana who exists in the three ages (*yugas*), the maker, the unmade, the god, the source of beings, and the cause of their destruction.” Dhṛitarāshṭra asks Sanjaya for a further explanation of his devotion to Krishna. Sanjaya proceeds: “I do not pursue a delusion, bless thee, nor do I vainly practise righteousness. Having by devotion attained to purity, I know Janārdana from the

scripture (*śāstra*). Dhṛitarāshṭra said : Duryodhana, do thou seek Hṛishīkeśa, Janārdana : Sanjaya is to us an authoritative teacher : go to Keśava as thy refuge. Duryodhana said : If the divine son of Devakī should destroy the worlds, I should not, declaring friendship for Arjuna, resort to-day to Keśava."

Duryodhana is hereupon reproved by his father and mother for his pride, self-will, and ambition, and is told by the latter that "when he has received his death-blow from Bhīmasena, he will remember the words of his father (*nihatō Bhīmasenena smarttāsi vachanam pituḥ*)."

After some further conversation, Dhṛitarāshṭra asks to be further instructed about Kṛishṇa, when Sanjaya proceeds as follows (vv. 2560 ff.):

*Sanjaya uvācha | śrutam me Vāsudevasya nāma-nīrvachanaṁ śubham |  
yavat tatrābhijāno 'ham aprameyo hi Keśavaḥ | vasanāt sarva-bhūtānāṁ  
vasutvād deva-yonitaḥ | Vāsudevas tato vedyo vṛihatvād Viṣṇur uchyate |  
maunād dhyānāch cha yogāchecha viddhi Bhārata Mādhavam | sarva-tatt-  
vamayatvāch cha Madhuhā Madhusūdanaḥ | kṛishir bhū-vāchakaḥ śabda  
naścha nirvṛiti-vāchakaḥ | Viṣṇus tad-bhāva-yogāchecha Kṛishṇo bhavati  
Sāttvātāḥ | puṇḍarikam paraṁ dhāma nityam azayam avyayam | tad-  
bhāvāt Puṇḍarikāxo dasyu-trāsāj Janārdanaḥ | yataḥ sattvād na chyavate  
yach cha sattvād na hiyate | sattvataḥ Sāttvatas tasmād ārshabhād  
Vṛishabhexanaḥ | na jāyate janitrā 'yam ajas tasmād anīkajit | devānāṁ  
sva-prakāśatvād damād Dāmodaro vibhuḥ | harshāt sukhāt sukhaiśvaryyād  
hṛishīkeśatvam aśnute | bāhubhyām rodasī bibhṛad mahābāhur iti smṛitaḥ |  
adho na xīyate jātu yasmāt tasmād adhozajāḥ | narāṇām ayanāch  
chāpi tato Nārāyanaḥ smṛitaḥ | pūranāt sadanāch chāpi tato 'sau  
Purushottamaḥ | asataś cha sataś chaiva sarvasya prabhavāpyayāt | sar-  
vasya cha sadā jñānāt Sarvam etam prachazate | satye pratishṭhitaḥ  
Kṛishṇaḥ satyam atra pratishṭhitam | satyāt satyaṅcha Govindas tasmāt  
Satyo 'pi nāmataḥ | Viṣṇur vikramaṇād devo jayanāj Jishṇur uchyate |  
śāśvatatvād Anantaścha Govindo vedanād gavām | atattvaṁ kurute tatt-  
vaṁ tena mohayate prajāḥ | evaṁvidho dharma-nityo bhagavān Madhusū-  
danaḥ | āgantā hi mahābāhur ānṛiśaṁsyārtham achyutaḥ |*

"Sanjaya says : Thou hast heard from me the auspicious explanation of Vāsudeva's names, as far as I understand the subject; for Keśava is immeasurable. He is to be known as Vāsudeva from his dwelling (*vasanāt*) in all beings, from his issuing as a Vasu from a divine womb. From his greatness (*vṛihatvāt*) he is called Viṣṇu. From his silence,

(*maunāt*) contemplation, and abstraction, do thou know him to be *Mād-hava*. From his possessing the nature of all principles, he is *Madhuhān*, and *Madhusūdāna*. The word *kṛishi* denotes 'earth,' and *na* denotes 'cessation' (?); *Vishṇu*, from containing the nature of these things, is *Ārīshṇa*, the *Sātvata*. *Puṇḍarīka* means the highest abode, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying: from his having that character he is *Puṇḍarikāxa*. From terrifying the *Dasyus* he is *Janārdana*. Inasmuch as he does not fall from, or fail in, existence (*satva*), therefore, from his existence, he is *Sātvata*, and from his excellence (*ārshabhat*) he is *Vrishabhexana*. As he is not generated by a father, he is the unborn, the victorious in battle. From the self-illumination of the gods, and from self-restraint (*dama*), the all-pervading is *Dāmodara*. He obtains his character as *Hrishīkeśa* from joy (*harsha*), pleasure, and the ease with which he rules. Sustaining the two worlds with his arms, he is called *Mahābāhu* (*great-armed*). Since he never sinks downwards (*adho na ziyate*) he is *Adhoṛaja*. From movement among men (*narānām<sup>163</sup> ayanat*) he is called *Nārāyana*. From filling (*pūranāt*) and from abiding (*sadanāt*) he is *Purushottama*. Since he is the source and the destruction of everything (*sarvasya*) both non-existent and existent, and since he always knows all, they call him *Sarva*. *Krishṇa* is based on truth (*satye*) and truth is based on him, and from his truth *Govinda* is truth, therefore he is also called *Satya*. The god is called *Vishṇu* from striding (*vikramanāt*), *Jishṇu* from conquering (*jayanāt*), *Ananta* from his eternity, and *Govinda* from the knowledge of cattle<sup>164</sup> (*vedanād gavām*).

<sup>163</sup> Perhaps the true reading is *nārūnām*, "waters," as in the text of Manu, cited above, p. 26.

<sup>164</sup> Another explanation of this name is given in the *Sāntiparva*, v. 13228 f.: *Nashṭām cha āharāṇim pūrvam avindām vai guhāgatām | Govinda iti tenāham devair vāgbhir abhisthutaḥ |* "And since I discovered the earth which had formerly been destroyed, and had sunk into the abyss, I was therefore lauded by the gods with praises as *Govinda*." And in the following verse, occurring in the description of the ocean, in the *Ādi-parva*, v. 1216, the word *Govinda* is thus interpreted: *Gām vīdatā bhagavatā Govindenāmitaujasā | varāha-rūpiṇā chāntar vīrobhita-jalāvīlam |* "[That ocean] which was rendered turbid when its waters were agitated within by the divine *Govinda* of illimitable power, who in the form of a boar found the earth [beneath its surface]." I notice in the same passage another verse (1215) which seems to shew that, at the period when it was written, the *Hindūs* were acquainted with the cause of the tides, or at least with the influence of the moon upon the ocean: *Chandra-ṛiddhi-xaya-vaiśāḍ udeṛittormi-samākulam |* "The ocean] tossed with waves which rise in obedience to the waxing and waning of the moon."

He makes the reality an unreality, and so deludes creatures. Of such a character, constant in righteousness, is the divine Madhusūdāna. For the great-armed Achyuta (or unfalling deity) will come for the abolition of cruelty.”

The following is another illustration of Duryodhana's enmity to Krishṇā, and of his scepticism in regard to the supernatural character of that personage, at the same time that it shews the writer's faith in the divine nature of his hero. It is related in the Udyoga-parva that Krishṇa went to the Kurus, with the intention of mediating between them and the Pandus. While he was with them, Duryodhana plotted to confine him (v. 4368), but Vidura warns the plotter that his attempt would be vain, owing to the divine power of Krishṇa. On the conclusion of Vidura's speech, Krishṇa addresses himself to Duryodhana (4418 ff.):

*Vidureṇaivam uktas tu Keśavaḥ śatru-pūga-hā | Duryodhanaṁ Dhārt-  
tarāshṭram abhyabhāshata vīryyavān | eko 'ham iti yad mohād manyase  
mām Suyodhana | paribhūya sudurbuddhe grahītum mām chikīrshasi |  
ihaiva Pāṇḍavāḥ sarve tathāivāndhaka-vṛishṇayah | ihādityāścha Rudrās  
cha Vasavaś cha saharshibhiḥ | evam uktvā jahāsochchaiḥ Keśavaḥ para-  
vīra-hā | tasya saṁsmayataḥ Saurer vidyud-rūpā mahātmanaḥ | angush-  
ṭha-mātrās tridaśū mumuchuh pāvakārchishah | asya Brahmā lalāṭa-śtho  
Rudro vazasi chābhavat | loka-pālā bhujeshv āsann Agnir āsyād ajāyata |  
Ādityās chaiva Sādhyās cha Vasavo 'thāśvināv api | Maruṭas cha sahen-  
dreṇa Viśve devās tathāiva cha | babhūvus chaika-rūpāni Yaxa-Gandharva-  
Raxasām | prādūrastaṁ tathā dorbhyaṁ Saṅkarshana-Dhanañjayau |  
daxiṇe 'thārjjuṇo dhanvī hali Rāmas cha savyataḥ | Bhīmo Yudhisthirās  
chaiva Mādri-putrau cha prishṭhataḥ | Andhakā Vṛishṇayaś chaiva Pra-  
dyumna-pramukhās tataḥ | agre babhūvuh Kṛishṇasya samudyata-  
mahāyudhāḥ | śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-śakti-śārṅga-lāṅgola-nandakāḥ | adriś-  
yantodyatāny eva sarva-praharaṇāni cha | nānā-bāhushu Kṛishṇasya dīp-  
yamānāni sarvaśah | ityādi*

“ Being thus addressed, the heroic Keśava, slayer of hostile bands, thus addressed Duryodhana, son of Dhṛitarāshṭra: ‘ Since, Suyodhana, thou, in thy delusion, regardest me as if I were alone, and, o fool, seekest to overcome and confine me, [know that] here are all the Pāṇḍavas, the Andhakas, and the Vrishnis, as well as the Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus, together with the rishis.’ Having thus spoken,

Keśava, slayer of hostile heroes, laughed aloud. As the mighty descendant of Sūra [Krishṇa] smiled, the gods, wearing the appearance of lightning, of the size of a thumb, and luminous as fire, issued forth from him. Brahmā occupied his forehead, Rudra was produced on his chest, the guardians of the world appeared on his arms, and Agni sprang from his mouth. The Ādityas, too, and the Sādhyas, Vasus, Aśvins, Maruts, and all the gods along with Indra were produced, and also the forms of the Yaxas, Gandharvas, and Rāxasas. Sankarshana and Dhananjaya also were manifested from his arms, Arjuna armed with a bow from his right, and Rāma with a plough from his left, Yudishthira and Bhīma, the sons of Mādri, from his back. Next Andhakas and Vrishnis, headed by Pradyumna, arose on his front, with their weapons ready. A shell, discus, club, spear, bow, plough, and sword, were seen prepared, and all weapons, gleaming in every form on the different arms of Krishṇa.”

In the next passage, taken from the Karṇa-parva, also, Duryodhana, and other warriors on his side, put themselves on the same level as Krishṇa (except in one place, vv. 1625 ff.). It is there related (vv. 1265 ff.) that Karṇa promised to Duryodhana to encounter and slay Arjuna, or be slain by him. Karṇa says, however, that in some respects he is inferior to Arjuna; as, for instance, in not having such a charioteer as Arjuna had in Govinda (Krishṇa); (v. 1302: *Sārathis tasya Govindo mama tādṛiṇ na vidyate*); while in other respects he regards himself as having the advantage (v. 1304). As, then, Krishṇa, creator of the world, preserves the car of Arjuna (*Kṛishṇas cha sraṣṭā jagato ratham tam abhiraxati*<sup>165</sup>), if, in like manner, Salya, king of the Madras, the ornament of the battle-field, who is equal to Sauri (Krishṇa) and is well skilled in horses, will act as his charioteer, Karṇa thinks the victory of Duryodhana's side will be certain (v. 1308: *Ayaṁ tu sadṛiṣah Saureḥ Salyah samiti-śobhanaḥ | sārathyaṁ yadi me kuryād dhruvas te vijayo bhavet | . . . 1311: *Evam abhyadhikah Pārthāt bhaviṣhyami gunair aham | Salyo 'py abhyadhikah Kṛishṇād Arjunād api chāpy aham | yathā 'śva-hridayaṁ veda Dāśārhaḥ para-vira-hā | tathā Salyo 'pi jānīte**

<sup>165</sup> If the words *sraṣṭā jagataḥ*, “creator of the world,” are not an interpolation, it is not easy to perceive how Karṇa could have regarded Krishṇa as his equal, as he would never have thought of calling Salya, or any other of his brother warriors, the creator of the world.

*haya-jñānaṁ mahārathaḥ* |) Duryodhana then goes to Salya and asks him to act as charioteer to Karṇa, saying that he (Salya) was equal to Kṛishṇa, that there was no other person who could drive Karṇa but himself; and that Brahmā had fulfilled the same office to Mahādeva (v. 1328 f.: *Sārathyāṁ rathināṁ śreṣṭha praṇayāt karttum arhasi | tvayi yantari Rādheyo vidvisho me vijeshyate | abhishūṇāṁ hi Karṇasya grahītā 'nyo na vidyate | rite hi tvām mahābhāga Vāsudeva-samāṁ yudhi | sa pāhi sarvathā Karṇaṁ yathā Brahmā Mahēśvaram* |). Salya, however, is very much offended (v. 1354 f.) that a person of his dignity should be asked to undertake the office of charioteer, and boasts that he is superior to Karṇa, and could alone destroy their enemies. He points to his thick arms, which would smite like a thunderbolt, and asserts that he could by his own strength cleave asunder the earth, scatter the mountains, and dry up the seas (v. 1361: *Paśya pīnas mama bhujau vajra-saṁhananopamau | . . . 1363: Dūrāyeyam mahīm kṛitsnāṁ vikīreyaṁ cha parvatān | Śoṣhayeyaṁ samudrāṁś cha tejasā svena pārthiva* |). He will not brook to undertake the inferior office of driving a person who is his own inferior<sup>166</sup> (v. 1365: *Kasmād yunazi sārathye nīchasyādhirathe rāṇe | na mām adhuri rājendra niyoktuṁ tvam ihārhasi | na hi pāpīyasaḥ śreyān bhūtvā preshyatvam utsahe* |). He threatens, in consequence of the insult thus offered to him, to go home (v. 1375); and accordingly rises and goes, but is followed by Duryodhana, who endeavours to soothe him by saying that he did not regard Karṇa as superior to him (v. 1379: *Na Karṇo 'bhyadhīkaḥ tvattoḥ*), but considered Karṇa to be superior to Arjuna; while the world regarded him (Salya) as superior to Kṛishṇa, whom he excelled in strength, as well as in knowledge of horses and their dispositions, (v. 1384: *Manye chābhyadhīkaṁ Salya guṇaiḥ Karṇaṁ Dhanāñjayāt | bhavantaṁ Vāsudevāc cha loko 'yam iti manyate | Karṇo hy abhyadhīkaḥ Pārthād astrair eva narar-shabha | bhavān abhyadhīkaḥ Kṛishṇād āśva-jñāno bale tathā | yathā 'śva-ḥṛīdayaṁ veda Vāsudevo mahāmanāḥ | dviguṇaṁ tvām tathā vetsy Madra-rājesvarātmaja* |). Salya is flattered by his being reckoned superior to Kṛishṇa, and agrees to act as charioteer to Karṇa, vv. 1387 ff.: *Fad mām bravishi Gāndhāre madhye sainyasya Kaurava | viśiṣṭāṁ Devaki-puttrāt prītimāṅ asmy ahaṁ tvayi | eṣa sārathyam ātishṭhe Rādheyasya*

<sup>166</sup> He regarded Karṇa as what he was generally supposed to be, a Sūta, or charioteer, by caste (v. 1374).

*yaśasvīnaḥ | yudhyataḥ Pāṇḍavāgryeṇa yathā tvaṁ vīra manyase | samayaś  
cha hi me vīra kaśchid Vaikarttanam prati | utsrijeyaṁ yathā-śraddham  
ahaṁ vācho 'sya sannidhau | Sañjaya uvācha | tatheti rājan putras te  
saha Karṇena Bhārata | abravīd Madra-rājasya matam Bharata-sattama |*  
“I am pleased with thee, Kaurava, since in the midst of the army thou  
declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be  
charioteer to the renowned Karṇa when he fights with the chief of the  
Pandus, as thou, hero, thinkest [I ought to do]. And now that I have  
entered into a certain agreement with Karṇa, let me candidly excuse  
to him the words I have used. Sanjaya proceeded: “Thy son (*i.e.*  
Duryodhana) having assented, declared to Karṇa the resolution of the  
king of the Madras (Salya).”

Though he had thus gained his point, by persuading Salya to act as  
charioteer to Karṇa, Duryodhana is nevertheless represented as pro-  
ceeding, in the next three sections, the 33rd-35th, vv. 1391 ff.,  
(which, for reasons to be afterwards assigned, I regard as probably  
interpolated,) to repeat to Salya an ancient legend, telling how  
Brahmā had formerly done duty as charioteer to Mahādeva in a war  
between the gods and Asuras. In this war the gods, it is related, were  
at first the victors (1394). The three sons of the Asura Tāraka there-  
upon performed severe austerities, which induced Brahmā to grant  
them a boon (1397). They asked that they might become inde-  
structible by any being whatever, which, however, Brahmā declined  
to grant, as immortality, he said, was not an universal attribute  
(1399). They then asked that they should occupy three cities, and  
from thence move about the earth at will, and that after a thousand  
years these three cities should become united, and that they them-  
selves should only be destructible by the deity who should be able to  
overthrow the cities with a single arrow, (1402 ff.: *Vayam purāṇi  
trīṇy eva samāsthāya mahīm imām | vicharishyāmo loke 'smīn . . .  
tato varsha-sahasre tu sameshyāmaḥ parasparam | ekibhāvaṁ gamishy-  
anti purāṇy etāni chānagha | samāgatāni chaitāni yo hanyād bhagavaṁs  
tadā | ekeshuṇā deva-varaḥ sa no mṛityur bhavishyati* ). Brahmā granted  
this boon, and the Asura Maya built them three cities, one of gold, in  
heaven; a second of silver, in the air; and a third of black iron, on  
earth<sup>167</sup> (1406 ff.), which the three Asura kings above-named severally

<sup>167</sup> See above, p. 168.



occupied, and where innumerable hosts of formidable demons were collected. Maya, by his magical power, gave them everything that any of them wished (1415): and Hari, the son of Tārakāxa, obtained as a boon from Brahmā that there should be a pond in their city, into which, when any Asuras slain in battle were thrown, they should be resuscitated and become stronger than ever (1418 ff.). Armed with all these powers, the Asuras harassed the worlds, putting to flight the celestial hosts, and destroying the gardens of the gods, and the hermitages of the rishis (1421 ff.). Indra attacked the cities of the Asuras with his thunderbolts, but without effect (1427). He then went with the other gods to consult Brahmā about the means of overthrowing the demons (1429 ff.). Brahmā replied that the cities could only be destroyed by a single arrow, and that this could only be effected by Mahādeva (1434), to whom they should apply. The deities, then, headed by Brahmā himself, went to supplicate Mahādeva, the soul of all things, by whom the universe is pervaded, who, through particular austerities, knows the *yoga* and the *sāṅkhya* of himself, (or of spirit,) and whose spirit is always in subjection,—(they went to supplicate him) practising rites of austerity, repeating the eternal Veda, and uttering awful or fierce hymns, (1437 ff.: *Tapo-niyamam āsthāya gr̥ṇanto brahma śāsvatam | . . . tushṭuvur vāgbhir ugrābhīr bhayeshe abhaya-daṁ nṛipa | sarvātmānam mahātmanām yenāptaṁ sarvam ātmanā | tapo-vīśeshair vivīdhair yogaṁ yo veda chātmanaḥ | yaḥ sāṅkhyam ātmano vetti yasya chātmā vaśe sadā |*). They beheld Mahādeva, to whom a variety of other honorific epithets are applied, such as “the essence of all beings, the unborn, the lord of the world” (1442: *sarva-bhūtamayāṁ dṛiṣṭvā tam ajaṁ jagataḥ patim |*). Mahādeva received them smiling, and invites them to state their wishes (1444). They then recite a number of his epithets (1445 ff.), and Brahmā replies on their behalf (1455 ff.) that he himself, who had obtained from Mahādeva his rank of Prajāpati, had bestowed a boon on the Dānavas, that they had in consequence transgressed all bounds, and that now there was no one but Mahādeva who could destroy them,—which he was therefore implored to do. Mahādeva answers (1459) that he could not destroy them himself, but that, with the aid of half his strength, they themselves would be able to conquer their enemies. They answered that they could not contain half of his strength (*vibharttuṁ tava tejo*

'*rdhām na śazyāmah*), but proposed that he should undertake the work, aided by half of their strength. To this Mahādeva consented, and became stronger than all the gods, and was thenceforward called Mahādeva, or "the great god," (*arddham ādāya sarveśhām tejasū 'bhy-adhiko 'bhavat | sa tu devo balenāsīt sarvebhyo balavattaraḥ | Mahādeva iti khyātas tataḥ prabhṛiti Saṅkaraḥ |*). Mahādeva then (1468) desired the gods to provide him with a bow and arrows, and a chariot. The gods promised to provide a chariot which should be composed of all the forms of the universe (1469 : *mūrtīḥ sarvāḥ samādhāya trailokyasya tatas tataḥ | ratham te kalpayishyāmah |*). The composition of the car, formed by Visvakarman and the gods, is then described at great length (vv. 1471-1492). Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni became different parts of Mahādeva's bow and arrow; the earth became his chariot, the mountain Mandara its axle; and the great river, the regions, the constellations, the Kṛita age, the serpent Vāsuki, the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains, plants, the sun and moon, day and night, various goddesses, duty, truth, the vashaṭkāra, the gāyatrī, etc, formed portions of the car, or of its appurtenances. Mahādeva's weapons and equipments are then specified (1495 ff.). At verse 1503 it is repeated that "Vishṇu, Agni, and Soma formed his arrow, for all the world," it is added, "is formed of Agni and Soma, and is said to be composed of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu is the soul of Mahādeva of boundless power."<sup>168</sup> Hence they could not abide the bow, or the contact of the bowstring of Hara. In that arrow the terrible god, dark-blue, and dusky in hue, clad in an antelope's skin, hurled forth the fire of wrath, of fierce intolerable fury, and sprung from the rage of Bhṛigu and Angiras. . . . He is the constant preserver of virtuous, and destroyer of wicked, men. The divine Sthānu (Mahādeva) shines forth distinguished by these inherent qualities, which are destructive, fearful in power, fearful in form, and rapid as thought. This whole universe, moveable and immoveable, existing contained in his members, shone forth, wonderful to behold." (*Ishūś chāpy abhavad Vishṇur Jvalanaḥ Soma eva cha | Agni-Somañ jagat kṛitsnañ Vaishṇavañ chochyate jagat | Vishṇuś chātmā bhagavato Bhavasyāmita-tejasah | tasmād dhanur jyā-saṁsparśaṁ na vishehur Harasya te | tasmin śare tigra-manyum mumochāsahyam Īśvaraḥ | Bhṛigv-Angiro-manyu-bhavañ krodhūgnim ati-dussaham | sa nīla-lohito*

<sup>168</sup> Can these words be a Vaishnava addition to the passage?

*dhūmrah̄ kṛittivāsā bhayaṅkaraḥ | . . . 1507: Nityaṁ trātā cha hantā cha dharmādharmaśritān narān | pramāthibhir bhīma-balair bhīma-rūpaḥ manojavaiḥ | vibhāti bhagavān Sthāṅus tair evātma-guṇair vṛitaiḥ | tasyāṅgāni samāśṛitya sthitaṁ viśvam idaṁ jagat | jaṅgamājaṅgamaṁ rājan śuśubhe 'dhuta-darśanam |*

Taking the arrow produced from Soma, Vishṇu, and Agni, Mahādeva mounted the car which had been made for him (1510 ff.). He then smilingly asked (1515) who was to be his charioteer. The gods answered that any one whom he should appoint would undertake that office. He then said that the god who was greater than he should be made his charioteer. The gods next went to Brahmā and asked him to appoint one (1520), expressing an opinion that he himself was the only person who was fit for the office (1526). Brahmā consented (1530 ff.). Mahādeva is again represented as mounting the car, with the arrow produced from Vishṇu, Soma, and Agni in his hand (1535). He then sets out,<sup>169</sup> and arrives at the triple city of the Asuras (1551), when some of the Asuras are destroyed by the roaring of his bull (1553), and others come forth to battle. Mahādeva becomes insensate with rage. The three worlds tremble. The chariot begins to sink from the agitation of Soma, Agni, and Vishṇu in the arrow, and from the movement of Brahmā and Mahādeva. Vishṇu then issues from a portion of the arrow (1556), takes the form of a bull, and raises up the chariot. Mahādeva fits his arrow on the string (1562), and discharges it against the triple city (1567), which falls to the ground, while the Asuras are burnt up and thrown by Mahādeva into the western ocean. The gods praise Mahādeva and depart (1572).

Duryodhana now (1575 ff.) makes his application of this legend by exhorting Salya to follow Brahmā's example, and act as charioteer to Karṇa. Salya, he adds, is superior to Krishṇa, Karṇa, and Arjuna, and as Karṇa resembled Mahādeva in fighting, so Salya resembled Brahmā in guiding [a chariot], etc. To supply additional motives for compliance, he then (1581 ff.) goes on to tell Salya another story about Paraśurāma performing austerity to propitiate Mahādeva and obtain

<sup>169</sup> In vv. 1545 ff. it is said that the rishis praised Mahādeva, and *increased his strength* (*riṣayas tatra devaṁ stuvanto bahubhūḥ stavaiḥ | tejaś chāsmāi vardhāyānto rājann āsan punaḥ punaḥ |*). The same power of imparting strength to the gods by their praises is frequently asserted of the bards in the Rig-veda.

celestial arms. Mahādeva appears to him and tells him he shall obtain arms when he has qualified himself by purification to obtain them. Paraśurāma renews his penances and religious ceremonies (1591), and is at length appointed by Mahādeva to slay the Daityas who had been harassing the gods (1599). He successfully accomplishes this task (1806) and receives celestial arms from Mahādeva. Paraśurāma had, as Duryodhana goes on to say, taught the divine science of archery to Karṇa (1613), which proves that Karṇa is free from sin; and Karṇa is not, as Duryodhana believes, a Sūta or charioteer by birth, but a son of one of the gods, born in a Xātriya family. For how could a doe give birth to a tiger (1617)? Duryodhana then recurs to the legend of Brahmā becoming Mahādeva's charioteer, and renews his exhortation to Salya to perform the same office to Karṇa. Salya appears now to waver in his determination, formerly expressed, to comply with Duryodhana's request, as he replies (1625) that he himself had often heard this story before; and that Kṛishṇa also had no doubt heard of it, as he knows the future and the past, and that he had for that reason consented to be the charioteer of Arjuna. And, Salya adds, if Karṇa should slay Arjuna, Kṛishṇa would himself fight, and armed with the shell, discus, and club, burn up the whole of Duryodhana's army, and no one would be able to stand before him when he was incensed, (*Yadi hanyāch cha Kaunteyaṃ Sūta-putraḥ kathañchana | dṛishṭvā Pārtham hi nihataṃ svayaṃ yotsyati Keśavaḥ | śankha-chakra-gadā-pāñir dhazyate tava vāhinim | na chāpi tasya krudhasya Vārshneyasya mahātmanah | sthāsyate pratyānikeshu kaśchid atra nripas tava*). Duryodhana in reply expatiates on the eminent prowess of Karṇa, and of Salya himself: (1643) *Tvam śalya-bhūtaḥ śatrūnām avishahyaḥ parākrame | tatas tvam uchyaṣe rājan Salya ity ari-sūdāna | tava bāhu-balam prāpya na śekuḥ sarva-Sāttatāḥ | tava bāhu-balād rājan kintu Kṛishṇo balādḥikah | yathā hi Kṛishṇena balaṃ dhāryaṃ vai Phālgune hate | tathā Karṇa-tyayibhāvo tvayā dhāryam mahad balam | kimarthaṃ samare sainyaṃ Vāsudevo nyavārayet (sic) | kimarthaṃ cha bhavān sainyaṃ na hanishyati Mārisha |* "Thou art a spear (*śalya*) to [pierce] thine enemies, irresistible in valour: hence, o king, destroyer of thy foes, thou art called Salya.<sup>170</sup> Feeling the power of thy arm, all the Sāttvatas could

<sup>170</sup> In verse 1381 the same thing had been said in nearly the same words; *Salya-bhūtas tu śatrūnām yasmāt tvam yudhi mānada | tasmāt Sālyo hi te nāma kathyate*

not [resist]. But [it is said that ?] Krishṇa is superior in force to the strength of thy arm. Just as great strength is to be exhibited by Krishṇa, if Arjuna were killed ; so is great strength to be put forth by thee, if Karna were slain. Why should Krishṇa withstand [our] army? and why shouldst not thou slay the [enemy's] host?" Salya then answers (1648 ff.) in the same words<sup>171</sup> which had formerly been assigned to him in vv. 1387-9: "I am pleased with thee, bestower of honour, since before the army thou declarest me to be superior to the son of Devakī. I undertake to be charioteer to the renowned Karṇa," etc. This repetition of the same speech of Salya at the close of the episode regarding Mahādeva's conquest of the Asuras with Brahmā for his charioteer, and Paraśurāma's acquisition of celestial weapons, renders it probable, as I have already said, that this episode has been subsequently interpolated. As Salya had already consented, in vv. 1387 ff., to do duty as Karṇa's charioteer, it was quite unnecessary to detail at great length the legend of Brahmā and Mahādeva, which had been already briefly alluded to in verse 1330, and which is merely followed by a renewed expression of Salya's willingness to comply with the request of Karṇa and Duryodhana.

IV. In various parts of the Mahābhārata Krishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two rishis, Nārāyana and Nara, who always lived and acted together. A similar close union exists between the two heroes in the various transactions narrated in the great epic. Their earlier connection will appear from the following passages,<sup>172</sup> in which, however, these two rishis are always represented as possessed of supernatural or divine powers.

It is related in the Vana-parva (vv. 461 ff.) that Krishṇa, having gone with other friends of the Pāṇḍus to visit them after they had retired into the forest, expressed great indignation at the way in which they had been treated by Duryodhana and his party. Arjuna (one of the Pāṇḍus), with the view of soothing Krishṇa, recounts (vv. 471 ff.)

*prithivī-tale* | The repetition of this idea is an additional argument in proof of the probable interpolation of the passage between v. 1389 and v. 1648.

<sup>171</sup> The only difference of reading in the two passages is, that in the first line of the later passage the words *agre sainyasya mānada*, "before the army, conferrer of honour," are substituted for *madhye sainyasya Kaurava*, "in the midst of the army, o Kaurava."

<sup>172</sup> See also the extract from the Droṇa-parva, translated above, p. 155.

his marvellous deeds in former births, his austerities, his slaughter of the Daityas and Dānavas (478), his various forms (480), his three strides as the son of Aditi (484),<sup>173</sup> and his destruction of various enemies (487 ff.); and then proceeds thus (vv. 496 ff.) :

*Yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṅxipyā Madhusūdana | ātmanaiūtmasāt  
kṛitvā jagad āsīh parantapa | yugātau tava Vārshṇeya nābhi-padmād  
ajāyata | Brahmā charāchāra-gurur yasyedañ sakalāñ jagat | tañ han-  
tum udyatau ghorau Dānavau Madhu-kaiṭabhau | tayor vyatikramañ  
dṛishṭvā krudhdasya bhavato Hareḥ | lalāṭāj jātavān Sambhuḥ śūla-  
pāvais trilochanaḥ | itthāñ tāv api deveṣau tach-chharīra-samudbhavau |  
tan-niyoga-karāv etāv iti me Nārādo 'bravit | tathā Nārāyana purā  
kratubhīr bhūri-daxinaiḥ | ishṭavāms tvam mahāsatrañ Kṛishṇa Chait-  
rarathe vāno | naivam pūrve nāpare vā karishyanti kṛitāni vā | yāni  
karmāni deva tvam bāla eva mahābalaḥ | kṛitavāñ Puṇḍarikāxa Baladeva-  
sahāyavān | Kailāsa-bhavane chāpi brāhmaṇair nyavasah saha | Vaiśam-  
pāyana uvācha | evam ukṭvā mahātmānam ātmā Kṛishṇasya Pāṇḍavaḥ |  
tūshṇīm āsīt tataḥ Pārtham ity uvācha Janārddanaḥ | mamaiva tvāñ  
tavaivāhañ ye madīyās tavaiva te | yas tvāñ deśhṭi sa mām deśhṭi yas  
tvām anu sa mām anu | Naras tvam asi durdharsha Harir Nārāyano hy  
aham | kāle lokam imam prāptau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ṛishī | ananyah  
Pārtha mattas tvāñ tvattas chāhañ tathaiva cha | nāvayor antaram sak-  
yam veditum Bharatarshabha |*

“ At the end of the mundane period (*yuga*), thou, o Madhusūdana, vexer of thy foes, having caused all created things to collapse, and by thyself made them subject to thyself, wast the world. At the commencement of the *yuga*, o Vārshṇeya (Kṛishṇa), Brahmā, the chief of things moveable and immoveable, whose [is] all this world, sprang from the lotus issuing from thy navel. Two horrible Dānavas, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, were ready to slay him. From the forehead of Hari, who became incensed when he saw their transgression, was produced Sambhu (Mahādeva), wielding the trident, and three-eyed. Thus even those two lords of the gods (Brahmā and Mahādeva) are sprung from his (Kṛishṇa's) body, and they execute his commands,—this Nārada declared to me. So, too, o Kṛishṇa, Nārāyana, thou didst formerly celebrate a great sacrifice in the Chaitraratha forest, with oblations and many gifts. The ancients [have] not [done], nor shall those who are to

<sup>173</sup> See above, p. 115 ff.

come do, the deeds which thou didst, Puṇḍarikāxa, even when a child, mighty in power, accompanied by Baladeva. And thou didst dwell with the Brāhmins in the abode of Kailāsa.' Having thus addressed that great being, the Pāṇḍava (Arjuna, who was) the soul of Krishna, became silent. Then Janārdana (Krishna) thus addressed the son of Pṛithā: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine; <sup>174</sup> those who are mine are thine also. He who hates thee hates me; he who loves (*lit.* follows) thee loves me. Thou, invincible hero, art Nara, and I am Hari Nārāyana: in due time we came into this world, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana. Thou, son of Pṛithā, art not different from me, nor, in like manner, I from thee; no distinction can be conceived between us.' "

Again, it is related in the Vana-parva that, with the view of obtaining celestial weapons, Arjuna, at the suggestion of Indra (vv. 1513 ff.), went northward, to the top of the Himālaya, to see Mahādeva (vv. 1526 ff.) Arrived there, he performs austerity. The rishis, not knowing his object, are alarmed, and go to tell Mahādeva (vv. 1543 ff.), who assures them that there is no cause for apprehension, as Arjuna cherishes no ambitious designs. Mahādeva then takes his bow and arrows, and assuming the form of a Kirāta (barbarous mountaineer), approaches Arjuna (vv. 1551 ff.). At that moment a Dānava, in the form of a boar, is meditating an attack upon Arjuna, who prepares to shoot him with his arrows. The Kirāta desires Arjuna to allow him to shoot the Dānava, as he had been the first to take aim; but Arjuna will not consent; and they both shoot together, and kill the boar. Arjuna addresses the Kirāta, and complains that he had acted in an unsportsmanlike manner (*na hy esha mṛigayā-dharmo yas tvayā'dya kṛito mayi*), and that he should therefore kill him. The Kirāta replies that he had aimed first, and had killed the Dānava, and would kill Arjuna also. Mahādeva, in the form of the Kirāta, and Arjuna then fight together (vv. 1582 ff.) with a succession of weapons, arrows, swords, trees, stones, etc., till at length Arjuna is squeezed by his opponent, and falls exhausted (v. 1613). He, however, revives, and worships his enemy, falling at his feet. Mahādeva expresses admiration of Arjuna's

<sup>174</sup> The mutual attachment of Nara and Nārāyana, or Arjuna and Krishna, may therefore be quoted as an Indian parallel to the renowned friendships which are already proverbial in the western world, viz., those of David and Jonathan, Pylades and Orestes, Damon and Pythias.

proWess, and promises to give him an irresistible weapon which he is fit to wield. The narrative then proceeds (vv. 1622 ff.): *Tato devam Mahādevam Girīśam śulapānīnam | dadarśa Phālgunas tatra saha devyā mahādyutiṁ | sa jānubhyām mahīm gatvā śirasā pranīpatya cha | prasādayāmāsa Haram Pārthaḥ para-purañjayaḥ | Arjuna uvācha | “Kapardīn sarvadevośa Bhaga-netra-nipātana | deva-deva Mahādeva nīla-grīva jaṭā-dhara | kīraṇānāṅcha paramam jāne tvām Tryambakam vibhum | devānāṅcha gatīm deva tvat-prasūtam idaṁ jagat | ajeayas tvam tribhir lokaiḥ sa-devāsura-mānushaiḥ | Sīvāya Viṣṇu-rūpāya Viṣṇave Sīva-rūpiṇe | Daxayajña-vināśāya Hari-Rudrāya vai namaḥ | lalāṭāxāya Sarvāya mīlhushe śūla-pānaye | pināka-goptre sūryāya mārjāliyāya vedhase | prasādaye tvām bhagavan sarva-bhūta-mahēsvara | gaṇeśam jagataḥ śambhuṁ lokakāraṇa-kāraṇam | pradhāna-puruṣātītam param sūxmataram Haram |*

“Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Girīśa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: ‘God with the braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga’s eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the pervading, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras and men. Adoration be to Sīva in the form of Viṣṇu, to Viṣṇu in the form of Sīva, to the destroyer of Daxa’s sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the cat, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.*, ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Puruṣa (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtle, Hara.’”

Mahādeva then embraces Arjuna, and says to him :

1637 ff.—*Devadeva uvācha | Naraś team pūrva-dehe vai Nārāyana-sahāyavān | Badaryām taptavān ugraṁ tapo varshāyutān bahūn | tvayī vā paramam tejo Viṣṇau vā puruṣhottame | yuvābhyām puruṣhāgryābhyām tejasā dhāryate jagat | Sukrābhīsheko sumahad dhanur jalada-niḥsvanam | pragrihya dānavāḥ śāstās tvayī Kṛiṣṇeṇa cha prabho*



*ityādi* | “Thou wast Nara in a former body, and with Nārāyana for thy companion, didst perform dreadful austerity at Badari for many myriads of years. Either in thee is the highest power, or in Vishṇu the supreme Purusha. By you twain, the chief of men (or Purushas), through your power, the world is upheld. At the inauguration of Śakra (Indra), the Dānavas were chastised by thee and Krishṇa, when thou hadst grasped a great bow resounding like the clouds.”

Mahādeva then offers Arjuna the choice of a boon. Arjuna asks the Pāśupata weapon (v. 1643) which Mahādeva gives him (v. 1650), though he cautions him against discharging it rashly, as it might destroy the whole world. Arjuna accordingly receives the weapon (v. 1656).

Again, in the Udyoga-parva (vv. 1917 ff.) it is related that Bhīshma informed Duryodhana that on one occasion the gods of different classes came to Brahmā, and the narrative then proceeds (vv. 1920 ff.) :

*Namaskṛityopajagmus te loka-vṛiddham Pitāmahaṃ | parivāryya cha viśveśam paryāsata divaukasah | teshāṃ manaś cha tejaśchāpy ādadānāv ivaujasā | pūrva-devau vyatikrāntau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv rishī | Vṛihaspatis tu paprachha Brahmāṇaṃ kāv imāv iti | bhavantaṃ nopatishthete tau naḥ saṃsa Pitāmaha | Brahmā uvācha | yāv etau prithivīm dyāñcha bhāsāyantau tapasvinau | jvalantau rochamanau cha vyāpyāsītau (nau ?) mahābalau | Nara-Nārāyaṇāv etau lokāl lokaṃ samāsthītau | ūrjītau svena tapasā mahāsattva-parākramaṃ | etau hi karmaṇ lokaṃ nandayāmāsatur dhruvam | dvidhā-bhūtau mahā-prajñau vidhī brahman parantapau | asurānāṃ vināśāya deva-gandharva-pūjītau | Vaiśampāyana uvācha | jagāma Śukras tach chhṛutvā yatra tau tepatas tapaḥ | sārddham devaganaiḥ sarvair Vṛihaspati-purogamaiḥ | tadā devāsuro yuddhe bhaye jāte divaukasām | ayāchata mahātmānau Nara-Nārāyaṇau varam | tāv abrutām vrinīshveti tadā Bharata-sattama | athaitāv abravīch chhakraḥ sahyaṃ naḥ kriyatām iti | tatas tau Sakram abrutām karishyāvo yad ichhasi | tābhyañcha sahitaḥ Sakro vijigye daitya-dānavān | Nara Indrasya saṅgrāme hatvā śatrūn parantapaḥ | Paulomān Kālakañjāmscha sahasrāṇi śatāni cha | esha bhṛānte rathe tishthan bhallenāpāharach chhīrah | Jambhāsya grasamānāsya tadā hy Arjunam āhave | esha pāre samudrasya Hīranyapuram ūrujat | jītvā shashtīm sahasrāṇi Nivātakavachān rane | esha devān sahendrena jītvā para-purañjayaḥ | atarpayad mahābāhur Arjuno Jātavedasam | Nārāyaṇas tathaiivātra bhūyaśo 'nyān jaghāna ha |*

*evam etau mahā-vīryyau tau paśyata samāgatau | Vāsudevārjunau vīrau  
samavetau mahārathau | Nara-Nārāyanau devau pūrva-devāv iti śrutih |  
ajeyau mānuṣhe loke sendrair api surāsuraiḥ | eṣha Nārāyaṇaḥ Kṛiṣṇaḥ  
Phālgunaś cha Naraḥ smṛitaḥ | Nārāyaṇo Naraś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ  
āvidhā-kṛitam | etau hi karmaṇā lokān aśnuvāte 'xayān dhruvān | tatra  
tatraiva jāyete yuddha-kāle punaḥ punaḥ | tasmāt karmaiva karttavyam iti  
lovācha Nāradaḥ | etad hi sarvam āchashṭa Vṛiṣṇi-chakrasya veda-vit |  
śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-hastam yadā draxyasi Keśavam | paryādaḍānaṁ  
chāstrāṇi bhīma-dhanvānam Arjunam | sanātanaṁ mahātmānaṁ kṛiṣṇāv  
eka-rathe sthitaṁ | Duryodhana tadā tāta smarttāsi vachanam mama |*

“Doing obeisance, the gods approached the Progenitor, the chief (or ancient) of the worlds; and encompassing, they sat around the lord of all. The two ancient and powerful gods, the rishis Nara and Nārāyana, deprived them, as it were, of thought and of strength by their splendour. Vrihaspati enquired of Brahmā, ‘Tell us, Progenitor, who these two are who do not approach thee.’ Brahmā said: ‘These devotees of mighty strength, burning and shining, who sit pervading and illuminating the earth and the sky, these are Nara and Nārāyana, who have travelled from world to world, strong by their own austerity, of great dignity and valour. These two have perpetually gladdened the world by their deeds. Know, o Priest, that these, destroyers of their foes, of great intelligence, adored of gods and Gandharvas, have become twin for the destruction of the Asuras.’ Having heard this, Indra, accompanied by all the hosts of gods, headed by Vrihaspati, went to the place where these two devotees were performing austerity. Alarm having been at that time excited among the celestials by a war between the gods and Asuras, he (Indra) begged of the great Nara and Nārāyana a boon. They replied, ‘Choose.’ Then Indra said, ‘Let us be assisted.’ They answered Indra, ‘We will do what thou desirest.’ And with their assistance Indra conquered the Daityas and Dānavas. Nara, the vexer of foes, having slain in battle the enemies of Indra, thousands and hundreds of Paulomas and Kālakanjas,—he, standing in a whirling chariot, cut off the head of Jambha,<sup>175</sup> who was swallowing up Arjuna in battle. He demolished Hiranyapura (or the city of gold), on the other side of the ocean, having slain in battle sixty

<sup>175</sup> The name of a demon. It will occur again below.

thousand Nivātakavachas. The large-armed Arjuna, conqueror of hostile cities, having, along with Indra, overcome the gods, satiated Jātavedas (Agni,) [with his oblations]. In like manner Nārāyana slew many others. Thus behold those twain arrived—those twain who are of so great strength, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, united together, riders on great cars, Nara and Nārāyana, the deities, the ancient deities, as it is reported, invincible in the world of mortals even by Indra and the other gods and Asuras. This Nārāyana is Krishna, and Nara is called Phālguna (Arjuna). Nārāyana and Nara are one being, divided into twain. These two with their operation pervade the undecaying and perpetual worlds. They are born in different places at the time of battle again and again. Wherefore Nārada said that works are to be performed. All this he (Nārada) who knew the Veda said to the army of the Vṛishṇis. When thou shalt see Keśava (Krishṇa) with his shell, discus and club, and Arjuna with the dreadful bow, assuming his arms, these two eternal and glorious beings, of dark complexion, mounted on one car,—then, dear Duryodhana, thou shalt remember my words." (Compare the same warning given in p. 182.)

It is narrated in another part of the same Udyoga-parva (vv. 3459-3488) that, in order to persuade the Kurus to adopt moderate counsels by shewing the great power of Arjuna and Krishna, Paraśurama told them another story about the two rishis Nara and Nārāyana. There was formerly, he says, an universal sovereign named Dambhodbhava, who had an overweening conceit of his own prowess. Being told by his independent Brāhmins that there were two ascetics whom he could not match, viz., Nara and Nārāyana, he proceeded with his army to the mountain Gandhamādana, where he found the emaciated saints, and challenged them to fight. They tried to put him off by saying that they were divested of all earthly passions, and lived in an atmosphere of peace. Dambhodbhava, however, insisted on fighting, when Nara took a handful of straws, and defied him. With these arms he neutralized all the arrows of Dambhodbhava's host, and as the straws whitened all the air, and penetrated into the eyes, ears, and noses of the assailants, Dambhodbhava was soon forced to fall at Nara's feet, and sue for peace. Being admonished by his conqueror to be more humble in future, he departed homeward, and ever after led a righteous life.

The next passage on the same subject is from the Droṇa-parva, vv. 419 ff. :

*Arjunaḥ Keśavasyātmā Kṛishṇo 'py ātmā Kirīṭinaḥ | Arjune vijayo nityaṁ Kṛishṇo kirttiścha śāśvati | sarvesho api cha lokeshu Bibhatsur aparājitaḥ | prādhānyenaiva bhūyishṭham ameyāḥ Keśave guṇāḥ | mohād Duryodhana Kṛishṇaṁ yo na vettiha Keśavam | mohito daiva-yogena mṛityu-pāśa-puraskṛitaḥ | na veda Kṛishṇaṁ Dāsārham Arjunaṁ chaiva Pāṇḍavam | pūrva-devau mahātmanau Nara-Nārāyaṇāv ubhau | ekātmanau dvīdhā-bhūtau dṛiśyete mānushair bhuvī | manasā 'pi hi durdharshau senām etām yaśasvinau | nāśayetām ihechhantau mānushatvāch cha ne-  
chhataḥ |*

“Arjuna is the soul of Keśava (Kṛishṇa), and Kṛishṇa too is the soul of Kirīṭin (Arjuna). Victory abides perpetually with Arjuna, and eternal renown with Kṛishṇa. And even in all worlds Arjuna is unconquered. Through his pre-eminence there are infinite virtues in abundance in Keśava. [The reason why] Duryodhana, through infatuation, does not know Kṛishṇa, is that, deluded by destiny, and involved in the bonds of death, he does not recognize Kṛishṇa the Dāsārha, and Arjuna the Pāṇḍava. The former gods, the two mighty ones, Nara and Nārāyana, though, in reality, one in nature, are by men on earth seen separated into two. These illustrious [beings], who are invincible even in imagination, could, if they desired, destroy this army, but from their humanity they do not desire it.”

Again, in the Bhīshma-parva, vv. 2932 ff., Bhīshma exhorts Duryodhana to come to terms with the Pāṇḍavas who, he says, are invincible in consequence of Kṛishṇa's protection. To illustrate Kṛishṇa's divine greatness Bhīshma goes on to tell a story of his being celebrated by Brahmā in a hymn (2944 ff.), and entreated to become incarnate in the tribe of the Yadus, for the establishment of righteousness, the destruction of the Daityas, and the support of the world (2964 f.). Vishṇu assents to Brahmā's request, and disappears. Being then asked by the attendant gods and rishis who it was that he had just worshipped, Brahmā replies as follows (2978 ff.) :

*Yat tat param bhavishyaṅcha bhavitā yachha yat param | bhūtātma yaḥ prabhuś chaiva Brahma yach cha param padam | tenāsmi kṛita-saṁ-  
rādaḥ prasannena surarshabhāḥ | jagato 'nugrahārthāya yāchito me jagat-patiḥ | “mānushaṁ lokam ātishṭha Vāsudeva iti śrutāḥ | asurāṇam*

*badhārthāya sambhavasva mahītale | saṅgrāme nihātā ye te daitya-dānava-  
rāzasāḥ | to ime nṛishu sambhūtā ghora-rūpā mahābalāḥ | teshām ba-  
dhārtham bhagavān Nareṇa sahito balī | mānushīm yonim āsthāya charish-  
yasi mahī-tale” | Nara-Nārāyaṇau tau tu purāṇāv ṛishi-sattamau |  
ajeyau hi rane yau tau sametair amarair api | sahītau mānushē loka  
sambhūtāv amita-dyuti | mūḍhās te tau na jānanti Nara-Nārāyaṇāv  
ṛishī | yasyāham ātmajo Brahmā sarvasya jagataḥ patiḥ | Vāsudevo  
'nuneyo vaḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | tathā manushyo 'yam iti kadāchit  
sura-sattamāḥ | nāvajñeyo mahāvīryyaḥ śaṅkha-chakra-gaḍā-dharaḥ | etat  
paramakaṁ guhyam etat paramakam padam | etat paramakam Brahma  
etāt paramakaṁ yaśaḥ | etad azaram avyaktam etach chhāśvatam eva cha |  
etat Purusha-sañjño vai gīyate jñāyate na cha | etat paramakaṁ teja etat  
paramakaṁ sukham | etat paramakaṁ satyaṁ kīrtitāṁ Vīśvakarmaṇā |  
tasmāt surāsuraīḥ sarvaīḥ sendraīś chāmita-vikramaḥ | nāvajñeyo Vāsu-  
devo mānusho 'yam iti prabho | yaś cha mānusha-mātro 'yam iti brūyāt  
sa manda-dhīḥ | Hṛīshīkeśam avajñānāt tam āhuḥ purushādhamam | tam  
yoginam mahātmānam pravishṭam mānushīm tanum | yo 'vamanyed  
Vāsudevaṁ tam āhus tāmasaṁ janāḥ | devaṁ charācharātmānaṁ śrīvāt-  
sāṅkaṁ suvarchasaṁ | padma-nābhaṁ na jānāti tam āhus tāmasaṁ  
janāḥ | kirīṭa-kaustubha-dharam mitrāṇām abhayaṅkaram | avajñān  
mahātmānaṁ ghore tamasi majjati | . . . 3002: Vārīto 'si purā tāta muni-  
bhīr bhāvitātmabhiḥ | mā gachha saṁyugaṁ tena Vāsudevena dhanvinā |  
Pāṇḍavaīḥ sārḍham iti yat tat tvam mohād na budhyase | manyo tvām  
Rāxasaṁ krūraṁ tathā chūsi tamo-vṛitaḥ | tasmād dvishasi Govindam  
Pāṇḍavañcha Dhanañjayam | Nara-Nārāyaṇav devau ko 'nyo dvishyād  
hi mānavaḥ |*

“That being who is supreme, who is to be, who shall be, and who [is] supreme, who is the soul of beings, and the lord, and who is Brahma, the supreme existence,—it is with him, propitious, that I have been conversing, o eminent deities. The lord of the world was entreated by me [in these words] to shew favour to the world: ‘Do thou who art known as Vāsudeva appear in the world of men: be born on earth for the slaughter of the Asuras. The Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāxasas who have been slain by thee in battle, they are these who have been born among men, horrible in form and great in might. To slay them, thou, the divine and mighty being, accompanied by Nara, having entered a human womb, wilt act upon earth.’ Those ancient and most excellent

of rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who are invincible in battle even by the united immortals, and who are of boundless splendour, have been born together in the world of men. Those fools do not know these rishis, Nara and Nārāyaṇa. He of whom I, Brahmā, the master of the whole world, am the son, that Vāsudeva, the lord of all the worlds, is to be revered by you. Never, o most excellent deities, is the potent bearer of the shell, the discus, and the club, to be slighted as a mere man. This Being is the highest mystery, this the highest sphere, this the highest Brahma, this the highest renown. This Being is the undecaying, the undiscernible, the eternal. This Being which is called Purusha is hymned and is not known. This Being is celebrated by Viśvakarman as the highest power, as the highest joy, and as the highest truth. Wherefore Vāsudeva of boundless might is not to be contemned by the deities, including Indra, or by the Asuras, as a [mere] man. Whoever says that he is a mere man is dull of comprehension: from his contempt of Hṛishikeśa they call such a person the lowest of men. Whoever despises Vāsudeva, that great contemplator who has entered a human body,—men call that person one full of darkness. Whoever is ignorant of the glorious god whose self is the world, whose mark is the śrīvatsa, from whose navel sprang the lotus,—men call that person full of darkness. Despising that great being who wears the diadem and jewel (*kaustubha*), who relieves his friends from fear, a man is plunged in horrible darkness.”<sup>176</sup>

Bhīshma then says to Duryodhana (v. 3002): “Thou wast formerly, my son, prohibited by the contemplative munis [who said]: ‘Engage not in battle with that archer Vāsudeva and the Pāṇḍavas.’ Since thou, through infatuation, regardest not this [prohibition], I look upon thee as a cruel Rāxasa, and thou art enveloped in darkness. It is for this reason that thou hatest Govinda (Krishna) and the Pāṇḍava Dhananjaya (Arjuna). For what other man could hate the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa?”

The next passage is from the Śāntiparva, where Krishna, after describing many of his other forms and functions, is introduced as saying (vv. 13265 ff.):

*Purā 'ham ātmajaḥ Pārtha prathitaḥ kāraṇāntare | Dharmasya Kuru-  
śārdūla tato 'haṁ Dharmajaḥ smṛitaḥ | Nara-Nārāyaṇau pūrvaṁ tapas*

<sup>176</sup> This passage seems to have a polemical object, and to be aimed at some contemporaries of the author, who did not assign so high a dignity to Krishna.

*tepatur avyayam | dharmayānaṁ samārūdhau parvate Gandhamādane |*  
*tat-kāla-samaye chaiva Daxa-yajño babhūva ha | na chaivakālpayad*  
*bhāgaṁ Daxo Rudrasya Bhārata | tato Dadhīchi-vachanād Daxa-yajñam*  
*apāharat | sasarija śulāṁ kopena prajvalantam muhur muhuḥ | tach*  
*chhūlam bhasmasāt kṛiteṁ Daxa-yajñam sa-vistaram | āvayoḥ sahasā*  
*"gachhad Vadary-āśramam antikāt | vegena mahatā Pārtha patad Nārā-*  
*yanorasi | tatas tat-tejasā "vishtāḥ keśā Nārāyaṇasya ha | babhūvur muñja-*  
*varnās tu tato 'ham muñja-keśavān | tachcha śulāṁ vinirdhūtam hu ṁ*  
*kāreṇa mahātmanā | jagāma Saṅkara-karaṁ Nārāyaṇa-samāhatam |*  
*atha Rudra upādīvat tāv rishī tapasā 'nritau | tata enaṁ samudbhūtam*  
*kaṅthe jagrāha pāṇinā | Nārāyaṇaḥ sa viśvātmā tenāsya śiti-kapṭhatā |*  
*atha Rudra-vidhātārtham ishikāṁ Nara uddharat | mantrāis cha saṁ-*  
*yuyojāsu so 'bhavat paraśur mahān | xiptas cha sahasā tena khaṇḍanam*  
*prāptavāms tadā | tato 'haṁ ['yam ?] Khaṇḍaparaśuḥ smṛitaḥ paraśu-*  
*khaṇḍanāt | . . . . tayoh saṁlagnayor yuddhe Rudra-Nārāyaṇātmanoḥ |*  
*udvignāḥ sahasā kṛitsnāḥ sarva-lokāś tadā 'bhavan | nāgrihṇāt Pāvakaḥ*  
*śubhram makheshu suhutam haviḥ | vedā na pratibhānti smv*  
*rishinām bhāvitātmanām | devān rajas tamās chaiva samāvivisitus*  
*tadā | vasudhā sañchakampe cha nabhas cha vipaphāla ha | nishprabhāṅi*  
*cha tejāmsi Brahmā chaivāsana-chyutaḥ | agāch chhoshaṁ samudras cha*  
*Himavāms cha vyaśiryyata | tasminn eva samutpanne nimitte Pāṇḍu-*  
*nandana | Brahmā vṛito deva-ganair rishibhis cha mahātmabhiḥ | ājagām-*  
*āśubhāṁ deśaṁ yatra yuddham avarttata | so 'ñjali-pragraho bhūtvā cha-*  
*tur-vaktro nirukta-gaḥ | uvācha vachanaṁ Rudraṁ " lokānām astu vai*  
*śivam | nyasyāyudhāni viśveśa jagato hita-kāmyayā | yad azaram athā-*  
*vyaktam īśaṁ lokasya bhāvanam | kūṭasthaṁ kartṛi-nirdvandvam akar-*  
*teti cha yaṁ viduḥ | vyakti-bhāva-gatasyaśya ekā mūrttir iyaṁ śubhā |*  
*Naro Nārāyaṇas chaiva jātau Dharma-kulodvahu | tapasā mahatā yuk-*  
*tau deva-śreshṭhau mahā-vratau | aham prasāda-jas tasya kutaśchit kāra-*  
*nāntare | tvam chaiva krodha-jas tāta pūrva-sarge sanātanaḥ | mayā cha*  
*sārdhām varadāṁ vibudhais cha maharshibhiḥ | prasādayāsu lokānām*  
*śāntir bhavatu mā chiram" | Brahmaṇ tv evam uktas tu Rudraḥ krodh-*  
*āgnim utsrijan | prasādayāmāsa tato devaṁ Nārāyaṇam prabhum |*  
*śaranyāṁ cha jagāmādyāṁ varenyāṁ varadam prabhum | tato 'tha varado*  
*devo jita-krodho jitendriyaḥ | prītimān adhavat tatra Rudreṇa saha saṅ-*  
*gataḥ | rishibhir Brahmaṇā chaiva vibudhais cha supūjitaḥ | uvācha*  
*devam Īśānam īśaḥ sa jagato Hariḥ | " yas tvāṁ votti sa māṁ votti yas*

*tvām anu sa mām anu | nāvayor antaram kiñchid mā te bhūd buddhir  
 anyathā | adya-prabhṛiti śrīvatsaḥ śālāṅko me bhavato ayam | mama  
 pāny-anḅitās chāpi śrikanṅhas tvam bhaviṣhyasi” | evaṁ laxaṇam utpā-  
 dya paraspara-kṛitaṁ tadā | sakhyaṁ chaivātulaṁ kṛitvā Rudreṇa  
 sahitāo rishi | tapas tepatur avyagrau visriṅya tridivaukasah | esha te  
 kathitaḥ Pārtha Nārāyana-jayo mṛidhe | nāmāni chaiva guhyāni niruk-  
 tāni cha Bhārata | rishibhiḥ kathitāniha yāni saṅkirttitāni te | evam  
 bahu-vidhaiḥ rūpaiḥ charāmiha vasundharām | Brahma-lokañcha Kaunteya  
 golokañcha sanātanam | mayā tvam raxito yuddhe mahāntam prāptavān  
 jayam | yas tu te so ’grato yāti yuddhe sampraty upasthito | taṁ viddhi  
 Rudraṁ Kaunteya deva-devam kaparddinam | kālah sa eva kathitaḥ  
 krodhajeti mayā tava | nihataḥ tena vai pūrvaṁ hatavān asi yān ripūn |  
 aprameya-prabhāvaṁ taṁ deva-devam Umā-patim | namasva devam pra-  
 yato viśveṣam Haram azayam | ityādi |*

“Formerly, son of Prithā, most excellent of the Kurus, I was celebrated on another occasion as the son of Dharma : and hence I was called Dharmaja. In former times Nara and Nārāyana, mounted on the chariot of righteousness, performed an undecaying penance, on the mountain Gandhamādana. At that conjuncture of time, the sacrifice of Daxa took place. Daxa did not then divide any share for Rudra, who in consequence, at the suggestion of Dadhichi, swept away the sacrifice of Daxa, and in his anger launched the trident blazing forth repeatedly. That trident, after reducing to ashes the sacrifice of Daxa with all its appurtenances, suddenly approached our hermitage at Badari, and fell with great impetus on the breast of Nārāyana. The hair of Nārāyana penetrated by its power, became of the colour of grass (*muñja*) : from which I am called Muñjakeśavat. The trident being repelled by the great being with an imprecation went back into the hand of Sankara, when struck by Nārāyana. Rudra then ran up to those austere rishis, when Nārāyana, the soul of all things, with his hand seized him by the throat, when he had thus sprung up : hence his (Siva’s) name of S’itikantha. Nara next drew out a straw for the slaughter of Rudra, and applied to it sacred texts, whereby it speedily became a huge axe. Hastily hurled by him, the axe (*paraśu*) became shattered into fragments (*khaṅḁana*), from which shattering of the axe, he is called Khaṅḁaparaśu.” Arjuna here interposes to ask who was victorious in this conflict ; when Krishna proceeds : “ When Rudra and



Nārāyana had become engaged in battle, all the worlds were instantly distressed; the fire did not receive the shining butter offered in the sacrifice; the vedas were not revealed to the contemplative rishis; [the qualities of] passion and darkness invaded the gods: the earth trembled, the sky became split; the luminaries lost their light; Brahma fell from his seat; the ocean became dried up, and the Himavat wasted. When this prodigy had arisen, Brahmā, surrounded by the host of gods, and the magnanimous rishis, came to that disastrous place where the battle was raging. The four-faced god (Brahmā), the penetrator of mysteries (?), with joined hands, addressed these words to Rudra: 'Let the welfare of the worlds be [consulted]; put down thy weapons, lord of all, from goodwill to the universe. This is one auspicious form of him, now in the state of manifestation,—of him whom [sages] know as the undecaying, undiscernible [essence], the lord, the creator of the world, the supreme, the doer, the indivisible, and not the doer,—[this I say is one form of him, viz.], Nara and Nārāyana, born in the race of Dharma, distinguished by intense austerity, eminent gods, great devotees. I was once on another occasion born as the offspring of his pleasure, and in a former creation thou didst spring from his anger,<sup>177</sup> an everlasting [being]. Together with me and the gods and rishis, do thou speedily propitiate this bestower of boons; let the worlds have tranquillity without delay.' Being thus addressed by Brahmā, Rudra, abandoning the fire of anger, then propitiated the god Nārāyana, the lord; and the god sought as his refuge the primeval, most excellent, boon-bestowing lord. Then the boon-bestowing god, who had conquered anger and overcome his senses, meeting Rudra, became gratified. Being worshipped by the rishis, by Brahmā, and by the gods, Hari, the lord of the world, addressed the god Īśāna (Mahādeva): 'He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (*lit.* follows) thee loves me.<sup>178</sup> There is no distinction between us: do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this śrīvatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the śrikanṭha marked upon my hand.' Having thus created a mark devised by each for the other, and having joined an incomparable friendship with Rudra, the two rishis practised austerity undisturbed, after dismissing the gods. This, son of Prithā, which I

<sup>177</sup> See verses 13140 and 13145 of the Śāntiparva, quoted below.

<sup>178</sup> The same expression has already occurred above, p. 194.

have told thee, was the victory of Nārāyana in battle: and [my] mysterious and unexplained names, too,—those which are celebrated by the rishis, have been declared to thee. In this manner do I frequent this earth and the world of Brahmā, and the everlasting Goloka, in manifold forms. By me thou hast been preserved in battle, and hast gained a great victory. But know, son of Kunti, that he who goes before thee in the conflict which has now arrived, is Rudra the god of gods, with braided hair. He, Time, has been declared by me to thee to be the offspring of my anger. The enemies whom thou formerly slewest were slain by him. Devoutly reverence him the god of gods, the lord of Umā, of boundless power, Hara, the undecaying lord of all."

Again, in the Sāntiparva, Vaiśampayana tells Janamejaya how Nārada, after returning from Sveta Dvīpa, saw the two saints, Naru and Nārāyaṇa (v. 13337):

*Nipapāta cha khāt tūrṇam viśālām Vadarim anu | tataḥ sa dādṛiṣe  
devau purāṇāv ṛiṣi-sattamau | tapas̄ charantau sumahad ātma-niṣṭhau  
mahā-vratāu | tejasā 'bhyadhikau sūryāt sarva-loka-virochanāt | śrīvatsa-  
laxanau pūjyau jaṭā-maṇḍala-dhārīnau | jāla-pāda-bhujau tau tu pādāyos  
chakra-laxanau | vyūḍhoraskau dīrgha-bhujau tathā mushka-chatushkinau |  
shasṭi-dantāv aṣṭa-daṁṣhṭrau meghaugha-sadrīsa-svanau | svāsyaṁ prithu-  
lalāṭau cha subhrū su-hanu-nāsikau | ālapatreṇa sadṛiṣe śirasī devayos  
tayoh | evam-laxana-sampannau mahā-purusha-saṅjñitau | tau dṛiṣṭvā  
Nārado hrīṣṭas tābhyaṁ cha pratipūjitaḥ | svāgatenābhībhāshyātha  
pṛiṣṭas chānāmayaṁ tathā | babhūvāntar-gata-matir nirixya puruṣhott-  
amau |*

"He descended rapidly from the sky to the spacious Badari. There he saw the ancient gods, the two most excellent rishis, performing severe penance, self-sustained, great devotees, in splendour surpassing the sun which illuminates all the worlds, bearing the śrīvatsa mark, adorable, wearing a circle of matted hair, web-footed and web-armed, with the mark of the discus on their feet, broad-chested, long-armed, with four testicles, sixty teeth and eight grinders, with voices sonorous as a host of clouds, with beautiful countenances, broad foreheads, handsome eyebrows, chins, and noses. The heads of those two gods resembled umbrellas. Beholding them, distinguished by such marks, and named the two great males, Nārada rejoicing, and saluted by them in return, welcomed, and questioned in regard to his health, became

absorbed in reflection, beholding those highest of persons." He then recollected to have previously seen them in the Sveta Dvīpa. Nara and Nārāyaṇa next ask him if he had seen in the Sveta Dvīpa the supreme Spirit, their own highest substance (*āvayoh prakṛitiḥ parā*). He replies that he had; and that now when he beheld them he beheld Him, as they were distinguished by all the same marks, in a manifested form, as Hari possessed in an invisible manner; and that he had on that occasion beheld them at the side of the deity (vv. 13351 ff.: *Adyāpi chainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau | yair laxanair upetaḥ sa Harir avyakta-rūpa-dhṛik | tair laxanair upetau hi vyakta-rūpa-dharau yuvām | dṛiṣṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārścataḥ |*) Some further conversation ensues; and it is then related (v. 13397 f.) that Nārada remained a thousand years of the gods in their hermitage, worshipping the deity, and Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

V. In the following passage (which is commented upon by Lassen in his *Indian Antiquities*, i. 621 f., and note, p. 622<sup>179</sup>) Kṛiṣṇa is represented as possessed of extraordinary prowess and superhuman powers; but he is not, unless it be in one or two places, represented as the supreme deity.

To shew how little prospect the Kurus had of vanquishing the Pandus, aided as the latter were by Kṛiṣṇa, Dhṛitarashtra gives an account of the exploits of the Yādava chief:

<sup>179</sup> His remarks are as follows:—"The history of Kṛiṣṇa in the Mahābhārata does not describe his juvenile life with the cowherds, and his numerous adventures with their wives, which at a later period were especially noticed and celebrated. On the other hand victories over many kings and tribes are attributed to him, which possess no historical value, and are only important in so far as they represent him as a hero, and indicate that the Yādavas waged frequent wars with the tribes of ancient India. In a short enumeration of his feats (the passage quoted in the text), he is named Govinda, or the proprietor of cows, and it said of him that he grew up among the herds. None of the stories regarding him and the cowherd's wives are here mentioned; but another is introduced which describes him as a protector of the herds, inasmuch as he strangled with his arms a Dānava which in the form of a bull slaughtered the cattle. His proper and oldest name as the son of Nanda was probably Govinda. There must also have been stories about him in which he was represented as a leader of cowherds, for according to the Mahābhārata he supplied to Duryodhana (by whom he had been solicited to assist him in the great battle) thousands of cowherds, who are called the *gopas* of Nārāyaṇa. These take no share in the battle, and are very seldom mentioned.—See Udyoga-parva, v. 130 ff.; and Droṇa-parva, vv. 3255 ff., where the Nārāyaṇas, the cowherds, are spoken of along with the Kambojas, etc., as having been conquered by Karṇa, etc. (*Nārāyaṇas cha gopālāḥ Kāmbojānāṅcha ye gaṇāḥ | Karṇena vijitāḥ |*)

Droṇa-parva, 382.—*Dhṛitarāshtra wācha | śṛiṇu divyāni karmāni*  
*Vāsudevasya Sañjaya | kṛitavān yāni Govindo yathā nānyaḥ pumān*  
*krachit | samvardhatā gopa-kule bālenaiva mahātmanā | vikhyāpitam*  
*balam bāhvos trishu lokeshu Sañjaya | Uchchhaiḥśravas-tulya-balaṁ vāyu-*  
*rega-samaṁ jave | jaghāna Haya-rājānaṁ Yamunā-vana-cāsinam | Dāna-*  
*caṁ ghora-karmānaṁ gavām mṛityum ivotthitam | vṛisha-rūpa-dharam*  
*bālye bhujābhyāṁ nijaghāna ha | Pralambhaṁ Narakaṁ Jambham Pītham*  
*vā 'pi mahāsūram | Muraṁ chāmara-saṅkāśam abadhīt pushkareṣaṇaḥ |*  
*tathā Kaṁso mahātejā Jarāsandhena pālitaḥ | vikramenaiva Kṛishṇena*  
*sagaṇaḥ pātito rane | Sunāmā raṇa-vikrāntaḥ samagrāxauhiṇī-patiḥ |*  
*Bhoja-rājasya madhya-stho bhrātā Kaṁsasya vīryavān | Balādeva-devīti-*  
*yena Kṛishṇenamītra-ghātinā | tarasvī samare dagdhaḥ sa-sainyaḥ Sūra-*  
*senā-rāt | Durvāsā nāma viprarshis tathā parama-kopanaḥ | āvādhitāḥ*  
*sadāreṇa sa chasmai pradadau varān | tathā Gāndhāra-rājasya sutām*  
*vīraḥ svayāmvara | nīrjītya pṛithivī-pālān āvāhat pushkareṣaṇaḥ |*  
*amṛishyamānū rājāno yasya jātyā hayā iva | rathe vaivāhike yuktāḥ*  
*pratodena kṛita-vraṇāḥ | Jarāsandham mahābāhum upāyena Janār-*  
*danaḥ | pareṇa ghātayāmāsa samagrāxauhiṇī-patim | Chedi-rajān-*  
*cha vikrāntaṁ rāja-senā-patim balī | arghe vivadamānaṅcha jaghāna*  
*paśu-vat tadā | Saubhaṁ daitya-puraṁ svasthaṁ Sūlva-guptaṁ durā-*  
*sadam | samudra-kuzau vikramya pātayāmāsa Mādhaveḥ | . . . . .*  
 v. 400 : *Praviśya makarāvāsaṁ yādobhir abhisamvṛitam | jīgāya Varu-*  
*naṁ saṅkhye salilāntargatam purā | yudhi Pañchajanyaṁ hatva pātāla-*  
*tala-cāsinam | pāñchajanyaṁ Hṛishikeśo divyāṁ saṅkham avāptavān |*  
*Khāṇḍave Pārtha-sahitas toshayitvā Hutāsanam | āgneyam astrāṁ dur-*  
*dharshaṁ chakraṁ lebhe mahābalaḥ | Vainateyaṁ samārūhya trāsayitvā*  
*'marāvatiṁ | Mahendra-bhavanād vīraḥ pārijātam upānayat | tachcha*  
*marshitavān Śakro jānaṁs tasya parākramam | rājñāṁ chāpy ajitaṁ*  
*kañchit Kṛishṇeneha na śūsruma | yachcha tad mahad āscharyaṁ sabhāyām*  
*mama Sañjaya | kṛitavān Puṇḍarikāḥ kas tad-anya ihārhati | labdha-*  
*bhaktiyā prasanno 'ham adrāxaṁ Kṛishṇam īsvaram | tad me suviditāṁ*  
*sarvam pratyazam iva chāgamam | nāntaṁ vikrama-yuktasya buddhyā*  
*yuktasya vā punaḥ | karmavā śakyate gantuṁ Hṛishikeśasya Sañjaya |*  
*tathā Gadaś cha Sambaścha Pradyumno 'tha Vidūrathaḥ | . . . . .*  
 410 : *Ete 'nye balavantaś cha Vṛishṇi-vīraḥ prahāriṇaḥ | kathañchit*  
*Pāṇḍavānīkaṁ śrayeyuḥ samare sthitāḥ | āhūtā Vṛishṇi-vīreṇa Keśavena*  
*mahātmanā | tataḥ samśayitaṁ sarvam bhaved iti matir mama | nāgūyuta-*

*balo vīrah Kailāsa-sikharopamaḥ | vana-māli halī Rāmas tatra yatra  
Janārdanaḥ | yam āhuḥ sarva-pitaraṁ Vāsudevaṁ dvijātayaḥ | api vā hy  
esha Pāṇḍunām yotsyate 'rthāya Sañjaya | sa yadā tāta sannahyet Pāṇḍa-  
vārthāya Sañjaya | na tadā pratisaṁyoddhā bhavitā tasya kaśchana |  
yadi sma Kuravaḥ sarve jayeyur nāma Pāṇḍavān | Vārshneyo 'rthāya  
teshām vai grihṇīyāt śastram uttamam | tataḥ sarvān nara-vyāghro hatvā  
nara-patīn raṇe | Kauravāṁś cha mahābāhuḥ Kuntyai dadyāt sa medinīm |  
yasya yantā Hṛishikeśo yoddhā yasya Dhanañjayaḥ | rathasya tasya kaḥ  
saṅkhye pratyāniko bhaved rathaḥ | na kenachid upāyena Kurūṇāṁ dris-  
yate jayaḥ | tasmād me sarvam āchaxva yathā yuddham avarttata |<sup>150</sup>*

“Dhṛitarāshṭra says: Hear, Sanjaya, the divine acts of Krishna, which Govinda performed, such as no other person [ever did]. While he was growing up as a high-souled boy in the tribe of cowherds, the force of his arms was rendered famous by him in the three worlds. He slew the king of the Hayas [horses], dwelling in the woods of the Yamunā, equal to Ucchaiḥśravas (the horse of Indra) in strength, and to the wind in speed. In his childhood he destroyed with his arms the Dānava, a doer of direful deeds, who arose, as it were, the Death of cattle, bearing the form of a bull. The lotus-eyed [hero] slew Pralambha, Naraka, Jambha and Piṭha, the great Asura, and Mura, resembling the immortals. So, too, Kansa, of great force, supported by Jarāsandha, was, with his hosts, overthrown in battle by Krishna, through his valour. Sunāman, valiant in fight, the lord of a complete army, the middle brother of Kansa, king of the Bhojas, the bold and heroic prince of the Śurasenas, was, with his army, burnt up in battle by Krishna, destroyer of his enemies, seconded by Balarāma. And a Brāhman rishi called Durvāsas, extremely irascible, was worshipped by him (Krishna), together with his wife, and bestowed on him boons.<sup>151</sup> So, too, the lotus-eyed hero, having conquered the princes, carried off the daughter of the king of the Gandhāras at the *swayamvara*:<sup>152</sup> and the princes, being unable to endure him, were

<sup>150</sup> Towards the close of Dhṛitarāshṭra's speech the following verse of a proverbial character occurs:—v. 429: *Pakvānām hi badhe Sūta vjṛāyante triṇāny api* | “When men are ripe for slaughter, straws smite like thunderbolts.”

<sup>151</sup> See the Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 7402 ff., referred to above, p. 165.

<sup>152</sup> Lassen, Ind., Art. i, 622, note, thinks this story has probably some foundation in fact, and adds that Nagnajit, king of the Gandhāras, is mentioned in the Ait. Br., vii. 34. See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 46, and the Second Part of this work, p. 365 f.

yoked like natural horses to the bridal car, and wounded with the goad. Janārdana, by an excellent device, caused Jarāsandha, the large-armed, lord of a complete army, to be slain.<sup>183</sup> This hero also slaughtered like a beast the king of the Chedis (see above, p. 179), the valiant lord of a royal army, who quarrelled regarding the offering [made to Krishna]. Assailing Saubha, the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) city of the Daityas, on the shore of the ocean, protected by the Sālva (king), and difficult to destroy, Mādhava overthrew it." [Then follows a list of numerous tribes, Angas, Bangas, etc. etc., conquered by Krishna.] . . . . . v. 400: "Entering of old the ocean, filled with marine monsters, he overcame in battle Varuṇa, who had sunk within the waters. Having slain in battle Panchajana dwelling in Pātāla, Hṛishikeśa obtained the divine shell Pāñchajanya. Having, along with Pārtha, (the son of Prithā, Arjuna) propitiated Agni in Khāndava, this mighty being acquired the irresistible fiery weapon, the discus.<sup>184</sup> Mounted on Garuḍa, and terrifying Amarāvati (the city of Indra), this hero brought back the pārijāta from the abode of the elder Indra.<sup>185</sup> And to this Sakra submitted, knowing his prowess. And we have not heard of any of the kings who has not been conquered by Krishna. Then who but Pundarikāxa could have performed that very wonderful act which he did in my assembly? Through the faith which I had attained, I beheld Krishna, the lord, with delight; of all that I was well assured, and I obtained as it were a distinct vision. No one can by act attain to the end of Hṛishikeśa who is distinguished by valour as well as by wisdom. And Gada also, and Sāmba, and Pradyumna, and Vidūratha, [here follows a list of other warriors] these, and other powerful martial heroes of the Vrishni tribe, summoned by the great Vrishni hero, Keśava, will join in some way the host of the Pandavas, and stand up in the battle. Hence, in my opinion, everything will be doubtful. Wherever Janārdana is, there is also the hero [Bala]rāma, in strength equal to ten thousand elephants, resembling the summit of Kailāsa, wearing a garland of wild flowers, and carrying a plough. Or Vāsudeva, he whom the Brahmans call the universal father, will fight for the Pandavas. When he shall arm [for battle] on their behalf, no one shall then

<sup>183</sup> See the story as told in the Sabhā-parva, vv. 848 ff.

<sup>184</sup> Compare note 150, p. 159; and see Ādiparva, v. 8196, where the story is told.

<sup>185</sup> See Wilson's Vishnu Purāna, pp. 585 ff.

stand up to encounter him. Even if all the Kurus were to overcome the Pandavas, Vārshṇeya (Krishṇa) would on behalf of the latter seize his pre-eminent weapon; and having then slain all the princes and the Kauravas in battle, this great-armed and lion-like man (*lit.* man-tiger) would bestow the earth on Kunti. What chariot can stand in the conflict against that chariot of which Hṛishikesa is the driver, and on which Dhananjaya (Arjuna) fights? By no contrivance does the victory of the Kurus appear [to be possible]. Give me therefore a full account of the way in which the battle proceeded."

Then follow the verses which have been already quoted above in p. 199, *Arjunah Keśavasyātmā*, "Arjuna is the soul of Keśava," etc.

Another account of Krishṇa's exploits is given in the Udyoga-parva. It is there related that Sanjaya had been sent on an embassy to the Pāndus, and that on his return he reported to the chiefs of the Kurus the defiant answer which Arjuna had given. The latter chief prophesied that Duryodhana would certainly repent having engaged in conflict with himself and Krishṇa (vv. 1863 ff.) He then enlarges as follows on the prowess of Krishṇa (vv. 1875 ff.):

*Pūrvāhne mām kṛita-japyaṁ kadāchid viprah provāchodakānte manojñam | karttavyaṁ te duṣhkaraṁ karma Pārtha yodhavyaṁ te śatrubhīḥ Savyasāchin | Indro vā te harimān vajra-hastaḥ purastād yātu samare 'rin vinighnan | Sugrīva-yuktēna rathena vā te paścāt Krishṇo razatu Vāsudevaḥ | vavre chāhaṁ vajra-hastād Mahendrād asmin yuddhe Vāsudevaṁ sahāyam | sa me labdho dasyu-badhāya Krishṇo manye chaitad vihitāṁ daivatair me | sa bāhubhyāṁ sāgaram uttītirshed mahodadhīṁ salilasyā-prameyam | tejasvinaṁ Krishṇam atyanta-śūraṁ yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | giriṁ sa ichhet tu talena bhettuṁ śilochayaṁ śvetam atipramāṇam | tasyaiva pāṇiḥ sa-nakho viśiryed na chāpi kiñchit sa gires tu kuryāt | agniṁ samiddhaṁ śamayed bhujābhyāṁ chandraṅcha sūryaṅcha nivārayeta | hared devānāṁ amṛitam prasahya yuddhena yo Vāsudevaṁ jigīshet | yo Rukmiṇim eka-rathena Bhojān utsādya rājñāḥ samare prasahya | uśāha bhāryāṁ yasasā jvalantiṁ yasyāṁ jāñhe Raukmiṇeyo mahātmā | ayaṁ Gāndhārāṁ tarasā sampramathya jīvā putrān Nagnajitāḥ samagrān | baddham mumocha vinadantam prasahya Sudarśanaṁ vai devatānāṁ talāmam | ayaṁ kapātena jaghāna Pāṇḍyaṁ tathā Kalingān Dantakūre mamarda | anena dagdhā varsha-pūgān anāthā Vārāṇasī nagari sambabhāva | ayaṁ sma yuddhe manyate 'nyair ajeyaṁ tam Ekalavyaṁ*

nāma Nishāda-rājam | vegeneva śailam abhihatya Jambhaḥ śete sa  
 Kṛishnena hataḥ parāsuḥ | tathograsenasya sutam suduṣṭam Vṛishny-  
 Andhakānām madhya-gataṁ sabhā-stham | apātayad Baladeva-dvitiyo  
 hatvā daḍau chograsenāya rājyam | ayaṁ Saubhaṁ yodhayāmāsa svastham  
 vibhīshanam māyayā Śālva-rājam | Saubha-dvāri pratyagriṅhāt śatagh-  
 nīm dorbhyām ka enaṁ visaheta martyaḥ | Prāgyjyotishaṁ nāma babhūva  
 durgam puraṁ ghoram Asurānām asahyam | mahābalo Narakas tatra  
 Bhaumo jahārādityā maṇi-kunḍale śubhe | na taṁ devāḥ saha Sakrena  
 śekuh samāgatā yudhi mṛityor abhūtāḥ | dṛiṣṭvā cha taṁ vikramaṁ  
 Keśavasya balaṁ tathavāstram avāranīyam | jānanto 'sya prakṛitiṁ  
 Keśavasya nyayojayan dasyu-badhāya Kṛishṇam | sa tat karma pratiśu-  
 śrāva dushkaram aiśvaryavān siddhishu Vāsudevaḥ | nirmochane śaṭ  
 sahasrāṇi hatvā saṅghidya pāsān sahasā xurāntān | Muraṁ hatvā vini-  
 hatyougha-razo nirmochanaṁ chāpi jagāma vīraḥ | tatraiva tenāsya  
 babhūva yuddham mahābaleṇātibalasya Viṣṇoḥ | śete sa Kṛishnena hataḥ  
 parāsur vāteneva mathitaḥ karnikāraḥ | āhṛitya Kṛishṇo maṇi-kunḍale  
 te hatvā cha Bhaumaṁ Narakam Muraṅcha | śriyā vṛito yaśasā chaiva  
 vidvān pratyājagamāpratima-prabhāvaḥ | asmai varān adadaṁs tatra  
 devā dṛiṣṭvā bhīmaṁ karma kṛitūṁ raṅe tat | "śramaś cha te yudhya-  
 mānasasya na syād ākāśe chāpsu cha te kramaḥ syāt | śastrāṇi gātre na  
 cha te kramerann" ity eva Kṛishṇaś cha tataḥ kṛitārthaḥ | evaṁ-rūpe  
 Vāsudeve 'prameye mahābale guṇu-sampat sadaiva | tam asahyam Viṣ-  
 ṇum ananta-cīryam āśaṁsate Dhārttarāshṭro vijetum |

"Once, in the forenoon, when I had muttered my prayers, and con-  
 cluded my ablutions, a Brahman addressed to me these pleasant words :  
 ' Son of Prithā, thou hast a difficult work to do; thou hast to fight with  
 thine enemies, o Savyasāchin (a name of Arjuna). Shall Indra with  
 his steeds, and wielding the thunderbolt, go before thee in battle,  
 smiting thy foes, or shall Kṛishṇa the son of Vāsudeva, with his car, to  
 which Sugrīva (one of Kṛishṇa's horses) is yoked, protect thee from  
 behind?' I elected to have in the combat Vāsudeva for an ally, rather  
 than Mahendra, wielding the thunderbolt. Kṛishṇa was obtained by  
 me as a helper in slaying the Dasyus, and I think that this was effected  
 for me by the gods. That man will try to stretch over the ocean, the im-  
 measurable receptacle of waters, with his arms, who thinks to conquer  
 in battle the glorious and eminently heroic Kṛishṇa. If any one should  
 attempt to split with his hand the white mountain (viz. Kailāsa), a vast



pile of rocks, his hand and nails would be worn away, and he could produce no effect upon the mountain. That man would extinguish blazing fire with his arms, would stop the moon and sun, would daringly plunder the ambrosia of the gods, who should think to conquer Vāsudeva in battle,—[Vāsudeva] who having boldly destroyed in battle the Bhoja kings, carried off on the same car with himself Rukmiṇī his bride, shining in renown, of whom the great Rukmiṇeya was born. He (Krishṇa) having by his prowess destroyed the Gāndhāras, having conquered all the sons of Nagnajit, forcibly released [king] Sudarśana, renowned even among the gods, who had been bound [by the sons of Nagnajit], and was making an outcry.<sup>186</sup> He slew Pāndya with the fragment of a door, and crushed the Kalingas in Dantakūra. Through him the city of Benares which had been burnt, and remained for many years defenceless, sprang into existence. He attacked in battle Ekalavya the king of the Nishādas, who was invincible by others. He, [like ?] Jambha, sleeps, bereft of life by Krishṇa, who smote him furiously with a rock. Seconded by Baladeva, he also prostrated [Sunāman] the wicked son of Ugrasena standing in the midst, in the assembly, of the Vrishnis and Andhakas, and having slain him, gave the kingdom to Ugrasena. He conquered the self-supporting (*i.e.* flying) [city of] Saubha, and the king of the Sālvas, terrible from his magical powers, and arrested with his arms at the gate of Saubha the weapon *Sataghni*:<sup>187</sup> what mortal can assail him? There was an impregnable, formidable, and unassailable city of the Asuras, called Prāgjyotisha. Thither the powerful Naraka son of the Earth had carried off the beautiful jewelled earrings of Aditi.<sup>188</sup> The

<sup>186</sup> One of the commentators says that Sudarśana was a certain king, and explains *devatānām lalāman* by *devatānām madhye prasastam* "approved among the gods." Another commentator says *lalāman = śiromanīm*, "a head-jewel or ornament." The Bhāgavata Purāna, x. 34, 8 ff., tells a story of a Vidyādharma also named Sudarśana, who in consequence of a curse had been changed into a serpent, but who renewed his former shape on being touched by Krishṇa's foot.

<sup>187</sup> A weapon generally supposed to be a species of firearms, or a rocket, but also described as a stone set round with iron spikes.—Wilson's Dictionary. See the end of note 162, page 180, above. A double account is given of the destruction of the flying city of Saubha and of its king in the Vana-parva. The story is first of all briefly given in vv. 615–635; and afterwards very diffusely in vv. 636–889. Krishṇa splits the city with his discus Sudarśana (v. 883) and kills the king of the Sālvas himself (v. 885).—See Lassen's Indian Antiquities, p. 615.

<sup>188</sup> The story of this demon is told in the Vishṇu Purāna.—See Wilson's translation, pp. 581 ff.

assembled gods aided by Indra, fearless of death, could not [overcome] him in battle. But perceiving the valour, the strength, and the irresistible weapons of Keśava, and knowing his nature, they appointed him (Krishṇa) to slay the Dasyu. Vāsudeva, possessing divine power in his magical endowments (*aiśvaryavān siddhishu*), undertook that difficult task. Having in the rescue [or in the city Nirmochana] slain six thousand [Asuras], and having violently cut asunder the nooses sharp as razors,<sup>189</sup> having slain Mura and the Rāxasa Ogha, he proceeded to the rescue. There Vishṇu of surpassing strength had a fight with the powerful foe; who, smitten by Krishṇa, sleeps lifeless, like a *karnikāra*<sup>190</sup> tree overthrown by the wind. Having captured the jewelled earrings and slain Naraka, son of the Earth, and Mura, the wise Krishṇa of incomparable power, returned surrounded by splendour and renown. Then the gods, having seen that terrible work which he had achieved in battle, conferred upon him these boons: 'Let no fatigue oppress thee when thou art fighting; let thy step traverse the sky and the waters; and let no weapons make any impression on thy body.' With these boons Krishṇa was satisfied. In Vāsudeva, who is of such a character, immeasurable, and of mighty strength, there is an abundance of virtues. It is this irresistible Vishṇu, of infinite power, whom the son of Dhritarashtra hopes to overcome."

It will be noticed that Krishṇa is here represented as receiving various boons from the gods. It would appear, therefore, as if the author of this passage could not have regarded him as one with the supreme deity.

The following passage from the Vana-parva describes Krishna as a great devotee, as a performer of sacrifices, as a destroyer of hostile men and demons (referring to some of the legends already alluded to); and also in some places identifies him with the supreme spirit. Krishṇa, we are told, had gone with some of his clansmen to visit

<sup>189</sup> These nooses are also mentioned in the Vishṇu Purāna (see Wilson's translation) and in the Harivamśa, v. 6833. See Langlois's note to his French translation, p. 521, in which he refers to the Asiatic Researches, vol. xiii. p. 278 ff. In that article an account is given of the Phānsigars or Thugs, who murder their victims by throwing a noose. The writer refers in illustration to the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 29, 9 (Schlegel's edition), where three kinds of nooses are mentioned, the *dharma-pāśa*, the *kāla-pāśa*, and the *Vāruṇa-pāśa*. In the Vana-parva, 879, the epithet *surōnta*, sharp as a razor, is applied to Krishṇa's discus.

<sup>190</sup> *Pterospermum acerifolium*.

the Pāṇḍavas in the forest; and as he shewed himself greatly incensed at the conduct of the Kurus, Arjuna, to appease him, related his exploits in former births (vv. 471 ff.): *Arjuna uvācha | Daśa-varṣa-sahasrāṇi yatra Sāyangriho muniḥ | vyacharas tvam purā Kṛishṇa parvate Gandhamādane | daśa-varṣa-sahasrāṇi daśa-varṣa-śatāni cha | pushkareshv avasaḥ Kṛishṇa tvam apo bhazayan purā | ūrdhva-bāhur viśālāyām Vadaryam Madhusūdana | atishṭha eka-pādena vāyu-bhazaḥ śatam samāḥ | avakṛishṭottarāśangāḥ kṛiśo dhamani-santataḥ | āstḥ Kṛishṇa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa-vārshike | Probhāsam apy athāsādya tīrtham puṇya-janochitam | tathā Kṛishṇa mahātejā divyaṁ varṣa-sahasrikam (sic) | atishṭhas tvam yathaikena pādena niyama-athitāḥ | loka-pravṛitti-hetos tvam iti Vyāso mamābravīt | zetra-jñāḥ sarva-bhūtānām ādir antaś cha Keśava | nidhānam tapasām Kṛishṇa yajñas teṣāṁ cha sanātanaḥ | nihatya Narakam Bhaumam āhṛitya maṇi-kundale | prathamotpāditaṁ Kṛishṇa medhyam āśvam avāṣṛijah | kṛitvā tat karma lokānām riṣhabhaḥ sarva-loka-jit | ābadhīś teṣāṁ raṇe sarvān sametān daitya-dānavān | tataḥ sarveśvaratvaṁ cha sampradāya Sachī-pateḥ | mānusheshu mahābāho prādurbhūto 'si Keśava | sa teṣāṁ Nārāyaṇs bhūtvā Harir āsīḥ parantapa | Brahmā Somaś cha Sūryaś cha Dharmo Dhātā Yamo 'nalaḥ | Vāyur Vaiśravaṇo Rudraḥ kālah kham priṭhivī dīśaḥ | ajaś charāchāra-guruḥ srasṭhā tvam purushottama | parāyaṇeṣāṁ devam ūrdhvaṁ kratubhir Madhusūdana | ayajo bhūri-tejā vai Kṛishṇa Chaitrarathe vane | śataṁ śata-sahasrāṇi suvarṇasya Janārdana | ekai-kasmīṁs tadā yajñe paripūrnāni bhāgasah | . . . . Sādita Maurorāḥ pāśū Nisunda-Narakau hatau | kṛitāḥ zemaḥ puṇaḥ panthāḥ puram Prāgyjyotisham prati | Jārūthyām Āhṛitīḥ Krāthāḥ Sīśupālo janaiḥ saha | Jarāsandhaś cha Śaivyaś cha Śatadhanvā cha nirjitaḥ | tathā Parjanya-ghoṣheṇa rathenāditya-varchasa | avāpsīr mahiṣīm bhojyām raṇe nirjitya Rukmiṇam | Indrayumno hataḥ kopād Yavanaś cha Kaserumān | hataḥ Saubha-patiḥ Śālvas tvayā Saubhaṁ cha pātitam | Irūvatyām hato Bhojaḥ Kārttavīrya-samo yudhi | Gopatis Tālaketus cha tvayā vinihatāv ubhau | tāṁ cha Bhogavatīm puṇyam Riṣhikāṁ tāṁ Janārdana | Dvārakām ātmasāt kṛitvā samudraṁ gamayishyasi | na krodho na cha mātsaryāṁ nānṛitam Madhusūdana | tvayi tiṣṭhāti Dāśārha na nriśaṁsyaṁ kuto 'nrījūḥ | āsīnaṁ chaitya-madhye teṣāṁ āp-yamānaṁ sva-tejasā | āgamyā riṣhayaḥ sarve 'yāchantaḥbhayam Achyuta |*

Vana-parva, 471: "Formerly, Krishna, thou didst roam for ten

thousand years on the mountain Gandhamādana, where the muni Sāyangriha was. Formerly thou didst dwell ten thousand and ten hundred years in ponds, subsisting upon water. Thou didst stand on the spacious Badari a hundred years with thy arms aloft, on one foot, subsisting on air, with thy outer garment thrown off, emaciated, with thy veins swollen. Going also to Prabhāsa, a sacred spot fit for holy men, thou stoodest, glorious Krishṇa, for a thousand years of the gods, on one foot, practising self-restraint, for the benefit of the world,—this Vyāsa declared to me. Thou, Keśava, art the spirit residing in men's bodies, the beginning and the end of all existences, the receptacle of austerities, and the eternal sacrifice. Having slain Naraka, the son of the Earth, and having carried off the jewelled earrings, thou didst let loose the first-produced sacrificial horse. Having performed that rite, chief of the worlds, and conqueror of all worlds, thou didst slay in battle all the assembled Daityas and Dānavas. And then, having conferred the lordship of the universe on Indra, thou, o great-armed, didst become manifested among mankind. Thou, being Nārāyana, wert Hari, o vexer of thy foes. Thou, o Purushottama (or chief of Spirits, or Males), art Brahmā, Soma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhātṛi, Yama, Anala (Fire), Vāyu, Kuvera, Rudra, Time, Sky, Earth, the Regions, the unborn, the lord of the world, the creator. Thou, Madhusūdana, Krishṇa, of great glory, didst with sacrifices worship the supreme, high, god in the forest of Chaitraratha. A hundred times a hundred thousands of gold were then severally told out in full tale at each sacrifice." [Here follow the verses quoted above, p. 118, beginning *Aditer api putratvam*, and ending *nihatāḥ śataśo 'surāḥ*.] The nooses of Muru were destroyed; Nisunda and Naraka were slain; the way to the city Prāgyotisha was again rendered safe. On the Jāruthī Āhvṛiti, Krātha, Śiśupāla with his men, Jarāsandha, Saivya and Satadhanvan<sup>191</sup> were conquered. So, too, having vanquished Rukmin in battle with thy car, resounding like Parjanya, and gleaming like the sun, thou didst obtain thy queen to be the object of thy love. (See above, p. 179.) Indradyumna was slain by thee in thy wrath, and the Yavana Kaserumat, and Sālva, the lord of Saubha, and Saubha was thrown down. Bhoja, equal to Kārttavīrya<sup>192</sup> in battle, was slain by thee on the Irāvati,

<sup>191</sup> See Wilson's Vishṇu Purana, pp. 428 ff.

<sup>192</sup> See the First Part of this work, pp. 151 ff.

as well as both Gopati and Tālaketu. And having subdued to thyself Dvārakā, thou wilt cause the holy Bhogavatī and the Rishikā to flow to the ocean. Neither anger, nor envy, nor falsehood, nor cruelty, abides in thee, Dāsārha (Krishṇa): how then canst thou be deceitful? The rishis came to thee, [Achyuta,] whilst thou wast sitting in the midst of the *chaitya* (sacrificial ground), resplendent with thine own brightness, and begged of thee security. [Then follow some lines which have been quoted above, p. 193, beginning *yugānte sarva-bhūtāni saṅxipya*, etc.]

VI. Though, as we have already seen from various passages of the Mahābharata and Purāṇas, Krishṇa is generally identified with Vishṇu, and Vishṇu with Brahma, or the supreme deity, yet in a text quoted above (p. 42) from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. 33, 27, Krishṇa is spoken of as only a partial incarnation of the godhead. The same is the case in another passage in the first section of the same tenth book of the Bhāgavata. The king there says to Suka that he has heard from him the history of the kings of the solar and lunar races, and among them of Yādu. He then asks the sage to relate the achievements of Vishṇu, the creator and soul of all things, who became partially incarnate (*tatrāmśenāvatir-ṇasya Viṣṇor vīryāni śāmsa naḥ | avatīrya Yador vaṁṣe bhagavān bhūta-bhāvanah | kṛitavān yāni viśvātmā tāni no vada vistarāt |*). Suka in reply goes on to relate that the earth being afflicted by Daityas in the shape of proud princes, had, in the form of a cow, preferred her complaint to Brahmā, who had consequently gone with the other gods to supplicate the help of Vishṇu. Brahmā hears a voice in the sky :

Bhāgavata Purāṇa, x. i. 21 ff.—*Giraṁ samādhau gagane samīritāṁ niśamya Vedhās tridaśān uvācha ha | gāṁ pauruṣkīm mo śṛiṅgutāmarāḥ punarvidhīyatām āśu tathaiva māchiram | puraiva puṁsā (Īṣareṇa, Comm.) 'vadhrito dharā-jvaro bhavadbhir aṁśair Yaduḥpajanyatām | sa yāvad urvyā bharam (sic) īṣareśvaraḥ | sva-kāla-śaktyā zapayaṁś chared bhūvi | Vasudeva-grihe sāxād bhagavān Puruṣaḥ paraḥ | janishyate tat-priyārthaṁ sambhavantu sura-striyaḥ | Vasudeva-kalā 'nantaḥ sahasra-vadanaḥ svarāḥ | agrato bhavitā devo Hareḥ priya-chūkirshayaḥ | Viṣṇor māyā bhagavatī yayā sammohitaṁ jagat | ādiṣṭā prabhūṇā 'mśena kāryārthe sambhavishyati |*

“Having, while in a state of contemplation, heard a voice uttered in the sky, Vedhas (Brahmā) said to the gods : ‘Hear from me, immortals,

the voice of Purusha, and then speedily act so [as it enjoins]. The distress of the earth was already understood by Purusha. Do you, in portions of yourselves, be born among the Yadus, whilst he, the god of gods, walks upon the earth, removing her burthen by his destructive power. The supreme divine Purusha shall be born in his own person (*sāxāt*) in the house of Vasudeva. To please him, let the wives of the gods be born. The infinite, thousand-faced, self-resplendent deity shall first become a portion of Vasudeva, in order to gratify Hari. The divine Delusion of Vishṇu, by which the world is deceived, being commanded by the lord, shall be born in a portion of herself to effect the desired objects."

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, also, the incarnation of Vishṇu is spoken of as that of a part, or even a part of a part. At the commencement of the fifth book of that work the following lines occur :

*Nṛipānām kathitāḥ sarvo bhavatā vaṁśa-vistarāḥ | Vaṁśānucharitām  
chaiva yathāvad anuvarṇitam | Aṁśāvatāro brahmarshe yo 'yaṁ Yadu-  
kulodbhavaḥ | Viṣṇos taṁ vistareṇāhaṁ śrotum icchhāmy aśeshataḥ |  
Chakārayāni karmāṇi bhagavān Purushottamaḥ | Aṁśāṁśenāvātīryorvyām  
tatra tāni mune vada | Parāśara uvācha | Maitreya śrūyatām etad yat  
prishṭo 'ham iha trayā | Viṣṇor aṁśāṁśa-sambhūti-charitām jagato hitam |*

"You have related to me the complete genealogy of the kings, and also the entire history of the races. I now wish, divine sage, to hear in full detail the particulars of the incarnation of a portion of Vishṇu which took place in the tribe of the Yadus. Tell me, Muni, what acts the divine Purushottama performed when he descended to the earth in a portion [of himself]. Parāśara replies : Hear, Maitreya, that which you have asked me, the history, beneficial to the world, of the birth of a portion of a portion of Vishṇu.'"

The sage proceeds to relate (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 493-497) how the earth had complained to Brahmā and the other gods that the Asura Kālanemi had revivied in Kansa, and other demons had also been born as princes; and that she could not support the load. Brahmā proposed that they should resort to Vishṇu, "who is the spirit of all, and of whom the universe consists," and "who constantly, for the sake of earth, descends in a" very "small portion of his essence, to establish righteousness below" (*sarvadaiva jagaty-arthe sa sarvātmā jagannmayāḥ | svalpāṁśenāvātīryorvyām dharmasya kurute sthitim |*). The gods

accordingly went to the milky sea, and lauded Vishṇu in a long hymn. Vishṇu was gratified by their praises, desired them to state their wishes, and assured them that these should be accomplished. Brahmā renewed his praises; and we are then told what happened when they were concluded:

*Evaṁ saṁstūyamānas tu bhagavān parameśvaraḥ | Ujjahārātmanaḥ  
keśau sita-kṛishṇau mahāmune | Uvācha cha surān etau mat-keśau vasu-  
dhā-tale | Avatīrya bhūvo bhāra-kleśa-hāniṁ karishyataḥ | Surāścha  
sakalāḥ svāṁśair avatīrya mahītale* <sup>193</sup> | *Kurvantu yuddham unmattaiḥ  
pūrvoṭpannair mahāsuraiḥ | Tataḥ xayam aśeshās te Daiteyā dharaṇītale |  
Prayāsyanti na sandeho maḍ-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ | Vasudevasya yā  
patnī Devakī devatopamā | Tasyāyam aṣṭamo garbho* <sup>194</sup> *matkeśo bhavitā  
surāḥ | Avatīrya cha tatrāyaṁ* <sup>195</sup> *Kaṁsam ghātayitā bhūvi | Kālanemiṁ  
samudbhūtam ityuktvā 'ntardadhe Hariḥ | Adṛiṣyāya tatas tasmai pra-  
ṇipatya mahāmune | Meru-priṣṭham surā jagmur avateruś cha bhūtale |*

“Being thus lauded, the divine Parameśwara plucked out two of his own hairs, a white and a black, and said to the deities, ‘These two hairs of mine, descending to the earth, shall remove her burthen and sufferings. And let all the deities, descending in portions of themselves to the earth, fight against those mad Asuras who existed in former births. Then all these sons of Diti (the Asuras) shall no doubt perish, being annihilated by the glances of my eyes. This my hair, gods, shall become the eighth child of Devakī, the wife of Vasudeva, who (Devakī) resembles the gods. And this [hair] descending there, shall destroy Kansa, the Kālanemi who has been born.’ Having thus spoken, Hari disappeared. Having then bowed down to him the unseen, the gods went to the top of Meru, and descended on the earth.”

The following are the remarks which Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the Vishṇu Puraṇa, makes on the first of the preceding passages, and which have reference to the second also :

*“Chakāra” iti | tatra Kṛishṇāvatāre ati-parichhinna-manushyākāra-  
līlā-vigraheṇāvīrbhāvād aṁśāṁśena ity uktam upachārāt | natu śakti-  
hrāseṇa Kṛishṇādy-avatāreṣu api viśva-rūpa-darśana-sarvaiśvarya-  
ukteḥ | Nanu aṁśino 'ṁśoddhāreṇa śakty-ūdi-hrāsas tathā 'ṁśasyāpi tad-*

<sup>193</sup> Another MS. reads *mahītalam*.

<sup>194</sup> Another MS. reads *esha garbho 'śṭamas tasyāḥ*.

<sup>195</sup> Another MS. reads *tatrāham*.

*apeya alpa-śaktitvādikaṁ dhānya-rāśy-ādi-vibhāga iva prasajyeta iti ched na | prakāśa-svarūpe tad-abhāvāt | pradīpasya hi tan-mūlaka-dīpāntarasya vā upādhi-bhede 'pi śakty-ādi-sāmya-darśanāt "pūrnam adaḥ pūrnam idam pūrnat pūrnam udaachyate | pūrnasya pūrnam ādāya pūrnam evāvaśishyate" iti śruteḥ | "param Brahma narākṛiti gūḍham param Brahma manushya-lingaṁ Kṛishṇas tu bhagavān svayam" ityādi-vākyaebhyaś cha | yas tu "mat-keśau vasudhā-tale" ity-ādāv "ayaṁ Kāṁsaṁ ghātayitā" ity atra keśa-vyapadeśaḥ sa Brahmaṇaḥ paripūrnasya bhū-bhāra-haraṇa-rūpaṁ kāryyam aty-alpa-yantra-sādhyam iti khyāpayituṁ na tu keśayoḥ Rāma-Kṛishṇatvaṁ vaktum | jaḍayoḥ keśayoḥ tad-deha-zetrajñatvābhāvena tat-kāryam karttum aśaktatvāt | keśātmake-māyayodbhava-Rāma-Kṛishṇa-dehāv ādiśya [āviśya ?] bhagavān eva tat tat karishyati iti ched om iti brūmaḥ phalato 'viśeshāt "kṛishṇāshṭamyām aham niśi" iti svayam evoktatvāch cha ity alaṁ vistareṇa |*

"Purushottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛishṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛishṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shewn himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda (the Śatapatha Brahmana, xiv. 8, 1, p. 1094), 'That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains;' and also agreeably to such texts as this, 'The supreme Brahma with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛishṇa is the lord himself.' And the employment of the term 'hairs' in the words, 'My hairs shall descend to the earth,' and 'This hair shall slay Kansa,' etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahma in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instru-



mentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛishṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord possessing the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, 'Yes, for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I shall [be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.' But there is no occasion for further prolixity."<sup>196</sup>

The passage which follows is from another commentary on the same text:<sup>197</sup>

*Ujjahāra | utpāṭitarān | ayam bhāvaḥ | mama duṣhkaraṁ ched yush-  
mābhiḥ sākṣyaṁ kāryaṁ syāt | na tv etad asti bhū-bhārāpaharaṇādau  
mahaty api kārye mat-keśa-mātrasyaiva samarthatvād iti na tu keśa-  
mātrāvatāra iti mantavyam | "mad-dṛik-pāta-vichūrṇitāḥ" "kṛish-  
nāshṭamyām aham utpatsyāmi" ityādishu sāvāt svāvatāratvokteḥ | sita-  
kṛishṇa-keśoddhāraṇam cha śobhārtham eva | "Ujjahāra means that he  
'plucked out' the hairs. The sense is as follows: 'It would be a  
difficult matter if aid had to be rendered to me by you: but the same  
is not the case in regard to the task, though a great one, of removing  
the load of the earth, etc., since my hairs alone are equal to it.' But it  
is not to be supposed that there was nothing beyond an incarnation of the  
mere hairs; for his own incarnation is distinctly asserted in the words  
'annihilated by the glance of my eye,' 'I shall be born on the eighth  
night of the dark fortnight of the moon,' etc. etc. The mention of his  
plucking out white and black hairs is for the purpose of ornament."<sup>198</sup>*

The same story about the production of Balarāma and Kṛishṇa from two hairs is also told in the Mahābhārata, Ādi-parva, 7306 ff.:

*Tair eva sārddham tu tataḥ sa devo jagāma Nārāyaṇam aprameyam |  
anantam avyaktam ajam purāṇam sanātanaṁ viśvam ananta-rūpam | sa  
chāpi tad vyādadhāt sarvam eva tataḥ sarve sambabhūcur dharanyām |  
sa chāpi keśau Harir udavarha śuklam ekam aparaṁ chāpi kṛishṇam |*

<sup>196</sup> The preceding copy of the text, and commentary on the text, from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, have been kindly copied, and carefully collated, for me by Professor Monier Williams.

<sup>197</sup> I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker for copying this passage for me.

<sup>198</sup> See Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, viz., note 3 in p. 492, and note 23 in p. 497.

*tau chāpi keśau nivīsetām Yadūnām kule striyau Devakīm Rohiṇīm cha |  
taylor eko Baladevo babhūva yo 'sau svetas tasya devasya keśaḥ | Kṛishno  
dvītiyaḥ Kośavaḥ sambadhūva keśo yo 'sau varṇataḥ kṛishṇa uktaḥ |*

“Along with them (viz., four preceding Indras, and a fifth deity sprung from Indra) the god (Indra) went to Nārāyana, immeasurable, infinite, undiscernible, unborn, primeval, everlasting, universal, endless in his forms; and he fulfilled all [that they desired]. Then they were all born on earth. Hari also plucked out two hairs, one white and the other black. These two hairs entered into two women of the tribe of the Yadus, Devakī and Rohiṇī. One of them, the white hair of the god, became Baladeva; while the second hair (*keśa*), which was called black (*kṛishṇa*) in colour, became Kṛishṇa, Keśava.”

The following remarks are made on this passage by Nilakanṭha, one of the commentators on the Mahābhārata :

*Atra keśāv eva reto-rūpau Pāṇḍavānām iva Rāma-Kṛishṇayor api  
prakaraṇa-saṅgaty-arthaṁ sākṣād deva-retasa utpatter avaktavyatvāt<sup>199</sup> |  
ata eva Devakyām Rohiṇyāṅcha sākṣāt keśa-praveśa uchyate na tu Vasudeve |  
tathā sati tu “devānām reto varshaṁ varshaṣya reta oshadhayaḥ” ityādi-  
brauta-pranādyā 'smud-ādī-vaṭ taylor api vyavadhānena deva-prabha-  
ratvaṁ syāt | tathā cha “etan nānā-vatārāṇām nidhānaṁ vijam aya-  
yam” iti bhagavataḥ sākṣād matsyūdy-avatāra-vijatvam uchyamānaṁ  
virudhyeta | apicha keśa-retasor deha-jatve samāne 'pi retāḥ-prabhavatve  
'roāksrotastvena manushyatvam putratvaṁ cha syāt | tathā cha “Kṛish-  
ṇas tu bhagavān svayam” iti śrīmad-bhāgavatoktiḥ saṅgachhate | na cha  
keśoddhāraṇāt Kṛishṇasyūpy aṁśatvam pratiyate iti vāchyam | keśasya  
dehāvayavatvābhāvāt | tasmād Namuchi-badhe kartavye yathā apūm phene  
vajrasya praveśaḥ evaṁ Devakī-Rohiṇyor jaḥhare praveśe kartavye keśa-  
dvayena dvāra-bhūtena bhagavataḥ kārtsnyena eva ūvirbhāva oshṭavyaḥ  
iti yuktaṁ |*

“Here the two hairs are of the nature of seed productive of Balarama and Kṛishṇa, just as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas, [and this expression is employed] for the sake of conformity to what had preceded, since it is manifest that one cannot speak of production from the seed of a god. For this reason it is distinctly said that the hairs entered into Devakī and Rohiṇī [the mothers], and not into Vasudeva [the father]. But such being the case, according to the Vedic phrase-

<sup>199</sup> The MS. in the E. I. Office library reads *avaiya-avaktavyatvāt* |

ology, that 'rain is the seed of the gods and plants are the seed of rain,' etc., these two persons also (Balarāma and Kṛishṇa) will be mediately the offspring of the deity, just as is the case with ourselves and other beings. And thus—since 'this substance of the different incarnations is an undecaying seed,'<sup>200</sup>—it would be opposed to that declaration to predicate of the deity that he is literally the seed of the fish, and other incarnations. Further, although hairs and seed spring equally from the body, yet in the case of production from seed, humanity and sonship will arise after the manner of the inferior animals. And thus the saying of the Bhāgavata, that 'Kṛishṇa is the Lord himself,' is not contradicted. And it must not be said that from a hair being plucked out, Kṛishṇa also is shewn to be only a portion [of the deity]; for a hair is not a *part* of the body. Wherefore, just as, when [the demon] Namuchi was to be slain, the thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters,<sup>201</sup> so when an entrance was to be made into the wombs of Devakī and Rohiṇī, the manifestation of the deity in all his plenitude is to be understood as effected through the medium of the two hairs."

VII.—In several of the passages which have been already cited in the preceding pages, Vishṇu has been identified with the supreme spirit (see above, pp. 33, 43, 150). I shall now proceed to adduce some others of the same kind from the Mahābhārata. In the Sāntiparva, vv. 1500 ff. Yudhishtira says to Kṛishṇa :

<sup>200</sup> I put these words between inverted commas, as they appear to be a quotation, though I am not aware whence it is derived.

<sup>201</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Aufrecht for pointing out to me the legend to which reference is here made, viz., that mentioned in R. V. viii. 14, 13: *Apām phenena Namucheḥ śira Indrodavarttayah | visvō yad ajayah spridhaḥ |* "Thou, Indra, didst strike off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters, when thou didst vanquish all opponents." On this Sāyana tells the following story: *Purā kila Indro 'surān jīvā Namuchim asurān grahītuṃ na śāśūka | sa cha yudhyamānas tenāsurena jagrihe | sa cha grihītam Indram evam evochat "tvām visrjāmi vātrāv ahni cha śushkenārāreṇa chāyudhena yadi mām na hīmsr" iti | sa Indras tena visrishiḥṣṭaḥ sann aho-rātrayoḥ sandhau śushkārādra-vilaxaṇena phenena tasya śiras chieheda | ayam artho 'syām pratipōdyate | He Indra apām phenena vajrībhūtena Namucher Asurasya śira udavarttayah |* "Formerly Indra having conquered the Asuras, was unable to seize the Asura Namuchi; and fighting, was seized by the Asura. The latter said to Indra, whom he had seized: 'I release thee if thou wilt not smite me by night, or by day, with a dry or a wet weapon.' Indra, being released by him, cut off his head at the junction of day and night with foam which has the character of being both dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse." The story is also told in the Indrajaya (published by Holtzmann), vv. 185 ff.; Mahābhārata, Udyoga-parva, vv. 320 ff.

*Tava Kṛishṇa prasādēna nayēna cha balēna cha | buddhyā cha Yadu-  
sārdūla tathā vikramayēna cha | punaḥ prāptam idaṁ rājyam pitri-  
paitāmahaṁ mayā | namas te Puṇḍarikāxa punaḥ punar arindama |  
tvāṁ ekam āhuḥ Puruṣaṁ tvāṁ āhuḥ Sāttvatāṁ gatim | nāmabhis tvāṁ  
bahuvīdhaiḥ stuvanti prayatā devijāḥ | viśvakarman namas te 'stu viśvāt-  
man viśva-sambhava | Viṣṇo jishṇo Hare Kṛishṇa Vaikuṅṭha Puruṣhott-  
ama | Adityāḥ saptadhā tvāṁ tu purāṇe garbhatām gataḥ | Pṛisni-  
garbhas tvam evaikas triyugaṁ tvāṁ vādanty api | Suchisravā Hṛishī-  
keśo ghṛitāchir haṁsa uchyase | trichakṣuḥ Sambhur ekas tvāṁ vibhur  
Dāmodaro 'pi cha | Varāho 'gnir vṛihadbhānur vṛishabhas Tārxya-  
laxaṇaḥ | . . . 1514: Yonis tvam asya pralayaścha Kṛishṇa tvam  
evodaṁ sṛijasi viśvam agre | viśvañcheduṁ tvad-vaśe viśvayone namo 'stu  
te sārṅga-chakrāsi-pāṇo |*

“By thy favour, Kṛishṇa, chief of the Yadus, and policy, and power, and understanding, and valour, I have recovered this kingdom of my father's and grandfather's. Adoration be to thee, lotus-eyed, subduer of thy foes, again and again. Thee alone men call Puruṣa : thee alone they call the refuge of the Sāttvats. Devout twice-born men laud thee by names of various kinds. Glory be to thee, thou maker of all, thou soul of all, thou source of all, Viṣṇu, conqueror, Hari, Kṛishṇa, Vaikuṅṭha, chief of spirits (or males). Of old thou didst become the sevenfold offspring of Aditi.<sup>202</sup> Thou alone art Pṛisnigarbha ; they also call thee [him who exists in] the three ages (*yugas*). Thou art called Suchisṛavas, Hṛishīkeśa, Ghṛitāchi, and Hansa. Thou alone art the three-eyed Sambhu (Mahādeva) and Dāmodara, the pervading, the Boar, Agni, Vṛihadbhānu,<sup>203</sup> the Bull, he whose sign is Tārxya (Garuḍa).” A long list of other titles then follows, concluding with these words : “Thou art the source and the destruction of this universe, Kṛishṇa : it is thou who createst it in the beginning, and it is all in thy power, thou universal source : glory be to thee who wieldest the bow, the discus, and the sword.”

A little further on, at vv. 1604 ff., a long hymn of Bhīshma to Kṛishṇa is given, in which the following lines occur :

*“Yasmin viśvāni bhūtāni tishṭhanti cha viśanti cha | guṇa-bhūtāni  
bhūteśe sūtre manī-gaṇā iva | yasmin nitye tato tantau dṛiḍhe srag iva*

<sup>202</sup> This, I suppose, refers to the Ādityas being in the Veda spoken of as only seven in number. See above, p. 101.

<sup>203</sup> A name of Agni.

*tishṭhati | sad-asad grathitaṁ viśvaṁ viśvāṅge viśva-karmaṇi | Hariṁ sahasra-śīrasaṁ sahasra-charaṇaxayam | . . . . prāhur Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ yaṁ viśvasya parāyayam | anīyasām anīyāṁsām sthaviṣṭhaṁ cha sthaviyasām | garīyasām garishṭham cha śreshṭhaṁ cha śreyasām api | yaṁ vākeshe anuvākeshu nishatsūpanishatsu cha | grīvanti satya-karmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeshu sāmase | ityādi | . . . . 1616: Sarvātmā sarva-vit sarvaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarva-bhāvanaḥ | yaṁ devaṁ Devakī devī Vasudevād ajājanat | Bhaumasya Brahmaṇo guptyai dīptam Agnim ivāraṇiḥ | . . . 1622: Yasmin lokāḥ sphurantime jalō śakunayo yathā |*

“In whom, the lord of beings, all beings, existing as his qualities, abide and enter, like gems [strung] upon a thread: upon whom, the universal-membered artificer of all things, extended as a strong and eternal thread, the universe abides, arranged, like a chaplet; Hari, the thousand-headed, thousand-footed, thousand-eyed, . . . whom they call Nārāyaṇa, the god who transcends all, the minutest of the minute, the vastest of the vast, the greatest of the great, the most eminent of the eminent, whom, true, and true in act, they celebrate in *vākas*, *anuvākas*, in *nishads*<sup>204</sup> and in *upanishads*, and in true *sāma*-hymns, . . . the soul of all, the omniscient, the all, the all-knowing, the producer of all, the god whom the goddess Devakā bore to Vasudeva, for the preservation of the terrestrial deity (*i.e.* the Vedas, Brahmans and sacrifices, comm.) as *Araṇi* (the wood used for kindling fire), produced the flaming Agni. . . . In whom these worlds flutter, like birds in water,” etc.

In the following passage, also from the *Santiparva*, Krishna identifies himself with the supreme Spirit, and represents Brahmā and Mahādeva as having proceeded from him. In it the writer likewise endeavours to explain away the effect of certain texts in other parts of the poem (see

<sup>204</sup> This is the only place in which I have ever met with this word. I am unable to say whether Indian literature contains any such writings as *nishads*, or whether the term is a purely fictitious one, invented by the author of this passage to denote a principal and original set of writings to which the *Upanishads* may have formed, in his idea, a secondary and supplemental class, as the *Upapuranas* do to the *Puranas*. Nilakantha, one of the commentators (whether conjecturally, or on good grounds, I cannot say), explains *nishatsu* as meaning *karmāṅgādy-avabaddha-ḍevalādi-jñānavākyeshu*, “works treating of the knowledge of the deities, etc., connected with the ceremonial part of the Veda, etc.” The *Upanishads* “reveal the knowledge of soul alone” (*kevalātma-jñāpaka-vākyeshu*). *Vākas*, according to the same authority, “make known ceremonies generally” (*sāmānyataḥ karma-prakāśakeshu*), while *anuvākas* are “texts of the Brāhmans, explanatory of the sense of the mantras, or Vedic hymns” (*mantrārtha-vivaraṇa-bhūteshu brāhmaṇa-vākyeshu*).

above, pp. 155-170) in which Krishna is related to have worshipped Mahādeva, and which were no doubt felt to be inconsistent with the supreme deity of the former. The difficulty is attempted to be overcome by the explanation that in worshipping Rudra, he was only worshipping himself. In verses 13133 ff. Arjuna asks Krishna to interpret the different appellations which had been applied to him in the Vedas and Purānas; and this Krishna accordingly proceeds to do, remarking by the way that Arjuna had been of old declared to be his own half<sup>203</sup> (*tvam hi me 'rddham smritaḥ purā*). Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* Vishṇu), he says, was the source of all things, and from him Brahmā and Śiva were produced; the one from his good pleasure, the other from his anger (13140: *Yasya prasādajo Brahmā Rudrascha krodha-sambhavaḥ* |). He then goes on (13144): *Brāhme rātri-xaye prāpte tasya hy amita-tejasaḥ | prasādāt pradurabhavat padmam padma-nibhexana | tato Brahmā sambhavat sa tasyaiva prasādajaḥ | ahaṅ xaye lalāṭāccha suto devasya vai tathā | krodhāvishṭasya sañjajñe Rudraḥ saṁhāra-kāraḥ | etau dvau vibudha-śreṣṭhau prasāda-krodha-jāv ubhau | tad-ādeṣita-panthānau sṛṣṭi-saṁhāra-kāraḥ | nimitta-mātram tāv atra sarva-prāṇi-vara-pradau | kaparddi jaṭilo muṇḍaḥ śmaśāna-grīha-sevakaḥ | ugra-vrata-dhāro Rudro yogi parama-dāruṇaḥ | Daxa-kratu-haraśchaiva Bhaga-netra-haras tathā | Nārāyaṇātmako jñeyaḥ Pāṇḍaveya yuge yuge | tasmīn hi pūjyamāne vai deva-deve Maheśvare | sampūjito bhavet Pārtha devo Nārāyaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | aham ātmā hi lokānām viśveśhām Pāṇḍu-nandana | tasmād ātmānam evagre Rudrām sampūjayāmy aham | yady aham nārchayeyān vai Īśānām varadām Śivam | ātmānam nārchayet kaśchid iti me bhāvīt-ātmanaḥ | mayā pramāṇam hi kṛitam lokaḥ samanuvartate | pramāṇāni hi pūjyāni tatas tam pūjayāmy aham | yas taṁ vetti sa mām vetti yo 'nu taṁ sa hi mām anu | Rudro Nārāyaṇaś chaiva sattvam ekaṁ dvidhākṛitam | loka charati Kaunteya vyakti-sthām sarva-karmasu | na hi me kenachid deyo varaḥ Pāṇḍava-nandana | iti sañchintya manasā purāṇam Rudram īśvaram | puttrārtham ārādhitavān aham ātmānam ātmanā | na hi Vishṇuḥ praṇamati kasmaichit vibudhāya cha | ṛita ātmānam eveti tato Rudram bhajāmy aham | sabrahmakāḥ sarudrāścha sendrā devāḥ saharshibhiḥ | arochayanti sura-śreṣṭhām devām Nārāyaṇām Harim | bhavishyataṁ varttatāñcha bhūtānāñchaiva Bhārata | sarveshām agrāṇī Vishṇuḥ sevyāḥ pūjyascha nityasāḥ ityādi |*

<sup>203</sup> See the other passages about their identity, or intimate union, above, pp. 194, 198, 199.

“When the end of Brahmā’s night had arrived, there sprang from the good pleasure of that being of boundless power a lotus, o thou whose eyes are like a lotus. From it was produced Brahmā, who was the offspring of his (Vishṇu’s) good pleasure; and at the end of the day Rudra the destroyer was born from the forehead of the god when he was possessed with anger. These two eminent gods, produced [the one] from his good pleasure, [the other] from his anger, have their courses prescribed by him, [and are] the accomplisners [respectively] of creation and destruction. In this, these bestowers of boons on all creatures are merely instrumental causes. Rudra, with braided hair and matted locks, shaven, the frequenter of cemeteries, the performer of awful rites, the devotee, the very terrible, he who swept away Daxa’s sacrifice, and put out Bhaga’s eyes, is to be understood by thee to possess in every age the nature of Nārāyaṇa. For when that god of gods Maheśvara is worshipped, then, son of Pṛithā, the god Nārāyaṇa, the lord, will also be worshipped. I am the soul of all the worlds. It was therefore myself whom I formerly worshipped as Rudra. If I were not to worship Isāna, the boon-bestowing Śiva, no one would worship myself,—this is [the reflection?] made by me who am contemplative in spirit. An authoritative example is set by me [which] the world follows.<sup>206</sup> Authoritative examples are to be revered: hence I reverence him (Śiva). He who knows him knows me; he who loves him loves me.<sup>207</sup> Rudra and Nārāyaṇa, one essence, divided into two, operate in the world, in a manifested form, in all acts. Reflecting in my mind that no boon could be conferred upon me by any one, I [yet] adored the ancient Rudra, the lord, [that is] I, with myself adored myself, to obtain a son (see p. 163). For Vishṇu does not do homage to any god, excepting himself: hence I [in this sense] worship Rudra. The gods, including Brahmā, Rudra, and Indra, together with the rishis, worship the god Nārāyaṇa, Hari, the most eminent of the deities. Vishṇu the chief of all who shall be, are, or have been, is to be served and worshipped continually.”

In the following passage (Anuśāsana-parva, vv. 6295 ff.), some parts of which may be later interpolations, Krishṇa is described as performing a ceremony to obtain a son, at the same time that he is

<sup>206</sup> See above, p. 46, the quotation from the Bhagavad-gīta, iii. 21 ff.

<sup>207</sup> Compare the same phrase in p. 204.

represented as the supreme deity. Bhīshma, at the request of Yudhishtira, tells him a story illustrative of the glory of Krishna. He states that Krishna had performed a ceremonial (*vrata*) of twelve years' duration (6397), which many rishis came to witness. In presence of these rishis fire issued from the mouth of Krishna, which set on fire the mountain where he was, and burnt up everything on it; and having done so, came back, and submissively touched his feet. The mountain was afterwards restored to its natural condition. Seeing the rishis astonished at this display, Krishna asks the cause of their surprise. They request that he who is the creator and destroyer of all things will explain to them the phenomenon which they have just witnessed. He replies that this was the power (*tejas*) of Vishnu which had issued from his mouth. He had come, he informs them, to this mountain to perform a ceremony with the view of obtaining a son like himself (6320); and the soul residing in his body had become fire, and blazed forth, and had gone to see the parent of the world, when Mahādeva had declared that a son should be created for him out of the half of this power (*tejas*). Krishna next calls on the rishis to tell him any wonders they had seen or heard of in heaven or on earth. The rishis then, after celebrating Krishna's praises, appoint Nārada to describe the wonders which had been witnessed by the rishis on the Himālaya mountain, when they had gone thither on a pilgrimage to the holy places. Nārada accordingly proceeds to give an account of a long conversation which had taken place between Mahādeva and his wife Umā or Pārvatī, the daughter of the Himālaya. Mahādeva, it appears, had been performing austerity (*tapas*, vv. 6340, 6348) on that mountain, where he was surrounded by his attendant demons (*Bhūtas*) and by the nymphs (*Apsarases*), etc. etc. While he was sitting in that delightful region, clothed in tigers' and lions' skins, with a serpent for his sacrificial cord (6355 f.), his wife Umā comes up, clothed in the same style as her husband, with her attendant demonesses (*Bhūta-stri-gaṇā*), and playfully puts her hands over his eyes. The effects of this act are tremendous. Suddenly the world becomes darkened, lifeless, and destitute of oblations and *vashaṭkāras*, etc. This gloom, however, is as suddenly dispelled by a great flame which bursts from Mahādeva's forehead, in which a third eye, luminous as the sun, was formed (6367). By the fire of this eye the mountain was scorched and everything upon it con-



sumed. Umā hereupon stands in a submissive attitude before her lord, when in a moment her parent, the Himālaya, is restored to his former condition. A long conversation then ensues between Mahādeva and Umā. The latter enquires why Mahādeva's third eye had been formed (6379), and puts a number of questions about himself, and the various duties of men (6412 ff.), all of which he answers. Mahādeva next, in his turn, asks Umā to describe the duties of women. She says she will consult the rivers in regard to the question. The Gangā replies on their behalf that Umā herself should furnish the answer, which she accordingly does (6780 ff.). Bhīshma then informs us that, at the close of Umā's discourse, Mahādeva dismissed his attendant demons, with the rivers, nymphs, and celestial choristers (*Gandharvas*). We should have expected here that Nārada (who had hitherto been the narrator of what was done and said on the Himālaya) would have finished his account of all that occurred there, without the introduction of the other interlocutor: but at this point he is interrupted by Bhīshma, and afterwards introduced again at v. 6870. Whatever may be the reason, we are first told by Bhīshma (v. 6804) that the rishis now requested Mahādeva to describe to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa). At the close of Mahādeva's discourse, Nārada is again abruptly introduced (6870), and relates that a great sound of thunder accompanied with lightning was then heard, and the sky became covered with thick clouds, and veiled in darkness. Mahādeva and his attendant demons were now no longer visible to the munis. (The departure of the demons and the other classes of beings had, however, been previously told in v. 6804.) The darkness then suddenly clears away. Nārada next observes to Krishṇa (6875) that he was the eternal being, one with Brahma, about whom they had been instructed on the mountain. At the close of Nārada's discourse, the rishis express their devotion to Krishṇa (6879 ff.), and say that as he knew all things, he had no occasion to ask them for any information such as had been given at his request. They end by giving him what, after this avowal of his omniscience, was (one would have thought) a needless assurance, that he should have a son like himself. Bhīshma then relates that, after completing the rite on which he had been engaged, Krishṇa returned to Dvārakā, where a son was born to him (6889), and goes on to expatiate yet further on his divine

character. Yudishthira, however, is still unsatisfied, and enquires as follows (6937 ff.):

*Kim ekam daivataṁ loka kiṁ vā py ekam parāyanam | kaṁ stuvantaḥ  
kam archantaḥ prāpnuyur mānavāḥ śubham | ko dharmāḥ sarva-dharmā-  
nam bhavataḥ paramo mataḥ | kiṁ jagan muchyate jantur janma-saṁsāra-  
bandhanāt | Bhishma uvācha | Jagat-prabhuṁ deva-devam anantam  
purushottamam | stuvan nāma-sahasrena puruṣaḥ satatōtkhitaḥ | tam eva  
chārohayam nityam bhaktiyā puruṣam avyayam | dhyāyam stuvan nama-  
nyāścha yajamānas tam eva cha | an-ādi-nidhanam Viṣṇuṁ sarva-loka-  
mahesvaram | lokādhyaxam stuvan nityam sarva-duḥkhātigo bhavet |  
brahmanyam sarva-dharma-jñam lokānām kirtti-varddhanam | loka-  
nātham mahad bhūtam sarva-bhūta-bhavodbhavam | esha me sarva-dhar-  
mānām dharmo 'dhikatamo mataḥ | . . . 6946: Yataḥ sarvāni bhūtāni  
bhavanty ādi-yugāgame | yasmiṁścha pralayaṁ yānti punar eva yuga-  
xaye | tasya loka-pradhānasya jagannāthasya bhūpate | Viṣṇor nāma-  
sahasram me śṛiṇu pāpa-bhayāpaham !*

“What is the one deity in the world, or what is the one highest object? By lauding and worshipping whom can men attain to felicity? What duty is regarded by you as the highest of all duties? By muttering what, is a creature freed from the bonds of birth and of the world? Bhishma answers: A man, rising continually, and lauding with his thousand names the supreme infinite Purusha, the lord of the world, the god of gods, worshipping perpetually with devotion this undecaying Purusha, contemplating, praising, reverencing, and adoring him, Viṣṇu, without beginning or end, the great lord of all the worlds, lauding continually the ruler of the worlds, who (the ruler) is devout, skilled in all duty, the augments of the renown of the worlds, the lord of the world, the great being, the source of the existence of all beings, [doing all this, a man] will overpass all grief. This is regarded by me as the greatest of all duties. . . . v. 6946: Hear, king, from me the sin-and-fear-removing thousand names of this Viṣṇu, chief of the world, lord of the world, from whom all creatures spring on the arrival of the commencing *yuga*, and in whom again they are absorbed at the end of the *yuga*.”

These thousand names of Viṣṇu are then detailed, among which the following occur, all of them ordinarily appellations of Mahādeva, viz., Sarva, Sarva, Siva, Sthānu (v. 6953), Iśāna (v. 6957), Rudra (v. 6962).

Again, we are informed in the Anuśāsana-parva, that the rishis requested Mahādeva to expound to them the greatness of Vāsudeva (Krishṇa), which he accordingly does in vv. 6806 ff. :

*Pitāmahād api varah śāsvataḥ Puruṣo Hariḥ | Kṛishṇo jāmbūna-  
dābhāso vyabhre sūrya ivoditah | daśa-bāhur mahatejā devatāri-nisūdanaḥ |  
śrīvatsaṅko Hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-daivata-pūjitaḥ | Brahmā tasyodara-bhavas  
tathā chāham śivo-bhavaḥ | śiroruhebhyo jyotīmshi romabhyascha surā-  
surāḥ | rishayo deha-sambhūtās tathā lokās cha śāsvatāḥ | Pitāmaha-  
grihaṁ sāxāt sarva-deva-grihaṁ cha saḥ | so 'syāḥ prithivyāḥ kṛitsnāyāḥ  
srashṭā tribhuvaneśvaraḥ | saṁharttā chaiva bhūtānām sthāvarasya char-  
asya cha | sa hi deva-varaḥ sāxād deva-nāthaḥ parantapaḥ | sarvajñāḥ sa  
hi saṁśliṣṭāḥ sarvagaḥ sarvato-mukhaḥ | paramātmā hṛishīkeśaḥ sarva-  
vyāpī maheśvaraḥ | na tasmāt paramam bhūtaṁ trishu lokeshu kiñchana |  
sanātano vai Madhuhā Govinda iti vīrutaḥ | sa sarvān pārthivān saṅ-  
khye ghātayishyati mānadaḥ | sura-kāryyārtham utpanno mānushaṁ  
vapur āsthitaḥ | na hi deva-gaṇāḥ śaktās Trivikrama-vinākṛitāḥ | bhuvane  
deva-kāryyāni karttuṁ nāyaka-varjjitāḥ | nāyakaḥ sarva-bhūtānām sarva-  
bhūta-namaskṛitaḥ | etasya deva-nāthasya deva-kāryya-ratasya cha |  
brahma-bhūtasya satatām devarshi-śaraṇasya cha | Brahmā vasati garbha-  
sthaḥ śarīre mukha-saṁsthitaḥ | sarvāḥ sukhaṁ saṁśritās cha śarīre tasya  
devatāḥ | sa devaḥ puṇḍarikāxah śrīgarbhaḥ śrī-sahoshitaḥ | ityādi | . . .  
bhavārtham iha devānām buddhyā paramayā yutaḥ | prājūpatye śubhe  
mārge Mānave dharmā-saṁhite | samutpatsyati Govindo Manor vaṁśe  
mahātmanaḥ | . . . v. 6836: Sa Sūrah xatriya-śreshṭho mahāvīryyo  
mahāyāsāḥ | sva-vaṁśa-vistara-karaṁ jānayishyati mānadaḥ | Vāsudeva  
iti khyātam putram Ānakadundubhim | tasya putras chaturbāhur Vāsu-  
devo bhavishyati | dātā brāhmaṇa-satkarttā brahmabhūto devija-priyāḥ |  
. . . . 6842: Tam bhavantaḥ samāsādyā vaṅ-mālyair arhaṇair varaiḥ |  
archayantu yathānyāyam Brahmāṇam iva śāsvatam | yo hi mām drash-  
ṭum iccheta Brahmāṇaṅcha pitāmaham | drashṭavyas tena bhagavān  
Vāsudevaḥ pratāpavān | drishṭe tasminn ahaṁ drishṭo na me 'trāsti  
viehāranā | pitāmaho vā deveśa iti vitta tapodhanāḥ |*

“Superior even to Pitāmaha (Brahmā) is Hari, the eternal Puruṣa, Krishṇa, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the śrīvatsa, Hṛishīkeśa, adored by all the gods. Brahmā is sprung from his belly and I (Mahādeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair

of his head, the gods and Asuras from his hairs, and the rishis, as well as the everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitāmaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united [with all things], omnipresent, facing in every direction, the supreme Spirit, Hṛishikeśa, all-pervading, the mighty lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He the conferrer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice) are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures. Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahmā dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is the lotus-eyed, the producer of Śrī, dwelling together with Śrī. . . . For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence, and [walking] in the excellent path of the Prajāpati, of Manu, abounding in righteousness. . . . 6836: This Sūra, the most eminent of Kshatriyas, heroic, renowned, conferring honour, shall beget a son Ānakadundubhi,<sup>208</sup> the proloner of his race, known as Vasudeva. To him shall be born a four-armed son, Vāsudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brāhmins, one with Brahma, a lover of Brāhmins. . . . 6842: You (the gods) should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahmā, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of praise. For the divine and glorious Vāsudeva should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahmā the Parent. In regard to this I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahmā), the lord of the gods: know this ye whose wealth is austeritv."

Further on in the same Anuśāsana-parva (7356 ff.), it is related that Bhīshma, when called on by Yudhishtira to inform him what are the benefits resulting from reverence rendered to Brāhmins, refers him

<sup>208</sup> See Wilson's Vishnu Purāna, p. 436.

to Krishna, whose divine greatness he then proceeds to set forth as follows (vv. 7360 ff.):

*Kṛishṇaḥ pṛithvīm asṛijāt khaṁ divāṅcha Kṛishṇasya dehād medinī sambabhūva | varāho 'yam bhīma-balaḥ purāṇaḥ sa parvatān vyasṛijāt vai diśascha | asya chādho 'thāntarīxam divāṅcha diśās chatasro vidīśās chatasraḥ | sṛiṣṭis tathaiveyam anuprasūtā sa nirmame viśvam idam purāṇam | asya nābhyaṁ pushkaraṁ samprasūtāṁ yatropannaḥ svayam evāmitaujaḥ | yena chhinnaṁ yat tamaḥ Pārtha ghoraṁ yat tat tishṭhaty arṇavaṁ tarjjayānam | . . . 7388: Vāyur bhūtvā vixipate sa viśvam agnir bhūtvā dahate viśva-rūpaḥ | āpo bhūtvā majjayate sa sarvam Brahmā bhūtvā sṛijate sarva-saṅghān | vedyaṅcha yad vedayate cha vedyaṁ vidhīścha yaś chāśrayate vidheyam | dharme cha vede bale cha sarvaṁ charācharaṁ Keśavaṁ team pratīhi | jyotir-bhūtaḥ paramo 'sau purastāt prakāśate yat prabhayā viśva-rūpaḥ | apaḥ sṛiṣṭvā sarva-bhūtātma-yoniḥ purā 'karot sarvam evātha viśvam ityādi |*

“ Krishna created the earth, the air, and the sky; from Krishna's body the earth was produced. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heaven, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions: and [from him] this creation sprang forth: he formed this ancient universe. In his navel a lotus grew up, where he himself [in the form of Brahmā] was born of boundless power. By him the dreadful darkness was pierced, that threatening ocean which abides. . . . 7388: Becoming Vāyu, he dissipates this universe; becoming Fire, he burns it, universal in his forms; becoming Water, he drowns all things; becoming Brahmā, he creates all the hosts [of beings]. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known: he is the rule for performance, and he who exists in that which is to be performed. Believe that Keśava [abides] in righteousness, in the Veda, in strength, and that he is the whole world, moveable and immoveable. Since he, the supreme, being by nature luminous, shines from the beginning, in every form of splendour, this soul and source of all beings, having created the waters, formed of old this entire universe.” Krishna then (vv. 7402 ff.) proceeds to set forth the benefits of reverence to Brahmans, who he says (7412 f.) could reduce this world to ashes, and create new ones, and illustrates his opinion of their importance by the results of his own experience (see above, p. 165).

He afterwards goes on in the passage which I have already cited in pp. 165–170, to return the compliment paid to him by Mahādeva, by celebrating the greatness of that deity, though he does not there commit himself to any such explicit avowal of the supreme divinity of his rival, as the latter has made in regard to him in the text (Anuśāsana-parva, 6806 ff.) which has just been adduced in p. 230 f.

In the Āśvamedhika-parva it is related, vv. 1536 ff., that when Krishṇa had left the city of the Pandus, and was journeying to Dvārakā, he fell in with the muni Uttanga, who asked him whether he had reconciled the Kurus and Pandus with one another. Krishṇa replied (1559) that he had made the attempt to do so, but without success, and that the Kurus had perished in consequence. On hearing this Uttanga becomes greatly incensed, and threatens to curse Krishṇa because he had not rescued the Kurus, although he was perfectly able to do so. To pacify the muni's wrath, Krishṇa offers to explain the circumstances, and to unfold the mystery of his own nature; which he accordingly does in vv. 1564 ff. :

*Vāsudeva uvācha | tamo rajas cha sattvaṁ cha viddhi bhāvān mad-  
āśrayān | tathā Rudrān Vasūn vā 'pi viddhi mat-prabhavān dvija | mayi  
sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarva-bhūteshu chāpy aham | sthitaḥ ityādi | . . . . .  
1567: Sad asachchaiva yat prāhur avyaktam vyaktam eva cha | asarañ-  
cha zarañchaiva sarvaṁ etad mad-ātmakam | ye chāśrameshu vai dharmās  
chaturdhā viditā mune | vaidikani cha sarvāṇi viddhi sarvaṁ mad-ātma-  
kam | asachcha sad-asachchaiva yad viśvaṁ sad-asat-param | mattaḥ  
parataram nāsti deva-devāt sanātānāt | oṁkāra-pramukhān vedān viddhi  
mām tvam Bhṛigūdvaha | yūpaṁ somaṁ charuṁ homaṁ tridaśāpyāyanam  
makhe | hotāram api havyaṁcha viddhi mām Bhṛigu-nandana | adhvaryu-  
yuh kalpakasyāpi haviḥ parama-saṁskṛitam | udgātā chāpi mām stauti  
gīta-ghoshair mahādhvare | prāyaśchitteshu mām brahman śānti-mangala-  
vāchakāḥ | stuvanti viśvakarmāṇāṁ satataṁ dvija-sattama | mama viddhi  
sutaṁ dharmam agrajaṁ dvija-sattama | mānasaṁ dayitaṁ vipra sarva-  
bhūta-dayātmakam | tatrāhaṁ varttamānaiścha nirvṛittaiśchaiva māna-  
saiḥ | bahviḥ saṁsaramāno vai yonir varttāmi sattama | dharna-saṁvra-  
anārthāya dharna-saṁsthāpanāya cha | tair vesāis cha rūpaiś cha trishu  
lokeshu Bhārgava | ahaṁ Viśṇur aham Brahmā Sakro 'tha prabhaṁvya-  
yah (āpyayah ?) <sup>209</sup> | bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya sraṣṭā saṁhāra eva cha |*

<sup>209</sup> See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, under *apyaya*; and Udyoga-parva, v. 2569.

*adharme varttamānānām sarveshām aham achyutaḥ | dharmasya setum badhnāmi chalite chalite yuge | tās tā yonīḥ praviśyāham prajānām hita-kāmyayā | yadā tv ahaṁ deva-yonau varttāmi Bhṛigu-nandana | tadā 'haṁ deva-vat sarvam ācharāmi na saṁśayaḥ | . . . 1582: Mānushye varttamāne tu kṛipanaṁ yāchitā mayā | na cha te jāta-sammohā vacho 'grihṇanta mohitāḥ | bhayañcha mahad uddīśya trāsītāḥ Kuravo mayā | kruddhena bhūtvā cha punar yathāvad anudarsītāḥ | te 'dharmeneha saṁyuktāḥ paritāḥ kāla-dharmanā | dharmena nihatā yuddhe gatāḥ svargaṁ na saṁśayaḥ | . . . . Uttānga uvācha | abhijānāmi jagataḥ karttāraṁ tvām Janārdana |*

“Know that the qualities of darkness (*tamas*), passion (*rajas*), and goodness (*sattva*) have their abode in me. Know also that both the Rudras and Vasus are sprung from me. All beings reside in me, and I in all beings, etc. . . . . 1567 ff. : That which men call entity and nonentity, the unmanifested and the manifested, the undecaying and the decaying,—all this consists of my essence. And know, o muni, that the fourfold duties which are recognized as belonging to the [four] conditions of life, as well as all the Vedic [ordinances], are part of my nature. As regards nonentity, and that which is both entity and nonentity, and that which transcends both entity and nonentity,—know that [of all this] there is nothing which transcends me, the eternal god of gods. Know, descendant of Bhṛigu, that I am the Vedas which are introduced by *omkāra*, the sacrificial post, the *soma*, the *charu*, the *homa*, the *tridaśāpyāyana* (that which satiates the immortals) in the sacrifice. Know that I am both the *hotṛi* (priest), and the *havya* (oblation). [I am] also the *adhvaryu* of the ceremony, and the highly purified butter. The *udgātṛi* celebrates me with sounds of hymns at the great sacrifice. And at the rites of atonement, the priests who utter propitiatory and auspicious texts continually, o excellent Brahman, praise me, the architect of all. Know that Dharma (Righteousness) is my beloved first-born mental son, whose nature is to have compassion on all creatures. In his character I exist among men, both present and past, passing through many varieties of mundane existence, in different disguises and forms, in the three worlds, for the preservation and establishment of righteousness. I am Vishṇu, Brahmā, Indra, and the source as well as destruction [of things], the creator and the annihilator of the whole aggregate of existences. While all men live in un-

righteousness, I, the unfalling, build up the bulwark of righteousness, as the ages pass away. While entering into various wombs, from a desire to promote the good of creatures, whenever I assume a divine birth, I act in every respect agreeably to my divine character." . . . (He adds that he acts agreeably to all the other natures which he assumes.) 1582: "But during the existence of my mortal condition, though they (the Kurus) were humbly entreated by me, they, through delusion, were not touched, and did not listen to my words. Though terrified by me, when I was incensed, with great alarms, and again fittingly admonished, they, influenced by unrighteousness, and overcome by fate, have been righteously slain in battle, and have undoubtedly gone to heaven."<sup>210</sup> On hearing this reply of Krishna, the sage Uttanga breaks out: "I recognize thee, Janārdana, as the creator of the world," etc. Krishna then shews him his divine form.

VII. In the preceding pages, various passages have been adduced in which the supremacy of Mahādeva and his identity with the soul of the universe have been asserted (pp. 155 f., 162, 164), and other texts have been quoted in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishṇu (pp. 222-234). The reader will likewise have noticed that in some places also (pp. 195, 204, 226, 231), an attempt is made, by alleging the essential

<sup>210</sup> See Mahābhārata, Santīparva, v. 3655 ff., where Indra says: *Āhave tu hataṁ śūram na śocheta kathañchana | aśochyo hi hataḥ śūrah svarga-loke mahīyate | na hy annaṁ nodakaṁ tasya na snānaṁ nāpy aśauchakam | hatasya karttum ichhanti tasya lokān śrinushva me | varāpsarāḥ-sahasrāṇi śūram āyodhane hataṁ | tvaramānā bhīdhāvanti "mama bharttā bhaved" iti |* "Let no one ever lament a hero slain in battle. A hero slain, is not to be lamented, for he is exalted in heaven. Men do not desire to offer to him food or water, or perform ablutions, or [contract ?] impurity [on his account]. Hear from me the worlds to which he goes. Thousands of beautiful nymphs (*apsarases*) run quickly up to the hero who has been slain in combat, saying to him, 'be my husband.'" Professor Weber refers to this passage, *Indische Studien*, i. 398, note, and notices the parallel it forms to similar representations about Hūris in the *Coran*. In the same way Krishna says to Jarāsandha (*Sabha-parva*, v. 869): *Ko hi jānann abhijanam ātmanān xatriyo nripah | nāvisāt svargam atulaṁ raṇānantaram avyayam | svargaṁ hy eva samāsthāya raṇa-yajñeshu dīpitāḥ | jayanti xatriyā lokāms tad viddhi manujarshabha | svarga-yonir mahad brahma svarga-yonir mahad yajñah | svarga-yonis tapo yuddhe mrityuḥ sa 'vyabhichāraoṇ |* "For what Kshattriya king, who had a soul, and recognised his own kindred, has not, after the battle, entered into an incomparable and undecaying paradise? Know, chief of men, that Kshattriyas, consecrated in the sacrifice of battle, attain to paradise and conquer the worlds. Great scriptural knowledge is the source of paradise, and so is great renown; austerity (*tapas*) in fight, too, is the source of paradise such a death never fails of its reward."



oneness of the two deities, to reconcile their conflicting claims. Another passage of this description occurs in the *Harivamśa*, vv. 10660 ff. It had been related in the preceding section that Śiva had come to the assistance of Bāṇa and the Dānavas in their conflict with Kriṣṇa (v. 10587 f.), when a terrible combat ensues between the latter and Śiva, which causes the earth to tremble, and throws the whole universe into disorder (v. 10601 f.). Śiva is at length paralyzed by a weapon of his adversary called *jrimbhana*, which causes him to yawn incessantly (v. 10632 f.). The earth is distressed (v. 10641 ff.) and appeals to Brahmā for assistance. Brahmā (v. 10647) remonstrates with Śiva against his conflict with Kriṣṇa, who, he says, is in reality one with himself. Śiva perceiving by *yoga* (mental union with the object contemplated) the truth of what Brahmā had stated, says to Brahmā that he will no longer fight against Kriṣṇa, and the two combatants embrace (v. 10648 ff.). Brahmā then says to the sage Mārkaṇḍeya (v. 10656 ff.) that he had formerly, in a dream, seen the two deities on the northern side of the mountain Mandara, each invested with the emblems of the other, Hara (Śiva) in the form of Hari (Viṣṇu) with the shell, discus, and club, clothed in yellow vestments and mounted on Garuḍa, and Hari in the form of Hara, bearing the trident and axe, clad in a tiger's skin, and mounted on a bull; and he asks the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to explain this phenomenon which had occasioned him great astonishment. Mārkaṇḍeya replies (vv. 10660 ff.):

*Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | Śivāya Viṣṇu-rūpāya Viṣṇave Śiva-rūpiṇe |  
athāntaram na paśyāmi tena te diśataḥ<sup>211</sup> śivam | an-ādi-madhyā-nidhanam  
etaḍ acaram avyayam | tad eva te pravaxyāmi rūpam Hari-Harātmakam |  
yo vai Viṣṇuḥ sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ | ekā mūrttis trayo  
devā Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahaḥ | varadā loka-karttāro loka-nāthāḥ sva-  
yambhuvaḥ | ardha-nārīśvarās te tu vrataṁ tivrāṁ samāśrītāḥ | yathā  
jale jalāṁ xiptāṁ jalam eva tu tad bhavet | Rudraṁ Viṣṇuḥ pravīṣṭas  
tu tathā Rudramayo bhavet | agniṁ agniḥ pravīṣṭas tu agnir eva yathā  
bhavet | tathā Viṣṇum pravīṣṭas tu Rudro Viṣṇumayo bhavet |  
Rudram agnimayaṁ vidyād Viṣṇuḥ somātmakaḥ smṛitaḥ | agniśho-  
mātmakaṁ chaiva jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam | karttārau chāpaharttārau  
sthāvarasya charasya cha | jagataḥ śubha-karttārau prabhū Viṣṇu-  
Mahēśvarau | karttṛi-kāraṇa-karttārau karttṛi-kāraṇa-kāraṇau | bhūta-*

<sup>211</sup> The MS. in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society reads *darśitaḥ*.

*bhavya-bhavau devau Nārāyaṇa-Maheśvarau | etau tau cha pravak-  
tārāv etau tau cha prabhāmayau | jagataḥ pālākāv etāv etau sṛiṣṭi-  
karau smṛitau | ete chaiva pravarshanti bhānti vānti srijanti cha |  
etat parataram guhyam kathitam te Pitāmaha | yaś chainam paśhate  
nityam yaś chainam śrinuyād naraḥ | prāpnoti paramam sthānam  
Rudra-Vishṇu-prasāda-jam | devau Hari-Harau stoshye Brahmanā saha  
saṅgatau | etau cha paramau devau jagataḥ prabhavāpyayau | Rudrasya  
paramo Vishṇur Vishṇōcha paramaḥ Sivaḥ | eka eva dvidhā-bhūto loka  
charati nityasaḥ | na vinā Saṅkaram Vishṇur na vinā Keśavam Sivaḥ |  
tasmad ekatvam āyātau Rudropendrau tu tau purā | ityādi*

“When thou shewest me this auspicious [vision], I perceive thereby no difference between Siva who exists in the form of Vishṇu, and Vishṇu who exists in the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishṇu and Mahādeva) combined, which is without beginning, or middle, or end, imperishable, undecaying. He who is Vishṇu is Rudra; he who is Rudra is Pitāmaha (Brahmā): the substance (*mūrtti*) is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Vishṇu, and Pitāmaha. Bestowers of boons, creators of the world, sovereigns of the world, self-existent, they are the half-female lords, and have performed austere rites. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishṇu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra. And just as fire entering into fire can be nothing else but fire, so Rudra entering into Vishṇu must possess the nature of Vishṇu. Rudra should be understood to possess the nature of fire; Vishṇu is declared to possess the nature of Soma (the Moon); and the world moveable and immoveable possesses the nature of Agni and Soma. The lords, Vishṇu and Maheśvara, are the makers and destroyers of things moveable and immoveable, and the benefactors of the world. The gods Nārāyaṇa and Maheśvara are the makers, causes, and makers, the makers, causes and causers, existing in the past, future, and present. And these two are the revealers, they possess a luminous essence, they are declared to be the preservers of the world, and the creators. They rain, they shine, they blow, and they create. This which I have told thee, Pitāmaha, is the highest mystery. The man who continually repeats it, and hears it, obtains the highest abode granted by the grace of Rudra and Vishṇu. I shall laud the gods Hari and Hara, associated with Brahmā; and

these two are the supreme deities, the originators and destroyers of the world. Vishṇu, the highest [manifestation] of Rudra, and Śiva, the highest [manifestation] of Vishṇu,—this [god] one only, though divided into twain, moves continually in the world. Vishṇu does not [exist] without Śankara, nor Śiva without Keśava: hence these two, Rudra and Upendra (Vishṇu), have formerly attained to oneness," etc.

Then follows a hymn to the double deity.

The various representations of Kṛishṇa given in the different sets of passages above cited possess a certain interest in themselves, even independently of the light which they may be considered to throw on the process by which his deification was effected. Among the texts adduced from the Mahābhārata there are some (see pp. 153 ff.) in which he is distinctly subordinated to Mahādeva, of whom he is exhibited as a worshipper, and from whom, as well as from his wife Umā, he is stated to have received a variety of boons. Even in these passages, however, a superhuman character is ascribed to Kṛishṇa.

A second class of texts has been brought forward in pp. 170 ff., in which his superiority is represented to have been denied by Śiśupāla, Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Salya. Of course we are not to imagine that any claim to a superhuman character was ever advanced on behalf of the Yādava hero in his lifetime, either by himself or his friends. These narrative passages, therefore, in which his divine dignity is denied by his enemies, and asserted by his partisans, as well as vindicated by the miraculous exploits which are attributed to him, are nothing more than poetical fictions (possibly of a polemical import) put forward at a period when his godhead had come to be recognised by the Vaiṣnavas, though perhaps doubted or disputed by other sects. Such a resistance to the pretensions set up on Kṛishṇa's behalf may be indicated in the verses I have quoted in p. 200 f., where all who regard him as a mere man are stigmatized as being under the dominion of the quality of darkness.

In the third class of passages, quoted in pp. 206–216, where the achievements of Kṛishṇa are described with a supernatural colouring, it seems not unreasonable to recognise a basis of simpler legend (if not of actual history)<sup>212</sup> underlying the miraculous narrative, and to trace a reference to a variety of warlike adventures in which the Yādava chief contended as a mere man with the warriors of other tribes. The

<sup>212</sup> See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, p. 615.

supernatural powers which are here ascribed to him are not in their character essentially different from those which are attributed to his enemies, who, it will be observed, are in like manner represented as endowed with superhuman faculties; while Krishna himself is in various places described as being indebted to the gods for his weapons, or for other advantages (see the Droṇa-parva, v. 402, and the Adiparva, v. 8196, quoted in p. 209, and the Udyoga-parva, quoted in p. 213).

The identification of Arjuna and Krishna with the saints Nara and Nārāyaṇa (pp. 192–206)<sup>213</sup> is curious; but I am unable to conjecture whether it may have originated in a previously existing legend respecting two rishis of that name (the one of whom as bearing the same name which was ultimately applied to Vishṇu and Krishna, was, in the fanciful spirit of Indian mythology, and in consonance with the tenet of metempsychosis, declared to have been an earlier manifestation of Krishna,—when Arjuna the bosom friend of the latter would naturally be regarded as the same with Nara, the inseparable companion of Nārāyaṇa); or whether the whole legend was originally invented for the glorification of Krishna and Arjuna.

In the passages above adverted to, where Krishna is subordinated to Mahādeva, the latter is identified with the supreme Deity (see pp. 154, 156, 162). In another set of texts, however (pp. 222 ff.), Krishna, as Vishṇu, is asserted to be one with the supreme God,<sup>214</sup> while Mahādeva is represented as springing from, and dependent on, Vishṇu. But here and elsewhere, as we have already seen, an attempt is made to reconcile the claims of the two rival deities by affirming their identity (pp. 195, 204 f., 226, 231, 237). How are we to explain this circumstance, that in one place Mahādeva is extolled at the expense of Krishna, and that in another place Krishna is exalted above Mahādeva? Must we assume the one set of passages to be older

<sup>213</sup> In Boetlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *Nārāyaṇa* is explained as the "son of man," and as a patronymic of the personified Puruṣa, the rishi of the Puruṣa-sūkta (R. V., x. 90). *Nara* is in the same work interpreted as the "primeval man."

<sup>214</sup> Even in the parts of the Vishṇu Purāṇa and Mahābhārata (see pp. 42 and 216 ff.) where Krishna is represented as a *partial* incarnation of the godhead, there does not appear to be any intention to question the plenitude of his divine nature. Compare the 27th with the 34th and following verses of the 33rd section of the 10th Book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, quoted in p. 42.

than the other, or are we to suppose them to be contemporaneous, or nearly contemporaneous, and to have been inserted in the Mahābhārata by different classes of sectaries in order to give a sort of catholicity to the great epic, by making it a storehouse in which the votaries of all the different deities might find something to satisfy their various tendencies?

It does not, I think, result from a comparison of the principal passages which I have quoted relative to Mahādeva, with those which have reference to Krishna, that the one class bears in its general complexion the impress of any greater antiquity than the other. Both appear to belong to the same age, as we find in both the same tendency to identify the god who is the object of adoration with the supreme Soul. The passages relating to both gods, as they now stand, would therefore seem to be the products of a sectarian spirit, and to have been introduced into the poem by the Saivas and Vaishnavas for the purpose of upholding the honour of their respective deities. But on the other hand the mere fact that a poem in which Krishna plays throughout so prominent a part, and which in its existing form is so largely devoted to his glorification, should at the same time contain so many passages which formally extol the greatness, and still more, which incidentally refer to a frequent adoration, of the rival deity, by the different personages, whether contemporary or of earlier date, who are introduced,—this fact is, I think, a proof that the worship of the latter (Mahādeva) was widely diffused, if indeed it was not the predominant worship in India, at the period to which the action of the poem is referred. Various references to such a worship of Mahādeva as I have alluded to will be found in the preceding pages, 154–170, 194 f., and 227 (where the abode of this deity is described as being in the Himālaya, p. 194 and 227). I shall quote some further illustrations of its prevalence.<sup>215</sup>

Lassen remarks (i. 780), that in the epic poems the worship of Vishnu is but seldom<sup>216</sup> mentioned—a fact which he regards as proving that at the period when they were composed no special worship of

<sup>215</sup> See Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*, vol. i. pp. 562, 571, 610, 682, 711, 716, 741, and 781.

<sup>216</sup> Lassen (i. 679) refers to a passage of the Vana-parva (15283 ff.) where Duryodhana, being prevented from offering a rājasūya sacrifice, is advised by his priest to offer a sacrifice to Vishnu. This story will be quoted further on.

that deity had been extensively spread, at least among the Brahmans and princes, to the description of whose manners and customs those works almost exclusively confine themselves. On the other hand he quotes the following passages to prove the wide extension of the worship of Mahādeva in different parts of India. In the Tīrthayātrā, or section on visiting places of pilgrimage, in the Vana-parva, 6054 ff., it is said of the Vaitaranī river, in the country of the Kalingas :

*Tatas Tripishtapaṁ gachchhet trishu lokeshu viśrutam | tatra Vaitaranī punyā nadi pāpa-pranāśinī | tatra snātvā 'rchayitvā cha Śūlapānīm Vṛishadhvajam | sarva-pāpa-viśuddhātmā gachheta paramām gatim |*  
 "Let him then go to Tripishtapa, renowned in the three worlds. There is the holy river Vaitaranī, which destroys sin. Having bathed there and worshipped the god who wields the trident and whose ensign is the bull (Mahādeva), he shall be purified from all sin, and attain the highest felicity."

At vv. 11001 of the same book it is said of the north bank of the same river :

*Atraiva Rudro rājendra paśum ādattavān makho | paśum ādāya rājendra bhāgo 'yam iti chābravīt | hṛite paśau tadā devās tam ūchur Bharatarshabha | mā para-svam abhidrogdhā mā dharmān sakalān vaśih | tataḥ kalyāṇa-rūpābhir vāgbhis te Rudram astuvan | ishṭyā chainaṁ tarpayitvā mānayanāchakrire tadā | tataḥ sa paśum utsriḡya deva-yānena jagmivān | tatrānuvaṁso Rudrasya tan nibodha Yudhishtira | ayātayāmaṁ sarcebhyo bhāgebhyo bhāgam uttamam | devāḥ saṅkalpayāmāsur bhayād Rudrasya śāśvaṭam | imām gāthām atra gāyann apaḥ sprisati yo naraḥ | deva-yāno 'śya panthās cha chaxushā 'bhiprakāsate |*

"In this very place, o king, Rudra seized a victim at a sacrifice, and having done so, said, 'This is [my] portion.' When he had seized the victim, the gods said to him, 'Do not attack the property of others; do not covet all the offerings.' They then lauded Rudra with words of auspicious import; and having satiated him with an oblation, they paid him honour. He then relinquished the victim, and departed by the path of the gods. Referring to this is the following traditional verse of Rudra, which learn from me, Yudhishtira: 'Through dread of Rudra, the gods allotted to him for ever the most excellent of all portions, the *ayātayāma* (or fresh portion). The man

who, here reciting this verse, touches the waters obtains a distinct vision of the path leading to the gods.' ”

In the same Vana-parva, v. 8166, it is said that Mahādeva was worshipped at Gokarṇa, on the west coast of the Dekhan :

*Atha Gokarṇam āsādya trishu lokeshu viśrutam | samudra-mādhye rājendra sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | yatra Brahmādayo devā rishayaś cha tapodhanāḥ | . . . . . 8169 : Saritaḥ sāgarāḥ śailā upāsanta Umāpatim | ityādi |* “Then having reached Gokarṇa, renowned in the three worlds, standing in the sea, adored by all worlds, where Brahmā and the other gods and rishis rich in austerity,” [various other kinds of beings are here enumerated, *Bhūtas*, *Yaxas*, etc. etc.], “rivers, oceans, and mountains worshipped the lord of Umā (Mahādeva).”

The same place is also mentioned in the Vana-parva, v. 15999 f. :

*Trikūṭam samatikramya Kālaparvatam eva cha | dadarśa makarāvāsāṃ gambhīrodam mahodadhim | tam atityātha Gokarṇam abhyagachhat Daśānanaḥ | dayitaṃ sthānam avyagraṃ Sūlapāner mahātmanaḥ |* “Having passed Trikūta, and the Black Mountain, he (Rāvaṇa) saw the deep ocean, the abode of marine monsters. Having crossed it, he then approached Gokarṇa, the beloved undisturbed abode of the mighty wielder of the trident.”

[The same Tirtha-yātrā, however, contains the following passage celebrating Krishṇa :

Vana-parva, v. 8349 f.—*Punyā Dvāravati tatra yatrāsau Madhusūdanaḥ | sākṣād devaḥ purāno 'sau sa hi dharmāḥ sanātanaḥ | yo cha vedavido viprā yo chādhyātma-vido janāḥ | te vadanti mahātmanaṃ Krishṇam dharmāṃ sanātanam | pavitrāṇām hi Govindaḥ pavitram param uchyate | punyānām api punyo 'sau mangalānām cha maṅgalam | trailokye Puṇḍarikāxo deva-devaḥ sanātanaḥ | avyayātmā vyayātmā cha xetrañṇaḥ parameśvaraḥ | āste Harir achintyātmā tatraiva Madhusūdanaḥ |* “There is the holy Dvāravati where that Madhusūdana [abides], that manifest, ancient god; for he is the eternal righteousness. Brahmans who know the Veda, and who know the supreme spirit, call the mighty Krishṇa the eternal righteousness. Govinda is called the supremely pure among the pure, the holy among the holy, the blessed among the blessed. In the three worlds the lotus-eyed is the eternal god of gods, the undecaying in essence, and the decaying, the conscious occupant of

the body, the supreme lord. There the inconceivable Hari, Madhusūdana, abides.”]

The following passages supply some further instances of the worship of Mahādeva by personages introduced in the poem :

Ādi-parva, v. 7049.—*Evaṃ teshāṃ vilapatāṃ viprāṇāṃ vividhā girāḥ | Arjuno dhanuḥo 'bhyāse tasthau girir ivāchalaḥ | sa tad dhanuḥ parikramya pradaxiṇam athākarot | pranāmya śirasū devam Iśānaṃ varadam prabhūm | Kṛishṇaṃ cha manasā kṛitrū jagrihe chārjuno dhanuḥ | yat pārthivaiḥ Rukmi-Sunitha-Vaktraih Rādheya-Duryodhana-Salya-Sālvaiḥ | tadā dhanur-veda-parair nṛiśiṃhaiḥ kṛitaṃ na sajyam mahato 'pi yatnāt | tad Arjunaḥ ityādi |* “While the Brahmans thus uttered various speeches, Arjuna stood firm as a mountain, trying the bow. He then made a circuit round it, bowing down in reverence to the boon-bestowing lord Iśāna (Mahādeva) ; and having meditated on Kṛishṇa,<sup>217</sup> Arjuna seized the bow. And that bow which the lion-like kings Rukmin, Sunitha (Śiśupāla), Vaktra, Rādheya, Duryodhana, Salya, and Sālva, skilled in archery, could not with great effort bend [so as to fix the bowstring], Arjuna bent, and hit the mark,” etc. etc.

In the Vana-parvā, vv. 15777, it is related that Jayadratha, after being captured by Bhīshma and released at the request of Yudhīsthira, went to worship Mahādeva (v. 15801) :

*Jagāma rājan duḥkhārtto Gaṅgādvārāya Bhārata | sa devaṃ śaraṇaṃ gatvā cirūpāzam Umāpatim | tapas chachāra vipulaṃ tasya prito Vṛishadhvajah | baliṃ svayam pratyagrīhāt priyamāṇas Trilochanaḥ | varaṃ chāsmāi dadau devaḥ sa jagrāha cha tach chhriṇu | “ Samastūn sarathān pañcha jayeyaṃ yudhi Pāṇḍavūn ” | iti rājā 'bravid devaṃ neti devas tam abravīt | ajayyāṃś chāpy abadhyāṃś cha vārayishyasi tūn yudhi | rite 'rjunam mahābāhuṃ Naraṃ nāma sureśvaram | Vādaryyāṃ tapta-tapa-saṃ Nārāyaṇa-sahāyakam | ajitāṃ sarva-lokānāṃ devair api durāsadam | mayā dattam pāsūpataṃ divyam apratimaṃ śaram | avāpa lokapālebhyo vajradīn sa mahāsarān | deva-devo hy anantātmā Vishṇuḥ sura-guruḥ prabhūḥ | pradhāna-puruḥo 'ryaktaḥ viśvātmā viśva-mūrttimān | yugāntakāle samprāpte kālāgnir dahate jagat | sa-parvatārṇava-dvīpaṃ sa-śaila-rana-kānanam |*

“He went, o king, distressed with grief, to Gaṅgādvāra (Haridvāra).

<sup>217</sup> Lassen (Indian Antiquities, vol. i. 646) regards this reference to Kṛishṇa as a later interpolation in the older story.



There, resorting to the distorted-eyed lord of Umā as his refuge, he practised long austerities. Gratified with this, the three-eyed god, whose ensign is a bull, himself received his oblation, and offered him a boon, which he accepted. Hear how [he did so]. The king (Jayadratha) said to the god, 'May I vanquish all the five Pāndavas with their chariots in battle.' The god said, 'No; thou shalt withstand them all, though they are unconquerable and not to be slain, excepting only the great-armed Arjuna, who is called Nara, the lord of the gods, who performed austerity at Badari, attended by Nārāyaṇa, who is invincible by all the worlds, and irresistible even by the gods. He obtained the Pāsupata, a divine, incomparable missile, given by me, and thunderbolts and other weapons from the guardians of the worlds. For the infinite Vishṇu, the god of gods, the chief of the deities, the chief spirit (Purusha), the undiscernible, the soul of all things, the universal-formed, at the end of the yuga burns up the world, with its mountains, oceans, continents, rocks and forests.'" Mahādeva then goes on to relate how the destruction and the restoration of the world is effected by Vishṇu, and describes his various incarnations. He concludes by saying that Arjuna who was aided by him could not be conquered even by the gods. In this legend it will be observed that the warrior goes to worship Mahādeva, and not Vishṇu, though the latter is represented as being magnified by the rival deity. But this part of the story may be interpolated.

In the Santi-parva also (vv. 1748 f.), it is related how Paraśurāma worshipped Mahādeva on the mountain Gandhamādana, and obtained his celebrated axe, by which he became renowned in the world (*toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśum chāti-tejasam | sa tenākunṭha-dhāreṇa jvalitānala-varchasā | kuthāreṇa-prameyena lokeshv apratimo bhavat |*). Then follows the story of Kārttavīrya.

In the following passage, Jarāsandha is introduced as a zealous votary of Mahādeva. Yudhishthira had been purposing to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice, which presupposed that he was the most powerful of contemporary monarchs; but Krishṇa in the following words tells him that he cannot do so while Jarāsandha lives:

Sabhā-parva, v. 626.—*Na tu śakyaṃ Jarāsandho jīvamāne mahābale | rājasūyaṃ tvayā vāptum eshā rājan matir mama | tena ruddhā hi rājā-*

*naḥ sarco jīvā Girivraje | kandaro parvatendrasya sīmheneva mahā-  
dvīpāḥ | sa hi rājā Jarāsandho yiyaxur vasudhādhipaiḥ | Mahādevam  
mahātmānam Umāpatim arindama | ārādhya tapasogrena nirjītās tena  
pārthivāḥ | pratijñāyās cha pārām sa gataḥ pārthiva-sattamaḥ | sa hi  
nirjītya nirjītya pārthivān pritanāgatān | puram ānīya baddhvā cha  
chakāra puruṣa-vrajam | vāyaṁ chaiva mahārāja Jarāsandha-bhayāt  
tadā | Mathurām samparityajya gatā Dvāravatim purīm |*

“But whilst the powerful Jarāsandha lives, a Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be attained by thee; such, king, is my opinion. For all the kings have been conquered, and are imprisoned by him in Girivraja, as elephants by a lion in a cave of a great mountain. For this monarch Jarāsandha desired to sacrifice to the glorious Mahādeva, the lord of Umā, with these kings as victims, and they were conquered by him after he had worshipped the god with dreadful austerities. And this eminent prince has attained to the accomplishment of his design. For after repeatedly conquering the princes who had come against him in battle, he has brought them to his capital, confined them, and made them a human herd. And we too,” (confesses Krishṇa) “from dread of Jarāsandha, deserted Mathurā, and went to the city of Dvāravatī.”

Krishṇa returns, a little farther on, to Jarāsandha's cruelty to the kings :

*Sabhā-parva, v. 653.—Ratna-bhājo hi rājāno Jarāsandham upāsate |  
na cha tushyati tenāpi bālyād anayam āsthitaḥ | mūrdhābhishiktaṁ  
nripatim pradhāna-puruṣo balāt | ādatte na cha no drīṣṭo 'bhāgaḥ  
puruṣataḥ kvachit | evaṁ sarvān vaśe chakre Jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān |  
taṁ durbala-paro rājā katham Pārtha upaishyati | proxitānām pramrīṣh-  
ṭānām<sup>218</sup> rājūnām Paśupatiḥ grihe | paśūnām ivā kā prītir jīvite Bharat-  
arshabha |* “For jewelled kings wait upon Jarāsandha; and yet he is not contented even with that, having through folly become imprudent. A prince seizes by force a consecrated king, and no mortal that we see is more wretched than such a man. In this manner Jarāsandha has reduced to subjection in all at least a hundred persons; how, then, can a feeble prince approach him? What pleasure can those princes have in existence, when they have been devoted to slaughter and designated as victims like beasts in the temple of Paśupati (Mahādeva)?”

<sup>218</sup> The commentator's remark on this is as follows: *Pramrīṣhṭānām | Rudra-dai-  
atyō 'yam iti pratyekam abhīmṛīṣhṭānām |*

Krishna afterwards proceeds to Jarāsandha's capital with Bhīma and Arjuna, with the view of slaying their enemy. They are admitted to his palace in the disguise of Brahmans, and after some conversation, Krishna says to Jarāsandha :

Sabhā-parva, vv. 861 ff. — *Tvayā chopahṛitā rājan xatriyā loka-vāsinaḥ | tad āgaḥ krūram utpādyā manyase kim anāgasam | rājā rājñāḥ kathaṁ sādḥn hiṁsyān nṛipati-sattama | yad rājñāḥ sannigrihya tvam Rudrāyopajihṛshasi | asmāṁs tad enopagachchhet kṛitaṁ Vṛihadratha tvayā | vayāṁ hi śaktā dharmasya raxane dharmā-chāriṇāḥ | manushyā-ṅgām samālabho na cha dṛishṭāḥ kadāchana | sa katham mānushair devaṁ yashṭum ichhasi Saṅkaram | savarṇo hi savarṇānām<sup>219</sup> paśu-sañjñām karishyasi | ko 'nya evaṁ yathā hi tvam Jarāsandha vṛithā-matiḥ | yasyām yasyām avasthāyām yat yat karma karoti yaḥ | tasyām tasyām avasthāyām tat-phalaṁ samavāpnuyāt | te tvām jñāti-xaya-karaṁ vayam ārttānusāriṇāḥ | jñāti-vṛiddhi-nimittārthaṁ vinihantum ihāgatāḥ | . . . Jarāsandha uvācha . . . 882 : Devatārtham upāhṛitya rājñāḥ Kṛishṇa katham bhayāt | aham adya vimuchhyeyāṁ xātraṁ vratam anusmaran |*

“Thou, king, hast devoted [to Mahādeva] Kshatriyas dwellers in this world. Having devised this cruel iniquity, dost thou regard thyself as guiltless? How should a king injure virtuous kings? Inasmuch as thou hast confined kings, and seekest to offer them up to Rudra, the guilt committed by thee, son of Vṛihadratha, will attach to us. For we who practise righteousness are able to protect righteousness. And [such a thing as] the immolation of men has never been seen. How [then] dost thou seek to sacrifice to the god Sankara with human victims? For thou, belonging to the same tribe [as those princes], wilt designate as victims men of thine own tribe. What other person, Jarāsandha, is so foolish as thou? Whosoever, in any condition, perpetrates any particular act will reap the fruit of it in that particular condition. We, the avengers of the afflicted, seeking the welfare of our kindred, have come hither to slay thee, the destroyer of thy kindred.” Krishna, then, after some further arguments, calls upon Jarāsandha either to

<sup>219</sup> On this the commentator remarks: *Nanu “Brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam ālabheta” ityādīnā sarva-jātiyānām sarva-karmaṇām manushyāṅgām ālabho devatārtham badhaḥ krūyate ity āśaṅkya āha savarṇo hi iti |* “But is not the immolation,—the slaughter as an offering to a god,—of men of all classes, and all occupations, enjoined in such Vedic texts as this, ‘let him immolate a Brāhmana to Brahman,’ etc.? Having raised this doubt, he says, ‘For thou, belonging to the same tribe,’ etc.

liberate the kings, or to submit to be destroyed in combat. Jarāsandha (v. 880) says he has conquered the kings, and has a right to act as he is doing. He adds (v. 882): "How, Krishna, can I, who have devoted the kings to the god, remembering my duty as a Kshatriya, to-day release them from fear?" He then accepts the challenge, and is killed by Bhīmasena.

The birth of Jarāsandha is thus related in the Sabhā-parva; and the narrative contains at the close a reference to his being a worshipper of Mahādeva. His father, Vṛihadratha, had two wives, who after having been long barren, at length bore him two halves of a boy (v. 711), which being regarded with horror, were thrown out (v. 714). A female demon (Rāxasī) named Jarā, an eater of flesh, takes them up (v. 715) and puts them together in order that they may be more easily carried away. A boy is thus formed, who cries; and people in consequence come out of the inner apartments of the palace, and among them the two queens and the king. The Rāxasī assumes a human shape, and gives the child to the king, who then asks who she is. She replies (vv. 729 ff.):

*Jarā-nāmā 'smi bhadrām te Rāxasī kāma-rūpiṇī | tava veśmani rājen-  
dra pūjitā nyavasaṁ sukham | grihe grihe manushyānām nityam tishṭhāmi  
rāxasī | griha-devīti nāmnā vai purā sṛiṣṭā Svayambhuvā | dānavānām  
vināśāya sthāpitā divya-rūpiṇī | yo mām bhaktyā likhet kundye saputtrām  
yauvanānvitām | grihe tasya bhaved vṛiddhir anyathā xayam āpnuyāt |  
tvad-grihe tishṭhamānā tu pūjitā 'ham sadā vibho | likhitā chaiva kundye  
'ham putrair bahubhir āvṛitā | gandha-pushpais tathā dhūpair bhaxyair  
bhoyjaiḥ supūjitā | sā'ham pratyupakārthaṁ chintayamy anīṣaṁ tava |  
taveme puttra-śakale dṛiṣṭavaty asmi dhārmika | saṁśleshite mayā daivāt  
kumāraḥ samapadyata | tava bhāgyād mahārāja hetu-mātram ahaṁ te  
iha | Meruṁ vā khādituṁ śaktā kim punas tava bālakam | griha-sampū-  
janāt tushṭyā mayā pratyarpitas tava |*

"I am, bless thee, a Rāxasī named Jarā, who can change my shape at will. Worshipped in thy house, I have dwelt there in comfort. Named the house-goddess, I dwell constantly in every separate house of men, having been created of old by Svayambhū; and placed [there], of celestial form, for the destruction of the Dānavas. Prosperity will remain in the house of that man who devoutly paints me in a youthful form, together with my sons, upon his wall;—otherwise he shall decay. Abiding in thy house, o king, and continually revered, painted upon

the wall, surrounded by my numerous sons, worshipped with odours and flowers, with incense, and various kinds of food, I continually consider how I may benefit thee in return. I saw, righteous prince, these two pieces of thy son; I put them together by chance, and a boy was produced, through thy good fortune, o great king, and I was merely the instrument. I could devour mount Meru, much more thy son: but being gratified by the domestic worship I have received, I have restored him to thee."

The Rāxasī then disappears. King Vṛihadratha orders a great festival to be celebrated among the people of Magadha in her honour; and calls the boy *Jarāsandha* because he had been *put together* (*sandhitaḥ*) by the Rāxasī *Jarā* (v. 738: *Ājñāpayach cha rāxasyā Magadheshu mahotsavam | tasya nāmākaroch chaiva Pitāmaha-samah pitā | Jarayā sandhito yasmāj Jarāsandho bhavatu ayam |*). The rishi Chanḍakauśika arrives on a certain occasion in the country of the Magadhas, and prophesies the future greatness of Jarāsandha (vv. 745 ff.). He ends by saying that this mighty prince of Magadha should have a manifest vision of Rudra, Mahādeva, Hara, the destroyer of Tripura (v. 753: *Esha Rudram Mahādevaṁ tripurānta-karaṁ Haram | sarva-lokeshv atibalo sūxād draxyati Māgadhaḥ |*).

The description here given by the Rāxasī of the worship paid to herself, furnishes, as Lassen (who quotes it, i. 609) remarks, an instance of the local adoration of particular deities in ancient India.

In the account given of the transactions connected with the Rājasūya sacrifice which Yudhishtira sought to celebrate, we find (as Lassen, i. 673, remarks) the Pāṇḍavas represented as the partisans of Krishṇa; and this legendary narrative may perhaps be taken as an indication that they actually were the votaries of Vishṇu, and opposed to the worship of Mahādeva. In the story of S'isupāla, which has been given above (pp. 171 ff.), we have seen that, in the assembly of princes who were gathered together on the occasion of that ceremonial, Krishṇa's claims to veneration were strongly maintained by the Pāṇḍavas, and others who, on this point at least, took their side, while they were strenuously resisted by S'isupāla, an adherent of the Kauravas, and according to Lassen,<sup>220</sup> a representative of the Saiva worship. The same opposition to the worship of Krishṇa was, as I have already

<sup>220</sup> See above, p. 176, note 160.

noticed, manifested by Duryodhana, Karṇa, and Salya, (pp. 180, 182, 184, 185, etc.).

It is true that there is one passage (referred to above, p. 240, note 216) to which Lassen has drawn attention, in which Duryodhana is represented as having offered up a sacrifice to Viṣṇu; and as this legend exhibits some features of interest, I shall give some account of it here. In the Vana-parva, 15274 ff., Karṇa, after having conquered the earth, says to Duryodhana that the earth was now his, and he should rule over it like Indra. Duryodhana answers that he wished to celebrate a Rājasūya sacrifice. Karṇa replies that he should make preparation for that purpose (15278 ff.). Duryodhana then sends for his priest (purohita), whom he desires to perform the sacrifice (15284). The priest, however, states that the Rājasūya sacrifice cannot be celebrated by Duryodhana while Yudhishtira lives, and while his own father, Dhritarāshtra, survives (15285 ff.); but he suggests that there is another great sacrifice which Duryodhana may offer (15287 ff.):

*Asi te anyad mahat satraṁ rājasūya-samam prabho | tena tvaṁ yaja  
rājendra śrinu chedaṁ vacho mama | ye ime pṛithivī-pālāḥ kara-dās tava  
pārthiva | te karān samprayachhantu suvarṇaṅcha kṛitākṛitam | tena te  
kriyatām adya lāṅgalaṁ nṛipa-sattama | yajña-vāṭasya te bhūmiḥ  
kṛishyatām tena Bhārata | tatra yajño nṛipa-śreshtha prabhūtānnaḥ  
susamskṛitaḥ | pravarttatām yathānyāyām sarvato hy anivāritaḥ | esha te  
Vaishṇavo nāma yajñāḥ satpurushochitaḥ | etena neshtavān kaśchid ṛite  
Viṣṇum purātanam | rāja-sūyām kratu-śreshthaṁ sparddhaty esha  
mahākratuḥ |* “But there is another great ceremonial equal to the  
rājasūya, with which, o great king, do thou sacrifice: and hear this  
which I have to say. Let those princes who are your tributaries  
present to you their contributions, and gold both wrought and un-  
wrought. With this let a plough be to-day made, and with it let the  
ground of thy sacrificial enclosure be ploughed. There let a sacrifice,  
well-arranged, and with abundant food, be duly celebrated; for it will  
be completely unobstructed. This is to thee the Vaishnava sacrifice  
(the sacrifice of Viṣṇu), a ceremony suitable for virtuous men.<sup>221</sup>  
With it no one ever sacrificed except the ancient Viṣṇu. This great  
ceremonial rivals the rājasūya, the most excellent of sacrifices.”

<sup>221</sup> It must, according to this, have been very uncommon. Further on, however, it is said to have been celebrated by Yayāti and others.

Duryodhana and his friends consented to this proposal (15295 f.), and the sacrifice was accordingly performed (15301 ff.). Amid the rejoicings which followed the ceremony, however, some ill-natured persons said to Duryodhana that his sacrifice was not a sixteenth part so good as Yudhishtira's Rājasūya sacrifice, while his friends said that this sacrifice surpassed all other ceremonies, and that Yayāti, Nahusha, Māndhātṛi, and Bharata, had celebrated this rite, and had in consequence gone to heaven (15327 ff.): *Apare tv abruvans tatra vātikās tam mahīpatim | Yudhishtīrasya yajñena na samo hy esha te kratuḥ | naiva tasya krator esha (?) kalām arhati shoḍaśim | evaṁ tatrābruvan kechid vātikās taṁ janeśvaram | suhṛīdas tv abruvans tatra ati sarvān ayaṁ kratur ityādi |*

I am not aware of any passage of the Mahābhārata in which Duryodhana is represented as a special worshipper of Mahādeva; but in a passage in the Karna-parva, quoted above, pp. 187 ff., (which, however, I have supposed may be a later interpolation) he is declared to have narrated a legend descriptive of Mahādeva's prowess, and in which Vishṇu is generally subordinated to his rival. Duryodhana is also in two passages of the Mahābhārata connected (as if he was considered to be heretically disposed) with a Rākshasa named Chārvāka, and is represented as his friend (Sānti-parva, 1414-1442), and as calling him to mind after he has received his death-blow, and expressing a belief that if once informed of his fate, Chārvāka would perform an expiation for him in the holy lake Samantapanchaka.<sup>222</sup>

In his Indische Studien, i. 206, Professor Weber conjectures that "the Kurus may have been the representatives of the Rudra-, or Siva-worship, and the Pandus or Panchālas of the Indra-(?) or Vishṇu-worship," and this supposition seems to derive support from the considerations which have just been adduced.

The following passage from the Sabhā-parva, (where Krishna is

<sup>222</sup> Sālyā-parva, 3619. See both passages translated in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. pp. 308 f. I have not been able to find any other passage in the Mahābhārata in which the connection of Duryodhana with this Chārvāka (who stands here, no doubt, as a mythical representative of the well-known heretics of that name) is more explicitly described; though from the two passages above adverted to, one would have expected to find some further references to Duryodhana's connexion with him. Possibly such passages may have existed, and have been struck out as dangerous to the cause of Brahmanical orthodoxy.

describing to Yudhishtira the different partisans of Jarāsandha) appears as if it contained a tradition indicating some struggle, at a period antecedent to that of the writer, between the worship of Viṣṇu, and that of some local deity who was venerated in the provinces east of Magadha.

*Jarāsandhaṁ gatas tv eva purā yo na mayā hataḥ | Purushottama-  
vijñāto yo 'sau Chediṣhu durmatih | ātmānam pratijānāti loka 'smin  
Purushottamam | ādatte satatam mohād yaḥ sa chihnaṁ cha māmakam |  
Vāṅga-Puṇḍra-Kirāteshu rājā bala-samanvitaḥ | Pauṇḍrako Vāsudeveti  
yo 'sau loka 'bhivīśrutaḥ |* “And he who formerly was not slain by me, has also taken the side of Jarāsandha—(I mean) the wicked man who is known as Purushottama among the Chedis, who in this world professes himself to be Purushottama, who through infatuation continually assumes my mark—he who is a powerful king among the Bangas, Pundras, and Kirātas, and is celebrated in the world as the Vāsudeva of the Pundras.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>223</sup> On this Lassen remarks (i. 608): “Since these (Purushottama and Vāsudeva) became in later times two of the most venerated names of Viṣṇu, it is clear from this passage, that among the Eastern tribes, and those too not of Arian origin, a supreme god was worshipped, whose name was afterwards transferred to Viṣṇu.”



## CHAPTER III.

RUDRA AND MAHADEVA, AS REPRESENTED IN THE VEDIC  
HYMNS, AND THE BRAHMANAS.

IN the preceding chapter I have quoted a variety of passages from the Mahābhārata, which, though primarily adduced to illustrate the ideas entertained of Krishna's character, afford at the same time a pretty full representation of the attributes of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the period of the epic poems and Purānas. I have thus found it necessary to anticipate much that would otherwise have found its place towards the close of the present chapter, of which it is the purpose to compare the earlier and the later accounts furnished to us by Indian literature of the deity or deities to whom the name of Rudra was applied. I shall now proceed to adduce the passages relating to this divinity which occur (1) in the Rig-veda, (2) in the Yajur-veda, (3) in the Atharva-veda, and (4) in the Brāhmanas, and to compare the representation which they contain with those which are found in the texts descriptive of Mahādeva which I have quoted in the preceding chapter.

SECT. I.—*Rudra as represented in the Hymns of the Rig-veda.*

IN the present Section I purpose to quote all the texts of the Rig-veda in which the word Rudra occurs in the singular, whether as an epithet of Agni or as the name of a separate deity.

R. V. i. 27, 10 (S. V. i. 15; Nir. x. 8).—*Jarābodha tad vividdhi viśe viśe yajñīyāya stomañ rudrāya dṛśīkam* | “Thou who art skilled in

praise, utter therefore for every tribe, a beautiful hymn to the adorable, the terrible (Agni)." In connection with this verse, Yāska remarks :

Nir. x. 7 and 8.—*Agnir api rudra uchyate | tasyaishā bhavati . . . jarā stutiḥ | jarateḥ stuti-karmaṇaḥ | tām bodha tayā bodhayitar iti vā | tad vividdhi tat kuru manushyasya manushyasya yajanāya stomaṁ Rudrāya darśanīyam* | "Agni also is called Rudra, as in this verse (the one before us). *Jarā* means 'praise.' One who perceives it, or awakens [another] by it, is *jarābodha*. Compose that for the worship of every man,—a slightly hymn for the terrible." Roth (Illustr. of Nir., p. 136) remarks that *rudra* in this verse is an epithet of Agni, to whom the whole *tricha* or aggregate of three verses in which it occurs, is addressed; and he refers to R. V. x. 70, 2, 3, and R. V. viii. 26, 5, where the same epithet is applied in the dual to Mitra and Varuṇa, and to the Aśvins, respectively. Roth also quotes from Jayatīrtha the following short *itihāsa* in reference to this verse, which, however, applies it to Rudra: *Agniḥ stūyamānaḥ Sunahśephā uvācha "Rudraṁ stūhi raudrā hi paśavaḥ" iti | Sa tam pratyuvācha "nāhaṁ jānāmi Rudraṁ stotuṁ tvam evaitaṁ stūhi" iti tad idam uchyate "He jarābodha Rudra-stuti-vettas tat kuru" ityādi* | "Agni, when he was being praised, said to Sunahśepha, 'Praise Rudra, for cattle (or victims) belong to him.' He (Sunahśepha) answered, 'I do not know how to praise Rudra; do thou praise him.' It is this which is here expressed, 'O thou who art skilled in the praise of Rudra, do thou do so.'"

R. V. i. 43, 1 ff.—*Kad Rudrāya prachetase mīlhusṣṭamāya tavyase | vochema śantamaṁ hrīde* | 2. *Yathā no Aditiḥ karat paśve nṛibhyo yathā gave | yathā tokāya rudriyam* | 3. *Yathā no Mitro Varuṇo yathā Rudraś chiketati | yathā viśvo sajoshasaḥ* | 4. *Gātha-patim medha-patim Rudraṁ jalāsha-bheshajam | tat saṁyoh sumnam imahe* | 5. *Yaḥ śukra iva sūryo hiraṇyam iva rochate | śreṣṭho devānām vasuḥ* | 6. *Saṁ naḥ karaty arvate sugam meshāya meshye | nṛibhyo nārībhyo gave* | "What can we utter to Rudra, the intelligent, the most bountiful, the strong, which shall be most pleasant to his heart? 2. That so Aditi may bring Rudra's healing to our cattle, and men, and kine, and children. 3. That so Mitra, Varuṇa, Rudra, and all the [gods] united, may think of us. 4. We seek from Rudra, the lord of songs, the lord of sacrifices, who possesses healing remedies, his auspicious favour. 5. [We seek this from him] who is brilliant as the sun, who shines like gold, who

is the best and the brightest of the gods. 6. He grants prosperity and welfare to our horses, rams, ewes, men, women, and cows."

R. V. i. 64, 2—*Te jajñire diva rishvāsa uzano Rudrasya maryā asurā arepasah | pāvakāsaḥ śuchayah sūryā iva satvāno na drapsino ghora-varpasah | 3. Yuvāno Rudrā ajarā abhogghano tavazur adhrigāvah parvatā iva | drīḥa chid viśvā bhuvanāni pārthivā prachyāvayanti divyāni majmanā | . . . 12. Ghrīshum pāvakaṁ vanināṁ vicharshaṇīm Rudrasya sūnuṁ havasā grīṇīmasi | rajasturaṁ tavasam mārutaṁ gaṇam rīḥishināṁ vṛishanāṁ saśchata śriye |* "These sons of Rudra have been produced from the sky, exalted, fertilizing, spiritual, sinless, purifiers, bright as suns, resembling spirits, shedding water, fearful in form. 3. The youthful Rudras, undecaying, destroyers of the impious, resistless, [firm as] mountains, have increased [in vigour]. By their power they cast down all the firm terrestrial and celestial worlds. . . . 12. We praise with invocations the fierce, purifying, rain-dispensing, all-beholding offspring of Rudra. To obtain prosperity, worship the dust-chasing host of Maruts, vigorous, impetuous, and fertilizing."

R. V. i. 85, 1.—*Pra ye śumbhante jānayo na saptayo yāman Rudrasya sūnavah sudaṁsasaḥ | rodasī hi marutaś chakrire vridhe madanti virā vidatheshu ghrīshvayah |* "The Maruts, energetic sons of Rudra, who when moving in their course, are brightly arrayed like women, have made the two worlds to prosper, and, impetuous heroes, rejoice in sacrifices."

R. V. i. 114, 1 ff. (Vāj. S. 16, 48).—*Imā Rudrāya tavase kaparddine<sup>224</sup> xayad-vīrāya prabharāmahe matīḥ | yathā śam asad dvīpade chatushpade viśvam pushṭam grāme asmīn anāturam | 2. Mṛṣṭā no*

<sup>224</sup> *Kaparddīn* is also an epithet of Pūshan in R. V. vi. 55, 2: *Rathītamaṁ kaparddinam īśānaṁ vādhaso mahaḥ | rāyah sakhāyam īmahe |* "We invoke the possessor of a great chariot, adorned with braided hair, the lord of great power, the friend of wealth." And also in R. V. ix. 67, 10, 11: *Avitā no ajāsavaḥ Pūshā yāmani yāmani | ābhaxat kanyāsu nah | 11. Ayaṁ somaḥ kaparddine ghrītaṁ na pavate madhu | ā bhaxat kanyāsu nah |* "Pūshan, who has goats for steeds, is our protector on every journey. May he give us a share of damsels, 11. This soma is purified for the god with braided hair, like sweet butter. May he give us a share of damsels." The word is also applied to the Tritsus in R. V. vii. 83, 8. . . . *Svītyaṅho yatra namasā kaparddīno dhīyā dhīvanto asapanta Tritsavah | . . .* "Where the white-robed Tritsus with braided hair have worshipped you with obsecrations and prayers." With this compare *daxīnatas-kaparddāḥ* in R. V. vii. 33, 1. The word *Kaparddīn* also occurs in R. V. x. 102, 8.

*Rudra uta no mayas kṛidhi xayad-vīrāya namasā vidhema te | yat  
 śaṁ cha yoścha Manur ā yeje pitā tad aśyāma tava Rudra pra-  
 nītiṣhu | 3. Aśyāma te sumatīm deva-yajjyā xayad-vīrasya tava Rudra  
 mīdhvaḥ | sumnāyann id viśo asmākam āchāra arishṭa-vīrā juhavāma te  
 haviḥ | 4. Tveshaṁ vāyāṁ Rudraṁ yajña-sādhaṁ vaṅkuṁ kavim avase  
 nihvayāmahe | āre asmad daivyaṁ heḷo asyatu sumatim id vāyam asya ā  
 vṛiṇīmahe | 5. Divo varāham arushaṁ kaparddinaṁ tveshaṁ rūpaṁ  
 namasā nihvayāmahe | haste bibhrad bhesajā vāryāni śarma varma chhardir  
 asmabhyāṁ yaṁsat | 6. Idam pitre Marutāṁ uchyate vachāḥ svādoḥ svād-  
 īyo Rudrāya vardhanam | rāsvā cha no amṛita marita-bhojanaṁ tmano  
 tokāya tanayāya mṛiḷa | 7. (V. S. 16, 15—A. V. ii. 2, 29). Mā no ma-  
 hāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā na uzantam uta mā na uxitam | mā no  
 badhīḥ pitaram mota mātaram mā naḥ priyās tanco Rudra rīrishah |  
 8. (V. S. 16, 16) Mā nas toke tanaye mā na āyau mā no goshu mā no  
 aśveshu rīrishah | vīrān mā no bhāmito badhīr havishmantah sadam it tvā  
 havāmahe | 9. Upa te stomān paśu-pā ivākaram rāsvā pitar Marutāṁ  
 sumnam asme | bhadrā hi te sumatir mṛiḷayattamā athā vāyam avaḥ it te  
 vṛiṇīmahe | 10. Āre te go-ghnam uta pūrusha-ghnam xayad-vīra sumnam  
 asme te astu | mṛiḷā cha no adhi cha brāhi deva adhā cha naḥ śarma  
 yachha dei-barhāḥ | 11. Avochāma namo asmā avasyavaḥ vṛiṇotu no  
 hayaṁ Rudro marutvān | tan no Mitro Varuṇo māmahantām Aditiḥ  
 sindhuḥ pṛithivī uta dyauḥ |*

“ We present these prayers to Rudra, the strong, with braided hair, ruling over heroes, that there may be prosperity to the two-footed and four-footed creatures, that everything in this village may be well fed and free from disease. 2. Be gracious to us, Rudra, and cause us happiness; let us with obeisance worship thee, the ruler over heroes. Whatever prosperity and blessing our father Manu has earned by worship, may we attain it all under thy guidance, Rudra. 3. May we by our worship of the gods obtain the goodwill of thee, Rudra, who art the ruler of heroes, and beneficent; act favourably towards our people: may we, with our warriors unharmed, offer thee our oblation. 4. We invoke to our succour the impetuous Rudra, the fulfiller of sacrifice, the crooked-goer, the wise. May he drive far away from us the anger of the gods, for we desire his favour. 5. We invoke with obeisance the dark-hued celestial boar (cloud?), with braided hair, a brilliant form. Carrying in his hand most choice remedies, may he give us

protection, defence, shelter. 6. This magnifying hymn, sweeter than the sweetest, is uttered to Rudra, the father of the Maruts. Bestow on us, o immortal, the food of mortals; be gracious to ourselves, our children, and descendants. 7. Slay neither our great, nor our small, neither our growing nor our grown, neither our father nor our mother; injure not, Rudra, our dear selves. 8. Injure us not in our children and descendants, nor in our men, nor in our cattle, nor in our horses. Slay not our warriors in thine anger: we continually worship thee with offerings. 9. Like a keeper of cattle I have prepared for thee hymns: bestow on us your favour, o father of the Maruts. For kind and most gracious is thy benevolence, and now we desire thy succour. 10. Far from us be thy cow-slaying and thy man-slaying [weapon]: ruler of heroes, let thy sympathy be with us. Be gracious to us, o god, and intercede for us, and bestow on us prosperity, lord of both worlds. 11. We have uttered to him our adoration, desiring his help. May Rudra, attended by the Maruts, listen to our invocation. May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Sky, grant us this."

In Sāyana's annotations on the 6th verse, he quotes the following modern story to explain how Rudra (here identified with the later Mahādeva) came to be called the father of the Maruts:

*Rudrasya Marutām pitritvam evam ākhyāyate | purā kadāchid Indro 'surān jigāya | tadānīm Ditiḥ Asura-mātā Indra-hanana-samartham putrān kāmāyamānā tapasā bharttuḥ sakāśād garbhān lebhe | imān vṛttāntam avagachchann Indro vajra-hastāḥ san sūzma-rūpo bhūtvā tasyā udaram praviśya taṁ garbhān saptadhā bibheda | punar apy ekaikaṁ sapta-khaṇḍam akarot | te sarve garbhaika-deśā yoneḥ nirgatyārudan | etasmīn avasare līlārthān gachchantau Pārvati-paramēśvarāv imān dādṛīsatuḥ | Mahēsam prati Pārvatya evam avochat | "ime māmśa-khaṇḍā yathā pratyekam putrāḥ sampadyantām evaṁ tvayā kāryyam mayi chet prītir asti" iti | sa cha Mahēśvaras tān samāna-rūpān samāna-vayasāḥ samānālaṅkārān putrān kṛtvā Gauryyai pradadau "taveme putrāḥ santo" iti | ataḥ sarveṣu Māruteṣu sūkteshu Maruto Rudra-putrā itī stūyante Raudreṣu cha Marutām pitā Rudra itī |*

"The story of Rudra being the father of the Maruts is thus recounted. Formerly, once on a time, Indra overcame the Asuras. Then Diti, the mother of the Asuras, desiring a son who should be able

to slay Indra, through austerity became pregnant by her husband. Indra, learning this news, entered into her womb in a very minute form, with a thunderbolt in his hand, divided her fœtus into seven parts, and again made each of these parts into seven. All these being parts of the fœtus, issued from the womb and wept. At this conjuncture, Parameśvara (Mahādeva) and Pārvatī were passing by for amusement, and saw them. Pārvatī spoke thus to Parameśvara, 'If you love me, effect that all these bits of flesh may become severally sons.' Maheśvara made them all of the same form and age, and with the same ornaments, and gave them to Gaurī (Pārvatī), saying, 'Let these be thy sons.' Hence in all the hymns addressed to the Maruts, they are lauded as the sons of Rudra; and in the hymns to Rudra, he is praised as the father of the Maruts."

R. V. i. 122, 1.—*Pra vah pāntān raghu-manyavo 'ndho yajñān Rudrāya mīlhushe bharadhvam | divo astoshi asurasya vīrair ishudhya iva Maruto rodasyoh |* "Present, ye mild-tempered priests, to the bountiful Rudra, the draught of soma, your offering. The praise of the divine Marut is celebrated in heaven and earth."

R. V. i. 129, 3.—*Dasmo hi shmā vṛishanam pīvāsi tvachām kaṁ chid yāvīr ararum śūra marttyam parivṛinaxi marttyam | Indrota tubhyaṁ tad divo tad Rudrāya sva-yāsase | Mitrāya vochaṁ Varuṇāya saprathah sumṛīkāya saprathah |* "Thou, who art energetic, causest the teeming skin (the cloud) to be expanded: thou, hero, hast chased away every hostile mortal, thou puttest to flight the mortal. Indra, I have uttered this at length to thee, and to the Sky, and to Rudra, who derives his renown from himself, and to Mitra, and to Varuṇa, at length to the very bountiful."

R. V. ii. 1, 6.—*Tvam Agne Rudro asuro maho divas tvam śardho mārutam prixa īśishe | tvam vātair aruṇair yāsi śaṁgayas tvam Pūshā vidhataḥ pāsi nu tmanā |* "Thou, Agni, art Rudra, the deity (*asura*) of the great sky. Thou art the host of the Maruts. Thou art lord of the sacrificial food. Thou, who hast a pleasant abode, movest onward with the ruddy winds. Thou [being] Pūshan, by thyself protectest those who worship thee."

See above (p. 66) the third verse of this hymn, where Agni is identified with Indra, and Vishṇu, in the same way as he is identified with Rudra and Pūshan in the verse before us.—See also verses 4, 5, and 7.

Sāyana, in his commentary on this verse, gives two derivations of the word Rudra :

*Rud duḥkhaṁ duḥkha-hetur vā pāpādiḥ | tasya drāvayitā etan-nāmako devo'si |* " *Rudro vā esha yad Agnir*" *ity ādisha Agneḥ Rudra-śabdena vyavahārāt | yadvā tvaṁ Rudraḥ | ranti | mām anisṭvā narā duḥkhe patishyanti | Rudras tādrīso'si |* " *Rut* means suffering, or sin, etc., which causes suffering. Thou art the god so called, who drives this away (*Rud-drāvayitā*); for Agni is commonly expressed by the word Rudra in such passages as this, 'He who is Agni is Rudra.' Or, thou art Rudra. He cries. Not worshipping me, men will fall into grief. Thou art such a Rudra," etc.

R. V. ii. 33, 1 ff.—*Ā te pitar Marutām sunnam etu mā naḥ sūryasya samādrīso yuyothāḥ | abhi no vīro arcati zameta pra jāyemahi Rudra prajābhīḥ |* 2. *Tvā-dattebhī Rudra samtamebhīḥ śataṁ himā aśīya bhesajebhīḥ | vi asmad dvesho vitaraṁ vi aṁho vi amivās chātayascā vishūchīḥ |* 3. *Sreshṭho jātasya Rudra śrīyā'si tavastamas tacasām vajra-bāho | parshi naḥ pāram aṁhasaḥ svasti viśvā abhītīḥ rapaso yuyodhi |* 4. *Mā tvā Rudra chukrudhāmā namobhir mā dushṭuti vṛishabha mā saḥātī | ud no vīrān arpayā bhesajebhir bhishaktamaṁ tvā bhishajām śrīṇomi |* 5. *Havīmabhir havate yo havirbhīr ava stomebhī Rudraṁ dishīya | řidūdarāḥ suhavo mā no asyai babhruḥ suśipro řiradhad manāyāi |* 6. *Ud mā mamanda vṛishabho marutvān tvaxīyasā vayasā nādhamānam | gṛiṇīva chhāyām arapā aśīya ā vivāseyaṁ Rudrasya sunnam |* 7. *Kva sya te Rudra mṛīlayākur hasto yo astī bhesajō jalāshah | apabharttā rapaso daīvyasya abhī nu mā vṛishabha chaxamīthāḥ |* 8. *Pra babhrave vṛishabhāya śvītiche maho mahīm susṭutim řrayāmi | namasyā kalmaṭikinaṁ namobhir gṛiṇīmasi tveshaṁ Rudrasya nāma*<sup>225</sup> 9. *Sthirebhīr āngair puru-rūpa ugro babhruḥ śukrebhīḥ pipīso hiranyāiḥ | řśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūrer na vā u yoshad Rudrād asuryam |* 10. *Arhan bibharshi sāyakāni dhanva arhan nishkaṁ yajataṁ viśva-rūpam | arhan idam dayaso viśvam abhvaṁ na vā ojiyo Rudrā tvad astī |* 11 (A. V. 18, 1, 40). *Stuḥi śrutaṁ gartta-sadaṁ yuvānam mṛigaṁ na bhīmam*<sup>226</sup> *upahatnum ugram | mṛīlā řaritre Rudra stavāno anyam te asmad ni vapantu senāḥ |* 12. *Kumāras*

<sup>225</sup> Compare R. V. vii. 100, 3, above, p. 76.

<sup>226</sup> Compare above similar modes of speaking about Vishnu, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., p. 59.

*chit pitarām vandamānam prati nānāma Rudra upayantam | bhūrer  
dātāraṁ satpatiṁ grīṇīṣhe stutas tvam bhesajā rāsi asme | 13. Yā  
vo bhesajā Marutaḥ śuohīni yā saṁtamā vrishano yā mayobhu | yāni  
Manur avrīṇitā pitā nas tā śaṁ cha yoścha Rudrasya vaśmi | 14 (V. S.  
16, 50). Pari no hetih Rudrasya vrījyāḥ pari tveshasya durmatir mahī  
gāt | ava sthirā maghavadbhyas tanushva mīḍhvas tokāya tanayāya  
mrīḷa | 15. Evā babhro vrishabha chekitāna yathā deva na hrīṇīṣhe na  
hānsi | havana-śrud no Rudra iha bodhi brihad vadema vidathe suvirāḥ |*

“1. Father of the Maruts, may kindness come from thee: remove us not from the sight of the sun. May the hero spare our horses: may we, Rudra, increase in offspring. 2. Through the auspicious remedies conferred by thee, Rudra, may I attain a hundred winters. Drive away far from us enmity, and sin, and divers diseases. 3. Thou, Rudra, art in glory the most eminent of beings, the strongest of the strong, o wielder of the thunderbolt. Thou carriest us happily across our sin: repel all the assaults of evil. 4. Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our prostrations, by our unsuitable praises, vigorous [deity], or by our common invocations. Raise up our heroes by thy remedies: I hear that thou art the greatest physician of physicians. 5. May I with hymns propitiate that Rudra who is invoked with praises and oblations. Let not him who is mild, easily-invoked, tawny, with a beautiful chin, deliver us up to this will [of our enemies]. 6. The mighty [god] attended by the Maruts, has gladdened me his suppliant with invigorating nourishment. May I free from injury obtain [thy protection], as it were, shade from the heat [of the summer]: may I seek the favour of Rudra. 7. Where, Rudra, is that thy gracious hand which is healing and restorative, removing the evil which comes from the gods? Forgive me, thou vigorous [deity]. 8. I send forth an exceedingly great encomium to this tawny, vigorous, fair-complexioned god. Reverence the fiery [deity] with prostrations: we celebrate the glorious name of Rudra. 9. Firm of limb, multiform, fierce, tawny, he has been invested with bright golden ornaments.<sup>227</sup> Divine power is ever inseparable from Rudra, the lord of this vast world. 10. Thou, governing, holdest arrows and a bow; governing, thou [holdest] a glorious bracelet of every form. Governing, thou possessest all this vast [world]. There is nothing, Rudra, more powerful than thou. 11. Celebrate the renowned and youthful

<sup>227</sup> See *śukra-piś*, Nir. viii. 11 = R. V. x. 110, 6; and Roth Erl.



god, mounted on his chariot, like a terrible wild beast, destructive, and fierce. Be gracious to thy worshipper, Rudra, when praised : may thy hosts destroy some one else than us. 12. Even a boy, when his father approaches and salutes him, makes obeisance to him in return; [so] o Rudra, I praise [thee], the giver of much [good], the lord of the excellent. Thou, when lauded, grantest to us remedies. 13. Those pure remedies of yours, Maruts, those which are auspicious, ye strong [gods], those which are beneficent, those which our father Manu wished—those, as well as the blessing and favour of Rudra, I desire. 14. May the bolt of Rudra avoid us; may the great malevolence of the fiery [deity] depart far from us. Unbend thy strong bows [so as not to strike] thy wealthy worshippers. Dispenser of good, be gracious to our children and descendants. 15. Tawny and vigorous, intelligent god, Rudra, listen to our invocations in such wise, that thou neither frownest at us, nor injurest us; let us with our vigorous men utter a great hymn at the sacrifice."

R. V. ii. 34, 2.—*Dyāvo na sribhiḥ chitayanta khādīno vi abhriyā na dyutayanta vṛiṣṭayāḥ | Rudro yad vo Maruto rukma-vazaso vṛiṣhā jani priṣnyāḥ śukra ūdhani |* "Adorned with armlets, [the Maruts] have shone like the skies with their stars, they have glittered like showers from the clouds, at the time when the prolific Rudra generated you, o Maruts, with jewels on your breasts, from the shining udder of Pṛiṣni."

R. V. ii. 38, 9.—*Na yasya Indro Varuṇo na Mitro vratam Aryamā na minanti Rudraḥ | na arātayas tam idaṁ svasti huve devaṁ Savitāraṁ namobhiḥ |* "With prostrations I invoke this blessing from the god Savitṛi, whose purpose neither Indra, nor Varuṇa, nor Mitra, nor Aryaman, nor Rudra, nor any enemies can resist."

R. V. iii. 2, 5.—*Agniṁ sumnāya dadhire puro janā vāja-śravasam iha vṛikta-barhishaḥ | yata-sruchaḥ suruchaṁ viśva-devyaṁ rudraṁ yajñānāṁ sādhad-ishṭim apasām |* "Men, having spread the sacrificial grass, and holding ladles, have, to obtain his favour, placed in their front Agni, the bestower of food, the brilliant, acceptable to all the gods, the terrible (*rudra*), who fulfils the objects of sacrifices and rites."

R. V. iv. 3, 1.—*Ā vo rājānam adhvaryasya rudraṁ hotāraṁ satyayaajāṁ rodasyoḥ | Agniṁ purā tanayitnor achittād hiranya-rūpam avase kṛinudhvam |* 6. *Kad dhishnyāsu vṛidhasāno Agne kad Vātāya pratavase*

*śubhañye | pariṃmane nāsatyāya xe bravaḥ kad Agne Rudrāya nṛi-ghne |*  
7. (quoted above, pp. 67, 68). "Before the thunderbolt [falls] un-  
awares, call to your succour Agni, the terrible (*rudra*) king of the sacri-  
fice, the invoker of both worlds, offering genuine worship, the golden-  
formed. . . . 6. How, Agni, wilt thou, who growest in the 'places of  
oblation, how wilt thou declare [our sin] to Vāta, the energetic, the  
bestower of blessings, the circumambient, the truthful, how wilt thou  
declare it to the earth, and to the man-slaying Rudra?"

R. V. v. 3, 3, quoted and translated above, pp. 68, 69.

R. V. v. 41, 2.—*Te no Mitro Varuṇo Aryamā 'yur Indra Rībhuxā*  
*Maruto jushanta | namobhir vā ye dadhate svrīktiṃ stomaṃ Rudrāya*  
*mīlhushe sajoshāḥ |* "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra,  
Rībhuxan, the Maruts, be favourable to us, [and to those] who, united  
together, offer with obeisances hymns and praises to the bountiful  
Rudra."

R. V. v. 42, 11.—*Tam u śtūhi yaḥ vishuḥ sudhanvā yo viśvasya*  
*xayati bheshajasya | yavvā mahe saumanasāya Rudraṃ namobhir devam*  
*asuraṃ duvasya | . . . . 15. Esha stoma mārutaṃ śardho achhā Rudra-*  
*sya sūnūn ywanyūn ud aśyāḥ | ityādi |* "Praise him who has excellent  
arrows and bow, who commands all remedies. Worship Rudra to [ob-  
tain his] great benevolence : with prostrations adore the spiritual deity.  
. . . . 15. May this hymn reach the troop of Maruts, and ascend to  
the youthful sons of Rudra," etc. etc.

R. V. v. 46, 2 (V. S. 33, 48), quoted and translated above, p. 69.

R. V. v. 51, 13.—*Viśve devā no adya svastaye vaiśvānaro vasur*<sup>228</sup>  
*Agniḥ svastaye | devā avantu Rībhavaḥ svastaye svasti no Rudraḥ pātu*  
*añhasaḥ |* "May all the gods, may Agni the *Vasu* common to all men,  
may the divine Ribhus preserve us for our welfare. May Rudra bless  
and preserve us from sin."

R. V. v. 52, 16.—*Pra ye me bandhveshe gāṃ vochanta sūrayaḥ priśniṃ*  
*vochanta mātaram | adhā pītaram ishmiṇaṃ Rudraṃ vochanta śikvasaḥ |*  
"These wise and powerful [Maruts] who, when I was seeking with  
my friends, declared to me that the Earth, Priśni, was their mother,  
and that the rapid Rudra was their father."

R. V. v. 59, 8—*Mimātu dyaur Aditir vitaye naḥ saṃ dānu-chitrā*  
*ushaso yatanām | āchuchyavur divyaṃ kośam ete ṛiṣhe Rudrasya Maruto*

<sup>228</sup> See Nirukta, vii. 22 ff. ; and xii. 41, 42.

*grinānāḥ* | “May the Sky and Aditi work for our enjoyment: may the dawns glittering with moisture, strive [in our behalf]. These Maruts, [the sons] of Rudra, when lauded, o rishi, have caused the celestial treasure to drop down.”

R. V. v. 60, 5.—*Ajyeshthāso akanishthāsa ete sam bhrātaro vāvṛidhuḥ saubhagāya | yuvā pitā svapā Rudra eshām sudughā Pṛisniḥ sudinā Marudbhyaḥ* | “These brothers (the Maruts) among whom there is no distinction of elder and younger, have grown to prosperity. Rudra, their young and energetic father, and the prolific Pṛisni, [have created] fortunate days for the Maruts.”

R. V. vi. 16, 39.—*Ya ugra iva śarya-hā tigma-śringo na vaṁsa-gaḥ | Agne puro rurojitha* | “Thou, Agni, who art fierce (*ugra*), like an archer, like a sharp-horned bull, hast broken down cities.”

On this the commentator remarks: “*Rudro vā esha yad Agniḥ*” *iti śruteḥ | Rudra-kṛitam api Tripura-dahanam Agni-kṛitam eva iti Agniḥ stūyate* | “For the Veda says that ‘this Agni is Rudra.’ It is here said in praise of Agni, that the burning of the Tripura (or the three cities), though done by Rudra, was done by Agni.” Another explanation is that Agni was present in Rudra’s arrow on that occasion.

R. V. vi. 28, 7 (A. V. iv. 21, 7).—*Prajāvatīḥ sūyavasāṁ risantiḥ śuddhā apaḥ suprapāno pibantiḥ | mā vaḥ stena īsata mā ’ghaśaṁsaḥ pari vo hēti Rudrasya vṛijyāḥ* | “Be ye (cows) prolific, consuming excellent pasture, drinking pure waters in a good pond. May no thief or wicked man have power over you. May the bolt of Rudra avoid you.”

R. V. vi. 49, 10.—*Bhuvanasya pītaraṁ gīrbhir ābhī Rudraṁ divā vārdhayā Rudram aktau | bṛihantam ṛishvam ajaraṁ sushumnam ṛidhag hūvema kavīneshitāsaḥ* | “Magnify with these songs, the father of the world, Rudra, by day, [magnify] Rudra by night. Let us, impelled by the poet, specially invoke [him] the mighty, the exalted, the undecaying, the blessed.”

R. V. vi. 50, 4—*Ā no Rudrasya sūnavo namantām adyā hutāso Vasavo adhṛishṭāḥ | ityādi* | 12. (quoted above, p. 71). “May the sons of Rudra, may the irresistible Vasus, invoked to-day, stoop down to us,” etc. . . . 12. (translated above, p. 71).

R. V. vi. 66, 3.—*Rudrasya ye mīlhushaḥ santi putrāḥ yāmś cho nu dādhrivir bharadhyaḥ | vide hi mātā maho mahī shā sā it Pṛisniḥ subhvo garbham ādhāt* | . . . 11. *Tam vṛidhantam mārutam bhrājad-ṛishṭiṁ*

*Rudrasya sūnuṃ havasā ā vivāse | ityādi* |—"those who are the sons of the bountiful Rudra, and whom he upholds for their nourishment. For the mighty mother possessed these mighty sons. This Pṛiṣni was pregnant for an illustrious birth. . . . 11. I worship with invocation this growing race of the Maruts, with shining weapons, the offspring of Rudra," etc.

R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff.—*Somā-Rudrā dhārayethām asuryam pra vām iṣṭayo 'ram aśnucantu | dame dame sapta ratnā dadhānā śaṃ no bhūtaṃ dvipade śaṃ chatuṣpade | 2. (A. V. 7, 42, 1) Somā-Rudrā vi vṛihataṃ vishūchīm amīvā yā no gayam āviveśa | āre bādhothām Nirṛitim parāchair asme bhadrā sauśravasāni santu | 3 (A. V. 7, 42, 2). Somā-Rudrā yuvam etāni asme viśvā tanūshu bhesajāni dhattam | ava syatam muñchataṃ yad no asti tanūshu baddhaṃ kṛitam eno asmat | 4. Tigmayudhau tigma-heti suśevau Somā-Rudrāv iha su mṛiḷataṃ naḥ | pra no muñchataṃ Varuṇasya pāśād gopāyataṃ naḥ sumanasyamānā |* "Soma and Rudra, do ye grasp divine power. May oblations in abundance reach you. In every house, bearing with you seven jewels, be favourable to our bipeds and our quadrupeds. 2. Soma and Rudra, drive away that hostile disease which has entered into our abode. Chase Nirriti far away from us. May we have excellent renown. 3. Soma and Rudra, infuse into our bodies all these remedies. Remove and banish from us whatever sin we have done which attaches to our bodies. 4. Soma and Rudra, whose weapons are sharp, and whose bolts are piercing, be beneficent and favourable to us. Deliver us from the noose of Varuṇa; protect us, regarding us with favour."

R. V. vii. 10, 4.—*Indraṃ no Agne Vasubhiḥ sajoshā Rudraṃ Rudrebhir ā vahā brihantam | Ādityebhir Aditiṃ viśva-janyām Bṛihaspatim rikvabhīr viśva-vāram |* "Agni, united with the Vasus, bring hither to us Indra, with the Rudras [bring] the powerful Rudra, with the Ādityas [bring] Aditi, who is acceptable to all, and with the bards [bring] the Bṛihaspati who grants all boons."

R. V. vii. 35, 6.—. . . . *Śaṃ no Rudro Rudrebhir jalāshaḥ . . . .* "may the healing Rudra, with the Rudras, be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. vii. 36, 5.—*Yajante asya sakhyāṃ vayas cha namasvinaḥ svē rītasya dhāman | vi pṛixo bābadhe nṛibhiḥ stavāna idaṃ namo Rudrāya pṛeshṭham |* "Men making obeisance in their own place of sacrifice, seek by worship his friendship, and life. Lauded by men, he has

distributed food amongst them. This reverence is most dear to Rudra."

R. V. vii. 40, 5. (quoted and translated above, pp. 73, 74).

R. V. vii. 41, 1 (V. S. 34, 34; A. V. 3, 16, 1).—*Prātar Agnim prātar Indraṁ havāmahe prātar Mitrā-Varuṇā prātar Aśvinā | prātar Bhagam Pūshanam Brahmanaspatim prātaḥ Somam uta Rudraṁ huvema |* "In the morning we invoke Agni, in the morning Indra, in the morning Mitra and Varuṇa, in the morning the Aśvins; in the morning let us invoke Bhaga, Pūshan, Brahmanaspati, Soma, and Rudra."

R. V. vii. 46, 1 (Nirukta x. 6).—*Imā Rudrāya sthira-dhanvane girāḥ xipreshave devāya svadhāvne*<sup>229</sup> | *ashāḥhāya sahamānāya vedhase tigmayudhāya bharatā śrinotu naḥ | 2. Sa hi xayena xamyasya janmanah sāmraḥjyena divyasya chetati | avam avantir upa no duras chara anamivo Rudra jāsu no bhava | 3 (Nirukta, x. 7).—Yā te didiyud avasrishtā divas pari xmayā charati pari sā vṛiṇaktu naḥ | sahasraṁ te svapivāta bhesajā mā nas tokeshu tanayeshu ririshaḥ | 4. Mā no vadhi Rudra mā parā dā mā te bhūma prasitau hīlitasya | ā no bhaja barhishi jīva-sāmse yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ |* "Present these songs to Rudra with the strong bow, and swift arrows, the self-dependent god, unassailable, the assailant, the disposer, armed with sharp weapons: may he hear us. 2. By his power he perceives the terrestrial race, and by his universal dominion [he perceives] the divine. Protecting us, approach our protecting doors; Rudra, remove sickness from our offspring. 3. May that shaft of thine which is discharged from the sky, and traverses the earth, avoid us. Thou, who art easy of access, hast a thousand remedies. Injure us not in our children and descendants. 4. Slay us not, Rudra; do not abandon us; let us not fall into thy net when thou art incensed. Place us on the sacrificial carpet destined for the tribe of the living. Do ye always succour us with your benedictions."

R. V. vii. 56, 1 (S. V. i. 433)—*Ke im vyaktā naraḥ sanīlā Rudrasya maryāḥ adhā svaśvāḥ | 2. Nakir hi eshām janūmshī veda te aṅga vidre mitho janitram |* "Who are these visible heroes, the sons of Rudra,

<sup>229</sup> Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nir. p. 135) considers the word *svadhāvāt* to signify "independent," "whose glory is inherent," etc., and refers to R. V. vii. 20, 1; vii. 37, 2; vii. 86, 4. At p. 40 f. of his Illustr. Roth assigns to *svadhā* the sense of "according to one's own determination," "according to pleasure," and quotes the following passages where it has this sense, viz.: R. V. i. 6, 4; i. 33, 11; i. 81, 4; ii. 3, 11; iii. 47, 1; vii. 78, 4; and viii. 20, 7.

occupying the same abode, possessing excellent horses? No one knows their births. They [themselves] know the place of their common production."

R. V. vii. 58, 5.—*Tān ā Rudrasya mīḥusho vivāso ityādi* | "I worship these [sons] of the bountiful Rudra," etc.

R. V. viii. 13, 20.—*Tad id Rudrasya chetati yāhvam pratneshu dhāmasu | mano yatrā vi tad dadhur vichetasah* | "That [worship] the offspring of Rudra perceive in their ancient abodes, and on it these wise deities have therefore fixed their minds."

R. V. viii. 20, 17.—*Yathā Rudrasya sūnavo divo vaśanti asurasya vedhasah | yuvānas tathā it asaḥ* | "As the wise and youthful sons of Rudra the deity of the sky desire, so shall it be."

R. V. viii. 22, 13.— . . . *Tū u namobhir īmahe* | 14. *Tāv id doshā tāv ushasi śubhas pati tā yāman rudra-varṭtanī* | <sup>230</sup> *mā no marttāya rīpave vājīnī-vasū paro rudrāv ati khyatam* | "We invoke them (the Aśvins) with adoration (14) at evening and at dawn, and on their path, the two lords of splendour, proceeding on terrible roads. Do not, o terrible (*rudrau*) lords of wealth, abandon us to our mortal enemy."

R. V. viii. 29, 5. (quoted and translated above, p. 79).

R. V. viii. 61, 3.—*Antar icchanti taṁ jane rudram paro manīshayā | gribhṇanti jihvayā sasam* | "They entreat the god who is terrible (*rudra*) beyond all thought, to enter among the people. With their tongues they take food."

R. V. x. 64, 8.—*Triḥ sapta saśrā nadyo mahīr apo vanaspatīn parca-tān Agnim ūtayo | Kṛīśānum astrīn Tīshyaṁ sadhasthe ā Rudraṁ Rudreshu rudriyaṁ havāmaho* | We invoke to our aid in the assembly of sacrifice, the three times seven swift rivers, the great waters, the trees, the mountains, Agni, Kṛīśānu, the archers, Tīshya, and Rudra, terrible among the Rudras."

R. V. x. 65, 1. (quoted and translated above, p. 82).

R. V. x. 66, 3.—*Indro Vasubhiḥ paripātu no gayam Ādityair no Aditiḥ śarma yachhatu | Rudro Rudrebhir devo mṛilayāti nas Tvashṭā no gnābhiḥ suvitāya jinvatu* | "May Indra with the Vasus protect our habitation; may Aditi with the Ādityas grant us protection. May the

<sup>230</sup> This word *rudra-varṭtanī* is also applied to the Aśvins in the first verse of this hymn, and in R. V. x. 39, 11.

divine Rudra with the Rudras be gracious to us; may Tvashṭri with his wives bless us for our welfare."

R. V. x. 92, 5.—*Pra Rudrena yayinā yanti sindhavas tiro mahim aramatiṁ dadhanvire | yebhiḥ pariṁmā pariyann uru jrayo vi roruvaj jathare viśvam uzate | . . . . 9. Stomaṁ vo adya Rudrāya śikvase xayad-vīrāya namasā didishṭana | yebhiḥ śivaḥ svavān evayāvabhir divaḥ sishakti sva-yaśā nīkāmabhiḥ |* "The waters flow [impelled] by the moving Rudra, and have spread over the vast earth; with them the circumambient, roaring god, who moves round the wide space [of the earth], fertilizes all contained in its womb. . . . 9. With reverence present your hymn to-day to the mighty Rudra, the ruler of heroes, [and to the Maruts] those rapid and ardent deities with whom the gracious and opulent [Rudra], who derives his renown from himself, comes down from the sky."

R. V. x. 93, 4.—*Te ghā rājāno amṛitasya mandrā Aryamā Mitro Varuṇaḥ pariṁmā | kaḍ Rudro nṛiṇām stuto Marutaḥ Pūṣaṇo Bhagaḥ | . . . . 7. Uta no rudrā chid mṛiḷatām Aśvinā ityādi |* "These are the kings of immortality who gladden us: Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa the circumambient, Rudra celebrated by men, the Maruts, the Pūshans, and Bhaga. . . . 7. May the terrible (*rudra*) Aśvins be favourable to us," etc.

R. V. x. 125, 6 (A. V. 4, 30, 5).—*Ahaṁ Rudrāy adhanur ā tanomi brahma-dviṣe śarave hantavā u ityādi |* (Vāch speaks): "I bend the bow for Rudra, for an arrow to slay the hater of the priest," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 5.—. . . . *Ugram Marudbhī Rudraṁ huema ityādi |* "Let us invoke the terrible Rudra with the Maruts," etc.

R. V. x. 126, 1 (Nir. xii. 26).—*Keśī agniṁ keśī vishaṁ keśī bibharti rodasī | keśī viśvaṁ svar dṛiśo <sup>231</sup> keśī idaṁ jyotir uchyoate | . . . . 7. Vāyur asmā upāmanthat pinashṭi smā kunannamā | keśī vishasya pātrena yaḍ Rudrenāpibat saha |* "The long haired [being] sustains fire, water, and the two worlds; he beholds the entire sky; he is called this light. . . . 7. Vāyu agitated for him; the long-haired [being] breaks down the things which are unbending, by means of the vessel of water (*visha*) which he drank along with Rudra."

Prof. Roth (Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 164) understands the *keśin* or "long-haired being" who is the subject of the hymn, to be an un-

<sup>231</sup> *Keśī idaṁ sarvām idaṁ abhivipaśyati |* —Nir. xii. 26.

shorn ascetic, who by his austerities has gained supernatural powers, and placed himself upon a level with the gods, and refers to R. V. vii. 56, 8. In his Lexicon, however, Roth refers to *keśin* as an epithet of Rudra in Atharva-veda, xi. 2, 18 (to be quoted below), with which he also compares the present passage. Yāska understands *keśin* of the Sun whose locks are rays. The allusion in the 7th verse to Rudra drinking water (*visha*) may possibly have given rise to the legend of his drinking poison (*visha*).—See above, p. 43.

R. V. x. 169, 1.—*Mayobhūr vāto abhivātu usrāḥ ūrjasvatīr oshadhīr ārisantām | pīvasvatīr jīva-dhanyāḥ pibantu avasāya padvate*<sup>222</sup> *Rudra mṛīḷa |* “May the wind, causing prosperity, blow upon our cows. Let them consume invigorating plants; let them drink, being fat and life-sustaining: Rudra, be gracious to our moving sources of food.”

SECT. II.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Vājasaneyi recension of the white Yajur-veda.*

I now proceed to quote from the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā the principal texts which it contains relative to Rudra.

Vaj. S. 3, 57 ff.—*Esha te Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā taṁ jushasva svāhā | esha te Rudra bhāga ākhus te paśuḥ |* 58. *Ava Rudram adimāhy ava devam tryambakam | yathā no vasyasas karad yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yathā no vyavasāyayāt |* 59. *Bheshajam asi beshajam gave 'śvāya purushāya beshajam | sukhām meshāya meshyai |* 60 (=R. V. vii. 59, 12). *Tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim pushti-varadhanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād mṛityor muzīya mā'mṛitāt | tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvārukam iva bandhanād ito muzīya mā'mutaḥ |* 61. *Etat te Rudra avasām tena paro Mujavato atihī | avata-ta-dhanvā pinākavasaḥ kṛitti-vāsā ahiṁsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi |* 62. *Tryāyusham Jamadagneḥ Kāśyapasya tryāyusham | yad deveshu tryāyusham tad no astu tryāyusham |* 63. *Śivo nāmāsi svadhitis te pitā namas te astu mā mā hiṁsīḥ | nivartayāmy āyushe annādyāya prajananāya rāyas-poshāya suprajāstvāya suvīryāya |*

“This is thy portion, Rudra, with thy sister Ambikā; accept it with

<sup>222</sup> *Padvad avasām gāvah |*—Nir. i. 17.



favour, may it be fortunate (*svāhā*). This is thy portion; thy victim is a mouse. 58. Let us satisfy Rudra; let us satisfy the god Tryambaka,<sup>233</sup> that he may make us most opulent, most happy, that he may prosper us. 59. Thou art a medicine, a medicine for kine and horses, a medicine for men, a [source of] ease to rams and ewes. 60. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, the increaser of fatness. May I, like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, be freed from death, not from immortality. We worship Tryambaka, the sweet-scented, who causes us to find our husbands. Like a cucumber [severed] from its stem, may I be released from this [world], not from that. 61. This, Rudra, is thy provision; with it depart beyond the Mūjavat, with thy bow unbended, with thy goad slackened, clothed with a skin, without injuring us, gracious, cross over.<sup>234</sup> 62. Let us have a triple life, the triple life of Jamadagni, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life which exists among the gods. 63. Thou art gracious (*śiva*) by name; a thunderbolt [or an axe] is thy father. Reverence be to thee: destroy us not. I empower thee [o sacrificer] to obtain life, food to eat, the power of procreation, the possession of wealth, abundant offspring, and eminent prowess."<sup>235</sup>

The next passage which I shall quote is the famous Satarudriya, a prayer the holiness and efficacy of which are celebrated in two passages quoted above (pp. 162 and 167) from the Mahābhārata (see also p. 155).

Vājasaneyi Samhitā, xvi 1 ff.—*Namas te Rudra manyave uto te ishava namaḥ | bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ | 2. Yā te Rudra śivā tanūr aghorā 'pāpa-kāśinī | tayā nas tanvā śantamayā giriśantābhīchākaśiḥi | 3. Yām ishūm giriśanta hasta bibharshi astavo | śivām giritra tām kuru mā hīmsīḥ puruṣam jagat | 4. Śivena vachasā tvā giriśāchhā vadāmasi | yathā naḥ sarvam ij jagad ayazmañ sumanā asat | 5. Adhy avochad adhi-vaktā prathamō daivyo bhīshak | ahīmścha sarvān jambhayan sarvās-*

<sup>233</sup> S. P. ii. 6, 2, 9.—*Ambikā ha vai nāmāśya swasā | tayā 'syaiśha saha bhāgāḥ | tad yad asyaiśha strīyā saha bhāgas tasmāt Tryambako nāma |* "He has a sister called Ambikā, with whom he has this share: and since he has this share along with a female (*strī*), he is called Tryambaka" (*i.e.* Stryambaka).

<sup>234</sup> See the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 364 f.

<sup>235</sup> The commentator says that the first half of this verse is addressed to a razor, and the second half is supposed to be spoken by the razor to the person to whose head it is to be applied. He translates the words *nivārttayāmy āyushe*, etc., by "I shave thee for longevity," etc.

*cha yātudhānyo 'dharācōhīḥ parāsuva | 6. Asau yas tāmro aruṇa uta  
 babhruḥ sumangalaḥ | yo chainaṁ Rudrā abhito dixu śritāḥ sahasraśo  
 'vaiśhāṁ heḍa īmahe | 7. Asau yo 'vasarpati nīlagrīvo vilohītaḥ | utainaṁ  
 gopā adriśrann adriśrann udahāryyaḥ sa dṛiṣṭo mṛiḍayāti naḥ | 8.  
 Namō 'stu nīla-grīvāya sahasrāxāya mīdhushe | atho ye asya satvāno  
 ahaṁ tebhyo 'karaṁ namaḥ | 9. Pramuñcha dhanvanas tvam ubhayor  
 ārtnyor jyām | yāśeha te haste ishavaḥ parā tā bhagavo vapa | 10.  
 Vījyaṁ dhanuḥ kapardīno viśalyo bānavān uta | aneśam asya yā  
 ishava ābhur asya nishangadhīḥ | 11. Yā te hetir mīdhusṭama haste  
 babhūva te dhanuḥ | tayā 'smān viśvatas tvam ayazmayā pari bhujā |  
 12. Pari te dhanvano hetir asmān vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ | atho ya ishū-  
 dhīḥ tava āre asmaḍ nidhchi tam | 13. Avatatya dhanuḥ tvaṁ sahas-  
 rāxa śateshudhe | niśīrya śalyānām mukhā śivo naḥ sumanā bhava |  
 14. Namas te āyudhāya anātātāya dhṛiṣṭnave | ubhābhyām uta te namo  
 bāhubhyām tava dhanvane | 15. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) 16. (=R. V. i. 114, 8.)  
 17. Namō hiraṇyabāhavo senānyo diśāñcha pataye namo namo vṛiḍebhyo  
 harikeśebhyaḥ paśūnām pataye namo namaḥ śashpiñjarāya tvishimate  
 pathīnām pataye namo namo harikeśāya upavitīne puṣṭānām pataye  
 namaḥ | 18. Namō babhluśāya vyādīhine 'nnānām pataye namo Bhavasya  
 hetyai jagatām pataye namo namo Rudrāya ātatāyine zetrānām pataye  
 namo namaḥ sūtāya ahantyai vanānām pataye namaḥ | 19. Namō  
 rohitāya sṭhapataye vṛiḍānām pataye namo namo dhuvantaye vāriḥas-  
 kṛitāya ośhadhīnām pataye namo namo mantrīne vāñijāya kazānām  
 pataye namo nama uchchairghoshāya ākrandayate pattinām pataye namaḥ |  
 20. Namaḥ kṛiṣṇāyatayā dhāvate satvanām pataye namo namaḥ saha-  
 mānāya nivyādīhine āvyādīhīnām pataye namo namo nishangīne kaku-  
 bhāya stēnānām pataye namo namo nicherave paricharāya aranyānām  
 pataye namaḥ | 21. Namō vañchate parivañchate stāyūnām pataye namo  
 namo nishangīne ishudhimate taskarānām pataye namo namaḥ śrikāyibhyo  
 jighāmsadbhyo mushnatām pataye namo namo 'simadbhyo naktām charā-  
 dbhyo vīkrīntānām pataye namaḥ | 22. Nama ushṇīshine girīcharāya  
 kulūñjānām pataye namo nama ishmadbhyo dhanvāyibhyaścha vo namo  
 nama ātanvānebhyo pratidadhānebhyaścha vo namo nama āyochhadbhyo  
 'syadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 23. Viśṛijadbhyo vidhyadbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ  
 svapadbhyo jāgradbhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śayānebhya āsīnebhyaścha vo  
 namo namas tishṭhadbhyo dhāvadbhyaścha vo namaḥ | 24. Namaḥ sabhā-  
 bhyaḥ sabhāpatībhyaścha vo namo namo 'śvebhyo 'svapatībhyaścha vo namo*

*nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyascha namonama uganāggbhyas trīṃhatī-  
 bhyaś cha vo namaḥ | 25. Namō ganēbhyo gaṇapatībhyascha vo namo namo  
 vrātebhyo vrātapatībhyascha vo namo namo grītebhyo grītapatībhyascha  
 vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyascha vo namaḥ | 26. Namaḥ  
 senābhyaḥ senānībhyascha vo namo namo rathībhyo 'rathebhyaścha vo namo  
 namaḥ xatṛībhyāḥ saṅgrahitṛībhyascha vo namo namo mahadbhyo arbhake-  
 bhyaścha vo namaḥ | 27. Namāḥ tazabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namo  
 namaḥ kulālebhyāḥ karmārebhyaścha vo namo namo niśādebhyaḥ puñ-  
 jishṭhebhyaś cha vo namo namaḥ śvanībhyo mṛigayubhyaścha vo namaḥ |  
 28. Namaḥ śvabhyāḥ śvapatībhyascha namo Bhavāya Rudrāya cha namaḥ  
 Sarvāya cha Paśupataye cha namo nīlagrīvaya cha śītikāṅṭhāya cha |  
 29. Namaḥ kaparddīne cha vyūpta-keśāya cha namaḥ sahasrāzāya cha  
 śatadhanvane cha namo girīśāyāya cha śipivishṭāya cha namo mīḍhushṭa-  
 māya cheshumate cha | 30. Namō hrasvāya cha vāmanāya cha namo  
 bhīhate varshīyase cha namo vṛiddhāya cha savṛidhe cha namo 'gryāya  
 prathamāya cha | 31. Nama āśave chājirāya cha namaḥ śīghryāya cha  
 śībhyāya cha nama ūrmyāya chāvasvanyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha  
 dvīpyāya cha | 32. Namō jyeshṭhāya cha kanishṭhāya cha namaḥ pur-  
 vajāya chāparajāya cha namo madhyamāya chāpagalbhāya namo ja-  
 ghanyāya cha budhnyāya cha | 33. Namaḥ sobhyāya cha pratisāryāya  
 cha namo yāmyāya cha xemyāya cha namaḥ ślokyāya chāvasānyāya cha  
 nama urvaryāya cha khalyāya cha | 34. Namō vanyāya cha karyāya  
 cha namaḥ śravāya cha pratiśravāya cha nama āśushenāya chāśurathāya  
 cha namaḥ śūrāya chāvabhedīne cha | 35. Namō bilmine cha kavachīne  
 cha namo varmīne cha varūthīne cha namaḥ śrutāya cha śrutasenāya cha  
 namo duṇḍubhyāya chāhananyāya cha | 36. Namō dhṛishṇave cha  
 pramrīśūya cha namo niśaṅgīne cheshudhimate cha namas tīxṇeshave  
 chāyudhīne cha namaḥ svāyudhāya sudhanvane cha | 37. Namaḥ sruty-  
 āya cha pathyāya cha namaḥ kātyāya cha nīpyāya cha namaḥ kulyāya  
 cha sarasyāya cha namo nādeyāya cha vaiśantāya cha | 38. Namaḥ  
 kūpyāya chāvatyāya cha namo vīdhryāya chātapyāya namo meghyāya cha  
 vīdyutyāya cha namo varshyāya chāvarshyāya cha | 39. Namō vātyāya  
 cha reshmyāya cha namo vāstavyāya cha vāstupāya cha namaḥ Somāya  
 cha Rudrāya (?) namas tāmrāya chāruṇāya cha | 40. Namaḥ śaṅgave paśu-  
 pataye cha nama ugrāya cha bhīmāya cha namo agrevadhāya cha dūreva-  
 dhāya cha namo hantrē cha hanīyase cha namo vṛizebhyo hari-keśebhyo  
 namas tārāya | 41. Namaḥ śambhavāya cha mayobhavāya cha namaḥ*

*śaṅkarāya cha mayaskarāya cha namaḥ śivāya cha śivatarāya cha* | 42. *Namaḥ pāryāya chāvāryāya cha namaḥ prataranāya chottaranāya cha namas tīrthyāya cha kūlyāya cha namaḥ śashpyāya pṛhenyāya cha* | 43. *Namaḥ sikatyāya cha pracāhyāya cha namaḥ kiṅśīlāya cha xayānāya cha namaḥ kaparddīne cha pulastaye (?) nama irinyāya cha prapathyāya cha* | 44. *Namo vṛajiyāya cha goshṭhyāya cha namas talpyāya cha gehyāya cha namo hṛidayyāya cha niveshyāya cha namaḥ kāṭyāya cha gahvareshtāya cha* | 45. *Namaḥ śushkyāya cha harityāya cha namaḥ pāṁsavāya cha rajasyāya cha namo lopyāya cha ulapyāya cha nama ūrvyāya cha sūrvyāya cha* | 46. *Namaḥ parvāya cha parṇasādāya cha nama udguramānāya chābhīghnate cha nama ākhidate cha prakhidate cha nama ishukṛidbhyo dhanushkṛidbhyas cha vo namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānām hṛidayebhyo namo vichinvatkebhyo namo vixinatkebhyo nama ānirhatebhyah* | 47. *Drūpe andhasaspate daridra nīlalohita | āsām prajānām eshām paśūnām mā bher mā roṇ mo cha naḥ kiṅchanāmamat* | 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. *Yā te Rudra śivā tanūḥ śivā viśvāhā bṛeshajī | śivā rutasya bṛeshajī tayā no mṛiḍa jīvase* | 50. (=R. V. ii. 33, 14.<sup>236</sup>) 51. *Miḍhushṭama śivatama śivo naḥ sumanā bhava | parame vṛixe āyudhaṁ nidhāya kṛittim vasāna āchara pinākam bibhṛad āgahi* | 52. *Vikīrīdra vilohita namas te astu bhagavaḥ | yās te sahasraṁ hetayo 'nyam asmaḍ nivapantu tāḥ* | 53. *Sahasrāṇi sahasraso bāhvos tava hetayaḥ | tāsām īśāno bhagavaḥ parāchīnā mukhā kṛidhi* | 54. *Asaṅkhyātā sahasrāṇi ye Rūdrā adhi bhūmyām | teshām sahasra-yojane ava dhancāni tanmasi* | 55. *Asmīn mahaty arṇave antarixe Bhavā adhi | teshām ityādi* | 56. *Nīlāgrivāḥ śitikanṭhā divāṁ Rudrā upāśritāḥ | teshām ityādi* | 57. *Nīlāgrivāḥ śitikanṭhāḥ śarvāḥ adhaḥ xamācharāḥ | teshām ityādi* | 58. *Ye vṛixeshu śashpiṅjarā nīlāgrivā vilohitāḥ | teshām ityādi* | 59. *Ye bhūtānām adhipatayo viśikhāsaḥ kaparddīnaḥ | teshām ityādi* | 60. *Ye pathām pathiraxasaḥ aīlabṛidā āyuryudhaḥ | teshām ityādi* | 61. *Ye tīrthāni pracharanti sṛikāhastā nishāṅgiṇāḥ | teshām ityādi* | 62. *Ye anneshu vīvidhyanti pātreshu pībato janān | teshām ityādi* | 63. *Ye etāvantaścha bhūyāmsas cha dišo Rudrā vitasthīre | teshām ityādi* | 64. *Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye divi yeshām varsham ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa prāchīr daśa daxiṇā daśa pratīchīr daśa udīchir daśa ūrdhvāḥ | tebhyo namo astu te no avantu te no mṛiḍayantu te yaṁ dvīshmo yaś cha*

<sup>236</sup> Instead of *mahī gāt*, the concluding words of the verse, as it stands in the R. V., the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā has *aghāyoh*, "of the malicious."

*no dveshṭi tam eshāṁ jambhe dadhmaḥ | 65. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye antarixe yeshāṁ vāta ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi | 66. Namo 'stu Rudrebhyo ye pṛithivyaṁ yeshāṁ annam ishavaḥ | tebhyo daśa ityādi |*

“Reverence, Rudra, to thy wrath, and to thy arrow. Reverence to both thy arms. 2. Shine upon us, dweller in the mountains, with that holy body of thine which is auspicious,<sup>237</sup> not terrible, and which does not betoken harm. 3. The arrow, o dweller in the mountains, which thou bearest in thy hand to discharge, make it, o lord of the mountains, auspicious; do not slay men and cattle. 4. With auspicious words we supplicate thee, dweller in the mountains, that all our men and cattle may be healthy and cheerful. 5. May the intercessor, the first divine physician, intercede for us. Destroying all serpents, strike down and drive away all Yātudhānīs (female goblins). 6. We deprecate from us the wrath of that auspicious deity who is copper-coloured, ruddy, and brown, and of those Rudras who in thousands surround him on all sides. 7. May he who glides away, blue-necked and red-coloured, and whom cowherds and female drawers of water<sup>238</sup> have seen,—may he, when seen, be gracious to us. 8. Reverence to the blue-necked, to the thousand-eyed, to the bountiful; and to his attendant spirits I offer reverence. 9. Loosen the string from both ends of thy bow; and throw away, o divine being, the arrows which are in thy hand. 10. May the bow of the god with braided hair be stringless, and his quiver contain pointless shafts. May his arrows perish, and his sword-sheath be empty. 11. That bow, o most bountiful, and that weapon which is in thy hand, with it, rendered innocuous, do thou protect us on every side. 12. May the shaft from thy bow avoid us in every direction; and deposit thy quiver far from us. 13. Unbending thy bow, o thousand-eyed, and thousand-quivered, and blunting the ends of thy arrows, be gracious and kind to us. 14. Reverence to thy violent weapon, unstrung, to both thy arms, and to thy bow. (Verses 15 and 16 correspond nearly with R. V. i. 114, 7, and 8.—See above, p. 256). 17. Reverence to the golden-armed leader of armies, to the lord of the regions, to the green-haired trees, to the lord of beasts,<sup>232</sup> who is yellow

<sup>237</sup> Compare the passage quoted from the Mahābhārata, above, p. 170, at the top.

<sup>238</sup> “Persons who are destitute of initiation in Vedic rites (*Vedokta-saṁskāra-hīnāḥ*).—Comm.

<sup>239</sup> This, Weber thinks, must originally have meant *the lord of sacrificial victims*.

like young grass, to the radiant, to the lord of roads, the yellow-haired, the wearer of the sacrificial cord, to the lord of the fattened, (18) to the brown-coloured, to the piercer, to the lord of food. Reverence to the weapon of Bhava, to the lord of things moving, to Rudra with the bended bow, to the lord of the fields, to the charioteer of innocuousness, to the lord of the forests, (19) to the red architect, to the lord of trees, to the being that affords prosperity, to the lord of plants, to the observant merchant, to the lord of bushes, to the loud-shouting lord of armies who causes his foes to shriek, (20) to him who runs in full stretch, to the lord of spirits, to the conqueror, to the piercer, to the lord of destroying armies, to the great wielder of a sword, to the lord of thieves, to the robber, to the prowler, to the lord of woods, (21) to the cheater, to the deceiver, to the lord of pilferers, to the bearer of the sword and quiver, to the lord of robbers, to those armed with arrows, to the murderous, to the lord of stealers, to those who carry swords, to those who prowl by night, to the lord of plunderers; (22) to him who bears a turban, who frequents the mountains, to the lord of robbers, to you who have arrows, and to you who have bows, to you with bended bows, and you who fit your arrows on the string, to you who draw the bow, and to you who shoot, (23) to you who discharge, and to you who pierce, to you who sleep and you who wake, to you who lie and you who sit, to you who stand and you who run, (24) to the assemblies, and to you the lords of assemblies, to horses, and to you the lords of horses, to you the hosts which wound and pierce, which have excellent troops, and which are destructive, (25) to the troops, and to you the lords of troops, to the Vrātas, and to you the lords of the Vrātas, to the rogues, and to you the lords of rogues, to you who are ill-formed, and to you who have all forms, (26) to armies, and to you the leaders of armies, to you who ride in chariots, and to you without chariots, to you the warriors, and to you the charioteers, to you the great and to you the small, (27) to you the carpenters, and to you the chariot-makers, to you the potters, and to you the blacksmiths, to you the Nishādas, and to you the Punjishthas, to you the leaders of dogs, and to you the huntsmen, (28) to dogs, and to the masters of dogs, to Bhava, and to Rudra, and to Sarva, to Paśupati, to Nilagrīva, and to Sītikantha, (29) to him with the braided hair, and to him with the shaven hair, to him with a thousand

eyes, to him with a hundred bows, to the dweller in the mountains, to S'ipivishtha,<sup>240</sup> to the most bountiful, to him who has arrows, (30) to the short, and to the dwarf, to the great, and to him who has arrived at a mature age, to the old, to the coetaneous, to the chief, and to the first, (31) to the swift (or pervader), and to the moving, to the fleet, and to the speedy, to him who dwells in billows, and in roaring waters, and in rivers, and on islands, (32) to the eldest, and to the youngest, to the first-born, and to the last-born, to the middlemost, to him who is not full-grown (?),<sup>241</sup> to the lowest, to him who exists at the roots of trees, (33) to him who lives in the magical city Sobha (?),<sup>242</sup> to him who exists in incantations, to him who exists in punishment, and in prosperity, to the renowned, to the endmost, to him who exists in the soil, and in the threshing floor, (34) in the woods and in the bushes, in the form of sound, and in echo, to him who has fleet armies and swift chariots, to the hero, and to the splitter, (35) to the helmetted, to him with cotton-quilted cuirass, with iron mail, and with armour, to him who is renowned and has a renowned army, to him who exists in drums, and in resounding blows, (36) to the impetuous, to the bold, to the bearer of a sword and a quiver, who carries swift arrows, who wields weapons, and has excellent weapons and a good bow, (37) to him who dwells in pathways and roads, and hollows, and the skirts of mountains, and watercourses, and lakes, and rivers, and ponds, (38) and in wells, and pits, and in bright clouds, and in sunshine, in clouds, in lightning, in rain, in fair weather, (39) in wind, in storm, to the dweller in houses, to the protector of houses, to Soma, and to Rudra, to the copper-coloured, to the ruddy, to the bringer of prosperity, to Paśupati, to the fierce (*ugra*) and the terrible, to him who kills in front, and who kills from afar, to the slayer, to the excessive slayer, to the green-haired trees, to the deliverer, (41) to the source of prosperity, to the source of happiness, to the causer of prosperity (*śaṅkarāya*), to the causer of happiness, to the auspicious (*śiva*) and the very auspicious, (42) to him who exists beyond and on this side, to him who crosses over to and

<sup>240</sup> R. V. vii. 99, 7; and vii. 100, 6, above, pp. 74-77.

<sup>241</sup> Or "to him who is unrelated." The meaning of many of these epithets is very difficult to perceive, and is not perhaps of much consequence.

<sup>242</sup> *Sobhya* seems derived from *sa-ubha*, and perhaps signifies "one who partakes of two natures."

fro (?), to him who exists in fords and river-banks, in young grass, and in foam, (43) who exists in gravel and in streams, in stony ground, and in habitable<sup>243</sup> places (?), to the god with braided hair, to him who stands before us (?),<sup>244</sup> who exists in barren land, and in frequented roads, (44) among herds, in cow-pens, in beds, in houses, in the heart, in whirlpools (or in hoar-frost), and in hollows, who abides in caves, (45) in dry things and in green things, in dust, in moisture (or dust), in inaccessible places, in creepers, in vaults and in deep vaults. 46. Reverence to the leaf, and to the witherer of the leaf, to the threatener, to the slayer, to the vexer and the afflicter, to you who make arrows and who make bows, to you the sprinklers, to the hearts of the gods, to the discerners, to the destroyers, and to the indestructible. 47. O thou who chasest away, who art lord of the soma-juice, who art poor,<sup>245</sup> who art blue and red, do not frighten, do not destroy these [our] offspring, or these cattle, and let nothing of ours be sick. 48. (=R. V. i. 114, 1.) 49. That we may live, be gracious to us with that body of thine which is propitious, which is propitious and healing on all days, which is propitious and heals disease. 50. (=R. V. ii. 33, 14.—See above, p. 260.) 51. Most bountiful, most gracious, be gracious and benevolent to us. Placing thy weapon on the remotest tree, approach, clad in a skin,<sup>246</sup> come, holding thy bow. 52. O deity, who drivest away calamity, and art ruddy in hue, reverence be to thee. May thy thousand shafts smite some one else than us. 53. Thousands of thousands of shafts are in thy hands. O god, do thou, the lord, avert their points [from us]. 54. We unbend a thousand leagues (*yojana*) away the bows of those unnumbered thousands of Rudras who are upon the earth. 55. Above this great atmospheric ocean there exist Bhavas. We unbend their bows a thousand leagues away. 56. Rudras with blue necks and white throats occupy the sky. We unbend, etc. 57. Sarvas with blue necks and white throats frequent [the regions] beneath the earth. We unbend, etc. 58. Of those

<sup>243</sup> Or, "in a place with still water."—Comm.

<sup>244</sup> *Pulastaye agre tishṭhati pulastih* | —Comm.

<sup>245</sup> *Darīdra*. The commentator explains this as meaning "without any connexion with others, from being without a second" (*nishparigraho 'devīyatvāt*). Prof. Roth (*Lexicon*) proposes to render the word by "roving about," and Prof. Weber by "splitter."

<sup>246</sup> See V. S. 3, 61, above p. 268.



[deities] with a colour like young grass, with blue necks and ruddy hue, who [live] in trees, we unbend, etc. 59. Of those lords of beings who are without locks of hair, and whose hair is braided, we unbend, etc. 60. Of those who are guardians of roads, givers of nourishment (?), who fight for [our?] life, we unbend, etc. 61. Of those who frequent the fords, armed with arrows in their hands, and swords, we unbend, etc. 62. Of those who pierce, in the midst of their meals, men who are drinking in vessels, we unbend, etc. 63. Of those Rudras who, so many [as we have described] and yet more numerous, occupy the regions, we unbend, etc. 64. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the sky, of whom rain is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers] to the east,<sup>247</sup> ten to the south, ten to the west, ten to the north, and ten upwards. To them be reverence: may they protect us, may they be gracious to us. We consign to their teeth the man whom we hate, and who hates us. 65. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] in the atmosphere, of whom the wind is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc. 66. Reverence to the Rudras who [live] upon the earth, of whom food is the arrows. To them [I hold out] ten [fingers], etc. etc."

SECT. III.—*Passages relating to Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, etc., from the Atharva-veda.*

A. V. ii. 27, 6.—*Rudra jalāsha-bheshaja nīla-sikhanda karma-kṛit | prāśam pratiprāśo jahi arasān kṛiṇu oshadhe* | "Rudra, who hast healing remedies, who hast dark locks, who art the performer of rites, destroy the *prāśa* (? a plant), being an antidote: make them savourless, o plant!"

A. V. v. 21, 11.—*Yūyam ugrā Marutaḥ Pṛiṣni-mātara Indreṇa yujā pra mṛiṇīta śatrūn | Soma rājā Varuṇo rājā mahādeva uta mṛityur Indraḥ* | "Do ye, fierce Maruts, whose mother is Pṛiṣni, allied with Indra, destroy [our] enemies. Soma [is] a king, Varuṇa [is] a king, Indra is a great god and death."

<sup>247</sup> *Prāgabhimukhā angulīḥ kurve iti śeśhaḥ | añjalim baddhvā sarva-dixu namas-karomi* |

A. V. vi. 93, 1.—*Yamo mṛityur aghamāro nirritho babhruḥ Sarvo 'stā nīla-sikhaṇḍaḥ | deva-janāḥ senayā uttasthiyāmsas te asmākam pari vṛiṅjantu vīrān |* 2. *Manasā homair harasā ghṛitena Sarvāyāstre uta rājāne Bhavāya | namasyebhyo nama ebhyaḥ kṛiṇomy anyatrāsmad aghavishā nayantu |* “May Yama, death, who brings dire destruction, may the tawny hell, may Sarva the archer with dark locks, may the hosts of the gods, arising with their army, may these avoid our heroes. 2. With mind, with oblations, with fire (?), with ghee, I offer reverence to Sarva the archer, and to king Bhava, to them who deserve reverence; let them carry their deadly poisons to others than us.”

A. V. vii. 87, 1.—*Yo Agnau Rudro yo apsv antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākṛipe tasmai Rudrāya namo asto Agnaye |* “Reverence be to that Rudra, Agni, to the Rudra who is in Agni, who is in the waters, and who has entered into the plants and bushes, and who has formed all these worlds.”

A. V. viii. 2, 7.—. . . . *Bhavā-sarvau mṛīdatām śarma yachhatam apasidhya duritām dhattam āyuh | . . . .* “Bhava and Sarva, be gracious, give protection; removing calamity, give life.”

A. V. viii. 5. 10.—*Asmai maṇim varma badhnantu devā Indro Vishnuḥ Savitā Rudro Agniḥ | ityādi |* “May the gods, Indra, Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Rudra, Agni, bind on him the jewel as a protection,” etc.

A. V. ix. 7, 7.—*Mitras cha Varuṇas chāmsau Tvashṭā chāryamā cha doshanī Mahādevo bāhū |* “Mitra and Varuṇa are the shoulders, Tvashṭṛi and Aryaman the fore-arms, and Mahādeva the two arms.”

A. V. x. 1, 23.—*Bhavā-sarvau asyatām pāpa-kṛite kṛityākṛite dushkṛite vidyutām deva-hotim |* “Let Bhava and Sarva launch the lightning, the bolt of the gods, against the doer of wickedness, against him who employs sorcery, against the evil doer.”

A. V. xi. 2, 1.—*Bhavā-Sarvau mṛīdatam mā 'bhiyātam bhūta-pati paśu-pati namo vām | pratihitām āyatām mā vi srāshṭam mā no hīmsi-shṭam doipado mā chatushpadaḥ |* 2. *Sūno kroshṭre mā śarīrāni karttam aliklavebhyo grīdhrebhyo ye cha kṛishṇā avishyavaḥ | maxikās te Paśupate vayāmsi te vighase mā vidanta |* 3. *Krandāya te prānāya yās cha te Bhava ropayaḥ | namas te Rudra kṛiṇmaḥ sahasrāxāya amartya |* 4. *Purastāt te namaḥ kṛiṇmaḥ uttarād adharād uta | abhivargād divas pari antarixāya te namaḥ |* 5. *Mukhāya te Paśupate yāni chaxūmshi te Bhava | tvache rūpāya saṁdṛiṣe pratichīnāya te namaḥ |* 6. *Aṅgebhyaḥ*

te udarāya jihvāyai āsyāya te | dadbhyo gandhāya te namaḥ | 7. Astrā  
 nīla-śikhāṇḍena sahasrāṅga vājinā | Rudrēnūrdhaka-ghātinā tena mā  
 samarāmahi | 8. Sa no Bhavaḥ pari vṛiṇaktu viśvataḥ āpa ivāgniḥ pari  
 vṛiṇaktu no Bhavaḥ | mā no 'bhi māṁsta namo astv asmai | 9. Chatur  
 namo aṣṭakṛitvo Bhavāya daśa kṛitvaḥ Paśupate namas te | tavemo pañ-  
 cha paśavo vibhaktā gāvo aśvāḥ puruṣhā ajāvayaḥ | 10. Tuva chatasraḥ  
 pradīśas tava dyaus tava pṛithivī tavedam ugrov antarixam | tavedam  
 sarvam ātmanvad yat prāṇat pṛithivīm anu | 11. Uruḥ koṣo vasudhānas  
 tavāyaṁ yasmin imā viśvā bhuvanāny antaḥ | sa no mṛiḍa Paśupate  
 namas te paraḥ krośtāro abhībhāḥ śvānaḥ paro yantv agharudo vikeśyaḥ |  
 12. Dhanur bibharshi haritaṁ hiranyayaṁ sahasra-ghnīm śata-vadhaṁ  
 śikhāṇḍin | Rudrasyeshuś charati deva-hetiḥ tasyai namo yatamasyām  
 diśitaḥ | 13. Yo 'bhiyāto nilayate tvām Rudra nichikīrshati | paśchād  
 anu prayuṅxe taṁ viddhasya pada-nīr iva | 14. Bhavā-rudrau sayujā  
 saṁvidānāv ubhāv ugrau charato vīryāya | tābhyām namo yatamasyām  
 diśitaḥ | 15. Namas te astv āyate namo astu parāyate | namas te Rudra  
 tiṣṭhate āsināyota te namaḥ | 16. Namaḥ sāyaṁ namaḥ prātar namo  
 rātryā namo divā | Bhavāya cha Śārvāya cha ubhābhyām akaraṁ namaḥ |  
 17. Sahasrāṅgam atipaśyam purastād Rudram asyantam bahudhā vipaś-  
 chitam | mā upārāma jihvayā īyamānam | 18. Syāvāśvāṁ kṛiṣṇam asi-  
 tam mṛiṇantam bhīmaṁ rathaṁ keśinaḥ pādayantam | pūrve pratīmo  
 namo astv asmai | 19. Mā no 'bhi srā matyaṁ deva-hetiṁ mā naḥ kru-  
 dhaḥ Paśupate namas te | anyatra asmaḥ divyām śākhām vi dhūnu |  
 20. Mā no hīmsir adhi no brūhi pari no vṛiṇdhi mā krudhaḥ | ma tvayā  
 samarāmahi | 21. Mā no goṣhu puruṣeshu mā grīdho no ajāvishu |  
 anyatrogra vi varttaya piyārūnām prajāṁ jahi | 22. Yasya takmā  
 kāśikā hetir ekam aśvasyeva vṛiṣanaḥ kranda eti | abhipūrvaṁ nirṇayate  
 namo astv asmai | 23. Yo antarixe tiṣṭhate viṣṭabhito ayajvanaḥ pram-  
 riṇan deva-piṅgū | tasmai namo daśabhiḥ śakvarībhiḥ | 24. Tūbhyam  
 āraṇyāḥ paśavo mrigā vane hitā haṁsāḥ suparṇāḥ śakunā vayāṁsi |  
 tava yavam Paśupate apsv antas tūbhyām zaranti divyā āpo vṛiḍhe |  
 25. Siṁśumārā ajagarāḥ purikayā jashā matsyā rajasā yebhyo asyasi |  
 na te dūraṁ na pariṣṭhā 'sti te Bhāva sadyaḥ sarvām pari paśyasi  
 bhūmim pūrvasmād dhaṁsy uttarasmin samudre | 26. Mā no Rudra  
 takmanā mā vishena mā naḥ saṁ srā divyenāgninā | anyatrāsmad  
 vidyatam pātayaitām | 27. Bhavo divo Bhava īśe pṛithivyā Bhava  
 ā papre uro antarixam | tasyai namo yatamasyām diśitaḥ |

28. *Bhava rājan yajamānāya mṛiḍa paśūnām hi paśupatiḥ bahkūtha | yah śraddadhāti santi devā iti chatushpade dvi-pade asya mṛiḍa |*  
 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) *Mā no mahāntam uta mā no arbhakam mā no vahantam uta mā no vasyataḥ | mā no hiṃsīḥ pitarām mātaram cha svām tanvaṃ Rudra mā rīriṣho naḥ |* 30. *Rudrasya ilaba-kārebhyo 'saṃsākta-gilebhyah | idam mahāsyebhyah śvabhyo akaram namaḥ |* 31. *Namas te ghoshinībhyo namas te keśinībhyah | namo namaskṛitābhyo namaḥ sambhūñjatībhyah | namas te deva senābhyah svasti no abhayaṃ cha naḥ |*

“Bhava and Sarva, be gracious to us, be not hostile, lords of spirits, lords of beasts; reverence to you twain. Discharge not a long arrow; destroy not our bipeds and quadrupeds. 2. Abandon not our bodies to the dog or the jackal, to carrion birds, to vultures, to thy greedy black flies, lord of beasts; let not thy birds get us to devour. 3. We offer reverence to thy shout, to thy breath, and to thy arrows, Bhava, and o immortal Rudra, to thee the thousand-eyed. 4. We offer reverence to thee from before, and from behind, and from below, and from thy domain in the sky: reverence to thy firmament. 5. Reverence to thy face, Paśupati, to thine eyes, Bhava, to thy skin, to thy form, to thine aspect from before and behind. 6. Reverence to thy limbs, to thy belly, to thy tongue, to thy mouth, to thy teeth, to thy odour (nose?). 7. May we never contend with that archer whose locks are dark, who has a thousand eyes, the horseman, with Rudra the slayer of Ardhaka (?). 8. May he (Bhava) everywhere avoid us, may Bhava avoid us as fire avoids the waters. May he not bear malice towards us: reverence be to him. 9. Four times, eight times, be reverence to Bhava: ten times be reverence to thee, Paśupati. Thine are these five distinct sorts of animals—kine, horses, men, goats, and sheep. 10. Thine, Ugra, are the four regions, the sky, the earth, and the wide atmosphere; thine is everything which has a spirit and which breathes upon the earth. 11. This is a vast and wealthy store-house of thine, within which all these worlds are contained. Do thou favour us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Far from us be jackals, unlucky omens, dogs: may shrieking female demons with dishevelled hair go far from us. 12. Long-haired god, thou carriest a yellow and golden bow, which smites thousands and kills hundreds. Rudra's arrow, a celestial bolt, flies abroad: reverence be to it from hence in whatever direction it goes. 13. Thou pursuest after the adversary who settles down and seeks to overcome thee, Rudra, as a man

tracking the steps (?) of a wounded [animal]. 14. Bhava and Rudra, who are always united and concordant, both fierce, ye advance to [deeds of] heroism. Reverence be from hence to them twain in whatever direction they are. 15. Reverence to thee coming, and to thee departing; reverence to thee, Rudra, standing, and to thee sitting. 16. Reverence in the evening, in the morning, by night and by day: I have offered reverence to Bhava, and to Śarva, both of them. 17. Let us not with our tongue injure Rudra, who rushes on, thousand-eyed, viewing all the world, who hurls his shafts in our presence, and who is manifoldly wise. 18. We approach first [with our worship] the god who has horses, is dark, black, destroying, who sets in motion the terrible car of the long-haired god (the Sun?): reverence be to him. 19. Do not hurl at us thy harrow (?),<sup>248</sup> thy celestial bolt: be not incensed at us, Paśupati; reverence be to thee. Brandish thy celestial arrow over some other than us. 20. Slay us not; intercede for us; avoid us; be not angry with us; let us not contend with thee. 21. Do not covet our cattle, our men, our goats, and sheep. Fierce god, betake thyself elsewhere; slay the offspring of the wicked. 22. Reverence be to him whose consumption, whose cough, whose bolt, assails some one like the neighing of a stallion—to him who determines [his victims?] in order. 23. Be reverence paid with ten *śakvari* verses to him who abides fixed in the atmosphere, smiting the despisers of the gods who offer no sacrifice. 24. For thee the beasts of the wood, deer, well-winged swans, and various birds are placed in the forest; worship of thee (?), Paśupati, exists in the waters: to magnify thee the celestial waters flow. 25. Porpoises, great serpents, *purīkayas*, sea-monsters, fishes, *rajasas*, upon which thou hurlest [thy weapon]. There is to thee, Bhava, nothing far, nor anything which stands [near] around thee. At a glance thou lookest around the whole earth: from the eastern thou slayest in the northern ocean. 26. Do not assail us, Rudra, with consumption, or with poison, or with celestial fire: cause this lightning to descend elsewhere than upon us. 27. Bhava rules the sky, Bhava rules the earth, Bhava hath filled<sup>249</sup> the vast atmosphere: reverence be to him from hence in

<sup>248</sup> A. V. viii. 8, 11.—*Trīṇeḍhu enān matyam Bhavasya* | “May the harrow (?) of Bhava crush them.”

<sup>249</sup> Compare R. V. i. 52, 13, p. 86, above; and the other passages quoted in note 65 of the same page.

whatever region [he is]. 28. Bhava, king, be gracious to thy worshipper, for thou art lord of beasts. Be gracious to the quadrupeds and bipeds of him who believes that the gods exist.<sup>250</sup> 29. (=R. V. i. 114, 7.) Slay neither our great nor our small, neither him who carries (?) nor those who shall carry (?),<sup>251</sup> neither our father nor our mother: injure not, Rudra, ourselves. 30. I have offered this reverence to Rudra's wide-mouthed howling dogs who swallow their prey unchewed. 31. Reverence, o deity, to thy shouting, long-haired, revered devouring (?) hosts. May blessing and security be ours."

A. V. xi. 6, 9.—*Bhavā-śarvāv idam brūmo Rudram Paśupatiś cha yaḥ | ishūr yā eshām saṁvidma tā naḥ santu sadā śivāḥ |* "We say this to Bhava and Śarva, to Rudra and to him who is Paśupati: may those arrows of theirs which we know be always propitious to us."

A. V. xii. 4, 17.—*Ya enām avaśām āha devānām nihitam nidhim | ubhau tasmai Bhavā-śarvau parikramyeshum asyataḥ |* "Both Bhava and Sarva advancing, discharge an arrow against him who declares this [cow], the hoarded treasure of the gods, to be no cow."

A. V. xiii. 4, 4.—*So 'ryamā sa Varuṇaḥ sa Rudraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | 26. Sa Rudro vasuwanir vasudeye namovāke vashaṭkāro 'nu saṁhitaḥ | 27. Tasyeme sarve yātava upa praśisham āsato | 28. Tasyāmū sarvā naxatrā vaśe chandramasā saha |* "4. He (Savitṛi) is Aryaman, he is Varuṇa, he is Rudra, he is Mahādeva. 26. He (Rudra) the giver of wealth, is placed as the *vashaṭkāra* in the reverential invocation, for the purpose of giving wealth. 27. All these demons wait upon his command. 28. All these stars, with the moon, are under his control."

The following passage, together with the rest of the fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda, is quoted and translated by Aufrecht in the first vol. of Weber's *Indische Studien*, pp. 121-140:

A. V. xv. 5, 1.—*Tasmai prāchyā diśo antar-deśād Bhavam ishvāsam anushṭhātāram akurvan | Bhava enam ishvāsaḥ prāchyā diśo antar-deśād anushṭhātā 'nutishṭhati | nainam Sarvo na Bhavo na Īśāno nāsya paśūn na samānān hinasti ya evam veda | 2. Tasmai daxināyā diśo antardeśāch*

<sup>250</sup> Compare R. V. viii. 89, 3, 4, quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 151.

<sup>251</sup> Compare R. V. i. 114, 7, p. 256, above. It would appear as if in the time of the composition of the A. V. *uzantam* and *ucitam* of the R. V. had been derived from the root *vah*, in the same way as Sāyaṇa explains *evavah*, and other forms of *vax* and *ux*, as derived from the root *vah*.—R. V. i. 64, 3, etc.

*chharcam ishvasam ityādi* | 3. *Tasmai pratichyā diśo antar-deśāt Paśu-patim ityādi* | 4. *Tasmai udichyā diśo antar-deśād ugrañ devam ityādi* | 5. *Tasmai dhruvāyā diśo antar-deśād Rudram ityādi* | 6. *Tasmai ūrdhvāyā diśo antar-deśād Mahādevam ityādi* | 7. *Tasmai sarcebhya antar-deśebhya Iśānam ityādi* | “ [The gods] made Bhava the archer [to be] to him (the Vṛātya) a deliverer from the intermediate space of the eastern region. Bhava the archer, a deliverer, delivers him from the interval of the eastern region. Neither Sarva nor Bhava, nor Iśāna slays either him who knows this, or his cattle, or his kindred. 2. [The gods] made Sarva the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the southern region, etc. 3. [The gods] made Paśupati the archer [to be] his deliverer from the intermediate space of the western region, etc. 4. [The gods] made Ugradeva, etc. (as above), of the northern region, etc. 5. [The gods] made Rudra, etc. (as above), of the lower region, etc. 6. [The gods] made Mahādeva, etc. (as above), of the upper region, etc. 7. [The gods] made Iśāna the archer [to be] his deliverer from all the intermediate regions,” etc.

SECT. IV.—*Passages relating to Rudra from the Satapatha and Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇas.*

In the following text (which has been already quoted in the second volume of this work) Rudra is identified with Agni :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. i. 7, 3, 8.—*Agnir vai sa devas tsayaitāni nāmāni Sarva iti yathā prāchyā āchazate Bhava iti yathā Bāhikāḥ Paśu-nām patī Rudro 'gnir iti | tāny asya aśāntāny eva itarāṇi nāmāny Agnir ity eva śāntatamam* | “Agni is a god. These are his names: Sarva, as the eastern people call him,<sup>252</sup> Bhava, as the Bāhikas, Paśū-nāmpati (lord of beasts), Rudra, and Agni. These other names of his (*i.e.* all the foregoing except Agni) are ungentle. Agni is his gentlest appellation.”

<sup>252</sup> On this the commentator remarks (p. 124 of Weber's edition) : *Prāchyādi-deśa-bhēdena Sarvādi-nāma-bhēde 'pi devatā ekā eva* | “Though, owing to the difference of countries, there is a difference of names, as Sarva, etc., still the god is but one.”

The following passage describes the birth of Rudra, and at the same time identifies him with Agni :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6, 1, 3, 7 ff.—*Abhūd vā iyam pratishṭhā iti | tad bhūmir abhavat | tām aprathayat sā pṛithivy abhavat | tasyām asyām pratishṭhāyām bhūtāni bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsarāya adixanta | bhūtānām patir griha-patir āsīd Ushāḥ patnī |* 8. *Tad yāni tāni bhūtāni rītavas te | atha yaḥ sa bhūtānām patiḥ saṁvatsaraḥ saḥ | atha yā sū Ushāḥ patny aushasī sā | tāni imāni bhūtāni cha bhūtānāncha patiḥ saṁvatsara Ushasi reto 'siñchan | sa saṁvatsare kumāro 'jāyata | so 'rodīt |* 9. *Tam Prajāpatir abravīt “kumāra kiṁ rodishi yach chhramāt tapaso 'dhi jāto 'si” iti | so 'bravīd “anapahata-pāpmā vā asmy ahitanāmā nāma me dhehi” iti | tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam evāsya tad apahanty api dvitīyam api tritīyam abhipūrvam evāsya tat pāpmānam apahanti |* 10. *Tam abravīd Rudro 'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Agnis tad rūpam abhavat Agnir vai Rudro yad arodīt tasmād Rudrah | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 11. *Tam abravīt “Sarvo 'si” iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod āpas tad-rūpam abhavann āpo vai Sarvo 'dbhyo hi idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyate | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti | tam abravīt Paśupatiḥ asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod oshadhayas tad-rūpam abhavann oshadhayo vai Paśupatis tasmād yadā paśava oshadhīr lubhante 'tha patīyanti | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 13. *Tam abravīd Ugro'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Vāyus tad-rūpam abhavat Vāyur vā ugras tasmād yadā balavad vāty Ugro vāti ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 14. *Tam abravīd Aśanir asi iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot vidyut tad-rūpam abhavat vidyud vā Aśanis tasmād yaṁ vidyud hantya Aśanir abadhīd ity āhuḥ | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 15. *Tam abravīd Bhavo'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarot Parjanyaḥ tad-rūpam abhavat Parjanyaḥ vai Bhavaḥ | Parjanyaḥ hi idaṁ sarvaṁ bhavati | so 'bravīd “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 16. *Tam abravīd “Mahān devo'si” iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akaroch chandramās tad-rūpam abhavat Prajāpatir vai chandramāḥ Prajāpatir vai mahān devaḥ | so 'bravīj “jyāyān vā asato 'smi dhehy eva me nāma” iti |* 17. *Tam abravīd Īśāno'si iti | tad yad asya tan nāma akarod Ādityas tad-rūpam abhavat Ādityo vā Īśāna Ādityo hy asya sarvasya ishṭo | so 'bravīd “etāvān vā asmi mā metah paro nāma dhā” iti |* 18.



*Tāny etāny aśhṭāv Agni-rūpāni Kumāro navamaḥ | sā eva Agnes tri-  
vṛittā | 19. Yād vā iva aśhṭāv Agni-rūpāny aśhṭāzaraḥ gāyatrī tasmād  
āhur gāyatro 'gnīr iti | so 'yaṁ kumāro rūpāny anuprāviśat | na vā  
Agniṁ kumāram iva paśyanty etāny evāsya rūpāni paśyanty etāni hi  
rūpāni prāviśat |*

“This foundation existed. It became the earth (*bhūmī*). He extended it (*aprathayat*). It became the broad one (*prithivī*). On this foundation beings, and the lord of beings, consecrated themselves for the year (*samvatsara*). The lord of beings was a householder, and Ushas was his wife. Now these ‘beings’ were the seasons. That ‘lord of beings’ was the Year. That wife Ushas was Aushasī (the daughter of the dawn).<sup>253</sup> Then both those beings, and that lord of beings, the Year, impregnated Ushas, and a boy (*Kumāra*)<sup>254</sup> was born in a year. The boy wept. Prajāpati said to him, ‘Boy, why dost thou weep, since thou hast been born after toil and austerity?’ The boy said, ‘My sin indeed has not been taken away, and a name has not been given to me. Give me a name.’ Wherefore when a son has been born [to any man], let a name be given to him; that takes away his sin; and [let] also a second and a third [name be given] in succession: that takes away his sin. Prajāpati said to him, ‘Thou art Rudra.’ Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Agni became his form, for Agni is Rudra. He was Rudra because he wept (*arodīt* from *rud*, ‘to weep’). The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ Prajāpati replied, ‘Thou art Sarva.’<sup>255</sup> Inasmuch as he gave him that name, the waters became his form, for the waters are Sarva (All), because all this is produced from the waters (see above, p. 21). The boy said, ‘I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.’ Prajāpati replied, ‘Thou art Paśupati.’ Inasmuch as he gave him

<sup>253</sup> I am unable to explain how Ushas, the dawn, is identified with her own offspring, Aushasī; or how the ‘lord of beings’=the Year, consecrated himself for the year.

<sup>254</sup> The name *Kumāra*, Weber remarks (*Indische Studien*, ii. 302, 395) is applied to Agni in *Rig-veda*, v. 2, 1.

<sup>255</sup> The origin of this name may perhaps be found in *Rig-veda*, x. 61, 19, where these words occur: *Iyam me nābhīr iha me sadhastham ime me devā ayam asmi Sarvaḥ | devīḥ aha prathama-jā ṛitasya idaṁ dhenur aduḥaj jūyamānā |* “This is my centre, here is my assembly, these are my gods, this is I, Sarva (All). The twice-born men are the firstborn of the sacred rite. This the cow milked out, when she was being born.”

that name, the Plants became his form, for the Plants are Paśupati. Hence, when beasts obtain plants, they become lords (or strong?) The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Ugra.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vāyu (the Wind) became his form. Vāyu is Ugra (or the 'Fierce'). Wherefore when it blows strongly, men say, 'Ugra blows.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Aśani.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Vidyut (Lightning) became his form. Lightning is Aśani. Hence they say that Aśani has struck a man whom lightning strikes. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou art Bhava.' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Parjanya (the god of rain) became his form. For Parjanya is Bhava (Being); because all this [universe] arises from Parjanya. The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Mahādevaḥ (the 'Great god').' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Chandramas (the Moon) became his form. Prajāpati is the Moon: Prajāpati is the 'Great god.' The boy said, 'I am greater than one who does not exist: give me a name.' Prajāpati replied, 'Thou art Īśāna (the ruler).' Inasmuch as he gave him that name, Aditya (the Sun) became his form. For the Sun is Īśāna, because he rules (*ishṭe*) over this universe. The boy said, 'I am so much: do not give me any further name.' These are the eight forms of Agni. Kumāra (the boy) is the ninth. This is the threefoldness (*trivṛttā*) of Agni. Since there are, as it were, eight forms of Agni, the gāyatrī metre has eight syllables. Hence men say, 'Agni pertains to the gāyatrī.' This boy (Kumāra) entered into the forms. Men do not see Agni as a boy; it is these forms of his that they see; for he entered into these forms."

This passage appears to be the original from which the story of the birth of Rudra in the Purāṇas is borrowed. That legend, as given in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (in nearly the same words as in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) is as follows:

Mārka. Pur. Sect. 52, 2 ff.—*Kalpādāv ātmanas tulyaṁ sutam pradhīyataḥ prabhoḥ | 3. Prādūr-āsīd athāṅko 'sya kumāro nīla-lohitaḥ | ruroda susvaram so 'tha dravaṁś cha dvija-sattama | kiṁ rodishiti tam Brahmā rudantaṁ pratyuvācha ha | nāma dehīti taṁ so 'tha pratyuvācha*

*jagat-patim | Rudras tvam̄ deva namnā 'si mā rodīr dhairyyam āvaha |  
evam uktaḥ tataḥ so 'tha sapta-kṛitvo ruroda ha | tato 'nyāni dadau ta-  
mai sapta nāmāni vai prabhuḥ | sthānāni chaishām ashānām patnīḥ  
puttrāṁś cha vai dvija | Bhavaṁ Sarvaṁ tathesānaṁ tathā Paśupatiṁ  
prabhuḥ | Bhīmam Ugram Mahādevam wācha sa Pitāmahaḥ |*

“When, at the beginning of the kalpa, the lord (*i.e.* Brahmā) was meditating on a son similiar to himself, there was manifested in his lap a boy of a blue and red colour, (3) who then wept loudly, running about. Brahmā said to him when he was weeping, ‘Why dost thou weep?’ He answered the lord of the world, ‘Give me a name.’ [Brahmā rejoined] ‘Thou, o deity, art called Rudra; do not weep; be patient.’ Being thus addressed [the boy] wept again seven times. Then the lord gave him seven other names, and the places of these eight, and wives, and sons. The Progenitor (Brahmā) called him [beside Rudra] Bhava, Sarva, Īśāna, Paśupati, Bhīma, Ugra, Mahādeva.”

These names (except Bhīma, which is substituted for Aśani) are the same as those in the Brāhmaṇa. The same legend is given in a somewhat different form in the Sāṅkhāyana or Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa, and an abstract of that passage is furnished by Prof. Weber in his *Indische Studien*, ii. 300 ff. For the text of the passage I am indebted to Prof. Aufrecht, who has copied it from the MS. of the Sāṅkhāyana in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Sāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, vi. i. etc.—*Prajāpatiḥ prajātikāmas tapo 'tapyata | tasmāt taptāt panchājāyanta Agnir Vāyur Ādityaś Chandramā Ushāḥ panchamī | tām abravīd yūyam api tapyadhvam iti | te 'dikshanta | tām dikshitāṁś tepānān ushāḥ prajāpatya 'psarorūpaṁ kṛitvā purastāt pratyudait | tasyām eśhām manaḥ samapatat | te reto 'siñchanta | Te prajāpatim pitaram etyābruvan “reto va asichāmahā idam no māmuyā bhūd” iti | sa prajāpatir hiraṇmayaṁ chamasam akarod ishumātram ūrdhvam evaṁ tiryāṅcam | tasmīn retaḥ samasiñcat | tata udatishṭhat sahasrākṣhaḥ sahasrapāt sahasreṇa pratihhitābhiḥ | 2. Sa prajāpatim pitaram abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mā 'bhyāyachhasīti | nāma me kuro ity abravīn na vā idam avihitena nāmnānam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Bhava eveti yaḥ Bhava āpas | tena na ha vā evam Bhavo hinasti | nāsyā prajāṁ nāsyā paśūn nāsyā bruvānaṁ cana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam ā im eva vāsaḥ pari-*

*dadhītetī* | 3. *Taṁ dvītiyam abhyāyachhat tam abravīt | kathā mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | dvītiyam me nāma kuru ity abravīn na vā idam ekena nām-*  
*nānnam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam iti abravīch Chharva eveti yach Chharvo*  
*'gniḥ | tena na ha vā enaṁ Sarvo hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn*  
*nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati |*  
*na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ sarvam eva nāśnīyād iti | 4. Taṁ*  
*trītiyam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | trītiyam me nāma kuru ity abravīn na vā idaṁ dvābhyaṁ nāmabhyāṁ annam atsyā-*  
*mīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīt Paśupatiḥ eveti yat Paśupatiḥ vāyuḥ |*  
*tena na ha vā enaṁ Paśupatiḥ hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn*  
*nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | athā ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati |*  
*na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam brāhmanam eva na parivadad iti | 5.*  
*Taṁ chaturtham abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | chaturtham me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā daṁ tribhīr nāmabhir*  
*annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Ugra eva deva iti yad*  
*Ugro deva oshadhayo vanaspatayaḥ | tena na ha vā enaṁ Ugro devo*  
*hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha*  
*ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda*  
*tasya vrataṁ striyā eva vivaraṁ neksheteti | 6. Tam pañcamam abhy-*  
*āyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | pañcamam me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā idaṁ chaturbhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti |*  
*sa vai tvam ity abravīn Mahān eva deva iti | yan Mahān deva Ādityaḥ |*  
*Tena na ha vā enaṁ Mahān devo hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya paśūn*  
*nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān bhavati | na*  
*sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam udyantam evainaṁ nekshetāstaṁ yantaṁ*  
*cheti | 7. Taṁ shashṭham abhyāyachhat tam abravīt kathā mā abhyā-*  
*yachhasīti | shashṭham me nāmā kuru ity abravīt | na vā idam pañcha-*  
*bhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Rudra eveti*  
*yad Rudraś chandramāḥ | Tena na ha vā enaṁ Rudro hinasti nāsya*  
*prajāṁ nāsya paśūn nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa*  
*eva pāpīyān bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ vimūrtam eva nāś-*  
*nīyān majjānaṁ cheti | 8. Taṁ saptamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā*  
*mābhya-*  
*yachhasīti | saptamam me nāma kuru ity abravīt | na vā idaṁ*  
*shadbhīr nāmabhir annam atsyāmīti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Īśāno eveti*  
*yad Īśāno 'nnaṁ | tena na ha vā enaṁ Īśāno hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya*  
*paśūn nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha ya enaṁ dveshṭi sa eva pāpīyān*  
*bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vratam annam evachhamānaṁ na prat-*

*yācahshīteti | 9. Tam aṣṭamam abhyāyachhat | tam abravīt kathā mābhy-  
āyachhasīty | aṣṭamam me nāma kurv ity abravīn na vā idaṁ saptabhir  
nāmabhir annam atsyāmiti | sa vai tvam ity abravīd Aśanir eveti yad  
Aśanir Indrah | tena na ha vā enam Aśanir hinasti nāsya prajāṁ nāsya  
paśūn nāsya bruvānaṁ chana | atha ya enam dveshti sa eva pāpīyān  
bhavati | na sa ya evaṁ veda tasya vrataṁ satyam eva vaded dhiraṇyaṁ  
cha bibhṛiyād iti | sa esho 'shṭanāmā 'shṭadhā vihito Mahān devaḥ | ā  
ha vā aśyāshṭamāt puruṣhāt prajā'nnam attī vasiyān vasiyān haivāsya  
prajāyām ājāyate ya evaṁ veda |*

“Prajāpati, being desirous of progeny, performed austerity. From him when he had [thus] performed austerity five [children] were born, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, Chandramas (Moon), and Ushas (dawn) the fifth. He said to them, ‘Do you also perform austerity.’ They consecrated themselves. Before them, when they had consecrated themselves, and had performed austerity, Ushas, the daughter of Prajāpati, assuming the form of an Apsaras (celestial nymph), arose. Their attention was rivetted upon her, and they discharged seed. They then came to Prajāpati their father, and said to him, ‘We have discharged seed; let it not lie there in vain.’ Prajāpati made a golden platter, of the depth of an arrow, and of equal breadth. In this he collected the seed, and from it there arose a being with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand arrows. 2. He came to his father Prajāpati, who asked him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ He answered, ‘Give me a name. I shall not eat this food, so long as no name has been given to me.’ ‘Thou art Bhava,’ said Prajāpati; for Bhava is the Waters. Therefore Bhava does not slay this man, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. And further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let a man wear a garment. 3. He (this newly-produced being) came a second time to Prajāpati, who asked him, ‘Why dost thou come to me?’ ‘Give me,’ he replied, ‘a second name: I shall not eat this food with only one name.’ ‘Thou art Sarva,’ Prajāpati answered; for Sarva is Agni. Wherefore Sarva does not slay him, nor his offspring, nor his cattle, nor any [creature of his] who speaks. Further, whoever hates him is most wicked. Such is not the case with him who knows this. His rule is, let not a man eat every sort of food. 4. He came the third time to Prajāpati, who said to him, ‘Why dost

thou come to me?' 'Give me a third name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only two names.' 'Thou art Paśupati,' Prajāpati answered; for Paśupati is Vāyu (wind). Wherefore Paśupati does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one slander a Brāhman. 5. He came the fourth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fourth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only three names.' 'Thou art Ugradeva (the fierce god)' Prajāpati answered; for Ugradeva is plants and trees. Wherefore Ugradeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let not a man look upon the shame of a woman. 6. He came the fifth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a fifth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only four names.' 'Thou art Mahāndeva (the great god),' Prajāpati answered; for Mahāndeva is Aditya (the Sun). Wherefore Mahāndeva does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man look upon him (the Sun) rising or setting. 7. He came the sixth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a sixth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only five names.' 'Thou art Rudra,' Prajāpati answered; for Rudra is Chandramas (the Moon). Wherefore Rudra does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no man eat anything decomposed, or any marrow. 8. He came the seventh time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me a seventh name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only six names.' 'Thou art Īśāna,' Prajāpati answered; for Īśāna is food. Wherefore Īśāna does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let no one reject him who desires food. 9. He came the eighth time to Prajāpati, who said to him, 'Why dost thou come to me?' 'Give me an eighth name,' he replied; 'I shall not eat this food with only seven names.' 'Thou art Aśani,' Prajāpati answered; for Aśani is Indra. Wherefore Aśani does not slay him, etc. etc. His rule is, let a man speak truth, and keep gold. This is the Mahāndeva (great god) who has eight names, and who is formed in eight ways. The progeny to the eighth generation of the man who possesses this knowledge, eats food, and ever wealthier men will be born among his descendants."

The following is the account given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa of the object and name of the Satarudriya :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 1.—*Atha atah satarudriyam juhoti |*

*atra esha sarvo 'gniḥ saṁskṛitaḥ | sa esho 'tra Rudro devatā | tasmīn devā etad amṛitaṁ rūpam uttamam adadhuh | sa esho 'tra dīpyamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devā abibhayur yad vai no 'yam na hiṁsyād iti | 2. Te 'bruvann annam asmai sambharāma tena enaṁ śamayāma iti | tasmā etad annaṁ samabharan śānta-devatyam | tena enam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ devam etena aśamayaṁs tasmāch chhānta-devatyam | śānta-devatyāṁ ha vai tach chhatarudriyam ity āchazate paroṣam | paroṣakāmā hi devāḥ |*

“He now offers an oblation with the Satarudriya. Here this universal fire has been prepared; and here this Rudra is the deity. In him the gods placed this most excellent immortal form. Here he rose up flaming, desiring food. The gods were afraid of him, ‘lest’ (they thought) ‘he should destroy us.’ 2. They said, ‘Let us collect food for him, and with it appease him.’ They collected for him this food with which a deity is appeased, and with it they appeased him. Inasmuch as they appeased this god with this, it is therefore called *Śānta-devatya* (“that with which a god is appeased”). They call this *Śānta-devatya* esoterically *Sata-rudriya*; for the gods love what is esoteric.”

On this the commentator remarks: *Vihito 'yaṁ homo Rudra-rūpatā-pannasya Agner upasamanārtham |* “This oblation is offered in order to appease Agni who has taken the form of Rudra.”

The same work gives, a little further on, a different account of the origin of Rudra, and a different etymology for the Satarudriya :

*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, ix. 1, 1, 6 ff.—Prajāpater visrastād devatā udakrāmaṁs tam eka eva devo nājahād Manyur eva | so 'sminn antar vitato 'tishṭhat | so 'rodit | tasya yāny āsrūni prāskandaṁs tāny asmin Manyau pratyatishṭhan | sa eva śata-śirshā Rudraḥ samabhavat sahasrāraḥ śateshudhiḥ | atha yā anyā viprusho 'pataṁs tā asaṅkhyātā sahasrāni<sup>266</sup> inān lokān anuprāviśan | tad yad ruditāt samabhavaṁs tasmād Rudrāḥ | so 'yaṁ śataśirshā Rudraḥ sahasrāraḥ śateshudhir<sup>267</sup> adhiya-dhanvā prati-hitāyī bhīshayamāno 'tishṭhad annam ichhamānaḥ | tasmād devā abibhayuh | 7. Te Prajāpatim abruvan | asmād vai bibhīmo yad vai no 'yam na hiṁsyād iti | so 'bravīd annam asmai sambharata tena enaṁ śamayata iti | tasmā etad annaṁ samabharan śatarudriyāṁ tenainam aśamayan | tad yad etaṁ śataśirshāṇāṁ Rudram etenāśamayaṁs tasmāch chhataśirsha-*

<sup>266</sup> Compare Nir. i. 15, and Vāj. Sanh. 16, 54, above, p. 271.

<sup>267</sup> Compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 13, above, p. 269.

*rudra-śamanīyam | śataśirsha-rudra-śamanīyaṁ ha vai tat śatarudriyam  
ity āchazate paroṣam | paroṣa-kāmā hi devā ityādi |*

“From Prajāpati, when he had become divided, the deities sprang forth. Only one god, Manyu, did not leave him, but continued extended within him. He (Prajāpati) wept. The tears which fell from him remained in that Manyu. He became a Rudra with a hundred heads, a hundred eyes, and a hundred quivers. Then the other drops which fell from him in unnumbered thousands entered into these worlds. They were called Rudras because they sprang from him when he had wept. This Rudra with a thousand heads, eyes, and quivers, stood with his bow strung, holding arrows, causing terror, and demanding food. The gods were afraid of him. 7. They said to Prajāpati, ‘We are afraid of this being, lest he destroy us.’ Prajāpati said to them, ‘Collect for him food, and with it appease him.’ They collected for him this food, the śatarudriya, and with it they appeased him. From the fact that with this they appeased the hundred-headed Rudra, it is “that wherewith the hundred-headed Rudra is to be appeased” (*Sata-śirsha-rudra-śamanīyam*). This they esoterically call Satarudriya; for the gods love what is esoteric.”

In the descriptions of Mahādeva which are found in the passages quoted in the last chapter from the Mahābhārata, though that deity is occasionally identified with Agni, as he is with other gods (see above, p. 169), he is generally represented in a different aspect, and with different characteristics. In the legend of the birth of Skanda or Kārttikeya,<sup>258</sup> however, which is narrated in the Vana-parva of that poem, we find some trace of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni. We are there told that, after Skanda had been installed in his office of general of the gods (v. 14424), Mahādeva and Pārvatī arrived :

14427 ff.—*Āgamyā manuṣya-vyāghra saha devyā parantapa | archa-  
yāmāsa supṛito bhagavān govṛiṣha-dhvajaḥ | Rudram Agniṁ dvijāḥ prā-  
hū Rudra-sūnuṣ tatas tu saḥ | Rudreṇa śukram utsṛiṣṭaṁ tat śvetaḥ  
parvato bhavat | Pāvakasyendriyaṁ śvete kṛittikābhiḥ kṛitaṁ nage | pū-  
jyamānaṁ tu Rudreṇa dṛiṣṭvā sarve divaukasaḥ | Rudra-sūnuṁ tataḥ  
prāhur Guhaṁ guṇavatāṁ varam | anupraviśya Rudreṇa vahniṁ jāto hy*

<sup>258</sup> Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 588, note) observes that this legend differs from the one on the same subject in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 38, and regards the former as a later interpolation in the Mahābhārata.



*ayaṁ śiśuḥ | tatra jātas tataḥ Skando Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat | Rudrasya Vahneḥ Svāhāyāḥ śhannām strīṇām cha Bhārata | jātaḥ Skandaḥ sura-śreshṭho Rudra-sūnus tato 'bhavat |*

“The god whose banner is a bull, arriving with his goddess, paid him honour, well pleased. Brāhmans call Rudra Agni; consequently he (Kārttikeya) is the son of Rudra. The seed which was discharged by Rudra became the white mountain. And the seed of Pāvaka (Agni) was formed (?) by the Kṛittikās on the white mountain. Having seen Guha (Kārttikeya) thus honored by Rudra, all the deities consequently call him, who is the most excellent of the gifted, the son of Rudra. For this child was produced by Rudra when he had entered into Fire. Being there born, Skanda was the son of Rudra. Skanda, that most eminent deity, being born from Rudra, [who was] Agni, and from Svāhā [and] the six wives, was the son of Rudra.”

The allusions in this passage will become more intelligible if I give an outline of the preceding part of the allegorical story, which commences with v. 14241. Indra being distressed at the defeat of the armies of the gods (*deva-senā*) by the Dānavas (v. 14245 ff.) is meditating on this subject, when he hears the cry of a female calling for help, and asking for a husband to protect her. Indra sees that she has been seized by the demon Keśin, with whom he remonstrates; but the demon hurls his club at Indra, who, however, splits it with his thunderbolt. Keśin is disabled in the next stage of their combat, and goes off. Indra then finds out from the female that her name is Devasenā (army of the gods), and that she has a sister called Daityasenā (army of the Daityas), and that they are both daughters of Prajāpati. Her sister, she says, loves Keśin, but she herself does not, and wishes Indra to find for her a proper husband, who shall be able to overcome all the enemies of the gods. Indra takes Devasenā with him to Brahmā and desires him to provide her with a martial husband; and Brahmā promises that a helpmate of that description shall be born (14279 f.). Indra then departs with Devasenā. It happened that Vasiṣṭha and other rishis had been offering a sacrifice, whither the gods headed by Indra proceeded to drink the soma-juice. Agni too, being invoked, descended from the region of the sun, entered into the fire, received the oblations of the rishis, and presented them to the gods. The story then proceeds (v. 14287):

*Nishkrāmaṁś chāpy apaśyat sa patnīs teshāṁ mahātmanām | svesho  
 āśrameshūpavishṭāḥ svapantīs cha tathā sukham | rukma-vedi-nibhās tās  
 tu chandra-lekhā ivāmalāḥ | hutāsanārchiḥ-pratimāḥ sarvās tārā ivād-  
 bhutāḥ | sa tatra tena manasā babhūva xubhitendriyaḥ | patnīr dṛishṭvā  
 dvijendrāṇām Vahniḥ kāma-vaśaṁ yayau | bhūyaḥ sa chintayāmāsa na  
 nyāyāṁ xubhito hy aham | sādhyāḥ patnyo dvijendrāṇām akāmāḥ  
 kāmāyāmy aham | naitāḥ śakyā mayā drashṭum prashṭum vā 'py ani-  
 mittataḥ | gārhapatyāṁ samāviśya tasmāt paśyāmy abhixṇasāḥ | sam-  
 sprīśann iva sarvās tāḥ śikhābhiḥ kāñchana-prabhāḥ | paśyamānas cha  
 munude gārhapatyāṁ samāśritaḥ | nirushya tatra suchiram evaṁ Vah-  
 nir vaśaṁ gataḥ | manas tāsu viniḥxiḥya kāmāyāno varāṅganāḥ | kāma-  
 santapta-hṛidayo deha-tyāga-viniśchitaḥ | alābhe brāhmaṇa-strīṇām Agnir  
 vanam upāgamat | Svāhā tam Daxa-ḍuhitā prathamāṁ kāmāyat tadā |  
 sā tasya chhidram anvaichhach chīrāt-prabhṛiti bhāvinī | apramattasya  
 decasya na cha paśyaty aninditā | sā taṁ jñātvā yathāvat tū Vahniṁ  
 vanam upāgatam | tattvataḥ kāma-santaptaṁ chintayāmāsa bhāvinī |  
 ahaṁ saptarshi-patnīnām kṛitvā rūpāṇi Pāvakaṁ | kāmāyishyāmi kā-  
 mārṁtā tāsaṁ rūpeṇa mohitam | evaṁ kṛite prītir asya kāmāvāptiś cha  
 me bhavet | Sivā bhāryyā tv Aṅgīrasaḥ śīla-rūpa-guṇānvitā | tasyāḥ sā  
 prathamāṁ rūpāṁ kṛitvā devī janādhipa | jagāma Pāvakābhyāsaṁ taṁ  
 chovācha varāṅganā | mām Agne kāma-santaptaṁ tvaṁ kāmāyitum  
 arhasi | karishyasi na cheḍ evaṁ mṛitām mām upadhāraya | aham  
 Aṅgīraso bhāryyā Sivā-nāmā Hutāsana | śiḥṭābhiḥ prahitā prāptā  
 mantrayitvā viniśchayam | Agnir uvācha | katham mām tvaṁ vijānīshe  
 kāmārṁttam itarāḥ katham | yās tvayā kīrtitāḥ sarvāḥ saptarshīṇām  
 priyāḥ strīyaḥ | Sivā uvācha | asmākaṁ tvam priyo nityam bibhīmas tu  
 vāyāṁ tava | tvachchittam iṅgitair jñātvā preshitā 'smi tavāntikam |  
 maithunāyecha samprāptā kāmam prāptum drutaṁ chara | yāmāyo mām  
 pratixante gamishyāmi Hutāsana | Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha | tato 'gnir  
 upayame tāṁ Sivāṁ prītām mudā yutaḥ | prītyā devī samāyuktā śukrāṁ  
 jagṛāha pāṇinā | achintītyad mamedāṁ ye rūpāṁ draxyanti kānāno | te  
 brāhmaṇīnām anṛitāṁ doṣhaṁ vaxyanti Pāvako | tasmād etad raxamūṇā  
 Garuḍī sambhavāmy aham | vanād nirgamaṇāṁ chaiva sukham mama  
 bhaviṣyati | Suparṇī sā tadā bhūtvā nirjagāma mahāvanāt | apaśyat  
 parvataṁ śvetaṁ śara-stambaiḥ susaṁvṛitam | dṛishṭvishaiḥ sapta-śirshair  
 guptam bhogibhir adbhutaiḥ | raxobhiś cha piśachaiś cha raudrair bhūta-  
 ganaiś tathā | raxasibhiś cha sampūrṇam anekaiścha mṛiga-dvijaiḥ | sā*

*tatra sahasā gatvā śaila-prishṭhaṁ sudurgamam | prāxipat kāñchane  
 kuṇḍe śukraṁ sā tvaritā śubhā | saptānām api sā devī saptarshīnām  
 mahātmanām | patnī-sarūpatāṁ kṛtvā kāmāyāmāsa Pāvakam | divya-  
 rūpam Arundhatyāḥ karttuṁ na śakitaṁ tayā | tasyās tapah-prabhāvena  
 bharttuḥ śusrūshanena cha | śaṭkṛitvas tat tu niḥxiptam Agne retaḥ  
 Kurāttama | tasmin kuṇḍe pratipadi kāmīnyā Svāhayā tadā | tat skan-  
 naṁ tejasā tatra saṁvritaṁ janayat sutam | rishibhiḥ pūjitaṁ skannam  
 anayat Skandatāṁ tataḥ | śaṭ-śirā dviguṇa-śrotro dvādaśāxi-bhujā-kra-  
 maḥ | eka-grīvaika-jaṭharaḥ kumāraḥ samapadyata | . . . . .  
 v. 14514: Yadā Skandena mātṛiṇām evam etat priyaṁ kṛitam | ta-  
 thainam abravīt Svāhā “mama putras tvam aurasaḥ | ichhāmy ahaṁ  
 tvayā dattām prītim parama-durlabhām” | tām abravīt tataḥ Skandaḥ  
 prītim ichhasi kīdrīṣiṁ | Svāhovācha | Daxasyāham priyā kanyā Svāhā  
 nāma mahābhujā | bālyāt prabhṛiti nityaṅcha jāta-kāmā Hutāsane | na  
 sa mām kāmīnim putra samyag jānāti Pāvakaḥ | ichhāmi śāśvataṁ vāsaṁ  
 vastum putra sahāgninā | Skanda uvācha | Havyaṁ kavyaṅcha yat kiñ-  
 chid dvijānām mantra-saṁstutam | hoshyanty Agnau sadā devī svāhety  
 uktvā samuddhṛitam | adya prabhṛiti dāsyanti svṛittāḥ sat-pathe sthitāḥ |  
 evam Agnis tvayā sārddham sadā vatsyati śobhane | Mārkaṇḍeya uvācha |  
 evam uktā tataḥ Svāhā tushṭā Skandena pūjītā | Pāvakena samāyuktā  
 bharttrā Skandam apūjayat | tato Brahmā Mahāsenam Prājāpatir athā-  
 bravīt | abhigachha Mahādevam pītaram tripurārddanam | Rudrenāgniṁ  
 samāviśya svāhām āviśya chomayā | hitārthaṁ sarva-lokānām jātas tvam  
 aparājitaḥ |*

“Issuing forth, he beheld the wives of these great [rishis] seated in their own hermitages, and sweetly sleeping, resembling golden altars (?), pure as beams of the moon, like to flames of fire, all wonderful as stars. Perceiving that, his senses became agitated. Beholding the wives of the Brahmans, Agni was overcome by desire. Again and again he reflected, ‘It is not proper that I should be thus agitated: I am enamoured of the chaste spouses of the Brahmans, who are not in love with me. They cannot be looked upon or questioned by me without reason. Entering into the domestic fire, I shall gaze upon them close at hand.’ Entering the domestic fire, touching, as it were, with his flames, all of them, who were bright as gold, and beholding them, he was delighted. Dwelling thus there for a long time, fixing his attention upon these beautiful women, and enamoured of them, Agni was

overcome. His heart being distressed with desire, Agni, failing to obtain the Brahmans' wives, resolved to abandon his corporeal form, and went into the forest. Then Svāhā, the daughter of Daxa, first fell in love with him. This amorous and blameless goddess for a long time sought for his weak point, but as the god was watchful, she could not find any. But being perfectly aware that he had gone into the wood, and that he was really disturbed by desire, the amorous goddess thus reflected: 'I who am distressed by love, will take the form of the seven rishis' wives, and will court the affection of Agni who is enchanted by their beauty. By doing so he will be pleased, and I shall obtain my desire.' Assuming first the form of Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, who possessed a good disposition, beauty, and excellent qualities, the beautiful goddess (Svāhā) went to Agni, and thus addressed him: 'Agni, thou oughtest to love me, who am disturbed with love for thee: if thou wilt not do so, look upon me as dead. Agni, I, Sīvā, the wife of Angiras, have come, sent by virtuous women, and having considered my determination.' Agni replied: 'How dost thou, and how do all the other beloved wives of the seven rishis whom thou mentionest, know that I am distressed with love?' Sīvā answered: 'Thou hast always been beloved by us, but we are afraid of thee. Knowing thy heart by external signs, I have been sent to thee. I have come to be embraced: come quickly and fulfil your desire. The other females are awaiting me; I shall depart, Hutāsana (Agni).' Agni then with joy embraced the delighted Sīvā. The goddess filled with delight took his seed in her hand. She reflected, 'All those who shall see this form of mine in the forest, will falsely allege the transgression of Brahmans' wives with Agni. Wherefore preserving this, I shall become Garuḍī; and thus my egress from the wood will become easy. She then, becoming Suparnī, issued from the great forest, and beheld the white mountain surrounded by palisades of arrows, guarded by wondrous seven-headed serpents whose very glance was venomous, by Rāxasas, Piśāchas, and by hosts of Rudra's demons, filled with Raxasīs, and numerous beasts and birds. The beautiful goddess, having then gone quickly to the summit of the mountain, which was difficult of access, hastily threw the seed into a golden reservoir. Thus this goddess, assuming in succession the resemblance of the wives of the seven great rishis, loved Agni. But she

could not take the divine form of Arundhati (the wife of Vaśiṣṭha), owing to the power of the latter's austerity, and her obedience to her husband. Six times was the seed of Agni thrown by the enamoured Svāhā into the reservoir on the *pratipad* (the first day of the lunar fortnight). Discharged there and collected, that seed by its energy generated a son. That [seed] which was discharged (*skanna*), being worshipped by the rishis, gave to this son his character of *Skanda*. Kumāra (Kārttikeya) was born with six heads, a double number of ears, twelve eyes, arms, and feet, one neck, and one belly." Kārttikeya marries Devasenā (vv. 14446 ff.). The six rishis' wives, his mothers, afterwards come to him, complaining that they had been abandoned by their husbands, and degraded from their former position, and asking him to secure their admission into paradise (*svarga*). The story then proceeds (v. 14514 ff.): "When Skanda had done what was gratifying to his mothers, Svāhā said to him, 'Thou art my genuine son: I desire the love, difficult to obtain, which thou givest.' Skanda then asked her, 'What love dost thou desire?' Svāhā replied, 'I am the beloved daughter of Daxa, by name Svāhā. From my childhood I have been enamoured of Agni. But, my son, Agni does not thoroughly know me who am enamoured of him. I wish to dwell perpetually with Agni.' Skanda rejoined: 'Whatever oblation of Brahmans is introduced by hymns, they shall always, goddess, lift and throw it into the fire, saying, 'Svāhā.' From this day forward, virtuous men, abiding in the right path, shall grant [thee this]. Thus, o beautiful goddess, Agni shall dwell with thee continually.' Being thus addressed by Skanda, Svāhā, gratified, worshipped by Skanda, and united with Agni as her husband, worshipped Skanda. Then Brahmā Prajāpati said to Mahāsena (Skanda), 'Go to thy father Mahādeva, the vexer of Tripura. Thou unconquered hast been produced for the good of all worlds by Rudra who had entered into Agni, and Umā who had entered into Svāhā.'"

SECT. V.—*Passages relating to Rudra in the Upanishads.*

To the preceding passages, descriptive of Rudra, from the Brāhmanas, I shall now subjoin a few of a different character from the Upanishads.

The first is from the Svetāsvatara Upanishad (Bibliotheca Indica, vol. vii. pp. 323 ff.):

Svetāsvatara Upanishad, iii. 1 ff.—*Ya eko jālavān īsate īsanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | ya evaika udbhavē sambhavē cha ye etad vidur amṛitās te bhavanti | 2. Eko hi Rudro na dvitīyāya tasthur<sup>259</sup> ya imān lokān īsate īsanībhiḥ | pratyāṅ janāms tishṭhati sañchukopāntakāle<sup>260</sup> saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ | 3. (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 5.) Viśvatas-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyām dhamati sam patatrair dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ | 4. Yo devānām prabhavaś chodbhavaś cha viśvādhipo Rudro maharshiḥ | Hiranyagarbham janayāmāsa pūrvaṁ<sup>261</sup> sa no buddhyā śubhayā saṁyunaktu | 5 and 6=Vāj. S. xvi. 2, 3 (see above, p. 268). . . . iv. 21 : Ajāta ity evaṁ kaśchid bhīruḥ pratipadyate | Rudra yat te daxinam mukham tena mām pāhi nityam | 22=R. V. i. 114, 8, and Vāj. S. xvi. 16 (see above). “He who alone, the enchanter, rules by his powers, rules all worlds by his powers, he who in source and in production is alone,—they who know this become immortal. 2. For Rudra who rules these worlds by his powers, is but one; [the wise] do not assert (?) a second. Having, a preserver, created all worlds, he abides in men severally; he absorbs them at the time of the end. 3. This one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the heaven and earth, blows them forth with his arms and with his wings. 4. May Rudra, the lord of all, the great sage, the cause of production and the source of the gods, who first*

<sup>259</sup> These words *na dvitīyāya tasthur* appear to be established as the current reading of this passage; and a similar reading (with variations in other respects) will be found below in a corresponding verse which occurs in the Atharva-siras. The commencement of the verse is, however, also found in the Nirukta, i. 15, where the reading is different and preferable, *eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyāḥ*; and Sāyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda (quoted in vol. iii. of this work, p. 42), gives the words thus, *eka eva Rudro na dvitīyo 'vatasthe*. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 12, note), quotes the whole verse as follows (without saying from what work it is taken): *Eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvitīyo rane vighnan prītanōsu śatrūn | saṁsṛijya viśvā bhuvanāni gopāḥ pratyāṅ janān sañchukochānta-kāle |* “One only Rudra exists and no second, slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle. Having created all worlds, a protector, he draws back all beings into himself at the time of the end.”

<sup>260</sup> The proper reading is probably *sañchukocha*. See the last note.

<sup>261</sup> These two words are varied below, 4, 12, thus: *paśyata jāyamānam*, i.e. “beheld Hiranyagarbha being born.” The rest of the verse remains the same.

generated Hiranyagarbha,—may he put us in possession of an excellent understanding. . . . *Ibid.* iv. 21. Some fearful man approaches (thinking) thus—‘[Thou art] unborn.’ Rudra, protect me with thy southern face.”

The next passage is from the commencement of the Atharva-śiras<sup>262</sup> Upanishad. The MSS. which I have consulted vary very much in their readings :

*Devā ha vai svargaṁ lokam agaman | te devā Rudram apricchehan ko bhavān iti | so 'bravīd aham ekaḥ prathamam āsaṁ varttāmi cha bhaviṣyāmi cha nānyaḥ kaśchid matto vyatirikta iti | so 'ntarād antaram prāvīśād dīśāśchāntaraṁ samprāvīśat | so 'ham nityānityo vyaktāvryakto 'ham Brahmābrahmāham prāñchaḥ pratyañcho 'haṁ dazināñcha udañcho 'ham adhaśchorddhvañcha dīśāścha pratidīśāśchāham pumān apumān stri chāhaṁ sāvitry ahaṁ gāyatri aham trisṭub jagaty anuṣṭup chāhaṁ chhandō 'ham gārhapatyō dazināgnir āhavanīyo 'haṁ satyo 'haṁ gaur ahaṁ Gauryo ahaṁ jyeshṭho 'haṁ śreshṭho 'haṁ varishṭho 'ham āpo 'haṁ tejo 'ham ṛig-yajuh-sāmātharvāngiraso 'ham azaram ahaṁ xaram ahaṁ guhyo 'haṁ gopyo 'ham aranyo 'ham pushkaram aham pavitram aham agrāñcha madhyañcha vahiścha purastāj jyotir ity aham ekaḥ | sarvañcha mām eva mām yo veda sa sarvān devān veda | gāṁ gobhir brāhmaṇān brāhmaṇyena havīmshi havishā āyur āyushā satyaṁ satyena dharmāṁ dharmena tarpayāmi svena tejasā | tato devā Rudraṁ nāpaśyams te devā Rudraṁ dhyāyanti tato devā ūrdhva-bāhavaḥ stuvanti yo vai Rudra sa bhagavān yaś cha Brahmā tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vishṇus tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Mahēśvaras tasmai vai namo namaḥ | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yā chomā tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ sa bhagavān yaścha Vināyakas tasmai . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha Skandaḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaśchendraḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaśchāgniḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yā cha bhūḥ . . . . | yo vai Rudraḥ . . . . yaścha bhuvāḥ . . . . | om ādau madhye bhūr bhuvāḥ swar ante śirshham<sup>263</sup> janadom viśva-rūpo 'si | Brahmaikas tevaṁ devī-*

<sup>262</sup> A work called Atharva-śiras is mentioned in the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 14, 2, quoted above, p. 138.

<sup>263</sup> The commentator explains this thus: *Śīrśhaṁ śiro mantraḥ svāhety evaṁrūpaḥ | janadom janadeti karmo palaxaṇārṭham azara-trayam janam janim tadupa-laxita-janimad vastu-jātam tad dadāti iti janadaḥ | tasya sambodhanam |* Instead of the words in the text, another MSS. reads, *bhūs te ādir madhyam bhuvās te svas te śīrśhaṁ viśvarūpo 'si.*

*tridhā ūrddhvaṃ adhaścha tvaṃ śāntiścha tvaṃ puṣṭiścha tvaṃ tush-  
ṭiścha tvaṃ hutam ahutam viśvam aviśvaṃ dattam ādattam kṛitam  
akṛitam param aparam parāyanañcheti | “apāma somam<sup>264</sup> amṛitā  
abhūma aganma jyotir avidāma devān | kiṃ nūnam asmān kṛṇavad  
arātīḥ kim u dhṛttir amṛita marttyasya” | (R. V. viii. 48, 3) |  
sarva-jagaddhitam vā etad azaram prājāpatyaṃ sūxmaṃ saumyam  
puruṣham agrāhyam agrāhyeṇa Vāyūṃ vāyavyeṇa somaṃ saumyeṇa gra-  
sati svena tejasā | tasmā upasaṃhartre mahāgrāsāya vai namo namaḥ |  
hṛidiṣṭhā devatāḥ sarvā hṛidi prāno pratishṭhitāḥ | hṛidi tvam asi yo  
nityaṃ tisro mātrāḥ paras tu saḥ | tasyottarataḥ śiro daxinātaḥ pādau ya  
uttarataḥ sa oṃkāraḥ | ya oṃkāraḥ sa pranavo yaḥ pranavaḥ sa sarva-  
vyāpī yaḥ sarva-vyāpī so 'nanto yo 'nantas tat tāraṃ<sup>265</sup> yat tāraṃ tat  
sūxmaṃ yat sūxmaṃ tat śuklaṃ yat śuklaṃ tad vāidyutaṃ yad vaidyu-  
taṃ tat param Brahmēti sa ekaḥ sa eko Rudraḥ sa Īśānaḥ sa bhagavān sa  
Mahēśvaraḥ sa Mahādevaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ | yasmād  
uchchāryamāna eva sarvaṃ śarīram unnāmayati tasmād uchyate oṃkāraḥ  
. . . . . atha kasmād uchyate ekaḥ | yaḥ sarvān lokān udgrihṇāti<sup>266</sup> sṛijati  
viśṛijati vāsrayati tasmād uchyate ekaḥ | atha kasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |  
eko Rudro na dvitīyāya tatho (sthitavān | advitīya eva sthitavān | Comm.)  
turīyam imāṃ lokam īsate īsanīyur (niyamana śaktimān | Comm.) janani-  
yuh (viśvotpādaka-śaktimān | Comm.) pratyā janās tiṣṭhanti sāmyugas-  
yāntakāle samhṛitya viśvā bhuvānani goptā |<sup>267</sup> tasmād uchyate eko Rudraḥ |  
atha kasmād uchyate Īśāno yaḥ sarvān lokān īsate īsanūbhir jananūbhiḥ pa-  
rama-śaktibhiḥ | “abhi tvā śūra nonumaḥ adugdhā iva dhenavaḥ | īśānam  
asya jagataḥ swardṛiṣam īśānam Indra tastuṣaḥ” | (R. V. vii. 32, 22) |  
tasmād uchyate Īśānaḥ | . . . . . atha kasmād uchyate Mahēśvaraḥ | yaḥ  
sarvān lokān sambhaxaḥ sambhaxayaty ajasraṃ sṛijati viśṛijati vāsrayati  
tasmād uchyate Mahēśvaraḥ | atha kasmād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | yaḥ  
sarvān bhāvān paritīyajya ātma-jūāna-yogaiśvareyye mahati mahīyate tas-*

<sup>264</sup> *Umayā Brahma-vidyā-svarūpiṇyā Kātyāyanī saha varṭtate iti Somaḥ tam |  
yataḥ somam apāma tataḥ amṛitūḥ maraṇa-hetubhir avidyā-tat-kārya-saṃskārair  
vivarjitāḥ abhūma sampannāḥ | —Comm.*

<sup>265</sup> *Tṛayati, “delivers :” that which delivers.—Comm.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ūrāhva-mozam ātmani grihṇāti | —Comm.*

<sup>267</sup> *In another MSS. a different answer is given to this question : Yasmād rishibhir  
nānyair bhaktair drutam asya rūpam upalabhyate | “He is called Rudra because his  
form is quickly (drutam) perceived by rishis, and not by other devout persons [or, by  
devout rishis alone ?].”*



*mād uchyate Mahādevaḥ | tad etad (etat nāma-nirukti-rūpaṁ charitam | Comm.) Rudra-charitam | “esho ha devaḥ pradīśo ’nu sarvāḥ pūrvo ha jātaḥ sa u garbhe antaḥ | sa eva jātaḥ sa janishyamānaḥ pratyaj janās tishṭhati viśvato-mukhaḥ” | (Vāj. S. 34, 4) | “viśvatas-chaxur uta viśvato-mukho viśvato-bāhur uta viśvatas-pāt | sam bāhubhyām dhamati saṁ patatrain dyāvā-prithivī janayan deva ekaḥ” | (R. V. x. 81, 3) | . . . Rudre ekatvam (aikyam | Comm.) āhuḥ | Rudraṁ śāśvataṁ vai purānam ityādi . . . | vratam etat pāsūpatam | agnir iti bhasma vāyur iti bhasma jalam iti bhasma sthalam iti bhasma vyometi bhasma sarvaṁ ha vā idam bhasma mana etāni chaxūṁshi bhasmāni | “Agnir” ityādinā bhasma grīhītū nimṛijya aṅgāni saṁspriśet | tasmād vratam etat pāsūpatam paśu-pāśa-vimoxāya | yo ’tharva-śīram brāhmaṇo ’dhīte so ’gnī-pūto bhavati | sa vāyu-pūto bhavati | sa āditya-pūto bhavati | sa soma-pūto bhavati | sa satya-bhūto bhavati sa sarva-bhūto bhavati | sa sarveshu tirtheshu snāto bhavati | sa sarveshu vedeshu adhito bhavati | sa sarva-veda-vrata-charyyāsu charito bhavati | sa sarvair devair jñāto bhavati | sa sarva-yajña-kratubhir ishṭavān bhavati | tena itihāsa-purāṇānām Rudrānām śata-sahasrāni japtāni bhavanti | gāyatryāḥ śata-sahasraṁ japtam bhavati | pranāvānām ayutaṁ japtam bhavati | rūpe rūpe (pāṭhe pāṭhe pratipāṭham | Comm.) daśa-pūrvān punāti daśottarān ācharushaḥ paṅktīm punāti ityāha bhagavān Atharva-śīro ’tharva-śīraḥ (abhyāsa ādarārthaḥ | Comm.) | sakṛij japtvā śuchiḥ pūtaḥ karmaṇyo bhavati | dvitīyam japtvā gānapatyam (sarva-niyantṛitvam | Comm.) avāpnōti tṛtīyam japtvā devam evānupraviśaty oṁ satyam | “yo Rudro agnau yo apso antar ya oshadhīr vīrudha āviveśa | ya imā viśvā bhuvanāni chākṛipsu tasmai Rudrāya namo ’stu agnayo” | (A. V. vii. 87, 1, above, p. 277).*

“The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, ‘Who art thou?’ He said, ‘I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me.’ He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. ‘I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible, I am Brahma, I am not Brahma,<sup>268</sup> I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc. Comm.], I am below and above, the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the *sāvitrī*, I the *gāyatrī*, I the *trishṭup* (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern,

<sup>268</sup> *Vākyābhyāso rūpasvātmano vāstavatva-pradarsanārthaḥ | Comm. I should rather suppose, however, that the second word is not Brahma, but abrahma.*

and the *āhavanīya* fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī,<sup>269</sup> I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am fire, I am the Rik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the *pushkara* (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light,—I alone. He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmanas with brahmanhood, oblations with oblation, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.' Then the gods did not behold Rudra. They meditated upon him. Then the gods, with arms raised aloft, praised him: 'He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Brahmā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Vishṇu, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Mahésvara, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra is divine, and he who is Umā, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Vināyaka, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Skanda, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Indra, to him be adoration. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Agni, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhūh, etc. He who is Rudra, etc., and he who is Bhuvah, etc.' (In the same way Rudra is identified with *suvaḥ* [*svaḥ*]; *mahaḥ*; *jana*; *tapas*; *satya*; *prithivī*; *āpas*; *tejas*; *vayu*; *ākāśa*; *sūrya*; *soma*; *naxatrāṇi*; *aushtaḥ grahāḥ*; *prāṇa*; *kāla*; *Yama*; *mṛityu*; *amṛita*; *bhūta*, *bhavya*, *bhavishyat*; *viśva*; *kṛitsna*; *sarva*; and *satya*). Om! at the beginning and in the middle are *bhūr*, *bhuvah*, *svaḥ*; at the end is the head. O giver of life, om, thou art universal-formed. Thou alone art Brahma doubly and triply, above and below; thou art gentleness, fatness, contentment; thou art the thing sacrificed, and the thing not sacrificed, the whole, and not the whole, what is given, and what is not given, what is done, and what is not done, that which is supreme, and not supreme, and what is surpassing. 'We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us? What can the malice of any mortal effect, o immortal god?'<sup>270</sup> This imperishable [being or word?] benefi-

<sup>269</sup> *S'iva-priyā* | *ashṭavarshā vā kumārī gauva-vornā bāla-tatā* (?) *tu* | —Comm.

<sup>270</sup> Quoted in the Third Part of this work, p. 162. According to the commen-

cial to the whole world, sprung from Prajāpati, subtile, beautiful, by its own energy swallows up the incomprehensible Purusha by the incomprehensible, Vāyu by that which has the nature of wind, soma by that which has the nature of soma.<sup>271</sup> To him the destroyer, the great devourer, be adoration. All the gods reside in the heart, situated in the heart and the breath. Thou who art continually in the heart, [art] the three letters, but he is beyond. To the north of him is the head, to the south the feet; that which is the north is the omkāra. The omkāra is the pranava, which (pranava) again is all-pervading, which ('all-pervading') again is infinite, which again is that which delivers, which again is subtile, which again is white, which again has the nature of lightning, which again is the supreme Brahma. He is the one; he is the only Rudra, he is Iśāna, he is divine, he is Maheśvara, he is Mahādeva. Now whence does the omkāra get its name? Inasmuch as soon as it is uttered, it raises up the whole body, it is called omkāra. (The same enquiry is then made and answered in regard to the words *pranava*, *sarvavyāpin* ['all-pervading'], *ananta* ['infinite'], the 'deliverer,' 'subtile,' 'white,' 'having the nature of lightning,' and 'the supreme Brahma.' Then *eka* 'one' is explained.). Now why is he called 'one?' He who evolves, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called the 'one.' 'There is only one Rudra; there is no place for a second. He rules this fourth world, controlling and productive; living beings abide within [him?]. At the time of the final conjunction he annihilates all worlds, the protector.<sup>272</sup> Wherefore he is called the one Rudra. Then why is he called Iśāna? He it is who rules all worlds by his ordinances, and supreme creative powers. 'We, o heroic Indra, like un milked cows, approach with our praises thee who art the heavenly lord (*iśāna*) of this moving, and the lord of this stationary, [world].'<sup>273</sup> Hence he is called *Iśāna*. (*Bhagavat* is then explained). Then why is he called Maheśvara? He who, a devourer, constantly devours, creates, variously creates, sustains all worlds, is therefore called Maheśvara. Then why is he called Mahādeva? He who, abandoning

tator whom I have quoted under the text, Soma means *sa+uma*, he who dwells with Umā, in the form of divine knowledge, Kātyāyanī.

<sup>271</sup> I do not profess to understand the sense of this.

<sup>272</sup> It is difficult to make sense of this verse as the text at present stands.

<sup>273</sup> R. V. vii. 32, 22, quoted above, p. 90.

all forms of being, is magnified in the great divine power of absorption in the knowledge of himself, is therefore called Mahādeva. Such is the history of Rudra. 'This god [abides] throughout all regions; he was the first born; he is within the womb; it is even he who has been born, and he is still to be born; he exists, o men, with his face turned to every side.' (Vāj. S. 32, 4.) 'The one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the earth and sky, blows them forth with his arms, and with his wings.'" (R. V. x. 81, 3, above, p. 6.) . . . . Rudra is mentioned again in the following verses. "In Rudra they say there is oneness, and that Rudra is eternal and primeval," etc. The Pāsupata rite is thus described: "This is the Pāsupata observance; 'Agni is ashes, Vayu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.' Having taken ashes while pronouncing these preceding words, and rubbing himself, let a man touch his limbs. This is the Pāsupata rite, for the removal of the animal bonds. The Brahman who reads the Atharva-śira is purified with fire, with air, with the sun, with soma (or the moon); he becomes truth, he becomes all, he has bathed in all the holy places, he is read in all the Vedas, he has practised the observances prescribed in all the Vedas, he is known by all the gods, he has sacrificed with all sacrificial rites; by him hundreds of thousands of itihāsas, purāṇas, and passages relating to Rudra, and a hundred thousand Gāyatrīs have been muttered, ten thousand oms have been uttered; at every recitation he purifies ten generations of ancestors, and ten future generations of descendants; he purifies a row of men as far as the eye can reach; thus says the divine Atharva-śiras. Having muttered it once, he becomes clean, pure, and fit for the ceremonial; having muttered it a second time, he obtains dominion over hosts; having muttered it a third time, he enters, *om*, into the true god. 'Adoration be to Rudra Agni, who resides in fire, and in the waters, who has entered into these plants, who formed all these worlds.'" "

I shall not make more than a few further extracts from this mystical Upanishad, which throws little light on Rudra's character or history. The three gods, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and Rudra, are mentioned together, along with Indra (*Brahmā-Vishṇu-Rudrendrāḥ*); and Sambhu (one of the names of Rudra) is said (in a passage which, as it seems to be

corrupt, I cannot perfectly make out) to be possessor of all divine qualities, and to be lord of all; while the benefits of worshipping him are described (*kāraṇaṁ tu dhyeyaḥ sarvaiśvarya-sampannaḥ sarveśvaraś cha Sambhur ākāśa-madhye dhruvaṁ stabdhvā 'dhikaṁ xanaṁ ekaṁ kratu-śatasyāpi chatuḥ-saptatyā yat phalaṁ tad avāpnoti kṛtsnam oṁkāra-gataṁ cha sarva-dhyāna-yoga-jñānānāṁ yat phalam oṁkāra veda-para īśo vā śiva eko dhyeyaḥ śivaṅkaraḥ sarvam anyat parityajya*).

In the Kaivalya Upanishad (translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 10 ff.) Aśvalāyana asks Brahmā to explain to him the science of divine things (*Athāśvalāyano bhagavantam parameshṭhinam upasametyovācha adhihi bhagavan brahma-vidyāṁ ityādi* |). Brahmā (*pitāmaha*) among other things tells him as follows: *Antyāśrama-sthaḥ sakalendriyāni nirudhya bhaktyā sva-gurum praṇamya | hṛit-puṇḍarīkaṁ virajaṁ viśuddhaṁ vich-intya madhye viśadaṁ viśokam | anantam avyaktam achintya-rūpaṁ śivam praśāntam amṛitam brahma-yoniṁ | taṁ ādi-madhyānta-vihīnam ekaṁ vibhuṁ chidānanda-svarūpam adbhutam | Umāsahāyam parameśvaram prabhuṁ trilochanaṁ nīla-kañṭham praśāntam | dhyātvā munir gachchati bhūta-yoniṁ samasta-sāxiṁ tamasah parastāt | sa Brahmā sa Śivah Sendrah so 'xarah paramah svarāt | sa eva Viśvūḥ sa prāṇah sa ātmā parameśvaraḥ |*<sup>274</sup> *sa eva sarvaṁ yad bhūtam yachcha bhavyaṁ sanātanam | jñātvā taṁ mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuktaye | . . . yah śata-rudriyam adhite so 'gnipūto bhavati sa Vāyu-pūto bhavati ityādi* | “A man in the last (or fourth) religious order (*i.e.* that of a mendicant) restraining all his senses, making obeisance to his teacher, meditating within on the lotus of the heart, [which is] spotless, pure, lucid, undisturbed,—the infinite, undiscernible, inconceivable, auspicious (*śiva*), tranquil, immortal, source of Brahma, [or, of divine knowledge],—contemplating him who is without beginning, middle, or end, the one, the pervading, the spiritual and blessed, the wonderful, the supreme lord, the consort of Umā, the three-eyed, the blue-throated, the tranquil,—[doing this] a Muni, [passing] beyond darkness, attains the source of being, the universal witness. He is Brahmā, he is Śiva, he is Indra, he is undecaying, supreme, self-resplendent; he is Viśṇu, he is breath, he is the spirit, the supreme lord; he is all that has been or that shall be, eternal. Knowing him, a man overpasses death. There is no other way to liberation.” Further

<sup>274</sup> Another MS. has here *Sa kūlo 'gniḥ sa Chandramāḥ*.

on it is said : " He who reads the Satarudriya becomes purified by fire, purified by air," etc. etc.

In one of the MS. collections of Upanishads belonging to the library of the East India Office, I find another work of that description, called the Nilarudropanishad, which begins thus : *Apaśyaṃ chāvarohantaṃ divitaḥ prithivīmayaḥ | apaśyam apaśyaṃ taṃ Rudraṃ nīlagrivaṃ śikhaṇḍīnam |* " I, formed of earth, beheld descending from the sky, I beheld, I beheld, that blue-necked, crested Rudra." This composition contains many verses from the Satarudriya.

SECT. VI.—*Some further texts from the Itihāsas and Purāṇas relative to Rudra.*

In the earlier parts of this work I have given a variety of extracts from the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, etc., which exhibit the character of Mahādeva as he was conceived in the epic period (see pp. 138, 147, 148, 153–170, 187–190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.). I shall now adduce such other passages from the Itihāsas, or Purāṇas, as may appear to throw any light on the history of the conceptions entertained of this deity, and of his relations to the other members of the Indian pantheon.

Rudra is briefly alluded to in the passages of the Rāmāyana i. 14, 1 ff. ; i. 75, 14 ff. ; and Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, 119, 1 ff., quoted in pp. 138, 146 f., and 148 f. The other texts of the Rāmāyana in which I have observed any allusion to him are the following ; and the representations which are there given of this god appear generally to bear a stamp of greater antiquity than those which are found in the Mahābhārata.

In Rāmāyana i. 25, 10 ff. (ed. Schl.), Rudra curses the embodied Kandarpa (the Indian Cupid) who wished to enter into him after his marriage, at a time when he was performing austerity ; and Kandarpa in consequence becomes bodiless (*anāṅga*). (*Kandarpo mūrttimān āsit Kāma ity uchyate budhaiḥ | āveshṭum abhyagāt tūrṇaṃ kṛitodvāham Umāpatim | tapasyantam iha Sthānuṃ nimayena samāhitam | dharshayāmāsa durmedhā hunḁkrītas cha mahātmanā | avadhyātasya Raudreṇa chazushā Raghunandana | vyaśiryanta śarīrāt svāt sarva-gātrāṇi durmateḥ |*)

In i. 36, 20, it is mentioned that the mountain-god, Himavat, gave his daughter Umā to the "unequalled Rudra" (*Rudrāya apratirāpāya*). In chapter xxxvii. of the same book, vv. 5 ff. the connubial intercourse of Siva with Umā is described in most undignified language, as follows: *Purā Rāma kṛitodvāhaḥ Sitikaṅṭhaḥ mahātapaḥ | Umā cha sparḍdhayā devī maithunāyopachakratuḥ | tasya saṃkṛīdamānasya Mahādevasya dhīmataḥ | Sitikaṅṭhasya devyāścha divyaṃ varsha-śataṃ gatam | evaṃ manmatha-yuddhe tu tayor nāsīt parājayah | na chāpi tanayo Rāma tasyām āsīt parantapa |* "Formerly, after his marriage, Sitikaṅṭha (Siva) the great devotee, and the goddess Umā, began to indulge emulously in connubial love. A thousand years of the gods passed while the wise Mahādeva Sitikaṅṭha and the goddess were thus sporting. In this contest of love neither of them was overcome: nor, o Rāma, vexer of thy foes, was any son born to Umā." The gods being alarmed at the prospect of the formidable character of the offspring which might be born to Mahādeva, entreated him and his spouse to practise chastity. To this Mahādeva consented; but asked what would become of the seed which he had already discharged. This, the gods said, should be received by the earth. The gods then desired Agni, along with Vāyu, to enter into this seed. This Agni did, and the white mountain was produced in consequence (see above, p. 292), where Kārttikeya was born. The gods then worshipped Siva and Umā, but the latter imprecated sterility on all their wives. The thirty-eighth section relates the birth of Kārttikeya. While Tryambaka (Siva), the lord of the gods, was performing austerity, the other deities went to Brahmā and asked for a general in the room of Mahādeva who, it seems, had formerly acted in that capacity. "He," they said, "whom thou didst formerly give us as a leader of our armies (*i.e.* Mahādeva) is now performing great austerity, along with Umā" (*yo naḥ senāpatir deva datto bhagavatā purā | sa tapaḥ param āsthāya tapyate sma sahomayā |*). Brahmā says, that in consequence of the curse of Umā, no son could be born to any of the wives of the gods; but that Agni could beget a son on the river Gangā, who should be the general of the gods. The gods accordingly went to mount Kailāsa, and appointed Agni to effect their object. Agni accordingly impregnated the Gangā, who brought forth Kārttikeya, so called because he was nursed by the Kṛittikās."

In the forty-third section it is related how king Bhagīratha performed austerity in order that the Gangā might descend from heaven and purify the ashes of the sons of Sagara (who had been destroyed by Kapila, sect. 41, at the end); and might by this means elevate them to paradise. Brahmā appeared to the king and told him that he ought to propitiate Śiva, who was the only being who could sustain the shock of the falling Gangā. Bhagīratha (as is told sect. 48) continued his austerities till Śiva the lord of Umā, the lord of animals (*Paśupati*) appeared to him, and said he would receive the Gangā on his head. He accordingly mounted the Himālaya, and called on the Gangā to descend. The Gangā was indignant at this summons, but came down in great volume and with great force on his head, thinking to sweep him down along with her into Pātāla. The god, however, determined to humble her pride, and she was compelled to circle for a long period of years in the labyrinth of his matted locks, without being able to reach the earth. Being again propitiated by Bhagīratha, Śiva at length allowed her to reach the lake Vindu, to flow to the sea, and eventually into the infernal regions, where she purified the ashes of the sons of Sagara and enabled them to ascend to heaven.

In the forty-fifth section is described the production of nectar from the churning of the ocean of milk by the rival sons of Diti and Aditi, who wished to obtain some specific which should render them immortal. In the first place, however, a fiery poison was vomited from the mouths of the serpent Vāsuki, which was used as the rope in the process of churning. The gods then resorted to Śiva to deliver them from this portent:

*Atha devā Mahādevaṁ Śankaraṁ śaraṇārthinaḥ | jagmuḥ Paśupatiṁ  
Rudraṁ trāhi trāhāti tushṭvuh | prādūrāsīt tato 'traiva śaṅkha-chakra-  
gadādharaḥ | uvāchainaṁ smitaṁ kṛtvā Rudraṁ śūla-dharaṁ Hariḥ |  
daivatair mathyamāno tu yat pūrvaṁ samupasthitam | tat tvādiyaṁ sura-  
śreṣṭha surāṇāṁ agrajo hi yat | agra-pūjām iha sthītvā gṛihānedaṁ  
visham prabho | ity uktvā cha sura-śreṣṭhas tatraivāntaradhīyata |  
devatānām bhayaṁ dṛiṣṭvā śrutvā vākyaṁ tu Śarṅgiṇaḥ | halāhalaṁ  
visham ghoraṁ sañjagrāhāṁṛitopamam | devān viṣṛījya deveśo jagāma  
bhagavān Haraḥ |* "Then the deities, seeking as their refuge Mahā-  
deva, Śankara, went to Rudra Paśupati, and lauded him [calling out]  
'deliver, deliver.' Then Hari appeared on that very spot, bearing



the shell, the discus, and the mace, and smiling, said to Rudra, the wielder of the trident : ' That which has first appeared, when the ocean was being churned by the deities, belongs to thee, most eminent of the gods, since thou art the first-born among them. Standing here, receive, lord, this poison as the earliest offering.' Having thus spoken, the most eminent of the gods disappeared on the spot. Perceiving the alarm of the deities, and having heard the words of Viṣṇu, he (Śiva) took the deadly poison, as if it had been nectar. The divine Hara then dismissed the gods and departed."

The gods and Asuras proceeded with the churning, but were obliged now to call in the aid of Viṣṇu, as the mountain with which the operation was being performed sank down into the infernal regions. Viṣṇu, however, assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. At length nectar was produced, which Viṣṇu carried off.

In the description of the northern region contained in the Kishkindhyā-kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, Kailāsa is spoken of as the residence of Kuvera, and no mention is made of Śiva as residing there :

Kishk. 44, 27 ff.—*Taṁ tu siḅhram atikramya kāntāraṁ loma-harṣhaṇam | pāṇḍuraṁ draxyatha tataḥ Kailāsaṁ nāma parvatam | tatra pāṇḍura-meghābhaṁ Jāmbūnada-parishkrītam | Kuvera-bhavanaṁ divyaṁ nirmitaṁ Viśvakarmanā |* "Having quickly passed over that dreadful desert, you shall then see the white mountain, called Kailāsa, and there the celestial palace of Kuvera, formed by Viśvakarman, in colour like a brilliant cloud, and decorated with gold."

Another passage relating to Rudra which occurs in Gorresio's recension of the Rāmāyana is the following (though it is not to be found in the corresponding section of the Calcutta edition) :

Kishk. 44, 46 ff.—*Taṁ tu doṣam atikramya Triśringo nāma parvataḥ | tasya pāde saro divyam mahat kāñchana-pushkaram | tataḥ prachyavate divyā tixṇa-śrotās tarangiṇī | nadī nāika-grahākīrnā kuṭilā loka-bhāvinī | tasyaikaṁ kāñchanaṁ śringam parvatasyāgni-sannibham | vaidūryyamayam ekañcha śailasyāsya samuchhṛitam | Anutpāneshu bhūteshu babhūva kila bhūmitaḥ | agrajaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ Viśvakarṁeti viśrutaḥ | tat tasya kila paurāṇam agnihotram mahātmanaḥ | āsīt trisīkharah śailaḥ pravṛittās tatra ye 'gnayaḥ | tatra sarvāṇi bhūtāni sarvamedho mahāmakhe | krītvā 'bhavad mahātejāḥ sarva-loka-maheśvaraḥ | Rudrasya kila*

*saṁsthānaṁ saro vai sārvamedhikam | tataḥ pravṛittā Sarayūr ghora-nakravatī nadī | deva-gandharva-patagāḥ piśāchoraga-dānavāḥ | pravīśanti na taṁ deśam pradīptam iva pāvakam | tam atikramya śailendram Mahādevābhipālitam | ityādi |* “When that region has been overpassed, a mountain called Trisṛinga [will be seen], at the foot of which is a divine lake, of large dimensions, filled with golden lotuses. Thence flows a divine billowy river, with rapid stream, swarming with crocodiles, winding, gladdening the world. That mountain has one golden peak, [one] resembling fire, and it has also one elevated point formed of *lapis lazuli*. When no creatures had as yet come into existence, there sprang from the earth the first of all beings, known as Viśvakarman. This triple-peaked mountain was the scene of the ancient *agnihotra* sacrifice of that great being, where all the fires were employed. Having formed all beings there at this great universal sacrifice, he became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds. This lake of the universal sacrifice is the abode of Rudra; and from it issues the river Sarayū, abounding in dreadful crocodiles. Gods, Gandhavas, birds, Piśāchas, snakes, and Dānavas, do not enter that region, which is like blazing fire. Having overpassed that great mountain, protected by Mahādeva,” etc.

In regard to the legend of Viśvakarman, which is not usually met with in the Purāṇas, and does not harmonize well with the course of their cosmogony, compare the two hymns in pp. 5, 6, the story from the Nirukta in pp. 7, 8, above, and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa xiii. 7, 1, 14, p. 1002 :

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1, 14.—*Tena haitena Viśvakarmā Bhauvana īje | teneshṭvā 'tyatishṭhat sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam abhavat | atitishṭhati sarvāni bhūtāni idaṁ sarvam bhavati ya evam vidvān sarva-medhena yajate yo vaitad evaṁ veda | 15. Tuṁ ha Kaśyapo yājyāñchakāra | tad api bhūmiḥ ślokaṁ jagau | “na mā martyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana manda āsitha | upamaṅxyati syā salīlasya madhye mṛishaisha te saṅgaraḥ Kaśyapāya” iti |* “With this sacrifice, Viśvakarman, the son of Bhuvana, sacrificed. Having sacrificed with it, he overpassed all beings, and became all this. That man overpasses all beings and becomes all this, who, knowing this, sacrifices with the *sarva-medha* ('universal sacrifice')—he who thus knows this. 15. Kaśyapa performed this sacrifice for him. Wherefore also the earth

recited a verse :<sup>275</sup> 'No mortal ought to bestow me. Viśvakarman, son of Bhuvana, thou wast foolish. She (the earth) will sink into the midst of the water. This promise of thine to Kaśyapa is vain.'"

It would appear as if the author of the preceding passage of the Rāmāyaṇa intended to identify Rudra with Viśvakarman, when he says that the latter "became the mighty lord (*maheśvara*) of all worlds." Compare the passages from the Kūrma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata quoted below in notes 280 and 282, pp. 316 and 317. If Mahādeva is identified with Viśvakarman, he must, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, be regarded as sprung from the earth, and therefore not eternal.

In the following passage<sup>276</sup> Mahādeva is represented as paying a visit to Kuvera on mount Kailāsa, and as acknowledging the divine character of Rama :

Ram. v. 89, 6 ff.—*Atha pradhāno dharmātmā lokānām īśvaraḥ prabhuh | tataḥ sabhāyām devasya rājño Vaiśravaṇasya saḥ | dhanādhyaxa-sabhām devaḥ prāpto hi Vṛishhabha-dhvajaḥ | Umā-sahāyo deveśo gaṇaiś cha bahubhir vṛitaḥ | avatiryya vṛishāt tūrṇam mahitaḥ śūla-dhṛig vibhuh | gires tasya mahātejaḥ pravishṭas tu sabhām Haraḥ | Riddhyā sahāya-yuktaś cha tathā Vaiśravaṇaḥ svayam | anyonyaṁ tau samālingya upaviṣṭāv ubhāv api | sabhāyām tatra tau devau te cha devā yathākramam | upaviṣṭā gaṇāś chaiva yaxās cha saha Guhyakaiḥ | axa-dyūtaṁ tatas tābhyām pravṛittaṁ samanantaram | etasminn antare tatra Rāxasendraṁ Vibhūṣaṇam | dṛiṣṭvā Paulastyam āyāntaṁ Śivaḥ prāha dhaneśvaram | ayaṁ Vibhūṣaṇaḥ prāptaḥ śaraṇam tava pāṛthiva | man-yunā 'bhipluto vīro Rāxasendra-vimānitaḥ | ityādi |*

<sup>275</sup> The commentator observes on this : *Asmai cha Viśvakarmā bhūmim dātum iyēsha tatra cha kāle bhūmim api imāṁ ślokaṁ gītevatī | tvaṁ tu mandaḥ manda-matīr janaḥ āsītha bahūvitha jāta ity arthaḥ | upa-śabdo ni-śabdasyārthe | yaś chāśakyam pratijānte manda ity abhiprāyaḥ |* "Viśvakarman desired to give the earth to him; and at that time the earth also sang this verse. Thou wast dull, dull of understanding. The preposition *upa* is here used in the sense of *ni*. And the sense is that he who promises what is impossible is foolish." Compare the passage of the Mahābhārata, Vana-pāva, v. 10209 (in the First Part of this work, p. 167), where the earth is said to have been given to Kaśyapa by Paraśurāma; and another text from the Anusāsana-parva, vv. 7232 ff. (*ibid.* p. 164), where the earth is said to have become offended with king Anga, who desired to bestow her on the Brahmans, and to have in consequence abandoned her form. Kaśyapa afterwards entered into her and she became his daughter. Compare also Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vii. 4, 3, 5 (quoted above, p. 23).

<sup>276</sup> This passage, however, is only to be found in Gorresio's recension, and not in the section of the Devānāgarī recension which corresponds to it—viz., vi. 17, 1, ff.

“Now the righteous and mighty ruler of the worlds, whose banner is a bull, the god of gods, accompanied by Umā, and attended by numerous hosts, came then to the assembly of the divine king Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera), the lord of riches. Alighting quickly from his bull, Hara, the mighty lord, the wielder of the trident, received with honour, entered into the assembly on that mountain (*Kailāsa*, v. 4); and at the same time Vaiśravaṇa himself, with Riddhi (? his wife), and attended by his companions, [came in]. Having embraced each other, those two gods and the other deities sat down in order in the assembly, together with their hosts, and the Yaxas and Guhyakas. The two gods then began to play at dice. In the meantime, beholding the eminent Raxasa Vibhishana, the son of Pulastya, approaching, Śiva says to the lord of riches, ‘This, o king, is the hero Vibhishana, who has resorted to thee, overwhelmed by distress, having been dishonoured by the chief of the Raxasas (Rāvaṇa),’ etc. etc.

While Śiva is speaking, Vibhishana arrives, and bows down before the deities, who tell him to stand up; and go to Rāma, who will install him king of the Rāxasas (vv. 21 ff.). Vibhishana stands, with his head bent downwards, and sunk in contemplation, when Śiva again speaks to him (vv. 37 ff.): *Taṁ dhyāyamānam bhagavān uvācha prabhur avyayaḥ | uttishṭhottishṭha rājendra sukham āpnuhi śāsvatam | . . . 39. Tasmād uttishṭha gachha tvam purānam prabhum avyayam | ādhārām sarva-bhūtānām śāsvatām niravagraham | sa hi sarva-nidhānam cha gatir gati-matām varaḥ | kṛitsnasya jagato mūlam tasmād gachhasva Rāghavam |* “The divine, imperishable lord said: ‘Stand up, stand up, prince of kings, obtain ever-during happiness. . . . Stand up, therefore, go to the ancient, imperishable lord, the support of all beings, eternal, uncontroled. For he, the most excellent, contains all things, and is the refuge of all who seek a refuge, the root of the whole world: wherefore go to Rāghava (Rāma).’” Vibhishana then departs through the air, to go to Rāma.<sup>277</sup>

From the passage quoted above from the Mahābhārata in p. 241, it appears as if some contest had at one time existed between the votaries

<sup>277</sup> In the following passages some of Mahādeva’s achievements are alluded to:—  
iii. 30, 27 (ed. Calc.), and iii. 35, 93 (Gorr.): *Sa papāta Khara bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇca viṇūdagdhaḥ Sctōraṇye purā ’ndhakaḥ |* “[The Rāxasa] Khara fell on the ground, burnt by the fire of the arrow, like Andhaka [who was]

of Mahādeva, and those of other deities, in regard to adoration of the former. It may perhaps be inferred from the passages cited in pp. 224-246, also, that the worship of this god, as practised by some tribes, was regarded by others with aversion, or even with horror. Some further indications of this aversion may be discovered in the myth of Daxa's sacrifice, as related in the Mahābhārata, and in the Vayu and other Purānas (see Wilson's Vishṇu Purāna, pp. 61 ff.).

This story is told, perhaps, in its simplest form, in the following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 66, 7 ff. (ed. Schlegel):

*Evam uktas tu Janakaḥ pratyuvācha mahāmuniṃ | śrūyatām asya  
dhanuṣho yad-artham iha tishṭhati | Devarāta iti khyāto Nīmeḥ śhaśhṭho  
mahāpatih | nyāso 'yaṃ tasya bhagavan haste datto mahātmanah | Daxa-  
yajña-badhe pūrcam dhanur āyamyā vīryavān | vidhvāsyā tridaśān Ru-  
draḥ salilam idam abravīt | "yasmād bhāgārthino bhāgān nākalpayata  
me surāḥ | varāṅgāni mahārḥāni dhanuṣhā śatayāmi vah | tato viman-  
asaḥ sarve devā vai muni-pūṅgava | prāsādayanta deveśāṃ teshāṃ prīto  
'bhavad Bhavaḥ | prītaschāpi dadau teshāṃ tāny aṅgāni mahajusām |  
dhanuṣhā yāni yāny āsan śātītāni mahātmanā | tad etad deva-devāsyā  
dhanū-ratnam mahātmanah | nyāsa-bhūtaṃ tadā nyastaṃ asmākam pūr-  
vake vibho |*<sup>278</sup>

formerly consumed by Rudra in the S'veta forest." iv. 5, 30 (Gorr.): *Yathā kruddhasya Rudrasya Tripurāṃ vai vijigyushah* | "[The frowning face of Rāma] like that of the incensed Rudra, who had conquered Tripura." vi. 51, 17 (Gorr.): The Rāksasa trembled when smitten by Laxmana's arrow, like the dreadful portal of Tripura, when struck by the bolt of Rudra" (*Rudra-vāṇāhataṃ ghoram yathā Tripura-gopuram* |). In the following verse allusion is made to Rudra as a slaughterer of animals: vi. 73, 37 f. *Hatair asvaiḥ padātaiḥ cha tad bahūva raṅgīram | ūkrīḍa iva Rudrasya kruddhasya nighnataḥ paśūn* | "With slain horses and footmen, that battle-field became like the garden of the enraged Rudra when slaughtering animals." I do not know what the next verse refers to, vi. 55, 88 (Gorr.): *Kumbhasya patato rūpam bhagnasyorasi mushṭinā | Iṣvareṇābhipannasya rūpam Paśupater iva* | "The appearance of Kumbha when struck on the chest by the fist of Sugrīva, was like the appearance of Paśupati (S'iva) when overcome by Iṣvara." The commentator quoted by Gorresio has the following note in explanation: *Iṣvareṇa praloya-kālena hetunā abhipannasya lokān abhisrastasya Paśupate Rudrasya rūpam iva rūpam bahūva ity arthaḥ* | The Calc. ed. (76, 93) reads in the second line: *bahau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpāṃ Gavōmpateḥ* | which the commentator renders, "appeared like the form of the sun, overcome by Rudra."

<sup>278</sup> This last line runs as follows in Gorresio's edition (ch. lxxviii. 13): *Tishṭhaty adyāpi bhagavan kule 'smakāṃ supūjitam* | The other various readings, though numerous, are unimportant.

“Janaka, being thus addressed, replied to the great muni: ‘Hear, regarding this bow, from what cause it is here. A king called Deva-rāta was the sixth in descent from Nimi. This [bow] was a deposit committed to the hands of this great personage. Formerly, at the destruction of Daxa’s sacrifice, the heroic Rudra, when he had drawn this bow, and routed the gods, thus spake in derision: *Since, ye gods, ye have divided to me no portion, though I desired it, I cut off your principal and most precious limbs with my bow.* Then all the deities, being distressed, propitiated the god of gods, who became favourable to them, and restored the limbs of those glorious beings which had been cut off by the mighty bow. This is the precious bow of the great deity, which was at that time deposited with our ancestor.’”

In this version of the myth there is no mention of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra, or any other demons, to destroy the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. He is simply said to wound the gods with his bow.<sup>279</sup>

The same story is told in greater detail in the Sānti-parva of the Mahābhārata, in verses 10226–10258, and is immediately afterwards repeated in vv. 10275 ff. According to the first account (which is given in answer to a question regarding the origin of *Jvara*, Fever), Umā, Śiva’s wife, seeing the gods passing by in chariots, enquires of her husband where they are going, and is told by him that they are proceeding to Daxa’s horse-sacrifice. The goddess then asks why her lord also does not go. He replies: *Surair eva mahābhāgo pūrvam etad anuṣṭhitam | yajñeshu sarveshu mama na bhāga*

<sup>279</sup> This same version of the story is again alluded to in the following other passages of the Rāmāyaṇa:—iii. 30, 36 (ed. Gorr.): *Taṁ dṛiṣṭvā tejasā yuktāṁ vivyathur cana-devatāḥ | Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatāstram Pinākinam |* “Beholding him (Rāma), possessed of might, the sylvan deities were distressed, as if he had been Pinākin (Śiva) with his weapon ready to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa.” Ibid. 70, 2: *Hantu-kūmam paśuṁ Rudraṁ krudhāṁ Daxa-kratau yathā |* And again, vi. 54, 33 (ed. Gorr.): *Tato viṣphūrayāmāsa Rōmas tad dhanur uttamam | bhagavān iva saṅkrudhō Bhavaḥ kratu-jighāmsayā |* “Then Rāma stretched that excellent bow, like the divine Bhava enraged, and seeking to destroy the sacrifice.” Rudra’s followers are, however, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in iii. 31, 10 (ed. Gorr.) it is said: *Sa taiḥ parivṛito ghorai rāzasair nṛi-varātmanajāḥ | Mahādevaḥ pitṛi-vane gaṇaiḥ pūrīva-gatair iva |* “This son of an eminent man (Rāma) was surrounded by these horrible Rāzasas, like Mahādeva by his attendant hosts in a cemetery.” And in another place (v. 12, 39, ed. Gorr.) Śiva is called the lord of demons (*griham Bhūtapater iva*).

*upakalpitaḥ | pūrvopāyopapannena mārgena varavarṇini | na me surāḥ prayachhanti bhāgaṃ yajñasya dharmataḥ |* "The former practice of the gods has been, that in all sacrifices no portion should be divided to me. By custom, arising out of early arrangements, the gods lawfully (*dharmataḥ*) allot me no share in the sacrifice." Umā is extremely chagrined that her husband, a god of so great dignity, should be so treated. Perceiving his wife's distress, Śiva goes, with his attendants, and puts an end to the sacrifice. The sacrifice takes the form of a deer, and is followed by Śiva to the sky. A drop of sweat falls from his forehead, from which a fire proceeds, out of which again a formidable being is born *Jvara* (fever) which burns up the sacrifice, puts the gods to flight, etc. On this Brahmā appears to Śiva, and promises that the gods shall henceforth give him a share in the sacrifice (*bhavato 'hi suraḥ sarve bhāgaṃ dāsyanti vai prabho*), and proposes that *Jvara* (fever) shall be allowed to range over the earth. Śiva is propitiated, and assents to Brahmā's proposal, and has ever afterwards obtained a share in the sacrifice (*ity ukto Brahmanā devo bhāge chāpi prakalpite | bhagavantaṃ tathety āha . . . parāñcha prītim agamad utmayamścha Pināka-dhṛik | avāpa cha tadā bhāgaṃ yathoktam Brahmanā Bhavaḥ*).

The second version of the story is as follows: vv. 10272 ff. Daxa formerly commenced a sacrifice at Gangādvāra in the Himālaya, which was attended by the various orders of divine beings, including Indra and Brahmā. Dadhīchi, however, a votary of Rudra, was indignant that no worship was to be offered to that deity. 10283 ff. *Tān dṛiṣṭvā manyunā "vishto Dadhīchir vākyaṃ abravīt | "nāyaṃ yajño na vā dharmo yatra Rudro na ijjate | badha-bandham prapannā vai kinnu kālasya paryyayah | kinnu mohād na paśyanti vināśam paryyupasthitam | upasthitam mahāghoraṃ na budhyanti mahādhware" | Ity uktvā sa mahāyogī paśyati dhyāna-chaxushā | sa paśyati Mahādevaṃ devīñcha vara-dām śubhām | Nāradañcha mahātmānaṃ tasyā devyāḥ samīpataḥ | santosham paramaṃ lebhe iti niśchitya yoga-vit | eka-mantrās tu te sarve geneśo na nimantritaḥ | tasmād deśād apākramya Dadhīchir vākyaṃ abravīt | apūjya-pūjanāchchaiva pūjyānāñchāpy apūjanāt | nri-ghātaka-samam pāpaṃ śasvat prāpnōti mānavaḥ | anṛitaṃ nokta-pūrvam me na cha varye kadāchana | devatānāṃ rishīnāṃ cha madhye satyam bravīmy aham | āgatam Paśubharttāraṃ sraṣṭāraṃ jagataḥ patim | adhware yajña-bhoktāraṃ sarveshām paśyata prabhum | Daxa uvācha | Santi no bahavo*

*Rudrāḥ śūla-hastāḥ kapardīnaḥ | ekādaśa-sthāna-gatā nāhaṁ vedmi Ma-  
heśvaram | Dadhīchir uvācha | sarveśhām eva mantrō 'yaṁ yenāsau na  
nimantritaḥ | yathā 'ham Saṅkarād ūrdhvaṁ nānyam paśyāmi daiva-  
tam | tathā Daxasya vipulo yajño 'yaṁ na bhaviṣhyati | Daxa uvācha |  
etan makheśya suvarṇa-pātre haviḥ samastaṁ vidhi-mantra-pūtam | Vish-  
nor nayāmy apratimasya bhāgam prabhur viḥṣuś chāhavanīya eśhaḥ |  
Devy uvācha | kim nāma dānaṁ vishamaṁ tapo vā kuryām ahaṁ yena  
patir mamādyā | labheta bhāgam bhagavān achintyo arddham tathā bhā-  
gam atho tṛtīyam | evam bruvāṇām bhagavān sva-patnīm prahrīṣṭa-  
rūpaḥ zubhitām uvācha | na vetsyi mām devi kriśodarāṅgi kim nāma yuk-  
taṁ vachanam makheśō | ahaṁ vijānāmi viśāla-netre dhyānena hīnā na  
vidanty asantaḥ | tavādya mōhena cha sendra-devā lokās trayāḥ sarvata  
eva mūḍhāḥ | mām adhvare śaṁsitārah stuvanti rathantaram sāma-gāś  
chopagānti | mām brāhmaṇā brahma-vido yajante mamādhwaryavaḥ kalpa-  
yante cha bhāgam | Devy uvācha | suprākṛito 'pi puruṣo sarvaḥ strī-jana-  
saṁsadi | stauti garvāyate chāpi svam ātmānam na saṁśayaḥ | Bhagavān  
uvācha | nātmānaṁ staumi deveśi paśya me tanu-madhyamo | yaṁ srax-  
yāmi varāroho yāgārthe vara-varṇini |*

“Beholding them, Dadhīchi, filled with indignation, thus spake :  
‘This is no sacrifice, nor a legitimate ceremony, in which Rudra is not  
worshipped. [These gods] have become entangled in the bonds of  
destruction. Is this the adverse influence of time? or is it through  
delusion that they do not see that ruin is at hand? They perceive not  
that a great calamity is impending at the sacrifice.’ Having so spoken,  
this great devotee beholds with the eye of contemplation : he sees  
Mahādeva and his boon-bestowing and auspicious goddess, and close to  
her the great Nārada, and received the highest satisfaction. Dadhīchi,  
versed in meditation, having ascertained that all the gods had adopted  
a common resolution that they would not invite Mahādeva, issued  
forth from that [sacrificial] ground, and spake thus : ‘By worshipping  
that which ought not to be worshipped, and neglecting to worship that  
which ought to be worshipped, a man ever incurs sin equal to that  
of a murderer. I have never before uttered, neither shall I ever  
utter, falsehood. Among gods and rishis I declare the truth. Behold  
Paśubharttri (Śiva) arrived, the creator, the master of the world, the  
lord of all, the eater of the sacrifice.’ Daxa replied : ‘We have many  
Rudras, armed with tridents, and wearing braided hair, who occupy



eleven places. I know not Maheśvara.' Dadhīchi answered: 'Owing to this preconcerted plan of all [the gods] (*lit.* this is a device of them all, by which) he (Mahādeva) has not been invited. Since I perceive Sankara, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore this sacrifice of Daxa shall not be prosperous.' Daxa spake: 'I offer to the lord of sacrifice (Vishnu), in a golden vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable Vishnu: he is the lord, the all-pervading, the sacrificial fire.'<sup>280</sup> Devī (who, without any preamble, is here introduced as speaking) said: 'What liberality or arduous austerity can I perform whereby my divine, incomprehensible, husband may to-day obtain a share, a half-share, or a third?' The god, delighted in aspect, addressed his troubled wife who had thus spoken: 'Thou knowest me not, goddess, slender of waist and limb; nor what speech befits the lord of sacrifice. I know, o large-eyed; but the wicked, devoid of reflection, know not: and the three worlds, including Indra and the gods, are to-day altogether bewildered with thy bewilderment. Worshippers praise me at the sacrifice, singers of the sāma chant the rathantara, Brahmans, versed in the veda (*brahma*), adore me, and *adhvaryu* (*i.e.* Yajurvedic) priests divide for me a portion.'<sup>281</sup> Devī replied: 'Doubtless, every common man

<sup>280</sup> Prof. Wilson (p. 63) has the following note on the parallel passage of the Vāyu Purāna: "The Kūrma Purāna gives also this discussion between Dadhīcha and Daxa, and their dialogue contains some curious matter. Daxa, for instance, states that no portion of a sacrifice is ever allotted to S'iva, and no prayers are directed to be addressed to him, or to his bride (*sarveshō eva hi yajñeshu na bhāgah parikalpitah | na mantrā bhūryyayā sārādhañ Sankarasyeti neshyate |*) Dadhīcha apparently evades the objection, and claims a share for Rudra, consisting of the triad of gods, as one with the sun, who is undoubtedly hymned by the several ministering priests of the Vedas (*sa stūyate sahasrāmsūh sāmāgādhvaryu-hotṛibhūh | paśyaināñ Vīsva-karmānañ Rudram mūrṭti-trayīmāyam |*) Daxa replies that the twelve Adityas receive special oblations; that they are all the suns; and that he knows of no other. The Munis, who overhear the dispute, concur in his sentiments (*ye eto dvādaśādityā Aditya-yajña-bhāginah | sarve sūryyā iti jñeyā na hy anyo vidyate raviḥ | evam ukte tu munayah samāyātā diḍḍixavaḥ | vādham ity abruvan Daxaṃ tasya sālhyā-kāriṇah |*) These notions seem to have been exchanged for others in the days of the Padma P. and Bhāgavata, as they place Daxa's neglect of S'iva to the latter's filthy practices—his going naked, smearing himself with ashes," etc. etc. An abstract of the story as given in the Bhāgavata will be found in the text.

<sup>281</sup> The text of the Vāyu Purāna as translated by Prof. Wilson (Vish. Pur., p. 65) differs somewhat from that of the Mahābhārata, as here given. The former text has been copied for me by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall from the Guikowar MS. in the India Office

praises and magnifies himself in an assembly of women.' Mahādeva answered: 'I praise not myself, queen of the gods; behold, slender-waisted, beautiful-complexioned [goddess], what being I shall create.' Mahādeva accordingly creates a dreadful being, who, attended by hosts of other frightful creatures, demolishes all Daxa's preparations for his sacrifice. Brahmā and the other gods humbly enquire of this destroyer who he is. He replies that he is neither Rudra nor Devī, but Vīrabhadra, sent to destroy the sacrifice, and exhorts them to submit to Mahādeva, whose wrath is better than the beneficence of any other god: (*varāṃ krodho 'pi devasya vara-dānaṃ na chānyataḥ*). Upon this Daxa sings the praises of Maheśvara.<sup>282</sup> The latter then appears, and assents to Daxa's request that his preparations for sacrifice shall not be fruitless. Daxa then celebrates him by reciting his eight thousand names.

The following is an abstract of the same story as told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, book iv. sections 2-7, with a colouring different from that of the Mahābharata. Satī, the wife of Śiva, was the daughter of Daxa, as we are told in the same work (iv. 1, 47, 48): *Prasūtim Mānavīm Daxa upayame hy Ajātmajah | tasyām sarajja duhitṛiḥ shodasāmala-lochanāḥ | trayodaśādād Dharmāya tathaikām Agnaye vibhuḥ | pitṛibhya ekām yuktebhyo Bhavāyaikām bhava-chhīde |* "Daxa, the son of Aja (the 'unborn'—he is said [v. 11] to be the son of Brahmā=Aja), married Prasūti, the daughter of Manu. On her he begot sixteen pure-eyed daughters. Of these this lord gave thirteen to Dharma, one to Agni, one to the meditative [or united] Pitṛis, and one to Bhava (Śiva), the destroyer of existence." Satī, however, bore no children to Śiva. 64. *Bhavasya patnī tu Satī Bhavaṃ devam anuvratā | ātmanah sadriṣam putram na lebhe guṇa-śilataḥ |*

Library, and is as follows: *Mamādhvare śaṃsitārah stuvanti rathantare sāma gūyanti geyam | abrahmaṇe brahma-satre yajante mamādhvaryyavaḥ kalpayante cha bhāgam |* "At my sacrifice worshippers praise (me); in the *rathantara* they sing the *sāma* song; they adore (me) in a sacrifice of devotion without Brahmans; and the *adhvaryu* priests divide for me a portion." It is remarkable that Mahādeva's worship should be here described as performed *without Brahmans*.

<sup>282</sup> In this passage (v. 10332) Mahādeva is called Viśvakarman (*Devo nāhūyato tatra Viśvakarmā Maheśvaraḥ*). Compare the passage from the Rāmāyaṇa, above, p. 308 f., and note 280. There appears to be some confusion in the narrative as given in verses 10331 ff. Though Daxa had already made his submission to Mahādeva, the story seems to be begun over again.

In the second section we are informed how enmity arose between Mahādeva and his father-in-law Daxa. It appears that the gods and rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajāpatīs. On the entrance of Daxa, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, excepting only Viriñcha (Brahmā) and Mahādeva. Daxa, after making his obeisance to Brahmā, sat down by his command; but was offended at the treatment he received from Śiva (iv. 2, 8 ff.): *Prāṇ nishannam Mṛidaṁ dṛishṭvā nāmṛishat tad-anāḍṛitaḥ | uvācha vāmasā chazurbhūyām abhicirya dahann iva | śrūyatām brahmarshayo me saha-devāḥ sahāgnayaḥ | sādhanāna brucato vṛittam nājñānād na cha matsarāt | ayaṁ tu loka-pālānām yateghno nirapatrapaḥ | sabbhir ācharitaḥ panthā yena stabdhena dāshitaḥ | esha me śishyatām prāpto yan me duhitur agrahīt | pānim viprāgni-mukhataḥ sāvitryā iva sādhu-vat | grihītvā mṛiga-sāvāzyāḥ pānim markata-lochanaḥ | pratyuthānābhivādārhe vachā 'py akṛita nochitam | lupta-kriyāyā-śuchaye mānīne bhīnna-setave | anichhann apy adām bālām sūdrāyevokhātīm giram | pretāvāseshu ghoreshu pretair bhūta-gaṇair vṛitaḥ | śtaty unmatta-vad nagno vyupta-keśo hasan rudan | chitā-bhasma-kṛita-mānāḥ preta-sraṇ nrasthi-bhūshanaḥ | śivāpadeśo hy aśivo matto matla-jana-priyaḥ | patiḥ pramatha-bhūtānām tamo-mātrātmakātmanām | toṣṇā unmāda-nāthāya nashṭa-śauchāya durhrīde | dattā mayā tata sādhrī chodīte parameshṭhinā | vinindyaivam sa Girīśam apratipam avasthītam | Daxo 'thāpa upasprīśya kruddhaḥ śaptam prachakrame | ayaṁ tu devayajane Indropendrādibhir Bhavaḥ | saha bhāgām na labhatām devair deva-gaṇādhamah |* "Beholding Mṛida (Śiva) previously seated, Daxa did not brook his want of respect; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake: 'Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the gods and the Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world,—he by whom, hardened as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Sāvitrī. This monkey-eyed [god], after having taken the hand of [my] fawn-eyed [daughter], has not even by word shewn suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and

demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda<sup>283</sup> to a Sūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and sprites, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, smeared (*lit.* bathed) with the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's [skulls], and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be *Siva* (auspicious) but in reality *Asiva* (inauspicious), insane, beloved by the insane, the lord of Pramathas and Bhūtas (sprites), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahmā.<sup>284</sup> Having thus reviled Giriśa (*Siva*), who did not oppose him, Daxa having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him [thus]: 'Let this Bhava (*Siva*), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (*Vishṇu*), and others.' Having delivered his malediction, Daxa departed. A counter-malediction, as follows, was then uttered upon him and the Brahmans who took his part, by Nandiśvara, one of the chief of Mahādeva's followers:

<sup>283</sup> *Usatīm giram*, which the commentator explains *veda-laxanām giram*. It does not appear how *usatī* has this sense. In Wilson's Dictionary the participle *usat* has the sense of "inauspicious" (as discourse) assigned to it.

<sup>284</sup> The commentator gives as follows what he calls the real, esoteric, sense of this abuse:—*Vāstavas tv ayam arthaḥ | lupṭāḥ kriyāḥ yasmin para-brahma-rūpatvāt | ata eva nāsti śuchir yasmāt | amānīne abhinna-setave iti cha chhedah | tasya paremeś-varasya madīyā mānushī kanyā kathaṁ yogyā syād iti lajjādīnā dātum anichhann api tat-sambandha-lobhena dattavān | 'śūdrūyeti' anarhatva-mātre dṛishtënto na hīnatec pūrēvopara-eva-vachana-vīrodhōpatteḥ | etad uktam bhavati | yathā kaśchit śūdrāya vedam artha-lobhena dadāti | 'pretāvōseshv' ityādi sarvaṁ vidāmbana-mātram iti | svayam evāha 'unnatta-vad' iti | anyathā 'unnatta' ity evāvazyat | 'asivaḥ' nāstī śivo yasmāt | amattaḥ | amatta jāna-priyāḥ | iti chhedah | 'patih pramatha-bhūtā-nām' iti bhakta-vōtsalyam āha | tāmasān api doṣam apanīya pāti iti nashṭūnām api śauchaṁ śuddhir yasmāt | dushṭeshv apy ete mayā anukampyā iti hrīn mano yasya sa durhrīt tasmai | 'vata' iti harshe | Brahmaṇo vūkyā [1 f] lajjā-bhayādikam parityajya dattū ity arthaḥ | "The real meaning (of vv. 13 ff.) is this: 'He in whom works are destroyed, owing to his character of supreme Brahma; in consequence of which there is none purer than he.' Instead of *mānīne* and *abhinna-setave*, the division of words may also be *amānīne*, *abhinna-setave*, 'not proud,' 'not demolisher of barriers.' Though unwilling to give my daughter through modesty, etc., from a feeling that my human daughter could not be worthy of the supreme lord, I nevertheless gave her from a covetous desire of being connected with him. The words 'as to a Sūdra' are merely an illustration to express unfitness, and not defectiveness, otherwise there would be a contradiction between his preceding and his following words. The sense is this: 'just as any one through covetousness of money gives the Veda to a Sūdra,' The*

21 ff.—*Ya etam martyam uddīśya bhagavatī apratīdruhi | drūhyaty  
ajñāḥ prīthag-driṣṭis tattvato vimukho bhavet | grīheṣu kūṣa-dharmeṣu  
saktō grāmya-sukhechhayā | karma-tantraṃ vitanutād*<sup>295</sup> *veda-vāda-ripanna-  
dhīḥ | buddhyā parābhidyāyinyā viṣṃṛitātma-gatiḥ paśuḥ | strī-kūṣaḥ  
so 'stu nitarāṃ Daxo vasta-mukho 'chirat | vidyā-buddhir avidyāyām  
karmamayām asau jaḍaḥ | saṃsarantv iha ye chāmum anu Sarvācamē-  
ninam | girāḥ śrutāyāḥ puṣpinyā madhu-gandhena bhāriṇā | melkai  
chonmathitātmanaḥ sammuhyantu Hara-dviṣaḥ | sarva-bhaxā devīḥ ṛit-  
yai dhṛita-vidyā-tapo-vratāḥ | vitta-dehendriyārāmā yāchakā vicharant  
iha |* “May the ignorant being who, from regard to this mortal (Daxa),  
and considering [Siva] as distinct [from the supreme spirit],—hates  
the deity who does not return the hatred,—be averse to the truth.  
Devoted to domestic occupations and low duties, from a desire of  
vulgar pleasures, let him practise the round of ceremonies, with an  
understanding degraded by Vedic prescriptions.<sup>296</sup> Forgetting the nature  
of soul with a mind which contemplates other things, let Daxa, brutal,  
be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat.  
Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those  
who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this  
world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva), whose  
minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement  
of the flowery words of the Veda, become deluded! Let those Brah-  
mans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising  
austerities and ceremonies [merely] for subsistence, delighting in riches  
and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars!”

words ‘in cemeteries,’ etc., are a mere disguise. He himself says ‘like a madman.’ Otherwise he would have said ‘a madman.’ *Aśiva*, un-fortunate, means he than whom none is more fortunate. The words *matta* and *matta-jana-priya* should be so divided as to be preceded by a negative, and thus mean ‘not insane,’ ‘beloved by the not-insane.’ The words ‘lord of Pramathas,’ etc., intimate his love for those devoted to him. The sense is that, removing their faultiness, he cherishes even those who have the quality of darkness. *Nashṭa-śouchōya* means that from him comes purity to the depraved. *Durhrit* means he whose heart, feeling, suggests that ‘even these among the wicked are to be compassionated by me.’ *Vata* intimates joy. ‘Owing to the injunction of Brahmā, abandoning modesty, fear, etc., I gave my daughter:’ such is the sense.”

<sup>295</sup> This is Burnouf’s reading. The Bombay edition reads *vitanute*.

<sup>296</sup> This depreciation of the Vedas may have arisen from a consciousness on the part of the Śaivas, that their worship was not very consistent with their own most veneral

The wrath of Bhṛigu, one of the sages present at the sacrifice, is aroused by this curse :

27 ff.—*Tasyaivam dadataḥ śapaṁ śrutvā dvija-kulāya vai | Bhṛiguḥ  
pratyasṛijach chhāpam brahma-dandaṁ duratyayam | Bhava-vrata-dhara  
ye cha ye cha tān samanuvratāḥ | pāshandinas to bhavantu sachchhāstra-  
paripanthinaḥ | nashṭa-śauchā mūḍha-dhiyo jaṭā-bhasmāsthi-dhāriṇaḥ |  
viśantu Siva-dīxāyaṁ yatra daivaṁ surāsavam | brahma cha brāhma-  
nāmś chaiva yad yāyam parinindatha | setum vidhāraṇam puṁsām ataḥ  
pāshandam āśritāḥ | esha eva hi lokānām śivaḥ panthā sanātanaḥ | yam  
pūrve chānusaṁtasthur yat-pramāṇam Janārdanaḥ | tad brahma paramam  
suddham satām vartma sanātanam | vigarhya yāta pāshandam daivaṁ vo  
yatra bhūta-rāṭ |* “Hearing him thus utter a curse against the tribe  
of Brahmans, Bhṛigu launched a counter-imprecation, a Brahmanical  
weapon, hard to be evaded : ‘Let those who practise the rites of Bhava  
(Mahādeva), and all their followers, be heretics, and opponents of the  
true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding,  
wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initia-  
tion of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile  
the veda (*brahma*) and Brahmans, the barriers by which men are  
restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this [veda] is the auspicious  
(*śiva*) eternal path of the people, which the ancients have trod, and  
wherein Janārdana (Viṣṇu) is the authority. Reviling this veda  
(*brahma*), supreme, pure, the eternal path of the virtuous, follow the  
heresy in which your god is the king of goblins.’ ”

On hearing this imprecation, Śiva departed with his followers, while  
Daxa and the other Prajāpatis celebrated for a thousand years the  
sacrifice in which Viṣṇu was the object of adoration.

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues  
(sect. 3). Daxa being elevated by Brahmā to the rank of chief of the  
Prajāpatis, becomes elated. He commences a great sacrifice called  
Vṛihaspatisava. Seeing the other gods with their wives passing to this  
sacrifice, Satī presses her husband, Śiva, to accompany her thither.  
He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and  
advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her  
relatives, disregards his warning and goes ; but being slighted by her  
father, Daxa, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and  
threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected

with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Siva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daxa to kill him. Bhṛigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a *yajus* text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice (*yajña-ghna-ghnena yajushā dacinōgnau juhāva ha*). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Siva's followers to flight. Siva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Satī (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commanded to destroy Daxa and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Siva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. 15 ff. *Rurujur yajña-pātrāṇi tathaike 'gnīn anāśayan | kundeshv amūtrayan kechid bibhidur vedi-mekhalāḥ | abādhanā munīn anye eke patnīr atarjayan | apare jigrihur devān pratyāsannān palāyitān | . . . juh-vataḥ sruva-hastasya śmaśrūṇi bhagavān Bhavaḥ | Bhṛigor luluñche sadasi yo 'hasat śmaśru darśayan | Bhagasya netre bhagavān pātitasya rushā bhuvī | ujjahāra sadaḥstho 'xṇā yah śapantam asūsuchat | Pūshnāś chāpātayad dantān Kālingasya yathā Balaḥ | śapyamāne garimaṇi<sup>257</sup> yo 'hasad darśayan dataḥ |* "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled. The divine Bhava (Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhṛigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, shewing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who when in the assembly had made a signal to [Daxa when] cursing [Siva]. He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pūshan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's) who (Pūshan) had laughed, shewing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed." Siva then cuts off the head of Daxa, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhū (Brahmā), who, with Vishṇu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahmā advises the gods to propitiate Siva, to whom they had wrongfully refused a share in the sacrifice (*athāpi yūyaṁ kṛita-kilviṣhā Bhavaṁ ye barhiṣho bhāga-bhājam parāduh*). The deities, headed by Aja (Brahmā), accordingly proceed to Kailāsa, when they see Siva "bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an

<sup>257</sup> *Garimaṇi gurutare Rudre |* Comm.

antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud" (*liṅgañcha tūpasābhīṣṭam bhasma-dāṇḍa-jaṭājinam | angena sandhyā-'bhra-ruchā chandra-lekhāñcha bibhratam |*). Brahmā addresses Mahādeva "as the eternal Brahma,—the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them:" (*jāne tvām īsam viśvasya jagato yoni-vījayoḥ | Sakteḥ Sivasya cha param yat tad Brahma nīrantaram | tvam eva bhagavann etach Chhiva-Saktyoḥ sarūpayoḥ | viśvaṁ srijasi pāsy atsi kṛḍann ūrṇa-paṭo yathā*). Brahmā adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe; and entreats him who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daxa, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests (*na yatra bhāgaṁ tava bhāgino daduḥ kuyajvinaḥ*). Mahādeva partly relents (sect. 7), and allows Daxa to have the beard of a goat, Bhaga to see with Mitra's eyes, Pūshan to eat with the teeth of his worshipper, Bhṛigu to have a he-goat's beard, etc. Daxa, after having had a goat's head fitted to his body, celebrates the praises of Siva. The sacrifice is then recommenced, and in order to its completion, and to remove the pollution occasioned by the touch of Mahādeva's warriors, an oblation is made to Vishṇu in three cups (*Vaiśṇavaṁ yajña-santatyai trikāpālāṁ dvijottamāḥ | puroḍāśāṁ nīravapan vīrasāmsarga-buddhaye*). Hari (Vishṇu) being meditated on, then appears, is saluted with the greatest reverence by Brahmā, Indra, and Siva (*Tryaxanāyaka*); is lauded successively by Daxa, by the priests, by Rudra himself, etc. etc., and at length expresses himself as follows, in such a manner as to demonstrate the futility of the dispute between Daxa and Mahādeva, and to shew that he himself was the one supreme deity, of whom all the others were only the manifestations :

*Sri-Bhagavān uvācha | aham Brahmā cha Sarvaś cha jagataḥ kāraṇam param | ātmēśvara upadrashṭā svayāṁdṛig aviśeshanaḥ | ātma-māyām amāviśya so 'ham guṇamayīm dvija | srijan raxan haran viśvaṁ dadhres sañjñāṁ kriyochitām | tasmīn Brahmaṇy advitīye kevale paramātmani | Brahma-Rudrau cha bhūtāni bhedenājñō 'nupaśyati | yathā pumān na svāṅgeshu śiraḥ-pāny-ādīshu kvachit | pārakya-buddhiṁ kurute evam bhū-*



*toshu mat-paraḥ* | “I am Brahmā and Sarva (Siva), the supreme cause of the world, the soul, the lord, the witness, the self-manifesting, (or, self-beholding) devoid of attributes. Entering into my own illusion consisting of the three *guṇas* (qualities)—creating, preserving, and destroying—I have assumed names corresponding to my several acts. In that one and only Brahmā, the supreme Spirit, the ignorant person perceives a distinction of Brahmā and Rudra, and creatures. But as a man does not think of his own members, his head, hands, etc., as belonging to another, so the man who is devoted to me [does not look upon] created things [as distinct from me].”

Daxa, after adoring Viṣṇu, worships the other gods, and offers to Rudra his proper share in the sacrifice. Satī, the daughter of Daxa, who had abandoned her original body, is born again as the daughter of Himavat and Menā (*evam Dāxāyaṇī hitvā Satī pūrva-kalevaram | jāñño Himavataḥ xetro Menāyām iti śuśrūma* |).<sup>288</sup>

The Śaiva compiler of the Liṅga Purāṇa takes his revenge on the Vaiṣṇava writers, who, like the author of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, have exalted Viṣṇu at the expense of Śiva, by narrating the following legend of an undignified dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding their respective claims to superiority, and of the apparition of the

<sup>288</sup> The same account of Satī's double birth is given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 8, 9 ff. : *Evam-prakāro Rudro 'sau Satīm bhāryyām avindata | Daxa-kopācchecha tatyāja sū Satī svām kalevaram | Himavad-duhitū sū 'bhūd Menāyām dvija-sattama | upayame punas chomām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ* | “Rudra, being of the character thus described (*i.e.* one of the eight forms of the son born to Brahmā : see above, p. 286) obtained Satī for his wife. This Satī abandoned her body in consequence of the anger of Daxa. She then became as the daughter of Himavat and Menā ; and the divine Bhava again married Umā who was identical [with his former spouse].” In the preceding section (the 7th) of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Satī is mentioned as one of the twenty-four daughters of Daxa ; but the husband, Bhava, to whom she is said to have been given in marriage, is enumerated among the *Munis* to whom Daxa's daughters were wedded : *Tābhyah śiṣṭāḥ kaṇyasya ekādaśa sulochanāḥ | Khyātīḥ Saty aha Sambhūtīḥ Smṛitīḥ Prītīḥ Xamā tathā | Sannatiś chānusūyā cha Ūrjā Svāhā Svadhā tathā | Bhṛiguḥ Bhavo Marīchiś cha tathā chaitāṅgirā munīḥ | Pulastyaḥ Pulahaś chaiva Kratuś charshi-varas tathā | Atriv Vasishṭho Vahnīś cha Pitaras̄ cha yathā-kramam | Khyāty-ādyā jagṛiḥḥ kaṇyā munayo muni-sattama* | “Younger than them (the other thirteen daughters of Daxa) were eleven virtuous and lovely-eyed damsels, Khyāti, Satī, Sambhūti, Smṛiti, Prīti, Xamā, Sannati, Anusūyā, Ūrjā, Svāhā, and Svadhā. Bhṛigu, Bhava, Marīchi, the muni Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu the excellent rishi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Vahni (*i.e.* Agni or Fire), and the Pitrīs,—these *munis* in order married Khyāti and the other maidens.”

Linga to rebuke and humble them by pointing out the inferiority of both to the supreme Mahādeva :

Linga Purāṇa, i. 17, 5 ff.—*Pitāmaha uvācha | Pradhānaṃ liṅgam ākhyātāṃ liṅgi cha parameśvaraḥ | ravārtham ambudhau mahyaṃ Vishnoḥ tv āsīt surottamāḥ | vaimānike gate sarge jana-lokaṃ saharṣibhiḥ | sthiti-kāle tadā pārṇe tataḥ pratyāhrīto tathā | chatur-yuga-sahasrānte satya-lokaṃ gate surāḥ | vinā 'dhipatyāṃ samatāṃ gate 'nte Brahmaṇo mama | śuśhke cha sthāvare sarve tv anāvṛiṣhtyā cha sarvaśaḥ | paśavo mānuṣhā vṛiṣṭāḥ piśāchāḥ piśitāśanāḥ | gandhārvādyāḥ krameṇaiva nirdagdā bhānu-bhānubhiḥ | ekārṇave mahāghore tamo-bhūte samantataḥ | pushṭe (?) ky ambhāsi yogātmā nirmalo nirupaplavaḥ | sahasra-śīrṣhā viśvātmā sahasrāṣaḥ sahasra-pāt | sahasrabāhuḥ sarvajñāḥ sarva-deva-bhavodbhavaḥ | Hiranyagarbho rajasū tamasā Saṅkaraḥ svayam | sattvena sarvago Viśnuḥ sarvātmatve Maheśvaraḥ | kālātmā kāla-nābhas tu śuklāḥ kṛiṣhṇas tu nīrguṇaḥ | Nārāyaṇo mahābāhuḥ sarvātmā sadāsanmayāḥ | tathā bhūtam ahaṃ dṛiṣhtvā śāyānam paṅkajaxanam | māyayā mohitas tasya tam avo-cham amarshitāḥ | kas tvaṃ vadeti hastena samutthāpya sanātānam | tadā hasta-prahāreṇa tivreṇa sa dṛidhena tu | prabuddho 'hīya-śāyanāt samā-sīnāḥ xanaṃ vaśī | dadarśa nidrā-viklinnaṃ nīrajānala-lochanāḥ | mām agre saṃsthitam bhāsādhyāsīto bhagavān Hariḥ | āha chotthāya bhagavān hasan mām madhuraṃ sakṛit | svāgataṃ svāgataṃ vatsa pitāmaha mahā-dyute | tasya tad vachanaṃ śrutvā smita-pūrvam surarṣhabhāḥ | rajasū viddha-vairāś cha tam avo-cham Janārdanam | bhāshase vatsa vatseti sarga-saṃhāra-kāraṇam | mām ihāntaḥ-smitaṃ kṛitvā guruḥ śiṣhyam ivānagha | karttāraṃ jagatāṃ sāvāt prakṛiteścha pravarttakam | sanātānam ajaṃ Viśnuṃ Vīriṇchīm viśva-sambhavam | viśvātmānaṃ vidhātāraṃ dhātāram paṅkajaxanam | kimartham bhāshase mohād vaktum arhasi satvaram | so 'pi mām āha jagatāṃ karttā 'ham iti lokaya | bharttā karttā bhavān angad avatīrṇo mamāvayayāt | viśmṛito 'si jagannāthaṃ Nārāyaṇam anāmayaṃ | puruṣham paramātmānam pura-hūtam puruṣhūtam | Viśnum achyutam īśānaṃ viśvasya prabhavodbhavam | tavāparādho nāsty atra mama māyā-kṛitāṃ tv idam | śṛiṇu satyaṃ chaturvaktra sarva-deveśvaro hy aham | karttā netā cha harttā cha na mayā 'sti samo vibhuḥ | aham eva param Brahma param tattvam pitāmaha | aham eva param jyotiḥ param-ātmā tv ahaṃ vibhuḥ | yad yad dṛiṣhtaṃ śrutaṃ sarvaṃ jagaty asmiṃś charācharam | tat tad viddhi chaturvaktra sarvam manmayam ity aha | mayā śṛiṣhtam purā vyaktaṃ chaturviṃśatikaṃ svayam | nityāntā hy*

*anavo baddhāḥ sṛiṣṭāḥ krodhodbhavādayaḥ | prasādād hi bhavān anḍāny  
 anekāniha līlayā | sṛiṣṭā buddhir mayā tasyām ahaṅkāras tridhā tataḥ |  
 tanmātra-pañchakaṁ tasmād mano dehendriyāṇi cha | ākāśādīni bhūtāni  
 bhautikāni cha līlayā | ity uktavati tasmīnś cha mayi chāpi vacas tathā |  
 āvayoś chābhavad yuddhaṁ sughoraṁ romaḥarshaṇam | pralayārṇava-  
 madhyo tu rajasā baddha-vairayoḥ | etasminn antare liṅgam abhavach-  
 chāvayoḥ puraḥ | vivāda-śamanārthaṁ hi prabodhārthaṁ tathāvayoḥ |  
 jvāla-mūlā-sahasrādhyāṁ kālānala-śatopamam | xaya-vṛiddhi-vinirmuk-  
 tam ādi-madhyānta-varjitam | anaupamyam anirdēśyam avyaktam viśva-  
 sambhavam | tasya jvālā-sahasroṅga mohito bhagavān Hariḥ | mohitam  
 prāha mām atra parīxavo 'gni-sambhavam | adho gamiṣyāmy anala-stam-  
 bhasyānupamasya cha | bhavān ūrddham prayatnena gantum arhasi (sic)  
 satvaram | evaṁ vyāhṛitya viśvātmā svarūpam akarot tadā | vārāham  
 aham apy āśu haṁsatevam prāptavān surāḥ | tadā-prabhṛiti mām āhur  
 haṁsaṁ haṁso virāḍ iti | haṁsa haṁseti yo brūyād mām haṁsaḥ sa  
 bhaviṣyati | suśveto hy analāxas cha viśvataḥ paza-saṁyutaḥ | mano-  
 'nila-javo bhūtvā gato 'haṁ chorddhvataḥ surāḥ | Nārāyaṇo 'pi viśvātmā  
 nilāñjana-chayopāmam | daśa-yojana-vistīrṇaṁ śata-yojanam āyatam |  
 Meru-parvata-varshnāṇāṁ gaura-tīxṇāgra-dashṭriṇam | kālāditya-samā-  
 bhāsam dīrgha-ghoṇam mahāsvanam | hrasva-pādaṁ vichitrāṅgaṁ jaitraṁ  
 dṛiḍham anaupamam | vārāham asitam rūpam āsthāya gataṁ adhaḥ |  
 evaṁ varsha-sahasraṁ tu tvaran Viṣṇur adho gataḥ | nāpaśyād alpam  
 apy asya mūlāṁ liṅgasya sūkaraḥ | tāvat kālāṁ gato hy ūrddham aham  
 apy arisūdanāḥ | satvaram sarva-yatnena tasyāntam jñātum icchayā |  
 śrānto hy adriṣtvā tasyāntam ahaṅkārād<sup>289</sup> adho gataḥ | tathāiva bha-  
 gavān Viṣṇuḥ śrāntāḥ saṁtrasta-lochanāḥ | sarva-deva-bhavas tūrṇam  
 utthitaḥ sa mahāvapuḥ | samāgato mayā sārddham prazipatyā mahā-  
 manāḥ<sup>290</sup> | māyayā mohitaḥ Śambhoḥ tathā samvigna-mānasaḥ | pṛiṣṭha-  
 taḥ pāśvataś chaiva chāgrataḥ paramēśvaram | prazipatyā mayā sārdd-  
 haṁ sasmāra kim idaṁ tv iti | tadā samabhavat tatra nādo vai śabda-  
 laxaṇāḥ | om om iti sura-śreṣṭhāḥ svyaktaḥ pluta-laxaṇāḥ | kim idaṁ  
 tv iti sañchintya mayā tishṭhan mahāsvanam | liṅgasya daxiṇe bhāge tadā  
 'paśyat sanātanam | ādyaṁ varṇam a-kāraṁ tu u-kāraṁ chottare tataḥ |  
 ma-kāram madhytas chaiva nādāntam tasya chom iti |*

<sup>289</sup> In a transcript of this passage made for me in India, and published in my *Mataparīxā*, the reading is *ahaṁ kālād*, which seems a preferable reading.

<sup>290</sup> *bhayād muhuḥ*—reading in the *Mataparīxā*.

“Pitāmaha (Brahmā, in answer to an enquiry of the gods and rishis) says: ‘Pradhāna (nature) is called the *Linga*, and Parameśvara is called *Lingī*<sup>291</sup> (the sustainer of the *Linga*). It arose for the preservation of myself and Vishṇu in the ocean, o deities. When the *Vaimānika*<sup>292</sup> creation had proceeded with the rishis to the Janaloka,<sup>293</sup> and when—the period of the continuance [of the world] having then been completed,—[all things] had been absorbed, at the end of the thousand sets of four yugas, and had departed to the Satyaloka—I, Brahmā, being at length reduced to a condition of equality [with other creatures] without dominion over them,<sup>294</sup> and all immoveable things having become altogether dried up from want of rain,—beasts, men, trees, Piśāchas, flesh-eating goblins, Gandharvas, etc., were by degrees burnt up by the rays of the sun. The one awful ocean being everywhere enveloped in darkness, the great-armed Nārāyaṇa, the soul of all things, formed of existence and non-existence, sleeps<sup>295</sup> upon the water, plunged in contemplation, spotless, tranquil, thousand-headed, the soul of the universe, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed, thousand-armed, omniscient, the source of all the gods, he who is himself through passion (*rajas*) Hiranyagarbha, through darkness (*tamas*) Sankara, through goodness (*sattva*) the all-pervading Vishṇu, and in his universality Maheśvara, having the character of time, the name of time, white, black, free from the three qualities. Beholding the lotus-eyed deity in this condition, sleeping, I, deluded by his illusion, touching the eternal being with my hand, impatient, said to him, ‘Who art thou? speak.’ Roused by the strong and violent stroke of my hand from his snaky couch, sitting for a moment, self-restrained, the deity whose eyes are pure as the lotus looked up heavy with drowsiness. The divine Hari, invested by lustre, seeing me standing before him, rising up, said to me, sweetly smiling at the same time, ‘Welcome,

<sup>291</sup> *Lingādhishtānam* | Comm.

<sup>292</sup> *Vaimānike sarge deva-sarge* | Comm.

<sup>293</sup> “The different accounts agree in stating that when the three lower spheres are consumed by fire, Maharloka is deserted by its tenants, who repair to the next sphere, or Jana-loka. Jana-loka, according to the *Vayu*, is the residence of the rishis and demigods during the night of Brahmā,” etc.—Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāna*, p. 213, note; see also the same Work, p. 632, and note 7.

<sup>294</sup> *Lit.* ‘the end of me, Brahmā, having come to equality without dominion.’

<sup>295</sup> The reading of the Bombay text is here *pushṭe*; but some such word as *śete* “sleeps,” seems to be required by the sense.

welcome, my child, the glorious Pitāmaha.' Hearing these words of his, accompanied by a smile, o deities, my illwill being excited by passion (*rajas*), I said to Janārdana (Vishṇu): 'Dost thou, o sinless god, like a teacher speaking to his pupil, smiling inwardly, address the words *child, child*, to me [who am] the cause of creation and destruction, the undisputed maker of the worlds, and the mover of Prakriti (nature), the eternal, unborn, Vishṇu,<sup>296</sup> Viriñchī, the source and soul of all things, the disposer, the upholder, the lotus-eyed? Why dost thou foolishly address me thus? Tell me quickly.' He said to me, 'Perceive that I am the maker, the preserver, the destroyer of the worlds; thou hast issued from my imperishable body. Thou hast forgotten the lord of the world, the potent Nārāyaṇa, Puruṣa, the supreme Spirit, invoked of many, lauded of many, Vishṇu, the undecaying, the lord, the source and origin of the universe. In this there is no fault of thine: it arises from my illusion. Listen to the truth, o four-faced deity: I am the lord of all the gods, the maker, the director, the destroyer; there is no lord equal to me. I, even I, o Pitāmaha, am the supreme Brahmā, the supreme reality, the supreme light, the supreme spirit. Whatever thing, moveable or immoveable, has been seen or heard of in this world, know, o four-faced deity, that it is all formed of me. By me of old has been created everything that is discernible, consisting of the twenty-four principles; the atoms, which in their ultimate [and most subtile] form are eternal, have been united; and the beings sprung from my wrath<sup>297</sup> (Rudra), etc., have been created. From my complacence thou and numerous (mundane) eggs have been formed in sport. Intelligence (*buddhi*) has been created by me in sport, and then from it three-fold *ahankāra*: from it the five *tanmātras*, and thence mind, with the bodily senses, as also ether and the other elements, and things formed of the elements.' As soon as he and I had thus spoken, a direful and terrific fight arose in the sea of universal dissolution<sup>298</sup> between us twain, whose enmity had been roused by passion. At this time there appeared before us, to stay our contention and admonish us, a luminous *Linga*, encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incom-

<sup>296</sup> Brahmā here assumes this character as belonging to himself.

<sup>297</sup> See above, p. 225 f.

<sup>298</sup> See the commencement of this extract.

parable, indescribable, undefinable, the source of all things. Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari said to me (Brahmā) who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of [this] fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. Ever since then men call me Hansa (swan), for Hansa is Virāj.<sup>299</sup> Whoever shall call me 'Hansa, Hansa,' shall become a Hansa (unimpassioned saint). Having become purely white, and fiery-eyed, with wings on every side, rapid as thought and as the wind, I went upwards. Nārāyana too, the soul of all things, having taken the dark form of a boar, like a heap of blue collyrium, ten yojanas broad and a hundred yojanas long, bulky as mount Meru, with white sharp-pointed tusks, luminous as the sun of destruction, long-snouted, loud-grunting, short-footed, wondrous-limbed, victorious, strong, incomparable, proceeded downwards. Speeding thus downwards for a thousand years, Vishṇu, the boar, beheld no base at all of the *Linga*. For the same period I went rapidly upwards, o destroyer of your foes, with all my might, desirous of learning its end; but I descended from the lapse of time, and so too the divine Vishṇu of vast bulk, the source of all the gods, worn-out, with affrighted look, ascended rapidly. Meeting with me, that magnanimous deity, prostrating himself, bewildered by the illusion of Sambhu (Siva), and disturbed in mind, bowing, along with me, before Paremeśvara (Siva), behind, at the side, and in front, exclaimed, 'What is this?' Then, o chief of the gods, there arose there the articulate sound *om, om*, distinct and protracted. Considering what this could be, he then, standing with me, beheld this eternal loud-resounding [monosyllable] upon the right side of the *Linga*; the first letter *a-kāra*, after it *u-kāra*, *ma-kāra* in the centre, and *Om* as the result of the sounds.' "

This is followed by a great deal of mysticism about the letters of the word *om* and the other letters of the alphabet, etc. etc.

The eighteenth section contains a hymn addressed by Vishṇu to Rudra, which recites a list of the attributes of the latter deity. Mahādeva is gratified with this hymn, and tells Brahmā and Vishṇu that they had both sprung from him, offers them a boon, and touches them

<sup>299</sup> See the First Vol. of this work, pp. 7 and 15.

with his auspicious hands. Nārāyaṇa asks as a boon that they may both entertain an eternal devotion for him; which Mahādeva as a matter of course grants. I cite the verses which follow, in the original :

Linga Purāṇa, 18, 8 ff.—*Jānubhyam avanīm gatvā punar Nārāyaṇāḥ svayam | praṇipatya cha Viśveśam prāha mandatarāṁ vaśi | āvayor devadeveśa vivādam ati-śobhanam | ihāgato bhavān yasmad vivāda-śamanāya nau | tasya tad-vachanaṁ śrutvā punaḥ prāha Haraḥ Hariḥ | praṇipatya sthītam mūrdhnā kritāñjali-putam smayan | Śrī-mahādeva uvācha | pralaya-sthīti-sargāṇaṁ karttā tvam dharanīpate | vatsa vatsa Hare Viṣṇo pālayaitach charāchavam | tridhā bhinnō hy ahaṁ Viṣṇo Brahma-Viṣṇu Bhavākhyayā | sarga-raxā-laya-guṇair nishkalaḥ paramēśvaraḥ | sammohaṁ tyaja bho Viṣṇo pālayainam Pitāmahaṁ | pādme bhaviṣyati sutaḥ kalpe tava Pitāmahaḥ | tadā draxyasi mām chaivaṁ so 'pi draxyati padma-jah | evam uktvā sa bhagavāṁs tatraivāntaradhīyata | tadā-prabhṛiti lokeshu liṅgārchā supratishṭhitā | liṅga-vedī Mahādevī liṅgaṁ sākṣād Maheśvaraḥ |* “The self-restraining Nārāyaṇa, falling on his knees on the ground, and having made obeisance to Viśveśa (Śiva), spoke gently thus: ‘Our dispute, o god of gods, has proved most auspicious,<sup>300</sup> since thou hast come hither to allay it.’ Having heard these words, Hara (Śiva), smiling, again said to Hari (Viṣṇu), who stood making obeisance with his hands joined: ‘Thou, lord of the earth, art the author of the creation, continuance and destruction [of the universe]: my child, my child, Hari, Viṣṇu, preserve all this moving and stationary world. I, the undivided supreme lord, am divided in a three-fold manner under the names of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Bhava, possessing the attributes of creating, preserving, and destroying. Relinquish, Viṣṇu, thy delusion; cherish this Pitāmaha. He shall be thy son in the Pādma Kalpa. Then shalt thou behold me, and he also who sprung from the lotus (Brahmā), shall see me.’ Having thus spoken, the deity vanished. Thenceforward the worship of the *Linga* has been inaugurated in the worlds. The pedestal of the *Linga* is Mahādevī (Umā) and the *Linga* is the visible Maheśvara.”

<sup>300</sup> I cannot render this sentence otherwise than by taking *vivādam* for a neuter nominative, though nouns of this formation are masculine. The commentator explains *śobhanam* as meaning *ubhayor api sama-balatvāch chhobhanānam*, “brilliant from the equal powers of the two combatants.”

The reader will probably be of opinion that this story does not throw much light on the origin of the Linga-worship.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa (i. 7, 6 ff.) does not assign a high rank to Rudra; but makes him the offspring of Brahmā (as the Mahābhārata, quoted above, p. 225 f., makes him of Vishṇu): *Sanandanādayo ye cha pūrvaṃ śriṣṭās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapeṣāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jūānā vīta-rāgā vimatsarāḥ | teshv evaṃ nirapeṣeshu lokas-śriṣṭau mahātmanaḥ | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt mahākrodhas trailokyā-dāhana-xamaḥ | tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṃ trailokyam akhilam mune | bhrukutī-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhṃrka-samaprabhaḥ | ardha-nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachāṇḍo 'ti-śarīravān | "vibhājātmānam" ity uktvā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhō punaḥ | tathokto 'sau dīvidhā śrītvam puruṣatvaṃ tathā 'karot | vibheda puruṣatvaṃ cha dāśadhā chāikadhā cha saḥ | saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ śrītvam cha sa prabhūḥ | vibheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpaḥ asitaiḥ sitaiḥ | "Sanandana and the others who were before created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent about offspring, for they had all attained to knowledge, and were free from love and from hatred. As they were thus indifferent to the creation of worlds, the mighty Brahmā was filled with fierce anger, sufficient to burn up the three worlds. The three worlds were illuminated in every part by the wreaths of flame engendered from the wrath of the god. From his forehead, wrinkled with a frown and enflamed with anger, Rudra then sprang forth, glorious as the noonday sun, his body half male and half female, fierce, and huge in bulk. Brahmā disappeared after saying to him, 'Divide thyself.' Being thus addressed, he severed himself into twain, into a male and a female body. The god then divided his male form into eleven portions, gentle and ungentle; and in like manner his female body into many forms black and white."*<sup>301</sup>

In the same way the Harivaṃśa says (v. 43): *Tato 'srijāt punar Brahmā Rudraṃ roshātma-sambhavam |* "Then Brahmā next created Rudra, the offspring of his anger."

<sup>301</sup> See Professor Wilson's notes (3 and 4) on this passage, V. P., p. 51.



SECT. VII.—*Results of the preceding Sections.*

The various texts quoted in Sections i.-iv. (pp. 252-291) from the Rig-, the Yajur-, and Atharva-vedas, and from the Brāhmanas, relative to Rudra, compose the principal materials which we possess for forming an idea of the characteristics ascribed to that deity in the more ancient portions of Indian literature anterior to the composition of the Epic poems and Purāṇas. The Upanishads from which I have derived the mystical extracts given in the fifth section (pp. 296 ff.) are of uncertain date, and their contents throw but little light on the development of the worship of Rudra. The extracts which I have given from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata in chapter ii. (pp. 147, 153-170, 187-190, 194 f., 203 ff., 225 ff., 236 ff., and 241 ff.), and in the last section, while they contain some of the earliest descriptions of which I am aware, of Rudra in the new, and very different, aspect in which he has been conceived in the later ages of Hindū mythology, since he has come to be identified with Siva or Mahādeva, are yet unfitted to elucidate the process by which he became elevated to the highest rank in the Indian pantheon. I shall, however, draw from these texts a summary of the attributes which they respectively assign to Rudra, and shall describe the successive mutations which the conception of this deity undergoes in the later, as compared with the earlier, passages. To my own remarks on this subject, however, I shall prefix some observations by Professors H. H. Wilson, Weber, and Whitney, on the character of the Vedic Rudra.

The following remarks by Professor Wilson are extracted from the Introductions to the first and second volumes of his translation of the Rig-veda :

“ We have a Rudra, who, in after times, is identified with Siva, but who, even in the Purāṇas, is of very doubtful origin and identification; whilst in the Veda he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either Agni or Indra. The epithet *kapardḍin* which is applied to him appears, indeed, to have some relation to a characteristic attribute of Siva,—the wearing of his hair in a peculiar braid; but the term has probably in the Veda a very different significa-

tion—one now forgotten,—although it may have suggested in after-time the appearance of Śiva in such a head-dress, as identified with Agni; for instance, *kaparddin* may intimate his head being surrounded by radiating flame, or the word may be an interpolation; at any rate, no other epithet applicable to Śiva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the *Linga* or *Phallus*: neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism,—the *Trimūrti*, or Tri-une combination of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as typified by the mystical syllable *om*, although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity, the *Trimūrti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindūs, and the second was the *Lingam* <sup>302</sup> (vol. i. pp. xxvi., xxvii.)

“Of Rudra also, the character is equivocal; but it may be doubted if it partakes, in any remarkable degree, of that fierceness and wrath which belong to the Rudra of a later date; he is termed, it is true, the slayer of heroes, but so is Indra: the effects of his anger upon men and animals are deprecated; but he is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility and giver of happiness, and his peculiar characteristics are evidently his presiding over medicinal plants and removal of disease, attributes of a beneficent, not of a malignant and irascible deity. As above remarked, the Maruts, or winds, are termed his sons; and this relationship would assimilate him to Indra. There is also a class of inferior deities, termed Rudras, who in one passage are worshippers of Agni, and in another are followers of Indra; being the same as the Maruts. So far, therefore, Rudra might be identified with Indra; but we have the name applied unequivocally to Agni in a hymn exclusively dedicated to that divinity (R. V. i. 27, 10). The term denotes, according to the Scholiast, the ‘terrible Agni;’ but there is no warrant for this in the text, and we may be content, therefore, with the latter, to regard Rudra as a form or denomination of fire (*ibid.* pp. xxxvii. f.).

“Rudra is described, as in the first book, by rather incompatible qualities, as both fierce and beneficent; but his specific province is here also the tutelarship of medicinal plants, and administration of medicine, and he is designated as a physician of physicians (R. V. ii. 33, 4).

<sup>302</sup> Creuzer, *Religions de l'antiquité*, book i. chap. i. p. 140.

With respect also to his presiding over medicinal plants, there occurs a passage worthy of note, as among the herbs are those, it is said, which Manu selected, alluding, most probably, to the seeds of the plants which Manu, according to the legend as related in the Mahābhārata, took with him into his vessel at the time of the deluge. There are more particulars of the person of Rudra than usual. He is sometimes said to be brown or tawny, but he is also said to be white-complexioned (R. V. ii. 33, 8); he is soft-bellied and handsome-chinned; he is armed with a bow and arrows, and brilliant with golden ornaments. He is also called the father of the Maruts. There is little, however, in all this, except his fierceness to identify him with the Rudra of the Purānas (vol. ii. pp. ix. f.)."

The following interesting and ingenious speculations of Professor Weber are translated from his Indische Studien, ii. 19-22 :

"In the beginning of the ninth book of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (see above, p. 289 f.), we obtain a complete explanation of the Satarudriya (see above, p. 268 ff.). When the preparation of the consecrated place for kindling the fire is completed (*chity-upadhāna-parisamāpty-ānantaryam*, *Sāyana*), and the fire has been kindled, and blazes up (*dīpyamāno 'tishṭhat*), the gods (*i.e.* the Brahmans<sup>303</sup>) are terrified by it, *yad vai no gam na hiṁsyād iti* ('lest it should destroy us'): and with the view of appeasing this [howling, hungry] flame, which is conceived of as in the form of Rudra, *i.e.* to consecrate and propitiate the fire, they offer their adoration to Rudra, and to his supposed troop of associates, *i.e.* to all conceivable shapes of terror, and by this means render them favourable, and avert all their malevolent influences. Hence the Brāhmaṇa explains *śata-rudriya* by *śānta-rudriya* (as *gata* comes from the root *gam*); a double sense, which may perhaps have actually been, though indistinctly, contemplated, when the name was first given.<sup>304</sup> In this application of Rudra as the god of fire (independently of the other contents of the Satarudriya), we may find an indication of the time when it was

<sup>303</sup> "In the Brāhmaṇas the thoughts of men are very frequently put into the mouths of the gods. For instance, when the gods go to Prajāpati, and request him to solve any difficulty, this is merely a transcendental expression for the fact of a few wise men applying for instruction to one still wiser than themselves."

<sup>304</sup> The Ārshādhyāya of the Chārāyaṇīya School of the Kāṭhaka also (ii. 17) says: *Satarudriyaṁ devānāṁ Rudra-śamanam*. "The Satarudriya is an appeasing of Rudra by the gods."

composed. Though Rudra originally signifies generally the howler, and consequently can stand as well for an epithet of the crackling fire as of the raging storm, yet in the earliest period the word had been more specially used to denote the latter signification, and is therefore frequently used in the Rig-veda in the plural as an epithet of the Maruts. The unbridled fury (*manyu*) of the storm, its roaring, its tearing up (*aufwühlen*) of heaven and earth,<sup>305</sup> must have produced a strong and overpowering effect upon the Arian Indians in the high mountain valleys (perhaps of Kashmīr) in which we must conceive them to have lived at that early period; and it was thus in the natural course of things that they should connect everything terrible and horrible with the idea of the god of storms, and regard him as the lord, and the cause, of every evil:<sup>306</sup> numberless, indeed, were these aerial hosts, black, pierced only by the quivering gleams of the lightning, diffusing everywhere shuddering and horror.

“It is true that Rudra ‘is also appealed to as wise and bountiful, the author of fertility, and giver of happiness;’<sup>307</sup> but it is only indirectly that he is so addressed, and merely because he departs, and directs his destroying arrows towards some other quarter, against the enemies of the suppliant, and leaves the latter himself in peace; the worshipper flatters him with fair words, as if he were purely benevolent, to pacify his anger, and to render him gracious (*śiva*); and he only appears directly beneficent in so far as he chases away clouds and vapours, purifies and clears the atmosphere; in reference to this he is called a physician, and moreover acquainted with healing herbs: but he carries also diseases and contagions themselves as arrows in his quiver, and slays therewith men and cattle.

“In the crackling flame of the fire, now, men thought that they heard again the wrathful voice of the storm, that in the consuming fierceness of the former, they perceived once more the destructive fury of the latter. In this way we have to explain how it happened that both deities became gradually identified, and lent their respective epi-

<sup>305</sup> Hence in the R. V. i. 114, 5, he is also called *varāha*, “boar,” as the storm-clouds too are elsewhere conceived under the same image (Ind. Stud. i. 272, note).

<sup>306</sup> In R. V. i. 114; ii. 33. Hence, too, seven verses from these hymns are incorporated in the Sātarudriya.

<sup>307</sup> Wilson Introd. to trans. of R. V. vol. i. quoted above, p. 333.

thets to one another, particularly as at the same time the storm is, in bad weather, accompanied with gleaming and fiery lightnings. This identification seems to have extended not merely to Agni and Rudra themselves, but also to the Rudras, in so far as the latter, from being the raging and flaming companions of the storm, appear to have become the representatives of all sorts of terrific shapes in general, until in the epic period they retired completely into the background, while their ancient master, Rudra, in his combination with Agni, became continually more firmly condensed as the god of rage and destruction, and a new class of beings took the place of the Rudras as attendants upon him (in his capacity of Śiva).

“At the period when the Rudra-book (the Śatarudriya) was composed, the blending of the two destructive deities (Storm and Fire) had evidently taken place; and the epithets which are there assigned to Rudra lead us back partly to himself, and partly to Agni. The epithets ‘dweller in the mountains’ (*giriśa*, *giriśaya*, *giriśanta*, *giritra*), and those of *kapardin*, *vyupta-keśa*, *ugra*, and *bhīma*, *bhishaj* and *śiva*, *śambhu* and *śankara*, belong to the Storm, while on the other hand those of *nīla-grīva* (= *nīlakanṭha*, spoken of smoke), *śitikanṭha*, *hīranyabāhu* (of flame), *vilohita*, *sahasrāxa* (of sparks), *paśupati* (of sacrificial victims), *śarva* and *bhava*, etc., belong to Fire. Now almost all these epithets<sup>308</sup> are technical epithets and characteristics of the epic Śiva, and when applied to him are partially unintelligible, and become explicable only after they have been distinguished according to the two separate elements to whose combination this god owes his origin.<sup>309</sup> But as in the Rudra-book Rudra nowhere appears as Īśa or Mahādeva, and no character is assigned to him analagous to that of the epic Śiva; and as the word *śiva* is applied to him simply as an epithet (with its comparative *śivatara* annexed), the book in question must in any case be held to date from an earlier epoch of the Indian religion, whilst its elevation to the rank of an Upanishad may only have taken place in the epic period, and have been occasioned by the special worship of Śiva.”

<sup>308</sup> “And so of many other epithets found elsewhere: thus Śiva owes his epithet Tryambaka, and his wife Ambikā, to Rudra; and, on the other hand, his epithet Tripura, and his wife Kālī, Karālī, to Agni,” etc.

<sup>309</sup> “Hence he is also called Kālāgnirudra, as in the Purānas, and in the Kālāgnirudra Upanishad.”

The following remarks of Professor Whitney on the same subject are taken from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. iii. p. 318 f. :

“To the second domain, the atmosphere, belong the various divinities of the wind and storm. God of the breeze, the gentler motion of the air, is Vayū (from the root *vā* ‘to blow’). He drives a thousand steeds; his breath chases away the demons; he comes in the earliest morning, as the first breath of air that stirs itself at daybreak, to drink the soma, and the Auroras weave for him shining garments. The storm-winds are a troop, the Maruts or Rudras: the two names are indifferently used, but the former is much the more usual (the etymology of neither is fully established). They ride on spotted stags, wear shining armour, and carry spears in their hands; no one knows whence they come nor whither they go; their voice is heard aloud as they come rushing on; the earth trembles and the mountains shake before them. They belong in (*sic*) Indra’s train; are his almost constant allies and companions. They are called the sons of Rudra, who is conceived of as peculiar god of the tempest. As their father he is very often mentioned; as a divinity with independent attributes, he is of much rarer occurrence; hymns addressed to him alone are but few. He is, as might be expected, a terrible god: he carries a great bow from which he hurls a sharp missile at the earth; he is called the ‘slayer of men,’ *kshayadvīra*;<sup>310</sup> his wrath is deprecated, and he is besought not to harm his worshipper; if not in the *Rik*, at least in the *Atharva* and *Brāhmaṇas*, he is styled ‘lord of the animals,’ as the un-housed beasts of the field are especially at the mercy of the pitiless storm. At the same time he is, to propitiate him, addressed as master of a thousand remedies, best of physicians, protector from harm: this may have its ground, too, partly in the beneficial effects of the tempest in freshening the atmosphere of that sultry clime. Rudra’s chief interest consists in the circumstance that he forms the point of connection between the Vedic religion and the later *Sīva*-worship. *Sīva* is a god unknown to the *Vedas*: his name is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the hymns, but means simply ‘propitious;’ not even in the *Atharva* is it the epithet of a particular divinity, or distinguished by its usage from any other adjective. As given to him whose title it has

<sup>310</sup> Compare the sense given to this word in the translation of *R. V. i. 114. 1.*, above, p. 255.

since become, it seems one of those euphemisms so frequent in the Indian religion, applied as a soothing and flattering address to the most terrible god in the whole Pantheon. The precise relation between Siva and Rudra is not yet satisfactorily traced out. The introduction of an entirely new divinity from the mountains of the north has been supposed, who was grafted in upon the ancient religion by being identified with Rudra; or again a blending of some of Agni's attributes with those of Rudra to originate a new development: perhaps neither of these may be necessary; Siva may be a local form of Rudra, arisen under the influence of peculiar climatic relations in the districts from which he made his way into Hindostan proper; introduced among, and readily accepted by, a people which, as the Atharva shows, was strongly tending toward a terrorism in its religion.<sup>31</sup>

The characters ascribed to Rudra in the hymns of the R. V. are most heterogeneous and frequently indefinite. I shall endeavour to gather from different places and to group together those epithets which have most affinity to each other. This god is described as wise, bountiful, and powerful (i. 43, 1; i. 114, 4), as the strongest and most glorious of beings (ii. 33, 3), as lord (*iśāna*) of this world, possessed of divine power (ii. 33, 9), as unsurpassed in might<sup>311</sup> (*ibid.* 10), as the father of the world,<sup>312</sup> mighty, exalted, undecaying (vi. 49, 10); as cognizant of the doings of men and gods by his power and universal dominion (vii. 46, 2); as putting the waters in motion (x. 92, 5); as self-dependent (vii. 46, 1), and as deriving his renown from himself (i. 129, 3; x. 92, 9); as the lord of heroes (i. 114, 1, 3, 10; x. 92, 9); as the lord of songs and sacrifices (i. 43, 4), the fulfiller of sacrifices (i. 114, 4); brilliant as the sun, and as gold (i. 43, 5), tawny-coloured (this epithet is frequently applied), with beautiful chin (ii. 33, 5), fair-complexioned (*ibid.* 8), multiform, fierce, arrayed in golden ornaments (*ibid.* 9), youthful (v. 60, 5), terrible as a wild beast, destructive (ii. 33, 11), wearing braided hair (i. 114, 1, 5); and as the celestial boar (*ibid.* 5). He is frequently represented as the father of the Maruts or Rudras (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6, 9; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5

<sup>311</sup> Compare the similar epithets applied to Vishnu and Indra above: see pp. 84, 85. And yet in R. V. ii. 38, 9, Rudra is described in common with Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, as unable to resist the will of Savitṛi.

<sup>312</sup> Compare Raghuvansa i. 1, where Paramēśvara (Siva) and Pārvatī are styled the "parents of the world" (*jagataḥ pitarau*).

vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 20, 17). He is once identified with Agni (ii. 1, 6). He is described as seated on a chariot (ii. 33, 11), as wielding the thunderbolt (ii. 33, 3), as armed with a bow and arrows (*ibid.* 10, 14; v. 42, 11; x. 125, 6), with a strong bow and fleet arrows, with sharp weapons (vi. 74, 4; vii. 46, 1; viii. 29, 5). His shafts are discharged from the sky, and traverse the earth (vii. 46, 3). He is called the slayer of men, *nri-ghno* (iv. 3, 6). His anger, ill-will, and destructive shafts are deprecated (i. 114, 7, 8; ii. 33, 1, 11, 14; vi. 28, 7; vii. 46, 3, 4). But he is also represented as benevolent (i. 114, 9), as mild, and easily-invoked (ii. 33, 5), beneficent (*ibid.* 7), gracious (*śiva*, x. 92, 9), as the cause or condition of health and prosperity to man and beast (i. 114, 1). He is frequently described as the possessor of healing remedies, and is once characterized as the greatest of physicians (i. 43, 4; i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 2, 4, 7, 12, 13; v. 42, 11; vi. 74, 3; <sup>313</sup> vii. 35, 6; vii. 46, 3; viii. 29, 5). He is supplicated for blessings (i. 114, 1, 2; ii. 33, 6), and represented as averting the anger of the gods (i. 114, 4; ii. 33, 7). In R. V. vi. 74, 1 ff. he is connected with Soma in the dual, and entreated along with the latter to bestow good and avert evil.

On a review of these passages and the hymns from which they are drawn, it appears that in most places Rudra has no very clearly defined function (such, for instance, as is ascribed to Indra and Agni, or even to Vishṇu) as an agent in producing the great phenomena of the physical world. It would be difficult to make out from the larger portion of the texts which I have cited to what region of the universe the activity of this god should be referred. It is true that he is repeatedly declared to be the father of the Maruts or Rudras (the winds or storms); and from this relation we might anticipate that he would be described as, still more eminently than they, the generator of tempests, and chaser of clouds. Except, however, in a small number of texts, as R. V. i. 114, 5; ii. 33, 3; and x. 92, 5, there are few distinct traces of any such agency being ascribed to him. The numerous vague epithets which are constantly applied to him would not suffice to fix the particular sphere of his operation, or even to define his personality, as most of them are equally applied to other deities. This is the case with the terms "fierce," "tawny-coloured," "with beautiful chin;" and even the word *kaparddin* ("with braided hair"), which at a later period

<sup>313</sup> In this passage Soma is associated with Rudra as the dispenser of remedies.



became a common, if not distinctive, epithet of Mahādeva, is in the R. V. applied also to Pūshan (see above, p. 254, note 224). While, however, the cosmical function of Rudra is thus but obscurely represented, he is described as possessing other marked and peculiar characteristics. It is, however, principally in his relation to the good and evil which befall the persons and property of men that he is depicted. And here there can be little doubt that, though he is frequently supplicated to bestow prosperity, and though he is constantly addressed as the possessor of healing remedies, he is principally regarded as a malevolent deity, whose destructive shafts, the source of disease and death to man and beast, the worshipper strives by his entreaties to avert. If this view be correct, the remedies of which Rudra is the dispenser, may be considered as signifying little more than the cessation of his destroying agency, and the consequent restoration to health and vigour of those victims of his ill-will who had been in danger of perishing. It may appear strange that opposite functions should thus be assigned to the same god: but evil and good, sickness and health, death and life are naturally associated as contraries, the presence of the one implying the absence of the other, and *vice versa*; and in later times Mahādeva is in a somewhat similar manner regarded as the generator as well as the destroyer. We may add to this that, while it is natural to deprecate the wrath of a deity supposed to be the destroyer, the suppliant may fear to provoke his displeasure, and to awaken his jealousy, by calling on any *other deity* to provide a remedy. When the destructive god has been induced to relent, to withdraw his visitation, or remove its effects, it is natural for his worshippers to represent him as gracious and benevolent, as we see done in some of the hymns to Rudra.

From the above description, however, it will be apparent that the elder Rudra, though different in many respects from the later Mahādeva, is yet, like him, a terrible and destructive deity; while, on the other hand, the ancient Vishṇu, like the modern god of the same name, is represented to us as a preserver, of a benignant, or, at least, of an innocuous, character (R. V. i. 22, 18; i. 155, 4; i. 186, 10; viii. 25, 12).

In the Yajur-veda we find the same characteristics assigned to Rudra as in the Rig-veda. Thus both a healing virtue (iii. 59; xvi. 5, 49) and a destructive efficacy are ascribed to him, the latter being depicted in the liveliest colours, and deprecated in every variety of expression.

Thus he is represented (iii. 61; xvi. 1, and elsewhere) as carrying a bow and arrows, and is earnestly supplicated (xvi. 9 ff., 51 ff.) to avert his shafts from the worshipper. Many of the epithets which are applied to him in the Rig-veda occur again here, such as "brown" or "tawny" (xvi. 6), the god "with braided hair" (*ibid.* 10), the "fierce" (*ibid.* 40), the "bountiful," the "gracious" (51), etc.; while a multitude of new appellations are heaped upon him (and his attendants), such as "blue-necked," "thousand-eyed" (*ibid.* 7), "thousand-quivered" (13), "clad in a skin" (iii. 61; xvi. 51), "the dweller in the mountains" (xvi. 2, 3, 4), and others far too numerous to repeat (xvi. 17-46). The imagination of the rishi runs riot in the invention of these epithets, which are of the most heterogeneous description. Some of the characteristics here attributed to Rudra are of a disgraceful nature, as where he is styled the "lord of thieves, the robber, the cheater, the deceiver, the lord of pilferers and robbers," etc. (vv. 20, 21). Several new names are ascribed to Rudra in this Veda, as Bhava, Sarva, Paśupati, etc. etc. (vv. 18, 28). Altogether an approximation is discernible in the epithets which occur in the Satarudriya to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive character of the later Mahādeva. Ambikā is mentioned for the first time in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (iii. 5), and is described not as the wife, but as the sister of Rudra.

In the Atharva-veda also reference is made both to the therapeutic character of Rudra and to the destructive arrows and lightnings of Bhava and Sarva (ii. 27, 6; vi. 93, 1; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1, 12, etc.). Rudra is identified with Agni (vii. 87, 1); and again with Savitṛi (xiii. 4, 4). On the other hand Bhava and Sarva, and again Bhava and Rudra, are spoken of in the dual (viii. 2, 7; x. i. 23; xi. 2, 1; xi. 2, 14, 16; xi. 6, 9; xii. 4, 17); and would thus appear to have been regarded by the rishi as distinct gods. Sarva is described as an archer, Bhava as a king (vi. 93, 2); and they, as well as Rudra, are said to have poisons and consumption at their command (vi. 93, 2; xi. 2, 26). In A. V. xi. 2, 2, 30, the devouring birds and dogs of Rudra are alluded to (compare Vāj. Sanh. xvi. 28). In another verse Bhava is said to rule over the sky and the earth, and to fill the vast atmosphere (A. V. xi. 2, 27).<sup>314</sup>

<sup>314</sup> The Nirukta i. 15 contains a text relating to Rudra which, as given at length by the commentator Durga (cited by Roth, *Illust. of Nir.* p. 12, note 4), is as follows:

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i. 7, 3, 8) Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni; and of these appellations Śarva is said to be in use among the people of the east, and Bhava among the western tribe of the Bāhikas. Another passage (vi. 1, 3, 7 ff.) of the same Brāhmaṇa describes the birth of a boy (*kumāra*, a word applied to Agni in the Rīg-veda, v. 2, 1) to whom the names of Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān-deva, and Īśāna were successively given, all of them, according to the writer, representing different forms of Agni. In the somewhat different version of the same story given in the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa (see above, pp. 286 ff.) the newly-born deity is not identified with Agni. But the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in another passage (ix. 1, 1, 1 ff.) referred to by Professor Weber (see above, pp. 289 f. and 334) appears again clearly to make this identification. Finally, traces of the early connexion of Rudra with Agni are discoverable, as I have already remarked (p. 291), in the legend of the birth of Kārttikeya which I have quoted from the Mahābhārata.

Though, however, these deities may have at one time come to be thus identified, the distinctive epithets applied to Rudra in the Rīg-veda appear sufficiently to prove that he was generally discriminated from Agni by his early worshippers. The tendency visible both in the hymns of the Veda and in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, R. V. ii. 1, 6, p. 25; A. V. vii. 87, 1, and xiii. 4, 4, pp. 277 and 281; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, as quoted in p. 284; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, vi. 1, 1, 5, p. 20) to identify the different deities with one another appears to have arisen from a vague conception of the unity of the divine principle by which all these several divinities were supposed to be diversely animated.

Between the texts which I have cited from the Brāhmaṇas relative to Rudra, and the earliest descriptions of the same deity which we discover in the Epic poems, a wide chasm intervenes, which, as far as I am aware, no genuine ancient materials exist (for the Upanishads are of uncertain date) for bridging over. The Rudra of the Mahā-

*Eka eva Rudro 'vatasthe na dvītyo raṇe vighnan pṛitanāsu śatrūn | sāṃsṛījya eivā bhuvanāni goptā pratyaj janān sañchukochāntakāle |* "One Rudra has existed and no second; slaying his enemies in the conflicts of the battle: having created all worlds, a preserver, he afterwards annihilates all beings at the time of the end." Durga does not inform us whence this verse is derived, and I cannot say (see above, p. 297, note). After ascribing a martial character to Rudra in the first line, it appears to assign to him, in the second, the threefold function of universal creator, preserver, and destroyer

bhārata is not indeed very different in his general character from the god of the same name who is portrayed in the Satarudriya; but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined, and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered more distinct by the addition of various additional features, and illustrated by numerous legends. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity, as he was in the Vedic era, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Mitra, and Varuṇa completely into the shade; and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends, he has sunk down into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who, together with Viṣṇu, now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. Ambikā, who was subsequently identified with the spouse of Rudra, is in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (above, p. 267) spoken of as his sister. Umā or Parvatī, with whom he was unconnected in the Vedic period, and of whom the earliest mention, as far as I know, occurs in the Kena Upanishad, and the Taitt. Ār.,<sup>315</sup> is now his acknowledged consort.<sup>316</sup> In systematic mythology the function of destroyer is assigned to him, as that of creator is to Brahmā, and that of preserver to Viṣṇu; but he is also worshipped under the emblem of the *linga* as the great generative power.

Lassen asserts (Indian Antiquities, i. 783) that no mention of the *linga* occurs in the Epic poems. I have, however (above, p. 161), quoted a passage from the Mahābhārata in which it is dwelt upon at length, though it is difficult to say to what age this passage may be referable. Comp. also the epithet *mahāśeṣha* in p. 160, which points to the same idea.

In the following passage of the same book, the *linga* is again mentioned in verses which follow the last of those quoted above in p. 167:

Anuśāsana-parva, v. 7510.—*Dahaty ūrdhvaṁ sthito yach cha prāṇān*

<sup>315</sup> These passages will be quoted in the next section.

<sup>316</sup> It appears (see Westergaard's Dissertation on the oldest Period of Indian History, p. 82, note) that Pāṇini (4, 1, 49) gives a rule whereby, in addition to the names of the goddesses Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī, which are found in the Rig-veda, the names of four others who are not found there, and who are all wives of Śiva (under his different appellations of Bhava, Śarva, Rudra, and Mṛiḍa)—viz., Bhavāṇī, Śarvāṇī, Rudrāṇī, and Mṛiḍāṇī—may be formed. (The rule is this: *Indra-Varuṇa-Bhava-Śarva-Rudra-Mṛiḍa-himāranya-yava-yavana-mātula-chāryyāṇām ānuk*). It does not, however, follow that these last-named goddesses had risen into any importance in the time of Pāṇini. Indrāṇī and Varuṇāṇī were never of any significance.

*nṛīṅāṁ sthiraś cha yat | sthira-lingas cha yan nityāṁ tasmāt Sthānur  
 iti smṛitah | . . . . v. 7516: Nityañcha brahmacharyyena lingam asya  
 yadā sthitam | mahayanty asya lokās cha priyāṁ hy etad mahātmanah |  
 vigraham pūjayed yo vai lingaṁ vā pi mahātmanah | liṅga-pūjayitā nit-  
 yam mahatīm śriyam aśnute | rishayas chāpi devās cha gandharvāpsarasas  
 tathā | lingam evārchayanti sma yat tad ūrdhvaṁ samāsthitam | ityādi |*  
 “And since, standing aloft, he consumes the lives of men, and since he  
 is fixed, and since his *liṅga* is perpetually fixed, he is therefore called  
*Sthānu*. . . . 7516: And when his *liṅga* remains constantly in a state of  
 chastity, and people reverence it, this is agreeable to the great [god]. The  
 constant worshipper of the *liṅga*, who shall worship the image (*vigraha*),  
 or the *liṅga*, of the great [god], enjoys great prosperity. It is the *liṅga*,  
 raised up, which the rishis, gods, Gandharvas, and Apsarases worship.”

The *liṅga* is also mentioned in the list of S'iva's names in another  
 part of the same Anuśāsana-parva, v. 1160 :

*Ūrdhva-retā ūrdhva-liṅga ūrdhva-sāyī nabhaś-sthitah | v. 1191 :  
 Liṅgādhyaxah surādhyaxah . . . . vijādhyaxo vija-karttā . . . .* “He  
 whose seed is raised up, whose *liṅga* is raised up, who sleeps aloft,  
 who abides in the sky.” . . . . v. 1191 : “The lord of the *liṅga*, the  
 lord of the *suras* (gods) . . . . the lord of seed, the former of seed.”

We possess no records to shew how this phallic emblem became con-  
 nected with Rudra. But, as Stevenson (Journal R. A. S. viii. 330<sup>317</sup>)

<sup>317</sup> In this paper on “the Ante-Brahmanical Religion of the Hindus,” the Rev. Dr. Stevenson asserts that the “worship of S'iva, especially under the form of the *Liṅga*,” is one of the practices for which he considers modern Hinduism is indebted to the ante-Brahmanical religion of India, *i.e.* to local superstitions prevalent among the aboriginal tribes anterior to the development of the existing Brahmanical system. This opinion in regard to S'iva is grounded by Dr. Stevenson on the facts (1) that S'iva is not named in the ancient Vedic hymns; (2) that Rudra does not occupy in those hymns the high position which the later S'iva holds; (3) that various particulars in the legend of Daxa, such as the general indisposition to acknowledge S'iva's right to share in the sacrifice, and the circumstance that his rites required no Brahmanical priest (see above, p. 317, note), point to a recent introduction of S'iva's worship (comp. Mahābhārata, Vana-parva, vv. 11001 ff., cited in p. 241 of this volume); (4) that there is no connection between the *Liṅga* and any of the ancient Brahmanical emblems; (5) that the principal seats of the *Liṅga* worship are to be found in the south and north-east of India, at a distance from the original Brahmanical settlements; (6) that in the Mahratta country no Brahman officiates as priest in a *Liṅga* temple, while, on the contrary, in the temples of Vishṇu Brahmans alone officiate. [This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject.—J. M.]

and Lassen (Ind. Ant. i. 783) imagine, it is not impossible that it may have been at first an object of veneration among the aboriginal or non-Arian Indians; and that it was subsequently adopted by the Brahmans from them, and associated with the worship of Rudra.

This conjecture would acquire additional probability if we were justified in supposing that the word *śiśnadeva* which occurs in two passages of the Rig-veda had any reference to a worship of this sort existing among the barbarous tribes towards whom the authors of the hymns so often express hostility, as the followers of a different religion from their own. The texts in which the word in question is found have been already adduced and translated in the Second Volume of this work (p. 407 and note 65). But I shall quote them again here with the contexts, and endeavour to elucidate them further. The first passage is as follows:

R. V. vii. 21, 3 ff.—*Tvam Indra sravitavā apas kaḥ parishthitā Ahinā śūra pūrvīḥ | tvad vācakre rathyo na dhenā rejante viśvā kṛitrimāni bhīṣhā | 4. Bhīmo vivesha āyudhebhīr eśhām apāmsi viśvā naryāni vidvān | Indrah puro jarhīṣhāno vi dūdhod vi vajra-hasto mahinā jaghāna | 5. Na yātava Indra jājuvur no na vandanā śavishtha vedyābhiḥ | sa śardhad aryo vishunasya jantor mā śiśna-devā api gur ṛitaṁ naḥ | 6. Abhi kratvā Indra bhūr adha jman na te vicyaḥ mahimānaṁ rajāmsi | svenā hi Vṛittraṁ śavasā jaghantha na śatrur antaṁ vidad yudhā te | 7. Devās chit te asuryāya pūrve anu xatrāya mamīre sahāmsi | Indro maghāni dayato vishahya Indraṁ vājasya johavantu sātāu | 8. Kīriś chid hi tvām avase juhāva iśānam Indra saubhagasya bhūreḥ | aro babhūtha śatam-ūte asme abhixattus tvāvato varūtā |*

“3. Thou, heroic Indra, hast caused to flow the abundant waters which had been obstructed by Ahi. Before thee the cows (waters) have turned their course, like warriors in chariots. All created things tremble for fear. 4. The terrible [god], knowing all things salutary to men, has with his weapons pierced the works of these [cloud-demons]. Indra, exulting, has shattered their cities; armed with the thunderbolt he has destroyed them by his might. 5. Neither demons impel us, Indra, nor, o puissant [deity], adorations with ordinances (?). May the glorious [Indra] triumph over the hostile beings: let not those whose god is the *śiśna* (membrum virile) approach our sacred ceremony. 6. Thou, o Indra, hast surpassed in power. When thou runnest thy

course, the worlds have not comprehended thy greatness. By thine own might thou hast slain Vṛitra. No enemy hath attained the end of thee in battle. 7. The earlier gods have imparted (?) to thee powers to [augment] thy divine glory and energy. Indra having conquered, dispenses wealth. Let men invoke Indra to bestow food. 8. Indra, the bard hath invoked for protection thee, the lord of great prosperity. O thou who bringest a hundred succours, thou hast been a defence to us, the protector of the warrior who serves thee."

R. V. x. 99, 1 ff.—*Kaṁ nās chitram ishanyasi chikitevān pṛithu-gmānaṁ vāsraṁ vāvṛidhadhyai | kat tasya dātu śavaso vyushṭau taxad vājraṁ Vṛitra-turam apinvat | 2. Sa hi dyutā vidyutā veti sāma pṛithuṁ yonim asuratevā "sasāda | sa sanīlebhīḥ prasahāno asya bhrātur na rite saptathasya māyāḥ | 3. sa vājaṁ yātā apadushpadā yan svarshātā parishadat sanishyan | anarvā yat śata-durasya vedo ghnān śiśnadevān abhi varpasā 'bhūt | 4. Sa yahvyo avanīr goshu arvā ā juhōti pradhanyāsu sasriḥ | apādo yatra yuyūāso 'rathā drony-āsvāsaḥ irate ghṛitāṁ vāḥ | 5. Sa Rudrebhir āsasta-vāraḥ rībhvā hitvī gayam āre-avadyaḥ ā agāt | vamrasya manye mithunā vicavṛi annam abhātya arodayat mushāyan | 6. Sa id dāsaṁ tuvī-ravam patir dan śhaḍ-axaṁ tri-śirshānaṁ damanyat | asya Tritō nu ojasā vṛidhāno vipā varāham ayo-agrayā han | 7. Sa druhvaṇe manuse ūrdhvasānaḥ ā sāvishad arśasānāya śarum | sa nṛita-mo nahusho 'smat sujātaḥ puro 'bhinad arhan dasyu-hatye |* "What wonderful, wide-travelling bull dost thou, the wise, send to us for our increase! What a share of power does he display at the dawn! He has formed the Vṛitra-slaying thunderbolt, and has strengthened thee. 2. With gleaming light he comes to the goal; in his divine glory he hath seated himself on our broad place of sacrifice; with his allies he overcomes the delusions of him who pretends to be his seventh brother. 3. Desiring to bestow strength in the struggle, that warrior has besieged inaccessible places, at the time when, irresistible, slaying those whose god is the *śisna*, he by his force conquered the riches of the city with a hundred gates. 4. The noble steed, coming among the cows conquered in battle, pours out the rivers [in the place] where the allies, without feet or chariots, employing the clouds as their horses, send forth flowing water. 5. The great [Indra], who has indescribable treasures, and from whom evil is far removed, forsaking his house, has arrived with the Rudras. To the liberal [god] belong, I believe, two

varied horses. Having approached the food, he roars, desiring to appropriate it. 6. This lord subjugated the loud-voiced Dāsa with six eyes and three heads. Trita, increasing through his strength, struck the boar with his iron-tipped finger. 7. Rising up, he has launched his arrow against the malignant and destructive man. He, the noble and potent hero, has shattered for us the cities of the enemy (or of Nahush) in the conflict with the destroyers (Dasyus)."<sup>215</sup>

The following is Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word *śiśnadeva* in the first of the preceding passages, R. V. vii. 21, 5, and repeated briefly in his note on the second passage: *Śiśna-devāḥ | śiśnena divyanti kṛḍanti iti śiśna-devāḥ | abrahmacharyyāḥ ity arthaḥ | tathā cha Yāskah | . . . . "śiśna-devā abrahmacharyyāḥ" | . . . . "Śiśnadevāḥ are those who sport with the śiśna (membrum virile), i.e. unchaste men; as Yaska says, 'Śiśnadevāḥ means the unchaste.'"* Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, as cited by Roth (Illust. of Nir. p. 47), gives the same explanation as Sāyaṇa. He says that those men are called *śiśnadeva* who "are always dallying carnally with prostitutes, forsaking Vedic observances," (*śiśnena nityam eva prakirṇābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākaṁ kṛḍanta āsato śrautāni karmāny utsrijya* |). Roth, in the place I have cited, thinks the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons, and translates it by *Schwanz-götter*.

It does not appear to me that Sāyaṇa's interpretation has much to recommend it. There are some other words in the Veda in which the word *deva* forms the last member of the compound, as *anṛita-deva* (vii. 104, 14) and *mūra-deva* (vii. 104, 24). Sāyaṇa explains *mūra-devāḥ* as = *mārāna-kṛḍāḥ*, "those who make a sport of killing;" and he therefore takes *deva* there in the same sense as he does in *śiśna-deva*. But in the other word, *anṛita-deva*, he takes *deva* in the usual sense of "god," and interprets it as "he whose gods are false" (*anṛitā asatyabhūtā devā yasya tāḍṛisāḥ*). In the same way he understands *anti-devam* in R. V. i. 180, 7, as meaning "near the gods." And though in Boethlingk and Roth's Dictionary the word *anṛita-deva* is explained as signifying a "false player," this interpretation is afterwards withdrawn (in favour of that which Sāyaṇa gives of this word) at the close of the article on the word *deva*. Nor does the sense assigned by Sāyaṇa to *śiśna-deva* appear to be in itself a very probable one.

<sup>215</sup> Prof. Aufrecht has given me much assistance in translating these two passages



For the epithet "lascivious" would not necessarily be a term of reproach in the mouth of an Indian poet of the Vedic age, when, though the institution of marriage was recognized and honoured, no great amount of reprobation could have been attached to unchastity in the case of men (compare R. V. i. 167, 4; ix. 112, 4, and x. 86, 16, 17). On the other hand, if the word *śiśna-deva* is to be understood of human beings, and if it could be taken as describing any deviation from the contemporaneous Arian worship, it would find many parallels in the Rig-veda, as may be seen by a comparison of the words *akarman, adevayu, anṛich, anindra, anya-vrata, apavrata, avrata, abrahman, ayajvan* | "without ceremonies, no worshippers of the gods, without hymns, without Indra, following other rites, averse to rites, without rites, without priests, or prayers, offering no sacrifices," in the passages quoted in the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 374, 375, and 387-391.

It is, however, objected that *śiśna* cannot be taken as equivalent to *linga*, which means a sign, the phallus, and is therefore emblematic, while the *śiśna* denotes not an image, but the male organ itself. *Śiśna* has also the sense of "tail," as in R. V. i. 105, 8, pointed out to me by Professor Aufrecht, where the words *mūsho na śiśnā vyadanti mā ādhyah* mean "cares worry me, like mice gnawing their tails." The word *śiśnadevāḥ*, if understood of demons, may therefore mean, as Roth suggests, "tailed (or priapic) demons," and not "worshippers of the *śiśna*." The same difficulty which we encounter in fixing the meaning of the word *dasyu*, viz. whether it is to be understood of men or demons (see the Second Vol. of this work, pp. 380 ff; 404 ff.) recurs here. In the first of the passages quoted above (vii. 21, 5) it appears, so long as we are ignorant of the real sense of *śiśna-deva*, that it might be understood either of men or demons, either of whom would have been unwelcome visitors at an Arian ceremonial. Perhaps, as the word *yātavaḥ* (demons) precedes, it is most likely that the latter are intended: and the same remark may be held to apply to the second passage (x. 99, 3).

However interesting, therefore, it would be to find a proof of the existence of a phallic worship among the aboriginal tribes contemporary with the Vedic rishis, it must be confessed that the word *śiśnadeva* does not supply this evidence.

In a passage (in the Preface to the Tenth Vol. of his *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. ix.) which I have adduced in the Second Part of this work (pp. 436 f.),

Signor Gorresio expresses the opinion that the Southern race, whom he supposes to be symbolized under the appellation of Rākshasas, were specially addicted to the worship of "Rudra, or a terrible" and, as he believes, "a Hamitic deity." In note 35 (p. 291 of the same volume) on the destruction of Daxa's sacrifice, he says: "It appears to me that in this fact the struggle of the ancient religions of India is represented under a mythical veil. Siva (a deity, as I believe, of the Cushite or Hamitic tribes which preceded on the soil of India the Arian or Indo-Sanskrit races) wished to have a part in the worship of the conquerors, and in their sacrifices, from which he was excluded; and by disturbing their rites, and by a display of violence at their sacrifices, he succeeded in being admitted to participate in them." Signor Gorresio, however, offers very little proof of this assertion in regard to the worship of Siva being specially prevalent among the savage tribes of the South. In note 116, p. 370, of his Ninth Vol., indeed, he remarks as follows on a passage (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 50 f.) where it is said that Indrajit, son of Rāvana, had a golden serpent for his banner: "The serpent was the special symbol in the worship of the Hamite races, and here therefore Indrajit, the black Rākṣasa, the Hamite, sets it up as his banner. Thus in the seventy-eighth chapter of the Sundara Kānda it is said that Indrajit was in the habit of sacrificing especially to Siva, the Hamitic deity, who possesses all the attributes of the Hamitic religion, and who entered into the Indo-Sanskrit Olympus by one of those religious syncretisms of which traces are so frequently to be found in the ancient systems of worship."

The passage of the Sundara Kānda to which Gorresio refers, occurs, in the Calcutta edition, in the seventh section of the Yuddha Kānda, vv. 18 f., as follows:

*Tishṭha tvam kim mahārāja śrameṇa tava vānarān | ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit pramathishyati | anena cha mahārāja Māheśvaram anuttamam | ishṭvā yajñam varo labdho loka parama-durlabhaḥ |* "Stay, great king, what need is there of thy exertions? This one Indrajit will destroy the monkeys. For by him a boon, hard to be gotten, was obtained after he had offered the unequalled sacrifice to Mahādeva."

This passage is not sufficient to prove that Mahādeva was in a special degree the god of the savages of the South. We have already seen (pp. 243 ff.) by the cases of Arjuna, Jayadratha, Paraśurāma, and above all, of Jarāsandha, as recorded in the Mahābhārata, that the worship

of Mahādeva (frequently for the purpose of obtaining some boon) was practised by the warriors of Northern India, just as it is here said to have been by Indrajit. Further, it is not Siva alone whom the Rāxasas worshipped for their own purposes. It appears from the passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (cited above in p. 140) that Rāvana had obtained the gift of invincibility from Brahmā.

The same is related in regard to Atikāya, one of Rāvana's sons, in Rāmāyaṇa vi. 71, 31 f. (Calc. ed.):

*Etenārādhito Brahmā tapasā bhāvitātmanā | astrāni chāpy avāptāni  
ripavās cha parājitāḥ | surāsurair abudhyatvaṁ dattam asmai Svayambhuvā |* By this contemplative (Rāxasa) Brahmā had been worshipped with austerities, and he had obtained weapons, and conquered his enemies. [The privilege] had been bestowed on him by Svayambhū that he should be indestructible by gods or Āsuras."

In verse 26 he is described as "reverent to the aged, and an observer of the Vedas" (*vṛiddha-sevī śruti-dharaḥ*). Rāvana himself is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an observer of the Vedic ritual. Thus in Book vi. 93, 58 (Calc. ed.—vi. 72, 62 ff. of Gorr.) his minister, Supārśva (Avindhya<sup>319</sup> in Gorr.), who is described as "virtuous and pure," is introduced as saying to him: *Veda-vidyā-vrata-snātas sva-karmāniratas tathā | striyāḥ kasmād badhaṁ vira manyase Rāxasesvara |* "Why dost thou, heroic Rāvana, lord of the Rāxasas, who art initiated in the knowledge and practices of the Veda, and devoted to thy duty, meditate the slaughter of a woman?" And Vibhīṣhaṇa, in his eulogy on his brother after his death, says (vi. 111, 24, Calc. ed.—vi. 93, 30 of Gorr.): *Esho hitāgnīḥ<sup>320</sup> cha mahātapās cha vedānta-gaḥ karmasu chāgrya-śūrah |* "He had placed the sacrificial fire, was very austere, had read to the end of the Veda, and was eminently heroic in action."<sup>321</sup>

Again, it is related in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), that Rāvana was buried with the usual Brahmanical ceremonies, though the commentator says that the Brahmans who were concerned in them were Rāxasa-brahmans (*Rāxasa-dvijāḥ*).

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, vv. 112 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Chitāṁ chandana-kāsthais*

<sup>319</sup> He is called Avindhya in the Rāmopākhyāna in the Vana-parva of the Mahābhārata also, vv. 16148, 16492-6, and elsewhere.

<sup>320</sup> *Esho hitāgnīr ity ārshaḥ sanāhiḥ |* Comm.

<sup>321</sup> And yet Vibhīṣhaṇa abuses his dead brother in the hundred and thirteenth section (Calc. ed.), vv. 93 ff.

*cha padmakosīra-chandanaiḥ | brāhmyā* <sup>323</sup> *saṁvarttayāmāsū rāṅkavāsta-  
raṅvritām | prachakrū Rāxasendrasya pitrimedham anuttamam | vedīncha  
daxiṅāprāchi(m?) yathā-sthānaṅcha pāvakam | pṛishadājyena sampūrṇaṅ  
śruvaṅ skandhe prachixipuḥ | pādayoḥ śakaṭam prādād (?) antar ūrcor  
ulūkhalam | dāru-pātrāṅi sarvāṅi araṅiṅ chottarāraṅim | dattvā tu  
musalaṅ chānyaṅ yathā-sthānaṅ vichakramuḥ | śāstra-dṛishṭena vidhinā  
maharshi-vihitena* <sup>323</sup> *cha | tatra medhyam paśuṅ hatva Rāxasendrasya  
Rāxasāḥ | paristarāṅikāṅ* <sup>324</sup> *rājño ghṛitāktāṅ samaveśayan | gandhair  
mālyair alaṅkṛitya Rāvaṅaṅ dīna-mānasāḥ | Vibhīshana-sahāyās te vas-  
traiś cha vibidhair api | lājair avakiranti sma vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā.  
tadā | sa dadau pāvakaṅ tasya vidhi-yuktaṅ Vibhīshanaḥ | snātve  
chaivārdra-vastreṅa tilāṅ darbha-vimiśritāṅ | udakena cha sammīśrāṅ  
pradāya vidhi-pūrvakam |* <sup>325</sup> "They formed, with Vedic rites, a funeral  
pile of faggots of sandalwood, with *padmaka* wood, *uśira* grass, and  
sandal, and covered with a quilt of deer's hair. They then performed  
an unrivalled obsequial ceremony for the Rāxasa prince, placing the  
sacrificial ground to the S.E. and the fire in the proper situation. They  
cast the ladle filled with curds and ghee on the shoulder<sup>326</sup> (of the  
deceased); he (?) placed the ear on the feet, and the mortar between  
the thighs. Having deposited all the wooden vessels, the [upper] and

<sup>323</sup> *Veda-mūrgānugata-kriyayā* | Comm.

<sup>323</sup> *Kalpa-sūtra-kṛid-ṛishi-vihitena* | Comm.

<sup>324</sup> *Paristīryate mukham anayā iti paristarāṅikā vapū | tām rāxasendrasya mukha  
samaveśayan | "vapū 'sya mukham prastīryoti" iti sūtrāt* | Comm.; who seems  
therefore to understand *paristarāṅikā* of fat (see Müller as cited in the article referred  
to in note 325). The commentator, however, gives also another reading and explana-  
tion which the reader may consult for himself.

<sup>325</sup> I insert here part of Gorresio's text for comparison (vi. 96, 10 ff.): *Tatas te  
veda-vidvāṅsas taṅ rājñāḥ paśchīmāṅ kriyāṅ | chakrire rāxasendrasya preta-  
medham anuttamam | vedīncha daxiṅā-prāchyāṅ yathā-sthānaṅ cha pāvakam |  
Vibhīshanas tu samprāpya tūshṅiṅ samasṛijāt śruvam | pṛishadājyasya sampūrṇāṅ  
śruvaṅ sarvāṅ yathāvidhi | Rāvaṅasya tadā sarve vāshpa-pūrṇa-mukhā dvijāḥ |  
pādayoḥ śakataṅ chakrur antarorōv udūkhalam | vānaspatyāṅi chānyāṅi antare 'pi  
vyadhāpyayan | dattvā tu mushalaṅ chaiva yathāsthānaṅ mahātmanaḥ | śāstra-  
dṛishṭena vidhinā maharshi-vihitena cha | tataḥ paśchāt paśuṅ hatvā rāxasendrasya  
rāxasāḥ | athāstarāṅikāṅ sarvāṅ ghṛitāktāṅ samaveśayan |*

<sup>326</sup> "According to Āpastamba (says the commentator) it should have been placed  
on the nose; this must therefore have been done in conformity with some other  
sūtras" (*yadyopi "nāsike śruvam" ity Āpastambenoktaṅ tathāpi sūtrāntarāt skandho-  
paniṅsepāḥ śruvasya bodhyaḥ*). Compare Professor Müller's article on the funeral  
ceremonies of the Brahmans in the Journal of the German Oriental Society for  
1855, pp. vi. ff.

lower firewood (*arani*), and the other pestle, in their proper places, they departed. The Rāxasas having then slain a victim to their prince in the manner prescribed in the Sāstras, and enjoined by great rishis, cast [into the fire] the coverlet of the king saturated with ghee. They then, Vibhīṣhaṇa included, with afflicted hearts, adorned Rāvaṇa with perfumes and garlands, and with various vestments, and besprinkled him with fried grain. Vibhīṣhaṇa having bathed, and having, with his clothes wet, scattered in proper form *tila* seeds mixed with *darbha* grass, and moistened with water, applied the fire [to the pile].”<sup>327</sup>

Gorresio remarks (note 94, p. 310, vol. x) that the funeral rites of the Arian Brahmans are here introduced as practised among the Rāxasas, a race of different origin and worship, in the same way as Homer represents Grecian ceremonies as having been celebrated in Troy.

Nor does it appear that in the rites described in the following passage (of Gorresio's edition) which are said to have been performed by Indrajit, the son of Rāvaṇa, there is anything, except the “Rāxasa texts,” contrary to Brahmanical usages. As, however, the commentator (in the Calc. ed) in his note on another passage, represents the worship at the *Nikumbhilā* as being offered to Kālī, and as the description is of some interest, I will quote it at length :<sup>328</sup>

<sup>327</sup> On this whole passage the commentator remarks : “*Tatyajus tam mahābhōgam pañcha-bhūtāni Rāvaṇam | śarīra-dhātavo hy asya mōmsa-tvag-rudhirāsu cha | brahmāstra-nīrdagdhasya* (sic) *na cha bhasmāpy adriśyata*” *iti Mahābhāratoktateena kasya Vālmīkinā śmaśānānuyāna-pūrvaka-dōha uktah iti chenna | tasya Rāma-vāna-varṇana-vishaye 'tyukty-alankāra-parateud iti vadati* | “Since it is said in the Mahābhārata (Rāmopākhyāna, in Vana-parva 16529 f., where the readings differ somewhat from those here given) that ‘the five elements and the constituents of his body, flesh, skin, blood, and breath, forsook the great Rāvaṇa, when he was burnt up by the divine weapon (*brahmāstra*), and not even any ashes were seen;—who is it that is here alleged by Vālmīki to have been brought to the cemetery and then burnt? If any one raises this objection, I deny that there is any difficulty, as in the description of Rāma's arrow the Mahābhārata makes use of ornament and exaggeration.”

<sup>328</sup> The Calcutta edition gives the first verse and the first half of the second nearly as they stand in Gorresio's edition, and the second half of the second, with its sequel, as follows : *Brahma-datta-varo vīro Rāvaṇiḥ krodha-mūrçhhitah | adriśyo nisītān vāṇān mūnochāsani-sannibhān* | “The son of Rāvaṇa, to whom a boon had been given by Brahmā, mad with rage, discharged sharp arrows, piercing as lightnings.” No mention is made of the sacrifice in the Calcutta text. In Rāmāyaṇa, book v. sect. 24 (Calc. ed.), it is related that the female Rāxasas had been threatening Sīta after her capture by Rāvaṇa, because she would not yield to his desires, and one of

Rāmāyaṇa vi. 19, 38 ff. (Gorr.).—*Indrajit tu tatas tena saṁyuge 'dbhuta-kārinā | nirjito Bālī-putreṇa krodhaṁ chakre sudārunam | so 'ntardhāna-gataḥ pāpo Rāvaṇi raṇa-karkaśaḥ | nikumbhilāyāṁ vidhi-vat Pāvakaṁ juhuve 'stra-vit | juhvas tasya tatrāgnau raktoshṅśhāmbara-srajāḥ | ājahrus tatra sambhrāntā Rāxasā yatra Rāvaṇiḥ | sāstrāṇi śita-dhārāṇi samidho 'tha vibhītakān | lohītāni cha vāsāmsi sruvaṁ kārshāyasaṁ tataḥ | sarvato 'gniṁ samāstīryya śaraiḥ sa-prāsa-tomaraiḥ | chhāgala-syāpi krishṇasya kaṅṭhād ādāya jvataḥ | sonitāṁ tena vidhivat sa juhāva raṇotsukaḥ | sakṛid eva samiddhasya vidhūmasya mahārchishah | bahūruḥ saṁnimittāni vijayaṁ yāny aveḍayan | pradaxiṇāvartta-śikhas taptahāṣaka-sannibhaḥ | havis tat pratijagrāha Pāvakaḥ svayam utthitah | tato 'gnimādhyād uttasthau kāṅchanaḥ syandanottamaḥ | chaturbhiḥ kāṅchanāpīḍair āsvair yuktaḥ prabhadrakaiḥ | antardhāna-gataḥ śrīmān dīpta-pāvaka-saprabhaḥ | hutāgnim tarpayitvā cha daitya-dānava-rāxasān | vāchayitvā tataḥ svasti prayuktāśir dvijātibhiḥ | āruroha rathaṁ śreshṭham antar-dhāna-charaṁ śubham | sva-vaśyair vājibhir yuktaṁ sāstraiḥ cha vividhair yutam . . . 50. Jāmbūnadamayo nāgas taruṇāditya-sannibhaḥ | bahūvendrajitaḥ ketur vaidūryya-samalaṅkṛitaḥ | Hutvā 'gniṁ Rāxasair mantrais tato vachanam abravīt |*

“But Indrajit, being conquered in the conflict by the miracle-working son of Bālī, became inflamed with terrific anger. This wicked son of Rāvaṇa, fierce in battle, having become invisible, made an oblation to Pāvaka (Fire) in due form, on the sacrificial ground. When he was there throwing his oblation into the fire, wearing a red turban, gar-

them, S'ūrpanakhā, acceding to a proposal to eat her, says (v. 46 ff.): *Surā chānīyātāṁ zipraṁ sarva-śoka-vināśinī | mānusham māmsam āsvādya nṛityāmo 'tha nikumbhilāṁ |* “And let wine be quickly brought, which annihilates all griefs. Enjoying human flesh, let us dance at the Nikumbhilā.” The comment on this passage states that the *Nikumbhilā* was an image of Bhadrakālī on the west side of Laṅkā (*Nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkāyāḥ paśchima-bhāga-varttinī Bhadrakālī | tāṁ nṛityāmaḥ tat-saṁīpaṁ gatvā nṛityāmaḥ*). In the Uttara Kāṇḍa (sect. 30, v. 2) we are told that Rāvaṇa, with his attendants, entered “the Nikumbhilā, a grove in Laṅkā” (*tato nikumbhilā nāma Laṅkopavamaṁ uttamam*). The commentator says it was “a wood situated at the western gate of Laṅkā for the performance of rites” (*Laṅkā-paśchima-dvāra-deśā-vartti-karma-siddhi-hetu-bhūtaṁ-kānanam |*). His son Indrajit, with the aid of the Brahman Uśanas, had been celebrating there the seven sacrifices, the *agnishōma*, *āśvamedha*, *rōjasūya*, *gomedha* (cow-sacrifice), the *Vaiṣṇava* ceremonial, etc. When he had performed the *Māheśvara* offering, he obtained boons from Mahādeva, who appeared to him. This is the ceremony alluded to above, in p. 349. But he had also been performing the *Vaiṣṇava* rite,

ments, and garland, the reverent Rāxasas brought thither sharp-edged weapons, logs of wood, and myrobalan, blood-red vestments, and a ladle of black iron. Having heaped the fire all over with arrows, darts, and iron maces, and having drawn blood from the throat of a live black goat, he offered it as an oblation, being eager for battle. At the same time there appeared from the brightly-burning and smokeless fire omens which portended victory. Pāvaka himself rising with his flame sweeping round to the right, and luminous as refined gold, received the oblation. Then from the midst of the fire there arose a magnificent golden chariot, drawn by four lucky horses with golden head-ornaments. The glorious [Indrajit], lustrous as burning fire, becoming invisible, having satiated the sacrificial fire, the Daityas, Dānavas, and Rāxasas, having caused a benediction (*svasti*) to be pronounced, and been blessed by the Brahmans, ascended the beautiful chariot, drawn by self-directed horses, and furnished with various weapons. . . . . 50. A golden serpent, bright as the rising sun, and adorned with *lapis lazuli*, formed the banner of Indrajit. Having made an oblation to Fire with Rāxasa texts, he then spake," etc.

The ceremony of Indrajit is again alluded to by Vibhīṣhaṇa in vi. 84, 14 ff. (Calc. ed.—vi. 63, 13 of Gorr. ed.):

*Chaityaṃ nikumbhilām adya prāpya homaṃ karishyati | Hutavān upayāto hi devair api sa-vāsavaih | durādharsho bhavaty eṣha sangrāme Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | . . . . 16. Sa-sainyās tatra gachhāmo yāvat tanna samāpyate | . . . . 23. Samāpta-karmā hi sa Rāxasarshabho bhavaty adṛīṣyaḥ samare surāsuraih | yuyutsatā tena samāpta-karmaṇā bhavet surāṇām api saṃśayo mahān |* "Having to-day resorted to the sacrificial ground, he will offer an oblation (*homa*). When he approaches after making this offering, this son of Rāvaṇa is invincible by gods and Vāsavas. . . . . 16. Let us go thither with our hosts before that ceremony is completed. . . . . 23. For when he has accomplished his rite,<sup>329</sup> that prince of the Rāxasas becomes invisible by either gods or Asuras in battle; and even the gods would hesitate to encounter him if he desired to fight."

In the following section Vibhīṣhaṇa returns to the subject (vi. 85, 12, Calc. ed.—vi. 64, 11 of Gorr.):

*Tena vīreṇa tapasā vara-dānāt svayambhuvah | astram brahma-śiraḥ*

<sup>329</sup> It is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 35, 12 ff., that after his victory over Indra, Indrajit asked, and obtained, this boon as the condition of releasing his captive foe.

*prāptam kāmāgās cha turāṅgamāḥ | sa esha saha sainyena prāptaḥ kila  
nikumbhilām | yady uttishthet kṛitam karma hatōn sarvāṁś cha viddhi  
naḥ | nikumbhilām asamprāptam akṛitāgṇim cha yo ripuḥ | tvām ātatā-  
yinaṁ hanyāt Indrasatro sa ts badhaḥ |* "This hero has obtained through  
austerity, and by the gift of Svayambhū, a weapon called *brahma-siras*,  
and horses that go according to his will. He with his army has  
reached the sacrificial ground. If he rises after completing his cere-  
mony you may regard us all as destroyed. But if any foe slays thee,  
thou cruel tyrant (Indrajit), before thou hast reached that ground,<sup>330</sup>  
and kindled the fire, this, o enemy of Indra, is the manner of thy  
death," etc.

It is related in the following section (86, 14 f., Calc. ed.=65, 12  
Gorr.) that they arrived before his rite had been completed :

*Seam anīkaṁ vishannam tu dṛishṭvā śatrubhir arditam | udatishṭhata  
durdharshaḥ sa karmāny ananusṭhite | vṛizāndhakārād nirgamyā jāta-  
krodhaḥ sa Rāvaṇiḥ | ityādi |* "Hearing that his army was harassed by  
their enemies, and dispirited, the irresistible (Rāxasa) arose while his  
ceremony was unaccomplished. Issuing forth from the gloom of the  
tree, the son of Rāvaṇa, incensed, mounted his chariot," etc.

Again, in a passage of the Sundara Kāṇḍa, or Fifth Book, vv. 12  
ff. (only found in Gorresio's, not in the Calc. ed.), which forms the  
sequel to the one given above, p. 310, Mahādeva is represented as  
receiving Vibhīshana with favour, after he had deserted his brother  
Rāvaṇa. Now if the author of the poem had intended to represent  
Siva as an especial object of adoration to the Rāxasas, he might have  
been expected to have described this deity as repaying their worship  
with an especial favour and affection ; but it is inconsistent with this  
that he should represent Siva as receiving favourably a deserter from  
the Rāxasa camp.

<sup>330</sup> Explained by the commentator as *nikumbhilām tad-yāga-bhūmim mahākālī-  
zetraṁ tad-ākhyā-nyagrodha-mūla-rūpam |* "that sacrificial ground, the sacred pre-  
cinct of the great Kālī—viz., the root of the nyagrodha tree so called." This tree  
is mentioned in vi. 87, 1 ff., Calc. ed. (=vi. 66, 2, Gorr. ed.): . . . *pravīṣya tu  
mahād vanam | adarśayata tat-karma Laxmaṇōya Vibhīshanaḥ | nīla-jīmūta-saṅkā-  
śaṁ nyagrodham bhīmadarśanam | tejasvī Rāvaṇa-bhrūtā Laxmaṇōya nyavedayat |  
ihopahāram bhūtānām balavān Rāvaṇātmajaḥ | upahṛitya tataḥ paichāt saṅgrāmam  
abhirartate | adṛīṣyaḥ sarva-bhūtānām tato dhavati Rāxasaḥ | nihanti cha vaṇe  
śatruṁ badhnōti cha sarottamaḥ | tam apravishṭam nyagrodham inam teṁ Rāvaṇ-  
ātmajam | vidheamāsa karaś tixair ityādi |*



There is a section (the forty-first) of the Yudha Kāṇḍa, or Sixth Book (which, however, is to be found only in Gorresio's ed.), wherein Rāvaṇa defies Viṣṇu at great length. But I do not consider this as any proof that the poet intended to attribute to the speaker any especial hostility to Viṣṇu's worship (particularly as Indra, Śiva, and Brahmā are also slightly spoken of), but rather as a demonstration called forth by the poetical necessities of the argument. If the poet represented Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, it was of course necessary to make the arrogant Rāvaṇa defy him. The fact is, that the traits ascribed to the Rāxasas in the Rāmāyaṇa must be regarded as poetical far more than historical. The poet assigns to his personages such characteristics as he considered at the moment to be most conducive to the interest, and effective with a view to the action, of his poem. These characteristics are sometimes absolutely contradictory, as when Rāvaṇa is described both as an observer of the Vedas and at the same time as a persecutor of Brahmans and polluter of their sacrifices. I do not therefore see that the Rāmāyaṇa supplies any grounds for regarding the non-Arian tribes of Southern India as being especially addicted to the worship of Śiva.<sup>331</sup>

SECT. VIII.—*The earlier and later representations of Umā, the wife of Śiva.*

We have already seen (p. 267) that in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā (3, 57) Ambikā, who at a later period is identified with the wife of Rudra, is declared to be his sister.

The earliest work, as far as I am aware, in which the name of Umā occurs, is the Talavakāra or Kena Upanishad. In the third section of that Treatise (see Dr. Roer's translation in the Bibliotheca Indica, vol. xv. p. 83 ff.) it is mentioned that on one occasion Brahma gained a victory for the gods. As, however, they were disposed to ascribe the credit of their success to themselves, Brahma appeared for the purpose

<sup>331</sup> It is also related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (sections 4-8, of which I shall give the substance in the Appendix) that a Rāxasa named Sukeśa had formerly received a boon from Mahādeva and Pārvatī, and that his three sons, the lords of Laṅkā, had made an attack upon the gods, but had been driven back and defeated by Viṣṇu, and compelled to take refuge in Pātāla. But neither does this, nor even the Liṅga-worship attributed to Rāvaṇa in the Uttara Kāṇḍa 36, 42 f., suffice to prove any special adoration of Śiva among the southern races.

of disabusing them of their mistake. The gods did not know him and commissioned first Agni, and then Vāyu, to ascertain who this object of veneration was. When, in answer to Brahma's enquiry, these two gods represented themselves, the one as having the power to burn, and the other as able to blow away, anything whatever, he desired them to burn and to blow away, respectively, a blade of grass; but they were unable to do this, and returned without ascertaining who he was. Indra was then commissioned (Kena Up. iii. 11, 12; and iv. 1, 2): *Atha Indram abruvan "Maghavann etad vijānīhi kim etad yaxam" iti | "tathā" iti tad abhyadravat tasmāt tirodadhe.* | 12. *Sa tasminn evākāse striyam ājagāma bahu śobhamānām Umām Haimavatim | tāñ hovācha kim etad yaxam iti |* iv. 1. *Sā Brahmeti hovācha Brahmano vā etad-vijaye mahiyadhvan iti | tato haiva vidāñchakāra Brahmeti |* "They then said to Indra, 'Maghavan, ascertain what this object of adoration is.' He replied, 'So be it;' and approached that being, who vanished from him. In that sky he came to a woman who was very resplendent, Umā Haimavatī. To her he said, 'What is this object of adoration?' She said, 'It is Brahma. In this victory of Brahma, ye became exalted.' By this he knew Brahma."<sup>332</sup>

In his remarks<sup>333</sup> on this passage of the Kena Upanishad (Ind. Stud. ii. 186 ff.) Weber supplies an interesting and ingenious contribution to the mythological history of Umā. He says: "The representation in sections 3 and 4 indicates that the Kena Upanishad was produced at a time when,—in place of the three principal gods, Agni, Vāyu, and

<sup>332</sup> This is explained by the commentator: *Tasyendrasya yaxa bhaktim buddhvō Vidyā Umā-rūpiṇī prādurabhūt strī-rūpā | sa Indras tām Umām bahu śobhamānām sarveshām hi śobhamānānām śobhanatamām Vidyām tadā "bahu śobhamānā" iti viśeshānam upaṇnam bhavati | Haimavatīm hema-kritābharaṇavatīm iva bahu śobhamānām ityarthāḥ | athavā Umaiva Himavato duhitā Haimavatī nityam eva sarvajñena Īśvareṇa saha varttate iti jñātuṃ samarthā iti kṛtvā tām upājagāma Indras tām ha Umām kilovācha paprachha kim etad darsayitvā tirobhūtam yaxam |* "Knowing Indra's devotion to this object of adoration, Knowledge, in the form of a woman, Umā, appeared. Indra [came] to her who was very resplendent, to Knowledge who is the most resplendent of all the resplendent beings, and whose epithet 'very resplendent' is then established. 'Haimavatī' means that she was very resplendent like a female with ornaments made of gold. Or, it was Umā Haimavatī, the daughter of Himavat, who from continually dwelling with the omniscient Īśvara (Mahādeva) is able to know. Thus Indra approached Umā, and said to her, 'What is this object of adoration which appeared and vanished?'"

<sup>333</sup> Already translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 84 ff.).

Sūrya,<sup>334</sup> who had come to be regarded as the representatives of the divine principle on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven,—Agni, Vāyu, and Indra were regarded as such. These are properly only two, since Indra is essentially identical with Vāyu. Though I have found numerous examples of the first triad, especially in the two Yajur-vedas, I have noticed only one other of the second triad, which is properly only a duad, viz. in the Rik-text of the Purusha Sukta (R. V. x. 99, 13). Nor am I able to give a satisfactory explanation of it. On the other hand, the totality of the divine was already comprehended in Brahma (neuter), and it is the object of the legend here to make clear and to enforce the supremacy of Brahma over all temporary divine manifestations, and even over the triad of such.

“But how shall we explain the position of Umā Haimavatī, who comes forward as mediatrix between the eternal Brahmā and the gods? According to Sankara, she is Vidyā (knowledge) who appears Umā-rupīnī (in the form of Umā) to Indra. The same explanation is found in Sāyana, who (on Taitt. Ār. x. 1, 150) when interpreting the word *soma*, cites this passage, and remarks: *Himavat-putryā Gauryyā brahma-vidyābhīmāni-rūpatvād Gauri-vāchaka Umā-śabho brahma-vidyām upalazayati | ata eva Talavakāropanishadi brahma-vidyā-mūrtti-prastāve brahma-vidyā-mūrttiḥ paṭhyate* “*bahu śobhamānām Umāṁ Haimavatīm tāṁ hovācha*” *iti | tad-vishayaḥ tayā Umayā saha varttamānavāt Somāḥ |* “Since Gaurī, the daughter of Himavat, is the impersonation of divine knowledge, the word Umā, which denotes Gaurī, indicates divine knowledge. Hence in the Talavakāra Upanishad, in the passage on the impersonation of divine knowledge, the impersonation of divine knowledge is introduced in these words: ‘He said to the very resplendent Umā Haimavatī.’ Soma is he who has reference to her from his existing together with her. And again in the same commentary on Anuvāka 38, it is said: *Umā brahma-vidyā tayā saha varttamāna Soma paramātman |* ‘Umā is divine knowledge: thou who existest with her, o Soma, supreme spirit,’ etc. Further in the same commentary on Anuvāka 18, in explanation of the term *Ambikā-pataye*, we have the words: *Ambikā jagannātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ bhartre |* ‘Ambikā is Pārvatī, the mother of the world,—to her husband,’ etc.; and the word *Umāpataye* (which stands in the Draviḍa, but not in the Āndhra, text

<sup>334</sup> See above, p. 134.

of the Taitt. Ār.) is thus interpreted: *Tasyā eva brahma-vidyātmako deha Umā-śabdenochyate tasyāḥ svāmine* | 'Her (Ambikā's) body representing divine knowledge is designated by the word Umā—to her (Umā's) husband,' etc. This last passage is the only one in the circle of the Vedic writings in which,—with the exception of that in the Kena Upanishad,—I have as yet directly met with the name Umā; for the expression *Umā-sahāya* in the Kaivalya Upanishad (see above, p. 304) no longer belongs to the Vedic period; and further, though the Commentaries in other places also<sup>335</sup> explain *soma* by *Umayā sahita*, 'accompanied by Umā' (as Sāyana has done in the passage above cited), such an interpretation is just as groundless as in the texts commented on by Sāyana, where the word signifies simply the Soma-libation. From the considerations just stated, therefore (*i.e.* partly from the unanimity of the Commentaries, and partly from the very position which Umā here assumes in the Kena Upanishad), the signification of this word might seem to be fixed with tolerable certainty as denoting *brahma-vidyā*, 'divine knowledge,' and Umā might appear to be directly related to Sarasvatī, the divine word, and we might even be tempted to bring her into etymological connection with the sacred word *om*. There are, however, some additional points which seem to place the original signification of Umā in quite a different light. First of all, why is she called Haimavatī? What has she to do with Himavat? Is it that the *brahma-vidyā* (divine knowledge) came originally from the Himavat to the Arians dwelling in Madhyadeśa (the central region of Hindustan)? We have learnt from the Kaushītakī Brāhmana (Ind. Stud. i. 153) that the north of India was distinguished by greater purity of speech, and that students travelled thither to learn the language (*vāchaṁ śivī-tum*) and on their return thence enjoyed great consideration and authority. Now it would have been quite natural if this state of things had not been confined to language, but had become extended to speculation also, and if the knowledge of the one, eternal Brahma, had been sooner attained in the peaceful vallies of the Himālaya, than was possible for men living in Madhyadeśa, where their minds were more occupied by the practical concerns of life. Such a view of Umā Haimavatī appears to me, however, to be very hazardous. For,—not to say that

<sup>335</sup> *e.g.* Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. 16, 39, and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Mīśra on the corresponding part of the Taitt. Saṁhitā.

in our explanations of the ancient Indian deities we act wisely when we attach greater importance to the physical than to the speculative element,—we are by no means certain that Umā actually does signify divine knowledge (*brahma-vidyā*); and moreover, her subsequent position as Rudra's wife (in the Taitt. Ār.) would thus be quite inexplicable. Now there is among the epithets of this latter goddess a similar one, viz. Pārvatī, which would lead us in interpreting the word Haimavatī, to place the emphasis not upon the *Himavat*, but upon the mountain (*parvata*): and with this I might connect the epithets of Rudra which we have learnt from the Satarudriya (see above, p. 268), *Giriśa*, *Giriśanta*, *Giriśaya*, *Giritra*, in which we recognize the germ of the conception of Siva's dwelling on Kailāsa. He is the tempest, which rages in the mountains, and his wife is therefore properly called Pārvatī, Haimavatī, 'the mountaineer,' 'the daughter of Himavat.' At the same time it is not clear what we have to understand by his wife;<sup>326</sup> and further she is, perhaps, originally not his wife, but his sister, for Umā and Ambikā are at a later period evidently identical, and Ambikā is Rudra's sister (Ind. Stud. i. 183). Besides, this identification of Umā with Ambikā leads us to a new etymology of the former. For as Ambikā, 'mother,' appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess (see Mahīdhara on Vaj. S. 3, 5,—just as Rudra was called Siva), in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *u*, *av*, 'to protect.' It

<sup>326</sup> Indian mythology, however, assigns wives to the gods, without always, or even generally, ascribing to the wives any specific cosmical function. Weber adds in a note: "Does she perhaps denote the streams and torrents, poured forth by Rudra, the Storm, from the mountains and clouds? and does the name Ambikā stand in direct relation thereto? In the same way Sarasvatī also, the goddess of streams and of speech, is called Ambitamā, is addressed with the word 'Amba,' and is said to be 'produced on the highest peak on the mountain top' (*uttame śikhare jātā parvata-mūrdhani*). According to this view, *Umā* and *Sarasvatī*, *Ambikā* and *Ambitamā*, *Pārvatī* and the *parvata-mūrdhani jātā*, would perhaps have been originally identical, and have only become gradually separated, in such a way that in the one the violent and destructive energy of nature had become concentrated, and in the other the harmonious music of the streaming waters? And should we thus have to seek in the Umā of the Kena Upanishad and, on the other hand, in the Varadā of the Taitt. Ār. two examples of the original identity of both? Kuhn, at least, as he has informed me, holds Ambikā to be decidedly identical with Sarasvatī." [Is not a certain confirmation of this supposed original connection of Umā and Sarasvatī to be found in the fact that in the mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 (quoted below in p. 366) Umā is the younger, while the river Gangā is the elder daughter of Himavat?—J. M.]

is true that a final vowel before *ma* commonly takes *guna*, or is lengthened, but the words *sima* and *hima* shew that this is not necessary, and the name of *Rumā* is perhaps (unless we derive it from *ram*) a perfectly analogous formation. It certainly remains a mystery how we are to conceive the cruel wife of Rudra coming forward here in the Kena Upanishad as the mediatrix between the supreme Brahma and Indra, for on that supposition this Upanishad would have to be referred to a period when her husband, Rudra, was regarded as the highest god, the *Ívara*, and thus also as Brahma; *i.e.* it would belong to the period of some Śaiva sect. But since this remains questionable and improbable, we must first of all hold to the view that the conception entertained by the commentators of *Umā* as representing 'divine knowledge' rests solely upon this passage of the Kena Upanishad, unless indeed the original identity of *Umā* with *Sarasvatī*, which in the last note was regarded as possible, is here again visible.

"I consider the present opportunity a favourable one for speaking of some other names of Siva's spouse. As in Siva, first of all two gods, Agni and Rudra, are combined, so too his wife is to be regarded as a compound of several divine forms,<sup>337</sup> and this becomes quite evident if we look over the mass of her epithets. While one set of these, as *Umā*, *Ambikā*, *Pārvatī*, *Haimavatī*, belong to the wife of Rudra, others, as *Kālī*, *Karālī* (see Ind. Stud. i. 287) carry us back to the wife of Agni, while *Gaurī* and others perhaps refer to *Nirṛiti*, the goddess of all evil.

"The Tenth Book of the Taittirīya Aranyaka, in which she is several times invoked under different names, is particularly important for a knowledge of her character. The principal passage in which these invocations occur has been already noticed above (Ind. Stud. i. pp. 75 and 228<sup>338</sup>). It is, like the prayers which precede it, an imitation of

<sup>337</sup> "The most remarkable instance of this is to be found in Mahābhārata iv. 178 ff., in the hymn of Yudhishtira to Durgā, where he calls her *Yasodā*, *Kṛishṇā*, 'born in the cowherd family of Nanda,' 'sister of Vāsudeva,' 'enemy of Kansa,' and 'having the same features as Sankarshana,' etc. etc. However late the date of this hymn may be, it is still in the highest degree remarkable."

<sup>338</sup> In the first of these passages (Ind. Stud. i. 75) the author remarks that the Nārāyanīya Upanishad (the part of the Taitt. Ar. in which the verse in question occurs) is also found among the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, "but with remarkable variations, which indicate a later period. Thus the words quoted above according to the reading in the Taitt. Ar., viz. *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārīm*

the Gāyatrī, and runs thus: *Kātyāyanāya vidmahe Kanyākumārī*<sup>339</sup> *dhīmahi | tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt |* "We think on Kātyāyana (nī ?) and meditate on Kanyākumārī; may Durgi advance us."

. . . Now it is certainly difficult grammatically to find in this text the sense which Sāyana puts into it,<sup>340</sup> and which must have been traditionally connected with it, as that sense is the basis of the modification of the passage as found in the Atharva collection of Upanishads. All the other gods who are invoked are male—viz., Rudra, Mahādeva, Danti, Nandi, Shaṅmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Vishṇu, Nārasinha, Aditya, Agni; and it must therefore surprise us if we are to regard the twelfth deity as feminine, especially as the form is masculine. On the other hand, the sense of the words seems to compel us to adopt the traditional explanation. . . . Moreover, Kātyāyanī, Kanyākumārī, and Durgā, are already well known to us as names of Siva's consort: and, indeed, they all appear to carry us back to the flame of fire. It is true that as regards *Kātyāyanī* this is somewhat difficult; though when we consider the great importance of the Kātya family in reference to the sacrificial system of the Brahmans, it does not seem very improbable that a particular kind of fire, which perhaps was introduced by one of

*dhīmahi tan no Durgīḥ prachodayāt*, are, in the Upanishad as it is given in the Atharva collection, changed into *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīṁ dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |* This agrees with the sense which Sāyana, in his interpretation, puts on the words." In the passage of the *Liṅga Purāna* ii. 48, of which the commencement is given in the Third Vol. of this work, p. 161, this invocation of Durgā occurs as follows in verse 26: *Kātyāyanāyai vidmahe Kanyākumārīyai dhīmahi tan no Durgā prachodayāt |*

<sup>339</sup> The author observes here that in *Ind. Stud.* i. 75, he had incorrectly given *Kanyakumarim* as the proper reading.

<sup>340</sup> Sāyana's interpretation, as given by Weber i. 228, note, and here, is as follows: *Paśchād Durgā-gāyatrī | "Hema-prakhyām indu-khaṇḍāṅka-maulīm" ity āgama-prasiddha-mūrtti-dharāṁ Durgāṁ prārthayate "Kātyāyanāya" iti | kṛitīm vaste iti Kātyo Rudraḥ | . . . sa evayānam adhiṣṭhānāṁ-yasyāḥ sū Kātyāyanī athavā Kātyasya rishi-viśeshasya apatyāṁ Kātyaḥ | . . . Kutsitam anishṭham mārāyati iti kumārī kanyā dīpyamānā chāsau kumārī cha Kanyākumārī | Durgīḥ Durgū | liṅgādi-vyatyayaḥ savatra chhāndaso drashtavyaḥ | . . .* "Then follows Durgā's gayatrī. In the words 'Kātyānāya,' etc., he supplicates Durgā, bearing the form celebrated in the sūtras 'as having for a diadem the ornament of a section of the moon.' Rudra is Kātya, he who wears a skin . . . and Kātyāyanī is she whose path, support, is Kātya. Or, Kātya is the offspring of Kata, a particular rishi. . . . Kumārī is she who destroys what is bad, undesirable. She who is both Kanyā, 'shining,' and Kumārī, is Kanyākumārī. Durgī is Durgā. Diversity in forms is to be seen everywhere in the Vedas.

the Kātyas, was called after him, and that this name was then associated with Kālī, Karālī, and Durgā, which are originally mere appellations of fire. *Kanyākumārī*, or 'the maidenly,' is a very fitting epithet of the holy, pure, sacrificial flame; and even at the time of the Periplus, *i.e.* of Pliny, we find her worship extended to the southernmost point of India, to the Cape which was then, as now, called after her Cape Comorin: but does it not appear that she was then no longer worshipped as the sacrificial flame, but as the wife of Siva? The hymn to Agni in the second anuvāka of the Taitt. Ār. (Andhra recension) seems pretty decisive in favour of our connecting *Durgā* with the sacrificial fire. "It is there said<sup>341</sup> in the second verse: *Tām agnivarṇāṁ tapasā jvalantīm vairochanīm karma-phaleshu jushṭām | Durgāṁ devīm śaranam aham prapadye sutarasi tarase namaḥ |* ("I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is of the colour of fire, burning with austerity (or heat), daughter of the sun (or of fire), who delights to [bestow?] the rewards of rites: adoration be to thy energy, o impetuous [goddess]"). The five following verses repeat (as does also the *Durgā-stava* in the Parisiṣṭa) the same thought, which is also expressed in R. V. i. 99,<sup>342</sup> that Agni would help the suppliant over all *durga* and *durita* (difficulties and evils). Verse second could certainly be understood as if the worshipper turned to the personified *Durgati* (Evil) herself, and sought her protection, so that thus Durgā would have arisen out of Nirṛiti. But it appears to me better to understand the passage of the violent flame of the fire, which, like the fire itself, delivers, atones, and frees from all *durga* and *durita*, is a *durgā*, a protecting fortress, against them; so that this name would belong to the same class as Ambikā, Siva, Umā. If at a later period Durgā decidedly appears to have taken the place of the evil goddess Nirṛiti, this is no proof that the case was so from the beginning, but only shews that the original signification had been lost; which is in so far quite natural, as the consort of Siva bore a terrific character both from her connection with Rudra and also with Agni (compare Karālī).

"The last name of Siva's consort which I find in the Taittirīya

<sup>341</sup> "This verse is also found in the *Durgā-stava* of the *Rātripariśiṣṭa* between the fourteenth and fifteenth divisions of the seventh section of the eighth Ashtaka of the R. V." (*i.e.* between Maṇḍala x. 127 and 128). See note in the Appendix.

<sup>342</sup> This verse is as follows: *Jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato nidahāti vedah | sa nah parshad ati durgāni viśvā nāveva sindhum duritā 'ti Agnih |*



Āraṇyaka x. is Varadā, in anuv. 34 (=Drāv. 26) and 36 (=Drāv. 30). It is true that there it appears rather to be the name of Sarasvatī, not of Durgā, when it is said: *Āyātu varadā devī azaram brahma-sammītam | gāyatrīm chhandasām mātā idam (?) brahma jushasva me | . . . sarva-varṇe mahādevī sandhyā-vidye Sarasvatī* |<sup>343</sup> But the words in anuv. 36 are not so clear: *Uttame śikhare jātā bhūmyām parvata-mūrdhani | brāhmaṇebhyo 'bhyanujñātā gachha devī yathāsukham | stuto (=stutā u) mayā varadā veda-mātā prachodayanti pavane dvijātā,*<sup>344</sup> etc.; where especially the first strophe reminds us of Pārvatī and Haimavatī, and one does not rightly comprehend how Sarasvatī obtains such an epithet (unless we are to understand the waters streaming from the hills, since Sarasvatī is, as is well known, at once a river goddess and the goddess of speech). In the same way the names Mahādevī and Sandhyāvidyā (see Wilson under Sandhyā) belong at a later period exclusively to the consort of Śiva. The other names, however, *sarva-varṇā*, *chhandasām mātā*, *veda-mātā*, and finally *Sarasvatī* itself conduct us to Sarasvatī; and so does also the liturgical usage, and the sense itself of anuvākas 34-36. Thus there only remains to us the possibility of assuming here a blending (and so a reminiscence of the possible original identity) of both goddesses; as we may perhaps also assume in the case of Umā Haimavatī in the Kena Upanishad, agreeably to the conjecture intimated above, p. 360, note 336."

Two of the names alluded to in the above extract, which were afterwards applied to the consort of Śiva, viz. Kālī and Karālī, occur in an important passage of another of the Upanishads (the Muṇḍaka i. 2, 4), but they are there appellations of two of the different tongues of fire: *Kālī Karālī cha Manojavā cha Sulohitā yā cha Sudhūmravarṇā | Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelāyamānā iti sapta jīhvāḥ* | which is thus translated by Dr. Roer (Bibl. Ind. xv. 153): "The seven flickering tongues [of the fire] are—Kālī (the black one),

<sup>343</sup> The sense of these words is: "May the boon-bestowing goddess (or the goddess Varadā) come: do thou, mother of the Vedas, receive with favour the letter equivalent to the Veda, the gāyatrī, this my prayer, o thou who hast all letters, great goddess, Twilight-science, Sarasvatī."

<sup>344</sup> The sense is: "Born on the highest peak, on the earth, on the summit of the mountain, dismissed from the Brahmans, go, goddess, wherever thou wilt. Praised by me, the boon-bestowing goddess, the mother of the Veda, twice born in the air, stimulating us," etc.

Karālī (the terrific one), Manojavā (swift as the mind), Sulohitā (the very red one), Sudhūmravarṇā (of purple colour), Sphulinginī (emitting sparks), and the Viśvarūpī (all-shaped) goddess." The words "of the fire" are not in the original. The commentator, however, briefly remarks : *Kālī Karālī Manojavā cha Sulohitā cha yā cha Sudhūmra-varṇā Sphulinginī Viśvarūpī cha devī lelayamānā dahanasya jihvāḥ | Agner havir-āhuti-grasanārthā etāḥ sapta jihvāḥ |* "Kālī, Karālī, Manojavā, Sulohitā, Sudhūmravarṇā, Sphulinginī, and the goddess Viśvarūpī, are the seven flickering tongues of fire. These are the seven tongues which Agni has for devouring oblations of butter."

On this passage Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i, 286 f.): "The first two of these names were at a later period personified, and came to represent Durgā (the consort of Śiva, who was developed out of Agni), who (Durgā), as is well known, became the object of a bloody sacrificial-worship under the names Kālī (the dark, black), Karālā, Karālavadanā, Karālānanā, Karālamukhī. It is evident that a considerable time was required for the sense of the word to become developed from that of the 'dark, terrific, tongue of fire' to that of a goddess Kālī, Karālā, worshipped with bloody sacrifices: and since we find the latter in the drama of 'Mālati-Mādhava,' by Bhavabhūti, who is assigned by Wilson to the eighth century, the Muṇḍaka Upanishad must be considerably older; unless, indeed, the ancient signification of these names maintained itself at a later period alongside of the popular one. The worship of Durgā, Umā, and Pārvatī, may be shewn in its beginnings, if not from this passage, at all events from the Upanishads of the Yajus, see Ind. Stud. i. p. 78." In a note Weber adds: "The third name (Manojavā) reminds us of Manojavas, the appellation of Yama, the god of death, in the Vāj. S. 5, 11. Does it at a later period denote his wife? for Yama too, like Śiva, is one stage of Agni, the older, certainly, while Śiva is the more recent."

In the passages quoted from the Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas in section vi. (pp. 317, 324), the spouse of Mahādeva is said to have been originally the daughter of Daxa, and to have become the daughter of Himavat only when she was born the second time after her voluntary death at Daxa's sacrifice. The following passage of the Rāmāyaṇa says nothing of this double birth and parentage:

Rāmāyaṇa i. 36, 13 ff. (ed. Schl.)—*Sailendro Himavān nāma dhātūnām ākaro mahān | tasya kanyā-dvayaṁ jātāṁ rūpenāpratimam bhuvī | yā Meru-dukhitā Rāma tayor mātā sumadhyamā | nāmnā Menā manojñū vai patnī Himavataḥ priyā | tasyāṁ Gaṅgeyam abhavaj jyeshṭhā Himavataḥ sutā | Umā nāma dvitīyā 'bhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava | . . . 19. Yā chānyā Saila-dukhitā kanyāsīd Raghu-nandana | ugraṁ sū vratam āsthāya tapas tepe tapo-dhanā | ugreṇa tapasā yuktāṁ dadau Saila-varaḥ sutām | Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umāṁ loka-namaskṛitām | Iy eto Saila-rājasya sute Rāma babhūvatuh | Gaṅgā cha saritām śreshṭhā devīnām chāpy Umā varā |* "To Himavat, the chief of mountains, the great mine of metals, two daughters were born, in beauty unequalled upon earth. The daughter of Meru, Menā by name, the pleasing and beloved wife of Himavat, was their slender-waisted mother. Of her was born Gangā, the eldest daughter of Himavat; and his second daughter was called Umā. . . . 19. The other daughter of the mountain, rich in austere observances, having undertaken an arduous rite, fulfilled a course of severe austerity. This daughter, Umā, distinguished by severe austerity, adored by the worlds, the Chief of mountains gave to the matchless Rudra. These, Rāma, were the two daughters of the king of mountains, Gangā, the most eminent of rivers, and Umā, the most excellent of goddesses."

The Harivaṁsa (vv. 940 ff.) gives the following history of Umā, which differs in some points from that of the Rāmāyaṇa, as it assigns three daughters to Himavat and Menā, among whom the Gangā is not included :

*Eteshām mānasī kanyā Menā nāma mahāgīrēḥ | patnī Himavataḥ śreshṭhā . . . 943. Tisraḥ kanyās tu Menāyāṁ janayāmāsa Saila-rāḥ | Aparnām Ekaparnāṁ cha tritīyām Ekapāṭalām | tapas charantyaḥ sumahad duścharaṁ Deva-Dānavaiḥ | lokān samtāpayāmāsus tās tisraḥ sthānu-jaṅgamān | āhāram eka-parnena Ekaparnā samācharat | pāṭalā-pushpam ekaṁ cha ādadhāv Ekapāṭalā | ekā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyashedhayat | "u mā" iti nishedhantī mātrī-snehena dukḥhitā | sū tathoktā tada mātrā devī duśchara-chārīnī | Umety evābhavat khyatā trishu lokeshu sundarī | tathāiva nāmnā teneha viśrutā yogadharmīnī | etat tu trikumārīkaṁ jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava | tapas-śarīrās tāḥ sarvās tisro yoga-balānvitāḥ | sarvās cha brahma-vāḍīnyāḥ sarvās chaivordhva-retasaḥ | Umā tāsāṁ varishṭhā cha jyeshṭhā cha vara-varnīnī | mahāyoga-*

*balopetā Mahādevam upasthitā | Asitasyaikaparṇā tu Devalasya mahāt-  
manaḥ | patnī dattā mahābrahman yogāchāryāya dhīmate | Jaigīshavyāya  
tu tathā viddhi tām Ekapāṭalām |*

940. "Their (the Pitṛis') mental daughter was Menā, the eminent wife of the great mountain Himavat. . . . 943. The king of the mountains begot three daughters upon Menā—viz., Aparṇā, Ekaparṇā, and Ekapāṭalā. These three, performing very great austerity, such as could not be accomplished by gods or Dānavas, distressed [with alarm] both the stationary and the moving worlds. Ekaparṇā ('One-leaf') fed upon one leaf. Ekapāṭalā took only one pāṭalā (Bignonia) for her food. One (Aparṇā) took no sustenance, but her mother, distressed through maternal affection, forbade her, dissuading her with the words *u mā* ('o don't). The beautiful goddess, performing arduous austerity, having been thus addressed by her mother on that occasion, became known in the three worlds as Umā. In this manner the contemplative goddess became renowned under that name. But this world shall remain [distinguished by?] having these three maids. All these three had mortified bodies, were distinguished by the force of contemplation, and were all chaste, and expounders of divine knowledge. Umā was the eldest and most excellent among the three. Distinguished by the force derived from deep contemplation, she obtained Mahādeva [for her husband]. Ekaparṇā was given as a wife to the great Asita Devala, the wise teacher of the *Yoga*. And know that Ekapāṭalā was in like manner bestowed on Jaigīshavya."

The following is the commencement of the hymn of Arjuna to Durgā, which, as has been mentioned in p. 170, he uttered at the suggestion of Krishṇa:<sup>345</sup>

M. Bh. Bhīshma p. vv. 796 ff.—*Arjjuna uvācha | namas te Siddha-  
senāni āryye mandara-vāsini | Kumāri Kālī Kāpālī Kapile Kṛishṇa-  
piṅgale | Bhadrakālī namas tubhyam Mahākālī namo 'stu te | Chāṇḍī  
Chāṇḍe namas tubhyam Tārini Varavarṇini | Kātyāyani mahābhāge Karālī  
Vijaye Jaye | śikhi-pichha-dhwaja-dhare nānābharāṇa-bhūshite | aṭṭa-sūla-  
praharāṇe khadga-khetaka-dhārini | gopendrāsyaṇuje jyeshṭhe Nanda-  
gopa-kulodbhāve | Mahishāsrīk-priye nityam Kauśiki pita-vāsini | aṭṭa-  
hāse koka-mukhe namas te 'stu rāṇa-priye | Umo Sākambhari Svete Kṛishṇe*

<sup>345</sup> The Bhagavadgītā, in which Krishṇa himself is so highly extolled and glorified, begins shortly afterwards in the twenty-fifth section of the Bhishma-parva, vv. 830 ff.

*Kaitabha-nāśini | Hiranyāxi Virūpāxi Dhūmrāxi cha namo 'stu te |  
Veda-śruti mahāpunye brahmanyē Jātavedasi | Jambū-kaṭaka-chaityeshu  
nityaṁ sannihitālaye | tvam brahma-vidyā vidyānām mahānidrā cha  
dehinām | Skandha-mātar bhagavati Durge kāntāra-vāsini | . . . . .  
Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā chaiva kalā kāshṭhā Sarasvatī | Sāvitrī Veda-mātā  
cha tathā Vedānta uchyate (uchyase?) | stutā 'si tvam Mahādevi viśud-  
dhenāntarātmanā | Jayo bhavatu me nityaṁ tvat-prasādād ranājire |  
kāntāra-bhaya-durgeshu bhaktānām pālaneshu cha | nityaṁ vasasi pātāle  
yuddhe jayasi dānavān | tvam Jambhanī Mohinī cha Māyā Hriḥ Śrīś  
tathaiva cha | Sandhyā prabhāvatī chaiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā | Tushṭiḥ  
Pushṭir Dhṛitir Dīptiś chandrāditya-vivardhinī | bhūtir bhūtimatām  
saṅkhye vīxyase siddha-chāraṇaiḥ |*

“ Reverence be to thee, Siddhasenānī (Generaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Krishna-pingalā. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakālī; reverence to thee, Mahākālī; reverence to thee, Chaṇḍī, Chaṇḍā; reverence to thee, o Tāriṇī (deliveress), o Varavarṇinī (beautiful-coloured), o fortunate Kātyāyanī, o Karālī, o Vijayā, o Jayā (victory), who bearest a peacock's tail for thy banner, adorned with various jewels, armed with many spears, wielding sword and shield, younger daughter [or sister] of the chief of cowherds, eldest, born in the family of the cowherd Nanda, delighting always in Mahisha's blood, Kauśikī, wearing yellow garments, loud-laughing, wolf-mouthed, reverence to thee, thou delighter in battle, o Umā, Sākambharī, thou white one, thou black one, o destroyer of Kaitabha. Reverence to thee, o Hiranyāxī, Virūpāxī, Dhūmrāxī (golden-, distorted-, dark-eyed), o Vedaśruti (tradition of the Veda), most pure, devout, Jātavedasī (female Agni), who dwellest continually near to ( . . . ? ) mountain-ridges, and places of sacrifice. Of sciences thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Veda), the great sleep of embodied beings, o mother of Skanda, divine Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. Thou art called Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāshṭhā (minute divisions of time), Sarasvatī,<sup>365</sup> Sāvitrī, mother of the Vedas, and the Vedānta (or end of the Vedas). Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me be ever victorious in battle. In deserts, fears, and difficulties, and in the preservation of thy devout servants, and in Pātāla, thou con-

<sup>365</sup> Compare what has been said by Prof. Weber on the relation of Umā and Sarasvatī, above, p. 360, note, and p. 364.

stantly dwellest, and conquerest the Danavas in battle. Thou art Jambhanī (destroyer ?), Mohinī, Māyā, Hṛī, Srī, Sandhyā,<sup>347</sup> the luminous, Sāvitrī, the mother, Tusṭi (contentment), Pusṭi (fatness), Dhṛiti (constancy), Dīpti (light), increaser of the sun and moon, the power of the powerful in battle,—[all this] thou art seen by the Siddhas and Chāraṇas [to be].”

In another part of the Mahābhārata, Virāṭa-parva, 178 ff., there is another hymn (already referred to above, p. 361, note) addressed by Yudhishtira to Durgā, and very similar to the preceding. Among other things, she is there said to “have her perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountains, and to delight in spirituous liquor, flesh, and sacrificial victims” (*Vindhye chaiva naga-śreshṭhe tava sthānaṁ hi śāsvatam | Kālī Kālī Mahākālī śidhu-māṁsa-paśu-priye |*).

In the Harivaṁsa, vv. 3236 ff., it is related that with the view of defeating the designs of Kansa in regard to the destruction of Devakī’s offspring, Viṣṇu descended into Pātāla, where he sought the aid of Nidrā Kāla-rūpiṇī (Sleep in the form of time); and promised her in return that through his favour she should be a goddess adored in all the world (v. 3242). He desires her to be born as the ninth child of Yaśodā on the same night on which he was to be born as the eighth child of Devakī (3247), when he would be carried to Yaśodā and she to Devakī. He tells her that she would be taken by the foot, and cast out upon a rock; but would then obtain an eternal place in the sky, becoming assimilated to himself in glory; would be installed by Indra among the gods (3251 ff.), received by him as his sister under the name of Kauśiki, and would obtain from him (Indra) a perpetual abode on the Vindhya mountain, where, thinking upon him (Viṣṇu), she would kill the two demons Sumbha and Niśumbha, and would be worshipped with animal sacrifices (*tatraiva tvām bhaginy-arthe grahishyati sa Vāsavaḥ | Kuśikasya tu gotreṇa Kauśikī tvam bhavishhyasi*<sup>348</sup> | *sa to Vindhye naga-sreshṭhe sthānaṁ dāsyati śāsvatam | ityādi |*). Vaiśampāyana then (vv. 3268 ff.) repeats a hymn to Āryā (Durgā) which had been “uttered by rishis of old,” beginning *Nārāyaṇīṁ namasyāmi devīṁ tribhuvaneśvarīṁ |* “I bow down before the goddess Nārāyaṇī,

<sup>347</sup> See above, p. 364.

<sup>348</sup> Kauśika is applied as an epithet to Indra in R. V. i. 10, 11. See the First Vol. of this work, p. 82, note 50.

the mistress of the three worlds." She is here called by many of the names which we have already met in Arjuna's hymn (above, p. 367 ff.), such as *Srī*, *Dhṛiti*, *Kirtti*, *Hrī*, *Sandhyā*, *Kātyāyanī*, *Kauśikī*, *Jayā*, *Vijayā*, *Tusṭi*, *Pushṭi* (3269 f.). She is also called the eldest sister of *Yama* (*jyeshṭhā Yamasya bhaginī*, v. 3271); and said to be worshipped by the [savage tribes of] *Savaras*, *Varvaras*, and *Pulindas* (*Savarair Varbaraiś chaiva Pulindaiś cha supūjitā*, v. 3274). She is also said to be fond of wine and flesh (*surā-māṃsa-priyā*, v. 3279), the goddess of wine (*surā-devī*, v. 3286), to be *Sarasvatī* in *Vālmīki* (comp. p. 360), and *Smṛiti* (memory) in *Dvaipāyana*, i.e. *Vyāsa* (*Sarasvatī cha Vālmīke Smṛitir Dvaipāyane tathā*), and to pervade the entire world (*tevyā vyāptam idam sarvaṃ jagat sthāvara-jaṅgamam*).

The object of this passage seems to be to take *Durgā* and her worship (the extensive prevalence of which could not be ignored by the *Vaiṣṇavas*) under the protection and patronage of *Vishṇu*.

A hymn addressed to *Durgā* by *Pradyumna*, the son of *Krishṇa*, is also to be found in *Harivaṃsa* vv. 9423; and another uttered by *Aniruddha*, son of *Pradyumna* and grandson of *Krishṇa*, occurs in vv. 10235 of the same work. The latter hymn is repeated by *Vaiśampāyana* after he had made obeisance to the "infinite, imperishable, celestial, eternal primeval-god *Nārāyana*" (*anantam azayaṃ divyam ādi-devaṃ sanātanam | Nārāyaṇaṃ namaskṛitya*, 10232); and he talks of the goddess as being "adored by rishis and gods with flowers of eloquence" (*rishiḥhir daivataiś chaiva vāk-pushpair architām śubhām*, 10234). The hymn addresses *Durgā* as the sister of *Indra* and *Vishṇu* (*Mahendra-Vishṇu-bhaginīm*, v. 10235), as *Gautamī*, and by many of the names which we have already found in the preceding hymns, as well as by many new appellations, and goes on thus (v. 10256 ff.): *Brahmā Vishṇuś cha Rudraś cha chandra-sūryāgni-mārutāḥ | . . . . kritsnaṃ jagad idam proktaṃ devyā nāmānukirttanāt |* "Brahmā, *Vishṇu*, *Rudra*, the sun, moon, and wind . . . . all this world is pronounced by uttering the name of this goddess."

The worship of this goddess reaches its climax in such works as the *Devī-māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, sections 81 ff.; where it is remarkable that she is connected with *Vishṇu*, and not with her proper consort, *Mahādeva*. She is there called *Mahāmāyā* (the great Illusion), *Yoganidrā* (the Sleep of meditation), etc.

It is there said of her (v. 47 ff.): *Nityaiva sã jagan-mũrttir tayã sarvã idam tatam | tathãpi tat-samutpattir bahudhã srũyatãm mama | devãnãm kãryya-siddhy-artham avirbhavati sã yadã | utpannoti tadã loka sã nityã 'py abhidhĩyate* | "She is the eternal form (or substance) of the world; by her all this [universe] is stretched out: and yet hear from me her manifold birth. Whenever she is manifested to effect the purposes of the gods, she, though eternal, is said in the world to be born." The narrative then proceeds, that when Vishnu was sunk in this sleep of contemplation (*Yoganidrã*) at the end of the Kalpa, two demons, Madhu and Kaitabha, sprang from his ear and were about to kill Brahmã; when the latter seeing Vishnu asleep, with the view of arousing him began to celebrate the praises of *Yoganidrã*, "his divine sleep who was abiding in his eyes, the mistress of the universe, the support of the world, the cause of its continuance and destruction;" (*Hari-netra-kritãlayãm | visvevarim jagaddhatrim sthitisamhãra-karinim | nidram bhagavatim Vishnoh* |). Some of the functions assigned to her are as follows (v. 56): *Tvayaiva dhãryyate sarvam tvayaitat srijyate jagat | tvayaitat pãlyate devi tvam atsy ante cha sarvadã* | "By thee the universe is upheld; by thee the world is created, by thee it is preserved; and thou always devourest it at the end." Again, it is said of her (v. 63 ff.): *Yachcha kinchit kvachid vastu sad asad va 'khalãtmake | tasya sarvasya yã sãktih sã tvam kim stũyaso tadã | yayã tvayã jagat-srashtã jagat-pãtã 'tti yo jagat | so 'pi nidrã-vasãm nitah kas tvãm stotum ihešvaraḥ | Vishnuḥ śarira-grahanam aham Isãna eva cha | kãritãs to yato 'tas tvãm kaḥ stotum śaktimãn bhavet* | "Thou art the power (*śakti*) of whatever substance, existent or nonexistent, anywhere is, o thou soul of all things: why art thou, then, lauded [by us who are unequal to the task]? Who is able to magnify thee by whom the Creator of the world, the Preserver of the world, and the Devourer of the world, have been subjected to sleep? Since thou hast caused Vishnu, and me (Brahmã), and Isãna (*Siva*) to become incorporate, who has the power to praise thee?"

The following is the beginning of a hymn addressed to her after her destruction of the demon Mahisha :

Mãrk. Pur. sect. 84, 1 ff.—*Sukrãdayaḥ sura-gaṇã nihate 'tivĩryye tasmin durãtmani surãribale cha devyã | tam tushṭvavãḥ praṇati-namra-sirodharãmsã vãgbhiḥ praharsha-pulakodgama-chãru-dehãḥ | devyã yayã*



*tatam idam jagad ātma-śaktyā niḥśeṣha-deva-gaṇa-śakti-samūha-mūrtyā |  
tām Ambikām akhila-deva-maharshi-pūjyām bhaktyā natāḥ sma vida-  
dhātu śubhāni sā naḥ | yasyāḥ prabhāvam atulam bhagavān Ananto  
Brahmā Haraś cha na hi vaktum alam balañcha | sā Chandīkā 'khila-  
jagat-paripālānāya nāsāya chāśubha-bhayasya matiṁ karotu |* "When  
the goddess had slain this very powerful and malignant [demon] and  
the host of the enemies of the gods,—the deities, headed by Indra, with  
their necks and shoulders bowed down in obeisance, and their bodies  
beautified by horripilation, delighted, lauded her with [these] words :  
'We bow down with devotion before that goddess Āmbikā, who  
stretched out this world by her own power, in whom are impersonated  
the various energies (*śakti*) of all the gods, who is to be adored by all  
the deities and rishis : may she confer upon us blessings. May Chan-  
dikā, whose majesty and might neither the divine Ananta (Vishṇu),  
nor Brahmā, nor Hara (Siva) is competent to express, think upon the  
preservation of the world, and the destruction of the fear of evil."

These specimens may suffice to shew the dignity to which this goddess  
has eventually been elevated in the estimation of her worshippers ; and  
a comparison of the characteristics which are here assigned to her with  
the descriptions quoted above from the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, etc.  
(pp. 306, 314 ff., 366 f.), will shew that she has now attained a far  
higher rank in the Indian pantheon than was originally enjoyed by  
the daughter of Daxa and Himavat.

## APPENDIX.

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*Page 5, line 1.*

*Ārambhaṇam.* Compare the words *anārambhāṇe tamasi* in R. V. vii. 104, 8.

*Page 10, line 14.*

*Mārttāṇḍam.* Compare R. V. ii. 38, 8. . . . *viśvo mārttāṇḍo vrajam ā patur gāt . . .* which the commentator explains, "every bird and beast goes to its resting place."

*Page 19, v. 23.*

The mundane egg is also mentioned in the Chhândogya Upani-  
shad (p. 228 ff.): *Ādityo Brahma ity ādeśaḥ | tasyoparyākhyānam |*  
*asad evadam agre āsit | tat sad āsit | tat samabhavat | tad āṇḍam*  
*niravaritata | tat saṁvatsarasya mātrām āsayata | tad nirabhid-*  
*yata | te āṇḍa-kapāle rajataṁ cha suvarṇaṁ cha abhavatām | tad*  
*yat rajataṁ sā iyam pṛithivī yat suvarṇaṁ sā dyaur yaj jarāyu<sup>1</sup>*  
*te parvatā yad ulvāṁ<sup>2</sup> sa megho nihāro<sup>3</sup> yā dhamanayas<sup>4</sup> tā nadyo yad*  
*vāsteyam<sup>5</sup> udakaṁ sa samudraḥ | atha yat tad ajāyata so 'sāv Ādityas*  
*taṁ jāyamānaṁ ghoshā ulūlavo<sup>6</sup> 'nudatishṭhan [ 'nūdatishṭhan ? ] sarvāṇi*  
*cha bhūtāni sarve cha kāmās tasmāt tasyodayam prati pratyāyanam<sup>7</sup>*  
*prati ghoshā ulūlavo 'nutishṭhanti sarvāṇi cha bhūtāni sarve chaiva*  
*kāmāḥ |* which is thus translated by Babu Rājendralal Mitra : "The

<sup>1</sup> *Garbha-veshṭhanaṁ sthūlam |* Comm.

<sup>2</sup> *Sūzmaṁ garbha-pariveshṭhanam |* Comm.

<sup>3</sup> *Avatīyāyaḥ (frost) |* Comm.

<sup>4</sup> *S'ivāḥ |* Comm.

<sup>5</sup> *Vastau bhavam vāsteyam |* Comm. "Abdominal," Wilson.

<sup>6</sup> *Ururaso visfirṇa-ravō udatishṭhanam utthitasantaḥ |*

<sup>7</sup> *Pratyasta-gamanam . . . sthāvā punaḥ punaḥ pratyāgamanam*

sun is described as Brahma;—its description. Verily at first this was non-existent; that non-existence became existent; it developed,—it became an egg: it remained [quiet] for a period of one year; it burst into two; thence were formed two halves of gold and silver. Thereof the argentine half is the earth, and the golden half the heaven. The inner thick membrane [of the egg] became mountains, and the thin one cloudy fog; the blood-vessels became rivers, and the fluid became the ocean; and lastly, what was born therefrom is the sun, Āditya. On its birth arose loud shouts [or shouts of 'ulu-ulu'], as well as all living beings, and their desires. Hence on the rising, and re-rising [day after day] of the sun, arise shouts of 'ulu-ulu,' as well as all living beings and their desires." (Bibl. Ind. No. 78, p. 65.)

Page 23, line 30.

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

Page 29, line 8.

In the Uttara Kāṇḍa, also, of the Rāmāyaṇa (4, 9, Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prajāpatih purā sṛishṭvā apaḥ salīla-sambhavaḥ | tāsāṃ gopāyane sattvān asṛijāt padma-sambhavaḥ |* "The lotus-born Prājapati, sprung from the waters (or, the source of the waters), having formerly created the waters, created beings to protect them;" who from their agreeing to protect the waters, were called Rāxasas (from the root *raḥ*, "to protect").

On this verse the commentator remarks: "*Apaḥ sṛishṭvā*" *bhāmer adho-varttinīr apaḥ sṛishṭvā ity arthaḥ | tatra "salīla-sambhavaḥ" Prajāpatir abhūd ity anvayaḥ | . . . tathā "apo vā idam agre salīlam asīt tasmīn Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā 'charat | sa imām apaśyat tām Varāho 'bhūtvā "harat" iti śruteścha |* "Having created the waters:' the sense is, having created the waters existing beneath the earth. In them the 'water-born' Prājapati arose,—such is the connection." He then quotes Manu i. 8 f. (see p. 26 above), and another text from the Veda, and afterwards goes on: ". . . and from the Vedic text, 'this universe was formerly waters, water. In it Prājapati becoming wind, moved. He beheld this earth: becoming a boar, he raised her.'"

In the Kishk. K. of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 54 ff. (Calc. ed.), Brahmā (in the masculine) is identified with the soul of the universe: *Tam atikramya śailendram uttaras toyasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Soma-girir nāma madhye hemamayo mahān | 55. Sa tu deśo visūryyo 'pi tasya bhāsā prakāśate | sūryya-laxmyā 'bhivijñeyas tapateva vivasvatā | 56. Bhagavāms tatra viśvātmā Sambhur eko daśātmakaḥ | Brahmā vasati deveśo brahmarshi-parivāritaḥ | na kathañchana gantavyaṁ Kurūṇām uttarena cha | ityādi |* "Beyond that chief of mountains (in the land of the northern Kurus) is the northern ocean. There in its centre is the great golden Soma-giri (mountain of Soma or the Moon). That region, though sunless, shines by the lustre of that [mountain], and is recognizable by a sun-like splendour, as if the sun were shining. There the divine soul of the world, Sambhu, one, but tenfold, Brahmā, dwells, the god of gods, attended by the rishis. You must by no means go beyond the Kurus."

The commentator remarks on v. 56: *Viśvaṁ samati vyāpnoti iti viśvātmā vyāpakaḥ | tena Viśṇu-rūpaḥ | Viśṇu-vyāptāv ity anusarāt sa eva Sambhuḥ śam bhavaty asmāt | sa evaikādaśānucākārthaikādaśa-rudrātmakaḥ | sa cha Brahmā brāhmaṇatvāj jagat-sraṣṭrītīvād evaṁ-rūpa-trayātmā bhagavāms tatra Soma-girau kāryya-brahma-lokatvād vaśatity arthaḥ |* "He who pervades all things,—is the soul of all things, the pervader. He is therefore in the form of Viśṇu. Since Viśṇu pervades, he is consequently Sambhu, he from whom happiness arises. He is the subject of the eleven anuvākas, and exists in the form of the eleven Rudras. [The commentator must therefore read *ekādaśātmakaḥ* in the text. Gorresio's edition reads *bahudhātmaḥ*.] And this divine being, [called] Brahmā, from his character of Brahmā, *i.e.* from his being the creator of the world, existing in these three forms, dwells on that Soma-giri, from its being the created *Brahma-loka* [?]." I subjoin for comparison the passage as given in Gorresio's edition:

Kishk. K. 44, 117 ff.—*Kurūṁs tām samatikramya uttaro payasāṁ nidhiḥ | tatra Somagirir nāma hiraṇmaya-samo mahān | Indra-loka-gatā ye cha Brahma-loka-gatās cha ye | sarve te samavaivanta giri-rājan divaṁ gatāḥ | asūryo 'pi hi deśaḥ sa tasya bhāsaḥ prakāśate | sasūrya iva laxmivāms tapatīva divākare | bhagavāms tatra bhūtātmā svayambhūr bahudhātmaḥ | Brahmā bhavati caśyātmā sarvātmā sarva-bhāvanaḥ |*

Page 56, line 23.

In the description of the regions to which the monkeys were sent to search for Sitā after she had been carried off by Rāvana, which is given in the Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa or fourth book of the Rāmāyaṇa, the following reference occurs to the three steps of Viṣṇu; and it is of such a character as to preserve some trace of the original meaning of those steps :

Sect. 40, vv. 54 ff. (Calc. ed.)<sup>3</sup>—*Tataḥ paraṁ hemamayāḥ śrīmān Udaya-parvataḥ | tasya koṭir divaṁ sprishṭvā śata-yojanam āyatā | jātarūpamayī divyā virājati sa-vedikā | . . . 57. Tatra yojana-vistāram uchhritaṁ daśa-yojanam | śringaiḥ Saumanasam nāma jātarūpamayaṁ dhruvam | 58. Tatra pūrva-padaṁ kṛtvā purā Viṣṇus trivikrame (trivikramaḥ Gorr.) | dvitīyaṁ śikhare Meros chakāra puruṣhottamaḥ | 59. Uttareṇa parikramya Jambūdvīpaṁ divākaraḥ | drīśyo bhavati bhūyishṭhaṁ śikharaṁ tad mahochhrayam (drīśyo bhavati bhūtānām śikharam tam upāśritaḥ | Gorr.) 54. "Beyond that is the glorious, golden, Udaya parvata [mountain over which the sun rises]; the divine and golden peak of which shines, touching the sky, a hundred yojanas long, and supported by a basement. . . . 57. There with its pinnacles stands the firm, golden Saumanasa, a yojana broad and ten yojanas high. When Viṣṇu, the chief of spirits, formerly strode three paces, he planted his first step there, and his second on the summit of Meru. When the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly visible on that lofty peak ;" (or, 'he is visible to living beings, resting upon that peak.' Gorr.).*

The commentator does not throw much light on the matter in his remarks on v. 58 : *Tatra śata-yojana-ḍīrghe Udaya-giri-śikhare tatra Saumanase śringe trivikrame tribhiḥ padais triloky-ākramaṇa-prastāve prathamam padam Meroḥ śikhare chakāra |* On v. 59 : *Athānantaram uttareṇa Jambu-dvīpam parikramya tam mahochhrayaṁ śikharam Saumanasākhyam prāpya sthito divākaro Jambu-dvīpa-varttinām bhūyishṭham drīśho bhavati Saumanasa-śikhare ity arthaḥ | idam satya-yugābhiprāyaṁ tretāyāṁ xīra-sūgara-madhya-gasya dvāpare suroda-madhya-gasya kalau Lanḱā-madhya-gasya Jambudvīpa-sīha-manushya-drīśyatāyā anyatroktatvāt |* "On this summit of the Udaya-giri, a hundred yojanas

<sup>3</sup> Gorresio has several various readings in this passage. I have noted those which occur in the most important verses.

lofty, on that peak Saumanasa, in his triple stride, on the occasion of his traversing the three worlds with three steps, [Vishṇu] placed his first step on the summit of Meru." [Some words would seem to be left out here, as the commentator now contradicts the text, and says nothing of the second step.] On v. 59 he remarks: "Afterwards when the sun has circled round Jambudvīpa by the north, he is mostly seen by the inhabitants of that dvīpa standing on the lofty summit called Saumanasa. This refers to the Satya yuga. For it is said in other books that in the Tretā age the sun is beheld by the men of Jambudvīpa to go through the ocean of milk, in the Dvāpara through the ocean of wine, and in the Kali through Lankā."

The three steps of Vishṇu are mentioned in other parts of the Rāmāyaṇa. Thus in book vi. 39, 22 (Calc. ed.), it is said: *Prāsādaiścha vimānaiś cha Lanḡā parama-bhūshita | ghanair ivātapāpāye madhyamaṁ Vaiṣṇavam padam* | "Lankā was beautifully adorned with temples and palaces, as the middle step (or position) of Vishṇu, with clouds, at the departure of the hot season [and commencement of the rains]." The commentator explains the middle position of Vishṇu by *ākāśa*. This passage may refer either to the original, or to the legendary, sense of Vishṇu's steps.

*Page 146, line 29.*

In this note I shall adduce some further evidence tending to confirm the supposition that Rāma may not have been originally represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as an incarnation of Vishṇu.

In the summaries of the poem, contained in sections 1 and 3 of the First Book, as given in the Calcutta edition and in Schlegel's, no allusion is made to the divine origin of Rama; and the same is the case in the first and third sections in Gorresio's edition also. In the fourth section, however, of the last-named recension (which the others do not contain), the plan pursued by the gods for the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the divine fluid through which the sons of Daśaratha were produced, are distinctly referred to (vv. 14, 15). In the first of the two summaries in Rāmāyaṇa i. 1, 18 (Calc. ed.), Rāma is described as "resembling Vishṇu in vigour, and pleasant to behold, like the Moon." The former epithet would imply that he was not Vishṇu. Otherwise, what necessity for the comparison? The commentator remarks thus

on the expression : *Yadyapi Rāmo Viṣṇur eva sarva-rūpās cha tathāpi mānushopādhi-bhedāt sarvatra sādriśyaṃ drashtavyam | yadvā Viṣṇunā sadriśa ity ananvayāḷaṅkāraḥ* | “Although Rāma was no other than Viṣṇu, still from the seeming distinctness of his humanity, resemblances may be regarded as existing in all points [between the one and the other]. Or, the comparison may be regarded as coming within the class of improper similes (*ananvayāḷaṅkāra*).” See Professor Goldstücker’s Dictionary under this word.

In the text, pp. 142–145, following Schlegel and Lassen, I have pointed out that the second sacrifice described in the fourteenth section in Schlegel’s edition, has some appearance of not having formed a portion of the original poem. The edition lately published in Calcutta, which frequently differs in its readings from Schlegel’s, omits vv. 5–11 of the section in question (the fourteenth) as given in Schlegel’s; and passes at once from the fourth to the twelfth verse. In the account which follows of the request preferred by the gods to Viṣṇu to become incarnate in the sons of Daśaratha, etc., the two editions differ in their arrangement of details, but not in the substance. In the Calcutta edition the words *pītarāṃ rochayāmāsa tadā Daśaratham nriṇam* (“he accepted as his father the king Daśaratha”) which occur in section 15, 32, are repeated in section 16, 8.

In the text, pp. 145 f., I have given the account of the birth of Daśaratha’s sons according to Schlegel’s edition. I now subjoin the description of the same event as found in the Calc. ed. and in Gorresio’s :

[Calc. ed., sect. 18, vv. 8 ff.]

8. *Tato yajñe samāpte tu ritū-  
naṃ shaṭṭ samatyayuh | tataś cha  
dēdāśe māse chaitro nāvamike ti-  
thau |* 9. *Naxatre ’diti-daivatye  
svochcha-saṃstheshu pañchāsu | grah-  
eshu karkāṣe lagne Vākpatāv Indunā  
saha |* 10. *Prodyamāne jagannā-  
thāṃ sarva-loka-namaskṛitam | Kau-  
śalyā ’janayad Rāmaṃ divya-lax-  
ana-saṃyutam |* 11. *Viṣṇor arḍham  
mahābhāgam putram Aīxvāku-nan-*

[Gorr. ed., sect. 19, vv. 10 ff.]

10. *Tāsām prajāñire putrās chat-  
vāro’mita-tejasaḥ | Rāma-Laxmaṇa-  
Sutrughna-Bharatā deva-rūpiṇaḥ |*  
11. *Janma-tejo-guṇa-jyeshṭham pu-  
tram apratimaujasam | Kauśalyā  
’janayad Rāmaṃ Viṣṇu-tulya-pa-  
rākramam |* 12. (almost the same  
as v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. *Bha-  
vāya sa hi lokānām Rāvanasya ba-  
dhāya cha | Viṣṇor vīryārdhato  
yajñe Rāmo rājīva-lochanah |* 14.

danam | lohītaxam mahābāhuṁ  
 raktoshṭham dundubhi-svanam | 12.  
 Kauśalyā susubhe tena putrenā-  
 mīta-tejasā | yathā vāreṇa<sup>3</sup> devānām  
 Aditir Vajrapāninā | 13. Bharato  
 nāma Kaikeyyām jajñe satya-parā-  
 kramah | sākād Vishṇoś chaturbhā-  
 gaḥ sarvaiḥ samudīto guṇaiḥ | 14.  
 Atha Laxmaṇa-Satruḡṇau Sumi-  
 trā 'janayat sutau | vīrau sarvāstra-  
 kuśalau Vishṇor arddha-samanvitau |  
 15. Pushye jātas tu Bharato mīna-  
 lagne prasanna-dhīḥ | Śarpe jatau  
 tu Saumitri kulīre 'bhyudite ravau |  
 16. Rājñah putrā mahātmānāś chat-  
 cāro jajñire pṛīthak | guṇavanto  
 'nurūpāscha ruchyā proshṭhapado-  
 pamāḥ |

[Calcutta edition.]

8 ff. "After the sacrifice had been completed, the six seasons passed; and then in the twelfth month, in Chaitra, on the ninth lunar day, in the lunar mansion of which Aditi is the deity, when five planets were culminating, when Jupiter was rising with the moon in the sign of Cancer,—Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, the lord of the world, adored by all worlds, possessed of celestial marks, (11) a son of high destinies,

<sup>3</sup> I do not know what *vāreṇa* means, if this reading be correct. Perhaps we should read *sareṇa* or *avareṇa*. The other editions have *adhīpene*.

Tejo-vīryyādīhikāḥ śūrah śrīmān  
 guṇa-gaṇākaraḥ | babhūvānavarāś  
 chaiva Sakrād Vishṇoś cha pau-  
 rushe | 15. Tūthā Laxmaṇa-Satru-  
 ḡṇau Sumitrā 'janayat sutau |  
 dṛiḍha-bhakti mahotsāhau Rāma-  
 syāvarajan guṇaiḥ | 16. Tāv apy  
 āstām chatur-bhāḡau Vishṇoḥ sam-  
 piṇḍitāv ubhau | eka eka-chatur-  
 bhāḡād aparasmād ajāyata | 17.  
 Bharato nāma Kaikeyyāḥ putraḥ  
 satya-parākramah | dharmātmā cha  
 mahātmā cha prakhyāta-bala-vikra-  
 mah | 19. Sa chaturbhīr mahābhā-  
 gaiḥ putrair Daśaratho vṛitah |  
 babhūva parama-pṛito devair iva  
 Pīlāmahaḥ | 20. Teshām ketur iva  
 śreshṭho Rāmo loka-hite rataḥ |  
 Scayambhūr iva devānām sarveshām  
 sama-darśanaḥ |

[Gorresio's edition.]

After naming Dasaratha's wives, the narrative proceeds :

10. "To them were born four sons, of boundless might, Rāma, Laxmaṇa, Satruḡṇa, and Bharata, in fashion like the gods. Kausalyā brought forth Rāma, a son of unparalleled vigour, the first in birth, might, and qualities, equal in valour to Vishṇu. 12. (=v. 12 of the Calc. ed.) 13. For this lotus-eyed Rāma was born from the half of Vishṇu's generative



the half of Vishṇu, and gladdener of the race of Ixvāku, with red eyes, great-armed, with red lips, and with a voice like a kettle-drum. 12. Kauśalyā received lustre from this son of unbounded might, as Aditi did from the chief of the gods who wields the thunderbolt. 13. [A son] called Bharata, of real valour, possessed of all virtues, was born of Kaikeyī, who was manifestly the fourth part of Vishṇu. 14. Then Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, heroes, skilled in all weapons, who had [each] the half [of the fourth] of Vishṇu.<sup>11</sup> 15. But Bharata, of tranquil mind, was born under the lunar mansion Pushya and the sign of Pisces; while the sons of Sumitrā were born under Śārpa or (the ninth lunar mansion) when the sun had risen in Cancer. The four great sons of the king were separately born, possessing great qualities, resembling one another, and in brilliancy like the constellation Proshṭhapadā.”

The Calcutta edition has not the verse which is found as the *fifth* in Schlegel's edition, and the thirteenth in Gorresio's, but it, equally with the others, asserts in its *eleventh* verse (which is not in Schlegel's edition) that the half of Vishṇu was incarnate in Rāma. The same remark which in p. 146 I have made on the passage as given in Schlegel's edition, applies to this recension also—viz., that the verses which refer

<sup>10</sup> This verse though not in the Calcutta edition, is to be found in Schlegel's as the fifth.

<sup>11</sup> Which had been communicated to their mother. See sect. 15, 21, Schlegel.

power, for the good of the worlds, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa.<sup>10</sup> 14. This glorious hero, a mine of virtues, excelled in fire and energy, and in manly vigour was not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu. 15. So too Sumitrā bore two sons, Laxmaṇa and Śatrughna, firm in devotion, of great energy, second to Rāma in virtues. These two also, combined, were derived from the fourth part of Vishṇu. From the other fourth part there was born to Kaikeyī, one son named Bharata, of real valour, righteous, high-souled, renowned for power and energy. . . . 19. Dasaratha, surrounded by his four sons of high destinies, was highly pleased, like Pitāmaha, attended by the gods. 20. Rāma, devoted to the good of the worlds, was, like a banner, the most eminent among them, like Svayambhū among the gods, and impartial to all.”

to Dasaratha's sons being incarnations of Vishṇu might be omitted with little injury to the connection. The account of Bharata, Laxmaṇa, and Satrugṇa, given in vv. 13-15 (as they now stand), has a certain awkwardness, inasmuch as after leaving Bharata, and introducing (v. 14) Laxmaṇa and Satrugṇa, the narrator recurs (v. 15) to Bharata, to give further particulars of his birth, and then goes back again to the other brothers. If, however, vv. 13 and 14 have been interpolated, it is possible that some other lines, which seem necessary to complete v. 15, and to tell the name of Bharata's mother, and the names of Sumitrā's sons (which that verse does not contain), may at the same time have been left out. In Gorresio's text of this passage, the verses describing the astrological influences under which Dasaratha's sons were born, are left out; though these are not unlikely to have formed part of the original text of the poem.<sup>12</sup> The *twelfth* verse of this (as well as the corresponding verses of the other two recensions), where Rāma is compared to Indra, and also the *fourteenth* verse (Gorr.) in which he is said to be not inferior to Indra and Vishṇu [these two verses, I say, if original portions of the poem, as is not unlikely], could scarcely have formed part of a work in which the incarnation of Rāma was described, as it would not exalt the reader's conception of the dignity of the hero (supposed to be an incarnation of Vishṇu) to compare his might to that of Indra, an inferior god. On this subject Gorresio remarks, in note 90, p. 423 f. of his sixth vol., as follows: "This is one of the passages in the poem from which it might be inferred that the *avatāra* of Vishṇu in Rāma was an interpolation in the epos. If Rāma was a corporeal manifestation of Vishṇu, and consequently Vishṇu himself in a human form, the epithet *not inferior to Vishṇu* which is here assigned to him has neither appropriateness nor sense. It would be as if it were said to any one that he was not inferior to himself. But we shall not anticipate the judgment of a question which has need to be maturely considered."

Again, it is related in the Aranya K., or Third Book, 30, 20 ff. of Gorresio's edition, that when the Rāxasas were about to attack Rāma, the gods and other beings became very anxious about his safety: *Tuto devarshi-gandharvāḥ siddhās cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | ūchuh parama-santrastā guhyakās cha paraspāram | chatur-dāśa sahasrāṇi razasām bhīma-karma-*

<sup>12</sup> Signor Gorresio, on the other hand, thinks they are superfluous (vol. i. Preface, p. lii).

*nām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhaviṣhyati | Rāmo no vidīto yo 'yaṁ yathā cha vasudhāṁ gataḥ | manushyatvaṁ tu matvā 'sya kārūnyād vyathitam manaḥ | nardantīva chamūs teshāṁ raxasāṁ kāmā-rūpiṇām | nānā-vikṛita-veśānāṁ Ramāśramam upāgamat |* "Then the gods, rishis, Gandharvas, Siddhas, Chāraṇas, and Guhyakas, being greatly terrified, spoke thus among themselves: 'There are fourteen thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together? We know who this Rāma is, and how he went to the earth; but considering his human nature, our minds are distressed from compassion. The army of these Rāxasas, who take any shape they will, and who have assumed various disguises, has approached the hermitage of Rāma, shouting.' "

In the Calc. ed. iii. 23, 19 ff., however, the words ascribed to the gods, etc., are quite different: *Tuto devāḥ sa-gandharvāḥ siddhās cha saha chāraṇaiḥ | sameyuścha mahātmāno yuddha-darśana-kāṅṅayā | 20. Rīshayaś mahātmāno loka brahmarshi-sattamāḥ | sametya chochuḥ sahitās te 'nyonyam puṇya-karmaṇaḥ<sup>13</sup> | 21. Svasti go-brāhmaṇānāṅcha lokā-nāṁ cheti saṁsthitāḥ<sup>14</sup> | jayatāṁ Rāghavo yuddhe Paulastyān rajanī-charān | 22. Chakra-hasto yathā yuddhe sarvān asura-puṅgavān | evam uktvā puṇaḥ prochuḥ ālokya cha parasparam | 23. Chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi raxasāṁ bhīma-karmaṇām | ekaś cha Rāmo dharmātmā kathaṁ yuddham bhaviṣhyati | 24. Iti rājārshayaḥ siddhāḥ sa-gaṇās cha devījarshabhāḥ | iōta-kautūhalās tasthur vimāna-sthās cha devatāḥ | 25. Āviṣṭāṁ tejasū Rāmaṁ saṅgrāma-sīrasi sthitam | dṛiṣṭvā sarvāṇi bhūtāni bhayād vicyathire tadā | 26. Rūpaṁ apratimaṁ tasya Rāmasyāklīṣṭa-karmaṇaḥ | babhūva rūpaṁ kruddhasya Rudrasyeva mahātmanaḥ | . . . . . 35. Tasya ruṣṭasya rūpaṁ tu Rāmasya dadṛiṣe tadā | Daxasyeva kratuṁ hantum udyatasya Pinākinaḥ<sup>15</sup> |* "19. Then the great gods, Gandharvas, and Siddhas, with the Chāraṇas, (20) and the great rishis, the most excellent Brahman rishis assembled in the world, eager to witness the battle: and being assembled, these holy beings thus spoke to one another: 21. ' Blessings be upon cows and Brahmans, and upon the worlds! may Rāma conquer in battle the Rāxasas, the

<sup>13</sup> *Adīrghatvam ūrsham |* Comm.

<sup>14</sup> I do not see how these words are to be interpreted; but they are of no consequence.

<sup>15</sup> This verse as given in Gorresio's edition will be found above, p. 313, note.

descendants of Pulastya, (22) as the god who bears the discus (Vishṇu) [overcame] the chiefs of the Asuras.' Having thus spoken, and looked at each other, they said again: 23. 'There are fourteen thousands of Rāxasas, terrible in their deeds, and the righteous Rāma is but one: how shall they fight together?' 24. [Having] thus [spoken], the royal rishis, Siddhas, and Brahman rishis, with the [other] hosts, stood in curious expectation, together with the gods in aerial cars. 25. Beholding Rāma, full of might, standing in the front of the battle, all creatures were agitated with fear. 26. The unparalleled form of Rāma, vigorous in action, was like the form of the great Rudra when incensed. . . . 35. The form of Rāma, incensed, was beheld then, like that of Pinākin (Rudra) when prepared to destroy the sacrifice of Daxa."

From a comparison of these passages as given in the two different recensions, it appears probable that the speech which is put into the mouths of the gods and other spectators, in the Calcutta edition, is the most ancient and original, as no mention is there made of the divine nature of Rāma, the reference to Vishṇu in the twenty-second verse being introduced only by way of illustration, in the same way as the allusions to Rudra in the twenty-sixth and thirty-fifth verses. In Gorresio's edition, on the other hand, there is a distinct reference to the divine nature of Rāma; and I therefore conjecture that the short speech which it contains has been substituted for the other somewhat longer one, by a subsequent editor in support of this later conception.

The career of Rāma in his conflicts with the Rāxasas was not entirely unchequered by reverses. In the forty-fifth section of the sixth, or Yuddha Kāṇḍa, Calc. ed. (corresponding to section 20 of Gorresio's recension), it is related that both he and his brother Laxmaṇa were severely wounded and rendered senseless by a cloud of serpents transformed into arrows, which were shot by Indrajit, son of Rāvana.

In the following citations I shall use the Calcutta edition only, except when I specially refer to Gorresio's. In vv. 7 ff. (sect. 45) it is said: *Rāma-Laxmaṇayor eva sarva-deha-bhidaḥ śarān | bhṛīsam aveśā-yāmāsa Rāvaniḥ samitiñjayaḥ | nirantara-śartrau tu tāv ubhau Rāma-Laxmaṇau | kruddhenendrajitā vīrau pannagaiḥ śaratām gataiḥ | tayoh zata-ja-mārgena sūerāva rudhiram bahu | . . . 16. Baddhau tu śara-bandhena tāv ubhau raṇa-mūrdhani | nimeshāntara-mātreṇa na śekatur avezītam | 22. Papāta prathamam Rāmo viddho marmasu mārgaṇaiḥ |*

*krodhād Indrajitā yena purā Śakro 'pi nirjītaḥ* | "The son of Rāvana, victorious in battle, discharged numerous arrows which pierced the whole bodies of Rāma and Laxmāna. Both of these two heroes had their bodies [wounded] in every spot by the incensed Indrajit with serpents which had taken the form of arrows. Much blood flowed through the openings formed by their wounds. . . . 16. Bound by the chain (or, smitten by the stroke ?) of these arrows in the front of the battle, those two could not look up even for a moment.<sup>16</sup> . . . 22. Rāma first fell, pierced in the most vital parts, in anger, by Indrajit, by whom even Indra had formerly been conquered."<sup>17</sup> Their allies the monkeys arrive and find the two brothers lying helpless. Sect. 46, 3 ff. . . .

*Anvaśochanta Rāghavaṁ | achesṭau mānda-niśvāsu ṣoṇitena pariṣṭau | śara-jālānviṭau stabdhau śayānau śara-talpa-gau | niścasantau yathā sarṇau niśchesṭau dīna-vikramau | ityādi* | "They bewailed the two descendants of Raghu incapable of effort, breathing slowly, bathed in blood, wounded with a mass of arrows, stiff, lying on a bed of arrows, breathing like serpents, helpless, their vigour quelled," etc. Vibhīṣaṇa comforts the monkeys by saying that the good fortune of Rāma and Laxmaṇa would not forsake them (vv. 38 ff.):

*Athavā raxyatām Rāmo yāvat sañjñā-viparyayaḥ | labdha-sañjñau hi Kakutsthan bhayam nau vyapaneshyataḥ | naitat kiñchana Rāmasya na cha Rāmo mumūrshati | na hy enaṁ hāsyate Laxmīr durlabhā yā gatāyushām* | "Or, let Rāma be guarded while his insensibility continues. When the two descendants of Kakutstha have recovered their senses, they shall remove our fear. This [mishap] of Rāma is nothing; he is not about to die: for Good Fortune (Laxmī), who is beyond the reach of the dead, will not abandon him."

It will be observed that nothing is here said of the divine nature of Rāma; and nothing is said of Laxmī being his spouse, though she is regarded in Hindu mythology as the consort of Nārāyaṇa (see the commentator's remark on Uttara Kāṇḍa, 17, 35, which will be quoted below).

<sup>16</sup> On this the commentator remarks: *Na śekatur avexitum | tāḍṛisūv iva sthītau manushyateva-naṣanāya iti bodhyam* | "Could not look up: remained, as it were, in this condition. This is to be understood as done to act (*i.e.* simulate) humanity (*i.e.* that they were mere men)."

<sup>17</sup> Indrajit's victory over Indra is related in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, section 34. He was originally called Meghanāda, but after he had taken Indra captive, he received from Brahmā the name of *Indra-jit*, or the "conqueror of Indra," *ibid.*, section 35.

In the next section (the forty-seventh) it is related that Rāvana sent Sītā on his car Pushpaka, with the Raxasī Trijaṭā, to the spot where Rāma and Laxmaṇa were lying wounded and helpless; and that on seeing these brothers, “powerful as the sons of the gods” (*deva-suta-prabhāvau*, v. 24), she broke out into lamentations, supposing them to be dead. The forty-eighth section contains her lament, in which she alludes to the two brothers having had various divine weapons (but says nothing of their divine nature). Though they resembled Vāsava (Indra), they were slain, she says, by the magic of the invisible foe; and Fate, she adds, is hard to be overcome (vv. 16 ff.: *Nanu Vārunam Āgneyam Aindraṃ Vāyavyam eva cha | agram Brahma-śiraś chaiva Rāghavau pratyapadyata | adṛśyamānena raṇe māyayā Vāsavopamau | . . . . . nihatau | . . . . . 19. Na Kālasyaṭi-bhāro 'sti kṛitāntaś cha sudurjayaḥ |*). Sītā is then consoled by the Raxasī Trijaṭā, who tells her (v. 22) that her husband is not dead; and explains why she thinks so. In vv. 30 f., she says: *Nemau śakyau raṇe jetuṃ sendrair apī surāsuraiḥ | tādṛśaṃ darśanam dṛśiṣṭvā mayā choḍṛitaṃ tava | idaṃ tu sumahach chitraṃ śaraiḥ paśyasva Maithili | visañjñau patitāv etau naiva Laxmī vimuñchati | prāyeṇa gata-sattoānām puruṣhāvām gatā-yuṣhām | dṛśyamāneṣu vaktreṣu param bhavati vaikṛitam |* “These two cannot be conquered in battle even by the Suras and Asuras, Indra included. Such a sight (vision?) I have seen, and declared to thee. But behold this great wonder that though they are lying senseless from the arrows, Fortune (Laxmī) does not abandon them. There is generally a great change in the countenances, when beheld, of men who have lost their lives and whose breath has departed.”

While the monkeys were watching Rāma, he recovers his consciousness (sect. 49, v. 3): *Etasminn antare Rāmo pratyabudhyata viryyavān | sthīratvāt satya-yogāchcha*<sup>18</sup> *śaraiḥ sandāmito 'pi san |* “In the meantime the heroic Rāma awoke, owing to his firmness and robustness of frame (?), though he had been overcome by the arrows.” He then begins to lament the loss of his brother Laxmaṇa, whom he supposes to be dead; and ascribes the misfortune to his own bad generalship (v. 18: *Imām adya gato 'vasthām mamānāryasya durnayaiḥ*).

In sect. 50, Vibhīshana laments the condition of Rāma and his brother, and the disappointment thereby caused to his own hopes of

<sup>18</sup> *Mahā-bala-yuktatvāt |* Comm. Gorresio's edition reads *sattva-yogachcha*.

becoming king of Laṅkā; but is comforted by Sugrīva, who says to him (vv. 21 f.): *Rājyjam prāpsyasi dharmajña Laṅkāyām neha saṁśayaḥ | Rāvanaḥ saha putreṇa sva-kāmaṁ neha lapsyate | Garuḍādhiḥṭhihitāv etāv ubhau Rāghava-Lakṣmaṇau | tyaktvā moham badhishyete sa-gaṇaṁ Rāvanaṁ rane* | “Thou, o [prince], well-skilled in duty, shalt without doubt obtain sovereignty in Laṅkā; but Rāvana and his son shall not attain the object of their desire.” He adds another prophecy: “Both Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are superintended by Garuḍa: having escaped from their swoon, they shall slay Rāvana with his hosts.” Sugrīva, however, proposes to remove Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa from the scene of action to Kishkindhyā; and promises that he himself will slay Rāvana, and bring back Sitā, as Indra recovered the lost Śrī (24 f.: *Saha śūraiḥ hari-gaṇair labdha-sañjñāv arindamau | gachha tvam bhṛatarau gṛihya Kishkindhyām Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau | ahaṁ tu Rāvanaṁ hatvā sa-putraṁ saha-bāndhavam | Maithilīm ānayishyāmi Sakro nash-ṭām iva Sriyam* |).<sup>19</sup>

Sushena, another of the monkeys, then relates (vv. 26–32) that once when the gods had been wounded with arrows and rendered senseless, in a combat with the Dānavas, they had been cured by Vṛihaspati by herbs aided by sacred texts; and suggests that some of the monkeys should be sent to the ocean of milk to bring those herbs. The Calcutta edition then goes on at once in vv. 33 ff. to relate the arrival of the celestial bird Garuḍa for the purpose of curing Rāma and his brother. But in Gorresio's text the following verses are introduced between those which correspond to the thirty-second and thirty-third of the Calcutta edition:

Gorresio, sect. 26, vv. 8, 9, 10, 11<sup>a</sup>.—*Athainam upasaṅgamyā Vāyuh karṇe vacho 'bravīt | Rāma Rāma mahābāho ātmānaṁ smara vai hṛidā | Nārāyaṇas tvam bhagavān Rāzasārthe 'vatāritaḥ | smara sarpa-bhujāṁ devaṁ Vainateyam mahābalaṁ | sa sarpa-bandhād ghorāt tu yuvām sammochayishyati | sa tasya vachanaṁ śrutvā Rāghavo Raghu-nandanaḥ | sasmāra Garuḍaṁ devam bhujagānām bhayāvaham* | “Then Vāyu, approaching him, spoke this word in his ear: ‘Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, recollect thyself in thy heart: thou art the divine

<sup>19</sup> In Gorresio's edition fifteen more verses (vi. 25, 27-41) follow, in which Sugrīva boasts further of what he will accomplish; but they are not found in the Calcutta edition.

Nārāyaṇa, who hast descended [to earth] on account of the Rāxasas. Call to mind the snake-devouring god the strong Vainateya (the bird Garuḍa); he shall deliver you twain from the dreadful bonds of the serpents.' Hearing Vāyu's words, Rāma called to mind the god Garuḍa, the terrifier of serpents.'

The omission of these verses in the Calcutta edition renders it probable that they formed no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa. But in addition to this fact, another proof to the same effect is to be found in the circumstance that in the verses which follow shortly after in both recensions, Rāma, after being cured by Garuḍa, is represented as enquiring, and consequently, as being ignorant, who his benefactor is, although, according to Gorresio's edition, he had just before called Garuḍa to mind, *i.e.* summoned him. The verses in which this is shewn are as follows (Calc. ed. 50, 37 ff.): *Tam āgatam abhiprezya nāgās te vipradudruvuh | yais tu tau purushau baddhau śara-bhūtair mahābalaib | tatah Suparnaḥ Kākutsthau sprishṭvā pratyabhinandya cha | vimamarśa cha pāṇibhyām mukhe chandra-sama-prabhe | Vainateyena saṁsprishṭās tayoh samruruhur*<sup>20</sup> *eraṇāḥ | suvarṇe cha tanū snigdhe tayor āśu babhūvatuḥ | 40. Tejo vīryam balaṁ chavja utsāhascha mahā-guṇaḥ | pradarsanaṅcha buddhiścha smṛitiścha dviguṇā tayoh | tāv utthāpya mahā-tejā Garuḍo Vāsavopamau | ubhau cha sasvaje hṛishṭau Rāmaś chainam uvācha ha | bhavat-prasādād vyasanaṁ Rāvāṇi-prabhavam mahat | upāyena vyatikrāntau śīghraṁ cha balināu kṛitau | yathā tātaṁ Daśarathaṁ yathā 'jaṅcha pitāmaham | tathā bhavantam āsādyā hṛidayam me prasīdati | 44. Ko bhavān rūpa-sampanno divya-srag-anulepanaḥ |* "Beholding him arrived, the powerful serpents by whom, in the form of arrows, these two heroes had been bound (or, wounded), took to flight. Then Garuḍa, having touched and saluted the descendants of Kakutstha, soothed with his hands their faces brilliant as the moon. Touched by Garuḍa, their wounds closed up, and their bodies became speedily sleek and of a beautiful colour. 40. Their fire, strength, force, vigour, and energy became many degrees greater, and their insight, understanding, and memory, were doubled. The powerful Garuḍa raised up and embraced those two [princes] resembling Indra, who were delighted; and Rāma thus addressed him: 'By thy favour, and through thy appliances, we have quickly got over the great calamity inflicted

<sup>20</sup> *Yathā-pūrvaṁ saṁvrūḍha-māṁsā abhūvan |* Comm.



by the son of Rāvana, and have become strong. Since I have found thee, who art as my father Daśaratha, and my ancestor Aja, my heart rejoices. 44. Who art thou,<sup>21</sup> distinguished by beauty, adorned with celestial garlands, and unguents?' etc.

The corresponding passage in Gorresio's edition (sect. 26, vv. 16 ff.) does not, as I have intimated, differ materially from the above, and in it, in like manner, Rāma is represented as enquiring who Garuḍa is.

In reply to Rāma's question Garuḍa tells him (vv. 46 ff.) who he is, says he is his friend, and that no one but himself, whether god or Asura, could have delivered Rāma from the serpents. He finally assures him that he should slay Rāvana and recover Sītā; and then departs after walking round and embracing him (v. 60: *pradaxiṇāṃ tataḥ kṛitvā parishvajya cha*).<sup>22</sup>

There is another passage in Gorresio's edition (book vi. sect. 33) in which it is related that after the fall of Prahasta, one of the Rāxasas, Mandodarī, Rāvana's queen, went into the assembly to dissuade her husband from contending any further against Rāma, when she is introduced as saying (v. 25 f.): *Na cha mānusha-mātro 'sau Rāmo Daśarathātmajaḥ | ekena yena vai pūrvam bhavo rāxasā hatāḥ |* "Nor is this Rāma a mere man, he by whom singly many Rāxasas have

<sup>21</sup> In his remarks on vv. 40, 41 of the Calc. ed. the commentator considers it necessary to explain how what is there said is consistent with Rāma's divine character: *Dviguṇā Vainateya-sparśāt pūrvato 'py adhikā | atra anyair devair avatīryya bha[ga?]vato Rāmasya mūla-mūrtteḥ rājñāḥ upakārah sampādito Garuḍena tūhyarūpata eva iti bodhyam |* . . . "Though formerly great, their insight, etc., became doubled from the touch of Garuḍa. Here it is to be understood that the assistance was rendered to the divine king Rāma, the root [of all things] by other gods descending to the earth, but [this was effected] through Garuḍa in an inferrible (?) manner." In his remarks on v. 44, the same commentator says: "*Ko bhāvōn' ity ayam praśno 'pi manushya-śarīrochīta-vyavahāra eva tat-satyatva-pratyūpanārthaḥ | atra Rāma-samīpā-gamana-paryantam paśy-ākāreṇaiva āgatya sannidhi-mātreṇa nāga-bandhanañcha nirasya Rāghava-sparśanādy-artham (? antam) purushōkṛeṇa vyavahritavān iti bodhyam |* "This question 'who art thou?' also conforms to the usage suitable [to Rāma's assumption of] a human body, and is designed to convince men of its reality. Here it is to be understood that the author accommodates to Rāma's human character the entire narrative from [Garuḍa's] approach, [including] his appearance in the form of a bird, and his removal, by his mere proximity, of the fetters of the snakes, up to his touching Rāma," etc.

<sup>22</sup> From this last circumstance the commentator infers the divine nature of Rāma. His words are: *Pradaxiṇāṃ kṛitvā iti anena dieya-devatāvatōro Rōmah iti |* "By these words 'having walked round him, with the right side towards him,' it is intimated that Rāma was a divine being, an incarnation of a celestial deity."

been slain." The same idea is repeated in the two following verses, where the number of the slain and the names of some of them are given.

The passage in which these verses occur, is not, however, to be found in the Calcutta edition, which omits verses 7-51 of the thirty-third, and the whole of the thirty-fourth sections of Gorresio's edition.

In the fifty-ninth section of the same book (Calc. ed.) it is related that Laxmaṇa was wounded by Rāvana with a dart given to the latter by Brahmā (v. 105-7); but that when Rāvana tried to lift his fallen foe, he was unable (v. 109 f.): *Himavān Mandaro Merus trailokyam vā sahāmaraiḥ | śakyam bhujābhyām uddharttuṃ na saṅkhye Bharatā-nujaḥ | śaktyā brāhmyā tu Saumitris tāḍito 'pi stanāntare | Viṣṇor amimāṃsya-bhāgam ātmānam pratyanusmaran* | "Himavat, Mandara, Meru, or the three worlds with the immortals, might be lifted by him with his arms, but not the younger brother of Bharata in battle. But Laxmaṇa, though smitten on the chest with the dart given by Brahmā, recollected himself to be an incomprehensible portion of Viṣṇu." Similar words are again ascribed to him in v. 120: *Viṣṇor bhāgam amimāṃsyaṃ ātmānam pratyanusmaran*. Expressions of the same purport occur in the parallel verses in Gorresio's edition, sect. 36, vv. 86, 88, and 98. The words in v. 88, are *Viṣṇor achintyo yo bhāgo mānusham deham āsthitaḥ* | "The inconceivable portion of Viṣṇu residing in a human body." The expressions, however, may be later interpolations in both editions.

In the same sect. (59, Calc. ed.) it is related that Rāvana was defeated by Rāma, and compelled to return to Lankā. After his return he thus speaks (sect. 60, v. 5 ff.): *Sarvaṃ tat khalu ne moghaṃ yat taptam paramaṃ tapaḥ | yat samāno Mahendrena mānushenāsmi nirjitaḥ | idam tad Brahmaṇo ghoraṃ vākyaṃ mām abhyupasthitam | "manushebhyo vijānihi bhayaṃ team iti tat tathā | deva-dānava-gandharvair yazarāxasa-pannagaiḥ | abadhyatvam mayā proktam mānushēbhyo na yāchitam"* | *tam imam mānusham manye Rāmaṃ Daśarathātmajam | Ixvākukula-jātena hy Anaranyena<sup>23</sup> yat purā | utpatsyati hi mad-vaṃśe puruṣo*

<sup>23</sup> See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 371: "Whose (Sambhūta's) son was Anaranyā, who was slain by Rāvana in his triumphant progress through the nations" (*toto 'anaranyas | taṃ Rāvāno dig-vijaye jaghāna*). Here, and in the legend related in the Second Vol. of this work, p. 437, note 106, a set of events different from those narrated in the earlier books of the Rāmāyaṇa, is referred to.

The story of Anaranyā is, however, told in the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa,

*rāxasādharma | yas tvām sa-putraṁ sāmātyam sa-balaṁ sāśva-sārathim | nihanishyati sangrāme tvām kulādharma durmate | śapto 'ham Vedavatyā cha yathā sā dharshitā purā | 11. Seyaṁ Sitā mahābhāgā jātā Janaka-nandini | Umā Nandiśvaraś chāpi Rambhā Varuṇa-kanyakā | yathoktās<sup>24</sup> tan mayā prāptaṁ na mithyā ṛishi-bhāshitam | etad eva samāgamya yatnaṁ karttum ihārthata |* "All the extreme austerity that I have undergone is then vain, since I, though the equal of Indra, have been overcome by a man. This is the direful word of Brahmā that has now reached me, [when he said]: 'know that thy great cause of apprehension is from men. I have decreed thy indestructibility by gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Yaxas, Rāxasas, and Pannagas: but thou hast asked no [security] from men.' This man I consider to be Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, since I was formerly thus cursed by Anaraṇya of the race of Ixvāku; 'There shall arise among my posterity a man who shall slay thee in battle, thou lowest of Rāxasas, and wicked wretch, along with thy sons, ministers, hosts, and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavati when she was insulted by me: it is she who has been born as the great Sitā, the gladdener of Janaka. And that which Umā, Nandiśvara, Rambhā, and the daughter of Varuṇa<sup>25</sup> uttered, has befallen me. What has been spoken by rishis<sup>26</sup> is never falsified. Wherefore, ye must assemble, and make exertions."

In this passage it will be observed that there is no express reference to the divine nature of Rāma: and it is conceivable that the original

section 19. Dushyanta, Suratha, Gādhi, Gaya, Purūravas (though, as the commentator remarks, they lived at different periods, yet they all in their own times) submitted, without fighting, to Rāvaṇa on his victorious march through the world. Anaraṇya, a descendant of Ixvāku, and king of Ayodhyā, however, when called upon either to fight, or acknowledge himself conquered, prefers the former alternative (v. 9); but his army is overcome, and he himself is thrown from his chariot (v. 21). When Rāvaṇa triumphs over his prostrate foe, the latter says that he has been vanquished not by him, but by fate, and that Rāvaṇa is only the instrument of his overthrow (v. 26); and he predicts that Rāvaṇa should one day be slain by his descendant Rāma (v. 29: *Utpatsyate kule hy asminn Ixvākūṇām mahātmanām | Rāmo Dāsarathir nāma yas te prāṇān harishyati*).

<sup>24</sup> *Yathoktavantaḥ . . . yad ūchuḥ . . . iti pāṭhāntaram |* Comm.

<sup>25</sup> The legends connected with all these names are briefly referred to by the commentator.

<sup>26</sup> The commentator remarks here: *ṛishi-padeṇa tapo-yuktā uchyante |* "The word *ṛishi* denotes persons distinguished by austerity." It would thus refer to Vedavati and others.

legend may have represented him as being, even in his human capacity, of sufficient prowess to slay the king of the Rāxasas.

[Most of the legends referred to in the preceding passage are given in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, and I shall supply an abstract of them here. That of Anarāya will be found in note 23.

The rather pretty story of Vedavatī is related in the seventeenth section of that book, vv. 1 ff., as follows : Rāvana, in the course of his progress through the world, comes to the forest on the Himālaya, where he sees a damsel of brilliant beauty, but in ascetic garb, of whom he straightway becomes enamoured. He tells her that such an austere life is unsuited to her youth and attractions, and asks who she is, and why she is leading an ascetic existence. She answers that she is called Vedavatī, and is the vocal daughter (*vāṇmayī kanyā*) of Vṛihaspati's son, the rishi Kuśadhvaja, sprung from him during his constant study of the Veda. The gods, gandharvas, etc., she says, wished that she should choose a husband, but her father would give her to no one else than to Viṣṇu, the lord of the world, whom he desired for his son-in-law (v. 12 : *Pitṛ tu mama jāmātā Viṣṇuḥ kila sureśvaraḥ | abhipretas trilokeśas tasmān nāsyasya me pitā | dātum ichhati tasmai tu |*). This resolution provoked Sambhu, king of the Daityas, who slew her father, Kuśadhvaja, while sleeping, on which her mother (whose name is not given) after embracing his body, entered into the fire (15). Vedavatī then proceeds (v. 16) : *Tato manoratham satyam pitur Nārāyaṇam prati | karomīti tam evāhaṁ hṛidayena samudrahe | iti pratijñam āruhya charāmi vipulam tapaḥ | . . .* 18. *Nārāyaṇo mama patir na to anyaḥ purushottamāt | āśraye niyamaṁ ghoram Nārāyaṇa-parīpsayā |* "In order that I may fulfil this desire of my father in respect of Nārāyaṇa, I wed him with my heart."<sup>27</sup> Having entered into this engagement, I practise great austerity. Nārāyaṇa, and no other than he, Purushottama, is my husband. From the desire of obtaining him, I resort to this severe observance." Rāvana's passion is not in the least diminished by this explanation, and he urges that it is the old alone who should seek to become distinguished by accumulating merit through austerity; prays that she who is so young and beautiful, shall become his bride; and boasts that he is superior to Viṣṇu (v. 24). She rejoins that no one but he would thus contemn

<sup>27</sup> This language offers an exact parallel to that of devout female ascetics in other parts of the world.

that deity. On receiving this reply, he touches the hair of her head with the tip of his finger (27). She is greatly incensed, and forthwith cuts off her hair, and tells him that as he has so insulted her, she cannot continue to live, but will enter into the fire before his eyes. She goes on (v. 31 ff): *Yasmāt tu dharshitā chāhaṁ tvayā pāpātmanā vane | tasmāt tava badhārthaṁ hi samutpatsyaty aham (samutpatsyati samutpatsye ity arthaḥ | Comm.) punaḥ | nahi śakyah striyā hantum puruṣaḥ pāpa-niśchayaḥ | śāpe tvayi mayotsṛiṣṭe tapasaś cha vyayo bhavet | yadi tv asti mayā kiñchit kṛitaṁ dattaṁ hutaṁ tathā | tasmāt tv a-yoni-jā sādhvī bhavoyāṁ dharmīnaḥ sutā | evam ukteṣā pravishṭā sā jvalitaṁ jātavedasam | papāta cha divo divyā pushpa-vṛiṣṭiḥ samantataḥ | saishā Janaka-rājasya prasūtā tanayā prabho | tava bhāryyā mahābāho Viṣṇuḥ tvaṁ hi sanātanaḥ | pūrvaṁ krodha-hataḥ śatruṣṭuḥ yayā 'sau nihatas tayā | upāśrayitvā śailābhas tava vīryyam amānusham |* “ Since I have been insulted in the forest by thee who art wicked-hearted, I shall be born again for thy destruction. For a man of evil design cannot be slain by a woman; and the merit of my austerity would be lost if I were to launch a curse against thee. But if I have performed, or bestowed, or sacrificed, aught, may I be born the virtuous daughter, not produced from the womb, of a righteous man.’ Having thus spoken, she entered the blazing fire. Then a shower of celestial flowers fell from every part of the sky. It is she, lord, who (having been Vedavatī in the Kṛita age, v. 38) has been born (in the Tretā age, v. 38) as the daughter of the king of the Janakas, and [has become] thy bride; for thou art the eternal Viṣṇu. The mountain-like enemy who was [virtually] destroyed before by her wrath, has now been slain by her, having recourse to thy superhuman energy.” On this the commentator remarks: *Anena Sitaiva Rāvaṇa-badhe mukhyaṁ kāraṇam Rāme tu hantrītvam āropitam iti sūchitam |* “ By this it is signified that Sītā was the principal cause of Rāvaṇa’s death; but the function of destroying him is ascribed to Rāma.” On the words “ thou art Viṣṇu,” in the preceding verse, the same commentator remarks: *Anena Sītāyā Laxmītvam sphuṭam evoktam | tad uktam Parāśareṇa “ Rāghavato bhavati Sītā Rukmiṇī Kṛiṣṇa-janmani” iti |* “ By this it is clearly affirmed that Sītā was Laxmī. This is what Parāśara says: ‘ In the god’s life as Rāma, she became Sītā, and in his birth as Kṛiṣṇa [she became] Rukmiṇī.’ ”

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any separate legend about

Umā, but the commentator<sup>28</sup> connects this allusion to her in the preceding passage (vi. 60, 11) with the following story about Nandīśvara, which is thus told in the sixteenth section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa (v. 1 ff.): After his victory over Kuvera, Rāvaṇa went to Saravaṇa, the birth-place of Kārttikeya. Ascending the mountain he sees another delightful wood, where his car Pushpaka stops, and will proceed no further. He then sees a formidable dark tawny-coloured dwarf, called Nandīśvara, a follower of Mahādeva, who desires him to halt, as that deity is sporting on the mountain, and has made it inaccessible to all creatures, the gods included (v. 10). Rāvaṇa angrily demands who Śankara (Mahādeva) is, and laughs contemptuously at Nandīśvara, who has the face of a monkey. Nandīśvara who was another body (*aparā tanuḥ*) of Śiva, being incensed at this contempt of his monkey form, declares that beings, possessing the same shape as himself, and of similar energy, monkeys, shall be produced to destroy Rāvaṇa's race (v. 17: *Tasmād mad-vīryya-saṁyuktā mad-rūpa-sama-tejasaḥ | utpatsyanti badhārthaṁ hi kulasya tava vānarāḥ* |). Nandīśvara adds that he could easily kill Rāvaṇa now, but that he has been already slain by his own deeds (v. 20). Rāvaṇa threatens (v. 23 ff.) that as his car has been stopped, he will pluck up the mountain by the roots, asking in virtue of what power Śiva continually sports on that spot, and boasting that he must now be made to know his danger. Rāvaṇa then throws his arms under the mountain, which, being lifted by him, shakes, and makes the hosts of Rudra tremble, and even Pārvatī herself quake, and cling to her husband (v. 26: *Chachāla Pārvatī chāpi tadā śliṣṭā Maheśvaram*). Śiva, however, presses down the mountain with his great toe, and along with it crushes the arms of Rāvaṇa, who utters a loud cry, which shakes all creation. Rāvaṇa's counsellors then exhort him to propitiate Mahādeva, the blue-throated lord of Umā, who on being lauded will become gracious. Rāvaṇa accordingly praises Mahādeva with hymns, and weeps for a thousand years. Mahādeva is then propitiated (v. 35), lets go Rāvaṇa's arms, says his name shall be Rāvaṇa from the cry (*rāva*) he had uttered, and sends him away, with the gift of a sword bestowed on him at his request (v. 43).

<sup>28</sup> His words are: *Kailāsa-śikhara-chālana-velāyām Rāvaṇasya strī-nimittam maraṇam ity evaṁ-rūpam ity āhuḥ* | "They say that at the time when he shook the summit of Kailāsa a curse was pronounced on Rāvaṇa that he should die on account of a woman."

The legend of Rambhā is narrated in the thirty-first section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa goes with his army to Kailāsa, to conquer the gods. He there sees the Rambhā, the most beautiful of all the Apsarases, and is smitten with her charms (v. 20). She says she is properly his daughter-in-law, being the wife of Nalakūvara (son of his brother Kuvera), with whom she has an assignation, and cannot therefore receive his addresses (v. 34). Rāvaṇa says the Apsarases are mere courtezans, without any husbands, and ravishes her (v. 41). She goes and reports the outrage to Nalakūvara (46), who, after touching all his organs of sense (*chaxur-ādīndriya-gaṇaṁ sarvaṁ* | Comm.) with water, launches the following curse against Rāvaṇa: v. 54. *Akāmā tena yasmāt tvam balād bhadre pradhārshitā* | 55. *Tasmāt sa yuvatim anyāṁ nākāmām upayāsyati* | *yadā hy akāmāṁ kāmārtto dharshayishyati yoshitam* | *murdhā tu saptadhā tasya śakalībhavitā tadā* | “Since thou, kind lady, who hadst no passion for him, hast been forcibly insulted by him, he shall not approach any other damsel who does not reciprocate his passion. For when through passion he shall ravish any woman who has no passion for him, his head shall split into seven fragments.” Hearing of this curse, Rāvaṇa resolves to abstain from offering violence to women.

I have not noticed in the Uttara Kāṇḍa any story about the daughter of Varuṇa, but the commentator on the text (vi. 60, 11) explains the allusion to her thus: *Varuṇa-kanyakā Puñjikasthālī tan-nimittam brahmaśāpaḥ strī-dharshane maraṇa-rūpaḥ* | “The daughter of Varuṇa was Punjikasthālī. On her account, a curse of Brahmā, involving the penalty of death, [was pronounced] on the rape of women.”]

After expressing himself as above (p. 490), Rāvana desires his brother Kumbhakarna (a monster who, owing to the curse of Brahmā,<sup>29</sup> slept for six months at a time, and remained awake for a single day) to be awakened. This is with immense difficulty effected. Kumbhakarna asks (vv. 67 ff.) why they have awakened him, and is told that they stand in dread, not of the gods but of a man, Rāma (v. 72: *mānushān no bhayaṁ rājan tumulam sampradhāvitam* | *ityādī*); when he assures them that he will destroy their foes, and himself drink the blood of Rāma and Laxmaṇa. After drinking two thousand jars of liquor, he goes to see and consult with his brother Rāvana; who, in answer to his enquiry, describes to him (sect. 62) the present position of

<sup>29</sup> See sect. 61, v. 28.

affairs, and the necessity there is to obtain his assistance. Kumbhakarna, in reply, delivers (sect. 63, vv. 2-21) a moral discourse on the wickedness of Ravana's conduct, such as we should scarcely have expected from the speaker's antecedents; and is told by Ravana in answer (vv. 23-27) that this is not the time for such lectures, but for action, to which he calls upon him to proceed, if he has any regard for him, or pretensions to valour. Kumbhakarna then promises (vv. 30 ff. of the same section) to destroy the enemies of his brother. But before this last speech of Kumbhakarna, which is given in the forty-second section of Gorresio's recension, that text introduces another speech of the same personage, which occupies vv. 30-53 of the fortieth section, and a further speech of Ravana which fills the forty-first section; both of which are wanting in the Calcutta edition, and even in one of the MSS. consulted by Signor Gorresio, as we learn from his Preface, vol. v. p. xlvi.; and might, as he thinks, be omitted without detriment, or perhaps with advantage, to the connexion of the ideas, and the march of the poem. Some account must, however, be given of this speech, as in it Kumbhakarna gives the same account of the divine origin of Rama, as we have already met in the earlier part of the poem (see p. 139 ff., above). He says that one day he had seen the divine sage Nārada, who had told him that he had just returned from an assembly of the gods who had met to take counsel for the destruction of the Rāxasas, on which occasion Brahmā had spoken as follows (sect. x. 40, 44 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Evam ukte tu vachane Brahmā devān uvācha ha | abadhyatvam mayā dattam deva-daityaiścha rāxasaiḥ | mānushēbhyo bhayaṁ tasya vānarebhyaścha devatāḥ | surāsura-samūhe 'pi badhas tasya na vidyate | tasmād esha Harir devaḥ padmānābhas trivikramaḥ | putro Daśarathasyāstu chaturbāhuḥ sanātanaḥ | bhavanto vasudhām gatvā Viṣṇor asya mahātmanaḥ | vānarāṇām tanuṁ kṛtvā sahāyatvam karishyatha |* "When [the priest of the gods Vṛihaspati] had thus spoken, Brahmā said to the gods: 'I have conferred [on Ravana] indestructibility by gods Daityas and Rāxasas: he has, o gods, to fear men and monkeys. Nor can he be killed by all the gods or Asuras. Wherefore let this god Hari (Viṣṇu) from whose navel sprang a lotus, who is thrice-striding, four-armed, and eternal, become the son of Daśaratha. You, gods, repairing to the earth, and assuming the form of monkeys, shall assist the mighty Viṣṇu.'" Kumbhakarna



says that Vishṇu has taken the human form of Rāma, and come to slay them. He therefore advises that Sītā should be restored, and peace made with Rāma, before whom the three worlds bow down.

In reply to this exhortation, Rāvaṇa utters the following defiance of Vishṇu (sect. 41, 2 ff. ed. Gorr.): *Ko 'sau Vishṇur iti khyāto yasya tvam tāta bibhyase | devatve na namasye tam tathā 'nyān devatā-gaṇān | manushyatvaṁ gata tasmīn kim bhayam tvām upasthitam | nityam samara-bhītāstu mānushāḥ sumahābala | khādayitvā tu tān pūrvaṁ katham paśchād namāmy aham | praṇamya mānushaṁ Rāmam Sītām datvā tu tasya vai | hāsya-bhūtas tu lokānām anuyāsyāmi prishṭhataḥ | Rāghavaṁ tam mahābāho dīna-rāpo 'tha dāsa-vat | riddhiṁ cha paśyamāno 'sya kathaṁ śax-yāmi jīvitum | hrītvā tasya purā bhāryyām mānaṁ kṛtvā sudāruṇam | praṇamed Rāvāno Rāmam esha te buddhi-nirṇayaḥ | yadi Rāmaḥ svayaṁ Vishṇur Lazmaṇo 'pi Satakratuḥ | Sugrīvas Tryambakaḥ sṅxāt svayam Brahmā tu Jāmbavān | aho śāstrāṇy adhītāni yasya te buddhir idṛiṣi | atītāśramaṇāṁ Rāmaṁ yo namaskarttum ichhasi | devatvaṁ yaḥ parityajya mānushīṁ yonim āśritaḥ | asmān hantuṁ khilāyātaḥ sa sandheyaḥ katham mayā | yadivā Rāghavo Vishṇur vyaktaṁ te śrotram āgataḥ | devatānām hitārthaṁ tu pravishṭo mānushīṁ tanum | sa cānarāṇām rājānaṁ Sugrīvam śaraṇāṁ gataḥ | aho 'sya sadṛiṣāṁ sakhyāṁ tiryagyonigatūḥ saha | vīryya-hīnas tu kiṁ Vishṇur yaḥ śṛitaḥ rīxa-cānarān | athavā vīryya-hīno 'sau yena pūrvam mahāsuraḥ | vāmanaṁ rūpam āsthāya yāchītas tripadaḥ padam | Balis tu dīxīto yajñe tena tvam sakhyam ichhasi | yena dattā mahi sarvā sa-sāgara-vanāṇavā | upachāra-kṛitā pūrvam sa baddho yajñā-dīxitaḥ | upakārī hatas tena so 'smān raxati vairiṇaḥ | yadā me nirjīta devāḥ svargaṁ gatvā tvayā saha | tadā kim nāsti Vishṇutvaṁ tasya devasya Rāxasa | sāmprataṁ kuta āyātaḥ sa Vishṇur yasya bibhyase | śārīra-raxanārthāya brūshe tvam vākyaṁ idṛiṣam | nāyaṁ klīvayitūṁ kālaḥ kālo yodduṁ niśāchara | svāmyam Pitāmahāt prāptaṁ trailokyam vaśa-gaṁ kṛitam | Rāghavam praṇame kasmād hīna-vīryya-parākramam | tad gachha śayanīyaṁ tvam piva tvam vigata-jvaraḥ | śayamānaṁ na hanyāt tvām Rāghavo Lazmaṇas tathā | ahaṁ Rāmam badhishyāmi Sugrīvaṅcha sa-Lazmaṇam | vānarāṁścha hanishyāmi tato devān mahāraṇe | Vishṇuṅchaiva badhishyāmi ye cha Vishṇv-anuyāyinaḥ | gachha gachhasva tat xetraṁ chiraṁ jīva sukhī bhava | bhrātaraṁ tv evam ukteḥ 'sau Rāvānaḥ Kāla-choditaḥ | sāvalepaṁ sa-garjaṅcha punar vachanam abravīt | jānāmi Sītām dharanī-prasūtāṁ jānāmi Rāmam Madhusū-*

*danañcha | etad hi jāno tv aham asya badhyas tenāḥṛitā mo Janakātma-  
jaishā* <sup>30</sup> | *na kāmāchchaiva na krodhād dharāmi Janakātmajām | nihato  
gantum ichhāmi tad Viṣṇoḥ paramam padam |*

“Who is that being called Viṣṇu, whom thou fearest? In his divinity I reverence neither him, nor any of the other hosts of gods: what fear is this, then, which has seized you, now that he has become a man? Men are always afraid of battle. When I have formerly eaten them, how can I afterwards bow down before them? Paying reverence to the mortal Rāma, and restoring Sitā, how could I,—an object of derision to the universe,—follow behind Rāghava in humility like a slave? and beholding his prosperity, how could I live? This is thy opinion, that after carrying off Rāma’s wife, and manifesting terrible haughtiness, Rāvāna should bow down before him! Even if Rāma were Viṣṇu himself, and Laxmaṇa were Indra, if Sugrīva were Tryambaka (Siva), and if Jāmbavat were Brahmā, [I could not do so]. O thou hast [well] studied the Sāstras, thou who so thinkest, and who desirest to make obeisance to Rāma who stands without the four orders of society; who, abandoning his divine nature, has entered into a mortal womb! How can I make peace with him who has come to kill me? Or if it has distinctly reached thy ears that Rāma is Viṣṇu, and has entered into a mortal body for the welfare of the gods, [still] he has resorted [for help] to Sugrīva the king of the monkeys. How suitable is his friendship with brutes! Is then Viṣṇu destitute of valour that he has sought [the aid of] bears and monkeys? Or, he is [certainly] devoid of valour who formerly assuming the form of a dwarf, demanded of the great Asura three paces of ground, while Bali was consecrated for the sacrifice: with such a person thou desirest friendship! He (Bali) who formerly presented to him the whole earth with its oceans, forests, and seas, was bound by him when consecrated for sacrifice! A benefactor was destroyed by him, and he is to deliver us who are his enemies! When I went to heaven with thee and conquered the gods, had not this god then his character of Viṣṇu? Whence has this Viṣṇu now come, whom thou fearest? Thou speakest such words to save thy body [from injury in battle]. This is not the time for timidity, Rāxasa, but for fighting. I have obtained dominion from

<sup>30</sup> A verse similar in most of its clauses to this had previously occurred in sect. 34, 7, of Gorresio’s recension.

Brahmā; the three worlds are subject to me; why should I bow down before Rāma who is destitute of energy and valour? Go, therefore, to thy couch; drink, free from disquiet. Neither Rāma nor Laxmaṇa will kill thee when thou art sleeping. I shall slay Rāma, and Sugrīva, and Laxmaṇa, and the monkeys, and then the gods also in a great battle. I shall kill Viṣṇu too, and all Viṣṇu's followers. Go, go then to thy abode, live long, live at ease.' Having thus, impelled by fate, spoken to his brother with arrogance and noise, Rāvaṇa said again: 'I know Sītā, who is sprung from the earth; I know Rāma and Madhusūdana. And this I know, that I am to be slain by him; and therefore have I carried off this daughter of Janaka. It is not from passion or from anger that I retain her: I desire, being slain, to go to that highest abode of Viṣṇu.'"

The change of tone in this last short speech is remarkable. The defier of Viṣṇu all at once acknowledges his deity and becomes his humble worshipper. This looks like a still later addition to the preceding part of the section, inserted by some editor who considered the earlier portion to be too blasphemous to be allowed to stand without some qualification, or recantation.

Again, after Rāvaṇa's death, Mandodarī, the highest in rank of his queens, in the lament which she utters for her husband's loss, speaks as follows (sect. 113, 5 ff., Calc. ed.): *Sa tvam mānusha-mātreṇa Rāmeṇa yudhī nirjītaḥ | na vyapatrapase rājan kim idaṁ rāxaseśvara | 6. Kathan trailokyam ākramya śriyā vīryeṇa chānvitam | avishahyaṁ jaghāna tvāṁ mānuṣo vana-gocharaḥ | 7. Mānushānām avishaye charataḥ kāmā-rūpiṇaḥ | vināśas tava Rāmeṇa saṁyuge nopapadyate | 8. Na chaitat karma Rāmasya śraddadhāmi chamū-mukhe | sarvataḥ samupetasya tava tenābhimarśanam | 9. Athavā Rāma-rūpeṇa Kṛitāntaḥ svayam āgataḥ | māyāṁ tava vināśāya vidhāyāpratitarkitām | 10. Athavā Vāsavena tvāṁ dharshito 'si mahābala | Vāsavasya tu kā śaktis tvāṁ drashṭum api saṁ-yuge | 11. Mahābalaṁ mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum mahaujasam | vyaktam eṣa mahāyogī<sup>31</sup> paramātmā sanātanaḥ | 12. An-ādi-madhya-nidhano mahataḥ paramo mahān | tamaṣaḥ paramo dhātū śaṅkha-chakra-gadā-dharaḥ | 13. Śrīvatsa-varā nitya-śrīr ajayyaḥ śāśvato dhruvaḥ | mā-nushaṁ rūpam āsthāya Viṣṇuḥ satya-parākramaḥ | 14. Sarvairi pari-vṛito devair vānaratvam upāgataiḥ | sarva-lokeśvaraḥ śrīmān lokānām*

<sup>31</sup> Svābhāvika-sarva-śakti-yuktaḥ | Comm.

*hita-kāmyayā* | 15. *Mahābalam mahāvīryyaṁ deva-śatrum bhayāvaham | sa-rāxasa-parivāraṁ hatacāṁs tvām mahādyutiḥ* | 16. *Indriyāṇi purā jiteṣu jitam tribhuvanaṁ tvayā | smaradbhir iva tad vairam indriyair eva nirjitaḥ* | 17. *Yadaiva hi Jana-sthāne Rāxasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tu nihato bhrātā tādā Rāmo na mānuṣaḥ* |

“5. Art not thou ashamed, o king, to have been conquered by Rāma, a mere man? What is this, lord of the Rāxasas? 6. How did a man frequenting the forests slay thee who hadst assailed the three worlds, who wast distinguished by good fortune and heroism, and unconquerable? 7. That thou who movedst at will, invisible to men, shouldst have been destroyed by Rāma is inconceivable. 8. I do not credit this act of Rāma in the front of the battle, the overthrow by him of thee who wast endowed in every way. 9. Either Death (*Kritānta*) came in the form of Rāma, applying an unimagined magic for thy destruction, (10) or thou hast been overwhelmed by Vāsava (Indra). But what power had Vāsava in battle even to look at thee, who wast (11) the mighty in force and heroism, the glorious enemy of the gods? This was manifestly the great contemplator (*Mahāyogin*), the supreme spirit, the eternal, (12) without beginning, middle, or end, the great Being superior to the greatest, superior to darkness, the sustainer, the wielder of the shell, the discus, and the club, (13) who bears the śrīvatsa on his breast, who enjoys perpetual prosperity, the invincible, everlasting, unchanging, Viṣṇu, of genuine prowess, who had assumed a human form, (14) and was attended by all the gods in the shape of monkeys. This glorious and resplendent lord of all the worlds, desiring the good of all the worlds, (15) slew thee, the mighty, the heroic, the terrific, enemy of the gods, with thy attendant Rāxasas. 16. Formerly, by subduing thy senses, thou didst subdue the three worlds; but thou wast [afterwards, *i.e.* when thou didst carry off Sitā, etc.] overcome by thy senses, which, as it were, remembered [and revenged] that [former] hostility [of thine towards them]. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain [by Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal.”

If this quotation from the Calcutta edition be compared with the corresponding passage of Gorresio's text (sect. 95), it will be found that, on this occasion, the former is more diffuse than the latter. Verses 5–8 are nearly the same in both recensions; but instead of one verse (the

ninth) affirming the divine character of Rāma, which we find in Gorresio's edition, there are in the Calcutta recension seven verses, in most of which, at least, the same idea is enforced. The ninth and tenth verses of Gorresio's edition are as follows: 9. *Athavā āma-rūpena Vishṇuś cha svayam āgataḥ | tava nāsāya māyābhiḥ praviśyānupalax-itaḥ |* 10. *Yadaiva hi Janasthāne rāxasair bahubhir vṛitaḥ | Kharas tava hato bhṛātā tadaivāsau na mānushhaḥ |* "Or Vishṇu himself came in the form of Rāma, having entered into it unperceived, through supernatural powers, for thy destruction. 10. For since thy brother Khara, attended by many Rāxasas, was slain by [Rāma] in Janasthāna, Rāma is not a mere mortal." It will be observed that here a verse (the tenth) which corresponds to the seventeenth of the Calcutta edition, immediately succeeds the ninth, and that consequently there is in Gorresio's text no such development of the idea contained in the ninth verse as we find in vv. 10-15 of the other edition. Now if we are to suppose that the original text of the Rāmāyaṇa made no allusion to Rāma being an incarnation of Vishṇu, it might at first sight seem as if the ninth verse of the Calcutta text, which represents Death (*Kṛitānta*) as taking the form of Rāma, was more genuine than the corresponding verse of Gorresio's edition, which declares that Vishṇu assumed the form of that hero. In this case, verses 11 ff. of the Calcutta edition, which represent Rāma as an incarnate deity, would be a subsequent interpolation. But the eleventh and following verses appear, on examination, to hang well together with those which precede; and if the entire passage thus forms one connected whole, we can only (on the hypothesis that Rāma's divine nature was foreign to the original poem) suppose that the interpolation, or alteration, has extended over a wider surface. It is worthy of remark that the hundred and thirteenth section of the Calcutta edition is in other parts also more developed than Gorresio's. Thus after verse 40 of the Calcutta edition, corresponding to verse 28 of Gorresio's, eighteen verses are inserted which are not in the latter, and after verse 59 of the Calcutta edition = verse 29 of Gorresio's, twelve verses are found which are wanting in the latter. From this it would appear that both recensions have, in different places, received developments after they began to be separately handed down, unless, indeed, we are to assume that that followed by Gorresio

omitted passages which had previously existed in the common source of both.

In the passage which I shall next quote, the legend makes no mention of the incarnation of Vishṇu, but specifies the birth of Sītā as the means whereby Rāvana is to be destroyed. After the Rāxasas had been defeated by Rāma and driven back into Lankā, their females loudly bewailed the calamities by which their race had been overtaken. In the course of this lament, they say (sect. 95, vv. 25 ff. Calc. ed.) :  
*Rudro vā yadi vā Vishṇur Mahendro vā Satakratuḥ | hanti no Rāma-rūpeṇa  
yadi vā svayam Antakaḥ | hata-pravīrā Rāmeṇa nirāsā jivite vayam |  
apaśyanto<sup>32</sup> bhayasyāntam anāthā vilapāmahe | Rāma-hastād Daśagrīvaḥ  
śūro datta-mahāvaraḥ | idam bhayam mahāghoraṃ samutpannaṃ na  
budhyate | taṃ na devā na gandharvā na piśūchā na rāxasāḥ | upasriṣh-  
tam<sup>33</sup> parikrāntuṃ śaktā Rāmeṇa saṃnyuge | utpātāśchāpi drīṣyante  
Rāvanasya rane rane | kathayanti hi Rāmeṇa Rāvanasya nivarhaṇam |  
Pitāmāhena prītena deva-dānava-rāxasāḥ | Rāvanasyābhayaṃ dattam  
manushebhyo na yāchitam | tad idam mānusham manye prāptaṃ niḥsaṃsa-  
yam bhayam | jīvitānta-karaṃ ghoram raxasāṃ Rāvanasya cha | pīḍya-  
mānās tu balinā vara-dānena raxasā | dīptais tapoblir vibudhāḥ Pitā-  
maham apūjayan | devatānām hitārthāya mahātmā vai Pitāmahaḥ |  
uvācha devatās tushṭa idam sarvā mahad vachaḥ | adya-prabhṛiti lokāṃs  
trīn sarve dānava-rāxasāḥ | bhayena prāvṛitā nityaṃ vicarishyanti  
śāśvatam<sup>34</sup> | daivatais tu samāgamyā sārvaś Chandra-purogamaiḥ |  
vṛisha-dhwajas Tripura-hā Mahādevaḥ pratoshitaḥ | prasannas tu Mahā-  
devo devān etad vacho 'bravīt | utpatsyati hitārthaṃ vo nārī raxaḥ-  
zayāvahā | eṣhā devaiḥ prayuktā tu xud yathā<sup>35</sup> dānavān purā | bhaxa-  
yishyati naḥ sarvān rāxasa-ghnī sa-rāvanān | Rāvanasyāpanītena<sup>36</sup>  
durcīnītasya durmateḥ | ayaṃ nishṭhānako ghorah śokena samabhiplutaḥ |  
Tanna paśyāmahe loka yo naḥ śaraṇa-do bhavet | Rāghavenopasriṣṭānām  
kāleneva yugaxaye | "Either Rudra, or Vishṇu, or Indra Satakratu, or*

<sup>32</sup> *Apasanto 'pasantyah ārshah |* Comm.

<sup>33</sup> *Upasriṣṭam hantum ārabdham |* Comm. Gorresio's edition has *paritrātum* instead of *parikrāntum*.

<sup>34</sup> This verse is thus given in Gorresio's edition (74, 36 f.): *Adya-prabhṛiti lokeshu ye bhūtā bhaya-varjitāḥ | bhayārttās te punar iha vicarishyanti rāxasāḥ.*

<sup>35</sup> The text reads *xud vyathā*; but the Commentary has *xud yathā*. Possibly the proper reading is *xudhītā*, which Gorresio's edition has.

<sup>36</sup> *Apanītena anayena |* Comm.

Death himself slays us in the form of Rāma. Having had our heroes destroyed by Rāma, we despair of life. Seeing no end of our apprehension, we lament, deprived of our protectors. The heroic Daśagrīva (Rāvaṇa) who had received a great boon [from Brahmā] does not perceive this great cause of alarm which [comes] from the hand of Rāma. Neither gods, nor Gandharvas, nor Piśāchas, nor Rāxasas, are able to deliver (?) him when assailed by Rāma in battle. Portents, too, regarding Rāvana are seen in every battle, which foretell his destruction by Rāma. Pitāmaha, gratified, granted to Rāvana security against gods, Dānavas and Rāxasas, but he did not ask [to be secured] against men. This dreadful danger from men, has now, I think, without doubt arrived, which shall terminate the life of Rāvaṇa and the Rāxasas. The gods when oppressed by the Rāxasa (Rāvaṇa) who was mighty through the boon which [Brahmā] had conferred on him, worshipped Pitāmaha (Brahmā) with ardent austerities. The great Pitāmaha, pleased, addressed this great word to all the deities for their benefit: 'From this day forward all the Dānavas and Rāxasas shall roam continually through the three worlds, overwhelmed with fear.' All the gods,<sup>37</sup> with Chandra (the Moon) at their head, assembled and propitiated Mahādeva, whose banner is a bull, and who destroyed Tripura (or, the three cities). He, being pleased, thus spake to them: 'For your benefit there shall arise a female who shall bring destruction to the Rāxasas.' This female slayer<sup>38</sup> of Rāxasas, being commissioned by the gods, shall [now] devour all of us, including Rāvana; as Hunger formerly<sup>39</sup> [devoured] the Dānavas. Through the folly of the misguided and wicked Rāvana this dreadful destruction surrounded by affliction has come upon us. Therefore we see no one in the world who shall afford protection to us assailed by Rāma, as it were by Time at the end of the ages."

Compare with the preceding passage the story of Devavatī, extracted

<sup>37</sup> The commentator remarks here: *Evam Brahmaṇaḥ prāsādāt sahayateṣā atra prāptam | saṁhārādi-kṛita (?) Rudra-pradānaṁ tu nāśa evāsmākam ity āhuḥ |* "Thus by the favour of Brahmā, the gods obtained that the [Dānavas, etc.] should be terrified: but the further gift of Rudra, the causer of (?) destruction, etc., is that we shall be destroyed."

<sup>38</sup> Sītā, according to the commentator. Gorresio's text has *Saiśhū daiva-prasāhā tu sudhitā Janakātmajā*, etc.

<sup>39</sup> "In a former Kalpa."—Comm.

above (p. 391 f.) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Could it have been one form of the legend that Sītā, and not Viṣṇu, was the real destroyer of Rāvaṇa?

In an earlier part of the poem it is related that after Rāma had slain the Rāxasa Khara, he was congratulated by the gods in a way which is scarcely consistent with the idea that the poet regarded him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu:

Āraṇya Kāṇḍa (or Third Book) 30, v. 27 ff. (Calc. ed.)—*Sa papāta Kharo bhūmau dahyamānaḥ śarāgninā | Rudreṇeva vinīrdagḍhaḥ śvetāraṇye yathā 'ndhakaḥ | sa Vṛittra iva vajreṇa phenena Namuchir yathā | Balo vandraśani-hato nīpapāta hataḥ Kharah | etasmīn antare devās chāraṇaiḥ saha saṅgatāḥ | dundubhīmśchābhiniḅhantah pushpa-varṣam samantataḥ | Rāmasyopari saṅhṛiṣṭā cavarṣhur viṣmitās tadā | arddhādhika-muhūrttena Rāmeṇa nīṣitaiḥ śaraiḥ | chaturdaśa sahasrāṇi raxasām kāma-rūpiṇām | Khāra-Dūṣhaṇa-mukhyānām nihatāni mahāmpidhe | aho vata mahat karma Rāmasya viditātmanaḥ | aho vīryam aho dārḍhyaṁ Viṣṇor iva hi dṛiśyato | ity evam ukṭvā te sarve yayur devā yathāgatam |* "Burnt up by the fire of the arrow, Khara fell like Andhaka who was formerly consumed by Rudra in the white forest. He fell like Vṛittra smitten by the thunderbolt, like Namuchi by the foam,<sup>40</sup> or like Bala by the lightning of Indra. At this moment the gods, joined with the Chāraṇas, beating kettle-drums, delighted, rained on Rāma a shower of flowers all round, and [said] in astonishment: 'In a muhūrta and a half (two hours) fourteen thousand Rāxasas, changing their shapes at will, headed by Khara and Dūṣhaṇa, have been slain by Rāma with sharp arrows in a great fight. O what a mighty exploit of Rāma, sage in spirit (or, who knows himself)! O, his valour and his firmness are seen to be like those of Viṣṇu!' Having thus spoken, all those gods went as they came."

The writer of these verses could scarcely have regarded Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, or it would have been superfluous to compare him with that deity. In the corresponding section of Gorresio's edition (the thirty-fifth) these verses are not given, but the several classes of rishis are introduced as [among other things] saying to Rāma (vv. 105 ff.) that all the gods, Gandharvas, etc., were praising him with triumphal benedictions (*jayāśirbhiḥ*), and that Brahmā and Mahādeva

<sup>40</sup> See above, p. 222, and note 201.



were paying him honour. Rāma is then said to have "made obeisance to the gods whom he saw not far off standing on their celestial cars," (*namaśchakre vimānasthān dṛishṭvā 'dūre divaukasaḥ* |).

The following is another passage occurring in the Calcutta edition, but not in Gorresio's, in which Rāma, when about to engage in battle with Rāvana, is recommended by Agastya to utter a hymn to the Sun, which will ensure his victory over his enemy. Not a word is said of Rāma's own divinity, and in fact the use of such a prayer does not seem to harmonize with such a character :

Aranya Kāṇḍa vi. 106, 1 ff. (Calc. ed.): *Tato yuddha-pariśāntaṁ samare chintayā sthitam | Rāvanaṁ chāgrato dṛishṭvā yuddhāya samu-  
pāsthitam | 2. Daivataiś cha samāgamyā dṛaśṭum abhyāgato raṇam |  
upāgamyābravīd Rāmam Agastyo bhagavāṁs tadā | 3. Rāma Rāma  
mahābāho śṛiṇu guhyaṁ sanātanam | yena sarvān arin vatsa samare  
vijayishyasi | 4. Āditya-hṛidayam puṇyaṁ sarva-śatru-vināśanam |  
jayāvahaṁ jagan nityam acayam paramaṁ śivam | 5. Sarva-māṅgala-  
māṅgalyaṁ sarva-pāpa-pranāśanam | chintā-śoka-praśamanam ayur-  
vardhanam uttamam | 6. Rāsmimantaṁ samudyantaṁ devāsura-namas-  
kṛitam | pūjyasva Vivasantam bhāskaram bhuvaneśvaram | 7. Sarva-  
devātmake hy esha tejasvī raśmi-bhāvanaḥ | esha devāsura-gaṇān lokān  
pāti gabhastibhiḥ | 8. Esha Brahmā cha Vishṇuś cha Sivah Skandah  
Prajāpatiḥ | Mahendro Dhanadaḥ Kālo Yamaḥ Somo hy Apāṁpatiḥ |  
9. Pitaro vasavaḥ sādhyā Āsvinau Maruto Manuḥ | Vāyur Vahniḥ prajā-  
prāṇaḥ ṛitu-karttā prabhākarah | 10. Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūryyaḥ kha-gaḥ  
Pūshā gabhastimān | suvarṇa-sadrīśo bhānur hiraṇya-retā<sup>41</sup> divākaraḥ |  
. . . . . 26. Pūjyasvainam ekāgro deva-devaṁ jagat-patim | etat tri-  
gunitaṁ japtvā yuddheshu vijayishyasi | 27. Asmin xane mahābāho  
Rāvanaṁ tvam jahishyasi | evam uktvā tato 'gastyo jagāma sa yathāga-  
tam | etach chhrtvā mahātejā nashṭa-śoko 'bhavat tadā | dhārayāmāsa  
supṛito Rāghavaḥ prayatātmavān | 29. Ādityam prexya japtvedam  
paraṁ harsham avāptavān | trir āchamya śuchir bhūtvā dhanur ādāya  
vīryavān | 30. Rāvanaṁ prexya hṛishṭātmā jayārthaṁ samupāgamat |  
sarva-yatnena mahatā vṛilas tasya badhe 'bhavat | 31. Atha ravir avadad  
nirīxya Rāmam mudita-manāḥ paramam prahṛishyamāṇaḥ | niśichara-  
pati-saṅzayaṁ viditvā sura-gaṇa-madhya-gato vacas tvareti |*

"The divine Agastya then beholding [Rāma] fatigued with the con-

<sup>41</sup> *Azarādhiḥyam ārsham* | Comm.

flict, standing anxious in the battle, and in his front Rāvaṇa, who had drawn near to the combat, [Agastya, I say], (2) joining the gods, arrived to see the conflict; and coming near to Rāma, he said: 3. 'Rāma, Rāma, great-armed, hear the eternal mysterious [prayer], by which, my son,<sup>42</sup> continually muttering it,—(4) the holy *Āditya-hṛidaya* ('heart of the sun'), which destroys all enemies, brings victory, is undecaying, supreme, beneficent, (5) the auspiciousness of all auspicious things, the destroyer of all sins, the allayer of anxieties and sorrows, the prolonger of life, the most excellent—thou shalt conquer all thine enemies in battle. 6. Worship the rising Vivasvat, the radiant sun, adored by gods and Asuras, the lord of the world. 7. For he possesses the essence of all the gods, is fiery, the producer of rays. He by his beams sustains the gods, the Asuras, and the worlds. 8. He is both Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Śiva and Skanda, Prajāpati, Indra, Kuvera, Kāla (Time), Yama, Soma, and the lord of waters (Varuṇa), (9) the Pitṛis, Vasus, Sādhyas, Aśvins, Manu, Vāyu, Agni, the breath of creatures, the former of the seasons, the producer of light, Āditya, Savitṛi, Sūryya, moving in the sky, Pūshan, the radiant, of golden hue, the shining, who has golden seed, the maker of the day.'" Then follow (vv. 11–15) many other titles of the Sun, succeeded (vv. 15–21) by invocations addressed to him under various appellations, among which is (v. 19) *Brahmeśānāchyuteśāya*,<sup>43</sup> "lord of Brahmā, Iśāna (Śiva), and Achyuta (Viṣṇu)." After some further eulogies of the Sun, Rāma is again exhorted to worship this deity (vv. 26 ff.): "Worship with fixed mind this god of gods, the lord of the world. Having thrice muttered this [hymn], thou shalt conquer in battles; in this moment, o great-armed, thou shalt slay Rāvaṇa.' Having thus spoken, Agastya went as he had come. After hearing this, the vigorous Rāma became then freed from grief; and, with well-governed spirit, bore it in his memory. Beholding the Sun, and muttering this hymn, he attained the highest joy. Having thrice rinsed his mouth, and become pure, the hero took his bow. Beholding

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 328, how much Brahmā was offended by having this appellation, *vatsa*, "my son," applied to him by Viṣṇu. Could, then, the poet here intend to represent Rāma as possessing a divine nature, when he makes Agastya address him thus?

<sup>43</sup> *Brahmeśānāchyutānām śṛiṣṭi-saṁhāra-sthiti-kartṛiṇām īśāya svāmine |*  
*"śṛiṣṭi-sthity-anta-karaṇīm Brahma-Viṣṇu-Ś'ivātmikām | saṁjñām yāti (?) bhaga-*  
*vān eka eva Janārdanaḥ" iti smṛiteḥ |* Comm.

Rāvaṇa with gladdened spirit, he approached to vanquish him; and with great intentness became bent upon his slaughter. Then the Sun looking upon Rāma with rejoicing mind, exceedingly exulting, knowing the [approaching] destruction of the chief of the Rāxasas, and going into the midst of the gods, uttered the word 'speed.' ”

This extract, as I have said above, is entirely wanting in Gorresio's edition, in which a verse (the last of its eighty-ninth section) corresponding with the last in the hundred-and-fifth section of the Calc. ed., is succeeded immediately by one (Gorr. 90, 1) corresponding to the fourth verse of the hundred-and-seventh section of the Calcutta edition. The whole of the matter which is wanting in Gorresio may be omitted without detriment to the connection; and in fact the recurrence at the beginning of the hundred-and-seventh section (Calc. ed.) of expressions repeating in substance what had been said at the close of the hundred-and-fifth would lead to the conclusion that the whole of the hundred-and-sixth section was interpolated. On the other hand, it seems strange that a passage which appears to militate against Rāma's divine character, should be a later addition. The only conceivable motive for such an interpolation would be to glorify the Sun by the insertion of this hymn in celebration of his praise, an object which does not bear upon the main design of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following is, on the other hand, a passage which may be understood as ascribing a superhuman nature to Rāma. After Vibhīṣhaṇa had deserted his brother Rāvaṇa, and come over to Rāma's side, a consultation took place among the friends of the latter, whether the deserter was deserving of confidence or not. Some regarded him with suspicion, but Rāma himself was in favour of receiving him with open arms. In the course of the conversation he asks (Yuddha Kāṇḍa 18, 22 f., Calc. ed.): *Sudushto vā'py adushto vā kim esha rajanī-charaḥ | sūxmam apy ahitaṁ karttum mama śaktaḥ kathañchana | piśāchān dānavān yaxān pṛithivyām chaiva rāxasān | aṅguly-agreṇa tān hanyām ichhan hari-gaṇesvara |* “Whether the Rāxasa be good or bad, what, even the smallest, injury can he do to me in any way? If I wish, I can destroy Piśāchas, Dānavas, Yaxas, and Rāxasas on the earth, with the tip of my finger.” This mode of expression rather points to an inherent divine power. In Gorresio's edition the expression is somewhat different. Rāma there says (Sundara K. 91, 3) that

he could destroy all those beings "forthwith, and by the power of a divine weapon" (*śakto 'hañ sahasā hantuñ divyēnāstra-balena cha*), which may be understood of a derived power. However this may be, it turned out upon trial that Rāma was unable to dispose of his enemies so summarily, as we have seen above in the case of his conflict with Indrajit (p. 383 ff.).

The termination of Rāma's terrestrial career is thus told in sections 116 ff. of the Uttara Kāṇḍa. Time, in the form of an ascetic, comes to his palace-gate (116, 1 ff.), and asks, as the messenger of the great rishi (Brahmā), to see Rāma (v. 3). He is admitted and received with honour (v. 9), but says, when asked what he has to communicate, that his message must be delivered in private, and that any one who witnesses the interview is to lose his life (v. 13). Rāma informs Laxmaṇa of all this, and desires him to stand outside. Time then tells Rāma (117, 1) that he has been sent by Brahmā to say that when he (Rāma, *i.e.* Viṣṇu), after destroying the worlds, was sleeping on the ocean, he had formed him (Brahmā) from the lotus springing from his navel, and committed to him the work of creation (vv. 4-7); that he (Brahmā) had then entreated Rāma to assume the function of Preserver, and that the latter had in consequence become Viṣṇu, being born as the son of Aditi (v. 10), and had determined to deliver mankind by destroying Rāvaṇa, and to live on earth ten thousand and ten hundred years; that period, adds Time, was now on the eve of expiration (v. 13), and Rāma could either, at his pleasure, prolong his stay on earth, or ascend to heaven and rule over the gods (v. 15). Rāma replies (v. 18) that he had been born for the good of the three worlds, and would now return to the place whence he had come, as it was his function to fulfil the purposes of the gods. While they are speaking, the irritable rishi Durvāsas<sup>44</sup> comes, and insists on seeing Rāma immediately, under a threat, if refused, of cursing Rāma and all his family (118, 1 ff.). Laxmaṇa, preferring to save his kinsmen, though knowing that his own death must be the consequence of interrupting the interview of Rāma with Time, enters the palace, and reports the rishi's message to Rāma (v. 8 f.). Rāma comes out, and when Durvāsas has got the food he wished, and departed, Rāma reflects with great distress on the words of Time, which require that

<sup>44</sup> Compare p. 165, above.

Laxmaṇa should die (v. 16). Laxmaṇa, however (119, 2 f.), exhorts Rāma not to grieve, but to abandon him, and not break his own promise. The counsellors concurring in this advice (v. 9), Rāma abandons Laxmaṇa, who goes to the river Sarayū, suppresses all his senses, and is conveyed bodily by Indra to heaven. The gods are delighted by the arrival of the fourth part of Viṣṇu (v. 19). Rāma then resolves to install Bharata as his successor, and retire to the forest and follow Laxmaṇa (120, 1 ff.). Bharata, however, refuses the succession, and determines to accompany his brother (v. 8). Rāma's subjects are filled with grief, and say they also will follow him wherever he goes (v. 12). Messengers are sent to Satrugna, the other brother, and he also resolves to accompany Rāma (121, 1-14); who at length sets out in procession from his capital with all the ceremonial appropriate to the "great departure" (*mahā-prasthāna*, 122, 1 ff.), silent, indifferent to external objects, joyless, with Śrī on his right, the goddess Earth on his left, Energy in front, attended by all his weapons in human shapes, by the Vedas in the forms of Brahmans, by the Gāyatrī, the Omkāra, the Vashaṭkāra, by rishis, by his women, female slaves, eunuchs, and servants. Bharata with his family, and Satrugna, follow, together with Brahmans bearing the sacred fire, and the whole of the people of the country, and even with animals, etc. etc. Rāma, with all these attendants, comes to the banks of the Sarayū (sect. 123). Brahmā, with all the gods, in innumerable celestial cars, now appears, and all the sky is refulgent with the divine splendour. Pure and fragrant breezes blow, a shower of flowers falls. Rāma enters the waters of the Sarayū; and Brahmā utters a voice from the sky, saying: "Approach, Viṣṇu; Rāghava, thou hast happily arrived, with thy god-like brothers. Enter thine own body as Viṣṇu, or the eternal æther. For thou art the abode of the worlds (*loka-gatiḥ*): no one comprehends thee, the inconceivable and imperishable, except the large-eyed Māyā, thy primeval spouse." Hearing these words, Rāma enters the glory of Viṣṇu (*Vaiṣṇavaṁ tejas*) with his body and his followers. He then asks Brahmā to find an abode for the people who had accompanied him from devotion to his person, and Brahmā appoints them a celestial residence accordingly.

Instead of describing any such resumption of his divine nature, the Mahābhārata (*Droṇa-parva*, v. 2246) merely speaks of Rāma's going to

heaven with four kinds of creatures (*chaturvidhāḥ prajā Rāmaḥ svar-gaṁ nītvā divaṁ gataḥ*). The Rāmopākhyāna in the Mahābhārata does not describe the apotheosis of Rāma at all.

The probability that many of the verses in the preceding passages which I have above suspected to be spurious may really be such, is greatly strengthened by the fact that the commentators on the poem themselves note various texts which they regard as interpolated. Thus the commentator on Kishk. K. sect. 43 (Calc. ed.) remarks on 46 ff. : *Itaḥ uttaram kechid "ramante sahitās tatra nārībhīḥ bhāsvara-prabhāḥ"* (v. 50) *ity antāḥ ślokāḥ praxiptāḥ prāchīna-pustakeshv anupalambhād iti Katakāḥ* | "Kataka (a previous commentator) says that after this (forty-sixth verse) some verses ending with the words (in the fiftieth verse) 'They sport there resplendent, along with their women,' are rejected, because they are not found in the old copies."

At the end of the twenty-third section of the Uttara Kāṇḍa, the commentator remarks : *Itaḥ param pañcha-sargāḥ praxiptā bodhyāḥ* | "After this five sections are to be regarded as rejected." On these five sections, the twenty-fourth to the twenty-eighth, he gives no commentary. In sect. 24, v. 42, Kansa is mentioned by anachronism.

At the end of the forty-second section of the same book the commentator furnishes the following piece of sensible criticism : *Etad-uttaram Bāli-Sugrīvotpatti-pratishṭhā Rāvanasya Sveta-dvīpa-gamaneti-hāsaś cha kapatīyāiḥ (katipayāiḥ?) sargair Agastyoktitayā kvachit pustakeshu dṛśyate* | *tat-pūrva-sargānte eva Agastyasya āśrama-gamanakathanāsaṅgateḥ Kataka-Tīrthādy-anādattatvād mayā'pi na vyākhyātāḥ* | *Uttare bahavaḥ sargāḥ praxiptāḥ* | "That which follows—viz. the celebration of the birth of Bāli and Sugrīva, and the story of Rāvaṇa's journey to Sveta-dvīpa—is found in some copies, as being related by Agastya in (?) several sections. But as these sections have not been received by Kataka, Tīrtha, and other [previous commentators], owing to their inconsistency with the account [given] at the end of the previous section (41, vv. 51, 58 ff.) of Agastya's departure to his hermitage, I have left them uncommented." Sections 43–47 are accordingly without any commentary.

Again, at the close of section 69, he remarks : *Etad-agre praxiptatvāt Kataka-Tīrthābhyaṁ na vyākhyātam* | *etad uttaram gridhrolūkākhyānañcha kvachid dṛśyate* | "What succeeds has not been explained by

Kataka and Tīrtha on the ground of spuriousness. And the story of the vulture and owl which follows is [only] found in some copies." Sections 70-72 have no comment; and in fact the beginning of section 73 seems to be connected with the end of section 69.

From these extracts it is clear that various passages which are still preserved in the Rāmāyaṇa were regarded by the commentators as spurious because they were not to be found in the oldest MSS. extant in their day, or because they contained something inconsistent with the context in which they occur. The judgment of these commentators is no doubt correct, especially as they must have been well acquainted with the habit which, we need not hesitate to assume, prevailed in their day, as internal evidence proves it to have prevailed in India for many centuries past, of interpolating legendary works such as the Purāṇas and Itihāsas, the style of which, from its simplicity, offers the greatest facilities for imitation. But if such interpolation be admitted by the commentators as practised in their time, it is natural to suppose that it must have been practised at an earlier period also. And the example of the Mahābhārata confirms this supposition.

After reviewing most of the passages, which I have cited above, in which Rāma's divine character is alluded to, as they are given in his own edition, and, in addition, the section which I have cited in p. 148 ff.,<sup>45</sup> Signor Gorresio remarks as follows (vol. x. Preface, p. xlvii. f.): "What are we to conclude from all this? Notwithstanding the citations adduced, I would not yet venture to pronounce a definitive judgment on this question (whether the idea of the incarnation of Viṣṇu in Rāma was an original part of the conception of the poem, or interpolated). The passages quoted only prove that the interpolation, if it be such, has been made with great study and much art. But in order thoroughly to elucidate this question, we must have recourse to other documents, and seek for other proofs and indications than the poem itself supplies. Our sentence, therefore, remains suspended."

The Mahābhārata also contains a history of Rāma, which is told to

<sup>45</sup> On this passage he observes (p. xlvii.): "Among the names here assigned to Viṣṇu some of a sufficiently suspicious character are found, such as that of Krishna, which I do not recollect to have discovered in any other part of the poem. Besides, this chapter has no close bond to connect it with the context, and might be removed without the least injury to the poem."

Yudhishtira by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya, in the Vana-parva, vv. 15872–16602. In this episode it is briefly related (v. 15878 f.) that Daśaratha had four sons, born of his three queens. The birth and history of Rāvaṇa and his brothers are described in much greater detail (vv. 15881–15928), and many particulars are given which do not occur in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, though the Uttara Kāṇḍa contains a similar account. According to the episode in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā had a mental son Pulastya, who again had a son Vaiśravaṇa. The latter deserted his father and went to Brahmā, who as a reward made him immortal and appointed him the god of riches, with Lankā for his capital, and the car Pushpaka for his vehicle. His father, Pulastya, however, being incensed at this desertion of himself, created another son, Viśravas, who looked on Vaiśravaṇa with ill-will. The latter, to pacify his father<sup>46</sup> (v. 15890 ff), gave him three elegant Rāxasīs to attend on him: Pushpotkaṭā, who had two sons, Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa; Mālinī, who bore Vibhīṣhaṇa; and Rākā, who bore Khara, and Sūrpaṇakhā. These sons were all valiant, skilled in the Veda, and observers of religious rites; but perceiving the prosperity of Vaiśravaṇa, they were filled with jealousy. They accordingly began to practise austerities to propitiate Brahmā, and at the end of a thousand years Rāvaṇa cut off his own head and threw it as an oblation into the fire (v. 15908). Brahmā then appeared to stop their austerities and offer them boons. He ordained that Rāvaṇa should have heads and shapes at will, and should be invincible, except by men; that Kumbhakarṇa should, according to his request, enjoy long sleep<sup>47</sup> (*sa cāvro mahatīm nidrām tamasā grasta-chetanaḥ*). Vibhīṣhaṇa asks that he may never meditate any unrighteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearned.<sup>48</sup> Having obtained such power, Rāvaṇa expels Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) from Lankā.

<sup>46</sup> Viśravas must be here meant, although according to v. 15883 ff. Viśravas appears to have been born after Vaiśravaṇa, and in consequence of the latter having deserted his father, Pulastya. Vaiśravaṇa means the son of Viśravas, and in v. 15925, Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) is said to be the brother of Vibhīṣhaṇa, who must have been the son of Viśravas, as his brother Rāvaṇa is called in v. 15930. There appears to be some confusion in the account.

<sup>47</sup> This disagrees with the statement in the Rāmāyaṇa (quoted above, p. 394) that he was doomed to long sleep as a curse.

<sup>48</sup> *Ahiritāñcha bhagavan Brahmūstram pratībhātu me* | See the Second Vol. of this work, p. 433.



Vibhīṣhaṇa follows his brother<sup>49</sup> (v. 15925) Kuvera, who retires to Gandhamādana (v. 15921). Rāvaṇa having begun to exercise his power tyrannically, the rishis resort for deliverance to Brahmā (v. 15929 ff.), who promises that as Rāvaṇa could not be killed either by gods or Asuras, the four-armed Viṣṇu, the chief of warriors, should descend to earth for his destruction (*tad-artham avatīrṇo 'sau man-niyogāch chaturbhujah | Viṣṇuḥ praharatām śreshṭhaḥ sa tat karma karishyati |*). No account, is, however, given of the way in which Viṣṇu was to become incarnate in one or more of the sons of Daśaratha; or how this was accomplished. Brahmā also desired Indra and the other gods to beget on the she-bears and she-monkeys sons who should assist Viṣṇu, which they accordingly did. He also gave injunctions to a Gandharvī called Dundubhī, who was born on earth as Mantharā, and stirred up enmity by urging Kaikeyī to claim the succession to Daśaratha's throne for her own son Bharata (vv. 15960 ff.).

This portion of the episode which relates the earlier history of Rāvaṇa, and the means adopted by Brahmā for his destruction, need not have formed an original part of the poem: though an allusion is afterwards made in a later part of it to the monkeys of Rāma's army having been begotten by the gods (v. 16309), where Sāgara, the Ocean, who had appeared to Rāma, is introduced as saying: *Asti tatra Nala nāma vānarah śilpi-sammataḥ | Tvashṭur devasya tanayo balavān Viśvakarmaṇaḥ |* "There is there a monkey called Nala, approved by artizans, the strong son of the god Tvashṭri Viśvakarman."

The main incidents in this episode agree, as far as I have examined them, with those of the Rāmāyaṇa: though there are some minor points in which there is a difference between the two. Thus the larger poem appears (as far as I have looked into it) to say nothing of Mantharā being the incarnation of a Gandharvī, though this is alluded to by the commentator in ii. 7, 1 of the Calcutta edition, in the same words: *Atha Sītāyā Lankā-pura-praveśam vinā Rāvaṇa-badhahyāśak-*

<sup>49</sup> In v. 16158 f. Vibhīṣhaṇa is said to dwell with a white umbrella, and white garlands, on the S'vetaparvata, or, "white mountain," attended by his four counselors, and apart from his disreputable brothers Kumbhakarna, etc., who, naked, with dishevelled hair, and red garlands, frequented the south. In v. 16314, he is said to join Rāma, and it is not mentioned whence he comes; but as his treachery is at first suspected, it might appear to be implied that he came from Lankā, as is expressly related in the Rāmāyaṇa, v. 89, 1, 43, Gorr.; and vi. 17, 1, Calc. ed.

*yatayā tat-siddhaye devaiḥ preritāyāḥ kṛita-kubjā-veshayā Mantharāyā Rāmābhisheka-vighna-pravṛittim . . . . . vaktum upakramate* | “Now since Rāvaṇa could not be killed unless Sītā entered into Lankā,—with a view to the accomplishment of that, he (the poet) begins to relate how Mantharā, who had been sent by the gods, and had taken the disguise of a hunchback, threw obstacles in the way of Rāvaṇa’s inauguration,” etc. Again, as we have already seen, long periods of sleep are said, in the larger poem, to have been inflicted by Brahmā on Kumbhakarna as a curse, but in the episode to have been granted as a boon.<sup>50</sup> The account which will be given below from the Mahābhārata, is a sort of reconciliation of these two statements. Another discrepancy noticed by the commentator has been already cited above, p. 352, note 327.

In the sequel of the story, as given in the Mahābhārata, it is said that, after the destruction of Rāvaṇa, and the appearance of the gods to persuade Rāma to take back his wife Sītā, Brahmā offered Rāma any boons he might choose, and that Rāma accordingly desired that he might continue steadfast in righteousness, and unconquered by his enemies; and solicited the resurrection of the monkeys who had been killed by the Rāxasas (vv. 1657 ff.). The poet, who represents Rāma as consenting to receive these boons from Brahmā, could scarcely have regarded him as the Supreme Spirit, as he is declared in some parts of the Rāmāyaṇa to have been (see above, p. 148 ff.).<sup>51</sup>

As I have noticed above, the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa contains an account of the birth, and a sketch of the earlier history, of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, which varies in some particulars from the narrative

<sup>50</sup> The story of Rambhā, which is related in the passage quoted above, is here briefly sketched in these words (v. 16151 ff.): *Nalakūvara-śāpena raxitā hy asi nandini | śapto hy esha purā pōpo badhūm Rambhām parāmṛishan | na śaknoty avasōm nārīm upaitum ajitendriyah* | “Thou art protected, happy one, by the curse of Nalakūvara. For this wicked being of unrestrained passions (Rāvaṇa) having formerly been cursed when insulting his (N.’s) wife Rambhā, is unable to approach a helpless woman.”

<sup>51</sup> My attention has been drawn by a brochure of Professor M. Williams, which is passing through the press, to another passage in the Mahābhārata where Rāma is mentioned. He is there (Droṇa-parva 2224-2248) celebrated in the most hyperbolic language, as where he is said (v. 2235) to “have transcended all beings, rishis, gods, and men,” but no reference appears to be made to his possessing a divine nature. The word *īśvara* applied to him in v. 2242 appears to mean only “lord,” and not to be employed in the sense of “god.”

in the Mahābhārata. We are there told how after Rāma had returned to Ayodhyā, and taken possession of the throne, the rishis assembled to greet him, and Agastya, in answer to his questions, recounted many particulars regarding his old enemies. In the Kṛita Yuga (or Golden Age) the austere and pious Brahman-rishi Pulastya, a son of Brahmā, being teased with the visits of different damsels, proclaimed that any one of them whom he again saw near his hermitage should become pregnant. This had not been heard by the daughter of the royal-rishi Triṇavindu, who one day came into Pulastya's neighbourhood, and her pregnancy was the result (sect. 2, vv. 14 ff.). After her return home, her father, seeing her condition, took her to Pulastya, who accepted her as his wife, and she bore a son who received the name of Viśravas (v. 32). This son was like his father, an austere and religious sage. He married the daughter of the muni Bharadvāja, who bore him a son, to whom Brahmā gave the name of Vaiśravaṇa = Kuvera (sect. 3, vv. 1 ff.). He performed austerity for thousands of years, when he obtained from Brahmā as a boon, that he should be one of the guardians of the world [along with Indra, Varuṇa, and Yama] and the god of riches (vv. 11 ff.). He afterwards consulted his father Viśravas about an abode, and at his suggestion, took possession of the city of Lankā, which had formerly been built by Viśvakarman for the Rāxasas, but had been abandoned by them through fear of Viṣṇu, and was at that time unoccupied (vv. 23 ff.). Rāma then (sect. 4) says he is surprised to hear that Lankā had formerly belonged to the Rāxasas, as he had always understood that they were the descendants of Pulastya, and now he learns that they had also another origin. He therefore asks who was their ancestor, and what fault they had committed that they were chased away by Viṣṇu. Agastya replies (vv. 9 ff.) that when Brahmā created the waters, he formed certain beings,—some of whom received the name of Rāxasas,—to guard them. The first Rāxasa kings were Heti and Praheti (v. 14). Heti married a sister of Kāla (Time). She bore him a son Vidyutkeśa (v. 17), who in his turn took for his wife Lankāṅkaṭā, the daughter of Sandhyā (v. 21). She bore him a son Sukeśa, whom she abandoned, but he was seen by Śiva, as he was passing by with his wife Pārvatī (v. 27 ff.), who made the child as old as his mother, and immortal, and gave him a celestial city. Pārvatī, too, gave as a boon to the Rāxasa women the

power of immediate conception and parturition (v. 30). Sukeśa married a Gandharvī called Devavatī (sect. 5, v. 3), who bore three sons, Mālyavat, Sumāli, and Māli (v. 6). These sons practised intense austerities (v. 9), when Brahmā appeared (v. 12) and conferred on them invincibility and long life (15). They then harassed the gods (16). Viśvakarman gave them a city, Laṅkā, on the mountain Trikūṭa, on the shore of the southern ocean, which he had built at the command of Indra (v. 25). They marry the three daughters of the Gandharvī Narmadā. Mālyavat's wife, Sundarī, bears Vajramusṭhi, Virūpāxa, Durmukha, Suptaghna, Yajnakopa, Matta, Unmatta, and one daughter Analā (v. 35 ff.). Sumāli's wife, Ketumatī, bears Prahasta, Kampana, Vikāṣa, Kālikāmukha, Dhūmrāxa, Daṇḍa, Supārśva, Sanhrādi, Pradyasa, Bhāsakarna, and four daughters, Rākā, Pushpotkaṭā, Kaikasī, and Kumbhīnasī (v. 39 ff.). Māli's wife, Vasudā, bore Anala, Nila, Hara, and Sampātī (v. 43). The three Rāxasas, Mālyavat and his two brothers, then began to oppress the gods, rishis, etc.; who (sect. 6, v. 1 ff.) in consequence resort for aid to Mahādeva ("the creator and destroyer of the world, the unborn, imperceptible, the support of all worlds"), who, having regard to his protégé Sukeśa (the father of Mālyavat, etc., see above), says that he cannot kill the Rāxasas (v. 10); but advises the suppliants to go to Viṣṇu, which they do (v. 12), and receive from him a promise that he will destroy their enemies (v. 21). The three Rāxasa kings, hearing of this, consult together (v. 23 ff.), and proceed to heaven to attack the gods (v. 46). Viṣṇu prepares to meet them (v. 63). The battle is described in the seventh section. The Rāxasas are defeated by Viṣṇu with great slaughter, and driven back to Laṅkā, one of their leaders, Māli, being slain (v. 42). Mālyavat remonstrates with Viṣṇu, who was assaulting the rear of the fugitives, on his unwarriorlike conduct, and wishes to renew the combat (sect. 8, v. 3 ff.). Viṣṇu replies that he must fulfil his promise to the gods by slaying the Rāxasas, and that he would destroy them even if they fled to Pātāla (v. 7 ff.). The battle is renewed, but Mālyavat and Sumāli are driven into Laṅkā (v. 20), and being unable to withstand Viṣṇu, at length retire to Pātāla (v. 22). These Rāxasas, Agastya says, were more powerful than Rāvaṇa, and could only be destroyed by Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* by Rāma himself, the eternal indestructible god (v. 24 ff.). Sumāli with his family lived for a

long time in Pātāla, while Kuvera dwelt in Laṅkā (v. 29). In section 9 it is related that Sumālī once happened to visit the earth, when he observed Kuvera going in his chariot to see his father Viśravas. This leads him to consider how he might restore his own fortunes. He consequently desires his daughter Kaikasī to go and woo Viśravas (v. 12), who receives her graciously. She becomes the mother of the dreadful Rāvaṇa (v. 29), of the huge Kumbhakarṇa (v. 34), of Sūrpaṅakhā, and of the righteous Vibhīṣhaṇa, who was the last son (v. 35).<sup>52</sup> These children grow up in the forest. Kumbhakarṇa goes about eating rishis (v. 38). Kuvera comes to visit his father (v. 40), when Kaikasī takes occasion to urge her son Rāvaṇa to strive to become like his brother (Kuvera) in splendour. This Rāvaṇa promises to do (v. 45). He then goes to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity (v. 47). In section 10 their austere observances are described. After a thousand years' penance, Rāvaṇa throws his head as an offering into the fire (v. 10). He repeats this oblation nine times after equal intervals, and is about to do it the tenth time, when Brahmā appears (v. 12), and offers a boon. Rāvaṇa asks immortality, but is refused (17). He then asks that he may be indestructible by all creatures more powerful than men; which boon is accorded by Brahmā (v. 22), together with the recovery of all the heads he had sacrificed, and the power of assuming any shape he pleased. Vibhīṣhaṇa (nearly as in the Mahābhārata, see above, p. 411) asks as his boon (v. 30 f.) that "even amid the greatest calamities he may think only of righteousness, and that the weapon of Brahmā may appear to him unlearned," etc. (*paramāpad-gatasyāpi dharme mama matir bhavet | aśixitañcha brahmāstram bhagavan pratibhātu me*<sup>53</sup>). The god grants his request, and adds the gift of immortality. When Brahmā is about to offer a boon to Kumbhakarṇa, the gods interpose, as, they say, he had eaten seven Apsarases and ten followers of Indra, besides rishis and men; and beg that under

<sup>52</sup> This account varies from that of the Mahābhārata (above, p. 411), according to which the mothers are different, and Khara (who is not named here), is also a son of Viśravas.

<sup>53</sup> The commentator explains these last words thus: *aśixitaṃ sad-gurūpadeśaṃ vināpīty arthaḥ | brahmāstram brahma-vidyā | etad varāṇam aśeṣa brahma-vidyā-siddhi-pratibandhaka-nivṛttaye* | "Unlearned, that is, [may it appear to me], even without the instruction of a good teacher. The weapon of Brahmā is the science of Brahma (or of the veda). This choice of a boon seeks the removal of all obstacles to the attainment of divine knowledge."

the guise of a boon stupefaction may be inflicted on him. Brahmā thinks on Sarasvatī, who arrives, and by Brahmā's command (*Vāṇī tvaṁ Rāxasendrasya bhava vāg-devatepsitā*) enters into Kumbhakarṇa's mouth, that she may speak for him. Under this influence he asks that he may receive the boon of sleeping for many years, which is granted (v. 45).<sup>54</sup> When, however, Sarasvatī has left him, and he recovers his own consciousness, he perceives that he has been deluded (v. 47). Kuvera, by his father's advice, gives up the city of Laṅkā to Ravana (sect. 11, v. 39 ff.).

The Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 41, vv. 44 ff., contains in its description of the monkey Hanumat's history the following testimony to his literary merits: 44. *Asau punar vyākaraṇaṁ grahīshyan sūryonmukhaḥ prasṭu-manāḥ kapīndraḥ | udyad-girer asta-giriṁ jagāma grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ |* 45. *Sa-sūtra-vṛitty-ārtha-padam mahārthaṁ sa-sangrahaṁ sīdhyati vai kapīndraḥ | na hy asya kaśchit sadriśo 'sti śāstre vaiśārada chhanda-gatau tathāiva | sarvāsu vidyāsu tapo-vidhāne praspardhate 'yaṁ hi guruṁ surāṇām |* "44. Again the chief of monkeys (Hanumat), measureless, seeking to acquire grammar, looking up to the sun, bent on enquiry, went from the mountain where the sun rises to that where he sets, apprehending the mighty collection—(45) viz., the aphorisms (*sūtra*), the commentary (*vṛitti*), the vārttika (*ārthapada*), of extensive contents, and the sangraha [of Vyāḍi]. The chief of monkeys is perfect, no one equals him in the śāstras, in learning, and in ascertaining the sense of the Scripture, [or in moving at will]. In all sciences, in the rules of austerity, he rivals the preceptor of the gods."

The following is the commentary on the above passage: *Udyad-girer mahad granthaṁ dhārayan arthataḥ pāṣhataś cha grihṇan | dhārayan aprameya iti nuḍ-abhāva ārshaḥ | sūrya-sāmmukhyārthaṁ tāvad gamanam |* 45. *Ko 'sau granthas tatrāha sa-sūtreṭi | sūtram aṣṭādhyāyī-*

<sup>54</sup> The commentator remarks here: *evam ity atra śaṅ-māsād orvāk jōgarāṇām neti niyamaḥ | tad-adhikam api nidrā tu bhavaty eveti vara-svarūpam bodhyam | ata eva śaṅ-māsān svapitīti pūrvaṁ Vibhīṣhaṇoktyā varshāny anekānīti Kumbhakarṇoktyā cha pūrvoक्त्या na virodhaḥ |* "In these words of Brahmā (v. 45) there is no condition that Kumbhakarṇa should wake after six months, but it is understood as the nature of the boon that he might sleep for even a longer time. Wherefore, although it was formerly said by Vibhīṣhaṇa that 'he sleeps six months,' and Kumbhakarṇa here speaks of sleeping many years, there is no discrepancy between the latter and the former."

*laxanam | vṛittis tātkaḷika-sūtra-vṛittiḷ | artha-padam sūtrārtha-bodha-ka-pada-vaḷ vārttikam mahārtham mahābhāshyam Patañjali-kṛitam | sa-saṅgraham Vyāḷi-kṛita-saṅgrahākhyā-grantha-suhitam | sidhyati vai sidḷho bhavati śāstrāntareshv apity arthaḷ | taḷ evāha | na hy asya śaḷṛisaḷ śāstre kaśchit chhanda-gatau pūrvottara-mīmāṁsā-mukhena vedārtha-nirṇaye vaiśārade vaiduḷshye | viśishya navama-vyākaraṇa-karttā Hanumān iti prasiddhir iti Katakāḷ | ayaṁ Gurum praspardhate |*

“From the mountain where the sun rises, ‘holding,’ apprehending in sense and in text ‘the great collection.’ The absence of the reduplicated *n* in *dhārayan aprameyaḷ* is vedic (*ārsha*). He went to face the sun. 45. In the words ‘with the sūtras,’ etc., he describes what the book was. The sūtras mean the eight books of Pāṇini (*asḷṭāḷḷhyāyī*). The *vṛitti* is the contemporaneous gloss on the sūtras (*sūtra-vṛitti*). The *artha-pada*, ‘of extensive contents,’ is the *vārttika*, the mahābhāshya composed by Patanjali, containing sentences explaining the sense of the sūtras. ‘With the *saṅgraha*,’ means with the book called Sangraha, composed by Vyāḷi. ‘He is perfect’ means he excels in other śāstras also, as the author goes on to say; ‘for no one is like him in the śāstras, in ascertaining the sense,’ in determining the meaning of the Veda by the mouth of the Pūrvā and Uttara Mīmāṁsā. ‘In skill,’ *i.e.* in learning. When specifying, it is well known that Hanumat was the ninth author of Grammar; such is Kataka’s explanation.”

The other eight grammarians are mentioned by Colebrooke—Essays ii. pp. 39, 48.

*Page 159, line 15.*

The word *Ākhaṇḷala* occurs in R. V. viii. 17, 12, and the words are quoted in the Nirukta iii. 10, *Ākhaṇḷala pra hūyase*; “o *Ākhaṇḷala*, thou art invoked.” It is rendered by “destroyer” in Bōhtlingk and Roth’s Lexicon.

*Page 195, lines 11 and 27.*

Instead of “*māṛjāḷiyāya*,” read “*māṛjāḷiyāya*.” When I rendered this word by “cat,” the only significations of it of which I was aware, were those given in Wilson’s Dictionary. I have since accidentally noticed it mentioned in a sentence of Sāyaṇa’s Commentary on R. V. i. 1, 4 (*prāchyāḷi-chatur-dig-anteshv āhavanīya-māṛjāḷiya-gārhapatyā-*

*gnīdhrīya-sthāneshv agnir asti*), as the name of one of the four sacrificial fires. The word also (as Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me) occurs in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 5, 32, where it is explained by the commentator. Instead, therefore, of "the cat," read in line 27, "the Mārjāliya fire."

*Page 206, line 5 from the bottom.*

Krishṇa, when applied to by Duryodhana, as well as by Arjuna, for aid in the impending conflict, promises succour to them both, but allows Arjuna the first choice :

Udyoga-parva, vv. 147 ff.—*Mat-saṁhanana-tulyānām*<sup>55</sup> *gopānām arbudam mahat | Nārāyaṇā iti khyātāḥ sarve saṅgrāma-yodhināḥ | te vā yudhi durādharshā bhavantu ekasya sainikāḥ | ayudhyamānaḥ saṅgrāme nyastāśastro 'ham ekataḥ | ābhyām anyataram Pārtha yat te hṛidyataram matam | tad vṛiṇītām bhavān agre pravāryas tvaṁ hi dharmataḥ |* "Let one of you either take those invincible soldiers, the great hundred millions of herdsmen called Nārāyaṇas, whose bodies are equal to my own, and who are all fighting men : or let him take, on the other hand, myself who do not engage, in battle, and have laid aside my weapons. Do thou, son of Pṛithā, first choose the one of these two things which is most acceptable to thee ; for thou art justly entitled to the preference."

Arjuna selects Krishṇa himself, "the unborn Nārāyaṇa, destroyer of his foes, who had been at his will born among men" (*Nārāyaṇam amitraghnaṁ kāmāj jātam ajaṁ nṛishu*), though he was not to fight. Duryodhana chose the army of warriors.

*Page 222, last line of note 201.*

The story of Indra destroying Namuchi with foam is also told in the Mahābhārata, Śālyā-parva (vv. 2434 ff.): *Namuchir Vāsavād bhītaḥ sūryya-raśmiṁ samāviśat | tenendraḥ sakhyam akarot samayañchedam abravīt | "na chārdreṇa na śushkeṇa na rātrau nāpi chāhani | badhishyāmy asura-śreshṭha sakhe satyena te śapo"* | *evaṁ sa kṛitvā samayaṁ dṛishṭvā nīhāram īsvaraḥ | chichhedāsya śiro rājann apām phenena Vāsavaḥ | tach chhiro Namucheś chhinnaṁ prishṭhataḥ Sakram anvīyāt |*

<sup>55</sup> The word *saṁhanana* occurs also in Droṇa-parva, v. 147. "



*bho mitrahana pāpeti bruvāṇaṁ Sakram antikāt | evaṁ sa śirasā tena chodyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | Pitāmahāya santapta etam arthaṁ nyavedayat | tam abravīt loka-gurur aruṇāyāṁ yathāvidhi | ishṭvopasprīṣa devendra tirtho pāpa-bhayāpāhe |* “Namuchi being afraid of Indra, entered into a ray of the sun. Indra formed a friendship with him, and uttered this agreement: ‘I shall neither slay thee with wet nor with dry, neither in the night nor in the day; I swear in truth to thee, my friend, thou most eminent of Asuras.’ Having made this agreement, the lord Vāsava (Indra), beholding a fog, [when it was neither night nor day], cut off his head with the foam of the waters [which was neither wet nor dry]. That head of Namuchi, after being cut off, followed close after Indra, calling out, ‘o wicked slayer of thy friend.’ Being thus again and again pressed by the head, and being distressed, he [Indra] represented the matter to Pitāmaha (Brahmā). The lord (or teacher) of the world (Brahmā) said to him: ‘Having sacrificed, touch [the waters] in the Aruṇā, that sacred spot, which removes sin and fear,’” etc.

*Page 245, line 30.*

“No mortal,” etc. These words are differently explained by the commentator, thus: *Jarāsandhena abhāgaḥ asvikṛitaḥ | purushataḥ mūrdhābhishikteshu purusheshu | tena sarve vaśikṛitāḥ ity arthaḥ |* “*Abhāgaḥ* means ‘unappropriated’ by Jarāsandha. *Purushataḥ* means ‘among anointed kings.’ The sense is, that ‘all have been subdued by him.’”

*Page 253, line 12.*

Compare R. V. viii. 22, 14, in p. 265.

*Page 293, line 2.*

*Rukma-vedi-nibhāḥ.* In Rāmāyaṇa iii. 32, 5, Rāvaṇa is described as *rukma-vedi-gatam*, which the commentator explains as *rukma-vedim prāptaṁ hiranyeshṭaka-chitāṁ vedim prāptam*, “mounted on a platform of golden bricks.”

*Page 310, line 10.*

In her lamentation for Rāvaṇa (Rāmāyaṇa vi. 113, Calc. ed.), his queen, Mānodarī, among other attributes which she ascribes to him,

speaks of him (v. 49) as *jetāraṁ lokapālānām zeptāraṁ Saṅkarasya cha*, "conqueror of the guardians of the world, and caster down (or, contemner) of Saṅkara." Saṅkara could not therefore have been looked on by the writer of this as the Supreme Deity. From the story of Nandiśvara quoted above, p. 393, it will have been seen, however, that Rāvaṇa was really no match for Sankara.

Page 344, line 20.

I have not observed any mention of the *Liṅga* in the earlier part of the Rāmāyaṇa, but in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, sect. 36, v. 42 f., the following lines occur: *Yatra yatra cha yāti sma Rāvaṇo rāxasēvaraḥ | jāmbūnadamayāṁ liṅgaṁ tatra tatra sma nīyate | 43. Bālukā-vedi-madhye tu tal liṅgaṁ sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ | archayāmāsa gandhaiś cha pushpaiś chāmṛita-gandhibhiḥ |* "Wherever Rāvaṇa, lord of the Rāxasas, went, a golden *liṅga* was carried thither. Placing that *liṅga* in the midst of a pedestal of sand, Rāvaṇa worshipped it with incense, and flowers of ambrosial odour."

The commentator remarks on v. 43: *Aiśvarya-kāmanayā sauvarṇa-liṅga-pūjā[yās ?] tantreshūkteḥ |* "For it is prescribed in the Tantras that a golden *liṅga* should be worshipped when any one desires sovereignty."

Page 350, line 15.

For "verse 26," read "verse 28." In Manu vii. 38 the following verse occurs: *Vṛiddhāṁscha nityaṁ seveta viprān veda-vidāḥ śuchān | vṛiddha-sevī hi satatāṁ raxobhir api pūjyate |* "Let [the king] constantly reverence old and pure Brahmans, skilled in the Vedas; for he who continually reverences the aged is honoured even by the Rāxasas." Can this verse refer to the character *vṛiddha-sevī* given to Atikāya in the passage (Rām. vi. 71, 26) quoted in the text? If so, the passage in Manu must be posterior in date to the Rāmāyaṇa. Or has this character been given to Atikāya in consequence of the verse of Manu? or have the two passages no connection? The coincidence is at least curious.

Page 354, last line.

The following is a summary of the story of Indra and Indrajit as

given in the thirty-second and following sections of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa. Rāvaṇa in the course of his expeditions goes to Indra-loka. Indra becomes afraid and resorts to Vishṇu (sect. 32, 6) whom he glorifies as the Creator and Destroyer, and asks his aid (v. 13). Vishṇu replies that he could not interfere without killing Rāvaṇa,—which he is unable to do on account of the boon conceded to the Rāxasa chief by Brahmā (v. 18); but he would slay him at the proper time (v. 20). A battle takes place between the gods and Rāxasas (v. 26). The eighth Vasu Sāvitra comes on the field (vv. 34 and 43), fights with Sumāli, and kills him, reducing to ashes his bones and all the rest of him (sect. 33). The Rāxasas are rallied by Indrajit, and the gods put to flight. Indra's son, Jayanta, enters the fray. After his son's apparent destruction (v. 23)—though he in reality only disappears—Indra himself comes upon the scene, and captures Rāvaṇa (sect. 34, v. 18 f.). Meghanāda (son of Ravaṇa), afterwards called Indrajit, becoming invisible by his magical power, binds Indra (v. 27). The gods, headed by Brahmā, go to Lankā (sect. 35). Brahmā praises Indrajit's valour, and declares that he shall be called Indrajit ("the conqueror of Indra"). Brahmā then asks that Indra shall be released. Indrajit, as a condition, requires the boon of immortality. This Brahmā refuses. Indrajit then asks that if he offers a sacrifice to Agni he shall obtain Agni's car, and that while he is mounted on that chariot he shall be immortal; but if he shall not have finished the rite, he is to be liable to destruction (see above, p. 354). Brahmā agrees to this, and Indra is released. Brahmā then tells Indra (vv. 18–42) that he had incurred this misfortune because he had corrupted Ahalyā, the first woman, whom Brahmā had made and had given to the sage Gautama. She, however, would be restored to purity by the vision of Vishṇu incarnate in Rāma, and Indra himself was to offer a Vaiṣṇava sacrifice (see pp. 249, 353, above, and compare the forty-eighth and forty-ninth sections of the Twelfth Book of the Rāmāyaṇa, ed. Schl.; and a similar purification of Indra for another sin, above p. 420). I quote the verses in which Brahmā here describes the creation of the first woman Ahalyā :

Sect. 35, 19 ff.—*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛiṣṭās tathā  
prabho | eka-varnāḥ samābhāshā ekā-rūpās cha sarvaśaḥ | tāsāṃ nāsti  
viśesho hi darśane laxaṇe 'pi vā | tato 'haṃ ekāgra-manās tāḥ prajāḥ  
samachintayam | so 'haṃ tāsāṃ viśeshārthaṃ striyam ekāṃ vinirmame |  
yad yat prajānām pratyaṅgaṃ viśiṣṭāṃ tat tad uddhṛitam | tato mayā*

*rūpa-guṇair Ahalyā stri vinirmītā* | “O chief of immortals (Indra), all creatures were by my understanding formed by me of one caste, of the same speech, and of one form in every respect. There was no distinction of them in appearance or characteristic (sexual) mark. I then with intent mind reflected on these creatures. In order to distinguish them I formed one woman. Whatever there was most distinguished (excellent) in the several members of [different] creatures was taken [to compose her]. A woman faultless (*ahalyā*) in form was then fashioned by me.”

*Page 363, line 3 from bottom.*

Professors Aufrecht and Müller have been good enough to furnish me with the text of this Durgā-stava, or Rātri-sūkta, which, in the Sanhitā MSS. of the R. V., follows a hymn addressed to Night (the 127th of the Tenth Mandala = Ashtaka viii. 7, 14). I will first give the text with a translation of the genuine hymn to Night (R. V. x. 127) and then quote the Parisīṣṭa :

R. V. x. 127.—1. *Rātri vi akhyā āyatī purutrā devī azabhiḥ | viś-vāḥ adhi śriyo 'dhita* | 2. *Ā uru aprāḥ amartyā nivato devī udvataḥ | jyotishā bād hate tamaḥ* | 3. *Nīr ū svasāram askrita ushasam devī āyatī | apa id u hāsate tamaḥ* | 4. *Sā no adya yasyā vayaṁ ni te yāmann avix-mahi | vṛixe na vasatiṁ vayaḥ* | 5. *Ni grāmāso avixata ni padcanto ni pazinaḥ | ni śyenāsāś chid arthinaḥ* | 6. *Yāvaya vṛikyaṁ vṛikaṁ yavaya stonam ūrmye | athā naḥ sutarā bhava* | 7. *Upa mā popiśat tamaḥ krish-naṁ vyaktam asthita | ushaḥ rinā iva yātaya* | 8. *Upa te gāḥ iva ā akaraṁ vṛiṅishva duhitar divaḥ | rātri stomaṁ na jigyusho* | “The divine Night arriving, hath shone in many places with her eyes; she has revealed all her splendours. 2. The immortal goddess has widely filled the lower and the upper regions: by light she destroys the darkness. 3. Arriving, the goddess has driven away her sister the Twilight: the darkness is dissipated. 4. Be to-day [favourable] to us who have come into thy course, as birds to their nests in a tree. 5. Men, cattle, and even suppliant hawks have entered in thither. 6. Drive away, o Night, the she-wolf and the wolf: drive away the thief: and carry us safely across [thyself]. 7. Darkness enveloping (?) me, dark and palpable, has beset me: do thou, Ushas, drive it away like one who is bound [to do so]. 8. I have prepared for thee a hymn, as it were a

present of cows, like [an encomium] for a conqueror. Receive it, o Night, daughter of the Day."

1. (= Nir. iv. 29.; A. V. 19, 47, 1; and Vāj. S. 34, 32)—*Ā rātri pārthivaṃ rajaḥ pitur aprāyi dhāmabhiḥ | divaḥ sadāmsi bṛihatī vi tishṭhaso ā tvешam varltate tamaḥ |* 2. (A. V. 19, 47, 3) *Ye te rātri nrichaxaso yuktāso<sup>56</sup> navatir nava | aṣītiḥ santv aṣṭā uto te sapta saptatiḥ |* 3. *Rātrīm prapadye jānanīm sarva-bhūta-niveśanīm<sup>57</sup> | bhadram bhagavatīm kṛishṇām viśvasya jagato niśam |* 4. *Saṃveśanīm saṃyamanīm graha-naxatra-mālinīm | prapanno 'haṃ śivām rātrīm bhadre pāram aśimahi bhadre pāram aśimahi oṃ namaḥ |* 5. *Stośhyāmi prayato devīm śaranyām bahvṛicha-priyām | sahasra-sammitām Durgām Jāta-vedase sunavāma somam |* 6. *Sānty-arthaṃ tad dvijātīnām ṛishibhiḥ somapā śritāḥ (samupāśritā ?) | ṛig-vede tvām samutpannā 'rātīyato nīdahāti vedāḥ |* 7. *Ye tvām devī prapadyante brāhmaṇā havya-vāhanīm | avidyā bahuvīdyā vā sa naḥ parshad atī durgāṇi viśvā |* 8. *Agni-varṇām śubhām saumyām kīrttayishyanti ye dvijāḥ | tān tārayati durgāṇi nāveva sindhuṃ duritā 'ty Agniḥ |* 9. *Durgeshu viśhame ghore saṅgrāme ripusaṅkaṭe | agni-chora-nipāteshu duṣṭa-graha-nivārane |* 10. *Durgeshu viśhameshu tvām saṅgrāmeshu vaneshu cha | mohayitvā prapadyante teshām me abhayaṃ kuru teshām me abhayaṃ kuru oṃ namaḥ |* 11. *Keśīnīm sarva-bhūtānām pañchamīti cha nāma cha | sā mām samā niśā devī sarvataḥ pariraxatu sarvataḥ pariraxatu oṃ namaḥ |* [v. 12 is the same as the verse quoted by Weber in the text (p. 363), beginning *tām agni-varṇām*, etc.] | 13. *Durgā durgeshu sthāneshu śam no devīr abhishṭaye | ya imām Durgā-stavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṣṭet | rātriḥ kuśikāḥ saubharo rātri-itavo gūyatrī | rātri-sūktaṃ japed nityam tat-kālam upapadyate |*

I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for some assistance in correcting the corrupt text and in explaining parts of this composition.

"1. O Night, the terrestrial atmosphere was filled with thy father's rays (?). Thou, the mighty one, pervadest the celestial mansions, and thick darkness prevails. 2. Night, may the man-beholders which are united with thee<sup>58</sup> be 99, 88, or 77. 3. I approach Night, the mother

<sup>56</sup> For *yuktāsaḥ*, the A. V. reads *drashṭāraḥ*, "seers."

<sup>57</sup> This, Professor Aufrecht remarks, is imitated from R. V. i. 35, 1: *rātrīm jagato niveśanīm*.

<sup>58</sup> Or, according to the reading of the A. V., "May thy man-beholders, lookers, be," etc.

who finds a home for all creatures, kind, divine, dark, the night of the whole world. 4. I have approached the auspicious Night, who causes men to enter [their abodes], who controuls, who is invested with a garland of planets and stars. O gracious night, may we reach the opposite shore! may we reach the opposite shore! 5. Intent, I will praise the divine Durgā, who affords a refuge, who is beloved by the Bahvṛichas (priests of the Rig-veda ceremonial), who is equal to a thousand. Let us pour forth soma to Jātavedas (Fire). 6. Thou who art resorted to by rishis for the expiation of twice-born men, hast thy origin in the Rig-veda. [Agni] burns up the wealth of him who injures us. 7. The Brahmans, learned or ignorant, who resort, o goddess, to thee, the carrier of oblations,—may he transport us over all difficulties. 8. Agni transports over all evils [though] hard to be traversed,—as with a boat across the ocean,—those twice-born men who shall celebrate the fire-coloured, auspicious, beautiful goddess. 9. Bewildered (?) in difficulties, in dire perplexity, in battle, in trouble from enemies, in visitations of fire, and thieves, for the prevention of inauspicious planets, (10) in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests, men resort to thee. Give us security from these things, give us security from these things! 11. [I praise] her the long-haired (?), among all creatures, and whose name is Panchamī. May this goddess every night preserve me in every way. (12. The same as the verse already quoted in the text, p. 363, line 11). May the divine (?) Durgā be propitious for our good in difficult places. He who always every night reads this holy Durgā-stava,—(the night, Kuśika, Saubhara, the rātri-stava, gāyatrī),—he who continually mutters the rātri-sūkta, arrives at that time.”

It will be seen that the sense of some parts of this production is not very clear, but to ascertain it is of little consequence.

*Page 365, line 3.*

These same tongues of fire are also mentioned in a hymn to Agni, in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, sect. 99, vv. 52 ff.: *Yā jihvā bhavataḥ Kālī kāla-nishṭhā-karī prabho | bhayān[tayā ?]naḥ pāhi pāpēbhyah aihikāch-cha mahābhayāt | 53. Karālī nāma yā jihvā mahā-pralaya-kāraṇam | tayā na pāhi ityādi | 54. Manojavā cha yā jihvā laghimā-guṇa-laxaṇā | tayā ityādi | 55. Karoti kāmam bhūtebhyo yā te jihvā Sulohitā | tayā*

*ityādi* | 56. *Sudhūmra-varṇā yā jihvā prāṇinām roga-dāyikā* | *tayā ityādi* | 57. *Sphuliṅginī cha yā jihvā yataḥ (?) sakala-pudgalā* | *tayā ityādi* | 58. *Yā te Viśvā sadā jihvā prāṇinām śarma-dāyini* | *tayā ityādi* | “52. By thy tongue Kālī, the final destroyer [of the world], preserve us from sins and from great present alarm. 53. By thy tongue Karālī, the cause of the great mundane dissolution, preserve us, etc. 54. By thy tongue Manojavā, which is distinguished by the quality of lightness, preserve us, etc. 55. By thy tongue Sulohitā, which accomplishes the desires of creatures, preserve us, etc. 56. By thy tongue Sudhūmra-varṇa, which inflicts diseases on living beings, preserve us, etc. 57. By thy tongue Sphuliṅginī, the loveliest of all, preserve us, etc. 58. By thy tongue Viśvā, which always bestows blessings on living beings, preserve us, etc.

In the course of this hymn to Agni he is said (v. 41) to have been formed eightfold: *Tvām aṣṭadhā kalpayitvā yajñam ādyam akalpayan* | “Having formed thee in eight ways, they performed the earliest sacrifice.” Does this refer to the legend from the Brahmanas given in pp. 283–289? Again, we are reminded of some characteristics which are ascribed to Rudra in the Śatarudriya vv. 2 and 11 (above, pp. 268, 269) by the expressions which are applied to Agni in the seventieth verse of this hymn: *Yat te Vahne śivam rūpaṁ ye cha te sapta-hetayaḥ | taiḥ pāhi naḥ stuto deva pitā puttram ivātmajam* | “When thou art lauded, Agni, preserve us by thine auspicious form, and by thy seven shafts, as a father preserves his own son.”

In v. 63 Agni is said to have “stretched out the whole universe, and, though one, to exist in manifold shapes” (*tvayā tataṁ viśvam idaṁ charācharam Hutāsanaiko bahudhā tvam atra*).

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ADDITIONAL NOTE on page 115, line 9.

In the Calcutta edition, section 29, the reading here is different, as the words *Kaśyapo 'bravit* are succeeded by the following: *Adityā devatā-nāṁcha mama chaivānuyāchitam | varaṁ varada supṛito dātum arhasi suvata* | “Bestow in thy good pleasure the boon solicited by Aditi, by the gods, and by me. Sinless lord, become the son of Aditi,” etc. etc., as in Schlegel. Then after the line *Sōkārttānām tu devānām sākāyāyam*

*karttum arhasi* comes the following: v. 18. *Ayañ siddhāśramo nāma prasādāt te bhaviṣhyati | siddhe karmani doveśa uttiṣṭha bhagavann itaḥ |* 19. *Atha Viṣṇur mahātejā Ādityāñ samajāyata | vāmanañ rūpam āsthāya Vairochanim upāgamat |* 20. *Trin padān atha bhixitvā ityādi |* “By thy grace this shall be the hermitage of the perfect. When thy work is accomplished, arise hence, o divine being.’ Then the glorious Viṣṇu was born of Aditi. Assuming the form of a dwarf, he approached the son of Virochana, and begging three paces of ground,” etc. It will be observed that an attempt is here made to connect the legend of the birth of Viṣṇu from Kaśyapa and Aditi with the story of the dwarf incarnation more closely than it is connected in Schlegel’s edition; for first, Kaśyapa is made to allude to the “hermitage of the perfect,” as if he were himself present there, of which nothing is said in Schlegel’s edition; and secondly, the transition from the digression about Viṣṇu’s birth as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi back to the story of the dwarf incarnation is more cleverly managed here than in Schlegel’s edition, as here the words *evam uktaḥ surair Viṣṇuḥ* (“being thus addressed by the gods, Viṣṇu,” etc.) which in Schlegel’s edition (v. 17) carry us back to v. 8, and ignore all that intervenes, are omitted. It will also be noticed that another verse (the one quoted at the commencement of this note) is introduced at the beginning of Kaśyapa’s address to Viṣṇu, in which the gods are mentioned as fellow-suppliants with Kaśyapa. This alteration also appears to have been made to facilitate the transition from the interpolated lines back to the main story.

It is to be observed, however, that the readings of the Calcutta edition differ from those of Schlegel’s in several respects at the beginning of the section also.





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