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FOR CONSULTATION ONLY  
ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY AS 002127

OF

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D.

VOLUME FIRST.

MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTE, WITH AN  
ENQUIRY INTO ITS EXISTENCE IN THE VEDIC AGE.

SECOND EDITION,

REWRITTEN AND GREATLY ENLARGED.



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*Na viśeṣo 'sti varṇānāṃ sarvaṃ brāhman idaṃ jagat |  
Brahmaṇā prava-sṛṣṭaṃ hi karmabhir varnatūṃ gatam |*  
Mahābhārata.

“There is no distinction of castes. This world, which, as created by Brāhmā, was at first entirely Brahmanic, has become divided into classes in consequence of men's works.”—See pages 138 and 140.



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## PREFACE.

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THE main object which I have proposed to myself in this volume is to collect, translate, and illustrate the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity, as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind and the origin of classes, or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen.

I have not, however, hesitated to admit, when they fell in my way, such passages explanatory of the cosmogonic or mythological conceptions of the Indians as possess a general interest, although not immediately connected with the chief subject of the book.

Since the first edition appeared my materials have so much increased that the volume has now swelled to more than twice its original bulk. The second and third chapters are almost entirely new.<sup>1</sup> The fourteenth and fifteenth sections of the fourth chapter are entirely so. Even those parts of the book of which the sub-

<sup>1</sup> The contents of these chapters are not, however, absolutely new, but drawn from articles which I have contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society since the first edition of the volume appeared.





stance remains the same have been so generally expanded that comparatively little continues without some alteration of greater or less importance.

In order that the reader may learn at once what he may expect to find in the following pages, I shall supply here a fuller and more connected summary of their contents than is furnished by the table which follows this preface.

The Introduction (pp. 1-6) contains a very rapid survey of the sources from which our information on the subject of caste is to be derived, viz. the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epic poems, and the Purāṇas, in which the chronological order and the general characteristics of these works are stated.

The first chapter (pp. 1-160) comprehends the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of castes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages, in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas. The first section (pp. 7-15) contains a translation of the celebrated hymn called Puruṣa Sūkta, which appears to be the oldest extant authority for attributing a separate origin to the four castes, and a discussion of the question whether the creation there described was intended by its author to convey a literal or an allegorical sense. The second, third, and fourth sections (pp. 15-34) adduce a series of passages from the works standing next in chronological order to the hymns of the Rig-veda, which differ more or less widely from the account of the creation given in the Puruṣa Sūkta, and therefore justify the conclusion





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that in the Vedic age no uniform orthodox and authoritative doctrine existed in regard to the origin of castes. In the fifth section (pp. 35-42) the different passages in Manu's Institutes which bear upon the subject are quoted, and shewn to be not altogether in harmony with each other. The sixth section (pp. 43-49) describes the system of great mundane periods called Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, as explained in the Purāṇas, and shews that no traces of these periods are to be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and but few in the Brāhmaṇas (compare p. 215 f.). Sections seventh and eighth (pp. 49-107) contain the accounts of the different creations, including that of the castes, and of the primeval state of mankind, which are given in the Viṣṇu, Vāyu, and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, together with references (see pp. 52 ff., 68 ff.) to passages in the Brāhmaṇas, which appear to have furnished some of the germs of the various Puranic representations, and a comparison of the details of the latter with each other which proves that in some respects they are mutually irreconcilable (see pp. 65 ff., 102 ff.). The ninth section (pp. 107-114) adduces the accounts of Brahmā's passion for his daughter, which are given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. In the tenth section (pp. 114-122) are embraced such notices connected with the subject of this volume as I have observed in the Rāmāyaṇa. In one of the passages men of all the four castes are said to be the offspring of Manu, a female, the daughter of Dakṣha, and wife of Kaśyapa. The eleventh section contains a collection of texts from the Mahābhārata and its appendage the Hari-





vaṁśa, in which various and discrepant explanations are given of the existing diversity of castes, one of them representing all the four classes as descendants of Mānu Vaivasvata (p. 126), others attributing the distinction of classes to an original and separate creation of each, which, however, is not always described as occurring in the same manner (pp. 128 ff. and 153); whilst others, again, more reasonably, declare the distinction to have arisen out of differences of character and action. This section, as well as the one which precedes it, also embraces accounts of the perfection which prevailed in the first yugas, and of the gradually increasing degeneracy which ensued in those that followed. The twelfth section (pp. 155-158) contains extracts from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, which coincide for the most part with those drawn from the other authorities. One text, however, describes mankind as the offspring of Aryaman and Mātrikā; and another distinctly declares that there was originally but one caste. The thirteenth section (pp. 159 f.) sums up the results of the entire chapter, and asserts the conclusion that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent theory of the origin of caste; but, on the contrary, offer a great variety of explanations, mythical, mystical, and rationalistic, to account for this social phenomenon.

The second chapter (pp. 160-238) treats of the tradition of the descent of the Indian nation from Manu. The first section (pp. 162-181) contains a series of texts from the Rig-veda, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the race to which the authors of the hymns





belonged, and as the first institutor of religious rites; and adverts to certain terms employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general or to signify certain tribal divisions. The second section (pp. 181-196) adduces a number of legends and notices regarding Manu from the Brāhmanas and other works next in order of antiquity to the hymns of the Rig-veda. The most interesting and important of these legends is that of the deluge, as given in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is afterwards (pp. 216 ff.) compared with the later versions of the same story found in the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purāṇas, which are extracted in the third section (pp. 196-220). Some remarks of M. Burnouf and Professor Weber, on the question whether the legend of a deluge was indigenous in India, or derived from a Semitic source, are noticed in pp. 215 f. The fourth section adduces the legendary accounts of the rise of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, which are found in the Purāṇas; and quotes a story given in the Mahābhārata about king Vitāhavya, a Kshattriya, being transformed into a Brāhman by the mere word of the sage Bhṛigu.

In the third chapter (pp. 239-295) I have endeavoured to shew what light is thrown by a study of the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas upon the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society at the time when those hymns were composed. In the first section (pp. 240-265) the various texts of the Rig-veda in which the words brāhmān and brāhmaṇa occur are cited, and an attempt is made to determine the senses in which those



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words are there employed. The result of this examination is that in none of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except the Purusha Sūkta, is there any distinct reference to a recognized system of four castes, although the occasional use of the word Brāhmaṇa, which is apparently equivalent to Brāhmā-putra, or "the son of a priest," and other indications seem to justify the conclusion that the priesthood had already become a profession, although it did not yet form an exclusive caste (see pp. 258 f., 263 ff.). The second section (pp. 265-280) is made up of quotations from the hymns of the Rig-veda and various other later works, adduced to shew that persons who according to ancient Indian tradition were not of priestly families were in many instances reputed to be authors of Vedic hymns, and in two cases, at least, are even said to have exercised priestly functions. These two cases are those (1) of Devāpi (pp. 269ff.), and (2) of Viśvāmitra, which is afterwards treated at great length in the fourth chapter. This section concludes with a passage from the Matsya Purāṇa, which not only speaks of the Kshattriyas Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, as "utterers of Vedic hymns" (*mantra-vādinah*); but also names three Vaiśyas, Bhālanda, Vāndya, and Sankīrtti, as "composers of hymns" (*mantra-kṛitah*). The third section (pp. 280-289) shews by quotations from the Atharva-veda that at the period when those portions of that collection which are later than the greater part of the Rig-veda were composed, the pretensions of the Brāhmans had been considerably developed. The fourth section (pp. 289-295) gives an account of the opinions expressed by Professor





R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of castes.

The fourth chapter (pp. 296-479) contains a series of legendary illustrations derived from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas, of the struggle which appears to have occurred in the early ages of Indian history between the Brāhmanas and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute an exclusive sacerdotal class, but before their rights had become accurately defined by long prescription, and when the members of the ruling caste were still indisposed to admit their pretensions. I need not here state in detail the contents of the first five sections (pp. 296-317) which record various legends descriptive of the ruin which is said to have overtaken different princes by whom the Brāhmanas were slighted and their claims resisted. The sixth and following sections down to the thirteenth (pp. 317-426) contain, first, such references to the two renowned rivals, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra as are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which represent them both as Vedic rishis; secondly, such notices of them as occur in the Brāhmaṇas, and shew that Viśvāmitra, as well as Vasiṣṭha, had officiated as a priest; and, thirdly, a series of legends from the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which describe the repeated struggles for superiority in which they were engaged, and attempt, by a variety of fictions, involving miraculous elements,\* to explain the manner in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman, and to account for the fact which was so distinctly certified by tradition (see pp. 361 ff.), but appeared so un-





accountable in later ages (see pp. 265f., 364ff.), that that famous personage, although notoriously a Kshatriya by birth, had nevertheless exercised sacerdotal functions.<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth section (pp. 426-430) contains a story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka, a Rājanya, renowned for his stoical temperament and religious knowledge, who communicated theological instruction to

<sup>2</sup> As I have omitted in the body of the work to say anything of the views of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis about the purport of the Vedic texts relating to Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra, I may state here that this young Italian Sanskritist, in his Essay, entitled "*Fonti Vediche dell'Epoepa*" (see the *Rivista Orientale*, vol. i. pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), combats the opinion of Professor Roth that these passages refer to two historical personages, and to real events in which they played a part; and objects that Roth "took no account of the possibility that a legend of the heavens may have been based upon a human foundation" (p. 409). Signor de Gubernatis further observes that the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third *Maṇḍala* of the *Rig-veda* "may perhaps have been recited at a later period in connection with some battle which really occurred, but that the fact which they celebrate seems to be much more ancient, and to be lost in a very remote myth" (p. 410). Viśvāmitra, he considers, is one of the appellations of the sun, and as both the person who bears this name, and Indra are the sons of Kuśika, they must be brothers (p. 412). See, however, the remarks in p. 347f. of this volume on the epithet Kuśika as applied to Indra). Sudās, according to Signor de Gubernatis (p. 413), denotes the horse of the sun, or the sun himself, while Vasishṭha is the greatest of the Vasus, and denotes Agni, the solar fire, and means, like Viśvāmitra, the sun (p. 483). Signor de Gubernatis is further of opinion (pp. 414, 478, 479, and 483) that both the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third, and the 18th hymn of the seventh *Maṇḍala* are comparatively modern; that the names of Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras claimed by the authors of the two former, are fraudulently assumed; while the last (the 18th hymn of the seventh *Maṇḍala*) was composed by a sacerdotal family who claimed Vasishṭha as its founder. I will only remark that the theory of Signor de Gubernatis appears to me to be an improbable one. But the only point of much importance for my own special purpose is that ancient Indian tradition represents both Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra as real personages, the one of either directly divine, or of sacerdotal descent, and the other of royal lineage. They may, however, have been nothing more than legendary creations, the fictitious eponymi of the families which bore the same name.





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some eminent Brāhmans, and became a member of their class. In the fifteenth section (pp. 431-436) two other instances are adduced from the same Brāhmaṇa and from two of the Upanishads, of Kshattriyas who were in possession of truths unknown to the Brāhmans, and who, contrary to the usual rule, became the teachers of the latter. The sixteenth section (pp. 436-440) contains an extract from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regarding king Viśvantara who, after at first attempting to prevent the Śyāparṇa Brāhmans from officiating at his sacrifice, became at length convinced by one of their number of their superior knowledge, and accepted their services. In the seventeenth section (pp. 440-442) a story is told of Matanga, the spurious offspring of a Brāhman woman by a man of inferior caste, who failed, in spite of his severe and protracted austerities, to elevate himself (as Viśvāmitra had done) to the rank of a Brāhman. The eighteenth section (pp. 442-479) contains a series of legends, chiefly from the Mahābhārata, regarding the repeated exterminations of the Kshattriyas by the warlike Brāhman Paraśurāma of the race of Bhrigu, and the ultimate restoration of the warrior tribe, and a variety of extravagant illustrations of the supernatural power of the Brāhmans, related by the god Vāyu to king Arjuna, who began by denying the superiority of the priests, but was at length compelled to succumb to the overwhelming evidence adduced by his aerial monitor.

In the fifth chapter (pp. 480-488) I have given some account of the opinions entertained by Manu, and the





authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, regarding the origin of the tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, but not comprehended in the Indian caste-system.

The sixth and concluding chapter (pp. 489-504) contains the Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India, embracing first, the other eight Varshas or divisions of Jambudvīpa, the central continent; secondly, the circular seas and continents (dvīpas) by which Jambudvīpa is surrounded; and, thirdly, the remoter portions of the mundane system.

The Appendix (pp. 505-515) contains some supplementary notes.

As in the previous edition, I have been careful to acknowledge in the text and notes of this volume the assistance which I have derived from the writings of the different Sanskrit Scholars who have treated of the same subjects. It will, however, be well to specify here the various publications to which I have been indebted for materials. In 1858, I wrote thus: "It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, with abundant and valuable notes, derived chiefly from the other Purāṇas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present." In this second edition also I have had constant occasion to recur to Wilson's important work, now improved and enriched by the additional notes of the editor Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is to his edition, so far as it has yet ap-





peared, that my references have been made. I acknowledged at the same time the aid which I had received from M. Langlois' French translation of the *Harivaṃśa*, and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the first nine books of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. A large amount of materials has also been supplied to me, either formerly or for the preparation of the present edition, by Mr. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*; by Professor C. Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*; Professor Rudolph Roth's *Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Vedas*, and contributions to the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, and to Weber's *Indische Studien*, etc.; Professor Weber's numerous articles in the same *Journals*, and his *History of Indian Literature*; Professor Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *Chips from a German Workshop*, article on the Funeral rites of the *Brāhmans*, etc.; Professor Benfey's *Glossary of the Sāma Veda*, and translations of Vedic hymns; Dr. Haug's text and translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: while much valuable aid has been derived from the written communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Aufrecht, as well as from his *Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS.* I am also indebted to Professor Müller for pointing out two texts which will be found in the *Appendix*, and to Professor Goldstücker for copying for me two passages of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmansā-vārttika*, which are printed in the same place, and for making some corrections in my translations of them.





I formerly observed that at the same time my own researches had "enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced;" and the same remark applies to a considerable portion of the new matter which has been adduced in the present edition.



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## ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 23, line 19,	for "beingy ellow" read "being yellow."
" 38, "	17 ff., for "59-64" read "58-63."
" 42, "	4 from foot, for "p. 36" read "p. 37."
" 46, "	26, for "p. 42" read "p. 43."
" 47, "	8, for "12,826" read "iii. 826."
" 51, "	17, for "Purushottasna" read "Purushottama."
" 123, "	19, for "to" read "tu."
" 127, "	18 f., for "the two by which these three are followed," read "two of those which follow, viz. in pp. 134 and 139."
" 136, "	18, for "116" read "11 and 12."
" 169, "	26, for "Vivaswat" read "Vivasvat."
" 170, "	28 and 33, for "Mātariśvan" read "Mātariśvan."
" 171, "	26, for "Aswins" read "Asvins."
" 180, "	28, before "Prajāpatir" insert "ii. 33."
" 194, "	5, for "mā bhaja" read "mā ābhaja."
" 221, "	20, before "Prishadhras" insert "iv. 1, 12."
" 222, "	7, for "ix. 2" read "ix. 2, 16."
" —, "	13, before "Nābhāgo" insert "iv. 1, 14."
" 235, "	19, for "iv." read "ix."
" 251, "	27, for "3" read "2."
" 258, "	3 from the foot, for "viii." read "vii."
" 274, "	8, for "Dīlipāt" read "Dīlīpāt."
" 280, "	14, for "was" read "were."
" 307, "	10, for "virāt" read "virāj."
" 303, "	24, before "Nahusho" insert "12460."
" 318, "	4, for "139 f." read "161 f."
" 371, "	12, for "vii." read "viii."
" 399, "	18, for "58, 18" read "56, 18."
" 487, "	2, for "thei rdesertion" read "their desertion."





# ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

## PART FIRST.

### INTRODUCTION

#### CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

I PROPOSE in the present volume to give some account of the traditions, legends, and mythical narratives which the different classes of ancient Indian writings contain regarding the origin of mankind, and the classes or castes into which the Hindus have long been distributed. In order to ascertain whether the opinions which have prevailed in India on these subjects have continued fixed and uniform from the earliest period, or whether they have varied from age to age, and if so, what modifications they have undergone, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the chronological order of the various works from which our information is to be drawn. This task of classification can, as far as regards its great outlines, be easily accomplished. Although we cannot discover sufficient grounds for fixing with any precision the dates of these different books, we are perfectly able to settle the order in which the most important of those which are to form the basis of this investigation were composed. From a comparison of these several literary records, it will be found that the Hindus, like all other civilized nations, have passed through various stages of development,—social, moral, religious, and intellectual. The ideas and beliefs which are exhibited in their oldest documents, are not the same as those which we encounter in their later writings.



## INTRODUCTION.

The principal books to which we must look for information on the subjects of our enquiry are the Vedas, including the Brāhmanas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Institutes of Manu, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Of these different classes of works, the Vedas are allowed by all competent enquirers to be by far the most ancient.

There are, as every student of Indian literature is aware, four Vedas,—the Rig-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. Each of the collections of works known as a Veda consists of two parts, which are called its *mantra* and its *brāhmaṇa*.<sup>1</sup> The Mantras are either metrical hymns, or prose forms of prayer. The Rig-veda and the Sāmaveda consist only of mantras of the former description. The Brāhmanas contain regulations regarding the employment of the mantras, and the celebration of the various rites of sacrifice, and also embrace certain treatises called Āraṇyakas, and others called Upanishads or Vedāntas (so called from their being the concluding portions of each Veda), which expound the mystical sense of some of the ceremonies, and discuss the nature of the godhead, and the means of acquiring religious knowledge with a view to final liberation.

The part of each Veda which contains the mantras, or hymns, is called its Sanhitā.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Rig-veda Sanhitā means the collection of hymns belonging to the Rig-veda. Of the four collections of hymns, that belonging to the last-mentioned Veda, which contains no less than 1,017 of these compositions, is by far the most important for historical purposes. Next in value must be reckoned those hymns of the Atharva-veda, which are peculiar to that collection, another portion of which, however, is borrowed, in most cases, verbatim, from the Rig-veda.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sāyana says in his commentary on the Rigveda (vol. p. i. p. 4): *Mantra-brāhmanātmakam tādāś aduṣṭam lakṣaṇam | ata eva Āpastambo yajna-paribhāṣāyām evāha "mantra-brāhmaṇayor veda-nāmadheyam"* | "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, is unobjectionable. Hence Āpastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāṣā, 'Mantra and Brāhmaṇa have the name of Veda.'"

<sup>2</sup> This definition applies to all the Sanhitās, except that of the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur, Veda, in which Mantra and Brāhmaṇa are combined. But even this Sanhitā had a separate Brāhmaṇa connected with it. See Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 350, and Weber's *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 83. The general character of the Vājasaneyi and Atharva Sanhitās is not affected by the fact that the last section of the former is an Upanishad, and that the fifteenth book of the latter has something of the nature of a Brāhmaṇa.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on the Vedas, reference may be made to Professor Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, *passim*, and also to vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the present work.





From this succinet account of the contents of the Vedas, it is clear that the Mantras must constitute their most ancient portions, since the Brāhmanas, which regulate the employment of the hymns, of necessity pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter. On this subject the commentator on the Taittiriya, or Black Yajur-veda, Sanhitā thus expresses himself (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition):—

*Yadyapi mantrabrāhmaṇātmake vedas tathāpi brāhmaṇasya mantra-vyākṛhāna-rūpatvād mantrā evātau samāmnātāḥ* | “Although the Veda is formed both of Mantra and Brāhmaṇa, yet as the Brāhmaṇa consists of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first recorded.”<sup>4</sup>

The priority of the hymns to the Brāhmanas is accordingly attested by the constant quotations from the former which are found in the latter.<sup>5</sup> Another proof that the hymns are far older than any other portion of Indian literature is to be found in the character of their language. They are composed in an ancient dialect of the Sanskrit, containing many words of which the sense was no longer known with certainty in the age of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta,<sup>6</sup> and many grammatical forms which had become obsolete in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who refers to them as peculiar to the hymns (*chhandas*).<sup>7</sup> A third argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the mantras is supplied by the fact that the gods whom they represent as the most prominent objects of adoration, such as Indra and Varuṇa, occupy but a subordinate position in the Itihāsas and Purāṇas, whilst others, viz., Viṣṇu and Rudra, though by no means the most important deities of the hymns, are exalted to the first rank, and assume a different character, in the Puranic pantheon.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See also the passage quoted from the Nirukta in p. 174 of the 2nd vol. of this work, and that cited from Sāyana in p. 195 of the same vol. Compare the the following passage of the Mūṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1: *Tad etat satyam mantreshu karmāṇi kavayo yāny apasyams tāni tretāyām bahuvā santatāni* | “This is true: the rites which the rishis saw (i.e. discovered by revelation) in the hymns—these rites were in great variety celebrated in the Tretā (age).”

<sup>5</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, p. 195, and the article on the “Interpretation of the Veda” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 316 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 178 ff, and my article on the “Interpretation of the Veda” in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 216 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, 212 ff, and vol. iv. 1, 2, and *passim*.





## INTRODUCTION.

On all these grounds it may be confidently concluded that the mantras, or hymns, of the Rig-veda are by far the most ancient remains of Indian literature. The hymns themselves are of different periods, some being older, and some more recent. This is shown not only by the nature of the case,—as it is not to be supposed that the whole of the contents of such a large national collection as the Rig-veda Saṁhitā should have been composed by the men of one, or even two, generations,—but also by the frequent references which occur in the mantras themselves to older rishis, or poets, and to older hymns.<sup>a</sup> It is, therefore, quite possible that a period of several centuries may have intervened between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent of these poems. But if so, it is also quite conceivable that in this interval considerable changes may have taken place in the religious ideas and ceremonies, and in the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the people among whom these hymns were produced, and that some traces of these changes may be visible on comparing the different hymns with each other.

No sufficient data exist for determining with exactness the period at which the hymns were composed. Professor Müller divides them into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which he supposes may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years,—and the older hymns, to which he applies the name of Chhandas, and which he conceives may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 years,—before the Christian era. Other scholars are of opinion that they may be even older (see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 572, and the Preface to the 4th Vol. of the same author's edition of the Rig-veda, pp. iv.-xiii). This view is shared by Dr. Haug, who thus writes in his introduction to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, p. 47: "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brāhmaṇas to the years 1400-1200 B.C.; for the Saṁhitā we require a period of *at least* 500-600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brāhmaṇa period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Saṁhitā the space from 1400-2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2000-2400 B.C."

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 206 ff., and vol. iii. pp. 116 ff., 121 ff.





Next in order of time to the most recent of the hymns come, of course, the Brāhmanas. Of these (1) the Aitareya and Sāṅkhāyana are connected with the Rig-veda; (2) the Tāṇḍya, the Panchaviṃśa and the Chhāndogya with the Sāma-veda; (3) the Taittirīya with the Taittirīya or Black Yajur-veda; (4) the Śatapatha with the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā or White Yajur-veda; and (5) the Gopatha with the Atharva-veda.<sup>10</sup> These works, written in prose, prescribe, as I have already intimated, the manner in which the Mantras are to be used and the various rites of sacrifice to be celebrated. They also expound the mystical signification of some of the ceremonies, and adduce a variety of legends to illustrate the origin and efficacy of some of the ritual prescriptions. That in order of age the Brāhmanas stand next to the Mantras is proved by their simple, antiquated, and tautological style, as well as by the character of their language, which, though approaching more nearly than that of the hymns, to classical or Pāṇinian Sanskrit, is yet distinguished by certain archaisms both of vocabulary and of grammatical form which are unknown to the Itihāsas and Purāṇas.<sup>11</sup> The most recent portions of the Brāhmanas are the Aranyakas and Upanishads, of which the character and contents have been already summarily indicated. The remaining works which form the basis of our investigations come under the designation of Smṛiti, as distinguished from that of Śruti, which is applied to the Mantras, Brāhmanas, Aranyakas, and Upanishads.

The term Smṛiti includes (1) the Vedāṅgas, such as the Nirukta of Yāska, (2) the Sūtras or aphorisms, *śrauta* and *grihya*, or sacrificial and domestic, etc., (3) the Institutes of Manu, (4) the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. To the class of Itihāsas belong (1) the Rāmāyaṇa (said to be the work of Valmiki), which contains an account in great part, at least, fabulous, of the adventures of Rāma, and the Mahābhārata, which describes the wars and adventures of the Kurus and Pāndus, and embraces also a great variety of episodes and numerous mythological narratives, as well as religious, philosophical, and political discussions, which are interwoven with, or interpolated in, the framework of the poem. This

<sup>10</sup> For further details on these Brāhmanas, the reader may consult Professor Max Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 345 ff.; Professor Weber's *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, and *Indische Studien*; and Dr. Haug's *Aitareya Brahmana*.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, the *S' P. Br.* xi. 5, 1, 15; and the *Taitt. Saṁhitā*, ii. 2, 10, 2, and ii. 6, 7, 1.





work is said to be the production of Vyāsa, but its great bulk, its almost encyclopædic character, and the discrepancies in doctrine which are observable between its different parts, lead inevitably to the conclusion that it is not the composition of a single author, but has received large additions from a succession of writers, who wished to obtain currency and authority for their several opinions by introducing them into this great and venerated repository of national tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The Purāṇas are commonly said to be eighteen in number, in addition to certain inferior works of the same description called Upapurāṇas. For an account of these books and a summary of their contents, I must refer to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.<sup>13</sup>

In treating the several topics which are to be handled in this volume, I propose in each case to adduce, first, any texts bearing upon it which may be found in the hymns of the Rīg-veda; next, those in the Brāhmaṇas and their appendages; and, lastly, those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smṛiti. By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors.

<sup>12</sup> On the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, see Professor Monier Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," which contains a careful analysis of the leading narrative of each of the poems.

<sup>13</sup> See also the same author's analyses of the contents of the Vishṇu, Vāyu, Agni, and Brāhma-vaivarta Purāṇas in the "Gleanings of Science," published in Calcutta, and those of the Brāhma and Pādma Purāṇas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ix (1838) and No. x. (1839).





## CHAPTER I.

MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE  
ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

It will be seen from the different texts to be adduced in this chapter, that from a very early period the Indian writers have propounded a great variety of speculations regarding the origin of mankind, and of the classes or castes into which they found their own community divided. The most commonly received of these explanations is the fable which represents the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, to have been separately created from the head, the breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. Of this mythical account no trace is to be found in any of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except one, the Purusha Sūkta.

Although for reasons which will be presently stated, I esteem it probable that this hymn belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda, it will be convenient to adduce and to discuss it first, along with certain other texts from the Brāhmaṇas, Itihāsas, and Purāṇas, which professedly treat of the origin of mankind and of caste, before we proceed to examine the older parts of the hymn-collection, with the view of ascertaining what opinion the authors of them appear to have entertained in regard to the earliest history of their race, and to the grounds of those relations which they found subsisting between the different classes of society contemporary with themselves.

SECT. I.—90th Hymn of the 10th Book of the Rig-veda Sanhita, called  
*Purusha Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.*

This celebrated hymn contains, as far as we know, the oldest extant passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race.



In order to appreciate the character of this passage, we must consider it in connection with its context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn :<sup>14</sup>

R. V. x. 90. 1. *Sahasra-śīrṣhā Purushaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pāt | sa bhūmim viśvato vṛtvā atyatishṭhad daśāṅgulam |* 2. *Purushaḥ evedaṁ sarvaṁ yad bhūtaṁ yachcha bhāvyaṁ | utāmṛitatvasyesāno yad amnenātirohati |* 3. *Etāvēn asya mahimā ato jyāyāṁścha Pūrushaḥ | pādo 'sya viśvā bhūtāni tripād asyāmṛitaṁ divi |* 4. *Tripād ūrdhva ud ait Pūrushaḥ pādo 'syehābhavat punaḥ | tato vishvaṁ vyakṛamat sāsanaṁāsane abhi |* 5. *tasmād Virāḷ ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushaḥ | sa jāto aty arichyata paśchād bhūmim atho puraḥ |* 6. *Yat Purushena havishā devāḥ yajnam atanvata | vasanto asyāsīd ājyam grīṣhmaḥ idhmaḥ śarad haviḥ |* 7. *Taṁ yajnam barhishi praukshan Purushaṁ jātam agrataḥ | tena devāḥ ayajanta sādhyāḥ pishayaś cha ye |* 8. *Tasmād yajnat sarvahutaḥ sambhṛitam prishadājyam | paśūn tāṁś chakre vāyavyān āraṇyān grāmyāś cha ye |* 9. *Tasmād yajnat sarvahutaḥ riḥhaḥ sāmāni jajñire | chhandāṁsi jajñire tasmād yajus tasmād ajāyata |* 10. *Tasmād āśvā ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādاتاḥ | gāvo ha jajñire tasmāt tasmāj jātāḥ ajāvayaḥ |* 11. *Yat Purushaṁ vi adadhuh katidhā vi akalpayan | mukham kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādā ucheyete |* 12. *Brāhmaṇo 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyaḥ kṛitāḥ | ūrū tad asya yad vaiśyaḥ padbhyāṁ śūdro ajāyata |* 13. *chandramāḥ manaso jātāś chakṣoḥ sūryo ajāyata | mukhād Indras cha Agniś cha prāṇād Vāyur ajāyata |* 14. *Nābhyāḥ āsīd antarikṣham śīrṣhno dyauh samavarttata | padbhyāṁ bhūmīr diśaḥ śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan |* 15. *Septāsyāsan paridhayaś triḥ sapta samidhaḥ kṛitāḥ | devāḥ yad yajnam tanvānūḥ abadhnan Purusham paśum |* 16. *Yajnena yajnaṁ ayajantu devāś tāni dharmāni pratha-*

<sup>14</sup> The Purusha Sūkta is also found in the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā of the White Yajur-veda (31. 1-16) and in the Atharva-veda (19. 6. 1 ff.). See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. 167 f., and note in p. 309 (or pp. 104, and 197, of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's edition); Burnouff's Bhāgavata Purāṇa, vol. i. Preface, pp. cxxiii. ff.; Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Rīgveda, vol. i. p. xlv.; Professor Roth's remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i. pp. 78 f.; Müller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, vol. i. p. 344; Müller's Anc. Sank. Lit., pp. 570 f.; Professor Weber's translation in Indische Studien ix. p. 5; and my own translation, notes and remarks in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 353 ff., and for 1866, pp. 282 f. •



*māni āsan | te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāḥ santi devāḥ |*

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads,<sup>15</sup> a thousand eyes, a thousand feet." On every side enveloping<sup>16</sup> the earth, he overpassed<sup>17</sup> (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or, when) by food he expands.<sup>18</sup> 3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky.<sup>19</sup> 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was born Virāj, and from Virāj, Purusha.<sup>20</sup> When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on

<sup>15</sup> The Atharva-veda (xix. 6, 1) reads *sahasra-bāhuḥ*, "having a thousand arms," the transcriber, perhaps, taking the verse literally, and considering that a being in human form, if he had a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, ought only to have five hundred heads, and not a thousand as in the text of the Rig-veda.

<sup>16</sup> For *apritvā* in the R. V. the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, 31. 1, reads *apritvā*, which seems to mean nearly the same.

<sup>17</sup> The word is *atyatishṭhat*. Compare the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 6, 1, 1, and *atishṭhāvānaḥ* in S' P. B. iv. 5, 4, 1, 2. Professor Weber renders *atyatishṭhat* "occupies" (Indische Studien, ix. 5).

<sup>18</sup> The sense of this is obscure. Instead of *yad annenūtirohati*, the A. V. reads *yad anyenābhavat saha*, ("that which," or, "since he) was with another."

<sup>19</sup> Compare A. V. x. 8, 7: *ardhena viśvam bhūvanam jajāna yad asya ardham kva tad baddhva*: "with the half he produced the whole world; what became of the (other) half of him?" See also *ibid.* v. 13.

<sup>20</sup> This sentence is illustrated by R. V. x. 72, 5, where it is said, *Aditer Dakṣo ajāyata Dakṣād u Aditih pari* | "Aditi was born from Dakṣa and Dakṣa from Aditi"—a text on which Yāska remarks (Nirukta, xi. 23): *tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau syātām iti | api vā deva-dharmena itaretarg-janmānau syātām itaretatara-prakṛitī* | "how can this be possible? They may have had a common birth; or, conformably with their nature as deities, they may have been produced from one another, and possess the properties of one another." Compare A. V. 13. 4. 29 ff., where Indra is said to have been produced from a great many other gods, or entities, and they reciprocally from him. In regard to Virāj, compare the notes on the verse before us in my article on the "Progress of the Vedic religion," etc., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 354.



the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sādhyas,<sup>21</sup> and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial<sup>22</sup> (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the rich and sáman verses, the metres, and the yajush. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? what was his mouth? what arms (had he)? what (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brāhman was his mouth;<sup>23</sup> the Rājanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs;<sup>24</sup> the Sūdra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (*manas*), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vāyu from his breath.<sup>25</sup> 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters: in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it

<sup>21</sup> See on the Sādhyas, Professor Weber's note, Ind. St. ix. 6 f., and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note.

<sup>22</sup> See, however, Vāj. Sanh. xiv. 30, to be quoted below.

<sup>23</sup> Compare the Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, ii. 9: *atha purnamāsyaṁ purastāch chandramasam drīṣyamānam upatishṭheta etayā eva āvritā* "somo rājāsi vichakshano pancha mukhā'si prajāpatiḥ | brāhmaṇas te ekam mukham | tena mukhena rājno'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | rājā te ekam mukham | tena mukhena viśo'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | śyenas te ekam mukham" *ityādi* | which is thus translated by Mr. Cowell: "Next on the day of the full moon let him in this same way adore the moon when it is seen in front of him (saying), 'thou art Soma, the brilliant, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brāhman is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest kings, with that mouth make me to eat food. The king is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest common men, with that mouth make me to eat food. The hawk is one mouth of thine,' etc. The fourth mouth is fire, and the fifth is in the moon itself. I should prefer to render the words *somo rājā'si*, 'thou art king Soma,'—'king' being a frequent designation of this god in the Brāhmaṇas. See also M. Bh. iii. 12, 962, where Vishṇu is introduced as saying in the same mystical way: *Brahma vaktram bhujas kshatram ūrū me saṁsthilāḥ viśaḥ | pādaḥ sūdrāḥ bhavanti vikramaṇa kramaṇa cha* | 'The Brāhman is my mouth; the Kshatras are my arms; the Viśas are my thighs; these Sūdras with their vigour and rapidity are my feet.'"

<sup>24</sup> Instead of *ūrū*, "thighs," the Atharva-veda, xix. 6, 6, reads *madhyam*, "middle."

<sup>25</sup> The Vāj. S. xxxi. 13, has a different and singular reading of the last half verse: *śrotṛād vāyus cha prāṇas cha mukhād agnir ajāyata* | "From his ear came Vāyu and Prāṇa (breath) and from his mouth Agni."





(around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sādhyas, gods."<sup>26</sup>

I have above (p. 7) intimated an opinion that this hymn does not belong to the most ancient portion of the Rig-veda. This view is, however, controverted by Dr. Haug, who, in his tract on "the origin of Brāhmanism" (published at Poona in 1863), p. 5, writes as follows : "The few scholars who have been engaged in the study of the Vedas unanimously regard this hymn as a very late production of Vedic poetry; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that. On the contrary, reasons might be adduced to shew that it is even old. The mystical character of the hymn is no proof at all of its late origin. Such allegorical hymns are to be met with in every book of the collection of the mantras, which goes by the name of Rig-veda samhitā. The Rishis, who were the authors of these hymns, delighted in such speculations. They chiefly were suggested to them by the sacrificial rites, which they daily were performing. According to the position which is assigned to it in the Yajur-veda (where it is found among the formulas referring to the human sacrifice), the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifices. That, at the earliest period of the Vedic time, human sacrifices were quite common with the Brahmans, can be proved beyond any doubt. But the more eminent and distinguished among their leaders soon abandoned the practice as revolting to human feelings. The form of the sacrifice, however, seems to have been kept for a long time; for the ritual required at that occasion is actually in the Yajur-veda; but they only tied men of different castes and classes to the sacrificial posts, and released them afterwards, sacrificing animals instead of them."

If it could be satisfactorily shewn that this hymn, in the same form as we now possess it, existed contemporaneously with the barbarous practice of human sacrifices which Dr. Haug believes to have at one time prevailed in India, we should, no doubt, have in this circumstance a strong proof of its antiquity. But if it was merely adopted as a part of the ceremonial at a later period, when the immolation of human

<sup>26</sup> This verse occurs also in R. V. i. 164. 50, and is quoted in Nirukta, xii. 14. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note, already referred to.



beings had ceased to be otherwise than formal and nominal, and animals were substituted as the actual victims, the evidence of its remote antiquity is greatly weakened.

If we now compare the Purusha Sūkta with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Mandala of the Rīg-veda, it will, I think, be apparent that the first is not adapted to be used at a literal human sacrifice in the same manner as the last two are to be employed at the immolation of a horse. There are, no doubt, some mystical passages in the second of these two hymns, as in verse 3, where the horse is identified with Yama, Āditya, and Trita; and "in the last section of the Taittiriya Yajurveda the various parts of the horse's body are described as divisions of time and portions of the universe: 'morning is his head; the sun his eye; the air his breath; the moon his ear,' " etc. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 62).<sup>27</sup> But the persons who officiate at the sacrifice, as referred to in these hymns, are ordinary priests of the ancient Indian ritual,—the hotri, adhvaryu, āvayaj, etc. (i. 162, 5); and details are given of the actual slaughter of the animal (i. 162, 11). The Purusha Sūkta, however does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods (verses 6, 7, 15, 16); no human priests are mentioned; the division of the victim (v. 11) must be regarded, like its slaughter (v. 7), as the work of the deities only. And the Purusha mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe (v. 2), and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation (vv. 8, 10, 13, 14), and of the Vedas (v. 9).

As compared with by far the largest part of the hymns of the Rīg-veda, the Purusha Sūkta has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas. I have already observed that the hymns which we find in this collection are of very different periods. This, I believe, is not disputed.<sup>28</sup> The authors themselves, as we have seen, speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this description could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to suppose that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus

<sup>27</sup> Compare the commencement of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad.

<sup>28</sup> See Dr. Haug's own remarks (quoted above, p. 4) on the period when the hymns were composed.





was confined to the period immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions? and, on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71 and 72, x. 81 and 82, x. 121, and x. 129.

On this subject Mr. Colebrooke states his opinion as follows (Miscellaneous Essays i. 309, note): "That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sūkta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane (*purāṇas* and *cāryas*), have been written."

Professor Max Müller expresses himself in a similar sense (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.): "There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn of the 10th book . . . 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 S'arad, 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 S'arad, autumn; Hemanta, winter; and Vasanta, spring."





Professor Weber (*Indische Studien*, ix. 3) concurs in this view. He observes: "That the Purusha Sūkta, considered as a hymn of the Rig-veda, is among the latest portions of that collection, is clearly perceptible from its contents. The fact that the Sāma-saṁhitā has not adopted any verse from it, is not without importance (compare what I have remarked in my *Academical Prelections*, p. 63). The Naigeya school, indeed, appears (although it is not quite certain),<sup>29</sup> to have extracted the first five verses in the seventh prapāṭhaka of the first Archika, which is peculiar to it."

We shall see in the following chapter that the word *brāhmaṇa* occurs but rarely in the Rig-veda Saṁhitā, while *brahman*, "a priest," from which the former is derived, is of constant occurrence. From this circumstance also, it may be reasonably concluded that the hymns in which the derivative occurs are among the latest. The same remark may be made of the word *vaiśya*, as compared with *viś*.<sup>30</sup>

Mr. Colebrooke's opinion of the character of the Purusha Sūkta is given in the following passage of his "*Miscellaneous Essays*" (vol. i. p. 161, note; or p. 105 of Williams & Norgate's ed. of 1858); "I think it unnecessary to quote from the commentary the explanation of this curious passage of the Vedas as it is there given, because it does not really elucidate the sense; the allegory is for the most part sufficiently obvious.

In his tract on "on the origin of Brahmanism," p. 4, Dr. Haug thus remarks on verses 11 and 12: "Now, according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism, and caste in general, the Brahman has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the Purusha, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the Brahmins are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two

<sup>29</sup> See on this subject Weber's foot-note, p. 3.

<sup>30</sup> Professor Aufrecht informs me that the word *vaiśya* does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda but the Purusha Sūkta; only once in the Atharva-veda, v. 17, 9; and not at all in the Vāj. Saṁh., except in the Purusha Sūkta. The same scholar remarks, as another proof of the comparatively late date of the Purusha Sūkta, that it is the only hymn which refers to the four different kinds of Vedic compositions *rich*, *samān*, *chhandas*, and *yajush*.





arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshattriya (warrior), that means, then, that the Kshattriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the Purusha were transformed into the Vaiśya means that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken, the Vaiśya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the Shudra from the feet of the Purusha, indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the foot serves the other parts of the body as a firm support."

But whether the writer of the hymn intended it to be understood allegorically or not, it conveys no distinct idea of the manner in which he supposed the four castes to have originated. It is, indeed, said that the Sūdra sprang from Purusha's feet; but as regards the three superior castes and the members with which they are respectively connected, it is not quite clear which (*i.e.*, the castes or the members) are to be taken as the subjects and which as the predicates, and consequently, whether we are to suppose verse 12 to declare that the three castes were the three members, or, conversely, that the three members were, or became, the three castes.

But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes; since we find, if not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Brāhmaṇas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being equally with the hymns a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sūkta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) third a class of narratives of the creation, in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.

To the first of these classes (*viz.*, that of texts which coincide more or less exactly with the Purusha Sūkta) belongs the following passage from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā.

SECT. II.—Quotation from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, vii. 1. 1. 4 ff.

*Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa mukhatas triṣṛitaṁ nir-  
amimīta | tam Agnir devatā 'nvasūyata gāyatrī cchandro rathantaram*



*sāma brāhmaṇo manushyānām ajah paśūnām | tasmāt te mukhyāḥ mukhato hy asṛijyanta | uraso bāhubhyām panchadaśam niramimīta | tam Indro devatā 'nvasṛijyata trisṭubh chhando brihat sāma rājanyo manushyānām aviḥ paśūnām | tasmāt te vīryāvanto vīryād hy asṛijyanta | madhy-ataḥ sapṭadaśam niramimīta | tam Viśvedevāḥ devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta jagatī chhando vairūpam sāma vaiśyo manushyānām gāvah paśūnām | tasmāt te ādyā annadhānād hy asṛijyanta | tasmād bhūyāṁso 'nye-bhyaḥ | bhūyishṭhāḥ hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | pataḥ ekaviṁśam niramimīta | tam anuṣṭubh chhando 'nvasṛijyata vairājam sāma śūdro manushyānām aśvah paśūnām | tasmāt tau bhūta-saṅkrāmiṇāv āsvaś cha śūdraś cha | tasmāt śūdro yajne 'navakṛipto na hi devatāḥ anvasṛijyanta | tasmāt pādāv upajīvataḥ | patto hy asṛijyetām |*

“Prajāpati desired, ‘may I propagate.’ He formed the Trivṛit (*stoma*) from his mouth. After it were produced the deity Agni, the metre Gāyatrī, the Sāman (called) Rathantara, of men the Brāhmaṇ, of beasts the goats. Hence they are the chief (*mukhyāḥ*), because they were created from the mouth (*mukhataḥ*). From (his) breast, from (his) arms, he formed the Panchadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the god Indra, the Trisṭubh metre, the Sāman (called) Brihat, of men the Rājanya, of beasts the sheep. Hence they are vigorous, because they were created from vigour. From (his) middle he formed the Sapṭadaśa (*stoma*). After it were created the gods (called) the Viśvedevas, the Jagatī metre, the Sāman called the Vairūpa, of men the Vaiśya, of beasts kine. Hence they are to be eaten, because they were created from the receptacle of food. Wherefore they are more numerous than others, for the most numerous deities were created after (the Sapṭadaśa). From his foot he formed the Ekaviṁśa (*stoma*). After it were created the Anuṣṭubh metre, the Sāman called Vairāja, of men the Śūdra, of beasts the horse. Hence these two, both the horse and the Śūdra, are transporters of (other) creatures. Hence (too) the Śūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, because no deities were created after (the Ekaviṁśa). Hence (too) these two subsist by their feet, for they were created from the foot.”





SECT. III.—*Citations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, and the Atharva-veda.*

The following texts belong to the second class—i.e., that of those which recognize a distinct origination of the castes, but describe their creation differently from the Puruṣa Sūkta :

S. P. Br. ii. 1, 4, 11 ff.—“*Bhūr*” *iti vai Prajāpatir imām ajanayata “bhuvah” ity antariksham “sva” iti divam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ime lokāḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | “bhūr” iti vai Prajāpatir brahma ajanayata “bhuvah” iti kshattram “sva” iti viśam | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad brahma kshattram viṭ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | “bhūr” iti vai Prajāpatir ātmānam ajanayata “bhuvah” iti prajāṁ “sva” iti paśūn | etāvad vai idam sarvaṁ yāvad ātmā prajāḥ paśavaḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate |*

“(Uttering) ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated this earth. (Uttering) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated the air, and (uttering) ‘sva,’ he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated the Brahman; (saying) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated the Kshattrā; (and saying) ‘sva,’ he generated the Viś. All this world is so much as the Brahman, Kshattrā, and Viś. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) ‘bhūh,’ Prajāpati generated himself; (saying) ‘bhuvah,’ he generated offspring; (saying) ‘sva,’ he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole.”

Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2 — *Sarvaṁ hedam brahmaṇā haiva sṛiṣṭam | riḡbhyo jātam vaiśyam varṇam āhuḥ | yajurvedam kshattriyasyāhur yonim | sāmavedo brāhmaṇānām prasūtiḥ | pūrve pūrvebhyo vacha etad ākuḥ |*

“This entire (universe) has been created by Brahman. Men say that the Vaiśya class was produced from ṛich-verses. They say that the Yajur-veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sāma-veda is the source from which the Brāhmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients.”

To complete his account of the derivation of the castes from the



Vedas, the author had only to add that the Sūdras had sprung from the Atharvāṅgīrasas (the Atharva-veda); but he perhaps considered that to assign such an origin to the servile order would have been to do it too great an honour.

Vājasaneyā Sanhitā, xiv. 28 ff. (= Taittirīya Sanhitā, iv. 3, 10, 1).—  
*ekayā astuvata prajāḥ adhiyanta Prajāpatir adhipatir āsit | tisṛbhir  
 astuvata brahma asṛijyata Brahmanaspatir adhipatir āsit | pañcabhir  
 astuvata bhūtāny asṛijyanta Bhūtānāmpatir adhipatir āsit | saptabhir  
 astuvata sapta rishayo 'sṛijyanta Dhātā adhipatir āsit | navabhir astu-  
 vata pitaro 'sṛijyanta Aditir adhipatny āsit | ekādaśabhir astuvata ritaro  
 'sṛijyanta ārtavāḥ adhipatayaḥ āsan | trayodaśabhir astuvata māsā asṛij-  
 yanta samevtsaro 'dhipatir āsit | pañcadaśabhir astuvata kshattram as-  
 sṛijyata Indro 'adhipatir āsit | saptadaśabhir astuvata paśavo 'sṛijyanta  
 Brihaspatir adhipatir āsit | navadaśabhir astuvata śūdrāryāḥ asṛijyetām  
 ahorātre adhipatnī āstām | ekaviṁśatyā astuvata ekasaphāḥ paśavo 'sṛij-  
 yanta Varuṇo 'dhipatir āsit | trayaviṁśatyā astuvata kshudrāḥ paśavo  
 'sṛijyanta Pūshā adhipatir āsit | panchaviṁśatyā astuvata aranyāḥ  
 paśavo 'sṛijyanta Vāyur adhipatir āsit | saptaviṁśatyā astuvata dyāvā-  
 prithivī vyaitām | Vasavo Rudrā Adityāḥ anuvyāyan | te eva adhipa-  
 tayāḥ āsan | navaviṁśatyā astuvata vanaspatayo 'sṛijyanta Somo 'dhipatir  
 āsit | ekatviṁśatā astuvata prajā asṛijyanta yavās cha ayavās cha adhi-  
 patayaḥ āsan | trayastviṁśatā astuvata bhūtāny asāmyan Prajāpatiḥ  
 Parameśṭhī adhipatir āsit |*

"He lauded with one. Living beings were formed: Prajāpati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brāhman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five: existing things were created: Bhūtānāmpati was the ruler. He lauded with seven: the seven rishis were created: Dhātri was the ruler. He lauded with nine: the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Ārtavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Brihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Sūdra and the Arya (Vaiśya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one: animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuṇa was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three:





small animals were created: Pūshan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vāyu was the ruler (compare R. V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month<sup>31</sup> were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one: existing things were tranquillized: Prajāpati Parameshthin was the ruler." This passage is explained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa viii. 4, 3, 1 ff.

The following text is of a somewhat mystical description; but appears to intimate a distinction in nature between the different castes corresponding to that of the gods with whom they are associated:

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 23 (= Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, i. 4, 11 ff. (p. 235).—*Brahma vai idam agre āsīd ekam eva | tad ekam san na vyabhavat | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata kṣhattraṁ yāny etāni devatrā kṣhattrāni Indro Varunaḥ Somo Rudraḥ Parjanya Yamo Mrityur Īśānah iti | tasmāt kṣhattrāt param nāsti | tasmād brāhmaṇaḥ kṣhattriyaḥ adhaśtād upāste rājāsūye kṣhatre eva tad yaśo dadhāti | sā eṣhā kṣhattrasya yonir yad brahma | tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatām gachchati brahma eva antataḥ upaniśrayati svām yonim | yaḥ u ha enaṁ hinasti svām sa yonim richchati | sa pāpiyān bhavati yathā śreyānsam hiṁsītva | 24. Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa viśam asṛijata yāny etāni deva-jātāni gaṇaśaḥ ākhyāyante vasavo rudrāḥ ādityāḥ viśvedevāḥ marutaḥ iti | 25. Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa śaudram varṇam asṛijata pūṣaṇam | iyaṁ vai pūṣhā iyaṁ hi idam sarvaṁ pushyati yad idam kincha | 26. Sa na eva vyabhavat | tat śreyo rūpam aty asṛijata dharmam | tad etat kṣhattrasya kṣhattraṁ yad dharmah | tasmād dharmāt param nāsti | atho abalīyān balīyāṁsam āsamśate dharmena yathā rājñā evam | yo vai sa dharmah satyaṁ vai tat | tasmāt satyaṁ vadantam ahur "dharmam vadati" iti | dharmam vā*

<sup>31</sup> The Taittirīya Saṁhitā reads *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* (instead of *yāvāḥ* and *ayāvāḥ* as in the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā) and in another passage, v. 3, 4, 5 (as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht), explains these terms to mean respectively months and half months (*māsū vai yāvāḥ ardhmāsāḥ ayāvāḥ*), whilst the commentator on the V. S. understands them to mean the first and second halves of the month, in accordance with the S. P. B. viii. 4, 3, 18, and viii. 4, 2, 11 (*pūrvapakṣhū vai yāvāḥ aparapakṣha ayāvāḥ | te hi idam sarvaṁ yuvate chāyuvate cha*) | Prof. Aufrecht also points out that *yāva* is explained in Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, iv. 21, 8, as equivalent to *yavamayan apīpam*, "a cake of barley."





*śadantam "satyam vadati" iti | etad hy eva etad ubhayam bhavati |*

27. *Tad etad brahma kshattram viṣ sūdraḥ | tad Agnīnā eva deveshu brahmābhavad brāhmaṇo manushyeshu kshattriyena kshattriyo vaiśyena vaiśyah sūdreṇa sūdraḥ | tasmād Agnāv eva deveshu lokam ichhante brāhmaṇe manushyeshu | etābhyāṁ hi rūpabhyāṁ brahma abhavat |*

23. "Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brāhman caste<sup>32</sup>) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattria, viz., those among the gods who are powers (*kshattrāṇi*), Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛityu, Īśāna. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattria. Therefore the Brāhman sits below the Kshattriya at the rājasūya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattria (the royal power).<sup>33</sup> This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattria. Hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brāhman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. He created the Viś—viz., those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts. 25. He did not develope. He created the Sūdra class, Pūshan. This earth is Pūshan: for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (*Dharma*). This is the ruler (*kshattria*) of the ruler (*kshattria*), namely, Justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks

<sup>32</sup> *Atra yad ūtana-sabdenoktaṁ sraṣṭṛi Brahma tad Agnīm sṛiṣṭvā agre Agni-rūpānam Brāhmaṇa-jāty-ābhīmānavad asmīn vākye Brahma-sabdenābhīdhiyate |*

<sup>33</sup> This rendering of the last few words is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. The commentators understand them to mean that the Brāhmins give the king their own glory (that of being a Brahman): and they refer to a formula by which at the rājasūya-sacrifice the king, after addressing the priest as Brāhman, is addressed in return with the word "Thou, king, art a Brāhmān" (*tvam rājan brahmāsi*), etc. See the Taittirīya Saṁhitā i. 8, 16, 1, where the commentator remarks. "As in common life domestic priests and others, sitting below a king seated on his throne after his return from conquering a foreign territory, address him with many benedictions and eulogies, so here too service is presented. By this benedictory service the power of cursing and showing kindness existing in the Brāhmins is transferred to the king." Reference is then made to the passage before us, as noticing this custom.



justice;’ or of a man who is uttering justice, ‘he speaks truth.’ For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattria, Viś, and Sūdra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brāhman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaiśya a (human) Vaiśya, through the (divine) Sūdra a (human) Sūdra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brāhman among men, that they seek after an abode.”

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 6, 7.—*Daivyo vai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ | asuryyo śūdraḥ.* “The Brāhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sūdra from the Asuras.”

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 2, 3, 9.—*Kāmam eva dāru-pātreṇa duhyāt | śūdraḥ eva na duhyāt | asato vai esha sambhūto yat śūdraḥ | ahavir eva tad ity āhur yat śūdro dogdhi iti | agnihotraṁ eva na duhyāt śūdraḥ | tad hi na utpunanti | yadā khahu vai pavitram atyeti atha tad havir iti |* “Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Sūdra milk it out. For this Sūdra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Sūdra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Sūdra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation.”

Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 1.—*Brāhmaṇo jajne prathamam daśaśīrṣho dasāsyah | sa somam prathamam papau sa chakārārāsaṁ viśham |* “The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless.”

As the description (which is, perhaps, a fragment of a longer account), stops short here, we are left in the dark as to the author’s ideas about the creation of the other castes. It would have interested us to know how many heads and faces he would have assigned to the other three castes. The student of Indian poetry is aware that the giant Rāvana is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa both as a Brāhman and as having ten heads.

As implying a separate origination of the Rājanya caste, the following text also may find a place here:

Taittirīya Saṁhitā, ii. 4, 13, 1.—*Devā vai rājanyāḥ jāyamānād abibhauḥ | tam antar eva santaṁ dāmnā ’paumbhan | sa vai esho ’pobdho jāyate yad rājanyo | yad vai esho ’napobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś charet | yaṁ kāmayeta rājanyam “anapobdho jāyeta vṛittrān ghaṁś chared” iti tasmai etam aindrā-bārhaspatyaṁ charuṁ nirvapet | aindro vai rājanyo*



*brahma Brihaspatiḥ | brahmanā eva enaṁ dāmino 'pombhanād muñchati | hiraṇmayāṁ dāma dakṣhiṇā sākṣhād eva enaṁ dāmino 'pombhanād muñchati |* "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound. If he were born unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Brihaspati. It is through the Brahman that anyone releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

In the following text of the Atharva-veda, xv. 8, 1, a new account is given of the origin of the Rājanyas :

*So 'rajyata tato rājanyo 'jāyata |*

"He (the Vrātya) became filled with passion : thence sprang the Rājanya."

And in the following paragraph (A. V. xv. 9, 1 ff) we have the same origin ascribed to the Brāhman also :

*Tad yasya evaṁ vidvān vrātyo rājno 'tithir grihān āgachhet śreyāṁsam enam ātmano mānayet | tathā kṣhatrāya nāvṛiśchate tathā rāṣṭrāya nāvṛiśchate | ato vai brahma cha kṣhattraṁ cha udatiṣṭhatām | te abrūtām "kam praviśāva" iti |*

"Let the king to whose house the Vrātya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brāhman) and the Kshattrā (Kshattriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter,' etc."

SECT. IV.—*Further Quotations from the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, Sanhitā, and Āraṇyaka, and from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.*

The following passages belong to the third of the classes above adverted to, as in the descriptions they give of the creation, while they refer to the formation of men, they are silent on the subject of any separate origination of castes :



Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii, 3, 8, 1.—*Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa haritah śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt stri antarvatnī harinī satī śyāvā bhavati | sa vijāyamāno garbhena atāmyat | sa tāntaḥ kṛishṇa-śyāvo 'bhavat | tasmāt tāntaḥ kṛishṇaḥ śyāvo bhavati | tasya asur eva ajīvat | 2. Tena asunā asurān asrijata | tad asurānam asurateam | ya evam asurānām asurateam veda asumān eva bhavati | na enam asur jāhāti | so 'surān srishtvā pitā iva amanyata | tad anu pitrīn asrijata | tat pitrīnām pitritvam | ya evam pitrīnām pitritvam veda pitā iva eva svānām bhavati (3) yanty asya pitaro havam | sa pitrīn srishtvā 'manasyat | tad anu manushyān asrijata | tad manushyānām manushyatvam | yaḥ evam manushyānām manushyatvam veda manasvī eva bhavati na enam manur jāhāti | tasmāi manushyān sasrijānaya divā devatrā abhavat | tad anu devān asrijata | tad devānām devatvam | ya evam devānām devatvam veda divā ha eva asya devatrā bhavati | tāni vai etāni chatvāri ambhāmsi devāḥ manushyāḥ pitaro 'surāḥ | teshu sarveshu ambho nabhaḥ iva bhavati |*

[“Prajapati desired, ‘may I propagate.’ He practised austerity. He became pregnant. He became yellow-brown.”<sup>34</sup> Hence a woman when pregnant, being yellow, becomes brown. Being pregnant with a foetus, he became exhausted. Being exhausted, he became blackish-brown. Hence an exhausted person becomes blackish-brown. His breath became alive. 2. With that breath (*asu*) he created Asuras. Therein consists the Asura-nature of Asuras. He who thus knows this Asura-nature of Asuras becomes a man possessing breath. Breath does not forsake him. Having created the Asuras, he regarded himself as a father. After that he created the Fathers (Pitris). That constitutes the fatherhood of the Fathers. He who thus knows the fatherhood of the Fathers, becomes as a father of his own: (3) the Fathers resort to his oblation. Having created the Fathers, he reflected. After that he created men. That constitutes the manhood of men. He who knows the manhood of men, becomes intelligent. Mind<sup>35</sup> does not forsake him. To him, when he was creating men, day appeared in the heavens. After that he created the gods. This constitutes the godhead of the gods. To him who thus knows the godhead of the gods, day appears in

<sup>34</sup> *Nīla-śveta-misra-varṇaḥ*, “of a mixed blue and white colour,” says the Commentator.

<sup>35</sup> *Manuḥ* = *manana-śaktiḥ*, “the power of thinking.” Comm.



the heavens. These are the four streams,<sup>30</sup> viz., gods, men, Fathers, and Asuras. In all of these water is like the air.”]

Satapatha Brahmana, vii. 5, 2, 6.—*Prajāpatir vai idam agre āsīd ekaḥ eva | so 'kāmayata "annam sṛjeya prajāyeya" iti | sa prāṇebhyaḥ eva adhi paśūn nīramimīta manasaḥ puruṣam chakshuṣho 'śvam prāṇād gām śrotrādavim vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prāṇebhyo 'dhi nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "prāṇāḥ paśavaḥ" iti | mano vai prāṇānām prathamam | tad yad manasaḥ puruṣam nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "puruṣaḥ prathamāḥ paśūnām viryavattamaḥ" iti | mano vai sarve prāṇāḥ | manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratishṭhītāḥ | tad yad manasaḥ puruṣam nīramimīta tasmād āhuḥ "puruṣaḥ sarve paśavaḥ" iti | puruṣasya hy ete sarve bhavanti |*

“Prajāpati was formerly this (universe), one only. He desired, ‘let me create food, and be propagated.’ He formed animals from his breaths, a MAN from his soul, a horse from his eye, a bull from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Since he formed animals from his breaths, therefore men say, ‘the breaths are animals.’ The soul is the first of the breaths. Since he formed a man from his soul, therefore they say, ‘man is the first of the animals, and the strongest.’ The soul is all the breaths; for all the breaths depend upon the soul. Since he formed man from his soul, therefore they say, ‘man is all the animals;’ for all these are man’s.”

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1 (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, p. 125).—*Ātmā eva idam agre āsīt puruṣa-vidhaḥ | so 'nuvīkṣya na anyad ātmano 'paśyat | "so 'ham aśmi" ity agre vyāharat | tato 'haṁ-nāmā abhavat | tasmād apy etarhy āmanrito "ham ayam" ity eva agre uktvā atha anyad nāma prabrūte yad asya bhavati | 2. Sa yat pūrvo 'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmanāḥ aushat tasmāt puruṣaḥ | oshati ha vai sa tam yo 'smāt pūrvaṁ bubhūshati yaḥ evaṁ veda | 3. So 'bibhet | tasmād ekāki bibheti |*

<sup>30</sup> The Commentary not very satisfactorily explains this as meaning, “All these four abodes of the gods, etc., are like waters—i.e., suited to yield enjoyment, as ponds, rivers, etc., are fit for bathing, drinking,” etc. The phrase is repeated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 5 (vol. i., p. 79, of Dr. Hall’s edition); and in his note Professor Wilson says *ambhāmsi* “is also a peculiar and probably a mystic term.” It is explained in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as will be seen further on. The last words of the quotation from the Brāhmaṇa are obscure. In another passage of the same work (iii. 8, 18, 1, 2) the terms *ambhas*, *nabhas*, and *mahas*, are declared to denote respectively “earth,” “air,” and “sky” (. . . *ayam vai loko 'mbhāmsi . . . antarikṣhaṁ vai nabhāmsi . . . āsāv vai loko mahāmsi*).





sa ha ayam ikshānchakre yad "mad anyad nāsti kasmād nu bibhemi"  
 iti | tatah eva asya bhayaṁ vīyāya | kasmād hy abheskyat | dvitīyād vai  
 bhayam bhavati | 4. Sa vai naiva reme | tasmād ekāki na ramate | sa  
 dvitīyam aichhat | sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāṁsau samparishvak-  
 tau | 5. Sa imam eva ātmānam dvedhā 'pātayat | tatah patih patnī cha  
 abhavatām | tasmād "idam ardhavṛigalam iva evaḥ" iti ha sma āha Yā-  
 jñavalkyaḥ | tasmād ākāśaḥ striyā pūryate eva | tām sambhavat | tato  
 manuskyāḥ ajāyanta | 6. Sā u ha iyam ikshānchakre "katham nu mā  
 ātmanah eva janayitvā sambhavati hanta tiro 'sāni" iti | 7. Sā gaur  
 abhavat vṛishabhāḥ itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tato gāvāḥ ajāyanta |  
 8. Vāḍavā itarā abhavat āśvavṛishāḥ itarāḥ gardabhā itarā gardabhāḥ  
 itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tatah ekasapham ajāyata | 9. Ajā itarā  
 abhavat vastāḥ itarāḥ avir itarā meshāḥ itarāḥ | tām sam eva abhavat  
 tato 'jāvayo 'jāyanta | evam eva yad idam kiñcha mithunam ā pipplikā-  
 bhyas tat sarvam asrijata |<sup>37</sup>

"This universe was formerly soul only, in the form of Purusha. Looking closely, he saw nothing but himself (or soul). He first said, 'This is I.' Then he became one having the name of I. Hence even now a man, when called, first says, 'this is I,' and then declares the other name which he has. 2. Inasmuch as he, before (*pūrvah*) all this, burnt up (*aushat*) all sins, he (is called) *purusha*. The man who knows this burns up the person who wishes to be before him. 3. He was afraid. Hence a man when alone is afraid. This (being) considered that 'there is no other thing but myself: of what am I afraid?' Then his fear departed. For why should he have feared? It is of a second person that people are afraid. 4. He did not enjoy happiness. Hence a person when alone does not enjoy happiness. He desired a second. He was so much as a man and a woman when locked in embrace. 5. He caused this same self to fall asunder into two parts. Thence arose a husband and a wife.<sup>38</sup> Hence Yājñavalkya has said that 'this one's self is like the half<sup>39</sup> of a split pea.' Hence the void is filled up by

<sup>37</sup> This passage has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke, *Essays* i. 64, as well as by Dr. Roer, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

<sup>38</sup> Manu and S'atarūpā, according to the Commentator.

<sup>39</sup> Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 3, 5. *Ātho ardhho vai esha ātmano yat patnī* | "Now a wife is the half of one's self;" and *ibid.* iii. 3, 3, 1: *Ayajno vai esha yo 'patnikah | na prajāḥ prajāyeraṇ* | "The man who has no wife is unfit to sacrifice. No children will be born to him." We must not, however, suppose from these passages that the



woman.<sup>40</sup> He cohabited with her. From them MEN were born. 6. She reflected, 'how does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear.' 7. She became a cow, and the other a bull; and he cohabited with her. From them kine were produced. 8. The one became a mare, the other a stallion, the one a she-ass, the other a male-ass. He cohabited with her. From them the class of animals with undivided hoofs was produced. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat, the one a ewe, the other a ram. He cohabited with her. From them goats and sheep were produced. In this manner pairs of all creatures whatsoever, down to ants, were created."

The next passage describes men as descendants of Vivasvat, or the Sun, without specifying any distinction of classes:

Taittirīya Saṁhitā vi. 5, 6, 1 f.—*Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devēbhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchehsheshanam ādaduḥ | tat prāsnāt sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai chatvāraḥ Adityāḥ ajāyanta | sā devitryam apachat | sū 'manyata " uchehsheshanād me ime 'jñata | yad agre prāśishyāmi ito me vasiyāṁso janishyanta "* iti | *sā 'gre prāsnāt sā reto 'dhatta tasyai vyridham āndam ajāyata | sā Adityebhyaḥ eva tritryam apachat "bhogāya me idam śrāntam astv "* iti | *te 'bruvan "varam vṛṇāmahai 'yo 'to jāyetai asmākaṁ sa eko 'sat | yo 'sya prajāyām ṛidhyātai asmākaṁ bhogāya bhavāt "* iti | *tato Vivasvān Adityo 'jāyata | tasya vai iyaṁ prajā yad manushyāḥ | tāsv ekaḥ eva riddho yo yajate sa devānāṁ bhogāya bhavati |*

"Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. This she ate. She conceived seed. Four Adityas were born to her. She cooked a second (oblation). She reflected, 'from the remains of the oblation these sons have been born to me. If I shall eat (the oblation) first, more brilliant

estimation in which women were held by the authors of the Brāhmanas was very high, as there are other texts in which they are spoken of disparagingly; such as the following: Taitt. Saṁh. vi. 5, 8, 2.—*Sa somo nātiśṭhata strībhyo grihyamānaḥ | tam gṛhītaṁ vajraṁ kṛtvā 'ghnan tam nirindriyam bhūtam agrihnan | tasmāt strīyo nirindriyā atyādī "* api pūpāt pūṁsa upastītaram vadanti | "Soma did not abide, when being poured out to women. Making that butter a thunderbolt they smote it. They poured it out when it had become powerless. Hence women, powerless, and portionless, speak more humbly than even a poor man." (Compare the quotation in the Commentary on the Taitt. Saṁhitā, Vol. i. p. 996.) Taitt. Saṁh. vi. 5, 10, 3. *Tasmāt strīyaṁ jātām parāsyanti ut pumāṁsam haranti |* "Hence they reject a female (child) when born, and take up a male." (Compare Nirukta, iii. 4.)

<sup>40</sup> Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 10, 4. *Prajāyā hi manushyaḥ pūṇaḥ*, "For by offspring a man is completed."

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(sons) will be born to me. She ate it first; she conceived seed; an imperfect egg was produced from her. She cooked a third (oblation) for the Ādityas, (repeating the formula) 'may this religious toil have been undergone for my enjoyment.' The Ādityas said, 'Let us choose a boon: let any one who is produced from this be ours only; let anyone of his progeny who is prosperous be for us a source of enjoyment.' In consequence the Āditya Vivasvat was born. This is his progeny, namely MEN.<sup>41</sup> Among them he alone who sacrifices is prosperous, and becomes a cause of enjoyment to the gods."<sup>42</sup>

The passages next following do not specify separately the creation of men (who must, however, be understood as included along with other beings under the designation *prajāh*, "offspring," or "creatures,") and therefore afford less distinct evidence that their authors did not hold the fourfold origin of mankind.

The first of these extracts is especially interesting, both on account of its own tenor, and because (along with Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 1 ff. quoted in p. 23) it contains the germ of one of the Puranic accounts of the creation which will be adduced in a subsequent section.

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff.—*Idam vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīt na prithivī na antariksham | tad asad eva sad mano 'kuruta "syām" iti | tad atapyata | tasmāt tapanād dhūmo 'jāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata tasmāt tapanād Agnir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | 2. Tasmāt tapanāj jyotir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād marīchayo 'jāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād udārāḥ ajāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad abhram iva*

<sup>41</sup> Compare Taitt. Br. i. 8, 1. *Ādityāḥ vai prajāḥ*, "Creatures are descended from Aditi."

<sup>42</sup> This story is told also, but with more detail of names and somewhat differently, in Taitt. Br. i. 1, 9, 10 ff. *Aditiḥ putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devēbhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai ūchheshanam adaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sū dvitīyam apachat tasyai ūchheshanam adaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Mitrāḥ cha Varuṇāḥ cha ajāyetām | sū tṛtīyam apachat | tasyai ūchheshanam adaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta | tasyai Āmśaḥ cha Bhagāḥ cha ajāyetām | sū chaturtham apachat | tasyai ūchheshanam adaduh | tat prāśnāt | sū reto 'dhatta tasyai Indrāḥ cha Vivasvān cha ajāyetām | "Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation to the gods the Sādhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. She ate it. She conceived seed. Dhātṛi and Aryaman were born to her." She does the same thing a second time, when she bears Mitra and Varuṇa,—a third time, when she bears Āmśa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she bears Indra and Vivasvat.*



*samahanyata | tad vastim abhinat | 3. Sa samudro 'bhavat | tasmāt samu-  
drasya na pibanti | prajananam iva hi manyante | tasmāt paśor jāyamānād  
āpah purastād yanti | tad dasahotā anvasrījyate | Prajāpatir vai dāsa-  
hotā | yaḥ evaṁ tapaso vīryyam vidvāns tapyate bhavaty eva | tad vai  
idam āpah salilam āsīt | so 'rodit Prajāpatiḥ (4) "sa kasmai ajñi yady  
asyāpratishṭhāyāḥ" iti | yad apsu avāpadyata sā prithivy abhavat |  
yad vyamrīṣṭa tad antariksham abhavat | yad ūrdhvam udamrīṣṭa sā  
dyaur abhavat | yad arodit tad anayoḥ rodastvam | 5. Yaḥ evaṁ veda na asya  
grihe rudanti | etad vai eśhām lokānām janma | ya evaṁ eśhām lokānām  
janma veda na eshu lokesho ārttim ārchhati | sa imām pratishṭhām avin-  
data | sa imām pratishṭhām vītvā akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo  
'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa jaghanād asurān asrījata | 6. Tebhyo  
mṛinmaye pātre 'nnam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sā  
tamisrā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so  
'ntarvān abhavat | sa prajananād eva prajāḥ asrījata | tasmād imāḥ  
bhūyishṭhāḥ | prajananād hy enāḥ asrījata | 7. Tābhyo dārumayo pātre  
payo 'duhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sa jyotsnā 'bhavat |  
so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa  
upapakṣābhyām eva rītūn asrījata | tebhyo rajate pātre ghṛitam aduhat |  
yā asya sā tanūr āsīt (8) tām apāhata | so 'ho-rātrayoḥ sandhiv abhavat |  
so 'kāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat |  
sa mukhād devān asrījata | tebhyo harite pātre somam aduhat | yā asya sā  
tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | tad ahar abhavat | 9. Ete vai Prajāpater dohāḥ |  
ya evaṁ veda duhe eva prajāḥ | "divā vai no 'bhūd" iti tad devānām  
devatvām | ya evaṁ devānām devatvām veda devavān eva bhavati | etad vai  
aho-rātrānām janma | ya evaṁ aho-rātrānām janma veda na aho-rātrēshu  
ārttim ārchhati | 10. Asato 'dhi mano 'srījyate | manas Prajāpatim asrī-  
jata | Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asrījata | tad vai idam manasy eva paramam  
pratishṭhitaṁ yadidaṁ kiñcha | tad etat śvovasyasaṁ nāma Brahma |  
vyuchhanti vyuchhanti asmai vasyasī vasyasī vyuchhati prajāyate prajāyā  
paśubhiḥ pra pṛameśṭhino mātṛām āpnoti ya evaṁ veda |*

"At first this (universe) was not anything. There was neither sky, nor earth, nor air. Being non-existent, it resolved 'let me be.' It became fervent.<sup>43</sup> From that fervour smoke was produced. It again

<sup>43</sup> The word thus rendered is *atapyata*, which has the sense of "being heated" as well as "practising austere abstraction." I have purposely given an equivocal rendering, which may bear either sense.





became fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour light was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour flame was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour rays were produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour blazes<sup>44</sup> were produced. It again became fervent. It became condensed like a cloud. It clove its bladder. That became the sea. Hence men do not drink of the sea. For they regard it as like the place of generation. Hence water issues forth before an animal when it is being born. After that the Daśahotri (a particular formula) was created. Prajāpati is the Daśahotri. That man succeeds, who thus knowing the power of austere abstraction (or fervour), practises it. This was then water, fluid. Prajāpati wept, (exclaiming), (4) 'For what purpose have I been born, if (I have been born) from this which forms no support?'<sup>45</sup> That which fell<sup>46</sup> into the waters became the earth. That which he wiped away, became the air. That which he wiped away, upwards, became the sky. From the circumstance that he wept (*arodit*), these two regions have the name of *rodasī*, (worlds). 5. They do not weep in the house of the man who knows this. This was the birth of these worlds. He who thus knows the birth of these worlds, incurs no suffering in these worlds. He obtained this (earth as a) basis. Having obtained (this earth as a) basis, he desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created Asuras from his abdomen. 6. To them he milked out food in an earthen dish. He cast off that body of his. It became darkness.<sup>47</sup> He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised

<sup>44</sup> Such is the sense the commentator gives to the word *udārāḥ*, which he makes = *ulvāṇa-jvātāḥ*. Professor Roth (s. v.) explains the word as meaning "fogs."

<sup>45</sup> This is the mode of rendering suggested to me by Professor Aufrecht. After "if" the Commentator supplies the words—"from this non-existing earth I can create no living creature."

<sup>46</sup> "Prajāpati's tears," etc., according to the commentator.

<sup>47</sup> Compare S'. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 8: *Atho yo 'yam avāṇ prāṇas tena asurān asrijata | te imāṃ eva prithivīm abhipadya asrijyanta | tasmai sasrijānāya tamaḥ iva ūsa | 9. So 'vel "pāpmānāṃ vai asrikṣhi yasmai me sasrijānāya tamaḥ iva abhūa" iti | tāṃs tataḥ eva pāpmānā 'vidhyat | tataḥ eva te parābhavann ityādi |* "Then he created the Asuras from this lower breath of his. It was only after reaching this earth that they were created. On him, as he continued to create, darkness fell. 9. He understood, 'I have created misery, since darkness has fallen upon me as I was creating.' Then he pierced them with misery, and they in consequence succumbed," etc. The word rendered in the text by "cast off" is applied in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 4, 1, to serpents



austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created living beings (*prajāḥ*) from his organ of generation. Hence they are the most numerous because he created them from his generative organ. 8. To them he milked out milk in a wooden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became moon-light. He desired, 'May I be propagated. He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the seasons from his armpits. To them he milked out butter in a silver dish. He cast off that body of his. It became the period which connects day and night. He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his mouth.<sup>48</sup> To them he milked out Soma in a golden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became day. 9. These are Prajāpati's milkings. He who thus knows milks out offspring. 'Day (*divā*) has come to us:' this (exclamation expresses) the godhead of the gods. He who thus knows the godhead of the gods, obtains the gods. This is the birth of days and nights. He who thus knows the birth of days and nights, incurs no suffering in the days and nights. 10. Mind (or soul, *manas*,) was created from the non-existent. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring. All this, whatever exists, rests absolutely on mind. This is that Brahma called *Svovasyasa*.<sup>49</sup> For the man who thus knows, (*Ushas*), dawning, dawning, dawns more and more bright; he becomes prolific in offspring, and (rich) in cattle; he obtains the rank of *Parameshthin*."

S. P. Br. vi. 1, 2, 11.—*Atho ākuḥ | "Prajāpatir eva imān lokān sṛishṭvā prithivyām pratyatishṭhat | tasmai imāḥ oshadhayo 'nnam apachyanta | tad āsnāt | sa garbhī abhavat | sa ūrdhvebhyah eva prāṇebhyo devān asṛijata | yo 'vāñchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ" iti | yata-mathā 'sṛijata tathā 'sṛijata | Prajāpatis tv eva idaṁ sarvaṁ asṛijata yad idaṁ kūcha |*

"Wherefore they say, 'Prajāpati, having created these worlds, was shedding their old skins (*sarpāḥ vai jīryanto 'manyanta . . . tato vai te jīrṇās tanūr apāghnata*).

<sup>48</sup> Compare S. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 7, quoted in the 4th Vol. of this work, p. 22 f.

<sup>49</sup> The Commentator explains this word to mean "that which each succeeding day becomes transcendently excellent (*uttarottara-dīne vasīyo 'tisayena śreṣṭham*). Here, he says, the highest and absolute Brahma is not meant, but mind, which has the form of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volitions, is every successive moment more and more world-creating" (*saukalpa-paramparayā pratikṣhanam uttarottarādhika-jagat-sṛaṣṭṛitvād īdṛig-Brahma-rūpatvād manah praśastam |*



supported upon the earth. For him these herbs were cooked as food. That (food) he ate. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his upper vital airs, and mortal offspring from his lower vital airs. In whatever way he created, so he created. But Prajāpati created all this, whatever exists.'”

S. P. Br. x. 1, 3, 1.—*Prajāpatih prajāh asrijata | sa ūrdhvebhyah eva prāṇebhyo devān asrijata | ye 'vāñchah prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāh | atha ūrdhvam eva mṛityum prajābhyo 'ttāram asrijata |*

“Prajāpati created living beings. From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death a devourer of creatures.”

Taitt. Ār. i. 23, 1.—*Āpo vai idam āsan salilam eva | sa Prajāpatir ekaḥ pushkara-parṇe samabhavat | tasya antar manasi kāmāḥ samavart-tata “idam sriyeyam” iti | tasmād yad puruṣho manasā 'bhigachhati tad vācā vadati tat karmaṇā karoti | tad eṣhā 'bhyanūktā “kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi | manaso retāḥ prathamam yad āsit | 2. Sato bandhum asati nīravinden hṛdi pratishyā kavayo manishā” iti | upa evaṁ tad upanam-ati yat-kāmo bhavati yaḥ evaṁ veda | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptvā sarīram adhūnuta | tasya yad māmśam āsit tato 'rumāḥ Ketavo Vātara-sanāḥ pishayah udatishtan | 3. Ye nakhās te Vaiikhānasāḥ | ye bālās te Bālakhilyāḥ | ye rasah so 'pām antarataḥ kūrman bhūtam sarpaṇtam tam abravīt “mama vai tvan-māmsā samabhūt” | 4. “na” ity abravīt “pūrvam eva aham iha āsam” iti | tat puruṣasya puruṣatvam iti | sa “sahasra-śīrṣhā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahasra-pād” bhūtvā udatishtat | tam abravīt “tvam ve (sic. me or vai?) pūrvam samabhūt tvam idam pūrvah kurushva” iti | sa itaḥ ādāya apo (5) 'ñjalīnā purastād upādadhāt “evā hy eva” iti | tataḥ Ādityaḥ udatishtat | sā prācī dik | atha Arunaḥ Ketur dakshinataḥ upādadhāt “evā hy Agne” iti | tato vai Agnir udatishtat | sā dakṣiṇā dik | atha Arunaḥ Ketuḥ paścād upādadhāt “evā hi Vāyo” iti | 6. Tato Vāyur udatishtat | sā pratīcī dik | atha Arunaḥ Ketur uttarataḥ upādadhāt “evā hi Indra” iti | tato vai Indrah udatishtat | sā uttīcī dik | atha Arunaḥ Ketuḥ madhye upādadhāt “evā hi Pūshann” iti | tato vai Pūshā udatishtat | sā iyam dik | 7. Atha Arunaḥ Ketur uparishṭād upādadhāt “evā hi devāḥ” iti | tato deva-manuṣhyāḥ pitaro gundharvāpsarasas cha udatishtan | sā ūrdhva dik | yāḥ vipruṣho vi parāpatan tābhyo 'surāḥ rakṣhāṁsi pisachāś-cha udatishtan | tasmāt te parābhavan viprudbhyo 'hi samabhavan | taa*



MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN,

*eshā bhyanūktā* (8) “*āpo ha yad brihatīr garbham āyan dakṣham dadhānāḥ janayanatīḥ svayambhūm | tataḥ ime 'dhyasṛijyanta sargāḥ | adbhyo vai idam samabhūt | tasmād idam sarvaṁ Brahma svayambhū*” *iti | tasmād idam sarvaṁ sīthilam iva adhrvaṁ iva abhavat | Prajāpatiḥ vāva tat | ātmanā ātmānam vidhāya tad eva anuprāviśat | tad eśhā 'bhyanūktā* (9) “*vidhāya lokān vidhāya bhūtāni vidhāya sarvāḥ pradīśo dīśascha | Prajāpatiḥ prathamajāḥ ṛitasya ātmanā 'tmānam abhisamviveśa*” *iti |*

“This was water, fluid. Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf. Within, in his mind, desire arose, ‘Let me create this.’ Hence whatever a man aims at in his mind, he declares by speech, and performs by act.<sup>60</sup> Hence this verse has been uttered, ‘Desire formerly arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind, (2) (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in the heart as the bond between the existent and the non-existent’ (R. V. x. 129, 4). That of which he is desirous comes to the man who thus knows. He practised austere fervour. Having practised austere fervour, he shook his body. From its flesh the rishis (called) Arunas, Ketus, and Vātarasānas<sup>61</sup> arose. 3. His nails became the Vaikhānasas, his hairs the Bālakhilyas. The fluid (of his body became) a tortoise moving amid the waters.<sup>62</sup> He said to him, ‘Thou hast sprung from my skin and flesh.’<sup>63</sup> 4. ‘No,’ replied the tortoise, ‘I was here before.’ In that (in his having been ‘before’ *pūrvam*) consists the manhood of a man (*puruṣha*). Becoming ‘a man (*puruṣha*) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet’

<sup>60</sup> Compare Taitt. S. vi. 3, 10, 4, (quoted by Roth. s. v. *abhiḡam*) *yad vai hṛidayena abhiḡachhati taj jihvayā vadati |*

<sup>61</sup> They are mentioned again in Taitt. Ār. i. 24, 4. See Böhlingk and Roth's Lexicon s.v. Ketu (where the Aruna Ketuṣ are stated to be a sort of superior beings or demons); Artharva-veda, xi. 10, 2; Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 177; and the verse of the M. Bh. xii. 774: *Aruṇāḥ Ketavāś chaiva sōādhāyena divaṁ gatāḥ |* “By sacred study the Arunaṣ and Ketuṣ have ascended to heaven.”

<sup>62</sup> The Sanskrit scholar will observe that the text here is rather obscure. It is either corrupt, elliptical, or grammatically irregular.

<sup>63</sup> Here the Sanskrit, if it be not corrupt, must be irregular and incorrect. On the style of the Āraṇyakas, see Mr. E. B. Cowell's Preface to the Kaushītaki Upanishad, p. viii., where it is remarked: “The Āraṇyakas appear to belong to a class of Sanskrit writings, whose history has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Their style, if we may judge from that of the Taittirīya and Kaushītaki, is full of strange solecisms which sometimes half remind us of the gāthās of the Lalita Vistara. The present Upanishad has many peculiar forms, some of which are common to both recensions, while others appear only in one. Such are: *nishincha*, in p. 10; *praiti* for *prayanti*, in p. 51; *samviveśyan*, in p. 56; *teti* for *vijeti*, in p. 78; *adūḍham*, in p. 89, etc.”





(R.V. x. 90, 1), he arose. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou wert produced before me: do thou first make this.' He took water from this (5) in the cavity of his two hands, and placed it on the east, repeating the text, 'so be it, o Sun.'<sup>64</sup> From thence the sun arose. That was the eastern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the south, saying, 'so be it,' o Agni.' Thence Agni arose. That was the southern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the west, saying 'so be it, o Vāyu.' 6. Thence arose Vāyu. That was the western quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) to the north, saying 'so be it, o Indra.' Thence arose Indra. That is the northern quarter. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) in the centre, saying 'so be it, o Pūshan.' Thence arose Pūshan. That is this quarter. 7. Then Aruṇa Ketu placed (the water) above, saying 'so be it, o gods.' Thence arose gods, MEN, fathers, Gandharvas and Apsarases. That is the upper quarter. From the drops which fell apart arose the Asuras, Rakshases, and Piśāchas. Therefore they perished, because they were produced from drops. Hence this text has been uttered; (8) 'when the great waters became pregnant, containing wisdom, and generating Svayambhū, from them were created these creations. All this was produced from the waters. Therefore all this is Brahma Svayambhu.' Hence all this was as it were loose, as it were unsteady. Prajāpati was that. Having made himself through himself, he entered into that. Wherefore this verse has been uttered; (9) 'Having formed the world, having formed existing things and all intermediate quarters and quarters, Prajāpati, the firstborn of the ceremonial, entered into himself with himself.'"

From an examination of the legends contained in the Brāhmaṇas, of which some specimens have just been given, it appears (1) that they are generally, if not always, adduced, or invented, with the view of showing the origin, or illustrating the efficacy, of some particular ceremony which the writer wished to explain or recommend; (2) that the accounts which they supply of Prajāpati's creative operations are

<sup>64</sup> The formula is in the original *evā hy eva*. The Commentator says that the first word means "objects of desire to be obtained," and that the second *eva* signifies "the moving (Sun)"; the sense of the entire formula being, "Thou, o Sun, art thyself all objects of desire." The six formulas here introduced had previously occurred at the close of a preceding section, i. 20, 1.





various and even inconsistent; and (3) that they are the sources of many of the details which are found in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Purāṇas.

When we discover in the most ancient Indian writings such different and even discrepant accounts of the origin of man, all put forth with equal positiveness, it is impossible to imagine that any uniform explanation of the diversity of castes could have been received at the period when they were composed, or to regard any of the texts which have been cited as more orthodox and authoritative than the rest. Even, therefore, if we should suppose that the author of the Puruṣa Sūkta meant to represent the four castes as having literally sprung from separate parts of Puruṣa's body, it is evident that the same idea was not always or even generally adopted by those who followed him, as a revealed truth in which they were bound to acquiesce. In fact, nothing is clearer than that in all these cosmogonies, the writers, while generally assuming certain prevalent ideas as the basis of their descriptions, gave the freest scope to their individual fancy in the invention of details. In such circumstances, perfect coincidence cannot be expected in the narratives.

We shall hereafter see that the Puranic writers reproduce some of these discrepancies in the traditions which descended to them from earlier generations, and add many new inconsistencies of their own, which they themselves, or their commentators, endeavour to explain away by the assumption that the accounts so differing relate to the occurrences of different Kalpas or Manvantaras (great mundane periods). But of a belief in any such Kalpas or Manvantaras no trace is to be found in the hymns or Brāhmaṇas: and, as we shall hereafter see, they must be held to be the inventions of a later age. The real explanation of these differences in the Brāhmaṇas is that the writers did not consider themselves (as their successors held them) to be infallibly inspired, and consequently were not at all studious to avoid in their narratives the appearance of inconsistency with the accounts of their predecessors.



SECT. V.—*Manu's Account of the Origin of Castes.*

I shall first quote a few verses from the beginning of Manu's account of the creation :

i. 8. *So 'bhidhyāya śarīrāt svāt sisṛikṣur vividhāḥ prajāḥ | apa eva saśarjādau tāsu vījam avāśrijat |* 9. *Tad aṇḍam abhavad haimaṁ sahas-rāṁśu-sama-prabham | tasmin jāne svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitā-mahaḥ |* 10. *Āpo nārā iti proktāḥ āpo vai naraśūnavah | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvam tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah |* 11. *Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktaṁ nityaṁ sad-asadātmakam | tad-viśiṣṭaḥ sa puruṣo lok-Brahmeti kīrttyate |* 12. *Tasminn aṇḍe sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatsaṁ saram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad aṇḍam akaroḍ dvidhā |*<sup>55</sup>

“8. He (the self-existent) having felt desire,<sup>56</sup> and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as Brahmā, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *nārāḥ*, for they are sprung from *Nara*; and as they were his first sphere of motion (*ayana*=path), he is therefore called *Nārāyaṇa*.<sup>57</sup> 11. Produced from the imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, that male (*puruṣa*) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain.”

After a description of various other preparatory creative acts (vv. 13-30) the author proceeds in vv. 31 ff. to inform us how the four castes were produced :

i. 31. *Lokānāṁ tu vividdhyartham mukhabākūru-pādataḥ | brāhmaṇāṁ kṣattriṇāṁ vaiśyaṁ śūdraṁ cha niravarttayat |* 32. *Dvidhā kṛit-vātmano deham ardhena puruṣo 'bhavat | ardhena nārī tasyāṁ sa Virājam aśrijat prabhuh |* 33. *Tapas taptvā 'śrijad yaṁ tu sa svayam puruṣo*

<sup>55</sup> The ideas in this passage are derived (with modifications expressive of the theories current in the author's own age) from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (see vol. iv. of this work, p. 21 f.); or from some other similar account in another *Brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>56</sup> See S. P. Br. i. 7, 4, 1 : *Prajāpatir ha vai svām duhitaram abhiduhyau*.

<sup>57</sup> In the M. Bh. iii. 12952, Krishna says : *apām nārāḥ iti purā sanjñā-karma kṛitam mayā | tena Nārāyaṇo py ukto mama tat tv ayanam sadā |* “The name of *nārāḥ* was formerly assigned by me to the waters: hence I am also called *Nārāyaṇa*, for there has always been my sphere of motion.”



*Virāj | taṁ māṁ vittāsyā sarvasyā sraśtāraṁ dvija-sattamāḥ | 34. Aham prajāḥ srisrikṣhus tu tapas taptvā suduṣṣharam | patin prajānām asṛjām maharshin ādito daśa | 35. Marīchīm Atryangīrasau Pulastyaṁ Pulahaṁ Kratum | Prachetasam Vasishṭhaṁ cha Bhṛiguṁ Nāradaṁ eva cha | 36. Ete Manūṁs tu saptānyān asṛjan bhūrītejasah | devān devanikāyāṁs cha maharshīṁs chāmitaujasah | 37. Yakṣa-rakṣah-pisā-chāṁs cha gandharvāpsarasas 'surān | nāgān sarpaṇ suparṇāṁs cha pitṛiṇāṁ cha prithaggaṇān | 38. Vidyuto 'sani-meghāṁs cha rohitendra-dhanuṁsi cha | ulkā nirghāta-ketūṁs cha jyotīṁshy uechāvacchāni cha | 39. Kinnarān vānarān matsyaṇ vividhāṁs cha vihangamān | paśūn mṛigān manushyāṁs cha vyālāṁs chobhayatodataḥ | 40. Kṛimikīṭa-patangāṁs cha yūkā-makṣhika-matkunam | sarvaṁ cha daṁśa-maśakam sthāvaraṁ cha prithagvidham | 41. Evam etair idaṁ sarvaṁ man-niyogād mahātma-bhīḥ | yathākarma tapo-yogāt sṛiṣṭaṁ sthāvara-jangamam |*

✓ 31. "That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, the Vaiśya, and the Sūdra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."<sup>58</sup> 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahmā) became, with the half a male (purusha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Virāj.<sup>59</sup> 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (purusha)<sup>60</sup> Virāj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishṭha, Bhṛigu, and Nārada.<sup>61</sup> 36. They, endowed with

<sup>58</sup> On this Kullūka the Commentator remarks: *Daivya cha śaktiā mukhādibhyo brāhmaṇādi-nirmāṇam Brahmano na visankanīyaṁ śruti-siddhatvāt* | "It is not to be doubted that, by his divine power, Brahmā formed the Brāhman and the other castes from his mouth and other members, since it is proved by the Veda. He then quotes the 12th verse of the Puruṣa Sūkta.

<sup>59</sup> See the Puruṣa Sūkta, verse 5.

<sup>60</sup> It will be observed that Manu applies this term *purusha* to three beings, *first* to Brahmā (v. 11), *second* to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (v. 32), and *third* to Virāj, the offspring of the male and female halves of Brahmā's body (v. 33). It will be noticed that this story of Brahmā dividing his body is borrowed from the passage of the S'. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1, quoted above.

<sup>61</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 2 ff., a different account is given of the origin of the world, in which no reference is made to Manu Svāyambhūya. The order of the creation there described is as follows: First everything was water. Then Brahmā Svāyambhū, with the deities, came into existence—Brahmā being said to have sprung





great energy, created<sup>62</sup> other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Pisāchas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Nāgas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitris; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, Indra's bows unbent and bent, meteors, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnaras, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, oattle, deer, MEN, beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was ALL THIS WORLD BOTH MOTIONLESS AND MOVING, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

The different portions of the preceding narrative of the creation of the human species are not easily reconcileable with each other. For it is first stated in verse 31, that men of the four castes proceeded separately from different parts of Brahmā's body,—prior (as it would appear) (1) to the division of that body into two parts and to the successive production (2) of Virāj, (3) Manu, and (4) the Maharshis, who formed all existing creatures. And yet we are told in verse 39, that MEN were among the beings called into existence by those Maharshis, and in verse 41, that the entire MOVING as well as motionless WORLD was their work. It is not said that the men created by the Maharshis were distinct from those composing the four castes, and we must, therefore, assume that the latter also are included under the general appellation of men. But if men of the four castes had been already produced before the formation of all living creatures by the Maharshis, what necessity existed for the men of these castes being a second time called into being as a part of that later creation? It is possible that this

from the æther (*ākāśa*). Brahmā, with his sons, created the world. From Brahmā sprang Marīchi; from Marīchi, Kaśyapa; from Kaśyapa, Vivasvat; and from Vivasvat, Manu Vivasvata. The original of this passage is quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 29 ff.

<sup>62</sup> These great rishis seem to be the beings denoted by the word *viśvasrijaḥ*, "creators of the universe," in the verse of Manu (xii. 50), which will be quoted below. Reference to rishis, or to seven rishis, as "formers of existing things" (*bhūta-kṛitah*), is also found in the Atharvaveda, vi. 108, 4; vi. 133, 4, 5; xi. 1, 1, 3, 24; xii. 1, 39; and the word *bhūtakṛitah*, without the addition of rishis, is found in the same work iii. 28, 1; iv. 35, 2, and xix. 16, 2.





allegation of the separate creation of castes may have been engrafted as an after-thought on the other account.<sup>63</sup>

After other details, regarding the propagation, nature, etc. of created things (vv. 42-50), the re-absorption of Brahmā into the Supreme Spirit, and his alternations of sleep and repose, etc. (vv. 50-57), Manu proceeds:

58. *Idam śāstraṁ tu kṛtvā 'sau mām eva svayam āditaḥ | vidhivad grāhayāmāsa Marīchyādīnś to aham munin |* 59. *Etad vo 'yam Bhṛiguḥ śāstraṁ śrāvayishaty aśeshataḥ | etad hi matto 'dhijage sarvam eśho 'kṣilam munih |* 60. *Tatas tathā sa tenokto maharshir Manunā Bhṛiguḥ | tāt abravīd rishin sarvān prītātmā "śrāyatām" iti |* 61. *Svāyambhuvasyāsya Manoh śhaḍ-vaṁśyā Manavo 'pare | śrīṣṭāvantah prajāḥ svāḥ svāḥ mahātmāno mahaujasaḥ |* 62. *Svārochishaḥ chaṭtamiś cha Tāmaso Raivataḥ tathā | Chākshushaḥ cha mahātejā Vivasvat-suta eva cha |* 63. *Svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptaite Manavo bhūrītejaśah | sve sve 'ntare sarvam idam utpādyāpūs charācharam |*

59. "Having formed this Scripture, he (Brahmā) himself in the beginning caused me to comprehend it according to rule; as I did to Marīchi and the other munis. 60. This Bhṛigu will give you to hear this scripture in its entirety; for this muni learned the whole from me. 61. Then that Maharshi (great rishi), Bhṛigu being so addressed by Manu, with pleasure addressed all those rishis, saying, 'Let it be heard.' 62. 'From this Manu Svāyambhuva sprang other Manus in six successive generations, great and glorious, who respectively created living beings of their own,—(63) viz., Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, and the mighty son of Vivasvat. 64. These seven<sup>64</sup> Manus of great power, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have each in his own period (*antara*) produced and possessed the world.' "

<sup>63</sup> In the same way it may be observed that in v. 22 Brahmā is said to have formed the subtle class of living gods whose essence is to act, and of the S'ādhyas (*karmātmanām cha devānām śo 'śrījat prāṇinām prabhuh | sādhyānāṁ cha gaṇāṁ sūkṣmanām*), and in v. 25, to have "called into existence this creation, desiring to form these living beings" (*śrīṣṭiṁ sasarja chaivemā<sup>m</sup> sraṣṭum icchann imāḥ prajāḥ*). But if the gods and all other creatures already existed, any such further account of their production by the Maharshis, as is given in verse 36, seems to be not only superfluous but contradictory.

<sup>64</sup> It will be observed that here Svāyambhuva is included in the seven Manus, although in verse 36 (see above) it is said that the ten Maharshis, who had themselves been created by Svāyambhuva (vv. 34 f.), produced seven other Manus.





After some preliminary explanations regarding the divisions of time as reckoned by men and gods, etc. (vv. 64-78), the author proceeds to tell us how long each of these Manus reigns :

79. *Yat prāk dvādaśa-sāhasram uditāṁ daivikaṁ yugam | tad eka-saptati-guṇam manvantaram ihochyate |* 80. *Manvantarāṇy asankhyāni sargaḥ saṁhāra eva cha | kṛdānṁ ivaitat kurute Parameshṭhi punaḥ punaḥ |*

"The age (*yuga*) of the gods mentioned before, consisting of twelve thousand (years), when multiplied by seventy-one, is here called a manvantara. 80. There are innumerable manvantaras, creations and destructions. The Supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport."

A more detailed account of these great mundane periods will be given in the next section, when I come to take up the Vishnu Purana. Meanwhile it may be remarked that the present manvantara is that of the last of the Manus above enumerated, or Manu Vaivasvata, who, according to verse 63, must have created the existing world. But if such be the case, it does not appear why the creation of Manu Svāyambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do, should have been by preference related to the rishis in vv. 33 ff. It must, however, be observed that in v. 33 Manu Svāyambhuva described himself as the former of "this" (*i.e.*, the existing) universe, and there is no doubt that the whole code of laws prescribed in the sequel of the work is intended by the author to be observed by the existing race of Indians (see verses 102 ff. of the first book). We must, therefore, suppose that the creations of the later Manus are substantially identical with that of the first; or that there is some confusion or inconsistency in the accounts which I have cited. Perhaps both suppositions may be correct.

In vv. 81-86, the four Yugas (or great ages of the world) the Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, their gradual deterioration, and the special duties peculiar to each, are described.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> In v. 86 these predominant duties are said to be austere fervour in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā, sacrifice in the Dvāpara, and liberality alone in the Kali (*tapas paraṁ Kṛita-yuge tretāyāṁ jñānam uchyate | dvāpare yajnam evāhur dānam ekam kalau yuge*). This, as remarked in Weber's *Indische Studien*, 282 f., note, is not quite in conformity with the view of the Mūṇḍaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, which states :



At verse 87, Bhṛigu recurs to the four castes :

87. *Sarvasyāsya tu sargasya gupty-artham sa mahādyutiḥ | mukha-  
bāhūru-paj-jānām prīthak karmāny akalpayat |*

“For the preservation of this whole creation, that glorious being (Brahmā) ordained separate functions for those who sprang from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet.”

These functions are then detailed (vv. 88-92). In verse 93, the grounds of the Brāhmans' pre-eminence are stated :

93. *Uttamāṅgobhavaj jyaishṭhyād brahmaṇas chaiva dhāranāt | sar-  
vasyaivāsya sargasya dharmato brāhmaṇaḥ prabhūḥ | 94. Tam hi sva-  
yambhūḥ svād āsyāt tapas taptvā "dīto 'srījat |*

Since the Brahman sprang from the most excellent organ, since he is the first-born and possesses the Veda, he is by nature the lord of this whole creation. Him, the self-existent (Brahmā) after exercising fervid abstraction, formed at the first from his own mouth.”

But as there are grades of excellence among created things, and among men themselves (96), so are there also among Brāhmans :

97. *Brāhmaṇeṣu cha vidvāṃso vidvatsu kṛita-buddhayaḥ | kṛita-  
buddhiṣu karttāraḥ karttrishu brahma-vedināḥ |*

“Among Brāhmans the learned are the most excellent, among the learned the resolute, among the resolute those who act, and among them who act they who possess divine knowledge.”

In a subsequent part of the work (xii. 40 ff.) we find men in general, the castes, and indeed all existing things, from Brahmā downwards, classified according to their participation in different degrees in the three *guṇas*, or qualities (*sattva*, “goodness,” *rajas*, “passion,” and *tamas*, “darkness”).

39. *Yena yāms tu guṇenaishāṃ saṃsārān pratipadyate | tān samāsena  
vakshyāmi sarvasyāsya yathākramam | 40. Devatraṃ sāttvikā yānti  
manuṣhyatraṃ cha rājasāḥ | tiryaktraṃ tāmasā nityam ity eṣā tri-*

*tat etat satyam manvresu karmāni kavayo yāny upāyāms tāni tretāyām bahudhā  
santatāni |* “This is true : the rites which sages beheld in the hymns, are in great variety celebrated in the Tretā.” In the same way the M. Bh. iii. v. 11,248, says that sacrifices and rites prevail in the Tretā (*tato yajnāḥ pravartante dharmās cha  
vidvidhāḥ kriyāḥ | tretāyām ityūdi*). See also M. Bh. xii. 13,090. The word *kṛita*, as the name of the first yuga is thus explained in a previous verse of the former of these two passages (11,235) : *kṛitam eva na kartavyam tasmin kāle yugottame |* “In the time of that most excellent Yuga (everything) has been done, (and does) not (remain) to be done.”



*vidhā gatih* | . . . 43. *Hastinās cha turangās cha śūdrā mlechhās cha garhitāh* | *siṃhā vyāghrā varāhās cha madhyamā tāmasī gatih* | . . . 46. *Rājānāh kshattriyās chaiva rājnās chaiva purohitāh* | *vādayuddha-pradhānās cha madhyamā rājasī gatih* | . . . 48. *Tāpasā yatayo viprā ye cha vaimānikā gaṇāh* | *nakshatrāṇi cha daityās cha prathamā sāttvikī gatih* | 49. *Yajvāna rishayo devā vedā jyotīṃshi vatsarāh* | *pitaras chaiva sādhyās cha dvitīyā sāttvikī gatih* | 50. *Brahmā viśvasrijo dharmo mahān avyaktam eva cha* | *uttamām sāttvikīm etāṃ gatim āhur manīṣināh* |

"39. I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the *sattva* quality attain to godhead; those having the *rajas* quality become men; whilst those characterized by *tamas* always become beasts—such is the threefold destination. . . . 43. Elephants, horses, Śūdras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition. . . . 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a king's priests (*purohitāh*), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion. . . . 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sādhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahmā, the creators,<sup>66</sup> righteousness, the Great One (*mahat*), the Unapparent One (*avyakta*), compose the highest condition of goodness."

<sup>66</sup> These "creators" (*viśvasrijaḥ*) are thus mentioned in Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2. *Ādarsam Agniṃ chinvānāh pūrve viśvasrijo 'mritāh* | *śataṃ varsha-sahasrāṇi dikshītāh satram āsata* | 3. *tapāh āsīd grihapatir Brahma brahmā 'bhavat svayam* | *satyaṃ ha hotaishām āsīd yad viśvasrija āsata* | *amṛitam ebhya udagōyat sahasram parvat-sarān* | *bhūtāṃ ha prastotaishām āsīd bhavishyat prati chāharat* | *prāṇo adhvaryur abhavat idāṃ sarvaṃ sishāsataṃ* | . . . 7. *Viśvasrijaḥ prathamāḥ satram āsata* | . . . | *tato ha jajne bhevanasya gopāh hiraṇmayah sakunir Brahma nāma* | *yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhah* | . . . 8. *Etena vai viśvasrijaḥ idāṃ visvam asrijanta* | *yad visvam asrijanta tasmād viśvasrijaḥ* | *viśvam enān anu prajāyate* | "2. The ancient and immortal creators of the universe, keeping fire kindled till they saw the new moon, and consecrated, were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years. 3. Austere fervour was the householder; Prayer itself (*brahma*) was the brahmā priest; Truth was their hotṛi, when the creators were so occupied. Immortality was their udgāṭri for a thousand years. The Past was their prastotṛi, the Future their prathartṛi; Breath was the adhvaryu, whilst they were seeking to obtain all this." After a good deal more of this allegory, the author proceeds in para.: 7. "These first





It will be observed that the different parts of this account of the mode in which the three qualities are distributed, are not quite in harmony. From v. 40 it would appear that all souls having the quality of passion become men; and yet we find from vv. 43, 48, and 49, that Sūdras belong to the *tāmāsa* class, and Brāhmanas, of different descriptions, to two of the *Sāttvika* grades. According to the rule enunciated in v. 40, the latter ought to have been born as gods.

It is, further, remarkable that in this enumeration Sūdras are found in the same category with Mlechhas (v. 43), that the Vaiśyas are not accommodated with a position in any of the classes, that Kshattriyas and kings' domestic priests, who are of course Brāhmanas, and others (who must be Brāhmanas) fond of disputation on learned questions<sup>67</sup> (though not stated to be heretical) are ranked together as "passionate" (v. 46), while other Brāhmanas of different characters are placed in two of the higher grades, Brāhmanas simply so called (*viprāḥ*) being regarded as "good" in the lowest degree (v. 48), and sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*) sharing with rishis, gods, the vedas, etc., the honour of the middle condition of goodness. It is not clear whether the devotees, and ascetics, mentioned in v. 48, belong to the same caste as the Brāhmanas with whom they are associated, or may also be men of the inferior classes. Nor is it evident for what reason the sacrificing priests (*yajvānaḥ*), specified in v. 49, are so much more highly estimated than the king's priests (*rājnah purohitāḥ*) in v. 46, since the latter also officiate at sacrifices. The honourable position assigned to Daityas in the lowest class of "good" beings (v. 48) is also deserving of notice. We shall see in the following chapter that the Purānas variously describe mankind as belonging entirely to the "passionate" class (see v. 40, above) and as characterized by the three other "qualities," according to their caste.

creators were engaged in sacrifice . . . Thence was born the preserver of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with light. . . .  
8. . . . Through this the creators created this universe. As they created the universe, they are called visvasrijah. . . Everything is created after them." See above the reference made to *rishayo bhūta-kṛitah* in p. 36. The allegory in this extract from the Taitt. Br. resembles in its character that in the sixth verse of the Puruṣa Sūkta.

<sup>67</sup> *S'ārstūrthakalaha-priyās cha* | Comm.





<sup>71</sup> V. P. i. 3, 15. *Brahmano divase brahman Manavaś cha chaturdaśe | bhavanti |*



is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kalpa (= a day of Brahmā) six Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivasvata.<sup>72</sup> In each Manvantara seven rishis, certain deities, an Indra, a Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish.<sup>73</sup> A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been before explained, occur coincidentally with these 14 Manvantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manvantara, and measure the lives of the Manu and the deities of the period.<sup>74</sup> At the close of this day of Brahmā a collapse (*pratisancharah*) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahmā, equal in duration to his day, during which period the three worlds are converted into one great ocean, when the lotus-born god,<sup>75</sup> expanded by his deglutition of the universe, and contemplated by the yogis and gods in Janaloka, sleeps on the serpent Sesha. At the end of that night he awakes and creates anew.<sup>76</sup>

A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called *Para*, and the half of it *Parārdha*, or the half of a *Para*. One *Parārdha*, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kalpa, called the *Pādma Kalpa*. The now existing Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, called *Vāraha* (or that of the boar), is the first of the second *Parārdha* of Brahmā's existence.<sup>77</sup> The

<sup>72</sup> This is stated by Manu i. 62 ff. (see above), as well as in the third book of the V. P. i. 3, which gives the names in the same order: *Svāyambhuvo Manuḥ pūro Manuḥ Svārochishas tathā | Auttamis Tūmasas chaiva Rāivatas Chākshushas tathā | shad'ete Manavo 'tidāḥ sāmpratañ tu Raveḥ sutāḥ | Vaivasvato 'yañ yasyaitat sapta-māñ varttate 'ntaram |*

<sup>73</sup> V. P. i. 3, 16. *Saptarshayah surāḥ Sakro Manus tat-sūnavo nripāḥ | ekakāle hi sriyante sāmhrīyante cha pūrvavat |*

<sup>74</sup> Ibid ver. 17. *Chaturyugānām sankhyūtā sādhiḥ hy eka saptatiḥ | manvantaram Manuḥ kālāḥ surādīmāñ cha sattama |* See also Manu i. 79.

<sup>75</sup> The birth of Prajāpati on a lotus-leaf is mentioned in the Taitt. Ārany. i. 23, 1, quoted above, p. 32.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid 20. *Chaturdasa-guṇo hy esha kōlo brāhman ahah smṛitam | brāhmo naimit-tiko nāma tasyānte pratisancharah | . . . 22. Ekārnave tu trailokyē Brahmā Nārā-yanātmakeḥ | bhogi-śayyūgataḥ śete trailokya-grāsa-vrīmhitāḥ | 23. Janasthair yogi-bhīr devasī chintyamāno 'bja-sambhavaḥ | tat-pramānūm hi tāñ rātrīm tadante sṛjate punaḥ |* See also V. P. i. 2, 59-62, as translated by Wilson, vol. i. p. 41.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid ver. 24. *Evam tu Brahmano varsham eva<sup>m</sup> varsha-śatañ cha tat | śatam hi tasya varshānām param āyur mahātmanah | 25. Ekam asya vyatītam tu parārdham Brahmano 'nagha | tasyānte 'bhūd mahākālpaḥ Pādmaḥ ity abhiviśrutah | dvītiyasya*



dissolution, which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, is called *naimittika*, incidental, occasional, or contingent. (See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. i. of Dr. Hall's edition, p. 52, with the editor's note; and vol. ii. p. 269. For an account of the other dissolutions of the universe I refer to the same work, vol. i. p. 113, and to pp. 630-633 of the original 4to. edition.)

Of this elaborate system of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, of enormous duration, no traces are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Their authors were, indeed, familiar with the word *Yuga*,<sup>78</sup> which frequently occurs in the sense of age, generation, or tribe. Thus in i. 139, 8; iii. 26, 3; vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5; x. 94, 12, the phrase *yuge yuge*<sup>79</sup> means "in every age." In iii. 33, 8; x. 10, 10, we have *uttarā yugāni*, "future ages," and in x. 72, 1, *uttare yuge*, "in a later age;" in vii. 70, 4, *pūrvāni yugāni*, "former ages,"<sup>80</sup> and in i. 184, 3, *yuga jurnā*, "past ages." In i. 92, 11; i. 103, 4; i. 115, 2; i. 124, 2; i. 144, 4;<sup>81</sup> ii. 2, 2; v. 52, 4; vi. 16, 23; vii. 9, 4; viii. 46, 12; viii. 51, 9; ix. 12, 7;<sup>82</sup> x. 27, 19; x. 140, 6<sup>83</sup> (in all of which places, except i. 115, 2, the word is combined with *manushyā*, *mānushā*, *manushah*, or *janānām*), *yuga* seems to denote "generations" of men, or *parārdhasya varttamānasya vai devīja | Vārāhah iti kalpo 'yam prathamah parikalpitah |*

<sup>78</sup> In Professor Willson's Dictionary three senses are assigned to *yuga* (neuter) (1) a pair; (2) an age as the Kṛita, Tretā, etc.; (3) a lustre, or period of five years. When used as masculine the word means, according to the same authority, (1) a yoke; (2) a measure of four cubits, etc.; (3) a particular drug.

<sup>79</sup> Sāyana, on iii. 36, 3, explains it by *pratidinam*, "every day;" on vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5, by *kāle kāle*, "at every time."

<sup>80</sup> Sāyana takes the phrase for former "couples of husbands and wives," *mithunāni jāyopatirūpāni*.

<sup>81</sup> In i. 92, 11 and i. 124, 2, Ushas (the Dawn) is spoken of as, *praminatī manushyā yugāni*, "wearing away human terms of existence, or generations." In commenting on the former text Sāyana explains *yugāni* as equivalent to *kṛita-tretādini*, "the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages," whilst in explaining the second, he takes the same word as signifying *yugopalakshitān nimeshādī-kālavayavān*, "the seconds and other component parts of time indicated by the word," or as equivalent to *yugmān*, "the conjunctions of men,"—since the dawn scatters abroad to their several occupations men who had been previously congregated together! In his note on i. 144, 4, he gives an option of two different senses: *manoh sambhandhīni yugāni jāyopati-rupāni hotradhvaryurūpāni vā |* "couples consisting of husband and wife, or of the hotṛi and adhvaryu priests."

<sup>82</sup> This verse, ix. 12, 7, is also found in Sāma V. ii. 552, where, however, *yugā* is substituted for *yugā*.

<sup>83</sup> This verse occurs also in Sāma V. ii. 1171, and Vaj. S. xii. 111.



rather, in some places, "tribes" of men. In v. 73, 3, the phrase *nāhushā yugā* must have a similar meaning. In i. 158, 6, it is said that the rishi Dirghatamas became worn out in the tenth *yuga*; on which Professor Wilson remarks (R. V. vol. ii. 104, note): "The scholiast understands *yuga* in its ordinary interpretation; but the *yuga* of five years is perhaps intended, a lustrum, which would be nothing marvellous." Professor Aufrecht proposes to render, "in the tenth stage of life." The first passage of the Rig-veda, in which there is any indication of a considerable mundane period being denoted, is x. 72, 2f., where "a first," or, "an earlier age (*yuga*) of the gods" is mentioned (*devānām pūrve yuge; devānām prathame yuge*) when "the existent sprang from the non-existent" (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*); but no allusion is made to its length. In the same indefinite way reference is made in x. 97, 1, to certain "plants which were produced before the gods,—three ages (*yugas*) earlier" (*yāḥ oshadhīḥ pūrvāḥ jātāḥ devebhyas tri-yugam purā*). In one verse of the Atharva-veda, however, the word *yuga* is so employed as to lead to the supposition that a period of very long duration is intended. It is there said, viii. 2, 21: *śataim te ayutām hāyanām dve yuge trīni chatvāri krīṇmaḥ* | "we allot to thee a hundred, ten thousand, years, two, three, four ages (*yugas*)."<sup>84</sup> As we may with probability assume that the periods here mentioned proceed in the ascending scale of duration, two *yugas*, and perhaps even one *yuga*, must be supposed to exceed 10,000 years.

The earliest comparison between divine and human periods of duration of which I am aware is found in the text of the Taitt. Br. quoted above in a note to p. 42: "A year is one day of the gods."<sup>85</sup> But so far as that passage itself shows, there is no reason to imagine that the statement it contains was anything more than an isolated idea, or that the conception had, at the time when the Brāhmaṇas were compiled, been developed, and a system of immense mundane periods, whether

<sup>84</sup> For the context of this line see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, page 42.

<sup>85</sup> An analogous idea is found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xiv. 7, 1, 33 ff. (= Brhadāranyaka Upanishad pp. 317 ff. of Cal. ed.) *atha ye śatam manuṣhyānām ānandāḥ sa ekah pitṛīnām jītalokānām ānandāḥ* | "now a hundred pleasures of men are one pleasure of the Pitṛis who have conquered the worlds." And so on in the same way; a hundred pleasures of the Pitṛis equalling one pleasure of the Karmadevas (or gods who have become so by works); a hundred pleasures of the latter equalling one pleasure of the gods who were born such, etc.





human or divine, had been elaborated. That, however, the authors of the Brāhmanas were becoming familiar with the idea of extravagantly large numbers is clear from the passage in the Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, quoted above, p. 41, in the note on Manu xii. 50, where it is said that the creators were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years.

Professor Roth is of opinion (see his remarks under the word *Kṛita* in his *Lexicon*) that according to the earlier conception stated in Manu i. 69, and the Mahābhārata (12,826 ff.), the four Yugas—*Kṛita*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kali*, with their mornings and evenings, consisted respectively of no more than 4,800 ; 3,600 ; 2,400 ; and 1,200 ordinary years of mortals ; and that it was the commentators on Manu, and the compilers of the Purāṇas, who first converted the years of which they were made up into divine years. The verse of Manu to which Professor Roth refers (i. 69), and the one which follows, are certainly quite silent about the years composing the *Kṛita* age being divine years :

*Chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshūnām tu kṛitaṁ yugam | tasya tāvach-  
chhatī sandhyā sandhyāṁśaścha tathāvidhaḥ | 70. Itareshu sasandhyeshu  
sasandhāṁśeshu cha trishu | ekāpāyena varttante sahasrāṇi śatāni cha |*  
“They say that four thousand years compose the *kṛita* yuga, with as many hundred years for its morning and the same for its evening. 70. In the other three yugas, with their mornings and evenings, the thousands and hundreds are diminished successively by one.”

Verse 71 is as follows : *Yad etat parisankhyātam ādāv eva chatur-  
yugam | etad dvādaśa-sahasraṁ devānām yugam uchyate |* which, as explained by Medhātithi, may be thus rendered : “Twelve thousand of these periods of four yugas, as above reckoned, are called a Yuga of the gods.” Medhātithi's words, as quoted by Kullūka, are these : *Chaturyugair eva dvādaśa-sahasra-sankhyair divyam yugam |* “A divine Yuga is formed by four yugas to the number of twelve thousand.” Kullūka, however, says that his predecessor's explanation is mistaken, and must not be adopted (*Medhātithiher bhramo nādarttavyaḥ*). His own opinion is that the system of yugas mentioned in vv. 69 and 71 are identical, both being made up of divine years. According to this view, we must translate v. 71 as follows : “The period of four yugas, consisting of twelve thousand years, which has been reckoned above, is called a Yuga of the gods.” This certainly appears to be the



preferable translation, and it is confirmed by the tenor of verse 79. Verse 71, however, may represent a later stage of opinion, as it is not found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, where the previous verse (69) is repeated, and verse 70 is expanded into three verses, though without any alteration of the sense:

M. Bh. iii. 12826 ff. — *Ādīto manuṣya-vyāghra kṛitsnasya jagataḥ kṣhaye | chātvarī āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshānām tat kṛitām yugam | tasya tāvachchhatī sandhyā sandhyāṁścha tathāvidhaḥ |*

"In the beginning, after the destruction of the entire universe, they say that there are four thousand years: that is the Kṛita Yuga, which has a morning of as many hundred years, and an evening of the same duration." And then, after enumerating in like manner the other three Yugas with their respective thousands and hundreds successively diminished by one, the speaker (the sage Mārkaṇḍeya) proceeds in verse 12831: *Eshā dvādaśahasrī yugākhyā parikīrtitā | etat sahasraparyantam aho brāhman udāhṛitam |* "This period of twelve thousand years is known by the appellation of the Yugas. A period extending to a thousand of these is called a day of Brahmā."

Nowhere, certainly, in this passage is any mention made of the years being divine years.

The earliest known text in which the names of the four Yugas are found is a verse occurring in the story of Sunahśepa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 15: *Kaliḥ śayāno bhavati sanjihānas tu dvāparaḥ | uttiṣṭhaṁś tretā bhavati kṛitām sampadyate charan |* "A man while lying is the Kali; moving himself, he is the Dvāpara; rising, he is the Tretā; walking, he becomes the Kṛita."<sup>86</sup> But this brief allusion leaves us

<sup>86</sup> This verse has been already translated no less than six times; twice into German by Weber and Roth (Ind. Stud. i. 286 and 460), once into Latin by Streiter (see Ind. Stud. ix. 315), and thrice into English, by Wilson (Journ. R. A. S. for 1851, p. 99), Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 412), and Haug (Ait. Br. ii. 464). All these authors, except the last, concur in considering the verse as referring to the four Yugas. Dr. Haug, however, has the following note: "Sāyana does not give any explanation of this important passage, where the names of the Yugas are mentioned for the first time. These four names are, as is well known from other sources, . . . names of dice, used at gambling. The meaning of this Gāthā is, There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kali is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Kṛita, is in full motion. The position of dice here given is indicative of a fair chance of winning the game." Both Dr. Haug's translation and note are criticised by Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 319). Of the following verses, which occur in Manu ix. 301 f., the second is a paraphrase of that in the Aitareya Brāh-





quite in the dark as to the duration which was assigned to these *yugas* in the age when the *Brāhmaṇa* was compiled.

SECT. VII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa.*

I commence with the following general account of the cosmogony of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, extracted from Professor Wilson's Preface to his translation of that work, vol. i. p. xciii. :

"The first book of the six, into which the work is divided, is occupied chiefly with the details of creation, primary (*sarga*), and secondary (*pratisarga*); the first explains how the universe proceeds from Prakṛiti, or eternal crude matter;<sup>87</sup> the second, in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they re-appear after their temporary destruction.<sup>88</sup> Both these creations are periodical; but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only one spiritual being exists. The latter takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures and lower worlds, leaving the substances of the universe entire, and sages and gods unharmed."<sup>89</sup>

mana : *Kṛitam tretā-yugaṁ chaiva dvāparaṁ kalir eva cha | rājno vṛttānti sarvāṇi rājā hi yugam uchyate |* 302. *Kaliḥ prasupto bhavati sa jāgrat dvāparam yugam | karmasv abhyudyatas tretā vicaraṁs tu kṛitaṁ yugam |* "301. The Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali yugas are all modes of a king's action; for a king is called a yuga. 302. While asleep he is the Kali; waking he is the Drāpara age; intent upon action he is the Tretā, moving about he is the Kṛita." The former of these two verses of Manu is reproduced nearly verbatim in the M. Bh. xii. 3408; and the same idea is expanded in the same book of the same poem, vv. 2674 ff., 2682, 2684, 2686, 2693 ff. The words *kṛita*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, and *kali*, are found in the Vāj.-Sañhitā, xxx. 18, and in the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa, iii. 4, 1, 16; but in both places they denote dice, as does also the word *kṛita* in the Chhāndogya Upan. iv. 1, 4 (where see the commentary). On the Yugas the reader of German may also consult Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 39, 87 f., 282 ff.

<sup>87</sup> [See Book i. chapter ii.]

<sup>88</sup> [See the fourth and following chapters of Book i.]

<sup>89</sup> See Book i. at the close of chapter vii. p. 113 of vol. i. of Professor Wilson's translation, 2nd edition, and also p. 621 and 630 of the original 4to. edition. As regards,



I proceed with the details of the creation which took place in the Vārāha Kalpa, as described in book i. chapter 4, vv. 2, ff. :

*Atīta-kalpāvasāne niśā-suptatthitah prabhuh | sattvodrīktas tato  
 Brahmā śūnyam lokam avakshata | 3. Nārāyaṇah paro 'chintyāḥ  
 pareshām api sa prabhuh | Brahma-svarūpi bhavagān anādīḥ sarva-  
 sambhavaḥ | . . . 6. Toyāntah sa mahīm jñātvā jagaty ekārṇave pra-  
 bhuh | anumānād tad-uddhāraṁ karttu-kāmaḥ prajāpatiḥ | 7. Akarot sa  
 tanūm anyām kalpādīshu yathā purā | matsya-karmādikām tadvad  
 vārāhaṁ vapur āsthitāḥ | 8. Veda-yajnamayaṁ rūpam āśeṣa-jagataḥ  
 sthitau | sthitāḥ sthīrātmā sarvātmā paramātmā prajāpatiḥ | 9. Jana-  
 loka-gataiḥ siddhair Sanakādyeir abhishkṛtāḥ | praviveśa tadā toyam  
 ātmādhāro dharā-dharaḥ | . . . 45. Evaṁ śaṁstūyamānastu para-  
 mātmā mahādharah | ūjjāhāra mahīm kshipraṁ nyastavāṁś cha mahīm-  
 bhasi | 46. Tasyopari jalaughasya mahatī naur iva sthitā | vitatatatvāt  
 tu dehasya na mahi yāti samplavam | tataḥ kṣitīm samām kṛtvā prithi-  
 vyām so 'chinod girīm | yathā-vibhāgam bhagavān anādīḥ puruṣottamaḥ  
 | 47. Prāk-sarga-dagdhan akhilān parvatān prithivīte | amoghena  
 prabhāvena sasarjāmogha-vāṁchhilah | 48. Bhūvi bhāgaṁ tataḥ kṛtvā  
 sapta-dvīpān yathātathā | bhūr-ādyāṁś chaturō lokān pūrvaṁ sama-  
 kalpayat | 49. Brahma-rūpadhāro devas tato 'sau rajasā 'vṛtāḥ |  
 chakāra sṛishṭim bhagavāṁś chatur-vaktra-dhāro Hariḥ | 50. nimitta-  
 mātram evāsau sṛijyānām sarga-karmaṇām | pradhāna-kāraṇibhūtā  
 yato vai sṛijya-śaktayaḥ | 51. Nimitta-mātram muktvaikam nūnyat  
 kinchid apekshyate | nīyate tapatām śreṣṭha sa-śaktyā vastu vastutām |*

"2. At the end of the past (or Pādma) Kalpa, arising from his night slumber, Brahmā, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, beheld the universe void. 3. He (was) the supreme lord Nārāyaṇa, who cannot even be conceived by other beings, the deity without beginning, the source of all things, existing in the form of Brahmā." [The verse given in Manu i. 10, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyaṇa (see above p. 35) is here quoted]. "6. This lord of creatures, discovering by inference,—when the world had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, (7) assumed another body. As formerly, at the beginnings of the Kalpas, he had taken the form of a fish,

however, the statement with which the paragraph concludes, compare vol. i. p. 50, as well as vol. ii. p. 269, of the same work.





a tortoise, and so forth,<sup>90</sup> (so now) entering the body of a boar (8),—a form composed of the vedas and of sacrifices,—the lord of creatures, who, throughout the entire continuance of the world, remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, self-sustained, the supporter of the earth (9),—being hymned by Sanaka and the other saints, who had (at the dissolution of the lower worlds) proceeded to Janaloka,—entered the water.” [He is then addressed by the goddess Earth in a hymn of praise, as Vishnu, and as the supreme Brahmā, vv. 10-24. The boar then rises from the lower regions, tossing up the earth with his tusk, and is again lauded by Sanandana and other saints in a second hymn, in the course of which he himself is identified with sacrifice, and his various members with its different instruments and accompaniments, vv. 25-44]. “45. Being thus lauded, the supreme soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted her up quickly and placed her upon the great waters. 46. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink, owing to her expansion. Then, having levelled the earth, the divine eternal Purushottasna heaped together mountains according to their divisions. 47. He whose will cannot be frustrated, by his unfailing power, created on the surface of the earth all those mountains which had been burnt up in the former creation. 48. Having then divided the earth, just as it had been, into seven dvīpas, he formed the four worlds Bhūloka and others as before. 49. Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being Hari, assuming the form of Brahmā, with four faces, effected the creation. 50. But he is merely the instrumental cause of the things to be created and of the creative operations, since the properties of the things to be created arise from Pradhāna as their (material) cause. 51. Excepting an instrumental cause alone, nothing else is required. Every substance (*vastu*) is brought into the state of substance (*vastutā*) by its own inherent power.”<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> No mention is made in the Brāhmaṇas (as I have already observed) of any such periods as the Kalpas. But here an attempt is made to systematize the different stories scattered through those older works which variously describe the manner in which the creation was effected—with the view, perhaps, of reconciling the discrepancies in those free and artless speculations which offended the critical sense of a later age.

<sup>91</sup> See Professor Wilson's translation of these verses, and the new version proposed by the editor of the second edition, Dr. Hall, p. 66, note. I do not think the phrase





[Before proceeding further with the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I wish to quote or refer to some passages from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa and from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, which appear to furnish the original germs of the legends of the boar, fish, tortoise, and dwarf incarnations.

The first of these texts is from the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1 ff:  
*Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā aharat | sa imām apaśyat | taṁ varāho bhūtvā āharat | tām Viśvakarmā bhūtvā vyamārt | sā aprathata | sā prithivī abhavat | tat prithivīyai prithivītvam | tasyām āsrāmyat Prajāpatiḥ | sa devān asṛjata Vasūn Rudrān Ādityān | te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan "prajāyāmahai" iti | so 'bravīd "yathā aham yushmāms tapasā asṛikṣhi evaṁ tapasi prajānanam iṣekḥhadhvam" iti | tebhyo 'gnim āyatanam prāyachhad "etena āyatanena śrāmyata" iti | te 'gninā āyatanena āsrāmyan | te saṁvatsare ekām gām asṛjanta |*

"This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved.<sup>92</sup> He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (*prithivī*). From this the earth derives her designation as the extended one. In her Prajāpati performed arduous devotion. He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'let us be propagated.' He answered, 'As I have created you through austere fervour, so do ye seek after propagation in austere fervour.' He gave them Agni as a resting-place (saying), 'With this as a resting-place perform your devotion.' They (accordingly) performed devotion with Agni as a resting-place. In a year they created one cow, etc.'<sup>93</sup>

*sva-saktyā* can be properly rendered, as Dr. Hall does, "by its potency." The reading of the MSS. in v. 50, *pradhāna-kāraṇībhūtāḥ* seems to me doubtful, as it would most naturally mean "have become the Pradhāna-cause." I conjecture *pradhāna-kāraṇādībhūtāḥ*, which gives the sense which seems to be required.

<sup>92</sup> It is possible that the idea assigned to the word *Nārāyaṇa* (see Manu i. 10, above), "he whose place of movement is the waters," may be connected with this passage. See also Genesis i. 2, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters."

<sup>93</sup> After having noticed this passage in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, I became aware that it had been previously translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays i. 75, or p. 44 of Williams & Norgate's edition). Mr. Colebrooke prefaces his version by remarking, "The pre-





The second passage is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 3, 5 ff. *Āpo vai idam agre salīlam āsit | tena Prajāpatir āsrāmyat* "katham idaṁ syād" iti | so 'paśyat pushkara-parṇaṁ tiṣṭhat | so 'manyata "asti vai tad yasminn idam adhitishṭhati" iti | sa varāho rūpaṁ kṛtvā upa-nyamajjat | sa prithivīm adhaḥ ārechhat | tasyā upahatya udamajjat | tat pushkara-parṇe 'prathayat | yad "aprathata" tat prithivyai prithivit-vam | "abhūd vai idam" iti tad bhūmyai bhūmitvam | tāṁ diśo 'nu vātaḥ samavahat | tāṁ śarkarābhīr adṛīmhat |

"This (universe) was formerly water, fluid."<sup>94</sup> With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (saying), 'how shall this (universe be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing.<sup>95</sup> He thought, 'there is somewhat on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar—having assumed that form—plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of) her, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one (the earth). This became (*abhūt*). From this the earth derives its name of *bhūmī*. The wind carried her, to the four quarters. He strengthened her with gravel, etc., etc.

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 2, 11, has the following reference to the same idea, although here Prajāpati himself is not the boar:

*Iyatī ha vai iyaṁ agre prithivy āsa prādeśa-mātrī | tāṁ Emūśhaḥ iti varāhaḥ ujjaghāna | so 'syāḥ patiḥ Prajāpatir tena eva enam etan-mithu-nena priyeṇa dhāmnā samardhayati kṛtsnaṁ karoti |*

"Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emūśha raised her up. Her lord Prajāpati, therefore, prospers him with (the gift of) this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete."

Another of the incarnations referred to in the preceding passage of

sent extract was recommended for selection by its allusion to a mythological notion, which apparently gave origin to the story of the *Varāha-avatāra*, and from which an astronomical period, entitled *Calpa*, has perhaps been taken."

<sup>94</sup> The Commentator gives an alternative explanation, viz., that the word *salīla* is the same as *sarīra*, according to the text of the Veda, "these worlds are *sarīra*" ("ime vai lokāḥ sarīraṁ" iti śruteḥ).

<sup>95</sup> "Supported upon the end of a long stalk" (*āṛghanāṭagre 'vasthitam*), according to the Commentator. In a passage from the Taitt. Āranyaka, already quoted (p. 32, above), it is said that Prajāpati himself was born on a lotus-leaf.



the Vishnu Purāṇa is foreshadowed in the following text from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 5, 1, 5 :

*Sa yat kūrmo nāma | etad vai rūpaṁ kṛtvā Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛj-  
 jata | yad asṛijata akarot tat | yad akarot tasmāt kūrmaḥ | kāśyapo vai  
 kūrmaḥ | tasmād āhuḥ "sarvāḥ prajāḥ kāśyapyah" iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo  
 sau sa Ādityaḥ |*

"As to its being called *kūrma* (a tortoise); Prajāpati having taken this form, created offspring. That which he created, he made (*akarot*); since he made, he is (called) *kūrmaḥ*. The word *kāśyapa* means tortoise; hence men say all creatures are descendants of Kāśyapa. This tortoise is the same as Āditya."<sup>96</sup>

The oldest version of the story of the fish incarnation, which is to be found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1 ff., will be quoted in the next chapter.

For the passages which appear to supply the germ of the dwarf incarnation, the reader may consult the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54-58 and 107 f.

It will have been noticed that in the passage above adduced from the Vishnu Purāṇa, the word Nārāyaṇa is applied to Vishnu, and that it is the last named deity who (though in the form of Brahmā) is said to have taken the form of a boar. In the verses formerly cited from Manu (i. 9, 10), however, Nārāyaṇa is an epithet, not of Vishnu, but of Brahmā; and in the following text, from the Rāmāyaṇa, xi. 110, 3, it is Brahmā who is said to have become a boar :

*Sarvaṁ salīlam evāsīt prithivī tatra nirmītā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā  
 svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha<sup>97</sup> | sa varāhas tato bhūtvā prajāhāra va-  
 sundharām ityādi |*

"All was water only, and in it the earth was fashioned. Then arose

<sup>96</sup> With this compare the mention made of a tortoise in the passage cited above, p. 32, from the Taitt. Āranyaka.

<sup>97</sup> Such is the reading of Schlegel's edition, and of that which was recently printed at Bombay, both of which, no doubt, present the most ancient text of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Gauda recension, however, which deviates widely from the other, and appears to have modified it in conformity with more modern taste and ideas, has here also introduced a various reading in the second of the lines quoted in the text, and identifies Brahmā with Vishnu in the following manner: *tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr Vishnur avyayaḥ* | "Then arose Brahmā the self-existent and imperishable Vishnu."



Brahmā, the self-existent, with the deities. He then, becoming a boar, raised up the earth," etc.

I now return to the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.]

The further process of cosmogony is thus described in chapter v. :

*Maitreya uvācha* | 1. *Yathā sasarjja devo'sau devarshi-pitri-dānavān* | *manushya-tiryag-vṛikshādīn bhā-vyoma-salilaukasaḥ* | 2. *Yad-guṇaṁ yat-svabhāvaṁ cha yad-rūpaṁ cha jagad deija* | *sargādau śrīṣṭavān Brahmā tad mamāchakṣheva vistarāt* | *Parāśara uvācha* | 3. *Maitreya kathayāmy eṣha śṛiṇuṣhva susamāhitaḥ* | *yathā sasarjja devo'sau devādīn akhīlān vibhūḥ* | *śrīṣṭīm chintayatas tasya kalpādīṣu yathā purā* | *abuddhi-pūrvakaḥ sargaḥ prādurbhūtas tamomayaḥ* | 4. *Tamo moho mahānāmas tāmisro hy andha-saṁjñitaḥ* | *avidyā pancha-parvaishū prādurbhūta mahātmanah* | 5. *Panchadhā 'vasthitaḥ sargo dhyāyato 'prati-bodhavān* | *vahir-anto-'prakāśaḥ cha saṁvṛittātmā nagātmakeḥ* | 6. *Mukhyā nagā yataḥ choktā mukhya-sargas tatas tv ayam* | 7. *Taṁ dṛishṭvā 'sādhakaṁ sargam amanyad aparam punaḥ* | *tasyābhidyāyataḥ sargas tiryak-srotā*<sup>99</sup> | 8. *Yasmāt tiryak pravṛittāḥ sa tiryak-srotas tataḥ smṛitāḥ* | 9. *Pāśvādāyas te vikhyātās tamaḥ-prayāḥ hy ave-dīnāḥ* | *utpatha-grāhīnās chaiva te 'jñāne jñāna-māninaḥ* | 10. *Ahamkrītā ahamnānā ashtāvīṁśad-vadhānvitāḥ* | *antaḥ-prakāśās te sarve 'vṛittās cha parasparam* | 11. *Tam apy asādhakam matvā dhyāyato 'nyas tato 'bhavat* | *ūrdhvasrotas trītiyas tu sāttvikorddhvam avarttata*<sup>100</sup> | 12. *Te sukha-prīti-bahulā bahir antas cha nāvṛitāḥ*<sup>100</sup> | *prakāśā bahir antas cha ūrdhva-sroto-bhavāḥ smṛitāḥ* | 13. *Tushty-ātmakas trītiyas tu deva-sargas tu yaḥ smṛitāḥ* | *tasmin sarge 'bhavat prītir nishpanno Brahmanas tadā* | 14. *Tato 'nyam sa tadā dadhyau sādhaḥ sargam uttamam* | *asādhakāns tu tān jñātvā mukhya-sargādi-sambhavān* | 15. *Tathā 'bhidyāyatas tasya satyābhidyāyinas tataḥ* | *prādurbhūtas tadā 'vyaktāḥ arvāk-srotas tu sādhaḥ* | 16. *Yasmād arvāg vyavarttanta tato 'rvāk-srotasas tu te* | *te cha prakāśa-bahulā tamodriktā*<sup>101</sup> | *rejo 'dhikāḥ* | *tasmāt te duḥkha-bahulā bhūyo bhūyaś cha kūṛiṇaḥ* | *prakāśā bahir antas cha manushyā sādhaḥ tu te* | . . . . 23. *Ity ete tu samākhyātā nava sargāḥ Prajā-*

<sup>99</sup> *iti sandhīr ārshaḥ*.—Comm.

<sup>99</sup> The reading of the Vāyu P., in the parallel passage, is *tasyābhidyāyato nityam sāttvikāḥ saṁvarttanta* | *ūrdhvasrotas trītiyas tu sa chaivordhvaṁ vyavasthitaḥ* | The combination *sāttvikorddhvam* in the text of the Vishṇu P. must be *ārsha*.

<sup>100</sup> For *nāvṛitāḥ* the Vāyu P. reads *saṁvṛitāḥ*.

<sup>101</sup> *Iti sandhīrārshaḥ* | Comm. But there is a form *tama*. The Vāyu P. has *tamaḥ-saktāḥ*.



pateh | *prākṛitā vaikṛitās chaiva jagato mūla-hetavaḥ* | *sṛijato jagadīśa-  
sya kim anyach chhrotum icchasi* | *Maitreya uvācha* | 24. *Saṁkshepāt  
kathitaḥ sargo devādīnāṁ trayā mune* | *vistarāch chhrotum icchāmi  
tvatto munivarottama* | *Parāsara uvācha* | *karmabhir bhāvitāḥ pūrvaiḥ  
kuśalākuśalais tu tāḥ* | *khyātyā tayā hy anirmuktāḥ saṁhāre hy upa-  
saṁhritāḥ* | 25. *Sthāvarāntāḥ surādyaścha prajā brahmaṁś chaturvi-  
dhāḥ* | *Brahmanaḥ kurvataḥ sṛiṣṭiṁ jajñire mānasīs tu tūḥ* | 26. *Tato  
devāsurapitṛiṇ mānushāṁś cha chatusṭayam* | *sisṛikshur ambhāṁsy  
etāni svam ātmānam ayūyujat* | 27. *Yuktātmanas tamomātrā udriktā  
'bhūt Prajāpateḥ* | *sisṛikshor jaghanāt pūrvam asurāḥ jajñire tataḥ* |  
28. *Utsasarja tatas tām tu tamo-mātrātmikāṁ tanum* | *sā tu tyaktā  
tanus tena Maitreyābhūḍ vibhāvarī* | 29. *Sisṛikshur anya-deha-sthāḥ  
pṛitīm āpa tataḥ surāḥ* | *sattvodriktāḥ samudbhūtāḥ mukhato Brah-  
maṇo dvija* | 30. *Tyaktā sā 'pi tanus tena sattva-prāyam abhūḍ dinam* |  
*tato hi balino rātrāv asurā devatā divā* | 31. *Sattvamātrātmikāṁ eva  
tato 'nyāṁ jagrihe tanum* | *pitṛivad manyamānasya pitaras tasya  
jajñire* | 32. *Utsasarja pitṛiṇ sṛiṣṭvā tatas tām api sa prabhuḥ* | *sā  
chotsṛiṣṭā 'bhavat sandhyā dina-naktāntara-sthitiḥ* | 33. *Rajo-mātrā-  
mikāṁ anyāṁ jagrihe sa tanuṁ tataḥ* | *rajo-mātrokṣatā jātā manushyā  
dvija-sattama* | *tām apy āśu sa tatyāja tanum ādyaḥ Prajāpatiḥ* |  
*vyotsnā samabhavat sā 'pi prāk-sandhyā yā 'bhidhiyate* | 34. *Jyotsno-  
dgame tu balino manushyāḥ pitaras tathā* | *Maitreya sandhyā-samaye  
tasmād ete bhavanti vai* | 35. *Jyotsnā-rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry  
etāni vai vibhoḥ* | *Brahmanas tu śarīrāṇi triguṇāpāśrayāṇi cha* |  
36. *Rajo-mātrātmikāṁ eva tato 'nyāṁ jagrihe tanum* | *tataḥ kshud  
Brahmaṇo jātā jajñe kopas tayā tataḥ* | 37. *Kshut-khāmān andhakāre  
'tha so 'sṛijad bhaguvāṁś tataḥ* | *Virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās te 'bhyadhā-  
vaṁś tataḥ prabhum* | 38. "Mairam bho rakshyatām esha" yair uktaṁ  
rākshasās tu te | *ūchuḥ "khādāma" ity anye ye te yakshās tu yakshaṇāt* |

"Maitreya said: 1. Tell me in detail how at the beginning of the creation that deity Brahmā formed the gods, rishis, fathers, dānavas, men, beasts, trees, etc., dwelling respectively on the earth, in the sky, and in the water; 2. and with what qualities, with what nature, and of what form he made the world. Parāsara replied: 3. I declare to thee, Maitreya, how that deity created the gods and all other beings; listen with attention. While he was meditating on creation, as at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas, there appeared an insentient crea-





tion, composed of gloom (*tamas*). 4. Gloom, illusion, great illusion, darkness, and what is called utter darkness—such was the five-fold ignorance, which was manifested from that great Being, 5. as he was meditating—an insensible creation,<sup>102</sup> under five conditions, devoid of feeling either without or within,<sup>103</sup> closed up, motionless. 6. And since motionless objects are called the primary objects, this is called the primary (*mukhya*) creation.<sup>104</sup> 7. Beholding this creation to be ineffective, he again contemplated another. As he was desiring it the brute (*tiryaksrotas*) creation came forth. 8. Since (in its natural functions) it acts horizontally it is called Tiryaksrotas. 9. The (creatures composing it) are known as cattle, etc., distinguished mainly by darkness (*tamas*) ignorant, following irregular courses,<sup>105</sup> while in a state of ignorance having a conceit of knowledge, (10) self-regarding, self-esteeming, affected by the twenty-eight kinds of defects, endowed with inward feeling, and mutually closed. 11. As Brahmā, regarding this creation also as ineffective, was again meditating, another creation, the third, or *ūrdhvasrotas*, which was good, rose upward. 12. They (the creatures belonging to this creation) abounding in happiness and satisfaction, being unclosed both without and within, and possessed both of external and internal feeling, are called the offspring of the *ūrdhvasrotas* creation. 13. This third creation, known as that of the gods, was one full of enjoyment. When it was completed, Brahmā was pleased. 14. He then contemplated another creation, effective and most excellent, since he regarded as ineffective the beings sprung from the primary and other creations. 15. While he, whose will is efficacious, was so desiring, the *Arvāksrotas*, an effective creation, was manifested.<sup>106</sup> 16. They

<sup>102</sup> The Vāyu P. here inserts an additional line, *sarvatas tāmāsā chaiva dīpaḥ kumbha-vad āvṛitaḥ* | “and covered on all sides with darkness, as a lamp by a jar.”

<sup>103</sup> *Vahir-anto'prakāśascha* appears to be the true reading, as the Commentator renders the last word by *prakṛiṣṭa-jñāna-śūnyaḥ*, “devoid of knowledge.” But if this be the correct reading, it is ungrammatical, as *antaḥ* and *aprakāśa* would properly make *antar-aprakāśa*, not *anto'prakāśa*. But the Purāṇas have many forms which are irregular (*ārsha*, “peculiar to the rishis,” “vedic,” or “antiquated” as the Commentators style them). The Taylor MS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa reads in the parallel passage *bahir-antaḥ-prakāśascha*.

<sup>104</sup> See Dr. Hall's note p. 70 on Professor Wilson's translation; and also the passage quoted above p. 16 from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4, where the word *mukhya* is otherwise applied and explained.

<sup>105</sup> *Bhākshyādi-vivekak-hīnāḥ* | “Making no distinction in food, etc., etc.” Comm.

<sup>106</sup> Compare M. Bh. xiv. 1038.



(the creatures belonging to it) are called Arvāksrotas, because (in their natural functions) they acted downwardly. And they abound in sensation (*prakāśa*) and are full of darkness (*tamas*) with a preponderance of passion (*rajas*). Hence they endure much suffering, and are constantly active, with both outward and inward feeling. These beings were men, and effective.<sup>107</sup>

In the next following verses, 17-22, the names of the different creations, described in the first part of this section, and in the second chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, are recapitulated, and two others, the Anugraha and the Kaumāra, are noticed, but not explained.<sup>108</sup>

The speaker Parāśara then adds: "23. Thus have the nine creations of Prajāpati, both Prākṛita and Vaikṛita, the radical causes of the world, been recounted. What else dost thou desire to hear regarding the creative lord of the world? Maitreya replies: 24. By thee, most excellent Muni, the creation of the gods and other beings has been summarily narrated: I desire to hear it from thee in detail. Parāśara rejoins: Called into (renewed) existence in consequence of former actions, good or bad, and unliberated from that destination when they were absorbed at the (former) dissolution of the world, (25) the four descriptions of creatures, beginning with things immovable and ending with gods, were produced, o Brāhman, from Brahmā when he was creating, and they sprang from his mind. 26. Being then desirous to create these streams (*ambhāmśi*)<sup>109</sup>—the four classes of Gods, Asuras, Fathers, and Men, he concentrated himself. 27. Prajāpati, thus concentrated, received a body, which was formed of the quality of gloom (*tamas*); and as he desired to create, Asuras were first produced from his groin. 28. He then abandoned that body formed entirely of gloom; which when abandoned by him became night. 29. Desiring to create, when he had occupied another body, Brahmā experienced pleasure; and then gods, full of the quality of goodness, sprang from his mouth. 30. That body

<sup>107</sup> The Vāyu P. adds here: *Lakṣaṇais tūrakadyaiścha aṣṭādhā cha vyavasthitaḥ | siddhātmanā manushyās to gandharva-saha-dharmīnāḥ | ity eṣa taijasaḥ sargo hy arvāksrotāḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | "Constituted with preservative(?) characteristics, and in an eightfold manner. These were men perfect in their essence, and in nature equal to Gandharvas. This was the lustrous creation known as Arvāksrotas."

<sup>108</sup> See Dr. Hall's edition of Wilson's V. P. pp. 32 ff.; and pp. 74 ff.

<sup>109</sup> This word is borrowed from the passage of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3, 8, 3, quoted above, p. 23. Most of the particulars in the rest of the narrative are imitated from another passage of the same Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 9, 5 ff., also quoted above, p. 28.





also, being abandoned by him, became day, which is almost entirely good. Hence the Asuras are powerful by night<sup>110</sup> and the gods by day. 31. He then assumed another body formed of pure goodness; and the Fathers were born from him, when he was regarding himself as a father.<sup>111</sup> 32. The Lord, after creating the Fathers, abandoned that body also; which, when so abandoned, became twilight, existing between day and night. 33. He next took another body entirely formed of passion; and men, in whom passion is violent, were produced. The primeval Prajapati speedily discarded this body also, which became faint light (*vyotsnā*), which is called early twilight. 34. Hence, at the appearance of this faint light, men are strong, while the fathers are strong at evening-twilight. 35. Morning-twilight, night, day, and evening-twilight, these are the four bodies of Brahmā, and the receptacles of the three qualities. 36. Brahmā next took another body entirely formed of passion, from which sprang hunger, and through it anger was produced. 37. The Divine Being then in darkness created beings emaciated with hunger, which, hideous of aspect, and with long beards, rushed against the lord. 38. Those who said, 'Let him not be preserved' (*rakshyatām*) were called Rākshasas, whilst those others who cried, 'Let us eat (him)' were called Yakshas from 'eating' (*yakshanāt*).<sup>112</sup>

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should quote at length the conclusion of the section. It may suffice to say that verses 39 to 51 describe the creation of serpents from Brahmā's hair; of Bhūtas; of Gandharvas; of birds (*vayāmsi*) from the creator's life (*vayas*), of sheep from his breast, of goats from his mouth, of kine from his belly and sides, and of horses,<sup>113</sup> elephants, and other animals from his feet; of plants from his hairs; of the different metres and vedas from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. Verses 52 ff. contain a recapitulation of the creative operations, with some statement of the

<sup>110</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kāṇḍa 82, 13 f. (Gorresio's edit.) we read: *Rakshasāṃ rajanī-kālah saṁyugeshe praśasyate* | 14. *Tasmād rājan nīṣā-yuddhe jayo smākaṁ na saṁśayah* | "Night is the approved time for the Rakshases to fight. We should therefore undoubtedly conquer in a nocturnal conflict."

<sup>111</sup> This idea also is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2.

<sup>112</sup> See Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 83, and Dr. Hall's note.

<sup>113</sup> See the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 1, 1, 4 ff. quoted above, p. 16, where the same origin is ascribed to horses.



principles according to which they were conducted. Of these verses I quote only the following: 55. *Teshām ye yāni karmāni prāk-srīṣṭhyām pratipedire | tāny eva pratipadyante sriyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ | . . .* 60. *Yathārtāv ritu-lingāni nānārūpāni paryaye | drīṣyante tāni tānyeva tathā bhāvā yugādishu |* 61. *Karoty evamvidhām srisṭim kalpādan sa punaḥ punaḥ | sisṛikshāsakti-yukto 'sau sriya-śakti-prachoditaḥ |* "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in the previous creation . . . 60. Just as, in each season of the year, all the various characteristics of that season are perceived, on its recurrence, to be the very same as they had been before; so too are the beings produced at the beginnings of the ages."<sup>114</sup> 61. Possessing both the will and the ability to create, and impelled by the powers inherent in the things to be created, the deity produces again and again a creation of the very same description at the beginning of every Kalpa."

The sixth section of the same book of the V. P., of which I shall cite the larger portion, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind.

V. P. i. 6, 1. *Maitreya uvācha | Arvāksrotas tu kathito bhavatā yas tu mānushaḥ | brahman vistarato brāhi Brahmā tam asrijad yathā |* 2. *Yathā cha varṇān asrijad yad-guṇānś cha mahāmune | yachcha teshām smṛitaḥ karma viprādīnaḥ tad uchyatām | Parāśara uvācha |* 3. *Sat-yābhidhyāyinas tasya sisṛikshor Brahmano jagat | ajāyanta devjāsreshṭha sattvodriktā mukhāt prajāḥ |* 4. *Vakshaso rajasodriktās tathā 'nyā Brahmano 'bhavan | rajasā tamasā chaiva samudriktās tathorutah |* 5. *Pad-bhyām anyāḥ prajā Brahmā sasarija devja-sattama | tamaḥ-pradhānās tāḥ sarvās chāturvarṇyam idaḥ tataḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrāścha devja-sattama | pādurū-vakshaḥ-sthalato mukhataś cha samud-gatāḥ |* 6. *Yajna-nishpattaye sarvam etad Brahmā chakāra vai | chāturvarṇyam mahābhāga yajna-sādhanam uttamam |* 7. *Yajnair āpyā-yitā devā vṛṣṭi-utsargena vai prajāḥ | āpyāyayante dharma-jna yājnāḥ kalyāṇa-hetavaḥ |* 8. *Nishpadyante naraiś tais tu svu-karmā-bhirataiḥ sadā | viruddhācharaṇāpetaiḥ sādhiḥ sanmārga-gāmibhiḥ |* 9. *Scargāpavargau mānushyāt prāpnuvanti narā muno | yach chābhiru-chitaḥ sthānaḥ tad yānti manujā devja |* 10. *Prajās tāḥ Brahmaṇā srisṭhās chāturvarṇya-vyavasthitqu | samyak śraddhā-samāchāra-pra-*

<sup>114</sup> Verses similar to this occur in Manu i. 30; and in the Mahābhārata xii. 8550 f.



vanā muni-sattama | 11. Yathechhā-vāsa-niratāḥ sarvābādha-vivarjitāḥ |  
 śuddhāntāḥ-karaṇāḥ śuddhāḥ sarvānushīḥāna-nirmalāḥ | 14.<sup>115</sup> Sud-  
 dhe cha tāsām manasi 'śuddhe 'ntaḥ-saṁsthithe Harau | śuddha-jñānam  
 prapaśyanti Viśhv-ākhyam yena tatpadam | 15. Tataḥ kālātmake yo  
 'sau sa chāṁsaḥ kathito Hareḥ | sa pātayaty agho ghoram alpam alpālpa-  
 sāravat | 16. Adharma-vija-bhūtaṁ tu tamo-lobha-samudbhavam | pra-  
 jāsu tāsu Maitreya rāgādikam asādhakam | 17. Tataḥ sā saḥajā siddhis  
 tāsām nātva jāyate | rasollāsādayaś chānyāḥ siddhayaḥ 'shtau bhavanti  
 yāḥ | 18. Tāsu kṣhīṇāsu aśeṣāsu varddhamāne cha pātaka | dvandvādi-  
 bhava-dukṣhārttās tā bhavanti tataḥ prajāḥ | 19. Tato durgāṇi tāś cha-  
 krur cārksyam pārvatam audakam | kṛitimaṁ cha tathā durgam pura-  
 karvaṭakādi yat | 20. Gṛihāṇi cha yathānyāyāṁ teshu chakruḥ purā-  
 dishu | śītātapaḍi-bādhanām praśamāya mahāmato | 21. Pratikāram  
 imaṁ kṛitvā śītādes tāḥ prajāḥ punaḥ | vārttopāyāṁ tataś chakrur  
 hasta-siddhaṁ cha karma-jam | . . . 26. Grāmyāranyāḥ smṛitā hy etā  
 ośadhyaś cha chaturdaśa | yajna-niśhpattayo yajnas tathā "sām hetur  
 uttamaḥ | 27. Etās cha saha yajnena prajānāṁ karānam param |  
 parāpara-vidāḥ prājñās tato yajnān vilanvate | 28. Ahany ahany  
 anushīḥānam yajnānām munisattama | upakāra-karam puṁsām kriya-  
 mānāḥ cha śānti-dam | 29. Teshāṁ tu kāla-sṛishto 'sau pāpa-vindur  
 mahāmato | chetassu varṣidhe chakrus te na yajneshu mānasam | 30.  
 Veda-vādāṁs tathā devān yajnakarmādikaṁ cha yat | tat sarvaṁ nin-  
 damānās te yajna-vyāsedha-kāriṇāḥ | 31. Pravṛitti-mārga-vyuchchitti-  
 kāriṇo veda-nindakāḥ | durātmāno durāchārā babhūvuh kuṭilāsāyāḥ |  
 32. Saṁsiddhāyāṁ tu vārttāyāṁ prajāḥ sṛishtvā Prajāpatih | maryā-  
 dām sthāpayāmāsa yathā-sthānam yathā-guṇam | 34. Varnānām ūsra-  
 mānāṁ cha dharmān dharmā-bhṛitāṁ vara | lokāṁs sarva-varṇānām  
 samyag dharmānupālīnām | 35. Prājāpatyam brāhmaṇānām smṛitāṁ  
 sthānaṁ kriyavātām | sthānam aindram kṣhatṛiyanām sangrāmesko  
 anivarttīnām | 36. Vaiśyānām mārutam sthānaṁ sva-dharmam anu-  
 varttīnām | gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām paricharyāsu varttīnām |

"Maitreya says: 1. You have described to me the Arvāksrotas, or human, creation: declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahmā formed it. 2. Tell me how, and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the

<sup>115</sup> There are no verses numbered 12 and 13, the MSS. passing from the 11th to the 14th.