

functions of the Brāhmans and others. Parāśara replies : 3. When, true to his design, Brahmā became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth ; (4) others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast ; others in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) were strong, proceeded from his thighs ; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahmā formed this¹¹⁶ entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent instrument. 7. Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation ; and they proceed to the world which they desire. 10. These creatures formed by Brahmā in the condition of the four castes, (were) perfectly inclined to conduct springing from religious faith, (11) loving to dwell wherever they pleased, free from all sufferings, pure in heart, pure, spotless in all observances. 14. And in their pure minds,—the pure Hari dwelling within them,—(there existed) pure knowledge whereby they beheld his highest station, called (that of) Viṣṇu.¹¹⁷ 15. Afterwards that which is described as the portion of Hari consisting of Time¹¹⁸ infused into those beings direful sin, in the form of desire and the like, ineffective (of man's end), small in amount, but gradually increasing in force, (16) the seed of unrighteousness, and sprung from darkness and cupidity. 17. Thenceforward their innate perfectness was but slightly evolved : and as all the other eight perfections called *rasollāsa* and the rest (18) declined, and sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising

X } ¹¹⁶ How does this agree with the statements made in the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. as quoted above, p. 16, and in the Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 3, 9, p. 21, that the Sūdra is incapacitated for sacrifice, and that anything he milks out is no oblation?

¹¹⁷ This alludes to an expression in the Rig-veda, i. 22, 20. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 54.

¹¹⁸ In regard to *Kāla*, "Time," see Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 18 f., and the passages from the Atharva-veda, extracted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 380 ff.



out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, etc., etc.) 19. They then constructed fastnesses among trees, on hills, or amid waters, as well as artificial fortresses, towns, villages, etc. 20. And in these towns, etc., they built houses on the proper plan, in order to counteract cold, heat, and other discomforts. 21. Having thus provided against cold, etc., they devised methods of livelihood depending upon labour, and executed by their hands." The kinds of grain which they cultivated are next described in the following verses, 22 to 25. The text then proceeds, verse 26: "These are declared to be the fourteen kinds of grain, cultivated and wild, fitted for sacrifice; and sacrifice is an eminent cause of their existence. 27. These, too, along with sacrifice, are the most efficacious sources of progeny. Hence those who understand cause and effect celebrate sacrifices. 28. Their daily performance is beneficial to men, and delivers from sins committed. 29. But that drop of sin which had been created by time increased in men's hearts, and they disregarded sacrifice. 30. Reviling the Vedas, and the prescriptions of the Vedas, the gods, and all sacrificial rites, etc., obstructing oblations, (31) and cutting off the path of activity,¹¹⁹ they became malignant, vicious, and perverse in their designs. 32. The means of subsistence being provided, Prajāpati, having created living beings, established a distinction according to their position and qualities (see verses 3 to 5 above), (and fixed) the duties of the castes and orders, and the worlds (to be attained after death) by all the castes which perfectly fulfilled their duties. 33. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (future) abode of those Brāhmanas who are assiduous in religious rites; the realm of Indra the abode of those Kshatriyas who turn not back in battle; (34) that of the Maruts the abode of those Vaiśyas who fulfil their duties; and that of the Gandharvas the abode of the men of Sudra race who abide in their vocation of service." In the remaining verses of the chapter (35 to 39) the realms of blessedness destined for the reception of more eminent saints are briefly noticed, as well as the infernal regions, to which the wicked are doomed.

¹¹⁹ *Pravṛtti-mārga-vyuechchitti-kāriṇaḥ*. The Commentator ascribes this to the human race being no longer sufficiently propagated, for he adds the explanation: *yajñānamuṣṭhāne devair avarṣanād annābhāvena prajā-eriddher asiddheḥ* | "because population did not increase from the want of food caused by the gods ceasing to send rain in consequence of the non-celebration of sacrifice."

At the beginning of the seventh section, without any further enquiry on the part of Maitreya, Parāśara proceeds as follows :

V. P. i. 7, 1. *Tato 'bhidyāyatas tasya jānīre mānasīḥ prajāḥ | tach-
chharīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāranaiḥ saha | 2. Kshettrajñāḥ
samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhimataḥ | te sarve samavarttanta ye
mayā prāg udāhṛitāḥ | 3. Devādyāḥ sthāvarāntās cha traiguṇya-
viśhaye sthitāḥ | evam bhūtāni śṛiṣṭāni charāṇi sthāvarāṇi cha | 4.
Yadā 'sya tāḥ prajāḥ sarvā va vyavaraddhanta dhimataḥ | athānyān
mānasān putrān sadṛiṣān ātmano 'srījat | 5. Bhrīgum Pulastyam Pu-
lahaṁ Kratum Angīrasaṁ tathā | Marīchiṁ Dakṣhaṁ Atriṁ cha Vasish-
ṭhaṁ chaiva mānasān | nava brahmāṇa ity ete purāṇe niśchayaṁ gataḥ |
6. Sanandanādayo ye cha purvāṁ śṛiṣṭiās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv
asajjanta nirapekshāḥ prajāsu te | sarve te chāgata-jñānā vīta-rāgā
vimatsarāḥ | 7. Teshv evaṁ nirapeksheshu loka-śṛiṣṭau mahātmanah |
Brahmaṇo 'bhūd mahākrodhas trilokyā-dahana-kshamaḥ | 8. Tasya
krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vīdipitam | Brahmaṇo 'bhūt tadā sarvaṁ
trilokyam akhilam mune | 9. Bhrūkuṭi-kuṭilāt tasya lalāṭāt krodha-
dīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhmnārka-sama-prabhaḥ | ardha-
nārī-nara-vapuḥ prachando 'tīsarīravān | vibhājtmānam ity uktvā tam
Brahmā 'ntardadhe punaḥ | 10. Tathokto 'sau dvīdhā strītvam puruṣat-
vaṁ tathā 'karot | bibheda puruṣtvaṁ cha daśadhā chaikadhā cha saḥ |
11. Saumyāsaumyais tathā śāntāśāntaiḥ strītvam cha sa prabhuḥ | bi-
bheda bahudhā devaḥ svarūpair asitaiḥ sitaiḥ | 12. Tato Brahmā "tma-
sambhūtam pūrvaṁ svāyambhucam prabhum | ātmānam eva kṛitavān pra-
jāpālam Manuṁ devīja | 13. Satarūpāṁ cha tāṁ nārīm tapo-nīrdhūta-
kalmashām | svāyambhuvo Manur devaḥ patnyarthaṁ jagrihe vibhuḥ |
14. Tasmāch cha puruṣhād devī Satarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottāna-
pādaḥ Prasūtyākūti-sañjñitam | kanyā-dvayaṁ cha dharma-jña rūpa-
dūrya-guṇānvitam | 15. Dadau Prasūtiṁ Dakṣhāyāthākūtiṁ Ruchaye
purā ityādi |*

"1. Then from him, as he was desiring, there were born mental sons with effects and causes¹²⁰ derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits sprang from the limbs of that wise Being. All those creatures sprang forth which have been already described by me, (3) beginning

¹²⁰ The Commentator explains these words *kāryais taiḥ kāranaiḥ saha* to mean "bodies and senses."



with gods and ending with motionless objects, and existing in the condition of the three qualities. Thus were created beings moving and stationary. 4. When none of these creatures of the Wise Being multiplied, he next formed other, mental, sons like to himself, (5) Bhṛigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marīchi, Daksha, Atri, and Vasishṭha, all born from his mind. These are the nine Brahmās who have been determined in the Purāṇas. 6. But Sanandana and the others who had been previously created by Vedhas (Brahmā) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent to offspring. They had all attained to knowledge, were freed from desire, and devoid of envy. 7. As they were thus indifferent about the creation of the world, great wrath, sufficient to burn up the three worlds, arose in the mighty Brahmā. 8. The three worlds became entirely illuminated by the wreath of flame which sprang from his anger. 9. Then from his forehead, wrinkled by frowns and inflamed by fury, arose Rudra, luminous as the midday sun, with a body half male and half female, fiery, and huge in bulk. After saying to him, 'Divide thyself,' Brahmā vanished. 10. Being so addressed, Rudra severed himself into two, into a male and a female form. The god next divided his male body into eleven parts, (11) beautiful and hideous, gentle and ungentle; and his female figure into numerous portions with appearances black and white. 12. Brahmā then made the lord Svāyambhuva, who had formerly sprung from himself, and was none other than himself, to be Manu the protector of creatures. 13. The god Manu Svāyambhuva took for his wife the female Satarūpā, who by austere fervour had become freed from all defilement. 14. To that Male the goddess Satarūpā bore Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and two daughters called Prasūti and Ākūti, distinguished by the qualities of beauty and magnanimity. 15. He of old gave Prasūti in marriage to Daksha, and Ākūti to Ruchi."

From a comparison of the preceding narratives of the creation of mankind, extracted from the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, it will be seen that the details given in the different accounts are not consistent with each other. It is first of all stated in the fifth chapter (verse 16) that the arvāksrotas, or human creation was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. In the second account (verse 33) we are told that Brahmā assumed a body composed of passion, from which men, in whom that quality is power-



ful, were produced.¹²¹ In neither of these narratives is the slightest allusion made to there having been any primeval and congenital distinction of classes. In the third statement given in the sixth chapter (verses 3 to 5) the human race is said to have been the result of a four-fold creation; and the four castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been each especially characterized by different qualities (*guṇas*), viz., those who issued from his mouth by goodness (*sattva*), those who proceeded from his breast by passion (*rajas*), those who were produced from his thighs by both passion and darkness (*tamas*), and those who sprang from his feet by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention is made of any differences of conduct arising from innate diversities of disposition having been manifested in the earliest age by the members of the different classes. On the contrary, they are described (verses 10 ff.) in language applicable to a state of perfection which was universal and uniform, as full of faith, pure-hearted and devout. In like manner the declension in purity and goodness which ensued is not represented as peculiar to any of the classes, but as common to all. So far, therefore, the different castes seem, according to this account, to have been undistinguished by any variety of mental or moral constitution. And it is not until after the deterioration of the entire race has been related, that we are told (in verses 32 f.) that the separate duties of the several castes were fixed in accordance with their position and qualities. This sketch of the moral and religious history of mankind, in the earliest period, is thus deficient in failing to explain how beings, who were originally formed with very different ethical characters, should have been all equally excellent during their period of perfection, and have also experienced an uniform process of decline.

In regard to the variation between the two narratives of the creation found in the fifth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Professor Wilson remarks as follows in a note to vol. i. p. 80: "These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Purāṇas as referring to different Kalpas or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance

¹²¹ Compare the passage given above at the close of Sect. V. pp. 41 ff., from Manu xii. 39 ff. and the remarks thereon.



is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities."¹²²

As regards the first of these explanations of the discrepancies in question, it must be observed that it is inapplicable to the case before us, as the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa itself says nothing of the different accounts of the creation having reference to different Kalpas: and in absence of any intimation to the contrary we must naturally assume that the various portions of the consecutive narration in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, which are connected with each other by a series of questions and answers, must all have reference to the creation which took place at the commencement of the existing or Vārāha Kalpa, as stated in the opening verse of the fourth chapter. Professor Wilson's supposition that the various and discrepant accounts "have been borrowed from different original authorities" appears to have probability in its favour. I am unable to point out the source from which the first description of the creation, in the early part of the fifth chapter, verses 1 to 23, has been derived. But the second account, given in verses 26 to 35, has evidently drawn many of its details from the passages of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa ii. 2, 9, 5-9, and ii. 3, 8, 2 f., and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 1, 6, 6 ff. which I have quoted above. And it is possible that the references which are found in the former of these descriptions in the Vishṇu Purāṇa to different portions of the creation

¹²² The discrepancies between current legends on different subjects are occasionally noticed in the text of the Vishṇu Purāṇa. Thus in the eighth chapter of the first book, v. 12, Maitreya, who had been told by Parāśara that Śrī was the daughter of Bhṛigu and Khyāti, enquires: *Kṣhīrābhaṇ S'rīḥ puroṭpannā śrūyate'mṛita-manthane | Bhṛigoh Khyātyāṁ samutpannety etad āha katham bhavān |* "It is reported that Śrī was produced in the ocean of milk when ambrosia was churned. How do you say that she was born to Bhṛigu by Khyāti?" He receives for answer: 13. *Nityaiva sā jagan-mātā Viṣṇoh S'rīr anapāyini* (another MS. reads *anuyāyini*) *yathā sarvagata Viṣṇus tathāiveyaṁ dehitama |* "Śrī, the mother of the world, and wife of Viṣṇu, is eternal and undecaying" (or, according to the other reading, "is the eternal follower of Viṣṇu"). "As he is omnipresent, so is she," and so on. The case of Dakṣha will be noticed further on in the text. On the method resorted to by the Commentators in cases of this description Professor Wilson observes in a note to p. 203 (4th edition), "other calculations occur, the incompatibility of which is said, by the Commentators on our text and on that of the Bhāgavata, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas; and they quote the same stanza to this effect: *Kṛachit kṛachit pūrṇeshu virodho yadi lakṣyate | kalpa-bhēdādibhis tatra virodhaḥ sādḥhir iṣhyate |* 'Whenever any contradictions in different Purāṇas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differences of Kalpas and the like.'"

being ineffective may have been suggested by some of the other details in the Brāhmaṇas, which I shall now proceed to cite. At all events some of the latter appear to have given rise to the statement in the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of the Viṣṇu P. that the creatures formed by Brahmā did not multiply, as well as to various particulars in the narratives which will be quoted below from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas. The Brāhmaṇas describe the creative operations of Prajāpati as having been attended with intense effort, and often followed by great exhaustion; and not only so, but they represent many of these attempts to bring living creatures of various kinds into existence, to sustain them after they were produced, and to ensure their propagation, as having been either altogether abortive, or only partially successful. The following quotations will afford illustrations of these different points:

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 10, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asṛijata | sa ririchāno 'manyata | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa ātman vīryam apaśyat tad avarddhata |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. He felt himself emptied. He performed austere abstraction. He perceived vigour in himself. It increased, etc."

Taitt. Br. i. 2, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛiṣṭvā vṛitto¹²³ 'sayat | taṁ devāḥ bhūtānāṁ rasaṁ tejāḥ sambhṛitya tena enam abhishajyan "mahān avavartti" iti |*

"Prajāpati after creating living beings lay exhausted. The gods, collecting the essence and vigour of existing things, cured him therewith, saying he has become great, etc."

Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 6, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ sṛiṣṭvā vyasraṁsata | sa hṛidayam bhūto 'sayat |*

"Prajāpati, after creating living beings, was paralysed. Becoming a heart, he slept."

S. P. Br. iii. 9, 1, 1. *Prajāpatir vai prajāḥ sasṛijāno ririchānaḥ iva amanyata | tasmāt parāchyah prajāḥ āsuh | na asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya jajnire | 2. Sa aikshata "arikshy aham asmaī (? yasmai) u kāmāya asrikshi na me sa kāmāḥ samārdhi parāchyō mat-prajāḥ abhūvan na me prajāḥ śriyo 'nnādyāya asthishata" iti | 3. Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ "katham nu punar ātmānam āpyāyāyeya upa mā prajāḥ samāvartteraṁś tishṭheran me prajāḥ śriye annādyāya" iti | so 'rechhan śrāmyamś cha-*

chāra prajā-kāmaḥ | sa etām ekādaśinim apasyat | sa ekādaśinyā ishtvā Prajāpatiḥ punar ātmānam apyāyayata upa enam prajāḥ samāvarttanta atishhanta asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya sa vasiyān eva ishtvā 'bhavat |

“Prajāpati when creating living beings felt himself as it were emptied. The living creatures went away from him. They were not produced so as to prosper and to eat food. 2. He considered: ‘I have become emptied: the object for which I created them has not been fulfilled: they have gone away, and have not gained prosperity and food.’ 3. He considered: ‘how can I again replenish myself; and how shall my creatures return to me, and acquire prosperity and food?’ Desirous of progeny, he went on worshipping and performing religious rites. He beheld this Ekādaśinī (Eleven); and sacrificing with it, he again replenished himself; his creatures returned to him, and gained prosperity and food. Having sacrificed, he became more brilliant.”

S. P. Br. x. 4, 2. *So 'yaṁ saṁvatsaraḥ Prajāpatiḥ sarvāni bhūtāni sasrje yach cha prāni yach cha aprānam ubhayān deva-manushyān | sa sarvāni bhūtāni sṛṣṭvā ririchāna iva mene | sa mrityor bibhiyānchakāra |* 2. *Sa ha ikshānchakre “katham nva aham imāni sarvāni bhūtāni punar ātman āvapeya punar ātman dadhīya katham nva aham eva eṣhām sarveshām bhūtānām punar ātmā syām” iti |*

“This Year, (who is) Prajāpati, created all beings, both those which breathe and those that are without breath, both gods and men. Having created all beings he felt himself as it were emptied. He was afraid of death. 2. He reflected, ‘How can I again unite all these beings with myself, again place them in myself? How can I alone be again the soul of all these beings?’”

S. P. Br. x. 4, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ vai prajāḥ sṛjāmānam pāpmā mrityur abhiparijaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasraṁ saṁvatsarān pāpmānam vijihāsan |*

“Misery, death, smote Prajāpati, as he was creating living beings. He performed austere abstraction for a thousand years, with the view of shaking off misery.”

S. P. Br. ii. 5, 1. *Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekah eva āsa | sa aikshata “katham nu prajāyeya” iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa prajāḥ asṛjata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ sṛṣhtāḥ parābabhūvuh | tāni imāni vayāmsi | puruṣo vai Prajāpater nedishtam | dvipād vai ayam puruṣaḥ | tasmād dvipādo vayāmsi |* 2. *Sa aikshata Prajāpatiḥ | “yathā*

*nv eva purā eko 'bhūvam evam u nv eva apy etarhy eka eva asmi" iti | sa
 dvitīyāḥ sasrije | tāḥ asya parā eva bābhūvuh | tad idaṁ kshudrāṁ sarī-
 śipam yad anyat sarpebhyah | tritīyāḥ sasrije ity āhus tāḥ asya parā eva
 bābhūvuh | te ime sarpāḥ . . . | 3 So 'rchhan śrāmyan Prajāpatir
 ikshāṇchakre "katham nu me prajāḥ śriṣṭāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ha
 etad eva dadarśa "anāśanatayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa
 ātmanah eva agre stanayoḥ paya āpyāyāṇchakre | sa prajāḥ asrijata |
 tāḥ asya prajāḥ śriṣṭāḥ stanāv eva abhipadya tās tataḥ sambābhūvuh |
 tāḥ imāḥ aparābhūtāḥ |*

"1. Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He reflected, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled in religious rites, and practised austere fervour. He created living beings. After being created by him they perished. They were these birds. Man is the thing nearest to Prajāpati. This being, man, is two-footed. Hence birds are two-footed creatures. Prajāpati reflected, 'As I was formerly but one, so am I now also only one.' He created a second set of living beings. They also perished. This was the class of small reptiles other than serpents. They say he created a third set of beings, which also perished. They were these serpents . . . 3. Worshipping and toiling in religious rites, Prajāpati reflected, 'How is it that my creatures perish after they have been formed?' He perceived this, 'they perish from want of food.' In his own presence he caused milk to be supplied to breasts. He created living beings, which resorting to the breasts were then preserved. These are the creatures which did not perish."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 2, 1. *Vaiśvadevena vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asrijata | tāḥ
 śriṣṭāḥ na prajāyanta | so 'gnir akāmayata "aham imāḥ prajānāyeyam"
 iti | sa Prajāpataye śūcham adadhāt | so 'śochat prajāṁ ichhamānaḥ |
 tasmād yaṁ cha prajā bhunakti yaṁ cha na tāv ubhau śochataḥ prajāṁ
 ichhamānau | tāv Agnim apy asrijat | tā Agnir adhyait (2) Somo
 reto 'dadhāt Savitā prajānayat | Sarasvatī vācham adadhāt | Pashū
 'poshayat | te vai ete triḥ saṁvatsarasya prayujyante ye devāḥ puṣṭi-
 patayah | saṁvatsaro vai Prajāpatiḥ | saṁvatsareṇa eva asmai prajāḥ
 prajānayat | tāḥ prajāḥ jātāḥ Maruto 'ghnan "asmān api na prāyuk-
 shata" iti | 3. Sa etam Prajāpatir mūrutaṁ saptakapālam apaśyat |
 taṁ niravapat | tato vai prajābhyo 'kalpata | . . . sa Prajāpatir aśochat
 "yāḥ pūrvāḥ prajāḥ asriksi Maṇvatas tāḥ avadhishuḥ katham aparāḥ*



*sṛijēya" iti | tasya śukhma āṇḍam bhūtaṁ niravaritata | tad vyudaharat |
tad aposhayat | tat prajāyata |*

"Prajāpati formed living creatures by the vaiśvadeva (offering to the Viśvedevas). Being created they did not propagate. Agni desired 'let me beget these creatures.' He imparted grief to Prajāpati. He grieved, desiring offspring. Hence he whom offspring blesses, and he whom it does not bless, both of them grieve, desiring progeny. Among them he created Agni also. Agni desired(?) them. Soma infused seed. Savitṛi begot them. Sarasvatī infused into them speech. Pūshan nourished them. These (gods) who are lords of nourishment are employed thrice in the year. Prajāpati is the Year. It was through the year that he generated offspring for him. The Maruts killed those creatures when they had been born, saying 'they have not employed us also. 8. Prajāpati saw this Māruta oblation in seven platters. He offered it. In consequence of it he became capable of producing offspring Prajāpati lamented, (saying) 'the Maruts have slain the former living beings whom I created. How can I create others?' His vigour sprang forth in the shape of an egg. He took it up. He cherished it. It became productive."

Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 1. *Prajāpatir devān asrijata | te pāpmanā sandi-
tāḥ ajāyanta | tān vyadyat |*

"Prajāpati created gods. They were born bound by misery. He released them."

Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ asrijata | tāḥ asmāt sṛiṣṭāḥ
parāchīr āyan | sa etam Prajāpatir odanam apaśyat | so 'nnam bhūto
'tishṭhat | tāḥ anyatra annādyam avitvā Prajāpatim prajāḥ upāvart-
tanta |*

"Prajāpati created living beings. They went away from him. He beheld this odana. He was turned into food. Having found food nowhere else, they returned to him."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 4, 1. *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ asrijata | tā
enam atyamanyanta | ta asmād apākrāman | tā Varuṇo bhūtvā prajāḥ
Varuṇena agrāhayat | tāḥ prajāḥ Varuṇa-grihitāḥ Prajāpatim punar
upādāvan nātham ichhamānāḥ |*

"Prajāpati, becoming Savitṛi, created living beings. They disregarded him, and went away from him. Becoming Varuṇa he caused Varuṇa to seize them. Being seized by Varuṇa, they again ran to Prajāpati, desiring help."



Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 1, 1. *Tato vai sa (Prajāpatiḥ) prajāḥ asrijata | tāḥ asmat śṛiṣṭā apākrāman |*

“Prajāpati then created living beings. They went away from him.”

I have perhaps quoted too many of these stories, which are all similar in character. But I was desirous to afford some idea of their number as well as of their tenor.

As regards the legend of Satarūpā, referred to in the seventh chapter of the first book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, I shall make some further remarks in a future section, quoting a more detailed account given in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Of the two sons of Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpā, the name of the second, Uttānapāda, seems to have been suggested by the appearance of the word Uttānapad in Rīg-veda x. 72, 3, 4, as the designation (nowhere else traceable, I believe) of one of the intermediate agents in the creation.¹²⁴ A Priyavrata is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 34, and also in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa x. 3, 5, 14, (where he has the patronymic of Rauhināyana) but in both these texts he appears rather in the light of a religious teacher, who had lived not very long before the age of the author, than as a personage belonging to a very remote antiquity. Dakṣha also, who appears in this seventh chapter as one of the mindborn sons of Brahmā, is named in R. V. ii. 27, 1, as one of the Ādityas, and in the other hymn of the R. V. just alluded to, x. 72, vv. 4 and 5, he is noticed as being both the son and the father of the goddess Aditi. In the S. P. ii. 4, 4, he is identified with Prajāpati.¹²⁵ In regard to his origin various legends are discoverable in the Purāṇas. Besides the passage before us, there are others in the V. P. in which he is mentioned. In iv. 1, 5, it is said that he sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā, and that Aditi was his daughter (*Brahmaṇascha dakṣiṇāṅguṣṭhā-janmā Dakṣaḥ | Prajāpater Dakṣasyāpy Aditiḥ*). In another place, V. P. i. 15, 52, it is said that Dakṣha, although formerly the son of Brahmā, was born to the ten Prachetases by Mārishā (*Daśabhyas tu Prachetobhyo Mārishāyām Prajāpatiḥ | jānye Dakṣo makābhāgo yaḥ pūrvam Brahmaṇo 'bhavat |*). This double pa-

¹²⁴ See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 f.

¹²⁵ See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 ff. 24, 101; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 72 ff.; Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 75.



rentage of Daksha appears to Maitreya, one of the interlocutors in the Purāṇa, to require explanation, and he accordingly enquires of his informant, vv. 60 ff.: *Anguṣṭhād dakṣhiṇād Dakṣaḥ pūrvaṁ jātaḥ śrutam mayā | katham Prāchetaso bhūyaḥ sa sambhūto mahāmune | eṣa me saṁśayo brahman samahān hṛidi varttate | yad dauhitraś cha somasya punaḥ śvaśuratām gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | utpattiś cha nirodhaś cha nityau bhūteshu vai mune | ṛishayo 'tra na muhyanti ye chānye divya-chakṣuṣhaḥ | 61. Yuge yuge bhavanty ete Dakṣādyā muni-sattama | punaś chaiva nirudhyante vidvāṁs tatra na muhyati | 62. Kānīṣṭhyam jyaīṣṭhyam apy eṣāṁ pūrvaṁ nābhūd dvijottama | tapa eva garīyo 'bhāt prabhāvaś chaiva kāraṇam |*

“60. I have heard that Daksha was formerly born from the right thumb of Brahmā. How was he again produced as the son of the Prachetases? This great doubt arises in my mind; and also (the question) how he, who was the daughter's son of Soma,¹²⁶ afterwards became his father-in-law. Parāśara answered: Both birth and destruction are perpetual among all creatures. Rishis, and others who have celestial insight, are not bewildered by this. In every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed: a wise man is not bewildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority: austere fervour was the chief thing, and power was the cause (of distinction).”

The reader who desires further information regarding the part played by Daksha, whether as a progenitor of allegorical beings, or as a creator, may compare the accounts given in the sequel of the seventh and in the eleventh chapters of Book I. of the V. P. (pp. 108 ff. and 152 ff.) with that to be found in the fifteenth chapter (vol. ii. pp. 10 ff.).

I will merely add, in reference to Akūti, the second daughter of Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpā, that the word is found in the Rig-veda with the signification of “will” or “design;” but appears to be personified in a passage of the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 5 (the context of which has been cited above, p. 41), where it is said: *Irā patnī viśvasṛjām ākūtir apinaḍ haviḥ |* “Irā (Idā) was the wife of the creators. Akūti kneaded the oblation.”

¹²⁶ See Wilson's V. P. vol. ii. p. 2, at the top.



SECT. VIII.—*Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas.*

I now proceed to extract from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas the accounts which they supply of the creation, and which are to the same effect as those which have been quoted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, although with many varieties of detail.

I shall first adduce a passage from the fifth chapter of the Vāyu (which to some extent runs parallel with the second chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa¹²⁷), on account of its containing a different account from that generally given of the triad of gods who correspond to the triad of qualities (*gunas*).

Vāyu Purāṇa, chapter v. verse 11. *Ahar-mukhe pravṛtite cha paraḥ prakṛiti-sambhavaḥ | kshobhayāmāsa yogena pareṇa paramēśvaraḥ | 12. Pradhānam puruṣam chaiva praviśyāṇdam Mahēśvaraḥ | 13. Pradhānāt kshobhyamānāt tu rajo vai samavarttata | rajaḥ pravarttakam tatra vijeshv api yathā jalam | 14. Guṇa-vaishamyam āśādy prasūyante hy adhishṭhitāḥ | guṇebhyaḥ kshobhyamāṇebhyas trayo devā vijajnire | 15. Āśritāḥ¹²⁸ paramā guhyāḥ sarvātmāṇaḥ śarīrināḥ | rajo Brahmā tamo hy Agniḥ sattvam Viṣṇur ajāyata | 16. Rajaḥ-prakāśako Brahmā sraṣṭṛitvena vyavasthitāḥ | tamah-prakāśako 'gnis tu kālatcena vyavasthitāḥ | 17. Sattva-prakāśako Viṣṇur audāsīnye vyavasthitāḥ | ete eva trayo lokā ete eva trayo guṇāḥ | 18. Ete eva trayo vedā ete eva trayo 'gnayah | parasparāśritāḥ hy ete parasparam anuvratāḥ | 19. Paraspāreṇa varttante dhārayanti parasparam | anyonya-mithunā hy ete hy anyonyam upajivinaḥ | 20. Kṣhanam viyogo na hy eṣhām na tyajanti parasparam | Īśvaro hi paro devo Viṣṇus tu mahataḥ paraḥ | 21. Brahmā tu rajosa-driktāḥ sargāyeka pravarttate | paraścha puruṣo jneyaḥ prakṛitiścha parā smṛitā |*

“11, 12. At the beginning of the day, the supreme Lord Mahēśvara, sprung from Prakṛiti, entering the egg, agitated with extreme intentness both Pradhāna (= Prakṛiti) and Puruṣa. 13. From

¹²⁷ See pp. 27 and 41 f. of Wilson's V. P. vol. i.

¹²⁸ The Gaikowar MS. of the India office, No. 2102, reads *āsthitāḥ*, instead of *āśritāḥ*, the reading of the Taylor MS.



Pradhāna, when agitated, the quality of passion (*rajas*) arose, which was there a stimulating cause, as water is in seeds. 14. When an inequality in the Guṇas arises, then (the deities) who preside over them are generated. From the Guṇas thus agitated there sprang three gods (15), indwelling, supreme, mysterious, animating all things, embodied. The rajas quality was born as Brahmā, the tamas as Agni,¹²⁹ the sattva as Viṣṇu. 16. Brahmā, the manifestor of rajas, acts in the character of creator; Agni, the manifestor of tamas, acts in the capacity of time; 17. Viṣṇu, the manifestor of sattva, abides in a condition of indifference. These deities are the three worlds, the three qualities, (18) the three Vedas, the three fires; they are mutually dependent, mutually devoted. 19. They exist through each other, and uphold each other; they are twin-parts of one another, they subsist through one another. 20. They are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. Īśvara (Mahādeva) is the supreme god; and Viṣṇu is superior to Mahat (the principle of intelligence); while Brahmā, filled with rajas, engages in creation. Puruṣa is to be regarded as supreme, as Prakṛiti is also declared to be.’²

The sixth section of the Vāyu P., from which the next quotation will be made, corresponds to the fourth of the Viṣṇu P. quoted above.

1. *Āpo hy agre samabhavan nashṭe 'gnau prithivī-tale | sāntarālaika-line 'smin nashṭe sthāvara-jangame |* 2. *Ekārṇave tadā tasmin na prāṇāyata kinchana | tadā sa bhagavān Brahmā sahasrākṣhaḥ sahasra-pāt |* 3. *Sahasra-śīrṣhā Puruṣo rukma-varṇo hy atindriyaḥ | Brahmā Nārāyaṇākhyah sa sushvāpa salile tadā |* 4. *Sattvodrekāt prabuddhas tu śūnyam lokam udikshya saḥ | imam chodāharanty atra ślokaṁ Nārāyaṇam prati |* 5. *Āpo nārā vai tanavah¹³⁰ ity apām nāma śuśrūma | apsu śete cha yat tasmāt tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smṛitah |* 6. *Tulyaṁ yuga-sahasrasya naiṣam kālam upāśya saḥ | sarvavy-ante prakurute brahmatvam sarga-kāraṇāt |* 7. *Brahmā tu salile tasmin vāyur bhūtvā tadā 'charat | niśāyām iva khadyotiḥ prāvṛṇī-kāle tatas tataḥ |* 8. *Tatas tu salile-tasmin vijnā-yāntargatām mahīm | anumānād asammūḍho bhūmer uddharaṇam prati |*

¹²⁹ The Mārķ. P. chap. 46, verse 18, has the same line, but substitutes Rudra for Agni, thus: *Rajo Brahmā tamo Rudro Viṣṇuḥ sattvaṁ jagat-patiḥ |* The two are often identified. See Vol. IV. of this work, 282 ff.

¹³⁰ See Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. 57, with the translator's and editor's notes. Verses 1 to 6 are repeated towards the close of the 7th section of the Vāyu P. with variations.

9. *Akarot sa tanuṃ hy anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | tato mahātmā manasā divyaṃ rūpam achintayat |* 10. *Salilēnāplutām bhūmim dṛishṭvā sa tu samantataḥ | “kim nu rūpam mahat kṛtvā uddhāreyam aham mahīm” |* 11. *Jala-kṛdā-suruchiram vārāhaṃ rūpam asmarat | adhrishyaṃ sarva-bhūtānāṃ vāṇmayam dharma-saṃjñitam |*

“1. When fire had perished from the earth, and this entire world motionless and moving, together with all intermediate things, had been dissolved into one mass, and had been destroyed—waters first were produced. As the world formed at that time but one ocean, nothing could be distinguished. Then the divine Brahmā, Purusha, with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, (3) a thousand heads, of golden hue, beyond the reach of the senses—Brahmā, called Nārāyaṇa, slept on the water. 4. But awaking in consequence of the predominance (in him) of the sattva quality, and beholding the world a void—: Here they quote a verse regarding Nārāyaṇa: 5. ‘The waters are the bodies of Nara: such is the name we have heard given to them; and because he sleeps upon them, he is called Nārāyaṇa.’ 6. Having so continued for a nocturnal period equal to a thousand Yugas, at the end of the night he takes the character of Brahmā in order to create. 7. Brahmā then becoming Vāyu (wind) moved upon that water,¹³¹ hither and thither, like a firefly at night in the rainy season. 8. Discovering then by inference that the earth lay within the waters, but unbewildered, (9) he took, for the purpose of raising it up, another body, as he had done at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas. Then that Great Being devised a celestial form. 10. Perceiving the earth to be entirely covered with water, (and asking himself) ‘what great shape shall I assume in order that I may raise it up?’—he thought upon the form of a boar, brilliant from aquatic play, invincible by all creatures, formed of speech, and bearing the name of righteousness.”

The body of the boar is then described in detail, and afterwards the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, and the restoration of its former shape, divisions, etc.¹³²—the substance of the account being

¹³¹ This statement, which is not in the corresponding passage of the Vishṇu P., is evidently borrowed, along with other particulars, from the text of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted above p. 52.

¹³² Following the passage of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, quoted above, the writer in one verse ascribes to Brahmā as Viśvakarman the arrangement of the earth, *tatas teshu viśvneṣhu lokodādhī-giriṣhu atha | Viśvakarmā vibhajato kalpādishu punaḥ punaḥ |*



much the same, but the particulars different from those of the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

Then follows a description of the creation coinciding in all essential points¹³³ with that quoted above, p. 55, from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The further account of the creation, however, corresponding to that which I have quoted from the next part of the same chapter of that Purāṇa, is not found in the same position in the Vāyu Purāṇa,¹³⁴ but is placed at the beginning of the ninth chapter, two others, entitled *Pratisandhi-kirttana* and *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, being interposed as the seventh and eighth. With the view, however, of facilitating comparison between the various cosmogonies described in the two works, I shall preserve the order of the accounts as found in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and place the details given in the ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa before those supplied in the eighth.

The ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is fuller in its details than the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, begins thus, without any specific reference to the contents of the preceding chapter:

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajñire mānasīḥ prajāḥ | tach-chharīra-samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha* | 2. *Kshe-trajñāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhāmataḥ | tato devāsura-pitrin mānavāṃ cha chatusṭayam* | 3. *Sisṛikshur ambhāṃsy etāni svātmanā samayūyujāt | yuktātmanas tatas tasya tamomātrā svayambhuvāḥ* | 4. *Tam abhidhyāyataḥ sargam prayatno 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ | tato 'sya jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajñire sutāḥ* | 5. *Asuḥ prāṇaḥ smṛito viprais taj-janmānas tato 'surāḥ | yayā sṛishṭāsuras tanvā tām tanuṃ sa vyapohata*¹³⁵ | 6. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyo rātrir ajāyata | sā tamo-bahulā yasmāt tato rātris triyāmikā* | 7. *Āvritās tamasā rātrau prajāḥ tasmāt svapanty uta | drishṭvā 'surāṃs tu deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | 8. *Avyaktām sattva-bahulām tatas tām so 'bhyayūyujāt | tatas tām yunjatas tasya priyam āsit prabhoḥ kila* | 9. *Tato mukhe samutpannā divyatas tasya devatāḥ | yato 'sya divyato jātās tena devāḥ*

¹³³ This is also the case with the details given in the Märk. P. xlvii. 15-27 and ff.

¹³⁴ The Märk. P. however observes the same order as the Vishṇu P.

¹³⁵ The reading in the passage of the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 6, from which this narrative is borrowed (see above, p. 28), is *apāhata*,—which, however, does not prove that that verb with *vi* prefixed should necessarily be the true reading here; as the Taylor and Gaikowar MSS. have *vyapohata* throughout, and in one place *vyapohat*.

prakirttitāḥ | 10. *Dhātur diviti yaḥ proktaḥ kridāyām sa vibhāvayate* | *tasmāt* (? *yasmāt*) *tanvām tu divyāyām jānīre tena devatāḥ* | 11. *Devān sṛishṭvā 'tha deveśas tanum anyām apadyata* | *sattva-mātrātmikān devas tato 'nyām so 'bhyapadyata*¹³⁵ | 12. *Pitrivād manyamānas tām putrān prādhyāyata prabhuḥ* | *pitaro hy upapakshābhyām*¹³⁷ *rātry-ahnor antarā 'srijat* | 13. *Tasmāt te pitaro devāḥ putratvaṁ tena teshu tat* | *yayā sṛishṭās tu pitaras tām tanuṁ sa vyapohata* | 14. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyaḥ sandhyā prajāyata* | *tasmād ahas tu devānām rātrir yā sā* "surī smṛitā" | 15. *Tayor madhye tu vai paitrī yā tanuḥ sā garī-yasī* | *tasmād devāsuraḥ sarve ṛishayo manavas tathā* | 16. *Te yuktiās tām upāsante rātry-ahnor*¹³⁸ *madhyamām tanum* | *tato 'nyām sa punar Brahmā tanuṁ vai pratyapadyata* | 17. *Rajo-mātrātmikān yām tu manasā so 'srijat prabhuḥ* | *rajāḥ-prāyān tataḥ so 'tha mānasān asrijat sūtān* | 18. *Manasas tu tatas tasyā mānasā jānīre prajāḥ* | *drishṭvā punaḥ prajāś chāpi svām tanuṁ tām apohata* | 19. *Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena jyotsnā sadyas tv ajāyata* | *tasmād bhavanti samṛishṭā jyotsnāyām udbhavo prajāḥ* | 20. *Ity etās tanavas tena vyapaviddhā mahatmanā* | *sadyo rātry-ahanī chaiva sandhyā jyotsnā cha jānīre* | 21. *Jyotsnā sandhyā tathā 'hascha sattva-mātrātmakān vrayam* | *tamo-mātrātmikā rātriḥ sā vai tasmāt triyāmikā* | 22. *Tasmād devā divya-tanvā*¹³⁹ *drish-tāḥ sṛishṭā mukhāt tu vai* | *yasmāt teshām divā janma balinas tena te divā* | 23. *Tanvā yad asurān rātrau jaghanād asrijat punaḥ* | *prānebhyo rātri-janmāno hy asahyā nīsi tena te* | 24. *Etāny evam bhavishyānām devānām asuraḥ saha* | *pitṛinām mānavānām cha atitānūgateshu vai* | 25. *Manvantareshu sarveshu nimittāni bhavanti hi* | *jyotsnā rātry-ahanī sandhyā chatvāry ambhāmśi tāni vai* | 26. *Bhānti yasmāt tato 'mbhāmśi bhā-śabdo 'yam manishibhiḥ* | *vyāpti-dīptyām nigadito punāmśi chāha Prajāpatiḥ* | 27. *So 'mbhāmśy etāni drishṭvā tu deva-dānava-mānavān* | *pitṛīmśi chaivāsrijat so 'nyān ātmano viridhān punaḥ* | 28. *Tām utsrijya tanuṁ kritsnām tato 'nyām asrijat prabhuḥ* | *mūrtīm rajas-tama-prāyām punar evābhyayūyujat* | 29. *Andhakāre kshudhāvishṭas tato 'nyām srijate punaḥ* | *tena sṛishṭāḥ kshudhātmānas te 'mbhāmśy ādātum udyatāḥ* | 30. "Ambhāmśy etāni rakshāma" *uktavantaścha teshu ye* | *rākshasās te smṛitāḥ loka krodhātmāno nīśācharāḥ* |

¹³⁵ This line is omitted in the Gaikowar MS.

¹³⁷ The Gaikowar MS. seems to read *upapārsāvābhyām*.

¹³⁸ The Gaikowar MS. reads *Brahmāno madhyamām tanum*.

¹³⁹ The Gaikowar MS. reads *divā tanvā*.



“Sūta says: 1. Then, as he was desiring, there sprang from him mind-born sons, with those effects and causes derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits were produced from the bodies of that wise Being. 3. Then willing to create these four streams (*ambhāmsi*) gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, he fixed his spirit in abstraction. As Svayambhū was thus fixed in abstraction, a body consisting of nothing but darkness (invested him). 4. While desiring this creation, Prajāpati put forth an effort. Then Asuras were first produced as sons from his groin. 5. *Asu* is declared by Brahmins to mean breath. From it these beings were produced; hence they are *Asuras*.¹⁴⁰ He cast aside the body with which the Asuras were created. 6. Being cast away by him, that body immediately became night. Inasmuch as darkness predominated in it, night consists of three watches. 7. Hence, being enveloped in darkness, all creatures sleep at night. Beholding the Asuras, however, the Lord of gods took another body, (8) imperceptible, and having a predominance of goodness, which he then fixed in abstraction. While he continued thus to fix it, he experienced pleasure. 9. Then as he was sporting, gods were produced in his mouth. As they were born from him, while he was sporting (*divyatah*), they are known as *Devas* (gods). 10. The root *div* is understood in the sense of sporting. As they were born in a sportive (*divya*)¹⁴¹ body, they are called *Devatās*. 11. Having created the deities, the Lord of gods then took another body, consisting entirely of goodness (*sattva*). 12. Regarding himself as a father, he thought upon these sons: he created Fathers (*Pitris*) from his armpits in the interval between night and day. 13. Hence these Fathers are gods: therefore that sonship belongs to them. He cast aside the body with which the Fathers were created. 14. Being cast away by him, it straightway became twilight. Hence day belongs to the gods, and night is said to belong to the Asuras. 15. The body intermediate between them, which is that of the Fathers, is the most important. Hence gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men (16) worship intently this intermediate body of Brahman. He then took again another body. But from that body, composed altogether of passion (*rajas*),

¹⁴⁰ This statement, which is not found in the parallel passage of the Vishnu Purāṇa, is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2, quoted above.

¹⁴¹ *Divya* properly means “celestial.” But from the play of words in the passage, the writer may intend it to have here the sense of “sportive.”

which he created by his mind, he formed mind-born¹⁴² sons who had almost entirely a passionate character. 18. Then from his mind sprang mind-born sons. Beholding again his creatures, he cast away that body of his. 19. Being thrown off by him it straightway became morning twilight. Hence living beings are gladdened by the rise of early twilight. 20. Such were the bodies which, when cast aside by the Great Being, became immediately night and day, twilight and early twilight. 21. Early twilight, twilight, and day have all the character of pure goodness. Night has entirely the character of darkness (*tamas*); and hence it consists of three watches. 22. Hence the gods are beheld with a celestial body, and they were created from the mouth. As they were created during the day, they are strong during that period. 23. Inasmuch as he created the Asuras from his groin at night, they, having been born from his breath, during the night, are unconquerable during that season. 24, 25. Thus these four streams, early twilight, night, day, and twilight, are the causes of gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, in all the Manvantaras that are past, as well as in those that are to come. 26. As these (streams) shine, they are called *ambhāṁsi*. This root *bhā* is used by the intelligent in the senses of pervading and shining, and the Male, Prajāpati, declares (the fact). 27. Having beheld these streams (*ambhāṁsi*), gods, Dānavas, men, and fathers, he again created various others from himself. 28. Abandoning that entire body, the lord created another, a form consisting almost entirely of passion and darkness, and again fixed it in abstraction. 29. Being possessed with hunger in the darkness, he then created another. The hungry beings formed by him were bent on seizing the streams (*ambhāṁsi*). 30. Those of them, who said 'let us preserve (*rakshāma*) these streams,' are known in the world as Rākshasas, wrathful, and prowling about at night."

This description is followed by an account of the further creation corresponding with that given in the same sequence in the Vishṇu Purāṇa; and the rest of the chapter is occupied with other details which it is not necessary that I should notice. I therefore proceed to make some quotations from the eighth chapter, entitled *Chaturāśrama-vibhāga*, or "the distribution into four orders," which corresponds, in

¹⁴² *Mānasān*. We might expect here however, *mānavān* or *mānushān*, "human," in conformity with the parallel passages both in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 56), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, xlviii. 11.

its general contents, with the sixth chapter of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, book i., but is of far greater length, and, in fact, extremely prolix, as well as confused, full of repetitions, and not always very intelligible.

The chapter immediately preceding (*i.e.* the seventh), entitled *Pratibandhi-kirttanam*, ends with the words: "I shall now declare to you the present Kalpa; understand." Sūta accordingly proceeds at the opening of the eighth chapter to repeat some verses, which have been already quoted from the beginning of the sixth chapter, descriptive of Brahmā's sleep during the night after the universe had been dissolved, and to recapitulate briefly the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, its reconstruction, and the institution of Yugas. At verse 22 the narrative proceeds:

Kalpasyādaṁ kṛtayuge prathame so 'srijat prajāḥ | 23. Prāg uktā yā mayā tubhyam pūrva-kāle prajāḥ tu tāḥ | tasmin samvarttamāne tu kalpe dagdhās tadā 'gninā | 24. Aprāptā yās tapo-lokaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāsritāḥ | pravarttati punaḥ sarge vījarthaṁ tā bhavanti hi | 25. Vījārthena sthītās tatra punaḥ sargasya kāraṇāt | tatas tāḥ sṛjyamānās tu santānārthaṁ bhavanti hi | 26. Dharmārtha-kāma-mokṣhānāṁ iha tāḥ sādhyikāḥ smṛitāḥ | devās cha pitaraschaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā | 27. Tatas te tapasā yuktāḥ sthānāny āpūrayanti hi | Brahmano mānasās te vai siddhātmanō bhavanti hi | 28. Ye sangādeśha-yuktena karmaṇā te divaṁ gatāḥ | avarttamānā iha te sambhavanti yuge yuge | 29. Svakarma-phala-śeṣheṇa khyātyā chaiva tathātmikā (? tathātmakāḥ) | sambhavanti janāl lokāt karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt | 30. Āśayaḥ kāraṇaṁ tatra boddhavyaṁ karmaṇā tu saḥ | taiḥ karmabhis tu jāyante janāl lokāt śubhāśubhaiḥ | 31. Gṛhṇanti te śarīrāṇi nānā-rūpāṇi yonishu | devād-yāḥ sthāvarāntās cha utpadyante parasparam (? paramparam) | 32. Teshāṁ ye yāni karmāṇi prāk-sṛiṣṭau pratipedire | tāny eva pratipadyante sṛjyamānāḥ punaḥ punaḥ | 33. Himsrāhimsre mṛidu-krūre dharma-dharme ṛitāṅṛite | tadbhāvitāḥ prapadyante tasmāt tat tasya rochate | 34. Kalpeshu āsan vyatīteshu rūpa-nāmāṇi yāni cha | tāny evānāgate kāle prāyasaḥ pratipedire | 35. Tasmāt tu nāma-rūpāṇi tāny eva pratipedire | punaḥ punas te kalpeshu jāyante nāma-rūpataḥ | 36. Tataḥ sarge hy avasṭabde sisṛikṣhor Brahmanas tu vai | 37.¹⁴³ Prajāḥ tā dhyāyatas

¹⁴³ The narrative in the 49th chapter of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (verses 3-13) begins at this verse, the 37th of the Vāyu Purāṇa, and coincides, though with verbal differences, with what follows down to verse 47. After that there is more variation.

tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | mithunānām sahasram tu so 'srijad vai mukhāt tadā | 38. *Janās te hy upapadyante sattvodriktāḥ suchetasāḥ*¹⁴⁴ | *sahasram anyad vakshasto mithunānām sasarja ha |* 39. *Te sarve rajasodriktāḥ śuśhmināś chāpy aśuśhmināḥ*¹⁴⁵ | *sriṣṭvā sahasram anyat tu dvandvānām ūrutah punaḥ |* 40. *Rajas-tamobhyām udriktā ihāśīlās tu te smṛitāḥ | padbhyām sahasram anyat tu mithunānām sasarja ha |* 41. *Udriktās tamasā sarve niḥśrikā hy alpa-tejasāḥ | tato vai haṛshamānās te dvandvotpannās tu prāṇināḥ |* 42. *Anyonya-hṛichhayāvishṭā maithunāyopachakramuḥ | tataḥprabhṛiti kalpe 'smin maithunotpattir uchyate |* 43. *Māsi māsy ārttavan yāt tu na tadā "sīt tu yoshitām*¹⁴⁶ | *tasmāt tadā na sushuruḥ sevitaṛ api maithunaiḥ |* 44. *Āyusho 'nte prasūyante mithunāny eva tāḥ sakṛit | kuṇṭhakāḥ kuṇṭhikāś chaiva utpadyante mumūṛshatām*¹⁴⁷ | 45. *Tataḥ prabhṛiti kalpe 'smin mithunānām hi sambhavaḥ | dhyāne tu manasā tāsām prajānām jāyate sakṛit |* 46. *Sābdādī-vishayaḥ śuddhaḥ pratyekam pancha-lakṣaṇaḥ | ity evam mānasī*¹⁴⁸ *pūrvam prāk-sriṣṭīr yā Prajāpateḥ |* 47. *Tasyāncavāye sambhūtā yair idam pūritam jagat | sarit-saraḥ-samudrāś cha sevanto parvatān api |* 48. *Tadā nātyanta-śītoshnā yuge tasmin charanti vai | prithvī-rasodbhavaḥ nāma āharaḥ hy āharanti vai*¹⁴⁹ | 49. *Tāḥ prajāḥ kāma-chārīṇyo mānasīm siddhim āsthitāḥ | dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām nirviśeśāḥ prajāś tu tāḥ |* 50. *Tulyam āyuh sukhaḥ rūpaḥ tāsām tasmin kṛite yuge | dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām kalpādaḥ tu kṛite yuge |* 51. *Scena scenādhi-kāreṇa jājnire te kṛite yuge | chatvāri tu sahasraṇi varṣhānām divya-sankhyayā |* 52. *Ādyam kṛita-yugam prāhuḥ sandhyānām tu chatuḥśatam | tataḥ sahasraśas tāsā prajāsu prathitāsv api |* 53.¹⁵⁰ *Na tāsām pratighāto 'sti na dvandvaḥ nāpi cha klamaḥ | parvatodadhi-sevīṇyo hy anikotāśrayās tu tāḥ |* 54. *Viśokāḥ sattva-bahulāḥ hy ekānta-sukhitāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ vai nishkāma-chārīṇyo nityam mudita-mānasāḥ |* 55. *Pāsa-*

¹⁴⁴ For *suchetasāḥ* the Mār. P. reads *sutejasāḥ*.

¹⁴⁵ For *aśuśhmināḥ* the Mār. P. reads *amarśhmināḥ*, "irascible."

¹⁴⁶ I have corrected this line from the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 49, 9 b. The reading of the MSS. of the Vāyu Purāṇa cannot be correct. It appears to be: *māse māse 'rttavan yad yāt tat tadāśīlā hi yoshitām* | The negative particle seems to be indispensable here.

¹⁴⁷ This half verse is not found in the Mār. P.

¹⁴⁸ The Mār. P. has *mānushī*, "human," instead of *mānasī*, "mental."

¹⁴⁹ This verse is not in the Mār. P.; and after this point the verses which are common to both Purāṇas do not occur in the same places.

¹⁵⁰ Verses 53-56 coincide generally with verses 14-18 of the Mār. P.

rah pakshināś chaiva na tadāsan sarīṣripāḥ | nodbhijjā nārakaś¹⁵¹ chaiva
te hy adharma-prasūṭayaḥ | 56. Na mūla-phala-pushpaṁ cha nārttavam
ritavo na cha | sarva-kāma-sukhaḥ kālo nātyartham hy ushna-śītata¹⁵² |
57. Manobhilashitāḥ kāmās tāsām sarvatra sarvadā | uttishthanti prithiv-
yām vai tābhīr dhyātā rasolvanāḥ | 58. Balavarṇa-karī tāsām siddhiḥ
sā roga-nāśinī | asaṁskāryyāḥ śarīraiś cha prajāś tāḥ sthīrayauvanāḥ |
59. Tāsām viśuddhāt sankalpāj jāyante mithunāḥ prajāḥ | samam janma
cha rūpaṁ cha mriyante chaiva tāḥ samam | 60. Tadā satyam alobhaś
cha kshamā tushṭiḥ sukhaṁ damaḥ | nirviśeśhaś tu tāḥ sarvā rūpāyuk-
śīla-cheshṭitāḥ | 61. Abuddhipūrvakaṁ vṛttam prajānām jāyate evayam |
apravṛtṭiḥ kṛta-yuge karmaṇoḥ śubhapāpayoḥ | 62. Varṇāśrama-vya-
vasthāś cha na tadā 'san na sankarah | anichhādvesha-yuktāś te vartta-
yanti parasparam | 63. Tulya-rūpāyushaḥ sarvāḥ adhamottama-varj-
itāḥ¹⁵³ | sukha-prāyā hy aśokāś cha udpadyante kṛte yuge | 64. Nitya-
prahr̥ṣṭa-manaso mahāsattvā mahābalāḥ | lābhālābhau na tase āstām
mītrāmītre priyāpriye | 65. Manasā viśayas tāsām nīr̥hānām pravart-
tate | na lipsanti hi tā'nyoyam nānugrih̥ṇanti chaiva hi | 66. Dhyānam
param kṛta-yuge tretāyām jñānam uchyate | pravṛttam dvāpare yajnaṁ
dānam kali-yuge varam | 67. Sattvaṁ kṛtam rajas tretā dvāparam tu
rajas-tamaḥ | kalau tamas tu vijñeyam yuga-vṛtta-vaśena tu | 68. Kālāḥ
kṛte yuge tv eśha tasya sankhyāṁ nibodhata | chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi var-
shānām tat kṛtam yugam | 69. Sandhyāṁśau tasya divyāni śatāny
aṣṭau cha sankhyayā | tadā tāsām bābhūvāyur na cha kleśa-vipat-
tayaḥ¹⁵⁴ | 70. Tataḥ kṛtayuge tasmin sandhyāṁśe hi gate tu vai | pādā-
vaśiṣṭho bhavati yuga-dharmas tu sarvaśaḥ | 71. Sandhyāyām apy atitā-
yām anta-kāle yugasya vai | pādāśaś chāvaśiṣṭe tu sandhyā-dharme
yugasya tu | 72. Evaṁ kṛte tu nih̥śeśhe siddhis tv antardadhe tadā |
tasyām cha siddhau bhrashtāyām mānasyām abhavat tataḥ | 73. Siddhir

¹⁵¹ The Märk. P. has *nakrūh*, "crocodiles," in its enumeration.

¹⁵² The Märk. P. here inserts some other lines, 185-21a, instead of 57 and 58a of the Vāyu P.

¹⁵³ The Märk. P. inserts here the following verses: 24. *Chatvāri tu sahasrāṇi varshāpām mānushāni tu | āyuk-pramānām jīvanti na cha kleśād vipattayaḥ* | 25. *Kvachit kvachit punaḥ sā bhūt kṣitir bhāgyena sarvaśaḥ | kālena gachhata nāsam upayanti yathā prajāḥ* | 26. *Tathā tāḥ kramāśaḥ nāśam jagmuḥ sarvatra siddhayaḥ | tase sarvāsu naśtāsu nabhasaḥ prachyutā narāḥ (tatāḥ in one MS.) | prāyasaḥ kalpa-erikshās te sambhūtā grīha-samsthitāḥ* |

¹⁵⁴ Instead of *bābhūvāyuk*, etc., the Gaikowar MS. has *prayuktāni na cha kleśo bābhūva ha* |

anyā yuge tasmiṁś tretāyām antare kṛitā | sargādaṁ yā mayā 'śṭau tu
mānasyo vai prakīrtitāḥ | 74. Aśṭau tāḥ krama-yogena siddhayo yānti
sankshayam | kalpādaṁ mānasī hy ekā siddhir bhavati sū kṛite | 75.
Manvantareshu sarveshu chatur-yuga-vibhāgaśaḥ | varṇāśramāchāra-kṛitāḥ
karma-siddhodbhavaḥ (karma-siddhyudbhavaḥ?) smṛitāḥ | 76. Sandhyā
kṛitasya pādena sandhyā pādena chāmsataḥ | kṛita-sandhyāmsakā hy ete
triṁś trīn pādān parasparam | 77. Hrasanti yuga-dharmāḥ te tapaḥ-
śruta-balāyushaiḥ | tataḥ kṛitāṁśe kṣhīne tu bābhūva tad-anantaram |
78. Tretā-yugam amanyanta kṛitāṁśam ṛishi-sattamāḥ | tasmin kṣhīne
kṛitāṁśe tu tach-chkīṣṭāsu prajāṣv iha | 79. Kalpādaṁ sampravṛittāyās
tretāyāḥ pramukhe tadā | prajāsyati tadā siddhiḥ kāla-yogena nānyathā |
80. Tasyām siddhau pranaśṭāyām anyā siddhir avaritā | apām sank-
shmye pratigata tadā meghātmanā tu vai | 81. Meghebhyaḥ ślanayitma-
bhyaḥ pravṛittāṁ vṛiṣṭi-sarjanam | sakṛiḥ eva tayā vṛiṣṭyā saṁyukto
prithivī-tale | 82. Prādurāsaṁś tadā tāsām vṛikṣhās tu griha-saṁsthi-
tāḥ¹⁵⁵ | sarva-pratyupabhogas tu tāsām tebhyaḥ prajāyate | 83. Vart-
tayanti hi tebhyaḥ tās tretā-yuga-mukhe prajāḥ | tataḥ kālena mahatā
tāsām eva viparyayāt | 84. Rāgalobhātmako bhāvas tadā hy ākasmiko
'bhavat | yat tad bhavati nārīṇāṁ jivitānte tad ārtavam | 85. Tadā tad
vai na bhavati punar yuga-balena tu | tāsām punaḥ pravṛitte tu māse māse
tad ārtavam (-ve?) | 86. Tatas tenaiva yogena varittatām maithuno tadā |
tāsām tāt-kāla-bhāvītṛād māsi māsy upayachhatām | 87. Akāle hy ārttavot-
pattir garbhotpattir ajāyata | viparyayena tāsām tu tena kālena bhāvinā |
88. Prajāsyanti tataḥ sarve vṛikṣhās te grihasaṁsthitāḥ | tatas tesu
pranashṭeshu vibhrāntā vyākulendriyāḥ | 89. Abhidhyāyanti tām siddhiṁ
satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | prādurbabhūvus tāsām tu vṛikṣhās te griha-
saṁsthitāḥ | 90.¹⁵⁶ Vastrāṇi cha prasūyante phaleshu ābharāṇāni cha |
tesu eva jāyate tāsām gandha-varṇa-rasānvitam | 91. Amākṣhikam ma-
hāvīryam puṭake puṭake madhu | tena tā varttayanti sma mukhe tretā-
yugasya vai | 92. Hṛiṣṭa-tuṣṭās tayā siddhyā prajā vai vigata-jvarāḥ |
punaḥ kālāntarenaiva punar lobhāvṛitās tu tāḥ | 93. Vṛikṣhāṁś tām
paryagrihṇanta madhu chāmākṣhikam balāt | tāsām tenāpachāreṇa punar
lobha-kṛitena vai | 94. Pranashṭā madhunā sārddham kalpa-vṛikṣhāḥ kva-

¹⁵⁵ Verses 27-35 of the Mār. P. correspond more or less to this and the following verses down to 98.

¹⁵⁶ This and the following verses correspond more or less closely to the Mār. P. 30 ff.

chit kvachit | tasyām evālpā-śiṣṭāyām sandhyā-kāla-vaśāt tadā | 95. varṭtatām tu tadā tāsām dvandvāny abhyutthitāni tu | śītavātātāpāis tīvrais tatas tāḥ duḥkhitā bhṛīsam | 96. Dvandvais tāḥ pīḍyamānās tu chakrur āvarāṇāni cha | kṛtvā dvandva-pratikāram niketāni hi bhejire | 97. Pūrvaṁ nikāma-chārūs te aniketāśrayā bhṛīsam | yathā-yogyā yathā-prīti niketesu avasan punaḥ | 98. Maru-dhanvasu nimnesu parvatesu darīṣhu cha¹⁵⁷ | saṁśrayanti cha durgāni dhanvānam śāśvatodakam | 99. Yathā-yogaṁ yathā-kāmaṁ sameshu vishameshu cha | ārabdhās te niketā vai karttuṁ śītoṣṇa-pāraṇam | 100. Tatas tā māpayāmāsuḥ khetāni cha purāṇi cha | grāmāṁś chaiva yathā-bhāgaṁ talhaivāntaḥ-purāṇi cha | . . . 123.¹⁵⁸ Kṛiteshu tesu sthāneshu punaś chakrur grihāni cha | yathā cha pūrvam āsan vai vṛikshās tu griha-saṁsthitāḥ | 124. Tathā karttuṁ samārabdhās chintayitvā punaḥ punaḥ | vṛidhās chaiva gatāḥ śākhā natās chaivāparā gatāḥ | 125. Atā ūrdhvaṁ gatās chānyā enam tiryaggatāḥ parāḥ | buddhyā 'nvishya tathā 'nyā yā vṛiksha-śākhā yathā gatāḥ | 126. Tathā kṛitās tu taiḥ śākhās tasmāch chhālās tu tāḥ smṛitāḥ | evam prasiddhāḥ śākhābhyāḥ śālās chaiva grihāni cha | 127. Tasmāt tā vai smṛitāḥ śālāḥ śālātvaṁ chaiva tāsu tat | prasīdati manas tāsu manāḥ prāsādayamś cha tāḥ | 128. Tasmād grihāni śālās cha prāsādās chaiva sanjnitāḥ | kṛtvā dvandvopaghātāṁś tām vārttopāyam achintayan | 129.¹⁵⁹ Nashṭeshu madhunā sārddham kalpa-vṛiksheshu vai tadā | vishāda-vyākulās tā vai prajāś trishnā-kṣudhānvitāḥ | 130. Tataḥ prādurbabhau tāsām eidhis tretā-yuge punaḥ | vārttārtha-sādhikā hy anyā vṛiṣṭis tāsām hi kāmataḥ | 131. Tāsām vṛiṣṭy-udakāniha yāni nimnair gatāni tu | vṛiṣṭyā nimnā(?) nirabhavan srotāḥ-khātāni nimnagāḥ | 132. Evaṁ nadyaḥ pravṛittās tu dvītiye vṛiṣṭi-sarjane | ye purastād apām stokā āpānāḥ prithivītale | 133. Apām bhūmes cha saṁyogād ośadhyas tāsu chābhavan | pushpa-mūlaphalīnyas tv ośadhyas tāḥ prajājnire | 134. Aphāla-kṛiṣṭās chānuptā grāmyāranyaś chaturdaśa | ṛitu-pushpa-phalāschaiva vṛikshāḥ gulmās cha jājnire | 135. Prādurbhavas cha tretāyām ādya 'yam aushadhasya tu | tenaushadhena varttante prajāś tretāyuge tadā | 136. Tataḥ punar abhūt tāsām rūgo lobhās cha sarvaśaḥ | avāśyam-

¹⁵⁷ I have corrected this line from Märk. P. xlix. 35.

¹⁵⁸ Verses 52-64 of the Märk. P. correspond in substance to verses 123-128 of the Vāyu P.

¹⁵⁹ Verses 55-62 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 129-137 of the Vāyu P.

bhāvinā 'rthena tretā-yuga-vaśena tu | 137. Tatas tāḥ paryagrihṇanta
 nadīḥ kehetrāṇi parvatān | vṛikshān gulmaushadhīs chaiva prasahya tu
 yathā-balam | 138. Siddhātmanās tu ye pūrvam vyākhyatāḥ prakṛite
 mayā | Brahmano mānasās te vai utpannā ye janād iha | 139. Sāntās
 cha sushmīnās chaiva karmino duḥkḥinas tadā | tataḥ pravarttamānās te
 tretāyām jajñire punaḥ | 140. Brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyā vaiśyāḥ śūdrā
 drohijanās tathā | bhāvitāḥ pūrva-jātishu karmabhis cha śubhāśubhaiḥ |
 141. Itas tebhyo 'balā ye tu satyaśilā hy ahiṃsakāḥ | vīta-lobhā jitāt-
 māno nivasanti sma teshu vai | 142. Pratigrihṇanti kurvanti tebhyas
 chānye 'lpa-tejasāḥ | evaṃ vipratipanneshu prapanneshu parasparam |
 143. Tena dosheṇa teshām tā oshadhyo mishatām tadā¹⁶⁰ | pranashṭā hriya-
 mānā vai muṣṭībhyām sikatā yathā | 144.¹⁶¹ Agrasād bhūr yuga-batād
 grāmyāranyās chaturdaśa | phalam grihṇanti pushpāischa phalaiḥ patrāiḥ
 punaḥ punaḥ | 145.¹⁶² Tatas tāsu pranashṭāsu vibhrāntās tāḥ prajāś
 tadā | Svayambhuvam prabhuṃ jagmuḥ kshudhāvishṭāḥ prajāpatim | 146.
 vṛitty-artham abhīlipsantaḥ ādau tretā-yugasya tu | Brahmā Svayambhūr
 bhagavān jñātvā tāsām manīṣitam | 147. Yuktam pratyaksha-dṛiṣṭena
 darśanena vichāryya cha | grastāḥ prithivyā oshadhyo jñātvā pratyaduhat
 punaḥ | 148. Kṛtvā vatsām sumerum tu dudoha prithivīm imām | dugdhe-
 yaṃ gaus tadā tena vījāni prithivī-talo | 149. Jajñire tāni vījāni grāmyā-
 ranyās tu tāḥ punaḥ | oshadhyāḥ phala-pākāntāḥ śaṇa-saptadaśās tu tāḥ |
 . . . 155. Utpannāḥ prathamam hy etā ādau tretā-yugasya tu | 156.
 Aphālā-kṛiṣṭā oshadhyo grāmyāranyās tu sarvaśāḥ | vṛikshā gulma-
 latā-vallyo vīrudhas trīṇa-jātayaḥ | 157. Mālaiḥ phalaiś cha rohinyo
 'grihṇan pushpāis cha yāḥ phalam | prithvī dugdhā tu vījāni yāni pūr-
 vaṃ Svayambhuvā | 158. Ritu-pushpa-phalās tā vai oshadhyo jajñire tv
 iha |¹⁶³ yadā prasṛiṣṭā oshadyo na prarohanti tāḥ punaḥ | 159. Tataḥ
 sa tāsām vṛitty-artham vārttopāyaṃ chakāra ha | Brahmā Svayambhūr
 bhagavān hasta-siddham tu karma-jam | 160. Tataḥ-prabhṛity athau-
 shadhyāḥ kṛiṣṭā-pachyās tū jajñire | saṃsiddhāyām tu vārttāyām tatas
 tāsām Svayambhuvāḥ | 161. Moryādāḥ sthāpayāmāsa yathārabdhāḥ
 parasparam |¹⁶⁴ ye vai parigrihītāras tāsām āsan badhātmakāḥ | 162.
 Itaroshām kṛita-trāṇān sthāpayāmāsa kshattriyān | upatishṭhanti ye tān

¹⁶⁰ Märk. P. verse 63a.

¹⁶¹ Märk. P. verse 68b.

¹⁶² Verses 64-67 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 145-149 of the Vāyu P.

¹⁶³ Verses 72-75 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 158b-160a of the Vāyu P.

¹⁶⁴ This with all what follows down to verse 171 is omitted in the Märk. P.

vai yāvanto nirbhayās tathā | 163. Satyam brahma yathā bhūtam bruvanto brāhmaṇās tu te | ye chānye 'py abalās teshām vaiśasaṁ karma saṁsthitāḥ | 164. Kināśā nāśayanti sma prithivyām prāg atandritāḥ | vaiśyaṁ eva tu tām āhuḥ kināśān vṛtti-sādhakān | 165. Sochantāś cha dravantaś cha paricharyyāsu ye ratāḥ | nistejaso 'lpa-vīryyās cha śūdrān tām abravīt tu saḥ | 166. Teshām karmāṇi dharmāṁś cha Brahmā 'nuvyadadhāt prabhuh | saṁsthitau prakṛitāyām tu chāturvarnyasyā sarvasaḥ | 167. Punaḥ prajāś tu tā mōhāt tām dharmān nāvapālayan | varṇa-dharmair ajīvantyo vyarudhyanta paraspāram | 168. Brahmā tam artham buddhvā tu yāthātathyena vai prabhuh | kshattriyāṇām balam daṇḍam yuddhāṁ ājivam ādiśat | 169. Yājanādhyanam chaiva tritīyaṁ cha parigraham | brāhmaṇānām vibhus teshām karmāṇy etāny athādiśat | 170. Pāsupālyaṁ vāṇijyaṁ cha kṛṣiṁ chaiva viśāṁ dadau | śilpājivam bhṛitiṁ chaiva śūdrāṇām vyadadhāt prabhuh | 171. Sāmānyāni tu karmāṇi brahma-kshattri-viśāṁ punaḥ | yājanādhyanam dānam sāmānyāni tu teshu vai | 172. Karmājivam tato datvā tebhyas chaiva paraspāram | lokāntareṣu sthānāni teshām siddhyāy¹⁶⁵ adāt prabhuh | 173.¹⁶⁶ Prājāpatyaṁ brāhmaṇānām smṛitāṁ sthānāṁ kṛiyāvatām | sthānāṁ aindraṁ kshattriyāṇām sangrāmeṣu apalāyinām | 174. Vaiśyaṇām mārutaṁ sthānāṁ śva-dharmam upajivinām | gāndharvaṁ śūdra-jātīnām pratichāreṇa (parichāreṇa?) tishthatām | 175. Sthānāny etāni varṇānām vyasyāchāravatām svayam | tataḥ sthiteshu varṇeṣu sthāpayāmāsa chāśramān | 176. Gṛihastham brahmachāritvaṁ vanaprastham saṁnikṣhukam | āśramāṁś chaturō hy etān pūrvam asthāpayat prabhuh | 177. Varṇa-karmāṇi ye kechit teshām iha na kurvate | kṛita-karmakṣhitiḥ(?) prāhur āśrama-sthāna-vāsināḥ | 178. Brahmā tām sthāpayāmāsa āśramān nāma nāmataḥ | nirdeśārtham tatas teshām Brahmā dharmān prābhāshata | 179. Prasthānāni cha teshām vai yamāṁścha niyamāṁś cha ha | chāturvarnyāt-makhaḥ pūrvam gṛihasthas tv āśramāḥ smṛitāḥ | 180. Trayāṇām āśramānām cha pratishthā yonir eva cha | yathākramam pravakṣhyāmi yamāis cha niyamāis cha taiḥ | 190. Vedāḥ sāṅgās cha yajñās cha vṛtāni niyamās cha ye | 191. Na siddhyanti prādushtāsyā bhāvadoshe upāgate | bahiḥ-karmāṇi sarvāni prasiddhyanti (na siddhyanti?) kadāchana |

¹⁶⁵ I conjecture *siddhyāy adāt* to be the proper reading. The MSS. have *siddhyādadāt*, or *siddhyādadāt*, etc.

¹⁶⁶ Verses 173 f. are found in the Märk. P., verses 77 f.; but all that follows down to verse 193 is omitted there.

192. *Antar-bhāva-pradushtasya kurvato 'hi parākramāt | sarvasvam api yo dadyāt kalusheṇāntarātmanā |* 193. *Na tena dharma-bhāk sa syād bhāva eva hi kāraṇam |* 199. *Evam varṇāśramānām vai prati-bhāge kṛito tadā |* 200. *Yadā 'sya na vyavarāhanta prajā varṇāśramat-mikāḥ | tato 'nyā mānasīḥ so 'tha tretā-madhye 'srijat prajāḥ |* 201. *Ātmanas tāḥ śarīrāccha tulyās chaivātmanā tu vai | tasmin tretā-yuge prāpte madhyam prāpte kramena tu |* 202. *Tato 'nyā manasīs tatra prajāḥ sraśtūm prachakrame | tataḥ satva-rajodriktāḥ prajāḥ so 'thāsrijat prabhuḥ |* 203. *Dharmārtha-kāma-mokshānām vārttāyās chaiva sādhi-kāḥ | devās cha pitaras chaiva ṛishayo manavas tathā |* 204. *Yugānurūpā dharmena yair imā vichitāḥ prajāḥ | upasthite tadā tasmin prajā-dharme (-sarge?) Svayambhuvaḥ |* 205. *Abhidhadyau prajāḥ sarvā nānūrūpās tu mānasīḥ | pūrvoktā yā mayā tubhyaṁ jana-lokaṁ samāśritāḥ |* 206. *Kalpe 'tite tu tā hy āsan devādyās tu prajā iha | dhyāyatas tasya tāḥ sarvāḥ sambhūty-artham upasthitāḥ |* 207. *Manvantara-krameneha ka-nishthe prathamē matāḥ | khyātyā 'nubandhais tais tais tu sarvārthair iha bhāvitāḥ |* 208. *Kuśalakuśala-prāyair iha karmabhis taiḥ sadā prajāḥ | tat-karma-phala-śeṣeṇa upashtabdhāḥ prajājnire |* 209. *Devāsura-pitṛi-trivais tu paśu-pakshi-sarīripaiḥ | vṛiksha-nāraka-kītatvais tais tair bhā-vair upasthitāḥ | ādhīnārtham prajānām cha ātmanā vai vinirmame |*

“22. At the beginning of the Kalpa, in the first Kṛita age, he created those living beings (23) which I have formerly described to thee; but in the olden time, at the close of the Kalpa, those creatures were burnt up by fire. 24. Those of them who did not reach the Tapoloka took refuge in the Janaloka; and when the creation again commences, they form its seed. 25. Existing there as a seed for the sake of another creation, they then, as they are created, are produced with a view to progeny. 26. These are declared to accomplish, in the present state (the four ends of human life, viz.), duty, the acquisition of wealth, the gratification of love, and the attainment of final liberation,—both gods, Fathers, Rishis, and Manus. 27. They, then, filled with austere fervour, replenish (all) places. These are the mental sons of Brahmā, perfect in their nature. 28. Those who ascended to the sky by works characterized by devotion to external objects, but not by hatred, return to this world and are born in every age. 29. As the result of their works, and of their destination, (returning) from the Janaloka, they are born of the same character (as



before), in consequence of the (previous) deeds by which they are bound.¹⁶⁷ 30. It is to be understood that the cause of this is their tendency (or fate), which itself is the result of works. In consequence of these works, good or bad, they return from Janaloka and are born, (31) and receive various bodies in (different) wombs. They are produced again and again in all states, from that of gods to that of motionless substances. 32. These creatures, as they are born time after time, receive the same functions as they had obtained in each previous creation. 33. Destructiveness and undestructiveness, mildness and cruelty, righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood—actuated by such dispositions as these, they obtain (their several conditions); and hence particular actions are agreeable to particular creatures. 34. And in succeeding periods they for the most part obtain the forms and the names which they had in the past Kalpas. 35. Hence they obtain the same names and forms. In the different Kalpas they are born with the same name and form. 36. Afterwards, when the creation had been suspended, as Brahmā was desirous to create, (37) and, fixed in his design, was meditating upon offspring,—he created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings, (38) who were born with an abundance of goodness (*satva*) and full of intelligence.¹⁶⁸ He then created another thousand couples from his breast: (39) they all abounded in passion (*rajas*) and were both vigorous and destitute of vigour.¹⁶⁹ After creating from his thighs another thousand pairs, (40) in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) prevailed, and who are described as active,—he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples (41) who were all full of darkness, inglorious, and of little vigour. Then the creatures sprung from the couples (or thus produced in couples) rejoicing, (42) and filled with mutual love, began to cohabit. From that period sexual intercourse is said to have arisen in this Kalpa. 43. But at that time women had no monthly discharge: and they consequently bore no children, although cohabit-

¹⁶⁷ *Karma-saṁśaya-bandhanāt*. I am unable to state the sense of *saṁśaya* in this compound.

¹⁶⁸ *Suchetasah*. The reading of the Märk. P. *sutejasah*, "full of vigour," is recommended, as an epithet of the Brāhmins, by its being in opposition to *alpa-tejasah*, "of little vigour," which is applied to the S'ūdras a few lines below.

¹⁶⁹ The reading of the Märk. P. *amarśhiyah*, "irascible," gives a better sense than *asushminyah*, "devoid of vigour," which the Vāyu P. has.

ation was practised. 44. At the end of their lives they once bore twins. Weak-minded boys and girls were produced when (their parents) were on the point of death. 45. From that period commenced, in this Kalpa, the birth of twins; and such offspring was once only born to these creatures by a mental effort, in meditation (46),—(offspring which was) receptive (?) of sound and the other objects of sense, pure, and in every case distinguished by five marks. Such was formerly the early mental creation of Prajapāti. 47. Those creatures by whom the world was replenished, born as the descendants of this stock, frequented rivers, lakes, seas, and mountains. 48. In that age (*yuga*) they lived unaffected by excessive cold or heat, and appropriated the food which was produced from the essences of the earth. 49. They acted according to their pleasure, existing in a state of mental perfection. They were characterized neither by righteousness nor unrighteousness; were marked by no distinctions. 50. In that Kṛita yuga, in the beginning of the Kalpa, their age, happiness, and form were alike: they were neither righteous nor unrighteous. 51. In the Kṛita age they were produced each with authority over himself. Four thousand years, according to the calculation of the gods, (52) and four hundred years for each of the morning and evening twilights, are said to form the first, or Kṛita, age.¹⁷⁰ Then, although these creatures were multiplied by thousands, (53) they suffered no impediment, no susceptibility to the pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, cold and heat, etc.) and no fatigue. They frequented mountains and seas, and did not dwell in houses. 54. They never sorrowed, were full of goodness (*satva*), and supremely happy; acted from no impulse of desire,¹⁷¹ and lived in continual delight. 55. There were at that time no beasts, birds, reptiles, or plants,¹⁷² (for these things are produced by unrighteousness),¹⁷³ (56) no roots, fruits,

¹⁷⁰ The first of the verses, which will be quoted below, in a note on verse 63, from the Mārķ. P., seems to be more in place than the description of the Kṛita age given here, of which the substance is repeated in verses 68 and 69.

¹⁷¹ Perhaps we should read here *nikāma-chārinyo* instead of *nishkāma*: if so, the sense will be, "they moved about at will."

¹⁷² The text adds here *nūrakūh* or *narakūh*, which may mean "hellish creatures."

¹⁷³ This, although agreeing with what is said further on in verses 82, 133, and 155, does not seem in consonance with what is stated in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, verse 45, where it is declared: *oshadhyaḥ phala-mūlīnyo romabhyas tasya jajñire | tretā-yuga-mukhe Brahmā kalpasyādaṁ dvijottama | śriṣṭvā paśe-oshadhiḥ samyag gūyeja sa tadā 'dheare* | "Plants bearing roots and fruits sprang from his hairs. At the com-



flowers, productions of the seasons, nor seasons. The time brought with it every object of desire and every enjoyment. There was no excess of heat or cold. 57. The things which these people desired sprang up from the earth everywhere and always, when thought of, and had a powerful relish. 58. That perfection of theirs both produced strength and beauty, and annihilated disease. With bodies, which needed no decoration, they enjoyed perpetual youth. 59. From their pure will alone twin children were produced. Their form was the same. They were born and died together. 60. Then truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self-command prevailed. They were all without distinction in respect of form, term of life, disposition and actions. 61. The means of subsistence were produced spontaneously without forethought on their parts. In the Kṛita age they engaged in no works which were either virtuous or sinful. 62. And there were then no distinctions of castes or orders, and no mixture of castes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63. In the Kṛita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher,¹⁷⁴ with abundant happiness, free from grief, (64) with hearts continually exulting, great in dignity

commencement of the Tretā age Brahmā—having at the beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants—employed them in sacrifice.” Although the order of the words renders the sense in some degree uncertain, it appears to be that which Prof. Wilson assigns in his translation (i. 84), “Brahmā, having created, in the commencement of the Kalpa, various [animals and] plants, employed them in sacrifices in the beginning of the Tretā age.” This interpretation is supported by the Commentator, who remarks: *Tad evaṁ kalpasādhāv eva paśūn ośadhīś cha spṛiṣṭvā 'nantaraṁ tretā-yuga-mukhe prāpte sūti samyag grāmyāranya-vyasthāyā tadā 'dhvare sūnatayā (samyaktayā?) yuyōja kṛita-yuge yajnasāyōpravrītteḥ* | “Having then thus at the very beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants, he afterwards, when the commencement of the Tretā age arrived, employed them properly, according to the distinction of domestic and wild, in sacrifice,—since sacrifice did not prevail in the Kṛita age.” This agrees with the course of the preceding narrative which makes no allusion to plants and animals having been produced in a different Yuga from the other beings whose creation had been previously described. (See Wilson i. 82-84.) The parallel passage in the Vāyu P. x. 44-46, is confused.

¹⁷⁴ The Mark. P. xlix. 24 inserts here the following lines: “They lived for four thousand years of mortals, as the measure of their existence, and suffered no calamities from distress. 25. In some places the earth again enjoyed prosperity in every respect. As through lapse of time the creatures were destroyed, so too those perfections everywhere gradually perished. 26. When they had all been destroyed, creeping-plants fell from the sky, which had nearly the character of Kalpa-trees (i.e. trees which yield all that is desired), and resembled houses.”

and in force. There existed among them no such things as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, liking or dislike. 65. It was through the mind (alone, i.e. without passion?) that these disinterested beings acted towards each other. They neither desired anything from one another; nor shewed any kindness to each other.¹⁷⁵ Contemplation is declared to be supreme in the Kṛita age, knowledge in the Tretā; sacrifice began in the Dvāpara; liberality is the highest merit in the Kali. 67. The Kṛita age is goodness (*satva*), the Tretā is passion (*rajas*), the Dvāpara is passion and darkness (*tamas*), in the Kali it is to be understood that darkness (prevails), according to the necessary course of these ages. 68. The following is the time in the Kṛita age: understand its amount. Four thousand years constitute the Kṛita; (69) and its twilights endure for eight hundred divine years. Then their life was (so long?)¹⁷⁶ and no distresses or calamities befel them. 70. Afterwards, when the twilight in the Kṛita was gone, the righteousness peculiar to that age was in all respects reduced to a quarter (of its original sum). 71. When further the twilight had passed, at the close of the Yuga, and the righteousness peculiar to the twilight had been reduced to a quarter, (72) and when the Kṛita had thus come altogether to an end,—then perfection vanished. When this mental perfection had been destroyed, there arose (73) another perfection formed in the period of the Tretā age. The eight mental perfections, which I declared (to have existed) at the creation, (74) were gradually extinguished. At the beginning of the Kalpa mental perfection alone (existed), viz., that which existed in the Kṛita age. 75. In all the Manvantaras there is declared to arise a perfection proceeding from works, produced by the discharge of the duties belonging to castes and orders, according to the fourfold division of Yugas. 76. The (morning) twilight (deteriorates) by a quarter of the (entire) Kṛita,—and the evening twilight by (another) quarter;—(thus) the Kṛita, the morning twilight, and the evening

¹⁷⁵ This representation of the condition of mankind during the Kṛita age, the period of ideal goodness, was no doubt sketched in conformity with the opinions which prevailed at the period when the Purāṇa was compiled; when dispassion was regarded as the highest state of perfection.

¹⁷⁶ It would seem as if the writer here meant to state that the period of life was that which in the verse of the Mār. P. (xlix, 24), quoted in the note on verse 63, it is declared to have been. But the expression here is, from some cause or other, imperfect.



twilight (together) deteriorate successively to the extent of three quarters, in the duties peculiar to the Yuga, and in austere fervour, sacred knowledge, strength, and length of life.¹⁷⁷ Then after the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (78) the Tretā age succeeded,—(which) the most excellent rishis regarded as the evening of the Kṛita. But when the evening of the Kṛita had died out, (79) from the influence of time, and for no other reason, perfection disappeared from among the creatures who survived at the commencement of the Tretā age which ensued at the beginning of the Kalpa. 80. When that perfection had perished, another perfection arose. The subtle form of water having returned in the form of cloud (to the sky),¹⁷⁸ (81) rain began to be discharged from the thundering clouds. The earth having once received that rain, (82) trees resembling houses¹⁷⁹ were provided for these creatures. From them all means of enjoyment were produced. 83. Men derived their subsistence from them at the beginning of the Tretā. Subsequently, after a great length of time, owing to their ill fortune, (84) the passions of desire and covetousness arose in their hearts uncaused. The monthly discharge, which occurred at the end of women's lives, (85) did not then take place: but as it commenced again, owing to the force of the age (*yuga*), (86) and as the couples, in consequence of it, began to cohabit, and approached each other monthly, from necessity occasioned by the time,—(87) an unseasonable^{179a} production of the monthly discharge, and of pregnancy ensued. Then through their misfortune, and owing to that fated time, (88) all those house-like trees perished. When these had been destroyed, men disturbed and agitated, (89) but genuine in their desire, longed after that perfection (which they had lost). Then those house-like trees appeared to them; (90) and among their fruits yielded clothes and jewels. On these trees too, in the hollow of every leaf, there was produced, (91) without the aid of bees, honey of great potency, having scent, colour, and flavour. By this means they subsisted at the beginning of the Tretā, (92) delighted with this per-

¹⁷⁷ Such is the only sense I can extract from these rather obscure lines.

¹⁷⁸ Such is the only sense of the words here rendered which occurs to me.

¹⁷⁹ *Griha-saṁsthītāḥ*. Professor Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives "like, resembling," among the meanings of *saṁsthita*.

^{179a} Instead of *ākāle*, "out of season!" Professor Aufrecht suggests *ākāle*, "in season," as the proper reading.

fection and free from trouble. Again, through the lapse of time, becoming greedy, (93) they seized by force those trees, and that honey produced without bees. And then, owing to that misconduct of theirs, occasioned by cupidity, (94) the Kalpa trees, together with their honey, were in some places destroyed. As but little of it¹⁸⁰ remained, owing to the effects of the period of twilight, (95) the pairs (of opposites, as pleasure and pain, etc.) arose in men when existing (in this state); and they became greatly distressed by sharp cold winds, and heats. 96. Being thus afflicted by these opposites, they adopted means of shelter: and to counteract the opposites they resorted to houses. 97. Formerly they had moved about at their will, and had not dwelt at all in houses: but subsequently they abode in dwellings, as they found suitable and pleasant, (98) in barren deserts, in valleys, on mountains, in caves; and took refuge in fortresses,—(in a) desert with perpetual water.¹⁸¹ 99. As a protection against cold and heat they began to construct houses on even and uneven places, according to opportunity and at their pleasure. 100. They then measured out towns, cities, villages, and private apartments, according to the distribution of each.” [The following verses 101–107 give an account of the different measures of length and breadth, which is followed, in verses 108–122, by a description of the various kinds of fortresses, towns, and villages, their shapes and sizes, and of roads. The author then proceeds in verse 123:] “These places having been made, they next constructed houses; and as formerly trees existed, formed like houses,¹⁸² (124) so did they (now) begin to erect them, after repeated consideration. (Some) boughs are spread out, others are bent down, (125) others rise upwards, while others again stretch horizontally. After examining thus by reflection how the different boughs of trees branch out, (126) they constructed in like manner the apartments (*śakhāḥ*) (of their houses): hence they

¹⁸⁰ “Perfection” seems to be here intended. If so, it would seem as if this line had been separated from its proper context.

¹⁸¹ *Dhanvānam sāvatadakam*. Perhaps we should read here with the Mārk. P. xlix. 35, *vārksyām pārvatam audakam* “(fortresses) protected by trees, built on mountains, or surrounded by water.”

¹⁸² Whatever may be thought of this rendering of the phrase, *erikṣāḥ grihasāsthītāḥ*, the Mārk. P. (xlix. 52), at least, is quite clear: *grihākārā yathā pūrvaṁ teshām āsan mahāruhāḥ | tathā saṁsmṛitya tat sarvaṁ chakrur veśmāni tāḥ prajāḥ |* “As they had formerly had trees with the shape of houses, so recalling all that to mind, these people built their dwellings.”



are called rooms (*śālāḥ*).¹⁸³ In this way rooms and houses derive their appellation from branches. 127. Hence rooms are called *śālā*, and in that their character as rooms (*śālātvaṃ*) consists. And inasmuch as the mind takes pleasure in them, and as they have gladdened (*prāsādayan*), the mind, (128) houses, rooms, and palaces are termed respectively *griha*, *śālā*, and *prāsāda*. Having adopted these means of defence against the 'opposites,' they devised methods of subsistence. 129. The kalpa-trees having been destroyed along with their honey, those creatures, afflicted with thirst and hunger, became disquieted by dejection. 130. Then again another perfection arose for them in the Tretā age,—which fulfilled the purpose of subsistence,—viz., rain at their pleasure. 131. The rain-water, which flowed into the hollows, burst out in the form of springs, water-courses, and rivers,¹⁸⁴ through the rain. 132. Thus at the second fall of rain rivers began to flow. When the drops of water first reached the ground, then (133) from the conjunction of the waters and the earth plants sprang up among them, which bore both flowers, roots, and fruits. 134. Fourteen kinds of plants, cultivated and wild, were produced without ploughing or sowing, as well as trees and shrubs which bore flowers and fruit at the proper season. 135. This was the first appearance of plants in the Tretā age, and by them men subsisted at that period. 136. Then there again arose among them, universally, desire and cupidity, through a necessary process, and as a result of the Tretā age. 137. They then appropriated to themselves, by force and violence, rivers, fields, hills, trees, shrubs, and plants. 138. Those perfect beings, who were described by me as existing formerly in the Kṛita, — the mind-born children of Brahmā, who had been produced in this world when they came from the Janaloka,—(139) who were (some) tranquil, (some) fiery, (some) active, and (others) distressed,—were again born in the Tretā, (140) as Brāhmins, Kṣhattryas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and injurious men, governed by the good and bad actions (performed) in former births. 141. Then those who were weaker than they, being truthful and innocent, dwelt among them, free from cupidity, and self-restrained; (142) whilst

¹⁸³ The reasoning here does not seem very cogent, as the two words *śākhā* and *śālā* do not appear to have any close connection. But such unsuccessful attempts at etymology are frequent in Sanskrit works.

¹⁸⁴ The text here does not seem to be in a satisfactory state. The Calc. edition of the Mārķ. P. reads *erishṭyāvarudāhair abhavat*, etc.



others, less glorious than they, took and did.¹⁸⁵ When they had thus become opposed to each other,—(143) through their misconduct, while they struggled together, the plants were destroyed, being seized with their fists like gravel. 144. Then the earth swallowed up the fourteen kinds of cultivated and wild plants, in consequence of the influence exerted by the Yuga: for men had seized again and again the fruit, together with the flowers and leaves. 145. After the plants had perished, the famished people, becoming bewildered, repaired to Svayambhū the lord of creatures, (146) in the beginning of the Tretā-age, seeking the means of subsistence.¹⁸⁶ Learning what they desired, (147) and determining by intuition what was proper to be done, the Lord Brah-mā Svayambhū, knowing that the plants had been swallowed up by the earth, milked them back. 148. Taking Sumeru as a calf, he milked this earth. When this earth (or cow)¹⁸⁷ was milked by him, roots were

¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of this line.

¹⁸⁶ The S. P. Br. ii. 4, 2, 1, also speaks of different classes of creatures applying to the creator for food: *Prajāpatiṁ vai bhūtāny upāsīdan | prajāḥ vai bhūtāni |* “*vi no dṛheḥi yathā jīvāma*” *iti | tato devā yajnopavītino bhūtva dakṣiṇāṁ jānu āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīt “yajno vo ’nam amṛitatvaṁ va ūrg vaḥ sūryo vo jyotir” iti |* 2. *Atha enam pitarah prāchināvītinaḥ savyaṁ jānu āchya upāsīdan | tān abravīt “mūsi mūsi vo ’śanām svadhā vo manojavo vaś chandramā vo jyotir” iti |* 3. *Atha enam manushyāḥ prāvṛitāḥ upasthaṁ kṛtvā upāsīdan | tān abravīt “sāyam prātar vo ’śanam prajāḥ vo mṛityur vo ’gnir vo jyotir” iti |* 4. *Atha enam paśavaḥ upāsīdan | tebhyaḥ svaisham eva chakāra “yadū eva yūyam kadācha labhādhvai yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva āsnātha” iti | tasmād ete yadū kadācha labhante yadi kāle yady anākāle atha eva āsnanti |* 5. *Atha ha enam śas’vad’apy asurāḥ upasedur ity āhuḥ | tebhyaḥ tamaś cha māyāṁ cha pradadāu | asty aha eva asura-māyā iti iva | parābhūtā ha tv eva tāḥ prajāḥ | tāḥ imāḥ prayāsa tathāiva upajīvanti yathāiva ābhyāḥ Prajā-patir ādadāt |* “All beings resorted to Prajāpati,—(creatures are beings),—(saying) ‘provide for us that we may live.’ Then the gods, wearing the sacrificial cord, and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, ‘let sacrifice be your food, your immortality your strength, the sun your light.’ 2. Then the Fathers, wearing the sacrificial cord on their right shoulders, and bending the left knee, approached him. To them he said, ‘you shall eat monthly, your oblation (*svadhā*) shall be your rapidity of thought, the moon your light.’ 3. Then men, clothed, and inclining their bodies, approached him. To them he said, ‘ye shall eat morning and evening, your offspring shall be your death, Agni your light.’ 4. Then cattle repaired to him. To them he accorded their desire, (saying), ‘Whosoever ye find anything, whether at the proper season or not, eat it.’ Hence whenever they find anything, whether at the proper season or not, they eat it. 5. Then they say that the Asuras again and again resorted to him. To them he gave darkness (*tamaś*) and illusion. There is, indeed, such a thing as the illusion, as it were, of the Asuras. But those creatures succumbed. These creatures subsist in the very manner which Prajāpati allotted to them.”

¹⁸⁷ *Gauh* means both.

produced again in the ground,—(149) those plants, whereof hemp is the seventeenth, which end with the ripening of fruits." [The plants fit for domestic use, and for sacrifice are then enumerated in verses 150–155.] "155. All these plants, domestic and wild, were for the first time¹⁸⁸ produced at the beginning of the Tretā age, (156) without cultivation, trees, shrubs, and the various sorts of creepers and grasses, both those which produce roots as their fruits, and those which bear fruit after flowering. The seeds for which the earth was formerly milked by Svayambhū (158) now became plants bearing flowers and fruits in their season. When these plants, though created, did not afterwards grow, (159) the divine Brahmā Svayambhū devised for the people means of subsistence depending on labour effected by their hands. 160. From that time forward the plants were produced and ripened through cultivation. The means of subsistence having been provided, Svayambhū (161) established divisions among them according to their tendencies.¹⁸⁹ Those of them who were rapacious, and destructive, (162) he ordained to be Kshattriyas, protectors of the others.¹⁹⁰ As many men as attended on these, fearless, (163) speaking truth and propounding sacred knowledge (*brahma*) with exactness, (were made) Brāhmans. Those others of them who had previously been feeble, engaged in the work of slaughter,¹⁹¹ who, as cultivators (*kīnāsāḥ*), had been destructive, and were active in connection with the ground, were called Vaiśyas, husbandmen (*kīnāsān*), providers of subsistence. 165. And he designated as Sūdras those who grieved (*śochantaḥ*), and ran (*dravantaḥ*),¹⁹² who were addicted to menial tasks, inglorious and feeble.

¹⁸⁸ See the note on verse 55, above.

¹⁸⁹ *Yathārarahāḥ*. The Märk. P. has *yathā-nyāyān yathā-guṇam*, "according to fitness and their qualities."

¹⁹⁰ *Itareshām kṛita-trāṇān*. The M. Bh. xii. 2247, thus explains the word Kshattriya: *brāhmaṇānām kṣata-trāṇāt tataḥ kṣattriya ucyate* | "(a king) is called Kshattriya because he protects Brāhmans from injuries."

¹⁹¹ *Vaiśasām karma*. The former word has the senses of (1) "hindrance, impediment," and (2) "slaughter," assigned to it in Wilson's Dictionary.

¹⁹² The reader who is familiar with the etymologies given in Yaska's Nirukta, or in Professor Wilson's Dictionary on Indian authority, will not be surprised at the absurdity of the attempts made here by the Purāṇa-writer to explain the origin of the words Kshattriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra. To account for the last of these names he combines the roots *śuch*, "to grieve," and *dru*, "to run," dropping, however, of necessity the last letter (*ch*) of the former. The word *kṣattriya* is really derived from *kṣattrā*, "royal power;" and *vaiśya* comes from *viś*, "people," and means "a man of the people."

166. Brahmā determined the respective functions and duties of all these persons. But after the system of the four castes had been in all respects established, (167) those men from infatuation did not fulfil their several duties. Not living conformably to those class-duties, they came into mutual conflict. 168. Having become aware of this fact, precisely as it stood, the Lord Brahmā prescribed force, criminal justice, and war, as the profession of the Kshattriyas. 169. He then appointed these, viz., the duty of officiating at sacrifices, sacred study, and the receipt of presents, to be the functions of Brāhmanas. 170. The care of cattle, traffic, and agriculture, he allotted as the work of the Vaiśyas; and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, he assigned as that of the Sūdras. 171. The duties common to Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. 172. Having distributed to the classes their respective functions and occupations, the Lord then allotted to them abodes in other worlds for their perfection. 173. The world of Prajāpati is declared to be the (destined) abode of Brāhmanas practising rites; Indra's world that of Kshattriyas who do not flee in battle; (174) the world of the Maruts that of Vaiśyas who fulfil their proper duty; the world of the Gandharvas that of men of Sūdra birth who abide in the work of service. 175. Having allotted these as the future abodes of (the men of the different) classes, who should be correct in their conduct, he ordained orders (*āśramas*) in the classes which had been established. 176. The Lord formerly instituted the four orders of householder, religious student, dweller in the woods, and mendicant. 177. To those of them who do not in this world perform the duties of their castes, the men who dwell in hermitages apply the appellation of 'destroyer of works.' 178. Brahmā established these orders by name, and in explanation of them he declared their duties, (179) their methods of procedure, and their various rites. First of all there is the order of householder, which belongs to all the four classes, (180) and is the foundation and source of the other three orders. I shall declare them in order with their several observances." [The following verses 181-189, which detail these duties, need not be cited here. I shall, however, quote verses 190 ff. for their excellent moral tone.] "190. The Vedas, with their appendages, sacrifices, fasts, and ceremonies, (191) avail not to a depraved man, when his disposition has become corrupted. All external rites are



fruitless (192) to one who is inwardly debased, however energetically he may perform them. A man who bestows even the whole of his substance with a defiled heart will thereby acquire no merit—of which a good disposition is the only cause.” [After giving some further particulars about the celestial abodes of the righteous, verses 194–198, the writer proceeds:] “199. When—after the division into castes and orders had thus been made—(200) the people living under that system did not multiply, Brahmā formed other mind-born creatures in the middle of the Tretā (201) from his own body and resembling himself. When the Tretā age had arrived, and had gradually reached its middle, (202) the Lord then began to form other mind-born creatures. He next formed creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) and passion (*rajas*) predominated, (203) and who were capable of attaining (the four objects of human pursuit) righteousness, wealth, love, and final liberation, together with the means of subsistence. Gods, too, and Fathers, and Rishis, and Manus (were formed), (204) by whom these creatures were classified (?) according to their natures in conformity with the Yuga. When this character (?) of his offspring had been attained, Brahmā (205) longed after mental offspring of all kinds and of various forms. Those creatures, whom I described to you as having taken refuge in Janaloka, (206) at the end of the Kalpa, all these arrived here, when he thought upon them, in order to be reproduced in the form of gods and other beings. 207. According to the course of the Manvantaras the least were esteemed the first (?), being swayed by destiny, and by connections and circumstances of every description. 208. These creatures were always born, under the controuling influence of, and as a recompence for their good or bad deeds. 209. He by himself formed those creatures which arrived in their several characters of gods, asuras, fathers, cattle, birds, reptiles, trees, and insects, in order that they might be subjected (anew) to the condition of creatures.”¹⁹³

The substance of the curious speculations on the origin and primeval condition of mankind contained in the preceding passage may be stated as follows: In verses 22–34 we are told that the creatures, who at the close of the preceding Kalpa had been driven by the mundane conflagration to Janaloka, now formed the seed of the new creation, which took place in the Krita Yuga, at the commencement of the present

¹⁹³ I confess that I have had great difficulty in attaching any sense to the last words.

Kalpa. These were mind-born sons of Brahmā, perfect in nature, and they peopled the world. As a rule, we are informed, those beings who have formerly been elevated from the earth to higher regions, return again and again to this world, and, as a result of their previous works, are born in every age, in every possible variety of condition, exhibiting the same dispositions and fulfilling the same functions as in their former states of existence. It is next stated, verses 35-40, that when creation had, in some way not explained, come to a stand-still, four classes of human beings, consisting each of a thousand pairs of males and females, characterized respectively by different qualities, physical and moral, were produced from different members of the Creator's body.¹⁹⁴ These creatures sought to propagate the race, but abortively, for the reason specified (43). Children however were produced by mental effort (45 and 59), and in considerable numbers (52). The state of physical happiness, absolute and universal equality, moral perfection, and complete dispassion, in which mankind then existed, is depicted (48-65). The means of subsistence and enjoyment, which they are said to have drawn from the earth (48 and 57), were not of the ordinary kind, as we are informed (55 f.) that neither animals nor plants, which are the products of unrighteousness, existed at that period. No division into castes or orders prevailed during that age of perfection (62). A gradual declension, however, had been going on, and at the end of the Krita Yuga, the perfection peculiar to it had altogether disappeared (70-79). Another kind of perfection, peculiar to the Tretā, however, subsequently arose (73 and 80), and in the different Yugas there has existed a perfection springing from the performance of the duties belonging to each caste and order (75). The perfection described as prevailing in the Tretā was of a physical kind, consisting in the production of rain and the growth of trees, shaped like houses, which at the same time yielded the materials of all sorts of enjoyments (80-82). Passion, however, in its various forms began to take the place of the previous dispassion (84). The constitution of women, which had formerly incapacitated them for effective impregnation, became ultimately so modified as to ensure the successful propagation of the species, which

¹⁹⁴ This statement agrees with that in the Mārka. P. xlix. 3 ff. but differs from that already given from the Vishṇu P. in so far as the latter does not specify the numbers created, or say anything about pairs being formed.



accordingly proceeded (84-87).¹⁹⁶ We have then the destruction, and subsequent reproduction of the trees, formed like houses, described (88-91). These trees now produced clothes and jewels, as well as honey without bees, and enabled mankind to live in happiness and enjoyment. Again, however, the trees disappeared in consequence of the cupidity which led to their misuse (92-94). The absence of perfection occasioned suffering of various kinds, from moral as well as physical causes, and men were now driven to construct houses, which they had hitherto found unnecessary (96-99 and 123), and to congregate in towns and cities (100). Their houses were built after the model furnished by trees (123-128). The hunger and thirst which men endured from the loss of the trees which had formerly yielded all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, were relieved by means of a new perfection which appeared in the shape of rain, and the streams thereby generated, and by the growth of plants, which now sprang up for the first time as a result of the conjunction of water and earth (130-135 and 155). Desire and cupidity, however, now again arose and led to acts of violent appropriation (136 f.). At this juncture the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, of different dispositions, who had formerly existed in the Kṛita age, were reproduced in the Tretā as Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and destructive men, as a result of their actions in their former existence (138-140). But in consequence of their dissensions and rapacity, the earth swallowed up all the existing plants (142-144). Under the pressure of the distress thus occasioned the inhabitants of the earth resorted to Brahmā, who milked the earth, through the medium of mount Sumeru acting as a calf, and recovered the plants which had disappeared (145-149). As, however, these plants did not propagate themselves spontaneously, Brahmā introduced agriculture (158-160). Having thus provided the means of subsistence, he divided the people into classes according to their characteristics (160-165). But as these classes did not perform their several duties, and came into mutual conflict, Brahmā prescribed their respective functions with greater precision (166-171); and assigned the future celestial abodes which the members of each class might attain by their fulfilment (172-174). He then ordained the four orders of householder, religious

¹⁹⁶ It is not quite clear, however, what is intended by the word *akāle*, "out of season," in verse 87. See the emendation proposed above in the note on that verse.

student, etc. (175-190). After a few verses in praise of moral purity (190-193), the abodes and destinies of the eminently righteous are set forth (194-199). Just when we had arrived at a point in the narrative, from which we might have imagined that it had only to be carried on further to afford us a sufficient explanation of the state of things existing up to the present age, we are suddenly arrested (199-202) by being informed that the people distributed according to the system of castes and orders did not multiply, and are introduced to a new mind-born creation, which took place in the Tretā age, to remedy this failure. We are next told (203) of what appears to be another creation of beings endowed with goodness and passion. And, finally, a yet further re-incorporation of previously existing souls is described as having taken place (205-209). It would thus seem that after all we are left without any account of the origin of the system of castes which prevailed when the Purāṇa was compiled. The only suppositions on which this conclusion can be avoided are either (1) that the cessation in the increase of the generation alluded to in verse 200, which led to the new creation, was not universal, that the race then existing did not entirely die out, but that the old blood was re-invigorated by that of the newly created beings; or (2) that the other set of creatures, mentioned in verse 203, as characterized by goodness and passion, were the progenitors of the present race of men. On these points, however, the text throws no light.

The preceding account of the creation of mankind and of the vicissitudes and deterioration of society, is in some places obscure and confused, and its several parts do not appear to be consistent with each other. At the outset the writer describes the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings, of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate characters, the first class having the quality of goodness, the second that of passion, the third those of passion and darkness, and the fourth that of darkness. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishṇu Purāṇa) we cannot find in the narrative the least trace of those inherent differences of character having for a long time manifested themselves by producing dissimilarity either of moral conduct or of physical condition; for the perfection, which is described as existing in the Kṛita age, is spoken of as if it was universal; and not only is no distinction alluded to as prevailing at this period between



the component parts of society, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration also, which ensued towards the end of the Kṛita age, is described as general, and not peculiar to any class. How is this complete uniformity, first of perfection, and afterwards of declension, which, for anything that appears to the contrary, is predicated of the descendants of the whole of the four thousand pairs, to be reconciled with the assertion that each thousand of those pairs was characterized by different innate qualities? The difficulty is not removed by saying that the writer supposed that these inherent varieties of character existed in a latent or dormant state in the different classes, and were afterwards developed in their descendants; for he distinctly declares (verse 54) in general terms that mankind were at that period *sattva-bahulāḥ*, i.e. "possessed the quality of goodness in abundance;" and in the earlier part of the subsequent narrative no allusion is made to the different qualities at first ascribed to the four sets of a thousand pairs being separately developed in the members of the four classes respectively. In verse 74, indeed, it appears to be assumed that the division into castes had existed from the creation; for we there find an assertion that in "all the Manvantaras, according to the division of the four yugas," (including apparently the Kṛita) "there is declared to have existed a perfection effected by the observances of the castes and orders, and arising from the fulfilment of works;" but how is this to be reconciled with the express statement of verses 60 and 61, that "in the Kṛita age no works were performed which were either virtuous or sinful," and that "there then existed neither distinctions of caste or order, nor any mixture of castes?" In the Tretā age the state of deterioration continued, but no reference is made of any separation of classes till we come to verse 138, where it is said that the beings who in the Kṛita age had existed as the perfect mind-born sons of Brahmā, were now, as a consequence of their former actions, recalled into human existence, and in conformity with their previous characters as calm, fiery, laborious, or depressed, became Brāhmins, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras, and men of violence. These creatures, after they had been furnished with the means of subsistence, were eventually divided into classes, according to their varieties of disposition, character, and occupation; and as at first they did not fulfil their proper duties, but encroached upon each others'



provinces, their functions were afterwards more stringently defined and the means of enforcing obedience were provided. Here it is intimated that different sets of beings were born as Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, on account of the different qualities which they had manifested in a previous existence, and that in conformity with those same characteristics they were afterwards formally distributed into castes. This description is therefore so far consistent with itself. The difference of caste is made to depend upon the dispositions of the soul. But how are we to reconcile this postulation of different characters formerly exhibited with the description given in the previous part of the narrative, where we are informed that, in the earlier parts, at least, of the Kṛita age, all men were alike perfect, and that no actions were performed which were either virtuous or vicious? If such was the case at that period, how could the beings who then existed have manifested those differences of disposition and character which are asserted to have been the causes of their being subsequently reborn as Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Sūdras, and Vaiśyas? It may be admitted that the differences of character, which are attributed in the Purāṇa to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs of human beings, correspond to those qualities which are described as having subsequently given rise to the division into castes; but the assertion of such a state of uniform and universal perfection, as is said to have intervened between the creation of mankind and the realization of caste, seems incompatible with the existence of any such original distinctions of a moral character.

As regards this entire account when compared with the other two descriptions of the creation given in the previous part of this section, the same remarks are applicable as have been made in the last section, p. 65 f., on the corresponding passages from the Vishṇu Purāṇa.

The chapter which I have just translated and examined, is followed immediately by the one of which I have already in a preceding page quoted the commencement, descriptive of the creation of Asuras, Gods, Fathers, etc., from the different bodies assumed and cast off successively by Brahmā.

I shall now give an extract from the following, or tenth chapter, in which the the legend of Satarūpā is related.

Sūta uvācha | 1. *Evambhūteshu lokeshu Brahmanā loka-karttrīṇā*¹⁹⁶ |

¹⁹⁶ This form *karttrīṇā* (one which, as is well known, may be optionally employed in

*yadā tāḥ na pravarttante prajāḥ kenāpi hetunā | 2. Tamo-mātrāṇṛito
Brahmā tadā-prabhṛiti duḥkṛitāḥ | tataḥ sa vidadhe buddhim artha-
niśchaya-gāminīm | 3. Athātmani samasrākṣīt tamo-mātrām nijāt-
mikām | rājaḥ-sattvam parājitya varttamānaḥ sa dharmataḥ | 4.
Tapyate tena duḥkṛhena śokaḥ chakre jagat-patiḥ | tamas tu vyanuḍat
tasmād rajas tach cha samāṇṛinot | 5. Tat tamaḥ pratinuttaḥ vai mi-
thunaḥ samevyajāyata | adharmas charaṇāj jāne hiṁsā śokād ajāyata |
6. Tatas tasmin samudbhūte mithune charaṇātmani | tataḥ cha bhagavān
āsīt pritiśchainam asiśriyat | 7. Svām tanuḥ sa tato Brahmā tām
apohat abhāsvaram | dvidhā 'karot sa taṁ deham ardhenā puruṣo
'bhavat | 8. Ardhenā nārī sā tasya Satarūpā vyajāyata | prākṛitām
bhūta-dhātṛim tām kāmād vai sṛiṣṭavān vibhuḥ | 9. Sā divam prithi-
vīm chaiva mahimnā vyāpya dhishṭhitā | Brahmanāḥ sā tanuḥ pūrvā
divam āṛṇitya tishṭhati | 10. Yā tv ardhāt sṛijate nārī Satarūpā vyajā-
yata | sā devī niyataḥ taptvā tapaḥ parama-duṣcharam | bharttāram
dīptayaśasam Puruṣam pratyapadyata | 11. Sa vai Svāyambhuvaḥ
pūrvam Puruṣo Manuṛ uchyate | tasyaikasaptati-yugam Manvanta-
ram ihochyate | 12. Labdhvā tu puruṣaḥ patnīm Satarūpām ayonijām |
tuyā sa ramate sārddham tasmāt sā Ratir uchyate | 13. Prathamāḥ
samprayogaḥ sa kalpādan samavarttata | Virājam asṛijad Brahmā so
'bhavat Puruṣo Virāt | 14. Sa samrāt māsarūpāt tu vairājas tu Manuḥ
smṛitāḥ | sa vairājaḥ prajā-sargaḥ sa sarge puruṣo Manuḥ | 15. Vai-
rājāt puruṣād vīrāch chhatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapādan
putrau putravatām varau |*

"1. When the worlds had thus been formed by Brahmā their creator, but the creatures, for some reason did not engage in action,¹⁹⁷ (2) Brahmā, enveloped in gloom, and thenceforward dejected, formed a resolution tending to ascertain the fact. 3. He then created in himself (a body) of his own, formed of pure gloom (*tamas*), having overpowered the passion (*rajas*) and goodness (*sattva*) which existed (in him) naturally. 4. The Lord of the world was afflicted with that suffering, and la-

the neuter, but not in the masculine) is here used for metrical reasons. Such irregularities are, as we have seen, designated by the Commentators as *ārsha*. It is unlikely that Brahman should be here used in a neuter sense.

¹⁹⁷ The true reading here may be *pravarddhante*, in which case the sense will be "did not multiply." Compare the parallel passage in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 4, p. 64.

mented.¹⁹⁸ He then dispelled the gloom, and covered over the passion. 5. The gloom, when scattered, was formed into a pair.¹⁹⁹ Unrighteousness arose from activity (?), and mischief sprang from sorrow. 6. That active(?) pair having been produced, he became glorious(?) and pleasure took possession of him. 7. Brahmā after that cast off that body of his, which was devoid of lustre, and divided his person into two parts; with the half he became a male (*purusha*) (8) and with the half a female: it was Satarūpā who was so produced to him. Under the impulse of lust he created her a material supporter of beings. 9. By her magnitude she pervaded both heaven and earth. That former body of Brahmā invests the sky. 10. This divine female Satarūpā, who was born to him from his half, as he was creating, by incessantly practising austere fervour of a highly arduous description, acquired for herself as a husband a Male (*purusha*) of glorious renown. He is called of old the Male, Manu Svāyambhuva; and his period (*manvantara*) is declared to extend to seventy-one Yugas. 12. This Male, having obtained for his wife, Satarūpā, not sprung from any womb, lived in dalliance with her (*ramate*); and from this she is called Rati (the female personification of sexual love). 13. This was the first cohabitation practised in the beginning of the Kalpa. Brahmā created Virāj; he was the Male, Virāj. 14. He is the sovereign (*samrāj*), from his having the form of a month; and Manu is known as the son of Virāj.²⁰⁰ This creation of living beings is called that of Virāj. In this creation Manu is the male. 15. Satarūpā bore to the heroic Purusha, son of Virāj, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, the most eminent of these who have sons." This is followed by a further genealogy, into which I will not enter.

By comparing this account with the one extracted above, p. 64 f., from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, i. 7, 1 ff., it will be seen that while it makes no allusion to the production of Rudra, as related in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (which, as well as the birth of the mental sons of Brahmā, the Vāyu Purāṇa had described in the preceding chapter, verses 67-83), it is somewhat fuller in regard to the legend of Satarūpā; and although it

¹⁹⁸ With this account of Brahmā's dejection and grief the accounts quoted above pp. 68 ff. from the Brāhmaṇas may be compared.

¹⁹⁹ Compare the narrative of the Vishṇu Purāṇa i. 7, 9 ff. quoted in p. 64 f.

²⁰⁰ Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes, above, p. 36.



does not allow that Brahmā cohabited with his daughter, and assigns to her another husband, Manu Svāyambhūva, it describes the creator as having been actuated by carnal desire in generating her. I shall give further illustrations of this story in the next section.

SECT. IX.—*Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Satarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.*

The story which forms the subject of the present section is noticed at some length in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 38–46, where one of the oldest passages in which it is related, is quoted from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 4, 1 ff., together with one of a comparatively late age from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 28 ff. As however the legend, though repulsive in its character, is not without interest as illustrating the opinions which Indian mythologists have entertained regarding their deities, I shall quote two other texts in which it is narrated.

The first, from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 33, has, no doubt (along with the passage of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa just referred to, and another from the same work, xiv. 4, 2, 1 ff., quoted above, in p. 24 ff.), furnished the ideas which are expanded in the later versions of the story. It is as follows:

Prajāpatir vai svām duhitaram abhyadhyāyat | Divam ity anye āhur Ushasam ity anye | tām ṛisyo bhūtā rohitām bhūtām abhyat | tam devā apaśyan | “akṛitām vai Prajāpatiḥ karoti” iti | te tam aichhan yaḥ enam āriśhyati | etam anyonyasmin na avindan | teshām yā eva ghoratāmās tanvaḥ āsāms tāḥ ekadhā samabharan | tāḥ sambhṛitāḥ esha devo 'bhavat | tad asya etad bhūtavan-nāma | bhavati vai sa yo 'sya etad evam nāma veda | tam devā abruvann “ayam vai Prajāpatir akṛitām akar imam vidhya” iti | sa “tathā” ity abravīt | “sa vai vo varam vrinai” iti | “vṛiṇishva” iti | sa etam eva varam avṛinita paśūnām ādhipatyam | tad asya etat paśuman-nāma | paśumān bhavati yo 'sya etad evam nāma veda | tam abhyāyatya avidhyat | sa viddhaḥ ūrddhve udapṛāpatad ityādi²⁰¹ |

²⁰¹ See the translation of this passage given by Dr. Haug in his Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

“Prajāpati lusted after his own daughter. Some call her the Sky, others Ushas. Becoming a buck, he approached her after she had become a doe. The gods saw him; (and said) Prajāpati does a deed which was never done (before).²⁰² They sought some one who should take vengeance on him. Such a person they did not find among themselves. They then gathered together their most dreadful bodies. These when combined formed this god (Rudra). Hence (arises) his name connected with Bhūta (*Bhūtapati*). That man flourishes²⁰³ who thus knows this name of his. The gods said to him, ‘This Prajāpati has done a deed which was never done before: pierce him.’ He replied, ‘so be it,’ (adding), ‘let me ask a boon of you.’ They rejoined, ‘ask.’ He asked for this boon, viz., lordship over cattle. Hence arises his name connected with Paśu (*Paśupati*). He who thus knows his name, becomes the owner of cattle. He then attacked (Prajāpati) and pierced him. He, when pierced, soared upwards,” etc. etc.

The second passage I proposed to cite is from the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter iii. verses 32 ff.: *Etad tattvātmakam kṛtvā jagad dvedhā ajjanat* | 33. *Sāvitrīm loka-siddhyartham hṛdi kṛtvā samāsthitaḥ | tataḥ sanjapatas tasya bhūtvā deham akalmanasham* | 34. *strī-rūpam arddham akarod arddham puruṣa-rūpavat | Satarūpā cha sā khyātā Sāvitrī cha nigadyate* | 35. *Sarasvaty atha Gāyatrī Brahmānī cha parantapa | tataḥ sa Brahmadevās tām ātmajām ity akalpayat* | 36. *Dṛiṣṭvā tām vyathitas tāvat kāma-vāṇārdito vibhuḥ | “aho rūpam aho rūpam” ity wācha tadā ’vyayaḥ* | 37. *Tato Vasishṭha-pramukhā “bhaginīm” iti chukruṣuḥ | Brahmā na kinchid dadṛise tan-mukhālokanād ṛite* | 38. *“Aho rūpam aho rūpam” iti āha punaḥ punaḥ | tataḥ praṇāma-namrām tām punas tām abhyalokayat* | 39. *Atha pradakṣiṇām chakre sā pitur varavarṇinī | putreḥhyo lajjitasyāsya tad-rūpālokanecchayā* | 40. *Āvirbhūtaṁ tato vaktram dakṣiṇam pūṇḍu-gaṇḍavat |*

vol. ii. pp. 218 ff.; and the remarks on this translation by Professor Weber, *Indische Studien*, ix. 217 ff.; and also Professor Roth's explanation of the word *bhūtavat* in his *Lexicon*.

²⁰² This seems to be imitated in the line of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa iii. 12, 30, quoted in vol. iv. of this work, p. 40: *naitat pūrvaiḥ kṛtām tvad ye na karishyanti chāpare* | “This was never done by those before thee, nor will those after thee do it.”

²⁰³ *Bhavati*. In the Brāhmaṇas this verb has frequently the sense of prospering, as opposed to *parābhavati*, “he perishes.” See Böthlingk and Roth's *Lexicon*, s. v., and the passages there referred to.

vismaya-sphurad-oshṭhaṁ cha pāśchātyam udagāt tataḥ | 41. Chatur-
tham abhavat pāśchād vāmaṁ kāma-sarāturam | tato 'nyad abhavat
tasya kāmāturatayā tathā | 42. Utpatantyās tadā "kāśe ālokena kutū-
halāt | śrīṣṭy-arthaṁ yat kṛitam tena tapah paramadārunam | 43. Tat
sarvam nāsam āgamat sva-sutopagamechhayā | tenāśu²⁰⁴ vaktram abhavat
panchamaṁ tasya dhimataḥ | 44. Āvirbhavaj jāṭabhiścha tad vaktranchā-
vriṇot prabhūḥ | tatas tām abravīd Brahmā putrān ātma-samudbhavān |
45. "Prajāḥ sṛjyadhvam abhitaḥ sa-devāsura-mānushāḥ" | evam uktās
tataḥ sarve sasṛjūr vīvidhāḥ prajāḥ | 46. Gateshu teshu śrīṣṭyartham
prajānāvānatām imām | upayame sa viśvātmā S'tarūpām aninditām |
47. Sambabhūva tayā sārddham atikāmāturo vibhūḥ | salajjāṁ chakame
devaḥ kamalodara-mandire | 48. Yāvad abda-sataṁ divyaṁ yathā 'nyaḥ
prākṛito janaḥ | tataḥ kālena mahatā tasyāḥ putro 'bhavad Manuḥ | 49.
Svāyambhuva iti khyātāḥ sa Virād iti naḥ śrutam | tad-rūpa-guṇa-sāmā-
nyād adhipūruṣa uchyate | 50. Vairājā yatra te jātāḥ bahavaḥ saṁśīta-
vratāḥ | Svāyambhuvā mahābhāgāḥ sapta sapta tathā 'pare | 51. Svā-
rochishādyāḥ sarve te Brahma-tulya-svarūpinaḥ | Auttami-pramukhās
tadvad yeshāṁ tvaṁ saptamo 'dhunā | (Adhyāya. 4.) Manur uvācha |
1. Aho kashṭataraṁ chaitad angajāgamaṁ vibhoḥ | Kathaṁ na dosham
āgamat karmanā tena Padmajāḥ | 2. Parasparañcha sambandhaḥ sago-
trānām abhūt katham | vaivāhikas tat-sutānām chhīndi me saṁśayaṁ
vibho | Matsya uvācha | 3. Divyeyam ādi-śrīṣṭis tu rajo-guṇa-samud-
bhavā | atīndriyendriyā tadvad atīndriya-śarīrikā | 4. Divya-tejomayī
bhūpa divya-jnāna-samudbhavā | na chānyair abhitaḥ śakyā jñātuṁ vai
māṁsa-chakshushā | 5. Yathā bhujangāḥ sarpāṇām ākāśe sarva-pakshi-
ṇām | vidanti mārgām divyānām divyā eva na mānavāḥ | 6. Kāryā-
kāryeṇa devāscha śubhāśubha-phala-pradāḥ | yasmāt tasmād na rājendra
tad-vichāro nṛṇām śubhāḥ | 7. Anyachecha sarva-devānām adhishṭhātā
chaturmukhāḥ | gāyatrī Brahmanas tadvad anga-bhūtā nigadyate | 8.
Amūrta-mūrttimad vāpi mīthunāncha prachakshate | Viranchir yatra
bhagavāns tatra devī Sarasvatī | 9. Bhārati yatra yatraiva tatra tatra
Prajāpatih | yathātapena rahitā chhāyā vai (? na) dṛśyate kvachit |
10. Gāyatrī Brahmanāḥ pārsvam tathaiva na vimunchati | veda-rāśiḥ
smṛito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishṭhītā | 11. Tasmād na kaśchid doshaḥ
syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoḥ | tathāpi lajjāvanataḥ Prajāpatir abhūt purā |
12. Sva-sutopagamād Brāhmā śaśūpa Kusumāyudham | yasmād mamāpi

²⁰⁴ Instead of *tenāśu* the Gaikowar MS. reads *tenordhva*.

bhavatā manah saṁkshobhitam śaraiḥ | 13. Tasmāt tead-deham achirād Rudro bhasmīkarishyati | tataḥ prasādayāmāsa Kāmadevas Chaturmukham | 14. "Na mām akāraṇaṁ śaptuṁ tvam ihārhasi mām eva | aham evaṁ-vidhaḥ śrīṣṭhas tvayaiva chaturānana | 15. Indriya-kshobha-janakaḥ sarveṣhām eva dehinām | strī-puṁsor avichāreṇa mayā sarvatra sarvadā | 16. Kshobhyam manah prayatnena tvayaivoktam purā vibho | tasmād anaparādheṇa tvayā śaptas tathā vibho | 17. Kuru prasādam bhagavan sva-śarīrāptayo punaḥ | Brahmā uvācha | 18. Vāivasvate 'ntare prāpte Yādāvānvaya-sambhavaḥ | Rāmo nūma yadā martyo mat-sattva-balam āśritah | 19. Avatiryāsura-dhvaṁsī Dvārakām adhivatsyati | tad-dhātus tat-samaścha²⁰⁵ tvam tadā putratvam eśhyasi ityādi |

"32. Having thus formed the universe, consisting of the principles, he generated a twofold creation, (33) having, with a view to the completion of the world, placed and kept Sāvitrī in his heart. Then as he was muttering prayers, he divided his spotless body (34) and gave to the half the form of a woman, and to the half that of a male. (This female) is called Satarūpā, Sāvitrī, (35) Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī, and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā then took her for his daughter. 36. Beholding her, the imperishable deity, distressed, tortured with the arrows of love, exclaimed, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' 37. Then (his sons) headed by Vasishṭha, cried aloud, '(our) sister.' Brahmā saw nothing else, looking only at her face; (38) and exclaimed again and again, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' He then again gazed upon her, as she bend forward in obeisance. 39. The fair woman then made a circuit round her father. As on account of his sons he felt ashamed; from his desire of gazing on her beauty (40) there appeared (on his head) a southern face with pale cheeks; and there was afterwards manifested a western face with lips quivering with astonishment. 41. A fourth was subsequently formed, beautiful, disquieted by the arrows of love. Then another was produced from the disturbing influence of the same passion, (42) and from eagerness in gazing after her as she rose upwards in the sky. That austere fervour, extremely dreadful, which Brahmā had practised with a view to creation, (43) was entirely lost through his desire to approach his daughter (carnally). Through this was produced speedily the fifth face (or, according to one MS., the upper,

²⁰⁵ Such appears to be the reading of the Gaikowar MS. The original reading of the Taylor MS. has been erased, and another substituted, *tatas tat-samaye tvam cha.*



the fifth face) of the wise deity, (44) which appeared with matted hair, and which he covered up. Brahmā then said to the sons who had sprung from him, (45) 'create living beings everywhere, gods, asuras, and men.' They, being thus addressed, created beings of various kinds. 46. When they had gone away for the purpose of creating, he, who is the universe, took for his wife the unblamed Satarūpā. 47. Sickened with love, he cohabited with her: like any ordinary being, he loved her,—though she was full of shame—embowered in the hollow of a lotus, (48) for a hundred years of the gods. A long time after, a son was born to her, Manu (49) called Svāyambhuva, who, as we have heard, is Virāj. From their community of form and qualities he is called Adhipūruṣa.²⁰⁶ 50. From him were sprung those numerous Vairājas, steadfast in religious observances, those seven glorious sons of Svayambhū, and those other seven Manus, (51) beginning with Svārochisha and Auttami, in form equal to Brahmā, of whom thou²⁰⁷ art now the seventh. (4th chapter) 1. Manu says: 'Ah! this is most afflicting, this entrance of love into the god. How was it that the lotus-born did not incur guilt by that act? 2. And how did a matrimonial connection take place between persons of the same family who were sprung from him? Solve this doubt of mine, o Lord. The Fish replied: 3. This primeval creation was celestial, produced from the quality of passion (*rajas*); it had senses removed beyond the cognizance of sense, and bodies of the same description, (4) was possessed of celestial energy, derived from celestial knowledge, and cannot be perfectly perceived by others with the eye of flesh. 5. Just as serpents know the path of serpents, and (beings living) in the sky know the path of all sorts of birds, so too the celestials alone, and not men, know the way of celestials. 6. And since it is the gods who award the recompence, favourable or unfavourable, according as good or bad deeds have been done,—it is not good for men to examine this (question). 7. Furthermore, the four-faced (Brahmā) is the ruler of all the gods, and in like manner the Gāyatrī is declared to be a member of Brahmā. 8. And, as

²⁰⁶ Compare the Puruṣa Sukta, above p. 8, in the fifth verse of which the words *Virājo adhi pūruṣah* occur. If the last two words are combined they give the name in the text.

²⁰⁷ This account is given by the deity represented as incarnate in a Fish, to Manu Vaivasvata.



they say, there is a pair consisting of the formless, and of that which has form. Wherever the divine Viranchi (Brahmā) is, there is also the goddess Sarasvatī. 9. Wherever Bhāratī (a name of Sarasvatī) is, there is also Prajāpati. Just as shadow is nowhere seen without sunshine, (10) so Gāyatrī never forsakes the side of Brahmā. He is called the collected Veda, and Sāvitrī rests upon him; (11) there can therefore be no fault in his approaching her. Nevertheless, Brahmā, the lord of creatures, was bowed down with shame, (12) because he had approached his own daughter, and cursed Kusumāyudha²⁰⁸ (Kāma), (in these words) 'As even my mind has been agitated by thy arrows, Rudra shall speedily reduce thy body to ashes.' Kāmadeva then propitiated the four-faced deity, saying, (14) 'Thou oughtest not to curse me without cause: preserve me. It is by thee thyself that I have been created with such a character, (15) an agitator of the organs of sense of all embodied creatures. The minds both of men and women must always and everywhere (16) be energetically stirred up by me without hesitation: this thou thyself hast formerly declared. It is therefore without any fault of mine that I have been thus cursed by thee. 17. Be gracious, lord, that I may recover my body.' Brahmā answered: 18. 'When the Vaivasvata Manvantara shall have arrived, a mortal, named Rāma, sprung from the Yādava race, deriving force from my essence, (19) and, becoming incarnate as a destroyer of Asuras, shall inhabit Dvārakā. Thou shalt then become a son of his substance and like to him,' etc.

The narrator of this legend does not hesitate to depict in the strongest colours (though without the least approach to grossness) the helpless subjection of Brahmā to the influence of sexual desire. This illicit indulgence was regarded by the authors of the *Satapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* as in the highest degree scandalous, and they do not attempt to palliate its enormity by any mystical explanation, such as that which we find in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Whether this apology proceeded from the original narrator, or from a later writer of a more sensitive disposition, who perceived its inconsistency with any elevated idea of the superior powers, is difficult to say. It is quite possible that the same writer who gave his fancy scope in describing the unbecoming scene, of which the substance had been handed down in works regarded

²⁰⁸ The word means "He whose weapons are flowers."



as authoritative, may also have thought it necessary to discover some device for counteracting the scandal. On the other hand, the original writer seems to cut himself off from the privilege of resorting to any mystical refinements to explain away the offence, by having in the first instance represented Brahmā's indulgence as on a level with that of ordinary beings. And even after the apology has been concluded, we are still told that Brahmā could not help feeling ashamed of what he had done. The writer of the explanation ought to have perceived that if his defence was of any value, the deity for whom he was apologizing had no ground for humiliation. But he did not venture to expunge the popular features of the story. The grounds on which the apology proceeds are partly of the same character as those which the writer of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa assumes in the passage (x. 33, 27 ff.) which is given in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 42 f., viz., that the gods are not to be judged on the same principles as men,—that "the celestials have laws of their own" (*sunt superis sua jura*). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa has, however, different measures for Brahmā and for Kṛishṇa; for whilst the adultery of the latter is defended in the verses just referred to, no desire is shown to vindicate the former in the other passage, iii. 12, 28 ff., adduced in the same volume, page 40.

As regards the details of the story according to the different Purāṇas, I may observe that while the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu (see above, pp. 65, and 106), and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas, xl. 13 f., represent Satarūpā as the wife of Manu Svāyambhuva, the Matsya Purāṇa, as we have just seen, declares her to have been the spouse of Brahmā himself, and the mother of Manu Svāyambhuva.²⁹⁰ This is repeated in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter :

*Yā sā dehārdhā-sambhūtā Gāyatrī brahma-vādinī | jananī yā Manor
devī Satarūpā S'atendriyā | 27. Ratir Manas Tapo Buddhir mahad-ādi-
samudbhavā²⁹⁰ | tataḥ sa Satarūpāyām sapṭāpatyāny aṣṭajanat | 28. Ye
Marīchyādayaḥ putrāḥ mānasās tasya dhimataḥ | teshām ayam abhūt
lokaḥ sarva-jnānātmakāḥ purā | 29. Tato 'srijat Vāmadevam trisūla-
vara-dhārinam | Sanatkumāraṇcha vibhūm pūrveshām api pūrvajam | 30.*

²⁹⁰ Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes (above, p. 36), which does not coincide in all particulars with any of the Purāṇas here quoted.

²⁹¹ In this line the original readings are in several places erased in the Taylor MS. I have endeavoured to restore it with the help of the Gaikowar MS.

*Vāmadevaś tu bhagavān asrijad mukhato devjān | rājanyān asrijad bāhvor
Viś-śūdrāv ūru-pādayoḥ | . . . 35. Svāyambhuvo Manur dhīmāns
tapas taptvā suduścharam | patnīm avāpa rūpādhyām Anantām nāma
nāmataḥ | Priyavratottānapādaḥ Manus tasyām ajījanat |*

"She who was produced from the half of his body, Gāyatrī the declarer of sacred science, she who was the mother of Manu, the goddess Satarūpā (*i.e.* having a hundred forms), Satendriyā (*i.e.* having a hundred senses), (27) (was also) Rati, Mind, Austere Fervour, Intellect, sprung from Mahat and the other principles. He then begot upon Satarūpā seven sons. 28. This world, composed of all knowledge, sprang from Marīchi, and the others who were the mind-born sons of that wise Being. He next created Vāmadeva (Mahādeva), the wielder of the excellent trident, and the lord Sanatkumāra, born before the earliest. 30. Then the divine Vāmadeva created Brāhmins from his mouth, Rājanyas from his breast, the Viś and the Śūdra from his thighs and feet." [After describing in the following verses some other creations of Vāmadeva, the writer proceeds in verse 35:] "The wise Manu Svāyambhuva, having practised austere fervour of the most arduous kind, obtained a beautiful wife named Anantā. On her he begot Priyavrata and Uttānapāda."

Having made Manu the son of Satarūpā, the writer was obliged to give him another female for a wife, as we see he has here done.

It will be observed that in this passage Vāmadeva—and not Brahmā, as in the other Purāṇas—is described as the creator of the four castes.

SECT. X.—*Quotations from the Rāmāyaṇa on the Creation, and on the Origin of Castes.*

The substance of the first of the following passages has already been stated above in a note on page 36. Part of it is also quoted in p. 54, and it is more fully cited in the fourth volume of this work, p. 29, but for facility of reference I repeat it here.

Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay edition) ii. 110, 1. *Kruddham ājnāya Rāmaṁ tu
Vasishṭhaḥ pratyuvācha ha | Jābālir api jānīte lokasyāsya gatāgatim |
2. Nivarttayitu-kāmas tu tvām etad vākyam abravīt | imām loka-samut-*



pattiṁ loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvaṁ salilam evāsīt pṛthivī tatra nirmīṭā | tataḥ samabhavat Brahmā Svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha | 4. Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā prajāhāra vasundharām | asṛjāc cha jagat sarvaṁ saha putraiḥ kṛitātmabhiḥ | 5. Ākāśaprabhavo Brahmā śāśvato nitya avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjāyāne Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ sutah | 6. Vivasvān Kaśyapāj jāyāne Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam | sa tu prajāpatiḥ pūrvam Ikshvākuḥ tu Manoh sutah | 7. Yasyeyam prathamam dattā samṛiddhā Manunā mahi | tam Ikshvākum Ayodhyāyām rājānam viddhi pūrvakam |

“1. Perceiving Rāma to be incensed²¹¹ Vasishṭha replied: ‘Jābālī also knows the destruction and renovation of this world. 2. But he spoke as he did from a desire to induce you to return. Learn from me, lord of the earth, this (account of) the origin of the world. 3. The universe was nothing but water. In it the earth was fashioned. Then Brahmā Svayambhū came into existence, with the deities. He next, becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the entire world, with the saints his sons. 5. Brahmā, the eternal, unchanging, and undecaying, was produced from the æther (*ākāśa*). From him sprang Marīchi, of whom Kaśyapa was the son. 6. From Kaśyapa sprang Vivasvat: and from him was descended Manu, who was formerly the lord of creatures (*prajāpati*). Ikshvāku²¹² was the son of Manu (7) and to him this prosperous earth was formerly given by his father. Know that this Ikshvāku was the former king in Ayodhyā.”

The account which I next quote does not agree with the last in its details, as, besides representing the Prajāpatis or sons of Brahmā to be seventeen in number, it places Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Vivasvat in the same rank as contemporaries, while the former narrative declares them to have been respectively father, son, and grandson.

Rāmāyaṇa iii. 14, 5. *Rāmasya vāchanaṁ śrūtvā kulam ātmānam eva cha | āchachakshe devīas tasmai sarva-bhūta-samuḍbhavam | 6. Pūrvakāle mahābāho ye prajāpatayo 'bhavan | tān me nigadataḥ sarvān āditāḥ śṛiṇu Rāghava | 7. Kardamaḥ prathamāś teshāṁ Vikṛitas tad-anantaram | Ś'eshāś cha Saṁśrayāś chaiva Bahuputraś cha vīryavān | 8.*

²¹¹ On account of a materialistic and immoral argument which had been addressed to him by Jābālī to induce him to disregard his deceased father's arrangements regarding the succession to the throne. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xix. pp. 303 ff.

²¹² The name Ikshvāku occurs in R. V. x² 60, 4. See Professor Max Müller's article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 451 and 462.

Sthānuṛ Marichir Atriś cha Kratuś chaiva mahābalaḥ | Pulastyaś chān-girāś chaiva Prachetāḥ Pulahas tathā | 9. Dakṣo Vivasvān aparo 'rish-ṭanemiś cha Rāghava | Kāśyapaś cha mahatejās teshām āstīḥ cha pāśchi-mah | 10. Prajāpates tu Dakṣasya bābhūvur iti viśrutāḥ | shashtīr duhitaro Rāma yasasvinyo mahāyasāḥ | 11. Kāśyapaḥ pratiyagrāha tāsām aṣṭau sumadhyamāḥ | Aditiṁ cha Ditiṁ chaiva Danūm api cha Kālakāṁ | 12. Tāmrām Krodhavaśāṁ chaiva Manuṁ²¹³ chāpy Analām api | tās tu kanyās tataḥ prītaḥ Kāśyapaḥ punar abravīt | 13. Putrāṁ trailokya-bhartrīn vai janayishyatha mat-samān | Aditis tan-mānāḥ Rāma Ditiścha Danūr eva cha | 14. Kālakā cha mahābāho śeshās to amanaso²¹⁴ bhavan | Adityām jānuire devās trayastriṁśad arindama | 15. Adityā Vasavo Rudrā Aśvinau cha parantapa | . . . 29. Manur manushyān janayat Kāśyapasya mahātmanah | brāhmaṇān kshattriyān vaiśyān śūdrāṁś cha manujarshabha | 30. Mukhato brāhmaṇā jātāḥ ura-saḥ kshattriyāś tathā | ūrubhyām jānuire vaiśyāḥ padbhyām śūdrā iti śrutiḥ | 31. Sarvān punya-phalān vrikshān Analā 'pi vyajāyata |

"5. Having heard the words of Rāma, the bird (*Jaṭayus*) made known to him his own race, and himself, and the origin of all beings. 6.

['Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajā-patis (lords of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time.

7. Kardama was the first, then Vikrita, Sesha, Saṁsraya, the energetic Bahuputra, (8) Sthānu, Marīchi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, (9) Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishtanemi, and the glorious Kāśyapa, who was the last. 10. The Prajāpati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. 11. Of these Kāśyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danū, Kālakā, (12) Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, Manu,²¹⁵ and Analā. Kāśyapa, pleased, then said

²¹³ *Balām Atibalām api.*—Gorr.

²¹⁴ *Manoratha-hīnāḥ.*—Comm.

²¹⁵ I should have doubted whether Manu could have been the right reading here, but that it occurs again in verse 29, where it is in like manner followed in verse 31 by Analā, so that it would certainly seem that the name Manu is intended to stand for a female, the daughter of Daksha. The Gauḍa recension, followed by Signor Goresio (iii. 20, 12), adopts an entirely different reading at the end of the line, viz. *Balām Atibalām api*, "Balā and Atibalā," instead of Manu and Analā. I see that Professor Roth s.v. adduces the authority of the Amara Kosha and of the Commentator on Pāṇini for stating that the word sometimes means "the wife of Manu." In the following text of the Mahābhārata i. 2553, also, Manu appears to be the name of a female: *Anavadyām Manuṁ Vāṁśām Asurām Mārganapriyām | Anūpām Subhagām Bhūsim iti Prādhā vyajāyata |* "Prādhā (daughter of Daksha) bore Anavadyā, Manu, Vāṁśā, Asurā, Mārganapriyā, Anūpā, Subhagā, and Bhāsi.

to these maids, (13) 'ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preservers of the three worlds.' Aditi, Diti, Danū, (14) and Kālakā assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were borne by Aditi, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Aśvins." [The following verses 15-28 detail the offspring of Diti, Danū, Kālakā, Tāmra, Krodhavaśā, as well as of Kraunchī, Bhāsi, Syenī, Dhṛitarāshṭrī, and Sukī the daughters of Kālakā, and of the daughters of Krodhavaśā. (Compare the Mahābhārata, i. 2620-2635; and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 72 f.) After this we come upon Manu and the creation of mankind.] "29. Manu, (wife) of Kaśyapa,²¹⁶ produced men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. 30. 'Brāhmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vaiśyas from the thighs, and Sūdras from the feet,' so says the Veda. 31. Analā gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

It is singular to observe that in this passage, after having represented men of all castes as sprung from Manu, the writer next adds a verse to state, on the authority of the Veda, that the different castes were produced from the different parts of the body out of which they issued. Unless Manu's body be here meant, there is a contradiction between the two statements. If Manu's body is meant, the assertion conflicts with the common account. And if the Manu here mentioned is, as appears from the context, a woman, we should naturally conclude that her offspring was born in the ordinary way; especially as she is said to have been one of the wives of Kaśyapa.

The next passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 74, 8 f., describes the condition of men in the Kṛita age, and the subsequent introduction of the caste system in the Tretā. The description purports to have been occasioned by an incident which had occurred just before. A Brāhman had come to the door of Rāma's palace in Ayodhyā, carrying the body of his dead son,²¹⁷ and bewailing his loss, the blame

²¹⁶ The text reads Kāśyapa, "a descendant of Kāśyapa," who, according to Rām. ii. 110, 6, ought to be Vivasvat. But as it is stated in the preceding part of this passage iii. 14, 11 f. that Manu was one of Kāśyapa's eight wives, we must here read Kāśyapa. The Gauḍa recension reads (iii. 20, 30) *Manur manushyāṁś cha tathā janayāmāsa Bāghava*, instead of the corresponding line in the Bombay edition.

²¹⁷ The boy is said, in 73, 5, to have been *aprāpta-yauvanam bālam pañcha-varsha-sahasrakam* | "a boy of five thousand years who had not attained to puberty!" The Commentator says that *varsha* here means not a year, but a day (*varsha-sabdo 'tra*

of which (as he was himself unconscious of any fault) he attributed to some misconduct on the part of the king. Rāma in consequence convoked his councillors, when the divine sage Nārada spoke as follows :

8. *Srinu rājan yathā 'kāle prāpto bālasya sankshayaḥ | śrutvā kartavyatām rājan kurushva Raghunandana |* 9. *purā kṛta-yuge rājan brāhmaṇā vai tapasvināḥ |* 10. *Abrahmaṇas tadā rājan na tapasvī kathanchana | tasmin yuge prajvalite brahmabhūte tv anāvṛite |* 11. *Amṛityavas tadā sarve jājñire dīrgha-darśināḥ | tatas tretā-yugaṁ nāma mānavānām vapushmatām |* 12. *Kshattriyā yatra jāyante pūrveṇa tapasā 'nvitāḥ | vīryyeṇa tapasā chaiva te 'dhikāḥ pūrva-janmani | mānavā ye mahātmānas tatra tretā-yuge yuge |* 13. *Brahma kshattriāṁ cha tat sarvaṁ yat pūrvam avaraṁ cha yat | yugayor ubhayor asīt sama-vīryya-samanvitam |* 14. *Apasīyantas tu te sarve viśesham adhikaṁ tataḥ | sthāpanaṁ chakrire tatra chāturvārṇyasya sammatam |* 15. *Tasmin yuge prajvalite dharmabhūte hy anāvṛite | adharmāḥ pādām ekaṁ tu pātayat prithivītale | 19. Pātite tv anṛite tasminn adharmena mahitale | śubhāny evācharat lokāḥ satya-dharma-parāyaṇāḥ |* 20. *Tretā-yuge cha varttante brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyās cha ye | tāpo 'tapyanta te sarve śūśrūshām apare janāḥ |* 21. *Sea-dharmāḥ paramas teshāṁ vaiśya-śūdraṁ tadā "gamat | pūjāṁ cha sarva-varṇānām śūdrās chakrur viśeshataḥ | 23. Tataḥ pādām adharmasya dvītiyam avātārayat | tato dvāpara-sankhyā sā yugasya samajāyata |* 24. *Tasmin dvāparā-sankhye tu varttamāne yuga-kshaye | adharmāś chānritāṁ chaiva vavridhe puruṣaḥ sharabha |* 25. *Asmin dvāpara-sankhyāte tapo vaiśyān samāviśat | tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān kramād vai tapa āviśat |* 26. *Tribhyo yugebhyas trīn varṇān dharmascha pariniśkṛtāḥ | na śūdro labhate dharmāṁ yugatas tu nararṣabha |* 27. *Hīna-varṇo nṛipa-śreṣṭha tapyate sumahat tapaḥ | bhaviṣhyachchūdrayonyāṁ hi tapaś-charyā kalau yuge |* 28. *adharmāḥ paramo rājan dvāpare śūdra-janmanāḥ | sa vai vishaya-paryante tava rājan mahātapāḥ |* 29. *Adya tapyati durbuddhis tena bāla-badho hy ayam |*

Nārada speaks: 8. "Hear, o king, how the boy's untimely death occurred: and having heard the truth regarding what ought to be

dinoparah),—just as it does in the ritual prescription that a man should perform a sacrifice lasting a thousand years ("sahasra-samvatsaram satram upāsita" *iti vā*),—and that thus some interpreters made out the boy's age to be sixteen, and others under fourteen. But this would be a most unusual mode of reckoning age.



done, do it. 9. Formerly, in the Kṛita age, Brāhmins alone practised austere fervour (*tapas*). 10. None who was not a Brāhman did so in that enlightened age, instinct with divine knowledge (or, with Brahma), unclouded (by darkness). 11. At that period all were born immortal, and far-sighted. Then (came) the Tretā age, the era of embodied men, (12) in which the Kshattriyas were born, distinguished still by their former austere fervour; although those men who were great in the Tretā age had been greater, both in energy and austere fervour, in the former birth. 13. All the Brāhmins and Kshattriyas, both the former and the later, were of equal energy in both Yugas.²¹⁸ 14. But not perceiving any more distinction (between the then existing men) they all²¹⁹ next established the approved system of the four castes. 15. Yet in that enlightened age, instinct with righteousness, unclouded (by darkness), unrighteousness planted one foot upon the earth." [After some other remarks (verses 16-18), which are in parts obscure, the writer proceeds:] 19. "But, although this falsehood had been planted upon the earth by unrighteousness, the people, devoted to true righteousness, practised salutary observances. 20. Those Brāhmins and Kshattriyas who lived in the Tretā practised austere fervour, and the rest of mankind obedience. 21. (The principle that) their own duty was the chief thing pervaded the Vaiśyas and Sūdras among them: and the Sūdras especially paid honour to all the (other) classes. . . . 23. Next the second foot of unrighteousness was planted on the earth, and the number of the Dvāpara (the third yuga) was produced. 24. When this deterioration of the age numbered as the Dvāpara, had come into existence,

²¹⁸ The Commentator says, this means that in the Kṛita age the Brāhmins were superior, and the Kshattriyas inferior (as the latter had not then the prerogative of practising *tapas*), but that in the Tretā both classes were equal (*ubhayaṃ yugayor madhye kṛita-yuge brahma pūrvam tapo-vīryābhyām utkrishṭam kshattriāṃ chāvaraṃ cha tābhyām tapo-vīryābhyām nyūnam āsit | tat sarvaṃ brahma-kshattri-rūpam ubhayam tretāyām sama-vīrya-samanvītam āsit | kṛite kshattriyanām tapasy anadhikārāt tadnyūgiyebhyo brāhmaṇebhyas teshām nyūnatā | tretāyām tu ubhayaṃ rāpi tapo-dhikārād ubhāv api tapo-vīryābhyām samau*). But in the previous verse (12) it is said that the Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā distinguished by their former *tapas*. But perhaps they were formerly Brahmins, according to verses 9, 10, and 12.

²¹⁹ Manu and other legislators of that age, according to the Commentator (*Manv-ādyaṃ sarve tātkālikāḥ dharma-pravarttanādhikṛitāḥ*). He adds that in the Kṛita age all the castes were spontaneously devoted to their several duties, although no fixed system had been prescribed (*kṛite tu vinaiva sthāpanam svayam eva sarve varṇāḥ sva-sva-dharma-ratāḥ*).



unrighteousness and falsehood increased. 25. In this age, numbered as the Dvāpara, austere fervour entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; (26) and in the three ages righteousness (*dharma*) was established in three castes. But the Sūdra does not attain to righteousness through the (lapse of these three) ages. 27. A man of low caste performs a great act of austere fervour. Such observance will belong to the future race of Sūdras in the Kali age, (28) but is unrighteous in the extreme if practised by that caste in the Dvāpara. On the outskirts of thy territory such a foolish person, of intense fervour, is practising austerity. Hence this slaughter of the boy."

Here then was a clue to the mystery of the young Brāhman's death. A presumptuous Sūdra, paying no regard to the fact that in the age²²⁰ in which he lived the prerogative of practising self-mortification had not yet descended to the humble class to which he belonged, had been guilty of seeking to secure a store of religious merit by its exercise. Rāma mounts his car Pushpaka, makes search in different regions, and at length comes upon a person who was engaged in the manner alleged. The Sūdra, on being questioned, avows his caste, and his desire to conquer for himself the rank of a god by the self-mortification he was undergoing. Rāma instantly cuts off the offender's head. The gods applaud the deed, and a shower of flowers descends from the sky upon the vindicator of righteousness. Having been invited to solicit a boon from the gods, he asks that the Brāhman boy may be resuscitated, and is informed that he was restored to life at the same moment when the Sūdra was slain. (Sections 75 and 76.)²²¹

The following curious account of the creation of mankind, among whom it states that no distinction of class (or colour) originally existed, is given in the Uttara Kānda, xxx. 19 ff., where Brahmā says to Indra:

*Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ sṛiṣṭās tathā prabho | eka-varṇāḥ
sama-bhāṣhā eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. Tāsām nāsti viśesho hi darśane
lakshane 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgramanās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam |
21. So 'ham tāsām viśeshārtham striyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat
prajānām pratyangam viśiṣṭam tat tad uddhritam | 22. Tato mayā*

²²⁰ The Tretā, according to the Commentator.

²²¹ See the Rev. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, pp. 44 ff., where attention had previously been drawn to the story.

*rūpa-guṇair ahalyā strī vinirmītā | haḥalam nāmeha vairūpyaṁ halyaṁ
tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyā na vidyate halyam tenāhalyeti viśrutā |
Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyā nāma prakīrtitām | 24. Nirmītāyāṁ cha
devendra tasyāṁ nāryāṁ sūrarśabha | bhaviṣyatīti kasyaiśā mama
chintā tato 'bhavat | 25. Tvaṁ tu Śakra tadā nārīṁ jñātshe manasā
prabho | sthānādḥikatayā patnī mamaisheti purandara | 26. Sa mayā
nyāsa-bhūta tu Gautamasya mahātmanaḥ | nyastā bahūni varṣhāṇi tena
niryātītā cha ha | 27. Tatas tasya pariṇāya mahāsthairyam mahāmu-
neḥ | jñātvā tapasi siddhiṁ cha patny-arthaṁ sparśitā tadā | 28. Sa
tayā saha dharmātmā ramate sma mahāmuniḥ | āsan nirāśā devās tu
Gautame dattayā tayā | 29. Tvaṁ kruddhas tv iha kāmātmā gatvā
tasyāśramam muneḥ | dṛiṣṭvāṁś cha tadā tām strīṁ dīptām agni-
sikhāṁ iva | 30. Sā twayā dharṣitā Śakra kāmārttēna samanyūnā ;
dṛiṣṭas tvaṁ cha tadā tena āśrame paramarṣhiṇā | 31. Tataḥ kruddhena
tenāsi śaptaḥ paramatejasā | gato 'si yena devendra daśā-bhāga-vipar-
gayam |*

“19. O chief of the immortals (Indra) all creatures were formed by my will of one class (or colour), with the same speech, and uniform in every respect. 20. There was no distinction between them in appearance, or in characteristic marks. I then intently reflected on these creatures. 21. To distinguish between them I fashioned one woman. Whatever was most excellent in the several members of different creatures was taken from them, (22) and with this (aggregate) I formed a female, faultless in beauty and in all her qualities. *Haḥala* means ‘ugliness,’ and *halya*, ‘what is produced from ugliness.’ 23. The woman in whom there is no *halya*, is called *Ahalyā*. And this was her name to which I gave currency. 24. When this female had been fashioned, I anxiously considered to whom she should belong. 25. Thou, Indra, didst, from the eminence of thy rank, determine in thy mind, ‘She must be my spouse.’ 26. I, however, gave her in trust to the great Gautama; and after having retained her in charge for many years, he restored her. 27. Knowing then the great steadfastness of that distinguished Muni, and the perfection of his austere fervour, I, in due form, gave her to him for his wife. 28. The holy sage lived with her in the enjoyment of connubial love. But the gods were filled with despair when she had been given away to Gautama. 29. And thou, Indra, angry, as well as inflamed with lust, wentest to the Muni’s hermitage,



and didst behold that female brilliant as the flame of fire. 30. She was then corrupted by thee who wert tormented by lust, as well as heated by anger.²²² But thou wert then seen by the eminent rishi in the hermitage, (81) and cursed by that glorious being in his indignation. Thou didst in consequence fall into a reverse of condition and fortune," etc., etc.

SECT. XI.—*Extracts from the Mahābhārata on the same subjects.*

The first passage which I shall adduce is from the Ādi Parvan, or first book, verses 2517 ff.:

Vaiśampāyana uvācha | hanta te kathayishyāmi namaskṛitya Svayambhuve | surādīnām ahaṁ samyak lokānām prabhavāpyayam | Brahmaṇo mānasāḥ putrāḥ viditāḥ śaṇ-maharshayaḥ | Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putrāḥ Kaśyapāt tu prajā imāḥ | prajājnīre mahābhāgā Dakṣa-kanyaś trayodaśa | 2520. Aditir Ditir Danuḥ Kālā Danāyuḥ Siṁhikā tathā | Krodhā Pradhā cha Viśvā cha Vinatā Kapilā Munih | Kadrūś cha manuḥjavyāghra Dakṣa-kanyaiva Bhārata | etāsāṁ vīrya-sampannam putra-pautram anantakam |

"Vaiśampāyana said: I shall, after making obeisance to Svayambhū, relate to thee exactly the production and destruction of the gods and other beings. Six²²³ great rishis are known as the mind-born sons

²²² In regard to this story of Indra and Ahalyā, as well as to that of Brahmā and his daughter, above referred to, see the explanation given by Kumārila Bhatta, as quoted by Professor Max Müller in his Hist. of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 529 f. The name of Ahalyā is there allegorically interpreted of the night, to which this name is said to have been given because it is absorbed in the day (*ahani tiyamānatayā*). Indra is the sun.

²²³ Another passage (S'ānti-p. 7569 ff.) raises the number of Brahmā's sons to seven by adding Vasishṭha: *Ekah Svayambhūr bhagavān ādya Brahmā sanātanaḥ | Brahmaṇaḥ sapta vai putrā mahātmānaḥ Svayambhuvah | Marīchir Atry-Angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Vasishṭhaścha mahābhāgah sadṛśo vai Svayambhuvā | sapta Brahmāna ity ete purāṇe nischayaṁ gatāḥ |* "There is one primeval eternal lord, Brahmā Svayambhū; who had seven great sons, Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishṭha, who was like Svayambhū. These are the seven Brahmās who have been ascertained in the Puranic records." In another part of the same S'āntiparvan, verses 12685 ff., however, the Prajāpatis are increased to twenty-one: *Brahmā Sthānūr Manuḥ Dakṣo Bhṛigur Dharmaś tathā Yamaḥ | Marīchir Angirā 'triścha Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Vasishṭhaḥ Parameshṭhī cha Vivasevā Soma eva cha | Kardamaś chāpi yaḥ proktaḥ Krodho Vikṛita eva cha | ekaviṁśatir utpannās te prajāpatayaḥ smṛitāḥ |* "There are reputed to have been twenty-one Prajāpatis produced, viz. Brahmā, Sthānu, Manu, Dakṣa, Bhṛigu, Dharma, Yama, Marīchi,



of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kasyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kasyapa sprang these creatures. There were born to Daksha thirteen daughters of eminent rank, (2520) Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā, Danāyu, Simhikā, Krodhā, Pradhā, Viśvā, Vinatā, Kapilā, and Muni.²²⁴ Kadrū also was of the number. These daughters had valorous sons and grandsons innumerable."

Daksha, however, had other daughters, as we learn further on in verses 2574 ff., where the manner of his own birth also is related :

*Dakshas to ajāyatāngushthād dakshinād bhagavān rishih | Brahmanah
prithivipāla śāntātmā sumahātāpāh | vāmād ajāyatāngushthād bhāryā
tasya mahātmanah | tasyām panchāsatam kanyāh sa evājanayad munih |
. 2577. Dadau cha daśa Dharmāya saptaviṃsatim Indave | divyena
vidhina rājan Kāśyapāya trayodaśa | 2581. Paitāmahah Manur
devas tasya putrah prajāpatiḥ | tasyāshṭau Vasavaḥ putrās teshām vak-
shyāmi vistaram | 2595. Stanaṁ tu dakṣiṇam bhivā Brah-
maṇo nara-vigrahaḥ | nissrito bhagavān Dharmah sarva-loka-sukhāvahaḥ |
trayas tasya varāḥ putrāḥ sarva-bhūta-manoharāḥ | Sāmah Kāmāś cha
Harshaś cha tejasa loka-dhārīṇah | 2610. Ārushī to Manoh
kanyā tasya patnī manishīṇah | 2614. Dvau putrau Brahmanas
to anyau yayos tishṭhati lakṣhaṇam | loke Dhātā Vidhātā cha yau sthitau
Manunā saha | tayoṛ eva svasā devī Lakṣmī padma-grīhā śubhā | tasyās
tu mānasāḥ putrās turagāḥ vyoma-chārīṇah | 2617. Prajānām
annakāmānām anyonya-paribhakṣhaṇāt | Adharmas tatra sanjātah sarva-
bhūta-vināśakāḥ | tasyāpi Nirṛitir bhāryā nairṛitā yena Rākshasāḥ |
ghorās tasyās trayah putrāḥ pāpa-karma-ratāḥ sadā | Bhayo Mahā-
bhayas chaiva Mrityur bhūtāntakas tathā | na tasya bhāryā putro vā
kaśchid aśty antako hi sah |*

Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishṭha, Parameshṭhin, Vivasvat, Soma, the person called Kardama, Krodha, and Vikṛita." (Here, however, only twenty names are specified including Brahmā himself.) Compare this list with those quoted above, p. 116, from the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 14, 7 ff., from Manu in p. 36, and from the Vishṇu P. in p. 65.

²²⁴ That Muni is a name, and not an epithet, is shown (1) by the fact that we have otherwise only twelve names; and (2) by her descendants, both gods and gandharvas, being afterwards enumerated in verses 2550 ff. (*ity ete deva-gandharvā Mauneyāḥ parikīrtitāḥ*). Kapilā, another of the thirteen daughters of Daksha is said to have been the mother of Ambrosia, Brāhmanas, kine, Gandharvas and Āpsarasas (*amṛitam brāhmaṇā gāvo gandharvāpsarasas tathā | apatyam kapilāyās tu purāṇe parikīrt-tilam |*).



"2574. Daksha, the glorious rishi, tranquil in spirit, and great in austere fervour, sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā.²²⁵ From the left thumb sprang that great Muni's wife, on whom he begot fifty²²⁶ daughters. Of these he gave ten to Dharma, twenty-seven to Indu (Soma),²²⁷ and according to the celestial system, thirteen to Kaśyapa." I proceed with some other details given in the verses I have extracted : 2581. "Pitāmaha's descendant, Manu, the god and the lord of creatures, was his (it does not clearly appear whose) son. The eight Vasus, whom I shall detail, were his sons. 2595. Dividing the right breast of Brahmā, the glorious Dharma (Righteousness), issued in a human form, bringing happiness to all people. He had three eminent sons, Sama, Kāma, and Harsha (Tranquillity, Love, and Joy), who are the delight of all creatures, and by their might support the world. 2610. Arushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of that sage (Chyavana, son of Bhrigu). 2614. There are two other sons of Brahmā, whose mark remains in the world, Dhātri,²²⁸ and Vidhātri, who remained with Manu. Their sister was the beautiful goddess Lakshmi,²²⁹ whose home is in the lotus. Her mind-born sons are the steeds who move in the sky. 2617. When the creatures who were desirous of food, had devoured one another, Adharma (Unrighteousness) was produced, the destroyer of all beings. His wife was Nirṛiti, and hence the Rākshasas are called Nairṛitas, or the offspring of Nirṛiti. She had three dreadful sons, continually addicted to evil deeds, Bhaya Mahābhaya (Fear and Terror) and Mrityu (Death) the ender of beings. He has neither wife, nor any son, for he is the ender."²³⁰

The next passage gives a different account of the origin of Daksha; and describes the descent of mankind from Manu :

Adip. 3128. *Tejobhir uditāḥ sarve maharshi-sama-tejasah | daśa Pra-*

²²⁵ See above, p. 72 f. The Matsya P. also states that Daksha sprang from Brahmā's right thumb, Dharma from his nipple, Kāma from his heart, etc.

²²⁶ The passage of the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted above, p. 116, affirms that they were sixty in number. Compare Wilson's Vishṇu P. vol. i. pp. 109 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 19 ff.

²²⁷ The Taitt. Saṁhitā, ii. 3, 5, 1, says Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave to King Soma (*Prajāpates trayastriṁśad dūhitara āsan | tāḥ Somāya rājne dadāt*).

²²⁸ Dhātri had been previously mentioned, in verse 2523, as one of the sons of Aditi. See also Wilson's Vishṇu P. ii. 152.

²²⁹ See Wilson's Vishṇu P. i. pp. 109, 118 ff., 144 ff. and 152.

²³⁰ The Vishṇu P. (Wilson, i. 112) says he had five children.

*chetasaḥ putrāḥ santaḥ punya-janāḥ smṛitāḥ | mukhajanāgninā yaśo to
pūrvam dugdha mahaujasaḥ | tebhyaḥ Prāchetaso jajne Dakṣo Dakṣād
imāḥ prajāḥ | sambhūtāḥ puruṣa-vyāghra sa hi loka-pitāmahaḥ |
Vīriṇyā saha sangamya Dakṣaḥ Prāchetaso munīḥ | ātma-tulyān aja-
nayat sahasraṁ śaṁsita-vratān | sahasra-sankhyān sambhūtān Dakṣa-
putrāṁś cha Nāradaḥ | mokṣham adhyāpayāmāsa sāṅkhyā-jñānam anut-
tamam | tataḥ panchāśataṁ kanyāḥ putrikāḥ abhisandadhe | Prajāpatih
prajāḥ Dakṣaḥ sisṛikṣhur Janamejaya | dadau cha daśa Dharmāya
Kāśyapāya trayodaśa | kalāśya nayane yuktāḥ saptaviṁśatim Indave |
3135. Trayodaśānām patnīnām yā tu Dakṣāyaṇī varā | Mārīchaḥ
Kāśyapas tasyām Ādityān samajñanat | Indrādīn vīryya-sampannān
Vivasvantaṁ athāpi cha | Vivasvataḥ suto jajne Yamo Vivasvataḥ pra-
bhuh | Mārtaṇḍasya Manur dhīmān ajāyata sutaḥ prabhuh | Yamaś
chāpi suto jajne khyātas tasyānujaḥ prabhuh | dharmātmā sa Manur
dhīmān yatra vaṁśaḥ pratishṭhitāḥ | Manor vaṁśo mānavānām tato 'yam
prathito 'bhavat | brahma-kṣatrādīyas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānavāḥ |
tato 'bhavad mahārāja brahma kṣattreṇa sangatam | 3140. Brāhmaṇā
mānavās teshāṁ sāṅgam vedam adhārayan | Venam Dhṛiṣṇuṁ Narish-
yantaṁ Nābhāgeksāvākum eva cha | Kārūṣham atha Sāryatiṁ tathā
chaivāśṭamīm Ilām | Prishadhraṁ navamam prāhuḥ kṣattrā-dharma-
parāyaṇam | Nābhāgarishṭa-daśamān Manoh putrān prachakṣate | pan-
chāśat tu Manoh putrās tathāivānye 'bhavan kṣhitau | anyonya-bhedāt to
sarve vīṇśur iti naḥ śrutam | Purūravas tato vidvān Ilāyaṁ samapad-
yata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti naḥ śrutam |*

“3128. Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings²³¹ were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prāchetasa;²³² and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Viriṇī, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous

²³¹ “Trees and plants,” according to the Commentator (*mahāprabhāvā vrikṣauśādhayāḥ*). Compare Wilson's Vishnu P. ii. p. 1.

²³² The same account of Daksha's birth is given in the S-āntip. 7573: *Daśānām tanayas tv eko Dakṣo nāma prajāpatih | tasya dve nāmanī loke Dakṣaḥ Ka iti cho-
chyate* | “These ten Prachetas had one son called Daksha, the lord of creatures. He is commonly called by two names, Daksha and Ka.” (Compare vol. iv. of this work, p. 13, note 30, and p. 24; and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, vii. 4, 1, 19, and ii. 4, 4, 1, there quoted.) The following verse 7574 tells us that Kasyapa also had two names, the other being Arishtanemi. See Rām. iii. 14, 9, quoted above.



for their religious observances, to whom Nārada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sāṅkhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajāpati Dakṣa next formed fifty daughters, of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kaśyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time,²³³ to Indu (Soma). . . . 3135. On Dākshāyaṇī,²³⁴ the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kaśyapa, the son of Marīchi, begot the Ādityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat.²³⁵ To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Mārtaṇḍa (*i.e.* Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him, o king, came the Brāhman conjoined with the Kshatriya. 3140. Among them the Brāhmins, children of Manu, held the Veda with the Vedāṅgas. The children of Manu are said to have been Vena, Dhṛiṣṇu, Narishyanta, Nābhāga, Ikshvāku, Kārusha, Saryāti, Ilā the eight, Pṛishadra the ninth, who was addicted to the duties of a Kshatriya, and Nābhāgarishta the tenth. Manu had also fifty other sons; but they all, as we have heard, perished in consequence of mutual dissensions. Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, we heard, was both his mother and his father."

The tradition, followed in this passage, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the account which assigns to them a fourfold descent from the body of Brahmā himself.

The Sāntiparvan, verses 2749 ff., contains an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical order. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly class is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words, of the most extravagant declarations of

²³³ This phrase *kāśasya nayane yuktāḥ* had previously occurred in verse 2580, where it is followed by the words *sarvā nakshatra-yoginyo lokā-yātrā-vidhānataḥ* | "all identified with the lunar asterisms, and appointed to regulate the life of men." See also Vishnu P. i. 15, 56, and Professor Wilson's translation ii. p. 10, note 1, and p. 28, note 1.

²³⁴ *i.e.* Aditi. See verses 2520, 2522, and 2600 of this same book.

²³⁵ The account in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 5 ff., agrees with this in making Kaśyapa son of Marīchi, and father of Vivasvat.



Manu (i. 99 f.) on the same subject. In other places, however, the Mahābhārata contains explanations of a very different character regarding the origin of the distinctions, social and professional, which prevailed at the period of its composition. A comparison of these various passages will afford an illustration of the fact already intimated in p. 6,²³⁰ that this gigantic poem is made up of heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies, the later portions having been introduced by successive editors of the work to support their own particular views, without any regard to their inconsistency with its earlier contents. In fact, a work so vast, the unaided compilation of which would have taxed all the powers of a Didymus Chalkenterus, could scarcely have been created in any other way than that of gradual accretion. And some supposition of this kind is certainly necessary in order to explain such discrepancies as will be found between the passages I have to quote, of which the three first are the productions of believers (real or pretended) in the existence of a natural distinction between their own Brahmanical order and the other classes of the community, while the two by which these three are followed have emanated from fair and moderate writers who had rational views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral and religious character to any factitious divisions of a social description.

In the first passage, Bhīshma, the great uncle of the Pāndus, when describing to Yudhishtira the duties of kings, introduces one of those ancient stories which are so frequently appealed to in the Mahābhārata. Without a minute study of the poem it would be difficult to say whether these are ever based on old traditions, or are anything more than mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the writers who narrate them. Bhīshma says, Sāntiparvan, 2749 :

*Ya eva tu sato rakṣeḥ asataś cha nivarttayet | sa eva rājā kartavyo
rājan rāja-purohitaḥ | 2750. Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihasam purā-
tanam | Purūravaś Ailasya saṁvādam Mātariśvanaḥ | Purūravā uvācha |
Kutaḥ svid brāhmaṇo jāta varṇāś chāpi kutaś trayāḥ | kasmāccha bhavati
śreṣṭhaś tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | Mātariśvovācha | Brahmaṇo mu-
khataḥ śreṣṭho brāhmaṇo rāja-sattama | bāhubhyāṁ kṣattriyaḥ śreṣṭha
ūrubhyāṁ vaiśya eva cha | varṇānām parichāryyārtham trayāṇām Bha-*

²³⁰ See also the fourth volume of this work, pp. 141 ff. and 152.

*ratarshabha | varṇas chaturthaḥ sambhūtaḥ padbhyām śūdro vinirmitaḥ |
brāhmaṇo jāyamāno hi prithivyām anujāyate*²³⁷ | *īśvaraḥ sarva-bhūtānām
dharma-koshasya guptaye | 2755. Atāḥ prithivyā yantāram kshattriṇyām
daṇḍa-dhārane | dvitīyam Daṇḍam akarot prajānām anutriptaye | vaiśyas
tu dhana-dhānyena trīṇ varṇān bibhriyād imān | śūdro hy etān pari-
chared iti Brāhmānūsāsanam | Aila uvācha | dvijasya kshattrabandhor
vā kasyeyam prithivī bhavet | dharmataḥ saha vittena samyag- Vāyo* pra-
chakshva me | Vāyur uvācha | viprasya sarvam evaitad yat kinchij jagati-
gatam | jyeshṭhenābhijaneneha tad dharma-kuśalā viduḥ | svam eva brāh-
maṇo bhunkte svam vaste svam dadāti cha | gurur hi sarva-varṇānām
jyeshṭhaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ cha vai dvijaḥ | 2760. Paty-abhāve yathāiva strī
devaram kurute patim | osha te prathamah kalpaḥ āpady anyo bhaved
ataḥ |*

“2749. The king should appoint to be his royal priest²³⁸ a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. 2750. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Purūravas the son of Ilā, and Mātariśvan (Vāyu, the Wind-god). Purūravas said: You must explain to me whence the Brāhmaṇ, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Mātariśvan answered: The Brāhmaṇ was created from Brahmā's mouth, the Kshattriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three

²³⁷ Mann, i. 99, has *adhi jāyate*.

²³⁸ *Rāja-purohitaḥ*. The king's priest (*rāja-purohitaḥ*) is here represented as one who should be a confidential and virtuous minister of state. Such is not, however, the character always assigned to this class of persons. In Manu xii. 46, quoted above (p. 41f.), the purohita is placed in a lower class than other Brāhmaṇs. And in the following verse (4527) of the Anusūsanaparvan, taken from a story in which the Rishis utter maledictions against anyone who should have stolen certain lotus roots, part of the curse spoken by Viśvāmitra is as follows: *varshācharo'stu bhṛitako rājnas chāstu purohitaḥ | ayājyasya bhavatu rītvig visa-stānyām karoti yaḥ* | “Let the man who steals lotus roots be a hireling trafficker in rain incantations (?) and the domestic priest of a king, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhmaṇ should officiate.” Again, in verse 4579, the same person says: *karotu bhṛitako varshāṇ rājnas chāstu purohitaḥ | rītvig astu hy ayājyasya yas te harati pushkaram* | “Let him who steals thy lotus perform as a hireling incantations to cause drought, and be a king's domestic priest, and the priest of one for whom no Brāhmaṇ should officiate.” I have had partly to guess at the sense of the words *varshācharaḥ* and *avarshām*. The Commentator does not explain the former; and interprets the latter (for which the Edinburgh MS. reads *avarshāḥ*) by *erishkti-nibandham*, “causing drought.” He adds, *papishṭhāḥ eva avarshāḥ*, “those who cause drought are most wicked.”

castes was produced the fourth class, the Sūdra, fashioned from his feet. The Brāhman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. 2755. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controulor of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahmā's ordinance that the Vaiśya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Sūdra should serve them. The son of Ilā then enquired: Tell me, Vāyu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brāhman or the Kshattriya? Vāyu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brāhman's property²³⁰ by right of primogeniture: this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brāhman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brāhman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise."

A great deal is shortly afterwards added about the advantages of concord between Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Such verses as the following (2802): "From the dissensions of Brāhmans and Kshattriyas the people incur intolerable suffering" (*mitho bhedād brāhmaṇa-kshattriyāṇāṃ prajā duḥkhaṃ dussahaṃ chāviśanti*) afford tolerably clear evidence that the interests of these two classes must frequently have clashed.

In the same strain as the preceding passage is the following:

Vanaparvan, 13436. *Nādhyāpanād yājanād vā anyasmād vā prati-grahāt | dosho bhavati viprāṇāṃ jvalitāgni-samā dvijāḥ | durvedā vā su-vedā vā prākṛitāḥ saṃskṛitās tathā | brāhmaṇā nāvamantavyā bhasma-channā ivāgnayaḥ | yathā śmaśāne diptaṇḍḍāḥ pāvako naiva dushyati | evaṃ vidvān avidvān vā brāhmaṇo daivatam mahat | prakāraiś cha pura-dvāraiḥ prāsūdaśi cha prithag-vidhaiḥ | nagarāṇi na śobhante hīnāni brāhmaṇottamaiḥ | vedādhyā vṛtta-sampunnā jñānavantas tapasvināḥ | yatra tishṭhanti vai viprās ton-nāma nagaraṃ nriṇa | vraje vā py athavā*

²³⁰ Kullūka, the Commentator on Manu (i. 100), is obliged to admit that this is only spoken in a panegyric or hyperbolical way, and that property is here used in a figurative sense, since theft is afterwards predicated by Manu of Brāhmans as well as others ("svam" *iti stutyā uchyaते | svam eva svam na tu svam eva | brāhmaṇasyāpi Manunā steyasya vakshyamānatvāt*).

*'range yatra santi bahu-śrutāḥ | tat tad nagaram ity āhuḥ pārtha tīr-
 thaṁ cha tad bhavet |*

"No blame accrues to Brāhmins from teaching or sacrificing, or from receiving money in any other way: Brāhmins are like flaming fire. Whether ill or well versed in the Veda, whether untrained or accomplished, Brāhmins must never be despised, like fires covered by ashes. Just as fire does not lose its purity by blazing even in a cemetery, so too, whether learned or unlearned, a Brāhman is a great deity. Cities are not rendered magnificent by ramparts, gates, or palaces of various kinds, if they are destitute of excellent Brāhmins. 13440. The place where Brāhmins, rich in the Veda, perfect in their conduct, and austere-ly fervid, reside, is (really) a city (*nagara*). Wherever there are men abounding in Vedic lore, whether it be a cattle-pen, or a forest, that is called a city, and that will be a sacred locality."

The following verses from the Anuśāsanap. 2160 ff. are even more extreme in their character, and are, in fact, perfectly sublime in their insolence:

*Brāhmaṇānām paribhavād asurāḥ salile śayāḥ | brāhmaṇānām prasā-
 dāch cha devāḥ svarga-nivāsinaḥ | asakyaṁ srashtum ākāśam achālyo
 himavān giriḥ | adhāryyā setunā Gangā durjaya brāhmaṇā bhūvi | na
 brāhmaṇa-virodhena sakyā śastum vasundharā | brāhmaṇā hi mahātmāno
 devānām api devatāḥ | tān pūjayasva satatāṁ dānena paricharyyaya |
 yadichhasi mahīm bhoktum imām sāgara-mekhalām |*

"Through the prowess of the Brāhmins the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; by the favour of the Brāhmins the gods inhabit heaven. The ether cannot be created; the mountain Hīmavat cannot be shaken; the Gangā cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brāhmins cannot be conquered by any one upon earth. The world cannot be ruled in opposition to the Brāhmins; for the mighty Brāhmins are the deities even of the gods. If thou desire to possess the sea-girt earth, honour them continually with gifts and with service."

The next passage seems to be self-contradictory, as it appears to set out with the supposition that the distinction of castes arose after the creation; while it goes on to assert the separate origin of the four classes:

Sāntiparvan, 10861. *Janakā uvācha | varṇo viśeṣa-varṇānām ma-
 harshe kena jāyate | etad ichhāmy ahaṁ jñātum tad brahi vadatāṁ vara |
 yad etaj jāyate 'patyaṁ sa evāyam iti śrutih | katham brāhmaṇato jāto*



*viśeṣe grahaṇāṁ gataḥ | Parāśara uvācha | Evaṁ etaḍ mahārāja yena
jātaḥ sa eva saḥ | tapasas to apakarshēna jātigrāhaṇatām gataḥ | sukshe-
trāchcha suvijāch cha punyo bhavati sambhavaḥ | ato 'nyatarato hinād
avarō nāma jāyate | 10865. Vaktrād bhujābhyām ūrubhyām padbhyām
chāvātha jājnire | srijataḥ Prajāpater lokān iti dharmavido viduḥ | mu-
khaḥ brāhmaṇās tāta bāhujāḥ kshattriyāḥ smṛitāḥ | ūrujāḥ dhanina
rājan pādajāḥ parichārakāḥ | chaturṇām eva varṇānām āgamaḥ puru-
ṣaśhabha | ato 'nye vyatirikta ye te vai sankarajāḥ smṛitāḥ |
10870. Janaka uvācha | Brahmaṇaikaena jātānām nānātvaṁ gotrataḥ
katham | bahūnīha hi loka vai gotrāṇi muni sattama | yatra tatra katham
jātāḥ svayonim (?) suyoniṁ munayo gatāḥ | śuddha-yonau samutpannā
vinyonau cha tathā 'pare | Parāśara uvācha | rājan naitad bhaved grāhyam
apakriṣṭena janmanā | matātmanām samutpattis tapasā bhāvitātmanām |
utpādya putrān munayo nṛpate yatra tatra ha | scenaiva tapasā teshām
rīṣitvam pradādhuḥ punaḥ | 10876. Ete svām prakṛitim prāptā
Vaideha tapasośrayāt | pratishṭhitā veda-vido damena tapasaiva hi |*

“Janaka asks: 10861. How, o great rishi, does the caste of the separate classes arise? Tell me, as I desire to know. According to the Veda, the offspring which is born (to any one) is the very man himself. How does offspring born of a Brāhman fall into distinct classes? Parāśara replied: It is just as you say, o great king. A son is the very same as he by whom he was begotten; but from decline of austere fervour, (men) have become included under different classes. And from good soil and good seed a pure production arises, whilst from those which are different and faulty springs an inferior production. Those acquainted with duty know that men were born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Prajāpati when he was creating the worlds. The Brāhmins sprang from his mouth, the Kshattriyas from his arms, the merchants from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. The scriptural tradition speaks only of four classes. The men not included in these are declared to have sprung from a mixture (of the four). . . . 10870. Janaka asked: How is there a difference in race between men sprung from one and the same Brahmā? for there are now many races in the world. How have Munis born anywhere (indiscriminately) entered into a good family; some of them having sprung from a pure source and others from an inferior stock? Parāśara replied: It would not be credible that noble-minded men, whose souls

had been perfected by austere fervour, should have been the offspring of a degraded birth. Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour." The speaker then names a number of sages (10876) "famed for their acquaintance with the Veda, and for their self-command and austere fervour," as "having all attained to their respective conditions by practising the latter observance."

In the latter verses the speaker appears to admit, at the very moment that he denies, the degraded origin of some of the renowned saints of Indian antiquity. What else is the meaning of the verse, "Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour?" No doubt it is intended to represent those as exceptional times: but while we refuse to admit this assumption, we may find some reason to suppose that the irregularities, as they were afterwards considered to be, which this assumption was intended to explain away, were really samples of the state of things which commonly prevailed in earlier ages.

The next extract declares that there is a natural distinction between the Brāhmanas and the other castes; and appears to intimate that the barrier so constituted can only be overpassed when the soul re-appears in another body in another birth:

Anuśāsana-parva, 6570. *Deva uvācha | Brāhmanyam devī dushprāpyam nisargād brāhmaṇaḥ śubhe | kṣattriyo vaiśyaśūdrau vā nisargād iti me matiḥ | karmaṇā dushkṛiteneha sthānād bhraśyati vai dvijaḥ | jyeshṭham varṇam anuprāpya tasmād rakṣeta vai dvijaḥ | sthito brāhmaṇa-dharmena brāhmanyam upajīvati | kṣattriyo vā 'tha vaiśyo vā brahmabhūyam sa gachhati | yas tu brahmatvam utarijya kṣattram dharmam niśevate | brāhmanyāt sa paribhrashtāḥ kṣattrā-yonau prajāyate | vaiśya-karma cha yo vipro lobha-moha-vyapāśrayaḥ | brāhmanyam durlabham prāpya karoty alpa-matiḥ sadā | sa devī vaiśyatām eti vaiśyo vā śūdratām iyat | sva-dharmāt prachyuto vipras tataḥ śūdratvam āpnute | 6590. Ebhis tu karmabhir devī śubhair ācharitais tathā | śūdro brāhmaṇatām yāti vaiśyaḥ kṣattriyatām vrajet | śūdra-karmāni sarvāṇi yathānyāyam yathāvidhi | śūśrūṣām paricharyyām cha jyeshṭhe varṇe prayatnataḥ | kuryād ityādi |*

Mahādeva says: 6570. "Brāhmanhood, o fair goddess, is difficult to



be attained. A man, whether he be a Brāhman, Kshattriya, Vaiśya, or Sūdra, is such by nature; this is my opinion. By evil deeds a twice-born man falls from his position. Then let a twice-born man who has attained to the highest caste, keep it. The Kshattriya, or Vaiśya, who lives in the condition of a Brāhman, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brāhmanhood. But he who abandons the state of a Brāhman and practises the duty of a Kshattriya, falls from Brāhmanhood and is born in a Kshattriya womb. And the foolish Brāhman, who, having attained that Brāhmanhood which is so hard to get, follows the profession of a Vaiśya, under the influence of cupidity and delusion, falls into the condition of a Vaiśya. (In like manner) a Vaiśya may sink into the state of a Sūdra. A Brāhman who falls away from his own duty becomes afterwards a Sūdra. . . . 6590. But by practising the following good works, o goddess, a Sūdra becomes a Brāhman, and a Vaiśya becomes a Kshattriya: Let him actively perform all the functions of a Sūdra according to propriety and rule, *i.e.* obedience and service to the highest caste," etc.

The next passage is the first of those which I have already noted, as in spirit and tenor very different from the preceding. The conversation which it records arose as follows: Yudhishtira found his brother Bhīmasena caught in the coils of a serpent, which, it turned out, was no other than the famous king Nahusha, who by his sacrifices, austerities, etc., had formerly raised himself to the sovereignty of the three worlds; but had been reduced to the condition in which he was now seen, as a punishment for his pride and contempt of the Brāhman. He promises to let Bhīmaseva go, if Yudhishtira will answer certain questions. Yudhishtira agrees, and remarks that the serpent was acquainted with whatever a Brāhman ought to know. Whereupon the Serpent proceeds:

Vana-parva, verses 12469 ff : *Sarpa uvācha | brāhmaṇaḥ ko bhaved rājan vedyāṁ kiṁ cha Yudhishtira |* 12470. *Braviḥy atimatim tvāṁ hi vākyaair anumimāmahe | Yudhishtira uvācha | satyaṁ dānam kṣamā śīlam ānṛisamsyaṁ tapo ghrīṇā | dṛisṇyante yatra nāgendra sa brāhmaṇaḥ iti smṛitih | vedyāṁ sarpa param Brahma nirduḥkham asukham cha yat | yatra gatvā na śochanti bhavataḥ kiṁ vivakṣhitam | Sarpa uvācha | chāturvarṇyam pramāṇaṁ cha satyaṁ cha brahma chaiva hi | Sūdreṣv api cha satyaṁ cha dānam akrodha eva cha | ānṛisamsyam ahimsā cha ghrīṇā chaiva Yudhishtira | vedyāṁ yach chāttra nirduḥkham asukhaṁ cha na-*

rādhīpa | tābhyāṁ hīnam padaṁ chānyad na tad astīti lakshyaḥ | Yudhishtīra uvācha | 12475. Sūdre tu yad bhavel lakshma dvije tach cha na vidyate | na vai sūdro bhaved chhūdro brāhmaṇo na cha brāhmaṇah | yatrāital lakshyate sarpa vṛttam sa brāhmaṇah smṛitah | yatrāitad na bhavet sarpa tam sūdrām iti nirddīset | yat punar bhavatā proktam na vedyāṁ vidyatīti cha | tābhyāṁ hīnam ato 'nyatra padaṁ nāstīti ched api | evam etad matam sarpa tābhyāṁ hīnaṁ na vidyate | yathā śītoshnayor madhye bhaved noshṇaṁ na śītatā | evam vai sukha-duḥ-khābhyāṁ hīnaṁ nāsti padaṁ kvachit | eṣā mama matiḥ sarpa yathā vā manyate bhavān | Sarpa uvācha | 12480. Yadi te vṛttato rājan brāhmaṇaḥ prasamīkṣitah | vṛthā jātis tadā 'yushman kṛitir yāvad na vidyate | Yudhishtīra uvācha | jātir atra mahāsarpa manushyātve mahāmāte | sankarāt sarva-varṇānāṁ duṣparīkṣyēti me matiḥ | sarve sarvāṣv apatyāni janayanti sadā narāḥ | vāñ maithunam atho janma maraṇaṁ cha samam nṛiṇām | idam ārsham pramāṇaṁ cha "ye ya-jūmahe" ity api | tasmāch chhīlam pradhāneshṭaṁ vidur ye tattva-darśinaḥ | "prāñ nābhi-varddhanāt puṁso jāta-karma vidhīyate" | "tadā 'sya mātā sāvitṛi pitā tv āchāryya uchyate" | 12485. "Tāvach chhūdra-samo hy eṣa yāvad vede na jāyate" | tasminn evam mati-dvaidhe Manuḥ Svāyambhuvo 'bravīt | kṛita-kṛityāḥ punar varṇā yadi vṛttam na vidyate | sankaras tatra nāgendra balavān prasamīkṣitah | yatredānīm mahāsarpa samakṛitāṁ vṛttam ishyate | tam brāhmaṇam aham pūrcam uktvān bhujagottama |

"12469. The Serpent said: Who may be a Brāhmaṇ, and what is the thing to be known, o Yudhishtīra;—tell me, since by thy words I infer thee to be a person of extreme intelligence. Yudhishtīra replied: 12470. The Smṛiti declares, o chief of Serpents, that he is a Brāhmaṇ, in whom truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, austere fervour, and compassion are seen. And the thing to be known is the supreme Brahma, free from pain, as well as from pleasure,—to whom, when men have attained, they no longer sorrow. What is your opinion? The Serpent replied: The Veda (*brahma*) is beneficial to all the four castes and is authoritative and true.²⁴⁰ And so we find in

²⁴⁰ Such is the sense assigned by the Commentator to this line, the drift of which is not very clear. The comment runs thus: *Sarpas tu brāhmaṇa-padena jāti-mātram vivakṣhītvā sūdre tal lakṣhaṇaṁ vyabhichārayati "chāturvarṇyam" iti sārddhena | chaturṇām varṇānāṁ hitam | satyam pramāṇaṁ cha dharma-vyapasthāpakam brahma vedah | sūdrūchāra-smṛiter api veda-mūlakatvāt sarvo 'py āchārādīḥ śruti-mūlakah*

Sūdras also truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion. And as for the thing to be known, which is free from pain and pleasure, I perceive that there is no other thing free from these two influences. Yudhishtira rejoined: 12475. The qualities characteristic of a Sūdra do not exist in a Brāhman (nor *vice versa*). (Were it otherwise) the Sūdra would not be a Sūdra, nor the Brāhman a Brāhman.²⁴¹ The person in whom this regulated practice is perceived is declared to be a Brāhman; and the man, in whom it is absent, should be designated as a Sūdra. And as to what you say further, that there is nothing other than this (Brahma) to be known, which is free from the susceptibilities in question; this is also (my own) opinion, that there is nothing free from them. Just as between cold and heat there can be neither heat nor cold, so there is nothing free from the feeling of pleasure and pain. Such is my view; or how do you consider? The Serpent remarked: 12480. If a man is regarded by you as being a Brāhman only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain until action is shown. Yudhishtira replied: O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition

ity arthaḥ | evaṁ cha satyādikaṁ yadi sūdre 'py asti tarhi so 'pi brāhmaṇa eva syād iti āha "sūdreshv api" iti | "The serpent, however, understanding by the term Brāhman mere birth, shows in a sloka and a half that Yudhishtira's definition fails by being applicable also to a Sūdra. *Chaturvarṇya* means 'beneficial to the four castes.' (Such is the Veda), which is also 'true' and 'authoritative,' as establishing what is duty. Inasmuch as the Smṛiti which prescribes a Sūdra's conduct is itself founded on the Veda; all conduct, etc., is based on the Veda. And so if (the characters of) truth, etc., are found also in a Sūdra, he too must be a Brāhman—such is his argument in the words 'In Sūdras also.'" According to this explanation the connection between the first line and the second and third may be as follows: The Veda is beneficial to all the castes, and therefore Sūdras also, having the advantage of its guidance, although at second hand, may practise all the virtues you enumerate; but would you therefore call them Brāhmans?

²⁴¹ This verse is not very lucid; but the sense may be that which I have assigned. The Commentator says: *Itaras tu brāhmaṇa-padena brahma-vidāṁ vinakṣhītvā sūdrāder api brāhmaṇatvam abhyupagamyā pariharati "Sūdre to" iti | Sūdra-lakṣhya-kāmādikaṁ na brāhmaṇe 'sti na brāhmaṇa-lakṣhya-sāmādikaṁ sūdre 'sti ity arthaḥ | sūdro 'pi sāmādy-upeto brāhmaṇaḥ | brāhmaṇo 'pi kāmādy-upetaḥ sūdra eva ity arthaḥ |* "The other (Yudhishtira), however, understanding by the word Brāhmaṇa one who knows the Veda (or, Brahma), and conceding the fact of a Sūdra's Brāhmanhood, obviates by the words 'but in a Sūdra,' etc. (the objection thence drawn). The qualities, lust, etc., distinctive of a Sūdra, do not exist in a Brāhman, nor do the qualities tranquillity, etc., characteristic of a Brāhman exist in a Sūdra. A Sūdra distinguished by the latter is a Brāhman; while a Brāhman characterized by lust, etc., is a Sūdra."

of humanity, on account of the confusion of all castes.²⁴² All (sorts of)

²⁴² In the tenth vol. of his *Indische Studien*, p. 83, Professor Weber adduces some curious evidence of the little confidence entertained in ancient times by the Indians in the chastity of their women. He refers to the following passages: (1) *Nidāna Sūtra*, iii. 8. *Uchchāvacha-charaṇāḥ striyo bhavanti | saha deva-sākshye cha manushya-sākshye cha yeshām putro vakshye teshām putro bhavishyāmi | yāmscha putrān vakshyote me putrāḥ bhavishyanti* | "Women are irregular in their conduct. Of whatsoever men, I, taking gods and men to witness, shall declare myself to be the son, I shall be their son; and they whom I shall name as my sons shall be so." (2) *S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 2, 1, 40. *Atha yad "brāhmaṇaḥ" ityāha | anaddhā iva vai asya atah purā jānam bhavati | idaṁ hy āhuḥ "rakshāmsi yoshitam anusachante tad uta rakshāmsy eva reta ādadhati iti | atha atra addhā jāyate yo brāhmaṇo yo yajñāḥ jāyate | tasmād api rājanyaṁ vā vaiśyaṁ vā "brāhmaṇaḥ" ity eva brūyāt | brāhmaṇo hi jāyate yo yajñāḥ jāyate | tasmād āhuḥ "na savana-kṛitāḥ hanyād enasvī ha eva savana-kṛitā" iti* | "Now as regards what he says (this) Brāhmaṇ (has been consecrated): before this his birth is uncertain. For they say this that 'Rakshases follow after women, and therefore that it is Rakshases who inject seed into them.'" (Compare what it said of the Gandharvas in *Atharva V.* iv. 37, 116, and *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for 1865, p. 301.) So then he is certainly born who is born from sacred science (*brahma*) and from sacrifice. Wherefore also let him address a Rājanya or a Vaiśya as 'Brāhmaṇ,' for he is born from sacred science (*brāhma*, and consequently a Brāhmaṇ) who is born from sacrifice. Hence they say 'let no one slay an offerer of a libation, for he incurs (the) sin (of Brahmanicide?) by so doing.'" (3) On the next passage of the *S' P. Br.* ii. 5, 2, 20, Professor Weber remarks that it is assumed that the wife of the person offering the *Varuṇa* *praghāsa* must have one or more paramours: *Atha pratipras'hūtā pratiparaiti | sa patnīm utāneshyan prichhati 'kena (jāreṇa Comm.) charasi' iti | Varuṇyaṁ vai etat strī karoti yad anyasya saty anyena charati | atho "na id me 'ataḥ-salpā juhuvad" iti tasmāt prichhati | niruktaṁ vai enaḥ kanṭyo bhavati | satyaṁ hi bhavati | tasmād vā iva prichhati | sā yad na pratijānīta jñātibhyo ha asyai tad ahitāṁ syāt* | "The pratiprasthātrī (one of the priests) returns. Being about to bring forward the wife, he asks her, 'with what (paramour) dost thou keep company?' For it is an offence incurring punishment from *Varuṇa* that being the wife of one man she keeps company with another. He enquires 'in order that she may not sacrifice with me while she feels an inward pang.' For a sin when declared becomes less: for it is not attended with falsehood. Therefore he enquires. If she does not confess, it will be ill for her relations." (This passage is explained in *Kātyāyana's Srauta Sūtras*, v. 5, 6-11.) (4) *S' P. Br.* i. 3, 2, 21. *Tad u ha uvācha Yājñavalkyo "yathādishtam patnyāḥ astu | kas tad ōdriyeta yat parapuṁsā vā patnī syāt"* | "Yājñavalkya said this (in opposition to the doctrine of some other teachers): 'let the prescribed rule be followed regarding a wife. Who would mind his wife consorting with other men?'" The last clause has reference to the consequence which the other teachers said would follow from adopting the course they disapproved, viz., that the wife of the man who did so would become an adulteress. (5) *Taitt. S.* v. 6, 8, 3. *Na agniṁ chitvā rāmām upeyād "ayonau reta dhasyāmi" iti | na devīryāṁ chitvā 'nyasya striyam upeyāt | na trīṭryāṁ chitvā kanchana upeyāt | reto vai etad nidhatte yad agniṁ chinute | yad upeyād retasā vyridhyeta* | "Let not a man, after preparing the altar for the sacred fire, approach a woman (a *S'ūdra*-woman, according to the Commentator), (considering) that in doing so, he would be discharging seed into an improper place. Let no man, after a second time preparing the fire-

men are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women. The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike. The text which follows is Vedic and authoritative: 'We who (are called upon) we recite the text.'²⁴³ Hence those men who have an insight into truth know that virtuous character is the thing chiefly to be desired. 'The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord (Manu, ii. 29). Then Sāvitrī (the Gāyatrī, Manu ii. 77) becomes his mother and his

altar, approach another man's wife. Let no man, after a third time preparing the fire-altar, approach any woman: for in preparing the fire-altar he is discharging seed. Should he approach (a woman in these forbidden cases) he will miscarry with his seed." This prohibition of adultery in a certain case, seems to prove that it was no uncommon occurrence, and is calculated, as Professor Weber remarks, to throw great doubt on the purity of blood in the old Indian families.

²⁴³ To explain the last elliptical expression I will quote part of the Commentator's remarks on the beginning of Yudhishtira's reply: *Vāgādīnām iva maithunasyāpi sādharanyaj jātir durjneyā | tathā chā śrutih "na chaitad vidmo brāhmaṇāḥ smo vayam abrahmaṇā vā" iti brāhmaṇya-samsāyāṁ upanyasyati | nanu jāty-anischaye katham "brāhmaṇo 'ham" ityādy abhimāna-purassaram yāgādau pravartteta ity āsankyāha "idam ārsham" iti | atra "ye yajāmahe" ity anena cha ye vayāṁ smo brāhmaṇāḥ anye vā te vayam yajāmahe iti brāhmaṇye 'navadhāraṇāṁ darśitam | mantra-lingam api "ya evāsmi sa san yaje" iti | . . . Tasmād āchāra eva brāhmaṇya-nischayahetur veda-prāmāṇyād ity upasāṁharati* | "As the mode of propagation is common to all the castes, just as speech, etc. are, birth is difficult to be determined. And accordingly, by the words: 'We know not this, whether we are Brāhmans or no Brāhmans,' the Veda signifies a doubt as to Brāhmaṇhood. Then, having raised the difficulty 'how, if birth is undetermined, can a man engage in sacrifice, etc., with the previous consciousness that he is a Brāhmaṇ, etc.?' the author answers in the words 'this text is Vedic, etc.' It is both shewn by the words 'we who . . . recite,' (which mean) 'we, whoever we are,—Brāhmans or others,—we recite,' that the fact of Brāhmaṇhood is unascertained; and this is also a characteristic of the formula, 'whosoever I am, being he who I am, I recite.'" The comment concludes: "Hence he briefly infers from the authoritative character of the Veda, that conduct is the cause of certainty in regard to Brāhmaṇhood." Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me that the words *ye yajāmahe* occur in S'. P. Br. i. 5, 2, 16, and in Taitt. S. i. 16, 11, 1. The Commentator on the last-named passage refers in explanation of them to Asvalāyana's S'rāuta Sūtras, i. 5, 4 f., where it is said that these two words constitute the formula called *aguh*, which comes in at the beginning of all the *yājyās* which are unaccompanied by any *anuyāja*. The Commentator interprets the two words thus: *sarve "ye" vayāṁ hotāro 'dhvaryunā "yaja" iti preśhitās te vayam "yajāmahe" yājyām paṭhāmaḥ* | "All we hotri priests who are called upon by the *adhvaryu* by the word 'recite,' we recite, i.e. repeat the *yājyā*." (See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 133, and note 11.) Prof. Aufrecht thinks the words in the Commentator's note *ya evāsmi sa san yaje* may be a free adaptation of Atharva V. vi. 123, 3, 4. It does not appear from what source the words *na chaitad vidmaḥ* etc. are derived.

religious teacher his father (Manu, ii. 170, 225). 12485. Until he is born in the Veda, he is on a level with a Sūdra' (Manu, ii. 172);—so, in this diversity of opinions did Manu Svāyambhuva declare. The castes (though they have done nothing) will have done all they need do,²⁴⁴ if no fixed rules of conduct are observed. In such a case there is considered to be a gross confusion of castes. I have already declared that he is a Brāhman in whom purity of conduct is recognized."

The next passage from the Sāntiparvan, verses 6930 ff., is even more explicit than the last in denying any natural distinction between the people of the different castes:

*Bhṛigur uvācha | Aṣṛijad brāhmaṇān evam pūrvam Brahmā prajā-
 patin | ātma-tejo 'bhiniṛerittān bhāskarāgni-sama-prabhān | tataḥ satyaṁ
 cha dharmaṁ cha tapo brahma cha śāsvatam | āchāram chaiva śaucaṁ
 cha svargūya vidadhe prabhuh | deva-dānava-gandharvā daityāsura-ma-
 horagāḥ | yaksha-rākshasa-nāgās cha piśāchā manujās tathā | brāhmaṇāḥ
 kṣhettriya vaiśyāḥ śūdrās cha devīja-sattama | ye chānye bhūta-saṅghānām
 varṇās tāms chāpi nirmame | brāhmaṇānām sito varṇaḥ kṣhattriyaṇām
 cha lohitaḥ | vaiśyānām pitako varṇaḥ śūdrānām asitas tathā | 6935.
 Bharadvāja uvācha | Chāturvarnyasya varṇena yadi varṇo vibhidyate |
 sarveṣhām khalu varṇānām dṛśyate varṇa-sankarah | kāmāḥ krodho bha-
 yaṁ lobhaḥ śokaś chintā kṣudhā śramāḥ | sarveṣhām naḥ²⁴⁵ prabhavati
 kasmād varṇo vibhidyate | sveda-mūtra-purīṣhāni śleshmā pittaṁ sa-śoni-
 tam | tanuḥ kṣharati sarveṣhām kasmād varṇo vibhajyate | jaṅgamānām
 asaṁkhyeyāḥ sthāvarānām cha jātayāḥ | teshām vividha-varṇānām kuto
 varṇa-viniśchayaḥ | Bhṛigur uvācha | Na viśesho 'sti varṇānām sarvam
 brāhmaṇa idaṁ jagat | Brahmaṇā pūrva śṛiṣṭaṁ hi karmabhir varṇatām
 gatam | 6940. Kāma-bhoga-priyās tikṣhṇāḥ krodhanāḥ priya-sāhasāḥ |*

²⁴⁴ The Commentator thus explains the word *kṛita-kṛitya*: *Kṛita-kṛityāḥ sūdra-
 tulyāḥ | tathā cha smṛitih "na sūdre pātakaṁ kinchid na cha saṁskāram arhati" iti
 teshām saṁskārānārhatva-nishpāpatvābhidānat kṛita-kṛityatram darsayati | tadvat
 traivarnikā api syur ity arthah | "Kṛita kṛityāḥ (lit. having done what was to be
 done) means, like Sūdras; so the Smṛiti (when it says), 'No sin exists in a Sūdra,
 nor is he fit for purificatory rites,' shews, by declaring the unfitness of this class for
 such rites, and its freedom from sin, that it has the character of kṛita-kṛityatva,
 i.e. of having done all it had to do. And such (in the event supposed) would be the
 case with men of the three (upper) classes also."*

²⁴⁵ The Calcutta edition reads *na*, "not," which cannot be right. The MS. in the Library of the Edinburgh University has *naḥ*, "of us."

tyakta-svadharmā raktāṅgās te dvijāḥ kṣattrratām gatāḥ | gobhṛyo vṛttiṁ samāsthāya pitāḥ kṛiṣhy-upajivinaḥ | sva-dharmān nānutiṣṭhanti te dvijā vaiśyatatām gatāḥ | hiṁsānṛita-priyā lubdhāḥ sarva-karmopajivinaḥ | kṛiṣṇāḥ śauca-paribhrashtās te dvijāḥ śūdratatām gatāḥ | ity etaiḥ karmabhir vyastā dvijā varṇāntaram gatāḥ | dharmo yajna-kriyā teshām nityaṁ na pratishidhyate | ity ete chaturō varṇā yeshām brāhmī sarasvatī | vihitā Brahmanā pūrvaṁ lobhāt tv ajñānatām gatāḥ | 6945. Brāhmaṇā brahma-tantra-sthās²⁴⁶ tapas teshām na naśyati | brahma dhārayatatām nityaṁ vratāni viyamāṁs tathā | brahma chaiva paraṁ śṛiṣṭaṁ ye na jñānti te 'dvijāḥ | teshām bahuvīdhās tv anyās tatra tatra hi jātayāḥ | piśāchā rākshasāḥ pretā vividhā mlechha-jātayāḥ | pranaṣṭa-jñāna-vijnānāḥ svachhandāchāra-cheshṭitāḥ | prajā brāhmaṇa-saṁskārāḥ sva-karma-kṛita-niśchayāḥ | rishibhiḥ svena tapasā śṛijyante chāpare paraiḥ | ādi-deva-samudbhūtā brahma-mūlā 'kshayā 'cyayā | sā śṛiṣṭir mānaśī nāma dharmā-tantra-parāyanā | 6950. Bharadvāja uvācha | Brāhmaṇaḥ kenā bhavati kṣattriyo vā dvijottama | vaiśyāḥ śūdraś cha vipraśhe tad brāhi vadatām vara | Bhṛiguṛ uvācha | Jata-karmādibhir yas tu saṁskārāiḥ saṁskṛitāḥ śuchiḥ | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ śaṭsu karmasv avasthitāḥ | śauchāchāra-sthitāḥ samyag vighasāśī guru-priyāḥ | nitya-vratī satyaparaḥ sa vai brāhmaṇa uchyate | satyaṁ dānam athādroha ānṛisaṁsyaṁ trapū ghṛiṇā | tapas cha dṛiśyate yatra sa brāhmaṇa iti smṛitāḥ | kṣattrā-jām sevate karma vedādhyayana-sangataḥ | dānā-dāna-ratir yas tu sa vai kṣattriya uchyate | 6955. Viśaty āśu paśubhyaś cha kṛiṣhy-ādāna-ratīḥ śuchiḥ | vedādhyayana-sampannaḥ sa vaiśyāḥ iti sanjñitāḥ | sarva-bhākshya-ratir nityaṁ sarva-karma-karo 'śuchiḥ | tyakta-vedas tv anāchāraḥ sa vai śūdraḥ iti smṛitāḥ | śūdre chaitad bhavel lakshyaṁ dvije tuch cha na vidyate | sa vai śūdro bhavoch chhūdro brāhmaṇo brāhmaṇo na cha |

“Bhṛigu replied : 6930. ‘Brahmā thus formerly created the Prajāpatis, Brahmanic,²⁴⁷ penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, austere fervour, and the eternal veda (or sacred science), virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas,

²⁴⁶ *Brahma-tantram* = *vedoktānushṭhānam* | Comm.

²⁴⁷ *Brāhmaṇān*, “Brāhmans,” is the word employed. It may mean here “sons of Brahmā.”

Rākshasas, Nāgas, Pisāchas, and men, Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, as well as all other classes (*varṇāḥ*) of beings. The colour (*varṇa*) of the Brāhmanas was white; that of the Kshattriyas red; that of the Vaiśyas yellow, and that of the Sūdras black.²⁴⁸ 6935. Bhara-dvāja here rejoins: 'If the caste (*varṇa*) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (*varṇa*), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all: by what, then, is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile, and blood (are common to all); the bodies of all decay: by what then is caste discriminated? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary: how is the class (*varṇa*) of these various objects to be determined?' Bhṛigu replies: 'There is no difference of castes:²⁴⁹ this world, having been at first created by Brahmā entirely Brahmanic,²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ It is somewhat strange, as Professor Weber remarks in a note to p. 215 of his German translation of the Vajra Sūchī, that in the passage of the Kāthaka Brāhmaṇa xi. 6, which he there quotes, a white colour is ascribed to the Vaiśya and a dark hue to the Rājanya. The words are these: *Yach chhuktānām (brihīnām) ādityebhyo nir-vapati tasmāch chhukla iva vaiśyo jōyate | yat kṛishnānām vāruṇām tasmād dhūmra iva rājanyah* | "Since the Vaiśya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Ādityas, he is born as it were white; and as the Vāruṇa oblation is of black (rice) the Rājanya is as it were dusky."

²⁴⁹ Compare with this the words attributed in S'antiparvan, verses 2819 ff., to King Muchukunda, who had been reproached by the god Kuvera with trusting for victory to the aid of his domestic priest instead of to his own prowess: *Muchukundas tataḥ kṛuddhaḥ pratyuvācha Dhaneśvaram | nyūya-pūrvam asaṃrabdham asaṃbhrāntam idaṃ vachah | brahma kshattram idaṃ sṛishṭam eka-yoni svayambhuvā | prithag-bala-vīdhūnām tanna lokam paripālayet | tapo-mantra-balam nityam brāhmaṇeshu pratishṭhitam | āstra-bāhu-balam nityam kshattriyeshu pratishṭhitam | tābhyām sambhūya karttavyam prajānām paripālenam* | "Muchukunda then, incensed, addressed to the Lord of riches these reasonable words, which did not partake of his anger or excitement: 'Brāhmanas and Kshattriyas were created by Brahmā from the same womb (or source) with different forces appointed to them: this cannot (neither of these separate forces can?) protect the world. The force of austere fervour and of sacred texts abides constantly in the Brāhmanas; and that of weapons and their own arms in the Kshattriyas. By these two forces combined the people must be protected."

²⁵⁰ *Brāhman* is the word employed. That it is to be understood in the sense of "Brāhmanical" appears from the following lines in which the word *deivāḥ* must be taken in the special signification of Brāhmanas and not of "twice-born men" (who may be either Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, or Vaiśyas) in general. The Brāhman is considered to have been formed of the essence of Brahmā, and to represent the original type of perfect humanity as it existed at the creation. The Commentator takes the word *brāhman* as = *brāhmaṇa-jātimat*, "having the caste of Brāhmanas;" and he explains the different colours mentioned in the next verses as follows: red (*rakta*)



became (afterwards) separated into castes in consequence of works. 6940. Those Brāhmanas (*lit.* twice-born men), who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, prone to violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were red-limbed, fell into the condition of Kshattriyas. Those Brāhmanas, who derived their livelihood from kine, who were yellow, who subsisted by agriculture, and who neglected to practise their duties, entered into the state of Vaiśyas. Those Brāhmanas, who were addicted to mischief and falsehood, who were covetous, who lived by all kinds of work, who were black and had fallen from purity, sank into the condition of Sūdras. Being separated from each other by these works, the Brāhmanas became divided into different castes. Duty and the rites of sacrifice have not been always forbidden to (any of) them. Such are the four classes for whom the Brahmanic²⁵¹ Sarasvatī was at first designed by Brahmā, but who through their cupidity fell into ignorance. 6945. Brāhmanas live agreeably to the prescriptions of the Veda; while they continually hold fast the Veda, and observances, and ceremonies, their austere fervour (*tapas*) does not perish. And sacred science was created the highest thing: they who are ignorant of it are no twice-born men. Of these there are various other classes in different places, Piśāchas, Rākshasas, Pretas, various tribes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane, and practise whatever observances they please. And different sorts of creatures with the purificatory rites of Brāhmanas, and discerning their own duties, are created by different rishis through their own austere fervour. This creation, sprung from the primal god, having its root in Brahma, undecaying, imperishable, is called the mind-born creation, and is devoted to the prescriptions of duty.' 6950. Bharadvāya again enquires: 'What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brāhman, a Kshattriya,

means "formed of the quality of passion" (*rajo-guṇa-maya*); yellow (*pīta*) "formed of the qualities of passion and darkness" (*rajas-tamo-maya*), and black (*kṛishṇa* or *asita*) "formed of darkness only" (*kevala-tanomaya*).

²⁵¹ *Brāhmī*. This word is thus interpreted by the Commentator: *vedamayī | chatur-nām api varṇānām Brahmaṇā pūrvam vihitā | lobha-doshena tu ajñānatām tamo-bhāvaṁ gatāḥ sūdrāḥ anadhikāriṇo vede jātāḥ* | "Sarasvatī, consisting of the Veda, was formerly designed by Brahmā for all the four castes: but the Sūdras having through cupidity fallen into 'ignorance,' i.e. a condition of darkness, lost their right to the Veda." See *Indische Studien*, ii. 194, note, where Professor Weber understands this passage to import that in ancient times the Sūdras spoke the language of the Āryas.