A HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE

SO FAR AS IT ILLUSTRATES

THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF THE BRAHMANS.

BY MAX MÜLLER, M.A.

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TO

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, ESQ.
BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, ASSOCIATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC.

This Work is Inscribed

AS A TOKEN OF ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE

BY HIS PUPIL AND FRIEND

MAX MÜLLER.
PREFACE.

A few words of personal explanation are due to those who may have seen, in the Preface to the First Volume of my edition of the Rig-Veda*, a note announcing as ready for publication an Introductory Memoir on the Literature of the Veda. Ten sheets of this Memoir were printed when, in the beginning of the year 1851, I was appointed Deputy Professor, and, after the death of my lamented friend, Francis Trithen, in the year 1854, Professor of Modern European Languages and Literature in the University of Oxford. In compliance with the statutes for the Foundation of Sir Robert Taylor, I had to write "Three Courses of Lectures in every year, on the Philology or Literature of some of the principal Languages of Europe." These new and unexpected duties rendered it necessary for me to discontinue for a time my favourite studies. And when, after the first years of my new office, I was able to employ

* Rig-Veda-Sanhita, the sacred songs of the Brahmans, together with the Commentary of Sāyaṇacharyya, edited by Max Müller, Vol. I., 1849; Vol. II., 1854; Vol. III., 1856. There will be three more volumes, the first of which is to be published next year. The first volume of Professor Wilson's Translation was published 1850; the second, 1854; the third, 1857; and he is carrying on, at the present moment, his valuable translation of the next volume.
a greater amount of leisure on the prosecution of Sanskrit studies, I felt that I should better serve the interests of Sanskrit Philology by devoting all my spare time to editing the text and commentary of the Veda, than by publishing the results, more or less fragmentary, of my own researches into the language, literature, and religion of the ancient Brahmans.

In resuming now, after the lapse of nearly ten years, the publication of these Essays, I may regret that on many points I have been anticipated by others, who during the interval have made the Veda the special subject of their studies. But this regret is fully balanced by the satisfaction I feel in finding that, in the main, my original views on the literature and religion of the Vedic age have not been shaken, either by my own continued researches or by the researches of others; and that the greater part of this work could be printed, as it now stands, from the original manuscript. It will be seen, however, that in the notes, as well as in the body of the work, I have availed myself, to the best of my ability, of all the really important and solid information that could be gathered from the latest works of Sanskrit philologists. The frequent references to the works of Wilson, Burnouf, Lassen, Benfey, Roth, Boehtlingk, Kuhn, Regnier, Weber, Aufrecht, Whitney, and others, will show where I have either derived new light from the labours of these eminent scholars, or found my own conclusions confirmed by their independent testimony. Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I
have throughout carefully abstained from it. Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn from these facts.

My readers have to thank Dr. Bühler, a pupil of Professor Benfey of Göttingen, for the alphabetical index at the end of this volume. The same industrious scholar has supplied me with a list of errata, to which some remarks of his own are appended.

MAX MÜLLER.

Ray Lodge, Maidenhead,
Aug. 3, 1859.
ERRATA.

Page 36. line 26. read Śakuntalā.

" 45. line 37. " Dvāraka.


" 200. line 30. " ātō.


" 247. line 27. " kripītam, kiriṭam.

" 284. line 2. " tiriṭa.

" 364. line 27. " Šaunakins.


" 499. line 4. " νήσμα.

" 573. line 9. " नारदं.


" 585. line 5. " शौद्ग्रात्याचादः.

Page 252. line 26. The Kratusangraha is frequently quoted by Sāyaṇā, in his Commentary on the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa in elucidation of obscure passages. P. 252. l. 27. The Viniyoga-sangraha is likewise quoted by Sāyaṇā as containing explanations of the Mantras employed in the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa.

Page 325. line 22. There was no space left for printing the list of the Upanishads; it will be published in one of the Oriental Journals.

Page 580. line 3. The statement of Ajigarta intending to devour his own son is clearly a modern addition of the Sāṅkhāyanas.
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INTRODUCTION.

Full seventy years have passed since Sir William Jones published his translation of Śakuntala\(^1\), a work which may fairly be considered as the starting point of Sanskrit philology. The first appearance of this beautiful specimen of dramatic art created at the time a sensation throughout Europe, and the most rapturous praise was bestowed upon it by men of high authority in matters of taste.\(^2\) At the same time the attention of the historian, the philologist, and the philosopher was roused to the fact that

\(1\) "Śacontala or the Fatal Ring, an Indian drama, translated from the original Sanskrit and Prakrit. Calcutta, 1789." There have since appeared three editions of the Sanskrit text, and translations in French, German, Italian, Danish, and Swedish.

A new and very elegant English version has lately been published by Professor Williams. Hertford, 1856.

\(2\) Goethe was one of the greatest admirers of Śakuntala, as may be seen from the lines written in his Italian Travels at Naples, and from his well-known Epigram:

"Wilt Du die Blüthe des frühen, die Früchte des späteren Jahres, Wilt Du, was reizt und entzückt, willt Du was sättigt und nährt, Wilt Du den Himmel, die Erde mit einem Namen begreifen, Nenn ich, Śacontala, Dich, und so ist Alles gesagt."

"Wilt thou the blossoms of spring and the fruits that are later in season, Wilt thou have charms and delights, wilt thou have strength and support, Wilt thou with one short word encompass the earth and the heaven, All is said if I name only, Śacontala, thee."
a complete literature had been preserved in India, which promised to open a new leaf in the ancient history of mankind, and deserved to become the object of serious study. And although the enthusiasm with which works like Sakuntala were at first received by all who took an interest in literary curiosities could scarcely be expected to last, the real and scientific interest excited by the language, the literature, the philosophy, and antiquities of India has lasted, and has been increasing ever since. England, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Greece have each contributed their share towards the advancement of Sanskrit philology, and names like those of Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, in England, Burnouf in France, the two Schlegels, W. von Humboldt, Bopp, and Lassen, in Germany, have secured to this branch of modern scholarship a firm standing and a universal reputation. The number of books that have been published by Sanskrit scholars in the course of the last seventy years is but small.¹ Those works, however, represent large and definite results, important not only in their bearing on Indian antiquities, but, as giving birth to a new system of Comparative Philology, of the highest possible importance to philology in general.²

¹ Professor Gildemeister in his most laborious and accurate work, "Bibliothecæ Sanscritæ Specimen, Bonnæ, 1847," brings the number of books that have been published up to that time in Sanskrit philology to 603, exclusive of all works on Indian antiquities and Comparative Philology. During the last twelve years that number has been considerably raised.

² Professor Lassen, in his work on Indian Antiquities, now in course of publication, is giving a resumé of the combined labours of Indian philologists during the last seventy years, sifted critically
century, Sanskrit has gained its proper place in the republic of learning, side by side with Greek and Latin. The privileges which these two languages enjoy in the educational system of modern Europe will scarcely ever be shared by Sanskrit. But no one who wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of these or any other of the Indo-European languages,—no one who takes an interest in the philosophy and the historical growth of human speech,—no one who desires to study the history of that branch of mankind to which we ourselves belong, and to discover in the first germs of the language, religion, and mythology of our forefathers, the wisdom of Him who is not the God of the Jews only,—can, for the future, dispense with some knowledge of the language and ancient literature of India.

And yet Indian philology is still in its infancy, and the difficulties with which it has had to contend have been great, much greater, indeed, than those which lay in the way of Greek philology after its revival in the fifteenth century. Seventy years after the fall of Constantinople, the classical works of Greek literature were not only studied from manuscripts: they had been edited and printed. There were men like Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Melanchthon, who had investigated the most important documents in the different periods of Greek literature, and possessed a general knowledge of the historical growth of the Greek and arranged scientifically by a man of the most extensive learning, and of the soundest principles of criticism. His work may indeed be considered as bringing to its conclusion an important period of Sanskrit philology, which had taken its beginning with Sir W. Jones's translation of Śakuntala. Indische Alterthums-Kunde, von Christian Lassen. Bonn, 1847—1858.
mind. Learned Greeks who were taking refuge in the west of Europe, particularly in Italy, had brought with them a sufficient knowledge to teach their language and literature; and they were able and ready to guide the studies of those who were afterwards to contribute to the revival of classical learning in Europe. Men began where they ought to begin, namely, with Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and not with Anacreontic poetry or Neo-Platonist philosophy. But when our earliest Sanskrit scholars directed their attention to Indian literature, the difficulties they had to struggle with were far greater. Not to mention the burning and enervating sky of India, and the burden of their official occupations, men like Halhed, Wilkins, and Sir W. Jones could hardly find a single Brahman who would undertake to teach them his sacred idiom. When, after some time, learned Pandits became more willing to impart their knowledge to Europeans, their own views of Indian history and literature were more apt to mislead their pupils than to guide them, in a truly historical direction. Thus it happened that, at the beginning of Sanskrit philology, preference was given either to works which still enjoyed amongst the Hindus themselves a great, but frequently undeserved, popularity, or to those which by their poetical beauty attracted the attention of men of taste. Everything Indian, whether Manu's Code of Laws, the Bhagavadgîtâ, Śakuntala, or the Hitopadesa, was at that time considered to be of great and extravagant antiquity, and it was extremely difficult for European scholars to form a right opinion on the real merits of Indian literature. The literary specimens received from India were generally fragments only of larger works:
or, if not, they had been chosen so indiscriminately from different and widely distant periods, that it was impossible to derive from them an adequate knowledge of the rise and fall of the national literature of India.

Herder, in other respects an excellent judge of ancient national poetry, committed himself to some extraordinary remarks on Indian literature. In his criticism on Śakuntala, written in the form of letters to a friend, he says: "Do you not wish with me, that instead of these endless religious books of the Vedas, Upavedas, and Upangas, they would give us the more useful and more agreeable works of the Indians, and especially their best poetry of every kind? It is here the mind and character of a nation is best brought to life before us, and I gladly admit, that I have received a truer and more real notion of the manner of thinking among the ancient Indians from this one Śakuntala, than from all their Upnekats and Bagavedams." The fact is that at that time Herder's view on the endless religious books of the Vedas, could only have been formed from a wretched translation of the Bagavedam, as he calls it,—that is, the Bhāgavatapurāṇa,—a Sanskrit work composed as many centuries after as the Vedas were before Christ; or from the Ezour-vedam, a very coarse forgery, if, indeed, it was intended as such, written, as it appears, by a native servant, for the use of the famous Jesuit missionary in India, Roberto de Nobilibus.2

2 Cf. Account of a Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the
Even at a much later time, men who possessed the true tact of an historian, like Niebuhr, have abstained from passing sentence on the history of a nation whose literature had only just been recovered, and had not yet passed through the ordeal of philological criticism. In his Lectures on Ancient History, Niebuhr leaves a place open for India, to be filled up when the pure metal of history should have been extracted from the ore of Brahmanic exaggeration and superstition.

Other historians, however, thought they could do what Niebuhr had left undone; and after perusing some poems of Kālidāsa, some fables of the Hitopadeśa, some verses of the Ānanda-lahari, or the mystic poetry of the Bhagavadgītā, they gave, with the aid of Megasthenes and Apollonius of Tyana, a so-called historical account of the Indian nation, without being aware that they were using as contemporary witnesses, authors as distant from each other as Dante and Virgil. No nation has, in this respect, been more unjustly treated than the Indian. Not only have general conclusions been drawn from the most scanty materials, but the most questionable and spurious authorities have been employed without the least historical investigation or the exercise of that critical ingenuity, which, from its peculiar character, Indian literature requires more than any other.¹

Vedas, with Remarks on the genuine works, by Fr. Ellis; Asiatic Researches, xiv. p. 1—59: Calcutta, 1822.

¹ Professor H. H. Wilson, in the preface to his translation of the Vīṣṇu-Purāṇa, remarks: “It is the boast of inductive philosophy that it draws its conclusions from the careful observation and accumulation of facts; and it is equally the business of all philosophical research to determine its facts before it ventures
There is another circumstance which has retarded the progress of Sanskrit philology: an affectation of that learned pedantry which has done so much mischief to Greek and Latin scholarship. We have much to learn, no doubt, from classical scholars, and nothing can be a better preparation for a Sanskrit student than to have passed through the school of a Bentley or a Hermann. But in Greek and Latin scholarship the distinction between useful and useless knowledge has almost disappeared, and the real objects of the study of these ancient languages have been well nigh forgotten. More than half of the publications of classical scholars have tended only to impede our access to the master-works of the ancients; and a sanction has been given to a kind of learning, which, however creditable to the individual, is of no benefit to the public at large. A similar spirit has infected Sanskrit philology. Sanskrit texts have been edited, on which no rational man ought to waste his time. Essays have been written on subjects on which it is folly to be wise. These remarks are not intended to disparage critical scholarship or to depreciate the results which have been obtained by minute and abstruse erudition. But scholars who devote all their time to critical niceties and recondite subtleties are apt to forget that these are but accessories. Knowledge which has no object beyond itself is, in most cases, but a pretext for vanity. It is so easy, even for the most superficia-
cial scholar, to bring together a vast mass of information, bearing more or less remotely on questions of no importance whatsoever. The test of a true scholar is to be able to find out what is really important, to state with precision and clearness the results of long and tedious researches, and to suppress altogether lucubrations, which, though they might display the laboriousness of the writer, would but encumber his subject with needless difficulty.

The object and aim of philology, in its highest sense, is but one,—to learn what man is, by learning what man has been. With this principle for our pole-star, we shall never lose ourselves, though engaged in the most minute and abstruse inquiries. Our own studies may seemingly refer to matters that are but secondary and preparatory, to the clearance, so to say, of the rubbish which passing ages have left on the monuments of the human mind. But we shall never mistake that rubbish for the monuments which it covers. And if, after years of tiresome labour, we do not arrive at the results which we expected,—if we find but spurious and unimportant fabrications of individuals, where we thought to place ourselves face to face with the heroes of an ancient world, and among ruins that should teach us the lessons of former ages,—we need not be discouraged nor ashamed, for in true science even a disappointment is a result.

If, then, it is the aim of Sanskrit philology to supply one of the earliest and most important links in the history of mankind, we must go to work historically; that is, we must begin, as far as we can, with the beginning, and then trace gradually the growth of the Indian mind, in its various manifestations, as far as the remaining literary monuments allow us to
follow this course. What has been said with regard to philosophy, that "we must acquire a knowledge of the beginning and first principles, because then we say that we understand any thing when we believe we know its real beginnings," applies with equal force to history. Now every one acquainted with Indian literature, must have observed how impossible it is to open any book on Indian subjects without being thrown back upon an earlier authority, which is generally acknowledged by the Indians as the basis of all their knowledge, whether sacred or profane. This earlier authority, which we find alluded to in theological and philosophical works, as well as in poetry, in codes of law, in astronomical, grammatical, metrical, and lexicographic compositions, is called by one comprehensive name, the Veda.

It is with the Veda, therefore, that Indian philology ought to begin if it is to follow a natural and historical course. So great an influence has the Vedic age (the historical period to which we are justified in referring the formation of the sacred texts) exercised upon all succeeding periods of Indian history, so closely is every branch of literature connected with Vedic traditions, so deeply have the religious and moral ideas of that primitive era taken root in the mind of the Indian nation, so minutely has almost every private and public act of Indian life been regulated by old traditionary precepts, that it is impossible to find the right point of view for judging of Indian religion, morals, and literature without a knowledge of the literary remains of the Vedic age. No one could fairly say that those men who first began to study Sanskrit, now seventy years ago, ought to have begun with reading the Veda. The difficulties connected
with the study of the Veda would have made such a course utterly impossible and useless. But since the combined labours of Sanskrit scholars have now rendered the study of that language of more easy access, since the terminology of Indian grammarians and commentators, which not long ago was considered unintelligible, has become more familiar to us, and manuscripts can be more readily procured at the principal public libraries of Europe, Sanskrit philology has no longer an excuse for ignoring the Vedic age.

It might be inferred from the very variety of subjects upon which, as has been just observed, the Veda is quoted as the last and highest authority, that by Veda must be understood something more than a single work. It would be, indeed, much nearer the truth to take "Veda" as a collective name for the sacred literature of the Vedic age, which forms, so to speak, the background of the whole Indian world. Many of the works which belonged to that period of literature have been irrecoverably lost. With regard to many of them, though their existence cannot be doubted, it is even uncertain whether they were ever committed to writing. A large number, however, of Vedic works does still exist; and it will require many years before they can be edited together with their commentaries. Till then it will be impossible to arrive at definite results on many questions connected with Vedic literature, and it would not be safe to take a comprehensive view of the whole Vedic age before all the sources have been exhausted from which its history and character can be studied. Nothing could be farther from the purpose of this historical essay than to attempt anything of this kind at present. What I have to offer are but Prolego-
mena to the Veda, or treatises on some preliminary questions connected with the history of the Vedic age. There are points which can be settled with complete certainty, though it may be impossible to bring, as yet, the whole weight of evidence to bear upon them; and the general question as to the authenticity, the antiquity, and the different periods of Vedic literature, ought to be answered even before beginning an edition of Vedic works. Again, there are many questions of special interest for Sanskrit literature, in which even now, with the materials that have been published, and with the help of manuscripts that are accessible in the public libraries of Europe, it is possible to arrive at certain results; while other points are such that even after the complete publication of all Vedic texts and commentaries, they will remain open to different views, and will necessarily become the subject of literary discussions. The principal object of the following essays will be to put the antiquity of the Veda in its proper light. By antiquity, however, is meant, not only the chronological distance of the Vedic age from our own, measured by the revolutions and the progress of the heavenly bodies, but also and still more, the distance between the intellectual, moral, and religious state of men as represented to us during the Vedic age, compared with that of other periods of history,—a distance which can only be measured by the revolutions and the progress of the human mind.

No one who is at all acquainted with the position which India occupies in the history of the world, would expect to find many synchronisms between the history of the Brahmans and that of other nations before the date of the origin of Buddhism in India. Al-
though the Brahmans of India belong to the same family, the Aryan or Indo-European family, which civilised the whole of Europe, the two great branches of that primitive race were kept asunder for centuries after their first separation. The main stream of the Aryan nations has always flowed towards the northwest. No historian can tell us by what impulse those adventurous Nomads were driven on through Asia towards the isles and shores of Europe. The first start of this world-wide migration belongs to a period far beyond the reach of documentary history; to times when the soil of Europe had not been trodden by either Celts, Germans, Slavonians, Romans, or Greeks. But whatever it was, the impulse was as irresistible as the spell which, in our own times, sends the Celtic tribes towards the prairies or the regions of gold across the Atlantic. It requires a strong will, or a great amount of inertness, to be able to withstand the impetus of such national, or rather ethnical movements. Few will stay behind when all are going. But to let one's friends depart, and then to set out ourselves — to take a road which, lead where it may, can never lead us to join those again who speak our language and worship our gods — is a course which only men of strong individuality and great self-dependence are capable of pursuing. It was the course adopted by the southern branch of the Aryan family, the Brahmanic Aryas of India and the Zoroastrians of Iran.

At the first dawn of traditional history we see these Aryan tribes migrating across the snow of the Himálaya southward toward the "Seven-Rivers" (the Indus, the five rivers of the Panjâb and the Sarasvati), and ever since India has been called their
home. That before that time they had been living in more northern regions, within the same precincts with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Italians, Slavonians, Germans, and Celts, is a fact as firmly established as that the Normans of William the Conqueror were the Northmen of Scandinavia. The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods. It would have been next to impossible to discover any traces of relationship between the swarthy natives of India and their conquerors, whether Alexander or Clive, but for the testimony borne by language. What other evidence could have reached back to times when Greece was not peopled by Greeks, nor India by Hindus? Yet these are the times of which we are speaking. What authority would have been strong enough to persuade the Grecian army, that their gods and their hero ancestors were the same as those of King Porus, or to convince the English soldier that the same blood was running in his veins and in the veins of the dark Bengalese? And yet there is not an English jury now a days, which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton. Many words still live in India and in England, that have witnessed the first separation of the northern and southern Aryans, and these are witnesses not to be shaken by cross-examination. The terms for God, for house, for father, mother, son, daughter, for dog and cow, for heart and tears, for axe and tree, identical in all the Indo-European idioms, are like the watchwords of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger; and whether he
answer with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves. Though the historian may shake his head, though the physiologist may doubt, and the poet scorn the idea, all must yield before the facts furnished by language. There was a time when the ancestors of the Celts, the Germans, the Slavonians, the Greeks, and Italians, the Persians, and Hindus, were living together within the same fences, separate from the ancestors of the Semitic and Turanian races.

It is more difficult to prove that the Hindu was the last to leave this common home, that he saw his brothers all depart towards the setting sun, and that then, turning towards the south and the east, he started alone in search of a new world. But as in his language and in his grammar he has preserved something of what seems peculiar to each of the northern dialects singly, as he agrees with the Greek and the German where the Greek and the German seem to differ from all the rest, and as no other language has carried off so large a share of the common Aryan heirloom — whether roots, grammar, words, myths, or legends — it is natural to suppose that, though perhaps the eldest brother, the Hindu was the last to leave the central home of the Aryan family.

The Aryan nations who pursued a north-westerly direction, stand before us in history as the principal nations of north-western Asia and Europe. They have been the prominent actors in the great drama of history, and have carried to their fullest growth all the elements of active life with which our nature is endowed. They have perfected society and morals, and we learn from their literature and works of art
THE ARYAN FAMILY.

the elements of science, the laws of art, and the principles of philosophy. In continual struggle with each other and with Semitic and Turanian races, these Aryan nations have become the rulers of history, and it seems to be their mission to link all parts of the world together by the chains of civilisation, commerce, and religion. In a word, they represent the Aryan man in his historical character.

But while most of the members of the Aryan family followed this glorious path, the southern tribes were slowly migrating towards the mountains which gird the north of India. After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindukush or the Himalaya, they conquered or drove before them, as it seems without much effort, the aboriginal inhabitants of the Trans-Himalayan countries. They took for their guides the principal rivers of Northern India, and were led by them to new homes in their beautiful and fertile valleys. It seems as if the great mountains in the north had afterwards closed for centuries their Cyclopean gates against new immigrations, while, at the same time, the waves of the Indian Ocean kept watch over the southern borders of the peninsula. None of the great conquerors of antiquity — Sesostris, Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, or Cyrus, who waged a kind of half-nomadic warfare over Asia, Africa, and Europe, and whose names, traced in characters of blood, are still legible on the threshold of history¹, disturbed the

¹ Thus Strabo says, xv. 1. 6.: Ἡμῖν δὲ τίς ἀν δικαία γένους πιστεῖ περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατείας τοῦ Κύρου ἢ τῆς Σεμ- μαράμδους; Συναποφαίνεται δὲ πως καὶ Μεγασθένης τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, κελεύων ἀποστείν ταῖς ἀρχαίας περὶ Ἰνδῶν ἱστορίας. οὐτε γὰρ παρ᾽ Ἰνδῶν ἐξω σταλῆναι ποτὲ στρατιῶν οὐτ᾽ ἐπελθεῖν ἐξωθεῖν καὶ κρατῆσαι, πλὴν τῆς μεθ᾽ Ἡρακλεόνας καὶ Διονύσου, καὶ τῆς νῦν μετὰ Μακεδόνων.
peaceful seats of these Aryan settlers. Left to themselves in a world of their own, without a past, and without a future before them, they had nothing but themselves to ponder on. Struggles there must have been in India also. Old dynasties were destroyed, whole families annihilated, and new empires founded. Yet the inward life of the Hindu was not changed by these convulsions. His mind was like the lotus leaf after a shower of rain has passed over it; his character remained the same, passive, meditative, quiet, and full of faith.

The chief elements of discord amongst the peaceful inhabitants of this rich country were, the struggle for supremacy between the different classes of society, the subjugation of the uncivilised inhabitants, particularly in the south of India, and the pressure of the latest comers in the north upon the possessors of the more fertile countries in the south.

These three struggles took place in India at an early period, and were sufficiently important to have called forth the active faculties of any but the Indian

Kaítoi Σέσωστριν μὲν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Τεάρκωνα τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἦσς Εὐρώπης προελθείν. Ναβοκοδόροσορον δὲ τὸν παρὰ Χαλδαιοῖς εἰς-δοκιμῆσαν Ἡρακλέους μάλλον καὶ ἦσσες Στηλῶν ἔλασαί· μέχρι μὲν δὴ δεύρῳ καὶ Τεάρκωνα ἀφικέσθαι· ἐκεῖνον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας εἰς τὴν Ἐράκην καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν στρατιάν. Ἰδάνθυρον δὲ τὸν Σκύθην ἑπιδραμεῖν τῆς Ἀσίας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου τῆς δὲ Ἰνδικῆς μηδένα τούτων ἄφασθαι. Καὶ Σεμίραμν ὃ' ἀποθανεῖν πρὸ τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. Πέρας δὲ μισοθοφόρους μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μεταπέμψασθαι· Ὑδρακας· ἐκεῖ δὲ μὴ στρατεύσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν μόνον, ἦνικα Κύρος ἥλαυνεν ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας. With regard to the expeditions of Herakles and Dionysos, Strabo adds: Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ῥακλέους δὲ καὶ Διονύσου Μεγασθένης μὲν μετ' ὁλίγων πιστὰ ἡγεῖται· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους, ὃς ἐστὶ καὶ Ἐρασοθένης, ἀπίστα καὶ μυθώδη, καθάπερ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιον, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Megasthenis Indica, ed. Schwanbeck. Bonnæ, 1846.
nation. In these struggles we may recognise almost the same elements by which the Greek character was perfected and matured. But how different have been the results upon the Indian mind! The struggle for supremacy between the different classes, which in Greece ended with the downfall of the tyrannies and the rising of well-organised republics, has its counterpart in India in the extirpation of the Kshatriya race and the triumph of the Brahmans through Paraśu-Rāma.¹

The second struggle, or the war against the uncivilised inhabitants of the South, is represented by the Indian poet of the Rāmāyaṇa as the battle of a divine hero against evil spirits and uncouth giants. What this is to India, the war of Persia was to Greece; the victory of patriotic valour over brute force. The Muses of Herodotus are the Rāmāyaṇa of Hellas.

In the third of these parallel struggles the contrast is no less striking. We follow, with a mournful interest, the narrative of international jealousies between the different states of Greece; we see how one

¹ "Paraśu-Rāma cleared the earth thrice seven times of the Kshatriya caste, and filled with their blood the five large lakes of Samanta-panchaka, from which he offered libations to the race of Bhrigu. Offering a solemn sacrifice to the king of the gods, Paraśu-Rāma presented the earth to the ministering priests. Having given the earth to Kasyapa, the hero of immeasurable prowess retired to the Mahendra mountain, where he still resides; and in this manner was there enmity between him and the race of the Kshatriyas, and thus was the whole earth conquered by Paraśu-Rāma." (Vishṇu-Purāṇa, p. 403.) In the Mahābhārata the earth is made to say, "The fathers and grandfathers of these Kshatriyas have been killed by the remorseless Rāma in warfare on my account."
tries to crush the power of the other, while all are preparing the common ruin of the country. But what characters are here presented to our analysis, what statesmanship, what eloquence, what bravery! In India the war of the Mahābhārata was, perhaps, more bloody than the Peloponnesian war: but in the hands of the Brahmans the ancient epic has been changed into a didactic legend.

Greece and India are, indeed, the two opposite poles in the historical development of the Aryan man. To the Greek, existence is full of life and reality; to the Hindu it is a dream, an illusion. The Greek is at home where he is born; all his energies belong to his country: he stands and falls with his party, and is ready to sacrifice even his life to the glory and independence of Hellas. The Hindu enters this world as a stranger; all his thoughts are directed to another world; he takes no part even where he is driven to act; and when he sacrifices his life, it is but to be delivered from it.

No wonder that a nation like the Indian cared so little for history; no wonder that social and political virtues were little cultivated, and the ideas of the Useful and the Beautiful scarcely known to them. With all this, however, they had what the Greek was as little capable of imagining as they were of realising the elements of Grecian life. They shut their eyes to this world of outward seeming and activity, to open them full on the world of thought and rest. Their life was a yearning after eternity; their activity a struggle to return into that divine essence from which this life seemed to have severed them. Believing as they did in a divine and really existing eternal Being (τὸ ὄντως ὄν), they could not believe in the existence of this passing world. If the one existed, the other
could only seem to exist; if they lived in the one, they could not live in the other. Their existence on earth was to them a problem, their eternal life a certainty. The highest object of their religion was to restore that bond by which their own self (atman) was linked to the eternal Self (paramâtman); to recover that unity which had been clouded and obscured by the magical illusions of reality, by the so-called Mâyâ of creation. It scarcely entered their mind either to doubt or to affirm the immortality of the soul, except in later times, and then only for philosophical and controversial purposes. Not only their religion and literature, but their very language, reminded them daily of that relation between the real

1 In one of the old hymns of the Rig-veda this thought seems to weigh upon the mind of the poet, when he says:

शते बंधुमसति निरविद्ध, चद्दि प्रतीय ववयो मनीषा।

"Poets discovered in their heart, through meditation, the bond of the existing in the non-existing." Rv. x. 129. 4.

2 In the Veda life after death is not frequently alluded to, and it is more for the goods of this world, for strength, long life, a large family, food, and cattle, that the favour of the gods is implored. One of the rewards for a pious life, however, consists in being admitted after death to the seat of the gods. Thus Kakshîvan says, Rv. i. 125. 5.: "He who gives alms goes and stands on the highest place in heaven, he goes to the gods." Thus Dîrghatamas (Rv. i. 150. 3.), after having rebuked those who are rich, and do not give alms, nor worship the gods, exclaims, "The kind mortal, O Sage, is greater than the great in heaven; let us worship thee, O Agni, for ever and ever!"

3 The technical term "pretyabhâva," which occurs so frequently in Indian philosophy, and has generally been rendered by "condition of the soul after death," means really the state in which we are while living on earth. Our present life, according to Indian notions, is "bhâva," birth and growth, "pretya," after a previous death.
and the seeming world. The word ātman, for instance, which in the Veda occurs often as tman, means life, particularly animal life. Thus we read, Rv. i. 63. 8., "Increase, O bright Indra! this our manifold food, like water all over the earth; by which, O Hero! thou givest us life, like sap, to move every where." Here tman means the vital principle, and is compared with the juice that circulates in plants. In another hymn, addressed to the horse which is to be sacrificed (Rv. i. 162. 20.), the poet says, "Mā tvā tapat priya ātmā-piyantam," literally, "Let not thy dear self burn or afflict thee as thou approachest the sacrifice." Here priya ātmā corresponds to the Greek φίλον ζητόμ. But we find ātman used, also, in a higher sense in the Veda. For instance, Rv. i. 115. 1., "Sûrya ātmā jagatas tasthushaś cha:" "the sun is the soul of all that moves and rests."¹ Most frequently, however, tman and ātman are employed for self; just as we say, My soul praises, rejoices, for I praise, I myself rejoice. This is the most usual signification of ātman in the later Sanskrit, where it is used like a pronoun. Yet ātman means there also the soul of the universe, the highest soul or Self (paramātman) of which all other

¹ In the same sense the sun is called jīvo asuh, "the vital spirit," cf. Rv. i. 113. 16.:
souls partake, from which all reality in this created world emanates, and into which every thing will return. Thus a Hindu speaking of himself (atman) spoke also, though unconsciously, of the soul of the universe (atman); and to know himself was to him to know both his own self and the universal Self, or to know himself in the divine Self. The Sanskrit, "atmānam atmanā paśya," "see (thy) self by (thy) self," had a deeper signification than the Greek πνεύμα σεαυτόν¹, because it has not only a moral, but also a

¹ It is difficult to find a satisfactory etymology for atmā (nomin.), particularly in its older, and possibly more original, form, tmā. Bopp (Comp. Grammar, i. § 140.) says, "if atmā stand for ahmā, and be derived from a lost root, āḥ, to think (when it must be remembered that the root nah also changes its final h sometimes into t, upānāḥ and upānāt), it might be compared with the Gothic ahma, soul." This root, āḥ, is afterwards traced by Bopp in the Sanskrit ḍḥa, "he said;" and he observes that to speak and to think are in the Indo-European languages sometimes expressed by one and the same word. The last observation, however, is not quite proved by the example taken by Bopp from the Zend, manthra, speech. For although the Sanskrit mantra is derived from man, to think, it receives its causal meaning by the termination tra, and has therefore the signification of prayer, hymn, advice, speech (i. e. what makes us think). If atmā come from a root ah, the meaning of this root is more likely that of breathing, which would account for Gothic ahma (πνεύμα), as well as for Sanskrit ḍha, Greek ἤ and ἕχω, Latin ajo and nego, and similar words. If we derive atmā, spirit, soul, self, from this root ah, we may also derive from it a-ham, I (cuneiform inscript. adam, ego, ἵγε, ich). But there always remains a difficulty as regards the elision of a in the old Vedic form tmā, instead of atmā, and the Zend thmanāṅgh, which, according to Prof. Burnouf's conjecture, is the Sansk. tmanas (Commentaire sur le Yaśna, p. 509.); a difficulty which neither European etymologists (Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, i. 196.; Benfey, Griechisches Wurzellexicon, i. 265.) nor Indian Auṇāḍik scholars (Upādi Sūtras, 4. 152.) have yet explained.
metaphysical meaning. How largely this idea of the \textit{Atman}, as the Divine Spirit, entered into the early religious and philosophical speculations of the Indians, may be seen from the following dialogue between \textit{Yajnavalkya} and \textit{Maitréyī}, which forms part of the \textit{Brihadarânyaka}.

"Maitréyī\textsuperscript{1}," said \textit{Yajnavalkya}, "I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, I must make a settlement between thee and my other wife \textit{Kâtyâyanî}.

Maitréyī said, "My Lord, if this whole earth full of wealth belonged to me, should I be immortal by it?"

"No," replied \textit{Yajnavalkya}; "like the happy life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth."

And Maitréyī said, "What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth (of immortality) may he tell that to me."

\textit{Yajnavalkya} replied, "Thou, who art truly dear to me\textsuperscript{2}, thou speakest dear words. Sit down, I will explain it to thee, and listen well to what I say."

And he said, "A husband is loved, not because you love the husband, but because you love (in him) the


\textsuperscript{2} Instead of \textit{प्रिया बनारे न: सती} Dr. Poley reads \textit{प्रिया-बनारे न: सती} which he may have meant for "thou \textit{Avatâr}, or incarnation of our love." Not to speak, however, of the grammatical difficulties of this construction, the Commentary leaves no doubt that we ought to read, \textit{प्रिया (द्या) बन (द्यनुक-प्राच) त्रे (मैचेवि)}.\n
Divine Spirit (atmâ, the absolute Self). A wife is loved, not because we love the wife, but because we love (in her) the Divine Spirit. Children are loved, not because we love the children, but because we love the Divine Spirit in them. This spirit it is which we love when we (seem to) love wealth, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, this world, the gods, all beings, this universe. The Divine Spirit, O beloved wife, is to be seen, to be heard, to be perceived, and to be meditated upon. If we see, hear, perceive, and know him, O Maitrêyi, then this whole universe is known to us."

"Whosoever looks for Brahmahood elsewhere than in the Divine Spirit, should be abandoned by the Brahmans. Whosoever looks for the Kshatra-power elsewhere than in the Divine Spirit, should be abandoned by the Kshatras. Whosoever looks for this world, for the gods, for all beings, for this universe, elsewhere than in the Divine Spirit, should be abandoned by them all. This Brahmahood, this Kshatra-power, this world, these gods, these beings, this universe, all is the Divine Spirit."

"Now, as we cannot seize the sounds of a drum externally by themselves, but seize the sound by seizing the drum, or the beating of it,—as we cannot seize the sounds of a conch-shell by themselves, but seize the sound by seizing the conch-shell, or the shellblower,—as we cannot seize the sounds of a lute by themselves, but seize the sound by seizing the lute, or the lutanist,—so is it with the Divine Spirit."

"As clouds of smoke rise out of a fire kindled with dry fuel, thus, O Maitrêyi, have all the holy words been breathed out of that Great Being."

"As all the waters find their centre in the sea,
so all sensations find their centre in the skin, all
tastes in the tongue, all smells in the nose, all colours
in the eye, all sounds in the ear, all thoughts in the
mind, all knowledge in the heart, all actions in the
hands, and all the Holy Scriptures in speech.”

“It is with us, when we enter into the Divine
Spirit, as if a lump of salt was thrown into the sea; it
becomes dissolved into the water (from which it was
produced), and is not to be taken out again. But
wherever you take the water and taste it, it is salt.
Thus is this great, endless, and boundless Being but
one mass of knowledge. As the water becomes salt,
and the salt becomes water again, thus has the Divine
Spirit appeared from out the elements and disappears
again into them. When we have passed away, there
is no longer any name. This, I tell thee, my wife,”
said Yājñavalkya.

Maitreyī said, “My Lord, here thou hast bewildered
me, saying that there is no longer any name when we
have passed away.”

And Yājñavalkya replied, “My wife, what I say is
not bewildering, it is sufficient for the highest know-
ledge. For if there be as it were two beings, then
the one sees the other, the one hears, perceives, and
knows the other. But if the one Divine Self be the
whole of all this, whom or through whom should he
see, hear, perceive, or know? How should he know
(himself), by whom he knows every thing (himself)?
How, my wife, should he know (himself) the
knower? 1 Thus thou hast been taught, Maitreyī;

1 This last sentence is taken from the fifth Brāhmaṇa of the
fourth Adhyāya, where the same story is told again with slight
modifications and additions.
this is immortality." Having said this Yājnavalkya left his wife for ever, and went into the solitude of the forests.

It must be observed that the work from which this dialogue is taken belongs to a later period of Vedic literature. In the earlier times which are represented to us in the hymns of the Veda, these mystic tendencies are not yet so strongly developed. In the songs of the Rig-veda we find but little of philosophy, but we do occasionally meet with wars of kings, with rivalries of ministers, with triumphs and defeats, with war-songs and imprecations. The active side of life is still prominent in the genuine poetry of the Rishis, and there still exists a certain equilibrium between the two scales of human nature. It is only after the Aryan tribes had advanced southward, and taken quiet possession of the rich plains and beautiful groves of Central India, that they seem to have turned all their energies and thoughts from the world without them to that more wonderful nature which they perceived within.

Such was their state when the Greeks first became acquainted with them after the discovery of India by Alexander. What did these men, according to Megasthenes, most think and speak about? Their most frequent conversations, he says, were about life and death. This life they considered as the life of an embryo in the womb; but death as the birth to a real and happy life for those who had thought, and had prepared themselves to be ready to die.1 Good and

1 Strabo, xv. 59: Πλείστους δ' αυτοῖς εἶναι λόγους περὶ τοῦ Ἀγάπτου· νομίζειν γὰρ δὴ τὸν μὲν ἐνθάδε βιον ὡς ἀν ἄκμην κυμάνων εἶναι· τὸν δὲ Ἀγάπτου γένεσιν εἰς τὸν ὄντως βιον καὶ τὸν εὐδαίμονα τοῖς φιλοσοφήσαι· διό τῇ ὑσκήσει πλείστη χρήσαι πρὸς τὸ ἔτοιμο-
bad was nothing to them; not that they denied the distinction between good and bad in a moral sense. They recognised law and virtue, as we see in their sacred poetry\(^1\), as well as in their codes of law. But they denied that anything that happened to men in this life could be called either good or bad, and they maintained that philosophy consisted in removing the affections of pleasure as well as of pain. Liking pain and hating pleasure was what they considered the highest state of indifference that man could arrive at.\(^2\)

\(^{0}\)ávarov. "Nay, for aught we know of ourselves, of our present life, and of death; death may immediately, in the natural course of things, put us into a higher and more enlarged state of life, as our birth does."—Bishop Butler.

\(^1\) The notion of sin is clearly expressed, for instance, in a song of Gṛtsamada's (Rv. ii. 28. 5.):

वि मक्क्धः याव रक्षानामिवाग भ्रम ते वर्ण खामृतस्य।
मा तंत्रस्बैदि वयतो धियं मे मा माचा शार्यपशः पुर चत्तोः।
ऋपो सु मच वर्ण भियमं मक्क्धाच्यतावोऽनु मा ग्रभाय।

"Deliver me from sin, as from a rope; let us obtain thy path of righteousness. May the thread not be torn while I am weaving my prayer; may the form of my pious work not decay before its season.

"Varuṇa, take all fear away from me; be kind to me, O just king! Take away my sin like a rope from a calf; for afar from thee I am not the master even of a twinkling of the eye."

And again, Rv. ii. 29. 1.:

द्भन्तरता ऋक्षिया इसिरा ऋरे मक्करे रक्षारिवागः।

"You quick Ādityas, ye who never fail in your works, carry away from me all sin, as a woman does who has given birth to a child in secret."

\(^{2}\) Strabo, xv. 59.: 'Αγαθὸν δὲ, ἢ κακὸν, μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν συμβα-
We are told by the same author that the Indians did not communicate their metaphysical doctrines to women; thinking that, if their wives understood these doctrines, and learned to be indifferent to pleasure and pain, and to consider life and death as the same, they would no longer continue to be the slaves of others: or, if they failed to understand them, they would be talkative, and communicate their knowledge to those who had no right to it. This statement of the Greek author is fully borne out by the later Sanskrit authorities. We find, for instance, in the ceremonial Sūtras (śrauta and grihya-sūtras), that women were not allowed to learn the sacred songs of the Vedas, the knowledge of which constituted one of the principal requirements for a Brahman before he was admitted to the performance of the sacrifices. Indeed, the whole education of a Brahman consisted in learning the old sacred literature by heart, and many years were spent for this purpose by every Brahmachārin in the house and under the severe discipline of his Guru, or of an Āchārya. As it was necessary 1, however, for a husband to perform

1 Sāyana, in his commentary on the Rig-veda, i. 131. 3., explaining the words वि ला तत्त्रे मिथुना छवित्व: “Couples wishing for protection have magnified thee, O Indra!” quotes passages from the Brāhmaṇas, the Sūtras, and the Saṁhitās, in
sacrifices together with his lawful wife, and as passages of the hymns\(^1\), as well as of the Brāhmaṇas, speak clearly of man and wife as performing sacrifices in common, it was laid down in the Sūtras that the husband or the priest should, at the sacrifice itself, make his wife recite those hymns which were necessary for the ceremony. But although women were thus allowed to participate in the sacrifices of their husbands, they were not initiated, still less were they admitted to the highest knowledge, the knowledge of the Ātman or the Brahman.\(^2\) Cases like that of Maitrēyī were exceptions, not the rule.

Thus the account which Megasthenes gives of the Indians shows us the same abstract and passive support of the law laid down in the Pūrvamīmāṃsā, that man and wife should perform sacrifices in common. From the Brāhmaṇas he quotes the beginning of the Agnyādāhāna, where it is said that man and wife are to place the sacred fire in common: जायापति अग्निमाध्यायीयतां। From the Sūtras he quotes a rule, वस्त्रेण प्रदाचन्त वाच्येत। This seems to mean, “Let him, after giving the Veda to his wife, make her recite it.” The passage is taken from the Āśvalāyana Śrauta-sūtras, i. 11. If the word *veda*, used by Āśvalāyana, meant the Veda, this passage would be most important, as proving the existence of the Veda, as a written book, at the time of Āśvalāyana. *Veda*, however, is used here in the sense of “a bundle of grass,” and is connected with *vedih*, an altar made of grass (Root *ve*, Lat. *viere*). Lastly, Sāyaṇa quotes from the Smṛitis, Manu, v. 155., "Women cannot sacrifice without their husbands:” नास्ति स्त्रियां व्रतमय्याः।

1 The piety and happiness of a married couple is well described in a hymn ascribed to Manu Vaivasoata, Rv. viii. 31. 5—9.

2 Manu, ix. 18., translated by Sir W. Jones. "Women have no business with the texts of the Veda, thus is the law fully settled; having, therefore, no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be as foul as falsehood itself; and this is a fixed rule."
character which we find throughout the whole classical or post-vedic literature of the Brahmans, and which, to a great extent, explains the absence of anything like historical literature among this nation of philosophers.

A people of this peculiar stamp of mind was never destined to act a prominent part in what is called the history of the world. This exhausting atmosphere of transcendental ideas could not but exercise a detrimental influence on the active and moral character of the Indians. But if we admire in classical history even those heroes in whom the love of country was driven to the highest pitch of fanaticism, we have scarcely a right to despise a nation, in whom the love of a purer and higher life degenerated sometimes into reckless self-sacrifice. No people certainly made a more favourable impression upon the Greeks than the Indians. And when we read the account of their moral and intellectual condition at the time of Alexander, we are obliged to admit that if some of their good qualities are no longer to be met with among the Indians of later times, this is owing, not entirely to an original defect of character, but to that continual system of oppression exercised upon them by foreign conquerors, to whose physical power they submitted, while they could not help despising their masters as barbarians. Of the demoralising influence of a foreign occupation we have an instance in the time of Alexander, in the story of Kalânas (Kalyâna), who yielded to the flattering offers of the European conqueror, and left his sacred home to follow his royal master as a piece of curiosity. But Megasthenes was afterwards informed that the behaviour of Kalânas was strongly disapproved of by his friends, as ambitious and servile; while Man-
danis was praised for his manly answer to Alexander's messengers, not only by his countrymen, but by Alexander himself. It was not long before Kalânas repented his unworthy ambition, for he burnt himself soon after at Pasargada, in the same manner as the only other Brahman who reached Europe in ancient times, burned himself at Athens, to the astonishment of the Greeks, who erected a tomb to him, with the inscription, "Here lies the Indian Sarman Cheya (Śarman Āchārya?), from Barygaza, who sought immortality after the old custom of the Indians."

The genius of the Greek nation owes its happy and healthy growth to liberty and national independence. The Homeric songs were addressed to a people, proud of his heroes, whether real or legendary. If Persia had crushed the chivalry of Greece, we should never have heard the names of Herodotus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Phidias, and Pericles. Where the feeling of nationality has been roused, the poet is proud to be listened to by his nation, and a nation is proud to listen to her poet. But in times of national degradation the genius of great men turns away from the realities of life, and finds its only consolation in the search after truth, in science and philosophy. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle arose when the Greek nation began to decline; and, under the heavy grasp first of Macedonian sway, then of Roman tyranny, the life of the Greek genius ebbed away, while its immortal productions lived on in the memory of other and freer nations. The Indian never knew the feeling of nationality, and his heart never trembled in the expectation of national applause. There were no heroes to inspire a poet,—no history to call forth a historian. The only sphere
where the Indian mind found itself at liberty to act, to create, and to worship, was the sphere of religion and philosophy; and nowhere have religious and metaphysical ideas struck roots so deep in the mind of a nation as in India. The Hindus were a nation of philosophers. Their struggles were the struggles of thought; their past, the problem of creation; their future, the problem of existence. The present alone, which is the real and living solution of the problems of the past and the future, seems never to have attracted their thoughts or to have called out their energies. The shape which metaphysical ideas take amongst the different classes of society, and at different periods of civilisation, naturally varies from coarse superstition to sublime spiritualism. But, taken as a whole, history supplies no second instance where the inward life of the soul has so completely absorbed all the practical faculties of a whole people, and, in fact, almost destroyed those qualities by which a nation gains its place in history.

It might therefore be justly said that India has no place in the political history of the world. While other nations, as the Egyptians, the Jews, the Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutonic races, have, during certain periods, culminated on the political horizon of the world, India has moved in such a small and degraded circle of political existence that it remained almost invisible to the eyes of other nations. An expedition like that of Alexander could never have been conceived by an Indian king, and the ambition of native conquerors, in those few cases where it existed, never went beyond the limits of India itself.

But if India has no place in the political history of the world, it certainly has a right to claim its
place in the intellectual history of mankind. The less the Indian nation has taken part in the political struggles of the world, and expended its energies in the exploits of war and the formation of empires, the more it has fitted itself and concentrated all its powers for the fulfilment of the important mission reserved to it in the history of the East. History seems to teach that the whole human race required a gradual education before, in the fulness of time, it could be admitted to the truths of Christianity. All the fallacies of human reason had to be exhausted, before the light of a higher truth could meet with ready acceptance. The ancient religions of the world were but the milk of nature, which was in due time to be succeeded by the bread of life. After the primeval physiolatry, which was common to all the members of the Aryan family, had, in the hands of a wily priesthood, been changed into an empty idolatry, the Indian alone, of all the Aryan nations, produced a new form of religion, which has well been called subjective, as opposed to the more objective worship of nature. That religion, the religion of Buddha, has spread, far beyond the limits of the Aryan world, and, to our limited vision, it may seem to have retarded the advent of Christianity among a large portion of the human race. But in the sight of Him with whom a thousand years are but as one day, that religion, like all the ancient religions of the world, may have but served to prepare the way of Christ, by helping, through its very errors, to strengthen and to deepen the ineradicable yearning of the human heart after the truth of God.

Though the religion of Buddha be of all religions the most hostile to the old belief of the Brahmans,—the Buddhists standing to the Brahmans in about the
same relation as the early Protestants to the Church of Rome,—yet the very bitterness of this opposition proves that Buddhism is peculiarly Indian. Similar ideas to those proclaimed by Buddha were current long before his time, and traces of them may be found even in other countries. But for the impressive manner in which these ideas were first proclaimed and preached throughout India, for the hold which they took on the Indian mind, for the readiness with which they were received, particularly by the lower classes, till at last they were adopted by the sovereign as the religion of state,—in a word, for the historical and universal character which this doctrine there assumed, the cause must be sought in the previous history of the Indian nation. There is something in the doctrines of Buddhism that is common to all systems of philosophy or religion, which break with the traditions of an effete idol-worship and a tyrannical hierarchy. There is some truth in Buddhism as there is in every one of the false religions of the world. But it was only in India, where people had been prepared by centuries of thought and meditation, as well as by the very corruption of the old Brahmanical system, to embrace and nurture the religious ideas of Buddha Šākya Muni; it was only in India, that those new doctrines took an historical shape, and grew into a religion which, if truth depended on majorities, would be the truest of all forms of faith.

Up to the present day there is no religion of the world more extensively prevalent than the religion of Buddha; and though it has been banished from

1 M. Troyer, in his valuable edition of the Radjatarangini (ii. 399.), gives the following data as to the extent of the Buddhistic
the soil of India, and no living follower of this creed is now to be met with in that country ¹; yet it has found a refuge and second home in Ceylon, Siam, Ava, Pegu, the Birman Empire, China, Tibet, Tatary, Mongolia and Siberia, and is, even in its present corruption, looked upon and practised as the only true system of faith and worship by many millions of human beings. Truly, then, the moment when this religious doctrine took its origin in India is an era in the intellectual history of the world; and, from an historical point of view, India may be considered, at that time, as passing through the meridian of history. The most accurate observers of the progress of the Indian mind have, therefore, chosen this moment as the most favourable for fixing, historically and chronologically, the position of India: Professor Wilson in his "Viṣṇu-Purāṇa," Professor Burnouf in his "Introduction to the History of Buddhism," and Professor Lassen in his "Indian Antiquities."

It would be out of place to discuss at present all the arguments by which the historical origin of the Buddhistic religion has been fixed chronologically in the works here mentioned. The date of Buddha's

death, in the middle of the sixth century B.C., and the beginning of the Ceylonese era, 543 B.C., will have to be considered hereafter. For the present it will be sufficient to keep in mind that the Buddhistic era divides the whole history of India into two parts, in the same manner as the Christian era divides the history of the world. It is therefore of the greatest importance, with regard to the history of Vedic literature. The rise of a new religion so hostile to the hierarchical system of the Brahmans is most likely to have produced a visible effect on their sacred and theological writings. If traces of this kind can be discovered in the ancient literature of India, an important point will be gained, and it will be possible perhaps to restore to this vast mass of Brahmanic lore a certain historical connection. After the rise of a new religious doctrine in the first centuries after Buddha, it could not be expected that the Brahmanic literature should cease at once. On the contrary, we should expect at first a powerful reaction and a last effort to counteract the influence of the rising doctrine. And, as in India the religion of Buddha addressed itself more especially to the lower classes of the people, and found its strongest support amongst those who had to suffer from the exclusiveness of the Brahmanic system, a period of transition would most likely be marked by a more popular style of literature,—by an attempt to simplify the old complicated system of the Brahmanic ceremonial, till at last the political ascendancy, secured to the new doctrine through its adoption by the reigning princes, like Asoka, would cause this effort also to slacken.

Before it can be shown, however, that this really
took place in India, and that traces of this religious crisis exist in the Vedic literature of the Brahmans, it seems necessary to point out what Sanskrit works can be included within that literature, and what other books are to be excluded altogether when we look for evidence with regard to the true history of the Vedic age.

Let us begin by the negative process, and endeavour to separate and reject those works which do not belong to the genuine Vedic cycle. If we examine the two epic poems of India, the Râmâyaṇa and Mahâbhârata, we shall find it impossible to use them as authorities for the Vedic age, because we are not yet able to decide critically which parts of these poems are ancient, and which are modern and post-Buddhistic, or at least retouched by the hands of late compilers and editors. There are certainly very ancient traditions and really Vedic legends in both of these poems. Some of their heroes are taken from the same epic cycle in which the Vedic poetry moves. These, however, only form subjects for episodes in the two poems, while their principal heroes are essentially different in their character and manners. In fact, though there are remains of the Vedic age to be found in the epic poems, like the stories of Urvasî and Purûravas, of Sakuntala and Dushmanta, of Uddâlaka, Sunahsepha, Janaka Vaideha, and particularly of the Vedic Rishis, like Vasishtha, Viśvâmitra, Yâjnavalkya, Dirghatamas, Kakshivat, Kavasha, and many others, yet this would only prove that the traditions of the Vedic age were still in the mouth of the people at the time when the epic poetry of the Hindus was first composed, or that they were not yet forgotten in after times, when the Brahmans
began to collect all the remains of epic songs into one large body, called the Mahâbhârata. If we compare the same legends as exhibited in the hymns and Brâhmaṇas of the Veda, and as related in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyana, or the Purâṇas, the Vedic version of them will mostly be found to be more simple, more primitive, and more intelligible than those of the epic and paurânic poems. This is not meant as a denial, that real epic poetry, that is to say, a mass of popular songs, celebrating the power and exploits of gods and heroes, existed at a very early period in India, as well as among the other Aryan nations; but it shows, that, if yet existing, it is not in the Mahâbhârata and Râmâyana we have to look for these old songs, but rather in the Veda itself. In the collection of the Vedic hymns, there are some which may be called epic, and may be compared with the short hymns ascribed to Homer. In the Brâhmaṇas passages occur, in prose and verse, celebrating the actions of old kings.

The following extract from the Śàñkhâyana-sûtras (xvi. 1.), throws some light on the literature which the Brahmans possessed, in addition to what we are accustomed to call the Veda¹:—

"At the Horse-sacrifice, the Adhvaryu calls upon singers who sing to the lute (vîṅâgaṇâginas), and invites them to celebrate the king, who then performs the sacrifice, together with other virtuous kings of old. On the first day of the sacrifice, the priest tells the story which begins with Manu Vaivasvata. As the people of Manu were men, and there are men present at the sacrifice, the priest teaches these, the

¹ The same account is given in the Áśvalâyana-sûtras, x. 7, and in the Šatapatha-brâhmaṇa, xiii. 3, 1, 1.
householders, by telling this story. He then says, 'The Rich-verses are the Veda, this is the Veda,' and recites a hymn.

"On the second day he tells the story which begins with *Yama Vaivavsvata* (from the Satapatha). As the people of *Yama* were the fathers, and there are fathers present, he teaches the elders by this story. He then says, 'The Yajurveda is the Veda; this is the Veda,' and recites an Anuvâka (âśvamedhika) of the Yajush.

"On the third day he tells the story which begins with *Varuṇa Āditya*. As the people of Varuṇa were the Gandharvas, and as they are present, he teaches the young and fair youths by this story. He then says, 'The Atharva-veda is the Veda; this is the Veda,' and recites the Bhishaja¹, a work on medicine."

"On the fourth day he tells the story which begins with *Soma Vaishnava* (from the Satapatha). As the people of Soma were the Apsaras, and as these are present, he teaches the young and fair maidens by this story. He then says, 'The Āngirasa-veda is the Veda; this is the Veda,' and recites the Ghora², another work of the Ātharvaṇikas.

"On the fifth day he tells the story which begins

¹ The commentator insists on this being a distinct book of the Ātharvaṇikas, and not a hymn. 
² The Sātapatha says चौरसारथवेश्वरोऽद्वितीयतसूक्तः केचिद्रादुः। तदयुः। समाख्यानाऽवेषजयथियाँयवेशिकानाः। The Sātapatha says चौरसारथवेश्वरोऽद्वितीयतसूक्तः केचिद्रादुः। तदयुः। समाख्यानाऽवेषजयथियाँयवेशिकानाः। Asvalāyana, यद्वेशाणं निःशानं॥ 
² चौरसारथवेश्वरोऽद्वितीयतसूक्तः केचिद्रादुः। The Sātapatha says चौरसारथवेश्वरोऽद्वितीयतसूक्तः केचिद्रादुः।
with Arbuda Kâdraveya. As the people of Arbuda were the Sarpas (snakes), and as these are present, he teaches the Sarpas, or the snake-charmers, by this story. He then says, 'The Sarpavidyâ is the Veda; this is the Veda,' and recites the Sarpavidyâ.¹

"On the sixth day he tells the story which begins with Kuvera Vaiśravana. As the people of Kuvera were Rakshas, and as these are present, he teaches Selagas, or evil-doers, by this story. He then says, 'The Rakshovidyâ is the Veda, this is the Veda,' and recites the Rakshovidyâ.²

"On the seventh day he tells the story which begins with Asita Dhânvana.³ As his men were the Asuras, and as these are present, he teaches the usurers (Kusidin) by this story. He then says, 'The Asuravidyâ is the Veda, this is the Veda,' and performs a trick by slight of hand.⁴

"On the eighth day he tells the story which begins with Matsya Sâmmana. As his men were the creatures of the water, and as these are present, he teaches the Matsyas (fishes), or the fishermen by this

¹ गाहु डा क ंकनीया वा। The Satapatha: मर्याविद्या एकं पैवी।

² कुकुकृष्ट रचोविद्या। According to the Satapatha देवजनविद्या एकं पैवी। according to Áśvalâvana, पिशाच-विद्या।

³ Asita Dhânya, Satapatha and Áśvalâvana.

⁴ चसुरविषयं जलालादिना तन्मिद्रामायामपि काचित्कु-चान्दगुलिन्यास्यस्य।
story. He then says, 'The Itihâsa-veda is the Veda this is the Veda,' and recites an Itihâsa.¹

"On the ninth day he tells the story which begins with Târkshyâ Vaipasâyata."² As his men were the birds, and as these are present, he teaches the birds, or the young students (brahmachârin),³ by this story. He then says, 'The Purâna-veda is the Veda, this is the Veda,' and recites the Purâna.⁴

"On the tenth day he tells the story which begins with Dharma Indra (from the Śatapatha). As his men were the gods, and as these are present, he teaches the young, learned, and poor priests by this story.⁵ He then says, 'The Sâmaveda is the Veda, this is the Veda,' and sings the Sâma.⁶"

This extract shows that epic poetry, traditional as well as improvised on the spur of the moment, existed during the Vedic age.

In several parts of the Brâhmaṇas and Âraṇyakas, when an account is given of the literature, known to the ancient Hindus, we meet with the names of Gâthâ, Nâraśansî, Itihâsa, and Âkhyâna ⁷ (songs, legends, epic poems, and stories) as parts

¹ इतिहासवेदः पृथ्विभावेन दर्शनाधिकारी।
² Vaipaschita, according to Âsvalâyana.
³ वायोविचिका। Satapatha.
⁴ पुराणं वायुप्रोक्तमचाढ़ेयं। The Vâyu-purâṇa has a more ancient appearance than the other Purâṇas.
⁵ यूँ इतियादिकाचेष्टोत्तिजान।
⁶ बालान्द्रश्च सतापत्ता।
⁷ Cf. Taittirîya-Âranyaka, ii. 9: ब्राह्मणोत्तिहासानुपुराणोऽसि कल्याणः गायत्रि नारायणी:। Brihadâranyaka, ii. 4. 10.:
of the Vedic literature. The occurrence of titles of literary works like these, has been made use of to prove the existence, at that early period, of the writings which afterwards were designated by the same names. But though the Mahâbhârata is called an Itihasa, and the Râmâyâna an Âkhyâna, and though many works have in later times become famous under the name of Purânas, yet these enumerations of literary works in the Brâhmanaś do not refer to them.¹ They contain only general names or

¹ In the later literature also, names like Itihasa, Akhyâna, and Purâna are by no means restricted to the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyâna, and the Purânas. The Mahâbhârata is called Purâna, Akhyâna, and Itihasa. Cf. M. Bh. i. 17—19. Vyâsa himself calls his poem, the Mahâbhârata, a Kâvya; and Brahma sanctions this as its proper title. Cf. M. Bh. i. 72. This passage modifies Professor Lassen’s opinion as to Kâvya being the distinctive title of the Râmâyâna. Cf. Indian Antiquities, i. 483. The Mahâbhârata
titles, which have been applied to certain parts of the sacred literature, containing either stories of gods or men, or cosmogonic traditions.¹ There is no allusion to any of the titles of the Purāṇas or to the Rāmāyaṇa in Vedic works, whether Brāhmaṇas or Sūtras. But as in the Sūtras of Aśvalāyana² the name of the

is also called the fifth Veda, or the Kārśāṇa-veda; that is, the Veda composed by Kṛishṇa Dvāpāyana Vyāsa. Cf. M. Bh. i. 2300. Burnouf, Bhāg. m. prēf. xxi. Lassen, Ind. Antiq. i. 789.

¹ Cf. Sāyaṇa, Introduction to the Rig-veda sanhitā, p. 23.

² Gṛihya-Sūtras, iii. 4. MS. 1978, E. I. H., reads, भारत-धर्मीचार्य: instead of भारतमहाभारतधर्मीचार्य: the reading adopted by Dr. Roth (Zur Literatur, p. 27). Unfortunately the Commentary to this passage is very scantly, which is so much the more to be regretted, as the text itself seems to contain spurious additions. According to the MSS. the passage reads, ऋष्य क्षण्य: शतर्चिनो माध्यमा गृह्ममद्रो विष्णुमिचि

वामदेवोऽचर्मेर्दाजो वसिष्ठ: प्रागाया: पावमाया: चुद्र-

सूतका महासूक्तका दृति। प्राचीनाविती सुमंशुक्तमिनिवेश्यपा-

यनपैलसूचभाध्यभारतधर्मीचार्या जानितवाहविगार्यगीते-

मष्कायाभ्रूश्यांमांडक्यांकेका गार्भी वाचविकी वदवा

प्रातिज्ञयी सुभा भैतेयि कहोलं कोधीपतं महाकौषीनिकं

पैंगऽ महापैंगऽ सुधिं श्राण्ख्यायनमेतरियं महैतरियं श्राकलं

वायकलं सुजातंत्रमीदवाहि सौजामि श्रोनकमावश्यायिमं

ये चाये प्राचायाते सर्वे तृष्णिति।

According to the commentator we have first, 12 Rishis, who, as Rishis, are to be invoked, when the Brahmanical thread is suspended round the neck (nivita). These are indeed the Rishis of the Rig-veda: first the Śatarchins, the common title of the poets of the first Manḍala; then Gṛītsamada (2d Manḍala), Viś-

वामित्रा (3d M.), Vāmadeva (4th M.), Atri (5th M.), Bharadvāja (6th M.), Vasishṭha (7th M.); then follow the poets of the Pra-
Bhärata, and according to some MSS. even the name of the Mahābhārata, is mentioned, this may be considered as the earliest trace, not merely of single epic poems, but of a collection of them. The age of Āśvalāyana, which will be approximately fixed afterwards, would, therefore, if we can rely on our MSS., furnish a limit below which the first attempt at a collection of a Bhärata or Mahābhārata ought not to be placed. But there is no hope that we shall ever succeed by critical researches in restoring the Bhärata to that primitive form and shape in which it may have existed before or at the time of Āśvalāyana. Much has indeed been done by Professor Lassen, who, in his Indian Antiquities, has pointed out characteristic marks by which the modern parts of the Mahābhārata can be distinguished from the more ancient; and we may soon expect to see his principles still farther carried out in a translation of the whole Mahābhārata, which, with the help of all the Sanskrit commentaries, has been most carefully prepared by one of the most learned and laborious scholars of Germany. If it were possible to sift out from the huge mass of Indian epic poetry, as we now possess it in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, those old stories and songs gaṁtha hymns (8th M.), the poets of the Pāvamāṇis (9th M.), and finally, the authors of the 10th and last Maṇḍala, who are called Kshudrasūktas and Mahāsūktas, authors of short and long hymns. The next class comprises twenty-three invocations, according to the Commentary, and they are to be made, when the Brahmanical cord is suspended over the right shoulder (prāchīnāvītī). The text, however, contains more than twenty-three names, and it is likely that some of them have been added afterwards, while others are perhaps to be taken collectively. भारतधर्माचार्या: may also be taken as one word, in the sense of the legal authorities of the Bhāratas.
which must have been living for a long time in the mouth of the people before they were collected, enlarged, arranged, and dressed up by later hands, a rich mine of information would be opened for the ancient times of India, and very likely also for the Vedic age. But the whole frame of the two epic poems as they now stand, their language and metre, as well as the moral and religious system they contain, show that they were put together at a period when the world of the Veda was living by tradition only, and, moreover, partly misunderstood, and partly forgotten. The war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas, which forms the principal object of our Mahābhārata, is unknown in the Veda. The names of the Kurus and Bhāratas are common in the Vedic literature, but the names of the Pāṇḍavas have never been met with. It has been observed 1, that even in Pāṇini's grammar the name Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍava does not occur, while the Kurus and Bhāratas are frequently mentioned, particularly in rules treating of the formation of patronymics and similar words. 2 If, then, Āśvalāyana

1 Dr. Weber, Indische Studien, p. 148. Kātyāyana, however, the immediate successor of Pāṇini, knows not only Pāṇḍu, but also his descendants, the Pāṇḍyas.

2 The names of the two wives of Pāṇḍu, Kuntī and Mādrī, occur in the commentary on Pāṇini. (Cf. i. 2. 49., iv. 1. 65., iv. 1. 176. (text) for Kuntī, and iv. 1. 177. for Mādrī). But both these names are geographical appellatives, Kuntī signifying a woman from the country of the Kuntas, Mādrī a Madra-woman. Prithā, another name of Kuntī, stands in the Gaṇa śivādi. As to the proper names of the Pāṇḍava princes, we find Yudhishthira, Pāṇ. vi. 1. 134., vi. 3. 9., viii. 3. 95. (text); Arjuna, Pāṇ. iii. 1. 119., iv. 3. 64., v. 4. 48., vi. 2. 131.; Bhima, Pāṇ. vi. 1. 205.; Nākula, Pāṇ. vi. 3. 75. The name of Sahadeva does not occur; but his descendants, the Sāhadevas, are mentioned as belonging to the race of Kuru, together with the Nākulas, Pāṇ. iv. 1. 114. In the same
can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor, of Pāṇini, the Bhārata which he is speaking of must have been very different from the epic poem which is known to us.

way we find the descendants of Yudhishṭhira and Arjuna mentioned as members of the eastern Bhāratas, Pāṇ. ii. 4. 66. Draupadī's name does not occur in Pāṇini, but Subhadra the sister of Kṛishṇa and the wife of Arjuna, is distinctly mentioned, Pāṇ. iv. 2. 56. Another passage in the commentary on Pāṇini (iv. 3. 87.) proves even the existence of a poem in praise of Subhadra, which, if we remember the former mention of a war about Subhadra (iv. 2. 56.), seems most likely to have celebrated this very conquest of Subhadra by Arjuna. In the Mahābhārata this story forms a separate chapter, the Subhadra-haraṇa-parva (Adiparva, p. 288.), which may be the very work which Pāṇini, according to his commentator, is alluding to. That the chapter in the Mahābhārata belongs to the oldest parts of this epic, may be seen from its being mentioned in the Anukramaṇi of Dhrītarāṣṭra (i. 149.). "When I heard that Subhadra, of the race of Madhu, had been forcibly seized in the city of Dvarakā, and carried away by Arjuna, and that the two heroes of the race of Vṛishṇi had repaired to Indraprastha, I then, O Sanjaya, had no hope of success." The Mahābhāṣya, however, does not explain the former Sūtra, (iv. 2. 56.), and for the latter it gives examples for the exceptions only, but not for the rule. The word grantha, used in the Sūtra, (iv. 3. 87.), is always somewhat suspicious. That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pāṇini's grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaiyyaṭa, (cf. iv. 3. 131, 132.)

**KRIPAŚAYE VIṢAYA PĀÑHĀT śRĪ YASTI Kṛṣṇā TAYA KRISHNA**

Vāsudeva, who is considered as peculiarly connected with the tradition of the Pāṇḍavas, is quoted as Vāsudeva, of the race of Vṛishṇi (Pāṇ. -iv. 1. 114.); as Vāsudeva, together with Siva and Āditya (Pāṇ. v. 3. 99.) as Vāsudeva, together with Arjuna (iv. 3. 98. text). In the commentary to Pāṇ. iii. 3. 156., and ii. 3. 72., we have proof of Kṛṣṇā's being worshipped as a god; in i. 4. 92. he is mentioned as a hero. His residence, Dvarakā, however, does not occur in Pāṇini.
under the name of the Mahābhārata, celebrating the war of the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas.¹

In the form in which we now possess the Mahābhārata it shows clear traces that the poets who collected and finished it, breathed an intellectual and religious atmosphere, very different from that in which the heroes of the poem moved. The epic character of the story has throughout been changed and almost obliterated by the didactic tendencies of the latest editors, who were clearly Brahmins, brought up in the strict school of the Laws of Manu. But the original traditions of the Pāṇḍavas break through now and then, and we can clearly discern that the races among whom the five principal heroes of the Mahābhārata were born and fostered, were by no means completely under the sway of the Brahmanical law. How is it, for instance, that the five Pāṇḍava princes, who are at first represented as receiving so strictly Brahmanic an education, — who, if we are to believe the poet, were versed in all the sacred literature, grammar, metre, astronomy, and law of the Brahmans,—could afterwards have been married to one wife? This is in

¹ That Panini knew the war of the Bhāratas, has been rendered highly probable by Prof. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumskunde, i. 691. 837.). The words which called forth Panini's special rule, (iv. 2. 56.), can scarcely be imagined to have been different from those in the Mahābhāshya; viz., Bhārataḥ sangrāmah, sanbhadrāḥ sangrāmah. It was impossible to teach or to use Panini's Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are, therefore, of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed. The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiṣākhyas and in Panini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random, but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching. See also Pan. vi. 2. 38., where the word "mahābhārata" occurs, but not as the title of a poem.
plain opposition to the Brahmanic law, where it is said, "they are many wives of one man; not many husbands of one wife." Such a contradiction can only be accounted for by the admission, that, in this case, epic tradition in the mouth of the people was too strong to allow this essential and curious feature in the life of its heroes to be changed. However, the Brahmanic editors of the Mahābhārata, seeing that they could not alter tradition on this point, have at least endeavoured to excuse and mitigate it. Thus we are told in the poem itself, that at one time the five brothers came home, and informed their mother that they had found something extremely precious. Without listening further, their mother at once told them they ought to divide it as brothers. The command of a parent must always be literally obeyed; and as Draupadī was their newly discovered treasure, they were obliged, according to the views of the Brahmans, to obey, and to have her as their common wife. Indian lawgivers call this a knotty point; they defend the fact, but refuse to regard it as a precedent.

1 वेदे यथेव शूच्ये एकं वच्चो जाया भवति नैक्षा एव वचवः पत्ययः मिती।

2 धर्मी दिविधौ स्यूलः सुचस्या। मंद्रमतिभिरैपि सुखेन बुध्मानः व श्रीचाचमनर्माण्यावदनादि: स्यूलो धर्मः। श्रावच्छपारंगते पंडितैर्वेव बोधु जोग्य इतरेतानधर्मभ्रांतिविपपो द्रौपदीविवाहादि: स्यूलो धर्मः।

Cf. Sāyana's Com. on Parāśara. MS. Bodl. 172, 173. Another explanation is given by Kumārila:

चैववस्भैव कण्ठा द्वि वेदिमयावास्मितिता। सा च श्री श्री-ि् भूयोभिर्मुख्माना न दुवयित॥
Neither does the fact that Pâṇḍu is lawfully married to two wives, harmonise with the Brahmanic law. That law does not prohibit polygamy, but it regards no second marriage as legal, and it reserves the privilege of being burnt together with the husband to the eldest and only lawful wife. Such passages in the ancient epics are of the greatest interest. We see in them the tradition of the people too far developed, to allow itself to be remodelled by Brahmanic Diaskeustes. There can be little doubt that polygamy, as we find it among the early races in their transition from the pastoral to the agricultural life, was customary in India. We read in Herodotus (v. 5.), that amongst the Thracians it was usual, after the death of a man, to find out who had been the most beloved of his wives, and to sacrifice her upon his tomb. Mela (ii. 2.) gives the same as the general custom of the Gète. Herodotus (iv. 71.) asserts a similar fact of the Scythians, and Pausanias (iv. 2.) of the Greeks, while our own Teutonic mythology is full of instances of the same feeling.¹ And thus the customs of these cognate nations explain what at first seemed to be anomalous in the epic tradition of the Mahâbhârata, that at the death of Pâṇḍu, it is not Kuntî, his lawful wife, but Mâdri, his most beloved wife, in whose arms the old king dies, and who successfully claims the privilege of being burnt with him, and following her husband to another life.²

¹ Cf. Grimm, History of the German Language, p. 139.
² Other instances of Dharmavyatikrama are:

**क्षणिकानि प्राणायनं गृहीत्नैरिष्टिकब्रह्मचर्यं विचिन्तित्वायरिख्य-पल्लोत्यादि प्रसंगम्:॥ युधिष्ठिरस् कनोयानिष्टित्महादर्शः**
The same remark applies to the Rāmāyaṇa. In this second epic also, we see that the latest editors were shocked by the anomalies of the popular traditions, and endeavoured to impart a more Brahmanic polish to the materials handed down to them from an earlier age. Thus king Daśaratha kills the son of a Brahman, which would be a crime so horrible in the eyes of the Brahmins, that scarcely any penance could expiate it. This is the reason why the young Brahman is represented as the son of a Śâdrâ woman, and tells the king so himself, in order to relieve him from the fear of having killed the son of a Brahman. The singular relation, too, between Râma and Paraśu-Râma, was probably remodelled by the influence of the Brahmans, who could not bear the idea of their great hero, the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas, being in turn vanquished by Râma, who was himself a Kshatriya.

The Vedic literature, by the very sacredness of its character, has fortunately escaped from the remodelling puritanism of the later Brahmans. There must, from the first, have been as great a variety in the intellectual, religious, and moral character of the Indians, as there is in the geographical and physical character of India. If we look at Greece, and consider the immense diversity of local worship, tradition, and customs, which co-existed within that small tract of country, and then turn

―Kumârila Bhaṭṭa.

1 Cf. Manu, viii. 381. “No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahman, and the king, therefore, must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest.”
our eyes to the map of India, barred as it is by mountain-ranges and rivers, it becomes clear that the past ages of such a country cannot be represented in their fulness and reality by the traditions of the later Brahmans, which as we now possess them in the epic and pauranic poetry of the Hindus, are all tinged with the same monotonous colouring. Such a uniformity is always the result of an artificial system, and not of a natural and unimpeded development. It is indeed acknowledged by the Brahmans themselves that different customs prevailed in different parts of India. Some were even sanctioned by them, notwithstanding their policy of monopolising and (so to speak) brahmanising the whole Indian mind. Although, for instance, in the liturgic works annexed to the Vedas (Śrāuta-sūtras), an attempt was made to establish a certain unity in the sacrifices of the people all over India, yet in the performance of these sacrifices there existed certain discrepancies, based on the traditionary authority of the wise of old, between family and family. This is still more the case in the so-called domestic ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage, &c., described in the Gṛihya-sūtras, which, connected as they were with the daily life of the people, give us much more real information on the ancient customs of India than those grand public or private sacrifices which are prescribed in the Śrāuta-sūtras, and could only have been kept up by sacerdotal influence. In these domestic ceremonies everybody is allowed, as a general law, to follow the customs of the family to which he belongs, or of

1 Thus it is said, for instance, in the Commentary to Pāraskara's Gṛihya-sūtras, that it is wrong to give up the customs of one's own family and to adopt those of others:
his village and country, provided these customs do not too grossly insult the moral and religious feelings of the Brahmans.

Although these domestic ceremonies were fully sanctioned by the Brahmanic law, the authority upon

\[\text{EAliLYCUSTOMS.} \]

\[\text{his} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{country,} \quad \text{provided} \quad \text{these} \quad \text{customs} \quad \text{do} \quad \text{not} \quad \text{too} \quad \text{grossly} \quad \text{insult} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{moral} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{religious} \quad \text{feelings} \quad \text{of} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Brahmans.} \]

\[\text{Although} \quad \text{these} \quad \text{domestic} \quad \text{ceremonies} \quad \text{were} \quad \text{fully} \quad \text{sanctioned} \quad \text{by} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{Brahmanic} \quad \text{law,} \text{the} \quad \text{authority} \quad \text{upon} \]

\[\text{र्न जाते} \quad \text{परशाखोिन} \quad \text{कर्म बुधः समाचरेऽं। चाचरन्यरशाखोिं} \quad \text{र्न शाखारंडः स उच्चते। चः खशाखोिनमुकृजः परशाखोिकमाचरेऽं। चप्रायमाणसूचि सत्वा सोिधः सत्वि समर्थेः।} \quad \text{सत्यतरेिपि। खकम परुस्कृजः तु यद्यकर्षते नरः। चक्जनाद्रथवा लोभाः हतः पतितो भवेत्।} \quad \text{कंद्रोगपरिशिष्टेऽपि। खशाखास्रयमुकृजः परशाखास्रयं तु चः।} \quad \text{कर्मचिर्क्षत दुष्कर्मो मोिधं तथा च यत्तां।}}\]

"\text{Vasishtha declares that it is wrong to follow the rules of another Sākhā. He says, 'A wise person will certainly not perform the duties prescribed by another Sākhā; he that does is called a traitor to his Sākhā. Whosoever leaves the law of his Sākhā, and adopts that of another, he sinks into blind darkness, having degraded a sacred Rishi.' And in another law-book it is said: 'If a man gives up his own customs and performs others, whether out of ignorance or covetousness, he will fall and be destroyed.' And again, in the Pariśishta of the Chhandogas: 'A fool who ceases to follow his own Sākhā, wishing to adopt another one, his work will be in vain.'}"

\[\text{Only in case no special rule is laid down for certain observances in some Grihyas, it is lawful to adopt those of other families:} \]

\[\text{खशाखास्रयमुकृजः परशाखोिं ग्राह्यं। तथा च} \quad \text{कायायनः।} \quad \text{यथाचारां खशाखायं} \quad \text{परोक्षमिवरोधी च।} \quad \text{विच्छिन्दुस्तुथुष्यममियोगग्रहिता चादिकर्मवत्।} \quad \text{खचांतरास्तुस्ति} \quad \text{सळयुं ग्राह्यं।} \]

\[\text{E 2} \]
which they are founded does not lie directly in the sacred revelation of the Brahmans (Śruti), but in tradition (Smṛiti), a difference, the historical importance of which will have to be pointed out hereafter. As to the customs of countries and villages, there can be no doubt that in many cases they were not only not founded upon Brahmanic authority, but frequently decidedly against it. The Brahmanic law, however, is obliged to recognise and allow those customs, with the general reservation that they must not be in open opposition to the law. Thus Āsvalāyana in his Grihya-sūtras, says:—“Now the customs of countries and places are certainly manifold. One must know them as far as marriage is concerned. But we shall explain what is the general custom.”

Here the commentator adds:—“If there be contradiction between the customs of countries, &c., and those customs which we are going to describe, one must adopt the custom as laid down by us, not those of the country. What we shall say is the general law, this is our meaning. Amongst the Vaidehas, for instance, one sees at once that loose habits prevail. But in the domestic laws continence is prescribed; therefore there is no doubt that the domestic and not the national customs are to be observed.”

1 Āśv. S. i. 7,

2 जनपदार्थिधर्माणां वच्चमाणाणां धर्माणां च विरोधे सति वच्चमाण धर्मेव कुर्याच जनपदार्थिधर्माणि। यद्च्यामस्तसख्यां समानमिथे वायायाम्। वदेदेहु सद्य एव च च चायो
In the Sūtras of Gautama, too, a similar line of conduct is traced out. After it has been said that the highest authority by which a government ought to be guided consists in the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Śāstras, and old traditions, it is added (Adhy. 11. Sūtra 20.), that in cases where the customs of countries, classes, and families are not expressly founded upon a passage of the Veda, they are, notwithstanding, to be observed, if they are not clearly against the principles of the sacred writings, such as would be, for instance, marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle.¹

There is an interesting passage in the Grihya-san-graha-pariśishta, composed by the son of Gobhila, which Dr. Roth quotes in his Essays on the Veda, p. 120.:—"The Vāsisṭhās wear a braid on the right side, the Ātrēyas wear three braids, the Angiras wear

¹ The commentator Haradatta here mentions the following as customs that prevailed in certain territories, and which had no sanction in the Veda:—When the sun stands in Aries (mesha), the young girls would paint the Sun with his retinue, on the soil, with coloured dust, and worship this in the morning and evening. And in the month Mārgaśīrṣha (November-December) they roam about the village, nicely dressed, and whatever they receive as presents they give to the god. When the sun stands in Cancer (karkaṭa) in Pūrvā Phalguni (February), they worship Umā, and distribute sprouting kidney-beans and salt. When the suns stands in Aries in Uttarā Phalguni (?), they worship the goddess Śrī.

As customs of classes he mentions that at the marriage of Śudras, they fix posts in the ground, put thousands of reflecting lamps upon them, and lead the bride round by the hand.

As customs of families, again, he remarks, that some wear the śikhā (lock of hair) in front, some behind, and that passages of the Veda (pravachanas) allow both according to different times.
five locks, the Bhṛgus have their head quite shaved, others have a lock of hair on the top of the head.”

Another peculiarity ascribed to the Vāsishṭhas is that they exclude meat from their sacrifices.

A similar notice of the customs of neighbouring nations, is found in Raghunandana’s quotation from the Harivansa,—that the Śakas (Scythians) have half their head shorn, the Yavanas (Greeks?) and Kambojās the whole, that the Pāradas (inhabitants of Paradene) wear their hair free, and the Pahlavas (Persians) wear beards.

In the same way, then, as different traditions were current in India relative to such observances, it is probable that different families had their own heroes, perhaps their own deities, and that they kept up the memory of them by their own poetic traditions. It is true that such a view is merely conjectural. But when we see that in some parts of the Veda, which are represented as belonging to different illustrious and

1 द्विषेषकपद्रा वासिष्ठ चन्द्रेयाष्ट्रिकपद्रिनः।
चर्गिरसः पंचचूडः मुंडा भगवः शिखिनोऽस्ये॥

2 This we learn from the Karma-pradīpa, a supplement to the Sūtras of Gobhila, i. 18.: विष्रोत्तातो विधि: क्तत्वो दृष्ट्वोधास्वच निराभिषः॥

3 खर्वे शकानां शिरसो मुंडचिला व्यवजयत्।
यवनानां शिरः सर्वं कंवोजानां तथेऽव च॥
पार्रदा मुखोक्षांश पद्मवः श्राशुधारिषः॥
निःसःधायवपर्यःत्वाता: क्तत्कैन महात्मना॥

See also Pāṇ. gaṇa mayūrayānsakādi.
noble families, certain gods are more exclusively celebrated; that names which in Vedic poetry

1 In later times, when the sects of Vishnu and Siva had sprung up, and the Indian world was divided between them, it seems as if different deities had been ascribed to different castes. Thus it is said in the first Adhyaya of the Vasishtha-smriti:

“...”

“A Brahman versed in the four Vedas, who does not find Vāsudeva, is a donkey of a Brahman, trembling for the heavy burden of the Veda. Therefore, unless a man be a Vaiṣhāvya, his Brahmahood will be lost; by being a Vaishayya one obtains perfection, there is no doubt. For Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu) the highest Brahma, is the deity of the Brahmins; Soma, Sūrya, and the rest, are the gods of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas; while Rudra and similar gods ought to be sedulously worshipped by the Śūdras. Where the worship of Rudra and the Tripundra (the three horizontal marks across the forehead) are celebrated in the Purāṇas, but only..."
are known as those of heroes and poets (Purûravas, Kutsa) are afterwards considered as names of infidels and heretics, we have a right to infer that we have here the traces of a widely extended practice.

In the hymns of the Rig-veda we meet with allusions to several legendary stories—afterwards more fully developed by the Brahmans in their Brâhmanas—by which laws that were in later times acknowledged as generally binding, and as based upon the authority of the Veda, are manifestly violated. It is an essential doctrine of the Brahmans, that the religious education, and the administration of sacrifices, as well as the receiving of rewards for these offices, belong exclusively to their own caste. Kakshîvat, however, whose hymns are found in the first and ninth mandala of the Rig-veda, and who, whether on account of his name or for some better reason, is said to have been a Kshatriya, or of royal extraction, is represented as receiving from King Svanaya presents, which, according to Manu, it would have been unlawful for him to accept. In order to explain this

for the castes of the Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras, and not for the others. Therefore, ye excellent Munis, the Tri-pûndra must not be worn by Brahmans.”

1 Cf. Manu, x. 76.; and Rig-veda-bhâshya, ii. p. 30. Rosen, who has quoted this passage to Rv. i. 18. 1., reads वाजनाध्यापने वैविष्ण्वाच प्रतियष्टात् which he translates by “abstinere jubet a dirigendis sacrificiis, ab institutione sacra et ab impuris donis,” referring to Manu, x. 103—110. विष्ण्व however, does not mean impure, but pure. The reading of the commentary ought to be विष्ण्वाच प्रतियष्ट: for thus the very words of Manu, x. 76., are restored.
way, a story is told, that although Kakshivat was the son of King Kalinga, yet his real father was the old Rishi Dirghatamas, whose hymns have likewise been preserved in the first mandala of the Rigveda. This poet had been asked by the king to beget offspring for him, according to ancient Indian custom. The queen, however, refused to see the old sage, and sent her servant-maid instead. The son of this servant and the Rishi Dirghatamas was Kakshivat, and as the son of a Rishi he was allowed to perform sacrifices and to receive presents. This story shows its purpose very clearly, and there can be little doubt that it owes its origin to the tender conscience of the Brahmans, who could not bear to see their laws violated by one of their own sacred Rishis. It is a gratuitous assumption to suppose that the poets of the Veda should have been perfect in the observance of the Brahmanic law. That law did not exist when they lived and composed their songs, for which in later times they were raised to the rank of saints. Whether Kakshivat was the son of a Brahman or a Kshatriya, of a servant-maid or of a queen, is impossible to determine. But it is certain that in the times in which he lived, he would not have scrupled to act both as a warrior and priest, if circumstances required it. This becomes still more evident, if we accept Professor Lassen's view, who considers Dirghatamas, the father of Kakshivat, as one of the earliest Brahmanic missionaries in the southern parts of Bengal, among the Angas and Kalingas.  

In this case, the name of the queen also, Sudeshnā, would be significant, for Sudeshnā is the name of one of the nations in
Now, under circumstances of this kind, when the Brahmans were still labouring to establish their supremacy over different parts of India, it can hardly be believed that the different castes and their respective duties and privileges should have been established as strictly as in later times. In later times it is considered a grievous sin to recite the hymns of the Veda in places where a Śûdra might be able to hear them. In the Rig-veda we find hymns which the Brahmans themselves allow to be the compositions of the son of a slave. Kavasha Ailûsha is the author of several hymns in the tenth Book of the Rig-veda; yet this same Kavasha was expelled from the sacrifice as an impostor and as the son of a slave (dâsyåḥ putra), and he was readmitted only because the gods had shown him special favour. This is acknowledged by the Brâhmaṇas of the Aitareyins² and

Bengal. See Vishnu-Purâนา, p. 188. The word “godharma,” which occurs in the story of Dirghatamas, in the Mahâbhârata, i. 4195., and which Prof. Lassen translates by “pastoral law,” must have an opprobrious sense, and Indian Pandits explain it by “open and indiscriminate concupiscence.”

² Aitareya-Brâhmaṇa, II. 19.:
Kaushitakins, and in the Mahâbhârata also Kavasha is called a Nishâda.

The marked difference between the Vedic and epic poetry of India has been well pointed out by Professor Roth of Tübingen, who for many years has devoted much time and attention to the study of the Veda. According to him, the Mahâbhârata, even in its first elements, is later than the time of Buddha.¹ "In the epic poems," he says, "the

Veda is but imperfectly known; the ceremonial is no longer developing, it is complete. The Vedic legends have been plucked from their native soil, and the religion of Agni, Indra, Mitra, and Varuna has been replaced by an altogether different worship. The last fact," he says, "ought to be the most convincing. There is a contradiction running throughout the religious life of India, from the time of the Râmâyana to the present day. The outer form of the worship is Vedic, and exclusively so; but the eye of religious adoration is turned upon quite different regions. The secondary formation, the religion of Vishnu and Brahma, began with the epic poetry, and remained afterwards as the only living

1 The worship of the Hindus at the present day cannot be called exclusively Vedic, though Vedic remains may be traced in it. In the Introduction to the edition of the Rig-veda, by the Tattvabodhini-sabha, it is said, on the contrary, "the difference between the present received law and the early Vedic law, will clearly be perceived by this edition." And again, "It will be seen exactly what difference there is between the Paurânic worship of the gods, who, according to the Purânas, are exhibited with the different bodies of men, animals, birds, serpents, and fishes; the widely spread custom of tántric ceremonies, which are the most modern and famous on earth; and the performance of sacrifices as prescribed in the Veda."

2 Professor Burnouf has treated the same subject in his Review of Prof. Wilson’s Translation of the Vishnupurâna, Journal des Savants, 1840, May, p. 296.
one, but without having the power to break through the walls of the Vedic ceremonial, and take the place of the old ritual."

And if it be unsafe to use the epic poems as authorities for the Vedic age, it will readily be admitted that the same objection applies with still greater force to the Purânas. Although one only of the eighteen Purânas has as yet been completely published, enough is known of their character, partly by Professor Burnouf's edition of the Bhagavat-purâna, partly by extracts given from other Purânas by Professor Wilson, to justify our discarding their evidence with reference to the primitive period of Vedic literature. Even the Mânava-dharmaśāstra, the law-book of the Mânavas, a sub-division of the sect of the Taittiriyas, or, as it is commonly called, the Laws of Manu, cannot be used as an independent authority. It cannot be said that the compilers of these laws were ignorant of the traditions of the Vedic age. Many of their verses contain a mere paraphrase of passages from the hymns, Brâhmanas, and Sûtras; but they likewise admitted the rules and customs of a later age, and their authority is therefore valid only where it has been checked by more original and genuine texts.

The Code of Manu is almost the only work in Sanskrit literature which, as yet, has not been assailed by those who doubt the antiquity of everything Indian. No historian has disputed its claim to that early date which had, from the first, been assigned to it by Sir William Jones. It must be confessed, however, that Sir William Jones's proofs of the antiquity of this code cannot be considered as conclusive, and
no sufficient arguments have been brought forward to substantiate any of the different dates ascribed to Manu, as the author of our Law-book, which vary, according to different writers, from 880 to 1280 B.C.

If the age of Manu or of the epic poems could be fixed, so as to exclude all possible doubt, our task with regard to the age of the Veda would be an easy one. The Veda is demonstrably earlier than the epic poetry and the legal codes of India. We do not, however, advance one step by saying that the Veda is older than the author of the Mânava-dharma-sâstra, whose date is altogether unknown, or even than the Mahâbhârata, if it can be doubted whether that poem in its first elements be anterior to the Buddhistic religion or not; while it is said, at the same time, that the last elements which have been incorporated into this huge work allude to historical events later than the Christian era.¹ Here, then, we must adopt a new course of procedure. We must try to fix the age of the Veda, which forms the natural basis of Indian history; and we must derive our knowledge of the Vedic age from none but Vedic works, discarding altogether such additional evidence as might be obtained from the

¹ That the principal part of the Mahâbhârata belongs to a period previous to the political establishment of Buddhism, has been proved by Prof. Lassen, Ind. Ant. i. 489—491. Much has been said since to controvert his views with regard to the age of the Mahâbhârata, but nothing that is really valuable has been added to Prof. Lassen's facts or reasonings. "It is not at all difficult," as Prof. Lassen remarks, "to look at this question from one single point of view, and to start a confident assertion. But in doing this, many persons commit themselves to inconsiderate judgments, and show an ignorance of the very points which have to be considered."
later literature of India. Let some Vedic dates be
once established, and it will probably be possible
to draw lines of connection between the Vedic and
the rest of the Indian literature. But the world of
the Veda is a world by itself; and its relation to
all the other Sanskrit literature is such, that the
Veda ought not to receive but ought to throw light
over the whole historical development of the Indian
mind.

The Veda has a two-fold interest: it belongs to
the history of the world and to the history of India.
In the history of the world the Veda fills a gap which
no literary work in any other language could fill.
It carries us back to times of which we have no re-
cords anywhere, and gives us the very words of a
generation of men, of whom otherwise we could form
but the vaguest estimate by means of conjectures and
inferences. As long as man continues to take an in-
terest in the history of his race, and as long as we
collect in libraries and museums the relics of former
ages, the first place in that long row of books which
contains the records of the Aryan branch of mankind,
will belong for ever to the *Rig-veda*.

But in the history of India, too, the Veda is of the
greatest importance. It has been a standing reproach
against our studies that it is impossible to find any-
thing historical in Indian literature.\(^1\) To a certain
extent that reproach is well-founded; and this ac-
counts no doubt for the indifference with which San-
skrit literature is regarded by the public at large.

We may admire the delicate poetry of Kālidāsa, the

\(^1\) See Burnouf, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme*, p. iii.
philosophical vigour of Kapila, the voluptuous mysticism of Jayadeva, and the epic simplicity of Vyāsa and Vālmīki, but as long as their works float before our eyes like the mirage of a desert, as long as we are unable to tell what real life, what period in the history of a nation they reflect, there is something wanting to engage our sympathies in the same manner as they are engaged by the tragedies of Æschylus, or the philosophical essays of Cicero. We value the most imperfect statues of Lycia and Ægina, because they throw light on the history of Greek art, but we should pass by unnoticed the most perfect mouldings of the human frame, if we could not tell whether they had been prepared in the studio of a Phidias, or in the dissecting-room of a London hospital.

In the following sketch of the history of Vedic literature, I cannot promise to give dates, such as we are accustomed to find in the literary histories of other nations. But I hope I shall be able to prove that there exist in that large mass of literature which belongs to the Vedic age, clear traces of an original historical articulation; and that it is possible to restore something like chronological continuity in the four periods of the Vedic literature. If this can be achieved, if we can discover different classes of literary works, and vindicate to them something of a truly historical character, the reproach that there is nothing historical to be found in India will be removed, as far as the peculiar nature of that literature allows.

The modern literature of India, though not yet grouped in chronological order, will find in the lite-
nature of the Vedic age something like a past, some testimony to prove that it did not spring up in a day, but clings by its roots to the earliest strata of Indian thought. The Laws of the Mānavas, though no longer the composition of a primeval sage, will at least be safe against the charge of being the invention of some unemployed Indian lawgiver. Plays like Šakuntala and Urvaśī, though no longer regarded as the productions of a Periclean age, will be classed among the productions of what may properly be called the Alexandrian period of Sanskrit literature. But whatever we may have to surrender with regard to the antiquity claimed by these and other Sanskrit works, that portion of the literature of India which alone can claim a place in the history of the world, and which alone can command the attention of those who survey the summits of human intellect, not only in the East but over the whole civilised world, will, we hope, for the future, be safe against the doubts which I myself have shared for many years. It is difficult, no doubt, to believe that the most ancient literary work of the Aryan race, a work more ancient than the Zendavesta and Homer, should, after a lapse of at least three thousand years, have been discovered, and for the first time published in its entirety, not in one of the Parishads on the borders of the Ganges, but in one of the colleges of an English University. It is difficult to believe that sufficient MSS. should have been preserved, in spite of the perishable nature of the material on which they are written, to enable an editor to publish the collection of the Vedic hymns in exactly that form in which they existed at least 800 years before the Christian era; and, still more, that this collection, which was completed at the time
of Lycurgus, should contain the poetical relics of a pre-Homeric age; an age in which the names of the Greek gods and heroes had not yet lost their original sense, and in which the simple worship of the Divine powers of nature was not yet supplanted by a worship of personal gods. It is difficult to believe this; and we have a right to be sceptical. But it is likewise our duty to inquire into the value of what has been preserved for us in so extraordinary a manner, and to extract from it those lessons which the study of mankind was intended to teach to man.
HISTORY OF VEDIC LITERATURE.

In taking a survey of the works which belong to the Vedic literature of India, our task would be greatly facilitated if general and characteristic features could be pointed out by which Vedic and non-Vedic works might at once be distinguished. Without entering into a minute analysis of the individual character of a work,—a mode of criticism which, with our present knowledge of the earliest Indian literature, must be very uncertain,—it will often happen that some external mark presents itself, determining at once the age or class of writing to which it belongs. It is true that there are certain grammatical forms and orthographical peculiarities which Indian grammarians restrict to the Veda, and which, therefore, might be used as distinguishing marks of works belonging to that era. But Manu, or rather the author of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra, has also employed several Vedic forms; because in transforming Vedic verses into epic Ślokas, he is sometimes obliged to retain words and forms which are not in strict accordance with the general character of his language; a fact which accounts in some degree for the strange appearance of many of his verses, which are stiff and artificial, and very inferior in fluency to the older strains which they paraphrase.

There is a strongly marked character in Vedic prose, and no attempt has been made to imitate it in later times. But in order to distinguish Vedic from
non-Vedic poetry, we must attend more closely to the metre. Several Vedic metres have been imitated by later poets, but there are metres which never occur in Vedic works, and which may be used as criteria for distinguishing ancient from more modern poetry.

That difference of metre should form a broad line of demarcation between two periods of literature, is not at all without an analogy in the literary history of other nations, particularly in older times. If once a new form of metre begins to grow popular by the influence of a poet who succeeds in collecting a school of other poets around him, this new mode of utterance is very apt to supersede the other more ancient forms altogether. People become accustomed to the new rhythm sometimes to such a degree, that they lose entirely the taste for their old poetry on account of its obsolete measure. No poet, therefore, who writes for the people, would think of employing those old-fashioned metres; and we find that early popular poems have had to be transfused into modern verse in order to make them generally readable once more.

Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushṭubh-sloka is a metre unknown during the Vedic age, and every work written in it may at once be put down as post-Vedic. It is no valid objection that this epic Śloka occurs also in Vedic hymns, that Anushṭubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmaṇas, and that in some of the Sūtras the Anushṭubh-sloka occurs intermixed with Trishṭubhs, and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose. For it is only the uniform

employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature. Thus rhyme occasionally occurs in English poetry before the Norman period; yet, when we find whole poems written in rhyme and without the old Teutonic system of alliteration, we are sure that they cannot have been composed in an Ante-Norman period. The elegiac measure seems to have been used before Callinus; yet Callinus and Archilochus are always mentioned as the inventors of it:—that is, they were the first to sanction the uniform employment of this metre for entire poetical compositions. Hence no elegiac poem can be previous to the close of the 8th century B.C. The same applies to the iambus, the invention of which is commonly ascribed to Archilochus; although iambics occur interspersed in the Margites, a poem ascribed to Homer by no less an authority than Aristotle. In the history of German literature we have several instances where

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1 It is remarkable that in Pāṇini also, the word śloka is always used in opposition to Vedic literature (Pāṇ. iv. 1. 66., iv. 3. 103. 1., iv. 3. 107.). Ślokas, even if ascribed by Indian tradition to the same author, who is considered as the Rishi of Vedic hymns or Brāhmaṇas, are quoted by a name different from that of his other works. The hymns or Brāhmaṇas ascribed to Kaṭha, for instance, are always to be quoted as “Kaṭhāḥ” (οἱ πεπὶ Κάρθου); an expression which could never apply to poetical compositions ascribed to the same Kaṭha, if written in Ślokas. Verses written in this modern style of poetry must be quoted as “Kaṭhic Ślokas” (Kaṭhāḥ ślokāḥ). The Brāhmaṇa promulgated by Tittiri, and kept up in the tradition of the Taittirīyas, is quoted by the name of “the Taittirīyas,” but Ślokas composed by Tittiri are never included under this title. Pāṇ. ii. 4. 21. Vālmīki-ślokas are mentioned.

2 See Mure's Critical History, vol. iii. ch. i.
poems of the 12th century had to be recast as early as the 13th, on account of their metre and language; which, during this period of rapid transition, had already become obsolete and unreadable.

Excluding, then, from the Vedic period the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana, Manu, the Purāṇas, and all the Śāstras and Darṣanas, we have now to see what remains of literary works belonging to the Vedic age.

There are in that age four distinct periods, which can be established with sufficient evidence. They may be called the Chhandas period, Mantra period, Brāhmaṇa period, and Sūtra period, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character.

In order to prove that these four periods follow each other in historical order, it is necessary to show that the composition of Sūtra works presupposes the existence of a Brāhmaṇa literature; that the Brāhmaṇa literature again is only possible with the presupposition of a Mantra literature; and lastly, that the form in which we possess the Mantra literature presupposes a period of Vedic history preceding the collection and final arrangement of the ancient Mantras or hymns.

For instance, “Reinhard the Fox,” an old High-German poem of the 13th century, is a new edition of the same poem written in the 12th century, of which fragments have been found by Grimm. Other poems which are supposed to have been remodelled in the 13th century are “Crescentia,” “Duke Ernst,” and the “Roland Song.” Lachmann supposed the same to have taken place with the “Nibelungen Klage.”
CHAPTER I.

THE SŪTRA PERIOD.

The Sūtra period, with which we have to begin, is of peculiar importance to the history of Indian literature, inasmuch as it forms the connecting link between the Vedic and the later Sanskrit. While on the one hand we must place several works written in Sūtras under the head of the post-Vedic or modern Sanskrit, we shall also find others which, although written in continuous Anushṭubh-ślokas, or, more frequently, intermixed with Trishṭubh and other verses (as, for instance, some of the Prātiśākhyanas and Anukramanīs, and the still more modern Paris-īshṭas), must be considered as the last productions of the Vedic age, trespassing in a certain degree upon the frontier of the later Sanskrit.

It is difficult to explain the peculiarities of the style of the Sūtra literature to anyone who has not worked his way through the Sūtras themselves. It is impossible to give anything like a literal translation of these works, written as they are in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form. Sūtra means string; and all the works written in this style, on subjects the most various, are nothing but one uninterrupted string of short sentences, twisted together into the most concise form. Shortness is the great object of this style of composition, and it is a proverbial saying (taken from the Mahābhāshya)
amongst the Pandits\(^1\), that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son." Every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy, is reduced to a mere skeleton. All the important points and joints of a system are laid open with the greatest precision and clearness, but there is nothing in these works like connection or development of ideas. "Even the apparent simplicity of the design vanishes," as Colebrooke remarks, "in the perplexity of the structure. The endless pursuit of exceptions and limitations so disjoins the general precepts, that the reader cannot keep in view their intended connection and mutual relation. He wanders in an intricate maze, and the clew of the labyrinth is continually slipping from his hands." There is no life and no spirit in these Sūtras, except what either a teacher or a running commentary, by which these works are usually accompanied, may impart to them.

Many of these works go even further: they not only express their fundamental doctrines in this concise form of language, but they coin a new kind of language, if language it can be called, by which they succeed in reducing the whole system of their tenets to mere algebraic formulas. To understand these is quite impossible without finding first what each algebraic \(x\), \(y\), and \(z\), is meant to represent, and without having the key to the whole system. This key is generally given in separate Sūtras, called *Paribhāshā*, which a pupil must know by heart, or always have present before his eyes, if he is to advance one step in the reading of such works. But

\(^1\) Benares Magazine, Oct. 1849.
even then it would be impossible to arrive at any real understanding of the subject, without being also in possession of the laws of the so-called *Anuvṛitti* and *Nirvṛitti*. To explain the meaning of these technical words, we must remember that the Sūtras generally begin by putting forward one proposition (Adhikāra), which is afterwards never repeated, but always to be understood, till a new subject of the same kind is introduced. After the statement of a subject, the author goes on by giving a first rule, which may extend its influence over the next following rules, whether these be restrictions or amplifications of it. These restrictive rules exercise again their influence to a certain extent over other rules, so that the whole becomes one continuous chain, each link held and modified by the others, and itself holding to and modifying the rest. The influence of one rule over the others is called *Anuvṛitti*, its cessation, *Nirvṛitti*. Without knowing the working of these two laws, which can only be learnt from commentaries, the Sūtras become very much confused. This is particularly the case in those works where the so-called Mīmāṁsā method of Pūrva-paksha (reasons contrā), Uttara-paksha (reasons pro), and Siddhānta (conclusion), is adopted. Here the concatenation of pros and cons is often so complicated, and the reasons on both sides defended by the same author with such seriousness, that we sometimes remain doubtful to which side the author himself leans, till we arrive at the end of the whole chapter. It is indeed one of the most curious kinds of literary composition that the human mind ever conceived; and though altogether worthless in an artistic point of view, it is wonderful that the Indians should have invented and mastered
this difficult form, so as to have made it the vehicle of expression for every kind of learning. To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these Sūtras and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses. An Indian pupil learns these Sūtras of grammar, philosophy, or theology by the same mechanical method which fixes in our minds the alphabet and the multiplication-table; and those who enter into a learned career spend half their life in acquiring and practising them, until their memory is strengthened to such an unnatural degree, that they know by heart not only these Sūtras, but also their commentaries, and commentaries upon commentaries. Instances of this are found among the learned in India up to the present day.

These numerous Sūtra works which we still possess, contain the quintessence of all the knowledge which the Brahmans had accumulated during many centuries of study and meditation. Though they are the work of individuals, they owe to their authors little more than their form; and even that form was, most likely, the result of a long-continued system of traditional teaching, and not the invention of a few individuals.

There is a great difference, according to the notions of the Hindus themselves, between a work composed previous to the Sūtra period, and a Sūtra composition. The difference of style between a Brāhmaṇa and a Sūtra work (with the exception of some Kalpa-Sūtras, to be mentioned hereafter) would strike every
body at first sight, although, as regards the grammatical forms, Vedic irregularities are, according to Sanskrit grammarians, allowed in Sūtras also. But there is another, and more important difference. Literary works, belonging to the preceding periods, the Brāhmaṇas as well as the Mantras, are considered by Indian theologians as forming the Śruti, or divine revelation, in contra-distinction to the Sūtras and all the rest of their literature. In the dogmatical language of orthodox Hindus, the works, which contain the Śruti, have not been composed, but have only been seen or perceived by men, i.e., they have been revealed to men. The Sūtras, on the contrary, although based upon the Śruti, and therefore in some instances also called Śravaṇa Sūtras, are yet avowedly composed by human authors. Whenever they appear to be in contradiction with the Śruti, their authority is at once overruled, and only in cases where anterior evidence

1 Vedic forms occur in the Prātiśākhya-Sūtras, and are pointed out as such by the commentators. For instance, I. Prātiśākhya, iv. 33. ता वश्यगमानि instead of तानि वश्यगमानि. The Commentator says, तानिग्रहेण ऋष्ट्यः। छद्रोवधृचानि भवति। The same applies also to the Sāmayāchārika-Sūtras, for instance, those of Āpastamba, i. 53., where we read चधासनश्राय। The Commentator explains this irregular form by चधः श्रव्य स्वर्णदीर्घस्वादिसे उपपाठो वा। Again, i. 93. we find चग्लासु explained by the Commentary as तचानुखार-पाठस्वादिसे। उपपाठो वा। Gautama-Sūtras, p. 40. i. 20. we read सकारात्मपाठ ऋष्यः सुमेधयो दुर्मधस द्वादिर्दु द्वैमान।
is wanting from the Sruti, can they have any claim to independent authority.

Now, even if we had no other means of proving that the Sūtras could have been composed only after the composition of the Brāhmaṇas, there would be no reason to consider this distinction, drawn by the Indians themselves between their sacred and profane literature, as altogether artificial and devoid of historical meaning, particularly if it can be shown how great an influence that very distinction has exercised on the religious struggles of India.

It is clear that this distinction has ever been the stronghold of the hierarchical pretensions of the Brahmans. We can understand how a nation might be led to ascribe a superhuman origin to their ancient national poetry, particularly if that poetry consisted chiefly of prayers and hymns addressed to their gods. But it is different with the prose compositions of the Brāhmaṇas. The reason why the Brāhmaṇas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of Sruti, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns, that a supposed divine authority could be derived for the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Brahmans. But, although we need not ascribe any weight to the arguments by which the Brahmans endeavoured to establish the contemporaneous origin of the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, there seems to be no reason why we should reject as equally worthless the general opinion with regard to the more ancient date of both the Brāhmaṇas and Mantras, if contrasted with the Sūtras and the profane literature of India. It
may easily happen, where there is a canon of sacred books, that later compositions become incorporated together with more ancient works, as was the case with the Brāhmaṇas. But we can hardly imagine that old and genuine parts should ever have been excluded from a body of sacred writings, and a more modern date ascribed to them, unless it be in the interest of a party to deny the authority of certain doctrines contained in these rejected documents. There is nothing in the later literature of the Śūtras to warrant a supposition of this kind. We can find no reason why the Śūtras should not have been ranked as Śruti, except the lateness of their date, if compared with the Brāhmaṇas, and still more with the Mantras. Whether the Brahmans themselves were aware that ages must have elapsed between the period during which most of the poems of their Rishis were composed, and the times which gave rise to the Brāhmaṇas, is a question which we need hardly hesitate to answer in the affirmative. But the recklessness with which Indian theologians claim for these Brāhmaṇas the same title and the same age as for the Mantras, shows that the reasons must have been peculiarly strong which deterred them from claiming the same divine authority for the Śūtras.

To ascribe to literary compositions such as the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas a divine origin, and to claim for them a divine and absolute authority, is a step which can hardly pass unnoticed in the intellectual history of a nation, whether for the circumstances which led to it, or for the results which it produced. Now, in India the results of that fatal step are palpable. It may have been intended as a check on religious reforms, but it led to a religious revolution.
Buddhism would be unintelligible, unless as the overthrow of a system which had tried to maintain its position by an appeal to a divine revelation; and we may be certain that the distinction between Śruti and Smṛiti, between revealed and profane literature, was established by the Brahmans, previous to the schism of Buddha.

If the belief was once established, that not only the simple effusions of the Rishis, but the pointed doctrines of the Brāhmaṇas also, emanated from a divine source, and could not therefore be attacked by human reasoning, it is clear that every opposition to the privileges which the Brahmans claimed for themselves, on the sacred authority of the Veda, became heresy; and where the doctrines of the Brahmans were the religion of the people, or rather of the king, such opposition was amenable to the hierarchical laws of the state. The Brahmans themselves cared much more to see the divine authority of the Śruti as such implicitly acknowledged, than to maintain the doctrines of the Rishis in their original simplicity and purity. In philosophical discussions, they allowed the greatest possible freedom; and, although at first three philosophical systems only were admitted as orthodox (the two Mīmāṁsās and the Nyāya), their number was soon raised to six, so as to include the Vaiśeshika, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga-schools. 1

1 Kumārila quotes Sāṅkhya and Yoga, together with other heretical systems. बांख्योग्योपांचराचपांपपतशास्कानियंत्रः परिणामीत्यथा विषयमन्विन्धनानि। As to the Vaiśeshikas, see page 84.
long as their advocates succeeded, no matter by what means, in bringing their doctrines into harmony with passages of the Veda, strained and twisted in every possible sense. If it was only admitted that, besides the perception of the senses and the induction of reason, revelation also, as contained in the Veda, furnished a true basis for human knowledge, all other points seemed to be of minor importance. Philosophical minds were allowed to exhaust all possible views on the relation between the real and transcendental world, the Creator and the created, the divine and the human nature. It was not from such lucubrations that danger was likely to accrue to the caste of the Brāhmans. Nor was the heresy of Buddha Śākya Muni found so much in his philosophical doctrines, many of which may be traced in the orthodox atheism of Kapila. His real crime lay in his opposition to the exclusive privileges and abuses of the Brāhmans. These abuses were sanctioned by the divine authority of the Veda¹, and particularly of the Brāhmaṇas. In attacking the abuses, Buddha attacked the divine authority on which they were founded, and the argument was short: he is a heretic; anathema esto.

Buddha was a Kshatriya.² He was of princely

¹ The Buddhists say that the three Vedas were propounded originally by Maha Brahma, at which time they were perfect truth; but they have since been corrupted by the Brahmans and now contain many errors. Cf. R. Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism, p. 185.

² Kumārila always speaks of Buddha as a Kshatriya who tried to become a Brahman. For instance,
origin, and belonged to the nobility of the land. He was not the first of his caste who opposed the ambition of the Brahmans. Several centuries before Buddha, Viśvāmitra, who, like Buddha, was a member of the royal caste, had to struggle against the exclusiveness of the priests. At that early time, however, the position of the Brahmans was not yet impregnable; and Viśvāmitra, although a Kshatriya, succeeded in gaining for himself and his family the rights for which he struggled, and which the Brahmans had previously withheld from all but their own caste. King Janaka of Videha again, whose story is given in the Brāhmaṇas, refused to submit to the hierarchical pretensions of the Brahmans, and asserted his right of performing sacrifices without the intercession of priests. However great the difference may have been between the personal character of these two men and of Buddha,

"And this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is represented as if it did him honour. For he is praised because he said, 'Let all the sins that have been committed in this world fall on me, that the world may be delivered.' It is said that if he thus transgressed the duty of a Kshatriya, and entered the life of a Brahman and preached, it was merely for the good of mankind; and that in adopting for the instruction of excluded people a law which had not been taught by the Brahmans, he took the sin upon himself and was benefitting others."
the first principle of their opposition was the same. All three were equally struggling against the overweening pretensions of a selfish priesthood.

But while Viśvāmitra contented himself with maintaining the rights of his tribe or family, and became reconciled as soon as he was allowed to share in the profits of the priestly power, — while King Janaka expressed himself satisfied with the homage paid to him by Yājñavalkya and other Brahmans, — while, in short, successive reformers as they appeared were either defeated or gained over to the cause of the Brahmans, — the seeds of discontent were growing up in the minds of the people. There is a dark chapter in the history of India, the reported destruction of all the Kshatriyas by Paraśu-rāma. It marks the beginning of the hierarchical supremacy of the Brahmans. Though the Brahmans seem never to have aspired to the royal power, their caste, as far as we know the history and traditions of India, has always been in reality the ruling caste. Their ministry was courted as the only means of winning divine favour, their doctrines were admitted as infallible, their gods were worshipped as the only true gods, and their voice was powerful enough to stamp the simple strains of the Rishis, and the absurd lucubrations of the authors of the Brāhmaṇas, with a divine authority. After this last step, however, the triumph of Brahmanism was preparing its fall. In India, less than in any other country, would people submit to a monopoly of truth; and the same millions who were patiently bearing the yoke of a political despotism threw off the fetters of an intellectual tyranny. In order to overthrow one of the oldest religions of the world, it was sufficient
that one man should challenge the authority of the Brahmans, the gods of the earth, (bhûdeva), and preach among the scorned and degraded creatures of God the simple truth that salvation was possible without the mediation of priests, and without a belief in books to which these very priests had given the title of revelation. This man was Buddha Śâkya Muni.

Now if we inquire how Buddha's doctrines were met by the Brahmans, it is true that here and there in their philosophical works they have endeavoured to overthrow some of his metaphysical axioms by an appeal to reason. An attempt of this kind we have, for instance, in Vâchaspati Miśra's commentary on the Vedânta Sûtras. In commenting on the tenet of Buddha, that “ideas like those of being, and not-being, &c., do not admit of discussion,” Vâchaspati observes that the very fact of speaking of these ideas, includes the possibility of their conception; nay, that to affirm they do not admit of reasoning involves an actual reasoning on them, and proves that the mind can conceive the idea of being as different from that of not-being.

Such, however, were not the usual weapons with which Brahmanism fought against Buddhism. The principal objection has always been, that Buddha's teaching could not be true, because it did not derive its sanction from Śruti or revelation. The Brahmans, as a caste, would readily have allowed being and not-being, and the whole of Buddha's philosophy, as they did the Sânkhya philosophy, which

1 श्राकृदीनामन्यतमद्विचिरां न सहनेः
on the most important points is in open opposition to the Vedânta. But while Kapila, the founder of the Sânkhya school, conformed to the Brahmamic test by openly proclaiming the authority of revelation as paramount to reasoning and experience, Buddha would not submit to this, either for his philosophical (abhidharma), or for his much more important moral and religious doctrines (vinaya). No doubt it would have been easy for him to show how some of his doctrines harmonised with passages of the Veda, as in the Veda all possible shades of the human mind have found their natural reflection. If he had done so only for some of his precepts, such, for instance, as, "Thou shalt not murder,"¹ "Thou shalt not drink,"² "Thou shalt eat standing,"³ the Brahmans would readily have passed over other doctrines, even such as came into practice after Buddha's death, like "Who longs for heaven, shall worship the holy sepulchre,"⁴ "He shall pull out his hair,"⁵ &c. As he refused to do so, the line of argument taken by the Brahmans was simply confined to an appeal to revelation, in disproof of the possibility of the truth of Buddha's doctrines.

There must be something very tempting in this line of argument, for we see that in later times the

¹ न ह्यात्।
² न पिवेत्। i.e. "thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquors."
³ तिष्ठन्‌मुञ्जीत।
⁴ चेत्यं चंदैः खर्गकामः।
⁵ केषान्‌ लुचेत्।
Buddhists also endeavoured to claim the same divine character for their sacred writings which the Brahmins had established for the Veda. A curious instance of this is given in the following discussion, from Kumârila’s Tantra-vârtaṭikā. Here the opponent (pûrva-paksha) observes, that the same arguments which prove that the Veda is not the work of human authors, apply with equal force to Śâkya’s teaching. His authority, he says, cannot be questioned, because his precepts are clear and intelligible; and as Śâkya is not the inventor, but only the teacher of these precepts, and no name of an author is given for Śâkya’s doctrines, the frailties inherent in human authors affect them as little as the Veda. Everything, in fact, he concludes, which has been brought forward by the Mimânsakas to prove the authority of the Veda, proves in the same way the authority of Buddha’s doctrine. Upon this, the orthodox Kumârila grows very wroth, and says: “These Śâkyas, Vaiśeshikas, and other heretics, who have been frightened out of their wits by the faithful Mimânsakas, prattle away with our own words as if trying to lay hold of a shadow. They say that their sacred works are eternal; but they are of empty minds, and only out of hatred they wish to deny that the Veda is the most ancient book.

1 चक्रवृत्तत्या नापि कर्नूपोपेण दुःखितः।
वेदवदृढ्वाक्षाल्पदि कर्नूपमाघसर्वभेदः॥
बुढ्वाक्षसमाख्यापि प्रवक्तृलिङ्बितः॥
तदृढ्वलिङ्कितता वा काठाकांगिरसाश्रितः॥
यावेदेवोदितं किंचिदेद्धग्रामांश्चिद्धः॥
ततस्तवं बुढ्वाक्षानामामतिदेशेन गम्यते॥
And these would-be logicians declare even that some of their precepts (which they have stolen from us), like that of universal benevolence, are not derived from the Veda, because most of Buddha's other sayings are altogether against the Veda. Wishing, therefore, to keep true on this point also, and seeing that no merely human precept could have any authority on moral and supernatural subjects, they try to veil their difficulty by aping our own arguments for the eternal existence of the Veda. They know that the Mimânsakas have proved that no sayings of men can have any authority on supernatural subjects; they know also that the authority of the Veda cannot be controverted, because they can bring forward nothing against the proofs adduced for its divine origin, by which all supposition of a human source has been removed. Therefore, their hearts being gnawed by their own words, which are like the smattering of children, and having themselves nothing to answer, because the deception of their illogical arguments has been destroyed, they begin to speak like a foolish suitor who came to ask for a bride, saying, 'My family is as good as your family.' In the same manner they now maintain the eternal existence of their books, aping the speeches of others. And if they are challenged and told that this is our argument, they brawl, and say that we, the Mimânsakas, have heard and stolen it from them. For a man who has lost all shame, who can talk away without any sense, and tries to cheat his opponent, will never get tired, and will never be put down!" Towards the end of this harangue, Kumârila adds, what is more to the point, that the Bauddhas, who
ascribe to everything a merely temporary existence, have no business to talk of an eternal revelation.

Now, it ought not to be overlooked, that in all these discussions the distinction between Śruti (Mantras and Brāhmaṇas) and Smṛiti (Sūtras) is always taken for granted. If, at the time of the first controversies between Baudhhas and Mimânsakas, the authors of the Mantras or Brāhmaṇas, and particularly the founders of the so-called ancient Brāhmaṇas, had still been alive, or their names generally known, even a Brahman could not have ventured to stand up for the divine and eternal origin of this part of the Śruti. On the other hand, nothing could have prevented the Brahmans from ascribing the same supernatural origin to the Sūtras, if at the time of the rising power of Buddhism their authors also had been lost in oblivion. The distinction, therefore, between Śruti (revelation) and Smṛiti (tradition) which is a point of such vital importance for the whole Brahmanic system, will also be found significant in an historical point of view.

It must be observed, however, before we proceed farther, that what is called Smṛiti includes not only Sūtras, but also Śloka works, such as the laws of Manu, Yājnavalkya, and Parāśara (the Mānava, Yājnavalkya, and Parāśara-dharma-sastras), which sometimes are called the Smṛitis, in the plural. Most of these, if not all, are founded on Sūtras; but the texts of the Sūtras have mostly been superseded by these later metrical paraphrases.

How then did the Brahmans, after they had established the distinction between Śruti and Smṛiti, defend the authority of the Smṛiti, including Sūtras and the later Śloka works?
That the Smṛiti has no claim to an independent authority, but derives its sanction from its intimate connection with the Śruti, is implied by its very name, which means recollection. For, as Kumārila remarks (in the pūrva-paksha), “Recollection is knowledge, the object of which is some previous knowledge; and if Manu and other authors of Smṛitis had not originally been in possession of an authoritative knowledge, it would be impossible to appeal to their recollection as an authority. It would be as if a man, omitting his son or daughter, was to appeal to the son of a barren daughter. For the original knowledge of Manu might be compared to his son, but his recollection would only be like a grandson. Now as people, if they have reason to doubt the existence of a daughter, would disbelieve every mention of the son of a daughter, thus the recollection (smṛiti) of Manu would be futile, if he himself had not possessed some means of authoritative knowledge.”

The following extract from Sāyaṇa’s Commentary on Parāśara’s Code² will show the use which the

1 पूर्वविज्ञानविषयं विज्ञानं स्रव्यितस्यचतुर्दश्चते। पूर्वविज्ञानादिना
तथा: प्रामाण्य नावधायते॥ And again, मन्वादिनामपि
यदि प्रथमं किंचित्रप्रमाणं संभाब्यते ततः सर्वं भवेवन्यतया।
कारतुष्णु: पुरच दुहितरं चाधिक्रमा बंधादाहितिश्रोदाहरं
कसं। ख्यातलयवातुच्यानीयं हि मन्वादः पूर्वविज्ञान।
दौहित्रश्यानीयं सर्वं। जनत्व यथा दुहितरभावं परामृयै
दौहित्रश्यानीयं भाँति मन्यते तथा मन्वादिभि: प्रथायामंभ-
पवराम्याद्यवकारिसर्वं सिद्धिति मंतवय॥

2 MS. Bodl. 172, 173.
Brahmans made of this argument, in order to substantiate the authority of their legal text-books.

"Does it not seem after all," he says, "as if this Smṛiti (containing as it does the laws of men) hardly deserved a commentary of its own, inasmuch as it is difficult to make out on what grounds it claims any authority? For if we appeal to a Sūtra of Jaimini's (the founder of the Pûrva-māṇḍūkya) where he has proved that the Veda possesses an authority irrespective of anything else, these arguments can hardly apply to books which are evidently the work of men, and entirely dependent on the authority of their sources. These sources again, if they be considered as the life and strength of that authority, are often very indistinct. First, they could never fall under the cognizance of the senses, because the very nature of duty or law is transcendent. Nor can this ultimate reason or source be found in induction, inasmuch as induction is only possible after observation. Neither can it be looked for in the sayings of other men, because man is exposed to error, and cannot even express things as he has really perceived them. But even if man was free from error, there would always be room for doubt and opposition. And as to finding the authority for these laws in direct precepts of the Śruti (Mantras and Brāhmaṇas) this is out of the question, because such precepts are not to be found there. We have never seen a passage in the Veda where precepts like those of the Smṛiti, to keep the body clean, &c., are given. To admit the right of induction for laws of this kind would be most dangerous, for it would apply with equal force to the precepts of Buddha, to worship the holy sepulchre, &c.

"However, there is an answer to all these doubts.
A great difference exists between the Smritis of Manu and the Smritis of Buddha, because Manu's authority is asserted by the undeniable Veda itself. It is said in the Veda, 'Whatever Manu said, was medicine;' but there is no passage there in any way favourable to the Smriti of Buddha, and therefore the right of applying induction cannot be considered dangerous, because it never could be extended to Buddha's doctrines.

"Quod non," says the opponent. "This passage of the Veda, 'Whatever Manu said, was medicine,' is only an Arthavâda (an explanatory remark), and has no evidence by itself. It only serves to illustrate or recommend another precept, viz., that two verses of Manu's are to be used at a certain sacrifice.¹ Therefore, there is no passage in the Veda to warrant the authority of the Smriti; and if Śākya's, i.e. Buddha's, Smriti be exceptionable, the same applies to the Smriti of Manu. Thus it is said, 'As men speak often untruth and are exposed to error, as no divine precept is given, faith only can be authority.' But

¹ As dhayyâs at the Somâraudra Charu, in the middle of the Sâmîdhêni, or fire-kindling hymns. The same argument occurs in Kumârila's Tantra-vârttika, i. 3.,

तथोः च मनोक्षेचः सामिधेन्यो भवतीत्यसः विधेयवीक्षेषे
श्रूण्ये मनुवे यत्किंचिदिवेत् एत्र न्येयेण भेषजताया इति॥

Mahâdeva, in his Commentary on the Hiranyakesî-sûtras, says that the Ārūti bears witness to the authority of the Smritis by declaring that whatever Manu said was medicine.

शून्तिरिपि स्ततीनां वेदमूलमाहं "निव दिन्त्व मनुवदद्वस्यी
प्रज्ञिति भेषजं यथा हितमेव् मनुवचनमपि प्रमाणेन
हितमित्यथे॥

further, even admitting that there was a shadow of authority for Manu, what could be said in favour of Parâśara’s Smrīti, which is now to be explained? For, although the Veda may praise Manu, it never does the same for Parâśara, and thus Parâśara’s authority at least can hardly be defended.

“Against all this our answer is: the Smritis are an authority, because that they should have authority is understood by itself; and there is no reason why they should not be considered as having authority. Three reasons are given why Manu and the rest could not claim any authority, viz. ‘that men speak untruth, that they are exposed to error, and that no divine precept is given.’ These objections, however, are entirely out of order, because nobody would ever think that Manu and Parâśara, who have been perfect from their very birth, could have spoken untruth, and could have erred. So much for the first two objections. And who ever denied that these sages were perfect from their very birth, as Mantras, Arthavâdas, Itihâsas, and Purânas, prove distinctly not only the existence of Parâśara and others, but also their perfection? Nay, even if we had not the testimony of the Mantras, how could the perfection of Parâśara and others be denied, which is involved in their very existence? A difference of opinion is quite impossible. And has it not been proved in the chapter on the gods in the Uttara-mimânsâ, that the Mantras do not require

1 If this refers to the Sankarshaṇakâṇḍa, which is ascribed to Jaimini, and forms an appendix to the Karmamimânsâ-sûtras (cf. Prasthânabheda), we ought to read Pûrva-mimânsâ instead of Uttara-mimânsâ.
any further proof for what they say? It is true that in the chapter on the Arthavâdas it has been admitted that what the Arthavâdas contain is not always to be believed. But this is only on account of some impossible things which are occasionally mentioned therein. Therefore an Arthavâda like this, 'Whatever Manu says is medicine,' although it only serves to recommend another rule, must yet be considered as true in itself. With regard to Sâkya, nothing similar can be brought forward; and thus it is well said elsewhere, 'May a man scorn all the erroneous doctrines of Arhat, Chârvâka, and Buddha.' As regards Parâśara in particular, it is wrong to say that his fame is not equally founded on the Veda, for it is said in the Sruti, 'Thus spoke Vyâsa, the son of Parâśara.' If, therefore, the famous Veda-Vyâsa is praised as the son of Parâśara, how much more famous must not Parâśara, his father, have been! In the genealogical Brâhmaṇa of the Vâjasanâyi-sâkhâ, the son also and the grandson of Parâśara are mentioned in the succession of pupils and teachers who handed down the Veda, 'Ghritakausika received from Parâsaryâyaṇa, Parâsaryâyaṇa from Parâsarya, Parâsarya from Jâtukarṇya, &c.' Therefore Parâśara stands quite on a level with Manu; and the same applies to all the other Rishis, like Vasishtha and Yâjnavalkya, who are authors of Smritis, and are mentioned in the Sruti. Thus we read, 'The Rishis did not see Indra clearly, but Vasishtha saw him clearly.'

1 Brîhadâranyaka, 5. 6. 3.
2 Taittiriya-Sanhitâ, 3. 5. 2.
'Atri gave his children to Aurva, who longed for a son.'

"The third reason also which was brought forward against the authority of the Smṛiti, viz. that the Rishis did not see Indra clearly, but Vasishṭha saw him clearly. Indra said, 'I shall tell you a Brāhmaṇa, so that all men that are born will have thee for Purohita; but do not tell of me to the other Rishis.' Thus he told him these parts of the hymns; and ever since, men were born having Vasishṭha for their Purohita. Therefore a Vasishṭha is to be chosen as Brahman.

Cf. Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa, xv. 5., where it is said of the Bharatas that they will always have a Vasishṭha as Purohita. The Commentator there observes, that Bharata may either mean the kings of that name, or men in general.

1 Taittiriya-Saṁhitā, 7. 1. 8.

"Atri gave his children to the son of Urva, who longed for a son. Then he felt lonely, and saw that he was without power, weak, and decrepit. He saw this Chāturātra; he took it and sacrificed with it. Four sons were born to him from it,—a good Hotṛi, a good Udgaṭri, a good Adhvaryu, and a good Brahman."
precepts given there are not based upon passages of the Sruti, does not hold good, because passages are met with which are the source of all the laws given in the Smṛiti. Thus we read, 'These five great sacrifices are every day commenced and every day performed: the Devayajna (to the gods), the Pitriyajna (to the fathers, the manes), the Bhūtayajna (to all beings), the Manushyayajna (to men), the Brahmayajna (to Brahman, the divine Self).'

And although there is no distinct precept in the Veda for ablutions, &c., yet all this is implied. Thus the Bhaṭṭāchāryās say, 'It is right to respect the Smritis, because they are delivered by Vedic authors, because their origin is well established, and because they derive their authority from the Veda, if but rightly understood.' The Munis see the Sruti, and they deliver the Smṛiti; therefore the authority of both is proved on earth by full evidence: A man who despises these two, and adopts fallacious doctrines, is to be avoided by good men as a heretic and Veda-blasphemer.

"But one might object that if these precepts can be learnt from the Sruti, the Smṛiti would be unnecessary, because that only which cannot be learnt from other sources forms a fit object for a new work. Here then we say that these precepts, though they can be learnt from the Veda, are nevertheless put together in the Smṛitis for the purpose of making the order of their performance more easy; by leaving out the Arthavādas, and by taking from some Sākhās of the Veda particular facts omitted in others. Now it might again be objected that this

1 Taittiriya-āranyaka, ii. 10.
is done in the Kalpa-sūtras, and that therefore there was no necessity for the Smṛitis. But this is wrong, because there are two different kinds of duties to be performed, called Śrāvuta (based on Śruti) and Smārta (based on Smṛiti). The Śrāvuta ceremonies consist in sacrifices like the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa, &c., which can only be performed after the sacred fire has been placed in the house, and they are clearly based upon the Veda, as we read it. The Smārta sacraments and traditional customs, on the contrary, consist in ablutions, rinsing the mouth, &c., and they are to be considered as based upon a Śākhā of the Veda which is hidden, but the existence of which must be inferred. Although, therefore, those precepts which regard the placing of the sacred fire, &c., are put together in the Kalpa-sūtras, yet as other duties, such as ablutions, rinsing, &c., are not included in them, the Smṛitis have still their legitimate object."

This discussion has been given here at full length because it is a genuine specimen of Indian orthodox dialectics. Whatever may be thought of this style of argument, we see at all events how great an importance has always been attached by the Brahmans to the distinction between Śruti and Smṛiti.

It may also have been observed in this extract, that it is not quite in accordance with the language of Śāyana to speak of Sūtra works as Smṛitis in the plural. He applies this term to metrical codes only, like Manu, Yājnavalkya, and Parāśara, but not to Sūtras or Vedāṅgas.¹ This, however, does not affect

¹ Kumārila remarks that, although the six Vedāṅgas are not called by the name of Smṛiti, they are Smṛiti in the same sense
our present question, because even Sāyaṇa, though he does not call the Sūtras by the name of Smṛitis; places them notwithstanding in the same category with the codes of law, and separates them from the Śruti, upon which they are founded, but with which they are not to be confounded. The Kalpa-sūtras are called by him śrauta, i. e. based on revelation; but not Śruti (revelation), because although they treat of the same subjects as the Śruti, they are themselves extracts only from the sacred writings. They are arranged by authors whose names are given, while, according to Indian notions, Mantras and Brāhmaṇas were only seen by the Rishis, but neither composed nor arranged by them.¹

That Sūtras, even where they contain Vedāṅga-doctrines, are distinctly excluded from the Śruti, may be seen from the following passage. In the Tantra-vārttika (1. 3.), Kumārila says, “There is a great

as the Dharma-sūtras, i. 3. 9. श्रद्धतिलं लंगानां धर्मसूत्रचारणं
चाविषिः। यद्यपि श्रद्धतिलेण नांगानामभिधेयता। तथा-
पूयं न श्राच्चलप्रमाणालिनिराक्रिया। Mahādeva, in his Com-
mentary on the Hiranyakesi-sūtras, says distinctly, स्त्रैयष्टु मशतिलेन
सर्वाधिकरणे स्थितं। तत्सूचकारःवैवोद्यः न्यायविविधमथ दृति
मीलांसारिष्ठुत्साहिकारदश्यनान॥

¹ “When we spoke of this (the authorship of Madhuchhandas) to a learned Hindu friend, he exhibited very marked dissatisfaction and distress, begging us to write and tell Professor Wilson that the hymn had no author; that it had existed from everlasting; and that Madhuchhandas was only the fortunate seer to whom, on the last occasion of its revelation, it had been re-
difference between the Kalpa-sūtras, which teach the performance of sacrifices enjoined by the Vedas, such as we now possess them, and the Smṛitis, which derive their authority from parts of the Veda that have either disappeared or are dispersed, or the existence of which can be proved by induction only. It is easier, therefore, to establish the authority of the Kalpa-sūtras than that of the Smṛitis. The objections which have been raised against the authority of the Smṛitis, and which had to be removed by us before, cannot be thought of with regard to the Kalpa-sūtras, not even if it were only for argument's sake. The question, therefore, is only this, whether the Kalpa-sūtras have the same authority as the Veda, or whether they merely derive their authority from it. As the Veda is called 'śadāngā, 'having six members,' these six members, and amongst them the Kalpa-sūtras, might seem to be implied by the common name of Veda. This, however, would be wrong; for the Kalpa-sūtras, as is well-known, are composed by human authors like Maśaka, &c. They do not take their names, like the Kāthaka and other Śākhās of the Veda, from those by whom they were proclaimed, but from their real authors. It is true, no doubt, that the authors of the Kalpa-sūtras have the name of Rishis, and it might be said that as Śisu

1 चःप्रमाण्य सङ्क्तीतां च यदश्चत्तयोदिनाः।
ौषपणे न तद्दृशो कव्यसचेषु श्रक्ते॥
प्रत्यचवेदशब्दलात्तुका नायशब्दना।
न चशब्दंतानृतं वत् श्रक्ते पूर्वपविणाः॥

2 वेदमः कव्यसचाराणां नो वक्तव्यं मनागपि।
Angirasa was not the author of the Śaisava hymns in the Sāmaveda, the Kalpa-sūtras too were not composed, but only proclaimed, by those whose names they bear, particularly as there are even Brāhmaṇas, for instance those of the Aruṇa and Parāśara-śākhā, which have nearly the same form as the Kalpa-sūtras. Nevertheless, nothing can be more mistaken than the opinion of those who would put the Kalpa-sūtras on the same footing as the Veda, because people who teach and learn the Kalpa-sūtras know that there was a time when these works did not exist, and that they were composed by certain authors like Maśaka, Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, and others.”¹ They are drawn, as he

¹ Kumārila expressly observes that these names signify certain individuals, and not Charanās (sects), like those of Kaṭha, by which certain Śākhās of the Veda were promulgated.

"The branches of the Veda which were proclaimed by the sects of Kaṭha and others from all eternity, have a fair claim to be called eternal. But this does not apply to works handed down by the sects or families of Maśaka and others, however long they may have been established. For names like Maśaka, Baudhāyana, and Āpastamba, imply an individual being which had a beginning, and therefore it is impossible that a title derived from these names should ever belong to an eternal work.”

And again:

चषव चि कल्पः चन्यानितरांगस्तिनिवधनानि चाभेचः
observes in another place, partly from the Veda, but partly also from other sources; and the same applies, according to him, to all the Vedângas and Smrîtis; nay, even to later works, such as the epic and paurânic poems.¹

"For teachers and pupils do not only know by heart the Kalpa-sûtra books, and the other Vedânga and Smrîti compositions, but they also remember Âśvalâyana, Baudhâyana, Āpastamba, Kâtyâyana, and others, as the authors of these books."

¹ तत् यावद्दृष्टमेभोपदेशं तदैवद्ग्रहं। यथर्षसूत्रविषयं तत्रोक्षयवहरपूर्वकस्मिनिति विवेकयं। एवैवेत्तिहामपुराणोयोः युप्तेदेशवाक्यानां गति:॥

"All that has reference to virtue and final beatitude is taken from the Veda, while other matters, the purpose of which consists in pleasure and gain, are according to the customs of men. This distinction applies not only to the Vedângas, but also to authoritative passages in the Purânas and Itihâsas."

Uvâja, in his commentary on the Śâkala prâtiśâkya, takes the same view. He says, "that as the Veda was too difficult to be used by itself, learned men have extracted from it different doctrines on the ceremonial, the metre, and grammar, and brought them into a more intelligible form in the Sûtras."

And again:

अत चाचाचायों भगवान् श्रीनको वेदार्थविनं सुदृढ्युला
It might therefore be best to distinguish between Smṛiti or tradition in general, and the Smṛitis or law-
books in particular. We might then speak of śrauta-
and Smārta-sūtras, comprehending by the former name
all Sūtras, the source of which can be traced in the Śruti;
by the latter those of which no such source exists, or at
least, is known to exist.1 The title of Smṛitis in the
plural (or Smṛiti-prabandhās) might be left, for conve-
nience sake, to such works as Śāyaṇa is speaking of,
which are composed not in Sūtras but in Ślokas. It
ought to be remembered, however, that the same sub-
jects which are treated in the metrical Smṛitis of
Manu and others, had similarly been treated in Sūtras
(śrauta, grihya, and sāmayāchārika), and that the
principal difference between the two lies, not in their
matter, but in their age, and their style.

1 Thus, smārtam karma is well defined by Shadguruśishya in
the Sarvānukrāmaṇībhāṣya, as ‘nishekādi śmaśānāntam smṛiti-
grihyavihitam karma.’ In the Commentary on Āśvalāyana’s
Śrauta-sūtras, it is said, that, if observances, like rinsing
the mouth, &c., are prescribed in the Śrauta-sūtras (as they are for
instance Āśval. i. 1. 3.), this is only done in order to show that
such observances are acknowledged and presupposed by the Śrauta-
sūtras, though they belong to the province of the Grihya cere-
emonies.

1 It is also well defined by Shadguruśishya in
the Sarvānukrāmaṇībhāṣya, as ‘nishekādi śmaśānāntam smṛiti-
grihyavihitam karma.’
An objection against this division and terminology, not unknown to the Brahmans themselves, is that it is difficult to say whether certain Smārta-sūtras may not be based upon some lost Sākhâ of the Veda. The Śrauta portions of the Kalpa-sūtras, there can be no doubt, are founded on śruti, if by this name we understand not only the hymns, but also the Brāhmaṇas of the Veda. But there are only few allusions, even in the Brāhmaṇas, to the ceremonies described in the Grihya-sūtras; and the few passages which are quoted from the Śruti in their support, are chiefly taken from the Aranyakas and Upanishads, the latest branches of Vedic literature. As to the Āchāras, or the established rules of conduct with regard to particular temporal duties, even Indian writers admit that there are only very vague allusions to them in the Śruti, and they try to prove that these laws are based on parts of the Veda which no longer exist. This is a view which is taken for instance by Haradatta in his Commentary on Āpastamba’s Sāmayāchārika-sūtras, and it deserves to be examined more closely. On the first Sūtra1, “Therefore let us now explain the Sāmayāchārika duties,” he makes the following observations.

“The word ‘therefore’ implies a reason, which is that as the śrauta (sacrificial) and gārhya (domestic) ceremonies have been explained, and as these ceremonies presuppose other observances, these other observances must now be explained too. For when it was said before (in the Śrauta and Grihya-sūtras), that such and such an act was to be performed by a man after

1 ब्रह्यांतः सामयाचारिकान्धर्मीन्याख्यायाः।।१।।
he had rinsed his mouth, by a man who is clean, who holds a pavitra in his hand, who is invested with the sacred thread, &c., an acquaintance with all these things, such as rinsing, &c., is presupposed. The twilight prayers, too, are referred to in the preceding Sūtras, when it is said, that a man who does not perform his twilight prayers is impure, and unworthy of every sacrifice. Several other instances occur; and it is therefore necessary to explain now immediately those other precepts called sāmayāchārika (temporal). Sāmayāchārika is derived from samaya (agreement) and dharma (custom). Samaya, a human agreement, is of three kinds: vidhi, injunction; niyama, restriction; pratishedha, prohibition. Rules founded upon samaya are called samayāchāras, from which the adjective sāmayāchārika. Dharma (virtue) is the quality of the individual self, which arises from action, leads to happiness and final beatitude, and is called apūrva, supernatural. But, in our Sūtra, dharma means law, and has for its object dharma as well as adharma: things to be done and things to be avoided.

"It might be said, however," continues the Commentator Haradatta, alluding to the same controversy which we saw before treated of by Śāyāna, "that if samaya (human agreement) be the authority for the law, it would be difficult to deny the same authority to the Bauddhas and their laws, to worship the holy sepulchre, &c.; and therefore Āpastamba has added the next Sūtra: 1

1 धर्मन्न्त्रसमाय: प्रमाणं॥ २॥

h 3
"Those agreements are of authority which were made by men who knew the law."

"We do not say," Haradatta remarks, with regard to these words, "that every agreement becomes of authority, but those only made by men like Manu, &c., who knew the law. But then, it might be asked, how it can be found out that Manu knew the law, and Buddha did not? People answer, that Buddha could not have had a knowledge of the divine law. But the same might be said also of Manu; and if a knowledge of divine things be ascribed to Manu, on account of the excellence which he acquired by his virtue, then, again, it would be the same for Buddha. There is a known verse:

1 सुगतो यदि धर्मेन: कपिलो नेति का प्रमा।

तातुभी यदि सर्वेष्ठी सतिमेद: कर्य तत्या॥

Dr. Weber, in his dissertation on the Upanishads, thinks it is not impossible that Kapila, the founder of the Sâñkhya, and Buddha were in fact one and the same person. (Indische Studien, i. 436.) He afterwards qualifies this conjecture, and calls it not very probable. It is true that the Indians themselves observed a certain similarity between the doctrines of Kapila and Buddha. But this would rather show that the two were different persons. Nor would the legend that Buddha was born at Kapila-vastu, the town of Kapila, or rather of the Kâpilas, seem to prove the identity of Kapila and Buddha. By another conjecture, the same ingenious scholar makes the founder of the Sâñkhya (Panchaśikha Kâpileya) the same person with Kâpya Pâtanâchala, who occurs in the Sapatapatha-brâhmaṇa; while, in a former article (i. 84.), both Kapila and Patanchali together, the former as the founder of the Sâñkhya, the latter as the author of the Yoga system, are merged into Kâpya Pâtanâchala. Afterwards, however, this opinion also is retracted, because Dr. Weber thinks that the Yoga system might be a later development of the Sâñkhya.
were both omniscient, how could there be difference of opinion between them?" If this be not so, a distinction must be made; and this has been done by Āpastamba in his next Sūtra: ‘And the Vedas (are of authority).’

This Sūtra is explained by Haradatta in the following manner:— "The Vedas are the highest authority for good and bad; and none of the objections made before could apply to the Vedas, which are faultless from all eternity, evident by themselves, and, as they were revealed, unaffected by the faults of human authors. Therefore, while to us those agreements are of authority which were made by men who knew the law, the Vedas, again, were the authority for those men themselves, like Manu, &c. And although we have not before our eyes a Veda, which is the source of these laws, we must still conclude that Manu and the rest had.”

1 वेदाहाः
2 Somesvara, who calls himself a son of Mādhava, and of whose work “Tantra-vārttikaṭikā” there is a manuscript at the E. I. H. (No. 1030.), dated Samvat, 1552, goes even a step farther, and says that, although rules of the Śrīmitis may be against the sacred law, the Veda must notwithstanding be considered as their source, because the Śrīmitis themselves maintain that the Veda is the highest authority, an admission which the followers of Buddha protest against. Cf. p. 80.
It is a matter of considerable interest to know whether this opinion of Haradatta's, as to the previous existence of a larger number of Vedic works, deserves credit or not. The opponent of the orthodox Kumārila in the Tantra-vārttika remarks very truly, that to invoke the testimony of lost parts of the Veda is like calling a dead person as a witness.1 And if we had no better authority for this opinion than so late a commentator as Haradatta, we should hardly be justified in mentioning it as an argument. Anybody, however, who is acquainted with the character of Indian commentators, will admit that they seldom

1 मृतमार्थिकथवहारवच प्रलोकशाखामूलकत्यनायां यथै यत्रोचते स तत्रमार्थिकथायात।

"If a man maintain a lost tradition to have been a source, he may prove what he pleases, for it is like appealing to a dead witness." And again:

"Why has a divine precept not been established by Manu and the others as the source of their teaching, which would not have cost them more labour than to proclaim their own doctrine? Anybody may throw whatever he likes into the skull of a lost tradition, and then invoke it as an authority."
commit themselves to novel theories, but almost always repeat what existed before in the tradition of their schools; a fact which at once increases and diminishes the usefulness of their works. Thus we find in the case before us, that Āpastamba himself, whose Sūtras Haradatta explains, entertained a similar opinion on this subject. In the twelfth section of his Sūtras, when speaking of some rules on the Sva- dhyāya (praying), he says¹, "that certain rules must be considered as given in Brāhmaṇas of which the tradition or reading has been destroyed. Their former existence," he says, "must be inferred from

¹ भ्रात्स्वायोऽका विधवसेवामुक्त्वा: पाठा: प्रयोगादनुमनी- 
              यते। यति तु प्रौढयुक्तविविन्यात: प्रवृत्तिन्त तत् भास्मसिः 
              तद्नुवर्त्मानो नरकाय रायति॥

The Commentator says: उबन्ता: पाठा चधेतदौविकान्॥
"The original passages were lost by the negligence of the students."

Kumārila observes: भास्मानाः विग्रहकेष्वानावस्थायां प्रमाद- 
              द्वारः। नानाप्रकरणम्वलात् स्थतेमूलः न दृष्टे॥
"The original text from which the Smṛiti was derived cannot always be found, because the Sākhās are scattered about, students are negligent, and because these rules stand under different heads."

And again: दृष्टे दृष्टे पर्यर्थ(वि)सतर्पण गंधनाशस॥
"As if we did not see in our own time that subjects are forgotten and works lost."

न च प्रलयो न संभाव्यते। दृष्टे हि प्रमादालशादिदिमि: 
              प्रृवेष्ठयाचः
"And it must not be said that their destruction is impossible, for we see it take place every day, whether by negligence, idleness, or by the death of men."
the simple fact, that these rules are still followed by men; the only exception being where customs can be proved to depend on selfish motives. In this case, a man who follows such unauthorised customs, shall go to hell.”

With regard to the hymns, it is in itself very unlikely that no more should have existed than those which happen to be collected in the Rig-veda; and even in the Rig-veda we see that the number of hymns varied in different communities. The ancient poetry of India, however, would hardly have furnished authoritative passages for legal and ceremonial questions; and there is no doubt that the lost tradition which is appealed to by later writers, refers only to Brâhmanaś. A number of these dogmatic works are still in existence; but others, which are always quoted along with them, are now lost, or known by extracts only. There existed a considerable number of ancient sages who embodied their doctrines, whether on philosophical or ceremonial, on metrical or grammatical questions, in independent works, which were handed down by tradition among their descendants. But, as Kumârila observes, through the carelessness and forgetfulness of men, and also by the extinction of families, these works were necessarily lost; and it is, indeed, less surprising that many of these Brâhmanaś should have been lost, than that so many should still have been saved, if we remember for how long a time oral tradition was in India the only means of preserving them. Kumârila, however, was too keen-sighted not to perceive the danger of admitting lost Śâkhâs of the Veda as authorities, and he makes several reservations in order to guard against a promiscuous use of this argument. The Buddhists also might appeal to a lost
Sākhā, and thus upset all the arguments of the orthodox philosophers. But in spite of the bug-bear of the Buddhists, the general fact that some Sākhās had perished was admitted by Kumārila, as well as by Āpastamba, both endeavouring to prop up the authority of the Smṛiti by the broken pillars of the Śruti.¹

The evidence which has been brought together is sufficient to establish the fact, that the distinction between Śruti and Smṛiti, revelation and tradition, had been established by the Brahmans previous to the rise of Buddhism, or, at all events, previous to the time when the Sūtra style began to be adopted in Indian literature. There existed, previous to the Sūtra period, a body of literary works propagated by oral tradition, which formed the basis of all later writings on sacred subjects, and which by the Brahmans was believed to be of divine origin. The idea expressed by the verb śru, to hear, i.e. to receive by inspiration, is known in the Brāhmaṇas. The name of Smṛiti seems to occur for the first time in the Taittirīya-āranyaka², though it is said to be used there in the

¹ चैत्य मन्त्रादिक्षरीनामयुक्तचारिद्रशखामूलमभुपगतं तान्त्राधिति सूतरां शाक्यादिभिरपि श्रव्यं तन्मूललभं वर्णु। को हि श्रुव्यादुविर्भानां वाक्विप्रच्छवत्तानितरिः कर्तृं। ततस्य यात्तिक्षिचिकिष्टतमपि कार्तूं कैसिदाक्रियमाणं प्रसिद्धि गतं तन्त्रात्मचशाहार्भिमंवंदे शुक्लशाहार्भासुङ्कलोकानुमंदननुभवन्नु- स्थकचत्याप्रतिभायात्। चत एव विरोधे लन्पेख्या खादितिः।

² Taitt. Ār. i. 1, 2.: स्मृति: प्रायचैत्मैतिब्रम्हनुमानयत्त्यतय॥ The Commentator explains Smṛiti by ब्रुनमेयशुद्धिमूलं मन्त्रा-
sense of Sruti. In the Sūtras, however, the distinction between Sruti and Smṛiti is distinctly stated. We find it in the Anupada-sūtras\(^1\), which we have reason to reckon amongst the earliest specimens of this class of literature. In the Nidāna-sūtras also, ancient tradition is mentioned by the name of Smṛiti\(^2\); and although in Pāṇini the technical distinction between Sruti and Smṛiti is not mentioned, it would be wrong to draw any conclusions from this, as there can be little doubt that Pāṇini is later than the Anupada-sūtras.

The Six Vedāngas.

We shall now proceed to an examination of those works which belong to the Sūtra-literature of India, as far as they have reference to the Veda.

垫訶b^ "the laws of Manu and others whose source is a revelation the existence of which must be inferred." Pratyaksha (sensuous impression) is, according to Sāyaṇa, वर्णपुरुषाणां श्रीचिचे वाच्य वेदरावकां, "the word of the Veda which all men can perceive in their teacher." Aitihya (tradition) is explained by दत्तेश्वपुराणमहाभारतः आद्यमदिकं "legends, Purāṇas, the Mahābhārata, and the Brāhmaṇas." Lastly Anumāna, if we believe Sāyaṇa, does not here mean inference, but customs of good men, by which or from which the existence of an authority, that is, of Sruti and Smṛiti, as the source of these customs, is inferred.

\(^{1}\) Anupada-sūtra, ii. 4. \(^{2}\) Nidāna-sūtra, ii. 1. Cf. Indische Studien, i. p. 45.
The Brahmans say that there are six members of the Veda, the six Vedângas. This name does not imply the existence of six distinct books or treatises intimately connected with their sacred writings, but merely the admission of six subjects the study of which was necessary—either for the reading, the understanding, or the proper sacrificial employment of the Veda. Manu calls the Vedângas by the name of Pravachanas, which is a title not unusually applied to the Brâhmanas. And indeed, instead of

1 Manu, iii. 184.: ।

"Those priests must be considered as the purifiers of a company who are most learned in all the Vedas and all their Angas."—

Sir W. Jones.

2 कालवविनामि प्रवचनविविहितं खर: खाध्याचि। Com.

"Among the Kâlabavins also the accent exists in the perusal of the Veda enjoined by the Pravachanas. Com. By the word pravachana is meant the Brâhmana, and it is called so because it is proclaimed."

There is a passage in the Prasthânabheda,

एवं प्रवचनमेदात्रवितविदं भिन्ना स्वयम: शाखाः।

"For each Veda there are several Śâkhâs the difference of which arises from different Pravachanas." Here pravachana means Brâhmana, because the difference of the Brâhmana-Śâkhâs does arise from Brâhmanas peculiar to each. It is possible, however, that Madhusûdana used pravachana in the sense of pronunciation, the difference of pronunciation being the chief cause of the Sanhitâ-Śâkhâs. Pravachana is used in the Ka- thopanishad, ii. 23., in the sense of "reading."
looking for the Vedāṅgas to those small and barren tracts which are now known by this name, it is in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras that we have to look for the Vedāṅga-doctrines in their original and authentic form. The short Vedāṅgas which are generally added to the manuscripts of the Veda, and which by several scholars were mistaken for the real Vedāṅgas, represent only the last unsuccessful attempts to bring the complicated and unintelligible doctrines of former sages into an easy and popular form, and to preserve at the same time the names which had been sanctioned by antiquity.

A very clear and rational statement as to the character of the Vedāṅgas in early times, is given in the Brāhādāraṇyaka and its commentary. According to them the different doctrines of the Vedāṅgas are to be considered as integral parts of the Brāhmaṇas, in the same manner as the Purāṇas and Itiḥāsas. These, as we saw before, were to be taken in the sense of epic or paurānic stories, incorporated in the Brāhmaṇas, as illustrations of ceremonial questions. By Itiḥāsa, as the commentator says, (Bṛih. Arany. ii. 4.) we have to understand stories like those of Urvaṣī and Purūravas in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa; by Purāṇa, passages on creation and the like, for instance, "in the beginning there was nothing," &c. He then proceeds to quote passages from the Brāhmaṇas which he calls Upanishads (mysteries), Ślokas (verses), Sūtras (rules), Anuvyākhyas (explanations), and Vyākhyas (comments). It is under these heads that the Vedāṅgas had their original place.

It is more difficult to determine where and when
the Vedângas were first mentioned as six. In the Munḍaka-upanishad the number of the Vedângas is given as six, but in a line which is not unlikely to have been interpolated. Yâśka (Nir. i. 20.) quotes only the Vedângas, but not the six Vedângas. The number of six occurs in the Cha- ranâvûha, where we meet with the well-known versus memorialis, containing the titles of the six Vedângas. The same number occurs in Manu (iii. 185). There is a passage in the Chhândogya-Upani-

1 शिच अट्टो व्याकरण निरस्त्र कर्ने ज्योतिष्य॥ आप- stamba, who occasionally quotes Slokas in his Sûtras, does not seem to have known this verse. His words are (ii. 4. 8.), षडगो बेदः कर्ने अट्टो व्याकरण ज्योतिष्य निरस्त्र शिचा। What follows, in the only MS. I know, is eaten away by worms; but then comes the word कर्ने विचित्रिति, which was the title of a metrical treatise, and is quoted as such before Pingala, in the Sabda-Kalpa-druma, s. v. नन्य गद्या: कर्ने विचित्रिति पिंगलकर्ने मंजरीवृत्तोधाद्यः सं- रि॥ One of the Parisishâs of the Sâmaveda begins with the words क्रयात्मकंद्दरम् विचयं वाक्यायामः। The Parisish- तâs, however, are later than Apastamba and Pingala; for the author of the Parisishâta declares that he made use of Pingala’s work: ब्राह्मणं तंत्रितिविव विनशाच महाद्वान॥ निदानाटुक्यशाखाचं कर्ने ज्ञानमूलं॥ The title कर्ने विचित्रिति refers, therefore, most likely to the Nidâna-sûtra, which also begins with क्रयात्मकंद्दरम् विचयं वाक्यायामः। Cf. MS. Berol. 95. In the Commentary on the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya, at the end of the 14th Book, the Vedângas are enumerated as follows:

कर्ने व्याकरण निरस्त्र शिचा कर्ने विचित्रितिवृत्तोधाद्याः।
shad where a mention of the six Vedāngas might be expected, at the beginning of the ninth Prapāṭhaka. The number six, however, does not occur there, although Vedānga doctrines are clearly implied under somewhat unusual names.¹ The earliest mention of the number six in reference to the Vedāngas seems to be contained in one of the Brāhmaṇas of the Śāma-veda. But there again, though the number six is given, the titles of the several Vedāngas are not mentioned. It is said there (Shaḍvīṇā-Br. iv. 7.) of

¹ This passage has been pointed out and translated by Colebrooke (Miscellaneous Essays, i. 12.). "Nārada, having solicited instruction from Sanatkumāra, and being interrogated by him as to the extent of his previous knowledge, says, 'I have learnt the Rig-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Śāma-veda, the Ātharvāṇa (which is) the fourth, the Itihāsa and Purāṇa (which are) a fifth, and (grammar, or) the Veda of Vedas, the obsequies of the manes (पित्य), the art of computation (राशिं), the knowledge of omens (दैवं), the revolution of periods (निधिं, com. महाकालादिनिधिग्राहं), the intention of speech (or art of reasoning) (वाकोवाक्य), the maxims of ethics (एकायनं), the divine science (or construction of scriptures) (देवविच्छयं, com. निरुत्त), the sciences appendant on holy writ (or accentuation, prosody, and religious rites) (ब्रह्मविच्छयं), the adjuration of spirits (भूतविच्छयं, com. भूततत्तचं), the art of the soldier (चतविच्छयं, com. घनुवैदं), the science of astronomy (चतविच्छयं), the charming of serpents (सप्तविच्छयं), the science of demigods (or music and mechanical arts, गारुङ्ग see page 39.): all this I have studied; yet do I only know the text, and have no knowledge of the soul."
Svâhâ, that her body consists of the four Vedas, and that her limbs are the six Angas, or members of the Veda. It is possible, however, that more ancient Brâhmanas allude to the number of six; at all events we see that it was sanctioned for the Vedângas before the end of the Brâhmana period.

The six doctrines commonly comprehended under the title of Vedângas, are Śikshâ (pronunciation), Chhandas (metre), Vyâkaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (explanation of words), Jyotisha (astronomy), and Kalpa (ceremonial). The first two are considered necessary for reading the Veda, the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifices.

Śikshâ, or Phonetics.

Sâyaṇa, in his Commentary on the Rig-veda, defines Śikshâ as the science of the pronunciation of letters, accents, &c.; and he quotes from a work of the Taittirîyas, who have devoted a chapter of their Âranyaka to this subject. Now in the seventh book of the Taittirîya-Âranyaka we still find the following headings: "Let us explain the Śikshâ," "On Letters,"

1 चलारो 5खेभे वेदा: शरीरं घुंगानायंगानि। शोषधिवनस्-तयो लोमानि॥ "The four Vedas are her body; the six Angas her limbs; herbs and trees her hair." See also the text frequently quoted from the Veda, ब्राह्मणेन घंगानो वेदो विकारणो भेयो जीयस्॥ "The Veda, with its six members, ought to be known and understood by a Brahman without any further inducement."

2 शीचां वाखायाम: The i in Śikshâ is short (hrasva), though it is strong (guru). It is only in the Âranyaka that Śikshâ

Unless we admit that the rules on Śikṣā had formerly their place in this chapter of the Taittiriya-Āranyaka, it would be difficult to explain why all the principal subjects of the Śikṣā should be mentioned here, why the whole chapter should be called the Śikṣā chapter (ityuktah śikṣādhyāyaḥ), and why it should begin with the words “Let us now explain the Śikṣā.” Sāyana, who was certainly acquainted with the Vedic tradition, takes the same view in his Commentary on the Sānhitā-upanishad. He states that the Taittiriya-upanishad consists of three parts, of the Sānhitī, Yājñikī, and Vāruṇī-upanishad.

Occurrences instead of Śikṣā. Śikṣā is derived from sāk, to be able, and means originally a desire to know. From the same root we have sākta, a teacher (Rv. vii. 103. 5.); sikhamaṇa, a pupil (Rv. vii. 103. 5.). Sīṣhyā, a pupil, comes from a different root. Sāyana says, शिष्यनं पदिष्यं यज्ञवंद्यो चतासो शिष्या। चैव शिष्या॥ The other headings are, वर्णः। खरः। मात्रः। वलं। साम। संतानः।

1 I owe a copy of this Commentary of Sāyana’s to the kindness of Dr. Röer, at Calcutta. Seeing, in the catalogue of manuscripts published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, a work of Sāyana’s, called Śikṣābhāṣya, and imagining this to be a commentary on the Śikṣā-vedāṅga or one of the Prātiṣākhya’s, I wrote to Dr. Röer for a copy of it. Though I was ultimately disappointed when I found that it had nothing to do with the Prātiṣākhya’s, I still consider the Commentary of great interest, particularly Sāyana’s introduction to the Vedānta-system in it. Dr. Röer has since published the whole Taittiriya-upanishad, with the Commentaries of Śankara and Ānanda Giri, in No. 22. of the Bibliotheca Indica.

2 सैन्तिकीयोपनिषत् चितविधा। साम्हिती याज्ञिकी वार्तणी चेति। तच प्रथमे प्रपाटके साम्हितायान्यं योत्तक्तात् ज्योपनिषत्वांहिती। द्वितीयबन्धिको यो: प्रपाटकयोर्या ब्रह्म-
these the last is the most important, because it teaches the knowledge of the Divine Self. The first serves as an introduction or preparation, in order to bring the mind of the pupil into a proper state for receiving the doctrines on the highest subjects. Now immediately after the first invocation, the Upanishad begins with the Śikṣā chapter; and in order to explain this, Sāyaṇā remarks that this doctrine is necessary here, in order to enable the pupil to read and pronounce the sacred texts correctly, and thus to understand their real meaning.\(^1\) It might be objected, Sāyaṇā remarks, that as a correct pronunciation is equally required for the earlier ceremonial portion of the Veda (Karma-kāṇḍa), the Śikṣā ought to have been inserted there. But then, he says, this chapter in its present place stands between the ceremonial and the philosophical portion of the Veda, like a lamp on the threshold of a door giving light to both. He adds, that a right pronunciation and understanding is of greater importance for the philosophical part; because mistakes in the sacrifices and the ceremonial can be made good by penance, while there is no penance for a wrong understanding of philosophical principles.

If then there is reason to believe that the doctrine

\(^1\) \text{It might be objected, Sāyaṇā remarks, that as a correct pronunciation is equally required for the earlier ceremonial portion of the Veda (Karma-kāṇḍa), the Śikṣā ought to have been inserted there. But then, he says, this chapter in its present place stands between the ceremonial and the philosophical portion of the Veda, like a lamp on the threshold of a door giving light to both. He adds, that a right pronunciation and understanding is of greater importance for the philosophical part; because mistakes in the sacrifices and the ceremonial can be made good by penance, while there is no penance for a wrong understanding of philosophical principles.}
of the Śikṣā was formerly embodied in the Āraṇya-kas, perhaps even in the Brāhmaṇas, the question is, why it afterwards lost this place. This can only be accounted for by the appearance of more scientific treatises, which embraced the same subjects, but in a much more systematic style than anything which we could expect to meet with in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas.

These were the Prātiśākhyaśas, a branch of literature which will claim our particular attention for more than one reason. If we compare the Prātiśākhyaśas with Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, they evidently indicate a considerable progress of the Indian mind. They were written for practical purposes; their style is free from cumbrous ornaments, and unnecessary subtleties. It is their object to teach and not to edify; to explain, not to discuss. Where the Brāhmaṇas or Āraṇyakas allude to grammatical, metrical, or etymological questions, they give nothing but theological and mystical dreams. So far from receiving elucidation, the points in question generally become involved in still greater darkness. It is not unlikely that teachers appealed to these passages of the Brāhmaṇas in order to derive from them the highest possible sanction for their doctrines. But these doctrines, if they were intended for use and instruction, must have been delivered in a more homely and more intelligible form. The origin of the Prātiśākhyaśas may therefore be accounted for in the

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1 The passage from the Pushpa-sūtras (viii. 8.) which was quoted before, कालविनामपि प्रवचनविनिःखङ्: स्थः स्वायत्, does not prove that the rules on the accent were laid down in the Brāhmaṇa of the Kālabavins, because it may also mean that the accented delivery of sacred texts was enjoined in the Brāhmaṇa.
following manner:—During the Brāhmaṇa period the songs of the Veda were preserved by oral tradition only: and as the spoken language of India had advanced and left the idiom of the Veda behind as a kind of antique and sacred utterance, it was difficult to preserve the proper pronunciation of the sacred hymns without laying down a certain number of rules on metre, accent, and pronunciation in general. The necessity, however, of such a provision could hardly have been felt until certain differences had actually arisen in different seats of Brahmanic learning. Thus, when the attempt was made to prevent a further corruption, a certain number of local varieties in accent and pronunciation, and in the recital of the hymns, had actually crept in and become sanctioned by the tradition of different families or schools. These could not be given up, nor was there any means of determining which was the ancient and most correct way of reciting the sacred songs of the Veda. Discussions having arisen on this subject, we find in the Brāhmaṇas occasional mention of verses which, if improperly pronounced, become changed in their meaning. But even where the sense of the Veda was not affected, the respect paid by each teacher, by each family, and by each Brahmanic community to its own established oral tradition, was sufficient to give an imaginary value to the slightest peculiarities of pronunciation, accent, or metre.

A twofold advantage was gained when the rules and exceptions of the old sacred dialect were first reduced to a system. First, ancient dialectical differences, many of which are not so much attributable to corruptions as to the freedom of the old spoken language, were carefully preserved, and even apparent
irregularities and exceptions were handed down as such, instead of being eliminated and forgotten. Secondly, a start was made towards a scientific study of language; by the collection of a large number of similar passages, general laws were elicited which afterwards served as the phonetic basis of a grammar like that of Pāṇini; — a work which, although ascribed to one author, must have required ages of observation and collection before its plan could be conceived or carried out by one individual. Even the Prātiśākhyas, though they do not refer to grammar properly so called, but principally to the phonetic laws of language, presuppose a long-continued study of grammatical subjects previous to the time of their composition. The best proof of this lies in the great number of authors quoted in the Prātiśākhyas, whose opinions are frequently at variance with the precepts contained in the Prātiśākhyas themselves. Though we are not now in possession of the works of these earlier authors, yet we have a right to assume that their doctrines existed formerly in the shape of Prātiśākhyas. In the same way as one only of the different Śākhās or recensions of the Rig-veda has been preserved to us in manuscript, the Śākalya-śākhā, which was followed by Saunaka, we may understand how one only of the Prātiśākhyas of the Rig-veda has come down to us; particularly as its composition is ascribed to the same Saunaka who is said to have united the Bāšhkala and the Śākalya-śākhās, and who, as far as the Sanhitā is concerned, was a follower of the Saiśīra-śākhā. Saunaka’s Prātiśākhya of the Śākalas, being one of the latest compositions of this kind, was probably also the most perfect and complete. As Saunaka states the different opinions of Śākala grammarians on im-
important points, where he himself differs from them, his work was the more likely to supersede previous Prātiśākhya, particularly at the time when the Vedic religion was on its decline, and Brāhmaṇic doctrines daily losing in influence. Though it is true that as yet only one Prātiśākhya belonging to each Veda has been found in manuscript, yet they all belong not to one of the four Vedas in general, but to one Śākhā of each of them. Prātiśākhya, therefore, does not mean, as has been supposed, a treatise on the phonetic peculiarities of each Veda, but a collection of phonetic rules peculiar to one of the different branches of the four Vedas, i. e. to one of those different texts in which each of the Vedas had been handed down for ages in different families and different parts of India. The differences between the Śākhās of the same Veda, as far as the words of the hymns are concerned, seem certainly not to have been very great, if we may judge from the few instances in which different Śākhās of the same Veda have been preserved in manuscripts. Most Śākhās do not differ in the general arrangement of the Sanhitas, or collections of hymns, but merely in single words or verses. In a few cases only one Śākhā contains some hymns more than another. The Śākhās were not independent collections of the old hymns, but different editions of one and the same original collection, which in the course of a long continued oral tradition had become modified by slight degrees. The texts of the Veda as they existed and lived in the oral tradition of various sets of people became Śākhās differing from other Śākhās somewhat in the same way as the MSS. of the New Testament differ from each other. The Prātiśākhya, besides giving general
rules for the proper pronunciation of the Vedic language in general, were intended to record what was peculiar in the pronunciation of certain teachers and their schools. Even in cases where these schools had become extinct, we find the names of their founders, preserved as authorities on matters connected with the pronunciation of certain letters or words.

The real object of the Prâtiśâkhyas, as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words. This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vedic period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work. The Prâtiśâkhyas are never called Vyâkaranas, grammars\(^1\), and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions. The perfect phonetic system on which Pâṇini’s grammar is built, is no doubt taken from the Prâtiśâkhyas; but the sources of Pâṇini’s strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere.

Although, then, there is no necessity to suppose that every one of the numerous Vedic Śâkhâs possessed full and complete Prâtiśâkhyas, like that belonging

\(^1\) According to the first Prâtiśâkhya, i. 58., वाद्वच्चैव त्रेपान्

their rules would seem to affect passages of the Brâhmaṇas too, like होता यचः. &c.: and the Commentator adds, चक्षु यक्ष्यां तत्रसैवप्रयपि। Most of these Prâishas, however, are taken from the hymns; as, for instance, the words होता यचः। Rv. i. 139. 10. This is different for the Yajur-veda where the general rules of the Prâtiśâkhya extend their influence to the sacrificial invocations.
to the Śākala-śākhā, which was finally collected by Śaunaka, yet the great number of previous authorities quoted in our Prātisākhya makes it likely that a large number of similar works did actually exist for the principal Śākhās that are mentioned in earlier writings. In the Pratijnāpariśishṭa it is stated that there were fifteen codes of law for the fifteen Śākhās of the Vājasaneyins: and Kumārila says that the text of these Codes of law and of the Grihyas was peculiar in each Charana, in the same manner as the formal rules of the Prātisākhya.  

1 MS. Bodl. W. 510.: 

The meaning of "Yathāśvarāṃ pratisṭhās" is doubtful. Should it mean "rules with reference to accents?" If so, they would be the rules of Prātisākhya. That the Śākhās differed about the accents is seen in the case of the Māṇḍukeyas and Śākalas. Prātisākhya I. 200.

Kātyāyana, as the author of a Prātisākhya, is called " rhymes", as the author of a Prātisākhya, is called  

2 Tantra V. I. 3. (MS. Bodl. W. 325. p. 15 b.)

3 Veda is taken here in the general sense of sacred literature, as Uvaṭa says,
preme Being. As there are three different branches of the ceremonial, the Veda is, for the better performance of the sacrifices, divided into three: the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, and Såma-Veda. The ceremonial of the Hotṛi priests is performed with the Rig-Veda; that of the Adhvaryu priests with the Yajur-Veda; that of the Udgāṭṛi priests with the Såma-Veda. The duties of the Brahman priests, and of him for whom the sacrifice is offered, are also contained in these three Vedas. The Atharva-Veda is not used for solemn sacrifices, and is very different from the others, as it teaches only expiatory, preservative, or imprecatory rites. For each Veda there are several Såkhås, and their differences arise from various readings.”

1 Afterwards he goes on to observe that “the rules of pronunciation (śikshå), which apply to all the Vedas in general, have been explained by Pāñini, but that the same rules, as they apply to the Såkhås of each Veda, have been taught by other sages under the title of Pråtiśåkhyas.”

If

1 According to Madhusudana, the Brahman part of the Veda, by which he can only mean the Upanishads, is not affected by the peculiarities of the Såkhås. If this were true, it would only prove the late origin of the Upanishads. Some Upanishads, however, show traces of various readings, which must properly be attributed to various Såkhås. This is admitted, for instance, by Såyaṇa, in his Commentary on the Yåjñik or Naråyaṇiṣyå- upanishad. “Tådiyåpāṭhasampradåyo desavîsesheshu bahuvidho dṛisyaṭe; tatra yadyapi såkhåbhedaḥ kåranaṃ tathåpi Taittirîyådhyåyåkåis tat- taddesaṇivåsibhiḥ śishtair âdṛitatvåt, sarvo'pi påśha upådeya eva.” Ind. Stud. i. 76.

2 See also Somesvara's Tantra-vårttikåṭikå. (MS. E. I. H. 1030. p. 95.)
we here take the word sākhās (branches) in the sense of different traditionary texts of the four Vedas, Madhusūdāna's words do not require any alteration; they would become obscure if, as has been proposed, we took sākhā either in the sense of "a school" or of "a portion of the Veda."

The word sākhā is used, however, by some writers in so vague a manner that we need not wonder if its meaning has sometimes been misapprehended. "Traditional text (recension) of the Veda" is perhaps the nearest approach to its real meaning.

The word is sometimes applied to the three original Sanhitās, the Rig-veda-sanhita, Yajur-veda-sanhita, and Sāma-veda-sanhita, in their relation to one another, and without any reference to subordinate sākhās.

There are two kinds of Śikṣā, a general and one which has regard to particulars. It is true that the authority of the general Śikṣā is established, on account of its belonging to the Vedāṅgas; but in order to remove all doubt as to the authority of the particular Śikṣās, published by Kātāyāna and others, which determine the pronunciation of each sentence and each word, it is clear that it is not different from the other, inasmuch as both are one by their common character of Śikṣā, although they are spoken of separately.

It is said of Śāyāna that he wrote commentaries on each of the Sākhās of the Ṛich, Yajush and Sāma.

Ekaika could hardly mean "one from among the Sākhās of each Veda."
belonging to each of them. They may be called the original branches or the three stems of the Veda-tree, each of them branching off again in a number of other sākhās. The "branches," as Kumārila says, have all the same root, revelation (śruti), and they bear all the same fruit, the sacrifice (karma). If otherwise, they would be different trees, not different branches.¹ In the same acceptation the word is used for instance by Āpastamba, where he is giving rules as to the time and place where the Veda ought not to be read. He says there (Sâm. Sûtra, 3. 44, 45,) that it ought not to be rehearsed where music or Sâma-hymns are performed, and he adds, that Sâma-hymns ought not to be practised in the neighbourhood of another sâkhā, that is, as the commentator observes, of another Veda.²

More frequently, however, sâkhā is used to signify the various editions, or, more properly, the various traditions, that branched off from each of the three original branches of the Veda. In this latter sense sâkhā seems sometimes synonymous with charaṇa. But there was originally an important difference in the meaning of these two terms.

¹ यदि प्रतिशाख कर्मभेदः खातू तत एकमूलाभावादादित एवार्थ्य भिद्मानवात् समस्तकर्माभापालांतरवात् वृद्धांतरवेदांतराश्वाश्चर्योचरन् न शाखांतराशिः॥

² गीतिशाखां भाषाशब्दाणि एते शून्यमाणाः चन्द्राय-चेरतः॥ शाखांतरे च सांतामनन्तरः॥ ६५॥ वेदांतरस-काशिं साम नाथेयं॥ The first Sûtra is paraphrased by the Mānavas, iv. 123., सामध्वननावृह्यजुष्णी नाथीवीत कदाचन।
In order to appreciate the difference between śākhā and charāṇa, it need only be remembered that we find "śākhām adhīte," "he reads a certain recension of the Veda," but never "charāṇam adhīte," still less "parishadam adhīte," "he reads a Charāṇa or a Parishad." Hence it is clear that śākhā means originally a literary work, and that Charāṇa does not. If śākhā is sometimes used in the sense of charāṇa or sect, this is because in India the śākhās existed in reality not as written books, but only in the tradition of the Charanas, each member of a Charāṇa representing what, in our modern times, we should call the copy of a book.

The Brahmans themselves were fully aware of this difference between śākhā and charāṇa. In a Vârttika to Pâñini, iv. 1. 63., we find charāṇa explained by śākhādhīyetri, &c., "the readers of a śākhā." In a passage of Jagaddhara’s Commentary on Mālatīmâdhava, Charāṇa is said to mean "a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain śākhā of the Veda, and who have in this manner become one body."¹ Pâñini² speaks of Charāṇas as constituting a multitude, that is to say, as comprising a number of followers. In Āpastamba’s Sâmâyачârîka-sûtras, where rules are given as to the relative age of persons who ought to be saluted, the Châranas or members of the same Charāṇa are mentioned immediately after the Paurâsâkhyam, or town acquaintances; and in

¹ चरणशब्दः शाक्षाधियेत्रिः यथावचनपरिकतापत्रचनसंघवाची।
Cf. Zur Litteratur, p. 57

² Pâñ. iv. 2. 46. चरणशब्दः धर्मवशत् scil. समूहायें.
the third place stand the Śrotriya-Brahmans.¹ Pāṇini speaks of the Kāṭhaka and Kalāpaka as works belonging to the Charaṇas of the Kaṭhas and Kalāpas.² In a Vārttika to iv. 1. 63., women are mentioned as belonging to a Charaṇa; for Kaṭhī is the wife or daughter of a Brahman who belongs to the Charaṇa, or reads the Śākhā, of the Kaṭhas. A śākhā, which is always a portion of the Śrutī, cannot properly include law books. But followers of certain Śākhās might well, in the course of time, adopt a code of laws, which, as it was binding on their Charaṇa only, would naturally go by the name of their Charaṇa. That this actually took place may be seen from a Vārttika to Pāṇ. iv. 3. 120., where it is said that Kāṭhaka may be used not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the Kaṭhas. Thus the Prātiśākhyaśas also were called by the name of the Charaṇas, because they were the exclusive property of the readers of certain Śākhās, and even more so than the Kuladharmaśas or family-laws.

As a śākhā consisted of a Sanhitā as well as a Brāhmaṇa, at all events in later times, differences in the text of the hymns, as well as discrepancies in the Brāhmaṇas, might lead to the establishment of new Charaṇas, founded as they were on sacred texts peculiar to themselves.³ Śākhās of this kind, which

¹ Ap. i. 4. 4. The Commentator says that चारणशङ्कः शाखायाचिच्छु कृदः। Chāraṇa, therefore, means a member of a Charaṇa. Lassen (Ind. Alterthumsk. i. 640.) takes Chāraṇa in the sense of wandering poets, so named still in Western India.

² Pāṇ. iv. 3. 126. गोचरचरणाद्व्यु चेि देवस्यें. scil. देवस्यें.

³ Mahādeva’s Hiranyakesibhāshya:
शाखायचिच्छु मंचात्राद्व्यु चाच्छातः। तयोम्बचः
differed through the various readings of the Śruti, were considered by the Brahmans as eternal sākhās, and the Charaṇas, to which they belonged, were not supposed to have been founded by human authors. It will be seen hereafter that the Brahmans admitted another class of sākhās, which were founded on Sūtras and derived their names from historical personages. They were confessedly of a later date.

But although, after a careful examination of these passages, we cannot doubt that there was an original difference between sākhā and charaṇa, it is not the less certain that these two words were frequently used synonymously; in the same way as we may speak of the Jews when we mean the Old Testament, or of the Koran when we mean the Mohammedans.

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"Any portion of oral tradition consisting of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas is called a sākhā, and it is clear that differences of either the Mantras or Brāhmaṇas will necessarily lead, in the Veda, to a variety of subordinate sākhās."

1 स्त्रधयनमेंद्राच्छाखामेंद्रो सनादिः। "The various sākhās which arise from various readings are eternal."

2 शाखामेंद्र 5धयनमेंद्राच्छाखामेंद्रा। शाखायनर्ययीयः कात्यायनर्ययीयः च सूच इ भिन्नाध्ययनयोंद्रियः। शाखायोरेकमेव। तैत्तिरीयके समाजायेद समानाध्ययने नाना सूचाणि। Mahādeva’s Commentary on the Hiranyakeśi-sūtra.

3 Cf. Nirukta, i. 17., where मर्वचरणाना is explained by मर्वशाखांतराणा and Pāṇ. ii. 4. 3. चरण: शाखा। Pāṇ. vi. 3. 86.
After having established the difference between ṭākhā and charana, we have still to inquire how both differ from parishad, in order to determine the meaning of Pārshada, another title which is frequently applied to the Prātisākhyas. Here it is important to observe that although every Prātisākhyya may be called a Pārshada¹, i.e. a work belonging to a Parishad, not every Pārshada can be called a Prātisākhyya, but those only which contain the rules of pronunciation for a particular ṭākhā or text of the Vedic hymns, studied and taught in certain Parishads.² Amara explains parishad by sabhā or goshṭhi, an assembly; but the codes of law lay down more accurately the number, age, and qualifications of the Brahmans, necessary to form such an assembly as should be competent to give decisions on all points on which the people, or, if we may say so, the parishioners, might demand advice. That such Parishads or Brahmanic settlements existed in old times, we see in the Brīhadāranyaka³, where it is said that Śvetaketu


² I doubt the existence of a word like माध्यिन्यपार्षद, which Dr. Roth mentions (Zur Litteratur, p. 16.). One may speak of पंचालानां परिषद् or वल्लानां परिषद् &c., and a Prātisākhyya current in one of these Parishads may, perhaps, be called वल्लपार्षद. But माध्यिन्य is not the name of a Parishad, but of a ṭākhā; and therefore the Commentary on Gobhila speaks of a माध्यिन्यशास्त्रीयप्रातिशास्त्रय, but could not well have spoken of a वल्लशास्त्रीयप्रातिशास्त्रय।

³ Brīh. Ār. vi. 2. चेतकेतुद्वा च चारुशेष्यः पंचालानां परिषद्माजगाम॥
went to the Parishad of the Panchálas, and many similar passages. The character of a Parishad is described in Manu’s Code of Laws, xii. 110—113., and by Yājnavalkya, i. 9., where we have the contracted form Parshad instead of Parishad. According to the ideas of these modern writers a Parishad ought to consist of twenty-one Brāhmans well versed in philosophy, theology, and law. This number, however, can be reduced according to circumstances, as will be seen from passages of Parásara’s Dharmaśāstra. It must not be supposed that the rules laid down in these law-books have always been observed in the formation of a Parishad, particularly as regards the early times of India; yet we may be able to form some conception of their original character, by seeing what has become of them in later times. Parásara says: “Four, or even three able men from amongst the Brāhmans in a village, (grámanamadhye) who know the Veda, and keep the sacrificial fire, form a Parishad.

1 एकविश्विक्षितमुक्तिकृतमांसान्यांयापारेण:। वेद्रांगकुशलेश्वे परिषत्य प्रकृत्येत्॥

2 चलारो वा चयो वापि वेदवंतो श्रविष्टिचिंशः।
ब्रजनानां समर्थवे ये परिषत्सा विधीयते॥
आनिहिताशयो ये श्रेष्ठ वेदवेद्रांगपारगाः।
पंच चयो वा धर्मना: परिषत्सा प्रकृतिताः॥
मुनिनामात्मविद्यानां णिजानां यज्ञवाजिनां।
वेदव्रतेषु खातानामेको श्रम परिषद्वेत्॥
पंच पूर्वें मया प्रवासालेभावासंवभवे चयः।
खद्द्चिपरिपुष्ये ये परिषत्सा प्रकृतिताः॥

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"Or, if they do not keep the sacrificial fire, five or three who have studied the Vedas and Vedângas, and know the law, may well form a Parishad.

"Of old sages who possess the highest knowledge of the Divine Self, who are twice-born, perform sacrifices, and have purified themselves in the duties of the Veda, one, also, may be considered as a Parishad.

"Thus, five kinds of Parishads have been described by me; but if they all fail, three independent men may form a Parishad."

Mâdhava, in his Commentary on Parâsara, quotes a similar passage1 from Brîhaspati’s Code:— "Where seven, five, or three Brahmans, who know the customs of the world, the Vedângas (or the Vedas and the Angas), and the law, have settled, that assembly is like a sacrifice." The real difference, therefore, between a Charâṇa and a Parishad, seems to be that the former signifies an ideal succession of teachers and pupils who learn and teach a certain branch of the Veda; while the latter means a settlement of Brahmans, a community or college to which members of any Charâṇa might belong. Thus members of the same Charâṇa might be fellows of different Parishads, and fellows of the same Parishad might be members of different Charâṇas.2

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1 लोकवेदागधर्मेश्वर: सम पंच चयो वापि।
वच्चापविष्ठा विष्ठा: शः शा चद्भादृशी शभा।

2 See Gobhilabhaâshya, MS. W. 72. p. 71. a. चाचार्य रपरिशिष्ठं भोजेष्ट्रटङ्गचारिणं। Com. सह परिशिद्र शिवागरणेन वर्तन्त इति रपरिशिष्ठं: तं। समान तुभ्यकालं ब्रह्मचारिनं चेष्ठा त इमे अन्यशाखिनुदपि छृत्रचारिणं: सत्ययो
Now as Pārshada may be used as the title of any work that belonged to a Parishad, or formed, so to say, the traditional library of the Pārishadys, it is clear that this title could not be confined to the Prātiśākhya, though it would necessarily include them. If a follower of the Sākala-charana was a fellow of the Vatsa-parishad, the Sākala-prātiśākhya would necessarily be one of the Pārshada works of the Vatsas, and the Parishad of the Vatsas would through this fellow be connected with the Sākala-charana. This is what Durga means when in the Commentary on the Nirukta¹ he says “that those Pārshadas only are called Prātiśākhya which are adopted in a Parishad of one’s own Charana for teaching certain grammatical doctrines connected with the reading of the Veda according to one or the other Sākhā.” The Prātiśākhya are in fact a subdivision of the Pārshada books, and

¹Nir. i. 17. किं पार्षदानि। स्वरूपपविवेच्यो चैः प्रातिशाखां नियतनेव पद्रवयः प्रस्ताद्यक्षकमन्दिताक्षरवस्थापुर्वमुच्चते तानिकानि पार्षदानि प्रातिशाखायानीयः।

“Those Pārshada books by which in a Parishad (parish or college) of one’s own Charana (sect), the peculiarities of accent, Sanhitā and Krama-reading, of Pragṛiḥya-vowels and separation of words, are laid down as enjoined for and restricted to certain Sākhās (branches or recensions of the Veda), are called Prātiśākhya.”
in this sense it might well be said that Prātisākhya is an adjective to Pārshada.¹

After the true meaning of Śākha, Charaṇa, and Parishad, of Prātisākhya and Pārshada, has thus been determined, we have still to inquire about those other works, which together with the Prātisākhya were mentioned as the peculiar property of the Charaṇas. I mean the Kula-dharmas, or law books. They of course could not be called Prātisākhya, but they might claim the title of Chāraṇas, (a name which has not been met with,) or Pārshadas. Now we saw before that Āpastamba actually refers to the Parishads in his Sāmayāchārikā-sūtras (1. 11.), where, after having pointed out the days on which the Veda ought not to be repeated, he remarks, that farther particulars on this point are to be found in the Parishads.² What does this mean? All that Haradatta has to say in the commentary on this very passage, is that by Parishads must here be understood the Mānava, Vāsishtha, and other Dharmasastras.³ These Dharmasastras, however, as we now possess them, betray their comparatively modern origin by their form and metre, and occasionally by their matter also. As many of them have been printed at Calcutta, it may be seen that the majority of these small Śloka works are utterly worthless. They were probably made up only

¹ See Dr. Roth, Zur Litteratur, p. 58.

² अन्यद्वृत्तं परिषल्ल

³ अन्तः एकादन्यायायभंकरण्यवदन्यायविनिमित्तः परि-वितु मानवादिरु धर्मशाखेः यथोऽन तथा क्रयं। तत्र वाक्षिष्ठ! &c.
in order to fill the gap which had been occasioned by
the loss of ancient legal works. This loss was felt the
more severely because the names of the old authors
retained their celebrity, and were still quoted in
common practice and courts of law. I have suc-
ceeded, however, in recovering in manuscript large
portions of the Kula-dharmas, which are written in
Sūtras, as might be expected in works contempo-
raneous with the Prātiśākhyas. It has been thought
that the sources of Manu and other Dharmaśāstras
must be looked for in the Grihya-sūtras. This is not
quite correct. The Grihya-sūtras are concerned
chiefly with the Sanskāras, or domestic sacraments, ex-
tending from the birth to the marriage of a man, and
in so far only as these sacraments form a portion of
the subjects treated in the Dharmaśāstras, the Grihya-
sūtras might be considered as their original sources.
But then the same might be said of the Śrauta-sūtras,
because the solemn sacrifices prescribed by them are
likewise alluded to in the Codes of Law. By far
the greater portion, however, of these codes is taken
up with Āchāra, i.e. laws, manners, and customs.
The difference between these observances and the
ceremonies laid down in the other two branches of
Sūtras is this: the domestic sacraments (grihya), as
well as the solemn sacrifices (śrauta), are administered
by parents or priests for the good of their children
and pupils, while the Āchāra comprises all the duties
which are to be performed by an individual on his
own behalf.1 These duties refer to the different castes,
and to the respective occupations of each. The rules of discipline for the young student, the occupations of the married man, the law of inheritance, the duties of the king, the administration of the law, are accurately detailed in these Sūtras. They are of great importance for forming a correct view of the old state of society in India, and the loss of the larger number of them is greatly to be regretted. Their general title is Sāmayāchārika-sūtras, or Dharmasūtras, and they form the third part to the Śrauta and Grihya-sūtras. Thus we have, besides the Śrauta and Grihya-sūtras of Apastamba, a collection of Sāmayāchārika-sūtras belonging to the same Charaṇa of the Āpastambas, the members of which, as Kumārila tells us, followed one of the Śākhās of the Taittirīya-veda. Another collection of Dharmasūtras, which, however, is liable to critical doubts, belongs to the Gautamas, a Charaṇa of the Sāma-veda. It has been printed at Calcutta. A third one bears the name of Vishṇu, and has been printed at Calcutta, enlarged by modern additions written in Ślokas. The Vāsishṭha-dharma-sāstra, printed at Calcutta, belongs likewise, at least in part, to this class of Dharmasūtras. Whether we shall succeed in finding still more of these Sūtra works is questionable, though prose quotations from other Dharmāstāstras would justify this expectation. There can be no doubt, however, that all the genuine metrical Dharmāstāstras

यन्नः। उपरिष्टे धर्मः प्रतिवैद्य तथानु वाक्षायाम्: (sic.)।
श्वान्ति द्वितीयः। श्रिष्टाचारस्तनीय इति॥

“Baudhāyana says, the highest law is that contained in each Veda, which we shall follow in our explanation; the second is the traditional law; the third, the customs of eminent sages.”
which we possess now, are, without any exception, nothing but more modern texts of earlier Sūtra-works or Kula-dharmas belonging originally to certain Vedic Charaṇas.¹

To return to those works of the Pārshada literature which are known by the name of Prātiṣākhyas, I may refer for further particulars to Dr. Roth’s valuable observations on this branch of literature. To him belongs the merit of having first pointed out in manuscript four of these works. The first is ascribed to Saunaka, and belongs to the Śākala-śākhā of the Rig-veda. I call it the Śākala-prātiṣākhya; not the Sāsiṣira-prātiṣākhya, though it pretends to follow, like Saunaka’s Anukramaṇī, the Sanhitā of the Śāsiṣiriya-śākhā, which is itself a subordinate branch of the Śākala-śākhā.² Sāsiṣira, however, is never mentioned in this or any other Prātiṣākhyya, as an authority on grammatical questions.

It is doubtful how far the rules given by Saunaka

¹ See Prof. Stenzler’s Introduction to his edition of Yājnavalkya, and his remarks on Indian Law-books in Indische Studien, i. 232.

² इन शाखां पार्वदास्त्रमक्षिणं संपूर्णमूत्तरतः वच्चे वाक्याम् इवत्यः। श्रेष्ठिरेते पारायणपाठ इति वाक्यशेषः। श्रेष्ठिरेते यायां संहितायामित्यः। श्रेष्ठिरेते संहितास्वरूपः स्त्रियाः गोकुले वाक्यः। श्रेष्ठिरे श्रेष्ठिरस्वायः। श्रेष्ठिरे वाक्यामिति। यथा च स्वयं श्रेष्ठिरेते पारायणात्माय शाखेकृत्यधिकारिणीयमेति। चया च बहुविधः श्रेष्ठिरेते यायां संहितायामिति। यथा क्रमवेदः श्रेष्ठिरेते यायां संहितायामिति। The verses to which the commentary refers are not in the MS. See also Vishnu Purana, p. 277. n. क्रमवेदः श्रेष्ठिरेते यायां संहितायां
in his Pratishakhya, can be considered as representing the general opinion of the Sakalas. Saunaka, no doubt, wrote for the Sakalas, to whom he likewise addresses his Anukramaṇī. But the author of the Pratishakhya occasionally quotes the opinions of the Sakalas, as different from his own, and speaks of them in the same manner as he alludes to the opinions of other grammarians. He mentions (i. 65.) the Sakalas as observing a certain peculiar pronunciation out of respect for their master, who seems to have sanctioned it in his own rules. Who this master was is difficult to say. But it is most likely the same who (i. 52.) is called the Master, Vedamitra (friend of the Veda), and who (i. 223.) is called Śākalyapitā, the father of Śākalya. His opinions, if we may judge by i. 232., differed from those of the younger Śākalya. In i. 185. we meet with him again under the name of Śākalya Sthavira, Śākalya the elder, and he is there represented as advocating a pronunciation from which Saunaka, the author of the Pratishakhya, dissents. In i. 199. Saunaka adopts the opinion of Śākalya, and in i. 208. he likewise mentions him with approbation. But all this would only tend to show that Saunaka does not consider himself bound to follow either Śākalya or the father of Śākalya, implicitly.¹

There is not a single MS. at present existing of the Rig-veda in which the rules of our Pratishakhya are uniformly observed, and the same applies to the MSS.

¹ In xiii. 12. Śākalya is mentioned as one of three Āchāryas, Vyālī, Śākalya, Gārgya.
of the other Vedas. The rules of the Prātiṣākhyaas were not intended for written literature, they were only to serve as a guide in the instruction of pupils who had to learn the text of the Veda by heart, and to repeat it, as part of their daily devotions. As Śaunaka was himself a member of the Śākalas, we may quote his Prātiṣākhya as the Śākala-prātiṣākhya. But strictly speaking it could only be called one of the Śākala-prātiṣākhyaas, preserved by the pupils of Śaunaka, who, soon after, formed themselves into a new Charaṇa, under the name of Śaunakiyas.

The second Prātiṣākhya belongs to the ancient text of the Yajur-veda. There is only one MS. of it at the Bodleian Library, together with a considerable portion of the Commentary, the Tribhāshyaratna. Professor Wilson, in his catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (i. 7, No. xxxiii.) mentions another MS., "The Prātiṣākhya of the Yajur-veda, with a Bhāshya or comment, entitled Tribhāshyaratna, from its being said to be the substance of the works of three celebrated sages, Atreya, Mahisha, and Vararuchi." To what particular Śākhā of the Black Yajur-veda this Prātiṣākhya belonged it is difficult to determine. It quotes several of the Charaṇas, belonging to the Black Yajur-veda, such as Taittiriyakas, Āhvarakas, Ukhya, the founder of the Aukhiyas, and Bhāradvāja, the founder of the Bhāradvājins. It also alludes to Mīmāṃskas, a school of philosophers, mentioned in none of the other Prātiṣākhyaas. Until we receive some more complete MSS. of this work we can only say that it belongs to some Śākhā of the Taittiriya or Black Yajur-veda. Its grammatical termi-

1 This Prātiṣākhya has lately been edited by M. A. Regnier, in the "Journal Asiatique."
nology, as might be expected, is less advanced and less artificial than that of the Prātiṣākhya of the modern or White Yajur-veda.

The third Prātiṣākhya is ascribed to the Śākhā of the Mādhyandinas, one of the subdivisions of the Vājasaneyins; though, perhaps, on the same grounds as those stated above with regard to the Śākala-prātiṣākhya, it might seem more correct to call it the Prātiṣākhya of the Kātyāyanīyas, a subdivision of the Mādhyandinas. It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities. There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiṣākhya should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pāṇini. It is true that Pāṇini's rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas. The Vedic idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana's Prātiṣākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rishis. This, however, is not quite the case. Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages. "There are two words," he says (i. 17.), "om and atha, both used in the beginning of a chapter; but om is used in the Vedas, atha in the Bhāshyas." As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāshya or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vedic idiom.

Some of Kātyāyana’s Sūtras are now found re-

1 It has been edited by Prof. Weber, Indische Studien, vol. iv.
2 Indische Studien, iv. p. 103.
peated *ipseissimis verbis* in Pāṇini's grammar. This might seem strange; but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came from Pāṇini himself, and it is most likely that Kātyāyana, in writing his supplementary notes to Pāṇini, simply repeated some of his Prātiśākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Vārttikas became part of the text of Pāṇini.

The fourth Prātiśākhya belongs to the Atharva-veda. It is called Saunakīyā Chāturādhyāyikā, and was, therefore, no doubt the property of the Saunakīyas, a Charana of the Atharva-veda. The name of the author is unknown, and we possess as yet but one MS., and that a very imperfect one, in the Royal Library at Berlin. That it belongs to a Śākhā of the Ātharvāṇa, is indicated by its very beginning, and one of its first rules is quoted by the commentator on the Śākala-prātiśākhya as belonging to an Ātharvāṇa-prātiśākhya. Besides, in the fourth chapter of the fourth and last book special reference is made to Ātharvāṇa sacrifices. We can hardly suppose that Saunaka, the author of the Prātiśākhya of the Rigveda, was at the same time the author of this Saunakīyā Chāturādhyāyikā. Saunaka, whose name never occurs in the Śākala-prātiśākhya, is quoted in

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1 नमो ब्रजवंदेय। चायांगिरसः।।
2 तथा चायवेष्प्रातिशाख्य इद्भेद प्रयोजनसुतं। एव-मिचिन्ति च विभवाप्राप्तं सामान्येन॥
3 चायवेष्पु च कर्मसं चायांवजितिः मषिवंधनादिदिः॥
4 I still doubt the genuineness of the first verse of the Śākala-prātiśākhya where Saunaka's name has been foisted in at the end. The emendation which I proposed in my edition of the Śākala-prātiśākhya, requires the admission of a so-called iyādipūrana in tvādi.
the Châturâdhyâyikâ, i. 1. 8. The grammatical terminology of this little tract is far in advance of the technical terms used by Šaunaka. Yet there is a certain connection between the two books, and it is most likely that the author of the Châturâdhyâyikâ was a member of the Šaunakiya-charana, founded by the author of the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya. Nay it seems as if its author had retained something of the allegiance which Šaunaka owed to Sâkalya and the Sâkalas. In one instance, where Pañini quotes the opinions of Sâkalya, the original is found in the Châturâdhyâyikâ, and not in the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya. We are told by Pañini, that Sâkalya pronounced the o of the vocative to be unchangeable (pragrihya), if followed by the particle iti. Exactly the same rule, and in the very same words, is given in the Atharvana-prâtiśâkhya, whereas the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya teaches first, that the o of the vocative is pragrihya (i. 69); secondly, that it is liable to certain changes (i. 132, 135); and lastly, that all pragrihya vowels are unchangeable, if followed by iti (i. 155). In none of these Sûtras do we find the exact words which Pañini quotes, and which are found in the Atharvana-prâtiśâkhya. Again, Pañini (viii. 3, 19.) ascribes the dropping of y and v in vishna iha instead of vishnav iha, in hara ehi instead of haray ehi, to Sâkalya. Now it is true that this process is not unknown in the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya, but it there assumes quite a dif-

1 The quotation refers to Sâkala-pr. i. 114.

2 1. 16. संवुद्धी शाकचखेतावनार्थेः

3 1. 19. चामचितमितावनार्थेः

4 1. 69. भोकार चामचितजः प्रयुष्टः
ferent aspect (i. 129. 132. 135); whereas, in the Châturâdhyâyikâ the explanation is very much the same as in Pânini.¹ Pânini quotes in the same place (viii. 3. 18.) the spelling adopted in these cases by Śâkata-
yana.² This is mentioned likewise in immediate connection with the rules which precede it in the Atharva-
vaṇa-prâtiśâkhya; it is not mentioned at all in the Śâ-
kala-prâtiśâkhya. It has been supposed³ that a rule, which in Kâtyâyana's Prâtiśâkhya is ascribed to Saunaka, was taken from the Châturâdhyâyikâ, and that therefore Kâtyâyana's Prâtiśâkhya was later than that of the Atharvâ-veda. But the rule ascribed to Saunaka by Kâtyâyana is, that a final tenuis, if followed by a sibilant of a different class, is changed into the aspirate, whereas according to the Châturâdhyâyikâ (II. 1.6.) a tenuis, followed by a sibilant of its own class, would have to be aspirated.⁴ It must be admitted, however, that no such rule as that ascribed by Kâtyâyana to Saunaka is found in the Śâkala-prâtiśâkhya, and, in other respects, the Prâtiśâkhya of Kâtyâyana shows traces of more modern origin than the Châturâ-
dhyâyikâ.

¹ ii. 1. 21. रायवेष्योऽपि तद् इमां चापः।

‡ ii. 1. 22. नाकाराद्वकासः उभाविद्याः। ⁵ ii. 1. 23. गवेशण दृश्यः ।

्तः Forms like ubhâ u, instead of ubhâv u, sanc-
tioned by the Śâkala-pr. i. 129, would offend against the rule of the Ātharvaṇa-prâtiśâkhya.

² लेखान्तिरविधिस्मां शाक्तायनकम्।

³ Indische Studien, iv. 249.

⁴ Kâtyâyana would write दृष्टवत्साचे विराट घंडे। the Châturâdhyâyikâ, दृष्टवत्साचे विराट घंडे॥
The following list gives the names of the principal authorities quoted in the Śākala-prātisākhya, the Taittiriya-prātisākhya, the Kātyāyanīya-prātisākhya, the Chāturādhyāyikā, the Nirukta, and Pāṇini. I have availed myself of the lists given by Roth, Weber, and Böhtlingk; and though I do not pretend that my own list is complete, it will be sufficient to show the active interest which was taken in grammatical subjects at that early period:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Āgnivesya T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Āgnivesyāyana T.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āgrāyaṇa N.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ātreya T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ānyatareya Ś. Ch.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Āpiśali P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Āhvarakas T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ukhya T.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Uttamottarīyas (?) T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Udichyas P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Audumbarāyaṇa N.</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Aupamanyava N.</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Aupāsīvi K.</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Aurnāvābha N.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Kāṇḍamāyana T.</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Kāṇva K.</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Kāṭthakya N.</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>Kāśyapa K. P.</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Kauṇḍinya T.</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Kautsa N.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Kauhaliputra T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Kraushṭuki N.</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>Gārgya Ś. K. N. P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gālava N. P.</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>Gautama T.</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Charmaśiras N.</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>Chākravarmāṇa P.</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Jātukarnya K.</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>Taitīki N.</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Taittirīyakas T.</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Dalbhya K.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Panchālas Ś.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Paushkarasādi T. P. (vārt.)</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Prāchyas Ś. P.</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Plākshi T.</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Plākshāyaṇa T.</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Bāhravya (Krama-krit) Ś.</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Bhāradvāja T. P.</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Māñḍukēya Ś.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Māśākiyā T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Mimāṃsakas T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Yāśka Ś.</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Vāṭabhikāra T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Vātsapra T.</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Vātsyā Ch. (?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Vārshyāyāni N.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
47. Vālmiki. T.
48. Vedamitra. Ś.
49. Vyāli. Ś.
50. Satabalâksha Maudgalya. N.
51. Śakatâyana. Ś. K. Ch. N. P.
52. Śakapûni. N.
53. Śākala (pâdakrit). Ś.
54. Śākalaś. Ś.
55. Śākalya. Ś. K. P.
56. Śākalya-pitṛi (stha-vira). Ś.
57. Śânkhaśyana. T.
58. Śaityâyana. T.
59. Saunaka. Ś (?) K. Ch.
60. Śâṅkritya. T.
61. Senaka. P.
62. Sthaulashṭhîvi. N.
63. Sphotâyana. P.
64. Ḥârita. T.

For the Sâma-veda no Prâtiśâkhya has as yet been discovered. There is a small treatise which I found in the same manuscript of the Bodleian Library which contains the Taîtreiriya-prâtiśâkhya, and which might be called a Prâtiśâkhya of the Sâma-veda. But it is so badly written, and so unintelligible without a commentary, that little use can be made of it at present. It is called Sâma-tantra, and evidently treats of the same subjects which usually occur in the Prâti-

1 It begins (MS. Bodl. W. 505.) \textit{श्रीगणेशाय नमः॥ खरोऽन्यः। चीचानां। उपांत्या। उपांत्ये। चितु। चिदि।। उपांत्यं च।} द्वितीयं। यात्॥ उपांत्ये॥। चाचे। चंचे। मथं। विपरीत-खराणं। जारा। माहद॥ शस्युं जता। पारिबु। दिं॥॥ वि। पिवा। दृढिविद्हृविणा। जरा परा च। सूव्य। ईयान॥ चंचे॥ शता। तिपागु।॥ &c. From my notes taken in the Royal Library of Berlin, I see that the same work exists there with a commentary (?) in 13 Prâpâthakas. \textit{समासमिदं कुद्रोगमंबधिवं सामतंचामिधां। व्याकरणं।} The same work I find mentioned,
śākhyas. Its authenticity is supported by the Charaṇa-
vṛūha, where a Sāma-tantra is mentioned, but without
any further particulars.

If it be asked now why all these works, so dif-
ferent in appearance, are to be ascribed to one period
of literature, the Sūtra-period, the reasons for it are
as follows: first, that the style of the majority of
these works is the old Sūtra style, for instance, in the
Taittirīya-prātiśākhya, the Kātyāyaniya-prātiśākhya,
and the Chāturādhyāyikā; secondly, that the ma-
nuscripts call these works Sūtras; thirdly, that
even works, written in mixed Ślokas, like those of
Śaunaka, are quoted as Sūtras, a title which would
never be given to works like the Mānava-dharma-
śāstra, &c.; and fourthly, that the same men to whom
these works are ascribed are known to have com-
posed other works, generally written in the style of

in Dr. Weber’s interesting article on the Sāma-veda. (Indische
Studien, i. 48.) It is curious that this Sāmatantra is called Vṛā-
karana, grammar. The same name is also given to the Rik-
tantra, a small Śikṣā treatise, MS. Bodl. W. 375. This MS.
contains several small treatises on Śikṣā matters connected
with the Sāma-veda, but more in the form of Pariśīṣṭas: one on
Avagraha, or division of words; another called Sāmasankhyā;
and a third called Stobhānusanahāra, beginning with the words

1 The title put at the end of the chapters of the Taittirīya-
prātiśākhya is “iti prātiśākhyā-sūtre prathamaḥ praśnaḥ samāptah,
&c.”

2 Śaḍguruśishya, in his Commentary on the Anukramaṇī, says
that Śaunaka first composed a Kalpa-sūtra, consisting of 1000 parts
and resembling a Brāhmaṇa. बहुव्यंज्ञं सत्रं त्राणारणिः
निभं. This was afterwards destroyed by himself; but his few
remaining works, which are written in verse, are equally called
Sūtras, सूचदश्रक।
Sūtras. That the Prātiśākhya of the Śākalas should be written in Ślokas and yet be ascribed to Śaunaka, the teacher of Kātyāyana, is no objection. It would have to be excluded from the Sūtra period, if written in regular Anuṣhtubh-ślokas like those of Manu. But the mixture of the Śloka with other ancient metres indicates better than anything else the transition from one period to another, and is quite in accordance with that position which, as will be seen, Śaunaka occupies in the literary history of India.

By comparing Śaunaka's chapters on Śikshā in his first Prātiśākhya with the small Śloka compilation which is generally quoted as the Vedāṅga, the difference of old and modern Ślokas will at once be perceived. This modern tract which has been printed in India, contains scarcely more than the matter of the Śiva or Śamkara-sūtras brought into Ślokas. It mentions the Prākrit dialects, and represents itself as written after Pāṇini, but not, as Madhusūdana Sarasvatī pretends, by Pāṇini. Yet it is curious to see how great a reputation this small work must have gained, because Sāyaṇa, who knows the Prātiśākhyas and quotes both from the Śākala and Taittiriya-prātiśākhya, regards this small tract as the real Vedāṅga. In a Mīmāṃsā work, which has been mentioned before, Somesvara's Tantra-
vārttika-ṭīkā, it seems even as if greater authority had been attributed to this short Śikṣhā tract than to the more developed and evidently older works of Sau-naka, Kātyāyana, and others.

Besides these works on Śikṣhā which have been enumerated, from the Taittirīyāranyaka down to the so-called Vedāṅga, we possess another tract on Śikṣhā, called the Māṇḍūkā-śikṣhā.¹ But this also is probably a production later than the Sūtra period, and it is important only in so far as it bears the name of another Charana of the Rīg-veda, the Māṇḍūkāyanas², and thus confirms what was pointed out before, that each of the old Śākhās had originally its own Prātiśākhya, although the greater number of them, as well as

¹ Another work on Śikṣhā is mentioned by Raja Rādhakānta in the article which he has dedicated to the Vedāṅgas in his Sabda-kalpa-drumma, and for which Amara and Bharata are quoted as authorities.

² Māṇḍukeya is quoted in the Śākala-prātiśākhya, I. 200.
their Mantra texts, are now lost or preserved only under a more modern form, as may be seen in the case of this Māndākī-śikṣā.

Chhandas, or Metre.

The second Vedânga doctrine, Chhandas or metre, stands very much in the same position as the Śikṣā. Some names which have been afterwards adopted as the technical designations of metres, occur in some of the Mantras of the Rig-veda, and there are frequent allusions to metres in the Brâhmaṇas. What is said, however, in the Brâhmaṇas with reference to metres, is generally so full of dogmatic and mystical ingredients as to be of scarcely any practical use. In the Āranyakas and Upanishads whole chapters are devoted to this subject. Yet it is again in the Sûtras only that a real attempt has been made to arrange these archaic metres systematically. We have some chapters on metres at the end of the Śâkala-prâtiśâkhya, written in Śaunaka’s usual style of mixed Ślokas. This treatise is anterior to that of Kâtyâyana which we find in the introduction to his Sarvânukrama, because Kâtyâyana is the pupil of Śaunaka, as we shall see hereafter. For the metres of the Sâma-veda we have the Ni-dâna-sûtra in ten prapâṭhakas, which, after explaining the nature and different names of all the Vedic metres, gives a kind of index (anukrâmaṇī) to the metres as they occur in the hymns employed at the Ekâha, Ahîna, and Sattra sacrifices. As to Pingalanâga’s work on Chhandas, which is most frequently quoted under the title of Vedânga, it does not pretend to be of greater antiquity than
the Mahâbhâshya, supposing it were admitted that Patanjali, the author of this famous commentary on Pâñini, was the same as Pingala.\(^1\) There would be nothing extraordinary in the fact that Pingala treats of Prâkrit as well as Sanskrit metres. For we have the instance of Kâtyâyana-Vararuchi, who wrote the Vârttikas on Pâñini and lived before Patanjali, and is said to be the same who wrote a grammar of the Prâkrit dialects. It must be admitted, however, that Pingalanâga’s Metric is one of the last works that could possibly be included in the Sûtra period; though there is no sufficient ground for excluding it from this period altogether, merely because those rules which refer to metres not yet employed in the Veda are ascribed to the same Pingala. Besides, Pingala is quoted as an authority on metres in the Parisishâtas\(^2\), a class of literature which does not seem to be separated from the Sûtra period by a long interval.

To the same class of Chhandas works to which Pingala’s treatise belongs, and which are not restricted to certain Sâkhas, but are intended for the Veda in general, two other works are added by the commentator on the Sâkala-prâtiśâkhya, the one ascribed to Yâska, the other to Saitava.\(^3\) Both these works, however, seem to be lost at present.

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1 Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, ii. 63.
2 MS. Bodl. W. 466. सामाङां करंदः! ब्राह्मणाचं डिनिश्यव पिंगलाच महाभाषाः! निदानादुक्ष्यां धानकं द्रानसुस्तुः॥
3 तथा केवलंदरसियादिभि: पिंगलवास्कैतवप्रास्तितिभि-थिन्यामामपनों लचण।. See Dr. Roth’s preface to the Nirukta,
The difference between a Chhandas work belonging to one of the Śâkhâs, and those treatises which are occupied with metre in general, may be seen from the following instance.

According to Pingala’s Sūtras, a metre of seventy-six syllables is called Atidhrīti, a metre of sixty-eight syllables Atyashṭi. Now Rv. i. 127, 6. a verse occurs of sixty-eight syllables which ought therefore to be called an Atyashṭi. According to Pingala himself, however, some syllables may be pronounced as two¹, and if we follow his rules on this point, the same verse consists of seventy-six instead of sixty-eight syllables. In order, therefore, to remove the uncertainty attached to the metre of this verse, the Chhandas chapter in the Śâkala-prâtiśâkhya (towards the end of the 16th Paṭala) declares that according to the tradition of the Śâkala or Śaśīra-Śâkhâ, this verse is to be pronounced as an Atidhrīti, i.e. with seventy-six syllables. The same direction is given in Kâtyâyana’s index to the Śâkala-sanhitâ.

p. 10.; and quære whether in the Śâkala-prâtiś. xvii. 25. one might read द्रिति वै यास्कः instead of द्रिति वैयास्कः as the commentator proposes. Saitava is the pupil of Pârâśarya and divided by thirteen teachers from Yâska. Cf. Brîh. Āraṇy. Kâśya. ii. 6. 2, 3.; Indische Studien, i. p. 156. n.

¹ Pingala, 3. 1. पाद इयादिपूर्णः॥ इयादि: पूरणो चसः (पादसः) चसावियादिपूर्णः॥ चशिचन्हष्णे तु उवदयो गृह्नाये। तत्राच्यमर्यः॥ चत गायत्रादी संदद्वि पादसाकरसंख्या न पूरयते तत्रेयादिभि: पूर्वितया॥ चथा तत्वाविदा-वैरणियमिति दिव्यं गच्छ सुवः पत इत्येवमादयः॥
The third Vedânga is *Vyâkarana* or Grammar. According to the account which Indian authors give of their literature, this branch of Vedic learning would be represented by the Grammar of Pâñini. Here the contradiction becomes even more glaring. In Pingala's Sûtras the Vedic metres were at least treated in the same way as the non-Vedic. But in Pâñini, the rules which refer to Vedic grammar in particular, form only the exceptions to all the other rules which treat of the regular or classical language. Instead, therefore, of considering the third Vedânga doctrine as represented by the grammarians beginning with Pâñini (Pânînyâdayah), as Indian authors do, it would be more correct to say that it is represented by the grammarians ending with Pâñini (Pânînyantarâh). It unfortunately happened that Pâñini's work acquired by its great merits such a celebrity as to supersede almost all that had been written on grammar before him, so that, except the names and some particular rules of former grammarians, we have little left of this branch of literature, except what occurs occasionally in the Prâtiśâkhyas. That Pâñini knew the Prâtiśâkhyas had been indicated long ago by Professor Böhtlingk; and it can be proved now by a comparison of Pâñini's Sûtras with those of the Prâtiśâkhyas, that Pâñini largely availed himself of the works of his predecessors, frequently adopting their very expressions, though he quotes their names only in cases where they have to serve as authorities for certain rules.

There are two separate treatises on grammatical
subjects, which belong to a period anterior to Pâṇini: the Sûtras on the Unâdi affixes, and the Sûtras of Sàntanâchârya on accents. The Unâdi affixes are those by which nouns are formed from roots, the nouns being used in a conventional sense, and not in strict accordance with their radical meaning. They are called Unâdi, because, in the Sûtras as we now possess them, un is the first-mentioned affix. That Pâṇini was acquainted with the same arrangement of these formative affixes cannot be doubted, because he uses the same technical name (unâdi) for them. We do not know by whom these Unâdi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unâdi-sûtras, as we now possess them, were first composed. All we can say is, that, as Pâṇini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time. But how many of the Sûtras existed before the time of Pâṇini, and how many were added afterwards, is a question that can hardly be solved. In their present form the Sûtras seem to treat the Vedic words as exceptions, at least they give now and then a hint that a certain derivation applies to the Chhandas only. Nevertheless it is curious to observe that the greater number of words, explained by the genuine Unâdi-sûtras, are Vedic, some of them exclusively so. If the author of the Sûtras had intended his rules for the Bhâshâ, there would have been no reason why he should have paid such prominent regard to words of a purely Vedic character. In fact, I believe, that originally the Unâdi-sûtras were intended for the Veda only, and that they were afterwards enlarged by adding rules on the formation of non-Vedic words. At last the non-Vedic or laukika words assumed such a prepon-
derance that some rules, affecting Vedic words only, had actually to be inserted as exceptions. If a clear line could be drawn between words purely Vedic, and words never used in the Veda, and if the Sûtras referring to the former were separated from those of the latter class, we might perhaps arrive at the original text of this interesting work. This, however, is an undertaking which would require a more comprehensive and more critical knowledge of the history of the languages of India, than any scholar at present is likely to command.

As to Śântana's Phîṭsûtras, we know with less certainty to what period they belong. A knowledge of them is not presupposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śântana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Böhtlingk has ingeniously concluded, that Śântana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians.\(^1\) As, however, these Sûtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vedic language only, the subject of Śântana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusions from this.

Nirukta, or Etymology.

The fourth Vedânga is Nirukta or Etymology. In the same way as, according to Indian authors, Grammar, as a Vedânga, was represented by Pāṇini's Grammar, we find Nirukta also represented by but one work, generally known by the name of Yâśka's

\(^1\) Cf. Böhtlingk, Ein erster Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit, p. 64.; and Pāṇini, page xii.
Nirukta. Nirukta, however, has had this advantage over Vyākaraṇa, that Yāska's work applies itself exclusively to Vedic etymologies. In the same way as we considered Pāṇini's Grammar as the work where Vyākaraṇa, as a Vedāṅga, took its final shape, so Yāska also would seem to be one of the last authors who embodied the etymological lexicography of Vedic terms in one separate work. Niruktāras, or authors of Niruktas, are mentioned by Yāska; and some of them must have been as famous as Yāska himself, because we find that their merits in this respect were not forgotten even at the time of the compilation of the Purāṇas.¹ For explanations of old Vedic words, for etymologies and synonymous expressions, the Brāhmaṇas contain very rich materials, and, with the exception of the Kalpa, no other Vedāṅga has a better claim than the Nirukta to be considered as founded upon the Brāhmaṇas. Whole verses and hymns are shortly explained there; and the Āraṇyakas and Upanishads, if included, would furnish richer sources for Vedic etymologies than even the Nirukta itself. The beginning of the Aitareya-āraṇyaka is in fact a commentary on the

¹ Thus Śākapūrṇi is mentioned as a Niruktakṛt in the Vishnupurāṇa (p. 277. n. 9.); but this is no reason why Śākapūrṇi should be the same as Yāska, as Colebrooke supposed. (Miscell. Essays, i. 15.) In fact Śākapūrṇi is quoted by Yāska himself, for there can be no doubt that Śākapūrṇi is the same name as Śākapūrṇi. In later times, also, Yāska and Śākapūrṇi are regarded as distinct persons; for instance, in a verse ascribed to Parāṣara (Anukr. Bh. iv. 5. 7.), which occurs in the Brīhaddevata, प्रज्ञासिरिंमिन्द्रै यासकः सेवित तु मन्यते शाकपूर्णिः परार्द्धरः। Another Niruktakṛt mentioned by Śāyana is the son of Sthūla-śṭhīvi, or, as Yāska calls him, Sthaulashṭhīvi.
beginning of the Rig-veda; and if all the passages of the Brâhmaṇas were collected where one word is explained by another with which it is joined merely by the particle vai, they would even now give a rich harvest for a new Nirukta. It is important, however, not to confound Yâska's Nirukta with Yâska's Commentary on the Nirukta, although it has become usual, after the fashion of modern manuscripts, to call that commentary Nirukta, and to distinguish the text of the Nirukta by the name of Nighânṭu. The original Niruktas that formed an integral part of the Vedânga literature, known to Yâska himself, can have consisted only of lists of words arranged according to their meaning, like that upon which Yâska's Commentary is based. Whether the same Yâska who wrote the Commentary had some part in the arrangement of the lists of words, is unknown; probably these lists existed in his family long before his time, as Yâska implies himself (Nir. i. 20.). But, as he preserved them by his Commentary, it was natural that their authorship, too, should have been ascribed to him. Sâyaṇâ gives the following account of this matter:—"Nirukta is a work where a number of words is given, without any intention to connect them in a sentence. In that book, where a traditional number of words is taught, which begin with Gauh, gmâ, and end with Va- savah, Vâjinah, Devapatnyah, there is no intention to state things which are to be understood, because

1 If Sâyaṇâ means to give in these lines an etymology instead of a simple definition of Nirukta, the attempt would be very unsuccessful. Nirukta comes from nirvach, to explain. His definition, however, is right, in so far as the Nirukta does not
it is only said there that 'so many are the names of earth,' 'so many the names of gold,'" &c.

This Nirukta consists of three parts, as may be seen from the Commentary on the Anukramaṇīka. Here we read:

"The first part is the Naighanṭuka, the second the Naigama, and the third the Daivata, and thus must this traditional doctrine be considered as consisting of three parts.

"The Naighanṭuka begins with Gauḥ, and goes as far as Apāre.¹ The Naigama begins with Jahā, and goes as far as Ulbam Ribisam.² The third, or Deity-chapter, begins with Agni and ends with the Devapatnīs.³ Here the gods from Agni to Devī Urjāhuti⁴ are gods of the earth; from Vāyu to Bhaga⁵, gods of the air; from Sūrya to the Devapatnīs⁶, gods of

contain a connected string of ideas, but merely an enumeration of words. There is another definition of Nirukta, which is quoted by Râdhakant in his Śabdakalpadruma, and occurs as one of the Kārikās in the Kāśikāvṛtti (Pān. vi. 3. 109.):

"A Nirukta contains the doctrine of five things; of the addition, transposition, change, and dropping of letters, and of the use of one particular meaning of a root."

Instances of this are given in another verse:

¹ 1—3 Adhyāya.
² 4 Adhyāya.
³ 5 Adhyāya.
⁴ §§ 1—3.
⁵ §§ 4—6.
⁶ § 6.
the sky. People learn the whole traditional number of words, from Gauh to Devapatnyah.

"The word Nighantu applies to works where, for the most part, synonymous words are taught. Thus, ten Nighanțus are usually mentioned; and this title has been applied to such works as Amarasinha, Vaijayanti, Halâyudha, &c. Therefore, the first part of this work also has been called Naighantuka, because synonymous words are taught there. In this part there are three lectures: in the first, we have words connected with things of time and space in this and the other worlds; in the second, we have words connected with men and human affairs; and, in the third, words expressing qualities of the preceding objects, such as thinness, multitude, shortness, &c.

"Nigama means Veda. As Yâska has quoted many passages from the Veda, which he usually introduces by the words, 'For this there is also a Nigama;' and as, in the second part, consisting of the fourth Adhyâya, words are taught which usually occur in the Veda only, this part is called Naigama.

"Why the third part, consisting of the fifth Adhyâya, is called Daivata is clear. The whole work, consisting of five Adhyâyas and three parts, is called Nirukta, because the meaning of words is given there irrespective of anything else. A commentary on this

1 Sāyāna inverts here the historical order of things, because Yâska's Nighanțu must have been called by this name before the time of Amara's Dictionary. Several Koshas are quoted which have not yet been met with in manuscript: Sarva Kosha, Ranti or Rantideva Kosha, Yadava Kosha, Bhãguri Kosha, Bala Kosha, all of which must have been in existence as late as the Commentary on the Meghadûta.
has been composed by Yâska in twenty Adhyâyas. This also is called Nirukta, because the real meaning conveyed by each word is fully given therein."

The Nirukta, together with the Prâtiśâkhyaas and

1 I have translated this passage of Sâyana, because Dr. Roth has adopted a different division of the Nirukta in his edition, where he calls the first five books, containing the list of words, Nai-ghanâluka; the first six books of Yâska’s Commentary, Naigama; and the rest Daivata. It would have been better to preserve the old divisions, which are based not only upon the authority of Yâska himself, but also of his commentators, with this exception only that, according to them, the Naigama may also be called the Aikapadika. Thus Durga says,

Again, after having defined the third part, the Daivata, Durga goes on saying:

And further on:

He afterwards seems to imply that the whole may also be called
Pāṇini's Grammar, supply the most interesting and important information on the growth of grammatical science in India. It would be out of place to enter here into this subject, but I cannot pass it over without at least pointing out the valuable materials preserved in these works, for tracing the origin of one of the most ancient branches of philosophy, Grammar.

There are only two nations in the whole history of the world which have conceived independently, and without any suggestions from others, the two sciences of Logic and Grammar, the Hindus and the Greeks. Although the Arabs and Jews, among the Semitic nations, have elaborated their own system of grammar, in accordance with the peculiar character of their language, they owe to the Greeks the broad outlines of grammatical science, and they received from Aristotle the primary impulse to a study of the categories

Nighantu, but there is no authority whatever for calling the first part of Yāska's Commentary, as Dr. Roth does, Naigama. Devarāja also takes the same view when he says,
of thought and speech. Our own grammatical terms came to us from the Greeks; and their history is curious enough, if we trace them back through the clumsy and frequently erroneous translations of the literary statesmen of Rome, to the scholars and critics of Alexandria, and finally to the early philosophers of Greece, the Stoics, Aristotle, Protagoras and Pythagoras. But it is still more instructive to compare this development of the grammatical categories in Greece with the parallel, yet quite independent, history of grammatical science in India. It is only by means of such a comparison that we can learn to understand what is organic, and what is merely accidental, in the growth of this science, and appreciate the real difficulties which had to be overcome in the classification of words and the arrangement of grammatical forms. The Greeks and Hindus started from opposite points. The Greeks began with philosophy, and endeavoured to transfer their philosophical terminology to the facts of language. The Hindus began with collecting the facts of language, and their generalisations never went beyond the external forms of speech. Thus the Hindus excel in accuracy, the Greeks in grasp. The grammar of the former has ended in a colossal pedantry; that of the latter still invigorates the mind of every rising generation throughout the civilised world.

Language had become with the Hindus an object of wonder and meditation at a very early period. In the hymns of the Veda we meet with poetical and philosophical speculations on speech, and Sarasvati, the goddess of speech, is invoked as one of the most powerful deities. The scientific interest in language, however, dates from a later period. It was called forth, no
doubt, by the careful study of a sacred literature, which in India, as elsewhere, called into life many an ancient science. In India the sacred strains of the Rishis were handed down with the greatest care, the knowledge of these songs constituted the only claim and hope of man for a higher life, and from a very early time they were looked upon with such a superstitious awe, that a mere error of pronunciation was supposed to mar their miraculous power.  

We need not wonder, therefore, that the minutest rules were laid down as to the pronunciation of these hymns, and that the thoughts of the early teachers were led to dwell on the nature of language and its grammatical organisation. Where so much depended on letters, it was natural that words also and their grammatical variations should attract attention. A number of letters, or even a single letter, as Kâtyâyana says, may form a syllable (akshara), a number of syllables or even a single syllable may form a word (pada).  

There are many lucubrations on letters, syllables, and words in the Brâhmanas, and there are numerous expressions, occurring in the Brâhmanas, which mark a certain advance of grammatical knowledge. In the Brâhmaṇa of the Vâjasaneyins (xiii. 5. 1. 18) we meet with the names for Singular, Dual, and Plural. In the Chhândogya-upanishad (p. 135, ed. Roer) we find a classification of letters, and technical terms such as sparśa, consonants; svara, vowels; āśman, sibilants. However, we must not expect in those treatises to find anything sound and scientific. It is in the Sûtra lite-
nature that we meet with discussions on language of a purely scientific character; and what we do find in
the Prātiśākhya, in the Nirukta and Pāṇini, is quite
sufficient to show that at their time the science of lan-
guage was not of recent origin. I can only touch upon
one point. It is well known how long it took before
the Greeks arrived at a complete nomenclature for
the parts of speech. Plato knew only of Noun (ὄνομα)
and Verb (ῥήμα), as the two component parts of
speech, and for philosophical purposes Aristotle too
did not go beyond that number. It is only in dis-
cussing the rules of rhetoric that he is led to the
admission of two more parts of speech, the σύνδεσμοι
(conjunctions) and ἄρθρα (articles). The pronoun
ἀντωνυμία does not come in before Zenodotos, and the
preposition (πρόθεσις) occurs first in Aristarchos.
In the Prātiśākhya, on the contrary, we meet at once
with the following exhaustive classification of the
parts of speech (xii. 5.)

"The noun (नाम, the verb (अखया), the prepo-
sition (उपसर्ग), and the particle (निपत) are called
by grammarians the four classes of words.¹ The

¹ Namesubhasya nityasrojanENA: padajatani shabh.

2 tannam chetanabhitdhiti satu tatrajyata kej bhaavya s thatu.

3 prabha para nirvadna vyapav sa parir prati nityadhik sanvdvapi.

4 upasanga vibhityartha vyakta: santiyakamathimite nirvata.

5 kriyavachkamaksyaatsumurasgina vibcriyaknt.

6 sattaabhidhaya: naman nirvata: padvavaram.

7 nityasrojanena arthavashya nityasrojanena arthavamanamathimite ch vaartha.

8 neyam dvyaknta samvedha vaabdehmita chayabhitarychere ch ch.

(neyam: is n eyen; it means tathayayta naksita.)

M
noun is that by which we mark a being, a verb that by which we mark being; the latter is called a root (dhātu). There are twenty prepositions, and these have a meaning, if joined with nouns or verbs. The rest of the words are called particles. The verb expresses an action; the preposition defines it; the noun marks a being; particles are but expletives. There are, however, besides the particles which have no meaning, others which have, for we see that some particles are used on account of their sense: but it is impossible to say how many there are of each class, whether they are used in measured or in prose diction."

The same division is adopted by most grammarians, and it is more fully explained by the author of the Nirukta. After stating that there are four kinds of words, Yāska says that the verb is chiefly concerned with being, nouns with beings. He then brings in a new definition which reminds us of the first introduction of the προσγιορία, as distinct from the ὄνομα, by the Stoics. "The verb," he says, "when it expresses being, expresses a kind of being which lasts from an earlier to a later time, such as "he walks, "he cooks"; the nouns, if they express being (and not a being), express a kind of being that has become embodied in one, from beginning to end, such as "a walking," "a cooking." Here the chief difference between the verb and the noun appellative, is established on a similar ground to that on which Aristotle ascribes to the verb a temporal character, and denies it to the noun."

1 The name for pronoun, sarvanāman, occurs in the Nirukta, vii. 2, and in the Chāturādhyāyikā.
2 Poet. c. 20. ὄνομα δ' ἐστὶ φωνῇ συνθέτη, σημαντικῇ ἄνευ χρόνου,
The distinction of the numbers was first pointed out by Aristotle, but the technical terms for singular and plural (ἀριθμός ἕνικος, πληθυντικός) date from a later time. In India the terms for the three numbers, Singular, Plural, and Dual, were known in the Brāhmaṇa period.

Aristotle had no clear conception of cases, in the grammatical sense of the word. *Ptosis*, with him, refers to verbs as well as nouns. The introduction of the five cases, in our sense of the word, is due to the Stoics. In the Prātiṣākhyaśas we find not only a name for case, restricted to nouns (vibhakti, *i.e.* κλοςις) but the number of cases also is fixed at seven.

The distinction of the genders is the only point on which the Greeks may claim a priority to the Hindus. It was known in Greece to Protagoras; whereas in India the Prātiṣākhyaśas seem to have passed it over, and it appears first in Pāṇini.¹

There are some discussions in the beginning of the Nirukta which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology. While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers, as expressed in the Cratylus, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the Brahmans of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the Prātiṣākhya of Kātyāyana we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles, another division of a purely grammatical nature, and expressed in the most strictly technical language. "*Verbs with their con-

¹ Kātyāyaniya Prātiṣākhya, iv. 170.
jugational terminations, *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of kṛit-suffixes, *Nouns*, derived from nouns by means of taddhita-suffixes, and four kinds of *Compounds*, — these constitute language."^1

In the Nirukta this division is no longer considered sufficient. A new problem has been started, one of the most important problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns, were derived from verbs. The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that kartri, a doer, was derived from kri, to do; pāchaka, a cook, from pach, to cook. But did the same apply to all words? Śakaṭâyana, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the Nairukta (or Etymologists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches. They were opposed, and not without violence, by another school, emphatically called the Vaiyākaraṇas or Analysers, who, following the lead of Gārgya, the etymologist^2, admitted the verbal origin of those words only for which an adequate grammatical analysis could be given. The rest they left unexplained. Let us hear how Yāska states the arguments on both sides. After having explained the characteristics of the four classes of words, he says: "Śakaṭâyana maintains that nouns are derived from verbs, and there is an universal agreement of all Etymologists (Nairukta) on this point. Gārgya, on the contrary, and some of the grammarians say, not all

^1 I. 27. निद्द्धन्तितितज्ञक्तुष्ट्ययमास: शब्दमय।

^2 नन्दकाश्चाय गाम्यजवः। Durga.
(nouns are derived from verbs). For first, if the accent and formation were regular in all nouns and agreed entirely with the appellative power (of the root), nouns such as go (cow), aśva (horse), purusha (man), would be in themselves intelligible. Secondly, if all nouns were derived from verbs, then if any one performed a certain action, he would, as a subject, be called in the same manner. For instance, if aśva, horse, were derived from aś, to get through, then any one who got through a certain distance, would have to be called aśva, horse. If trina, grass, were derived from trid, to pierce, then whatever pierces would have to be called trina. Thirdly, if all nouns were derived from verbs, then everything would take as many names as there are qualities belonging to it. A pillar, for instance, which is now called sthūna, might be called dareśaya, hole-rest, because it rests in a hole; or sanjana, joiner, because there are beams joined to it. Fourthly, people would call things in such a manner that the meaning of nouns might be at least intelligible, whatever the regular formation may be by which the actions of these things are supposed to be expressed. Instead of purusha, man, which is supposed to be formed from puriśaya, dwelling in the body, they would say puriśaya, body-dweller; instead of aśva, horse, ashrī, pervader; instead of trina, grass, tardana, piercer. Fifthly, after a noun has been formed, these etymologists begin to discuss it, and say for instance that the earth is called prithivi, broad, from prathana, stretching. But, who stretched it, and what was his resting-place while he stretched

1 This construction is against the Commentary, but, if the MS. such as we have it, is correct, it seems to me the only possible construction.
the earth? Sixthly, where the meaning cannot be discovered, no modification of the root yielding any proper signification, Śākaṭāyana has actually taken whole verbs, and put together the halves of two distinct words. For instance, in order to form satya, true, he puts together the causal of ṭ, to go, which begins with ya, as the latter half, and the participle of as, to be, which begins with sa. Lastly, it is well known, that beings come before being, and it is therefore impossible to derive the names of beings which come first, from being, which comes after.

"Now all this arguing," Yāska continues, "is totally wrong. For however all this may be, first, with regard to what was said, namely that, if Śākaṭāyana's opinion were right, all words would be significative, this we consider no objection, because we shall show that they are all significative. With regard to the second point, our answer is, that we see as a matter of fact that it is not so, but that of a number of people who perform the same action, some only take a certain name, and others do not. Not every one that shapes a thing is called takshan, a shaper, but only the carpenter. Not every one that walks about is called parivrâjaka, but only a religious mendicant. Not everything that enlivens is called jīvana, but only the sap of the sugar-cane. Not everything that is born of Bhûmi (earth) is called Bhûmiya, but only the planet Mars (anga raka). And the same remark serves also as an

1 The Commentator translates, "even if it were so, even if some remained inexplicable, this would be no objection;" for boni grammatici est nonnulla etiam nescire.

2 The remarks of the Commentator on this passage are so
answer to the third objection. With regard to the fourth objection, we reply, We did not make these words, we only have to explain them; and there are also some nouns of rare occurrence, which you, grammarians, derive by means of krit-suffixes, and which are liable to exactly the same objection. For who could tell, without some help from etymologists, that some of the words mentioned in the Aikapadika-chapter mean what they do mean? Vratati is derived by you from vrINATI, he elects, but it signifies a garland. The same applies to your grammatical derivations of such words as damUNAS, JÀTYa, òTNÀra, curious, that they deserve to be copied. "You may well ask, (he says) why this is so. But, my friend, go and ask the world. Quarrel with the world, for it is not I who made this law. For although all nouns are derived from verbs, yet the choice of one action (which is to be predicated in preference to others) is beyond any control. Or it may be that there is a certain law with regard to those who perform certain actions more exclusively. A man who performs one particular action more exclusively, whatever other actions he may perform, will have his name from that particular action. Nor do we say that he who at one time and in one place shapes things is a carpenter, but he who at any time or any place is a carpenter, him we always call carpenter. This is not a predicate restricted to one, it may freely be given to others. Now and then there may be other actions, more peculiar to such persons, and they may take other names accordingly, yet their proper name remains carpenter." And with regard to the next problem the Commentator says: "A carpenter may well perform other actions, but he need not therefore take his name from them. If it is said, several things might have one and the same name, and one and the same thing might have different names, all we can answer is, that this is not proved by the language such as it is. Words are fixed in the world we cannot say how (svabhåvatah, by nature)." This, together with the text, shows a clearer insight into the nature of Homonyma and Synonyma, or, as the Peripatetics called the latter, Polyonyma, than anything we find in Aristotle.
jâgarûka, darvihomin. In answer to the fifth objection we say, Of course we can discuss the etymological meaning of such words only as have been formed. And as to the questions, who stretched the earth, and what was his resting-place, all we can say is, that our eyes tell us that the earth is broad, and even though it has not been stretched out by others, yet all men speak as they see. With respect to the sixth objection, we admit, that he who combines words without thereby arriving at their proper meaning, is to be blamed. But this blame attaches to the individual etymologist, not to the science of etymology. As to the last objection, we must again appeal to the facts of the case. Some words are derived from qualities, though qualities may be later than subjects, others not."

I doubt whether even at present, with all the new light which Comparative Philology has shed on the origin of words, questions like these could be discussed more satisfactorily than they were by Yâska. Like Yâska, we maintain that all nouns have their derivation, but, like Yâska, we must confess that this is a matter of belief rather than of proof. We admit with Yâska that every noun was originally an appellative, and, in strict logic, we are bound to admit that language knows neither of homonymes nor synonymes. But granting that there are such words in the history of every language, granting that several objects, sharing in the same predicate, may be called by the same name, and that the same object, possessing various predicates, may be called by different names, we shall find it as impossible as Yâska to lay down any rule why one of the many appellatives became fixed in every dialect as the proper name of the sun, the moon, or any other object; or why generic
words (homonymes) were founded on one predicate rather than another. All we can say is what Yâska says, it was so svabhâvataḥ, by itself, from accident, through the influence of individuals, of poets or law-givers. It is the very point in the history of language where languages are not amenable to organic laws, where the science of language ceases to be a strict science, and enters into the domain of history.

We leave this subject not without reluctance, and hope to return to it in some more appropriate place.

**Kalpa, or the Ceremonial.**

The most complete Vedânga is the fifth, the Kalpa, for which we have not only the Brâhmaṇas of the different Vedas, but also their respective Sûtras. The Sûtras contain the rules referring to the sacrifices\(^1\), with the omission of all things which are not immediately connected with the performance of the ceremonial. They are more practical than the Brâhmaṇas, which for the most part are taken up with mystical, historical, mythological, etymological, and

\(^1\) Kumârila Tantravârttika, i. 3. 1.

"Thus the real sense has been ascertained in the Sûtras by means of collecting the commandments which were to be obtained systematically as they were dispersed in different Sâkhâs and mixed up with Arthavâdas, &c. One or the other authority was selected, and, to afford greater facility, some performances of the priests which are connected with worldly matters were also taken in."
theological discussions. Thus Śāyāṇa says, in his Commentary on the Baudhāyana-sūtras: "The whole mass of Vedic literature consists of three parts: Mantras, Vidhis, and Arthavādas. The Vidhis enjoin an act, the Arthavādas recommend it, the Mantras record it. In order to make the understanding of the prescribed ceremonies more easy, the Reverend Baudhāyana composed the Kalpa. For the Brāhmaṇas are endless, and difficult to understand, and therefore have old masters adopted the Kalpa-sūtras according to different Śākhās. These Kalpa-sūtras have the advantage of being clear, short, complete, and correct." ¹

¹ तत्त तावदियोध्वासेमंचालयानाचिथायच्योथितोबेदराग्नि। विवधविभित्तमथवादप्ररोचितंमंचेनस्यतमभुदयकारिभवतीति। तत्तथ चाहितानांकर्मणांसुखाववोधायभगवान्
वौधायनःकल्पमकल्पयति। यतो ब्राह्मणानामनयंदुरववोध
धतया --- यतो न ते: सुखंकर्माववोधेऽति कल्पस्त्रचा-
णीमानि प्रतिनिधित्वार्थांतरांगीचक्कुः पूर्वाचायिः॥ कल्पस्य
वेशयलागकार्ष्णकारणंगुल्ल्यादिभिः: प्रकृतेषुक्रियः &c. MS.
E. I. H. 104. In the beginning of the Commentary on Āpastamba's Sūtras, it is said that the author is going to explain the Yajñurvedic performance of the whole vāitāṇika sacrifice, which is detached in many Śākhās and scattered in different parts of the Veda.

"To explain means to separate, for instance, the new moon and the full moon sacrifices, which in the Veda are thrown together, and to make them intelligible by comprehending different Śākhās."
It is true that some of the Brāhmaṇas also have a more practical tendency, and might almost be taken for productions of the Sūtra period. We saw before that Kumārila in his Tantravārttika spoke of some Brāhmaṇas, for instance those of the Āruṇa and Parāśara-śākhās¹, as having the form of Kalpa works. Nay, there are passages in the Brāhmaṇas which, though properly they ought to be called Kalpa or vidhi, are quoted by the Commentators, under the name of Sūtra.² The same name is used, in the late books of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, as the title of literary compositions, which must then have formed part of the Brāhmaṇa literature.³

On the other hand, the Sūtras, composed by Śaunaka, were called Brāhmaṇa-sannibha, “having the appearance of a Brāhmaṇa,” an assertion, which, to a certain extent, is true, as may be seen by comparing the Rigvidhāna, which is ascribed to Śaunaka, with the Sāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa. The same might be said of the Śāṅkhâyana-sūtras, particularly of the last books, where we sometimes meet with considerable portions identically the same as in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. But no orthodox Brahman would for a moment admit that Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras belonged to the same class of literature. They fear the danger of such an ad-

¹ See also Śa-yaṇa’s Introduction to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, where he says, कल्चन स्वास्तेकृतकञ्चयनप्रकरणेः समाभायते. इति मंत्रा: कल्योगत जाँप तदि बलिं हरिदिति. Might not the name ब्राह्मणपराजी, Pān. iv. 3. 105., be meant for ब्राह्मणपराशरी?
² Indische Studien, i. 149. n.
³ See Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, xiv. 4. 4. 10. The word is not used in a similar passage, xi. 3. 8. 8. See page 40, note 7.
mission, because, as Kumārila says, If the name of Śruti were once granted to the Sūtras, it would with difficulty be denied to the sacred writings of Buddhists and other heretics. It would be, as he expresses himself in his graphic language, “Like letting in the heretics on the high road, after having driven them out of the village with sticks and fists.”

Originally a Brāhmaṇa was a theological tract, and it was called brāhmaṇa, not because it treated of the Brahman, the Supreme Spirit, or of sacrificial prayers, sometimes called brahmāṇi, but because it was composed by and for Brahmans. These Brāhmaṇas or dicta theologica, were gradually collected in different families or Parishads, and gave rise to greater works, which were equally called by the name of Brāhmaṇa. Such a collection became a more or less comprehensive repository of theological lore, and no consideration as to practical usefulness seems to have influenced either the original contributors or the later collectors. In the course of time, however, and particularly during periods of theological controversy, these works began to assume a practical importance, and it was then that the want of proper arrangement was felt as a serious inconvenience. Hence, when new additions were made to the ancient stock of Brahmanic learning, or when, as in the case of a controversy or a schism, the founders of a new community were called upon to compose a Brahmanic code different from that which belonged to their adversaries, a more systematic and business-like spirit, such as afterwards led to the composition of Sūtras, began to show itself in the arrangement of these later Brāhmaṇas.

There was, however, a certain general system
which regulated the composition of the Brāhmaṇas from the very first. Long before the different Brāhmaṇas were composed, the sacrificial system, which they were chiefly intended to illustrate, had been definitely arranged, and the duties of the three or four classes of priests engaged at the great sacrifices, had been finally agreed upon. This division of priests and the general order of the sacrifices must have been settled previously even to the composition of the Sanhitās of the Sāma and Yajur-vedas; for both follow the established order of the sacrifices, and are neither more nor less than collections, containing the verses which the second and third classes of priests, the Chhandogas and Adhvaryus, had to employ at various sacrifices. They are liturgical song-books, adapted to an already-existing sacrificial canon. The case is different with the Rig-veda. The Rig-veda-sanhitā was collected without any reference to sacrificial purposes. The Brāhmaṇas, however, of all the three Vedas, the Rig-veda as well as the Sāma and Yajur-vedas, pre-suppose the final division of the three classes of priests. This division, to which we shall have to revert hereafter, may be shortly described as follows: — The chief part, or, as the Brahmans say, the body of each sacrifice, had to be performed by the Adhvaryu-priests. The preparing of the sacrificial ground, the adjustment of the vessels, the procuring of the animals, and other sacrificial oblations, the lighting of the fire, the killing of the animal, in short, all that required manual labour, was the province of the Adhvaryu priests. They stood lowest in the estimation of the Brahmans, and, as the proper pronunciation of the sacred texts required considerable study, they were allowed simply to mutter the verses which
they used during the sacrifice. The recitation of Vedic verses was considered as so subordinate a part of their duty, that their Sanhitâ, at least the most ancient Sanhitâ of the Adhvaryu-veda priests, is not a collection of hymns, but rather a complete description of the sacrifice, as performed by the Adhvaryus, interspersed with such verses and formulas as had to be muttered by the officiating priests. It was at a

1 According to some commentaries, this ancient collection of the Adhvaryu priests was called Krishna, or the dark Yajur-veda, owing to its motley character, whereas the more recent version of the Yajur-veda was called suhla or bright, on account of the clear separation of hymns and rules, or, according to others, on account of its enabling the reader to distinguish clearly between the offices belonging to the Hotri and the Adhvaryu. A more popular explanation is given by Colebrooke from Mahîdhara's Commentary on the Vâjasaneyi-sanhita. It occurs also in the Purânas: "The Yajush, in its original form, was at first taught by Vaiśampâyana to twenty-seven pupils. At this time, having instructed Yâjnavalkya, he appointed him to teach the Veda to other disciples. Being afterwards offended by the refusal of Yâjnavalkya to take on himself a share of the sin incurred by Vaiśampâyana, who had unintentionally killed his own sister's son, the resentful preceptor bade Yâjnavalkya relinquish the science which he had learnt. He instantly disgorged it in a tangible form. The rest of Vaiśampâyana's disciples receiving his command to pick up the disgorged Veda, assumed the form of partridges, and swallowed the texts which were soiled, and for this reason termed "black;" they are also denominated Taittiriya, from tittiri, the name of a partridge. Yâjnavalkya, overwhelmed with sorrow, had recourse to the sun; and through the favour of that luminary, obtained a new revelation of the Yajush which is called "white" or pure, in contradistinction to the other, and is likewise named Vâjasaneyin, from a patronymic, as it should seem, of Yâjnavalkya himself; for the Veda declares, "these purer texts, revealed by the sun, are published by Yâjnavalkya, the offspring of Vâjasani." But, according to the Vishnu-purâna, the priests who studied the Yajush are called Vâjins, because the sun, who revealed it, assumed the form of a horse (vâjin)." It is
much later time, and probably in imitation of the Sâma-veda-sanhitâ, that a separate collection of the hymns of the Adhvaryu priests was made, and this we possess in the various Sâkhâs of the Vâjasaneyins, who have embodied the rules and the description of the sacrifice in a separate Brâhmaṇa, known by the name of the Satapatha. According to the same metaphor, which assigns to the Adhvaryu priests the body of the sacrifice, its two most essential limbs fall to the lot of two other classes, the Hotrî and Udgâtâri priests; or, as Sâyaṇa says, in his introduction to the Taittirîya-sanhitâ: "The Rig-veda and Sâma-veda are like fresco-paintings whereas the Yajur-veda is the wall on which they stand." The Udgâtâri priests have little to do with the actual performance of the sacrifice. Their chief duty is to chant their hymns in a loud melodious voice, and these hymns, in the order in which they had to be chanted, were collected in a book of songs, called the Sâma-veda-sanhitâ. The third class of priests, who were equally free from purely manual labour, had to recite the sacrificial hymns, according to the strict and difficult rules of the ancient pronunciation and accentuation, but without chanting. No collection, however, was made for them, containing the hymns in their sacrificial order; because the Hotrî priests were supposed to be so thoroughly versed in the ancient Vedic poetry, as contained in the Rig-veda-sanhitâ, that they were clear that these are nothing but late etymological legends. Tittirî and Vajin were proper names. Tittirî was the pupil of Vâska, the pupil of Vaiśampâyana, and it is through them that the old or dark Yajur-veda was handed down. Yâjnavalkya, of the family of the Vâjasaneyins, was the founder of the more modern or bright Yajur-veda.
expected to know the whole of it, and to be able to repeat readily, without the help of a manual, whatever hymn was enjoined at any part of the sacrifice.

This distribution of the ceremonial between the three classes of priests, which, after the collection of the ancient Sanhitā of the Rig-veda, called forth the two Sanhitās of the Sāma- and Yajur-vedas, regulated from the first the composition of the Brâhmaṇas. Instead of one code of theology, we find three collections of Brâhmaṇas, treating respectively of the performance of those rites, which each of the three classes of priests was more particularly concerned with. The Adhvaryu priests had originally, as we saw, no Brâhmaṇa in the usual sense of the word, and what is called their Brâhmaṇa is in reality a mere supplement and continuation of their Sanhitā; originally, therefore, neither of these names was correctly applicable to the Yajur-veda of the Charakas. In later times, however, the duties of the Adhvaryu were incorporated in a separate Brâhmaṇa, the Satapatha, at the same time that their hymns were collected in a small manual, the later Sanhitā of the Yajur-veda. In a similar manner the sacrificial duties of the Hotrī priests were discussed in the Bahvṛicha-brâhmaṇas, and those of the Udgātri priests, in the Chhandoga-brâhmaṇa.

Thus we see that the collection, if not the original composition, of the Brâhmaṇas, was not entirely without system; and that the remarks on certain parts of the sacrifice, although sometimes extremely diffuse, and mixed up with extraneous matter, were not thrown together at random. As most of the sacrifices were to be performed by two or three classes of priests in common, the same ceremony may be described in different Brâhmaṇas. The Agnishtoma, for instance, begins with the ceremony of the Ritvig-varana, the
election of priests. This ceremony is performed by the Adhvaryu priests alone, and it was not necessary to explain it in the Brâhmaṇa of the Hotṛi priests. It is wanting therefore in the Bahvričha-brâhmaṇas. The next following ceremony, the Dikshaṉyēṣhṭi, is likewise performed by the Adhvaryus together with the Chhandoga priests; but as here the Hotṛi priests also have to take a part (the yājyās and anuvākyās), it is described in the beginning of the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa.¹

The Kalpa-sūtras, with which we are at present concerned, follow the same system as the Brâhmaṇas. They presuppose, however, not only the existence of

¹ “The Aitareya-brâhmaṇa consists of forty Adhyāyas; the Āranyaka also is reckoned part of the Aitareya, and is equally ascribed to Mahidāsa, the son of Itarā.

“In the Brâhmaṇa, the first subject is the Jyotishtōma (chaturhsamstha); then the Gavām-ayana, the Ádityānāṃ-ayana, the Angirasāṃ-ayana, and the Dvādaśāha. The Jyotishtōma stands first among the Somayāgas, (such as the Goshtōma and Ayushōma), and it comprises seven sacrifices (saptasamstha.) Four of these are the Agnīṣṭōma, Ukthya, Shodāsin, and Atirātra; and among these four the Agnīṣṭōma is the model, the whole ceremony being here fully detailed, while for the other sacrifices the peculiar rules only are given, the rest being supplied from the model. The Agnīṣṭōma ought therefore to be explained first. Now it is very true, that at the beginning of the Agnīṣṭōma the Ritvij priests are to be elected, for Āpaśtamba says in his Sūtras, ‘he who is going to sacrifice with Soma, let him choose Ārsheya-brāhmans for Ritvij;’ but as the Hotṛi priests have nothing to do in the ceremony of this election, and as the Rig-veda is only concerned with rules for the Hotṛi priests, the Dikshaṉyēṣhṭi is explained first. For although the Ishṭī, or the sacrifice itself, is performed by Adhvaryus, yet the Yājyās and Anuvākyās belong to the Hotṛi priests. In the Rig-veda we find the Yājyās, Puronuvākyās, &c.; in the Yajur-veda the Dohanas, Nirvāpas, &c.; in the Sāma-veda the Ājyastotras, Prīṣṭhastotras, &c.”—Sāyāṇa.
three distinct collections of Brāhmaṇas, but of different Śākhās or recensions, which, in the course of time, had branched off from each of them.

It is a characteristic peculiarity of the Sūtras, that they were intended by their authors for more than one Charaṇa, or adapted to more than one Śākhā. This is remarked upon by Kumārila, when he says: “All authors of Kalpa-sūtras join with the rules of their own Śākhā, the optional commandments of other Śākhās, a proceeding approved of by Jaimini.”¹ Or again, “Not one of the Sutrakāras was satisfied with comprehending his own Śākhā only.”² The same is maintained still more strongly by the author of the Hiranya-kesi-bhāṣya. “No single Śākhā,” he says, “contains a complete account of the ceremonial, and a reference to other Śākhās is absolutely necessary.”³ That this means a reference to other Śākhās of the same Veda, and not a reference to other Vedas, may be seen from a passage of Kauśika Rāma⁴, where he establishes the general principle,

¹ Kumārila, i. 3. _CHUNK_ 
² Kumārila, ii. 4. 2. _CHUNK_ 
³ यवस्य च शाखांतरोपसंहराणि स्पष्टिः:  न चौकशा शाखायं श्रौतसार्वेक्सांक्षेपानि शाक्षेन विहितं तत्सङ्गा वा परिपतिः:  किंतु विचित्रं कवित्वः । 
⁴ शाखासु विकथयः वेदेः शुचय इति न्यायाचार्यवैदिकः
that in a Sûtra a quotation from a different Šâkhâ makes a rule optional, whereas a quotation from a different Veda confirms it as generally binding. It was not usual that a common Brahman knew more than one Šâkhâ. He might, if he liked, study each of the three Vedas, but, as Kumârila says: “It is not necessary that one man should read different Šâkhâs, because one Šâkhâ only is comprehended in that study of the sacred texts which every Brahman is bound to pass through. Therefore, if a very clever man should read different Šâkhâs of one Veda, he may do so, but he might as well, if very rich, sacrifice at the same time with rice and barley.”

But, even if a Brahman had studied the Sanhitâs and Brâhmaṇas of the three Vedas, according to their various Šâkhâs, he would still have found it extremely difficult to learn from them the correct performance of every sacrifice. It was, therefore, in order to

1 Kumârila, T. V. ii.; Jaimini Sûtra, ii. 4. 2. शाखांतराध्ययनं न तावदेकेश पुंसो नैवेयते। किं कारणं। शाखायायकेशेनैका शाखा ति परिप्रेक्ष्यते॥ ततः चो नामातिज्ञो विवेधिक-वैदिक गतानि शाखांतराध्ययस्यंत्रक-वैदिक समूद्रं चन्द्रेष्ट्र वैवैधिक स्मृतिः॥

This does not exclude, however, the obligation of reading different Vedas. न लेवं वेदांतराध्यययनं न प्रसंवेदने न वचनान्तरे वित्रिप्रसवात्। चार्य च तथा विद्य-भेति तथा वेदान्तदाहित वेदो भेति माननं॥

See also Mitâk-shara, p. 17. a. b. एकशाखाध्यययनमेव वैदिकारः॥
obviate this difficulty, that the Sūtras were called into existence, as a kind of grammar of the Vedic ceremonial, useful for members of all Charaṇas.

The Kalpa-sūtras for the Hotṛi priests, which were composed by Āśvalāyana, were intended both for the Śākala- and Bāshkala-śakhas¹, and they contain occasional references to other Charaṇas also. Śa-yaṇa, in his introduction to the Rig-veda (i. p. 34.) says distinctly, that Āśvalāyana teaches the employment of hymns, which do not occur in the Śākala-śakhā. "These," he says, "have been taken from another Śakhā, and their employment, therefore, rests on the authority of a different Brāhmaṇa, although the sacrifice itself (karma) must be considered as one and the same for all Śakhās, in spite of some differences in its performance (prayoga)."²

There is a second, and more ancient, collection of Sūtras for the Hotṛi priests, written by Śānkhāyana. They were intended for members of the Kaushitaki-śakhā, a Śakhā of which we still possess the Brāhmaṇa and the Āraṇyaka. The Brāhmaṇa is sometimes quoted under the name of the Śānkhāyana-brāhmaṇa, in the same manner as the Aitareya is sometimes

¹ निबिन्दुपूर्वकूकुकुतापवालखियमहानाभितेतयाग्राह्य-सहितेष्व शाकलख वायुकलख चानायदयकृत्तायश्लायत्व-शाखन्यान प्रयोगशाखा। Nārāyaṇa Gārgya’s Commentary on Āśvalāyana.

² Hiranyakesi-bhashya: सर्वशाखप्रत्ययमें कर्मिति व्याविद्। नालि कर्मभेदः। यथा नानाशाखप्रत्ययमें कर्मिति न्यायशाखनिषेधे ५१ प्रश्नापितातनेव विधिन्न् न्यायां-धीपर्ष तत्चार्थिनः कर्मभेद ५१ प्रयोगभेदः रचयित। नहि शब्दांतरादिभिऽ प्रमाणैः कर्मभेदोऽस्ति।
quoted as Āsvalāyana-brāhmaṇa. This Śānkha-yana
text of the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa may be more mo-
dern than the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, but the Sūtras of
Śānkha-yana are more ancient than the Sūtras of Ās-
valāyana.

The Sūtras for the Adhvaryu priests were composed by
Kātyāyana, and adopted by the Kāṇva and Mā-
dhyandina-Śākhās.¹

The ceremonial of the Udgātṛi priests who followed
the Sāma-veda, was likewise composed by authors
who were free from the exclusive influence of one par-
ticular Śākhā. The Lātyāyana-sūtras were not origi-
nally the Sūtras of a Lātyāyana-Śākhā, but they were
written by Lātyāyana, and afterwards adopted by the
numerous branches of the Kauthuma-Śākhā. Another
collection of Sūtras, almost identical with the former,
was composed by Drāhyāyaṇa, and was adopted by the
different Charaṇas of the Rāṇāyaṇiṇyas.² Both Sūtras
follow the same authority, the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, its
old as well as its more modern portion, and they
quote not only the traditional literature of various
Charaṇas, such as the Śātyāyanins, Śālankāyanins, but
the works of individuals also, such as Śāndilya, Śān-
dilyāyana, Dhananjaya, Kautsa, Kshairakalambhin,
two Gautamas, Bhānditāyana, Rāṇāyaṇiputra, Lāma-
kāyana, Sauchivrikshi, &c.³

¹ श्राण्यलायनीयं कायायनीयं च स्रुवच हि भिन्नाथयन-
योईयद्र्द्योः श्राखचयोरकमेव॥ Mahādeva’s Commentary on the
Hiranyakesi-sūtra.
² In a MS. of the Drāhyāyaṇa-sūtras, E. I. H. 363. they are
called राष्ट्रयनिग्रामीयं ड्रायायणसूत्र॥
³ See Weber, Vorlesungen, p. 74. The Kauthumas seem to be
a later Charaṇa than the Rāṇāyaṇiṇyas. Lātyāyana quotes a
Rāṇāyaṇiputra; Kauthumas are quoted in the Pushpa-sūtra.
But although the Sūtras were adopted by different Charaṇas, existing previous to the composition of the Sūtras, and although the author of a new code of Sūtras might himself become the founder of a new Charaṇa or sect, the text of these short rules seems never to have changed. The text of the Āśvalāyana-sūtras was one and the same for a follower of the old Śākala, Bāshkala or Aitareyi-śākhās. We meet with no authorized varia lectiones as we do in the Brāhmaṇas. As late as the time of Sāyaṇa the various readings of the Brāhmaṇas were known, and he refers to them frequently in his Commentary on the Aitareyi-brāhmaṇa. Nothing of the kind ever occurs in the commentaries on the Sūtras; still less were the Sūtras liable to those more important changes which the Brāhmaṇas underwent, as they became the property of distinct Charaṇas or sects.

Kumārila’s argument, therefore, by which he endeavoured to establish a distinction between the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras1, is fully confirmed by those traces which can still be discovered by philological criticism. We have only to translate what he calls śruti, or revelation, by “ancient literature handed down by oral tradition,” and the distinction between Brāhmaṇas, as śruti, and Sūtras, as smṛiti, holds perfectly good. There is no doubt a distinction to be made between the manner in which the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas, both included under the name of śruti,

1 Kumārila i. 3. 7. "The mistake of supposing the Sūtras to be Brāhmaṇas, which arose from their identity of object and occasional literal coincidences, has thus been removed."
were preserved. But, in spite of Wolf's maxim, that prose literature marks everywhere the introduction of writing, we must claim for the Brâhmaṇas, as well as for the hymns, a certain period during which they were preserved by means of oral tradition only. Without the admission of an oral tradition, carried on for several generations and in several places by different families and Brahmanic colonies, it would seem impossible to account for the numerous recensions of the same Brâhmaṇa, and for the various readings of each recension. How the changes, the additions, the rearrangements of the original collections of the Brâhmaṇas were effected, we have no means of ascertaining; but we can see, that the Kâṇva and Mâdhyandina recensions of the Śatapata-brâhmaṇa presuppose some point from whence they both started in common. The same applies to the Bahvṛīchabrâhmaṇa in the widely differing recensions of the Aitareyins, the Śâṅkhâyanins or the Kaushîtakins. There is a common stock in the Brâhmaṇas of each Veda. The same ceremonial is described, the same doubts are raised, similar solutions are proposed, and many chapters are repeated in the same words. Before each recension took its present shape—and few only of these numerous recensions have been preserved to us—they must have rolled from hand to hand, sometimes losing old, sometimes gathering new matter; now broken to pieces, now rearranged, till at last the name of their author became merged in the name of the Charaṇa that preserved his work. No traces of this kind can be discovered in the Sûtras. We probably read them in our MSS. exactly as they were written down at first by Kâtyâyana, Âśvalâyana and others. They are evidently the works of indivi-
dual writers, the result of careful and systematic research. They presuppose the Sanhitās and the Śākhās of the Sanhitās; they presuppose the Brahmāṇas and the Śākhās of the Brahmāṇas. And they also refer to individual writers, whether they had become the founders of Charāṇas, or whether they enjoyed an authority as teachers of law and other subjects connected with the intellectual pursuits of the early Brahmans.

There is, however, one fact that seems to militate against the distinction between the Brahmāṇas and Śūtras, in so far as it assigns a very early origin, and a traditionary character, to at least some works which were written in Śūtras. At the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pāṇini, there existed Śūtras, which were not then considered as the works of modern or at least well-known authors, like Āśvalāyana or Kātyāyana, but indicated by their very name, that they had formed, for a time, part of the traditional literary property of a Charāṇa, or of some learned school. Their titles are formed on the same principle as the titles of ancient Brahmāṇas. The affix in (nini) is added to the names of their reputed authors, and this, as we know, is a mark that their authors were considered as Rishis or inspired writers.¹ Their works are not quoted in the singular, like all modern Śūtras (for instance, “this is the ceremonial of Asmaratha,” iti kalpa āśmarathah), but,—and this is a characteristic feature of the ancient traditional literature of India—in the masculine plural, the literary works being supposed

¹ Cf. Pāṇ. iv. 3. 103—110. The Śūtras from 106 are not explained in the Mahābhāṣṭya according to the Calcutta edition,
to have their only substantial existence in the minds or memories of those persons who read or taught them. We find, for instance, "thus say the Parāśarins, the Śailālins, the Karmandins, the Kṛiśāśvins," whereas the work even of Pāṇini himself is quoted as "the Pāṇinīyam," as it were "Panineum," not as "the Pāṇineyins." ¹ But although these quotations refer to Sūtras, it ought to be observed that not one of them refers to Kalpa, or ceremonial Sūtras. Where Pāṇini (iv. 3. 105.), or rather his commentator, quotes works on Kalpa in a similar, though not in exactly the same manner, we must bear in mind that expressions like "Paingī kalpah," "the ceremonial taught by the old sage Pinga, "Kauśikī kalpah," "the ceremonial taught by the old sage Kuśika," may refer to portions of the Brāhmaṇas which are called kalpa, ceremonial, in contradistinction to the brāhmaṇa or the purely theological discussions ²; and it is nowhere said that these old Kalpas were written in

¹ Kalpa-sūtras were composed contemporaneously with Pāṇini, and even after his time, as, for instance, the Sūtras of Āśvalāyana and Kātyāyana, which we still possess, and those of Āśmarathya, which are lost. The last are quoted in the commentary to Pāṇini (iv. 3. 105.), as a modern work on Kalpa; yet Āśvalāyana in his Sūtras, v. 13., refers to Āśmarathya as an authority, whom he follows in opposition to other teachers whose opinion he rejects. Cf. Āśv. Sūtra, v. 13.; Indische Studien, i. 45.

² The wording of the Sūtra, "Purāṇaprokteshu brāhmaṇakalpeshu" seems to confirm this interpretation. The Paingins must be considered as a Brāhmaṇa-charaṇa, for there is a Paingyam, the work of a Paingin, quoted in the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa, and in a doubtful passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to say anything equally positive about the Kauśikī kalpah, an expression which may possibly refer to the Kauśika-sūtras of the Atharva-veda.
Sūtras. Unless, therefore, a quotation can be brought forward previous to Kātyāyana, and referring to a collection of Kalpa-sūtras, such quotation calling the Sūtras not by the name of their author, but by the name of a Charaṇa, not in the singular, but in the masculine plural, Kumārila's distinction between Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras remains unshaken, and we are justified in maintaining that the Kalpa-sūtras, in spite of some apparent similarity with the later Brāhmaṇas, belong to a period of literature different in form and character from that which preceded it, and which gave rise to the traditionary literature of the Brāhmaṇas.

The Kalpa-sūtras are important in the history of Vedic literature for more than one reason. They not only mark a new period of literature, and a new purpose in the literary and religious life of India, but they contributed to the gradual extinction of the numerous Brāhmaṇas, which to us are therefore only known by name. The introduction of a Kalpa-sūtra was the introduction of a new book of liturgy. If it was adopted by different Charaṇas, smaller differences in the ceremonial and its allegorical interpretation, which had been kept up by the Brāhmaṇas of each Charaṇa, would gradually be merged in one common ceremonial; or, if they were considered of sufficient importance, a short mention, such as we find here and there in the Sūtras, would suffice, and render the tedious discussions of the Brāhmaṇas on the same points, superfluous. If the Sūtras were once acknowledged as authoritative, they became the most important part of the sacred literature which a Brahman had to study. Those who had to perform the sacrifices might do so without the Veda, simply by means
of the Kalpa-sūtras; but no one could learn the ceremonial from the hymns and Brāhmaṇas alone, without the help of the Sūtras. There remained, indeed, the duty of every Brahman to learn his Svādhyāya, which comprised the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas. But complaints were made, at least at a later time, that the hymns and the Brāhmaṇas were neglected on account of the Sūtras, and one of the reasons why the Hotṛi priests were never allowed to have a prayer-book, such as the hymn-books of the Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda, was the fear that they would then neglect their Svādhyāya, and learn only those hymns which were enjoined for the sacrifices by the Kalpa-sūtras. We need not wonder, therefore, if, after a short time, the authors of Kalpa-sūtras became themselves the founders of new Charaṇas, in which the Sūtras were considered the most essential portion of the sacred literature; so that the hymns and Brāhmaṇas were either neglected, or kept up under the name of “the hymns and Brāhmaṇas of the new Charaṇa,” having ceased to form by themselves the foundation of an independent tradition or school.

In order to make quite clear the influence which the Sūtras exercised on the final constitution of the Vedic Charaṇas we ought to distinguish between three classes of Charaṇas: 1. Those which originated with the texts of Sanhitās; 2. Those which originated with the texts of Brāhmaṇas; 3. Those which originated with the Sūtras.

1 ब्राह्मणोपनिषदेः कृत्येति कल्पे: कर्मोपिति याज्ञिकाः। न तु कल्पैविन्ना केविन्चन्त्रचक्राण्माचकात। Kumārila.
We need not enter here into the question, whether originally there was but one Veda, and whether this original Veda became afterwards divided into three branches or Śākhās, the Rig-veda, Yajur-veda, and Sāma-veda. This is the view adopted by the Brahmanas, and they consider these three divisions as the three most ancient Śākhās, and their propagators or pravartakas as the three most ancient Charaṇas. This is a natural mistake. It is the same mistake which leads to the assumption of a common literary language previous to the existence of the spoken dialects, whereas in fact the various dialects existed previous to the establishment of the classical language. The first collection of Vedic hymns is that which we have in the Rig-veda, a collection, not made with any reference to the threefold division of the later ceremonial, and therefore not one of three branches, but the original stock, to which the other two, the Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda, were added at a much later period.

The most ancient Śākhās and Charaṇas of which we have any knowledge are those which arose from differences in the text of the Rig-veda-sanhita, such as the Bāshkalas and Śākulas. We never hear of either Brāhmaṇas or Sūtras peculiar to these śākhās, and the natural conclusion, confirmed besides by native authority, is that they diverged and became separated on the strength of various readings and other peculiarities, affecting the texts of their Sanhitās. There is no evidence as to the existence of similar Sanhitā-śākhās for the Yajur-veda or Sāma-veda. If we take the two śākhās of the Yajur-veda-sanhita, that of the Kāṇvas and that of the Mādhyandinas, both presuppose the existence of a Vāja-
saneyi-sanhitā, and this Vājasaneyi-sanhitā would have been perfectly useless without a Brāhmaṇa. It was not the Sanhitā, but the Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins, handed down as it was in various texts, which gave rise to the fifteen Charaṇas of the Vājasaneyins, and among them to the Kāṇva and Mādhyandina-charaṇas. Their Sanhitās were of secondary importance, and startling as such an opinion might sound to an orthodox Brahman, were probably not put together till after the composition of the Vājasaneyi-brāhmaṇa in its original and primitive form. The peculiar differences in the text of the Mantras of the Kāṇvas and Mādhyandinas depend on the differences occurring in their respective Brāhmaṇas, and not vice versā. On the same ground we must doubt the existence of ancient Sanhitā-śākhās for the Sāma-veda.

The next step which led to the formation of Charaṇas was the adoption of a Brāhmaṇa, and we therefore call this second class the Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas. When the growth of a more complicated ceremonial led to the establishment of three or four classes of priests, each performing peculiar duties, and requiring a special training for their sacerdotal office, there must have been a floating stock of Brāhmaṇas, or dicta theologica, peculiar to each class of priests. They treated of the general arrangement of the sacrifice. They handed down the authoritative opinions of famous sages: they gave the objections raised against such opinions by other persons: and gradually they clothed these contradictory statements in the form of a logical argument. Occasionally an allegorical interpretation was given of the meaning of certain rites, the simple and natural import of which had been for-
gotten. Rewards were vouchsafed to the pious worshipper, and instances were recorded of such rewards having been obtained by the faithful of former ages. All these sayings and discussions were afterwards collected as three distinct Brāhmaṇas, belonging to the three classes of priests. We still meet with the general names of Bahvṛicha-brāhmaṇas for the Rig-veda, of Adhvaryu-brāhmaṇas for the Yajur-veda, and of Chhandoga-brāhmaṇas for the Sāma-veda, without any further reference to particular Charaṇas by which these Brāhmaṇas were collected or adopted. But those Brāhmaṇas are no longer met with in their original form. They have come down to us, without exception, as the Brāhmaṇas of certain Charaṇas of each Veda. Instead of one Bahvṛicha-brāhmaṇa of the Rig-veda, we only find the Bahvṛicha-brāhmaṇa of the Aitareyins, or the Kaushītakins, or the Śāṅkhāyānins. Instead of one Chhandoga-brāhmaṇa or Chhandogyam, we have the Chhandoga-brāhmaṇa of the Tāṇḍins or the Tāṇḍya, and we find quotations from other Charaṇas, such as the Śātyāyanins1 or the Kauthumas.

1 In one of the most interesting Brāhmaṇas of the Chhandogas, the Śāmavidhāna-brāhmaṇa, we see how the two last in a series of teachers became the founders of a Charaṇa, by teaching this Brāhmaṇa, which had been handed down to them through a succession of nine or at least six masters, to a multitude of followers.
Instead of one Adhvaryu-brähmana, we have the dark code of the old Charakas, or the Taittiriyas and the Kaṭhas, and the new Brähmana of the Vājasaneyins, and their descendants, the Kāñvas and Mādhyandinas. We nowhere find the original collection from which the various recensions might be supposed to have branched off and deviated in time. In most cases, where we possess the texts of a Brähmana, preserved by different Śākhās, the variations are but small, and they point clearly to one and the same original from which they descended. Sometimes, however, the variations are of a different kind, so much so that we are inclined to admit several independent collections of that floating stock of Brahmanic lore, which went on accumulating in different places and through various generations. If we compare the Brähmanas of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins, we find their wording, even where they treat of the same matters, very different. The order in which the sacrifices are described is not always the same, nor are the ceremonial rules always identical. Illustrations and legends are interspersed in the Brähmana of the Kaushitakins of which no trace can be found in the Brähmana of the Aitareyins. And yet, with all these differences, the literal coincidence of whole chapters, the frequent occurrence of the same sentences, the same comparisons and illustrations, render it impossible to ascribe to each of these Brähmanas a perfectly independent origin. The two Brähmanas of the Kāñvas and Mādhyandinas, in spite of their differences, in spite of

निभाय। तांडिशायायनिनो वद्यः॥ On the Śātyāyanins and their relation to the Sāma-veda, see Indische Studien, i. 49.
additions and omissions that have been pointed out in either, compel us to admit that they had a common starting-point. To judge from frequent quotations, the number of Brâhmanaṇas, differing from each other more or less considerably, and the number of Charaṇas, founded on these Brâhmanaṇas, must have been very large. We can easily imagine how this happened. The name of a famous teacher, who gathered a number of students around himself in a village, or who lived under the protection of some small Râja, was preserved by his pupils for generations. The sacred literature which he was, perhaps, the first to teach in a newly-founded colony, was afterwards handed down under the sanction of his name, though differing but slightly from the traditional texts kept up in the community from which he himself had started. He might, perhaps, add a few chapters of his own composition, a change quite sufficient, in the eyes of the Brâhmans to constitute a new work, or at least to disqualify it for claiming any longer its original title. When these new Charaṇas had once been founded, it was but natural, though they originated chiefly with a Brâhmaṇa of their own, that the text of their Sanhitâs also should be slightly modified. This was not the case necessarily. The Aitareyins, for instance, and the Kaushitakins, though they differed in their Brâhmanaṇas, preserved, as far as we know, the same sakha of the Sanhitâ, and preserved it each with the same minute accuracy. No Sanhitâ peculiar to the Kaushitakins and Aitareyins is ever mentioned, and the points on which they differed were, from the very first, connected with the subject matter of the Brâhmaṇas. Students following different sakhâs, as far as their Brâhmaṇa was concerned, might very well
follow one and the same Šâkhâ of the Sanhitâ, though they would no longer call it by its own original name. In most cases, however, and particularly in the Charanaṣ of the Yajur-veda, a difference in the Brâhmaṇas would necessitate, or, at least, naturally lead to, corresponding differences in the Sanhitâ, such as we find, for instance, in the hymns of the Kâṇyas and Mâdhyandinas.¹

These Brâhmaṇa-charanas existed previous to the first composition of the Sūtras, and in the Sūtras belonging to the Sâma-veda, which are the earliest Sūtras we possess, they are quoted. No Sūtra is ever quoted in any of the Brâhmaṇas, but there is no collection of Sūtras in which the various Šâkhâs of the Brâhmaṇas are not referred to by name. The authorities quoted in the Sūtras on doubtful points of the Vedic ceremonial, are invariably taken from the Brâhmaṇa-charanaṣ. In the commentary on Pâ-ṇini, such names as “the Aitareyins, the Śâtyâyanins, and Bhâllavins” are distinctly explained as supporters of ancient Brâhmaṇas; and the antiquity of the two last is still further confirmed by the fact of their being quoted as Brahmanic authorities in the Śata-patha brâhmaṇa.²

The third and most modern class of Charanaṣ consists of those which derive their origin from the introduction of a new body of Sūtras, such as the Āśvalâyanīyas, the Kâtyâyanīyas, and many of the subdivisions of the Taittirīyas. It is not always possible to determine with certainty whether a Charana dates

¹ The differences of these schools may be seen in Weber’s edition of the Yajur-veda at the end of each Adhyâya.
² See Weber’s Indische Studien, ii. 44.
from the Brâhmaṇa period, or from the Sûtra period, because so many of the Brâhmanaś and Sûtras have been lost, and some of the Brâhmanaś have been handed down to us under the names of more modern Sûtra-charaṇas, by which they were adopted. It is easy to determine that the Kaushitakins date from the Brâhmaṇa period, because there is neither a Kaushitaki-sûtra nor a Kaushitaki-sanhitâ, but only a Kaushitaki-brâhmaṇa; but in other instances our knowledge of the ancient literature of India is too fragmentary to enable us to fix the age of the numerous Charaṇas which are quoted by later authorities. Some of the Sûtras again, as we saw before, are older than others, and seem almost to trespass on the frontiers of the Brâhmaṇa period. How are we to determine, for instance, whether the Śâṅkhâyanaś were originally a Brâhmaṇa-charaṇa, and had their Sûtras written by one of their own sect, or whether the foundation of their Charaṇa rested on the text of the Sûtras, a new text of the original Brâhmaṇa of the Bahvrichas being adopted by them in later times, and thenceforth quoted as the Śâṅkhâyana-brâhmaṇa? In some instances the relative age of certain Sûtras has been preserved by the tradition of the schools. Thus the most ancient Sûtra of the Taittirîyas is said to have been that of Baudhâyana, who was succeeded by Bhâradvâja, Āpastamba, Satyâshâdha Hiranyakeśin, Vadhûna, and Vaikhânasa; all of whom, with the exception of the two last, have lent their names to different Charaṇas of the dark Yajur-veda.

1 It should be observed, that in some MSS. of the Charaṇavyûha the two Charaṇas, which belong most likely to the Sautra period, those of Āsvalâyana and Śâṅkhâyana, are not mentioned.
Although none of the Sūtras seem to have been written with the distinct purpose of founding a new Charaṇa, it can easily be imagined how different communities, after adopting a collection of Sūtras as the highest authority for their ceremonial, became inclined to waive minor points of difference in the Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas, and thus coalesced into a new Charaṇa under the name and sanction of their Sūtra-kāra. After these new Sautra-charanas had once been started, we find that the Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas, current among their members, were designated by the name of the new Charaṇas. Thus we may explain the title of Āśvalāyana-brāhmaṇa given to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa in one of the MSS. of the Bodleian library¹; and we shall not hesitate to ascribe the same meaning to an Āśvalāyana-brāhmaṇa, said to be quoted by Yājnikadeva in his commentary on Kātyāyana.² Why such a Brāhmaṇa should not be quoted by early writers, such as the authors of Sūtras, is easily understood. Its title was necessarily of late origin, and it is important as marking the progressive changes in the nomenclature of Indian literature. We have a similar and still better authenticated instance in the so-called Āpastamba-brāhmaṇa, which is but a different title of the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, as adopted by the followers of the Āpastamba-sūtras. It is in this manner that the Sūtras may be said to have contributed partly to the formation of new Charaṇas, some of which are not mentioned in the ancient lists, as, for instance, the Kātyāyanīyas; partly to the extinction of

¹ MS. Wilson, 473. The title is चाक्ष्याएनक ब्राह्मण (sic); it contains the fifth Book of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.
² Kātyāyana, ii. 5. 18.; vi. 6. 5. Indische Studien, i. 230.
the more ancient Brāhmaṇa-charānaṇas and Sanhitā charānaṇas, many of which are now known to us by name only.

That the introduction of the Sūtras and the foundation of Sūtra-charānaṇas was felt as an innovation by the Brahmins themselves, we perceive from the manner in which even modern writers speak of them; half objecting to their authority, yet glad to admit and even to defend what could no longer be prevented. The Sūtras were not, indeed, admitted as part of the Śruti, yet they were made part of the Śvādhyāya, and had to be learned by heart by the young student. They might, therefore, like the Sanhitās and Brāhmaṇas, claim a kind of sacred character, and in time become the charter of a new Charāṇa. Thus we read in Mahādeva’s Commentary on the Hiranyakesi-sūtras¹: “The Kalpa-sūtra is sometimes different for different Śākhās, sometimes it is not. The difference of the Śākhās arises partly from a difference of the sacred texts (adhyāyana being used in the sense of svādhyāya, perhaps with reference to the peculiar pronunciation taught in the Prātiśākhyas), partly from a difference in the Sūtras. The Sūtras of Āśvamālāyana and Kātyāyana, for instance, are the same for

¹ तत्र कल्पसूत्रं प्रतिशाखं भिन्नमभित्रममपि काचित् शाखामेव अध्ययनभेदादा स्वच्छभेदादा। चाष्मलायनीयं कायायनीयं च सूत्रं हि भिन्नाध्ययनयोद्धयोद्धयोः शाखाधीरिक्षकमेव। तैत्तिरियके च समासायं समानाध्ययने नाना सूतार्थ। चनेन च सूत्रभेदं शाखाभेदं शाखाभेदं च सूत्रभेदं दृति परस्परार्थ। दृति वाच्यं।
two Śākhās whose respective texts are different, while in the Taittirīya-veda we find Śākhās with different Sūtras, but no differences in their sacred texts. Hence it may be said\(^1\), that sometimes, where there is a difference in the Sūtras, there is also a difference of Śākhā; and, on the other hand, where there is a difference of Śākhā, there may be a difference in the Sūtras.” Mahādeva goes even further, and tries to show that, like all the revealed literature of the Brāhmans, the Sūtras also existed previous to the beginning of time and had no historical origin.\(^2\) “As the various Śākhās,” he says, “which arise from various readings of the sacred texts are without a beginning, or eternal, so are also the various Śākhās which arise from different Sūtras. For the titles of certain Sūtras, derived from their authors, are not modern; but being eternal, as inherent in individual Rishis, whose names occur in certain Kalpas or ceremonials, and retaining the same character when applied to the Sūtras, which have been promulgated by the Rishis, they hold good as titles for

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1 Afterwards he says again: तथा चैवक्ष्यां तैत्तिरीयशाखायां समानपाठायां सूचभेदाद्वांतरशाखामेकं चरण्यूक्तशाखांग्रं दर्शितः॥ “It has been shown in the Charanāvyūha, that in the Taittirīya-śākhā, where there is but one and the same sacred text, subordinate Śākhās arise from different Sūtras.”

2 यथा यथायन्मेडास्स्त्राक्षामेके जातिरिव सूचभेदाद्पि। न हि सूचाएणां कर्त्तृवंशंविद्यंश्चाधतनी किंतु नानाक्षणग- नासु तत्तत्त्रामक्षिणयकिपु नित्यां तत्राणेरसेनेशु च नित्यां जातिमवलं निहिति यथा पुष्पामांकितशाखासु संख्या॥ “Nānakalpa-gatāsu” cannot refer to the chronological Kalpas, because these are after the beginning of time.
Śākhās, which apparently are marked by the names of men.”¹ We may now understand in what sense the same Mahādeva gives to the word Charaṇa the meaning both of Śākhā and Sūtra. “It is true,” he says, “that śākhā means a part of the sacred tradition, consisting of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, and that the subordinate śākhās of the Veda owe their origin to the differences of either Mantras or Brāhmaṇas. Nevertheless, as Veda means the sacred tradition, together with the Angas or subsidiary doctrines, a śākhā may include the Angas and yet remain Veda, and as such become different from other śākhās, owing to a difference in the Angas. If, therefore, the Sūtra, which is an Anga, differs, there will be difference in the sacred tradition; and thus a difference in the Sūtras may well become the cause of a different name of a Śākhā.”²

The following list, though far from being complete, contains some of the Kalpa-sūtras which are best known to us either from MSS. or otherwise:

¹ Cf. p. 97, n.

² चरणभूष्टं। चरणं शाखा: सूत्राणि च। व्यूहो विविच भेदः। न चाताध्ययनभेदोऽशिति तस्मात्सूत्रभेदादिव शाखाभेदः॥ नन्तु शाक्तांशैवेक्षो मंत्राद्वारासात्त्वकः शाखाभेदः। ततोमंत्रादाः ारण्याप्यार्थमेन वेदे बलान्तराशाखाभेदः। साधिति चेत। मयं। यथा मूःः स्त्रायो वेदशब्दवाच्य एवं शाखापि मूंगीव वेदेकलण्यं शाखातरं लभते। तत्र खस्त्रायोऽस्त्रभद्धितव एव शाखायाय-नमिति भवतु चरणभेद एव शाखामेद्ववहोर चेतुः। तथा च यथा शाखायायायं नियतं तथा सूत्राध्ययनमपि॥
I. Yajur-veda.
   A. Old, or Dark Text.
   1. Āpastamba, text and commentary existing.
   2. Baudhāyana, text and commentary existing.
   3. Satyāshādha Hiryānakeśin, text and commentary existing.
   4. Mānava-sūtra, large fragments of text existing.
   5. Bhāradvāja-sūtra, quoted.
   7. Vaikhānasa-sūtra, quoted.
   8. Laugākshi-sūtra, quoted.

   B. New, or Bright Text.
   1. Kâtyāyana, text and commentary existing.

II. Sāma-veda.
   1. Maśaka's Ārsheya-kalpa, text and commentary existing.
   2. Lâṭyāyana-sūtra (Kauthuma), ditto.
   3. Drāhyāyana-sūtra (Râṇâyaniya), ditto.

III. Rig-veda.
   1. Āśvalāyana-sūtra, text and commentary existing.
   2. Śānkhaśāyana-sūtra, ditto.
   3. Śaunaka-sūtra, quoted.

IV. Atharva-veda.
   1. Kuśika-sūtra, text existing.
Two other classes of Sūtras have already been mentioned as belonging to the same branch of literature with the Śrauta-sūtras, viz. the Gṛihya, and Sāmayāchārika-sūtras. Both are included under the common title of Smārta-sūtras, in contradistinction to the Śrauta-sūtras; the latter deriving their authority from the Śruti (the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas), the former from Smṛiti, or immemorial tradition. The Gṛihya and Sāmayāchārika-sūtras have frequently been confounded by European scholars; but the Brahmans distinguish strictly between the Gṛihya ceremonies, performed by the married house-holder, chiefly for the benefit of his family, and the Sāmayāchārika rules, which are to be observed by the rising generation, and which regulate the various relations of every-day life. It is chiefly in the Sāmayāchārika, or, as they are sometimes called, Dharma-sūtras, that we have to look for the originals of the later metrical law-books, such as Manu, Yājnavalkya, and the rest; and the statement of Megasthenes, that the Hindus at his time administered law from memory (ἀπὸ μνήμης)¹ can only refer to the Smārta-sūtras of the Charanas, and not to the modern Smṛiti-sanhitās of Manu, Yājnavalkya, Parāśara, &c.

¹ Strabo, xv. 1. 53, seq., quotes Megasthenes: Γενομένους δ’ οὖν ἐν τῷ Σανδροκόττου στρατοπέδῳ, φησίν ὦ Μεγασθένης, τετπαράκοντα μυρίαιν πλῆθους ἱδρυμένου, μηδεμίαν ἤμεραιν ἰδεῖν ἀνθνηγμένα κλέμματα πλειώνων ἦ διακοσίων ἱραχμῶν ἀξία, ἀγράφους καὶ ταῦτα νόμοις χρωμένους. Οὔδὲ γὰρ γράμματα εἰδέναι αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ μνήμης ἐκάστα διοικεῖσθαι. Schwanbeck suggests that only the last words ἀπὸ μνήμης ἐκάστα διοικεῖσθαι contain the truth, μνήμη being a vague interpretation of smṛiti, memory or tradition; and that the first part was a wrong conclusion of the Greeks. The question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter.
The Grihya-sūtras, belonging to the old Yajur-veda, are numerous. Quotations have been met with from Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja, Hiraṇyakesin, the Kāṭhaka, and the Maitrāyaṇīyas, all names connected with the Taittirīya-veda, and proving the existence of distinct collections of Grihya-sūtras. The number of similar Sūtras for the bright Yajur-veda seems to have been still more considerable. Every one of the fifteen Charaṇas of the Vājasaneyins is said to have been possessed of Kula-dharmas, which may have been either Grihya or Dharma-sūtras. The only collection, however, which has come down to us, is that of Pāraskara. Another, ascribed to Vaijavāpin, is quoted, but has not yet been discovered in manuscript. Connected with the Sāma-veda, the Grihya-sūtras of Gobhila, adopted both by the Rāṇāyaṇīyas and the Kauṭhumas, seem to have obtained the greatest celebrity, there being but one other collection, the Khādira-grihya, which is sometimes quoted as a parallel authority of the Chhandogas. The Grihya-sūtras of the Rig-veda or the Bahvṛichas were written by Śaunaka, and he is quoted as an authority on legal subjects by as late a writer as the author of the Mānava-dharma-śāstra (iii. 16.) The only two collections, however, which have been preserved in MS. are those of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana.

1 See Stenzler "On Indian Law Books," Ind. Stud. i. 232, and iii. 159.
3 See p. 121, n. 1.
4 In a MS. (Wilson, 451.) Pāraskara’s Grihya-sūtras are ascribed to the Mādhyandini-śākhā.
5 See Āśāditya in his "Commentary on the Karma-pradīpa," Ind. Stud. i. 58. This Karma-pradīpa, a work ascribed to Kātyāyana, is intended as a supplement to Gobhila.
Various opinions are expressed by the Brahmans themselves as to the meaning of grihya. Griha, according to the commentary on Asvalâyana, signifies not only _house_, but also _wife_. In support of the latter meaning he quotes a passage, _sagriho griham âgatah_, "he is gone to the house with his wife." According to this derivation the grihya ceremonies would be those which are performed with the sacred fire, first lighted by a husband on the day of his marriage. This fire, or the altar on which it is kept, is called _grihya_, and the grihya sacrifices are all performed on that altar. But it is doubtful whether _griha_ can ever mean _wife_. In the passage quoted above, it rather means _house_ or _family_. Besides, as the Hindus themselves admit, this domestic fire has sometimes to be lighted by a Brahman\(^1\) before his marriage, in case his father should die prematurely.\(^2\) Grihya, therefore, probably meant originally the house or the family-hearth, from _griha_, _house_; and it was in opposition to the great sacrifices for which several hearths were required, and which were therefore called _vaitânika\(^3\)_ , that the domestic ceremonies were

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\(^1\) This is taken from Gautama, v. 1.

\(^2\) A Brahmachârin who has not yet finished his religious education, possesses no sacred fires of his own, and if he is obliged to perform ceremonies with burnt-offerings, he must do so with common fire and without sacred vessels. Thus the Kâtyâyanâ-sûtra-paddhati says: गविकुर्चवदिकीयियमा तत्त्वात सुन्‌ िग्रहिता स्त्री भविति। तत्त्वातिकीयियमा ग्रहिता स्त्री भविति न कपालेऽपु।

\(^3\) वितानो स्त्रीणां विस्तार:। तत भवानि वैतानिकानि
called *grihya*, as performed by means of the one domestic fire. It should be stated, however, in favour of the former interpretation, that in Gobhila's Sūtra these domestic ceremonies are not called *grihya*, but *grihyā-karmāṇi*, and that here also the commentator admits *grihyā* in the sense of housewife or tradition.¹

The general name of the sacrifices performed, according to the *Gṛihya*-sūtras, is Pākayajna, where *pāka* is not to be taken in the sense of cooking, but signifies, according to Indian authorities, either *small* or *good*. That *pāka* is used in the first sense appears from such expressions as "yo'smatpākatarah," "he who is smaller than we." But the more likely meaning is *good* or *excellent* or *perfect*; because, as the commentators remark, these ceremonies impart to every man that peculiar fitness without which he would be excluded from the sacrifices, and from all the benefits of his religion. As it is necessary that the marriage ceremonies should be rightly performed, that the choice of the bride should be made according to sacred rules, prescribed in the Sūtras or established by independent tradition in various families and localities, the first ceremony described in

¹ Ṛṣyātō *ṛṣṭ्राκर्मिकाःपुष्पेत्रि* *च्यामः॥* ॥ यद्यशस्त्रेन स्मार्थितिधिष्ठते। तस्मिन्यानि कर्माणि तानि यद्यशस्त्राकर्माणि। दृढ़मेव छांदोऽ॥ यद्यवा यद्यवा यद्यवा || तत्कां यानि कर्माणि। तत्कां यानि कर्माणि।
the Grihya-sūtras is Marriage. Then follow the Sans-kāras, the rites to be performed at the conception of a child, at various periods before his birth, at the time of his birth, the ceremony of naming the child, of carrying him out to see the sun, of feeding him, of cutting his hair, and lastly of investing him as a student, and handing him to a Guru, under whose care he is to study the sacred writings, that is to say, to learn them by heart, and to perform all the offices of a Brahmachārin, or religious student. It is only after he has served his apprenticeship and grown up to manhood, that he is allowed to marry, to light the sacrificial fire for himself, to choose his priests, and to perform year after year the solemn sacrifices, prescribed by the Sruti and the Smṛiti. The latter are described in the later books of the Grihya-sūtras, and the last book contains a full account of the funeral ceremonies and of the sacrifices offered to the spirits of the departed.

There is certainly more of human interest in these domestic rites than in the great sacrifices described in the Śrauta-sūtras. The offerings themselves are generally of a simple nature, and the ceremonial is such that it does not require the assistance of a large class of professional priests. A log of wood placed on the fire of the hearth, an oblation poured out to the gods, or alms given to the Brāhmans, this is what constitutes a pāka-yajna. Āsvalāyana quotes several passages from the Veda, in order to show that the gods do not despise those simple offerings, nay, that a mere prayer will secure their favour, and that a hymn of praise is as good as bulls and cows. He quotes from Rv. viii. 19. 5. and 6.: "The mortal who sacrifices to Agni with a log of wood, with
an oblation, with a bundle of grass with a reverence, careful in his performance, his horses will press on quickly, his fame will be the brightest; nowhere will mischief, whether wrought by the gods or wrought by men, reach him." Another verse is quoted from Rv. viii. 24. 20., where men are called upon “to speak a mighty speech which is sweeter to Indra than milk (gṛīta, ghee) and honey.” And lastly, reference is made to a passage (Rv. vi. 16. 47.), where the poet says: “With this hymn of praise, O Agni, we bring thee a sacrifice that is fashioned by the heart; may these be thy bulls, thy oxen, and thy cows.” All these passages are more applicable to the Grihya than to the Śrauta ceremonies, and though the latter may seem of greater importance to the Brahmans, to us the former will be more deeply interesting, as disclosing that deep-rooted tendency in the heart of man to bring the chief events of human life in connection with a higher power, and to give to our joys and sufferings a deeper significance and a religious sanctification.  

1 The Commentator explains veda as the sacred code. Such a code was not known to the authors of the hymns. On the meaning of veda, see page 27. note 1.

2 In addition to a list of literary names quoted in the Grihya-sūtras of Āśvalāyana (see p. 42), I subjoin a larger list of a similar character from the Śankhāyana-grihya-sūtras, of which a copy exists at Berlin. (Weber, “Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.” p. 33.) Sumantuḥ, Jaimini-Vaisampāyana-Pailasūtrabhāshya-Gārgya-Babhru-Bābhruvya-Maṇḍu-Maṇḍavyāḥ, Gārgī Vāchaknāvī, Vaḍavā Prātitheyī, Sulabhā Maitreyī; Kaholam, Kaushitakim, Mahākaushitakim, Suyajnam, Śankhāyanam, Āśvalāyanam, Aitareyam, Maharājeyam, Bhāradvājam, Jātukarnyam, Paingyam, Mahāpaingyam, Bāshkalam, Gārgyam, Śākalyam, Maṇḍukkeyam, Mahādamatram, Audavāhim, Mahaudavāhim, Sautyāmim, Šau-
The third class of the Sūtras, the Sāmayāchārika or Dharma-sūtras, are equally interesting on account of the light which they throw on the every day life of the early Brahmans. According to the commentaries on these works, the existence of the Dharma-sūtras is presupposed by the Śrauta and Grihya-sūtras. It is said, for instance, in the former, that a certain act of the sacrifice is to be performed by a man, after he has adjusted his sacrificial cord (yajnopavītin): but in what peculiar manner a man ought to adjust that cord is not stated, but is supposed to be known from the Dharma-sūtras. The same remark is made with reference to the exact manner of rinsing the mouth (āchānta), and of performing the morning and evening prayers (sandhyāvandana). These matters are spoken of as generally known from the Sūtras, and, according to Hindu commentators, they could only be known from the Dharma-sūtras. This argument, however, can hardly be considered conclusive as to the historical priority of the Dharma-sūtras. On the contrary, it seems more likely that these matters, such as adjusting the sacrificial cord, &c., were supposed to be so well known at the time when the Śrauta and Grihya-sūtras were first composed, that they required no elucidation. Instead, therefore, of considering the Dharma-sūtras as earlier in time, the evidence, as far as it is known at present, would rather point in the opposite direction, and make us look upon these Dharma-sūtras as the latest of the three branches of Sūtras. This impression is confirmed by other reflections. In neither of the other Sūtras is the position of the Śudra so definitely nakim, Gautamim, Śakapūnim, ye chânya āchâryas, te sarve tripyantv iti. See also Karmapradīpa, MS. W. 465. p. 16. b.
marked as in the Dharma-sūtras. Āpastamba, in his Sāmayāchārika-sūtras, declares distinctly that there are four Varnas, the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya, the Śūdra, but that the initiatory rites, the Upanayana in particular, are only intended for the three first classes. The same is implied, no doubt, in the other Sūtras, which give the rules as to the proper time when a young Brahman, a young Kṣatriya, or a young Vaiśya should be apprenticed with their spiritual tutors, but never say at what age this or similar ceremonies should be performed for one not belonging to these three Varnas. Yet they never exclude the Śūdra expressly ¹; nor do they represent him as the born slave or client of the other castes. In the Dharma-sūtras the social degradation of the Śūdra is as great as in the later Law-books, and the same crime, if committed by a Brahman and a Śūdra, is visited with very different punishments. Thus, if a member of the three Varnas commits adultery with the wife of a Śūdra, he is to be banished; if a Śūdra commits adultery with the wife of a member of the three Varnas, he is to be executed.²

¹ Āpast. i. 6. श्रुत्राणामदुष्टकर्मणामुपायानं वेदाध्ययन- मन्याधेयं फलवंति च कर्माणि॥ श्रुत्रूप्ता श्रुत्रे-तेतरेणां वर्षानां॥ In later works, such as the Sanskāra-gaṇapati, this Sūtra of Āpastamba, which excludes the Śūdras from initiation, has been so altered as to admit them. MS. E. I. H. 912, p. 16. अय श्रुत्राणामुपायानं। श्रोपसंवं। श्रुत्राणामदुष्टकर्मण- मुपायानं। मध्यापानरहितानामिति कल्पतत्त्वकः॥

² MS. p. 163. b. नाम्य चार्च: श्रुत्राणां वष्ठ: श्रुत्र चास्यां। (नाम्यो निर्वाचः).
abuses an honest member of the three Varṇas, his tongue is to be cut out.¹ He is to be flogged for not keeping at a respectful distance. For murder, theft, and pillage the Śūdra is executed; the Brahmaṇ, if caught in the same offences, is only deprived of his eye-sight. This is the same iniquitous law, which we find in the later Law-books. But although the distinction between the Śūdras and the other Varṇas is so sharply drawn by Āpastamba, he admits that a Śūdra, if he obeys the law, may be born again as a Vaiśya, the Vaiśya as a Kshatriya, and the Kshatriya as a Brahmaṇ;² and that a Brahmaṇ, if he disregards the law, will be born again as a Kshatriya, the Kshatriya as a Vaiśya, and the Vaiśya as a Śūdra.

It might be supposed that the Dharma-sūtras formed merely an appendix to the Śrāvatsa and Grihya-sūtras, and that they should be classed with the Pariśishṭa literature. But such a supposition is contradicted by the fact, that the Dharma-sūtras occasionally treat of the same subjects as the Grihya-sūtras, and employ almost the same words in explaining some of the initiatory rites, the Sanskāras. They must, therefore, be considered as independent collections of Sūtras, later perhaps than the Śrāvatsa and

¹ MS. p. 164. जिःकाकिर्दनं ग्रह्यवैस्यायं धर्मिकमाक्रोशतो।

² MS. p. 125. धर्मचर्यायं तथो वर्षः पूर्वपूर्वं वर्षमाप्यः पतिं जातिपरिषद्तन्ती ब्रह्मचर्यायं पूर्वं वर्षं जातिम जातीयं वर्षमाप्यं जातिपरिषद्तन्ती॥
Gṛihya-sūtras, but enjoying the same authority on matters belonging to Smṛiti or tradition, as the Gṛihya-sūtras.

We have still to mention the Ten Sūtras of the Sāma-veda.¹ These Sūtras² do not all, strictly speaking, treat of the Kalpa, or the ceremonial. Some of them are little more than lists, such as we find in the Anukramaṇīs or Indices, appended to the other Vedas. Their style, however, approaches the style of the Sūtras; and, as they are quoted together as the Ten Sūtras, and as some of them belong decidedly to the earliest productions of the Sūtra literature, it will be more convenient to place them here, than to refer them to the Parisīshṭa literature, with which they have little or nothing in common. They are:

I. The Kalpa-sūtra, or Ārsheya-kalpa of Maśaka, an index of the hymns used by the Chhandoga priests, in the order in which the sacrifices are described in the Tāṇḍya-brahmana. Eleven Prapāṭhakas: 1—5, on the sacrifices called Ekarha; 6—9, on the sacri-

¹ The most important among them were first noticed and described by Dr. Weber, on whose authority some of our statements must rest.

² MS. Chamb. 100. लाख्यायनमुपदं निर्दरानं कल्मेव च। उपयोग्याय चुद्रत्य त्पालचाणमेव च। सुचं प्रचविधियं च कल्मानुपदं मेव च। प्रनुस्तो च विजेियं दशसूच्रप्रकीर्तिं। वरादराजा, in his Commentary on Kāṭyāyana’s Pratihāra (MS. Bodl. W. 394.). वीच्च्य ब्राह्मणू चोपयोग्यनिद्रानत्ताष्ट्राखः!। and again: दृढ़ खलु उपयोग्यक्लप्रास्त्राणां ज्योति-}

 Griffiths
fices called Ahīna; 10—12, on the sacrifices called Sattra. Commentary by Varadarāja.

II. The Anupada-sūtra, a gloss to the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa, in ten Prapāṭhakas.

III. The Kalpa-sūtra, already mentioned, either of Lātyāyana or Drāhyāyana. Lātyāyana quotes Maśaka, and follows the order of the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa.

IV. The Nidāna-sūtra, on Metres, in ten Prapāṭhakas.

V. The Upagrantha-sūtra, a treatise on the performance of some of the Sāma-veda sacrifices, commonly ascribed to Kātyāyana.¹

VI. The Kshudra-sūtra or Kshaudra, in three Prapāṭhakas, equally treating of the ceremonial of the Sāma-veda.²

VII. The Tandalakshaṇa-sūtra.

VIII. The Panchavidha-sūtra ³; in two Prapāṭhakas.

IX. The Kalpānupada, and

X. The Anustotra-sūtra ⁴, in two Prapāṭhakas.

We miss in this list the Pushpa-sūtra, ascribed to Gobhila, and containing rules on the adaptation of the text of the hymns to their musical performance.

**Jyotisha, or Astronomy.**

The last of the Vedāṅgas is called Jyotisha, or

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1 Cf. Ind. Studien, i. 43. 54. 56. 58 ; MS. E. I. H. 121. सामवेद उपयव्रस्त्रे च, copied Samvat, 1586=1530 A.D. by Paṇḍita Śrī La-kshmīdhara, son of Śrī Bhīma, इत्युपयव्रस्त्रे चतुर्थ: प्रपाठकः।

2 MS. Bodl. W. 375.

3 MS. Bodl. W. 375. Begins प्रस्तावोद्वीणयत्वस्वरारोपक्षप्रशिक्षनः धनानि भक्तयः तत्त्वांनिविध स्त्रां वायुभाषामः। One of these five Bhaktis, the Pratihāra, is described in the Pratihāra-sūtra, ascribed to Kātyāyana, and explained by Varadarāja.

4 MS. Bodl. W. 375.
Astronomy. Its literature is very scanty, and the small treatise, generally quoted as the Jyotisha, belongs to the same class of works as the Śikṣā. Colebrooke speaks of different Jyotishas for each Veda, and he calls one, which has a commentary, the Jyotisha of the Rig-veda. Among his MSS., however, which are now deposited at the East India House, there is but one work of this kind. It exists in various MSS. (Nos. 1378, 1743, 1520), and the differences between these MSS. are so small that we could hardly consider them as distinct works. This tract is later than the Sūtra period, and we possess as yet no work on ancient astronomy, composed in the style of the early Sūtras. Notwithstanding its modern form, however, the doctrines which are propounded in this small treatise represent the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy. The theories on which it is founded, and the rules which it lays down, are more simple, less scientific, than anything we find in other astronomical treatises. Nor is it the object of this small tract to teach astronomy. It has a practical object, which is to convey such knowledge of the heavenly bodies as is necessary for fixing the days and hours of the Vedic sacrifices. It was the establishment of a sacred Calendar, which in India, as elsewhere, gave the first impulse to astronomical studies. Thus we meet in the Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas with frequent allusions to astronomical subjects, and even in the hymns we find traces which indicate a certain advance in the observation of the moon, as the measurer of time. The fact that the name of the moon is the same in Sanskrit, Greek, and German, and that it is derived from a root which
originally means to measure, shows that even before the separation of the Indo-European family, the moon had been looked upon as the chief means of measuring time. And the close connection between the names of moon and month proves that a certain knowledge of lunar chronology existed during the same early period. In one passage of the Rig-veda\(^1\) the moon is mentioned in connection with the Nakshatras, and we can hardly doubt that this is an allusion to the Nakshatras, the well-known name of the Lunar Mansions or the Lunar Zodiac. In the hymns\(^2\) the phases of the moon have not only received proper names, but they have been personified, and are invoked as deities to grant progeny to their worshippers. Again, there is a passage in the first book of the Rig-veda, where, in addition to the twelve months, a thirteenth or intercalary month is mentioned. The poet says there (Rv. i. 25. 8.), “He (Varuṇa), firm in his work, knows the twelve months with their offspring, and knows the month which is produced in addition.” It has been objected that the idea of an intercalary month was too scientific for the early poets of the Veda, and a different translation has been proposed: “Varuṇa, who knows the twelve months, and knows those which are to come.” But the poet would not have used the singular of the verb, if he meant the plural. He could not have

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\(^1\) Rv. viii. 3. 20: “ātho nākshatrāṇām eshām upāsthe sōma āhitaḥ, “Soma is placed in the lap of these Nakshatras.”

\(^2\) Rv. ii. 32. Rākā, the full moon; Sinīvāli, the last day before the new moon; and Gungu, the new moon, are mentioned. Rv. v. 42. 12, Rākā occurs again; and x. 48. 8. we read Gungubhyah. In both these passages, however, the poet is speaking of rivers, and not of the moon.
said, "the twelve months and those which are to come," if he meant to say, "the past months and those which are to come." No doubt the acquaintance with an intercalary month presupposes a certain knowledge of lunar and solar astronomy, but not more than what a shepherd or a sailor might gain in the course of his life. The whole idea expressed by the poet is, that Varuṇa maintains the established order of the world, and therefore knows the twelve months and also the thirteenth. In the hymns of the Yajur-veda the thirteenth month is changed already into a deity. Oblations are offered (Vâj. sanhitâ, vii. 30., xxii. 31.) to each of the twelve months, and at the end one oblation is made to Anhasaspati, the deity of the intercalary month. In the Brâhmaṇas¹ likewise the thirteenth month is mentioned, and in the Jyotisha the theory of intercalation is fully explained. Two names for "an astronomer," Nakshatra-darśa and Gaṇaka, occur as early as the Taittiriyaka and the Sanhitâ of the Yajur-veda²; and among the sciences of the early Brâhmaṇs, Nakshatra-vidyâ or Astronomy is mentioned in the Chhândogypñòpanishad. In the Gaṇapâṭha, appended to Pâṇini's Grammar³, the title of Jyotisha occurs together with the titles of other Vedic works; and in the Charanâvyûha we meet not only with the Jyotisha, but with an Upajyotisha, or a supplemen-

¹ Sâyaṇa, in his Commentary on Rv. ii. 40. 3, says, that the thirteenth month was called the seventh season, and he quotes from a Brâhmaṇa a passage: asti trayodaso masa iti śruteḥ.

² Taitt.-brâhm. iv. 5; Vâj.-sanh. xxx. 10; 20.

³ Gaṇa ukthâdi. Pân. iii. 1. 143, graha, planet, is mentioned as different from grâha.
tary treatise on astronomy. This supplementary treatise is one of the Parishiṣṭas, and in the same class of writings we meet with other tracts on astronomical subjects, such as the Gobhiliya Navagraha-śānti-parishiṣṭa¹ belonging to the Sāma-veda, and several more belonging to the Atharva-veda.²

If now we take a comprehensive view of that class of literature which we have just examined, we find some characteristic features throughout. All these works were written with a practical object, quite a new phase in the literature of such a nation as the ancient Hindus. The only authority which the Sutra-kāras, the authors of the Sūtras, claimed for their works was the authority of that ancient, and, as it was then already considered, revealed literature on which their works were founded. These men claimed no inspiration for themselves. They had made a scientific study of the literature handed down to them by former generations, and they wished to make that study easier to their contemporaries and to future generations. The style which they adopted for that purpose was business-like in the extreme. It was the curt and dry style of the Sūtras, a style peculiar to India, which can only be compared with the elaborate tables of contents, or the marginal notes, of some of our own early writers. It has its first beginnings in the Brāhmaṇas, where some subjects, particularly those which had given rise to early controversy, are stated with all the conciseness and neatness of the Sūtra style. But whereas the authors

¹ MS. Chambers, 404.
² Nakshatralkalpa, Grahayuddha, Rāhuchāra, Ketuchāra, Rūtuketulakshaṇa, Nakshatragrahotpātalakshaṇa. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 87. 100.
of the Brāhmaṇas screened their poverty behind a constant display of the most inane verbosity, the writers of the Śūtras gloried in every word they could save without endangering the practical usefulness of their manuals. In some instances they adopted a poetical form, and they succeeded in combining the conciseness of their prose with the rhythm of their early metres, the mixed Ślokas. Thus their position is marked by the very form of their works, as intermediate between the antique style of the Brāhmaṇas, and the modern style of the metrical Śāstras. Their works form a distinct and compact class of literature, and if we succeed in fixing the relative age of any one of these Śūtrakāras or writers of Śūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vedic and the classical literature of India.

The Anukramaṇīs.

Several of the works mentioned before were ascribed to Śaunaka and his two pupils, Kātyāyana and Āśvalāyana. But we have not yet mentioned a number of treatises, ascribed to the same authors, and belonging to the same sphere of literature as the Śūtras, which, however, on account of their technical character, could not lay claim to the title of Vedāṅga, or "member of the Veda." They are known by the name of the Anukramaṇīs, from anu, along, and kram, to step. They are systematic indices to various portions of the ancient Vedic literature.

The most perfect Anukramaṇī is that of the Sanhita of the Rig-veda. It is ascribed to Kātyāyana, an author chiefly known by his works on the Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda. Its name is Sarvānukramaṇī
or Sarvānukrama, i.e. the index of all things. It gives the first words of each hymn, the number of verses, the name and family of the poets, the names of the deities, and the metres of every verse. Before the time of Kātyāyana, there had been separate indices for each of these subjects, and it was with reference to them that Kātyāyana called his own index the general or comprehensive index. Our authority for this is Shadguruśishya, the author of a commentary on the Index of Kātyāyana; a man who like Devarājajvan, the author of a commentary on the Nighantu, was not without a certain appreciation of the historical progress of Indian literature. He tells us in his Vedārthadipikâ, that before Kātyāyana, there existed one index of the poets, one of the metres, one of the deities, one of the Anuvâkas, the old chapters of the Rig-veda, and one of the hymns; and that these indices were composed by Śaunaka. Now we know the style of Śaunaka, and as by a happy accident some of these former indices have been preserved, some complete, others in fragments, we are able to test Shadguruśishya’s accuracy.

We remarked before, as a distinctive peculiarity of the style of Śaunaka, as contrasted with that of Kātyāyana, that the Prātiśâkhya ascribed to the former is composed in mixed Ślokas, whereas the Prātiśâkhya of Kātyāyana is written in prose or in Sūtras. The same observation applies to the Anu-
ANUKRAMANIS. 217

Those ascribed to Śaunaka are composed in mixed metres, as far as we can judge from quotations; the Anukramaṇi of his pupil Kātyāyana is in prose, and exhibits all the artificial appliances of a Sūtra composition. There is one of Śaunaka’s Anukramaṇis, the Anuvāka-anukramaṇi, which can be restored completely from MSS.¹; and this work bears the most manifest traces of Śaunaka’s style, partly in the mixture, partly in a peculiar rudeness, of its metres. The other Anukramaṇis ascribed to Śaunaka are lost to us, but they must have existed at the time of Shadguruśishya. He quotes not only from the Anuvāka-anukramaṇi (Bhāṣhya, viii. 1.), but also from the Deva-anukrama (Bhāṣhya, viii. 4.), and he distinguishes this work from the Bṛihaddevatā, another work attributed to Śaunaka, of which there is one MS. in Europe at the Royal Library of Berlin.² Sāyana also, though later than Shadguruśishya, was still in possession of Śaunaka’s works, and he quotes particularly the Bṛ-

¹ Several MSS. contain portions of the Anuvākānukramaṇi; and with the help of Shadguruśishya’s Commentary, contained in the introduction to his commentary on Kātyāyana’s Sarvānukrama, (MS. Bodl. Wilson, 379.), the text might be published in a critical edition.

² Dr. Kuhn gives the following description of this MS. in Haupt’s “Zeitschrift fur Deutsches Alterthum.” The Bṛihaddevatā (Chambers, 192.) composed in epical metre, is ascribed to Śaunaka, and contains an enumeration of the deities invoked in each hymn of the Rig-veda. It gives much mythological and other information as to the character of the gods of the Veda. The text of the MS. is so corrupt that we can scarcely think of restoring it without the help of other MSS.” Another MS. has since been found in India, and a distinguished Sanskrit scholar is preparing an edition of it.
haddevatâ, in several of his own commentaries. Šaunaka's Ārsha-anukramaṇi is quoted by Sāyaṇa in his Commentary on the Rig-veda, i. 100. 1. If we add to these quotations a reference to Šaunaka's Chhando-nukramaṇi, which is found in Šaḍguruśishya's Vedârthadipikâ (MS. E.I.H. 1823, p. 7. a.), we may consider the authenticity of these works sufficiently established; and it is hardly unreasonable to suppose that the fifth Anukramaṇi also, of which no quotations have as yet been met with, the Sūktânuukramaṇi, was in existence as late as Sāyaṇa's time.¹

This would give us for the Rig-veda five Anukramaṇi by Šaunaka, one by Kâtyâyana, and one by an unknown author. The Brihaddevatâ is a work of too large a compass to be called an Anukramaṇi, and it is even doubtful whether we possess this work in the same form in which Šaunaka left it. To judge from Dr. Kuhn's extracts, the author of the Brihaddevatâ follows indeed the Šâkala-śâkha, but his text must have differed from that of our MSS. The author may have followed one of the subdivisions of the Šâkala, the Šaśiśra-śâkha, for instance, which we know was followed by Šaunaka. The division of the Sanhita which is adopted in the Brihaddevatâ, is that of Maṇḍalas, Anuvâkas, and Sûktas; but the other division into Ashtakas is equally known, and even the Khilas are taken into account, whereas both Šaunaka and Kâtyâyana exclude these later hymns dis-

¹ Another Anukramaṇi, containing the last verses of each Maṇḍala, is quoted by Šaḍguruśishya (Anukr. Bh. viii. 1.).

Cf. RV. Maṇḍ. vii. 6. 15; Asht. v. 7. 9.
tinctly from their indices. Dr. Kuhn concludes from a passage in Shadguruśishya’s Commentary, to which we shall revert hereafter, that not Šaunaka, but Āśvalāyana, was the author of our Brihaddevatā. This conclusion, however, is not borne out by sufficient evidence, nor is the fact that Šaunaka is quoted by name in the work itself a sufficient argument against Šaunaka’s authorship. According to the line of argument adopted by Dr. Kuhn, it would be equally objectionable to ascribe the Brihaddevatā to Āśvalāyana; for in one passage, according to Dr. Kuhn’s own emendations, the name of Āśvalāyana also occurs in it. Other authorities which are quoted in this curious work are the Aitareyaka, the Kaushitakins, the Bhāllavi-brāhmaṇa, the Ni-dāna (nidānasanjnake granthe), Śākalas, Bāshkalas, Madhuka, Śvetaketu, Gālava, Gārgya, Rathītara, Rāthantarin, Śākaṭāyana, Śāndilya, Romakāyana Sthavira, Kāṭhakya, Bhāgurin, Šākapūni, Bhārm-yaśva Mudgala, Aurnavābha, Kraushtukin, Mātrin, and Yāska. The last is most frequently mentioned, and the whole book is dedicated to him. To judge from the style of the Brihaddevatā, the work as we now possess it, though originally written by Šaunaka, seems to have been recast by a later writer.

The following figures, taken from Šaunaka’s Anukramaṇis, will serve to give an idea of the minuteness with which the Veda was studied at his time. According to Šaunaka, the Śākala-śākhā of the Rigveda-sanhitā consists of 10 Maṇḍalas, or 64 Adhyā-yanas.
The 1st contains 24 and 191
2nd " 4 " 43
3rd " 5 " 62
4th " 5 " 58
5th " 6 " 87
6th " 6 " 75
7th " 6 " 104
8th " 10 " 92(+11 Vālakhilyas)
9th " 7 " 114
10th " 12 " 191
The 10 have 85 and 1017+11=1028.
The Bāshkala-śākhā had 8 hymns more=1025 hymns.
The 64 Adhyāyas have 2006 Vargas. These are arranged as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vargas consisting of</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Vargas.</th>
<th>Verses.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1207</td>
<td>6035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3461</td>
<td>2076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

64 Adhyāyas = 2,006=10,417

Here we have to observe a difference between the number of verses, as deduced from the Vargas, and the number stated by Śaunaka. The latter gives the

1 Trīṇi šatāni shaṭkānām chatvārinṣat shaṭ cha vargāḥ.
sum total of verses = $10,580\frac{1}{2}$, but, immediately afterwards, the sum total of half verses = $21,232\frac{1}{2} = 10,616$ verses.

How this difference arose it is difficult to say; but it should be observed that, if we divide the sum total of half verses, 21,232, by 2, we get 10,616 verses, and this number comes very near to 10,622, which the Charanavyūha gives as the sum total of the verses of the Rig-veda. According to the Charanavyūha (MS. Ch. 785.) the 64 Adhyāyas of the Rig-veda have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vargas consisting of</th>
<th>Verses</th>
<th>Vargas</th>
<th>Verses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>279</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>704</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1228</td>
<td>6140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>2142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>903</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[2042 \quad 10,622\]

The number of padas or words in the Rig-veda-sanhitā is stated as 153,826, which gives an average of between 14 to 15 words to each verse. Another computation brings the number of the charchā-padas (i.e. words which are used in the Kramapāṭha, omitting the repeated passages or galitas) to 110,704, and the number of syllables to 432,000.

In another Anukramaṇī, Śaunaka gives a list of verses, arranged according to the metres in which they are written; and at the end he states the sum
total of verses as 10,402; but here again, if we cast up the number of verses in each metre, according to his own statement, we get 10,409 instead of 10,402. These differences are startling if we consider the general accuracy of the exegetical works of the Brahmans; but they may arise either from faults in the MSS. of the Anukramaṇīs, or from the fact that some of the Khilas were included, though, according to their own professions, both Śaunaka and Kātyāyana would seem to exclude these later hymns from their Anukramaṇīs. The following table will show the distribution of metres according to Śaunaka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Number of Verses</th>
<th>Brought forward</th>
<th>9793</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gāyatrī</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uṣṇīṣh</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>Ashṭi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuṣṭubh</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>Atyashṭi</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bṛihatī</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>Dhṛiti</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankti</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>Atydhṛiti</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trishṭubh</td>
<td>4,253</td>
<td>Ekpadā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagāṭi</td>
<td>1,348</td>
<td>Dvipadā</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atijagāti</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Pragātha Bārhata</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śakvari</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Kākubha</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atiśakvari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Mahābārhata</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Carried forward 9793 10,409

For the Yajur-veda we have three Anukramaṇīs, one for the Ātreyi-śākhā of the Taittirīyas, the other for the Śākhā of the Chārāyaṇīyas, the third for the Mādhyandina-śākhā of the Vājasaneyins. The former\(^1\) differs from other Anukramaṇīs in so far as it contains an index not of the Sanhitā only, but

\(^1\) MS. E. I. H. 1623, 965.
also of the Brâhmaṇa and the Āranyaka. Its object is not simply to enumerate the Kâṇḍas (Ashtakas), Praśnas, Anuvākas, and Kāṇḍikās as they follow in the text, but rather to indicate the chief subjects of this Veda, and to bring together the different passages where the same sacrifice with its supplements is treated. Though we do not possess a MS. of the Ātreyi-śākhā, it is possible to identify nearly the whole of the Index with the text of the Sanhitā, the Brâhmaṇa, and the Āranyaka which we possess. The Ātreyi-śākhā, though not mentioned in the Charanavyūha, must be considered as a subdivision of the Aukhiya-śākhā; and the Anukramaṇi says that Vaiśampāyana handed it down to Yāska Paingi, Yāska to Tittiri, Tittiri to Ukha, and Ukha to Ātreya, who was the author of a Pada-text, while Kundina composed a commentary (vṛitti) on the same Śākhā. The Āpastamba-śākhā, of which we possess the complete Brâhmaṇa, is a subdivision of the Kāṇḍikeyas.

There is a curious tradition, preserved in the Kāṇḍānukrama, that, although the greater portion of the Ātreyi-śākhā was originally taught by Tittiri, some chapters of it owed their origin to Kātha, the founder of the Kāṭhaka-śākhā. This assertion is confirmed by Sāyaṇa in his Commentary on the Taittirīyārānyaka. The chapters ascribed to Kātha and called the Kāṭhakam, are found at the end of the Brâhmaṇa and the beginning of the Āranyaka. They contain —

1 MS. E. I. H. 1701, 1702; name of Śākhā unknown.
2 MS. E. I. H. 293, containing the three books of the Āpastamba-brâhmaṇa.
3 MS. E. I. H. 1690, &c.
4 See MS. Bodl. Wilson, 361.
1. The Sāvitrāgnichayana with the Brāhmaṇa, Tait.-brāhm. iii. 10.
2. The Nāchiketachayana, Tait.-br. iii. 11.
3. Divahṣyenayā ishtayath. Tait.-br. iii. 12.
4. & 2.
7. Aruṇaketukachiti. Tait.-āraṇyaka, i. 1.
8. Svādhyāya-brāhmaṇa. Tait.-āraṇyaka, i. 2.

They are given here as they follow one another in the text of the Āpastamba-Śākhā, and this order is confirmed in every particular by Sāyaṇa's Commentary (MS. E. I. H. 1145), which is in fact a commentary intended for the Āpastamba-Śākhā of the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. According to his introductory remarks prefixed to each Anuvāka, the Sāvitrachiti occupies the tenth, the Nāchiketachiti the eleventh Prapāṭhaka. In the twelfth Prapāṭhaka, he remarks, the Chāturhotra and Vaiśvasṛija should be explained. But as the ishtis, called the Divahṣyenīs and Apādyās, form part of the complete Chāturhotra (they stand either in the middle or at the end of it), they are explained first. Thus we find in the beginning of the twelfth Prapāṭhaka (iii. 12. 1.), the pratikas of the Yājyānvākyās of the Divahṣyenīs; in iii. 12. 2. the rules for the same ishtis; and in the same manner, the Yājyānvākyās of the Apādyās in iii. 12. 3., and the rules in iii. 12. 4. Then follows the Chāturhotra-chayana in iii. 12. 5, and in the last four Anuvākas the Vaiśvasṛija-chayana.

A different order seems to have been observed in the Ātreyi-Śākhā of the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa, for, although the same chapters are here ascribed to
Kaṭha, their arrangement must have differed, unless we suppose that the author of the Kândânukrama introduced an alteration. He writes: “Tâvat Tittirih provâcha. (Tittiris Taittiriyasâkhâpravartako ’nye-bhyo munibhyâh ñishyebhyàh provâcha.) Athâshṭâu Kâṭhakâni (athânantaram Kâṭhakaâsâkhâpravartakena Kâṭhakamuninâ proktâny uchyante):

1. Sâvitra, Taittirîya-bråhmaṇa, iii. 10.
2. Nâchiketa " " iii. 11.
3. Châturhotra " " iii. 12. 5.
5. Åruṇa, Taittirîya-âranyaka, i. 1.
8. Svådhyâya-bråhmaṇa, Taittirîya-âranyaka, i. 2.”

The second Anukramanî of the Yajur-veda which we possess, belongs to the Chârâyanîya-sâkhâ, and is called the Mantrârshadhyaya.¹ The only copy which we have of it is found in the same MS. which contains the Charaka-sâkhâ,² and it is evidently intended as an index to this sâkhâ. Nor is there anything anomalous in this, if we remember that the Chârâyanîya-sâkhâ is a subdivision of the Charaka-sâkhâ. But what is less intelligible is the title given to the text, which instead of Yajur-veda, is called in the MS. Yajur-veda-kâṭhaka. This title, Kâṭhaka, cannot well refer to the sâkhâ of the Kaṭhas, for this is itself a subdivision of the Charakas. It must most likely be taken in the same sense in which Kâṭhaka was explained before, i. e. “Kâṭhakamuninâ proktam;” though it is strange that the very chapters which in the Åpastamba-
śākhā of the Taittirīyāka are ascribed to Kāṭha, are wanting in our Śākhā, while all the other sacrifices which are described in the Taittirīya-sāṅhitā and Brāhmaṇa, are laid down in very much the same order.

The third Anukramaṇi, that of the Mādhyandina-śākhā of the Vājasaneyāka, is ascribed to Kāṭyāyana, who is mentioned also as the author of an Anuvākānukramaṇi. It gives the names of the poets, the deities, and the metres, for all the verses of the Sāṅhitā, including the Khila (Adhyāya 26–35.) and the Śukriya portions. (Adhy. 36–40.)

For the Sāma-veda we have two classes of Anukramaṇis, the former more ancient, the latter more modern than those of the other Vedas which we have hitherto examined. One index to the hymns of the Sāma-veda (following the order of the Veyagāna and Āranyagāna) has been preserved under the name of Ārsheya-brāhmaṇa, a title by which this work is admitted within the pale of the revealed literature of the Brahmans. Allusions to the names of poets and deities of different hymns occur in the Brāhmaṇas of other Vedas also; but in none, except the Sāma-veda, have these scattered observations been arranged into regular Anukramaṇis before the beginning of the Sūtra period, or been incorporated in the body of their revealed literature. What the Brahmans call Śruti or revelation, signifies, as we saw, what is more ancient than the Sūtras; and that the Ārsheya-brāhmaṇa is earlier at least than Kāṭyāyana, can be proved by the fact of Kāṭyāyana’s quoting passages from it. It has been pointed out as a distinguishing mark of the Brāhmaṇa.

1 See Benfey, Sāma-veda, p. vii.
2 In the first chapter of the Ārsheya-brāhmaṇa, we read:

\[
\text{Yo ch va \varahidhiṣṭāyaḥ pṛthivikṛdīdramukutāḥ śrāvaṇeḥ mṛcchēḥ yā-}
\]
manas of the Sāma-veda that they are never accented, but it is doubtful whether any conclusion could be drawn from this as to their being of later origin than the Brāhmaṇas of the other Vedas.¹

But while the existence of an Ārṣheya-brāhmaṇa shows that the Chhandogas were the first to compose an index to their sacred literature, we find that their regular Anukramaṇis are more modern than those of the Rig-veda, and must be referred to a class of works known by the name of Pariśishtas. They are contained in MS. Bodl. Wilson 466, where they form the fifth and sixth of the twenty Pariśishtas attached to the Sāma-veda. Their title is, “Naigeyānām rikshv ārsham,” and “Naigeyānām rikshu daivatam,” and they give respectively the names of the poets and the deities for the verses composing the Archika of the Chhandogas according to the Sākhā

This passage is referred to by Kātyāyana, when he says: "नैगेयाना rिक्षव अरशम्" and "नैगेयाना rिक्षु दैवतम्". See also Kātyāyana’s Introduction to his Anukramaṇī of the Mādhyandina-sākhā, and Rig-veda-bhashya, p. 40.

¹ Kumārila says: यदु भाष्यकारिण खराभावादिवस्वक्रिय-मार्थवाख्यान्यां कतं तनक्रियवेदेन्यैव कल्याणीनिः साध्येत्। तथा गुद्धोपदितेषु कांडे राग्नान्याष्ट्रेषु च। ब्राह्मणानि हि यान्योंसः सरप्रणावधीयते कोऽपागालेषु सवेषु न कश्चिद्-क्रियतः खरः। तेन तेषांवेदेन्यैव खराभावायुवस्येऽः।
of the Naigeyas, a subdivision of the Kauthumas. It agrees on the whole, but not in all particulars, with the Śâkhâ published by Stevenson and Benfey, and it has been supposed that their text is taken from MSS. belonging to the Râñâyaniya Śâkhâ. The most characteristic difference between these Pariśishṭas and the Ārsheya-brâhmaṇa seems to lie in this, that the latter refers to the original prayer-books of the Chhandogas, the Veyagâna, and Āranyagâna, while the former follow the Sanhitâ, including Ārchipika and Staubhika, or as they are also called, Pûrvârchipika and Uttarârchipika.

For the fourth Veda, the Ātharvâṇa, or Brahmaveda, an Anukramaṇi has been discovered by Professor Whitney in a MS. of the British Museum, prepared for Col. Polier. A copy of this MS. is found in MS. 2142 of the East India House. It is a complete index to the Sanhitâ in 10 Patalas, written in a simple and intelligible style. Its title is Bṛihat-savrânuukramaṇi.

It is evident, that if it was possible to determine the age of the Anukramaṇis, we should have a terminus ad quem for the Vedic age. The index of the Rig-veda enables us to check almost every syllable of the hymns; and we may safely say that we possess exactly the same number of verses, and words, and syllables in our MSS. of the Rig-veda as existed at the time of Kâtyâyana. The index of the Ātreyi-śâkhâ (by Laugâkshî?) authenticates our MSS. not only of the Sanhitâ, but also of the Brâhmaṇa and Āranyaka of the Taittiriya-veda, and the index to the Kâthaka refers to a work exactly the same as that of which we possess the text in MS. The Ārsheya-

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brāhmaṇa presupposes the existence of the Gāṇas of the Sāma-veda, and the Anukramaṇīs of the Naigeyas could only have been written after the text of the more modern Ārchipaka had branched off into different Sākhās.

The only Anukramaṇīs of which the authors are known are, the Anukramaṇīs of Śaunaka to the Rigveda, and the two Sarvānukramas of Kātyāyana, one to the Rigveda, the other to the white Yajur-veda. We shall see whether it is possible to fix the age of these two writers.

We remarked before, that the Anukramaṇī of Kātyāyana, if compared with the Anuvākānukramaṇī of Śaunaka; shows the same progress in style which we may always observe between these two writers. Śaunaka writes in mixed Ślokas, and takes great liberties with the metre; Kātyāyana writes in prose, and introduces the artificial contrivances of the later Sūtras. Again, Śaunaka’s index follows the original division of the Rig-veda into Maṇḍalas, Anuvākas, and Sūktas; Kātyāyana has adopted the more practical and more modern division into Ashtakas, Adhyāyas, and Vargas. The number of hymns is the same in Śaunaka and Kātyāyana. They both follow the united Sākhā of the Śakalas and Bāshkalas, and bring the number of hymns, exclusive of all Khilas, to 1017. Before this union took place, the Bāshkalas counted eight hymns more than the Śakalas, i. e. 1025 instead of 1017; and they read some of the hymns in the first Maṇḍala in a different order.¹

¹ In the Śakala-sākhā, the hymns of Gotama are followed by those of Kutsa, Kakshivat, Paruchchhepa, and Dirghatamas; in the Bāshkala-sākhā their order was, Gotama, Kakshivat, Paruchchhepa, Kutsa, Dirghatamas.
The Khilas, or supplementary hymns, are omitted in the Anukramanīs of Saunaka and Kātyāyana, though they were known to both; Saunaka, however, excludes them more strictly than Kātyāyana. The latter has admitted the eleven Vālakhilya-hymns, and thus brings the total number of hymns to 1028.

From all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that the relation between Saunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Sākhā, and that Saunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana. We know of only one other writer whose works are equally intended for the united Sākhā of the Sākalas and Bāshkalas; this is Āśvalāyana, the author of twelve books of Śrauta-sūtras, of four books of Gṛihya-sūtras, and of some chapters in the Aitareyārānyaka.

Let us see now, whether these indications can be supported by other evidence.

Shadgurusishya in his Commentary on Kātyāyana's Sarvānukrama, says:—

"Śunahotra, the great Muni, was born of Bharadvājā, and of him was born Śunahotra, all the world being a witness. Indra himself went to the sacrifice of the Rishi in order to please him. The great Asuras, thinking that Indra was alone, and wishing

1 वैलिकानामनादिहेषोसिसन्ययेःसुवाकानां; or, according to MS. 502, रुवाकानामिन्सिस्तः॥

2 Thus it is said: एतत् (समावायस्य) इतिशब्दे निविष्यपूर्वकनालविष्यमहानाथयेतमेष्याष्ठात्मित्वं बश्चरलख्य चाचार्यवद्येशतदशाश्लायनसु च नाम प्रयोगशास्त्रमित्ययेचतप्रसिद्धं संवंधितश्चोतयति॥ Śrauta-
sūtra-bhāshya. i. 1.
to take him, surrounded the sacrificial inclosure. Indra, however, perceived it, and taking the guise of the Rishi, he went away. The Asuras seeing the sacrificer again, seized Saunahotra, taking him for Indra. He saw the god that is to be worshipped, and saying, 'I am not Indra, there he is, ye fools, not I,' he was released by the Asuras. Indra called and spake to him: 'Because thou delightest in praising, therefore thou art called Gṛitsamada, O Rishi; thy hymn will be called by the name of Indrasya indriyam, the might of Indra. And thou, being born in the race of Bṛigu, shalt be Saunaka, the descendant of Śunaka, and thou shalt see again the second Maṇḍala, together with that hymn.' He, the Muni Gṛitsamada, was born again, as commanded by Indra. It was he who saw the great second Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda as it was revealed to him together with the hymn Śajaniya; it was he, the great Rishi, to whom at the twelve years’ sacrifice, Ugrasravas, the son of Romaharshaṇa, the pupil of Vyāsa, recited, in the midst of the sacrifice, the story of the Mahābhārata, together with the tale of the Harивanśa, a story to be learnt from Vyāsa alone, full of every kind of excellence, dear to Hari, sweet to hear, endowed with great blessing. It was he who was the lord of the sages, dwelling in the Naimishīya forest; he, who to the King Śatānīka, the son of Janamejaya, brought the laws of Viṣṇu, which declare the powers of Hari. That Śaunaka, celebrated among the Rishis as the glorious, having seen the second Maṇḍala, and heard the collection of the Mahābhārata, being also the propagator of the laws of Viṣṇu, the great boat on the ocean of existence, was looked upon by the great Rishis as the only vessel in which worshippers
might get over the Bahvricha, with its twenty-one Sākhās, like one who had crossed the Rig-veda. There was one Sākhā of Sākala, another of Bāshkala: taking these two Sanhitās, and the twenty-one Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareyaka, and completing it with others, Saunaka, revered by numbers of great Rishis, composed the first Kalpa-sūtra."

It need hardly be pointed out that this passage contains a strange and startling mixture of legendary and historical matter, and that it is only the last portion which can be of interest to us. The story of Saunahotra, the son of Sunahotra, and grandson of Bharadvāja, being born again as Gṛtsamada-Saunaka, may have some historical foundation, and the only way in which it can be interpreted, is, that the second Maṇḍala, being originally seen by Gṛtsamada, of the family of Bhṛigu, was afterwards preserved by Saunahotra, a descendant of Bharadvāja, of the race of Angiras, who entered the family of Bhṛigu, took the name of Saunaka, and added one hymn, the twelfth, in praise of Indra. This is partly confirmed by Katyāyana's Anukramaṇī, and by the Rishyanukramaṇī of Saunaka. It would by no means follow that Saunaka was the author of the hymns of the second Maṇḍala. The hymns of that Maṇḍala belong to Gṛtsamada of the Bhṛigu race. But Saunaka may have adopted that Maṇḍala, and

1 या अगिरस: श्रीनाचो भुला भार्गव: श्रीनको भवबलुः ग्र्याकर्दो द्वितीयं मंडलाप्रमश्र्द्वतिः।
2 तथा नस्यक्ष श्रीनकस्मः क्रग्यानकमभिः। लम्ब्र दृति ग्र्याकर्दः: श्रीनको भगुला गत्। श्रीनाचो प्रकट्या तु या अगिरस उच्छति दृतिः।
by adding one hymn, may have been said to have made it his own. Again, it does not concern us at present whether Saunaka, the author of the Kalpa-sūtra, was the same as Saunaka, the chief of the sages in the Naimishīya forest, to whom, during the great twelve-years' sacrifice, Ugrāsravas related the Mahābhārata, and who became the teacher of Satānīka, the son of Janamejaya. If this identity could be established, a most important link would be gained, connecting Saunaka and his literary activity with another period of Indian literature. This point must be reserved for further consideration. At present we are only concerned with Saunaka, the author of the Kalpa-sūtras and other works composed with a view of facilitating the study of the Rig-veda.

Shadgurusishya continues:

"The pupil of Saunaka was the Reverend Āśvalāyana. He, having learned from Saunaka all sacred knowledge, made also a Sūtra and taught it, thinking it would improve the understanding and please Saunaka. Then, in order to please his pupil, Saunaka destroyed his own Sūtra¹, which consisted of a thousand parts and was more like a Brāhmaṇa. 'This Sūtra,' he said, 'which Āśvalāyana has made and taught, shall be the Sūtra for this Veda.' There are

¹ विपाटितं means "torn," and corresponds with Sūtra, "a thread." A similar expression is विच्छिन्न, which is applied, for instance, to the Mahābhāṣya, when it fell into disuse in Kashmir. See Rājataranginī, Histoire des Rois du Kashmir, traduite et commentée par M. A. Troyer, iv. 487.; and Böhtlingk, Pāṇini, p. xvi. The true sense seems to be that in which Devarājāyavān uses विच्छिन्न in such passages as तद्वाध्ययनं कलिचुगे प्रायेण विच्छिन्नवं प्रदायर्मातैत्र।। A work was lost when the chain of the oral tradition was broken.

Āśvalāyana having learnt all these ten Sūtras, and knowing also the Gotras, (genealogies), became versed in all the sacrifices by the favour of Śaunaka. The sage Kātyāyana had thirteen books before him: ten of Śaunaka and three of his pupil Āśvalāyana. The latter consisted of the Sūtras in twelve chapters,

1 I read विधाने च, because these must be two different works, the Rigvidhāna and Pādavidhāna, in order to complete the number of ten. The Rigvidhāna exists in MS. (E. I. H. 1723), and is not only written in Śaunaka’s mixed Ślokas, but distinctly ascribed to him in the second verse: कर्मणामृष्टद्यान्तविधिप्रोबद्धश्रीनकाय

नमः। The book ends with the words श्रीनकायनमः। Nevertheless, in the form in which we have it, it is later than Śaunaka. The term Rigvidhāna is mentioned in the Taittirīyāranyaka.

2 This must be the Prātisākhya of the Rig-veda, and not of the Atharva-veda, which is likewise ascribed to Śaunaka, the Cbāturādhiyāyikam Śaunakiyam.

3 See Stenzler, Indische Studien, i. p. 243.

4 साक्षतगोचर: is unintelligible. Should it be साक्षतगो-चन्द्र?:

5 All the works of Āśvalāyana still exist, as Shadgurusishya describes them. Instead of चतुर्थक्रम, it would be better to read चतुर्थम् ग्रन्थः।
(Śrauta-sūtra), the Grihya-sūtras in four chapters, and the fourth Āraṇyaka (of the Aitareyāraṇyaka) by Āśvalāyana. The sage Kātyāyana, having mastered the thirteen books of Śaunaka and of his pupil, composed several works himself; the Sūtras of the Vājins, the Upagranthā of the Sāma-veda, the Ślokas of the Smṛiti (the Karmapradīpa), the Brahma-Kārikās of the Atharvans, and the Mahāvārttikā, which was like a boat on the great ocean of Pāṇini’s Grammar. The rules promulgated by him were explained by the Reverend Patanjali, the teacher of the Yoga-philosophy, himself the author of the Yoga-sāstra and the Nidāna, a man highly pleased by the great commentary, the work of the descendant of Śāntanu. Now it was Kātyāyana, the great sage, endowed with these numerous excellencies, who composed, by great exertion, this Sarvānukramaṇī. And because it gives the substance of all the works composed by Śaunaka and his pupils, therefore the chief among the Bahvṛichas have called it the General Index.”

1 If this number is right, Śaunaka’s Śrauta-sūtra could not have been destroyed at the time of Kātyāyana.
2 The Kalpa-sūtras of the Yajur-veda. On the Vājins or Vājasaneyins, see Colebrooke, Essays, i. 16.
3 See page 210. Upagrantha is not to be taken in the sense of Pariśīṣṭa.
4 Bhṛjamanā, is unintelligible; it may be Pārshada.
5 These Kārikās have not yet been met with.
6 The Vārttikās to Pāṇini.
7 Patanjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, according to tradition called by the name of Bhartṛihari also, was the reputed author of the Yoga-sūtras. On these a commentary was written by Vyāsa, who might be called a descendant of Śāntanu. The reading may not be quite correct, and Mahābhāṣya is more likely to refer to Patanjali’s own work; but the dental n of the MSS. speaks rather in favour of the reading mahābhāgyena.
bhurdayasuta jame sunohito mahaswamini.
sho fromahochaksan jagh shvena okah pashat.
dhrst ro jagahyam shriyadrangmroshyamapip khun.
dhrst mekahekin mahal jihvhehe mahasurah.
paharvanubhavar tanvhrto yanvahat.
dhrstropith ruchmamrakah veeramahakhyav nirgat.
rujaman punahadsa jagrajsho mahasurah.
sho fromahochmindhrubhuddha ruchaniy shri.dhrsh 5.
nahehmisra v e w a ba nahanmiyunnahvah.
sho fromahochshoarshoarshoarshoarsho arshya vah.

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2 veru Ch. 192., W. 379. veru?
3 ruchamadro Ch., W.
4 t naheha Ch., W.
5 rvi. II. 12., the sukta with the refrain, "sa janasa indrah.
6 bahehe Ch., W.
उत्यथव वास्तिया: कर्ममध्ये मचर्ये।
महाभारतमाध्यांने हरिविष्कर्षाचारितं।
वेदवासिकविशिष्यं महागुणगणाचितं।
हरिविष्यं शुलिसुखं कर्ममध्ये मचर्ये।
आशीदृष्ट्यतिवृत्तं वै नैमिन्दारस्याविनं।
शतानीकार राज्यं यो जनसेरम्यसूनवे।
उपायदिष्ट्यधम्मोऽसाचान्तकराणं हरे॥
स श्रीनको मुनिनगतो श्रुतमाशी महायान॥
द्वितीयं मंडलं दृष्टं शुलिसुहं शुभमारस्यस्तितः॥
संसाराध्यसहापोलविष्णुधर्ममुर्वकः॥
एकविश्वलिङ्गसौंदयं चूर्णचक्षु मचर्यः॥
कल्पितः कल्पितारोऽभिद्वेदं दृव पारङ॥
शाकलकशं संहितीका वाकलकशं तथापरा॥
ते संहिते समस्तियग्नि श्राध्याश्चेकविश्वितः॥
ऐतरेयकमाश्यितं तद्वर्तये: प्रपूर्यन्॥
कल्पसूक्तं चकाराध्यं मचर्यिण्यमूलितः॥
श्रीनकशं तु शिश्योऽभिद्वेदवानाश्चलयनं॥
स तस्माछुनुतस्वें: सूर्यं चल्ला न्योदर्यवतः॥

1 ए क Ch., W.
2 दी धर्मीत्र W. दृष्टं धर्मीन Ch.
3 करां Ch., W.
4 दृष्टं Ch.
5 ता W., Ch.
6 शास्त्र W., Ch.
7 न: W.
8 य Ch., W.
9 गुण Ch., W.
10 यन् Ch., W.
प्रबोधपरिहार्यथे शौनकक्ष  प्रियं  लिति।
सहस्रवंड  सख्तं  सूचं  ब्राह्मणसनिम्भ॥
श्रीयाज्ञानशीर्षोऽद्विन  शौनकेन  विपालितं।
उक्तं  तत्ततः  सूचमम्  वेदेऽ  चालितव॥
शौनकक्षा  दशं  ग्रंथास्तु  त्रिमेद्धमुः॥
आर्यनुक्रमणीयादा  क्रांडः  दैवती  तथा॥
अनुवाकार्युक्रमणी  सूतानुक्रमणी  तथा।
चक्पादध्योरवधाने  च  बाहेद्रेवतेव  च॥
प्रातिशाब्दं  शौनकीयं  स्तांति  दशशममुः॥
स  सूचदशकं  चाला  तथा  साक्तगोचरः॥
शौनकक्ष  प्रसादीम्  कर्मणः  समपद्यत॥
कायाज्ञानसुनिम्भे  चधोदशकमच  तु॥
शौनकीयं  च  दशकं  तद्विश्व  विकचं  तथा।
दारःशाख्यायं  सूचं  चालुकः  चध्वस्मेव  च॥
चतुर्थारशकं  चेति  द्राष्ट्रकायाज्ञानसूचमुः॥
श्रीयाज्ञानकार्युत्योदशकाविन्नुः॥
वाजिनां  सूचकास्तानमुपर्यं  कारकः॥
स्तेय्यं  करो  शौकानां  भाजमानां  च  कारकः॥
चर्यवर्णं  निमित्ते  च:  सम्यवे  ब्राह्मकारिकः॥
सहावात्तिकन्तोकरः  पाणिनीयाङ्कवः॥

1 नेन W. Ch.  
2 तथा W. Ch. 
3 साक्तगोचरः W., साक्तगोचर Ch. 
4 चालुकः W. 
5 पार्षदेऽ |
If we accept this statement of Shadguruśishya,—and it certainly seems to agree in the main with what we might have guessed from the character of the works, ascribed respectively to Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana and Kātyāyana,—we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils: first Śaunaka; after him Āśvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works; thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āśvalāyana; fourthly Patanjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana’s works; and lastly Vyāsa, who commented on a work of Patanjali. It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āśvalāyana, or that Patanjali lived immediately after Kātyāyana, but the smallest interval which we can admit between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger. The question now arises: Can the date of any one of these authors be fixed chronologically?

Before we attempt to answer this question, it will be necessary to establish the identity of Kātyāyana.

1 तद्दल्लि: Ch. W. 2 क्रांत्यनीयेषत्र W., क्रांत्यनीयेन Ch. 3 भाष्येण or भाष्येन?
and Vararuchi. Katyāyana was the author of the Sarvānukramaṇī, and the same work is quoted as the Sarvānukramaṇī of Vararuchi, the compiler of the doctrines of Saunaka. In Professor Wilson’s Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, a Prātiśākhya is ascribed to Vararuchi, and this can hardly be anything else but the Mādhyandina-prātiśākhya of Katyāyana. Hemachandra in his Dictionary gives Vararuchi as a synonyme of Katyāyana without any further comment, just as he gives Śālāturiya as a synonyme of Pāṇini.

Let us now consider the information which we receive about Katyāyana Vararuchi from Brahmanic sources. Somadeva-bhaṭṭa of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-sarit-sāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories. Here we read that Katyāyana

1 MS. E. I. H. 576. contains a commentary on the Rig-veda, where a passage from the Sarvānukramaṇī is quoted as च्छोनकादिमतसंग्रहितवर्षर्चेवर्नुक्रमणिका॥ This commentary of Atmananda seems anterior to Śaṇayaṇa. In the introduction different works and commentaries, connected with the Veda are quoted, but Mādhava and Śaṇayaṇa are never mentioned. We find the Skandabhāṣṭiya, and commentators such as Udghita-bhāskara, mentioned (स्कांदभायास्थियः भायकौरुषाय्यभायकास्थियः) by Atmananda, and the same works were known also to Devarajayajvan. Devarajayajvan, however, quotes not only Skanda-svāmin and Bhaṭṭa-bhāskara-miśra, but also Mādhava. He therefore was later than Mādhava. Skandasvāmin, and Bhāskara, on the contrary, were anterior to Mādhava, being quoted in his commentary. Atmananda, though not quoted by Mādhava, seems anterior to Mādhava, and the authorities which he quotes are such as Saunaka, Vedamitra (Śakalya), the Bṛihaddevatā, Viṣṇu-dharmottara, and Yāska.

Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśambī, the capital of Vatsa. He was a boy of great talent and extraordinary powers of memory. He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the theatre; and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the Prātiśākhya which he had heard from Vyāli. He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy. By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pāṇini. Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pāṇini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it. He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pātaliputra.

We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pāṇini's Grammar, such as we now possess it.¹ His Vārṇtikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pāṇini. The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact. Again we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of one of the Prātiśākhyas, and Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the Prātiśākhyas as an earlier authority on the same subject.² So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of Shaḍguruśishya and with the facts as

¹ The same question with regard to the probable age of Pāṇini, has been discussed by Prof. Böhtlingk in his edition of Pāṇini. Objections to Prof. Böhtlingk's arguments have been raised by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien. See also Rig-veda, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction.

we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana. It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word; yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian, may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, Saunaka and Āśvalāyana. If Somadeva followed the same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman, Kalhaṇa Paṇḍita, the author of the Rājatarangini or History of Kashmir, he would, in calling Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them long before the times which we are wont to call historical. But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology. Chandragupta, of Pāṭaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator; and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries B.C. We shall have to examine hereafter the different accounts which the Buddhists and Brahmans give of Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the Nandas. Suffice it for the present that if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva’s story, in the second half of the fourth century B.C. We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana himself minister of Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta’s accession to the throne. This is, according to its own

1 Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. 18.
showing, a mere episode in a ghost story¹, and had to be inserted in order to connect Kâtyâyana's story with other fables of the Kathâ-sarit-sâgara. But there still remains this one fact, however slender it may appear, that as late as the twelfth century A.D., the popular tradition of the Brahmans connected the famous grammarians Kâtyâyana and Pâñini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandragupta and his Śûdra dynasty; and this, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B.C.

The question now arises, can this conjectural date, assigned to Kâtyâyana, be strengthened by additional evidence? Professor Böhtlingk thought that this was possible; and he endeavoured to show that the great Commentary of Patanjali, which embraces both the Vârttikâs of Kâtyâyana and the Sûtras of Pâñini, was known in the middle of the second century B.C. It is said in the history of Kashmir, that Abhimanyu, the king of Kashmir, sent for Brahmans to teach the Mahâbâhâshya in his kingdom. Abhimanyu, it is true, did not reign, as Professor Böhtlingk supposed, in the second century B.C., but, as has been proved from coins by Professor Lassen, in the first century A.D. But even thus this argument is important. In the history of Indian literature dates are mostly so precarious that a confirmation even within a century or two is not to be despised. The fact that Patanjali's immense commentary on Pâñini and Kâtyâyana had become so famous as to be imported by royal authority into Kashmir in the first half of the first century

¹ According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. As. Res. xx. p. 167.
A.D., shows at least that we cannot be very far wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kåtyāyana on the threshold of the third century B.C. At what time the Mahābhāshya was first composed it is impossible to say. Patanjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala; and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pāṇini¹, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāshya belonged to the third century. But the identity of Pingala and Patanjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations.

It will readily be seen how entirely hypothetical all these arguments are. If they possess any force it is this, that in spite of the conflicting statements of Brahmanical, Buddhist, and European scholars, nothing has been brought forward as yet that would render the date here assigned to Kåtyāyana impossible. Nay more;—if we place Kåtyāyana in the second half of the fourth century, Āśvalāyana, the predecessor of Kåtyāyana, about 350, and Śaunaka, the teacher of Āśvalāyana, about 400; and if then, considering the writers of Sūtras anterior to Śaunaka and posterior to Kåtyāyana, we extend the limits of the Sautra period of literature from 600 to 200, we are still able to say, that there is no fact in history or literature that would interfere with such an arrangement. As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age.

¹ Shadguruśishya: तथा च सूचने चि भगवन्ता पिंगलेन प्राणिन्यानुजेन॥
during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on
in the strange style of Sûtras.

In order to try the strength of our supposition we
shall ourselves attempt the first attack upon it.

There is a work called the Uṇādi-sûtras, which, as
it is quoted under this name by Pâñini, must have
existed previous to his time. The author is not
known. Among the words the formation of which
is taught in the Uṇādi-sûtras,¹ we find (iii. 140) dî-
ñâraḥ, a golden ornament; (iii. 2) Jînâḥ, synonymous with Arhat, a Buddhist saint; (iv. 184) tîrñ-
tam, a golden diadem; (iii. 25) stûpaḥ, a pile of
earth.

The first of these words, dînâra, is derived by the
author of the Uṇādi-sûtras from a Sanskrit root, din. By other grammarians it is derived from dîna, poor,
and rī, to go, what goes or is given to the poor. It
is used sometimes in the sense of ornaments and seals
of gold. These derivations, however, are clearly fanciful, and the Sanskrit dînâra is in reality the Latin
denarius.² Now, if Pâñini lived in the middle of the
fourth century B.C., and if the Uṇādi-sûtras were anter-
terior to Pâñini, how could this Roman word have
found its way into the Uṇādi-sûtras? The word de-

¹ A new and more correct edition of the Uṇādi-sûtras has lately
been published by Dr. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1859.

² J. Prinsep says: "The Roman denarius, from which Dinâr
was derived, was itself of silver, while the Persian Dirhem (a
silver coin) represents the Drachma, or dram weight, of the
Greeks. The weight allowed to the Dinar of 32 ratis, or 64
grains, agrees so closely with the Roman and Greek unit of 60
grains, that its identity cannot be doubted, especially when we have
before us the actual gold coins of Chandragupta (?) (didrachmas),
weighing from 120 to 130 grains, and indubitably copied from
Greek originals, in device as well as weight."
narius is not of so late a date in India as is generally supposed. Yet the earliest document where it occurs is the Sanchi inscription No. I.\(^1\) Burnouf remarked that he never found the word dīnāra used in what he considered the ancient Buddhist Sūtras. It occurs in the Avadāna-sataka, and in the Divyāvadāna. It would seem to follow, therefore, either that the Unādi-sūtras and Pāṇini must be placed later than Chandragupta, or that the Sūtra in which this word is explained is spurious. It would not be right to adopt the latter supposition without showing some cause for it. It is well known that in a literature which is chiefly preserved by oral tradition, corrections and additions are more easily admitted than in works existing in MS. The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart; and even at the present day, when MSS. have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS. If new words, therefore, had been added to the language of India after the first composition of the Unādi-sūtras, there would be nothing surprising in a Sūtra being added to explain such words. Happily, however, we are not left in this instance to mere hypothesis. Ujjvaladatta, the author of a commentary on the Unādi-sūtras, forms a favourable exception to most Sanskrit commentators, in so far as he gives us in his Commentary some critical remarks on the readings of MSS. which he consulted. He states in his introduction that he had consulted old MSS. and commentaries, and he evidently feels conscious of the merit of his work, when

he says, "If anybody, after having studied this commentary of mine, suppresses my name in order to put forth his own power, his virtuous deeds will perish." Now in his remarks on our Sûtra, Ujjvaladatta says, "Dinâra means a gold ornament, but this Sûtra is not to be found in the Sûtivṛitti and Devavṛitti." If, therefore, the presence of this word in the Unâdi-sûtras would have overthrown our calculations as to the age of Pâñini and his predecessor who wrote the Sûtras, the absence of it except in one Sûtra, which is proved to be of later date, must serve to confirm our opinion. Cosmas Indicopleustes remarked that the Roman denarius was received all over the world; and how the denarius came to mean in India a gold ornament we may learn from a passage in the "Life of Mahâvîra." There it is said that a lady had around her neck a string of grains and golden dinars, and Stevenson adds that the custom of stringing coins together, and adorning with them children especially, is still very common in India.

That Ujjvaladatta may be depended upon when he makes such statements with regard to MSS. or commentaries, collated by himself, can be proved by another instance. In the Unâdi-Sûtras IV. 184, we read: "kṛitrikripibhyah kîtan." Out of the three words of which the etymology is given in this Sûtra, kripitam, water, and kiritam, a crest, are known as ancient words. The former occurs in the Gaṇa

1 योस्मु द्रष्टिः समालोच्य ख्यौश्रूषसमीहया।
   सम्बामाच्छादनं कुचात्सुक्तं तथानन्देन्तः॥

2 सूचमिः सूतीत्ति (सतीत्ति?)देवशति च न दृश्येने॥

3 Kalpa-sûtra, translated by Stevenson, p. 45.
Kripanâdi (Pâñ. VIII. 2. 18. 1.); the other in the Gaṇa arddhârcharâdi. The third word, however, ti̯r̥i̯ta, a tiara, has never been met with in works previous to Pâñini. Now, with regard to this word, Ujjvaladatta observes that it is left out in the Nyâsa. The authority of this work, a commentary by Jinendra on the Kâśi̯kâvṛ̦tti, would, by itself, be hardly of sufficient weight; but on referring to the MS. of Mahâbhâshya at the Bodleian Library, I find that there also the Sûtra is quoted exactly as Ujjvaladatta said, i.e. without the root from which ti̯r̥i̯ta is derived. Having thus found Ujjvaladatta trustworthy and accurate in his critical remarks, we feel inclined to accept his word, even where we cannot control him, or where the presence of certain words in the Sûtras might be explained without having recourse to later interpolations. Thus stûpaḥ, which occurs III. 25, might be explained as simply meaning a heap of earth. Nay, it is a word which, in its more general sense, is found in the Veda. Yet the most common meaning of stûpa is a Buddhist monument, and as we are told by Ujjvala, that this word does not occur in the Satîvṛ̦tti, and that in the Sarvasva it is derived in a different manner, we can have little doubt that it was not added till after the general

1 Āṇīro (Pâ. P. 2. 18.) dhatu nyâsa he̯jjanâ aṣṭāsapâbhyâma če̯ti sụ̄r̥tendrâya. ār̥tāvāraitāraNyâsâjañâṣṭisvâya lañ̥chânaçâ

Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays, ii. 40, mentions this work in his list of Sanskrit grammars: "Nyâsa or Kâśikâ vṛ̦tti panjikâ by Jinendra: another exposition of the Kâśikâ vṛ̦tti, with explanatory notes by Rakshita." He adds, however, with his usual caution: "I state this with some distrust, not having yet seen the book. The Nyâsa is universally cited; and the Bodhinyâsa is frequently so. Vopadeva's Kâvyakâmadhenu quotes the Nyâsa of Jinendra and that of Jinendrabuddhi."
spreading of Buddhism and the erection of Topes in India; a negative argument which gives additional strength to the supposition that the original Uṇādi-sūtras were composed before that period.¹

To add one more instance. In all the editions of the Uṇādi-sūtras, Jina occurs as the name of the founder of a Baudhāna sect. As many scholars have assigned to Jina and the Jains a very modern date, the presence of this name might seem to throw considerable doubt on the antiquity ascribed to the Uṇādi-sūtras. In a passage of Sāyaṇa, however (Rv. i. 61. 4.), where he has occasion to quote the Sūtra containing, among other words, the etymology of Jina, all the MSS. omit the root ji, from which Jina is said to be derived. It is equally omitted in Nṛsiṅha’s Svaramanjarā.

The test which has thus been applied to our chronological arrangement of the Sūtra literature in general, in the case of the Uṇādi-sūtras, so far from invalidating, has rather strengthened our argument for placing the whole literature of the Sūtras, at least of those which are connected with the Vedas, between the years 600 and 200 B.C.

Parīśishtas.

There is one class of works which must be mentioned before we leave the Sūtra period, the so-called Parīśishtas. They are evidently later than the Sūtras, and their very name, Paralipomena, marks their secondary importance. They have, however, a character of their own, and they represent a distinct period of Hindu literature, which, though it is of

¹ The word stūpa does not occur in Panini or the Gaṇapāṭha. Sāyaṇa to Rv. i. 24. 7. does not quote the Uṇādi-sūtra, but derives stūpa from a root styai, affix pa.
less interest to the student, and though it shows clear traces of intellectual and literary degeneracy, is not on that account to be overlooked by the historian. Some of the more substantial Pariśishtas profess to be composed by authors whose names belong to the Sūtra period. Thus Śaunaka is called the author of the Charaṇaṇavyūha by the commentator of Pāraskara’s Gṛihya-sūtras, Rāma-kṛishṇa¹ (MS. E.I.H. 440. 577. 912.); a writer no doubt quite untrustworthy where he gives his own opinions, but yet of some importance where he quotes the opinions of others. Kātyāyana is quoted as the author of the Chhandoga-pariśishta.² The same Kuśika, who is known as the author of the Sūtras for the Ātharvaṇa, is mentioned as the author of the Ātharvaṇa-pariśishtas also. Other Pariśishtas, though not ascribed to Kātyāyana, are said to be composed in accordance with his opinions.³ Again, while the Gṛihya-sūtras of the Chhandogas are acknowledged as the work of Gobhila, a Pariśishta on the same subject is ascribed to the son of Gobhila.⁴ The names of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana are frequently invoked at the beginning or end of these works, and though some of them ap-

¹ MS. Bodl. W. 510. 
² MS. Bodl. W. 504.
pear to us simply useless and insipid, it is not to be
denied that others contain information which we
should look for in vain in the Sûtras. Their style is
less concise than that of the Sûtras. The simple
Anushûṭubh Śloka preponderates, and the metre is
more regular than that of the genuine Anushûṭubh
compositions of Śaunaka. Their style resembles that
of the Bârhaddaivata and Rig-vidhâna, works ori-
ginally composed by Śaunaka, but handed down to
us, as it would seem, in a more modern form. But
on the other side the Pariśishtas have not yet fallen
into that monotonous uniformity which we find in
works like the Mânava-dharma-śâstra, the Paddhati,
or the later Purâṇas; and passages from them are
literally quoted in the Purâṇas. The Pariśishtas,
therefore, may be considered the very last outskirts
of Vedic literature, but they are Vedic in their cha-
racter, and it would be difficult to account for their
origin at any time except the expiring moments of
the Vedic age.

The following argument may serve to confirm the
favourable view which I take of some of the Pari-
śishtas. Besides the MSS. of the Charanavyûha,
there is a printed edition of it in Râja Râdhakânta
Deva's Saṭdakalpadruma. This printed text is evi-
dently taken from more modern MSS. It quotes sev-
ten instead of fifteen Šâkhás of the Vâjasaneyins;
whereas the original number of fifteen is confirmed by
our MSS. of the Charanavyûha, by the Pratijnâ-pari-
śishṭa, and even by so late a work as the Vishnû-purâṇa
(p. 281.). We may therefore suppose that at the
time when the Pariśishṭa, called the Charanavyûha,
was originally composed, these two additional Šâkhás
did not yet exist. Now one of them is the Šâkhâ of
the Kâtyâyanīyas, a Šâkhâ, like many of those men-
tioned in the Purânas, founded on Sûtras, not on Brâhmaṇas. The fact, therefore, of this modern Śâkhâ not being mentioned in the original Charanâvâyuha serves as an indication that at the time of the original composition of that Pariśishṭa, sufficient time had not yet elapsed to give to Kâtyâyana the celebrity of being the founder of a new Śâkhâ.

On the other hand it should be stated that Pāṇini does not seem to have known literary works called Pariśishtas.1

The number of Pariśishtas is frequently stated at eighteen. This may have been their number at some time, or for one particular Veda, but it is now considerably exceeded. The Charanâvâyuha, itself a Pariśishta, gives the same number; but it seems to speak of the Pariśishtas of the Yajur-veda only. There is a collection of Pariśishtas for each Veda. Works, such as the Bahvṛicha-pariśishta, Sânkhyâyana-pariśishta, Āśvalâyana-grihya-pariśishta, must be ascribed to the Rig-veda. A MS. (Bodl. 466.) contains a collection of Pariśishtas which belong to the Sāma-veda. At the end of the first treatise it is said: “iti Sâmagânâm chhandâḥ samâptam,” “here end the metres of the Sâma-singers.” 2 Other treatises begin with the invocation, “Namâḥ Sâmavedâya.” The second is called Kâratusangrâha, on sacrifices; the third, Viniyoga-sangrâha, on the employment of hymns; the fourth, Somotpattih, on the origin of Soma. The fifth and sixth treatises contain the index to the Archika of the Sâma-veda after the Naigeya-śâkhâ. As no pointed allusions to other Vedas occur

1 Pariśishta occurs only as a pratyudâharana in Pân. iv. 1. 48, but it is used there as a feminine, and in quite a different sense.
2 It is also called chhandasâm vichayaḥ, and contains quotations from the Tâṇḍya-brâhmaṇa, Pingala, the Nidâna, and Uktha-sâstra.
in these tracts, there can be little doubt that the whole collection of these Pariśishṭas may be classed as Sāma-veda literature. The Chhandoga-pariśishṭa, however, which is commonly ascribed to Kātyāyana, is not found in this MS. The Pariśishṭas of the Yajur-veda are enumerated in the Charaṇavyūha, and will have to be examined presently. Those of the Ātharvakāṇa are estimated by Professor Weber at seventy-four¹, and are said to be written in the form of dialogues, in a style similar to that of the Purāṇas, and sometimes, we are told, agreeing literally with chapters of the astrological Sanhitās.

According to the Charaṇavyūha² the following are the eighteen Pariśishṭas of the Yajur-veda:

1. The Yūpalakshaṇam; according to Vyāsa’s Charaṇavyūha, the Upajyotisham.
2. The Čhāgalakshaṇam; Māṅgalalakshaṇam, (Vyāsa).
3. The Pratijñā; Pratijnānuvākyam? (Vyāsa).
4. The Anuvākasankhyā; Parisankhyā (Vyāsa).
5. The Charaṇavyūḥahi; Charaṇavyūḥahi (Vyāsa).
6. The Śrāddhakalpaḥ; Śrāddhakalpaḥ (Vyāsa).
7. The Śulvikāṇi or Śulvāṇi.
8. The Pārshadam.

¹ According to a passage in the Charaṇavyūha, belonging to the Ātharvakāṇa, the number of the Kauśikoktāni Pariśishṭāni would amount to 70.

² Besides the MS. of the E. I. H., and collations of some of the MSS. at Berlin, I have used the printed edition of the Charaṇavyūha in Radhakānta’s Sanskrit Encyclopaedia. The MSS. differ so much that it would be hazardous to correct the one by the other. They probably represent different versions of the same text. The name of the author varies likewise. Sometimes he is called Saunaka, sometimes Kātyāyana, and in Radhakānta’s edition, Vyāsa. The last is, perhaps, meant for the same whom we found mentioned before as the author of a Commentary on Patanjali’s Yoga. The text has since been published by Prof. Weber.
10. The Ishtakâpûraṇam.
11. The Pravarâdhyâyah; Pravarâdhaîyah (Vyâsa, No. 7.)
12. The Uktha-śastram; Śastram (Vyâsa, No. 8).
13. The Kratusankhyâ; Kratu (Vyâsa, No. 9).
14. The Nigamâh; Āgamaḥ (Vyâsa, No. 10).
15. The Yajnapârśve or pârśvam; Yajnam (Vyâsa, No. 11); Pârśvân (Vyâsa, No. 12).
16. The Hautrakam; Hautrakam (Vyâsa, No. 13).
17. The Prasavotthânam; Paśavah (Vyâsa, No. 14); Ukthâni, (Vyâsa, No. 15).
18. The Kûrmalakshaṇam; Kûrmalakshaṇam, (Vyâsa, No. 16).

A similar order has evidently been followed in a collection of the Pariśishtas, forming part of Professor Wilson’s valuable collection of MSS., now deposited in the Bodleian Library. The MS., however, is incomplete, and seems to have been copied by a person ignorant of Sanskrit from another MS., the leaves of which had been in confusion. Most of the MSS. of these Pariśishtas are carelessly copied, whereas the MSS. of the Sûtras are generally in excellent condition. The MSS. which Râja Râdhakântadeva used seem to have been in an equally bad state, if we may judge from the various readings which he occasionally mentions.1 But although the Bodleian MS. leaves much to desire, it serves at least to support the authenticity of the titles given in the MS. of the Charaṇavyâha against the blunders of the printed text. We find there:

1 For instance पारस्थानुकोषकमपि पाठः। instead of पार-शान्। हीरक्॥
1. The Yūpālakshaṇam,¹ a short treatise on the manner of preparing the sacrificial post.

2. The Chhāgalakshaṇam,² on animals fit for sacrifice.

3. The Pratijñā,³ begins with giving some definition of sacrificial terms, but breaks off with the fourth leaf, whereas the Pravarādhyāya (No. 11) had already been commenced on the third, and is afterwards carried on on the fifth leaf. Thus we lose from the fourth to the eleventh Pārisiṣṭa, which formed part of the original MS. if we may judge from the fact that the Pravarādhyāya is here also called the eleventh Pārisiṣṭa.


5. The Charaṇavyūhaḥ is found in numerous copies.

6. The Śrāddhakalpaḥ exists in MS. E. I. H. 1201, and MS. Chambers 66. It is there ascribed to Kātyāyana. There is also among the Chambers MSS. at Berlin (292—294) a Śrāddha-kalpa-bhāshya ascribed to Gobhila.

7. The Śulvikāni are found in MS. Chambers 66, and a Śulvadīpikā, MS. E. I. H. 1678.

8. The Pārshadam. This must not be mistaken for a Prātiśākhya, nor would it be right to call the Prātiśākhyas Pāriṣiṣṭas. The Pārshada is a much smaller work, as may be seen from a MS. in the Royal Library at Berlin, Chambers 378.

9. The Rigyajñushi is the only Pāriṣiṣṭa that cannot be verified in MS.; there is no reason for supposing that it was an Anukramaṇī either of the Yajur-veda or Rig-veda.

10. The Ishtakāptīraṇam has been preserved in

¹ MS. Chambers, 66.
² MS. Chambers, 66.
³ Called Prātishthālakshaṇam in MS. Chambers, 66.
MS. Chambers 389 with a commentary by Karka, and in MS. Chambers 392, with a commentary by Yājnikadeva.

11. The Pravarādhyāyāḥ is found again in our own MS., and is followed by a small tract, the Gotranirṇayāḥ. The seven principal Pravaras are those of the Bhrigus, Angiras, Viśvāmitras, Vasishṭhas, Kaśyapa- pas, Atris, and Agastis. The eight founders of Gotras or families are Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Atri, Gautama, Vasishṭha, Kaśyapa and Agastya.1 The whole treatise, of which more hereafter, is ascribed to Kātyāyana.2

12. The Uktha-āstram is found in our MS. So is

13. The Kratusankhyā, which gives an enumeration of the principal sacrifices.

14. The Nigama-pariśishṭa is the last in our MS. It contains a number of Vedic words with their explanations, and forms a useful appendix to Yāska’s Nirukta. It alludes not only to the four castes, but the names of the mixed castes also, according to the Anuloma and Pratiloma order, are mentioned.

The four last Pariśishtas are wanting in our MS.

The fifteenth, however, the Yajnapārśvam is found in MS. E. I. H. 1729, Chambers, 358; the sixteenth, the Hautrakam, exists with a commentary in MS. Chambers 669. The two last Pariśishtas have not yet been met with in MS., but we may probably

1 जमद्यिनभरदाजो विश्वामित्रो विग्रीतमात्र।
वसिष्ठकश्यपागान्ध्या मुनयो गो खरायिणः॥
एतेषां यान्यपवविनी तानि गो खराणि मव्ये॥
2 कायाच्छनविरचितो विभ्राणां हितकाम्याः।
चाथ्यायः प्रवराख्योऽवं पुरा ब्रह्मविनिमितः॥
form some idea of the last, the Kûrmalakshaṇam, from some chapters of Varâhamihira's Bṛihatsanhitâ, where we find both a Kûrmavibhâgaḥ and a Kûrmalakshaṇam, the last being there followed by a chapter, called by the same name as the second Pariśishṭa, Chhâgalakshaṇam.

Although there is little of real importance to be learned from these Pariśishṭas, the fact of their existence is important in the history of the progress and decay of the Hindu mind. As in the first or Chhandas period, we see the Aryan settlers of India giving free utterance to their thoughts and feelings, and thus creating unconsciously a whole world of religious, moral, and political ideas; as we find them again during the second or Mantra period, carefully collecting their harvest; and during the third or Brâhmaṇa period busily occupied in systematising and interpreting the strains of their forefathers, which had already become unintelligible and sacred; as in the fourth or Sûtra period we see their whole energy employed in simplifying the complicated system of the theology and the ceremonial of the Brâhmaṇas; so we shall have to recognise in these Pariśishṭas a new phase of the Indian mind, marked by a distinct character, which must admit of historical explanation. The object of the Pariśishṭas is to supply information on theological or ceremonial points which had been passed over in the Sûtras, most likely because they were not deemed of sufficient importance, or because they were supposed to be well known to those more immediately concerned. But what most distinguishes the Pariśishṭas from the Sûtras is this, that they treat everything in a popular and superficial manner; as if the time was gone, when students would spend ten or twenty years of their lives
in fathoming the mysteries and mastering the intricacies of the Brähmana literature. A party driven to such publications as the Parisiśhṭas, is a party fighting a losing battle. We see no longer that self-complacent spirit which pervades the Brähmanas. The authors of the Brähmanas felt that whatever they said must be believed, whatever they ordained must be obeyed. They are frightened by no absurdity, and the word "impossible" seems to have been banished from their dictionary. In the Sūtras we see that a change has taken place. Their authors seem to feel that the public which they address will no longer listen to endless theological swaggering. There may have been deep wisdom in the Brähmanas, and their authors may have sincerely believed in all they said; but they evidently calculated on a submissiveness on the part of their pupils or readers, which only exists in countries domineered over by priests or professors. The authors of the Sūtras have learned that people will not listen to wisdom unless it is clothed in a garb of clear argument and communicated in intelligible language. Their works contain all that is essential in the Brähmanas, but they give it in a practical, concise and definite form. These works were written at a time when the Brahmans were fighting their first battles against the popular doctrines of Buddha. They were not yet afraid. Their language is firm, though it is no longer inflated. "Buddhism," as Burnouf says,¹ "soon grew into a system of easy devotion, and found numerous recruits among those who were frightened by the difficulties of Brahmanical science. At the same time that

Buddhism attracted the ignorant among the Brahmans, it received with open arms the poor and the miserable of all classes." It was to remove, or at least to simplify, the difficulties of their teaching, that men like Saunaka and Kâtyâyana adopted the novel style of the Sûtras. Such changes in the sacred literature of a people are not made without an object, and the object of the Sûtras, as distinct from that of the Brâhmaṇas, could be no other than to offer practical manuals to those who were discouraged by too elaborate treatises, and who had found a shorter way to salvation opened to them by the heretical preaching of Buddha. After the Sûtras there is no literature of a purely Vedic character except the Pariśishṭas. They still presuppose the laws of the Sûtras and the faith of the Brâhmaṇas. There is as yet no trace of any definite supremacy being accorded to Śiva or Vishṇu or Brahman. New gods, however, are mentioned; vulgar or popular ceremonies are alluded to. The castes have become more marked and multiplied. The whole intellectual atmosphere is still Vedic, and the Vedic ceremonial, the Vedic theology, the Vedic language seem still to absorb the thoughts of the authors of the Pariśishṭas. Any small matter that had been overlooked by the authors of the Sûtras is noted down as a matter of grave importance. Subjects on which general instructions were formerly considered sufficient, are now treated in special treatises, intended for men who would no longer take the trouble of reading the whole system of the Brahmanic ceremonial. The technical and severe language of the Sûtras was exchanged for a free and easy style, whether in prose or metre; and however near in time the Brahmans may place the authors of
the Sûtras and some of the Pariśishṭas, certain it is that no man who had mastered the Sûtra style would ever have condescended to employ the slovenly dic-
tion of the Pariśishṭas. The change in the position and the characters of the Brahmans, such as we find them in the Sûtras, and such as we find them again in the Pariśishṭas, has been rapid and decisive. The men who could write such works were aware of their own weakness, and had probably suffered many defeats. The world around them was moving in a new direction, and the old Vedic age died away in im-
potent twaddle.

Considerations like these, in addition to what we found before in inquiring into the age of Kâtyâyana, tend to fix the Sûtra period, as a phase in the literary history of India, as about contemporaneous with the first rise of Buddhism; and they would lead us to recognise in the Pariśishṭas the exponents of a later age, that had witnessed the triumphs of Buddhism and the temporary decay of Brahmanic learning and power. The real political triumph of Buddhism dates from Aśoka and his council, about the middle of the third century B.C., and while most of the Vedic Sûtras belong to this and the preceding centuries, none of the Pariśishṭa were probably written before that time.

Before the Council of Pâtaliputra the Buddhists place, indeed, 300 years of Buddhist history, but that history was clearly supplied from their own heads and not from authentic documents. Buddhism, up to the time of Aśoka, was but one out of many sects esta-
blished in India. There had been as yet no schism, but only controversy, such as we find in the Brâhmañas themselves between different schools and par-
ties. There were as yet no Brahmans as opposed to
Buddhists, in the later sense of the word. No separation had as yet taken place, and the greatest reformers at the time of Buddha were reforming Brahmans. This is acknowledged in the Buddhist writings, though they probably were not written down before Asoka’s Council. But even then Buddha is represented as the pupil of the Brahmans, and no slur is cast on the gods and the songs of the Veda. Buddha, according to his own canonical biographer, learned the Rigveda and was a proficient in all the branches of Brahmanic lore. His pupils were many of them Brahmans, and no hostile feeling against the Brahmans finds utterance in the Buddhist Canon. This forms a striking contrast with the sacred literature of the Jains. The Jains, who are supposed to have made their peace with the Brahmans, yet in their sacred works, written towards the beginning of the fifth century A.D., treat their opponents with marked disrespect. Their great hero Mahâvira, though at first conceived by a Brahman woman, is removed from her womb and transferred to the womb of a Kshatriya woman, for “surely,” as Sakko (Indra) says 1, “such a thing as this has never happened in past, happens not in present, nor will happen in future time, that an Arhat, a Chakravarti, a Baladeva, or a Vasudeva should be born in a low caste family, a servile family, a degraded family, a poor family, a mean family, a beggar’s family, or a Brahman’s family; but, on the contrary, in all time, past, present, and to come, an Arhat, a Chakravarti, a Vasudeva, receives birth in a noble family, an honourable family, a royal family, a Kshatriya family, as in the family of Ikshvâku, or the Harivanśa, or some such family of pure descent.”

1 Kalpa-sutra, p. 35.
Now this is mere party insolence, intelligible in the fifth century a.d., when the Brahmans, as a party, were re-establishing their hierarchical sway. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the canonical books of the Buddhists. Buddha had his opponents, and among them chiefly the Tirthakas; but so had all eminent sages of whom we read in the Brāhmaṇas. But Buddha had also his friends and followers, and they likewise were Brahmans and Rishis; some of them accepted his doctrines, not excluding the abolition of caste. Buddhism, in its original form, was only a modification of Brahmanism. It grew up slowly and imperceptibly, and its very founder could hardly have been aware of the final results of his doctrines. Before the time that Buddhism became a political power, it had no history, no chronology, it hardly had a name. We hear nothing of Baudhhas in the Brāhmaṇas, though we meet there with doctrines decidedly Buddhistic. The historical existence of Buddhism begins with Aśoka, and the only way to fix the real date of Aśoka is by connecting him with Chandragupta, his second predecessor, the Sandrocottus of the Greeks. To try to fix it according to the early Buddhist chronology would be as hopeless as fixing the date of Alexander according to the chronology of the Purāṇas.

It is possible to discover in the decaying literature of Vedic Brahmanism the contemporaneous rise of a new religion, of Buddhism. Every attempt to go beyond, and to bring the chronology of the Buddhists and Brahmans into harmony has proved a failure. The reason, I believe, is obvious. The Brahmans had a kind of vague chronology in the different capitals of their country. They remembered the names of their kings, and they endeavoured to remember the years
of their reigns. But to note the year in which an individual, such as Gautama Śākyasinha, was born, however famous he may have been in his own neighbour hood or even in more distant Parishads, would have entered as little into their thoughts as the Romans, or even the Jews, thought of preserving the date of the birth of Jesus before he had become the founder of a religion. Buddha's immediate followers may have recollected and handed down, by oral communication, the age at which Buddha died; the age of his disciples too may have been recollected, together with the names of some local Rājas who patronised Buddha and his friends; but never, until the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion by Aśoka, could there have been any object in connecting the lives of Buddha and his disciples with the chronology of the Solar or Lunar Dynasties of India. When, at the time of Aśoka, it became necessary to give an account of the previous history of Buddhism, the chronology then adopted for the early centuries of that faith was necessarily of a purely theoretical kind. We possess more than one system of Buddhist chronology, but none of them can be considered authentic with regard to the times previous to Aśoka, the second successor of Chandragupta. There is the system of the Southern Buddhists, framed in Ceylon; there are the various systems of the Northern Buddhists, prevalent in Nepal, Tibet, and China; and the system of the Purāṇas, if system it can be called, in which Śākya is made the father of his father, and grandfather of his son. To try to find out which of these chronological systems is the most plausible seems useless, and it can only make confusion worse confounded if we attempt a combination of the
three. It has been usual to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B.C. But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak. It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness. This may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Asoka. In historical times any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful; but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning. As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brahmans. Each of these chronological systems must be left to itself. They start from different premises, and necessarily arrive at different results. The Northern Buddhists founded their chronology on a reported prophecy of Buddha, that "a thousand years after his death his doctrines would reach the Northern countries."¹ Buddhism was definitely introduced into China in the year 61 A.D.; hence the Chinese fix the date of Buddha's death about one thousand years anterior to the Christian era. The variations of the date, according to different Chinese authorities, are not considerable, and may easily be explained by the uncertainty of the time at which Buddhism found its way successively into the various countries north of India, and at last into China.

¹ Lassen, Indian Antiquities, ii., p. 58. Schiefner, Mélanges Asiatiques, i. 436.
Besides 950 or 949 B.C., which are the usual dates assigned to Buddha's death by Chinese authorities, we may mention the years 1130, 1045, 767, for each of which the same claim has been set up. The year 1130 rests on the authority of Tchao-chi, as quoted by Matouanlin in the annals of the Souï. Fahian, also, seems to have known this date; for, according to his editor, he placed the death of Buddha towards the beginning of the dynasty Tcheu, and this, according to Chinese chronology, took place in 1122. In another place, however, Fahian, speaking of the spreading of Buddhism towards the north, places this event 300 years after Buddha's Nirvâna, or in the reign of the Emperor Phing-Wang. As this emperor reigned 770—720, Fahian would seem to have dated the Nirvâna somewhere between 1070 and 1020. The date 767 rests on the authority of Matouanlin. From Tibetan books no less than fourteen dates have been collected; and the Chinese pilgrims who visited India found it impossible to fix on any one date as established on solid evidence. The list of the thirty-three Buddhist patriarchs, first published by Rémusat (Mélanges Asiatiques, i. p. 113), gives the date of their deaths from Chakia-mouni, who died 950 B.C., to Soui-neng, who died 713 A.D., and bears, like everything Chinese, the character of the most exact chronological accuracy. The first link,

1 Lassen, ii. 52. Foucaux, Rgya Tcher Rol Pa, p. xi.
2 Foucaux, l. c. note communicated by Stan. Julien.
3 Neumann, Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, ii. 117; Lassen, ii. 54.
4 Foucaux, l. c. According to Klaproth Matouanlin places Buddha 688 to 609.
5 Csoma, Tibetan Grammar, p. 199—201. They are: 2422, 2148, 2139, 2135, 1310, 1060, 884, 882, 880, 837, 752, 653, 576, 546.
however, in this long chain of patriarchs is of doubtful character, and the lifetime of Buddha, from 1029 to 950, rests on his own prophecy, that a Millennium would elapse from his death to the conversion of China. If, therefore, Buddha was a true prophet he must have lived about 1000 B.C., and this date once established, everything else had to give way before it. Thus Nàgàrjuna, called by the Chinese Nàga Koshuna, or Loung-chou, is placed in their own traditional chronology, which they borrowed from the Buddhists in Northern India, 400 years after the Nirvâna.¹ The Tibetans assign the same date to him.² In the list of the patriarchs, however, he occupies the fourteenth place, and dies 738 years after Buddha. The twelfth patriarch, Maning (Deva Bodhisatva), is traditionally placed by the Chinese 300 years after Buddha. In the list of the patriarchs he dies 618 years after the Nirvâna.

But if in this manner the starting point of the Northern Buddhist chronology turns out to be merely hypothetical, based as it is on a prophecy of Buddha, it will be difficult to avoid the same conclusion with regard to the date assigned to Buddha’s death by the Buddhists of Ceylon and of Burmah and other countries which received their canonical books from Ceylon. The Ceylonese possess a trustworthy and intelligible chronology beginning with the year 161 B.C.³ Before that time their chronology is traditional, and full of absurdities. According to Professor Lassen, we ought to suppose that the Ceylonese, by some

¹ Lassen ii. 58. Burnouf, Introduction, i. p. 350. n. 51.
² As they place Vasumitra more than 400 after Buddha, the date for Nàgàrjuna ought to be about 450.
means or other, were in possession of the right date of Buddha's death; and as there was a prophecy of Buddha that Vijaya should land in Ceylon on the same day on which Buddha entered the Nirvâna, we are further asked to believe that the Ceylonese historians placed the founder of the Vijayan dynasty of Ceylon in the year 543, in accordance with their sacred chronology. We are not told, however, through what channel the Ceylonese could have received their information as to the exact date of Buddha's death, and although Professor Lassen's hypothesis would be extremely convenient, and has been acquiesced in by most Sanskrit scholars, it would not be honest were we to conceal from ourselves or from others that the first and most important link in the Ceylonese, as well as in the Chinese chronology, is extremely weak. All we know for certain is, that the Ceylonese had an historical chro-

1 Mahâvanso, p. 46. The Mahâvanâsa was written in Pâli by Mahânâma. He was a priest and uncle of king Dasenkelleya or Dhâtuusena, who reigned from A.D. 459 to 477. Mahânâma made use of earlier histories, and mentions among them the Dipavanâsa. This work, also called Mahâvanâsa, and written in Pâli, is supposed to be still in existence, and carries the history to the reign of Mahâsena, who died A. D. 302. Mahânâma, though he lived more than a hundred years after Mahâsena's death, does not seem to have carried the history much further. His work ends with the account of Mahâsena's reign. It terminates with the 48th verse of the 37th chapter of what is now known as the Mahâvanâsa, and it is only from conjecture that Turnour, the editor and translator of the first 38 chapters of the Mahâvanâsa, ascribes the end of the 37th, and the whole of the 38th chapter, to the pen of Mahânâma. Mahânâma's work was afterwards continued by different writers. It now consists of 100 chapters, and carries the history of Ceylon to the middle of the 18th century. He is likewise the author of a commentary on his own work, which commentary ends at the 48th verse of the 37th chapter.
nology after the year 161 B.C., that is to say, long before the Brahmans or Buddhists of the North can show anything but tradition. If, then, the exact Ceylonese chronology begins with 161 B.C., it is but reasonable to suppose that there existed in Ceylon a traditional native chronology extending beyond that date; and that, at all events, the first conquest of Ceylon, the establishment of the first dynasty, had some date, whether true or false, assigned to it in the annals of the country. Vijaya, the founder of the first dynasty, means Conquest, and such a person most likely never existed. But his name and fame belong to Ceylon; and even the latest traditions have never connected him with the Buddhist dynasties of India. He is called in the Mahâvanśa, the son of Sinhabâhu, the sovereign of Lâla (supposed to be a subdivision of Magadha, near the Gandakî river), and he is connected by a miraculous genealogy with the kings of Banga (Bengal) and Kalinga (Northern Circars), but not with the Buddhist dynasties of Magadha. The only trace of Buddhism that can be discovered in the legends of Vijaya consists in the fact that his head, and the heads of his seven hundred companions, were shaved when they were sent adrift in a ship that was ultimately to bring them to Ceylon. But the author of the Mahâvanśa takes care to say that this shaving of their heads was part of the punishment inflicted on Vijaya by his father, who, when asked by the people to execute his own son for numberless acts of fraud and violence, preferred to send him and his companions adrift on the ocean, after their heads had been shaved. Supposing then that before Dushtagâmani, i.e. before 161 B.C., the Ceylonese possessed a number of royal names, and that by as-
signing to each of them a more or less fabulous reign, they had arrived at the year 543 as the probable date of the Conquest, we can well understand how, under the influence of the later Buddhists, exactly the same thing took place in Ceylon which took place in China. Various temples in Ceylon had their legends, by which their first foundation was ascribed to Buddha himself. Hence the Mahâvanśa begins with relating three miraculous visits which Buddha, during his lifetime, paid to Ceylon. At that time, however, it is said that Ceylon was still inhabited by Yakshas. If thus the very earliest history of the island had been brought in connection with Buddha, it is but natural that some sanction of a similar kind should have been thought necessary with regard to the Conquest. A prophecy was, therefore, invented. "The ruler of the world, Buddha," so says the Mahâvanśa, "having conferred blessings on the whole world, and attained the exalted, unchangeable Nirvâna, seated on the throne on which Nirvâna is achieved, in the midst of a great assembly of devatâs, the great divine sage addressed this celebrated injunction to Śakra, who stood near him: 'One Vijaya, the son of Sinhabâhu, king of the land of Lâla, together with seven hundred officers of state, has landed on Lankâ. Lord of Devas! my religion will be established in Lankâ. On that account thoroughly protect, together with his retinue, him and Lankâ.' The devoted King of Devas having heard these injunctions of the successor (of former Buddhas), assigned the protection of Lankâ to the Deva Utpalavarna (Vishṇu). He, in conformity to the command of Śakra, instantly repaired to Lankâ, and in the character of a parivrâjaka (devotee) took his station at the foot of a tree.
"With Vijaya at their head the whole party approaching him, inquired, 'Pray, devotee, what land is this?' he replied, 'The land Lankâ.' Having thus spoken, he blessed them by sprinkling water on them out of his jug, and having tied (charmed) threads on their arms, departed through the air."

At the end of the preceding chapter, the date of the event is still more accurately fixed. "This prince named Vijaya," we read there, "who had then attained the wisdom of experience, landed in the division Tâmrâparṇi of this land Lankâ, on the day that the successor of former Buddhas reclined in the arbour of the two delightful sal-trees, to attain Nirvâna." In this manner the conquest of Ceylon was invested with a religious character, and at the same time a connection was established between the traditional chronology of Ceylon and the sacred history of Buddha. If Buddha was a true prophet, the Ceylonese argue quite rightly that he must have died in the year of the Conquest, or 543 B.C.

This synchronism once established, it became necessary to accommodate to it, as well as possible, the rest of the legendary history of the Buddhists. It contained but few historical elements previous to Âsoka's Council, but that council had again to be connected with the history of Ceylon. Âsoka was the cotemporary of Devânâmpriya Tishya, King of Ceylon. This king adopted Buddhism, and made it, like Âsoka, the state religion of the island. Now, according to the traditional chronology of Ceylon, Devânâmpriya Tishya came to the throne 236 years after the landing of Vijaya\(^1\), and he reigned forty years (307—267 B.C.) He was intimately connected with Âsoka, as we shall

\(^1\) Mahavanso, Pref. p. lii.
see, and it was necessary that the same interval which in the historical traditions of Ceylon separated Devānapāmpriya Tishya from Vijaya should separate Aśoka from Buddha. This was achieved in the following manner: One Aśoka is supposed to have come to the throne ninety years after Buddha, and a council (the second, as it is called) is supposed to have taken place in the tenth year of his reign, or just one hundred years after Buddha. At that second council a prophecy was uttered that in 118 years a calamity would befall the Buddhist religion. This refers to the reign of the so-called second Aśoka, who was at first a great enemy to religion. Now the first Aśoka is represented to have reigned 18 years after the Council (100 anno Buddhæ), and if we cast up these 118 years, the 22 years of Aśoka’s sons, the 22 years of the Nine, the 24 years of Chandragupta, the 28 years of Binduśara, and the 4 years which elapsed before Aśoka’s inauguration, we find that Aśoka’s inauguration would fall just 118 years after the second Council, 218 years after Buddha, or 325 B.C. The Council of this real Aśoka was held in the 17th year of his reign, or 235 after Buddha. Mahendra, the son of Aśoka, proceeded to Ceylon in the next year, or 236 years after Buddha; and in this manner the arrival of Mahendra in Ceylon, and the inauguration of Devānapāmpriya Tishya as King of Ceylon, are brought together in the same year. It is true that in order to achieve this, it has become necessary to add a first Aśoka.

1 Not thirty-four years as printed in the Mahāvamsa. See Lassen, ii. 62. n.
3 This first Aśoka is called Kālāśoka, a name which it would be too bold to explain as the chronological Aśoka.
of whom the Northern Buddhists know nothing; it has become necessary to admit another Moggaliputto, and another Council, all equally unknown except in the traditional chronology of Ceylon. The Northern Buddhists know but one Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta; they know but one Council, besides the Assembly following immediately on the death of Buddha, viz. the Council of Pātaliputra under Dharmāsoka, and this they place 110 years after Buddha's Nirvāṇa.¹ Pindola, a contemporary of Buddha, was seen as an old man by Aśoka. But who was to contradict the Ceylonese historians? They possessed, what the Buddhists of Magadha did not possess, a history of their island and their sovereigns. They valued historical chronology for its own sake, forming an exception in this respect to all other nations of India. They were a colony, and like most colonies, they valued the traditions of the past. The Buddhists of Magadha, as far as we are able to judge, preserved but a few historical recollections, frequently in the form of prophecies, which they afterwards forced into the loose frame of the Brahmanic chronology. The Buddhists of Ceylon did not borrow the outlines of their history either from the Brahmans or from the Buddhists of Magadha; and this is a point which has never been sufficiently considered. Their outlines of history were not constructed originally in order to hold the Buddhist traditions of the North. They may have been slightly modified, so as to avoid glaring inconsistenc-

¹ In some instances that date is changed to 200 A.D., by means of a reaction exercised by the literature of Ceylon on the chronology of the Continental Buddhists. Burnouf, Introduction, p. 436. 578.
cies between the profane history of Ceylon and the sacred history of Buddhism. But there is evidence to show that, on the other hand, the historical legends of Magadha had to yield much more considerably,—the framers of the final chronology finding it impossible to ignore the annals of their island and the reigns of their ancient half-fabulous kings. The chronology of the Mahâvanśa is a compromise between the chronology of Ceylon and that of Magadha, but the latter was the more pliant of the two. There is nothing to prove that the terminus à quo of the chronology of Ceylon,—the date of Vijaya’s landing,—was borrowed from the North. There were Buddhist traditions connecting Vijaya’s landing with the death of Buddha, but the date 543 B.C. is never found in the sacred chronology of Buddhism, before it was borrowed from the profane chronology of Ceylon. There were similar, and, as it would seem, better founded traditions, connecting Devânâm Priya Tishya with the great Aśoka; but the date of Devânâm Priya Tishya was not determined by the date of the great Aśoka, nor was the date of Aśoka’s Council, as 110 after Buddha, accepted in Ceylon. On the contrary, the interval between Vijaya and Devânâm Priya Tishya was allowed to remain as it stood in the Ceylonese annals, and the Buddhist traditions were stretched in order to suit that interval. An intermediate Aśoka and an intermediate Council were admitted, which were unknown to the Northern Buddhists. The prophecy that Nâgârjunâ should live 400 years after Buddha\(^1\), had been altered by the Chinese so as to suit their chronology. They placed him 800 years after

\(^1\) As. Res. xx. 513.
Buddha. In like manner the Ceylonese Buddhists, having fixed Buddha's death at 543 B.C., changed the traditional date of Nâgârjuna from 400 to 500 after Buddha. All this is constructive chronology, and whether we follow the Chinese or Ceylonese date of Buddha, we must always remember that in both the terminus à quo is purely hypothetical. This does not interfere with the correctness of minor details, such as the number of years assigned to each king, and in particular the chronological distance between certain events. These may have formed part of popular tradition, long before any system of chronology was established. A very old man, Piṇḍola, was represented in a popular legend to have been a contemporary both of Buddha and of Dharmâsoka. Hence the interval between the founder and the royal patron of Buddhism would naturally be fixed at about 100 years. This is a tradition which may be used for historical purposes. Again, when we see that a date like that of Nâgârjuna fixed in the North of India at 400 after Buddha, is altered to 800 and 500, so as to suit the requirements of two different systems of chronology, we may feel inclined to look upon the unsystematic date as the most plausible. But in order to make use of such indications we must first of all establish a ποτες τῶ, and this can only be found in Chandragupta. Everything in Indian chronology depends on the date of Chandragupta. Chandragupta was the grandfather of Aśoka, and the contemporary of Seleucus Nicator. Now, according to Chinese chronology, Aśoka would have lived, to waive minor

1 Turnour, Examination of some points of Buddhist Chronology, Journal of the As. S. B., v. 530. 1 Lassen, ii. 58.
differences, 850 or 750 B.C., according to Ceylonese chronology, 315 B.C. Either of these dates is impossible, because it does not agree with the chronology of Greece, and hence both the Chinese and Ceylonese dates of Buddha's death must be given up as equally valueless for historical calculations.

There is but one means through which the history of India can be connected with that of Greece, and its chronology be reduced to its proper limits. Although we look in vain in the literature of the Brahmans or Buddhists for any allusion to Alexander's conquest, and although it is impossible to identify any of the historical events, related by Alexander's companions, with the historical traditions of India, one name has fortunately been preserved by classical writers who describe the events immediately following Alexander's conquest, to form a connecting link between the history of the East and the West. This is the name of Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus, the Sanskrit Chandragupta.

We learn from classical writers, Justin, Arrian, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius and Plutarch, that in Alexander's time there was on the Ganges a powerful king of the name of Xandrames, and that soon after Alexander's invasion, a new empire was founded there by Sandracottus or Sandrocyptus. Justin says: "Sandracottus gave liberty to India after Alexander's retreat, but soon converted the name of liberty into servitude after his success, subjecting those whom he had rescued from foreign dominion to his own authority. This prince was of humble origin, but was called to royalty by the power of the gods; for, having offended Alexander by his impertinent lan-
Chandragupta, he was ordered to be put to death, and escaped only by flight. Fatigued with his journey he lay down to rest, when a lion of large size came and licked off the sweat that poured from him with his tongue, and retired without doing him any harm. The prodigy inspired him with ambitious hopes, and collecting bands of robbers he roused the Indians to rebellion. When he prepared for war against the captains of Alexander, a wild elephant of enormous size approached him, and received him on his back as if he had been tamed. He was a distinguished general and a brave soldier. Having thus acquired power, Sandracottus reigned over India at the time when Seleucus was laying the foundation of his greatness, and Seleucus entered into a treaty with him, and settling affairs on the side of India directed his march against Antigonus.  

Besides this we may gather from classical writers the following statements, bearing on Xandrames and Sandrocyptus: "When Alexander made inquiries about the interior of India, he was told that beyond the Indus there was a vast desert of 12 (or 11, according to Curtius,) days' journey, and that at the farthest borders thereof ran the Ganges. Beyond that river, he was told, the Prasii (Prâchyas) dwelt, and the Gangaridae. Their king was named Xandrames, who could bring into the field 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, and 4,000 (or 3,000, Curtius,) elephants. Alexander who did not at first believe this, inquired from king Porus whether this account of the power

1 Plutarch, Vita Alex. c. 62, says that Sandracottus saw Alexander when he was a μειράκιον.
of Xandrames was true; and he was told by Porus that it was true, but that the king was but of mean and obscure extraction, accounted to be a barber's son; that the queen, however, had fallen in love with the barber, had murdered her husband, and that the kingdom had thus devolved upon Xandrames."

Quintus Curtius says, "that the father of Xandrames had murdered the king, and under pretence of acting as guardian to his sons, got them into his power and put them to death; that after their extermination he begot the son who was then king, and who, more worthy of his father's condition than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects." Strabo adds, "that the capital of the Prasii was called Palibothra, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and another river," which Arrian specifies as the Eranboas. Their king, besides his birth-name, had to take the name of the city, and was called the Palibothrian. This was the case with Sandracottus to whom Megasthenes was sent frequently. It was the same king with whom Seleucus Nicator contracted an alliance, ceding to him the country beyond the Indus, and receiving in its stead 500 elephants. Megasthenes visited his court several times; and the same king, as Plutarch says,

1 Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 93. The statement in Photii Biblioth. p. 1579, that Porus was the son of a barber, repeated by Libanius, tom. ii. 632., is evidently a mistake. Plutarch, Vita Alexandri, c. 62, speaks of 80,000 horse, 8,000 chariots, and 6,000 elephants.
2 Quintus Curtius, ix. 2.
3 Strabo, xv. 1. 36.
4 Arrian, Indica, x. 5.
5 Strabo, xv. 2. 9.
6 Arrian, Exped. v. 6, Indica, v. 3.
7 Plutarch, Vita Alexandri, c. 62.
"traversed India with an army of 600,000 men, and conquered the whole."

These accounts of the classical writers contain a number of distinct statements which could leave very little doubt as to the king to whom they referred. Indian historians, it is true, are generally so vague and so much given to exaggeration, that their kings are all very much alike, either all black or all bright. But nevertheless, if there ever was such a king as the king of the Prasii, an usurper, residing at Pāṭaliputra, called Sandrocyptus or Sandracottus, it is hardly possible that he should not be recognized in the historical traditions of India. There is in the lists of the kings of India the name of Chandragupta, and the resemblance of this name with the name of Sandrocottus or Sandrocyptus was first, I believe, pointed out by Sir William Jones.\(^1\) Wilford, Professor Wilson, and Professor Lassen have afterwards added further evidence in confirmation of Sir W. Jones's conjecture; and although other scholars, and particularly M. Troyer, in his edition of the Rājatarangini, have raised objections, we shall see that the evidence in favour of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandrocypptus is such as to admit of no reasonable doubt. It is objected that the Greeks called the king of the powerful empire beyond the Indus, Xandrames, or Aggramen. Now the last name is evidently a mere misspelling for Xandrames, and this Xandrames is not the same as Sandracottus. Xandrames, if we understand the Greek accounts rightly, is the predecessor of Chandragupta or rather the last king of the empire conquered by Sandracottus. If, however, it should be

\(^1\) Asiatic Researches, vol. iv. p. 11.
maintained, that these two names were intended for one and the same king, the explanation would still be very easy. For Chandragupta (the protected of the moon), is also called Chandra\textsuperscript{1}, the Moon; and Chandramas, in Sanskrit, is a synonyme of Chandra. Xandrames, however, was no doubt intended as different from Chandragupta. Xandrames must have been king of the Prasii before Sandracottus, and during the time of Alexander's wars. If this Xandrames is the same as the last Nanda, the agreement between the Greek account of his mean extraction, and the Hindu account of Nanda being a Śûdra, would be very striking. It is not, however, quite clear whether the same person is meant in the Greek and Hindu accounts. At the time of Alexander's invasion Sandracottus was very young, and being obliged to fly before Alexander, whom he had offended, it is said that he collected bands of robbers, and with their help succeeded in establishing the freedom of India. Plutarch says distinctly that Sandracottus reigned soon after, that is soon after Xandrames, and we know from Justin, that it was Sandracottus, and not Xandrames, who waged wars with the captains of Alexander. Another objection against the identification of Chandragupta and Sandracottus was the site of their respective capitals. The capital of Chandragupta, Pātaliputra, was no doubt the same as the Palibothra of Sandracottus, the modern Patna. But exception was taken on the ground that Patna is not situated near the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone or Erannoboas, where the ancient Palibothra stood. This, however, has been explained by a change

\textsuperscript{1} See Wilson's notes on the Mudrā Râkshasa, p. 132.
in the bed of the river Sone, which is established on the best geographical evidence.

There are several other points on which the histories of Chandragupta and Sandracottus agree. Sandracottus founded a new empire at Palibothra. Chandragupta was the founder of a new dynasty, the Mauryas\(^1\) at Pātaliputra. Sandracottus gained the throne by collecting bands of robbers. Chandragupta did the same. Sandracottus was called to royalty by the power of the gods and by prodigies. So was Chandragupta, although the prodigy related by Justin is not exactly the same as the prodigies related by Hindu authors. So far, therefore, there is nothing in the Greek accounts that is not confirmed by Hindu tradition. That there should be a great deal more in Hindu tradition than was known to the Greeks is but natural, particularly as many of the Hindu stories were evidently invented at a later time and with a certain object. As the grandson of Chandragupta was the great patron of the Buddhists, attempts were naturally made by Buddhist writers to prove that Chandragupta belonged to the same race as Buddha; while on the other hand the Brahmanic writers would be no less fertile in inventing fables that would throw discredit on the ancestor of the Buddhist sovereigns of India. Some extracts from the writings of these hostile parties will best show

\(^1\) The name of Maurya seems to have been known to the Greeks. See Cunningham, Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, xxiii. p. 680.

The wooden houses in which the tribe of the Morieis are said to have lived, may refer to the story of the Mauryas living in a forest. See Mahāvanso, p. xxxix.

The statement of Wilford, that Maurya meant in Sanskrit the offspring of a barber and a Śūdra-woman, has never been proved.
how this was achieved. In the Mahāvanso\(^1\) we read:  
“Kālāsoko had ten sons: these brothers (conjointly) ruled the empire righteously for twenty-two years. Subsequently there were nine brothers: they also according to their seniority reigned for twenty-two years. Thereafter the Brahman Chānakkō, in gratification of an implacable hatred borne towards the ninth surviving brother, called Dhana-nando, having put him to death, installed in the sovereignty over the whole of Jambudīpo, a descendant of the dynasty of Moriyan sovereigns, endowed with illustrious and beneficent attributes, and surnamed Chandagutto. He reigned 24 (not 34) years.”

The commentary on this passage adds the following details\(^2\): “Subsequent to Kālāsoko, who patronised those who held the second convocation, the royal line is stated to have consisted of twelve monarchs to the reign of Dhammāsoko, when they (the priests) held the third convocation. Kālāsoko’s own sons were ten brothers. Their names are specified in the Atthakathā. The appellation of ‘the nine Nandos’ originates in nine of them bearing that patronymic title.

“The Atthakathā of the Uttaravihāro priests sets forth that the eldest of these was of an extraction (maternally) not allied (inferior) to the royal family; and that he dwelt in one of the provinces\(^3\); it gives

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\(^1\) Mahāvanso, p. 21. The Pāli orthography has been preserved in the following extracts.

\(^2\) Mahāv., p. 38.

\(^3\) It would seem that the eldest son of Aśoka did not participate in the general government of the country, but received a provincial vice-royalty. But in the Burmese histories it is stated distinctly that the eldest son, named Bhadrasena, reigned with nine of his brothers during a period of twenty-two years.
also the history of the other nine. I also will give their history succinctly, but without prejudice to its perspicuity.

"In aforetime, during the conjoint administration of the (nine) sons of Kâlâsoko, a certain provincial person appeared in the character of a marauder, and raising a considerable force, was laying the country waste by pillage. His people, who committed these depredations on towns, whenever a town might be sacked, seized and compelled its own inhabitants to carry the spoil to a wilderness, and there securing the plunder, drove them away. On a certain day, the banditti who were leading this predatory life having employed a daring, powerful, and enterprizing individual to commit a robbery, were retreating to the wilderness, making him carry the plunder. He who was thus associated with them, inquired: 'By what means do you find your livelihood?' 'Thou slave' (they replied) 'we are not men who submit to the toils of tillage, or cattle tending. By a proceeding precisely like the present one, pillaging towns and villages, and laying up stores of riches and grain, and providing ourselves with fish and flesh, toddy and other beverage, we pass our lives jovially in feasting and drinking.' On being told this, he thought: 'This mode of life of these thieves is surely excellent; shall I, also, joining them, lead a similar life?' and then said, 'I also will join you, I will become a confederate of yours. Admitting me among you, take me (in your marauding excursions).' They replying 'sâdhu,' received him among them.

"On a subsequent occasion, they attacked a town which was defended by well armed and vigilant inhabitants. As soon as they entered the town the people
rose upon and surrounded them, and seizing their leader, and hewing him with a sword, put him to death. The robbers dispersing in all directions repaired to, and reassembled in the wilderness. Discovering that he (their leader) had been slain; and saying, 'In his death the extinction of our prosperity is evident; having been deprived of him, under whose control can the sacking of villages be carried on? even to remain here is imprudent; thus our disunion and destruction are inevitable:' they resigned themselves to desponding grief. The individual above mentioned, approaching them, asked: 'What are ye weeping for?' On being answered by them, 'We are lamenting the want of a valiant leader, to direct us in the hour of attack and retreat in our village sacks.' 'In that case, my friends,' (said he) 'ye need not make yourselves unhappy; if there be no other person able to undertake that post, I can myself perform it for you: from henceforth give not a thought about the matter.' This and more he said to them. They, relieved from their perplexity by this speech, joyfully replied, 'sâdhu,' and conferred on him the post of chief.

"From that period proclaiming himself to be Nando, and adopting the course followed formerly (by his predecessor), he wandered about, pillaging the country. Having induced his brothers also to co-operate with him, by them also he was supported in his marauding excursions. Subsequently assembling his gang, he thus addressed them: 'My men! this is not a career in which valiant men should be engaged; it is not worthy of such as we are; this course is only befitting base wretches. What advantage is there in persevering in this career, let us aim at supreme sovereignty?"
They assented. On having received their acquiescence, attended by his troops and equipped for war, he attacked a provincial town, calling upon (its inhabitants) either to acknowledge him as sovereign, or to give him battle. They on receiving this demand all assembled, and having duly weighed the message, by sending an appropriate answer, formed a treaty of alliance with them. By this means reducing under his authority the people of Jambudipo in great numbers, he finally attacked Påtiliputta¹ (the capital of the Indian empire), and usurping the sovereignty, died there a short time afterwards, while governing the empire.

"His brothers next succeeded to the empire in the order of their seniority. They altogether reigned twenty-two years. It was on this account that (in the Mahâvanso) it is stated that there were nine Nandos.

"Their ninth youngest brother was called Dhananando, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure. As soon as he was inaugurated, actuated by miserly desires the most inveterate, he resolved within himself, 'It is proper that I should devote myself to hoarding treasure;' and collecting riches to the amount of eighty kotis, and superintending the transport thereof himself, and repairing to the banks of the Ganges, by means of a barrier constructed of branches and leaves interrupting the course of the main stream, and forming a canal, he diverted its waters into a different channel; and in a rock in the bed of the

¹ Påtaliputra was then governed by the youngest son of Asoka, called Pinjamakh, and the robber-king, who first called himself Nanda, is said to have reigned a short time under the title of Ugrasena. As. Res. xx. p. 170.
river having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there. Over this cave he laid a layer of stones, and to prevent the admission of water, poured molten lead on it. Over that again he laid another layer of stones, and passing a stream of molten lead (over it), which made it like a solid rock, he restored the river to its former course. Levying taxes even on skins, gums, trees, and stones, among other articles, he amassed further treasures, which he disposed of similarly. It is stated that he did so repeatedly. On this account we call this ninth brother of theirs, as he personally devoted himself to the hoarding of treasure, 'Dhana-nando.'

"The appellation of 'Moriyan sovereigns' is derived from the auspicious circumstances under which their capital, which obtained the name of Moriya, was called into existence.

"While Buddha yet lived, driven by the misfortunes produced by the war of (prince) Vidhudhabo, certain members of the Sâkya line retreating to Himavanto, discovered a delightful and beautiful location, well watered, and situated in the midst of a forest of lofty bo and other trees. Influenced by the desire of settling there, they founded a town at a place where several great roads met, surrounded by durable ramparts, having gates of defence therein, and embellished with delightful edifices and pleasure gardens. Moreover that (city), having a row of buildings covered with tiles, which were arranged in the pattern of the plumage of a peacock's neck, and as it resounded with the notes of flocks of 'konchos' and 'mayuros' (pea-fowls), was so called. From this circumstance these Sâkya lords of this town, and their children and descendants, were renowned throughout
Jambudipó by the title of 'Moriya.' From this time that dynasty has been called the Moriyan dynasty."

After a few isolated remarks, the Tika thus proceeds in its account of Chânakko and Chandagutto:

"It is proper that in this place a sketch of these two characters should be given. Of these, if I am asked in the first place, 'Where did this Chânakko dwell? Whose son was he?' I answer, 'he lived at the city of Takkasilá. He was the son of a certain Brahman at that place, and a man who had achieved the knowledge of the three Vedas; could rehearse the mantos; skilful in stratagems; and dexterous in intrigue as well as policy. At the period of his father's death he was already well known as the dutiful maintainer of his mother, and as a highly gifted individual worthy of swaying the chhatta.

"On a certain occasion, approaching his mother, who was weeping, he inquired, 'My dear mother, why dost thou weep?' On being answered by her, 'My child, thou art gifted to sway a chhatta. Do not, my boy, endeavour by raising the chhatta, to become a sovereign. Princes everywhere are unstable in their attachments. Thou also, my child, wilt forget the affection thou owest me. In that case, I should be reduced to the deepest distress. I weep under these apprehensions.' He exclaimed: 'My mother, what is that gift that I possess? On what part of my person is it indicated?' and on her replying, 'My dear, on thy teeth,' smashing his own teeth, and becoming 'Kandhadatto' (a tooth-broken man) he devoted himself to the protection of his mother. Thus it was that he became celebrated as the filial protector of his mother. He was not only a tooth-broken man, but he was disfigured by a
disgusting complexion, and by deformity of legs and other members prejudicial to manly comeliness.

"In his quest of disputation, repairing to Pupphapura, the capital of the monarch Dhana-nando, (who, abandoning his passion for hoarding, becoming imbued with the desire of giving alms, relinquishing also his miserly habits, and delighting in hearing the fruits that resulted from benevolence, had built a hall of alms-offering in the midst of his palace, and was making an offering to the chief of the Brahmans worth a hundred kotis, and to the most junior Brahman an offering worth a lac,) this Brahman (Chânakko) entered the said apartment, and taking possession of the seat of the chief Brahman, sat himself down in that alms hall.

"At that instant Dhana-nando himself—decked in regal attire, and attended by many thousands of 'siwakâ' (state palanquins), glittering with their various ornaments, and escorted by a suite of a hundred royal personages, with their martial array of the four hosts, of cavalry, elephants, chariots, and infantry, and accompanied by dancing-girls, lovely as the attendants on the devos, himself a personification of majesty, and bearing the white parasol of dominion, having a golden staff and golden tassels, with this superb retinue repairing thither, and entering the hall of alms-offering, beheld the Brahman Chânakko seated. On seeing him, this thought occurred to him (Nando): 'Surely it cannot be proper that he should assume the seat of the chief Brahman.' Becoming displeased with him, he thus evinced his displeasure. He inquired: 'Who art thou, that thou hast taken the seat of the chief Brahman?' and being answered (simply), 'It is I;'
'Cast from hence this cripple Brahman; allow him not to be seated,' exclaimed Nando; and although the courtiers again and again implored of him, saying, 'Dévo! let it not be so done by a person prepared to make offerings as thou art, extend thy forgiveness to this Brahman;' he insisted upon his ejection. On the courtiers approaching Chânakkko, and saying, 'Achâriyo! we come, by the command of the râja, to remove thee from hence; but incapable of uttering the words, "Achâriyo, depart hence," we now stand before thee abashed.' Enraged against him (Nando), rising from his seat to depart, he snapt asunder his Brahmanical cord, and dashed down his jug on the threshold, and thus invoking malediction: 'Kings are impious: may this whole earth, bounded by the four oceans, withhold its gifts from Nando,' he departed. On his sallying out, the officers reported this proceeding to the râja. The king, furious with indignation, roared, 'Catch, catch, the slave.' The fugitive, stripping himself naked, and assuming the character of an ajîvako, and running into the centre of the palace, concealed himself in an unfrequented place, at the San-khârathânan. The pursuers, not having discovered him, returned and reported that he was not to be found.

"In the night he repaired to a more frequented part of the palace, and meeting some of the suite of the royal prince Pabbato, admitted them into his confidence. By their assistance he had an interview with the prince. Gaining him over by holding out hopes of securing the sovereignty for him, and attaching him by that expedient, he began to search the means of getting out of the palace. Discovering
that in a certain place there was a ladder leading to a secret passage, he consulted with the prince, and sent a message to his (the prince's) mother for the key of the passage. Opening the door with the utmost secrecy, he escaped with the prince, and they fled to the wilderness of Vinjhnâ (Vindhya).

"While dwelling there, with the view of raising resources, he converted (by recoining) each kâhâpana into eight, and amassed eighty kotis of kâhâpanas. Having buried this treasure, he commenced to search for a second individual entitled (by birth) to be raised to sovereign power, and met with the aforesaid prince of the Moriyan dynasty called Chandagutto.

"His mother, the queen consort of the monarch of Moriya-nagara, the city before mentioned, was pregnant at the time that a certain powerful provincial râja conquered that kingdom, and put the Moriyan king to death. In her anxiety to preserve the child in her womb, she departed for the capital of Pupphapura under the protection of her elder brothers, and under disguise she dwelt there. At the completion of the ordinary term of pregnancy she gave birth to a son, and relinquishing him to the protection of the devos, she placed him in a vase, and deposited him at the door of a cattle pen. A bull named Chando stationed himself by him, to protect him; in the same manner that Prince Ghoso, by the interposition of the devatâ, was watched over by a bull. In the same manner, also, that the herdsman in the instance of that Prince Ghoso repaired to the spot where that bull planted himself, a herdsman, on observing this prince, moved by affection, like that borne to his own child, took charge of and tenderly reared him; and
in giving him a name, in reference to his having been watched by the bull Chando, he called him 'Chandagutto,' and brought him up. When he had attained an age to be able to tend cattle, a certain wild huntsman, a friend of the herdsman, becoming acquainted with the boy, and attached to him, took him from (the herdsman) to his own dwelling, and established him there. He continued to dwell in that village.

"Subsequently, on a certain occasion, while tending cattle with other children in the village, he joined them in a game called 'the game of royalty.' He himself was named Râja; to others he gave the offices of sub-king, &c. Some being appointed judges, were placed in a judgment hall; some he made officers of the king's household; and others, outlaws or robbers. Having thus constituted a court of justice, he sat in judgment. On culprits being brought up, when they had been regularly impeached and tried, on their guilt being clearly proved to his satisfaction, according to the sentence awarded by his judicial ministers, he ordered the officers of the court to chop off their hands and feet. On their replying, 'Devo! we have no axes;' he answered: 'It is the order of Chandagutto that ye should chop off their hands and feet, making axes with the horns of goats for blades, and sticks for handles.' They acted accordingly; and on striking with the axe, the hands and feet were lopped off. On the same person commanding, 'Let them be reunited,' the hands and feet were restored to their former condition.

"Chânakko happening to come to that spot, was amazed at the proceeding he beheld. Accompanying (the boy) to the village, and presenting the huntsman with a thousand kahâpanas, he applied for him; saying, 'I will teach your son every accomplishment;
consign him to me.' Accordingly, conducting him to his own dwelling, he encircled his neck with a single fold of a woollen cord, twisted with gold thread, worth a lac.

"The discovery of this person is thus stated (in the former works): 'He discovered this prince descended from the Moriyan line.'

"He (Chânakko) invested Prince Pabbato, also, with a similar woollen cord. While these youths were living with him, each had a dream, which they separately imparted to him. As soon as he heard each (dream), he knew that of these Prince Pabbato would not attain royalty; and that Chandagutto would, without loss of time, become paramount monarch in Jambudîpo. Although he made this discovery, he disclosed nothing to them.

"On a certain occasion having partaken of some milk-rice prepared in butter, which had been received as an offering at a brahmanical disputation, they retired from the main road, and lying down in a shady place, protected by the deep foliage of trees, fell asleep. Among them the Achâriyo awakening first, rose, and for the purpose of putting prince Pabbato's qualifications to the test, he gave him a sword, and telling him: 'Bring me the woollen thread on Chandagutto's neck, without either cutting or untying it,' sent him off. He started on the mission, and failing to accomplish it, he returned. On a subsequent day, he sent Chandagutto on a similar mission. He repairing to the spot where Pabbato was sleeping, and considering how it was to be effected, decided: 'There is no other way of doing it; it can only be got possession of, by cutting his head off.' Accordingly chopping his head off, and bringing away the woollen thread, he
presented himself to the Brahman, who received him in profound silence. Pleased with him, however, on account of this (exploit), he rendered him in the course of six or seven years highly accomplished, and profoundly learned.

"Thereafter, on his attaining manhood, he decided: "From henceforth this individual is capable of forming and controlling an army;" so he repaired to the spot where his treasure was buried, and took possession of it, and employed it, enlisting forces from all quarters, and distributing money among them; and having thus formed a powerful army, he entrusted it to him. From that time throwing off all disguise, and invading the inhabited parts of the country, he commenced his campaign by attacking towns and villages. In the course of their (Chânakko and Chandagutto's) warfare, the population rose to a man, and surrounding them, and hewing their army with their weapons, vanquished them. Dispersing, they re-united in the wilderness; and consulting together, they thus decided: 'As yet no advantage has resulted from war; relinquishing military operations, let us acquire a knowledge of the sentiments of the people.' Thenceforth, in disguise, they travelled about the country. While thus roaming about, after sunset retiring to some town or other, they were in the habit of attending to the conversation of the inhabitants of those places.

"In one of these villages, a woman having baked some 'appalapûva' (pancakes) was giving them to her child, who leaving the edges would only eat the centre. On his asking for another cake, she remarked: 'This boy's conduct is like Chandagutto's in his attempt to take possession of the kingdom.' On his inquiring: 'Mother, why, what am I doing; and
what has Chandagutto done?" 'Thou, my boy,' said she, 'throwing away the outside of the cake, eatest the middle only. Chandagutto also in his ambition to be a monarch, without subduing the frontiers, before he attacked the towns, invaded the heart of the country, and laid towns waste. On that account, both the inhabitants of the town and others, rising, closed in upon him, from the frontiers to the centre, and destroyed his army. *That was his folly.*

"They, on hearing this story of hers, taking due notice thereof, from that time again raised an army. On resuming their attack on the provinces and towns, commencing from the frontiers, reducing towns, and stationing troops in the intervals, they proceeded in their invasion. After a respite, adopting the same system, and marshalling a great army, and in regular course reducing each kingdom and province, then assailing Pâtiliputtra and putting Dhana-nando to death, they seized that sovereignty.

"Although this had been brought about, Chânakko did not at once raise Chandagutto to the throne; but for the purpose of discovering Dhana-nando's hidden treasure, sent for a certain fisherman (of the river); and after deluding him with the promise of raising the chhatta for him, and securing the hidden treasure, within a month from that date, put him also to death¹, and inaugurated Chandagutto monarch.

"Hence the expression (in the Mahâvanso) 'a descendant of the dynasty of Moriyan sovereigns;' as well as the expression 'installed in the sovereignty.' All the particulars connected with Chandagutto, both before his installation and after, are recorded in the

1 This is probably the Kaivarta-nanda of the Râjaratnâkara.
Atthakathā of the Uttaravihâro priests. Let that (work) be referred to, by those who are desirous of more detailed information. We compile this work in an abridged form, without prejudice however to its perspicuity.

"His (Chandagutto's) son was Bindusâro. After his father had assumed the administration, (the said father) sent for a former acquaintance of his, a Jatilian, named Maniyatappo, and conferred a commission on him. 'My friend, (said he) do thou restore order into the country; suppressing the lawless proceedings that prevail.' He replying 'sâdhu,' and accepting the commission, by his judicious measures, reduced the country to order.

"Chânakko, determined that to Chandagutto—a monarch, who by the instrumentality of him (the aforesaid Maniyatappo) had conferred the blessings of peace on the country, by extirpating marauders who were like unto thorns (in a cultivated land)—no calamity should befall from poison, decided on inuring his body to the effects of poison. Without imparting the secret to any one, commencing with the smallest particle possible, and gradually increasing the dose, by mixing poison in his food and beverage, he (at last) fed him on poison, at the same time taking steps to prevent any other person participating in his poisoned repasts.

"At a subsequent period his queen consort was pronounced to be pregnant. Who was she? Whose daughter was she? 'She was the daughter of the eldest of the maternal uncles who accompanied the râja's mother to Pupphapura.' Chandagutto wedding this daughter of his maternal uncle, raised her to the dignity of queen consort.

1 See page 289.
"About this time, Chânakko, on a certain day having prepared the monarch’s repast sent it to him, himself accidentally remaining behind for a moment. On recollecting himself, in an agony of distress, he exclaimed, ‘I must hasten thither, short as the interval is, before he begins his meal;’ and precipitately rushed into the king’s apartment, at the instant that the queen who was within seven days of her confinement, was in the act, in the râja’s presence, of placing the first handful of the repast in her mouth. On beholding this, and finding that there was not even time to ejaculate ‘Don’t swallow it,’ with his sword he struck her head off; and then ripping open her womb, extricated the child with its caul, and placed it in the stomach of a goat. In this manner, by placing it for seven days in the stomach of seven different goats, having completed the full term of gestation, he delivered the infant over to the female slaves. He caused him to be reared by them, and when a name was conferred on him—in reference to a spot, (Bindu) which the blood of the goats had left—he was called Bindusâro."

This Bindusâra succeeded his father as king, and, after a reign of 28 years, he was succeeded by the great Aśoka. In this manner the Buddhists prove that through the Mauryas, Aśoka belonged to the same family as Buddha, to the royal family of the Śâkyas.

The Brahmans, on the contrary, endeavour to show that Chandragupta belonged to the same contemptible race as the Nandas. Thus we read in the Vishnû-purâṇa¹:

"The last of the Brihadratha dynasty, Ripunjaya, will have a minister named Śunika (Śunaka, Bh. P.),

¹ Vishnû-purâṇa, translated by H. H. Wilson, p. 466.
who having killed his sovereign, will place his son Pradyota upon the throne (for 23 years, Vāyu and Matsya P.). His son will be Pālaka (24 years, V.; Tilaka or Bālaka, 28 years, M.P.). His son will be Viśākhayūpa (50 years V.; 53 M.P.). His son will be Janaka (Ajaka, 21 years V.; Śūryaka, 21 years M.; Rajaka, Bh. P.). And his son will be Nandivardhana (20 years V. and M.P.). These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for 138 years (the same number in V. and Bh. P.).

"The next prince will be Śiṣunāga; his son will be Kākavarna (36 years V. and M.); his son will be Kšemadharman (Kšemakarman, 20 years V., Kšemadharman, 36 years M.); his son will be Kšratraujas (40 years V.; Kšhmapit or Kšhemarchis, 36 years M.; Kšheterajna, Bh. P.); his son will be Vidmisāra (Vimbisāra, 28 years V.; Vindusena or Vindhyasena, 28 years M.; Vidhisāra, Bh.); his son will be Ajātaśatru; his son will be Dharbaka (Harshaka, 25 years V.; Vanśaka, 24 years M.); his son will be Udayāśva (33 years V.; Udibhi or Udāsin, 33 years M.); his son also will be Nandivardhana; and his son will be Mahānanda (42 and 43 years V.; 40 and 43 years M.). These ten Śaiśunāgas will be kings of the earth for 362 years. "The son of Mahānanda will be born of a woman of the Śūdra-class; his name will be Nanda, called Mahāpadma, for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Paraśu-rāma, he will be the annihilator

1 Śiṣunāka, who, according to the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa, relinquished Benares to his son, and established himself at Girivraja or Rājagriha in Behar, reigned 40 years, V. and M. P.

2 25 years V.; 27 years M.: the latter inserts a Kanvāyana, 9 years, and Bhūmimitra or Bhūmaputra, 14 years, before him.

3 According to the Vāyu, Udaya or Udayāśva founded Pātaliputra, on the southern angle of the Ganges.
of the Kshatriya race, for after him the kings of the earth will be Śūdras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella, he will have eight sons, Sumâlya, and others, who will reign after Mahâpadma; and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brahman Kauṭilya will root out the nine Nandas.

"Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth. Kauṭilya will place Chandragupta 1 on the throne; his son will be Vîndusâra 2; his son will be Aśokavardhana; his son will be Suyaśas; his son will be Daśaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Śâlîśûka; his son will be Somâsarman; his son will be Śasadharman, and his successor will be Vrihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas who will reign over the earth for 137 years."

The title of Maurya, which by the Buddhists was used as a proof of Aśoka’s royal descent, is explained by the Brahmans 3 as a metronymic, Murâ being given as the name of one of Nanda’s wives.

If now, we survey the information here brought together from Buddhist, Brahmanic, and Greek sources, we shall feel bound to confess that all we really know is this:

1 The length of this monarch’s reign is given uniformly by the Purâṇas and the Buddhist histories, as 24 years. The number is given by the Vâyu-Purâṇa, the Dipavansa, the Mahâvanśa (where 34 is a mistake for 24), and in Buddhaghosha’s Arthakatha. Cf. Mahâv. p. lii.

2 The Vâyu-Purâṇa calls him Bhadrasâra, and assign 25 years to his reign.

3 Vishnu-purâṇa, p. 468. n. 21. This rests only on the authority of the commentator on the Vishnu-purâṇa; but Chandragupta’s relationship with Nanda is confirmed by the Mudrārakshasa.
Chandragupta is the same person as Sandrocyptus, or Sandracottus. This Sandracottus, according to Justin (xv. 4.), had seized the throne of India after the prefects of Alexander had been murdered (317 B.C.). Seleucus found him as sovereign of India when, after the taking of Babylon and the conquest of the Bactrians, he passed on into India. Seleucus, however, did not conquer Sandracottus, but after concluding a league with him, marched on to make war against Antigonus. This must have taken place before 312, for in that year, the beginning of the Seleucidan era, Seleucus had returned to Babylon.

We may suppose that Chandragupta became king about 315, and as both the Buddhist and Brahmanic writers allow him a reign of 24 years, the reign of Bindusâra would begin 291 B.C. This Bindusâra again had according to both Brahmanic and Buddhistic authors, a long reign of either twenty-five or twenty-eight years. Taking the latter statement as the better authenticated, we find that the probable beginning of Aśoka's reign took place 263 B.C.; his inauguration 259 B.C.; his Council either 246 or 242 B.C. At the time of Aśoka's inauguration, 218 years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of Buddha. Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B.C., and not 543 B.C. Again, at the time of Chandragupta's accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death. Hence Buddha was supposed to have died $315 + 162 = 477$ B.C. Or, to adopt a different line of argument, Kanishka, according to the evidence of coins,¹ must have reigned before and after the Christian

¹ Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, ii. 413.
era. In the Stūpa of Manikyāla, which was built by Kanishka¹, Roman coins have been found of as late a date as 33 B.C. How long before that date this Turushka or Indoscythian king may have assumed the sovereignty of India is difficult to determine. But under him the Northern Buddhists place a new Council which was presided over by Vasumitra², and the date of which is fixed at more than 400 after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa.³ If we add 400 and 33, and take into account that the Council took place more than 400 years after Buddha, and that Kanishka must have reigned some years before he built his Stūpa, we find again that 477 B.C. far more likely than 543, as the conventional date of Buddha’s death. All the dates, however, before Chandragupta are to be considered only as hypothetical. The second council under Kālāśoka is extremely problematical, and the date of Buddha’s death, as 218 before Aśoka, is worth no more than the date of Vijaya’s landing in Ceylon, fixed 218 before Devānāmpriya Tishya. Professor Lassen, in order to give an historical value to the date of 543 assigned to the death of Buddha, adds 66 years to the 22 years of the reign of the Nandas, and he quotes in support of this the authority of the Purāṇas which ascribe 88 years to the first Nanda. The Purāṇas, however, if taken in their true meaning, are entirely at variance with the Buddhist chronology before Chandragupta, and it is not allowable to use them as a corrective. As to

¹ A. Cunningham in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, xviii. p. 20.
² Asiatic Researches, xx. 297.
³ Nāgārjuna, who must be somewhat later than Vasumitra, is roughly placed 400 years after Buddha by the Northern, 500 after Buddha by the Southern Buddhists.
the chronology of the Ceylonese Buddhists, so far from becoming more perfect by the addition of those sixty-six years, it would really lose all consistency. The most useful portions of that chronology are the prophecies of Buddha and others, as to the number of years intervening between certain events. All these dates would have to be surrendered if we adopted Professor Lassen's correction. The great Council would not fall 218 years after Buddha's death, Chandragupta would not come to the throne 162 years after the Nirvāṇa: Buddha, in fact, as well as his apostles, would be convicted as false prophets by their very disciples.

Whatever changes may have to be introduced into the earlier chronology of India, nothing will ever shake the date of Chandragupta, the illegitimate successor of the Nandas, the ally of Seleucus, the grandfather of Asoka. That date is the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, and it is sufficient for the solution of the problem which occupies us at present. It enables us to place Kātyāyana before Chandragupta, the successor of the Nandas, or, at all events, the founder of a new dynasty, subsequent to the collapse of Alexander's empire. It enables us to fix chronologically an important period in the literature of India, the Sūtra period, and to extend its limits to at least three generations after Kātyāyana, to about 200 B.C. In doing so, I am far from maintaining that the evidence which connects the names of Kātyāyana and Nanda is unexceptionable. Nowhere except in Indian history should we feel justified in ascribing any weight to the vague traditions contained in popular stories which were written down more than a thousand years after the event. The most that can be said in favour of these traditions is, first,
that there was no object in inventing them; secondly, that they are not in contradiction with anything we know of the early history of India from other sources; and thirdly, that the date which from their suggestions we assign to the literary works of Kâtyâyana and his predecessors and successors, harmonises with the conclusions derived from the literature of the Brahmans, as to the probable growth and decay of the Hindu mind previous to the beginning of our era.

Although these chronological discussions have occupied so much of our space, it is necessary to add a few words of explanation. It might seem as if, in bringing together all the evidence available for our purpose, certain authorities had been overlooked which might have confirmed our conclusions. Professor Böhtlingk, whose researches with regard to the age of Pâñini deserve the highest credit, has endeavoured to fortify his conclusions by some additional evidence, derived from the works of Chinese travellers; and other writers on the same subject have followed his example, though they have given a different interpretation to the statements of those travellers, and have arrived at different results as to the probable date of Pâñini. The evidence of these Buddhist pilgrims, however, yields no real results, either for or against the date assigned to Pâñini and Kâtyâyana, and it is for this reason that it has been entirely discarded in the preceding pages. Professor Böhtlingk relied on the testimony of Hiouen-thsang, a Buddhist pilgrim who travelled through India in the years 629—645 after Christ, and whose travels have lately been translated by M. Stanislas Julien. There we read ¹:

¹ Mémoires sur les Contrées occidentales par Hiouen-thsang, liv. iv. p. 200.

At first sight this might seem a very definite statement as to the age of Kâtyâyana, placing him, if we accept the conventional date of Buddha’s death, about 243 B.C. But how can we prove that Hiouen-thsang was speaking of Kâtyâyana Vararuchi? It might be said that the Kâtyâyana, so simply mentioned by Hiouen-thsang, must be a person of note. Hiouen-thsang does not mention ancient authors except men of note, and the Kâtyâyana whose dates he gives in this place, cannot be a chance person of that name, but must be some well-known author.¹ It could hardly be meant for Mahâkâtyâyana, because he was the pupil of Buddha, and could not be placed 300 years after his Nirvâna. Besides Mahâkâtyâyana, there is certainly no person of the same name of greater

¹ Foucaux, Lalitavistara, pp. 3. 415. 417.
literary fame than Kâtyâyana Vararuchi. But the Kâtyâyana of whom Hiouen-thsang speaks was a Buddhist, and the author of a work on metaphysics, which Hiouen-thsang himself translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. Making all possible allowance for the tendency of later Buddhist writers to refer the authorship of certain works to names famous in ancient Brahmanic history, we can hardly build much on the supposition that the author meant by the Chinese traveller was the old Kâtyâyana Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pâñini. But, even if all these objections could be removed, what use could we make of Hiouen-thsang’s chronology, who follows the system of the Northern, and not of the Ceylonese, Buddhists, who makes Aśoka to reign 100 years after Buddha, Kanishka 400, the king of Himatala 600, and so on? We should first have to determine what, according to Hiouen-thsang, was the real date of Buddha’s Nirvâṇa, and what was the era used at his time in the monasteries of Northern India; whether he altered the dates, assigned by the Buddhists of India to the various events of their traditional history, according to the standard of the Chinese Buddhist chronology, or whether he simply repeated the dates, such as they were communicated to him in the different places which he visited. All these questions would have to be answered, and if they could be answered, we should in the end only arrive at the date of a Kâtyâyana, but not of the Kâtyâyana with whom we are concerned.

There is another passage in Hiouen-thsang which has been frequently discussed, and according to which it would seem that we should have to place Pâñini much later, and that Kâtyâyana, the critic of
Pāṇini, could not have lived before the first century after Christ.

M. Reinaud, in his excellent work, "Mémoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique sur l'Inde, antérieurement au milieu du XIe siècle, d'après les écrivains arabes, persans et chinois (Paris, 1849)," was the first to call attention to this passage. He says (p. 88.): "Ainsi que pour plusieurs autres personnages notables du bouddhisme, Hiouen-thsang attribue à Pāṇini deux existences, la première à une époque où la vie de l'homme était plus longue qu'à présent, et la seconde vers l'an 500 après la mort de Bouddha, c'est-à-dire au temps du second Vikramâditya, un siècle environ après le règne de Kanika. Dans sa première existence, Pāṇini professait le brahmanisme; mais dans la seconde il se convertit avec son père au bouddhisme." M. Reinaud pointed out with great sagacity the various consequences which would follow from such a statement, and he remarked besides that the fact of the Yavanâñi (lipi), the writing of the Ionians or the Greeks, being mentioned in Pāṇini, would likewise tend to place that grammarian rather later than was commonly supposed.

The same legend, thus partially translated from Hiouen-thsang, was made by Professor Weber the key-stone of a new system of Indian chronology. Admitting the double existence of Pāṇini, he says that his second existence falls 500 years after Buddha, or 100 after Kanishka, whom Hiouen-thsang places 400 after Buddha. The date assigned by Hiouen-thsang to Kanishka is rejected by Professor Weber. He takes, however, the real date of Kanishka, as established on numismatic evidence, about 40 A. D.; he then adds to it the hundred years, which, ac-
cording to the constructive chronology of the Northern Buddhists, elapsed between Kanishka and Pàñini, and thus deduces 140 A.D. as a new date for Pàñini.

Without entering into the merits of these calculations, we are enabled by the publication of the complete translation of Hiouen-thsang to show that, in reality, the Chinese pilgrim never placed Pàñini so late as 500 after Buddha. On the contrary, he represents the reputation of that old grammarian as firmly established at that time, and his grammar as the grammar then taught to all children. I subjoin the extracts from Hiouen-thsang:

"Après avoir fait environ vingt li au nord-ouest de la ville de Ou-to-kia-han-t’cha (Uḍakhāṇḍa ?), il arriva à la ville de P’o-lo-tou-lo (Śālātura) qui donna le jour au Rishi Po-ni-ni (Pàñini), auteur du Traité Ching-ming-lun (Vyākaraṇam).

"Dans la haute antiquité, les mots de la langue étaient extrêmement nombreux; mais quand le monde eut été détruit, l’univers se trouva vide et désert. Des dieux d’une longévité extraordinaire descendent sur la terre pour servir de guides aux peuples. Telle fut l’origine des lettres et des livres. À partir de cette époque, leur source s’agrandit et dépassa les bornes. Le dieu Fan (Brahman) et le roi du ciel (Indra) établirent des règles et se confor- mèrent au temps. Des Rishis hérétiques composèrent chacun des mots. Les hommes les prirent pour modèles, continuèrent leur œuvre, et travaillèrent à l’envi pour en conserver la tradition; mais les étudiants faisaient de vains efforts, et il leur était difficile d’en approfondir le sens.

"À l’époque où la vie des hommes était réduite à cent ans, on vit paraître le Rishi Po-ni-ni (Pàñini),
qui était instruit dès sa naissance et possédait un vaste savoir. Affligé de l'ignorance du siècle, il voulut retrancher les notions vagues et fausses, débarrasser la langue des mots superflus et en fixer les lois. Comme il voyageait pour faire des recherches et s'instruire, il rencontra le dieu Tseu-thsaï (Īśvara Deva), et lui exposa le plan de l'ouvrage qu'il méditait.

"'A merveille!' lui dit le dieu Tseu-Thsaï (Īśvara Deva); 'vous pouvez compter sur mon secours.'

"Après avoir reçu ses instructions, le Rishi se retira. Il se livra alors à des recherches profondes, et déploya toute la vigueur de son esprit. Il recueillit une multitude d'expressions, et composa un livre de mots1 qui renfermait mille ślokas; chaque śloka était de trente-deux syllabes. Il sonda, jusqu'à leurs dernières limites, les connaissances anciennes et nouvelles, et ayant rassemblé, dans cet ouvrage, les lettres et les mots, il le mit sous une enveloppe cachetée et le présenta au roi, qui en conçut autant d'estime que d'admiration. Il rendit un décret qui ordonnait à tous ses sujets de l'étudier et de l'enseigner aux autres. Il ajouta que quiconque pourrait le réciter, d'un bout à l'autre, recevrait, pour récompense, mille pièces d'or. De là vient que, grâce aux leçons successives des maîtres, cet ouvrage est encore aujourd'hui en grand honneur. C'est pourquoi les Brâhmanes de cette ville ont une science solide et des talents élevés, et se distinguent à la fois par l'étendue

1 "Livre de mots" is intended as the title of Pāṇini's grammar, which was "Śabdānuśāsanam." This title is left out in the Calcutta edition, and likewise in Professor Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini. See Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vii. 162.
de leurs connaissances et la richesse de leur mémoire.

"Dans la ville de P'o-lo-tou-lo (lisez So-lo-tou-lo — Šâlåṭara), il y a un Stûpa. Ce fut en cet endroit qu'un Lo-han (un Arhat) convertit un disciple de Po-ni-ni (Pâñini). Cinq cents ans après que Jou-laï (le Tathâgata) eut quitté le monde, il y eut un grand 'O-lo-han (Arhat) qui, venant du royaume de Kia-chi-mi-lo (Cachemire), voyageait pour convertir les hommes. Quand il fut arrivé dans ce pays, il vit un Fan-tchi (un Brahmacârin) occupé à fouetter un petit garçon qu'il instruisait. 'Pourquoi maltraitez-vous cet enfant?' dit l'Arhat au Fan-tchi (Brahmacârin).

"'Je lui fais étudier,' répondit-il, 'le Traité de la Science des Sons (Ching-ming—Vyâkaraṇam), mais il ne fait aucun progrès.'

"L'Arhat se dérida et laissa échapper un sourire. Le vieux Fan-tchi (Brahmacârin) lui dit: 'Les Cha-men (Sramaṇas) ont un cœur affectueux et compatissant, et s'apitoient sur les créatures qui souffrent. L'homme plein d'humanité vient de sourire tout à l'heure; je désirerais en connaître la cause.'

"'Il n'est pas difficile de vous l'apprendre,' répondit l'Arhat, 'mais je crains de faire naître en vous un doute d'incrédulité. Vous avez, sans doute, entendu dire qu'un Rishi, nommé Po-ni-ni (Pâñini) a composé le Traité Ching-ming-lun (Vyâkaraṇam), et qu'il l'a laissé, après lui, pour l'instruction du monde.' Le Po-lo-men (le Brâhmane) lui dit: 'Les enfants de cette ville, qui sont tous ses disciples, révèrent sa vertu, et la statue, élevée en son honneur, subsiste encore aujourd'hui.'

"'Eh bien!' repartit l'Arhat, 'cet enfant, à qui
vous avez donné le jour, est précisément ce Rishi. (Dans sa vie antérieure,) il employait sa forte mémoire à étudier les livres profanes; il ne parlait que des traités hérétiques et ne cherchait point la vérité. Son esprit et sa science déperirent, et il parcourut, sans s'arrêter, le cercle de la vie et de la mort. Grâce à un reste de vertu, il a obtenu de devenir votre fils bien-aimé. Mais les livres profanes et l'éloquence du siècle ne donnent que des peines inutiles. Pourrait-on les comparer aux saintes instructions de Jou-laï (du Tathâgata), qui, par une influence secrète procurent l'intelligence et le bonheur?

"Jadis, sur les bords de la mer du midi, il y avait un arbre desséché dont le tronc creux donnait asile à cinq cents chauves-souris. Des marchands s'arrêtèrent un jour au pied de cet arbre. Comme il régnait alors un vent glacial, ces hommes, qui étaient tourmentés par la faim et le froid, amassèrent du bois et des broussailles et allumèrent du feu au pied de l'arbre. La flamme s'accrut par degrés et embrasa bientôt l'arbre desséché.

"Dans ce moment, il y eut un des marchands qui, après le milieu de la nuit, se mit à lire, à haute voix, le Recueil de l'O-pi-ta-mo (de l'Abhidharma). Les chauves-souris, quoique tourmentées par l'ardeur du feu, écoutèrent avec amour les accents de la loi, supportèrent la douleur sans sortir de leur retraite, et y terminèrent leur vie. En conséquence de cette conduite vertueuse, elles obtinrent de renaître dans la classe des hommes. Elles quittèrent la famille, se livrèrent à l'étude, et, grâce aux accents de la loi, qu'elles avaient jadis entendus, elles acquièrent une rare intelligence, obtinrent toutes ensemble la dignité d'Arhat, et cultivèrent, de siècle en siècle, le champ
du bonheur. Dans ces derniers temps, le roi Kia-ni-se-kia (Kanishka) et l'honorable Hie (Ārya Pārśvika) convoquèrent cinq cents sages dans le royaume de Kia-chi-mi-lo (Cachemire), et composèrent le Pi-po-cha-lun (le Vibhāṣā-śāstra). Tous ces sages étaient les cinq cents chauves-souris qui habitaient jadis le creux de l'arbre desséché. Quoique j'aie un esprit borné, j'étais moi-même l'une d'elles. Mais les hommes différaient entre eux par la supériorité ou la médiocrité de leur esprit; les uns prênnent leur essor, tandis que les autres rampent dans l'obscurité. Maintenant, ô homme plein d'humanité, il faut que vous permettiez à votre fils bien-aimé de quitter la famille. En quittant la famille (en embrassant la vie religieuse), on acquiert des mérites ineffables.'

"Lorsque l'Arhat eut achevé ces paroles, il donna une preuve de sa puissance divine en disparaissant à l'instant même.

"Le Brâhmane se sentit pénétré de foi et de respect, et après avoir fait éclater son admiration, il alla raconter cet événement dans tout le voisinage. Il permit aussitôt à son fils d'embrasser la vie religieuse et de se livrer à l'étude. Lui-même se convertit immédiatement, et montra la plus grande estime pour les trois Précieux. Les hommes de son village suivirent son exemple, et, aujourd'hui encore, les habitants s'affermissent de jour en jour dans la foi.

"En partant au nord de la ville de Ou-to-kia-han-t'cha (Udakhânda?), il franchit des montagnes, traversa des vallées, et, après avoir fait environ six cents li, il arriva au royaume de Ou-tchang-na\(^1\) (Udyâna).\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Inde du nord.

\(^2\) Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, traduits du Sanscrit.
Whatever the historical value of this legend may be, it is quite clear that it lends no support of any kind to the opinion of those who would place the grammarian Pāṇini 500 years after Buddha, or 100 years after Kanishka.

It is possible that the inquiries into the ancient literature of Buddhism, particularly in China, may bring to light some new dates, and help us in unravelling the chronological traditions of the Brahmins of India. The services already rendered to Sanskrit archaeology by the publications of M. Stanislas Julien are of the highest value, and they hold out the promise of a still larger harvest; but for the present we must be satisfied with what we possess, and we must guard most carefully against rash conclusions, derived from evidence that would break down under the slightest pressure. Even without the support which it was attempted to derive from Hiouen-thsang, Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology; and the connection between Kātyāyana and his predecessors and successors, supported as it is not only by tradition but by the character of their works which we still possess, supplies the strongest confirmation of our chronological calculations. As to other works of the Sūtra period, there are no doubt many, the date of which cannot be fixed by any external evidence. Tradition is completely silent as to the age of many of their authors. With regard to them

we must trust, at least for the present, to the similarity of their style and character with the writings of those authors whose age has been fixed. It is possible that the works of earlier authors quoted by Yāska and Pāṇini and others might still come to light, if any systematic search for ancient MSS. was made in different parts of India. Many works are quoted by Sāyaṇa, Devarāja, Ujjvaladatta, and other modern writers, which are not to be found in any European Library. Some of them may still be recovered.\(^1\) We must not, however, expect too much. Vast as the ancient literature of India has been, we must bear in mind that part of it existed in oral tradition only, and was never consigned to writing. In India, where before the time of Pāṇini we have no evidence of any written literature, it by no means follows that, because an early Rishi is quoted in support of a theory, whether philosophical or grammatical, there ever existed a work written by him with pen and ink. His doctrines were handed down from generation to generation; but, once erased from the tablets of memory, they could never be recovered.

In the Sūtras which we still possess, it is most important to observe the gradual change of style. Śaunaka’s style, when compared with that of his successors, is natural, both in prose and verse. His prose more particularly runs sometimes so easily and is so free from the artificial contrivances of the later Sūtras, that it seems a mistake to apply to it the

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\(^1\) According to the opinion of M. Fitz-Edward Hall, a scholar of the most extensive acquaintance with Sanskrit literature, the number of distinct Sanskrit works in existence is, probably, not less than ten thousand. (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1858, p. 305.)
name of Sûtra. It is not unlikely that this title was assigned to his works at a time when its meaning had not yet been restricted either to the long "yarns" of the Buddhists or to the compendious paragraphs of the Brahmans, and we may well believe the statement that Šaunaka's works on the ceremonial resembled more the Brâhmaṇas than the later Sûtras. Âśvalâyana's style is still intelligible, and less cramped by far than the style of the Nirukta, a work commonly ascribed to Yâska, the collector of the Nighaṇṭus. Pâṇini is more artificial. He is no longer writing and composing, but he squeezes and distils his thoughts, and puts them before us in a form which hardly deserves the name of style. Kâtyâyana is still more algebraic; but it is in Pingala that the absurdity of the Sûtras becomes complete. If any writers succeeded him, they could hardly have excelled him in enigmatic obscurity, and we may well believe that he was one of the last writers of Sûtras. The authors of the Parisiṣṭas, unwilling to wear the strait-jacket of the Sûtrakâras, and unable to invent a more appropriate dress, adopted the slovenly metre of epic poetry, well adapted for legendary narration, but unfit for scientific discussion.
CHAPTER II.

THE BRĀHMAṆA PERIOD.

Having assigned to the Sūtra literature of India the wide limits of a period extending from 600 to 200 B.C., we have now to examine another and confessedly more ancient class of Vedic writings, differing in style both from the Sūtras, which are posterior, and from the Mantras, which are anterior to them. These are called by the comprehensive name of Brāhmaṇas. But as between the Sūtras and the later Sanskrit literature we discovered a connecting link in the writings known under the name of Pariśishṭas, so we meet on the frontier between the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra literature, with a class of works, intermediate between the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, which claim to be considered first. These are the Āraṇyakas, or “The Treatises of the Forest.”

THE ĀRAṆYAKAS.

The Āraṇyakas are so called, as Sāyaṇa informs us, because they had to be read in the forest.¹ It

¹ Sāyaṇa on the Taittiriyaāraṇyaka. चरणाध्यगनदितदा-रणकमितीयते। चरणे तद्धीथिुतेऽत्यवं वाक्यं प्रचच्छते॥ And again, पद्दरणां सवं नामती ग्रोतमच्छति॥ Parts of the Taittiriyaāraṇyaka are exempted from the restriction that they
might almost seem as if they were intended for the 
Vanaprasthas only, people who, after having per-
formed all the duties of a student and a householder,
retire from the world to the forest to end their days 
in the contemplation of the deity. Thus it is said 
in the Arûnikopanishad, that the Sannyásin, the man 
who no longer recites the Mantras and no longer 
performs sacrifices, is bound to read, out of all the 
Vedas, only the Âraṇyaka or the Upanishad. In 
several instances the Âraṇyakas form part of the 
Brâhmaṇas, and they are thus made to share the 
authority of Šruti or revelation. We have seen, 
however, that part of an Âraṇyaka was ascribed to 
a human author, to Âśvalâyana. Another part is 
quoted by Sâyaṇa, in his Commentary on the Rig-
veda ¹, as being a Sûtra work of Šaunaka's. Cole-
brooke found, in one transcript of this Âraṇyaka, 
that it was ascribed to Âśvalâyana; but he remarks, 
"probably by an error of the transcriber." This is 
not the case; and it is a good proof of a certain 
critical conscience even amongst the orthodox dog-

should be read in the forest only: नाराण्याधीतिनिनयमः सावित्री- 
चादिचतुष्ये।; and hence they are ranged with the Brâhmaṇas, 
आतसङ्कुद्राण्यायं दुस्तं वाख्यातममयादः॥ 

¹ P. 112. पंचमारण्यक श्रीशिवहतचाशीतिरिति खंडे श्री- 
नकेन सुचितं सुह्रुपपकुमूत्य दलि चीण्ड्रं सातसिं रचिय- 
मिति दे दलि। These words occur in the Aitareyârânyaka, v. 2. 
11. सुह्रुपपकुमूत्य दलि चीण्ड्रं सातसिं रचियमिति सूक्ते। Other passages quoted by Sâyaṇa from this Âraṇyaka can always 
be identified in the Aitareyârânyaka. Cf. Colebrooke, Misc. 
Essays, i. 46.
matists of the Hindus, that they acknowledged a certain difference between the Brâhmanas and Āraṇyakas, although it was of great importance to them, particularly in their orthodox philosophy, to be able to appeal to passages from the Āraṇyakas as invested with a sacred authority. The most important Upanishads, which are full of philosophy and theology, form part of the Āraṇyakas," and particularly in later times the Āraṇyaka was considered the quintessence of the Vedas.1 Nevertheless it is acknowledged by Indian authors2 that a mistake may be made, and the work of a human author may be erroneously received as a part of the sacred book by those who are unacquainted with its true origin. An instance, they say, occurs among those who use the Bahurjī, a śâkhā of the Rig-veda, by whom a ritual of Áśvalâyana has been admitted, under the title of the fifth Āraṇyaka, as a part of the Rig-veda.

That the Āraṇyakas presuppose the existence of the Brâhmanas may be clearly seen from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, of which we possess now a complete edition by Dr. Röer, of Calcutta, together with two

1 Mahâbhârata i. 258.: "This body of the Mahâbhârata (the index) is truth and immortality; it is like new butter from curds, like the Brahman among men, like the Āraṇyaka from the Vedas, like nectar from medicinal plants, like the sea, the best among lakes, like the cow, the highest among animals." Thus the Upanishad is called the essence of the Veda; Śatap.-brâhm. x. 3. 5. 12.

2 This is taken from Colebrooke's extracts from the Pûrvamimânsâ; a system of philosophy of which it would be most desirable to have a complete edition. (Miscellaneous Essays, i. 307.) Dr. Goldstücker, of Königsberg, has collected large materials for such a work; and I trust he will shortly find an opportunity of publishing the important results of his studies.
Sanskrit commentaries. If we take for instance the story of Janaka, who promised a large prize to the wisest Brahman at his sacrifice, and compare this story, as it is given in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (xi. 4. 6.) with the third Adhyāya of the Brihadāranyaka where the same subject occurs, we find in the Āraṇyaka all the details given almost in the same words as in the Brāhmaṇa, but enlarged with so many additions, particularly with respect to the philosophical disquisitions which take place between Yājnavalkya and the other Brahmanas, that we cannot hesitate for a moment to consider the Āraṇyaka as an enlargement upon the Brāhmaṇa.

The chief interest which the Āraṇyakas possess at the present moment consists in their philosophy. The philosophical chapters well known under the name of Upanishads are almost the only portion of Vedic literature which is extensively read to this day. They contain, or are supposed to contain, the highest authority on which the various systems of philosophy in India rest. Not only the Vedānta philosopher, who, by his very name, professes his faith in the ends and objects of the Veda,¹ but the Sānkhya, the Vaiśeksha, the Nyāya, and Yoga philosophers, all pretend to find in the Upanishads some warranty for their tenets, however antagonistic in their bearing. The same applies to the numerous sects that have existed and still exist in India. Their founders, if they have

¹ Vedānta is used, but not yet in its technical sense, Taittirīya-āraṇyaka, x. 12.; a verse frequently repeated elsewhere.

वेदान्तविद्वान् कृत्यसंनिश्चितार्थाः: सम्यामयोगायात्तथ: श्रुद्धसुच्चाः।
ते त्रान्तलोकेषु प्रांकाले परामृता: परिसुच्चितं स्मृत॥
any pretensions to orthodoxy, invariably appeal to some passage in the Upanishads in order to substantiate their own reasonings. Now it is true that in the Upanishads themselves there is so much freedom and breadth of thought that it is not difficult to find in them some authority for almost any shade of philosophical opinion. The old Upanishads did not pretend to give more than "guesses at truth," and when, in course of time, they became invested with an inspired character, they allowed great latitude to those who professed to believe in them as revelation. Yet this was not sufficient for the rank growth of philosophical doctrines during the latter ages of Indian history; and when none of the ancient Upanishads could be found to suit the purpose, the founders of new sects had no scruple and no difficulty in composing new Upanishads of their own. This accounts for the large and ever growing number of these treatises. Every new collection of MSS., every new list of Upanishads given by native writers, adds to the number of those which were known before; and the most modern compilations seem now to enjoy the same authority as the really genuine treatises.

The original Upanishads had their place in the Aranyakas and Brâhmaṇas. There is only one instance of a Sanhitâ containing Upanishads—the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ, which comprises the Îśa-upanishad, forming the 40th book, and the Śivasankalpa, forming part of the 34th book. This, however, so far from proving the greater antiquity of that Upanishad, only serves to confirm the modern date of the whole collection known under the name of Vâjasa-
neyi-sanhíta. But though the proper place of the genuine Upanishads was in the Brâhmaṇas, and here chiefly in those secondary portions commonly called Āranyakas, yet in later times, the Upanishads obtained a more independent position, and though they still professed to belong more particularly to one or the other of the four Vedas, that relationship became very lax and changeable.

The true etymological meaning of the word Upanishad had been forgotten in India. It is generally explained by rahasya, or guhyā ādesāh, mystery; and an artificial etymology is given, according to which Upanishad would mean "destruction of passion or ignorance, by means of divine revelation." The original significatio of the word, however, must have been that of sitting down near somebody in order to listen, or in order to meditate and worship. Thus we find upa+ sad used in the sense of sitting and worshipping:

Rv. ix. 11. 6.—Námasā īt āpa śiḍata, "Approach him with praise."

Rv. x. 73. 11.—Vāyāḥ suparnāḥ āpa sedur Iṅdram priyāmedhāḥ rishayāḥ nāḍhamānāḥ, "The poets with good thoughts have approached Indra begging, like birds with beautiful wings."

The root ās, which has the same meaning as sad, to sit, if joined with the preposition upa, expresses the same idea as upa sad, i. e. to approach respectfully, to worship (Rv. x. 153. 1). It is frequently used to express the position which the pupil occupies

1 Mahidhara maintains that some parts of the Upanishad were aimed at the Buddhists, who denied the existence of an intelligent Self, called life a water bubble, and knowledge intoxication.

2 Colebrooke, Essays, i. 92.
when listening to his teacher,¹ and it clearly expresses a position of inferiority in such passages as, Śat.-brāhmaṇa, i. 3. 4. 15: “tasmād uparyāsinam kshatriyam adhastād imāḥ prajā upāsate,” “therefore those people below (the Viṣ or Vaiśyas) sit under, or pay respect to the Kshatriya who sits above.” Still more decisive is another passage in the same work (ix. 4. 3. 3), where upanishādin is used in the sense of subject: “kshatrāya tad viśam adhastād upanishādīnīm karoti,” “he thus makes the Viṣ below subject to the Kshatriya.” There can be little doubt therefore that Upanishad meant originally the act of sitting down near a teacher,² of submissively listening to him; and it is easy to trace the steps by which it came to mean implicit faith,³ and, at last, truth or divine revelation.

The songs of the Veda contained but little of philosophy or theosophy, and what the Brahmans call the higher knowledge is not to be sought for in the hymns of the Rishis. “What,⁴ says the author of the Śvetāsvatara-upanishad, “what shall a man do with the hymns, who does not know that eternal word of the hymns in the highest heaven, that in which all the gods are absorbed? Those who know it, they are blessed.” The same sentiment is fre-

¹ Pān. iii. 4. 72. comment.: Upāsito gurum bhavān; and upāsito gurur bhavatā.
² In this sense Upanishad is frequently used in the plural, and signifies sessions.
³ Chhāndogya-upanishad, i. 1. 9. यदेव विद्यया करोति अद्वैथोपनिषदः तदेव वीर्यवचनः। “What a man performs with knowledge, trust, and faith, that is effectual.”
quently expressed, but nowhere with greater force than in a passage of the Kaṭha-upanishad\(^1\), a passage most remarkable in many respects. "That divine Self," the poet says, "is not to be grasped by tradition\(^2\), nor by understanding, nor by all revelation; by him whom He himself chooses, by him alone is He to be grasped; that Self chooses his body as his own." Rammohun Roy when he visited the British Museum and found the late Dr. Rosen engaged in preparing an edition of the hymns of the Veda, expressed his surprise at so useless an undertaking. But the same philosopher looked upon the Upanishads as worthy to become the foundation of a new religion, and he published several of them himself with notes and translations. "The adoration of the invisible Supreme Being," he writes, "is exclusively prescribed by the Upanishads or the principal parts of the Veda, and also by the Vedant," and if other portions of the Veda seem to be in contradiction with the pure doctrine of the Upanishads, he hints that the whole work must not only be stripped of its authority, but looked upon as altogether unintelligible.\(^3\)

The early Hindus did not find any difficulty in reconciling the most different and sometimes contradictory opinions in their search after truth; and a most extraordinary medley of oracular sayings might be collected from the Upanishads, even from those which are genuine and comparatively ancient, all tending to elucidate the darkest points of philosophy and religion, the creation of the world, the nature of

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1 II. 23. It is also found in the Muṇḍaka.

2 Pravachana, tradition, the Brāhmaṇas; see p. 109. Commentary: "ekavedasvikaranena," "by learning one Veda."

3 Translation of the Kena-upanishad by Rammohun Roy, Calcutta, 1816, p. 6.
God, the relation of man to God, and similar subjects. That one statement should be contradicted by another seems never to have been felt as any serious difficulty. Thus we read in the first verse of the Śvetāśvatara-upanishad: “Is Brahman the cause? Whence are we born? By what do we live? Where do we go? At whose command do we walk after the Law, in happiness and misery? Is Time the cause, or Nature, or Law, or Chance, or the Elements? Is Man to be taken as the source of all? Nor is it their union, because there must be an independent Self, and even that independent Self has no power over that which causes happiness and pain.”

The answers returned to such questions are naturally vague and various. Thus Mādhava in his Commentary on Parāśara, quotes first from the Bahvricha-upanishad. “In the beginning this (world) was Self alone, there was nothing else winking. He thought, Let me create the worlds, and he created these worlds.” From this it would follow that the absolute Self was supposed to have created everything out of nothing. But immediately afterwards Mādhava quotes from another Upanishad, the Śvetāśvatara (IV. 10.), where Māyā or delusion is called the principle, and the Great Lord himself, the deluded. This is evidently an

1 किं कारणं तद्भवं कुन्त: स्त्र जाता जीवाम केन कच संग्रहितिधिताः।
   अधिधिताः केन सुखेते रपुः वरामहे त्रद्भविदो वच्चां।
   कालः स्थावो नियतिचय्युत्त्वम् भुतानि योधिनि युध्यत्वं चित्तितियाः।
   संयोग एवं न लाभात्मावादात्मायाणीश: सुखतु: ख्चेति।

2 मायां तु प्रकृति विद्यानामायिनं तु महेश्वरं।
   तत्सात्यत्वमाभ्यूतेतु भाषं सर्वभिर्मितं जगत्।

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allusion to Sànkhya doctrines, but Mådhava explains it in a different sense. He maintains that here also the Divine Self is meant by the Great Lord, and that Delusion is only one of his powers, as heat is a power of fire. And he appeals to another passage in the same Upanishad (I. 3.), where it is said “that sages endowed with meditation and intuition, saw the power of the Divine Self, concealed by his own qualities.” This same interpretation is adopted in the Sùtras of the Vedânta-philosophy, but it by no means follows that therefore it is the true one. The principal interest of the older Upanishads consists in the absence of that systematic uniformity which we find in the later systems of philosophy, and it is to be regretted that nearly all scholars who have translated portions of the Upanishads have allowed themselves to be guided by the Brahmanic commentators. The commentators wrote all, more or less, under the influence of philosophical systems, and thought themselves justified in explaining the Upanishads in such a manner that they should agree, even in the most minute points, with the Sùtras of the philosophical schools. But the authors of the Upanishads were poets rather than philosophers. Truth itself assumed, in their eyes, an aspect varying ac-

\[1\] नून श्रेष्ठायतमरोपनिविष्टि मायाया: प्रश्नितलं परमात्म- 
नक्षत्रियहति शूचि मायाम तु इति। नायं द्रोषः। मा- 
यायां: परमात्मशन्तिलेन शक्तिमतो शामन्ति: प्रश्नितलाव- 
श्रमभावात्। दृश्नशक्तियुक्तेः श्री द्राक्षकले यवहारद श्रेष्नात्। 
श्रात्मशिलं च मायायास्तुस्मेविनिविष्टि श्रुतं तेऽः धान- 
योगानुगता अपश्चेष्वात्मश्रिकं स्वगुणरिणीगृढामिति।
cording to their own feelings and misgivings. We saw that the Bahvricha-upanishad placed Ātman or the Self at the beginning of all things. The Taittiriya-upanishad speaks of Brahman the true, omniscient, and infinite, and derives from it the ether, the air, fire, water, earth, plants, food, seed, and body. This, in the eyes of the later commentators, may appear substantially the same doctrine as that of the Bahvricha-upanishad. But to us it is of interest to mark the difference, and to watch the various attempts which were made to express the idea of a creator. The Bahvrichas, by calling him Ātman in the masculine, showed that they were impressed more strongly with the idea of a personal Being; the Taittiriyas, speaking of Brahman as neuter, gave more prominence to the idea of a Power. It was an epoch in the history of the human mind when the identity of the masculine Self and the neutral Brahman was for the first time perceived, and the name of the discoverer has not been forgotten. It was Śaṅḍilya who declared that the Self within our heart is Brahman (Chhand.-up. iii. 4. 14. p. 208.), and this tenet, somewhat amplified, is quoted as “Śaṅḍilya’s wisdom” by the author of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (x. 6. 3.). Other sages among the Chhandogas again

1 Bibl. Ind. vii. 56.

2 Purusha is body rather than man. Mādhava says: तच पुच्छशब्देन शर:पाषायाश्वलिस्तुको देहोभिमिधीयते। य च देहो ब्रह्मादिकांवांतो ब्रह्मकारः॥

3 Chhând.-up. vi. 2.; Bibl. Ind. iii. 394. बचेव सोमेदसमय आयोत् एकमदितीयं। नैदेवत वक्ख खां प्रजाचिते।
speak simply of a *Sat*, or a Being, which desired to be many, and created the light, the light flowing into water, the water into food, and so on. The Ātharvanikas speak of the Creator as *Akshara*, and it must remain doubtful whether they connected with this word the idea of the Indestructible or of *Element*.  

The term used by the Vājasaneyins is *Avyākṛita*, or the Undeveloped. Every one of these terms had originally a meaning of its own, and though in later times they may all be used synonymously, they ought to be kept distinct when we are tracing the history of the human mind. Some of the ancient sages, after having arrived at the idea of *Avyākṛita*, Undeveloped, went even beyond, and instead of the *Sat* or ṭो ṍज, they postulated an *Asat*, ṭो मु भो, as the beginning of all things. Thus we read in the Chhândogya-upanishad:

> "And some say, in the beginning there was Asat (not being), alone, without a second; and from this *Asat* might the *Sat* be born."

But in spite of the great variety of philosophical thought on this and similar subjects that was to be found in the Upanishads, the want of new Upanishads was felt by the sects which sprang up in every part of

1 See Goldstücker's Dictionary, s.v. Madhava says: समुपत्ति वा न चरति तथा परमात्मानमाच्छिते।

2 Chhând.-up. vi. 1. तङ्क त्राङ्करसिद्धवेद्य त्रांश्चितकं-वाचित्तीयं तथ्यादेशत: सम्बाधिते।
India. The old Upanishads, however, were not rejected, and to the present day the ten which are chiefly studied in Bengal are the Brihadârânyaka, the Aitareya, Chhândogya, Taittirîya, Íśa, Kena, Katha, Praśna, Muṇḍaka and Mândûkya-upanishads. Every one of these has been published, and we possess an excellent edition both of text and commentary by Dr. Röer in the volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica. The whole number of Upanishads, however, known to be or to have been in existence, is much larger. It was commonly stated at 62, but it has lately been brought as high as 108, and even higher. Some of the titles given in various lists belong most likely to smaller portions of certain Upanishads, and these extracts, adopted by some sect or other, were afterwards quoted as independent treatises. Many are of very modern origin, and have no right to be mentioned in connection with Vedic literature. In order, however, to have this whole mass of literature together, every work that claims the title of Upanishad on any ground whatsoever, has been incorporated in an alphabetical list, which will be printed as an Appendix. There are several works which had to be consulted in drawing up this list. First, Anquetil Duperron’s Oupnekhat, a

1 Ward, A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, ii. 61.
2 Ward, loc. cit. p. 61.
3 W. Elliot, Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, 1851, p. 607.
4 The Maitreyi-upanishad (29. 89.) is probably meant for the Dialogue between Yâjñavalkya and Maitreyi in the Brihadârânyaka. The Śândilya-upanishad (57. 105.) seems to be a portion of the Chhândogya-upanishad.
5 Oupnekhat, id est, Secretum tegendum: opus ipsa in India rarissimum continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theologicae et philosophicae doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris, Rak
work which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin. [The author of this Persian translation is supposed to be Dārā Shākoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, and pupil of Babu Lal; but in reality the work seems to have been performed by several Pandits, whom that enlightened prince called from Benares to Delhi, ordering them to translate some of their sacred works into Persian. Three years after the accomplishment of their work, their patron was put to death by his brother Aurung-


Duperron received a MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads from M. Gentil, the French resident at the court of Soudjaëddaulah. It was brought from Bengal to France by M. Bernier, in the year 1775. Duperron, after receiving another MS., collated the two, and translated the Persian into French (not published) and into literal Latin.

The Persian translation, of which several other MSS. exist, bears the following title in Duperron's translation: “Hanc interpretationem τῶν Ουπνεκναθαί quorumvis quatuor librorum Beid, quod, designatum cum secreto magno (per secretum magnum) est, et integrum cognitionem luminis luminum, hic Fakir sine tristitia (Sultan) Mohammed Dara Schakoh ipse, cum significatione recta, cum sinceritate, in tempore sex mensium, (postremo die, secundo τῶν Schonbeh, vigesimo,) sexto mensis τῶν Ramazzan, anno 1067 τῶν Hedjri (Christi, 1657) in urbe Delhi, in mansione nakhe noudeh, cum absolutione ad finem fecit pervenire.”

The MS. was copied by Atma Ram in the year 1767 A.D. Duperron adds: Absolutum est hoc Apographum versionis Latinae τῶν quinquaginta Oupnekhatha, ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samscreticis vocabulis intermixto, factae, die 9 Octobris, 1795, 18 Brumaire, anni 4. Reipubl. Gall. Parisiis.
Secondly, there is Colebrooke's Essay on the Vedas, which gives a more complete enumeration of the Upanishads. Thirdly, Weber's Analysis of Duperro"n's translation of the Upanishads, in his "Indian Studies." Fourthly, an article by Mr. W. Elliot in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851, giving an account of Upanishads known in the South of India, among the Telugu Brahmans. Fifthly, Dr. Röer's introductions to the various Upanishads, edited and translated by him in the volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica. There are other works, the well-known pamphlets of Rammohun Roy, the Essays of Pauthier, Poley, d'Eckstein, Windischmann, and the publications of the Tattvabodhini Society, all of which had to be consulted in drawing up our own alphabetical list.

The names of the authors of the principal Upanishads² are unknown. This is owing to the very character of these works. They contain authoritative statements on the highest questions, and such statements would lose all authority if they were represented to the people at large as the result of human reasoning and imagination. They, in a higher degree than any other part of the Vedas, must

1 Elphinstone, History of India, ii. 446. An earlier instance of a translation of the Upanishads is mentioned in Elliot's Historians of India, i. 260. "Abdul Kâdir, author of the Tarihkh-badaum, who died at the close of the 16th century, says that he was called upon to translate the Ātharvaṇa-veda from the Hindi, which he excused himself from doing on account of the exceeding difficulty of the style and abstruseness of meaning; upon which the task devolved on Hájí Ibrahim Sirhindi, who accomplished it satisfactorily."

2 Some of the most modern Upanishads are confessedly the works of Gauḍapāda, Śankara, and other more recent philosophers.
have been considered from the very beginning as revelation, and as directly communicated to the world by the Supreme Spirit. This sentiment is clearly expressed in the beginning of the Munḍaka-upanishad: "Brahman (masc.), the creator of the universe, the preserver of the world, appeared first among the gods. He taught the knowledge of Brahman (neuter), the foundation of all knowledge, to Atharvan, his eldest son. Atharvan long ago imparted the knowledge of Brahman, which Brahman had explained to him, to Angis; he told it to Satyavâha Bhâradvâja, Bhâradvâja in succession to Angiras. Saunaka, the great lord, approached Angiras respectfully, and asked: 'What is it through which, if known, all this becomes known?'"¹ It is stated that the text of the Upanishads, after it had once been revealed, was never affected by differences, arising from the oral tradition of various Šâkhâs; and in one instance where various texts of the same Upanishad have been noted by the Brahmans, they are ascribed to various localities, but not to various Šâkhâs. Each Šâkhâ, however, was supposed to be possessed of an Upanishad, and the Muktikâ states boldly that, as there are 1180 Šâkhâs, there ought properly to be as many Upanishads.

Another reason why we never hear of the authors of Upanishads as we hear of the Rishis of hymns is that in many instances the Upanishads are mere compilations from other works. Verses from the hymns are incorporated into various Upanishads, and stories originally propounded in the Brâhmanaṇas, are enlarged upon by the compilers of these philosophical tracts.

¹ See Munḍaka-up. ed. Röer.
In cases only where the Upanishads form part of an Aranyaka, the reputed authors of the larger works might likewise be considered as the authors of the Upanishads. This authorship, however, is different from the authorship of a Gaudapada and Shankara. As the Brihadaranyakas forms part of the Satapatha-brahmana, Yajnavalkya, the reputed author of the Brähmaṇa, might well be considered as the author of the Upanishad known by the name of Brihadaranyakas. It forms the last five Prapāthakas of the 14th book of the Satapatha-brahmana in the Mādhyandina-sākhā, whereas in the Kānva-sākhā the whole of the 17th book is comprised under the name of Upanishad. Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya is mentioned towards the end of the Brihadaranyakas as the person who received the whole of the White Yajur-veda from Aditya or the Sun. His influential position at the court of Janaka, king of Videha, is alluded to several times, and one portion of the Brihadaranyakas is called the Yajnavalkiyam Kāndam, as specially celebrating the victories gained by that sage over all his rivals. But even if we accept the traditional opinion that Yajnavalkya was the author of the Brähmaṇa and the Aranyaka, such a supposition would be of very little help to us in determining the probable age of the Upanishad portion of the Satapatha-brahmana. We need not enter at present into the question whether the supposed authorship of Yajnavalkya implies that he actually composed, or only that he collected and arranged the sacred code of the Vajasaneyins. That code is, no doubt, in some peculiar sense, considered as Yajnavalkya's own work. At the time of Pāṇini it was called by a name which, by its very character, indicated that the
Satapatha-brâhmaṇa was a work due to the exertion of one individual, and that it was not, like other Brâhmaṇas, simply proclaimed by him (prokta), or formed the traditional property of an ancient Vedic Śâkhâ bearing his name. This, together with a remark in the Vârttika to Pâṇini, iv. 3. 105., may be interpreted as indicating the more modern date of this Brâhmaṇa and its Āraṇyaka, as compared with the Brâhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas of other Vedas. But beyond this, the name of Vâjasaneyya Yâjnavalkya, as the reputed author of these works, will not help us in fixing the age of the Vâjasaneyi-brâhmaṇa-ūpanishad.

Attempts have been made to fix the age of Yâjnavalkya, as the author of a Law-book, and to transfer this date to the author of the Vedic works, just mentioned. The versifier, however, of these laws is as distinct from the original Yâjnavalkya, as the poetical editor of the Laws of the Mânava is from the mythic Manu, the founder of the Mânava-śâkhâ.

Although the poetical editor of this code of laws speaks of the Āraṇyaka1 as his own work, nobody will be misled by an assertion of this kind.2 But

1 This can only mean the Brîhadâraṇyaka, as the commentator also observes.
2 Yâjñ. Dh. iii. 110.

चौराष्ट्रारणमहँ यदादित्रयादवासवान्।
योगशास्त्रं च मद्योऽङ्गौ वैय योगमभीषयत॥

“He who wishes to attain Yoga (union with the Divine Spirit) must know the Āraṇyaka, which I have received from Aditya, and the Yoga-sâstra, which I have taught.” I thought, at first, that there might have been old Dharma-sūtras of Yâjnavalkya, and that the versifier of these Sūtras took this sentence simply
even the age of the versifier of the Yājnavalkiya code of laws is difficult to determine. Professor Wilson, in his "Ariana Antiqua" (page 364), observes that the word Nāṇaka, a gold or silver coin having upon it the figure of Śiva, may be derived from Nāna, a term which occurs on the coins of Kanerki, and is supposed to be "the name of a goddess; probably the same as the Anaitis or Anahid of the Persians, or the tutelary goddess of Armenia, Anaia, or Nanaca." If so (and I think the explanation extremely doubtful) the age of Yājnavalkya's legal dicta in which the word Nāṇaka occurs, would be subsequent to the era of Kanerki, and, as Professor Stenzler remarks in his edition of Yājnavalkya, the second century after Christ would be the earliest date that could be assigned to Yājnavalkya. Now the identification of Nāṇaka and Nāṇa (Nanaia, Nana Rao,) is a very ingenious conjecture, but no more. Even if admitted to be true, we should still have to prove that the same goddess did not occur in the same way on more ancient oriental coins. As the Hindus derived from the Sūtras. I have not yet found, however, Yājnavalkya-sūtras on Āchāra. The so-called Vaishnava-dharma-sāstra, or Śrībhagavad-Vishṇu-sanhitā, which has been printed at Calcutta, contains large portions of Sūtras which have been worked up in a very crude manner into a law treatise. The whole chapter on the anatomy of the human body, which in the Yājnavalkiya Code precedes the verse in question (iii.110.), a chapter which does not stand in the Mānava code, exists, still in prose, in the Vishṇu-sanhitā (fol. 28. a. line 11.). The simile of the lamp, also, representing the mind in the middle of the body, is borrowed by the editor of the Yājnavalkiya Code from the Vishṇu-sanhitā (fol.29.a. line 1.). Yet, although the Vishṇu-sanhitā, like the Code of Yājnavalkya, goes on describing the Yoga, no mention is made here of the Āranyaka, nor does the author speak of himself in the first person, as the author of the metrical Code does.
their knowledge of coined money from foreign nations, Nāṇakas may have been current in India long before the time of Kanerki, though the Nāṇakas of Kanerki may be the first known to us as coined in India. The occurrence of a word like Nāṇaka¹, therefore, is not sufficient by itself to prove that the second century after Christ is the earliest date of the Yājnavalkiya Code, still less of Yājnavalkya, as Professor Stenzler supposes. But whatever date may be as-signed to this Śloka work, the date of Yājnavalkya, the author of the Aranyaka and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, would not be affected by it in any way, and

¹ In the same way it might be said that the Rig-veda-sanhitā could not have been collected before the second century after Christ, because the word Nishka occurs in the hymns. Nishka is a weight of gold, or gold in general, and it certainly has no satisfactory etymology in Sanskrit. Nothing seems to be more likely than that it should be derived from Kanishka, the Sanskrit name of Kanerki, as we speak of a "Sovereign," the French of a "Louis." The first syllable Ka may be taken as the usual royal prefix, particularly as Fahian calls the same king Kanika and Nika. (Cf. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 76.) Yet nobody would draw from this the conclusion that the Veda was written after the time of Kanishka. If Nishka be really derived from the name of Ka-Nishka, Kanishka must have been the name or title of more ancient kings, whose money became known in India. But Nishka may have a very different etymology, and at all events it does not furnish any solid basis for chronological conclu-sions. Nishka does once occur in Pāṇini's Sūtras, v. 2. 119.; and it is frequently quoted as an example. Pāṇ. iv. 3. 156.

निष्केन शोर नैष्किक। निष्क्य विकार: नैष्किक।। दिनिष्क:।
दिनैष्किक:। Pāṇ. i. 4. 87. उप निष्के कार्यापणं। v. 2. 119.
नैष्कशिलिक:। vi. 2. 55. निष्क्याला। iv. 3. 153. छाटको
निष्क।। Cf. v. 1. 37.
the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa is the only work from which we may expect information on this point.

Another attempt has been made to fix the age of Yājnavālkya, or, at least, to assign certain chronological limits to the first origin of the Śākha of the Mādhyandinas, a subdivision of the Vājasaneyins. Arrian, when speaking of the course of the Ganges, mentions among the rivers falling into the Ganges, the “Andomatis, flowing from the country of the Mandiadini, an Indian people.” ¹ Lassen thought he discovered in this the Sanskrit word Mādhyandina, meridional; and, as a mere conjecture, such a remark was valuable. Professor Weber, however, went beyond this, and, taking for granted the identity of Mandiadini and Mādhyandina, taking for granted also the identity of this Indian people with the Mādhyandina, a subdivision of the Śākha of the Vājasaneyins, he concluded that the text of this Śākha, i.e. the Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajur-veda, published by himself, must have existed in the third century B.C. Such rapid conclusions are rarely safe. There may have been such a people as the Mādhyandinas at any time before or after Christ, and there may have been such a Śākha as that of the Mādhyandinas at any time before or after Christ, but the people need not have had any connection with that Śākha, as little as the Prāchyas or Prasii had anything in common with the Śākha of the Prāchya-Kaṭhas, or the Kαμβδοβολαι, another Indian people, mentioned by Greek writers, with the Śākha of the Kapishṭhalas. Granted, however, that the Śākha was formed in the country of the Mādhyandinas, and derived its name

¹ Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 130.; Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, p. 106.
from it, nothing whatever would follow from this as to the exact date when this was effected.

A second Aranyaka is that of the Taittiriyas. As the Taittirinya-veda (or the Black Yajur-veda) is always represented as anterior to the White Yajur-veda, the Taittirinya-aranyaka also might be expected to be older than the Brhadâranyaka. It is more likely, however, that the Taittirinya-aranyaka did not yet exist at the time when Yajnavalkya, after seceding from his master, founded a new school, and endowed it with a new Sanhitâ and Brâhmaṇa. The Aranyaka of the Taittiriyas may have been added to their Brâhmaṇas subsequently to this schism, in the same way as the Brhadâranyaka is certainly later than many portions of the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa. At all events the Taittirinya-aranyaka represents the latest period in the development of the Vedic religion, and shows a strong admixture of post-vedic ideas and names. The same applies also to several parts of the Taittirinya-brâhmaṇa, the last part of which does not belong to Tittiri, but is ascribed to Kaṭha, the same Muni to whom the beginning of the Aranyaka is said to have been revealed.\(^1\) There are some traces which would lead to the supposition that the Taittirinya-veda had been studied, particularly in the south of India, and even among people which are still considered as un-Aryan in the Brâhmaṇa of the Rig-veda. In the Taittirinya-arâṇyaka different readings are mentioned, which are no longer ascribed to different Śâkhâs but to certain countries in the south of India, like those of the Drâviṇas, Andhras, and Karṇâṭakas. This fact by itself

\(^1\) See page 224.
would throw some doubt on the antiquity and genuineness of this class of Vedic writings\(^1\), at least in that form in which we now possess them.

The Taittiriya-åranyaka consists of ten books, of which the four last are devoted to Upanishad doctrines. No author is mentioned, and Tittiri, who might seem to hold the same position for the Taittiriyåranyaka which Yajnavalkya holds for the Bråhadåranyaka, is represented by the Brahmans themselves neither as the author nor as the first teacher. He received the tradition from Yåska Paingi, who received it from Vaiśampâyana. Tittiri himself handed it on to Ukha, and he to Åtreya. Tittiri, therefore, was believed to be the founder of a Såkhå, but not the author of the Âranyaka.

A third Åranyaka is the Aitareya-åranyaka, belonging to the Rig-veda. It forms a work by itself, and is not counted as part of the Aitareya-bråhmaṇa. This is an important point. The work consists of five books or Åranyakas\(^2\), the second and third of which

\(^1\) I find that Harisvâmîn also, in his commentary on the Śatapatha-bråhmaṇa, quotes the Dåkshinåtīyas and Sauråśîtras, together with the Kåñvas, as authorities on Vedic subjects. See Dr. Weber’s Ind. Studien, i. 77. In the same place Dr. Weber attempts to prove the late origin of this work by the contraction of sa indraḥ into sendraḥ. This contraction, however, occurs already in the Rig-veda-sanhitå. See also Pân. vi. 1. 134.

\(^2\) The first Åranyaka consists of five Adhyåyas and twenty-two Kåñḍas. The second Åranyaka consists of seven Adhyåyas and twenty-six Kåñḍas. The Upanishad begins with the fourth Adhyåya and the twenty-first Kåñḍa. The third Åranyaka consists of two Adhyåyas and twelve Kåñḍas. The fourth Åranyaka consists of one Adhyåya and one Kåñḍa (ascribed to Åśvalåyana in Shadguruśishya’s commentary on the Sarvånu-krama). The fifth Åranyaka consists of three Adhyåyas and fourteen Kåñḍas (ascribed to Śaunaka).
form the Bahvricha-upanishad, if by this name we like to distinguish the complete Upanishad from a portion of it, viz.: Adhyâyas 4—6, of the second Âranyaka, commonly quoted as the Aitareyopanishad. If we ask for the name of the author, we find again the same uncertainty as in the Brâhadâranyaka and the Taittiri-yâranyaka. All we know for certain is that there was a Šâkhâ of the Aitareyâns, which was in the possession of a Brâhmaṇa and an Ârânyaka. Both these works were afterwards adopted by the later Šâkhâs of the Rig-veda, so that we actually hear of an Âśvalâyana text of the Aitareyakam. We also know from the Chhandogya-upanishad (iii. 16.) that there was a Mahidâsa Aitareya, who, by means of his sacred knowledge was supposed to have defied death for 1,600 years; and in the Aitareya-Âranyaka, not in the Brâhmaṇa, he is several times quoted by the same name as an authority. In the later commentaries, a story is mentioned according to which the Brâhmaṇa and Ârânyaka of the Rig-veda were originally revealed to one Aitareya, the son of Itarâ. This story, however, sounds very apocryphal, and had a merely etymological origin. Itarâ, in Sanskrit, means not only the other of two, but also low, rejected. Thus, if the patronymic Aitareya was to be accounted for, it was extremely easy to turn it into a metronymic, and to make Aitareya the son of an Itarâ, a rejected wife. Thus Sâyaṇa, in his introduction to the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, tells us that there was once a great Rishi who had many wives. One of them was called Itarâ, and she had a son called Mahidâsa. His father preferred the sons of his other wives to Mahidâsa, and once he insulted him in the sacrificial hall, by placing all his other sons
on his lap. Mahidâsa's mother, seeing her son with tears in his eyes, prayed to her own tutelary goddess, the Earth (sviyakuladevatâ Bhûmiḥ), and the goddess in her heavenly form appeared in the midst of the assembly, placed Mahidâsa on a throne, and gave him on account of his learning the gift of knowing the Brâhmaṇa, consisting of forty Adhyâyas, and, as Sâyana calls it, another Brâhmaṇa, treating "of the Åranyaka duties."

This, and similar stories mentioned by Colebrooke, are not calculated to inspire much confidence. On the contrary we feel inclined to attach more value to the accidental admissions of the Brahmans who ascribe the later portions of the Aitareyårânyaka to such well known authors as Šaunaka and Åśvalâyana. There may have been an Aitareya, the founder of the Šâkhâ of the Aitareyins, and himself the expounder of those ceremonial, philological, and philosophical tracts which are incorporated in the Brâhmaṇa and the Åranyaka of the Aitareyins. He is quoted himself as an authority in those works, but nothing is said in them of his degraded descent, nor of the erudition granted to him by the goddess of the earth.

Another Åranyaka, belonging to another Šâkhâ of the Rig-veda, is the Kaushitaki-årânyaka. Colebrooke stated in his Essay on the Veda that "the original of the Kaushitakam was among the portions of the Veda which Sir Robert Chambers collected at Benares, according to a list which he sent to me some time before his departure from India." According to the catalogue of Sir Robert's MSS. which are now at the Royal Library at Berlin, there is in that col-

1 Miscellaneous Essays, i. 46. n.
lection not only the text and commentary of the Kaushitaki-brähmanã, but likewise the Aranyaka, in three Adhyâyas, of which the third constitutes the Kaushitaki-upanishad. Here again we know nothing as to the name of an author, Kaushitakin being simply the name of that sect in which the text of these works was handed down from teacher to pupil.

There are no Aranyakas for the Sâma-veda, nor for the so-called fourth Veda, the Ætharvana.

Traces of modern ideas are not wanting in the Aranyakas, and the very fact that they are destined for a class of men who had retired from the world in order to give themselves up to the contemplation of the highest problems, shows an advanced, and already declining and decaying society, not unlike the monastic age of the Christian world. The problems, indeed, which are discussed in the Aranyakas and the old Upanishads are not in themselves modern. They had formed the conversation of the old and the young, of warriors and poets, for ages. But in a healthy state of society these questions were discussed in courts and camps: priests were contradicted by kings, sages confounded by children, women were listened to when they were moved by an unknown spirit.¹ This time, which is represented to us by the early legends of the Aranyakas, was very different from that which gave rise to professional anchorites, and to a literature composed exclusively for their benefit. As sacrifices were performed long before a word of any Brâhmaṇa or Sûtra

¹ A Kumârî gandharvagrihihîtå is quoted as an authority in the Kaushitaki-brähmanã, and it is explained by "viśeshâbhijñâ." Kaush.-br. ii. 9.; Ait.-br. v. 29. Ind. Studien, i. 84. 217.
had been uttered, so metaphysical speculations were carried on in the forests of India long before the names of Âranyakas or Upanishads were thought of. We must carefully distinguish between a period of growth, and a period which tried to reduce that growth to rules and formulas. In one sense the Âranyakas are old, for they reflect the very dawn of thought; in another, they are modern, for they speak of that dawn with all the experience of a past day. There are passages in these works, unequalled in any language for grandeur, boldness, and simplicity. These passages are the relics of a better age. But the generation which became the chronicler of those Titanic wars of thought, was a small race: they were dwarfs, measuring the footprints of departed giants.

Chronologically we can see with great clearness that the Âranyakas are anterior to the Sûtras. It is only in their latest portions that they show traces of the style of Sûtra compositions. We can likewise see that they are later than the Brâhmaṇas, to which they themselves, in several instances, form a kind of appendix. Beyond this we cannot go, and an impartial consideration of the arguments adduced in favour of a much earlier or a much later date for this class of Vedic literature, will show a complete absence of facts and arguments, such as are required for historical inductions. Whether Pâṇini knew the Âranyakas as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word “Âranyakas,” he only uses it in the sense of “living in the forest;” and it is the author of the Vârttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the
sense of "read in the forest." The word *Upanishad*, besides being used in the *Upanishads* themselves\(^1\), occurs in the *Sûtras* of Pâṇini (i. 4. 79), but there is nothing to prove that Pâṇini knew *Upanishad* as the name of a class of sacred writings.

It is hardly necessary to remark that at the time when the *Āraṇyakas* were written, the hymns of the Sanhitâs were not only known, but known in the same form in which we now possess them.\(^2\) The *Rig-veda* is quoted as a whole, and as consisting of ten Maṇḍalas. Though the name of Maṇḍala is not used, the names assigned to each of the ten books are the same as those used in the Anukramaṇis, and they follow each other in the same succession. Nay, these names had evidently been current for some time before, for the author of the *Āraṇyaka* assigns the most extraordinary etymologies to them, and uses them in support of the wildest speculations. He first mentions the Satarchins or the poets of the first Maṇḍala. He then comprehends the poets of Maṇḍala II. to IX. under the common name of the Mādhyas, assigning to the poets of the tenth and last Maṇḍala the name of Kshudrasûktas and Mahâsûktas. The middle books are enumerated more in detail under their usual names, Gṛitsamada, (ii.), Viśvâmitra (iii.), Vâmadeva (iv.), the Atris (v.), Bharadvâja (vi.), Vaśiṣṭha (vii.), the Pragâthas (viii.), the Pâvamânis (ix.) The names also of *Rig-veda*, *Yajur-veda*, and Sâma-veda occur as literary titles in this *Āraṇyaka*.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) *Ait.-Ār. iii. 1.; ibid, i. 11. Upanishasâda.*

\(^2\) *Ait.-Ār. ii. 9.*

\(^3\) *Ait.-Ār. i. 10.: Bhûr bhuvah svar ityeti vâva vyâhritaya ime trayo vedâ, bhûr ityeva *Rig-veda*, bhûva iti *Yajur-vedâḥ*, svar iti *Sâma-vedâḥ.*
The etymologies assigned to these names are not perhaps more absurd than those which we find in the Brâhmanas. But there are other etymological explanations in the Áranyakas such as we scarcely find in any genuine Brâhmaṇa. Part of the first Áranyaka (i. 4.) reads almost like a commentary on the first hymns of the Rig-veda, and the short glosses scattered about in these books of the forest might well be considered as the first elements of a Nirukta.

The grammatical study of the hymns of the Veda was evidently far advanced, and scholastic pedantry had long taken the place of sound erudition, when the early portions of the Áranyaka were composed. Not only the ten books of the Rig-veda are mentioned, but likewise their subdivisions, the hymns (sûkta), verses (r̥ch), half-verses (arddharcha), feet (pada), and syllables (akshara). Sometimes the syllables of certain hymns and classes of hymns are counted, and their number is supposed to possess a mysterious significance. In one passage (ii. 12.) speculations are propounded on the division of letters into consonants (vyanjana), vowels (ghosha), and sibilants (ūshman).

Admitting, therefore, that the Áranyakas represent the latest productions of the Brâhmaṇa period, and that in some cases their authors belong to the age of Śaunaka, in others even to a more modern age, we have now to consider the character of the genuine Brâhmanas, in order to point out the differences which distinguish the Brâhmaṇas from the Sûtras by which they are followed, and from the Mantras by which they are preceded.
THE BRAHMANAS.

The difficulty of giving an exhaustive definition of what a Brahmana is, has been felt by the Brahmans themselves. The name given to this class of literature does not teach us more than that these works belonged to the Brahmans. They were brahmanic, i.e. theological tracts, comprising the knowledge most valued by the Brahmans, bearing partly on their sacred hymns, partly on the traditions and customs of the people. They profess to teach the performance of the sacrifice; but for the greater part they are occupied with additional matter; with explanations and illustrations of things more or less distantly connected with their original faith and their ancient ceremonial.

Sāyaṇa, in his introduction to the Rig-veda¹, has given such extracts from the Pûrva-mīmāṃsā philosophy as may furnish a pretty correct idea of the Brāhmaṇas, and he has treated the same subject again in his Introduction to the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.

"A Brāhmaṇa," he says, "is twofold, containing either commandments (vidhi), or additional explanations (arthavāda). This is confirmed by Āpastamba, saying: 'The Brāhmaṇas are commandments for the sacrifices; all the rest consists of additional explanations.' The commandments, too, are of two kinds, either causing something to be done, which was not done before, or making something known which was not known before. Of the former kind are all those commandments occurring in the prac-

¹ Rig-veda-bhāshya, p. 11.
tical part, such as, 'At the Dikshaniyā ceremony he presents a purodāsa oblation to Agni and Vishṇu.' Of the latter kind are all philosophical passages, such as, 'Self was all this alone in the beginning.'

"But how can it be said," Sāyaṇa goes on, "that the Veda consists of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, as the essential qualities neither of the one nor of the other part can be satisfactorily defined? For if it be said that a Mantra alludes to those things which are commanded, this definition would not comprehend all Mantras, because there are some which are themselves commandments, as, for instance, 'He takes Kapinjalas for the Spring.' Again, if it be said that a Mantra is what makes one think (man, to think), this definition would comprehend the Brāhmaṇas also. Other definitions have been given, that a Mantra ends with the word 'thou art,' or that it ends with the first person plural; but none of these definitions can be considered as exhaustive. The only means, then, by which Mantras can be distinguished from Brāhmaṇas lies in their general sacrificial appellation, which comprehends the most different things under the one common name of Mantras. There are some recording the performance of sacrifices; some contain praises, some end with the word thee (tvā), some are invocations, some are directions, some contain deliberations, some contain complaints, some are questions, some are answers, &c. All these attributes are so heterogeneous, that none of them can be used for a definition. Knowing, however, that the Veda consists only of two parts, we may say that whatever does not come under the name of Mantra is Brāhmaṇa, whether it contain reasons, explanations, censures, recommendations, doubts, commandments, relations, old stories,
or particular determinations. Not one of these subjects belongs to the Brâhmaṇas exclusively, but they occur more or less frequently in the Mantras also, and could therefore not be used as definitions of the Brâhmaṇas. The same objection applies to all other definitions which have been attempted. Some have said that the frequent occurrence of the particle iti (thus) constitutes a Brâhmaṇa; others, that a Brâhmaṇa closes with the words ityāha (thus he said); others that a Brâhmaṇa contains stories, &c.; but all this would apply with equal force to some of the Mantras. The only division therefore of the Veda that holds good consists in comprehending one part under the old traditional appellation of Mantra, and considering all the rest as Brâhmaṇas.

"But it might be objected," Sâyaṇa continues, "that for instance in the chapter on the Brahmayajna, other parts of the Veda are mentioned besides the Brâhmaṇas and Mantras, under the title of Itihâsas, (epic stories) Purâṇas (cosmogonic stories), Kalpas (ceremonial rules), Gâthâs (songs), Nârâśansîs, (heroic poems). This however would be the same mistake, as if we should place a Brahman coordinate with a Brahman who is a mendicant. For all these titles, like Itihâsa, &c., apply only to subdivisions of the Brâhmaṇas. Thus, passages from the Brâhmaṇas, like 'The gods and the Asuras were fighting,' &c., would be called Itihâsas; other passages like 'In the beginning there was nothing,' would be called Purâṇas; therefore we may safely say, that the Veda consists of two parts only, of Mantras and Brâhmaṇas."  

1 According to Madhusûdana's view, the Brâhmaṇas consist of three parts; of commandments, additional explanations, and Ve-
If after these not very satisfactory definitions of what a Brāhmaṇa is, and how it differs from a Mantra, we turn to the Brāhmaṇas themselves, such as we possess them in MS., we find that their number is much smaller than we should have expected.

If every Śâkhâ consisted of a Sanhita and a Brāhmaṇa, the number of the old Brāhmaṇas must have been very considerable. It must not be supposed, however, that the Brāhmaṇas which belonged to different Śâkhâs, were works composed independently by different authors. On the contrary, as the Sanhitâs of different Śâkhâs were nothing but different recensions of one and the same original collection of hymns, and could be distinguished from each other only by a number of authorised variae lectiones or by the addition and omission of certain hymns, the Brāhmaṇas also, which were adopted by different Charanâs of the same Veda, must be considered not as so many independent works, but in most instances as different recensions of one and the same original. There was originally but one body of Brāhmaṇas for each of the three Vedas; for the Rig-veda, the Brāhmaṇas of the Bahuṛchhas, for the Sâma-veda the Brāhmaṇas of the Chhandogas, and for the Yajur-veda in its two forms, the Brāhmaṇas of the Taittiriyas, and the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. These works were not written in metre, like the Sanhitâs, and were therefore more exposed to dânta doctrines, the latter being more particularly represented by the Upanishads. The same author speaks of four classes of commandments. "A commandment may consist," he says, "either in a simple definition (‘the oblation to Agni is given in eight cups’); or it may include the aim (‘he who wishes for life in heaven may perform the sacrifices of the new and full moon’); or it may detail the means by which the sacrifice is performed (‘let him sacrifice with rice’); or it may contain all this together."
alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition.

We possess the Brāhmaṇa of the Bahvričhas, in the Śākhās of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins. The various readings of other Śākhās, quoted by the commentator on the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, show evidently that there were other Śākhās of the Bahvričhas, which differed but little in the wording of their Brāhmaṇas. But even the Brāhmaṇa of the Kaushitakins which has been preserved to us as a distinct work, different from the Brāhmaṇa of the Aitareyins, can only be considered as a branch of the original stock of Brāhmaṇa literature, current among the Bahvričhas. Its arrangement differs considerably from that of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. The sacrifice described in the beginning of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa forms the seventh Adhyāya of the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa¹, and most of the other sacrifices are equally displaced. Others which are discussed in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa are altogether wanting in the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa, and must be supplied from the Sūtras of the Śāṅkhāyana-śākhā, a subdivision of the Kaushitakins. But whenever parallel passages occur, it becomes clear that the coincidences in the description of sacrifices and the wording of legends cannot be accidental.

Most of the Brāhmaṇas which are left to us are collective works. A tradition has been preserved in confirmation of this fact. The Brāhmaṇa of the

¹ Aitareya-br. i. 1. चार्गीच देवानामवर्मो विषु: परम:, &c. Kaush.-br. vii. 1. चार्गीच देवानामवराण्यं विषु: पराण्य:, &c. Ait.-brāhm. ii. 2.=Kaush.-br. x. 2.; ii. 6.=x. 4. (Śāṅkh.-sūtra, v. 17.); ii. 3.=xii. 1.
Taittiriyas, in the Sâkhâs both of the Āpastambîyas and the Ātreyas, contains some portions which bear the name of Kaṭha, and were formerly the property of his followers. The component parts are frequently called Brâhmaṇas, instead of chapters or sections. The same applies to the Âranyakas and Upanishads. In some cases, these smaller Brâhmaṇas are quoted by their special titles; and in their collected form they are handed down, not always by the name of the Charâṇa by which they were adopted, but more frequently by that of the Charâṇa in which their original collection took place. Thus the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, though adopted by the Âśvalâyaniyas, is more frequently quoted by its original name than by that of Âśvalâyana-brâhmaṇa. The Brâhmaṇa of Kaushitakin or the Kaushitakins is more usually referred to by this name than by that of the later Charâṇa of the Sânkhâyanas.

In the Brâhmaṇa of the Chhandogas it is evident that, after the principal collection was finished (called the praudha or panchavinsa-brâhmaṇa, i.e. consisting of twenty-five sections), a twenty-sixth Brâhmaṇa was added which is known by the name of Shaḍvinsa-brâhmaṇa. This Brâhmaṇa together with the Adbhuta-brâhmaṇa must be of very modern date. It

1 Maitreyi-brâhmaṇa is the title given to that portion of the Brihadâranyaka which contains the dialogue between Yâjnavalkya and Maitreyî. The Saulabhâni brâhmaṇâni, quoted by Âśvalâyana and Pâṇini as modern compositions, may refer to sections containing a dialogue similar to that between Janaka and Sulabhâ, which exists in the Mahâbhârata, III. v. 11,854. Cf. Lassen, Ind. Alterth. xv. note. According to Pâṇini, however, they ought to be taken as Brâhmaṇas composed by Sulabha.

2 Quoted as such by Yâjnuikadeva on Kâty. 2. 5. 18.; 6. 6. 25. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 230.
mentions not only temples (Devâyatanâ̄ni), but images of gods (daivata-pratimâ) which are said to laugh, to cry, to sing, to dance, to burst, to sweat, and to twinkle. These two have long been supposed to be the only Brâhmaṇas of the Chhandogas, and they constitute, no doubt, the most important part of that class of literature. It is curious, however, that whenever the Brâhmaṇas of the Chhandogas are quoted, their number is invariably fixed at eight. Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, i. 31, says, "in the eight Brâhmaṇas, together with the Upanishads, which the Chhandogas read, no single accent is fixed." Still more explicit is a statement by Śāyaṇa which I quoted in the introduction to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda. Here Śāyaṇa says: "There are eight Brâhmaṇas; the Praudha is the first, (this means the large Brâhmaṇa, or the Panchavinsa); the one called Shadvisā or Shadvinsad-brâhmaṇa, is the second; then follows the Sâmavidhi; then the Ārsheya-brâhmaṇa, the Devatâdhyâya-brâhmaṇa, and the Upanishad. These with the Sanhitopanishad and the Vanśa are called the eight books." Of these the Sâmavidhâna-brâhmaṇa was well known, the very quotation of Śāyaṇa being taken from his commentary on this very curious work. It might have been difficult, however, to identify the other five works if there had not been among the MSS. of Professor Wilson's collection at the Bodleian Library, one (No. 451) containing four of these small tracts, the Sanhitopanishadam-brâhmaṇam, the Devatâdhyâyaḥ, the Vanśa-brâhmaṇam, and the

1 Brâhmaṇāni hi yâny ashtau sarahasyâ̄ny adhiyate Chhandogâs teshu sarveshu na kaśchin nityâ̄ḥ svaraḥ.
2 P. xxvii. note.
The only Brāhmaṇa, therefore, on which any doubt could remain, was the Upanishad, and here we shall probably not be wrong if we adopt one of Professor Weber’s less bold conjectures, that Sāyaṇa intended this for the Chhāndogya- upanishad. With the exception of this and the Śāmavidhāṇa, which contains most important information on questions connected with Āchārā or customs, all the other tracts are of comparatively small importance.

It is in the Śatapatha- brāhmaṇa, however, that we can best observe the gradual accumulation of various theological and ceremonial tracts which were to form the sacred code of a new Charāṇa. The text of this work has been edited by Professor Weber, and we can likewise avail ourselves of several essays on this branch of Vedic literature, published from time to time by that industrious scholar. According to Indian traditions, Yājnavalkya Vājasaneyya, the founder of the new Charāṇa of the Vājasaneyins is himself, if not the author, at least the first who proclaimed the Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins. We can see clearly that the composition of both the Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa was guided by the same spirit, and it is not at all unlikely that in this, the most modern of all Vedas, the final arrangement of the Sanhitā may have been contemporaneous with, or even later than, the composition of the Brāhmaṇa.

First of all, it ought to be remarked that the story

1 See also “A Catalogue Raisonné (sic) of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the late College Fort St. George,” by the Rev. W. Taylor, Madras, 1857, p. 69.

2 The Vāsa-brāhmaṇa has lately been printed, with some valuable remarks, by Prof. A. Weber, Ind. Stud. iv. 371.
which has been preserved by tradition of the schism introduced by Yājnavalkya among the followers of the Adhvaryu or Yajur-veda is confirmed by internal evidence. The general name of the ancient Śākhās of the Yajur-veda is Charaka, and the Taittirīyas, therefore, together with the Kaṭhas, and others are called by a general name, Charaka-śākhās. This name Charaka is used in one of the Khilas of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā as a term of reproach. In the 30th Adhyāya a list of people is given who are to be sacrificed at the Purushamedha, and among them we find the Charakāchārya, the teacher of the Charakas, as the proper victim to be offered to Dushkrīta or Sin. This passage, together with similar hostile expressions in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, were evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient schools of the Adhvaryus, whose sacred texts we possess in the Taittiriya-veda, and from whom Yājnavalkya seceded in order to become himself the founder of the new Charaṇas of the Vājasaneyins.

If we compare the Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyins with those of the Charakas, we see that the order of the sacrifices is on the whole the same, and that the chief difference between the two consists in the division of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, which is carried out more strictly by Yājnavalkya than in the ancient text of the Taittirīyas. This was most likely the reason why the text of Yājnavalkya was called Śukla Yajur-veda, which is generally translated by the White Yajur-veda. But some commentators explain Śukla more correctly by śuddha, and translate

1 Dvivedaganga explains शुक्लचनि यजृषि by शुद्धचनि यज्ञा ब्राह्मणामिनिपरिचारकानि॥
it by "cleared," because in this new text the Mantras had been cleared and separated from the Brāhmaṇas, and thus the whole had been rendered more lucid and intelligible. In opposition to this they suppose that the old text was called Kṛishṇa or dark, because in it the verses and rules are mixed together, and less intelligible; or because, as Vidyāraṇya says, it contained the rules of the Hotṛi as well as of the Adhvaryu priests, and thus bewildered the mind of the student.\footnote{विद्यार्थीपि कोष्ठात सत्साहित्यस्य काव्य दिव्यवस्था बुद्धिमानिन्यहेतुनान्तरचु: कृष्णसमीचि:। रामकृष्णन्स सान्करागानापति। Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 27. 84.}

It was in the nature of the duties which the Adhvaryus had to perform at the sacrifices, that their hymns and invocations could hardly be separated from the rules (vidhi), contained in the Brāhmaṇas. It was not a mere accident therefore that in the Veda of the ancient Adhvaryus the hymns and rules were mixed up, and it must be considered as a mere innovation if what is now called the Sanhitā of the Black Yajur-veda is distinguished by this name from the Brāhmaṇa, which in reality is a continuation of the same work. It is not unlikely that it was the very wish to have, like the Bahvrichas and Chhandogas, a Sanhitā, \textit{i. e.} a collection of hymns distinct from the ceremonial rules, which led to the secession of the Vājasaneyins, and, by a kind of reaction, to the absurd adoption of the titles of Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa among the Taittirīyas. In the new code of the Vājasaneyins the most important part was nevertheless the Brāhmaṇa, the Sanhitā being a mere collection of verses,
extracted and collected for the convenience of the officiating priest. The differences in the text of these verses and formulas would be marked in the Brâhmaṇa, and transferred from the Brâhmaṇa into the Sanhitâ. This is, therefore, the very opposite of what happened with the text of the Sanhitâ and Brâhmaṇa of the Bahvrichas. Here the Sanhitâ existed long before the Brâhmaṇa, and it had diverged into different Šâkhâs, before the Brâhmaṇa of the Aitareyins was composed. The Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ may possibly represent various readings which existed in the Šâkhâ of the Taittirîyas; but these verses were collected and formed into a Sanhitâ only as an appendix to the Šatapatha-brâhmaṇa, the real code of the Vâjasaneyins. Where the sacrificial invocations of the Vâjasaneyins differ from those of the Taittirîyas, we ought to recognise in those differences the last traces of Šâkhâs which existed previous to the establishment of the Vâjasaneyins. In the beginning, for instance, of the Darśa-pûrṇamâsa sacrifice, the Adhvaryu priest, having called the cows and calves together, has to touch the calves with a branch. This act of the sacrifice was originally accompanied by the words "vâyava stha, upâyava stha," "you are like the winds," — and the whole ceremony, together with these invocations, is contained in the Taittirîyas-sanhitâ. In the Mâdhyandina-Šâkhâ, on the contrary, not only are the words "upâyava stha" omitted in the Sanhitâ, but a distinct warning is given in the Brâhmaṇa not to use these words, belonging to a different Šâkhâ.  

1 Cf. Sâyaṇa, Rig-veda-bhâshya, p. 12.; Šatapatha-brâhmaṇa, i. 7. 3. तस्मादाच वायव खेलुपायव खेलु हैक चाज्ञरप हि
A comparison of the texts of the Taittiriyas and Vajasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake to call Yajnavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vajasaneyi-sanhita and the Satapatha-brähmana. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yajnavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brähmanas into their present form, and, considering the differences between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charanās of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Katyāyana says, in his Anukramani, that Yajnavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun.¹ In the same sense the Satapatha-brähmana ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yajnavalkya Vājasaneya²; and in the same sense Pāṇini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to iv. 3. 105. that there were modern

¹ śukṣmaṁ यज्ञुः भगवान्यायामवस्त्रे यत्: प्राप तं विवर्णम्।

² श्राद्धित्यानीमानि शुक्लानि यज्ञुः वाजसनेयेन याज्ञ- वल्कल्नायायं।
Brāhmaṇas proclaimed by Yājnavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmaṇas. At the time when these titles were framed Yājnavalkya was still alive; and his work, therefore, was not yet considered as one handed down by tradition through several generations. There might seem to be some difficulty in making Yājnavalkya the author or editor of the whole Yajur-veda, because there are several portions of the Brāhmaṇa where Yājnavalkya himself is introduced as one of the chief interlocutors, so much so that part of the Brīhadāranyaka, the last book of the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, is designated by the name of Yājnavalkiyam kāṇḍam. But similar instances occur in several of the traditional works of the Brahmands, and in this case the decided traces of a later origin which are to be found in the Brīhadāranyaka, would justify us in supposing that these portions were added after Yājnavalkya's decease, particularly as it is called Yājnavalkiya, not Yājnavalkya-kāṇḍa.¹

That Yājnavalkya, though deserting the Charakas, derived great advantage from their Veda, is seen at once by the whole arrangement of his work. I give a list of the various subjects treated in the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā, according to Mahīdhara. The Sanhitā of the Vājasaneyins begins with

The Darśapūrṇamāsamantrās, Adhyāya, i.—ii. 28.

Then follow:—

Pitṛiyajnamantrās, ii. 29—34.
Agnyādheyamantrās, iii. 1—8.
Agnihotram, iii. 9—10.
Agnyupasthānam, iii. 11—43.

¹ See Pān. v. 4. 105, on the purport of this difference.
Châturmâsyâni, iii. 44—63.

Soma. Agniśtomas, iv. 1—viii. 23.

Śâlâpraveśas, iv. 1—37.

Ātithyeshātou havirgraḥaṇâdīmantrâs, (yûpanirmāṇam), v. 1—fin.

Yûpasanskâra (āgînîshomîyapaśu)-somâbhishavamantrâs, vi. 1—fin.

Graha grahaṇâdīmantrâs (upânsvâdi-pradânanâta), vii. 1—fin.

Trîtiyasavanagata ādityagrahaṇâdīmantrâs, viii. 1—23.

Prâsangikâs, viii. 24—63.

Vâjapeyas, ix. 1—34.

Râjasûyas, ix. 35—40.

Râjasûya abhishekârthajalâdânanâdirâjasûyasâshasas, Charakasauṭrâmaṇi cha, x. 1—fin.

Agniḥchayanam, ix. —xviii.

Ukhâsambharaṇâdīmantrâs, xi.

Ukhâdhâraṇa, gârhapatyachayana, kshetra karaṇa, aushadhavapanâdi, xii.

Pushkaraparṇâdyupadâhanamânantras (prathama chithiḥ), xiii.

Dvitiyâdichititrayam, xiv.

Panchamachithiḥ, xv.

Satarudriyâkhyahomamantrâs, xvi.

Chityaparishhekâdīmantrâs, xvii.

Vasordhârâdīmantrâs, xviii.

Sautrâmaṇi, xix.—xxi.

Surâdândrâbhishekântam, xix.

Sekâsandyâdi-hautrântam, xx.

Yâjyâdi-preshanântam, xxi.

Aśvamedhas, xxii.—xxv.

Homamantrâs, xxii.

Śishtam āsvamedhikam, xxiii.1

1 According to the forty-eighth Atharvaparîṣîṣṭa, the thirty-
According to this list the Vajasaneyi-sanhitā may be divided into different sections. The first section comprises the Darśapūrṇamāsa, &c., i.—iii.; the second the Soma sacrifices, iv.—x.; the third the Agnichayanas, xi.—xviii.

These eighteen Adhyāyas, which correspond to the Taṅtiriya-sanhitā, are explained in the first nine books of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and the first eighteen chapters of Kātyāyana’s Śūtras. They form, no doubt, the most important part of the Adhyāvyu-veda, but there is no evidence to show that they ever existed in a separate form. It has been well re-

second verse of the twenty-third Adhyāya would be the last verse of the Sanhitā. See Weber, Ind. Stud. iv. p. 432.

1 According to the Mitākṣhara commentary on Yājnavalkya’s Dharma-śāstra, xxxvi. 1. forms the beginning of an Ṭraṇyaka. Weber, Vorlesungen, p. 103.
marked, however, by the editor of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, that the first nine books consist altogether of sixty Adhyāyas\(^1\), and that the name of Śhāṣṭi-patha, the Sixty Paths, which is mentioned in the Vārttika to Pāṇ. iv. 2. 60., may refer to this portion, whereas the whole Brāhmaṇa, consisting of one hundred Adhyāyas, received the title of Śatapatha, the Hundred Paths.

The Sautrāmaṇi ceremony, which begins with the 19th Adhyāya, has nothing corresponding to it in the Taittiriya-sanhitā, but, like the following sacrifices, it has been incorporated in the Taittiriya-brāhmaṇa. There is a difference also in the treatment which this sacrifice receives in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Adhyāya xix. and xx. are indeed explained there, in the 12th book, but they do not receive the same careful explanation which was given to the preceding sacrifices. The last Adhyāya, containing verses of the Hotṛi, is not explained at all. Kātyāyana treats these three Adhyāyas in the 19th book of his Sūtras.

The Aśvamedha, which fills Books xxii.–xxv. of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā, is but partially contained in the Taittiriya-sanhitā; and the Śatapatha also, though it devotes to this ceremony a considerable part of the 13th book, treats it in a much more superficial manner than the former sacrifices. Kātyāyana explains it in his 20th book.

\(^1\) A similar ingenious remark has been made by the same savant with regard to the Aitareya and Kaushitaki, or, as he calls it, Sānkhyāyana-brāhmaṇa. The former consists of forty, the latter of thirty Adhyāyas, and it is not unlikely that the rule in Pāṇini, v. 1. 62, how to form the names of Brāhmaṇas, consisting of thirty and forty Adhyāyas, had special reference to these works. The names are “trinsāṇi and chātvārinśāṇi brāhmaṇāṇi ;” the explanation, “trinśad adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam eśām brāhmaṇāṇāṃ.”
The Adhyāyas, which follow the Āsvamedha, are distinctly called Khilas or supplements by Kāṭyāyana. They are relegated to the Brāhmaṇa by the Taittiriyas, and explained with less detail in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. Adhyāya xxvi.—xxix. contain some hymns belonging to sacrifices previously explained, and they are passed over entirely by the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and by Kāṭyāyana. Adhyāya xxx. and xxxi. contain the Purushamedha, which the Taittiriyas treat in their Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa devotes but a short space to it in its 13th book, and Kāṭyāyana explains Adhyāya xxxi. in his 21st book.

The ceremonies comprised in the three following Adhyāyas, xxxii. to xxxiv., Sarvamedha and Brahma-yajna, are passed over by the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa and Kāṭyāyana. The Taittiriyas allow them no place in their Brāhmaṇa, but include them in their Āraṇyaka.

The Pitrimeṣṭha which follows in the xxxvth Adhyāya, finds its place in the Brāhmaṇa of the Taittiriyas. The Śatapatha and Kāṭyāyana explain it, the former in the 13th, the latter in the 21st book.

The Śukriya portion of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā, xxxvi.—xl., is excluded from the Brāhmaṇa of the Taittiriyas, and treated in their Āraṇyaka. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa explains three of these Adhyāyas, xxxvii.—xxxix., in full detail in its 17th Kāṇḍa, and Kāṭyāyana devotes to them the Sūtras of his last book.

Those who only take into account the general object of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, have called it a running commentary on the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā. But this applies strictly to the first nine books only, and with the tenth book the Brāhmaṇa assumes a new and more
independent character. The tenth book is called the Agnirahasyam, the mystery of the fire, and it refers to no particular portion of the Sanhitâ, but enlarges on the ceremonies which have been described in the four preceding books. Towards the end (x. 4. 6.), it contains two chapters, which, in the Kânya-âkhâ, form the beginning of the Bûrihadâraṇyaka-upanishad, and are there followed by the Madhu-kâṇḍa, the Yâjnavalkîya-kâṇḍa, and Khila-kâṇḍa of the 14th book of the Mûdhyandina-âkhâ. The tenth book or Agnirahasyam closes with its own genealogy or Vansa.

With the 11th book begins, according to Sâyaṇa, the second part of the Satapatha-brûhmana. It is called Ashtâdhyâyî, and gives additional information on all the sacrifices mentioned before, beginning with the Agnyâdhâna.

The 12th book, which is called Sautrâmaṇī, treats of prayâschitta, or penance in general, and it is only in its last portion that it refers to the text of the Sanhitâ, and to that ceremony in particular from which it has derived its name. Besides this name of Sautrâmaṇī, the 12th book is also known by the name of Mûdhyama or the middle book, and this title can only be explained if we begin the second part of the Satapatha, not, as Sâyaṇa suggests, with the 11th, but with the 10th book.

The 13th book is chiefly concerned with the Ásvarmedha, and its first three Adhyâyas may again be considered as a kind of commentary on the Sanhitâ. Towards the end some sacrifices, beginning with the Purushamedha, which the Sanhitâ treats in its Khila portion, are explained, but other ceremonies also are mentioned, for which there is no precedent in the Sanhitâ. The Bûrihadâraṇyaka, the last book of the
Śatapatha, contains in its first three Adhyāyas, a close commentary on the Pravargya of the Sanhitā, but becomes quite independent afterwards. Its object is no longer the sacrifice, but the knowledge of Brahmān, without any particular reference, however, to the last Adhyāya of the Sanhitā, which, as we saw, was equally devoted to the doctrine of the Upanishads.

It is clear, therefore, that the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa was not simply a running commentary on the Sanhitā; nay there is nothing to prove that the hymn-book of the Vâjasaneyins existed previous to their Brāhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa may have been edited by Yājñavalkya, but its component parts, like the component parts of the other Brāhmaṇas, must have been growing up during a long period of time in different localities before they were collected. The collection of ancient Brāhmaṇas must always have been the work of individual teachers, and their Brāhmaṇas, in their new and complete form, were at first the exclusive property of that one Charaṇa to which the collectors belonged, or of which they became the founders. Afterwards these collective Brāhmaṇas were adopted by the members of other Charaṇas, who either added some chapters of their own, or introduced certain modifications, by which we now find that different texts of one and the same Brāhmaṇa differ from one another. We must distinguish, therefore, between old and new Brāhmaṇas, the former being those which from time immemorial had been living in the oral tradition of various Charaṇas, the latter comprising the great collective works. Some of the latter vary slightly in the editions adopted in various Charaṇas; others, and these the most modern, show the distinct influence of
individual editors. Pāṇini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration-doctrine which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mimāṃsā school, broadly states the fact, that there are old and new Brāhmaṇaṇas; whereas, according to the doctrine of later divines, the Brāhmaṇaṇas are neither old nor new, but eternal, and of divine origin. Pāṇini, who is a grammarian, rests his opinion as to the different dates of the Brāhmaṇaṇas on the evidence of language. “A book,” he says, “composed by a certain author, may be called by an adjective derived from the author’s name.” For instance, a book composed by Vararuchi, may be called “Vārarucho granthah.” A work, on the contrary, which has only been taught and promulgated by a person, is not to be called his book (grantha), but bears its own title, such as “grammar,” or, whatever else it may be, together with an adjective, derived from the author’s name. Pāṇini’s grammar, for instance, is not to be called “Pāṇiniyam granthah,” but “Pāṇinīyam vyākaraṇam”; because it is a canonical work, revealed to Pāṇini, but not invented by him. It may also be called “Pāṇinīyam,” in the singular neuter; i.e. Pāṇineum. In the same way it is perfectly correct to speak of an “Āpiśalam,” a work composed by Āpiśala, of a “Paṅgi Kalpaḥ,” an old ceremonial of Pinga’s, of a “Mādhuri Vrittih,” a commentary of Madhura, and of “Chārakâḥ Ślokâḥ,”

1 Pān. iv. 3. 116. कः ग्रंथे। Kaiyyaṭa says that this Sūtra does not belong to Pāṇini. See page 184.
2 Pān. iv. 3. 115. उपन्यासाः। Bhāshya: विनोपदेशेन ज्ञाताः। iv. 3. 101. तेन प्रोक्तं। Bhāshya: यत्प्रेक्षान न च तेन द्वारं।
3 Cf. iv. 3. 101; iv. 2. 64.
4 Cf. Pān. iv. 3. 108.
verses composed by Čarāka. "But," says Pāṇini, "if the work referred to consists either of Vedic hymns (Chhandas), or of old Brāhmaṇas (purāṇaprokteshu Brāhmaṇeshu), then it is not correct to use these derivative adjectives in the singular (unless we employ secondary derivatives, such as Taïtatirīyakam, Kāṭha-kam), but it is necessary to use the masculine plural." It is wrong to use the word Kātham as an adjective from Kātha, in the sense of hymns promulgated by Kātha; or to use Taïtatirīyam (from Tittiri, like Pāṇinīyam from Pāṇini), or Taïtatirīyam Brāhmaṇam, in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa promulgated by Tittiri. Even Kalpas and Sūtras like the Kalpas of Kāśyapa, and Kauśika, or the Sūtras of Pārāśarya, Śilāla, Karmanda, and Kṛiśāśva, are better quoted as "the Kāśyapins" &c. if they are old works.¹ According to Pāṇini, we must speak of "the Kathas,” i. e. those who study and know the hymns promulgated by Kātha;² of "the Taïtatirīyas,” those who study and know the Brāhmaṇa promulgated by Tittiri. This peculiarity of the Sanskrit language, which reminds us of the Greek expression of ὀλ περ, admits of a very natural explanation, if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing, but were handed down by oral tradition in different communities, which represented, so to say, different works, or even different recensions of one and the same work, like so many manuscripts in

¹ Cf. Pāṇ. iv. 2. 66. । ।

² That the Kathas were an old Charaṇa, possessing their own tradition and laws, is seen from the 11th Vārttika to Pāṇ. iv. 3. 120. and from Pāṇ. iv. 3. 126.
ANCIENT AND MODERN BRĀHMAṆAS.

later times. It was much more natural, therefore, to say, "the Taittiriyas relate," than to speak of a Taittiriyam, a work proclaimed by Tittiri, who was perhaps a merely nominal ancestor of the Taittiriyas, or to refer to a Taittiriya grantha, i. e. Tittiri's book, which in reality never existed. That this is the real ground for this Sanskrit idiom becomes more evident by the exceptions mentioned by Pāṇini himself. There are no exceptions with regard to the names of hymns, or rather of the supporters of their texts; but there are Brāhmaṇas, Kalpas, and Sūtras spoken of in the same way as Pāṇini's own work. It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājnavalkyās in the same sense as we speak of the Taittiriyas, and the works promulgated by Yājnavalkya, although they are Brāhmaṇas, are called Yājnavalkyāni Brāhmaṇāni.1 "And why?" says Kātyāyana; "because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves." Here, then, we see that as early as Pāṇini and Kātyāyana a distinction was made, not only by learned men, but in common language, between old and modern Brāhmaṇas. We see that the Brāhmaṇas of Yājnavalkya, whose works, as those of a seceder, we had reason to consider as modern, are by their very name classed as modern. What other Brāhmaṇas belong to the same class, it is not so easy to say 2, because the only other instance quoted, besides the Brāhmaṇas of Yājnavalkya, are the Saulabhāṇi Brāhmaṇāṇi; and they have not yet been met with. It is not unlikely, however, that

1 Pāṇ. iv. 3. 105. 1. याज्ञवल्क्यादिष्ठ: प्रतिप्रविष्कष्ठकाश-वात्।

2 There is no Gaṇa, Yājnavalkyādiḥ.
the so-called Anubrāhmaṇāṇi 1, or supplementary Brāhmaṇas, which we have, for instance, in the Sāma-veda², may come under this category.³

That different Brāhmaṇas existed at the time when the great collective Brāhmaṇas were composed, might be proved, even without the testimony of Pāṇini, by quotations occurring in the Brāhmaṇas themselves. The original Charanās were not all rival sects, and it was natural that one Charana should be ready to accept Brāhmaṇas of another, if they contained any additional traditions or precepts which seemed to be valuable. Thus we find the Brāhmaṇas of the Kaṭhas added to the Brāhmaṇas of the Taittiriyas. In other cases we find that one Brāhmaṇa quotes the opinion of another Śâkha, not in support of its own doctrines, but in order to refute it. Thus the Kaushitakins are frequently attacked in the Tāṇḍya-brāhmaṇa. Now, if these quotations of different authorities, which we meet with in Brāhmaṇas, alluded only to the opinions of certain individuals we might still be doubtful whether these opinions had formerly been laid down in separate Brāhmaṇa

1 Cf. Pān. iv. 2. 62.
2 The Anubrāhmaṇāṇaḥ are mentioned in the Nidāna-sūtra belonging to the Sāma-veda. Cf. Ind. Stud. i. 45.
3 Ancient Chhandas (Sanhitâ-śâkhās) are those of the Kaṭhas, Charakas, Maudas, and Paippalâdas, Sâunakins, Vâjasaneyins, &c., iv. 2. 66. Ancient Brāhmaṇas are those of the Bhâllavins, Taittiriyas, Vâratantavîyas, Khâṇḍikîyas, Aukhîyas; the Álambins, Pâlangins, Kâmalins, Ārchâbhins, Áruîns, Tâṇḍins, Šyâmâyânis, Kaṭhas, and Kâlîpas (these descended from the nine pupils of Vaiśampâyana); the Hâridrâvins, Taumburavins, Aulapins, and Chhâgaleyins (these derived their origin from the four pupils of Kalâpin); the Šâtyâyanins. Old Kalpas are those of the Kâśyapins, Kauśikins, the Paingi and Árunaparâjî Kalpah. Old Sûtras those of the Pârâśarins, Šailûlins, Karmandins, and Kṛisâsvins.
works. But when we see quotations like "iti Kau-shitakam," "iti Paingyam," "so says the work of the Kaushitakins or Paingins," there can be little doubt that separate Brāhmaṇas, propagated by separate Chaṇaṇas, are here intended, whatever commentators may say to the contrary.¹

What became of these numerous Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas which are quoted both in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Sūtras, is not quite clear. Most likely they were absorbed or replaced by a more modern class of Chaṇaṇas, the Sūtra-charaṇas. When the Sūtras once came to be regarded as part of the sacred canon, they gave rise to a large number of new Chaṇaṇas.² Their members would preserve the text of the Sanhitā and Brāhmaṇa of an earlier Chaṇaṇa from which they originally branched off.³ The ground of division being in the Sūtras, the minor differences between the texts of the Sanhitās and

¹ Indische Studien, i. 393.
² Colebrooke has taken a different view with respect to the Sūtras. He says, "But those numerous Śākhās did not differ so widely from each other as might be inferred from the mention of an equal number of Sanhitās, or distinct collections of texts. In general, the various schools of the same Veda seem to have used the same assemblage of prayers; they differed more in their copies of the precepts or Brāhmaṇas; and some received into their canon of scripture portions which do not appear to have been acknowledged by others. Yet the chief difference seems always to have been the use of particular rituals taught in aphorisms (sūtras) adopted by each school; and these do not constitute a portion of the Veda, but, like grammar and astronomy, are placed among its appendages." Misc. Essays, i. 18.
³ तैन्तिरियके समावाचे समानाथयने नाना सूचाणि।
तस्मादिपि शाखामेवः॥ तथा वैक्षण्ड तैन्तिरियशाखायां
समानपातायां सूचमेदाद्वांतरशाखामेवः॥
Brāhmaṇas might be waived in these modern Charāṇas, and this would gradually lead to the loss of many of the old Śākhās. We saw before, in the case of the Śākalas and Bāshkalas, that at the time when Sūtras began to be composed there was a tendency to reunite different Śākhās into one. That the introduction of Sūtras encroached on the study of the Brāhmaṇas and Sanhitās in the schools of the Brahmans, becomes evident from passages in which the custom of performing sacrifices after the prescriptions of Sūtras only is declared to be without merit and without effect. Kumārila in one passage simply states the fact that priests perform sacrifices by means of the Kalpa-sūtras only, and without the Veda, but that they could not do the same by means of the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, and without the Kalpas.¹

In another place² he declares that the reason why the

¹ Kumārila, i. 3.

² Kumārila, i. 3. 1. यथू किर्मि वेदवाक्यान्येव नोपसंग्रह-हीतानि: संप्रदायिनियांभीते। विशिष्टालफूर्ण्यक्षेत्तै दि खायायोधे न्यायम्: पूज्यते। व्यालाशाचारयः: केचित्क-चित्कात्शयाचात्सयः। तत्तचिप तो केचित्यसैम्वाविशालः-व्यायंतस्य परं कन्तुकर्माणागताः: केचित्यमित्वनोत्डेनाथमाणा: पुरुषाधिका भजके। यथा मलवद्धशा सह न संवेद्चक्षान्न जालायायावगुरुदिव्यवधायः। तत्र यदि तावत्तायेव वा-कालुक्तायायायापेयुख्यत: क्रमान्यलालात्यायविधिविरोध: खात। चर्मेन च निश्चितेनायें द्यत्वादेऽद्वितिरेण विधि-
Smṛitis or law-books, which he considers to be founded on the Veda, had not been made up of literal extracts, was because this would have endangered the sacred study of the whole Veda. The Veda would thus have been read in a different order, or small extracts only would have been studied instead of the whole Veda. Now this is what seems to have happened to a certain extent by the introduction of the Sūtras, and it would account for the loss of many of the old Śākhās, Sanhitās as well as Brāhmaṇas.

In order to show more clearly to how great an extent the Vedic literature was fostered by means of the Charaṇas, I shall give a list from the Charaṇavyūha. This Pariśishṭa is a document of a comparatively late period, though it may be one of the oldest works belonging to this class of literature. It is, therefore, no good authority as to the number of the old Sanhitā-charaṇas and Brāhmaṇa-charaṇas, many of which were lost or merged into others during the Sūtra period; but it is of interest as the first attempt at a complete enumeration of all Charaṇas, and may be trusted particularly with regard to the Sūtra-charaṇas, which, at the time of its composition, were still of recent origin. The number of the old Charaṇas would, no doubt, have to be increased considerably, if the quotations of different Śākhās were

1 It has been printed by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien. I possess the collation of some of the Berlin MSS., but not of all. In addition to the MSS. collated by Prof. Weber, I have used the text and various readings given in Rādhakāntadeva's Šabdakalpa-druma.
taken into account, which occur in the Brāhmaṇas as well as in the Śūtras. But at the same time we may conclude from the lists given in the Charaṇavyūha that most of these old Charaṇas were extinct shortly after the Śūtra-period, and that their works as well as their names, began to be forgotten.

Of the Rig-veda five Charaṇas are mentioned:
1. The Śākalas.¹
2. Bāṣhalas.²
3. Āśvalāyanas.³
4. Śānkāyanas.⁴
5. Māṇḍukāyanas.⁵

We miss the names of several old Śākhās such as the Aitareyins, Śāsiiras⁶, Kaushitakins, Paingins,

¹ Pāṇ. iv. 3. 128.: iv. 2. 117.
³ Pāṇ. iv. 1. 99.: Gaṇa naḍadi.
⁴ This Śākhā is spelt Śānkhāyana, Śānkhāyana, Śānkhāyana and Śānkhāyana. The last, however, is the most correct spelling. See Pāṇini, Gaṇapātha, aśvādi, and kunjādi. This Śākhā is omitted by accident in MS. E. I. H.
⁵ Pāṇ. iv. 1. 19 (text). Māṇḍūka; derivative, Māṇḍukāyana. See also Pāṇ. iv. 1. 119.
⁶ The Śāsiira-Śākhā, however, may perhaps be considered as a subdivision of the Śākala-Śākhā. Śāsiira, or Śiśira, is mentioned in the Purāṇas as one of the five Śākala pupils, who propagated different Śākhās of the Rig-veda, all of them derived from the original recension of Śākalya Vedamitra. In the Vishṇu-purāṇa these five pupils or descendants of Śākalya Vedamitra are called Mudgala, Gosvala, Vātsya, Sāliya, and Śiśira. (Vishṇu-pur. 277.) In the Vāyu-purāṇa their names are Mudgala, Golaka, Khāliya, Mātsya, Śāśireya. In the commentary on the Śākala-prātiśākhya they are called Mudgala, Gokula, Vātsya, Śāsiira, and Śiśira, according to the Paris MS.; or Mudgala, Gokhula, Vātsya, Sāriya, and Śāsiira, according to the MS. at the E. I. H.

इदं शाखं पार्षदाख्यमविलं संपूर्णमुच्चरच वच्चे वच्चाम
while the Āsvalâyanas, who are mentioned, must be considered as the founders of one of the latest Šâkhâs of the Rig-veda.

The number of Šâkhâs of the Yajur-veda is stated at eighty-six. We have first the twelve Charânas comprehended under the common name of Charakas. They are, according to the MS. of the Charânavyûha:

1. Charakas.¹
2. Āhvarakas.²
3. Kaṭhas.³
4. Prâchya-kaṭhas.⁴
5. Kapisht'hala-kaṭhas.⁵
6. Chârâyanaṇiyas.⁶

The verses to which this commentary refers are not in the MS.

¹ Pān. iv. 3. 107. text; v. 1. 11. text. Gaṇa Kshipakâdi.
² Āhvarakas, Ś. K. D. Āhûrakas, Sansk. G. P. Hvarakas, MS. Berol. 785. Cf. Pān. ii. 4. 20.; vi. 2. 124.; iii. 2. 135. comment. Several of these names are very problematical.
³ Pān. iv. 3. 107. text; ii. 1. 65. com.; vii. 4. 38. text; vi. 3. 42. com.; ii. 4. 3. com.; i. 3. 49. com.; ii. 1. 163. com.
⁴ Cf. Pān. vi. 2. 10.
⁵ Pān. viii. 3. 91. Kapishthalâḥ and Kapishthalam. Gaṇa kraṇdyâdi and upakâdi. As to Kâρêśvyolô, see Megasthenes, edit. Schwanbeck, p. 33. note, and p. 108.
7. Vâratantaviyas.  
8. Śvetâsvataras.  
11. Aiṇḍîneyas.  
12. Maitrâyaṇîyas.  

The Maitrâyaṇîyas are subdivided into seven Cha- 
raṇas:—

15. Dundubhas.  
17. Hâridravîyas.  
18. Śyâmas.  

1 Vâratantaviya, MSS. See, however, Pâñ. iv. 3. 102.  
2 A different reading is mentioned in the Š. K. D., namely, 
Śvetâ Śvetatarâh. MS. Chamb. 785., has Śvetâḥ Śvetântarâh; 
3 See Gaṇa Vidâdi.  
4 Āśṭhalakaṭhas, Š. K. D. Pâtâṇḍîneyas, Chamb. 785.  
5 Vârâyaṇîyas, Š. K. D.  
6 See Gaṇapâṭha, arîhaṇâdi.  
7 Pâñ. iv. 1. 105. Gaṇa Gargâdi, unless the reading be 
manutantu.  
8 Pâñ. iv. 2. 80. Gaṇa Varâhâdi. Pâñ. iv. 1. 78.  
9 Chaikeyas Š. K. D. MSS. Chamb. 376. 785, have Chhâgeyas. 
MS. 785, places the Hâridravîyas at the end, adding five new 
divisions. तच हारिद्रवियायानां पंचमाणं किसराखं मायावसविनयं पंचमेते हारिद्र 
वस्यमः। Pâñ. iv. 1. 117, Chhâgala, åtreyaś chet, chhâgalir 
anyah; iv. 3. 109, Chhâgaleyinaḥ; vii. 1. 2, Gaṇa takshaśilâdi. 
Chhâgaleyah, Pâñ. iv. 2. 30, Gaṇa Sakhyâdi.  
10 Pâñ. iv. 3. 104, Haridru and hâridravînâh; iv. 4. 53, Gaṇa 
kisarâdi.  
11 Gaṇa âśvadi.
19. Śyāmāyanīyas.

Then follow

20. Taittirīyas, subdivided into

21. Aukhiyas\(^2\) and

22. Khāṇḍikīyas.\(^3\)

The Khāṇḍikīyas are again subdivided into:

23. Kāleyas.\(^4\)

24. Śātyāyanins.

25. Hiranyakavesins.


27. Āpastambins.

This gives altogether twenty-seven Śākhās, the same number which is mentioned in the Vishṇu-purāṇa\(^5\), although the manner of computing them is different.

Then follow the fifteen Śākhās of the Vājasaneyins, a number which is confirmed by the Pratijña-pariśishta, and has also been preserved in the Vishṇu-purāṇa, while the Charaṇavyūha of the Sabda-kalpa-druma brings their number to seventeen. They are:

28. Jābālas.\(^6\)

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1 Pān. iv. 3. 104.

2 Aukhyas and Aukhiyas, Ś. K. D.; Aukhiyas, Ch. 785. ; Aushayas, Ch. 376. Cf. Pān. iv. 3. 102.

3 Khāṇḍikīyas, Ch. 785. ; Shāṇḍikeyas, Ch. 376. ; Pān. iv. 3. 102.


5 P. 279. “Of the tree of the Yajur-veda there are twenty-seven branches, which Vaiśampāyana, the pupil of Vyāsa, compiled and taught to as many disciples.”

6 Pān. vi. 2. 38. text ; ii. 4. 58. 1.
29. Baudheyas.  
31. Madhyandinas.  
32. Sāpheyas.  
33. Tāpaniyas.  
34. Kapolas.  
35. Paundravatsas.  
36. Avatikas.  
37. Paramāvatikas.  
38. Pārāśaryas.  
39. Vaineyas.  
40. Vaidheyas.  
41. Audheyas.  
42. Mauneyas.  

Though the number of the Śākhās of the Yajur-veda is stated as eighty-six by the Charaṇavyūha,

1 Baudheyas, P.-p. Ch. 785.; Augheya, Ś. K. D.; Gaudheyas, S. G. P.; Baudhāyanas, Ch. 376. E. I. H.; Baudhīḥ, Pān. ii. 4. 58. 1.
2 Pān. iv. 2. 111. text.
3 Madhyandineyas, Ch. 376. See Gaṇa utsādi.
5 Tāpāyaniyas, Ś. K. D.; Ch. 376.; Tāpāyanas, Ch. 785.
6 Kalāpas, P.-p.; Kapālas, Ś. K. D.; Ch. 785.; Kapolas, Ch. 376.
8 Cf. Gaṇa gargādī, Pān. iv. 1. 17.; iv. 1. 75, text.
9 PāmAvaṭikas or Paramāvaṭikas, Ś. K. D.
10 Pārāśaras, P.-p.; Ch. 785. 376.; Pārāśarīyas, Ś. K. D.; Gaṇa kriśāsvādī; gargādī.
11 Vaidheya, Ch. 785.; Vaṁheya, Ch. 376.
12 Vaidheya, Ch. 376.; Vaṁheya, Ch. 785.
13 Aukhyas, P.-p.; Addhas, Ch. 376.; Ugheya, Ś. K. D.; See Pān. ii. 4. 7.; Aukhiyas, Ch. 785.
14 Baudhyāśvas, P.-p.; Mauneyas, Ch. 785.; Bodheya, Ch. 376. The Ś. K. D. adds here,—42. Galavas; 43. Vaijaras; 44. Kātyā-yanīyas.
the names given, including the Vâjasaneyins, amount only to forty-three, exactly half the number expected.\footnote{1} It is difficult to account for this, for although some other names are mentioned, for instance the Prâchya, Udîchya and Nairûtya Kaññas, yet this would not increase the number of Śâkhâs sufficiently.

The largest number of Śâkhâs is ascribed to the Sâma-veda. It is said to have been a thousand. The author of the Charaṇavyûha, however, confesses that the greater part of them no longer exist. Those remaining at the time when the Charaṇavyûha was composed were the seven Śâkhâs of the

1. Râṇâyaniyas.\footnote{2}
2. Sâtyamurugryas.\footnote{3}
3. Kâlâpas.\footnote{4}
4. Mahâkalopas.\footnote{5}
5. Lângalâyanas.\footnote{6}
6. Sârdûlas.\footnote{7}
7. Kauthumas.\footnote{8}

The Kauthumas are again subdivided into the

8. Āsurâyanas.\footnote{9}
9. Vâtâyanas.\footnote{10}

\footnote{1}{In a MS. of the Chaṅka-śâkhâ of the Kâthaka, 101 Śâkhâs of the Yajur-veda are mentioned. Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., p. 38. "Ekottarasatûdhvaryuśâkhâprabhodabhinneyajurvedakûṭhake."}
\footnote{2}{Gana pailâdi.}
\footnote{3}{Sâtyamurugryas and Sâtyamurugryas, Ch. 785.; Sâtyamurugryas, Ch. 376.; Pân. iv. 1. 81.}
\footnote{4}{Kâlôpas, Ch. 785. 376.; Pân. iv. 3. 108.}
\footnote{5}{Mahâkalopas, Ch. 785. 376.; probably Mahâkâlâpas.}
\footnote{6}{Lângalas, Ch. 785.}
\footnote{7}{Sârdûlas, Ch. 376.; wanting in Ch. 785.}
\footnote{8}{Gana Kûrtakaujapâdi.}
\footnote{9}{Kauthumas, Ch. 785.; Gana taulvalyâdi.}
\footnote{10}{Sârḍûlas, Ch. 785.}
11. Prāchīnayogyas.


Of the Atharva-veda nine divisions are mentioned, but the names given are incomplete and corrupt. They are given here, with some conjectural emendations from the MSS.

1. Paippalādas.

1 Surāyanīyas, Ch. 785.
2 Prājvalanādvaitabhrīts, Ch. 785.; Prānjalidvaitabhrīts, Ch. 376. Gaṇa Gargādi.
3 Prāchīnayogyas and Naigeyās.
4 The text in the Ś. K. D. has वेष्ठला:। द्राता:। प्रद्राता:।
चाता:। गैता इति च पाठः। गैता:। प्रद्राता इति वेष्ठला:।
शैनकी। देवदशर्ती। चारणविधाशैनिः। द्राता प्रद्राता इति चारणविधाशैनिः।
MS. Ch. 785. reads शैनका दामोद्रा तोतायना जायला चारणचेता
श्कुन के देवदशर्ती। चारणविधाशैनिः।
MS. Ch. 376. reads, 
शैनका दामोद्रा तोतायना जावला चारणचेता शैनकी देवदशर्ती।
5 Paṇ. iv. 2. 66.
This list makes no distinction between old and new Charanás. If we had the whole Vedic literature before us, as it was living during ancient times in the tradition of numerous Brahmanic families, it would be possible to determine which of these Charanás owe their origin to Sûtras, which to Brâhmaṇas or Sanhitâs. As it is, we can only infer that some Charanás, like those of the Ásvalâyanas, Hiranyakesins, Bhâradvâjins, Ápastambins, Baudhâyanas, Pârâsaryas, &c., are in all probability of modern origin, because the only works ascribed to their founders are Sûtra compilations. Their Sanhitâs and Brâhmaṇas, whenever they are mentioned, seem to be the same as those of older Charanás, with but small modifications. Other Charanás, like those of the Paingins, Kaushâta-kins, Aitareyins, Sâtyâyanins, &c., are not mentioned in connection with any Sûtras composed by authors bearing these names; and it is most likely, therefore, that they derive their origin from authors whose names have been perpetuated in the titles of certain Brâhmaṇas. Whether these Charanás were in possession of Sûtras is doubtful, nor have we any means of determining whether, for instance, a member of the Aitareyi-charaṇa, after adopting the Kalpa-sûtras of

1 Pâñ. iv. 3. 106.  
2 Gaṇa Śaunakâdī.
Saunaka, would retain his allegiance to the Aitareyins or not. The ancient Sanhitâs used in these Brâhmaṇa-charaṇas, and originally adopted from older Cha-raṇas, were not likely to be affected by considerable differences after their adoption. The fact that we never find a Kaushîtaki-sanhitâ or Paingi-sanhitâ quoted tends to show that the Charaṇas, which owe their independent constitution to the introduction of a Brâhmaṇa, retained in most instances the original text of their Sanhitâs. Charaṇas, lastly, like those of the Śâkalas, Bâshkalas, Śaiśiras, &c., whose names are connected neither with Sûtras nor Brâhmaṇas, but with Sanhitâs only, must be referred to the earliest period of the formation of Vedic communities, and must have existed, as the bearers of their own traditional collection of hymns, before the composition of either Brâhmaṇas or Sûtras. With regard to many Charaṇas, however, it will remain doubtful to which of these three classes they belong, until a larger number of Vedic works peculiar to each Charaṇa becomes available. Charaṇas like those of the Mâdhyandinas and Kâṇvas must be referred to the Brâhmaṇa period, because their Sanhitâs and Brâhmaṇas are ascribed to one and the same teacher. This teacher, Yâjnavalkya, is represented as the author of modern Brâhmaṇas, and we saw that, in all probability, his Sanhitâ was even more modern than his Brâhmaṇas. The fact, however, that the Sûtras adopted by the Mâdhyandina and Kâṇva-charaṇas are ascribed to Kâtyâyana, shows that these Charaṇas existed certainly previous to the Sûtra period. With regard to the Sanhitâ-charaṇas it will always be difficult to determine how far their differences were fixed, if not originally
called forth by the introduction of the Brâhmaṇas. Most likely the Sanhitâ-charanâs are restricted to the Rig-veda. It is certain, at least, that no Brâhmaṇa belonging to any Veda was composed before the division of priests into Hotris, Udgâtris, and Adhvaryus,—had taken place. Before that division there was but one collection of hymns, that of the Bahvrichas, and it is among the Bahvrichas only that we have any distinct traces of Sanhitâ-charanâs.

It will always be very difficult to assign a distinct meaning to such terms as Charana and Śâkhâ, because we have nothing that exactly corresponds to them in our own experience. Literary works, such as the Śâkhâs were, have assumed with us a much more tangible shape. They exist as books, and not merely as a body of thought handed down in schools, or in families. To read a śâkhâ meant not only to go over it, but to take possession of it, to guard it in the memory, and to enable others to read it by repeating it to them. A man who had read a book was himself the book: the song of a poet had no outward existence except through those who heard and remembered it. A work, once composed, might either wither for want of an audience, or grow, like a tree, of which every new listener would become a new branch. The idea of representing what we should call an edition of a hundred copies, by the simile of a branch, was a very natural one, and if we once adopt it and enter into the spirit of this Sanskrit idiom, we see that it is difficult to distinguish between the branch, as the book, and the branch, as the reader; between the trust, and the trustee. It would be well, however, to speak of the former only as śâkhâ, and of the latter as the reader of a śâkhâ, while we should
reserve the name of Charaṇa for those ideal successions or fellowships to which all those belonged who read the same sākhā.

If it is difficult to describe what a Sākhā and a Charaṇa were, it is all the more necessary to state what they were not. Now a Charaṇa was not the same as a Gotra or Kula. Gotra or Kula means a family, and the number of families that had a right to figure in the Brahmanic Peerage of India was very considerable. The Brahmans were proud of their ancestors, and preserved their memory with the most scrupulous care, as may be seen by the numerous treatises on the subject which are preserved to the present day. Mādhava, for instance, after stating who his father, mother, and brothers were, what Sākhā he followed, what Sūtra he had adopted, adds at the end that his family descended from Bhāradvāja. Gotras, or families existed among Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas as well as among Brahmans. Charaṇas were confined to the priestly caste. Gotras depended on a real or imaginary community of blood, and thus correspond to what we call families. Charaṇas depended on the community of sacred texts. They were ideal fellowships, held together by ties, more sacred in the eyes of a Brahman than the mere ties of blood. They were the living depositaries of the most sacred texts, and with the extinction of a

1 श्रीमती जननी यस्य सुकीर्तिमोहणः पिता।
शायणो भोगनायस्य मनोबुद्धि शहोदरी॥
यस्य वैधायायं सूत्रं शाखा यस्य च याजुधि।
भारदाजां कुलं यस्य सूत्रं संजः स हि माधवः॥

Charana, the words which were believed to be the breath of God would have been lost without the hope of recovery. Members of different Gotras might belong to the same Charana. Where the member of a Gotra became the founder of a new Charana, the new Charana might bear the name of its founder, and thus become synonymous, but not identical, with a Gotra.

The names of the Charanas were naturally preserved as long as the texts which they embodied continued to be studied. The names of the Gotras were liable to confusion, particularly in later times, when their number had become very considerable. But the respect which the Brahmans, from the very earliest time, paid to their ancestors, and the strictness with which they prohibited marriages between members of the same family, lead us to suppose that the genealogical lists, such as we find in the Brâhmaṇas, in the Sūtras, in the Mahâbhârata, in the Purâṇas, and even at the present day, present in their general outlines a correct account of the priestly families of India. All Brahmanic families who keep the sacred fires are supposed to descend from the Seven Rishis. These are: - Bhrigu, Angiras, Viśvāmitra, Vasishṭha, Kâśyapa, Atri, Agasti. The real ancestors, however, are eight in number: - Jamadagni, Gautama and Bharadvâja, Viśvāmitra, Vasishṭha, Kâśyapa, Atri, Agastya. The eight Gotras, which descend from these Rishis, are again subdivided into forty-nine Gotras, and these forty-nine branch off into a still larger number of families. The names gotra, vanśa, varga, paksha, and gana are all used in the same sense, to express the larger as well as the smaller families, descended from the eight Rishis.
A Brahman, who keeps the sacrificial fire, is obliged by law to know to which of the forty-nine Gotras his own family belongs, and in consecrating his own fire he must invoke the ancestors who founded the Gotra to which he belongs. Each of the forty-nine Gotras claims one, or two, or three, or five ancestors, and the names of these ancestors constitute the distinctive character of each Gotra.¹ A list of these forms part of most of the Kalpa-sūtras, and I here give one of them from the 12th Book of Áśvalâyana’s Śrauta-sūtras.²

List of the Forty-nine Gotras, according to Áśvalâyana, xii. 10. seq.

1. THE BHĪRIGUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Gotra</th>
<th>No. of Ancestors</th>
<th>Invocation of Ancestors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jāmadagnā Vatsāḥ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnāvāna, Aurva, Jāmadagneti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jāmadagnyāḥ or Jāmadagnāḥ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnāvāna, Ārshītisheṇa, Anūpeti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ सर्वोग्नचारिणि प्रवरगणायत्तानिः गोचारणं तु दहस्ताणि प्रयुतान्यवैद्यानि च। जनपंचाशदेतियं प्रवर चविषिद्धर्णात्॥

² These lists vary considerably in the different Sūtras. Purushottama, in his Pravaramanjari, has made an attempt at collecting and explaining them. He uses the Kalpa-sūtras of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Satyāshāḥha, Kuṇḍina, Bharadvāja, Laugākshi, Kātyāyana, and Áśvalâyana; the Matsya-purāṇa, the Bhārata, Manu’s Law-book and their commentaries. For Baudhāyana he quotes a commentary by Amala; for Āpastamba, Dhūrtasvamin, Kapardisvāmin, Gurudevasvāmin; for Áśvalâyana, Devasvāmin.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>No. of Ancestors</th>
<th>Invocation of Ancestors</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Bidāḥ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpanavāna, Aurva, Bai-deti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Yaska</td>
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<tr>
<td>Badhuala</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bhārgava, Vaitahavya, Sāvetaseti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mauna</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mauka</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śārkarākshi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śārṣhtī</td>
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<td>Śāvarti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śālankāyana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jaimini</td>
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<tr>
<td>Devantyāyanāḥ</td>
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<td>5. Śyaitāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Mitrayuvah</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Śunakāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>II. THE ĀNGIRASAS.</td>
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<td>II. a. THE GOTAMAS.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Gotamāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āngirasa, Āyāsyā, Gautameti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Rahūganāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āngirasa, Rāhūgāṇya, Gautameti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Somarājakayāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āngirasa, Somarājya, Gautameti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Gotra</td>
<td>No. of Ancestors</td>
<td>Invocation of Ancestors</td>
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<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Prishadasvâh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 Āngirasa, Pârshadaśva, or Vairûpeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Rikshâh</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 Āngirasa, Bârhaspatya, Bhâradvâja, Vândana, Mâtavachaseti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Dirghatamasah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 Āngirasa, Auchathya, Dairghatamaseti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. b. The Bharadvâjas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>No. of Ancestors</th>
<th>Invocation of Ancestors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Bharadvâjâgnivesyâḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 Āngirasa, Bârhaspatya, Bhâradvâjeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Mudgalâḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 Āngirasa, Bhârmyaśva, or Maudgalyeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 Āngirasa, Bârhaspatya, Bhâradvâja, Gârgya, Šainyeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Gotra</td>
<td>No. of Ancestors</td>
<td>Invocation of Ancestors</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Harita</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kutsa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angirasa, Ambarisha, or Yauvanāśveti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pinga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Śankha</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Māndhātra, Ambarisha, Yauvanāśveti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Darbhya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhaimagavāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>23. Sankriti</td>
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<tr>
<td>Putimāśa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angirasa, Gaurivīta, or Sānkṛityeti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taṇḍi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śambhu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Śāktya, Gaurivīta, Sānkṛityeti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Śaivagavāḥ</td>
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<td>24. Kaṇvāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angirasa, Ghaura, Kānveti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Kapayah</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angirasa, Mahiyava, Urukshayaseti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26. Śaunga-Śaiśirayah</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Angirasa, Bārhaspatya, or Bhāradvāja, Kātya, Atkileti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>III. The Atris</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Atrayah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ātreya, Archanānasa, Śyāvāśveti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Gavishtīhiraḥ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ātreya, Gavishtīhira, Paurvātitheti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Viśvāmitras</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Chikita-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Devarāta, Audaleti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gālava-</td>
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<td>Kālabava-</td>
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<td>Manutantu-</td>
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<td>Kuśikāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of Gotra</td>
<td>No. of Ancestors</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Śraumata-kāmakāyañāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Devaśravaśa, Daivataraseti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Dhananjayāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Madhuchhandasa, Dhananjayeti.</td>
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<td>32. Ajāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Madhuchhandasa, Ajyeti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Rohināḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Madhuchhandasa, Rauhineti.</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>35. Pūraṇa-Vāridhāpayañāḥ</td>
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<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Devarāta, Puraṇeti.</td>
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<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Gāthina, Raiṇaveti.</td>
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<td>40. Śālankāyana-Śālāksha-Vohitāksha-Lohitajahnavaḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vaiśvāmitra, Śālankāyana, Kauśiketi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V. The Kaśyapas.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name of Gotra</th>
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<tr>
<td>41. Kaśyapaḥ</td>
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<td>42. Nidhruvāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kaśyapa, Avatsāra, Naidhruveto.</td>
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<tr>
<td>43. Rebhāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kaśyapa, Avatsāra, Raibhetyi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Gotra</td>
<td>No. of Ancestors</td>
<td>Invocation of Ancestors</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>44. Śaṇḍilāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Śaṇḍila, Āsita, Daivaleti.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kāsyapa, Āsita, Daivaleti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

VI. The Vasisṭhās.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>No. of Ancestors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45. Vasishṭhāḥ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vāsishṭheti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46. Upamanyavahah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vāsishṭha, Ābbharadvasu, Indrapramadeti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>47. Parāśarāḥ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Vāsishṭha, Śāktya, Parāśaryeti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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VII. The Agastis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gotra</th>
<th>No. of Ancestors</th>
<th>Invocation of Ancestors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49. Agastayah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āgastya, Dārdhachyuta,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td>Idhmavaheti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Āgastya, Dārdhachyuta, Somavaheti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are other lists of much greater extent, which may become useful in time for chronological calculations. In them the first branch of the Bṛrigus, the Vatsas, count 73 names; among them such names as Śaunakāyanāḥ (8), Pailāḥ (13), Paingalāyanāḥ (14), Pāṇiniḥ (29), Vālmikiyah (30). The Vidas comprise 13, the Ārṣṭishenas 8, the Yaskas 20, the Mitrayus 11, the Vainyas 3, and the Śunakas 9 names. It would occupy too much space to print these lists here.

In order to prove that these lists were not merely arbitrary compositions, their practical bearing on two very important acts of the ancient Brahmanic society,
the consecrating of the sacrificial fires, and marriage, should be borne in mind.

When the fire is to be consecrated, Agni Havya-vâhana, the god who carries the libations to heaven, must be invoked. This invocation or invitation of Agni, is called pravara.\(^1\) Agni himself or the fire is called Arsheya, the offspring of the Rishis, because the Rishis first lighted him at their sacrifices. He is the Hotri as well as the Adhvaryu among the gods. Like the Hotri and Adhvaryu priests, he is supposed to invite the gods to the sacrifice, and to carry himself the oblation to the seat of the immortals. When therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors. The names of these ancestors must then be added to his invitation, and thus the invitation or invocation of the ancestors came to be called pravara. For instance, if a Brahman belongs to the family of the Mândûkeyas, he must know that the Mândûkeyas belong to the Vatsas, and that the Vatsas are descended from Bhrigu, and invoke five ancestors. He must, therefore, like all members of the Vatsa-gotra, invoke Agni by the names of Bhârgava, Chyâvana, Āpnâvana, Aurva, and Jâmâdagna. If he belong to the family of Yâjnavalkya, a branch of the Kuśikas, descendants of Viśvâmitra, he must invoke Agni by the name of Viśvâmitra, Devarâta and Udala. This, at least, is

\(^1\) तस्य (नमःराज्वनीयस्य) प्रकर्षण प्रार्थनानि तैलेम्बंच्छु-भिरेकदिनिचिण्वंखाकेरिविशिष्टानि एकार्ष्याःद्धार्ष्यास्थार्ष्याः: पंचार्ष्याः प्रवरा इत्युच्छाने॥
the rule laid down in the Baudhāyana-sūtra, with which the Āsvalāyana-sūtra coincides, except that it does not mention the Yājnavalkyas as a subdivision of the Kuśikas. This custom was known at the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas, and we have no reason to doubt that ever since the first establishment of Vedic sacrifices, the forty-nine families preserved the tradition of their sacred pedigree, and that their genealogies possess a certain historical value.¹

This is confirmed still further if we consider the ancient Brahmanic marriage laws. To marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra, or having the same Pravara, was considered incest, and visited with severe penance. Āsvalāyana (xii. 15.) says: “Asamanapravarair vivāhaḥ.” “Marriage takes place with persons who have not the same Pravara, i. e. who do not invoke the same Rishis as their ancestors.” Āpastamba says: “Sagotrāya duhitaram na prayachchhet,” “Thou shalt not give thy daughter to a man belonging to the same Gotra or family.” Yājnavalkya says: “Arogininḥ bhrātrimatīṁ asamānārshagotrajāṁ udvahet.” “Let a man marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not the daughter of a man having the same ancestors and belonging to the same Gotra as himself.” In each case severe punishments are threatened if a man

¹ Thus we read in the Śrauta-sūtras of the Mānavas, that the Dikshita must say his name, the name of his Gotra, of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather; a custom which, if observed as a sacred law, must have preserved a genealogical knowledge for many generations. दीवित्तीयमसाबिति नाम गुहाति। चामुनयायणिति गोचरं। चारुमयू पुच्छ दति पितुनाब्रा। चारुमयू पौरेति पितामहः। चारुमयू नन्देति प्रपितामहः।

c c 2
transgress these rules knowingly, or even unknowingly. There are some special rules with regard to marriage, which differ again according to different Sūtras; of which the following, taken from Āśvalāyana, may serve as a specimen:

1. Persons who have the same Pravara must not intermarry. Hence a Parāśara must not marry the daughter of a Parāśara.

2. Persons belonging to the same Gotra must not intermarry. Hence a Viśvāmitra must not marry the daughter of a Viśvāmitra.

3. There are exceptions to this rule among the Bhrigus and Āngirasas. As a general rule, persons are called sagotra, if but one of the Rishis whom they invoke is the same. Hence an Upamanyu must not marry the daughter of a Parāśara, because the name of Vasishtha occurs in the tryārsheya pravara of both. But the three Gotras of the Bhrigus, from the Śyaitas to the Śunakas, may intermarry. The first four Gotras of the Bhrigus must not, neither the six first Gotras of the Gotamas. The Prishadaśvas, Mudgalas, Vishnuvriddhas, Kanyas, Agastyas, Haritas, Sankritis, Kapis and Yaskas may intermarry among themselves, and with the Jāmadagnyas, &c. Dhirghatamas’, on the contrary, Auchathyas and Kakhivats are to be considered as members of one Gotra, nor are marriages allowed between the Bharadvājagnivesis, Rikshas, Śunga-Śaśiris, (or Śungas, Śaśiris), Katas, and, according to some, the Gargas.

It is clear from this that the science of genealogy, being so intimately connected with the social and ecclesiastical system of the Brahmans, must have been studied with great care in India, and that the
genealogical lists which have been preserved to us in ancient works represent something real and historical.

After we have thus gained an insight into the system by which the Brāhmaṇas were handed down from generation to generation, we now return to a consideration of the literary merits of these works. The Brāhmaṇas represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves, as literary productions, they are most disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that
human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes. The following is a small specimen, and it has not been chosen to give an unfavourable idea of the Brāhmaṇas. It is the beginning of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, and explains a sacrificial act in itself full of meaning. Originally the Dikṣanīyā, as this ceremony is called, was meant to represent, by simple and natural emblems, the new birth through which a man, on his first admission to the sacrifice, was believed to enter a new life. Let us see what became of this act in the hands of the Brahmans.

**Aitareya-brāhmaṇa.—**Dikṣanīyā.

Agni is the first among the Gods, Vishṇu the last. Between them stand all the other deities.

They offer a Purolāśa to Agni and Vishṇu which has been prepared for the Dikṣanīyā in eleven jars.

---

1. *This passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishṇu. In the Kaush.-br. Agni is called avarārdhya, Vishṇu parārdhya, and the Com. explains these terms as signifying the first in the former, and the first in the latter half.*

2. A purolāśa is a baked flour cake (pakvāḥ piśṭapiṇḍāḥ), and *nirvap*, to strew, means originally to take four handfuls of rice
They offer it indeed to all the deities of this ceremony, without any difference.¹

For Agni is all the deities, Vishnu is all the deities.²

They are the two extremities of the sacrifice, Agni and Vishnu. Thus when men offer the Purolâsa to Agni and Vishnu, they worship the deities at both ends.³

Here they say, if there be a Purolâsa prepared in eleven jars, and there be two gods, Agni and Vishnu, what rule is there for the two, or what division?⁴

The Purolâsa of eight jars belongs to Agni, for the Gâyatri verse consists of eight syllables, and the Gâyatri is Agni's metre. That of three jars belongs to Vishnu, for Vishnu strode thrice through this universe: This is their rule here, and this the division.⁵

from the cart and throw them into a winnowing basket. Here, however, it means the offering of the oblation which has been prepared in that manner. The original meaning of Dikshâ is said to be “shaving or cleansing.”

¹ सर्वार्थ एवैं तद्विद्वा विस्मयं निर्विपत्ति॥
² श्रीमैव सर्व त्रैयं विस्मयं: सर्व त्रैयं:॥
³ एते वै चन्द्रवाल्ये तन्नी चत्वरिः विष्णुं चतुदास्वाविश्वं पुरोज्यं निर्विपत्तं एव तद्विद्वा नून्धन्वान्तिः॥
⁴ तदाज्यंदे कादशक्पालः पुरोज्यं द्वाराविष्णू कैन्योस्त्राच कृतिः का विभक्तिनिर्मिति॥
⁵ चत्राकपाल चाष्मेव स्याबाबे वै गायची गायचमांगे-भृंदेशिकपाले विष्णविच्छिद्रे विष्णविच्छिन्मत मैनयोस्त्राच कृतिः सा विभक्तिः॥

ccc 4
He who thinks himself without wealth, may offer a Charu in ghee (clarified butter).  
On this earth no one succeeds who has no wealth.

The ghee in the Charu, is the milk of the woman, the grains belong to the man; both together are a pair. Thus the Charu increases him by this very pair with progeny and cattle, so that he may prosper.

He who knows this is increased with progeny.

He who performs the New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices, has commenced with the sacrifice and with the gods. After having sacrificed with the new moon or full-moon oblation, he may perform the Diksha on the same oblation and the same sacrificial seat.

The commentator says: havih means the sacrifice, and barhih
This is one Dikṣā.\(^1\)
The Hotrī must recite seventeen Sāmidhenī verses.\(^2\)
The Prajāpati, the Lord of the World, is seventeen-fold, the months are twelve, and the seasons five, by putting the Hemanta and Śīśira seasons as one. So much is the year, and the year is Prajāpati.\(^3\)
He who knows this prospers by those verses which reside in Prajāpati.\(^4\)
The sacrifice went away from the gods. They wished to find it by means of the Isṭhis. The Isṭhis are called Isṭhis because with them they wished (\(iṣṭh\), to wish) to find it.\(^5\) They found it.\(^6\)

means the same, and he takes the two locatives in the sense of “after this new moon and full moon sacrifice has been performed.”

\(^1\) The last words, “this is one Dikṣā,” indicate that there is another; that is to say, some allow the Soma sacrifice, which begins with the Dikṣā, before the Darśa-pūrṇa-māsa.

\(^2\) The number is stated, because generally the Sāmidhenīs are only fifteen in number. These fifteen were originally but eleven verses, of which the first and last are repeated three times.

\(^3\) The Brāhmaṇa gives here three fanciful etymologies of isṭhi, the technical name of the sacrifice; of āhuti, the oblations enjoined at the sacrifice; and of āti, another name for the same. The real etymology of isṭhi is not ish, to wish, but yaj, to sacrifice; of āhuti, not hvayati, to call, but juhoti, to offer; of āti, not ḍyāti, to come, but avati, to protect.
He who knows this prospers after having found the sacrifice.\(^1\)

What are called oblations (âhûti) are invocations (âhûti); with them the sacrificer calls the gods, this is why they are called âhûtis.\(^2\)

They are called Ûtis, for by their means the gods come to the calling of the sacrificer (âyanti, they come). Or because they are the paths and the ways, they are called Ûtis; for they are the way to heaven for the sacrificer.\(^3\)

There they say, as another priest makes the oblation (seil. the Adhvaryu), then why do they call him the Hotrî (the offerer), who recites the prayers and formulas?\(^4\)

Because he causes the deities to be brought near

---

\(^1\) अनुविन्ययन्यो राख्षोति य एं वेद।

\(^2\) ब्राह्मण्यो वै नामेता यादाङ्गतय एताभिं देवान्यज- 

\(^3\) जतयो खलु वै ता नाम याभिरेभा यज्ञमानस 

\(^4\) तदाङ्गयदन्यो जुह्ययथ यो एवं च वजन्ति च कस्माः 

The commentator says, that the proper name for the Hotrî would seem to be Anuvaktî or Yashî, because पुरोनुवाक्रया 

चानुशुदे यात्रा च पठति।
according to their station, saying, "Bring him, bring him," this is the reason why he is called Hotri; he is a Hotri (from āvah, to bring near.)

1

He who knows this, is called a Hotri.

He whom the priests initiate (by means of the Dikshā ceremony), he is made again to be an embryo (he is born again.)

3

They sprinkle him with water.

Water is seed; having thus given this to him, they initiate him.

They anoint him with fresh butter (navanīta). Clarified butter for the gods is (called) Ajya; for men Surabhīghrita; for the manes Ayuta; for the embryos Navanīta. Therefore by anointing him with navanīta, they increase him with his own portion.

4

The commentator quotes a verse to the effect that molten ghee is called ājya; hardened, it is called ghrita; slightly molten, it is called āyuta; and well seasoned, it is called surabhi. But the Taittiriyas say, "ghrita is for the gods, astu for the manes, nishpakva for men." Astu is here the same as āyuta, slightly molten, and nishpakva, quite liquid.
They anoint his eyes with a collyrium. Anointing is light for the eyes. Having thus imparted light to him, they initiate him.

They rub him clean with twenty-one handfuls of Kuśa grass.

Him who is pure and has thus been cleaned, they initiate.

They take him to the hall. The hall is the womb for the pupil (dikṣita). By taking him to the hall they take him (who was before represented as an embryo) into his womb.

In this true womb he sits, and hence he departs. Therefore the fruit is borne in the true womb and brought forth from it. Therefore let not the sun shine upon him in its...
rising or setting away from the hall, nor let the priests speak to him.¹

They cover him with a cloth.²

This cloth is the caul in which the pupil is to be born; thus they cover him with the caul.³

The skin of a black antelope is his next cloak.⁴

Next to the caul is the Jarāyu; thus they cover him with the Jarāyu.⁵

He closes his hands.⁶

With closed hands the embryo lies, with closed hands the child is born. As he closes his hands, he holds the sacrifice, and all its gods between his hands.⁷

They say, there is no confusion for him who has first finished his Dikshā; for his sacrifice is held fast (between his hands), and the gods are so likewise. Therefore there can be no loss for him, like that which falls on him whose Dikshā was finished later.⁸

¹ तत्साधीविचित्राचितनिमितादादिन्योत्सुदिस्यादात्मायासिद्धापि वाधायास्यावेयुः॥

² वायव्याप्रोपुर्ववति॥

³ उच्चं वा एक्षिविविध्यं यदाम उल्लेच्वेतः तत्रोपुर्ववति॥

⁴ क्षणाजिनमुच्चरं भवति॥

⁵ उच्चरं वा उल्लवाजजरायु जरायुष्वेवनं तत्रोपुर्ववति॥

⁶ मुष्टी कुस्ते॥

⁷ मुष्टी वै कला गम्भीरं शैते मुष्टी कला कुमारो जायते तदन्मुष्टी कुस्ते चन्द्रे चैव तदविस्मय देवता मुष्टोऽः

⁸ कुस्ते॥

⁹ तदाभ्जने पूर्वदीविचित्रः संबोधितः परिकृतिनो वा
After having put off his cloak, he descends to the bath. Therefore an embryo is born after he is separated from the Jarâyu.¹

He descends together with his cloth — therefore a child is born together with the caul.²

For him who has not offered a sacrifice before, let (the Hotrî) recite two puronuvâkyâs, “tvam agne saprathâ asi,” (v. 13. 4.) for the first, “soma yâs te mayobhuvaḥ” (i. 91. 9.) for the second portion of the ghee.³

(The third line of the first verse is) “through thee they carry out the sacrifice;” and by reciting this line the Hotrî carries out the sacrifice for the pupil.⁴

After the general remarks on the Dikshâñyeshti which were given in the first three sections, without any particular regard to the offices of the Hotrî, the fourth section begins with the ceremonial rules for the Hotrî. The Hotrî has to recite certain verses on being ordered to do so by the Adhvaryu.⁴

¹ उमुच्च कृष्णानन्दस्याध्यायस्य भवेत् तस्मानुभुता गर्भा जातायोजीयं
² समः वासाभवेत् तस्माद्भवेत् ब्रजवे जातायोजीयं
³ लम्बे समः चिम चोर चाले मथोभुव इत्याचाय—
⁴ लया यज्ञ वित्तात्त उत्तिय स्थानमेवास्या एतद्वित्तनेति
For him who has offered a sacrifice before, let the Hotṛi recite instead "Agniḥ pratnena manmanā," (viii. 44. 12.) and "soma gīrghish ṭvā vayam" (i. 91. 11.)

By saying "pratnam" (former) a word which occurs in the first verse, he alludes to the former sacrifice.

Both these rules (of using certain verses for a man who has not, and for a man who has, sacrificed before) are not to be observed.

Let him rather use the two verses on the destruction of Vṛitra "Agnir vṛitrāṇi janghanat," (vi. 16. 24.) and "tvam Somāsi satpatiḥ" (i. 91. 5.)

For he whom the sacrifice approaches destroys Vṛitra; therefore verses on the destruction of Vṛitra are to be used.

Having enjoined these two verses for the introductory ceremony of the offering of ghee, the Brāhmaṇa now proceeds to detail the yājyānuvyākyās for the principal offering.

The reason which the commentator gives for this extraordinary proceeding is, that in each of the two couples of verses which were first recommended, the first verse only contained an allusion to the peculiarities of the sacrifices, while the two verses now enjoined both treat of the destruction of Vṛitra.
"Agnir mukham prathamo devatánâm," &c., is the Puronuvâkyā, "Agniś cha Vishno tapa uttamam mahāh," etc. the Yâjyâ verse. These two verses on Agni and Vishnu are correct in form. The correctness of a sacrifice consists in its correctness of form; it consists in this that the verse recited alludes to the act performed.¹

Agni and Vishnu are the guardians of the Dikshā among the gods. They are the lords of the Dikshā. Therefore as the oblation is to Agni and Vishnu, they who are the lords of the Dikshā are pleased and grant the Dikshā, saying, Let those who perform this rite be initiated.²

They are Trishtubhs (by their metre), in order that they may give bodily strength.³

Having explained the verses used by the Hotri at the principal part of the sacrifice, the Brähmana adds some rules on the Svishṭakrit verses.

¹ चित्रितमुखं प्रथमो देवतानामभियुक्तं विष्णो तपं उत्तमं मह दयानामविष्णवः हविष्णो वाज्यानुवाके भवतः। चित्रित-वैष्णवः कुपसमृद्धेः एतदे यज्ञस मृदूं पद्रुपसमृद्धं यत्कर्मः चित्रमाण्यमुगभिस्वरूपः॥

Instead of saying "anuvâkyâyâjye," because the anuvâkyā comes before the yajya, the compound yâjyānuvâkye is formed, the shorter word, according to grammar, standing first in a Dvandva compound. The verses are not in the Sâkala-sâkhâ of the Rig-veda.

² चित्रितम् हैं वै विष्णुः देवानां दीवायालो तौ दीवाया ईशाने तच्चारणाविष्णवं हयवर्भवति यो दीवाया ईशाने तौ पैरो दीवां प्रयाच्छतां यो दीवाचितारी तौ दीव-चेतामिति॥

³ चित्रितम् भवतः संहित्रिस्तावः॥८॥
He who wishes for beauty and for wisdom, let him use the two Gāyatrī verses \(^1\) of the Svishtakṛīt.\(^2\)

The Gāyatrī is beauty, full of wisdom.\(^3\)

He who knowing this uses the two Gāyatrīs becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom.\(^4\)

He who desires long life, let him use two Uṣṇīḥ verses.\(^5\)

Uṣṇīḥ is life.\(^6\)

He who knowing this uses the two Uṣṇīḥs, arrives at any age.\(^7\)

He who desires heaven, let him use two Anuṣṭubhs.\(^8\)

There are sixty-four syllables in the two Anuṣṭubhs, and three are these worlds, (earth, sky and heaven) each of twenty-one parts. With each twenty-one syllables he ascends to these worlds, and with the sixty-fourth he stands firm in heaven.\(^9\)

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1. They are "Sa havyavāḥ amartyah," (iii. 11. 2.) and "Agnir hotā purohitah." (iii. 11. 1.)

2. Gāyatrī śrīyakṣat: māṃṣātṛे कुर्वेत् तेजस्वामो ब्रह्मचर्यकामः॥

3. Tējō vē ब्रह्मचर्यम् गायत्री॥

4. Tējātī ब्रह्मचर्यी महति य एवंविद्यान् गायत्री कुरुते॥

5. Uṣṇiśāvāyukām: कुर्वेत्॥

They are "Agne vājasya gomataḥ," (i. 79. 4.) and "Sa idhāno vasush kaviḥ." (i. 79. 5.)

6. Āṇavāḥ उष्णक॥

7. सर्वमायुरेति य एवंविद्याः उष्णकूची कुरुते॥

8. Anuṣṭubhi खर्कामः कुर्वेत॥

They are "Tvam Agne vasūn." (i. 45. 1.)

9. दयोर्वा अनुष्ठुभोस्यदःचिरचरानि चय दम जान्ना एकङ्कस्त्मे लोका एकाङ्कश्योकविकश्योकविकभोकानोनि सर्वे एव लोक चतुःप्रतित्वमेव प्रतीतिष्ठति॥

DD
He who knowing this uses the two Anushtubhs stands firm.¹
He who desires wealth and glory, let him use two Bṛihatīs.²
The Bṛihati is wealth and glory.³
He who knowing this uses two Bṛihatis, gives himself wealth and glory.⁴
He who loves the sacrifice, let him use two Panktis.⁵
The sacrifice is like a Panktī.⁶
The sacrifice comes to him who, knowing this, uses two Panktis.⁷
Let him who desires strength, use two Trishtubhs.⁸
Trishtubh is strength, which is vigour and power.⁹
He who knowing this uses two Trishtubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful.¹⁰

¹ प्रतितिचिति य एवंविद्यानुसिद्धभो कृस्ते॥
² प्रशस्या ओकामो येशकामः कुवर्ताः॥
They are “Enā vo agnim (vii. 16. 1.), and Udasya sochih.” (vii. 16. 3.)
³ ओक्रेत्य यशस्न्दर्शते चहति॥
⁴ निघोष्णे यश यशान्धते य एवंविद्यान्दहति कृस्ते॥
⁵ पंक्ति येशकामः कुवर्ताः॥
They are “Agnim tam manye.” (v. 6. 1.)
⁶ पंक्ति वै चण्डः॥
⁷ उपैऽं यज्ञो नमति य एवंविद्यां पंक्ति कृस्ते॥
⁸ चिण्डबो वीर्यकामः कुवर्ताः॥
They are “Dve virūpe charataḥ.” (i. 95. 1.)
⁹ चोजो वा द्रविञ्च वीर्य चिण्डः॥
¹⁰ च्रोज्जीविधिवान् वीर्यवान्मति य एवंविद्यांचिण्डभो कृस्ते॥
Let him who desires cattle, use two Jagatis.1
Cattle is Jagati-like.2
He who knowing this uses two Jagatis, becomes rich in cattle.3
Let him who desires food, use two Virāj verses.4
Virāj is food.5 (virāj, to shine.)
Therefore he who has the largest food here shines most on earth; this is the reason why it is called Virāj (shining).6
He who knows this shines forth among his own people; he is the best of his friends.7
All these are voluntary verses. We now come to those which are always to be used.
Now the metre Virāj possesses five powers.
Because it has three lines, therefore it is Gāyatrī and Ushṇīh (which also have three lines). Because its lines have each eleven syllables, therefore it is Trishtubh. Because it has thirty-three syllables, therefore it is Anushtubh. (If it be said that the two Virāj verses in question, i.e. "preddho agne," &c. and "imo agne," &c., have only thirty-one and thirty-

1 जगत्यो पशुक्रामः कुर्वित॥
They are "Janasya gopā." (v. 11. 1.)

2 जागता वै पशवः॥

3 पशुमान्नभवति य एवंविद्रान् जगत्यो कुर्वतेऽ॥

4 विराजावन्नाचक्रामः कुर्वित॥
They are "Preddho agne" (vii. 1. 3.), "Imo agne." (vii. 1. 18.)

5 चत्रं वै विराटः॥

6 तस्माच्छेद्वद्भुविद्मत्र भवति एव भूविष्ठ लोके विराजति तद्विराजो विराटः॥

7 वि खेषु राजति श्रेष्ठः स्वान्त्व भवति य एवं वेदः॥५॥
two syllables, it must be remembered that) metres do
not change by one syllable or by two. The fifth power
is that it is Virâj (shining).¹

He who knowing this uses the two Virâj verses, ob-
tains the power of all metres, retains the power of all
metres, obtains union, uniformity and unison with
all metres, eats and has to eat, has food together with
his family.²

Therefore the two Virâj verses are certainly to be
used, those which begin with "Preddho agne" and
"Imo agne."³

Dikshâ is right, Dikshâ is truth, therefore a man
who performs the Dikshâ must speak the truth.⁴

Now they say, what man can speak all truth?
Gods are full of truth, men are full of falsehood.⁵

¹ चयो पंचवीर्यं वा एतक्षण्ड्रो यद्विराट।
चत् चिर्यु तेनोपिण्दायायच्छी यद्या एकादशारापि प-
दानि तेन चिर्यु यत् चचचिर्गद्वरा तेनानुधुर्व वा एकनाच-
रेण कंद्रान्ति विच्यति न दाय्यां यद्विराट। तत्त्वमं।

² सर्वं धर्मं वीर्यमवसं शर्वं धर्मं धर्ममवसं श-
र्षं धर्मं साधुं शुप्तं स लोकताममवसं भवावद्वसु
रं प्रजायानाचाच च एवविद्यान् विराजी कुहते।

³ तस्यादिराजावेन वर्तं। प्रेतः चाः चमो चाः चबिषेलं।

⁴ चतं वाव दोीचा सतं दोीचा तस्यादिराजितेन सत्त्वाधि
वद्रित्यं।

Right (rita) and truth (satya) are said to differ, inasmuch as
rita means a true conception, satya, a true speech.

⁵ चयो खल्लाङ्गः कोऽहितं मनुयः सवं सतं वद्रितं
सत्याधिता वै दोीवा अनुवाःसतिता मनुया दृष्टि।
Let him make each speech with the word "Vichakshaṇa." (which means, let him put "vichakshaṇa" at the end of the name of a person whom he addresses.)¹

The eye is vichakshaṇa, for with it he sees clearly (vi-chaksh, to perceive.)²

The eye is established as truth among men.³

Therefore people say to a man who tells something, "Hast thou seen it?" And if he says "I saw it," then they believe him. And if one sees a thing oneself, one does not believe others, even many.⁴

Therefore let a man make each speech with the word "Vichakshaṇa"; then his uttered speech becomes full of truth.⁵

¹ विचचणवती वाचं बोदत ॥
For instance, instead of saying, "Devadatta, bring the cow;" let him say, "Devadatta, vichakshaṇa, bring the cow." According to Āpastamba, vichakshaṇa ought to be used after the names of a Kshatriya and Vaiśya, but "chanasita" after the name of a Brahmān.

² चुँवै विचचणं वि भेनेन पष्यतीति । Kaush.-br. चुँवै विचचणं चुँवा हि विपष्यति॥

³ एतद्वै मनुष्यं सत्यं निधितं यथूः ॥

⁴ तस्माद्वाचचाणमािर्मित्रागिति स बन्धश्रीमिष्याचायायायः अद्यति यथू वै सत्यं पष्यति न बहनं चनान्येवं अद्यति॥

⁵ तस्माद्रिचचणवतीभेव वाचं वेदायायोततरा हैवायं वागुदिता भवति भवति॥ ई॥
The next extract is from the Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa (xxvi. 5.). It will show how completely the true character of the sacrifice had been forgotten, and how much importance was attached to mere trifles.¹ It is intelligible, wherever there is an established ceremonial, and priests appointed to watch over it, that certain rules should be laid down for remedying any mistake that may have occurred in the performance of a sacrifice. The chapter of accidents is a large one, and the Brahmans have spared no pains in laying down the most complicated rules, how to counteract the consequences of a real mistake. The rules of pe-

¹ यथ च स्माहैद्वोदारसि: प्रत्तदेनो नैमिषीयायाणं सचमुपगस्योपाखचिक्रियां प्रमच्छ यद्धिक्रांतमुल्लणं सद्यो वो-

धयेततिः वानयताहा वुधे वयं वोत्नुल्लणं सादिति त उ त्र्यौरस्यमाक्ष्यालोकयोवाचारां ब्रह्माणि स होवाय नाहमेंद्राद हंत पूवः वाचाराय महिरं जारुकाणि द्वायानीति

तं च प्रयूच्छ यद्धिक्रांतमुल्लणं कर्ता वा सर्बं वुधेऽत्वां यो वोधयेत कर्ण तदुच्छ्वाणमुल्लणं भवेतुपनवर्चणेन वा

मांसब्रोमेव वेति पुनर्च्छ्वा मंव द्रति य स्माह जारुक-

ध्र्यामलोकां: पुन: प्राच्छ्व गङ्गानवचनं वा निगंदं वा

याच्छ्वा वा यदाननक्ष्मर्तपुनश्रूण्यां द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं ताः

वहृत्त्रुपुरुषवं वहृत्त्रुपुरुषवं वा पादं वा पदं वा वर्तं वेति च स्माह जारुक्षृक्षीत्वं च स्माह कौषीतिकिर्ति मंव पुनश्रूण्यामाज्ञिन

जुडः द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं द्वायामाच्छ्वाणं
nance or prayaschitta occupy, in several instances, one third of the whole collections of ceremonial rules. But this was not enough. Discussions were raised, not only how to remedy mistakes, that had been observed at the time; but how to counteract the effects of mistakes, unobserved during the performance of the sacrifice. To settle this question, the Kaushítakins quote the following story:—

"And then Pratardana, the son of Divodása, (a famous king) having gone to the sacrifice of the Rishis of Nimisha, sat down in their presence and asked the question: 'If the Sadasya (the superintending priest, according to the ceremonial of the Kaushítakins) should make known a past blunder, or any one of the priests should observe it, how would you be free from sin?' The priests were silent. Their Brahman was Alíkayu, the descendant of Vâchaspati. He said, 'I do not know this, alas! Let us ask the teacher of our fathers, the elder Jâtukarnya.' He asked him: 'If the performer himself should observe a past blunder, or some one else should make it known, how could that blunder become not a blunder? by saying the passage again, or by an offering?' Jâtukarnya said, 'The passage must be said again.' Alíkayu asked him again: 'Should he say again the Śastra, the Anuvachana, the Nigada, the Yâjya, or whatever else it may be, from beginning to end?' Jâtukarnya said: 'As far as the blunder extends, so far let him say it again, whether a verse, a half verse, a foot, a word, or a letter.' Then said Kaushítaki: 'Let him not say the passage again, nor let him perform a penance offering (Kaush.-br. vi. 11.). It is not a blunder,' so said Kaushítaki; 'for, whatever blunder the Hotris commit at the sacrifice without being
aware of it, all that, Agni, the divine Hotri, makes whole; and this is confirmed by a verse from the Rig-veda.'"

There are, however, other passages in the Brâhmaṇas, full of genuine thought and feeling, and most valuable as pictures of life, and as records of early struggles, which have left no trace in the literature of other nations. The story of Sunahśepha, for instance, which we find in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, and in the Śânkâhâyanâ-sûtras is interesting in many respects. It shows that, at that early time, the Brahmans were familiar with the idea of human sacrifices, and that men who were supposed to belong to the caste of the Brahmans were ready to sell their sons for that purpose. The text of this story, together with the various readings, as gathered from the Śânkâhâyanâ-sûtras will be printed in the appendix.¹

"Hariśchandra," the son of Vedhas, of the family of the Ikshvâkus, was a king without a son. He had a hundred wives, but had no son by them. In his house lived Parvata and Nârada. He asked Nârada: 'Tell me, O Nârada, what do people gain by a son, whom they all wish for, as well those who reason as those who do not reason?'

Being asked by one verse, Nârada² replied in ten verses:

¹ See Professor Wilson's Essay on Human Sacrifices in the Veda, and Professor Roth, in Weber's Ind. Studien, i. p. 457.

² Hariśchandra was, according to the Purâṇas, the son of Triśanku, king of Ayodhyâ, whom Vasishṭha had cursed, and who made Viśvâmitra his Purohiṭa. Viśvâmitra in the Brâhmaṇa is represented as one of Hariśchandra's priests, but the office of Brahman is held by Vasishṭha. In the Râmâyana, the sacrifice of Sunahśepha takes place under King Ambarîśha.

³ Nârada is known as a frequent interlocutor in the epic
'If a father sees the face of a son, born alive, he pays a debt in him, and goes to immortality.

'The pleasure which a father has in his son is greater than all the pleasures that are from the earth, from the fire, and from the waters.

'Always have the fathers overcome the great darkness by a son; for a Self is born from his Self; it (the new-born Self, the son) is like a ship, full of food, to carry him over.

'What is the flesh? What is the skin? What are the hairs? What the heat? Try to get a son, you Brahmans; he is undoubtedly the world.

'Food is life for men, clothing his protection, gold his beauty, cattle his strength. His wife is a friend, his daughter is a pity; but the son is his light in the highest world.

'As husband he embraces a wife, who becomes and puranic poetry, particularly in dialogues where moral and legal precepts are given. Cf. Burnouf, Bhagavat-purāṇa, vol. iii. preface.

1 The commentator gives a very different version of this line. He takes mala, which usually means matter, or mud, to signify the state of life of a Grihastha, or householder. Ajina, the skin, particularly of the antelope (aja), he takes as a symbol of the Brahmachārin state, because the pupil wears a skin. Śmaśrūṇi, used in the singular for beard, he takes as a symbol for the Vana-prastha, because he does not shave any more; and tapas he explains to mean the penance practised by the Parivrājaka.

Why the birth of a daughter was considered a pity we learn from the following verse (metre Rathoddhata): —

संभवे खजनदुःखकारिका
संग्रहानसमवेश्यन्धकारिका
यावनेदिपि बझ्यदपारिका
दारिका छद्यदारिका पितः॥
his mother, when he becomes her child. Having been renewed in her, he is born in the tenth month.

'A wife is a wife (jāyā) because man is born (jāyate) again in her. She is a mother (abhūti) because she brings forth (abhūti); a germ is hidden in her.

'The gods and the old ages brought great light unto her. The gods said to men: "In her you will be born again."

'There is no life for him who has no son, this the animals also know.

'The path which those follow who have sons and no sorrows, is widely praised and happy. Beasts and birds know it, and they have young ones everywhere.'

Having thus spoken, he said to him: 'Go to Varuṇa the king, and say: May a son be born to me, and I shall sacrifice him to you.' The king assented, he went to Varuṇa the king, and said: 'May a son be born to me and I shall sacrifice him to you.' Varuṇa said, 'Yes.' A son was born to him, called Rohita. Then Varuṇa said to Hariśchandra: 'A son is born to thee, sacrifice him to me.' Hariśchandra said: 'When an animal is more than ten days old, it can be sacrificed. May he be older than ten days and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuṇa assented. The boy was more than ten days old, and Varuṇa said: 'He is older now than ten days, sacrifice him to me.' Hariśchandra said: 'When an animal's teeth come, then it can be sacrificed. May his teeth now come, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuṇa assented. His teeth came, and Varuṇa said: 'His teeth have come, sacrifice him to me.' Hariśchandra said: 'When an animal's teeth fall
out, then it can be sacrificed. May his teeth fall out, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuna assented; his teeth fell out, and Varuna said: 'His teeth have fallen out, sacrifice him to me.' Harischandra replied: 'When an animal's teeth come again, then it can be sacrificed. May his teeth come again, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuna assented. His teeth fell out, and Varuna said: 'His teeth have fallen out, sacrifice him to me.' Harischandra said: 'When an animal's teeth come again, then it can be sacrificed. May his teeth come again, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuna assented. His teeth fell out, and Varuna said: 'His teeth have fallen out, sacrifice him to me.' Harischandra replied: 'When an animal's teeth come again, then it can be sacrificed. May his teeth come again, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuna assented. His teeth came again, and Varuna said: 'His teeth have come again, sacrifice him to me.' Harischandra said: 'When a warrior (kshatriya) is girt with his armour, then he can be sacrificed. May he be girt, and I shall sacrifice him to you.'

Varuna assented. He was girt, and Varuna said: 'He has been girt, let him be sacrificed to me.'

Harischandra assented. He addressed his son and said: 'Child, he gave you to me; Death! that I sacrifice you to him.' The son said, 'No!' took his bow, and went to the forest, and lived there for a year.

And Varuna seized Harischandra, and his belly swelled. This Rohita heard and went from the forest to the village (grāma). Indra, in the form of a man, went round him, and said: 'For a man who does not travel about there is no happiness, thus we have heard, O Rohita! A good man who stays at home is a bad man. Indra is the friend of him who travels. Travel.'

Rohita thought, a Brahman has told me to travel, and thus he travelled a second year in the forest. When he went from the forest to the village, Indra, in the form of a man, went round him, and said:

'A traveller's legs are like blossoming branches,
he himself grows and gathers the fruit. All his wrongs vanish, destroyed by his exertion on the road. Travel!'

Rohita thought, a Brahman has told me to travel, and thus he travelled a third year in the forest. When he went from the forest to the town, Indra, in the form of a man, went round him, and said:  
‘The fortune of a man who sits, sits also; it rises, when he rises; it sleeps, when he sleeps; it moves well when he moves. Travel!’

Rohita thought, a Brahman has told me to travel, and thus he travelled a fourth year in the forest. When he went from the forest to the town, Indra, in the form of a man, went round him, and said:

‘A man who sleeps is like the Kali age; a man who awakes is like the Dvâpara age; a man who rises is like the Tretâ age; a man who travels is like the Krita age. Travel!’

Rohita thought, a Brahman has told me to travel, and thus he travelled a fifth year in the forest. When he went from the forest to the town, Indra, in the form of a man, went round him, and said:

‘A traveller finds honey, a traveller finds sweet figs. Look at the happiness of the sun, who travelling never tires. Travel!’

Rohita thought, a Brahman has told me to travel, and thus he travelled a sixth year. He met in the forest a starving Rishi, Ajigarta, the son of Śīyavasa. He had three sons, Sunahpuchha, Sunahsepha, and Sunolângûla. Rohita said to him: ‘Rishi, I give you a hundred cows, I ransom myself with one

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1 This is one of the earliest allusions to the four ages of the world.
of these thy sons.' The father embraced the eldest son, and said: 'Not him.' 'Nor him,' said the mother, embracing the youngest. And the parents bargained to give Sunahśepha, the middle son. Rohita gave a hundred, took him, and went from the forest to the village. And he came to his father, and said: 'Father, Death! I ransom myself by him.'

The father went to Varuṇa, and said: 'I shall sacrifice this man to you.' Varuṇa said, 'Yes, for a Brahman is better than a Kshatriya.' And he told him to perform a Rājasūya sacrifice. Harīśchandra took him to be the victim for the day, when the Soma is spent to the gods.

Viśvāmitra was his Hotṛi priest, Jamadagni his Adhvaryu priest, Vasishtha, the Brahman, Ayāsyā, the Udgātri priest. When Sunahśepha had been prepared, they found nobody to bind him to the sacrificial post. And Ajīgartā, the son of Suyavasa said: 'Give me another hundred, and I shall bind him.' They gave him another hundred, and he bound him. When he had been prepared and bound, when the Āpṛi hymns had been sung, and he had been led round the fire, they found nobody to kill him. And Ajīgartā, the son of Suyavasa said: 'Give me another hundred, and I shall kill him.' They gave him another hundred, and he came whetting his sword. Then Sunahśepha thought, 'They will really kill me, as if I was not a man.'

1 Langlois, in his translation of the Harivānsa (i. 124.), takes a different view of this circumstance. According to his translation Sunahśepha "avait été dans une autre existence un des coursiers attelés au char du soleil." Langlois reads in the text Haridasva, which he takes as a name of the sun with green horses.

2 The commentator observes here, that although at a sacrifice men and wild beasts were bound to the post, yet both beasts
to the gods.' He went with a hymn to Prajâpati (Lord of the World), the first of gods. Prajâpati said to him: 'Agni (fire) is the nearest of gods, go to him.' He went with a hymn to Agni, and Agni said to him: 'Savitri (the progenitor) rules all creatures, go to him.' He went with a hymn to Savitṛi, and Savitṛi said to him: 'Thou art bound for Varuṇa the king, go to him.' He went with a hymn to Varuṇa the king, and Varuṇa said to him: 'Agni is the mouth of the gods, the kindest god, praise him, and we shall set thee free.' Thus he praised Agni, and Agni said to him: 'Praise the Viśve Devāḥ, and we shall set thee free.' Thus he praised the Viśve Devāḥ, and they said to him: 'Indra is the greatest, mightiest, strongest, and friendliest of the gods, praise him, and we shall set thee free.' Thus he praised Indra, and Indra was pleased, and gave him in his mind a golden car, which Sunahṣepha acknowledged by another verse. Indra said to him; 'Praise the Āśvinau, and we shall set thee free.' Thus he praised the Āśvinau, and they said to him: 'Praise Ushas (dawn), and we shall set thee free.' Thus he praised Ushas with three verses. While each verse was delivered, his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra's belly grew smaller, and when the last verse was said, his fetters were loosed, and Harischandra well again."

This story is chiefly interesting as revealing to us three distinct elements in the early social life of India. These are represented by the royal or

and men were set free immediately after the Paryagni-karaṇam (purification by fire, carried round), and only animals like sheep, &c., were killed.
reigning family of the Ikshvákus, by their priests or ministers belonging to several famous Brahmánical races, and by a third class of men, living in the forests, such as Ajígarta and his three sons. It is true that Ajígarta is called a Rishi, and one of his sons a Brahman. But even if we accept the Aryan origin of Ajígarta, the seller and butcher of his own son, it is important to remark how great a difference there must have been between the various Aryan settlers in India. Whether we ascribe this difference to a difference in the time of immigration, or whatever other reason we may assign to it, yet there remains the fact, that, with all the vaunted civilisation of the higher Aryan classes, there were Aryan people in India to whom not only a young prince could make the offer of buying their children, but where the father offered himself to bind and kill the son, whom he had sold for a hundred cows. This was a case so startling to the later Brahmans, that the author of the Laws of Manu was obliged to allude to it, in order to defend the dignity of his caste.¹ Manu says, that hunger is an excuse for many things, and that Ajígarta, although he went to kill his own son, was not guilty of a crime, because he did so to appease his hunger. Now the author of the Aitareya-brähmaṇa certainly does not adopt this view, for Ajígarta is there, as we shall see, severely abused for his cruelty, so much so, that his son, whom he has sold, considers himself at liberty to leave the family of his parents, and to accept the offer made by Viśvāmitra of being adopted into his family. So revolting, indeed, is the description given of Ajígarta’s behaviour

¹ Manu, x. 105.
in the Brāhmaṇa, that we should rather recognise in him a specimen of the un-Aryan population of India. Such a supposition, however, would be in contradiction with several of the most essential points of the legend, particularly in what regards the adoption of Śunahṣepha by Viśvāmitra. Viśvāmitra, though arrived at the dignity of a Brahman, clearly considers the adoption of Śunahṣepha Devarāta, of the famous Brahmanic family of the Āngirases, as an advantage for himself and for his descendants; and the Devarātas are indeed mentioned as a famous branch of the Viśvāmitras. (V.-P. p. 405, 23.). Śunahṣepha is made his eldest son, and the leader of his brothers, evidently as the defender and voucher of their Brahmanhood, which must have been then of very recent date, because Viśvāmitra himself is still addressed by Śunahṣepha as Rāja-putra, and Bharata-rishabha.

The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa goes on to state that the priests asked Śunahṣepha to perform the sacrifice of the day. Śunahṣepha then invented the ceremony called Anjahsava, and prepared the Soma, accompanied by four verses.¹ He poured the Soma into the Drona-kalāśa vessel with one verse, and made the libations with the four first verses of the same hymn, accompanied by Svāhā exclamations, as the sacrifice had been begun by Hariśchandra. Afterwards he carried out all the things belonging to the Avabṛitha ceremony, employing two verses, and made Hariśchandra go to the Āhavaniya fire with another hymn.

"When the sacrifice had thus been performed Śunahṣepha sat down on the lap of Viśvāmitra. Ajīgarta,

¹ These verses are to be found in the sixth Anuvāka of the first Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda.
the son of Sûyavasa, said: “Rishi, give me back my son.” Viśvāmitra said, “No; for the gods have given him to me.” He became Devarâta (Theodotus) the son of Viśvāmitra, and the members of the families of Kapila and Babhru became his relations. Ajîgarta the son of Sûyavasa said: “Come thou, O son, we, both I and thy mother call thee away.” Ajîgarta the son of Sûyavasa said: “Thou art by birth an Ângirasa, the son of Ajîgarta, celebrated as a poet. O Rishi, go not away from the line of thy grandfather, come back to me.” Śunahśepha replied: “They have seen thee with a knife in thy hand, a thing that men have never found even amongst Śûdras; thou hast taken three hundred cows for me, O Angiras.” Ajîgarta the son of Sûyavasa said: “My old son, it grieves me for the wrong that I have done; I throw it away, may these hundred cows belong to thee.” Śunahśepha replied: “Who once commits a sin will commit also another sin; thou wilt not abstain from the ways of Śûdras; what thou hast committed cannot be redressed.” “Cannot be redressed,” Viśvāmitra repeated. “Dreadful stood the son of Sûyavasa when he went to kill with his knife. Be not his son, come and be my son.” Śunahśepha said: “Tell us thyself, O son of a king, thus as thou art known to us, how I, who am an Ângirasa, shall become thy son.” Viśvāmitra replied: “Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, thy offspring shall be the first, thou shalt receive the heritage which the gods have given me, thus I address thee.” Śunahśepha replied: “May the leader of the Bharatas say so, in the presence of his agreeing sons, for friendship’s and happiness’ sake, that I shall become thy son.” Then Viśvāmitra ad-
dressed his sons: “Hear me, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Reñu, Ashtaka, and all ye brothers that you are, believe in his seniority.”

This Viśvāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty older than Madhuchhandas, and fifty younger. The elder did not like this, and Viśvāmitra pronounced a curse upon them, that they should become outcasts. They became Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, Mûti-bas, and many other outcast tribes, so that the descendants of Viśvāmitra became the worst of the Dasyus. But Madhuchhandas, together with the other fifty sons, said: “What our father tells us, in that we abide; we place thee before us and follow thee.” When Viśvāmitra heard this, he praised his sons and said: “You sons will have good children and cattle, because you have accepted my will, and have made me rich in brave sons. You, descendants of Gāthin, are to be honoured by all, you brave sons, led by Devarāta; he will be to you good counsel. You, descendants of Kuśika, follow Devarāta, he is your hero, he will give you my riches, and whatever knowledge I possess. You are wise, all you sons of Viśvāmitra together; you are rich, you stood to uphold Devarāta, and to make him your eldest, descendants of Gāthin. Devarāta (Śunahṣepha) is mentioned as a

1 Purūravas
Jahnu

. . . . x Gāthin Kausika (Bhrigus)

| Viśvāmitra. Satyavatī x Richika (Ikshvākus)

| Jamadagni x Reñukâ

| Paraśu-rāma.

2 This last verse, which is also attributed to Viśvāmitra, ought
Rishi of both families, in the chiefdom of the Jahnus, and in the divine Veda of the Gâthins."

The same chapter of the Aitareya-brâhmana, where this story of Sunahsepha is told, contains many curious details on the mutual relation of the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. The story of Sunahsepha is said to form a part of the inauguration of a king, to whom it is related by the Hotri priests, the Adhvaryu priest acting the second part; perhaps an early attempt at dramatic representation.

It does not necessarily follow from this legend that the Rishis, the authors of the Vedic hymns, offered human sacrifices. No one would conclude from the willingness of Abraham to sacrifice his own son in obedience to a supposed command from Jehovah, that the Jews had been in the habit of offering their sons as victims. It is not, however, because human sacrifices seem to belong only to the most savage races of men, that we doubt the prevalence of this custom among the ancient Hindus. Human sacrifices are not incompatible with a higher stage of civilization, particularly among people who never doubted the immortality of the soul, and at the same time felt a craving to offer whatever seemed most valuable on earth to the gods in whom they believed. There are few nations in the history of the world whose early traditions do not exhibit some traces of human sacrifices. And though I doubt the continuance of that custom during the Chhandas period, I see no reason to be taken rather as a recapitulation of the whole story. Jahnu is one of the ancestors of Viśvâmitra, belonging to the Lunar Dynasty; Gâthin is considered as Viśvâmitra's father. The commentator gives Jahnu as a Rishi of the family of Ajîgarta, which seems better to agree with the Vedic story.
to doubt its previous existence. A passage from the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa offers a striking confirmation of this opinion. It is said there (Ait.-br. 6. 8.) that the gods took man for their victim. "As he was taken, medha, (the sacrifice or the spirit,) went out of him. It entered the horse. Therefore the horse became the sacrificial animal. Then the gods took the horse, but as it was taken, the medha went out of him. It entered the ox. Therefore the ox became the sacrificial animal. The same happened with the ox. Afterwards the sheep, then the goat, and at last the earth became the victim. From the earth rice was produced and rice was offered in the form of purolâśa, in lieu of the sacrificial animal. The other beings which had formerly been offered and then been dismissed, are supposed to have become changed into animals unfit for sacrifice: man into a savage, the horse into a Bos Gaurus, the ox into a Gayal ox, the sheep into a camel (ushta), the goat into a šarabha. All these animals are amedhya or unclean, and should not be eaten."

The drift of this story is most likely that in former times all these victims had been offered. We know it for certain in the case of horses and oxen, though afterwards these sacrifices were discontinued. As to sheep and goats they were considered proper victims to a still later time. When vegetable offerings took the place of bloody victims, it was clearly the wish of the author of our passage to show that, for certain sacrifices, these rice-cakes were as efficient as the flesh of animals. He carries out his argument still further, and tries to show that in the rice the beard corresponds to the hair of animals; the husk to the
skin; the phalikaranas to the blood; the meal to the flesh; the straw to the bones.

The next story, from the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa serves to illustrate the relations between the priestly and royal families in the early history of India, and allows us an insight into the policy of the Brahmans in their struggle for political influence.

"Janaka of Videha once met with some Brahmans who had just arrived. They were Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, Somaśushma Sātyayajni, and Yājnavalkya. He said to them: 'How do you perform the Agnihotra?' Śvetaketu replied: 'O king, I sacrifice to two heats in one another, which are ever shining, and pervading the world with their splendour.' 'How is that?' said the king. Śvetaketu replied: 'Āditya (the sun) is heat; to him do I sacrifice in the evening in the fire (Agni). Agni is heat; to him do I sacrifice in the morning in the sun (Āditya).' 'What becomes of him who sacrifices thus?' said the king. The Brahman replied: 'He becomes evershining with happiness and splendour, and has his dwelling with these two gods and is one with them.'

Then Somaśushma began: 'O king, I sacrifice to light in light.' 'How is that?' said the king. Somaśushma replied: 'Āditya is light, to him do I sacrifice in the evening in Agni. Agni is light, to him do I sacrifice in the morning in Āditya.' 'What becomes of him who sacrifices thus?' said the king. The Brahman replied: 'He becomes full of light and splendour in this life, and has his dwelling with these two gods and is one with them.'

1 Satapatha-brāhmaṇa, Mādhyandina-śākhā, xi. 4. 5. The same story is alluded to in the Bṛihadāranyaka, iv. 3. 1.
Tqen said Yājnavalkya: 'I offer the Agnihotra in taking out the fire (from the house-altar); for when Āditya sets, all the gods follow him, and if they see that I take out the fire, they come back, and, after having cleaned the sacrificial vessels, having filled them again, and after having milked also the sacred cow, I shall delight them, when I see them again, and they see me.'

Janaka said: 'Thou, O Yājnavalkya, hast come very near to the Agnihotra; I shall give thee a hundred cows. But thou dost not know what becomes afterwards of these two libations (in the morning and evening).' So he said, then mounted his car and went away.

The priests said: 'This fellow of a Rājanya has insulted us; let us call him out for a Brahman-dispute.' Yājnavalkya observed, 'We are Brahmans, he a fellow of a Rājanya. If we vanquished him, whom should we say we had vanquished? But if he vanquished us, people would say of us that a Rājanya had vanquished Brahmans. Do not think of this.' They allowed what he said, and Yājnavalkya mounted his car, and followed the king. He reached the king, and the king said to him, 'Yājnavalkya, dost thou come to know the Agnihotra?' 'The Agnihotra, O king,' replied Yājnavalkya."

Here the king begins to explain to Yājnavalkya his own view of the two morning and evening libations, called Agnihotra. He says, that these two sacrifices rise into the air, and are there again performed; the wind being the fuel, and the rays the bright libation. Then he goes on explaining how these two sacrifices, after having delighted the air, enter the sky, where they are performed by sun and moon; how they
come back to the earth, and are performed by fire (warmth) and plants; how they enter the man, and are performed by his tongue and food; how they enter the woman, and a son is born. "This is the true Agnihotra, O Yājnavalkya," said the king; 'there is nothing higher than this.' Yājnavalkya granted him a boon; and the king said, 'May I be allowed, Yājnavalkya, to ask thee what I wish.' Since then Janaka became a Brahman.

The two following stories are of a more mythological character, and contain curious traditions about Manu, the supposed ancestor of mankind. The first is from the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, v. 14.

"Nābhaneśṭha, the son of Manu, had been deprived of his paternal share by his brothers, while he was pursuing his studies (in the house of his Guru). When he came home, he said, 'What is my share?' They replied (pointing to Manu), 'The father, who is our governor and arbitrator.' (Therefore sons call now their father, governor (nishṭhāvā) and arbitrator (avavaditri)). He went to his father and said, 'Father, they have made thee to be my share.' The father replied, 'Do not believe it, my son, by

1 The commentary explains, निष्ठाव: by धनविभागादि धर्मे-रहस्य निष्ठाव: धर्मरहस्यनिष्ठावार्थियद्: अववादित्रां. येष्यस्य धर्मरहस्यनिष्ठावार्थियद्: अववादित्रां चुड़ान्ति समय्यवादित्रां. तादृश च अववादित्रां चुड़ान्ति समय्यवादित्रां. तादृश च अववादित्रां चुड़ान्ति समय्यवादित्रां. तादृश च अववादित्रां चुड़ान्ति समय्यवादित्रां. तादृश च अववादित्रां चुड़ान्ति समय्यवादित्रां.
any means. The Angiras’ there perform a sacrifice in order to go to heaven, but every time they come to the sixth day, they get confused. Let them recite these two hymns (of thine) on the sixth day, and when they go to heaven they will give thee all the great riches which they have brought together for the sacrifice.’ The son said, ‘Yes;’ went to them, and spoke: ‘Ye sages, receive me, the son of Manu.’

They replied, ‘What is thy wish that thou speakest thus?’ He answered, ‘I shall teach you this sixth day, and you shall give me, when you go to heaven, all these great riches which you have brought together for the sacrifice.’ They agreed, and he recited for them these two hymns on the sixth day. Thus the Angiras’ understood the sacrifice and the life in heaven. Therefore, when the Hotri priest recites these two hymns on the sixth day, it leads to an understanding of the sacrifice and of the life in heaven.

When the Angiras’ were going to heaven they said, “All these great riches are thine, O Brahman.”

While he was putting them together, a man in dark dress came up from the north, and said,

1 Two hymns ascribed to Nabhanedishtha, occur in the Rigveda, Mandala, x. 5. 1. & 2.
2 These words are taken from the second hymn of Nabhanedishtha.
3 The text is एतत्ते ब्राह्मण महस्मिति। but the commentator says, it is to be understood of a thousand cows or animals, left on the spot of the sacrifice, and that in a different Sākhā of this Brāhmaṇa the text is ते सुवर्गः लोकं यंतो य एषां पश्व च्रान्

तानस्स चढ़दृति। The commentator says, that this is Rudra, the lord of animals, and that this is clearly indicated in a different Sākhā, where the text is तं पशुभिभरतं यज्ञवाली रुद्र च्रागच्छदिति।
‘This is mine, mine is what is left on the sacred spot.’ Nabhânedishṭha replied, ‘They gave it to me.’ The man said, ‘Then let us ask thy father about it.’ He went to his father, and the father said, ‘Have they given thee nothing, my son?’ Nabhânedishṭha replied, ‘They gave me a portion, but then a man in dark dress came up from the north, and said, “This is mine; mine is what is left on the sacred spot,” and took it.’ The father said, ‘It belongs to him, indeed, my son, but he will give it to thee.’ Thereupon Nabhânedishṭha went back and said, ‘This is thine indeed, O reverend sir; thus spoke my father.’ ‘This I give to thee,’ replied the man, ‘who hast spoken the truth. Therefore the truth must be spoken by a man who knows it. These verses of Nabhânedishṭha give great riches. They give great riches; and he understands on the sixth day the life in heaven who knows this.’”

The next extract is taken from the Śatapatha-brâhmana, i. 8. 1. 1. (Prap. vi. 3. 1.):—

“To Manu they brought in the morning water to wash. As they bring it with their hands for the washing, a fish comes into the hands of Manu as soon as he has washed himself.

He spoke to Manu the word: — ‘Keep me, I shall preserve thee.’ Manu said, ‘From what wilt thou preserve me?’ The fish said, ‘The flood will carry away all these creatures. I shall preserve thee from it.’ ‘How canst thou be kept?’ said Manu.

The fish replied, ‘As long as we are small there is much destruction for us; fish swallows fish. First, then, thou must keep me in a jar. If I outgrow it dig a hole, and keep me in it. If I outgrow this,
take me to the sea, and I shall be saved from de-
struction.'

He became soon a large fish. He said to Manu, 'When I am full-grown, in the same year the flood will come. Build a ship then, and worship me, and when the flood rises go into the ship, and I shall pre-
serve thee from it.'

Manu brought the fish to the sea, after he had kept him thus. And in the year which the fish had pointed out Manu had built a ship, and worshipped the fish. Then when the flood had risen, he went into the ship. The fish came swimming to him, and Manu fastened the rope of the ship to a horn of the fish. The fish carried him by it over the northern mountain.

The fish said, 'I have preserved thee. Bind the ship to a tree. May the water not cut thee asunder while thou art on the mountain. As the water will sink, thou wilt slide down.' Manu slid down with the water; and this is called the Slope of Manu on the northern mountain. The flood had carried away all these creatures, and thus Manu was left there alone.

He went along meditating a hymn, and wishing for offspring. And he sacrificed there also (a pāka-
yajna). Taking clarified butter, coagulated milk, whey and curds, he made an offering to the waters. In a year a woman was brought forth from it. She rose unctuous and trickling; and where she stood there was clarified butter. Mitra and Varuṇa came to meet her.

They said to her, 'Who art thou?' She said, 'The daughter of Manu.' 'Say thou art ours,' they said. 'No,' she replied; 'he who has begotten me
to him I belong.' Then they asked her to be their sister, and she half agreed and half did not agree. She went off and came to Manu.

Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' She said, 'I am thy daughter.' 'How art thou my daughter?' he asked. She replied, 'The oblations which thou hast thrown into the waters, clarified butter, coagulated milk, whey and curds, by them thou hast begotten me. I am a blessing. Praise me at the sacrifice. If thou praise me at the sacrifice, thou wilt be rich in offspring and cattle. Whatever blessing thou wilt ask by me, will all be given to thee.' Thus he praised her in the middle of this sacrifice; for the middle of the sacrifice is that which comes between the introductory and the final prayers (prayâjâs and anuyâjâs).

Manu went along with her, meditating a hymn, and wishing for offspring; and by her he begat this offspring, which is called the offspring of Manu, and whatever blessing he asked was all given to him.

She is indeed Idâ. Whoever knows this, and goes with Idâ, he begets the offspring which Manu begat; and whatever blessing he asks by her, is all given to him."

These extracts from the Brâhmaṇas will be sufficient to show that there is much curious information to be gathered from these compilations. In spite of their general dreariness, the Brâhmaṇas well deserve to be preserved from destruction, which can only be done by the help of European editors. It is true that the ceremonial, the vidhis, can be better studied in the Sūtras, but if we want to know what meaning was assigned to every act of the sacrifice, such as it
had been handed down and become fixed in the Brahmanic society of India, long before the composition of any Brâhmaṇa, we must consult these works. Though their professed object is to teach the sacrifice, they allow a much larger space to dogmatical, exegetical, mystical and philosophical speculations, than to the ceremonial itself. They appeal continually to earlier authorities, and in some of them, particularly in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa, the conflicting opinions of ancient sages are so well confronted, and their respective merits so closely discussed, that we sometimes imagine ourselves reading the dogmatic philosophy of Jaimini. According to the views of native commentators, the characteristic feature of the Brâhmaṇas consists in doubt, deliberation, and discussion, and the word Mimânsâ, which afterwards became the title of Jaimini's philosophy, is frequently used in the Brâhmaṇas to introduce the very problems which occupy the attention of Jaimini and his followers. Of course the discussion is not a bonâ fide discussion. The two sides of every question are stated, but they only serve to lead us on to the conclusion which the author of the Brâhmaṇa considers in the light of a divine revelation. We are reminded of the disputations of two Doctors of Theology who defend for a time the most heretical propositions with the sharpest weapons of logic and rhetoric, though they would extremely regret the final victory of that cause which, for argument's sake, they are called upon to maintain. Never was dogmatism more successfully veiled under the mask of free discussion than in the Mimânsâ or discussion of the Brâhmaṇas.

The fact of so many authorities being quoted by
name in these works shows that the Brâhmaṇas exhibit the accumulated thoughts of a long succession of early theologians and philosophers. But the very earliest of these sages follow a train of thought which gives clear evidence of a decaying religion. The Brâhmaṇas presuppose, not only a complete collection of the ten Maṇḍalas of the Rig-veda, not only the establishment of a most complicated ceremonial, not only the distribution of the ceremonial offices among three or four classes of priests, but a complete break in the primitive tradition of the Aryan settlers of India. At the time when the law was laid down about the employment of certain hymns at certain parts of the sacrifice, the original meaning of these hymns, and the true conception of the gods to whom they were addressed, had been lost. The meaning also of the old and sacred customs by which their forefathers had hallowed the most critical epochs of life and the principal divisions of the year, had faded away from the memory of those whose lucubrations on the purport of the sacrifices have been embalmed in the so-called Arthavâdas of the Brâhmaṇas. It is difficult to determine whether, before the beginning of the Brâhmana period, there existed various Śâkhās among the Bahvrichas. The collection of the Rigveda-sanhitâ must no doubt have been completed long before the age which led to the composition of Brâhmanas. Various readings also may have found their way into that collection before the Brâhmana period. But the scrupulous preservation of such variations, which were the natural result of oral tradition, seems more akin to the spirit of the Brâhmaṇas than to that of an earlier age. There is less
room for doubt as to the date of the Śâkhâs of the Adhvaryus and Chhandogas. They belong to the Brâhmana period. What is called the Taittiriya-sanhitâ is no Sanhitâ, in the usual sense of the word, but was originally the Brâhmana of the ancient Adhvaryus. It contains the description of the sacrifice, such as it would be required by the Adhvaryus. The composition of a separate Sanhitâ in their behalf, the so-called Sanhitâ of the White Yajurveda, is contemporaneous with, if not later than, the collection of the Śatapatha-brâhmana. We therefore consider all the Śâkhâs of the Adhvaryus, with the exception of their Śûtra-śâkhâs, as Brâhmana-śâkhâs which had grown up during the Brâhmana period. And if we feel more hesitation with regard to the Sanhitâ of the Chhandogas, it is not with reference to what is usually called the Sâma-veda-sanhitâ, but with regard to the Gânas. These collections of hymns, though they have a purely ceremonial object, have an air of antiquity, and we could hardly understand how the Tândya-brâhmana, even in its original component parts, could have arisen, unless we suppose that there existed previously collections and groups of hymns, comprised under special names, such as we find in the Gânas. Without, therefore, pronouncing a definite opinion on the existence of any Śâkhâs of the two minor Vedas, previous to the first appearance of Brâhmaṇa literature, we confine ourselves to the assertion, that not one line of any of the Brâhmanas which we possess could have been composed, until after the complete collection of the Rig-veda, and after the threefold division of the ceremonial. Not one of the Brâhmanas was composed by a Brahman who was not either a Bâhuvrîcha, an Adhvaryu, or Chhandoga.
There was a fourth class of superintending priests, who were supposed to be cognisant of the duties of all the three other classes: but there was, as we shall see, neither Brāhmaṇa nor Sanhitā for their special benefit. According to the opinion of some, the superintendent or Brahman might indeed be an Adhvaryu, or even a Chhandoga, but the general rule is that he should be a Bahvricha¹, because the Bahvricha had the widest knowledge of Vedic hymns. There must have been a time when every Brahman who had to act as a priest, whatever offices he had to perform at the sacrifice, was acquainted with the complete body of the sacred hymns, collected in the Rig-veda. But of that time no traces are left in our Brāhmaṇas. Our Brāhmaṇas know of no hymns which are not the property of Hotṛi, Adhvaryu, or Udgātṛi; they know of no priests, except the four classes which have divided between themselves all the sacrifices, and have distinct duties assigned to them, whether they officiate singly or jointly. Such a system could only have been carried out by a powerful and united priesthood; its origin and continuance can hardly be conceived, without the admission of early councils and canons. Originally every sacrifice was a spontaneous act, and as such had a meaning. When the sacrifices fell into the hands of priests, the priest was at first the minister, afterwards the repre-

¹ Kaush.-br. vi, 11. तदांकः किंविर्द किंकर्मः ब्रजान्ध्रणं चणिन्द्र तत्त्वस्य भवतिति क्रृद्द्रोग- निर्मित्यान्द्रश्रिष्ठेविविवर्य्यन्त्र: संस्क्रियं दति ब्रह्मचर्यं वेद स्थितं। Some allowance must be made for the fact that the Kaushītakins are Bahvrichas.
sentative, of those who offered the sacrifice. But it is only in the last stage of priestcraft that the spoils are divided, and certain acts made the monopoly of certain priests. All this had taken place before the rising of what we call the Brâhmana literature, and we may well conceive that but few traces are left in these works of the thoughts and feelings which had suggested the first spontaneous acts of the early worshippers of India.

The transition from a natural worship to an artificial ceremonial may take place gradually. It had taken place long before the beginning of the Brâhmaṇa period, and the process of corruption continued during this and the succeeding periods, till at last the very corruption became a principle of new life. But there is throughout the Brâhmaṇas such a complete misunderstanding of the original intention of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly understand how such an estrangement could have taken place, unless there had been at some time or other a sudden and violent break in the chain of tradition. The author of the Brâhmanas evidently imagined that those ancient hymns were written simply for the sake of their sacrifices, and whatever interpretation they thought fit to assign to these acts, the same, they supposed, had to be borne out by the hymns. This idea has vitiated the whole system of Indian exegesis. It might be justified, perhaps, if it had only been applied to the purely sacrificial hymns, particularly to those which are found in the Sanhitās of the Sāma-veda and Yajur-veda. But the Rigveda too has experienced the same treatment at the hands of Indian commentators, and the stream of tradition, flowing from the fountain-head of the ori-
ginal poets, has, like the waters of the Sarasvati, disappeared in the sands of a desert. Not only was the true nature of the gods, as conceived by the early poets, completely lost sight of, but new gods were actually created out of words which were never intended as names of divine beings. There are several hymns in the Rig-veda containing questions as to who is the true or the most powerful god. One in particular is well known, in which each verse ends with the inquiring exclamation of the poet; “Kasmai devâya havishâ vidhema?” “To which god shall we sacrifice with our offering?” This, and similar hymns, in which the interrogative pronoun occurred, were employed at various sacrifices. A rule had been laid down, that in every sacrificial hymn, there must be a deity addressed by the poet. In order to discover a deity where no deity existed, the most extraordinary objects, such as a present, a drum, stones, plants, were raised to the artificial rank of deities. In accordance with the same system, we find that the authors of the Brâhmaṇas had so completely broken with the past, that, forgetful of the poetical character of the hymns, and the yearning of the poets after the unknown god, they exalted the interrogative pronoun itself into a deity, and acknowledged a god Ka or Who? In the Taittirîya-sañhitâ¹ (i. 7. 6. 6.), in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa (xxiv. 4.), in the Tândya-brâhmaṇa (xv. 10.), and in the Sâtapatha-brâhmaṇa, wherever interrogative verses occur, the author states, that Ka is Prajâpati, or the Lord of Creatures (prajâpatir vai Kaḥ). Nor did they stop here. Some of the hymns in which the inter-

¹ See Böhtlingk and Roth’s Dictionary, s. v.
rogative pronoun occurred were called Kadvat, i.e. having kad or quid. But soon a new adjective was formed, and not only the hymns, but the sacrifice also, offered to the god, were called Kâya, or who-ish. This word, which is not to be identified with the Latin cujus, cuja, cujum, but is merely the artificial product of an effete mind, is found in the Taittiriya-sanhitâ (i. 8. 3. 1.), and in the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ (xxiv. 15.). At the time of Pâṇini this word had acquired such legitimacy as to call for a separate rule explaining its formation (Pân. iv. 2. 25.). The Commentator here explains Ka by Brahman. After this, we can hardly wonder that in the later Sanskrit literature of the Purâṇas, Ka appears as a recognised god, as the supreme god, with a genealogy of his own, perhaps even with a wife; and that in the laws of Manu, one of the recognised forms of marriage, generally known by the name of the Prajâpati-marriage, occurs under the monstrous title of Kâya.

What is more natural than that the sun should be called in the hymns, golden-handed? The Brâhmaṇa, however, affected with a kind of voluntary blindness, must needs explain this simple epithet by a story of the sun having lost his hand, and having received instead a hand made of gold.

It would be useless to multiply these instances, as every page of the Brâhmaṇas contains the clearest proof that the spirit of the ancient Vedic poetry, and the purport of the original Vedic sacrifices, were both beyond the comprehension of the authors of the Brâhmaṇas. But although we thus perceive the wide chasm between the Brâhmaṇa period and that period by which it is preceded, we have still to answer the question whether any probable limits can be assigned
to the duration of this literary period. The Brâhmaṇas are not the work of a few individuals. By whomsoever they were brought into that form in which we now possess them, no one can claim the sole authorship of the dogmas which are incorporated in each Brâhmaṇa. The Brâhmaṇas represent a complete period during which the whole stream of thought flowed in one channel, and took, at least in that class which alone sustained intellectual activity, the form of prose, never before applied to literary productions. There are old and new Brâhmaṇas, but the most modern hardly differ in style and language from the most ancient. The old Brâhmaṇas passed through several changes, represented by the Brâhmaṇa-śâkhâs, and even the most modern were not exempt from these modifications. Considering, therefore, that the Brâhmaṇa period must comprehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brâhmaṇas, the formation of Brâhmaṇa-charaṇas, and the schism between old and new Charaṇas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years. Of course this is merely conjectural; but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years of that mass of Brâhmanic literature which still exists, or is known to have existed. Were we to follow the traditions of the Brâhmaṇas themselves, we should have much less difficulty in accounting for the great variety of authors quoted, and of opinions stated in the Brâhmaṇas. They contain lists of teachers through whom the Brâhmaṇas were handed down, which would extend the limits of this age to a very considerable
degree. The Chhandogas have assigned a separate Brâhmaṇa to the list of their teachers, viz. the Vanśa-brâhmaṇa, a work the existence of which ought not to have been called into question, as a copy of it existed in the Bodleian Library. In the Šatapatha-brâhmaṇa these lists are repeated at the end of various sections. There seems to be no imaginable object in inventing these long lists, as in the eyes of the Brahmans they would have been much too short for the extravagant antiquity assigned to their sacred books. With the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers, the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian compositions. The number of teachers in the Vanśa-brâhmaṇa amounts to 53, the last of them, Kaśyapa, the father, having received the tradition from Agni, or the god of fire. From Agni the tradition is further traced to Indra, Vâyu (wind), Mṛityu (death), Prajâpati (the Lord of Creation), and lastly to Brahman, the Self-existing. From Kaśyapa, down to Râdha Gautama, his 26th successor, the line of teachers seems to have been undivided. Râdha Gautama had two pupils, who apparently became the founders of different schools. One is called Anśu Dhânanjayya, who received instruction from Râdha Gautama and Amâvâsyâ Śândilyâyana; the other, Gobhila, had no teacher besides Râdha. The successors of Gobhila are eleven in number, while those of Anśu Dhânanjayya are twenty-five.

In the Šatapatha-brâhmaṇa we find four Vanśas.

1 Prof. Weber's recent edition of this tract, is the best amende he could have made for his former scepticism with regard to the existence of this and other Brâhmaṇas of the Sâma-veda.
The most important of them stands at the end of the whole work, and consists of fifty-five names; the last of the human teachers being again Kaśyapa, who here is supposed to have received his revelation from Vâch, the goddess of speech. She received it through Ambhini from Āditya, the sun. Among the successors of Kaśyapa we mark the 10th, Yâjnavalkya, the pupil of Uddâlaka and the teacher of Āsuri; and the 15th, Sânjîvîputra. Sânjîvîputra seems to have united two lines of teachers; he was the pupil of Kârsakeyîputra, and, according to the Vanśa of the 10th book, he was likewise the pupil of Mândûkâyâni, the 9th successor of Tura Kâvasheya, who is fabled to have received his revelation, not through the agency of Vâch, Ambhini, and Āditya, but direct from Prajâpati and the self-existing Brahman. There are two other Vanśas, one at the end of the Madhukândâ, the other at the end of the Yâjnavalkiya-kândâ. Both are, in reality, varieties of one and the same Vanśa, their differences arising from the confusion caused by the recurrence of similar names. That of the Madhukândâ consists of sixty names, only forty-five or forty-six of which have an historical appearance. The principal divine teachers after Brahman, the Self-existing, are Paramesîthin (Prajâpati?), Mîrîtyu (death), Dadhyach Âtharvâṇa, and the two Aśvins.

At the end of the Khila-kândâ a fifth list is found, not a Vanśa, but a list of teachers who handed down the Vanśa. This seems to be ascribed to Uddâlaka Ârûneya, the teacher of Yâjnaîvalkya, as its original author.
Lists of Teachers from the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.

Madhukāṇḍa.

1. Śaurpanāyya. The same as in the Madhukāṇḍa.
2. Gautama.
3. Vātsyya.
4. Vātsyya and Pārāśarya.¹
5. Sānkṛitya and Bhradvāja.
6. Audavāhi and Sāndilya.
7. Vaijavāpa and Gautama.
8. Vaijavāpāyana and Vaishṭapureya.
10. Saunaka and Atreya, and Raibhya.
15. Saitava.
17. Jātukarnya.

Yājnavalkiya-kāṇḍa.

1 When there are two teachers, it is always the second through whom the tradition was carried on, except in No. 28. where there has evidently been a great confusion.
1. Madhukança.
2. Bhāradvāja.
3. Bhāradvāja and Āsuraṇya and Gautama.
4. Bhāradvāja.
5. Vaijavapāyana.
7. Ghṛitakauśika.
8. Pārāśaryāṇa.

12. Bhāradvāja and Āsuraṇya, and Yāśka, desunt.
13. Traivani.
15. Āsuri.
16. Bhāradvāja.
17. Ātreya.
18. Mānti.
20. Gautama.

1 The Yājnavalkya-kāṇḍa inserts here: Sāyakāyana.
Kauśikāyani (22).
Ghṛitakauśika (23).
Pārāśaryāṇa (24).
Pārāśarya (25).
Jātukarnya (26).
Bhāradvāja (27).
Bhāradvāja and Āsuraṇya and Yāśka (28).
Traivani (29).
Aupajandhani (30).
Madhukāṇḍa.

38. Śāndilya.
40. Kumārahārita.
41. Gālava.
42. Vidarbhikauṇḍīnīya.
43. Vatsanapāt Bābhrava.
44. Pathas Saubhara.
45. Ayāsya Āngirasa.
46. Ābhūti Tvāshtra.
47. Viśvarūpa Tvāshtra.
48. The two Asvins.
49. Dadhyach Ātharaṇa.
50. Atharvan Daiva.
51. Mrītyu Prādhvansana.
52. Pradhvansana.
53. Ekarshi.
54. Viprajitti.
55. Vyashṭi.
56. Sanāru.
57. Sanātana.
58. Sanaga.
59. Parameshthin.
60. Brahman Śvayambhu.

_Last Book._

2. Vātsimāṇḍavī-putra.
3. Pārāśarī-putra.
5. Pārāśarī-kaunḍinī-putra.
17. Sâlankâyanî-putra.
18. Vârshaganaî-putra.
20. Âtreyi-putra.
22. Vâtsi-putra.
26. Ârtabhâgî-putra.
27. Saungî-putra.
28. Sânkritî-putra.
29. Âlambî-putra.
30. Âlambâyanî-putra.
32. Mândûkâyanî-putra.
33. Mândûkî-putra.
34. Sândili-putra.
35. Râthitari-putra.
37. Vaidabhrîti-putra.
38. Bhâluki-putra.
40. Sânjîvî-putra.
41. Kârsakeyî-putra.
42. Prâśnî-putra Åsurivâsin.

Xth Book.
Sânjîvî-putra.
Mândûkâyanî.
Mândavya.
43. Āsurāyaṇa. Kautsa.
44. Āsuri. Māhitthi.
45. Yājnavalkya. (Vāja-
saneyā Yājnavalkya, Kh.) Vāmakakshāyaṇa.
46. Uddālaka. (Uddā-
laka Āruneya, Kh.) Vātsyya.
47. Aruna. Sândilya.
49. Kuśri. Yajnavachas Rājastambā-
yāna.
50. Vājaśravas. Tura Kāvasheya.¹
53. Harita Kaśyapa.
54. Śilpa Kaśyapa.
55. Kaśyapa Naidhruvi.
56. Vāch.
57. Ambhiṇi.
58. Āditya.

Khila-kāṇḍa.
Satyakāma Jābāla.
Jānaki Āyasthūṇa.
Chūḍa Bhāgavitti.
Madhuka Paingya.
Vājasaneyā Yājnavalkya.
Uddālaka Āruṇeya.

Vānśa of the Sāma-veda.
1. Śarvadatta Gārgya.
2. Rudrabhūti Drāhyāyaṇi.
3. Trāta Aishumata.

¹ The priest of Janamejaya Pārikshita, at his Abhisheka sacri-
fice, is called Tura Kāvasheya in the Ait.-br. viii. 21.
5. Giriśarman Kāntīheviddhi.
7. Mitravarchas Sthairākāyana.
8. Supratīta Auluṇḍya.
12. Śravaṇadatta Kauhala.
13. Susārada Śālankāyana.
manyava.
16. Ānandaja Chāṇḍha- Bhadrasarman Kauśika.
nāyana.
17. Śāmba Sārkara- Pushyayaśas Audavraji.
ksha, and Kāmboja Aupam-
manyava.
yani.
ganyā.
lyāyana.

27. Amāvāsyā Śāṇḍilyāyana and Rādha Gautama.
29. Samvargajit Lâmakâyana.
30. Śâkadâsa Bhâditâyana.
31. Vichakshaṇa Tâṇḍya.
32. Gardabhimukha Śândilyâyana.
33. Udaraśândilya (the father).
34. Atidhanvan Śaunaka and Maśaka Gârgya.
35. Sthiraka Gârgya (the father).
36. Vâsishṭha Chaikitâneya.
37. Vâsishṭha Āraihaṇya (a prince).
38. Sumantra Bâhrava Gautama.
39. Śûsha Vâhneya Bhâradvâja.
40. Arâla Dârteya Śaunaka.
41. Dâtî Aiṇdrotâ Śaunaka (the father).
42. Aiṇdrotâ Śaunaka (the father).¹
43. Vṛishaśushṇa Vâtâvata.
44. Nikothaka Bhâyaṇâtya.
45. Pratîthi Devataratha.
46. Devataras Śâvasâyana (the father).
47. Śavas (the father).
48. Agnibhû Kâṣyapa.
49. Indrabhû Kâṣyapa.
50. Mitrabhû Kâṣyapa.
51. Vibhandâka Kâṣyapa (the father).
52. Rishyasringa Kâṣyapa (the father).
53. Kâṣyapa (the father).
54. Agni (fire).
55. Indra.
56. Vâyu (wind).
57. Mrîtyu (death).
58. Prajâpati (Lord of Creation.)
59. Brahmaṇ Svayambhu.

¹ The priest of Janamejaya Pârikshita, at his Horse sacrifice, is called Indrotâ (Daivâpa) Śaunaka in the Śatapatha, xiii. 5. 4. 1., and in the Mahâbh. xii. 5595. seq. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. pp. 203. 483.
It would be difficult to tell how these long strings of names are to be accounted for, whatever system of chronology we adopt. If we were in possession of the Vansas of the Bahvrichas and the ancient Adhvaryus, we might perhaps see more clearly. But it is important to observe that these two, which are decidedly the two most ancient Vedas, seem to have had no Vansas at all. However this may be explained hereafter, certain it is,—and these long lists of names teach at least this one thing,—that the Brahmans themselves looked upon the Brâhmaṇa period as a long continued succession of teachers, reaching from the time when these lists were made and recited to the most distant antiquity, back to the very dynasties of their gods. If, therefore, we limit the age of the Brâhmaṇas to the two centuries from 600 to 800 B. c., it is more likely that hereafter these limits will have to be extended than that they will prove too wide.

There is one work which ought to be mentioned before we leave the Brâhmaṇa period, the Gopatha-brâhmana. It is the Brâhmaṇa of the Brahma-veda, the Veda of the Atharvângiras’ or Bṛgīgu-Angiras’. This Veda does not properly belong to the sacred literature of the Brahmans, and though in later times it obtained the title of the fourth Veda, there was originally a broad distinction between the magic formulas of the Atharvângiras’ and the hymns of the Bahvrichas, the Chhandogas, and the Adhvaryus. Madhusūdana states the case simply and clearly. “The Veda,” he says, “is divided into Rich, Yajush and Sāman for the purpose of carrying out the sacrifice under its three different forms. The duties of the Hotrī priests are performed with the Rig-veda, those of the Adhvaryu priests with the Yajur-veda, those of the Udgatṛi priests with the Sāma-veda. The duties
of the Brahman and the sacrificer are contained in all the three. The Atharva-veda, on the contrary, is totally different. It is not used for the sacrifice, but only teaches how to appease, to bless, to curse, &c." But although the hymns of the Atharvans were not from the first looked upon as part of the sacred literature of the Brahmans, the Brāhmaṇa of the Atharvans belongs clearly to the same literary period which saw the rise of the other Brāhmaṇas; and though it does not share the same authority as the Brāhmaṇas of the three great Vedas, it is written in the same language, and breathes the same spirit. The MSS. of this work are extremely scarce, and the copy which I use (E. I. H. 2142) is hardly legible. The remarks, therefore, which I have to offer on this work will necessarily be scanty and incomplete.

The original division of the Veda, and of the Vedic ceremonial, was, as we have seen, a threefold division. The Brahmans speak either of one Veda or of three; of one officiating priest, or of three. "Trayi vidyā," the threefold knowledge, is constantly used in the Brāhmaṇas¹ with reference to their sacred literature. This, however, proves by no means that at the time when the Brāhmaṇas were composed the songs of the Atharvāṅgiras' did not yet exist. It only shows that originally they formed no part of the sacred literature of the Brahmans. In some of the Brāhmaṇas, the Atharvāṅgiras' are mentioned. The passage translated before (p. 38.) shows that at the time when the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa was composed the songs of the Atharvāṅgiras' were not only known, but had been collected, and had actually obtained the title of Veda. Their original title was the Atharvāṅgiras' or the Bṛigvāṅgiras', or the Atharvans,

¹ Nirukta-pariśiṣṭa, I, 10.
and these very titles show that songs which could be quoted in such a manner¹, must have been of ancient date, and must have had a long life in the oral tradition of India. Their proper position with reference to the other Vedas is well marked in a passage of the Taittiriyārāṇyaka (viii. 3.), where the Yajush is called the head, the Ṛich the right, the Sāman the other side, the Ādesā (the Upanishad) the vital breath, and the Atharvāṅgiras' the tail.

The songs known under the name of the Atharvāṅgiras' formed probably an additional part of the sacrifice from a very early time. They were chiefly intended to counteract the influence of any untoward event that might happen during the sacrifice. They also contained imprecations and blessings, and various formulas, such as popular superstition would be sure to sanction at all times and in all countries. If once sanctioned, however, these magic verses would soon grow in importance, nay, the knowledge of all the other Vedas would necessarily become useless without the power of remedying accidents, such as could hardly be avoided in so complicated a ceremonial as that of the Brahmins. As that power was believed to reside in the songs of the Atharvāṅgiras', a knowledge of these songs became necessarily an essential part of the theological learning of ancient India.

According to the original distribution of the sacrificial offices among the four classes of priests, the supervision of the whole sacrifice, and the remedying of any mistake that might have happened belonged to the Brahman. He had to know the three Vedas, to follow in his mind the whole sacrifice, and to advise the other priests on all doubtful points.² If it was the office

¹ See page 362. ² Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Rig-veda, p. 3.1. 3.
of the Brahman to remedy mistakes in the performance of the sacrifice, and if, for that purpose, the formulas of the Atharvângiras' were considered of special efficacy, it follows that it was chiefly the Brahman who had to acquire a knowledge of these formulas. Now the office of the Brahman was contested by the other classes of priests. The Bahvrichas maintain that the office of Brahman should be held by a Bahvricha (Hotri), the Adhvaryus maintain that it belongs to one of their own body, and the Chhandogas also preferred similar claims. It was evidently the most important office, and in many instances, though not always, it was held by the Purohita, the hereditary family priest. Certain families also claimed a peculiar fitness for the office of Brahman, such as the Vasishṭhas and Viśvāmitras. (See p. 92.)

Because a knowledge of the songs of the Atharvângiras' was most important to the Brahman or Purohita¹, these songs themselves, when once admitted to the rank of a Veda, were called the Veda of the Brahman, or the Brahma-veda. In the Gopatha-brähmana the title of Brahma-veda does not occur.² But the songs of the Atharvângiras' are mentioned there. They are called both Atharvana-veda (i. 5.), and Angirasa-veda (i. 8.), and they are repeatedly represented as the proper Veda for the Brahman. Thus we read (iii. 1.): "Let a man elect a Hotri who knows the Rich, an Adhvaryu who knows the Yajush, an Udgâtri who knows the Sâman, a Brahman who knows the Atharvângiras'." It seems in fact the principal object of the Gopatha to show the necessity

¹ Yâjnâvalkya's Lawbook, i. 312.
² See, however, i. 22.
of four Vedas. A carriage, we are told, does not proceed with less than four wheels, an animal does not walk with less than four feet, nor will the sacrifice be perfect with less than four Vedas.\(^1\) But although a knowledge of the fourth Veda is thus represented as essential to the Brahman, it is never maintained that such a knowledge would be sufficient by itself to enable a person to perform the offices of a Brahman. Like the Chhandogas (Rv. Bh. vol. i. page 3.), the Ātharvaṇikas also declare that the whole sacrifice is performed twice, once in words, and once in thought. It is performed in words by the Hotri, Udgātri, and Adhvaryu separately; it is performed in thought by the Brahman alone (Gop. Br. vol. iii. 2.) The Brahman, therefore, had to know all the three Vedas and in addition the formulas of the Ātharvāṅgiras'. It is a common mistake in later writers to place the Ātharva-veda coordinate with the other Vedas, and to represent it as the Veda of the Brahman. The Gopatha-brāhmaṇa raises no such claims; when it describes the type of the sacrifice, it says:

Agni (fire) was the Hotri,
Vāyu (wind) the Adhvaryu,
Sūrya (sun) the Udgātri,
Chandramas (moon) the Brahman,
Parjanya (rain) the Sadasya,
Oshadhi and Vanāspati (shrubs and trees) the Chamasādhvaryus,

\(^1\) At the end of the fifth Prapāṭhaka we read: च्छमिः प्रविधि
वज्रपातिनिवि माँचा दिवं लोकजिल्लोमाणं। चर्चविभिरङ्गि
रोभिस्य गुमेय वज्रस्वतुष्पादिव - - -॥
The Viśve Devas were the Hotrakas,
The Atharvāṅgiras', the Gopṭris or protectors.
In another place (v. 24.) the persons engaged in
the sacrifice are enumerated as follows:
Hotṛi, Maitrāvaruṇa, Achhāvāka, Grāvastut (Rig-
veda), 1—4.
Adhvaryu, Pratiprasthāṭri, Neshṭri, Unnetṛi
(Yajur-veda), 5—8.
Udgāṭṛi, Prastoṭṛi, Subrahmaṇya, Pratiharṭri
(Sāma-veda), 9—12.
Brahman, Brāhmaṇaḥchhansin, Potṛi, Agnīdhra
(Atharvāṅgiras'), 13—16.
Sadasya, 17.
Patni dīkṣitā (the wife), 18.
Śamīṭṛi (the immolator), 19.
Gṛihapati (the lord), 20.
Angiras, 21.

Here we see that besides the four Brahman-priests
to whom a knowledge of the Atharvāṅgiras' is recom-
mended, there were other priests who are called
Gopṭris, i.e. protectors or Angiras', and whose special
office it was to protect the sacrifice by means of the
magical formulas of the Atharvāṅgiras', against the
effects of any accidents that might have happened.
Such was the original office of the Atharvans at the
Vedic sacrifices, and a large portion of the Gopatha-
brāhmaṇa (i. 13.; i. 22.) is taken up with what is
called the Virishṭa, the Ūna, the Yātayāma, or what-
ever else the defects in a sacrifice are called which
must be made good (sandhāna) by certain hymns,
verses, formulas, or exclamations. There are long
discussions on the proper way of pronouncing these
salutary formulas, on their hidden meaning, and their
miraculous power. The syllable Om, the so-called
Vyāhṛitis, and other strange sounds are recommended for various purposes, and works such as the Sarpa-veda, Pisācha-veda, Asura-veda, Itiḥāsa-veda, Purāṇa-veda, are referred to as authorities (i. 10.).

Although, however, the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa is more explicit on the chapter of accidents than the Brāhmaṇas of the other Vedas, the subject itself is by no means peculiar to it. The question of expiation or penance (prāyaśchitta) is fully discussed in the other Vedas, and remedies are suggested for all kinds of mishaps. The ceremonial in general is discussed in the Gopatha in the same manner as in the other Brāhmaṇas. There is, in fact, very little, if any, difference between the Gopatha and the other Brāhmaṇas, and it is not easy to discover any traces of its more recent origin. It begins with a theory of the creation of the world, such as we find in many places of the other Brāhmaṇas. There is nothing remarkable in it except one idea, which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. Brahman (neuter), the self-existing, burns with a desire to create, and by means of his heat, sweat is produced from his forehead, and from all the pores of his body. These streams of sweat are changed into water. In the water Brahman perceives his own shadow, and falls in love with it. This, however, is only one phase in the progress of creation, which is ultimately to lead to the birth of Bhṛigu and Atharvan. Atharvan is represented as the real Prajāpati, or Lord of Creation. From him twenty classes of poets, the same as those mentioned in the Anukramaṇi, are produced, and their poems are said to have formed the Atharvaṇa-veda.

Then follows a new series of creation. Brahman creates the earth from his feet, the sky from his
belly, heaven from his skull. He then creates three gods: Agni (fire) for the earth, Vâyu (wind) for the sky, and Āditya (sun) for the heaven. Lastly, he creates the three Vedas: the Rig-veda proceeds from Agni, the Yajur-veda from Vayu, the Sâma-veda from Āditya. The three Vyâhritis also, or sacred syllables (*bhûh bhuvah svar*), are called into existence. It is important to remark, that nothing is here said of the fourth Veda; its origin is described separately, and its second name, Āngirasa, is explained in detail. We look in vain for any traces of more modern ideas in the Gopatha-brâhmaṇa, till we come to the end of the fifth Prapâṭhaka. This is the last Prapâṭhaka of the Gopatha-brâhmaṇa, properly so called. The text is very corrupt, but it seems to contain an admission that, besides the twenty-one sacrifices which are acknowledged in all the Vedic writings, the Āngiras’ had some new sacrifices of their own.\(^1\) That the Gopatha-brâhmaṇa was composed after the schism of the Charakas and Vâjaśaneyins, and after the completion of the Vâjaśaneyi-sañhitâ, may be gathered from the fact that where the first lines of the other Vedas are quoted in the Gopatha, the first line of the

\(^1\) सस सुया: सस च पाककण्डा चविर्येण्या: सस तंयैक-विशिष्टिः। सर्वे ते यज्ञा चहिणिरसो हविषयानाथाय तः (?)
सहजित च य यज्ञा: पुराणे:। And again चांश्य चामे वांश्यारण्ये जर्गिति मन्चामनायांवन्वक्षिधा जनासः। सर्वे ते
यज्ञा चहिणिरसो हविषयानाथाय सा चि गतिमित्र्भुः यावरावः। चिनितिः चिनितिः नाकमुत्तमं तमेत्या
चया विद्याचे:। अत उच्छरे ब्रजांलोकामहातोस्यवर्षामं
गिरसं का गति:॥
Yajur-veda is taken from the Vājasaneyins, and not from the Taittirīyas.

The five Prapāṭhakas which we have hitherto discussed, form only the first part of the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa. There is a second part, called the Uttara-brāhmaṇa, which consists of more than five Prapāṭhakas. It is impossible to fix their exact numbers, as the MS. breaks off in the middle of the sixth book. It is likewise reckoned as belonging to the Atharva-veda, and quoted by the name of Gopatha. In this second part we meet repeatedly with long passages which are taken from other Brāhmaṇas. Sometimes they coincide literally, sometimes the differences are no greater than what we find in different Śākhās of the same Brāhmaṇa. Thus the legend of the sacrifice running away from the gods, which is told in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, i. 18, is repeated in the Uttara-brāhmaṇa, ii. 6. The story of Vasishṭha receiving a special revelation from Indra which is told in the Taittirīyaka¹ (iii. 5. 2.) is repeated in the Uttara-brāhmaṇa, (ii. 13.) And here a difference occurs which is characteristic. The Taittirīyas relate that owing to this special revelation which Vasishṭha had received from Indra, the Vasishṭhas had always acted as Purohitas. So far both the Taittirīyas and the Atharvans agree. But when the Taittirīyas continue that therefore a Vasishṭha is to be chosen a Brahman, the Atharvans demur. The sentence is left out, and it is inculcated on the contrary that the office of Brahman belongs by right to a Bṛṇgū, or to one cognisant of the songs of the Atharvāṅgiris'.²

¹ See page 91, note.
² See also Uttara-brāhmaṇa ii. 1. = Ait.-br. iii. 5.; Utt.-br.

GG 3
If, as we have little reason to doubt, these passages in the second part of the Gopatha-brâhmaṇa were simply copied from other Brâhmaṇas, we should have to assign to the Uttara-brâhmaṇa a later date than to the Brâhmaṇas of the other Vedas. But this would in no way affect the age of the original Gopatha-brâhmaṇa. In it there is nothing to show that it was a more modern composition than, for instance, that Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa. In the Sanhitâ of the Atharva-veda we find something very similar. ¹ Here also the last, if not the last two books, betray a more modern origin, and are full of passages taken from the Rig-veda. The Anukramanî calls the nineteenth book the Brahma-kanda, and the hymns of the last book yajñīyašansanamantras, i.e. hymns for sacrificial recitations. The collection of the Sanhitâ was probably undertaken simultaneously with the composition of the Gopatha-brâhmaṇa, at a time when through the influence of some of the families of the Brţigus and Angiras’ the magic formulas of the Atharvans had been acknowledged as an essential part of the solemn ceremonial. With the means at present at our disposal it is impossible to trace the history of these verses back to the earlier period of Vedic literature, and I shall not return to them again. What is known of their origin and character has been stated by Professor Whitney in several very careful articles in the Journal of the American Oriental Society. ² “The Ātharvaṇa,” he says, “is, like the Rich, a his-

torical and not a liturgical collection. Its first eighteen books, of which alone it was originally composed, are arranged upon a like system throughout: the length of the hymns, and not either their subject or their alleged authorship, being the guiding principle: those of about the same number of verses are combined together into books, and the books made up of the shorter hymns stand first in order. A sixth of the mass, however, is not metrical, but consists of longer or shorter prose pieces, nearly akin in point of language and style to passages of the Brâhmanaś. Of the remainder, or metrical portion, about one-sixth is also found among the hymns of the Rich, and mostly in the tenth book of the latter: the rest is peculiar to the Åtharvaṇa." And again', "The most prominent characteristic feature of the Åtharvaṇa is the multitude of incantations which it contains; these are pronounced either by the person who is himself to be benefitted, or, more often, by the sorcerer for him, and are directed to the procuring of the greatest variety of desirable ends; most frequently, perhaps, long life, or recovery from grievous sickness, is the object sought: then a talisman, such as a necklace, is sometimes given, or in very numerous cases some plant endowed with marvellous virtues is to be the immediate external means of the cure; further, the attainment of wealth or power is aimed at, the downfall of enemies, success in love or in play, the removal of petty pests, and so on, even down to the growth of hair on a bald pate."

1 Loc. cit. iii. p. 308.
CHAPTER III.

MANTRA PERIOD.

Having ascribed to one period the first establishment of the three-fold ceremonial (trayi vidyâ), the composition, and collection of the Brâhmanas, and the ramification of the Brâhmana-charaṇas, we have now to see whether we can extend our view beyond the limits of this period and trace the stream of Vedic literature still further back to its source and its earliest diffusion. According to its general character, the Brâhmana period must be called a secondary period. It exhibits a stratum of thought, perfectly unintelligible without the admission of a preceding age, during which all that is misunderstood, perverted, and absurd in the Brâhmanaṣ, had its natural growth, its meaning, and purpose. But can it be supposed that those who established the threefold ceremonial, and those who composed the threefold Brâhmanas, followed immediately upon an age which had known poets, but no priests, prayers, but no dogmas, worship, but no ceremonies? Or are there traces to show that, even previous to the composition of the Brâhmanaṣ, a spirit was at work in the literature of India, no longer creative, free, and original, but living only on the heritage of a former age, collecting, classifying, and imitating? I believe we must decidedly adopt the latter view. The only document we have, in which we can study the character of the
times, previous to the Brâhmaṇa period, is the Rigveda-sanhitâ. The other two Sanhitâs were more likely the production of the Brâhmaṇa period. These two Vedas, the Yajur-veda and Sâma-veda, were, in truth, what they are called in the Kaushitaki-brâhmaṇa, the attendants of the Rig-veda. The Brâhmaṇas presuppose the Trayī vidyā, the threefold knowledge, or the threefold Veda, but that Trayī vidyā again presupposes one Veda, and that the Rig-veda. We cannot suppose that the hymns which are found in the Rig-veda, and in the Sanhitâs of the two supplementary Vedas, the Sâma and Yajur-veda, were collected three times by three independent collectors. If so, their differences would be much greater than they are. The differences which do exist between the same hymns and verses as given in the three Sanhitâs, are such as we should expect to find in different Śâkhâs, not such as would naturally arise in independent collections or Sanhitâs.

The principle on which the Sanhitâ of the Rigveda was made is different from that which guided the compilers of the Sanhitâs of the Adhvaryus and Udgâtrîs. These two Sanhitâs follow the order of an established ceremonial. They presuppose a fixed order of sacrifices. This is not the case in the Sanhitâ of the Bahvṛichas. There is, as we shall see, a system in that Sanhitâ also, but it has no reference to the ceremonial.

The different character of the Rig-veda-sanhitâ, as compared with the Sanhitâs of the other two Vedas, has attracted the attention of the Brahmans, and we
may quote on this subject the remarks of Sāyaṇa, in his Introduction to the Rig-veda.¹

"Has Āśvalāyana," he says, "when composing his ceremonial Sūtras, followed the order of the Sanhitā of the Rig-veda, or of the Brāhmaṇa? He could not have followed the order of the hymns, because he says at the beginning of his Sūtras, that first of all he is going to explain the new and full-moon sacrifices (Dārśa pūrṇamāsa), while the first hymns of the Rig-veda are never used at that sacrifice. Nor does he seem to have followed the Brāhmaṇa. For the Brāhmaṇa begins with the Dikshaṇiyyā ceremony. Here then it must be observed that the collection of hymns follows the order which is observed at the Brahmayajna and on other occasions where prayers are to be recited. It does not follow the order in which hymns are employed at the different sacrifices. Brahmayajna is the name given to the act of repeating by heart one's own sacred text or even a single verse of it, whether a Rich, Yajush or Sāman. This repeating of all the Rich, Yajush or Sāman verses is enjoined by many passages of the Brāhmaṇas, and whenever hymns are thus enjoined to be repeated, that order is to be observed in which they have been handed down by an uninterrupted tradition. But as Āśvalāyana teaches the particular employment of particular hymns, basing it upon the authority of what are termed indicative passages of the revelation, it is but natural that he can not follow the order of the hymns of the Rig-veda. The texts of the Yajur-veda, however, are given, from the first beginning, according to their

¹ P. 34.
order at the performance of sacrifices, and thus have Ápastamba and others proceeded in the same order in the composition of their Sútras. As this order has once been received, it is likewise adopted in the Brahmayajna. That Áśvalāyana should explain in the first place the Darśapûrṇamāsa sacrifice, while the Brāhmaṇa begins with the Dikshaṇīyā sacrifice, is no objection, because the Dikshaṇīyā is only a modification of the Darśapûrṇamâsa, and many of its rules must be supplied from the typical sacrifice. Thus the Kalpa-sûtra of Áśvalāyana assists in teaching the performance of the sacrifice by showing the employment of the hymns. That Áśvalāyana should teach the employment of passages which do not occur in the Sanhitâ of the Rig-veda¹, is no fault, because these

¹ Our MSS. represent, according to tradition, the text of the Śâkala-śâkhâ, and the same text is followed by Áśvalāyana in his Sûtras. Now, whenever Áśvalāyana quotes any verses which form part of the Śâkala-śâkhâ, he only quotes the first words. Every member of his Charaṇa was supposed to know the hymns of the Śâkala-śâkhâ by heart, and it was sufficient, therefore, to quote them in this manner. But when he has occasion to refer to the verses which are found in the Brâhmaṇa of the Aitareyins, without being part of the Śâkala-sanhita, Áśvalāyana quotes them in full. As these verses are not quoted in full in the text of the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, we may fairly suppose that the text of the Rig-veda-sanhita, current among the Aitareyins, was different from that of the Śâkala-śâkhâ, and contained the full text of these hymns. Sâyana, in his Commentary, does not state that these additional verses belonged to the Śâkhâ of the Aitareyins, but there can be little doubt that at his time the text of their Sanhitâ was lost and forgotten. He says, however, that these verses belonged to a different Śâkhâ, and that they must be supplied from Áśvalāyana’s Sûtras, where, for this very reason, they were given in full. At the time of Áśvalāyana, therefore, the text of the Sanhitâ of the Aitareyins was still in existence, and he likewise notices in his Sûtras peculiarities in the ceremonial of the
hymns occur in different Śākhās, and their employment is prescribed by a different Brāhmaṇa, so that their being mentioned can only increase the value of his Sūtras. Those who know the logic of this subject say, that there is but one sacrifice and that it is to be learnt from all the different Śākhās."

Here then we see that even so late a writer as Sāyāṇa is fully aware of the peculiar character of the Rig-veda, as compared with the other Vedas. In his eyes the collection of hymns, preserved in the Rig-veda, has evidently something anomalous. He, brought up in the system of a stiff liturgical religion, looks upon the Sanhitās simply as prayer-books to be used at the sacrifices. The sacrifices as taught in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, are to him a subject of far greater importance than the religious poetry of the Rishis. It is but natural, therefore, that he should ask, what is the use of this collection of hymns, in which there is no order or system, as in the hymn-books of the Yajur-veda and Śāma-veda? His answer, however, is most unsatisfactory. For if the other two collections of hymns can be used for private devotion although they follow the order of the sacrifices, why should not the same apply to the hymns of the Rig-veda?

Whenever we find in the ancient literature and Aitareyins. Dr. Roth has pointed out one of these verses (Nirukta, xlv.). The passage in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa from which the verse is taken, is, i. 4. 2.; and Sāyāṇa says there: ना एताःस्वतः

In a similar manner the modern Sūtras of the Fratres Attidii (Tab. vi. vii.) contain the Mantras in full, which in the ancient statutes (Tab. i.) are only indicated as generally known. See Aufrecht und Kirchhoff, Die Umbrischen Sprachdenkmäler.
theology of the Brahmans anything that is contrary to their general rules, anything that seems anomalous to them and is yet allowed to exist, we may be sure that it contains some really historical elements, and that it was of too solid a nature to receive the smooth polish of the Brahmamic system. It is so with the Rig-veda-sanhitā. It belongs to a period previous to the complete ascendancy of the Brahmans; it was finished before the threefold ceremonial had been worked out in all its details.

And yet there is some system, there is some priestly influence, clearly distinguishable in that collection also. It is true that the ten books of the Rig-veda stand before us as separate collections, each belonging to one of the ancient families of India; but were these collections undertaken independently in each of these families, at different times, and with different objects? I believe not. There are traces, however faint, of one superintending spirit.

Eight out of the ten Maṇḍalas begin with hymns addressed to Agni, and these hymns, with the exception of the tenth Maṇḍala, are invariably followed by hymns addressed to Indra.¹ After the hymns ad-

¹ First Maṇḍala, Anuvāka 1. = Agni.
   Anuvāka 2. 3. = Indra.
   Anuvāka 2. = Indra.
Third Maṇḍala, Anuvāka 1. 2. = Agni.
   Anuvāka 3. 4. = Indra.
   Anuvāka 2. 3. = Indra.
   Anuvāka 2, 15. —3, 8. = Indra.
Sixth Maṇḍala, Anuvāka 1. —2, 1. = Agni.
   Anuvāka 2, 1. —4, 4. = Indra.
dressed to these two deities we generally meet with hymns addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ. This cannot be the result of mere accident, nor is there anything in the character of the two gods, Agni and Indra, which would necessitate such an arrangement. Agni is indeed called the lowest of the gods, but this neither implies his inferiority nor his superiority.  

1 It simply means that Agni, as the god of fire on the hearth, is the nearest god, who descends from his high station to befriend men, and who, in the form of the sacrificial fire, becomes the messenger and mediator between god and men.  

2 This would not be sufficient to account for the place assigned to him at the beginning of eight out of the ten Maṇḍalas of the Rig-veda. Indra, again, is certainly the most powerful of the Vedic gods, but he never enjoys that supremacy which in Greece and Rome was allowed to Zeus and Jupiter. We can hardly doubt, therefore, that the place allowed to hymns addressed to Agni and Indra, at the beginning

Seventh Maṇḍala, Anuvāka 1.=Agni.
Anuvāka 2.=Indra.

Eighth Maṇḍala, Pragātha hymns.

Ninth Maṇḍala, Soma hymns.

Tenth Maṇḍala, Anuvāka 1.=Agni.

1 Schol. ad Pind. Nem. x. 59. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσχατὸν ποτὲ ἄνωταί γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἐσχατόν πρῶτον, κέχρηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἀντί τοῦ πρῶτου, "Πιθ γὰρ ἐδρα Ζεὺς ἐν ἐσχάτῳ ἔσων (ἐχει γὰρ ἐδραν. Brunck.)

2 Rv. iv. 1. 5. ॐ लं नो च रूप्रेस्वमो भवती नेदिष्टो चक्षा उववो चुष्टी। "Come down to us, O Agni, with thy help, be thou most near to us to-day as the dawn flashes forth."

3 ॐ द्रो ै देवानामोजिष्ठो वलिष्ठ। Kaushitaki-brāhmaṇa, vi. 14.
of the Maṇḍalas, was the result of a previous agreement, and that the Maṇḍalas themselves do not represent collections made independently by different families, but collections carried out simultaneously in different localities under the supervision of one central authority.

Another indication of the systematic arrangement of the Maṇḍalas, is contained in the Āpṛī hymns.

There are ten Āpṛī-sūktas in the Rig-veda: —

1. I. 13., by Medhatithi, of the family of the Kāṇvas (ii. b.); 12 verses.
2. I. 142, by Dirghatamas, son of Uchathya, of the family of the Āṅgirasas (ii. a.); 13 verses. (Indra.)
3. I. 188, by Agastya, of the family of the Agastis (vii.); 11 verses. (Tanûnapāt.)
4. II. 3, by Gṛtsamada, son of Śunahotra, (Āṅgirasas), adopted by Śunaka (Bhārgava) (i. 7.); 11 verses. (Narāśansa.)
5. III. 4, by Viśvāmitra, son of Gāthin, of the family of the Viśvāmitras (iv.); 11 verses. (Tanûnapāt.)
6. V. 5, by Vasuśruta, son of Atri, of the family of the Ātreyas (iii.); 11 verses. (Narāśansa.)
7. VII. 2, by Vasishṭha, son of Mitrāvaruṇau, of the family of the Vāsishṭhas (vi.); 11 verses. (Narāśansa.)
8. IX. 5, by Asita or Devala, of the family of the Kāśyapas (v.); 11 verses. (Tanûnapāt.)
9. X. 70, by Sumitra, of the family of the Bādhryasvās (i. 6.); 11 verses. (Narāśansa.)
10. X. 110, by Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, or by Jamadagni, of the family of the Jāmadagnyas (i. 2.); 11 verses. (Tanûnapāt.)

These hymns consist properly of 11 verses, each of
which is addressed to a separate deity. Their order is as follows:—

First verse, to Agni Idhma or Susamiddha, the lighted fire.

Second verse, to Tanûnapât, the sun hidden in the waters or the clouds, or to Narâsansa, the rising sun, praised by men.

Third verse, to the Šras, the heavenly gifts, or Îšita, Agni, implored to bring them.

Fourth verse, to Barhish, the sacrificial pile of grass.

Fifth verse, to Devîr dvârah, the gates of heaven.

Sixth verse, to Ushâsâ-naktau, dawn and night.

Seventh verse, to Daïvyau hotârau prachetasaу (i. e. Agni and Aditya, or Agni and Varûṇa, or Varûṇa and Aditya; Shadgurusishya).

Eighth verse, to the three goddesses Sarasvatî, Ilâ, Bhâratî.

Ninth verse, to Tvashrî, the creator.

Tenth verse, to Vanaspati, the tree of the sacrifice.

Eleventh verse, to the Svâhâkritis. (Viśve Devâh, Shadgurusishya.)

The only differences in the ten Āpûry hymns of the Rig-veda arise from the name by which the second deity is invoked. It is Tanûnapât in hymns 3, 5, 8, 10; Narâsansa in hymns 4, 6, 7, 9; whereas in hymns 1 and 2 the second deity is invoked under either name in two separate verses. This raises the number in these two hymns to twelve, and this number is again raised to thirteen in hymn 2, by the addition at the end of a separate invocation of Indra.

The whole construction of these hymns is clearly artificial. They share the character of the hymns which we find in the Sâma and Yajur-vedas, being evidently composed for sacrificial purposes. Never-
theless, we find these artificial hymns in seven out of the ten Maṇḍalas, in I., II., III., V., VII., IX., X. This proves a previous agreement among the collectors. For some reason or other, each family wished to have its own Āprī hymn, a hymn which had to be recited by the Hotrī priest, previous to the immolation of certain victims¹, and such a hymn was inserted, not once for all in the Sanhitā, but ten times over. Some of the verses in the Āprī hymns are mere repetitions, and even families so hostile to each other as the Vasishṭhas and Viśvāmitras have some verses in common in these Āprī hymns. But, if on one side the presence of the Āprī hymns in different Maṇḍalas proves a certain advance of the ceremonial system in the Mantra period, and the influence of a priestly society even in the first collection of the hymns; it proves likewise, that the traditional distribution of the Maṇḍalas among various Vedic families is not a merely arbitrary arrangement. These families insisted on having each their own Āprī hymn recorded, and whereas for the general ceremonial, as fixed in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, the family of the poet of certain hymns employed at the sacrifices, is never taken into account, we find an exception made in favour of the Āprī hymns. If a verse of Viśvāmitra is once fixed by the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras as part of any of the solemn sacrifices, no sacrificer, even if he were of the family of the Vasishṭhas, would have a right to replace that verse by another. But with regard to the Āprī hymns that liberty is conceded. The Aitareya-brāhmaṇa records

this fact in the most general form.\footnote{Ait-br. ii. 4.} “Let the priest use the Āprīs according to the Rishi. If he uses the Āprīs according to the Rishi, he does not allow the sacrificer to escape from the relationship of that Rishi.” Āsvālāyana enters more into details.\footnote{Āśv.-sūtra, iii. 2.} He says that those who belong to the Śunakas, should use the hymn of Grītsamada; those who belong to the Vasishṭhas, that of Vasishṭha. The Āprī hymn of Rāma or Jamadagni he allows to be used by all families, (excepting the Śunakas and Vasishṭhas) but, he adds, that each family may choose the Āprī hymn of its own Rishi. How this is to be done is explained in a Śloka, ascribed to Śaunaka.\footnote{Ait.-br. ii. 4.} He ascribes the first Āprī hymn to the Kāṇvas; the second to the Angiras', with the exception of the Kāṇvas; the third to the Agastis; the fourth to the Śunakas; the fifth to the Viśvāmitras; the sixth to the Atris; the seventh to the Vasishṭhas; the eighth to the Kaśyapas; the ninth to the Badhryaśvas; the tenth to the Bṛigus, with the exception of the Śunakas and Badhryaśvas.\footnote{Ait.-br. ii. 4.}

The original purpose of the Āprī hymns, and the
motive for allowing the priest to choose among them according to the family to which his client belonged, are difficult to discover. An ancient author of the name of Gâñagari¹, endeavoured to prove from the fact that one and the same Āprī hymn may be used by all, that all people belong really and truly to one family. It is possible, indeed, that the Āprī hymns may have been songs of reconciliation, and that they were called āprī, i.e. appeasing hymns, not from their appeasing the anger of the gods, but the enmities of members of the same or different families. However that may be, they certainly do prove that there had been an active intercourse between the ancient families of India long before the final collection of the ten books, and that these ten books were collected and arranged by men who took more than a merely poetical interest in the ancient sacred poetry of their country.

Although we see from these indications that the collection of the hymns which we possess in the Rigveda took place during a period when the influence of the Brahmans, as a priestly caste, had made itself felt in India, we must claim, nevertheless, for this collection a character not yet exclusively ceremonial. Not only is the order of the hymns completely independent of the order of the sacrifices, but there are numerous hymns in our collection which could never have been used at any sacrifice. This is not

¹ सर्व समानगोचा: सुरिति गाणगरि: कथं ज्ञाप्रीसूक्तानि

महोदि:। अश्व.-सूत्रास, xii. 10. See also Anuvâkânukramaṇi-bhâ-

श्या, श्लोका ७। चे शाक्ता।। के ते। सर्वेष्वं शाक्तलं ज्ञाप्री-

षेद्वशिष्यः॥

II 2
the case with the other Vedas. Every hymn, every verse, every invocation in the Sanhitâs of the Sâma and Yajur-vedas are employed by the Udgâtris and Adhvaryus, whereas the hymns of the Rig-veda are by no means intended to be all employed by the Hotrì priests. If we speak of the sacred poetry of the Brahmans, that of the Sâma and Yajur-vedas is sacred only because it is used for sacrificial purposes, that of the Rig-veda is sacred, because it had been handed down as a sacred heir-loom from the earliest times within the memory of man. The sacredness of the former is matter of system and design, that of the latter is a part of its origin.

There is an objection that might be raised against this view, and which deserves to be considered. No one acquainted with the ceremonial of the Brahmans could well maintain that, after the final division of that ceremonial among the three classes of priests, a collection like that of the Rig-veda could have been conceived. The Rig-veda is not a Veda for the Hotrì priest, in the same sense in which the Sâma and Yajur-vedas are for the Udgâtri and Adhvarya priests. But it might be said that there is a fourth class of priests, the Brahman class, and that the Rig-veda might have been collected for their special benefit. In order to answer this objection, we shall have to examine more closely the real character of the four classes of priests.

Âśvalâyana (iv. 1.), says that there are four priests, each having three men under him. These are:

I. Hotrì, with Maitrâvaruṇa, Achhâvâka, Grâvastut.¹

¹ This is not the order as given in Âśvalâyana; he places the Brahman and his three men before the Udgâtri and his attendants.
II. Adhvaryu, with Pratiprasthâtri, Neshâtri, Unnetri.

III. Udgâtri, with Prastotri, Âgnidhra or Âgnîdh, Potri.

IV. Brahman, with Brâhmañâchhansin, Pratihartri, Subrahmanya.

These sixteen priests are commonly called by the name of Ritvij, and are chosen by the man in whose favour the sacrifice is offered, the Yajamâna or Svâmin. There are other priests, such as the Šamitrî, (the slayer,) the Vaikartas, (the butchers,) the Chama-sâdhvâryus, (the assistants of the Adhvâryus,) but they do not rank as Ritvij. The Kaushîtakins admit a seventeenth Ritvij, the so-called Sadasya, who is to superintend the whole sacrifice.¹ This large array of

Some would seem to place the Brahman first of all, but Âśvalâyana (Gṛihya, i. 22.) remarks that the Brahman is first chosen when there is an election of four priests only. If all the sixteen are chosen, then the Hotri comes first, afterwards the Brahman, thirdly the Adhvaryu, and lastly the Udgâtri.

¹ Âśv.-Gṛihya, i. 22. सदृशं समाधिः कौशीतिकिः: समाधिः नंति स कर्मणासुप्रदृष्टा भवतीति। समाधिशयं द्रव्यविलिक्षिप्तीभवतीति ज्ञापनायिः। This is confirmed by the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa. Other authorities admit several Sadasyas. (श्रान्तज्ञ-नेके दृष्टा:) For the Sattra sacrifices a seventeenth priest, called the Gṛihapati, lord of the house, is admitted. He is not considered as the Yajamâna, but seems to be the actual sacrificer. (ग्रहपतिसम्बन्धकेन कैवल्यज्ञमानपदार्थिकारिणा सम्प्रदेशन पुरुषेश सहिता: Nârâyaṇa on Âśv. Śrauta-sûtra, iv. 1.) In the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa (vii. 1.), where the division of the animal among the various priests is described, we have the sixteen Ritvij, and besides one Sadasya, three Gṛihapatis (probably the sacri-
priests was only wanted for certain grand sacrifices. In the Gautama-sūtra-bhashya (p. 30.) we are told that for the Agnihotra and Aupāsana one priest, the Adhvaryu, was sufficient; for the Darśapûrṇamanāsā, four; for the Chāturmāsyas five; for the Paśubandha six; for the Jyotishṭoma sixteen. Āsvalāyana prescribes the sixteen priests for the sacrifices called Ahīna (sacrifices lasting from two to eleven days), and Ekāha (sacrifices of one day), and restricts the seventeen priests to the Sattras (sacrifices lasting from thirteen to one hundred days). Each of the four classes of these priests had peculiar duties to perform. These duties were prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas. The duties of the Hotri are laid down in the Brāhmaṇas of the Bāhavrīchās, such as the Kaushitaki and Aitareya-brāhmaṇas; those of the Adhvaryu in the Brāhmaṇas of the Charakas (the Tāittirīyaka) and in the Brāhmaṇas of the Vājasaneyins (the Śatapatha); those of the Udgātri in the Brāhmaṇas of the Chhandogas (the Tāṇḍya.) Āpastamba, who describes the sacrifice in his Paribhāshā-sūtras¹, says that it is prescribed by the three Vedas, the Rig-veda, Yajur-veda and Sāma-veda.² “The Hotri,” he says, 

¹ Translated by me in the ninth volume of the German Oriental Society.

² च चिमिबिद्दैविविघोणे।। ॥ ॥
चर्गवेद रजःवेदे सामवेदः।। ॥ ॥
“performs his duties with the Rig-veda, the Udgâtri with the Sâma-veda, the Adhvarya with the Yajur-veda; the Brahman with all the three Vedas.”

The Adhvaryus were the priests who were intrusted with the material performance of the sacrifice. They had to measure the ground, to build the altar (vedi); to prepare the sacrificial vessels, to fetch wood and water, to light the fire, to bring the animal and immolate it. They formed, as it would seem, the lowest class of priests, and their acquirements were more of a practical than an intellectual character. Some of the offices which would naturally fall to the lot of the Adhvaryus, were considered so degrading, that other persons besides the priests were frequently employed in them. The Śamitṛi, for instance, who had to slay the animal, was not a priest, he need not even be a Brahman¹; and the same applies to the Vaikartas, the butchers, and the so-called Chamasâdhvarya. The number of hymns and invocations which they had to use at the sacrifices was smaller than that of the other priests. These, however, they had to learn by heart. But as the chief difficulty consisted in the exact recitation of hymns, and in the close observance of all the euphonic rules, as taught in the Prâtiśâkhyas, the Adhvarya were allowed to mutter their hymns², so that no one at a distance could

¹ Ait-brâhmaṇa, vii. 1.
² Uttarâdu yajurveda||8|| करणवदश्चमन: प्रयोगमु-
either hear or understand them. Only in cases where the Adhvaryu had to speak to other officiating priests, commanding them to perform certain duties\(^1\), he was of course obliged to speak with a loud and distinct voice. All these verses and all the invocations which the Adhvaryus had to use, were collected in the ancient liturgy of the Adhvaryus together with the rules of the sacrifice. In this mixed form they exist in the Taittiriyaka. Afterwards the hymns were collected by themselves, separated from the ceremonial rules, and this collection is what we call the \textit{Yajurveda-sanhita}, or the prayer-book of the Adhvaryu priests.

There were some parts of the sacrifice, which according to ancient custom, had to be accompanied by songs, and hence another class of priests arose whose particular office it was to act as the chorus. This naturally took place at the most solemn sacrifices only. Though as yet we have no key as to the character

\(^1\) An instance of this occurs in a passage of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, translated by Prof. Roth. The first words (ii. 2.) यूपमनुबृहि are spoken by the Adhvaryu, and not, as Professor Roth supposes, by the Hotri. It is the Adhvaryu only who can say, "We anoint the sacrificial stake, do thou accompany us with the hymns." A passage like this, as it is addressed to another priest, the Adhvaryu would have to pronounce with a loud voice. The Brāhmaṇa itself says, इत्याचाणि: "so says the Adhvaryu." The presha, or command, "anubṛhī," can only be addressed to the Hotri, and there was no ground for placing the following verses in the mouth of the Adhvaryu. Roth, Nirukta, xxxiv.
of the music which the Udgâtris performed, we can see from the numerous and elaborate rules, however unintelligible, that their music was more than mere chanting. The words of their songs were collected in the order of the sacrifice, and this *libretto* is what we possess under the name of Sàma-veda-sanhitâ, or the prayer-book of the Udgâtrî priests.¹

Distinct from these two classes, we have a third class of priests, the Hotrîs, whose duty it was to recite certain hymns during the sacrifice in praise of the deities to whom any particular act of the sacrificer was addressed. Their recitation was loud and distinct, and required the most accurate knowledge of the rules of euphony or Sikshâ. The Hotrîs, as a class, were the most highly educated order of priests. They were supposed to know both the proper pronunciation and the meaning of their hymns, the order and employment of which was taught in the Brâhmaṇas of the Bahvrichas. But while both the Adhvâryus and Udgâtris were confessedly unable to perform their duties without the help of their prayer-books, the Hotrîs were supposed to be so well versed in the ancient sacred poetry, as contained in the ten Maṇḍalas of the Rig-veda, that no separate prayer-book or Sanhitâ was ever arranged for their special benefit.

¹ The Sanhitâ consists of two parts; the Ærhika and Staubhika. The Ærhika, as adapted to the special use of the priests, exists in two forms, called Gânas, or Song-books, the Veyagâna and Áraṇyagâna. The Staubhika exists in the same manner as Ûhagâna and Uhyagâna. Cf. Benfey, Preface to his edition of the Sâma-veda-ærhika, Leipzig, 1848, and Weber, Ind. Studien, i. 30. The supposition that the modern origin of some of the hymns of the Rig-veda could be proved by their not occurring in the Sâma-veda, has been well refuted by Dr. Pertsch.
There is no Sanhitā for the Hotrīs corresponding to the Sanhitās of the Adhvaryus and Udgātīs. The Hotrī learnt from the Brāhmaṇa, or in later times, from the Sūtra, what special duties he had to perform. He knew from those sources the beginnings or the names of the hymns which he had to recite at every part of the service. But in order to be able to use these indications, he had previously to know the whole body of Vedic poetry, so as to be ready to produce from the vast store of his memory whatever hymn or verse was called for at the sacrifice. There exists among the MSS. of Walker’s Collection a work entitled, Āśvalāyana-śākhoktamantra-sanhitā, a collection of hymns of the Āśvalāyana-śākhā, which contains the hymns as required according to the Gṛhya-sūtras of Āśvalāyana. It would have been easy to construct a similar collection for the Śrauta-sūtras, but such a collection was never made, and it is never alluded to in the ancient literature of the Brahmans.  

1 Sāyana (Rv. Bh. i. p. 23.) remarks that some verses of the Ya-jur-veda are called Rich in the Brāhmaṇas of the Adhvaryus. Thus the verse देवः  कवितोत्युनातु is called a Rich addressed to Savitri. Sāmans also are mentioned, as when it is said, “Singing the Sāman he sits down.” In the Sāma-veda there are not only Rich verses, but also Yajush invocations, such as चचितमसि, चचुतमसि, प्राणशचितमसि। The Hotrī priests have likewise to use invocations which would more properly be called Yajush, such as चवर्योध्वर्योधु “Adhvaryu, hast thou got the water?” to which the Adhvaryu replies: उत्तेजनंम: “Yes, it has come.” Here the Commentator says, होतुर्च्छुरात्मकं कृत्यां विधाने॥
If then the Rig-veda-sanhitâ was not composed for the special benefit of the Hotríis, much less of the other two classes of priests, it might be supposed that it had nevertheless a sacrificial character, and was intended to assist the fourth class of priests, or the Brahman, properly so called. The Brahman, as we saw, had to watch the three classes of priests and to correct any mistake they might commit. He was therefore, supposed to know the whole ceremonial and all the hymns employed by the Hotrí, Adhvaryu, and Udgâtri. Now the Rig-veda does contain most of the hymns of the other two Vedas\(^1\), and in several places it is maintained that the Brahman ought properly to be a Hotrí. All this would render it not improbable that the Rig-veda-sanhitâ belonged to the same age as the other two Sanhitâs, that its collection was suggested by the same idea which led to the collection of the hymns of the other two classes of priests, and that, for the special benefit of the Brahman, it comprehended in one body all the hymns which the Hotrí, the Adhvaryu, and Udgâtri were expected to know singly. In this case the Rig-veda-sanhitâ,

\(^1\) The invocations, properly called Yajush, are of course not to be found in the Rig-veda. Some of the hymns of the Sâma and Yajur-vedas, which have a more modern appearance, are to be found in the tenth Maṇḍala of the Rig-veda, or among the latest additions, such as the Vâlakhilyas. There are, however, some, which, though they occur in the Sâma and Yajur-vedas, are not to be found in the Rig-veda. This may possibly be accounted for by the fact that we do not possess all the Sâkhâs of the Rigveda. The differences also in the text of hymns, as read in the three Vedas, must be ascribed to the influence of early Sâkhâs, and cannot be used as an argument for determining the more or less ancient date of the three Vedas.
instead of being more ancient, would in fact represent the latest collection of a sacred poetry.

It would be of no avail to appeal to the testimony of later authorities, such as the Purāṇas, in order to refute this theory. The Vishnu-purāṇa (p. 276), for instance, has the following remarks on this subject: "Vyāsa," it is said, "divided the one sacrificial Veda into four parts, and instituted the sacrificial rite administered by the four kinds of priests, in which it was the duty of the Adhvaryu to recite the Yajush verses or direct the ceremony; of the Hotrī to repeat the Rich; of the Udgātrī to chant the Sāman; and of the Brahman, to pronounce the formula called Atharvan. Then the Muni, having collected together the hymns called Rich, composed the Rig-veda, &c., and, with the Atharvans, he composed the rules of all the ceremonies suited to kings, and the function of the Brahman agreeably to practice." This passage only serves to show that the authors of the Purāṇas were entirely ignorant of the tone and character of the Vedic literature. For although the Brahman priest was the only Ritvij who had occasionally to use passages from the Atharva-veda, blessings, imprecations, etc.; yet the so-called Atharva-veda had nothing in common with the three ancient Vedas, and contained no information on the general features of the great sacrifices, such as would have been indispensable to the superintendent of the other priests.1

1 Prasthāna-bheda, p. 16., l. 10. अथवंसिद्धु यज्ञानुपयुक्तः
शांतिपीष्टिकाभिन्दारात्ष्ट्रकर्मप्रतिपाद्यकलेनायात्ततविलचण एव।
Against this statement that of Kumārila should be taken into
The real answer to a supposition which would assign the Rig-veda-sanhitâ to the Brahman is, that to him also that collection of hymns would have been of no practical utility. He would have learnt from it many a hymn never called for, never used at any sacrifice; and he would have had to unlearn the order both of hymns and verses whenever he wished to utilise his knowledge for the practical objects of his station.

We may, therefore, safely ascribe the collection of the Rig-veda, or, as Professor Roth calls it, the historical Veda, to a less practical age than that of the Brâhmana period; to an age, not entirely free from the trammels of a ceremonial, yet not completely enslaved by a system of mere formalities; to an age no longer creative and impulsive, yet not without some power of upholding the traditions of a past that spoke to a later generation of men through the very poems which they were collecting with so much zeal and accuracy.

The work of the Mantra period is not entirely represented by the collection of the ancient hymns. Such a work would be sufficient in itself to give a character to an age, and we might appeal, in the history of ancient Greek literature, to the age of the Diaskeuasts. A generation which begins to collect has entered into a new phase of life. Nations, like individuals, become conservative when they cease to trust implicitly in themselves, and have learnt from experience that they are not better than their
fathers. But though the distinctive feature of the Mantra period consisted in gathering the fruits of a bye-gone spring, this was not the only work which occupied the Brahmans of that age. Where poems have to be collected from the mouth of the people, they have likewise to be arranged. Corrections are supposed to be necessary; whole verses may have to be supplied. After collecting and correcting a large number of poems, many a man would feel disposed to try his own poetical powers; and if new songs were wanted, it did not require great talent to imitate the simple strains of the ancient Rishis. Thus we find in the Rig-veda, that, after the collection of the ten Maṇḍalas was finished, some few hymns were added, generally at the end of a chapter, which are known by the name of Khilas. We can hardly call them successful imitations of the genuine songs; but in India they seem to have soon acquired a certain reputation. They found their way into the Sanhitâs of the other Vedas; they are referred to in the Brâhmaṇas; and though they are not counted in the Anukramaṇīs, together with the original hymns, they are there also mentioned as recognised additions.

Besides these hymns, which were added after the collection of the ten books had been completed, there is another class of hymns, actually incorporated in the sacred Decads, but which nevertheless must be ascribed to poets who were imitators of earlier poets, and whose activity, whether somewhat anterior to, or contemporaneous with the final edition of the Rigveda-sanhitâ, must be referred to the same Mantra period. We need not appeal to the tradition of the Brahmans, who, in matters of this kind, are ex-
tremely untrustworthy. They place a very small interval between the latest poets of the hymns and the final collection of the ten books. The latter they ascribe to Krishṇa Dvaipayana Vyāsa, the embodiment of the Indian διασκευή, whereas one of the poets whose hymns form part of the Sanhitā, is Parāśara, the reputed father of Vyāsa.

But we have better evidence in the hymns themselves, that some of their authors belonged to a later generation than that of the most famous Rishis. The most celebrated poets of the Veda are those who are now called the Mādhyanas, from the fact of their hymns standing between the first and the last books of our collection. They are Gṛitsamada, (2d Maṇḍala), Viśvāmitra (3d Maṇḍala), Vāmadeva (4th Maṇḍala), Atri (5th Maṇḍala), Bharadvāja (6th Maṇḍala), and Vasishṭha (7th Maṇḍala). Added to these are, in the beginning, the hymns of various poets, collected in the first Maṇḍala, called the book of the Śatarchins, from the fact that each poet contributed about a hundred verses; and at the end, the book of the Pragātha hymns (8th Maṇḍala), the book of the Śoma hymns (9th Maṇḍala), and the book of long and short hymns, ascribed to the Kshudrasūkta and Mahāsūkta poets, which, in accordance with its very name, is a miscellaneous collection.

It by no means follows that all the hymns of the seven middle Rishis are more ancient than those of the first and the last books; or that these books contain nothing but modern hymns. But the very name of Mādhyma, given to the poets of the books from the second to the seventh, shows that they were considered, even by the Brahmans, as dis-

1 See page 42, note 2, and page 59.
tinct from the first and the three last books. They are not the middle books numerically, but they are called so because they stand by themselves, in the midst of other books of a more miscellaneous character.

Traces, however, of earlier and later poems are to be found through the whole collection of the Rigveda; and many hymns have been singled out by different scholars as betraying a later origin than the rest. All such hymns I refer to the Mantra period, to an age which, though chiefly occupied in collecting and arranging, possessed likewise the power of imitating, and carrying on the traditions of a former age.

It is extremely difficult to prove the modern origin of certain hymns, and I feel by no means convinced by the arguments which have been used for this purpose. At present, however, I need not enter into the minutiae of this critical separation of ancient and modern poetry. It is not my object to prove that this or that hymn is more modern than the rest; but I only wish to establish the general fact that, taken as a whole, the hymns do contain evidence of having been composed at various periods.

In order to guard against misconceptions, it should be understood that, if we call a hymn modern, all that can be meant is that it was composed during the period which succeeded the first spring of Vedic poetry, i.e. during the Mantra period. There is not a single hymn in the Rigveda that could be ascribed to the Brâhmaṇa period. Even a few of the Khilas, modern as they appear to us, are presupposed by the Brâhmaṇas and quoted, together with other more ancient hymns. The most modern hymns in the Rigveda-
sanhitā, if our calculations are right, must have been composed previous to 800 B.C., previous to the first introduction of prose composition.

In order to prove that the hymns which are now thrown together into one body of sacred poetry, were not the harvest of one single generation of poets, we have only to appeal to the testimony of the poets themselves, who distinguish between ancient and modern hymns. Not only has the tradition of the Brahmans, which is embodied in the Anukramaṇīs, assigned certain hymns to Rishis, who stand to each other in the relation of father and son, and grandson, but the hymns themselves allude to earlier poets, and events which in some are represented as present, are mentioned in others as belonging to the past. The argument which Dr. Roth¹ has used in order to prove the comparatively modern date of the Ṛgveda, applies with equal force to some of the hymns of the Rig-veda. Here, also, the names of Purumīlha, Vasishṭha, Jamadagni, and others, who are known as the authors of certain hymns, are mentioned in other hymns as sages, who in former times enjoyed the favour of the gods.

"As our ancestors have praised thee, we will praise thee," is a very frequent sentiment of the Vedic poets. A new song was considered a special honour to the gods. The first hymn of the Rig-veda gives utterance to this sentiment. "Agni," says Madhuchhandas, "thou who art worthy of the praises of ancient, and also of living poets, bring hither thou the gods."

Viśvāmitra, the father of Madhuchhandas, and

¹ Abhandlungen, p. 43.
himself one of the ancient Rishis, concludes his first hymn with the words, "I have proclaimed, O Agni, these thy ancient songs, and new songs for thee who art old. These great libations have been made to him who showers benefits upon us: the sacred fire has been kept from generation to generation."

In another hymn, Viśvāmitra distinguishes between three classes of hymns, and speaks of Indra as having been magnified by ancient, middle, and modern songs.

The sacrifice itself is sometimes represented as a thread which unites the living with the departed, and through them, with the first ancestors of man, the gods. The son carries on the weaving which was interrupted by the death of his father, and the poet, at the beginning of a sacred rite, exclaims, "I believe I see, with the eye of the mind, those who in byegone days performed this sacrifice." With a similar feeling, Viśvāmitra, in his morning prayer, looks back to his fathers, who have gazed on the rising sun before him, and have exalted the power of the gods:

"To Indra goes my thought, spoken out from the heart, to him, the Lord, it goes, fashioned by the bard. It awakes thee when it is recited at the sacri-

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1 Rv. iii. 1. 20.
2 Janimā, originally creations, ποιήματα; it is likewise explained as works. Cf. iii. 39. 1.
3 Rv. iii. 32. 13.
4 See my Essay on the Funeral Ceremonies, p. xxii. note.
5 Rv. x. 130. 1.
6 Rv. x. 130. 7.
7 Rv. iii. 39.
crifice; Indra, take heed of that which is made for thee!

"Rising even before the day, awakening thee when recited at the sacrifice, clothed in sacred white raiments\(^1\), this is our prayer, the old, the prayer of our fathers.

"The Dawn, the mother of the twins, has given birth to the twins (\textit{i.e.} Day and Night)—the top of my tongue fell, for he (the Sun) came. The twins, who have come near the root of the Sun, assume their bodies as they are born together, the destroyers of darkness.

"Amongst men there is no one to scoff at them who were our fathers, who fought among the cattle. Indra, the mighty and powerful, has stretched out their firm folds."\(^2\)

Vasishthā, another of the ancient Ṛṣis, speaks likewise of ancient and modern hymns by which others, besides his own family, secured the favour of the gods.\(^3\) "Whatever poets, ancient or modern, wise men, made prayers to thee, O Indra, ours may be thy propitious friendship: protect us, O gods, always with your blessings!"

One of the greatest events in the life of Vasishthā was the victory which King Sudās achieved under his guidance. But in the Maṇḍala of the Vasishthās, the same event is sometimes alluded to as belonging

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\(^1\) The Viśvāmitras wore white raiments. Their colour, called arjuna, can hardly be distinguished, however, from the colour of the dress of the Vasishthās, which is called śveta.

\(^2\) Gotra, originally a hurdle, then those who live within the same hurdles or walls; a family, a race.

\(^3\) Rv. vi. 23. 9.
to the past, and in one of the hymns ascribed to the same Vasishṭha we read: "Committing our sons and offspring to the same good protection which Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, like guardians, give to Sudās, let us not make our gods angry."

These passages, which might be greatly increased, will be sufficient to show that there were various generations of Vedic poets. The traces of actual imitations are less considerable than we might expect under such circumstances; and where we do meet with stereotyped phrases, it is often difficult to say which poet used them for the first time. When we find Dirghatamas Auchathya, beginning a hymn to Vishṇu with the words, "Let me now proclaim the manly deeds of Vishṇu;" and another hymn of Hiranyastūpa Ângirasa to Indra, beginning with, "Let me now proclaim the manly deeds of Indra," we may suppose that the one hymn was composed with a pointed reference to the other; but we cannot tell which of the two was the original, and which the copy.

The fact, however, of ancient and modern hymns being once admitted, we may hope to arrive gradually at some criteria by which to fix the relative age of single hymns. Some of the hymns betray their comparatively modern origin by frequent allusion to ceremonial subjects. I do not mean to say that the sacrifice as such, was not as old and primitive an institution as sacred poetry itself. Most of the hymns owe their origin to sacrifices, to public or domestic holy-days. But those sacrifices were of a much more simple nature than the later Vedic ceremonial. When the father of a family was priest, poet, and king, in one person, there was no thought
as yet of distributing the ceremonial duties among sixteen priests, each performing his own peculiar office, or of measuring the length of every log that should be put on the fire, and determining the shape of every vessel in which the libations should be offered. It was only after a long succession of sacrifices that the spontaneous acts and observances of former generations would be treasured up, and established as generally binding. It was only after the true meaning of the sacrifice was lost, that unmeaning ceremonies could gain that importance which they have in the eyes of priests. If a hymn addressed to the gods had been heard, if a famine had ceased after a prayer, an illness been cured with a charm, an enemy been vanquished with war songs; not only would these songs, however poor, be kept and handed down in a family as the most precious heirloom, but the position in which the poet recited them, the time of the day, the most minute circumstances of every act, would be superstitiously preserved, in order to insure the future efficiency of the prayer. This was the origin of a ceremonial so complicated as that of the Brahmans. Now, we find in some of the hymns allusions which refer, not to a naturally growing, but to an artificial and a decaying ceremonial.

The most ancient name for a priest by profession was Purohita, which only means praepositus or præses. The Purohita, however, was more than a priest. He was the friend and counsellor of a chief, the minister of a king, and his companion in peace and war. Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, who with their families have both been the Purohitas of King Sudâs, did more for the king than chanting hymns to implore the aid of their gods. Vasishṭha was with the
army of Sudās when that king conquered the ten kings who had crossed the Parushṇī (Hydraotis, Rawi); Viśvāmitra, when Sudās himself crossed the Vipaś (Hyphasis, Beyah) and the Śatadru (Hesudrus, Sutlej). The importance of their office is best shown by the violent contest which these two families of the Vasishṭhas and Viśvāmitras carried on, in order to secure for themselves the hereditary dignity of Purohita. There was a similar contest between the priests at the Court of Asamāti, a descendant of Ikshvāku. He, not satisfied with his four Purohitas, Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu, and Viprabandhu, who were brothers and belonged to the family of the Gaupāyanas, dismissed them, and appointed two new priests (māyāvinau). These new Purohitas, seeing that the Gaupāyanas used incantations against the life of King Asamāti, retaliated, and caused, by their charms, the death of one of them, Subandhu. Thereupon the other three brothers composed a song to appease the wrath of the two priests, and to save their own lives. This song and some others connected with the same contest, form part of the 8th Ashtaka of the Rig-veda.

The very fact of the office of Purohita being hereditary shows that it partook of a political character. It seems to have been so at an early time. In a hymn of the Rig-veda, i. 94. 6, where Agni is invoked under several priestly names, he is called, Janushā Purohita or Purohita by birth. Cf. i. 102. 8. And we find several instances where priests, if once employed by a royal family, claim to be employed always. When Janamejaya Pārikshita ventured to perform a sacrifice

1 See Prof. Roth's excellent essay on Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, in his work, "Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Veda," published as early as 1846.
without the Kaśyapas, he was forced by the Asitamrīgas, a family of the Kaśyapas to employ them again. When Viśvantara Saushadmana drove away the Syāparṇas from his sacrifice, he was prevailed upon by Rāma Mārgaveya to call them back. All this shows that the priestly office was of great importance in the ancient times of India.

The original occupation of the Purohita may simply have been to perform the usual sacrifices; but, with the ambitious policy of the Brahmans, it soon became a stepping-stone to political power. Thus we read in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa: "Breath does not leave him before time; he lives to an old age; he goes to his full time, and does not die again, who has a Brahman as guardian of his land, as Purohita. He conquers power by power; obtains strength by strength; the people obey him, peaceful and of one mind."

Vāmadeva, in one of his hymns, expresses the same sentiment; and though he does not use the word Purohita, there can be little doubt that the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa is right in explaining the words Bṛihaspati and Brahman by Purohita.

"That king withstands his enemies with strong power who supports a Bṛihaspati in comfort, praises him, and honours him as the first.

1 Aitareya-br. vii. 27. Roth, Abhandlungen, p. 118. Weber, Ind. Studien, i. 39. Mārgaveya is a difficult name. It may be simply, as Sāyaṇa says, the son of his mother Mrigū; but Mrigū may be a variety of Bṛigu, and thus confirm Lassen’s conjecture that this Rāma is Rāma, the son of Jamadagni, of the race of Bṛigu, commonly called Paraśu-rāma. Cf. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 216. Marghu is the name of Margiana in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.

2 Rv. iv. 50. 7.

3 "Bṛihaspati," says the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, "was the Purohita of the gods, and the Purohitas of human kings are his successors."
The king before whom there walks a priest, lives well established in his own house; to him the earth yields for ever, and before him the people bow of their own accord.

Unopposed he conquers treasures, those of his enemies and his friends, himself a king, who makes presents to a Brahman: the gods protect him.

This shows that the position of the Brahmans at the courts of the Kshatriya kings was more influential than that of mere chaplains. They walked before the king, and considered themselves superior to him. In later times, when the performance of the ceremonies no longer devolved on the Purohita, the chief priest took the place of the so-called Brahman priest, who was the episcopos of the whole, though he himself took little active part in it. Thus at the sacrifice of Hariśchandra, described in the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa (vii. 16.), Ayāsya acts as Udgâtri, Jamadagni as Adhvaryu, Visvâmitra as Hotri, and Vasishṭha, who is known as the Purohita of the Ikshvâku dynasty, as Brahman. In the Taittirîya-sanhitâ (iii. 5. 2), we read: "Men were born, having a Vasishṭha for Purohita, and therefore a Vasishṭha is to be chosen as Brahman." In the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa again the Brahman is identified with Bṛhaspati, who was the Purohita, or pura-ētri of the gods.

The original institution of a Purohita, as the spiritual adviser of a king or a chief, need not be regarded as the sign of a far advanced hierarchical system. The position of the Brahmans must have been a peculiar one in India from the very beginning. They appear from the very first as a class of men of higher intellectual power than
the rest of the Aryan colonists; and their general position, if at all recognised, could hardly have been different from that of Vasishṭha in the camp of Sudās. The hymns, therefore, which only allude to a Purohita, or priests in general, need not be ascribed to a late age. But when we meet in certain hymns, not only with these, but with various grades of priests, we may be sure that such hymns belong to the Mantra period, and not to the age of primitive Vedic poetry.

This is a question of degree. If we find such verses as “the singers sing thee, the chanters chant thee,” where the singers are called not by their technical name of Udgāṭri, but Gāyatris, and the chanters not by their technical name of Hotṛi, but Arkins, all we can say is that the later division of the sacrifice between Hotṛi and Udgāṭri priests is here found in its first elements. It does not follow that there existed at that time two recognised classes of priests, still less that the Udgāṭris were then in possession of their own Sanhitā. But in Rv. v. 44. 14. we read:

“The Rich verses long for the god who watches; the Sāman verses go to him who watches; this Soma libation calls for him that watches: I, O Agni, am at home in thy friendship.”

Here it is clear that the distinction between Rich verses, that were recited, and Sāman verses, that were

1 Rv. i. 10. गायचिति त्वा गायचित्रोऽयैवकर्ममिति।

2 चो जगार तमृच्छ कामयते चो जगार तमु सामानि यति।

चो जगार तमं रोम चाहुन तवाहमस्य सि न्योकाः॥

Rv. viii. 3. 22. चक्षुमामाभ्याः॥
EARLIEST INDICATIONS OF THE CEREMONIAL.

sung, must have been established, though again we need not go so far as to maintain the actual existence of a prayer-book for the Udgâtri priests.

The third class of priests, the Adhvaryus, who performed the principal acts of the sacrifice, are likewise alluded to in the hymns. We read, Rv. iii. 36. 10: "Accept, O Indra, what is offered thee from the hand of the Adhvaryu, or the sacrifice of the libation of the Hotri."

There are several hymns which contain allusions to the Dârsapûrṇamâsa, the famous New and Full Moon sacrifices. These sacrifices in themselves may have been of the greatest antiquity, as old as any attempt at a regulated worship of the gods. Passages therefore, where we only meet with allusions to the phases of the moon, and their recurrent appeal to the human heart to render thanks to the unknown Powers that rule the changes of nature, and the chances of human life, prove by no means, as the Indian commentators suppose, that at the time of the ancient Vedic poets the lunar ceremonies were of the same solemn and complicated nature as in later times. We read, Rv. i. 194. 4: "Let us bring fuel, let us prepare oblations remembering thee at each conjunction of the moon."

1 I translate parva by conjunction, because parvaṇi, the dual, is used for the full and new moon; Āśvalâyana-sûtras, i. 3. 12. Mr. Weigle, in his interesting article on Canarese literature (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft), states that habba or pabba means a festival in Canarese, whereas in Sanskrit its usual signification is a chapter of a book. Mr. Weigle therefore refers pabba to a class of words, which, in being transferred from the Sanskrit into the Dravidian languages, have changed their meaning. We see, however, that the old meaning of parva new and full moon, would account very well for the meaning attached to pabba in Canarese, a festival.
Do thou perfect our sacred acts that we may live long. Let us not fail in thy friendship, O Agni."  

Passages like this do not necessitate the admission of a full-grown ceremonial, they only point to its natural beginnings. The same remark applies to the three daily prayers, at sun-rise, noon, and sun-set. Nature herself suggests these three periods as the most appropriate for rendering thanks to the heavenly givers of light and life. Thus Manu Vaivasvata² alludes several times to the three periods of the day which the gods themselves have fixed for their sacrifice, sun-rise (sûrya udyati, or sûra udite), mid-day (madhyandine divah, or madhyandine), and sun-set (nimruchi, or âtuchi), and he calls this established order of the sacrifice *rita*, the law or the truth.

But when these sacrifices are mentioned with their technical names, when the morning, and noon, and evening prayers are spoken of as first, second, and third libation, we feel that we move in a different at-

¹ भरामेभ्यं क्रष्णवाम हृवीणि ने चितर्वतं पर्वणं पर्वणं वयम।
जीवातवे प्रततरं माधव्या धियोदशं मखे मा रियामा वयम ततव।

² Rv. viii. 27. 19:—

यदद सूर्य उदाति प्रियचचा चतं रध।
यनस्मुचि प्रबुधि विश्वेदसो यदा मथ्यंदिने दिवः॥१८॥
यद्रम्भिपले चसुरा चतं यते कर्तिर्म वि द्राग्वेषे।
वयं तद्हे वस्वो विश्ववेद्यम उप खृयाम मथ्य छ्रा॥२०॥

यदद सूर उत्तिष्ठे यनस्मांधंदिन ध्रातुचि।
वामं धत्य मनवे विश्ववेद्यो जुक्कानाय प्रचेतसे॥२१॥

वयं तद्हे: सचाज छ्रा उणीसंहे पुच्छे न वझिपाखं।
प्रश्याम तद्यादित्या जुक्कतो हविर्यन वश्यो नशामहै॥२२॥
mosphere, and that we are listening to priests rather than to poets. Thus Rv. iii. 28. 1:

"Agni, accept our offering, the cake, O Jâtavedas, at the morning libation, thou rich in prayer.

"The baked cake, O Agni, is prepared for thee alone indeed; accept it, O youngest of all the gods.

"Agni, eat the cake, offered to thee when the day is over, thou art the son of strength, stationed at the sacrifice.

"At the mid-day libation, O Jâtavedas, accept here the cake, O sage! Agni, the wise do not diminish at the sacrifices the share of thee, who art great.

"Agni, as thou lovrest at the third libation the cake, O son of strength, that is offered to thee, therefore, moved by our praise, take this precious oblation to the immortal gods to rouse them.

"Agni, thou who art growing, accept, O Jâtavedas, the offering, the cake, at the close of day."

This hymn contains in reality nothing but a set of invocations for the three daily libations; it uses the very words used in the ceremonial, and it would hardly have been written except by some pious priest brought up under the system of the Brahmanic ceremonial.

The technical names of the priests are of frequent occurrence. The name of Ritvij would not prove a great development of the ceremonial. It would only mean the priest who officiates at the various seasons. It was then that the sacred fire was kindled by friction. It was lighted in the morning day after day (dive dive), it was lighted at the full and new moon, and it was lighted likewise at each of the great natural divisions of the year. Thus it is said, Rv.
iii. 29. 10: "This wood is thy mother every season, born from which thou shonest. Do thou sit there, as thou knowest it, and make our prayers prosper."

There is nothing artificial in this. But when we meet with the names of the Ritvij priests, such as Potri, Agnidhra, Praśāstri, Neshtri, Hotri, Adhvaryu, Brahman ¹, we can no longer doubt that here we have to deal with late and artificial poetry. These names of priests are afterwards still further generalised, and transferred to Agni, who, as the god of fire, is supposed to carry the offerings of men to the seats of the gods. He is called the Purohita, or high-priest. Saptahotri also, and sapta-mānusha, acting as seven priests ², are names applied to the god of the sacrificial flame.

There is a whole class of hymns commonly called dānastutis, or praises of gifts. They are the thanksgivings of certain priests for presents received from their royal patrons. All of these, like the Latin panegyrics, betray a modern character, and must be referred to the Mantra period. In the Brāhmaṇa period, however, not only are these panegyrics known, but the liberality of these royal patrons is held up to the admiration and imitation of later generations by stories which had to be repeated at the sacrifices. In the Śāṅkhāyana-sūtras (xvi. 11.), the following stories called Nārāśansa (neuter), are mentioned as fit for such occasions. The story of Sunahsepha; of Kakshīvat Auśija who received gifts from Svanaya Bhāvyaya; of Śyāvāśva Ārchanānasa who received gifts from Vaidadaśvi; of Bharadvāja who received gifts

¹ Rv. ii. 36.; ii. 37.
² These seven priests seem to be Hotri, Potri, Neshtri, Agnidh, Praśāstri, Adhvaryu and Brahman
from Bribu the carpenter, and Prastoka Sārnjaya; of Vasishṭha who was Purohita of King Sudās Paijavana; of Medhāthi, and how Āsanga Plāyōgi having been a woman became a man; of Vatsa Kāṇya who received gifts from Tirindira Pārāśavyaya; of Vaśa Āśvya who received gifts from Prithuṣravas Kāṇina; of Praskanva who received gifts from Prishadhra Meḍhya Māṭariśva (sic); of Nabhānediśṭha Māṇava, who received gifts from the Angiras’.” All these acts of royal liberality are recorded in the hymns of the Rig-veda, but the hymns themselves may safely be referred to the second age of Vedic poetry.

Another and most convincing proof that some of our hymns belong to a secondary period of Vedic poetry, is contained in a song, ascribed to Vasishṭha, in which the elaborate ceremonial of the Brahmans is actually turned into ridicule. The 103rd hymn in the 7th Maṇḍala, which is called a panegyric of the frogs, is clearly a satire on the priests; and it is curious to observe that the same animal should have been chosen by the Vedic satirist to represent the priests, which by the earliest satirist of Greece was selected as the representative of the Homeric heroes.

“After lying prostrate for a year, like Brahmans performing a vow, the frogs have emitted their voice, roused by the showers of heaven. When the heavenly waters fell upon them as upon a dry fish lying in a pond, the music of the frogs comes together, like the lowing of cows with their calves.

“When, at the approach of the rainy season, the rain has wetted them, as they were longing and thirsting, one goes to the other while he talks, like a son to his father, saying, akkhala (βρεκεκέξ ξοάξξοάξ.)
"One of them embraces the other, when they revel in the shower of water, and the brown frog jumping after he has been ducked, joins his speech with the green one.

"As one of them repeats the speech of the other, like a pupil and his teacher, every limb of them is as it were in growth, when they converse eloquently on the surface of the water.

"One of them is Cow-noise, the other Goat-noise, one is brown, the other green; they are different though they bear the same name, and modulate their voices in many ways as they speak.

"Like Brahmans at the Soma sacrifice of Atirâtra, sitting round a full pond and talking, you, O frogs, celebrate this day of the year when the rainy season begins.

"These Brahmans with their Soma have had their say, performing the annual rite. These Adhvaryus, sweating whilst they carry the hot pots, pop out like hermits.

"They have always observed the order of the gods as they are to be worshipped in the twelvemonth; these men do not neglect their season; the frogs who had been like hot pots themselves are now released when the rainy season of the year sets in.

"Cow-noise gave, Goat-noise gave, the Brown gave, and the Green gave us treasures. The frogs who give us hundreds of cows, lengthen our life in the rich autumn."

There seems thus to be little room for doubt, if we consider the character of this and similar hymns, that we must make a distinction between two periods in the history of Vedic poetry, the one primitive, the
other secondary. Poems, like those which we have just examined, are not the result of an original, free, and unconscious inspiration. They belong to an imitative, reflecting, and criticising age. An exact division between the ancient and the modern portions of the Rig-veda will probably be impossible even after these ancient relics have been studied with a much more searching accuracy than hitherto. The language which might be expected to contain the safest indications of the more ancient or more modern date of certain hymns, has, owing to the influence of oral tradition, assumed an uniformity which baffles the most careful analysis. Nor would it be safe to trust to our preconceived notions as to the peculiar character of genuine and of artificial poetry. Some of the very latest poets may have been endowed with a truly poetical genius, when the originality and freshness of their thoughts would seem to place them in a better age. Nor is the fact that the ancient poets enunciate thoughts entirely their own, and with the full consciousness that what they say has never been said before, sufficient to give to all their productions so deep a stamp of truth and faith that our weakened eyes should always discern it. But although we may hesitate about single hymns, whether they are the productions of ancient or modern Rishis, we cannot hesitate as to the general fact that the ten books of the Rig-veda at the time they were finally collected, comprised the poetry of two different periods. This is the only important point for our purpose. We ascribe the later poets of the Veda to the Mantra period, so that we comprise within that period two apparently distinct, yet, in reality, very cognate tendencies. We suppose that the
Mantra period was an age of Epigonoi, occupied at first in imitating the works of their fathers, and towards the end engaged in the more useful employment of collecting all that was within reach, modern as well as ancient, and handing it down to the careful guardianship of later generations. Two hundred years will not be too long a time for the gradual progress of this work. There are several generations of modern poets, and probably two classes of collectors to be accommodated, and the work of the last collectors, the collectors of the Maṇḍalas, could not have commenced before the last line of every poem which now forms part of the ten Maṇḍalas was written. I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Mantra period between 800 and 1000 B.C.

Before we leave the Mantra period there is one question which, if it cannot be fully answered, requires at least to be carefully discussed. Was the collection of the ten books of Vedic hymns the work of persons cognisant of the art of writing or not? Were the 1017 hymns of the Rig-veda, after they had been gathered into one body, preserved by memory or on paper?

We can hardly expect to find an answer to this question in the hymns themselves. Most persons acquainted with the history of popular poetry among the principal nations of antiquity would be ready to admit that the original composition and preservation of truly national poetry were everywhere due to the unaided efforts of memory. Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen. Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing.
Let us consider the Old Testament.

The Ten Commandments were not only proclaimed by the voice of God, but Moses "went down from the mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand: the tables were written on both their sides; on the one side and on the other were they written. And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables." (Exodus xxxii. 15, 16.) Here we can have no doubt that the author of the Book of Exodus, and the people to whom it was addressed, were acquainted with the art of writing. Again we read (Exodus xxiv. 7.), that "Moses took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people;" and (Exodus xxv. 16.), the Lord commanded Moses, saying, "Thou shalt put into the ark the testimony which I shall give thee." The covenant here spoken of must have existed as a book, or, at least, in some tangible form.

A nation so early acquainted with letters and books as the Jews would naturally employ some of the terms connected with writing in a metaphorical sense. Thus we read in the Psalms (lvi. 8.), "Put thou my tears into thy bottle: are they not in thy book?"

lxix. 28. "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living, and not be written with the righteous."

xl. 7. "Then said I, Lo I come: in the volume of the book it is written of me."

xlv. 1. "My tongue is the pen of a ready writer."

In the Book of Job (xix. 23.), we actually read, "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" "Printed" here can only mean "written."

Proverbs iii. 3. "Write them upon the table of thine heart."
In the Homeric poems, on the contrary, where the whole Grecian life lies before us in marvellous completeness and distinctness, there is not a single mention of writing. The νυγρὰ σημεῖα, carried by Bellerophon instead of a letter, are the best proof that, even for such purposes, not to speak of literary composition, the use of letters was unknown to the Homeric age. The art of writing, when it is not only applied to short inscriptions but to literature, forms such a complete revolution in the history of a nation, and in all the relations of society, both civil and political, that, in any class of ancient literature, the total absence of any allusion to writing, may safely be supposed to prove the absence of the art at the time when that literature arose. We know the complete regeneration of modern Europe which was wrought by the invention of printing. Every page of the literature of the sixteenth century, every pamphlet or fly-sheet of the Reformation, tells us that printing had been invented. The discovery of writing, and more especially the application of writing to literary purposes, was a discovery infinitely more important than that of printing. And yet we are asked to believe that Homer has hidden his light under a bushel, and erased every expression connected with writing from his poetical dictionary!

But though it is certain that the Homeric poets did not write, or, if we are to adopt the legendary language of certain critics, though it is certain that blind Homer did not keep a private secretary, there is no doubt that, at the time of Peisistratos, when the final collection of the Homeric poems took place, this collection was a collection of written poems. Peisistratos possessed a large library, and, though books

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were not so common in his time as they were in the
time of Alcibiades, when every schoolmaster had his
Iliad\(^1\), yet, ever since the importation of paper into
Greece, writing was a common acquirement of the
educated classes of Greeks. The whole civilisation
of Greece, and the rapid growth of Greek literature,
has been ascribed to the free trade between Egypt
and Greece, beginning with the Saidic dynasty.\(^2\)
Greece imported all its paper from Egypt; and with-
out paper no Greek literature would have been pos-
sible. The skins of animals were too rare, and their
preparation too expensive, to permit the growth of a
popular literature. Herodotus mentions it as a pe-
culiarity of the barbarians, that at his time some of
them still wrote on skins only. Paper (papyrus or
byblus) was evidently to Greece what linen paper
was to Europe in the middle ages.\(^3\)

Now, if we look for any similar traces in the his-
tory of Indian literature, our search is completely
disappointed. There is no mention of writing-
materials, whether paper, bark, or skins, at the time
when the Indian Diaskeuasts collected the songs of
their Rishis; nor is there any allusion to writing
during the whole of the Brâhmana period. This up-
sets the common theories about the origin of prose
literature. According to Wolf\(^4\), prose composition is
a safe sign of a written literature. It is not so in

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\(^1\) Plutarch, Alcibiades, c. vii.
\(^2\) See Grote, History of Greece, ii. p. 201.
\(^3\) Plin. Hist. Nat. xiii. 13. § 27.: “Cum chartae usu maxime hu-
manitas vitae constet et memoria.”
\(^4\) Wolf, Prolegomena, lxx—lxxiii.: “Scripturam tentare et com-
muni usui aptare plane idem videtur fuisse atque prosam tentare
et in eâ excolendâ se ponere.”
India. The whole of the Brāhmaṇa literature, however incredible it may seem, shows not a single vestige of the art of writing. Nay, more than this, even during the Sūtra period all the evidence we can get would lead us to suppose that even then, though the art of writing began to be known, the whole literature of India was preserved by oral tradition only.

It is of little avail in researches of this kind to say that such a thing is impossible. We can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian Parishads are from our universities. Feats of memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary. Our own memory has been systematically undermined for many generations. To speak of nothing else, one sheet of the "Times" newspaper every morning is quite sufficient to distract and unsettle the healthiest memory. The remnants of our own debilitated memory cannot furnish us with the right measure of the primitive powers of that faculty. The Guaranies, who are represented by Missionaries as the lowest specimens of humanity, evinced such powers of memory when they were once taught to listen and to reason, that it became a custom to make the chief Indian of the town, or one of the magistrates, repeat the sermon just delivered from the pulpit before the people in the street, or in the court-yard of a house; and they almost all did it with the utmost fidelity, without missing a sentence.¹ Even at the present day, when MSS. are neither scarce nor expensive, the young Brahmans who learn the songs of the Veda and the

Brāhmaṇas, and the Sūtras, invariably learn them from oral tradition, and know them by heart. They spend year after year under the guidance of their teacher, learning a little, day after day, repeating what they have learnt as part of their daily devotion, until at last they have mastered their subject, and are able to become teachers in turn. The ambition to master more than one subject is hardly known in India. This system of education has been going on ever since the Brāhmaṇa period, and as early as the Prātiṣākhyaṇas we find the most minute rules on the mnemonic system to be followed by every teacher. The only difference in modern times, after the invention of writing, is that a Brahman is not only commanded to pass his apprenticeship at the house of his Guru, and to learn from his mouth all that a Brahman is bound to know, but the fiercest imprecations are uttered against all who would presume to acquire their knowledge from written sources. In the Mahābhārata we read, “Those who sell the Vedas, and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell.”

Kumārila says, “That knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Śūdra.”

1 वेदविक्रियःचौऽवान वेदानां चौऽव लेखकाः। वेदानां दूष-काश्चौऽव ते वै निर्यगामिनः॥
2 Kumārila, Tantra-वार्त्तिका, i. 3. p. 86.:
वच्चवाच्यायिविधानादेदा लेखयादिपूर्वकात्। प्रोजुष्ठेणाधिगताद्वपिधर्माणानं न समस्तं॥
How then was the Veda learnt? It was learnt by every Brahman during twelve years of his studentship or Brahmacharyā. This, according to Gautama, was the shortest period, sanctioned only for men who wanted to marry, and to become Īraḥasthas. Brahmans who did not wish to marry were allowed to spend forty-eight years as students. The Prātiśākhya gives us a glimpse into the lecture-rooms of the Brahmanic colleges. "The Guru," it is said, "who has himself formerly been a student, should make his pupils read. He himself takes his seat either to the east, or the north, or the north-east. If he has no more than one or two pupils, they sit at his right hand. If he has more, they place themselves according as there is room. They then embrace their master, and say, 'Sir, read!' The master gravely says 'Om,' i. e. 'Yes.' He then begins to say a praśna (a question), which consists of three verses. In order that no word may escape the attention of his pupils, he pronounces all with the high accent.

1 Prātiśākhya du Rig-veda, par A. Regnier, Journal Asiatique, 1856. Chapitre XV.
2 If the metre is pankti, the praśna may consist of two or three verses; if the metre is longer than pankti, two verses only constitute a praśna; if a hymn consists of one verse, that by itself forms a praśna. Samayas, i. e. passages which have occurred before (and are sometimes left out in the MSS.), are counted, if they consist of a complete verse. Two Dvipadās are counted as one verse, and, as the Commentator adds (v. 12.), the two half-verses of each Dvipadā-line are to be joined in recitation, and only if there is one odd Dvipadā-line remaining, a pause is to be made at the end of the first half-verse. If there are some verses remaining at the end of a hymn, they may be joined to the last praśna; if there are more than two verses, this is optional.
3 The only words which, in the Sanhita-pātha, would be likely to escape the pupil's attention are monosyllables consisting of

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and repeats certain words twice, or he says 'so' (iti) after these words."

The chief difficulties in the pronunciation of the Veda are the changes of the final and initial letters. The pupils are instructed in these euphonic rules independently (the Śikshā), but whenever a difficult case of sandhi occurs, the Guru examines his audience and explains the difficulties. And here the method followed is this. After the Guru has pronounced a group of words, consisting of three or sometimes (in long compounds) of more words, the first pupil repeats the first word, and when anything is to be explained, the teacher stops him, and says, "Sir." After it has been explained by the pupil who is at the head of the class, the permission to continue is given with the one vowel only, and that a vowel not changed into a semi-vowel, in which form it would be more audible. This would restrict the rule regarding repetition to the two words ā and u. Thus for prā, which is pra + ā, the Guru would have to say prā ā, or prā ā iti. Instead of ud u shyā deva, ud u u shyā deva. This repetition would not take place in udv eti, because u is changed into v. If sarvodātta could mean a word being wholly udātta, then u would be excluded, and the rule would refer to ā only. But sarvodātta means recitation when the accent is disregarded, and all syllables are pronounced with a high tone. The Commentary construes the rule differently. I construe दृढ़ प्रवचने सर्वोदात्तल। तन्त्रिन्य सर्वोदात्तप्रयुक्ते प्रवचने उष्मां तत्त्वात्रप्रयुक्तां द्विः प्रोक्तयं चतवेतिकरणांतः।

1 These are chiefly the change of a final m into Anusvāra before r and the āshmans; the common sandhi of the āshmans; the suppression of a final n; its transition into r; its transition into a sibilant; the absence of sandhi where ri follows; the sandhi of r, and the hiatus.

2 The text is निर्वाचे तु &c.
words, "Well, Sir." After the words of the teacher have thus been repeated by one, the next pupil has to apply to him with the word, "Sir." When there is no difficulty, the rule seems to be that the Guru says two words at a time, which are then repeated by the pupil. If it is a compound, one word only is to be pronounced by the Guru, and to be repeated by the pupil. After a section of three verses has thus been gone through, all the pupils have to rehearse it again and again. When they have mastered it, they have to recite the whole without any break, with an even voice, observing all the rules of sandhi, marking slightly the division in the middle of compounds, and pronouncing every syllable with the high accent. It does not seem as if several pupils were allowed to recite together, for it is stated distinctly that the Guru first tells the verses to his pupil on the right, and that every pupil, after his task is finished, turns to the right, and walks round the tutor. This must occupy a long time every day, considering that a lecture consists of sixty and more praśnas, or of about 180 verses. The pupils are not dismissed till the lecture is finished. At the end of the lecture, the tutor, after the last half-verse is finished, says, "Sir,"

1 Here again I differ from the Commentator, who takes parasya as an adjective referring to etad, i.e. guroh. At the end of a half-verse, this address, bho! is to be dropped; at the end of an Adhyāya it is optional.

2 According to some Śākhās, not the Śākalas, certain words (prepositions) are, in this final recitation also, to be followed by the particle iti; abhi is even, in some cases, to be pronounced abhityabhi. Some other rules are given, all of which are optional. The text of the Veda, as repeated in the lecture-room, is neither Sanhitā, Pada, nor Krama-text. Some few Śākhās only maintain that the Sanhitā-text should be used pure et simple.
the pupil replies, "Yes, Sir." He then repeats the proper verses and formulas, which have to be repeated at the end of every reading, embraces his tutor, and is allowed to withdraw.

These rules speak for themselves. They show that at the time when such rules were necessary, and when young Brahmans had to spend from twelve to forty-eight years of their life in doing nothing but learning and rehearsing the Veda, such a system must have had an object worthy of such efforts. Such an object existed, if, in the absence of writing, the sacred songs, which were believed to be the only means to salvation were to be preserved and guarded against loss and corruption. If, at the time of the Prātiśākhya, writing had been known, some mention of a book as a sacred object would surely have occurred somewhere. We know from the Grihya-sūtras every event in the life of a Brahman, from his birth to his death. Not a word is ever said about his learning to write.

The earliest allusion to this system of oral teaching occurs in a hymn of the Rig-veda which must be ascribed to the Mantra period. In the primitive poetry of the Chhandas period there is no mention either of writing or teaching. But in a satirical hymn of the Vasishṭhas (vii. 103. 5), in which the frogs are compared with Brahmans, teaching their pupils, it is said: "One frog repeats the words of another, like a pupil who repeats the words of his teacher." (See p. 495.) No similar allusion to writing is to be found even in the latest hymns, the so-called Khilas. If writ-

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1 Cæsar (de Bello Gallico, vi. 14), speaking of the Druids, says: "Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur, itaque nonnulli annos vicenos in disciplina permanent, neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare."
ing had been known during the Brâhmana period, is it likely that these works, which are full of all kinds of mystic lucubrations on the origin of all things, should never with a single word have alluded to the art of writing, an art so wonderful that the Greeks would fain ascribe its discovery to one of the wisest gods of the wisest nation on earth? If letters had been known during the period when men in India were still able to create gods, the god of letters would have found his place in the Vedic pantheon side by side with Sarasvatī the goddess of speech, and Pūshan, the god of agriculture. No such god is to be found in India, or in any of the genuine mythologies of the Aryan world.

But there are stronger arguments than these to prove that, before the time of Pâñini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown.

If writing had been known to Pâñini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pâñini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing. The general name for letters is varna. This does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice.1 Akshara, which is used for letter and syllable, means what is indestructible, radical, or an element. We speak of stops as signs of interpunction; Pâñini only speaks of virâmas, stop-pages of the voice. The names of the letters are not derived from their shape, as in the Semitic names of Alpha, Beta, Gamma. With the exception of the r,

1 Aristotle, Probl. x. 39.: τὰ δὲ γράμματα πάθη ἐστὶ τῆς φωνῆς.
their names are their sounds. The name for r, Repha, does not occur in Pâñini. Kåtyâyana, however (iii. 3, 108, 4), explains the derivation of Repha, and in iv. 4, 128, 2, he uses it for ra. In the Prâtiṣâkhyas likewise, the word is well known, and as the participle riphita is used in the same works, there can be little doubt that Repha is derived from a root riph, to snarl or hiss.

The terms for the three accents show no traces of writing, such as the Latin word “circumflexus.”

What would have been more natural, if writing had been known in Pâñini’s time, than that he should have called the dot of the Anusvâra, vindu, i. e. dot, and the Visarga, dvivindu, the double dot? Let us take a later grammarian, Vopadeva, and we find such words at once. In Vopadeva, the Anusvâra is called vindu, the Visarga, dvivindu. What the Prâtisâkhyas and Pâñini called the Jihvâmûliya, the sibilant formed near the base of the tongue, and Upadhmanâya, the labial flatus, Vopadeva calls Vajrâkriti, having the shape of the thunderbolt (×), and Gajakumbhâkriti, having the shape of an elephant’s two frontal bones (♀). The term arddhachandra, or half-moon, belongs to the same class of grammatical terms. Why should these words occur in later grammarians, and not one of them be found in the Prâtiṣâkhyas or Pâñini?

Another class of words which would be sure to betray the existence of writing where writing was known, are the words expressive of reading, composing, book, chapter, paragraph, &c. The most usual word for reading in Sanskrit is adhyeti or adhîte, and at first sight the very existence of such a word might seem to prove the existence of books that could be read. But we have seen in the Prâtiṣâkhyas what was
meant when the pupils asked their tutor to make them read. *Adhyeti* and *adhīte*, from *adhi*, over, and *i*, to go, mean “he goes over a thing, he conquers it, acquires it;” and the very expression “to read a work from the mouth of the tutor,” would be sufficient to show that the work existed, not as a book, but in men’s memory. Another expression of the same kind is found in Manu (x. 1): “All the three castes may read the Veda, but the Brahman alone is allowed to proclaim, *i. e.* to teach it (prabṛ- yat). To teach is expressed by the causative of the verb *adhyeti*, *adhyḍayati*, he makes read, *i. e.* he teaches.¹ The ancient Hindus distinguish between two kinds of reading, the *grahanādhyayana*, the acquisitive reading, and the *dhāranādhyayana*, the conservative reading; the former being the first acquisition of a work, the latter its rehearsing in order not to lose a volume that once belonged to one’s mental library. This rehearsing, or *svādhyāya*, self-reading, was as sacred a duty as the first acquisition. It was by means of this *svādhyāya* alone that works could be said to live. We meet with similar expressions in other literatures of the ancient world. Ahura masdā, when he wishes his law to live among men, requires Jima to be not only the “rememberer” (mērētā), but the bearer and preserver (bhērētā), of the Zarathustrian revelation. And many centuries later, Mahāvīra², the founder of the Jaina religion, is called *sāraē*, *vāraē*, and *dhāraē* of sacred knowledge, *i. e.* *smāraka*, a rememberer, *vāraka*, a guardian who keeps it from profane eyes, and *dhāraka*, a holder

¹ Āpastamba, Dharma-sūtra, iii. 86.
² Kalpa-sūtra, ed. Stevenson, p. 29.
who does not forget the knowledge which he once acquired.

Even so late a writer as Kumārila, when he speaks of the material existence of the Veda, can only conceive of it as existing in the minds of men. "The Veda," he says, "is distinctly to be perceived by means of the senses. It exists, like a pot or any other object, in man. Perceiving it in another man, people learn it and remember it. Then others again perceiving it, as it is remembered by these, learn it and remember it, and thus hand it on to others. Therefore, the theologian concludes, the Veda is without a beginning." This theological arguments may be passed over: but immediately afterwards, in order to show that the Veda has a material existence, Kumārila uses another curious expression, which shows again that to him the Veda existed only in the memory of men. "Before we hear the word Veda," he says, "we perceive, as different from all other objects, and as different from other Vedas, something in the form of the Rig-veda that exists within the readers, and things in the form of Mantras and Brāhmaṇas, different from

1 वेदः पुनः सविशेष प्रत्याचारम्। तत्र घटादिवर्देव पुरुषांतरसङ्कुलपत्व सारंति। तैरपि श्रतसङ्कुलप्रान्येषंपि सारंतोऽन्नेभ्यसङ्कुलव सर्वत्राण्तिवनादिता॥ सर्वेष चात्मी- यसराणात्यूर्वसङ्कुलपत्वं संभवनीति निर्मूलता॥ शब्दवं- ध्वनयत्नित्वमचेतचेच वृद्धवद्वहाराधीनं॥ प्रागपि हि वेदश्रव्यवस्थलिङ्गाः वेदान्ततरविलिङ्गाः चात्मेतृक्षमृवज्ज्ज्वद्रा- दिरुपं मन्त्राश्रयाणादिद्विपाणि चान्यविलिङ्गानुपलब्धिते सर्वेषां चानाद्वः संज्ञाः॥
others." Such arguments would not occur to people who were accustomed from time immemorial to appeal to a book as the sacred authority of their faith. When contemporaneously with our Reformation, Nanak founded the religion of the Sikhs, we find in India, as well as elsewhere, that a book, a real book, was considered as the firmest foundation of a new faith. "At their assemblies, when the chiefs and principal leaders are seated, the Ádi-Granth (the first book) and Dašama Pádsháhka Granth are placed before them; they all bend their heads before these scriptures, and exclaim, Wa! Gurujika Khálśa! Wa! Gurujiki Fateh! A great quantity of cakes, made of wheat, butter, and sugar, are then placed before the volumes of their sacred writings, and covered with a cloth. These holy cakes, which are in commemoration of the injunction of Nanak, to eat and to give to others to eat, next receive the salutation of the assembly, who then rise, and the Acalis pray aloud, while the musicians play. The Acalis, when the prayers are finished, desire the council to be seated. They sit down, and the cakes being uncovered are eaten of by all classes of Sikhs; those distinctions of original tribes, which are on other occasions kept up, being on this occasion laid aside, in token of their general and complete union in one cause. The Acalis then exclaim, "Sirdars! (chiefs) this is a Gurumatá" (a great assembly); on which prayers are again said aloud. The chiefs, after this, sit closer, and say to each other: "The sacred Granth (book) is betwixt us, let us swear by our scriptures to forget all external disputes, and to be united."1

1 Asiatic Researches, xi. 255.
Such a scene would be impossible among pure Brahmans. They never speak of their *granthas* or books. They speak of their *Veda*, which means "knowledge." They speak of their *Śruti*, which means what they have heard with their ears. They speak of *Smṛti*, which means what their fathers have declared unto them. We meet with *Brāhmaṇas*, *śrutis*, *pravachanas*, *śstras*, *adarśanas*, but we never meet with a book, or a volume, or a page.

If we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, &c., not one of them has as yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity. Book, in modern Sanskrit, is *pustam* or *pustakam*, a word most likely of foreign origin. It occurs in such works as the Hitopadesa, where we read of a person, "neither read in books nor taught by a tutor." The Hitopadesa itself is said to be written (likhyate) as an extract from the Panchatantra and another book.

To write is *likh* and *lip*, the former originally used in the sense of scratching, whether on stone or leaves, the latter, in the sense of covering a surface with ink. Thus in Šakuntala, the chief heroine, when advised to write a love-letter (*madanalekha*), complains that she has no writing-materials (*lekhanasādhanāni*), and her friend tells her to take a lotus-leaf as smooth as the breast of a parrot, and with her

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1 Could it be *apestak*, originally the Sanskrit *avasthāna*? See Spiegel, Grammar of the Parsi Language, p. 204.

2 पंचतंत्रानथानयस्यादृश्य यादाक्षणं लिख्यते॥
nails to scratch the letters on it. This is clearly writing. In the Vikramorvaśī, again, Urvaśī, not daring to face her lover, writes a letter (lekha) on a birch-leaf (bhūrjapatra). The king, who sees it, calls it bhūrjavato aksharavinyāsa, “letters put down on a birch leaf;” and when he reads it, he is said to make the leaf speak (vāchayati). The leaf (patra) is used here not in the sense in which we found it in the Śa-
kuntala, as the leaf of a tree, but as a leaf or sheet of paper. This paper was made of the bark of the birch-
tree; and hence, when the queen picks up the love-
letter, she thinks “it is a strip of fresh bark which
the south wind has blown thither.”

Passages like these, to which we might add the well-known introduction to the Mahābhārata, leave little doubt that, at the time when these modern plays were composed, writing was generally practised by women as well as men. Why should there be no such pas-
sage in any of the genuine early Sanskrit works, if writing had then been equally known?

In Manu’s Code of Laws we read (viii. 168.): “What is given by force, what is by force enjoyed,
by force caused to be written (lekhitā), and all other things done by force, Manu has pronounced void.” Here again we have clearly writing. But this is only another proof that this metrical paraphrase of the laws of the Mānavas is later than the Vedic age.

In the Laws of Yājnavalkya also written docu-
ments are mentioned; and the Commentator (ii. 22.) quotes Nārada and other authorities, all in Ślokas, on

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1 There are, I believe, but two Sanskrit MSS. in Europe which are written on birch bark; one in the Royal Library of Berlin, the other in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford.
several minor points connected with the signing (chihñita) of papers, and the treatment of witnesses who cannot write (alipijna). But I have found no such traces of written documents in any of the ancient Dharmasūtras.

The words for ink (masi\(^1\), kålī, mela, golā) and pen (kalama)\(^2\), have all a modern appearance; and, as to Kāyastha, the name of the writer-caste, proceeding from a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother, it does not even occur in Manu.

Another class of words which would be likely to contain allusions to writing are those used for the various subdivisions of literary compositions: but these too point to a literature kept up by oral tradition only. We observed before that a lecture (adhyāya) consisted of sixty questions or _praśnas_. We find these very words used instead of chapters and paragraphs in the Sanhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Sūtras. In the Rig-veda we have the ancient division into _sūktas_, hymns; _anuvākas_, chapters (i. e. repetition); and _māndalas_, books (i.e. cycles): and the later division into _vargas_, classes; _adhyāyas_, lectures; and _Ashtakas_, Ogdoads. In the Taittiriyaka, the division is into _Kandikās_ (sections), _anuvākas_, _praśnas_, and _ashtakas_. In the Kāthaka we have _granthas_, compositions, and _sthānakas_, places. The name of the _Satapatha-brāhmaṇa_ is derived from its 100 _pathas_ or walks; and _Shashṭi-patha_ is used for a work consisting of sixty walks or chapters. Other words of the same kind are _prapāṭhaka_, a reading, a lecture; _āhnika_, a day's work; _parvan_, a joint, &c. We look in vain for such words

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1 Lalita Vistara, adhyāya, ix. p. 139. l. 17.
2 Uṇādi-sūtras, iv. 84. calamus, reed.
as *volumen*, a volume, *liber*, *i. e.* the inner bark of a tree; or *βίβλος*, *i. e.* *βύβλος*, the inner bark of the papyrus; or *book*, *i. e.* beech-wood.

It is clear, from the evidence which we have examined, that it is far easier to prove the absence of writing during the early period of Sanskrit literature, than to discover any traces of writing even at the time when we are inclined to suppose that it was known in India. Writing was practised in India before the time of Alexander’s conquest; and, though it may not have been used for literary purposes, we can hardly doubt that a written alphabet was known during the greater part of the Sūtra period. The Greek writers tell us exactly what we should expect under these circumstances. Megasthenes declared that the Indians did not know letters, that their laws were not written, and that they administered justice from memory.¹ This is perfectly true, if, as has been pointed out², we restrict their ignorance of letters to the fact that they did not employ them for literary purposes. Strabo himself, when quoting the statement of Nearchus that the Indians wrote letters on cotton that had been well beaten together, points out the contradiction between this author and others (*i. e.* Megasthenes), who declared that the Indians used no letters at all.³ There is, however, no real contradiction between these two statements, if we only distinguish between the knowledge of letters and their use as a vehicle of literature. Nearchus fully agrees

¹ Strabo, xv. 53.: . . . Ἄγραφος καὶ ταῦτα νόμοις χρωμένοις. Οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα εἰδέναι αὐτούς, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ μνήμης ἕκαστα διουκείσθαι.
² Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Fragmenta, p. 50.
³ Strabo, xv. 67.: Ἐπιστολὰς δὲ γράφειν ἐν σιδώσι λίαν κεκροτημένας, τῶν ἄλλων γράμμασιν αὐτοὺς μὴ χρησθαι φαμένων.
with Megasthenes; for he also states that the laws of the Indians were not reduced to writing. 1 And Megasthenes agrees with Nearchus; for he also shows himself perfectly acquainted with the fact that the Indians used letters for inscriptions on milestones, indicating the resting-places and distances. 2 Nothing could offer a stronger confirmation of our opinion that the Indians had become acquainted with the art of writing during the Sutra period and before the conquest of Alexander, but that they abstained from using it for literary purposes, than this apparent contradiction in the accounts of Nearchus and Megasthenes. Curtius, differing from Nearchus, maintains that they wrote on the soft rind of trees 3, a custom which we saw preserved in the play of Urvasi. We can hardly believe that the Indians could have used skins for writing. And, though Nicolaus Damascenus declares that he saw the ambassadors of Porus presented to Caesar Augustus in Antiochia, and that they brought a letter written ἐν διφθέρα, we must remember that this letter was written in Greek 4, and that the word διφθέρα may have been used for paper in general. 5

We shall not be able to trace the Indian alphabet back much beyond Alexander's invasion. It existed, however, before Alexander. This we know from

1 Strabo, xv. 66.: Νέαρχος ὑπὲρ τῶν συφιστῶν οὐτω λέγει: τοὺς μὲν νόμους ἄγράφους εἶναι.
2 Οἱ ἀγορανόμοι ... ὀδοποιοῦσι, καὶ κατὰ δέκα στάδια στήλην, τιθέασι τὰς ἑκτροπάς καὶ τὰ διαστήματα δηλοῦσας.
3 Curtius, 8. 9. "Libri arborum teneri, haud secus quam chartae literarum notas eapiunt."
4 Strabo, xv. 73. Τὴν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ἐλληνίζειν ἐν διφθέρᾳ γεγραμμένην.
5 Herodotus, v. 58.
Nearchus himself, who ascribes to the Indians the art of making paper from cotton. Now, in looking for traces of writing before Alexander's time, we find in the Lalita-vistara, which contains the life of Buddha, that the young Śākya is represented as learning to write. Though the Lalita-vistara cannot be regarded as a contemporaneous witness, it is nevertheless a canonical book of the Buddhists, and, as such, must be ascribed to the third council. It was translated into Chinese 76 A.D. As we have seen, before, the system of instruction practised in the lecture-rooms of the Brahmans, it will perhaps be of interest to glance at the schools in which Buddha was educated, or supposed to have been educated.

"When the young prince had grown, he was led to the writing-school (lipisālā).¹ We may leave out all the wonderful things that happened on this occasion, how he received a hundred thousand blessings, how he was surrounded by ten thousand children, preceded by ten thousand chariots full of sweetmeats, of silver and gold; how the town of Kapilavastu was cleansed, how music sounded everywhere, and showers of flowers were poured from the roofs, windows, and balconies; how, not satisfied with this, celestial ladies walked before him to clear the road, and the daughters of the wind scattered celestial flowers, besides other fabulous beings who all came to honour the Bodhisatva as he went to school. These marginal illustrations may be dropped in all Buddhist books, though they leave but little room for the text. When

¹ Lalita-Vistara, Adhyāya, x. This work has lately been edited and partially translated by Babu Rajendralal Mitra, one of the most distinguished Sanskrit scholars in India.
Buddha entered the school, Viśvāmitra, the schoolmaster (dārakāchārya), unable to bear the majesty of the Bodhisatva's presence, fell to the ground, and had to be lifted up by an angel, named Subhāṅga. After the king Suddhodana and his suite had left, the nurses and attendants sat down, and the Bodhisatva took a leaf to write on (lipiphalaka) made of sandal-wood (uraga-sārachandana-mayam). He then asked Viśvāmitra what writing he was going to teach him. Here follow sixty-four names, apparently names of alphabets, all of which the Bodhisatva is acquainted with, whereas Viśvāmitra is obliged to confess his ignorance. Nevertheless the Bodhisatva stays at school, and learns to write, together with ten thousand boys.

1 The most interesting names are Anga (Bhagalpur), Banga (Bengal), Magadha, Dārviḍa, Dakshiṇa (Dekhan), Darada, Khāṣya (Cassia hills), China (Chinese), Hūṇa, Deva (Devanāgarī), Bhaumadeva (Brahman), Uttarakurus, anudruta (cursive).

The alphabet which he learns is the common Sanskrit alphabet, with the omission of the letters l, r̥, and r̥̄. It consists of 45 letters, and, as in our own primers, every letter is followed by a word containing that letter at the beginning or in the middle. These words in the Lalita-vistara are so chosen as to illustrate some of the chief points of Buddha's own doctrines. The alphabet is:—a, ā, i, i, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, ā, aḥ, k, kh, g, gh, ū; ch, chh, j, jh, ni; ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ; t, th, d, dh, n; p, ph, b, bh, m; y, r, v; ś, sh, s, h, ksh.

Though the further education of Buddha is not fully described, we see him soon afterwards, in a general competition, the most distinguished scholar, arithmetician, musician, and everything else.⁴ This comprehensive system of education, through which Buddha is here represented to have passed, is the very opposite of that followed by the Brahmans. We nowhere meet in the Buddhist literature with those strong imprecations against book-learning which we found among the Brahmans, and which may be heard, I believe, even at the present day.

If, thus, the first, though rather legendary, trace of writing, as a part of the elementary education in India, is discovered in the life of Buddha, it is curious to

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1 Among the subjects in which he shows his learning, figure Nirghaṇṭu, Nigama, Purāṇa, Itihāsa, Veda, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Śikṣhā, Chhandas, Kalpa, Jyotisha, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeshika.

2 In an ancient inscription of Khandgiri (Journal of the Asiat. L. I. 4
observe that the first actual writing, the first well authenticated inscription in India, is likewise of Buddhist origin. There are no Brahmanic inscriptions earlier than the Buddhist inscriptions of Asoka on the rocks of Kapurdigiri, Dhauli, and Girnar. They belong to the third century before Christ. They call themselves *lipi*, a writing\(^1\), or *dhammalipi*\(^2\), a sacred writing; and they mention the writer or engraver by the name of *lipikara*.\(^3\) This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pāṇini which can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pāṇini was acquainted with the art of writing. He teaches the formation of this word, iii. 2, 21. There is indeed another passage, which has frequently been quoted, where Pāṇini teaches the formation of the adjective *yavanānā*. This is simply the feminine of *yavana*, as Indrānā is of Indra. Katyāyana, however, and the Commentator, both maintain that *yavanānā* is used as a name of *lipi*, and that it meant the writing of the Yavanas. I see no reason to doubt that most of the examples which we find in the Commentaries go back to the very time of Pāṇini, and I am quite willing to admit that Pāṇini gave his rule on *yavanānā* simply in order to explain this word as the name of a certain alphabet. But I must demur to

Soc. of Bengal, vi. 318.), a king is mentioned who in his youth learned to write, and was taught, besides, arithmetic, navigation, commerce, and law (“*tato likharūpagaṇa nāva vyapāra vidhi viṣāradena*”).

\(^1\) Etāya athāya iyan lipi likhitā; for this purpose was the writing written.

\(^2\) Iyan dhammalipi Devānam piyena piyadāsinā rānā likhāpitā asti eva. (p. 752.)

\(^3\) Burnouf, Lotus, p. 752.
any further conclusions. Yavana is by no means the exclusive name of the Greeks or Ionians. Professor Lassen has proved that it had a much wider meaning, and that it was even used of Semitic nations. There is nothing to prove that Pāṇini was later than Alexander, or that he was acquainted with Greek literature. In the Lalita-vistara, where all possible alphabets are mentioned, nothing is said of a Yavanâni or a Greek alphabet. The Sanskrit alphabet, though it has always been suspected to be derived from a Semitic source, has not certainly been traced back to a Greek source. It shows more similarity with the Aramaean than with any other variety of the Phœnician alphabet. Yavanâni lipi most likely means that variety of the Semitic alphabet which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pāṇini, became the type of the Indian alphabet. But all this is merely conjectural. It is impossible to arrive at any certain interpretation of Yavanâni, as used by Pāṇini; and it is much better to confess this, than to force the word into an argument for any preconceived notions as to the origin of the Indian alphabet.

There is another word in Pāṇini which might seem to prove that, not only the art of writing, but written books were known at his time. This is grantha. Grantha occurs four times in our texts of Pāṇini. In I. 3,
75. it is so used as to apply to the Veda. In IV. 3, 87. it may refer to any work. In IV. 3, 116. it is applied to the work of any individual author. In VI. 3, 79. it may refer to any work that is studied. I do not attribute much importance to the fact that I. 3. 75. and IV. 3, 116. are marked as not explained in the Commentaries; for I confess that in none of these four passages can I discover anything to prove that grantha must mean a written or a bound book. Grantha is derived from a root grath, which means nectere, serere. Grantha, therefore, like the later sandarbha, would simply mean a composition.¹ It corresponds etymologically with the Latin textus. Thus it is used by the Commentator to Nir. I. 20., where he says that former teachers handed down the hymns granthato 'rthata'scha, "according to their text and according to their meaning." In the later literature of India grantha was used for a volume, and in granthakâti, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning. But in the early literature grantha does not mean pustaka, or book; it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work.

This distinction between traditional works and works composed by individual authors is of frequent occurrence in Pâñini, and we attempted, in a former part of this work, to draw some historical conclusions from this distinction. From IV. 3, 101. to 111. the grammarian gives rules how to derive the titles of works from the names of those by whom they were proclaimed (tena proktam). But in most cases these derivations are used by Pâñini as intermediate links

¹ Thus the Commentator to the Rig-veda, 1, 67, 4. explains chrîtanti by agnim uddîśya stutî' grathnanti, kurvantîtyarthâḥ.
only, in order to form the names of Charanas who read and preserve these works. Never, he says (IV. 2, 66.), use the derivative, which would be the title of a work, in the case of hymns (chhandas) or Brähmanas. Do not call a work proclaimed by Kaṭha, Kaṭham, but only speak of Kaṭhas, i.e. those who hand down the works proclaimed by Kaṭha. Another still more significant restriction is made by Pâṇini. With reference to modern works, he says, you may use the neuter in the singular or plural, instead of the plural of the masculine. The Brähmanas taught by Yājnavalkya may be spoken of as such. But the ancient Brähmanas, first proclaimed by Bhallava &c., can only be spoken of as “the Bhāllavins” (Bhallavidae), because it is only in the tradition of his descendants that the works of Bhallava and other ancient sages may be said to live.

However we examine the ancient Sanskrit phraseology with regard to books and their authors, we invariably arrive at the same results. In the most ancient literature, the idea even of authorship is excluded. Works are spoken of as revealed to and communicated by certain sages, but not as composed by them. In the later literature of the Brähmana and Sūtra period the idea of authorship is admitted, but no trace is to be found anywhere of any books being committed to writing. It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brähmanas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pâṇini. If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them. I believe, indeed, that the Brähmanas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras. And there is
one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition. We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters called *patālas*. This is a word never used for the subdivisions of the Brāhmaṇas. Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane; it is also used for a tree. If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and *βιβλιοϛ*, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper made of the surrounding bark of trees. If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sūtra period, it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brāhmaṇas to a written form. Previously to that time, however, we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brāhmaṇa literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only.
CHAPTER IV.

THE CHHANDAS PERIOD.

The three periods of Vedic literature which we have examined, the Sûtra, Brâhmana, and Mantra periods, all point to some earlier age which gave birth to the poetry of the early Rishis. There was a time, doubtless, when the songs which were collected with such careful zeal in the Mantra period, commented upon with such elaborate pedantry during the Brâhmana period, and examined and analysed with such minute exactness during the Sûtra period, lived and were understood without any effort by a simple and pious race. There was a time when the sacrifices, which afterwards became so bewildering a system of cere-
monies, were dictated by the free impulse of the human heart, by a yearning to render thanks to some Unknown Being, and to repay, in words or deeds, a debt of gratitude, accumulated from the first breath of life. There was a time when the poet was the leader, the king, and priest of his family or tribe, when his songs and sayings were listened to in an-
xious silence and with implicit faith, when his prayers were repeated by crowds who looked up to their kings and priests, their leaders and judges, as men better, nobler, wiser than the rest, as beings nearer to the gods in proportion as they were raised above
the common level of mankind. These men themselves living a life of perfect freedom, speaking a language not yet broken by literary usage, and thinking thoughts unfettered as yet by traditional chains, were at once teachers, lawgivers, poets, and priests. There is no very deep wisdom in their teaching, their laws are simple, their poetry shows no very high flights of fancy, and their religion might be told in a few words. But what there is of their language, poetry, and religion has a charm which no other period of Indian literature possesses: it is spontaneous, original, and truthful.

We cannot say this of all the hymns: nay, the greater portion of what we now possess of Vedic poetry must, no doubt, be ascribed to a secondary period, the so-called Mantra period. But after we have discarded what bears the stamp of a later age, there remains enough to give us an idea of an earlier race of Vedic poets. It is true, no doubt, in one sense, that even those earliest specimens of Vedic poetry belong, as has been said by Bunsen, to the modern history of the human race. Ages must have passed before the grammatical texture of the Vedic Sanskrit could have assumed the consistency and regularity which it shows throughout. Every tense, every mood, every number and person of the verb is fixed, and all the terminations of the cases are firmly established. Every one of these terminations was originally an independent word with an independent meaning. Their first selection was more or less the result of individual choice, their technical character the result of long usage. There was more than one word for I, and more than one expression for the verb to be. The selection of mi, as the termination of the first person
singular, the selection of as in the sense of to be, and the joining of the two so as to produce the auxiliary verb asmi, I am, all this was a conventional act, the act of one or two individuals, fixed by circumstances which were more or less accidental. If, then, we find the same combination in the ancient Greek ἔσμι, and the modern Lithuanian esmi, it is clear that the origin of that form goes back to times long anterior to the separate existence of Sanskrit, Greek, and Lithuanian. As soy, suis, and sono are modern modifications that point back to an earlier type, the Latin sum, the Sanskrit asmi, Greek ἔσμι, Lithuanian esmi, are likewise but the modern representatives of some earlier typical form, which existed in the undivided language of the Aryan race.

The same applies to the religion of the Veda. Words like deva for 'god' mark a more than secondary stage in the grammar of the Aryan religion. To use the root div, 'to shine,' with reference to the heavenly bodies, was the result of a free choice. There were other roots which might have been used instead. Nor was it by any means a necessity that the presence of a Divine Power should be felt exclusively in the bright manifestations of nature. All this was the result of a historical growth; and the early periods of that growth had passed away long before the Rishis of India could have worshipped their Devas or their bright beings, with sacred hymns and invocations.

From this point of view the Vedic language and poetry may be ascribed to a modern or secondary period in the history of the world, if only it be understood that what preceded that period in India, or in any other part of the Aryan world, is lost to us beyond the hope of recovery, and that, therefore, to us the
Veda represents the most ancient chapter in the history of the human intellect. We find no traces in the Veda, or in any Aryan work, of a growing language, growing in the sense in which some of the Turanian languages may be said to be still growing at the present day. The whole grammatical mechanism is finished, the most complicated forms are sanctioned, and the only changes of which the Aryan speech, arrived at the point where we find it in the Veda, admits, are those of gradual decay and reconstruction. Nor do we find any traces, in the Veda, of a growing religion. We look in vain for the effect produced on the human mind by the first rising of the idea of God. To the poets of the Veda that idea is an old and familiar idea: it is understood, never questioned, never denied. We shall never hear what was felt by man when the image of God arose in all its majesty before his eyes, assuming a reality before which all other realities faded away into a mere shadow. No whisper will ever reach us of that sacred colloquy when God for the first time spoke to man, and man to God; when man within his own heart heard that still small voice through which the Father of mankind revealed himself to all his children, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile; and when God received the first response from human lips: "Who art thou, Lord?" That first recognition of God, that first perception of the real presence of God, — a perception without which no religion, whether natural or revealed, can exist or grow, — belonged to the past when the songs of the Veda were written. The idea of God,

1 See my Letter on the Classification of the Turanian languages, p. 30.
though never entirely lost, had been clouded over by errors. The names given to God had been changed to gods, and their real meaning had faded away from the memory of man. Even the earliest hymns of the Veda are not free from mythological phraseology. How far the poets retained a vague consciousness of the original purport of the names of the gods is difficult to say. To our eyes the science of language has disclosed the smallest fibres in the tissue of these names, and allowed us an insight into the darkest secrets of their growth. We can see nomina, where even the most keen-sighted native could discover nothing but numina. Sometimes, however, we feel surprised at the precision with which even such modern writers as Kumârila are able to read the true meaning of their mythology. When Kumârila is hard pressed by his opponents about the immoralities of his gods, he answers with all the freedom of a comparative mythologist: “It is fabled that Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean? Prajâpati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun; and he is called so, because he pro-

1 प्रजापतिष्ठावः कामावसानाधिकाराद्वादित्व एवो च नन्द च वेष्येलामुस्मुच्छन्तिः तत्र तदगमनदित्वोपजायत दृश्य तदुन्तिरिते अयपदिति। तस्यां चाहनविर- रथवर्षिनिश्चे खोपुह्रघसंयोगदुपुतः। एवं सम- खंकेजा: परमेश्वरलालनिमित्तेश्रेष्ठवाचः सवितैववच्च मो- यमानत्या राज्यरहस्तश्रेष्ठवाचः। चवाण्डकरणेश्वेत- लाखीयस्वादनेन वेदविदेशार्थ। इत्युत्ते न परिशीविचारात।
tects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that, at sunrise, the sun runs after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun, because she rises when he approaches. In the same manner, if it is said that Indra was the seducer of Ahalyâ, this does not imply that the god Indra committed such a crime; but Indra means the sun, and Ahalyâ (from ahan and lî) the night; and, as the night is seduced and ruined by the sun of the morning, therefore is Indra called the paramour of Ahalyâ."

But in spite of the mythological character which the religion of India has assumed in the Veda, in spite of other traces which show that even its most primitive hymns rest on numerous underlying strata of more primitive thoughts and feelings, we should look in vain, in any other literature of the Aryan nations, to Greece or Rome, for documents from which to study that important chapter in the history of mankind which we can study in the Veda, — the transition from a natural into an artificial religion.

In a history of Sanskrit literature the Chhandas period, though the most interesting from a philosophical point of view, can occupy but a small place. It is represented by a very limited literature, by those few hymns which show none of the signs of a more modern origin which we discussed when treating on the Mantra period. Their number will necessarily vary according to the rules which critics follow in testing the age and character of earlier and later hymns. This critical separation can be carried out successfully only after a comprehensive examination of the leading ideas of the whole Vedic poetry,
and it could not be attempted within the small compass of this work. All I can do in this place is to give a few hymns which in thought and language represent the general character of genuine Vedic poetry, and to contrast them with some other hymns which decidedly belong to a later period.

The following hymn is ascribed to Manu Vaivasvata: viii. 30.

1. Among you, O gods, there is none that is small, none that is young: you all are great indeed.

2. Be thus praised, ye destroyers of foes, you who are thirty and three, you the sacred gods of Manu.

3. Defend us, help us, bless us! do not lead us far away from the path of our fathers, from the path of Manu!

4. You who are here, O gods, all of you, and worshipped by all men, give us your broad protection, give it to cow and horse.

There is nothing striking, nothing that displays any warmth of feeling or power of expression in this hymn. The number of thirty-three, assigned to the gods of Manu, would rather tend to refer its composition to a time when the gods of old had been gathered up and had been subjected to a strict census. Nevertheless, the hymn is simple and primitive in thought and language; and the fact of its being ascribed to Manu Vaivasvata shows that the Brahmans themselves looked upon it as a relic of one of their earliest sages. That Manu himself should be mentioned in the hymn seems to have caused no scruple to the Brahmans; nor is it any real difficulty from our own point of view. No man of the name of
Manu ever existed. Manu was never more than a name—one of the oldest names for man; and it was given in India, as elsewhere, to the supposed ancestor or ancestors of the human race. The Brahmans, however, like most Aryan nations, changed the apppellative into a proper name. They believed in a real Manu, or in several real Manus, to whom they assigned various cognomina, such as Vaivasvata, Āpsava (Rv. ix. 7. 3), Sâmvaraṇa (Rv. ix. 6. 5). All of these they naturally counted as among the earliest of human Rishis; and the hymns which they ascribed to them must have belonged in their eyes to the earliest and most important class.

In one sense it is true, no doubt, that invocations of all the gods, the Viśve Devas as they are called, represent a later phase of thought than invocations of single deities. Nevertheless, there is nothing to show that this comprehensive view of all the deities belongs to an age later than that which gave rise to the most ancient hymns which we possess, and which celebrate the power and majesty of individual deities, such as Varuṇa, Indra, Agni (fire), the Maruts (the winds), Ushas (dawn), &c. 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 supplicant 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

1 Viśve Devâḥ, though treated as a plural, has sometimes the meaning of a pluralis majestaticus. See Ewald, Ausführliches Lehrbuch, § 178, b.
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,” 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 (Rv. i. 27. 13), this is only an attempt to find the most comprehensive expression for the divine powers, and nowhere is any of the gods represented as the slave 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 universe¹, the lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, and friend of men²; 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 Brâhmaṇas, and the burden of one of the songs of the tenth book³ is: Viśva-smâd Indra uttarah, “Indra is greater than all.” Of Soma it is said that he was born great, and that he conquers every one.⁴ He is called the king of the world⁵, he has the power to prolong the life of men⁶,

¹ लङ विश्वानिखमीक पद्यसे। ii. 1. 8. See Nirukta-pari-
² ii. 1. 9.    ³ x. 86.
³ ix. 59.    ⁴ ix. 96. 10., bhuvanasya rājā.
⁵ ix. 96. 14.    ⁶
and in one sense he is called the maker of heaven and earth, of Agni, of Śūrya, of Indra, and of Viṣṇu.¹

If we read the next hymn, which is addressed to Varuṇa (οὐρανός), we perceive that the god here invoked is, to the mind of the poet, supreme and all-mighty. 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.” Nor is Varuṇa represented as the Lord of nature only. He knows the order of nature, and upholds it; for this is what is meant by dhṛitavrata.² Varuṇa, therefore, knows the twelve months, and even the thirteenth; he knows the course of the wind, the birds in the air, and the ships of the sea. He knows all the wondrous works of nature, and he looks not only into the past but into the future also. But, more than all this, Varuṇa watches over the order of the moral world. The poet begins with a confession that he has neglected the works of Varuṇa, that he has offended against his laws. He craves his pardon; he appeals in self-defence to the weakness of human nature; he deprecates death as the reward of sin. His devotion is all

¹ ix. 96. 5.

² Vrata means what must be done, and these Vratas or laws are not to be shaken (aprachyuta) because “they rest on Varuṇa as on a rock.” (Rv. ii. 28. 8.)
he has wherewith to appease the anger of his god; and how natural the feeling, when he hopes to soothe the god by his prayers as a horse is soothed by kind words. The poet has evidently felt the anger of Varuna. His friends, wishing for booty elsewhere, have left him, and he knows not how to bring back Varuna, who is the only giver of victory. He describes the power of his god, and he praises him chiefly as the guardian of law and order. Like a true child of nature, he offers honey, sweet things, which the god is sure to like, and then appeals to him as to a friend: "Now be good, and let us speak together again." This may seem childish, but there is a real and childish faith in it; and, like all childish faith, it is rewarded by some kind of response. For, at that very moment, the poet takes a higher tone. He fancies he sees the god and his chariot passing by; he feels that his prayer has been heard. True, there is much that is human, earthly, coarse, and false in the language applied to the deity as here invoked under the name of Varuna. Yet there is something also in these ancient strains of thought and faith which moves and cheers our hearts even at this great distance of time; and a wise man will pause before he ascribes to purely evil sources what may be, for all we know, the working of a love and wisdom beyond our own.

The hymn is ascribed to Śunahśepha, according to the legend of the later Brāhmaṇas, the victim offered to Varuna by his own father Ajīgarta Sauyavasi. (See page 413.)

1. However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O god, Varuṇa,
2. Do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious; not to the anger of the spiteful!
3. To propitiate thee, O Varuṇa, we bind thy mind with songs, as the charioteer a weary steed.

4. Away from me they flee dispirited, intent only on gaining wealth; as birds to their nests.

5. When shall we bring hither the man who is victory to the warriors, when shall we bring Varuṇa, the wide-seeing, to be propitiated?

[6. This they take in common with delight, Mitra and Varuṇa; they never fail the faithful giver.]

7. He who knows the place of the birds that fly through the sky, who, on the waters knows the ships,—

8. He, the upholder of order, who knows the twelve months with the offspring of each, and knows the month¹ that is engendered afterwards,—

9. He who knows the track of the wind², of the wide, the bright, and mighty; and knows those who reside on high³,—

10. He, the upholder of order, Varuṇa sits down among his people; he, the wise, sits there to govern.

11. From thence perceiving all wondrous things, he sees what has been and what will be done.

12. May he, the wise son of time (āditya), make our paths straight all our days; may he prolong our lives!

13. Varuṇa, wearing golden mail, has put on his shining cloak; the spies⁴ sat down around him.

¹ The thirteenth or intercalary month; see page 212.
² Rv. vii. 87. 2., the wind is called the breath of Varuṇa.
³ The gods.
⁴ These spies or watchers are most likely the other Ādityas, of whom it is said (ii. 27. 3.) that "they see into what is evil and what is good, and that everything, even at the greatest distance, is
14. The god, whom the scoffers do not provoke, nor the tormentors of men, nor the plotters of mischief, —
15. He, who gives to men glory, and not half glory, who gives it even to our own bodies, —
16. Yearning for him, the far-seeing, my thoughts move onwards, as kine move to their pastures.
17. Let us speak together again, because my honey has been brought: thou eatest what thou likest, like a friend.¹
18. Now I saw the god who is to be seen by all, I saw the chariot above the earth: he must have accepted my prayers.
19. O hear this my calling, Varuṇa, be gracious now; longing for help, I have called upon thee.
20. Thou, O wise god, art lord of all, of heaven and earth: listen on thy way.
21. That I may live, take from me the upper rope, loose the middle, and remove the lowest!

This one hymn to Varuṇa would be sufficient to show the mistake of those who deny the presence of moral truths in the ancient religions of the world and, more particularly, in the so-called nature-worship of the Aryans. On the contrary, whatever we find of moral sentiments in those ancient hymns is generally as true to-day as it was thousands of years ago; while what is false and perishable in them

¹ Hotri does not mean friend, but the priest who is chosen to invite the gods. Perhaps it means poet and priest in a more general sense than in the later hymns.
has reference to the external aspects of the deity, and to his supposed working in nature. The key-note of all religion, natural as well as revealed, is present in the hymns of the Veda, and never completely drowned by the strange music which generally deafens our ears when we first listen to the wild echoes of the heathen worship. There is the belief in God, the perception of the difference between good and evil, the conviction that God hates sin, and loves the righteous. We can hardly speak with sufficient reverence of the discovery of these truths, however trite they may appear to ourselves; and, if the name of revelation seems too sacred a name to be applied to them, that of discovery is too profane, for it would throw the vital truths of all religion, both ancient and modern, into the same category as the discoveries of a Galileo or a Newton. Theologians may agree in denying that any man in possession of his reason can, without a crime, remain ignorant of God for any length of time. Missionaries, however, who held and defended this opinion, have been led to very different convictions after some intercourse with savage tribes. Dobrizhoffer¹, who was for eighteen years a Missionary in Paraguay, states that the language of the Abipones does not contain a single word which expresses God or a divinity. Penafiel, a Jesuit theologian, declared that there were many Indians who, on being asked whether, during the whole course of their lives they ever thought of God, replied, no, never. Dobrizhoffer says, "Travelling with fourteen Abipones, I sat down by the fire in the open air, as usual on the high shore of the river

Plata. The sky, which was perfectly serene, delighted our eyes with its twinkling stars. I began a conversation with the Cacique Ychoalay, the most intelligent of all the Abipones I have been acquainted with, as well as the most famous in war. 'Do you behold,' said I, 'the splendour of Heaven, with its magnificent arrangement of stars? Who can suppose that all this is produced by chance? Whom do you suppose to be their creator and governor? What were the opinions of your ancestors on the subject?' 'My father,' replied Ychoalay, readily, and frankly, 'our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, were wont to contemplate the earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain afforded grass and water for their horses. They never troubled themselves about what went on in the Heavens, and who was the creator and governor of the stars.'” The Guaranies, who had an expression for the supreme Deity whom they call tupá, a word composed of two particles—tu, a word of admiration, and pa, of interrogation, nevertheless worshipped only an evil spirit. Let us turn our eyes from the Indians of America to the Indians of India, and we shall perceive the immense distance by which these noble races are separated from the savage tribes to whom our Missionaries are still trying, and trying in vain, to impart the first principles of religion. The language of their simple prayers is more intelligible to us, their whole world of thought and feeling is nearer to us, than anything we find in the literature of Greece and Rome, and there are, here and there, short expressions of faith and devotion in which even a Christian can join without irreverence. If the following were not addressed to Varuṇa, one of the many names of the deity, it
would seem to contain nothing strange or offensive to our ears:

1. Let me not yet, O Varuṇa, enter into the house of clay; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
2. If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
3. Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone to the wrong shore; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
4. Thirst came upon the worshipper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!
5. Whenever we men, O Varuṇa, commit an offence before the heavenly host; whenever we break thy law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

Here we have the two ideas, so contradictory to the human understanding, and yet so easily reconciled in every human heart: God has established the eternal laws of the moral world, and yet he is willing to forgive those who offend against them; just, yet merciful; a judge, and yet a father. “He is merciful even to him who has committed sin.”

The next hymn allows us a still deeper insight into the strange ideas which the Rishis had formed to themselves as to the nature of sin. (Rv. vii. 86.)

1 Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments. He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth.

\[1 \text{Rv. vii. 87. 7. } \text{yah mṛḷayāṭi chakrushe chit āgaḥ.}\]
2. Do I say this to my own soul? How can I get unto Varuṇa? Will he accept my offering without displeasure? When shall I, with a quiet mind, see him propitiated?

3. I ask, O Varuṇa, wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The sages all tell me the same: Varuṇa it is who is angry with thee.

4. Was it an old sin, O Varuṇa, that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, who always praises thee? Tell me, thou unconquerable lord, and I will quickly turn to thee with praise, freed from sin.

5. Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies. Release Vasishtśa, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen cattle; release him like a calf from the rope.

6. It was not our own doing, O Varuṇa, it was necessity, an intoxicating draught, passion, dice, thoughtlessness. The old is near to mislead the young; even sleep brings unrighteousness.

7. Let me without sin give satisfaction, like a slave to the bounteous lord, the god, our support. The lord god enlightened the foolish; he, the wisest, leads his worshipper to wealth.

8. O lord, Varuṇa, may this song go well to thy heart! May we prosper in keeping and acquiring! Protect us, O gods, always with your blessings!

These ideas preponderate in hymns addressed to Varuṇa, but they likewise occur in the prayers to the other gods. Varuṇa is one of the Ādityas, the sons of time, the Kroniones, the heavenly gods. The hymns addressed to these Ādityas in general are full

1 Name of the poet.
of moral sentiments, because these gods are believed to protect men, not only against the assaults of nature, against disease and suffering, but also against the temptations of sin.

Rv. viii. 13. 14. "May evil betide him, the cursing mortal, the enemy who, double-tongued, would deal us a felon's blow.

15. You gods are with the righteous; you know man in their hearts. Come to the true man, and to the false, ye Vasus!

16. We implore the protection of the mountains, and the protection of the waters.\(^1\) Heaven and earth, remove from us all evil.

17. Carry us, O Vasus, by your blessed protection, as it were in your ship, across all dangers.

18. To our offspring, to our race, and thus to ourselves, make life longer to live, ye valiant Ādityas!

21. O Mitra, Aryaman, Varuṇa, and ye Winds, grant us an abode free from sin, full of men, glorious, with three bars.

22. We, who are but men, the bondsmen of death, prolong our time well, O Ādityas, that we may live!

Indra, one of the principal gods of the Veda, is likewise invoked, together with the Ādityas, as a god who may pardon sin. "Whatever sin we have committed against you," the poet says, "let us obtain, O Indra, the broad safe light of day; let not the long darkness come upon us!" Indra is clearly conceived as a moral being in the following verse (Rv. viii. 21. 14.):

"Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend;

\(^1\) Rv. viii. 31. 10. \(^2\) Rv. ii. 27. 14.
wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father."

Out of a large number of hymns addressed to the same god, we select one that is ascribed to Vasishṭha. (Rv. vii. 32.)

1. Let no one, not even those who worship thee, delay thee far from us! Even from afar come to our feast! Or, if thou art here, listen to us!

2. For these here who make prayers for thee, sit together near the libation, like flies round the honey. The worshippers, anxious for wealth, have placed their desire upon Indra, as we put our foot upon a chariot.

3. Desirous of riches, I call him who holds the thunderbolt with his arm, and who is a good giver, like as a son calls his father.

4. These libations of Soma, mixed with milk, have been prepared for Indra: thou, armed with the thunderbolt, come with the steeds to drink of them for thy delight; come to the house!

5. May he hear us, for he has ears to hear. He is asked for riches; will he despise our prayers? He could soon give hundreds and thousands;—no one could check him if he wishes to give.

6. He who prepares for thee, O Vṛitra-killer, deep libations, and pours them out before thee, that hero thrives with Indra, never scorned of men.

1 Dhāvati is explained as a neuter verb by the commentary, "he who runs towards thee." Dhāvati, however, is a technical term, applied to the libations of the Soma-juice, as may be seen, Rv. viii. 1. 17. "Sota hi somam adribhiḥ ā im enam apsu dhāvata," "Press the Soma with stones, make it run into the water."
7. Be thou, O mighty, the shield of the mighty (Vasishṭhas) when thou drivest together the fighting men. Let us share the wealth of him whom thou hast slain; bring us the household of him who is hard to vanquish.

8. Offer Soma to the drinker of Soma, to Indra, the lord of the thunderbolt; roast roasts; make him to protect us: Indra, the giver, is a blessing to him who gives oblations.

9. Do not grudge, ye givers of Soma; give strength to the great god, make him to give wealth! He alone who perseveres, conquers, abides, and flourishes: the gods are not to be trifled with.

10. No one surrounds the chariot of the, liberal worshipper, no one stops it. He whom Indra protects and the Maruts, he will come into stables full of cattle.

11. He will, when fighting, obtain spoil, O Indra, the mortal, whose protection thou shouldst be. O hero, be thou the protection of our chariots, and of our men!

12. His share is exceeding great, like the wealth of a winner. He who is Indra with his steeds, him no enemies can subdue; may he give strength to the sacrificer!

13. Make for the sacred gods a hymn that is not small, that is well set and beautiful! Many snares pass by him who abides with Indra through his sacrifice.

1 Dakshata is construed with the dative, and the cæsura forbids to join mahe with rāye. A similar construction occurs vii. 97. 8., Dakshāyyāya dakshata, where the commentator explains it rightly.

2 This verse shows signs of a later origin; the ideas are taken from the preceding verse.
14. What mortal dares to attack him who is rich in thee? Through faith in thee, O mighty, the strong acquires spoil in the day of battle.

15. Stir us mighty Vasishṭhas in the slaughter of the enemies, stir us who give their dearest treasures. Under thy guidance, O Haryāśva, we shall with our wise counsellors overcome all hardships.

16. To thee belongs the lowest treasure; thou rearest the middle treasure; thou art king always of all the highest treasure; no one withstands thee in the flock.

17. Thou art well known as the benefactor of every one, whatever battles there be. Every one of these kings of the earth implores thy name, when wishing for help.

18. If I were lord of as much as thou, I should support the sacred bard, thou scatterer of wealth, I should not abandon him to misery.

19. I should award wealth day by day to him who magnifies, I should award it to whosoever it be. We have no other friend but thee, no other happiness, no other father, O mighty!

20. He who perseveres acquires spoil with his wife as his mate; I bend Indra, who is invoked by many, for you, as a wheelwright bends a wheel made of strong wood.

21. A mortal does not get riches by scant praise: no wealth comes to the grudger. The strong man it is, O mighty, who in the day of battle is a precious gift to thee like as to me.

22. We call for thee, O hero, like cows that .have

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1 According to the Commentator Kuhachidvid means “wherever he be.” It may perhaps mean the ignorant.
not been milked; we praise thee as ruler of all that moves, O Indra, as ruler of all that is immovable.

23. There is no one like thee in heaven or earth; he is not born, and will not be born. O mighty Indra, we call upon thee as we go fighting for cows and horses.

24. Bring all this to those who are good, O Indra, be they old or young; for thou, O mighty, art the rich of old, and to be called in every battle.

25. Push away the unfriendly, O mighty, make us treasures easy to get! Be the protector of ourselves in the fight, be the cherisher of our friends!

26. Indra, give wisdom to us, as a father to his sons. Teach us in this path, let us living see the sun!

27. Let not unknown wretches, evil-disposed and unhallowed, tread us down. Through thy help, O hero, let us step over the rushing eternal waters!

In this hymn Indra is clearly conceived as the supreme god, and we can hardly understand how a people who had formed so exalted a notion of the deity and embodied it in the person of Indra, could, at the same sacrifice, invoke other gods with equal praise. When Agni, the lord of fire, is addressed by the poet, he is spoken of as the first god, not inferior even to Indra. While Agni is invoked, Indra is forgotten; there is no competition between the two, nor any rivalry between them or other gods. This is a most important feature in the religion of the Veda, and has never been taken into consideration by those who have written on the history of ancient polytheism.

1 Jyâyah stands for jyâyasah.
There are other hymns, again, in which the notion of a deity is much less prominent. Indra is there represented like a hero fighting against enemies. He is liable to defeat, his heart fails him in the combat, and though at last he invariably conquers, he does so rather by an effort than by the mere assertion of his power. Agni, again, in many hymns, is simply described as a power of nature, as the fire such as it is seen in heaven and on earth. Many things that have become to us familiar, struck the poets of the Veda as wonderful and mysterious. They describe the power of the fire with an awe which, to the natural philosopher of the present day, must appear childish. The production of fire by the friction of wood, or its sudden descent from the sky in the form of lightning, is to them as marvellous as the birth of a child. They feel their dependence on fire; they have experienced what it is to be without it. They were not yet acquainted with lucifer-matches, and hence, when describing the simple phenomena of fire, they do it naturally with a kind of religious reverence. The following verses, taken from a hymn of Vasishtha (vii. 3.) may serve as a specimen:

"Neighing like a horse that is greedy for food, when it steps out from the strong prison;—then the wind blows after his blast; thy path, O Agni, is dark at once."

1 The construction of this verse is very abrupt, particularly the transition from the simile of the horse, which is put in the third person, to the address to Agni in the second person. The idea, however, is clear. Agni, the fire, when first lighted, is compared with a neighing horse, on account of the crackling noise. He is greedy for food as soon as he steps out of his prison, viz., from the wood from which fire is produced by friction, like a horse stepping
O Agni, thou from whom, as a new-born male, undying flames proceed, the brilliant smoke goes towards the sky, for as messenger thou art sent to the gods.

Thou whose power spreads over the earth in a moment when thou hast grasped food with thy jaws,—like a dashing army thy blast goes forth; with thy lambent flame thou seemest to tear up the grass.

Him alone, the ever-youthful Agni, men groom, like a horse in the evening and at dawn; they bed him as a stranger in his couch; the light of Agni, the worshipped\(^1\) male, is lighted.

Thy appearance is fair to behold, thou brightfaced Agni, when like gold thou shinest at hand; thy brightness comes like the lightning of heaven; thou showest splendour like the bright sun."

The human, and afterwards divine qualities ascribed to Agni arise chiefly from his character as messenger between gods and men, or, as high-priest, when he is supposed to carry the oblation to the gods. It is one of the most favourite themes of the Vedic poets, though perhaps of the modern rather than of the ancient, to celebrate Agni as a priest, as endowed with all priestly powers, and enjoying all the honorific titles given to the various persons who minister at the great sacrifices. The following hymns, one of Vatsa (Rv. viii. 11.), the other of Gotama (Rv. i. 74.), are rather simple as compared with others of the same class, though there are ex-

\(^{1}\) Ahuta is used in the general sense of worshipped, well attended, with special reference to a guest. Cf. Rv. i. 44. 4.
pressions in both which indicate their more modern character.

1. Thou Agni, art the guardian of sacred rites: thou art a god among mortals; thou art to be praised at the sacrifices.

2. Thou strong Agni, art to be praised at the festivals, thou who like a charioteer carriest the offerings to the gods.

3. Fight and drive thou away from us the fiends, O Jātavedas, the ungodly enemies, O Agni!

4. Thou, Jātavedas, desirest not the offering of a hostile man, be it ever so nigh to thee.

5. We mortals and sages worship the great name of thee, the immortal Jātavedas.

6. We sages call the sage to help, we mortals call on the god for protection, we call on Agni with songs.

7. May the poet draw thy mind even from the most distant abode with the song that longs for thee, O Agni.

8. Thou art the same in many places, a lord among all people: we call upon thee in battles.

9. In battles we call upon thee, Agni, for help when we want strength; we call in struggles upon the giver of precious gifts.

10. Thou art ancient, to be praised at the sacrifices; thou sittest as priest from of old and to-day. Replenish thy own body, O Agni, and grant happiness to us!

1. As we go to the sacrifice let us say a song to Agni, to him who hears us even from afar.

1 Might it be "deveshva martyeshv a," "among gods and among men"?
2. He who, existing from of old, defended the house for the sacrificer when hostile tribes were gathering together.

3. Let even the nations confess, "Agni was born, the slayer of the enemy, the winner of booty in every battle."

4. He whose messenger thou art in the house, whose offerings thou art pleased to accept, and whose sacrifice thou renderest efficient,

5. Of him indeed, O Angiras, son of strength, people say that his offerings are good, his gods are good and his altar is good.

6. Bring hither, O serene Agni, these gods, bring them that they may be praised, that they may accept the offerings.

7. When thou, O Agni, goest on a mission, the sound of the horses of thy moving chariot is never heard.

8. If protected by thee, the warrior is unabashed. Onward he goes, one after another, forward he steps, O Agni, who offers oblations.

9. Thou, O bright god, bestowest with increase a brilliant array of heroes upon him who offers oblations to the bright gods.  

It is curious to watch the almost imperceptible transition by which the phenomena of nature, if re-

1 Every word of this verse baffles translation. Vivâsasi is not simply "thou bestowest," but "thou spreadest out as the sun spreads out his rays." Suvîrya is not "an array of heroes," but an abstract, signifying the possession of good strength, only that this good strength means "the chief of all their strength," and has special reference to the sons and all the males born in the house. Dyumad, brilliant, corresponds with the verb vivâsasi. Brihat should be taken as an adverb, signifying the ever increasing nature of the gift bestowed by Agni.
flected in the mind of the poet, assume the character of divine beings. The dawn is frequently described in the Veda as it might be described by a modern poet. She is the friend of men, she smiles like a young wife, she is the daughter of the sky. She goes to every house, (i. 123. 4.); she thinks of the dwellings of men (i. 123. 1.); she does not despise the small or the great (i. 124. 6.); she brings wealth (i. 48. 1.); she is always the same, immortal, divine, (i. 124. 4.; i. 123. 8.); age cannot touch her, (i. 113. 15.); she is the young goddess, but she makes men grow old, (i. 92. 11.). All this may be simply allegorical language. But the transition from devî, the bright, to devî, the goddess, is so easy; the daughter of the sky assumes so readily the same personality which is given to the sky, Dyaus, her father, that we can only guess whether in every passage the poet is speaking of a bright apparition, or of a bright goddess; of a natural vision, or of a visible deity. The following hymn of Vasishṭha, (vii. 77.), will serve as an instance:—

"She shines upon us, like a young wife, rousing every living being to go to his work. The fire had to be kindled by men¹; she brought light by striking down darkness.

She rose up, spreading far and wide, and moving towards every one. She grew in brightness, wearing her brilliant garment. The mother of the cows (of the morning clouds), the leader of the days, she shone gold-coloured, lovely to behold.

She, the fortunate, who brings the eye of the god, who leads the white and lovely steed (of the

¹ The fire of the altar for the morning prayers.
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sun), the Dawn was seen, revealed by her rays, with brilliant treasures she follows every one.

Thou, who art a blessing where thou art near, drive far away the unfriendly; make the pastures wide, give us safety! Remove the haters, bring treasures! Raise up wealth to the worshipper, thou mighty Dawn.

Shine for us with thy best rays, thou bright Dawn, thou who lengthenest our life, thou the love of all, who givest us food, who givest us wealth in cows, horses, and chariots.

Thou, daughter of the sky, thou high-born Dawn, whom the Vasishṭhas magnify with songs, give us riches high and wide: all ye gods, protect us always with your blessings!"

This hymn addressed to the Dawn is a fair specimen of the original simple poetry of the Veda. It has no reference to any special sacrifice, it contains no technical expressions, it can hardly be called a hymn, in our sense of the word. It is simply a poem expressing, without any effort, without any display of far-fetched thought or brilliant imagery, the feelings of a man who has watched the approach of the dawn with mingled delight and awe, and who was moved to give utterance to what he felt, in measured language. We have heard the same thoughts and feelings expressed by so many poets, that we can hardly enter into the pleasure with which those early singers spoke their hearts out for the first time. We have become so accustomed to the rules of the most complicated metres that we hardly consider how mysterious is that instinct which suggested to the first poets the extraordinary variety of rhythm which we
find in the Veda. But there is a charm in these primitive strains discoverable in no other class of poetry. Every word retains something of its radical meaning, every epithet tells, every thought, in spite of the most intricate and abrupt expressions, is, if we once disentangle it, true, correct, and complete. But this is not the case with all the poems of the Veda. It would be tedious to translate many specimens of what I consider the poetry of the secondary age, the Mantra period. These songs are generally intended for sacrificial purposes, they are loaded with technicalities, their imagery is sometimes more brilliant, but always less perspicuous, and many thoughts and expressions are clearly borrowed from earlier hymns. One specimen may suffice, a hymn describing the sacrifice of the horse with the full detail of a superstitious ceremonial. (Rv. i. 162.)

"May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, the Lord of the Ribhus, and the Maruts not rebuke us because we shall proclaim at the sacrifice the virtues of the swift horse sprung from the gods.

When they lead before the horse, which is decked with pure gold ornaments, the offering, firmly grasped, the spotted goat¹ bleats while walking onward; it goes the path beloved by Indra and Pūshan.

This goat, destined for all the gods, is led first with the quick horse, as Pūshan’s share; for Tvāshṭṛi himself raises to glory this pleasant offering which is brought with the horse.

When thrice at the proper seasons men lead around the sacrificial horse which goes to the gods, Pūshan’s

¹ The goat is the victim or the offering which is led before the horse, and sacrificed to Indra and Pūshan.
share comes first, the goat, which announces the sacrifice to the gods.

Hotri, Adhvaryu, Avayaj, (Pratiprasthâtri), Agnimindha (Agnîdhra), Grâvagrâbha (Grâvastut), and the wise Sanstrî (Prasâstrî)\(^1\), may you fill the streams (round the altar) with a sacrifice which is well prepared and well accomplished.

They who cut the sacrificial post, and they who carry it, they who make the ring for the post of the horse, and even they who bring together what is cooked for the horse, may their work be with us.

He came on — (my prayer has been well performed), — the bright-backed horse goes\(^2\) to the regions of the gods. Wise poets celebrate him, and we have won a good friend for the love of the gods.

The halter of the swift one, the heel-ropes of the horse, the head-ropes, the girths, the bridle, and even the grass that has been put into his mouth, may all these which belong to thee be with the gods!\(^3\)

What the fly eats of the flesh, what adheres to the stick, or to the axe, or to the hands of the immolator and his nails, may all these which belong to thee be with the gods!

The ordure that runs from the belly, and the smallest particle of raw flesh, may the immolators well prepare all this, and dress the sacrifice till it is well cooked.

The juice that flows from thy roasted limb on the spit after thou hast been killed, may it not run on

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1. All names of priests.
2. In these hymns it is sometimes difficult to say whether the horse be meant, or the sun, of which it is the emblem.
3. The verb in the singular (astu) with the substantive in the plural (sarvâ) finds an analogy in Greek.
the earth or the grass; may it be given to the gods
who desire it.

They who examine the horse when it is roasted,
they who say "it smells well, take it away," they
who serve the distribution of the meat, may their
work also be with us.

The ladle of the pot where the meat is cooked, and
the vessels for sprinkling the juice, the vessels to
keep off the heat, the covers of the vessels, the
skewers, and the knives, they adorn the horse.

Where he walks, where he sits, where he stirs, the
foot-fastening of the horse, what he drinks, and what
food he eats, may all these which belong to thee be
with the gods!

May not the fire with smoky smell make thee hiss,
may not the glowing cauldron smell and burst. The
gods accept the horse if it is offered to them in due
form.

The cover which they stretch over the horse, and
the golden ornaments, the head-ropes of the horse,
and the foot-ropes, all these which are dear to the
gods, they offer to them.

If some one strike thee with the heel or the whip
that thou mayest lie down, and thou art snorting
with all thy might, then I purify all this with my
prayer, as with a spoon of clarified butter at the
sacrifices.

The axe approaches the thirty-four ribs of the
quick horse, beloved of the gods. Do you wisely keep
the limbs whole, find out each joint and strike.

One strikes the brilliant horse, two hold it, thus is
the custom. Those of thy limbs which I have sea-
sonably prepared, I sacrifice in the fire as balls offered
to the gods.
May not thy dear soul burn thee while thou art coming near, may the axe not stick to thy body. May no greedy and unskilful immolator, missing with the sword, throw thy mangled limbs together.

Indeed thou diest not thus, thou sufferest not; thou goest to the gods on easy paths. The two horses of Indra, the two deer of the Maruts have been yoked, and the horse come to the shaft of the ass (of the Aśvins.)

May this horse give us cattle and horses, men, progeny, and all-sustaining wealth. May Aditi keep us free from sin; may the horse of this sacrifice give us strength!

A comparison of the general tone of this hymn with that of the hymns to Varuṇa, Indra, and Ushas, translated before, can leave little doubt in the mind of critical historians as to its more modern character. We must be careful, however, not to judge the poetry of the ancient bards of India according to our own standard of what is simple and natural and what is not. The great importance attached to what to us seem mere trifles in the performance of a sacrifice would not be sufficient to stamp this hymn as modern. The superstitious feeling about ceremonial minutiae is natural in a primitive state of civilization, and there are numerous hymns in the Veda which must be adjudged to the earliest period, and where, nevertheless, we meet with sentiments worthy of the most advanced ceremonialists.

The same caution is still more necessary with regard to another criterion which has been used to prove the modern date of certain hymns, the presence
of philosophical ideas. It has been the custom to regard any hymn in which the nature of the deity, the problems of existence, the hope of immortality are expressed, as decidedly modern. The whole tenth Manḍala has been assigned to a later period, chiefly because it contains many hymns the language of which approaches the philosophical diction of the Upanishads and of the still later systems of philosophy. This is a mistake.

There is very little to guide us in forming a judgment of what is genuine and primitive in the ancient poetry of so peculiar a race as the Aryans of India. We have nothing to compare with the poetical relics of the Vedic age. Because we find in some hymns ideas or expressions which, in the literatures of other nations, such as the Jews, or Greeks and Romans, we have accustomed ourselves to regard as of comparatively modern growth, we have no right to conclude that they are equally modern in the history of the Indian mind. The Veda opens to us a chamber in the labyrinth of the human mind through which the other Aryan nations had passed long before they become visible to us by the light of history. Whatever the age of the Veda may be, in one sense it is the oldest book in existence. If this collection had been written but fifty years ago, in some distant part of the world untouched by the general stream of civilisation, we should still call it more ancient than the Homeric poems, because it represents an earlier phase of human thought and feeling. Names\(^1\) which in Homer have become petrified and mythological, are to be found in the Veda as it were in a

\(^1\) See Essai de Mythologie Comparée, traduit de l'Anglais de Max Müller, Paris, 1859, p. 47.
still fluid state. They next appear as appellatives, not yet as proper names; they are organic, not yet broken and smoothed down. Nor can we compare that earlier, lower, and more savage phase of thought which we find in the Veda, with what we know of really barbarous tribes, such as the Negroes of Africa or the Indians of America. For, however inferior to the Greeks of Homer and the Jews of Moses, the Aryas of the Seven Rivers are far above those races, and had long crossed the bounds of an unconscious barbarism, when they worshipped Dyaus and the other bright gods of nature.

Let us consider but a single point. We have accustomed ourselves to regard a belief in the unity of God as one of the last stages to which the Greek mind ascended from the depths of a polytheistic faith. The one unknown God was the final result which the pupils of Plato and Aristotle had arrived at when they came to listen to the strange teaching of St. Paul at Athens. But how can we tell that the course of thought was the same in India? By what right do we mark all hymns as modern in which the idea of one God breaks through the clouds of a polytheistic phraseology? The belief in a Supreme God, in a God above all gods, may in the abstract seem later than the belief in many gods. Yet let one poet but once perceive how he is drawn towards the Divine by the same feelings that draw him towards his father, let such a poet in his simple prayer but once utter, though it be thoughtlessly, the words, "My father," and the dreary desert through which philosophy marches step by step, is crossed at a single bound. We must not compare the Aryan and the Semitic races. Whereas the Semitic nations relapsed
from time to time into polytheism, the Aryans of India seem to have relapsed into Monotheism. In both cases these changes were not the result of a gradual and regular progress, but of individual impulses and peculiar influences. I do not think, therefore, that the mere occurrence of monotheistic ideas, and of other large philosophical conceptions, is sufficient to stamp any class of hymns as of modern date. A decided preponderance of such ideas, coupled with other indications in the character of the language, might make us hesitate before we used such as witnesses for the Chhandas period. But there is a monotheism that precedes the polytheism of the Veda, and even in the invocations of their innumerable gods the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the mist of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds.

There is a hymn of peculiar interest in the tenth Mandala, full of ideas which to many would seem to necessitate the admission of a long antecedent period of philosophical thought. There we find the conception of a beginning of all things, and of a state previous even to all existence. "Nothing that is, was then," the poet says; and he adds, with a boldness matched only by the Eleatic thinkers of Greece, or by Hegel's philosophy, "even what is not (τὸ μὴ ὄν), did not exist then." He then proceeds to deny the existence of the sky and of the firmament, and yet, unable to bear the idea of an unlimited nothing, he exclaims, "What was it that hid or covered the existing?" Thus driven on, and asking two questions at once, with a rapidity of thought which the Greek and the Sanskrit languages only can follow, he says, "What was the refuge of what?" After this metaphysical flight,
the poet returns to the more substantive realities of thought, and, throwing out a doubt, he continues, "Was water the deep abyss, the chaos, which swallowed everything?" Then his mind, turning away from nature, dwells upon man and the problem of human life. "There was no death," he says, and, with a logic which perhaps has never been equalled, he subjoins, "therefore was there nothing immortal." Death, to his mind, becomes the proof of immortality. One more negation, and he has done. "There was no space, no life, and lastly, there was no time, no difference between day and night, no solar torch by which morning might have been told from evening." All these ideas lie imbedded in the simple words, "Nàrâtryå ahna åsit praketaḥ." Now follows his first assertion: "That One," he says, and he uses no other epithet or qualification—"That One breathed breathless by itself: other than it nothing since has been." This expression, "it breathed breathless" seems to me one of the happiest attempts at making language reflect the colourless abstractions of the mind. "That One," the poet says, "breathed, and lived; it enjoyed more than mere existence; yet its life was not dependent on anything else, as our life depends on the air which we breathe. It breathed breathless." Language blushes at such expressions, but her blush is a blush of triumph.

After this the poet plunges into imagery. "Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled in gloom profound, as ocean without light." No one has ever found a truer expression of the Infinite, breathing and heaving within itself, than the ocean in a dark night, without a star, without a torch. It would have been easy to fill out the picture, and a modern
writer would have filled it out. The true poet, however, says but a single word, and, at his spell, pictures arise within our own mind, full of a reality beyond the reach of any art.

But now this One had to be represented as growing—as entering into reality—and here again nature must supply a similitude to the poet. As yet, the real world existed only as a germ, hidden in a husky shell; now, the poet represents the one substance as borne into life by its own innate heat. The beginning of the world was conceived like the spring of nature; one miracle was explained by another. But, even then, this Being, or this nature, as conceived by the poet, was only an unconscious substance, without will and without change. The question how there was generation in nature, was still unanswered. Another miracle had to be appealed to, in order to explain the conscious act of creation: this miracle was Love, as perceived in the heart of men. "Then first came love upon it," the poet continues, and he defines love, not only as a natural, but as a mental impulse. Though he cannot say what love is, yet he knows that all will recognise what he means by love,—a power which arises from the unsearchable depths of our nature,—making us feel our own incompleteness, and drawing us, half-conscious, half-unconscious, towards that far off and desired something, through which alone our life seems to become a reality. This is the analogy which was wanted to explain the life of nature, which he knew was more than mere existence. The One Being which the poet had postulated was neither self-sufficient nor dead: a desire fell upon it,—a spring of life, manifested in growth of every kind. After the manifestation of this desire or will, all
previous existence seemed to be unreal, a mere nothing as compared with the fullness of genuine life. A substance without this life, without that infinite desire of production and reproduction, could hardly be said to exist. It was a bare abstract conception. Here, then, the poet imagines he has discovered the secret of creation,—the transition of the nothing into the something,—the change of the abstract into the concrete. Love was to him the beginning of real reality, and he appeals to the wise of old, who discovered in love, "the bond between created things and uncreated." What follows is more difficult to understand. We hardly know into what new sphere of thought the poet enters. The growth of nature has commenced, but where was it? Did the piercing ray of light come from below, or from above? This is the question which the poet asks, but to which he returns no answer, for he proceeds at once to describe the presence of male and female powers, nor is it likely that what follows, "svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt," is meant as an answer to the preceding inquiry. The figure which represents the creation as a ray entering the realm of darkness from the realm of light, occurs again at a much later time in the system of Manichaeism†, but like all attempts at clothing transcendental ideas in the imagery of human thought, it fails to convey any tangible or intelligible impression. This our poet also seems to have felt, for he exclaims "Who indeed knows? Who proclaimed it here, whence, whence this creation was produced? The gods were later than its production, therefore who knows whence it came?" And now a

† Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde, iii. p. 409.
new thought dawns in the mind of the Rishi, a thought
for which we were not prepared, and which ap-
parently contradicts the whole train of argu-
ment or meditation that preceded. Whereas hitherto
the problem of existence was conceived as a mere
evolution of one substance, postulated by human
reasoning, the poet now speaks of an Adhyaksha, an
overseer, a contemplator, who resides in the highest
heavens. He, he says, knows it. And why? Because
this creation came from him, whether he made it or
not. The poet asserts the fact that this overseer is
the source of creation, though he shrinks from deter-
mining the exact process, whether he created from
himself, or from nothing, or from matter existing
by itself. Here the poet might have stopped; but
there are yet four more words of extreme perplexity
which close the poem. They may be interpreted
in two ways. They either mean "Or does he not
know?" and this would be a question of defiance ad-
dressed to all who might doubt his former assertion;
or they mean "Or he knows not," and this would be
a confession of doubt on the part of the poet, startling
perhaps after the firm assertion of his belief in this
one overseer and creator, yet not irreconcilable with
that spirit of timidity displayed in the words, "whether
he made it himself or not," which shrinks from
asserting anything on a point where human reason,
left to herself, can only guess and hope, and, if it ven-
ture on words, say in last resort, "Behold, we know
not anything."

I subjoin a metrical translation of this hymn, which
I owe to the kindness of a friend:—
"Nor naught nor naught existed; yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
What covered all? what sheltered? what concealed?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss?
There was not death — hence was there naught immortal,
There was no confine betwixt day and night;
The only One breathed breathless in itself,
Other than it there nothing since has been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound, — an ocean without light.
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.
Then first came Love upon it, the new spring
Of mind — yea, poets in their hearts discerned,
Pondering, this bond between created things
And uncreated. Comes this spark from earth,
Piercing and all-pervading, or from heaven?
Then seeds were sown, and mighty power arose —
Nature below, and Power and Will above.
Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here,
Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang? —
The gods themselves came later into being. —
Who knows from whence this great creation sprang? —
He from whom all this great creation came.
Whether his will created or was mute,
The Most High seer that is in highest heaven,
He knows it,— or perchance e'en He knows not.

Many of the thoughts expressed in this hymn will,
to most readers, appear to proceed rather from a
school of mystic philosophers than from a simple and
primitive clan of shepherds and colonists. Meditations on the mysteries of creation are generally considered a luxury which no society can indulge in before ample provision has been made for the lower cravings of human nature; such is no doubt the case in modern times. Philosophers arise after the security of a state has been established, after wealth has been acquired and accumulated in certain families,
after schools and universities have been founded, and a taste created for those literary pursuits which, even in the most advanced state of civilisation, must necessarily be confined to but a small portion of our ever-toiling community. Metaphysics, whether in the form of poetry or prose, are, and always have been, the privilege of a limited number of independent thinkers, and thoughts like those which we find in this ancient hymn, though clothed in a form of argument more in accordance with the requirements of our age, would fail to excite any interest except among the few who have learnt to delight in the speculations of a Plato, a Tauler, or a Coleridge. But it would be false to transfer our ideas to the early periods of oriental life. First of all, the merely physical wants of a people living in the rich plains of India were satisfied without great exertions. Secondly, such was the simplicity of their life, that nothing existed which could absorb the energies of the most highly gifted among them. Neither war, nor politics, nor arts, opened a field for the exercise of genius, and for the satisfaction of a legitimate ambition. Nor should it be forgotten that, in the natural course of human life, there is after all nothing that appeals with greater force to our deepest interests than the problem of our existence, of our beginning and our end, of our dependence on a Higher Power, and of our yearnings for a better life. With us these key-notes of human thought are drowned in the din of our busy society. Artificial interests have supplanted the natural desires of the human heart. Nor less should we forget how in these later ages most of us have learnt from the history of the past that our reason, in spite of her unextinguishable aspirations, consumes this life in a
prison the walls of which she cannot pierce, and where we only see light by lifting our eyes on high. All this was different in ancient times, and particularly among a people so remarkably gifted for philosophical abstraction as the Hindus. Long before they began to care for the laws of nature, the return of the seasons, the course of the stars, or any other scientific or practical subject, their thoughts were fixed on the one great and ever recurring question, What am I? What does all this world around me mean? Is there a cause, is there a creator—a God? or is it all illusion, chance, and fate? Again and again the Rishis express their doubts, and the one knowledge which they value as wonderful and excellent is the knowledge of τὰ μέγιστα. It cannot be right to class every poem and every verse in which mystic or metaphysical speculations occur as modern, simply because they resemble the language of the Upanishads. These Upanishads did not spring into existence on a sudden: like a stream which has received many a mountain torrent, and is fed by many a rivulet, the literature of the Upanishads proves, better than anything else, that the elements of their philosophical poetry came from a more distant fountain. The evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vedic hymns; and the occurrence of such a word as tadānim, then, is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it. Hymns like that ascribed to Dirghatamas (i. 164.) contain, no doubt, many verses full of the most artificial conceptions, the lucubrations rather of conceited dreamers than of simple and original thinkers. But even in those large collec-
tive poems there are lines which look like relics of a better age, and bear the stamp of true and genuine feeling. Thus we read in the 37th verse:—"I know not what this is that I am like; turned inward I walk, chained in my mind. When the first-born of time comes near me, then I obtain the portion of this speech."

In the 30th verse of the same hymn we read: "Breathing lies the quick-moving life, heaving, yet firm, in the midst of its abodes. The living one walks through the powers of the dead: the immortal is the brother of the mortal." Sometimes when these oracular sayings have been pronounced, the poet claims his due. "One who had eyes," he says, "saw it; the blind will not understand it. A poet, who is a boy, he has perceived it; he who understands it will be the father of his father."

In the same hymn one verse occurs which boldly declares the existence of but one Divine Being, though invoked under different names. (Rv. i. 164. 46.) "They call (him) Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni; then he is the well-winged heavenly Garutmat; that which is One the wise call it many ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Mâtariśvan." Many of these verses have been incorporated in the Upanishads, and are there explained by later sophists who wish to represent them as a guarantee for the scholastic doctrines of the Vedânta philosophy. It was in the Upanishads and in the Sûtras of Vyâsa that most Sanskrit scholars became first acquainted with these quotations from the Veda, and hence, even after they had been discovered in their original place in the hymns of the Rig-veda-sanhitâ, a prejudice remained against their antiquity. The ideas which they ex-
pressed were supposed to be of too abstract a nature for the uneducated poets of the Vedic age. I am far from defending the opinion of those who maintained the existence of a school of priests and philosophers in the remotest ages of the world, and who discovered the deepest wisdom in the religious mysteries and mythological traditions of the East. But the reaction which these extravagant theories has produced goes too far, if every thought which touches on the problems of philosophy is to be marked indiscriminately as a modern forgery, if every conception which reminds us of Moses, Plato, or the Apostles, is to be put down as necessarily borrowed from Jewish, Greek or Christian sources, and foisted thence into the collections of the ancient poetry of the Hindus.

There is what Leibnitz called perennis quaedam philosophia, a search after truth which was not confined to the schools of priests or philosophers. Its language, no doubt, is less exact than that of an Aristotle, its tenets are vague, and the light which it sheds on the dark depths of human thought resembles more the sheet-lightning of a sombre evening, than the bright rays of a cloudless sunrise. Yet there is much to be learnt by the historian and the philosopher from these ancient guesses at truth; and we should not deprive ourselves of the new sources which have so unexpectedly been opened for studying the history of man, fearful and wonderful as his structure, by casting wanton doubts on all that conflicts with our own previous conclusions. I add only one more hymn, in which the idea of one God is expressed with such power and decision, that it will make us hesitate before we deny to the Aryan nations an instinctive Monotheism. (Rv x. 121.)
"In the beginning there arose the Source of golden light—He was the only born Lord of all that is. He established the earth, and this sky;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose blessing all the bright gods desire; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He who through His power is the only King of the breathing and awakening world;—He who governs all, man and beast;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He whose power these snowy mountains, whose power the sea proclaims, with the distant river—He whose these regions are as it were His two arms;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm—He through whom the heaven was established—nay, the highest heaven—He who measured out the light in the air;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly—He over whom the rising sun shines forth;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the only life of the bright gods;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

He who by His might looked even over the water-clouds, the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice, He who is God above all gods;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

May He not destroy us—He the creator of the
earth; or He, the righteous, who created the heaven; He who also created the bright and mighty waters;—Who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?"

There is nothing to prove that this hymn is of a particularly ancient date. On the contrary, there are expressions in it, especially the name of Hiran-yagarbha, which seem to belong to a later age. But even if we assign the lowest possible date to this and similar hymns, certain it is that they existed during the Mantra period, and before the composition of the Brâhmaṇas; certain it is that every verse and every syllable was counted in the Anukramaṇiśis of the Sûtra period. With our received notions on the history of the human mind it may be difficult to account for facts like these; but facts must not be made to evaporate in order to maintain a theory. The difficulty, such as it is, will be felt by all who think seriously and honestly on these problems. But it is better to state this difficulty than to conceal it. Even if we assign all philosophical hymns to the last years of the Mantra period, we have to account, in the 9th century B.C., for thoughts which, like the stems of forest trees, disclose circles within circles, almost impossible to count. There are hymns which are decidedly modern if compared with others: but if the most modern be ascribed to the Mantra period, what must be the date of the earliest relics of the Chhandas age? There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn¹ of the 10th book, a hymn which is likewise found in the 31st

¹ A very careful discussion on this hymn, together with its text, translation, various readings and notes, is to be found in Dr. John Muir's "Original Sanskrit Texts," pp. 6—11.
book of the Vâjasaneyi-sanhita, and in the 19th book of the Atharva-veda, is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring; Grishma, summer, and Šarad, autumn; it contains the only passage in the Rig-veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grishma, for instance, the name for the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-veda x. 161. 4., in a passage where the three seasons are mentioned in the order of Šarad, autumn, Hemanta, winter, and Vasanta, spring. But in spite of all the indications of a modern date, this hymn, if our argument holds good, must have existed before the beginning of the Brâhmaṇa period. I see no possibility how we could account for the allusions to it which occur in the Brâhmaṇas, or for its presence in the Sanhitâs of the Vajasaneyins and Atharvans, unless we admit that this poem formed part of the final collection of the Rig-veda-sanhita, the work of the Mantra period. There are no traces anywhere of hymns having been added after that collection was closed, except in the case of the Khilas, and no secret is ever made as to their spurious character. Oriental scholars are frequently suspected of a desire to make the literature of the eastern nations appear more ancient than it is. As to myself, I can truly say that nothing would be to me a more welcome discovery, nothing would remove
so many doubts and difficulties, as some suggestion as to the manner in which certain of the Vedic hymns could have been added to the original collection during the Brâhmaṇa or Sûtra periods, or, if possible, by the writers of our MSS., of which most are not older than the 15th century. But these MSS., though so modern, are checked by the Anukramaṇīs. Every hymn which stands in our MSS. is counted in the Index of Saunaka, who is ante- rior to the invasion of Alexander. The Sûtras, belonging to the same period as Saunaka, prove the previous existence of every chapter of the Brâhmaṇas: and I doubt whether there is a single hymn in the Sanhitâ of the Rig-veda which could not be checked by some passage of the Brâhmaṇas and Sûtras. The chronological limits assigned to the Sûtra and Brâhmaṇa periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to the Mantra period, from 800 to 1000 B.C., and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B.C., we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world.
APPENDIX.

THE STORY OF SUNAHŠEPA, ACCORDING TO THE SÂKHÂ OF THE AITAREYINS, COLLATED WITH THE TEXT IN THE SÂNKHYÂYANA-SÂKHÂ.

The upper line shows the various readings of the Sânkhyâyana-sûtras.

Some MSS. accent these verses. There are no types to render these accents in print.
मएकयाूष्ठो दशभिः प्रत्युवाच।

विदते

चणमस्वःन्तनयमेनूति च गच्छति।

पिता पुत्रसः जातसः पश्चेचेक्षीवतो मुखः॥२॥

याबंतं: ध्रिघ्यां भोगा याबंतो जातवेदसिः।

याबंतो अष्टु प्राणिनां भूखानुपे धिनुसतः॥३॥

शशत्पुःचेष्ट पितरोपयायनवज्जकं तमः॥१

यत्र ¹

आत्मा हि जत्र आतमनः स द्रावत्यतितारिषि॥४॥

किं तु मलं किमिधनं किमु श्रम्योणः किं तपः॥

पुरं ब्रह्मा द्रवध्यं स वै लोको वदावदः॥५॥

अशत्वं ह ग्राणः: शरणं ह वासो रूपं हिरण्यं पश्वो विवाहाः।

सखा ह जाया रूपं ह दुष्टिता ज्योतिंधुः पुष्च: परमेयोमनः॥६॥

¹ Mitâksharâ I. p. 6b. 1. 6. has चत्रः.
लाय
पतिनीयां प्रविष्टिः गभों भूला स मातरः।

tथां पुनर्भो भूला दशमे मासि जायते॥२॥

तज्जाया जाया भवति चदमां जायने पुनः।

चाभ्यतिर्याभ्यतिर्यांजमेत्विन्धियते॥८॥

देवाचैवतामृष्यवशः तेजः समबरभवहत्।

देवा मनुश्यानुजवनेया वो जननी पुनः॥८॥

नापुतचाय लोकोःस्नीति तस्खर्य पश्वो विदुः।

तीतिः॥१७॥

तस्मातु पुचो मातरः ससारः चाधिरोहितिः॥१०॥

विततो देवमानो चेनाकमति पुरिषो चे विशेकः।

एष पंथा उद्गायः सुभॆवो चे पुरिष चाकमति विशेकः।

deest.

रथोपि मिथुनं चरंति॥

तं पश्वंत्य पश्वो व्यांधिः च तस्माते मात्तापि मिथुनीभवति॥२१॥

deest—

दति च सा चास्याय॥१२॥

1 The Sāṅkhāyana-sūtras place verse 11 before verse 10.
होवाच स वै से बृहि यथा से पुत्रो जाध्येति तं

होवाच वहं

मुवाच वहं राजानमुपधाव पुत्रो मे जायतां तेन ला

यजा दृति तथेति स वहं राजानमुपधाव पुत्रो मे

जायतां तेन ला यजा दृति तथेति तस्क स पुत्रो जसे

वहं उवाचाजः

रोहितो नाम तं होवाचाजनि वै ते पुत्रो वजख्मानेनेति

स होवाच यदा वै पशुनिर्देशो भववथस स मेघो भवति

निर्देशो नव्यथ ला यजा दृति तथेति स ह निर्देशो च्रास

वा ब्रम्ह

तं होवाच निर्देशो नव्यथवजख मानेनेति स होवाच यदा

वै पशोद्वं जायलेख स मेघो भवति दंता वस्क जायं-

तामथ ला यजा दृति तथेति तस्क स दंता जशिे तं

होवाचाजनि वा वस्क दंता वजख मानेनेति स होवाच

यदा वै पशोद्वं पशुनेतेक्ष स मेघो भवति दंता वस्क
पत्रंतामथ ला यजा दृति तथेषि तथस ह दंता: पेशिे तं होवाचापकत वा चःस्र दंता यजस्य मानिनेति स होवाच यद्य वै पशोद्वारः पुनःविषयेऽथ स मेधो भवति दंता चः सः पुनःविषयांतामथ ला यजा दृति तथेषि तथस ह दंता: पुनःविषिे तं होवाचापकत वा चःस्र पुनःवारः यजस्य मानिनेति सः होवाच यद्य वै चवियः सानाध्यो भवत्वय व मेधो भवति सानाध्य नु प्रापंतोब्ध ला यजा दृति तथेषि व च प्रापंतो सानाध्य सानाध्य प्रापंतो होवाच सम्बाहं नु प्रापंतोब्ध यजस्य मानिनेति यां चकेम स तथेऽवालका पुच्छमामछयामास ततार्थ वै सहं लामदेस ने दाहुङ्गं लयािहिमिं यजा दृति स ह नेत्र् युक्तार्थानां याः मु याराज्यमापात्वृक्षं स संवाहयेरः चच्चाराः।॥१४॥। कं राजानं व- चःस्र हैलाक्षं वहणो जगाह तस्य होद्वरं जग्ने तदुः स
The Sāṅkhāyana-sūtras place the verses of Indra in a different order: 1, 3, 4, 2, 5, and add a sixth verse at the end.
एको भग एकोनखोंसिद्धि तिष्टतः।

व रोऽ
शते निष्प्रमानूः चराति चरतो भगवरेवेति॥६॥

म चरेवेति वै मा ब्राह्मणोऽवोचदिति च चतुर्थं संवक्षरमर्गः
चारो शमरणां द्राममेयाय तमिदः पुरुषपूपेण पर्येय्योवाच॥

नः पुरुषः
कलःः श्रयानो बहवति मंजिहानमु ढापरः॥
उत्थित
उत्तिष्ठिता भवति हतं संपथते चरंस्त्रेवेति॥८॥

म चरेवेति वै मा ब्राह्मणोऽवोचदिति च पचमं संवक्षरमर्गः
चारो शमरणां द्राममेयाय तमिदः पुरुषपूपेण पर्येय्योवाच॥

र पकामुः
चरनै मधु चिदिति चरन्त्वादुदुःकुः
अयमांसं चैतवः
सूर्येशपश्च श्रेमां यो न तंद्रयते चरंस्त्रेवेति॥५॥

म रोऽ च
चरेवेति वै मा ब्राह्मणोऽवोचदिति च पदं संवक्षरमर्गः
चरनै मधु चिद्यपरिहर्यपुष्पः। उत्तिष्ठिति घन्यं न
निषिद्धिक्ष नावति। चरैवः स सप्तम संवः चचार सोऽजीगतं

चचार सोऽजीगतं

नाया परीतं पुत्रं भक्ष्माण्मरणः ||१८||

सौयवसिद्धिष्ठपन्यया परीतमरणः उपेयायः

तस्माचः चयोऽपूजा आसुः। प्रुणः पुच्छः: प्रुणः श्रेपः: प्रुणः: चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

dest.

स चेरे पुत्रं निरुपार्द्वार उपाच न निमित्तित नो एवेमिति

dest.

कनिष्ठा माता तौः च सधुमे संपाद्यां चक्रः। प्रुणः: श्रेपः

dest.

तस्माचः चतुः दला स समाद्राय सोऽजीगतामेयाय स

पितरेद्योवाच तत् चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः

चतुः चतुः

dest.

भुवाचै चाचाः: चचित्तादिति दशणू उवाच सक्रा एतं

स एतं राजसूये पुरुषप्रमाणां

राजसूयं चज्रातुः सद्रवच तमेतमभिवेचनाये पुरुषं पुष्पाणू: भुवाचै चाचाः: चचित्तादिति दशणू उवाच सक्रा एतं

स एतं राजसूये पुरुषप्रमाणां

राजसूयं चज्रातुः सद्रवच तमेतमभिवेचनाये पुरुषं पुष्पाणू:
APPENDIX.

लेखे॥२९॥

मालेखे॥१६॥

तासायाश उजाता जमो
तख छ विश्वामित्रो होतासीवज्ञमदिरिध्वुर्वंभिणो ब्रह्मा।

deest——

वाख उजाता। तस्मा उपाक्षताय नियोकारं न विविदुः।

ता

स होवाचाजीगतं: सौयवसिम्ब्रभमपरं श्रतं द्रताहेमें

नियुयोज

नियोच्चामीति तस्मा चयरं श्रतं ददुलं स निनियोज।

य पर्यंग्रिः——

श्रास्त्रारं

तस्मा उपाक्षताय नियुक्तायाश्रीताय पर्यंग्रिताय विश्वमितारं

न विविदुः। स होवाचाजीगतं: सौयवसिम्ब्रभमपरं श्रतं

ला

द्रताहेमें विश्विश्वामीति तस्मा चयरं श्रतं ददुः सोइंसं

नियाण

द्रुमास्या मा

निःशान एयायाय छ ग्रुहांशेष दैवां चेके मानुषमिव वै

हंत देः

नीति॥२१॥

मा विश्विश्वाति हंतारं देवता उपाधावामीति स प्रजापतिमेव

प्रथम देवतानामुपस्सर कख नूतं कतमशामूतानामियोत—

गनेव नेदिछो श्री तन्मे

यं त देवतानामुपस्सरं देवान्मानेदिछस्मेवोपधातेि


सोङ्गमुपसारामार्थे वं प्रथमख्यामृतानामितयेतयेच। तम- 
ख्रिश्वाच सविता वृ प्रस्वामानीशे तमेवोपधावेति स मवि- 
तामुपसाराभि ला देव सवितरितयेतेन ट्वेन तं सवि- 
तोवाच वहुणाय वृ राजे नियुकोधि तमेवोपधावेति। स 
वहुण राजामुपसाराल उच्चरामिरक्षिंशता तं वहुण 
वं स नु 
उवाचार्थे देवानं मुखं सुहद्यतमसं नु सुहद्य लो- 
तस्रख्यामीति 
भरेव दा 
तसरख्याम दति सोङ्गम्य तुष्टावात उच्चरामिरक्षिंशिवाय। 
वं सु 
तस्रख्यामीति 
तममिरश्वाच विशारनु देवान्नुसुहद्य लोतसरख्याम दति म 
श्रानु देवानसु 
विशारंदवसुहद्याव नमो सद्भखो नमो चर्मेकेव दत्येतयर्थो। 
रिंद्रे नु सुहद्य 
तं विये देव अजुरिंद्रो वे देवानामोजिषो बलिष्ठः सचिष्ठः 
तस्र 
तत्तमः वार्मिष्युतमसं नु सुहद्य लोतसरख्याम दति स 
दत्येतेन 
दंद्रे तुष्टाव चिन्तिब्र हयं सोमपा दति चैतेन सृजनोत-
नो मनसा——
रस्य च पंचदशमिः लक्ष्मणः प्रीतो मनसा यर्चा
हिरण्यरथं ददै नमस्त्या प्रतीयाय श्रयदिष्टं दति तमिन्द्र
तस्मिन्त्र नस्मामीति
उवाचानिनी न सुच्यय लोत्स्त्रस्य दति सोडशिनी तुष्या-
वात उत्तरेण दचेन तमस्तिना जचतुष्णसं नु सुच्यय
तस्मिन्त्र दति श उपसं तुष्यावात उत्तरेण दचेन
मितरां पाषो
तस्मिन च श्रीचुंकिताय विपाशो समुच्चे कनीय ऐघाककोश्दरं
वंद्वयोत्तमायां क श्रीचुं
भवयुक्तमस्माहृद्यायां विपाशो समुच्छे गग ऐघाक
वंद्ववाया हैनमू
मेवाचारः
चाम्॥१६॥ तमूल्लिज जचुख्मेव नोस्त्राचः संस्कामधिकी
गच्छे॥२२॥ चचिर हैनमंजसंवं सतं पुनःशेषो ददृशु याचे——
गच्छेत्यथ हैतं पुनःशेषोंजसंवं ददृशः। तमेताभिषतसस्-
________________
——— दति तमेताभिषतसस्—
भिविभिमुयाव वचिन्द्रि लं यथै यथै ददृशं दद्व्येत्यं डेरेकलकस्ती
भिविभिमुयोऽचक्रस्ते रेति डेरेकलक्ष्ये समवननायाः—
सभवननायोऽचक्रस्ते चन्द्रोभूरीवृत्तत्वच्याय हा________
यास्मिन्नायाभ्या एतस्वैव सुक्कम पूर्वोभिः; दत्तस्तीभिः; सक्ता—
________________
साधनार्थः पूर्वाभिः; दत्तस्तीभिः; सक्ता—
एक है स जं
हाकाराभिरंजहां चकाराधिनमवंमतमङ्गवनिनाय लं नो 
अपिसवमल्ल नो अभ्रे सम्मानम सहनमिश्रमुप
अभ्रे बरहश्च विद्वानिथेताग्वभमथनमत अर्धमिश्रमाहावनी—
यामाम ज दुः
योयेन
प्रथमपहचाणां चकार प्रनसिक्रेपं निदितं सहस्रादित्यम ह 
वर्गाः ॥२३॥ अध्य ख
खोपखमायसाध रत्न

एकुः शेपो विद्वानिचस्यांकमायसाधाः। स 
हो वि: दुः
होवाचाराजीगर्तं: सौयवविश्चेष्ये पुनर्मे पुत्रं देवीति नेति होवाच

विद्वामिचो देवा वा इसम महासरामतेि स ह देशवारतो 
अभ्र तं होवाचाराजीगर्तं: ********
विद्वामिच्छ अभ्र देवते कापिलयवाभ्रवा: स होवाचाराजीगर्तं:
वि वि महादुः देव तथेवाणि: ********
सौयवविश्चेष्ये देवः विद्वानियावहा देवि स होवाचाराजीगर्तं: सौ-
तं: 
विद्वानिरांगिरसो जन्माणाणाजीगर्तं: सुत: कवि:। शेपे पेता-
भागांतोमापगा: पुनरेश्च मामिति। स होवाच प्रउन: शेपो ॥
हारुल लि
दर्शेश्च शामसहस्त्रणं न चक्षूद्वेयलपात। गद्यां चीषि श्रतानि 
तं
लमवणीया मदर्गर देवि स होवाचाराजीगर्तं: सौयवविश्चेष्ये
APPENDIX.

मा तात तपति पार्यं कर्म भया कः। तदर्थं निखवे तुभं ती
प्रतियंतु श्रता गवामिति। स हौवाच श्रुनंशेषो च। स- तंकं ख मापगा श्रीद्राष्टापाद
कःत्यापं कृत्याक्कृत्यादेनन्ततोपरं। नापागा: श्रीद्रान्यायाद- वा ध्वाचमिद्वि च वि
संधेरं लया कात्मक्यांसंधेयसमिति च विष्णुमिच उपपाद
॥२७॥ भीम

स हौवाच विष्णुमिचो भीम एव कौष्ठवमि: शासन विश्व-
मितमि।

शासिपुः। श्रीश्रीमैतल्य पुच्छो भमेवोपेद्यः पुच्छतामिति स
यं च हौवाच श्रुनंशेष: स वै यथा नो जनपत्र राजपुच तथा
तं वद्यः केशवांगिरसः सचुपेयां तत पुच्छतामिति। स हौवाच
विष्णुमिचो ज्ञेझो मे लं पुच्छाण्य स्थान्य श्रेष्ठा प्रजा
दु स्थात्। उपेयात्ति वे द्वार्यं तेन वै लोपमर्यं इति य
हौवाच श्रुनंशेष: संभ्रानानेपुः वै ब्रह्मबोधायां मे श्री-
चे। यथां भरतक्षमोपेयां तत पुच्छतामित्यय च वि-
यां चक्रोः ॥ २५॥
शामितः पुञ्चानामूस्त्रामास मधुच्छंदः प्रत्येकोन चधभोरे-ज्ञेश्याय निन्दध्वमिति
पुरकः। ये केच भातरः खनासी ज्ञेश्याय कल्यध्वमिति। १७॥
हैक

तत्र च विश्वामिच्छेकगतं पुञ्चा चासुः पंचाश्रेण च्यायांसो
मधुच्छंदरः पंचाश्रेण कनीयांसकच्छ च्यायांसो न ते कुशलं
रांतं वः
ते मैनिरे तान्तुधारारंगानाच् त्रजा भवीष्टे त एने
प्रेरा: पुञ्चा: रा deest. मूचिपा दृंको वक्षद-श्रा: पुञ्चा: श्रवरा: पुलिन्द्रा मूतिवा दयुद्द्रया वचनो
खवो deest.

यिष्ठ दयुद्द्राहरंग्याय ये मधुच्छं
—्भवित वेश्वामिच्छा रसया भविष्या:। य होवाच मधुच्छंदा:
द्य: प्रम्भतय: कनीयांसके कुशलं मैनिरे स ह जगी मधु-
पंचाश्रेण मार्थं चन्न: पिता

च्छंदा चन्न: पिता संजानति

संजानति तस्मिन्दिवामेते वचं। पुरुषा

सवे कुर्मे लामवंची वचं सर्वीत्यय ह विश्वामितः प्रतितिः
व् र०॥ ॥ ते वे

प्रजा
पुञ्चानाम्ब्राय ते वे पुञ्चा: पशुभर्तो मीरवंतो भविष्याः। वे

मानं भेलस्तुतिंतो मीरवंतमकर्तं मा॥ पुरुष्चा मीरवंतो
क्षङ्गदृश्वा वा-
देवरातेन गाधिना:। सर्वं राथ्या खड़ पुचा एष व: सहितवा-
चकः।
चन्द्र। एष व: कृषिका वीरो देवरातसमनित। युष्मांञ्च
बोपेतां चामुत
द्रावं म उपेता विद्यां यामु च विद्वेब्यि।। ते सवंचो
वैः
वैः वैधामित्वा: सर्वं सातं सरात्वः। देवराताढ़ तस्मै
धेरै
धेरै च
श्रीधामाय गाधिना:। नृधीतयदेवरातो सिन्ध्योरभयोन्न्हंपेि:।
तस्मै
ना:।। च्चौन्या:श्रे-
ज्ञानं चालिपियो दैवे वैदे च गाधिना।। तदेवत्यवर्चकक्-
पमायां परश्रतगःथमपानितं तद्विद्वाभिम
तागायं। श्रीन्या:श्रेरमायांं
तद्विद्वाभिम
तागायं। श्रीरभिमि
वाच्छे हिर्षाकश्चिपावासीयेय। वाच्छे हिर्षाकश्चिपावासीयेन:
णायोमि

प्रतिग्राहणः यशोऽव हिर्षायं यशस्वी बैनं तक्षमध्यव्योमियूः:
प्रतिग्राहः एवं तथ्यति गाथाया श्रीमिति वै दैवं तथ्यति मानुप
सर्वपादेनमः: संप्रवृन्ते
ैवेन चैवेनं तक्षानुपेण च पापादेनमः: प्रमुच्छति तस्याद्यो
जी
राजा तिलजी स्त्रादश्यतमाय श्रायापर्यंवेत्तच्चौन्या:श्रे-
माख्यानं न च चालिचलं चैनेनः परिशिष्येते सहस्रमाख्याचे
शृंगार ् चुकामा हायाख्या-दृष्टां पतिगरिच्छ एते चैवासने श्रेत्याञ्चलरो रथो
पयते लभंते ह

होतुः पुचकामा हायाख्यायपधेरूभंते ह पुचाऱ्येभंते ह

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