

what the most inhuman wretches cannot perpetrate" (i. 8, 48 f. *Nriśaṁsair api yat karttūṁ na śakyaṁ tat karomy cham | yadi me śakyate vāṇī vaktum īdrīk sudurvachah*).] He then goes into the city, and in self-accusing language offers his queen for sale as a slave. A rich old Brāhman offers to buy her at a price corresponding to her value, to do his household work. [Hariśchandra's heart was torn, and he could make no reply. The Brāhman paid down the money, and was dragging away the queen by the hair of her head, when her little son Rohitāśva, seeing his mother about to be taken away from him, began to cry, and laid hold of her skirts. The mother then exclaims: i. 8, 59, "*Munchāryya muncha mām tāvad yāvat pāśyāmy ahaṁ śiśum | durlabhaṁ darśanaṁ tātā punar asya bhaviṣyati | 60. Pāsyaihi vatsa mām evam mātaram dāsyatām gatām | mām nā sprākṣhīh rāja-puttra aspriṣyā 'haṁ tavā-dhunā*" | 61. *Tatah sa bālāh sahasā drishtvā kṛiṣṭām tu mātaram | samabhyadhāvad ambeti rudan sāśvavilekṣanaḥ | 62. Tam āgataṁ devijāh kretā bālam abhyāhanat padā | vadaṁs tathāpi so 'mbeti naivāmunchata mātaram | 63. Rājapatny uvācha | "prasādaṁ kuru me nātha kṛiṇīshve-mām cha bālakam | kṛitā 'pi nāham bhavato vinainaṁ kāryya-sādhikā | 64. Ittham mamālpa-bhāgyāyāh prasāda-sumukho bhava | mām saṁyojaya bālena vatsaneva payasvinīm" | 65. Brāhmaṇah uvācha | "grihyatām vittam etai te diyatām bālako mama" | "Let me go, let me go, venerable sir, till I look upon my son. I shall hardly ever behold him again. Come, my darling, see thy mother now become a slave. Touch me not, young prince; I may no longer be handled by thee." Seeing his mother dragged away, the child ran after her, his eyes dimmed with tears, and crying 'mother.' The Brāhman purchaser kicked him when he came up; but he would not let his mother go, and continued crying 'mother, mother.' The queen then said to the Brāhman, 'Be so kind, my master, as to buy also this child, as without him I shall prove to thee but a useless purchase. 64. Be thus merciful to me in my wretchedness; unite me with my son, like a cow to her calf.¹⁷⁹ The Brāhman agrees: 'Take this money and give me the boy.'"] When his wife and son were being carried away, Hariśchandra broke out into lamentations: i. 8, 68. *Yām na vāyur na chādityo nendur na cha pri-thag-janoh | drishtavantaḥ purā patnīm seyaṁ dāsivam āgatā | 69. Sūrya-vaṁśa-prasūto 'yām sukurāra-karāṅgulih | samprāpto vikrayam**

¹⁷⁹ The whole of this reads like a scene from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."



bālo dhiñ mām astu sudurmatim | “‘She, my spouse, whom neither air, nor sun, nor moon, nor stranger had beheld, is now gone into slavery. This my son, a scion of the solar race, with his delicate hands and fingers, has been sold. Woe to me, wicked wretch that I am.’” After the Brāhman had gone out of sight with his purchases, Viśvāmitra again appeared and renewed his demands; and when the afflicted Hariśchandra offered him the small sum he had obtained by the sale of his wife and son, he angrily replied, [i. 8, 74: *Kshatrabandho mame-mām tvam sadṛśīm yajna-dakṣiṇām* | *manyase yadī tat kshipram paśya tvam me balam param* | 75. *Tapaso ’ttra sutaptasya brāhmanyasyāmala-sya cha* | *mat-prabhāvasya chograsya śuddhasyādhyayanasya cha*] “‘If, miserable Kshattriya, thou thinkest this a sacrificial gift befitting my deserts, thou shalt soon behold the transcendent power of my ardent austere-fervour, of my spotless Brāhmanhood, of my terrible majesty, and of my holy study.’” Hariśchandra promises an additional gift, and Viśvāmitra allows him the remaining quarter of the day for its liquidation. On the terrified and afflicted prince offering himself for sale, in order to gain the means of meeting this cruel demand, Dharma (Righteousness) appears in the form of a hideous and offensive Chanḍāla, and agrees to buy him at his own price, large or small. Hariśchandra declines such a degrading servitude, and declares that he would rather be consumed by the fire of his persecutor’s curse than submit to such a fate. Viśvāmitra however again comes on the scene, asks why he does not accept the large sum offered by the Chanḍāla; and, when he pleads in excuse his descent from the solar race, threatens to fulminate a curse against him if he does not accept that method of meeting his liability. Hariśchandra implores that he may be spared this extreme of degradation, and offers to become Viśvāmitra’s slave in payment of the residue of his debt; whereupon the sage rejoins, “If thou art my slave, then I sell thee as such to the Chanḍāla for a hundred millions of money” [i. 8, 95. *Yadi preshyo mama bhavān chandālāya tato mayā* | *dāsa-bhāvam anuprāpto datto vittārбудena vai* |).] The Chanḍāla, delighted, pays down the money, and carries off Hariśchandra, bound, beaten, confused, and afflicted, to his own place of abode. [Morning, noon, and evening the unfortunate prince repeats these words: i. 8, 99. *Bālā dīna-mukhī dṛishṭvā balañ dīna-mukham puraḥ* | *mām smaraty asukhāviṣṭā* “‘mochayishyati nau nṛipaḥ | 100. *Upatta-vitto*

viprāya dattvā vittam ato 'dhikam" | *na sā mām mṛiga-śāvākshī vetti pāpataram kṛitam* | 101. *Rājya-nāśaḥ suhṛit-tyāgo bhāryyā-tanaya-vik-royaḥ* | *prāptā chaṇḍalātā cheyam aho duḥkha-paramparā* | "My tender wife, dejected, looking upon my dejected boy, calls me to mind while she says, 'The king will ransom us (100) after he has gained money, and paid the Brāhman a larger sum than he gave for us.' But my fawn-eyed spouse is ignorant that I have become yet more wretched than before. 101. Loss of my kingdom, abandonment of friends, sale of my wife and son, and this fall into the condition of a Chaṇḍāla, — what a succession of miseries!"] Hariśchandra is sent by the Chaṇḍāla to steal grave-clothes in a cemetery (which is described at tedious length, with all its horrors and repulsive features), and is told that he will receive two-sixths of the value for his hire; three-sixths going to his master, and one-sixth to the king. In this horrid spot, and in this degrading occupation, he spent, in great misery, twelve months, which seemed to him like a hundred years (i. 8, 127. *Evaṁ dvādaśa-māsāḥ tu nīlāḥ śata-samopamāḥ*).] He then falls asleep and has a series of dreams suggested by the life he had been leading (*śmaśānābhyāsa-yogena*, verse 129). After he awoke, his wife came to the cemetery to perform the obsequies of their son, who had died from the bite of a serpent (verses 171 ff.). At first the husband and wife did not recognize each other, from the change in appearance which had been wrought upon them both by their miseries. Hariśchandra, however, soon discovers from the tenor of her lamentations that it is his wife, and falls into a swoon; as the queen does also when she recognizes her husband. When consciousness returns, they both break out into lamentations, the father bewailing in a touching strain the loss of his son, and the wife the degradation of the king. She then falls on his neck, embraces him, and asks "whether all this is a dream, or a reality, as she is utterly bewildered;" and adds, that "if it be a reality, then righteousness is un-availing to those who practise it" (verse 210. *Rājan svapno 'tha tathyaṁ vā yad etad manyate bhavān* | *tat kathyatām mahābhāga mano vai mukhyate mama* | 211. *Yady etad evaṁ dharmajña nāsti dharme sahāyatā* |).] After hesitating to devote himself to death on his son's funeral pyre without receiving his master's leave, (as such an act of insubordination might send him to hell) (verses 215 ff.), Hariśchandra resolves to do so, braving all the consequences, and consoling himself with the hopeful



anticipation: [verse 224. *Yadi dattaṃ yadi hutaṃ guravo yadi toṣitāḥ | paratra saṅgamo bhūyāt puttrena saha cha tvayā |* "If I have given gifts, and offered sacrifices, and gratified my religious teachers, then may I be reunited with my son and with thee (my wife) in another world."¹⁸⁰ The queen determines to die in the same manner. When Hariścandra, after placing his son's body on the funeral pile, is meditating on the lord Hari Nārāyaṇa Kṛiṣṇa, the supreme spirit, all the gods arrive, headed by Dharma (Righteousness), and accompanied by Viśvāmitra.¹⁸¹ Dharma entreats the king to desist from his rash in-

¹⁸⁰ In the following verses of the Atharva-veda a hope is expressed that families may be re-united in the next world: vi. 120, 3. *Yatra suhṛddāḥ suhṛdo madanti vithāya rogaṃ tanvaḥ svāyāḥ | aśṇāḥ angair ahrutāḥ sarge tatra paśyema pitarau cha putrān |* "In heaven, where our friends, and intimates live in blessedness, having left behind them the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of limb,—may we behold our parents and our children." ix. 5, 27. *Yā pūrvam patiṃ vītīvā athānyam vindate 'param | panchaudanaṃ cha tāv ajam dadāto na vi yoshataḥ |* 28. *Samānaloko bhavati punarbhuvā 'paraḥ patiḥ | yo 'jam panchaudanaṃ dakṣiṇā-jyotiṣaṃ dadāti |* "When a woman has had one husband before, and takes another, if they present the *aja panchaudana* offering they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same (future) world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the *aja panchaudana*, illuminated by presents." xii. 3, 17. *Svargaṃ lokam abhi no nayāsi saṃ jāyayā saha putraiḥ syāma |* "Mayest thou conduct us to heaven; may we be with our wives and children." xviii. 3, 23. *Svān gachhatu te mano adha pitṛm upa drava |* "May thy soul go to its own (its kindred) and hasten to the fathers." From the texts cited by Mr. Colebrooke "on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow," (Misc. Ess. 115 ff.) it appears that the widow who becomes a sati (i.e. burns herself with her husband's corpse, or, in certain cases, afterwards) has the promise of rejoining her lord in another life, and enjoying celestial felicity in his society. In order to ensure such a result in all cases it was necessary either that both husband and wife should have by their lives merited equal rewards in another existence, or that the heroism of the wife, in sacrificing herself on her husband's funeral-pile should have the vicarious effect of expiating his offences, and raising him to the same heavenly region with herself. And it is indeed the doctrine of the authorities cited by Mr. Colebrooke that the self-inmolation of the wife had this atoning effect. But in other cases where the different members of a family had by their actions during life merited different kinds of retribution, they might, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls current in later ages, be re-born in the shape of different animals, and so rendered incapable of any mutual communication after death. In regard to the absence of any traces of the tenet of metempsychosis from the earliest Indian writings, see Professor Weber's remarks in the Journ. of the Germ. Or. Soc. ix. 327 ff. and the abstract of them given in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, pp. 365 ff.

¹⁸¹ An attempt is here made, verses 234 f., to give the etymology of Viśvāmitra: *Viśva-trayeṇa yo mitram karttūṃ na sakitāḥ purā | Viśvāmitras tu te mātṛīm iṣṭaṃ chāharitum ichhāt |* "That Viśvāmitra, whom the three Viśvas formerly could not induce to be their friend, wishes to offer thee his friendship, and whatsoever thou desirest."



tention; and Indra announces to him that he, his wife, and son have conquered heaven by their good works. Ambrosia, the antidote of death, and flowers, are rained by the god from the sky; and the king's son is restored to life and the bloom of youth. The king, adorned with celestial clothing and garlands, and the queen, embrace their son. Harischandra, however, declares that he cannot go to heaven till he has received his master the Chāṇḍāla's permission, and has paid him a ransom. Dharma then reveals to the king that it was he himself who had miraculously assumed the form of a Chāṇḍāla. The king next objects that he cannot depart unless his faithful subjects, who are sharers in his merits, are allowed to accompany him to heaven, at least for one day. This request is granted by Indra; and after Viśvāmitra has inaugurated Rohitāśva the king's son to be his successor, Harischandra, his friends and followers, all ascend in company to heaven. Even after this great consummation, however, Vaśiṣṭha, the family-priest of Harischandra, hearing, at the end of a twelve years' abode in the waters of the Ganges, an account of all that has occurred, becomes vehemently incensed at the humiliation inflicted on the excellent monarch, whose virtues and devotion to the gods and Brāhmins he celebrates, declares that his indignation had not been so greatly roused even when his own hundred sons had been slain by Viśvāmitra, and in the following words dooms the latter to be transformed into a crane: [i. 9, 9. *Tasmād durātmā brahma-dviṭ prājñānām avaropitaḥ | mach-chhāpapahato mūḍhaḥ sa vakatvam avāpsyati*] 'Wherefore that wicked man, enemy of the Brāhmins, smitten by my curse, shall be expelled from the society of intelligent beings, and losing his understanding shall be transformed into a Vaka.' Viśvāmitra reciprocates the curse, and changes Vasishṭha into a bird of the species called Āṛi. In their new shapes the two have a furious fight,¹⁸² the Āṛi being of the portentous height of two thousand yojanas (= 18000 miles), and the Vaka of 3090 yojanas. They first assail each other with their wings; then the Vaka smites his antagonist in the same manner, while the Āṛi strikes with his talons. Falling mountains, overturned by the blasts of wind raised by the

¹⁸² On the subject of this fight the Bhāgavata Purāṇa has the following verse : ix. 7, 6. *Trāisankavo Hariścandro Viśvāmitra-Vaśiṣṭhayoḥ | yan-nimittam abhūd yuddham pakṣiṇor bahu-vārshikam* | "The son of Trisanku was Harischandra, on whose account Viśvāmitra and Vasishṭha in the form of birds had a battle of many

flapping of their wings, shake the whole earth, the waters of the ocean overflow, the earth itself, thrown off its perpendicular, slopes downwards towards Pātāla, the lower regions. Many creatures perish by these various convulsions. Attracted by the dire disorder, Brahmā arrives, attended by all the gods, on the spot, and commands the combatants to desist from their fray. They were too fiercely infuriated to regard this injunction: but Brahmā put an end to the conflict by restoring them to their natural forms, and counselling them to be reconciled:] i. 9, 28. *Na chāpi Kauśika-śreṣṭhas tasya rājno 'parādhyate | svarga-prāptikaro brahmann upakāra-pade sthitaḥ |* 29. *Tapo-vighnasya karttārau kāma-krodha-vaśaṁ gatau | parityajata bhadraṁ no brahma hi prachuram balam |* 'The son of Kuśika has not inflicted any wrong on Hariśchandra: inasmuch as he has caused the king's elevation to heaven he stands in the position of a benefactor. 29. Since ye have yielded to the influence of desire and anger ye have obstructed your austere fervour; leave off, bless you; the Brahmanical power is transcendent.' The sages were accordingly pacified, and embraced each other."

This interesting legend may be held to have had a double object, viz. first to portray in lively colours the heroic fortitude and sense of duty exhibited by Hariśchandra and his wife in enduring the long series of severe trials to which they were subjected; and secondly, to represent Viśvāmitra in an unamiable light, as an oppressive assertor of those sacerdotal prerogatives, which he had conquered for himself by his austerities,¹⁸³ to place him in striking contrast with the genuine Brāhman Vaśiṣṭha who expresses strong indignation at the harsh procedure of his rival, and to recall the memory of those conflicts between

years duration." On this the Commentator remarks: *Viśvāmitro rājasūya-dakṣiṇā-chhalena Hariśchandrasya sarva-svam apakṛitya yātayāmāsa | tach chhruvā kupite Vasishṭho 'pi Viśvāmitraṁ "tvam āṛi bhava" iti śasāpa | so 'pi "tvam vako bhava" iti Vasishṭham śasāpa | tayoḥ cha yuddham abhūt iti prasiddham |* "Viśvāmitra under pretence of taking a present for a rajasūya sacrifice, stripped Hariśchandra of all his property, and afflicted him. Vaśiṣṭha hearing of this, became incensed, and by an imprecation turned him into an Āṛi. Viśvāmitra retorted the curse and changed Vaśiṣṭha into a Vāka. And then a battle took place between them, as is well known." Here it will be seen that the Commentator changes the birds into which the rishis were transformed, making Viśvāmitra the Āṛi and Vaśiṣṭha the Vāka.

¹⁸³ It is true that the Brāhman rishi Durvāsas also is represented as a very irascible personage. See vol. iv. of this work, pp. 165, 169, 208, 407; and Weber's Ind. St. iii. 398.

EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN

the Brāhman and Kshattriyas, which were exemplified in the persons of these two sages, of whom the one is said to have been made the "lord of Brāhman" (*Vaśishṭham īśaṁ viprānām*, M.Bh. Sāntip. v. 4499), and the other is declared in the story before us to have been the "enemy of the priests."

SECT. X.—Contest of *Vaśishṭha* and *Viśvāmitra* according to the *Mahābhārata*.

In the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, verses 6638 ff., we find another legend, in the Brahmanical interest, regarding the same two great personages, which begins with a panegyric on *Vaśishṭha*, at the expense of the rival rishi :

6638. *Brahmaṇo mānasaḥ putro Vaśishṭho 'rundhati-patiḥ | tāpasā nirjitau śasvad ajeyāv amaraṭr api | kāma-krodhāv ubhau yasya charanau saṁvavahatuḥ | yas tu nochchedanaṁ chakre Kuśikānām udāra-dhāḥ | Viśvāmitrāparādhena dhārayan manyum uttamam |* 6640. *Putra-vyasana-santaptaḥ śaktimān apy aśakta-vat | Viśvāmitra-vināśāya na chakre karma dāruṇam | mritūṁś cha punar āharttum yaḥ sa putrān Yama-kshayāt | kṛitāntaṁ nātichakrāma velām iva mahodadhiḥ | yam prāpya vijitātma-nam mahātmānaṁ narādhipāḥ | Ikṣvākavo mahīpālāḥ lebhire prithivīm imām | purohitam imam prāpya Vaśishṭham ṛishi-sattamam | jire kratubhiḥ chaiva nṛipās te Kuru-nandana | sa hi tān yājayāmāsa sarvān nṛipati-sattamān | brahmarshiḥ Pāṇḍava-śreṣṭha Vṛihaspatir ivāmarān |* 6645. *Tasmād dharma-pradhānātmā veda-dharma-vid īpsitaḥ | brāhmaṇo guṇavān kaśchit purodhāḥ paridrīśyatām | kshattriyenābhijātena prithivīm jetum icchataḥ | pūrvam purohitaḥ kāryyaḥ pārtha rājyābhisiddhaye | mahīm jigīṣhatā rājñā brahma kāryyam purasaram | . . .* 6666. *Kshattriyo 'ham bhavān vipras tapaḥ-svādhyāya-sādhanaḥ | brāhmaṇeshu kuto vīryyam praśānteshu dhṛitāmasu | arbudena garām yas tvaṁ na dadāsi namepsitam | sva-dharmaṁ na prahāsyāmi neshyāmi cha balena gām | . . .* 6679. *"Sthīyatām" iti tach chhṛuteā Vaśishṭhasya payasvintī | ūrdhve'nchita-śiro-grīvā prababhau raudra-darśanā |* 6680. *Krodha-raktekshaṇā sū gaur lambhā-rava-ghana-svanā | Viśvāmitrasya tat saṁnyam vyadrāvayata sarvasaḥ | kaśāgra-dandābhikhatā kālyamūnā tatastataḥ | krodha-raktekshaṇā krodham bhūya eva samādadhe | āditya iva madhyāhne krodha-dīpta-vapur babhau | angāra-varsham munchantī muhur bāladhito*

mahat | asrijat Pahlavān puchhāt prasravād Drāvidān Sukān | yonidesūch cha Yavanān sakṛitah Savarān bahūn | . . . 6691. Drishṭvā tad mahad āscharyam brahma-tejo-bhavam tadā | Viśvāmitrah kshattri-bhāvād nirvinno vākyam abravīt | “dhig balaṁ kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | balābalaṁ viniśchitya tapaḥ eva param balam” | sa rājyaṁ sphīlam utsrija tāṁ cha diptāṁ nṛipa-śriyam | bhogāṁś cha prishṭhataḥ kṛtvā tapasy eva mano dadhe | sa gatvā tapasā siddhim lokān viśṭabhya tejasā | 6695. Tatāpa sarvān diptaṁjāḥ brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | apibach cha tataḥ somam Indrena saha Kauśikah |

6638. “Vasishṭha,” a Gandharva informs Arjuna, “was the mind-born son of Brahmā and husband of Arundhati.¹⁸⁴ By his austere fervour, lust and anger, invincible even by the immortals, were constantly vanquished and embraced his feet. Restraining his indignation at the wrong done by Viśvāmitra, he magnanimously abstained from exterminating the Kuśikas.¹⁸⁵ 6640. Distressed by the loss of his sons, he acted, although powerful, like one who was powerless, and took no

¹⁸⁴ Arundhati is again mentioned as the wife of Vasishṭha, in the following lines of the M. Bh. Ādip. 7351 f. addressed to Draupadi: *Yathendrāṇī Harihaye Svāhā chaiva Vibhavasau | Rohiṇī cha yathā Some Damayantī yathā Nale | yathā Vaiśravaṇe Bhadrā Vasishṭhe chāpy Arundhati | yathā Nārāyaṇe Lakshmī tathā tvam bhava bhāritrishu* | “What Indrāṇī is to Indra, Svāhā to the Sun, Rohiṇī to the Moon, Damayantī to Nala, Bhadrā to Kuvera, Arundhati to Vasishṭha, and Lakshmī to Nārāyaṇa, that be thou to thy husbands.” She is again noticed in verses 8455 ff. *Suvratā chāpi kalyāṇī sarva-bhūteshu viśrutā | Arundhati mahātmanāṁ Vasishṭham paryasankata | viśuddha-bhāvam atyantāṁ sadā priya-hite ratam | saptarshi-madhyagaṁ viram avamena cha tam munim | apadhyānena sū tena dhūmrūpa-sama-prabhā | lakshyā lakshyā nūbhīrūpā nimittam iva paśyati* | “The faithful and beautiful Arundhati, renowned among all creatures, was suspicious about the great Vasishṭha, whose nature was eminently pure, who was devoted to the welfare of those he loved, who was one of the seven rishis, and heroic; and she despised the muni. In consequence of these evil surmises, becoming of the dusky colour of smoke, both to be seen and not to be seen, devoid of beauty, she looks like a (bad) omen.” This version of the last line is suggested by Prof. Aufrecht. The Commentator explains it thus: “*Nimittam*” *bhartur lakshmaṇam “iva paśyati” kapaṭena | ataḥ eva “nūbhīrūpā prachhanna-eeṣhā | tena hetunā “lakshyā lakshyā cha”* | “She regards as it were” i.e. by guile ‘the omen’ afforded by her husband’s (bodily) marks, hence she assumed a disguise, and was ‘both to be seen and not to be seen.’”

¹⁸⁵ As regards the magnanimous character here assigned to Vasishṭha, I quote a passage from the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 9, 15 ff., where the irascible Duvāsas (to whom I lately referred, and who is said, in verse 2, to be a partial incarnation of Siva, *Sankarasyāṁśah*), addressing Indra, who, he conceived, had insulted him, thus speaks of that sage’s amiable temper, as contrasted with his own fierce and revengeful disposition: 15. *Naham kṛpālu-hṛdayo na cha mām bhajate kṣamā | anye te mun-*



✓
dreadful measures for the destruction of Viśvāmitra. To recover those sons from the abode of Yama, he would not overstep fate, as the ocean respects its shores. Having gained this great self-mastering personage, the kings of Ikshvāku's race acquired (the dominion of) this earth. Obtaining this most excellent of rishis for their family-priest, they offered sacrifices. This Brāhman-rishi officiated as priest for all those monarchs, as Yrihaspati does for the gods. 6645. Wherefore let some desirable, virtuous Brāhman, with whom righteousness is the chief thing, and skilled in Vedic observances, be selected for this office. Let a well-born Kshattriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first of all appoint a family-priest in order that he may augment his dominion. Let a king, who desires to conquer the earth, give precedence to the Brahmanical power." The Gandharva then, at Arjuna's request, goes on (verses 6650 ff.) to relate the "ancient story of Vaśishṭha" (*vāśishṭham ākhyānam purāṇam*) and to describe the cause of enmity between that rishi and Viśvāmitra. [It happened that the latter, who was son of Gādhi, king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj), and grandson of Kuśika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, where he was received with all honour, entertained together with his attendants with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow, the fulfiller of all his desires. The cupidity of Viśvāmitra is aroused by the sight of this beautiful animal (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend), and he offers Vaśishṭha a hundred million cows, or his kingdom, in exchange for her. Vaśishṭha, however, replies that he is unable to part with her even in return for the kingdom. Viśvāmitra then tells him that he will enforce the law of the stronger: 6665. "I am a Kshattriya, thou art a Brāhman, whose functions are austere fervour, and sacred study. How can there be any vigour in Brāhmans who are calm and self-restrained? Since thou doest not give up to me, in exchange for a

ayaḥ Śakra Duvāsasam avehi mām | Gautamādibhir anyais traṁ garvaṁ āpūḍito mudhā | akṣhānti-sāra-sarvasaṁ Duvāsasam avehi mām | 17. Vaśishṭhādyaḥ dayā-sāraiḥ stotraṁ kurvadbhir uchchakatiḥ | garvaṁ gato 'si yenaivam mām athādyāva-manyase | 15. "I am not tender-hearted : patience lodges not in me. Those munis are different : know me to be Duvāsas. 16. In vain hast thou been rendered proud by Gautama and others : know me to be Duvāsas, whose nature and whose entire substance is irascibility. 17. Thou hast become proud through the loud praises of Vaśishṭha and other merciful saints, since thou thus contemnest me to-day."



hundred million of cows, that which I desire, I shall not abandon my own class-characteristic; I will carry away the cow by force." Vāsiṣṭha, confident, no doubt, of his own superior power, tells him to do as he proposes without loss of time. Viśvāmitra accordingly seizes the wonder-working cow; but she will not move from the hermitage, though beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither. Witnessing this, Vāsiṣṭha asks her what he, a patient Brāhman, can do? She demands of him why he overlooks the violence to which she is subjected. Vāsiṣṭha replies: "Force is the strength of Kshattriyas, patience that of Brāhmans. As patience possesses me, go, if thou pleasest"

[(6676. *Kshattriyāṇām balaṁ tejo brāhmaṇāṇām kṣamā balaṁ | kṣamā mām bhajate yasmāt gamyatām yadi rochate*).] The cow enquires if he means to abandon her; as, unless he forsakes her, she can never be carried off by force. She is assured by Vāsiṣṭha that he does not forsake her, and that she should remain if she could. "Hearing these words of her master, the cow tosses her head aloft, assumes a terrific aspect, (6680) her eyes become red with rage, she utters a deep bellowing sound, and puts to flight the entire army of Viśvāmitra. Being (again) beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither, she becomes more incensed, her eyes are red with anger, her whole body, kindled by her indignation, glows like the noonday sun, she discharges showers of fire-brands from her tail, creates Pahlavas from the same member, Drāviḍas and Sakas, Yavanas, Śabaras," Kāñchis, Śarabhas, Paṇḍras, Kirātas, Sinhalas, Vāsas, and other tribes of armed warriors from her sweat, urine, excrement, etc., who assail Viśvāmitra's army, and put it to a complete rout. 6692. "Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Viśvāmitra was humbled at (the impotence of) a Kshattriya's nature, and exclaimed, 'Shame on a Kshattriya's force; it is the force of a Brāhman's might that is force indeed.'] Examining what was and was not force, and (ascertaining) that austere fervour is the supreme force, he abandoned his prosperous kingdom and all its brilliant regal splendour; and casting all enjoyments behind its back, he devoted himself to austerity. Having by this means attained perfection, and Brāhmanhood, he arrested the worlds by his fiery vigour, and disturbed them all by the blaze of his glory; and at length the Kauśika drank soma with Indra."¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ See above, p. 342, and note 134.

The same legend is repeated in the Salyaparvan, verses 2295 ff. :

*Tathā cha Kauśikas tāta tapo-nityo jitendriyaḥ | tapasā vai sutaptena
brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | Gādhir nāma mahān āsīt kshattriyaḥ prathito
bhūvi | tasya puttro 'bhavad rājan Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān | sa rājā
Kauśikas tāta mahāyogy abhavat kila | sa puttram abhishichyātha Viśvā-
mitram mahātapāḥ | deha-nyāse manas chakre tam ūchuḥ pranatāḥ pra-
jāḥ | "na gantavyam mahāprājña trāhi chāsmān mahābhayāt" | evam
uktaḥ pratyuvācha tato Gādhīḥ prajāś tataḥ | "viśvasya jagato goptā
bhaviṣyati suto mama" | 2300. Ity uktvā tu tato Gādhir Viśvāmitraṁ
niveśya cha | jagāma tridivaṁ rājan Viśvāmitro 'bhavad nripaḥ | na sa
śaknoti prithivīm yatnavān api rakṣhitum | tataḥ śusrāva rājā sa rākṣa-
sebhya mahābhayam | nirayau nagarācch chāpi chatur-anga-balānvitaḥ |
sa yātvā dūram adhvānam Vasiṣṭhāśramam abhyagāt | tasya te sainikāḥ
rājāṁś chakrus tattrālayān bahūn | tatas tu bhagavān vipro Vasiṣṭho
Brahmaṇaḥ sutāḥ | dadriṣe 'tha tataḥ sarvam bhajyamānam mahāvanam |
tasya kruddho mahārāja Vasiṣṭho muni-sattamaḥ | 2305. "Srijasva Sa-
varān ghorān" iti svām gām uvācha ha | tathoktā sā 'srijad dhenuḥ pu-
rushān ghora-darśanān | te cha tad balam āsādy babhanjuḥ sarvato
diśam | tach chhrutvā vidrutaṁ sainyaṁ Viśvāmitras tu Gādhijāḥ | tapāḥ
param manyamānas tapasy eva mano dadhe | so 'smiṁś tirtha-vare rājan
Sarasvatyāḥ samāhitaḥ | niyamaiś chopavāsaiś cha karṣayan deham āt-
manaḥ | jalāhāro vāyubhakṣaḥ parṇāhāraś cha so 'bhavat | tathā sthan-
ḍila-śāyī cha ye chānye niyamāḥ prithak | asakrit tasya devās tu vrata-
vighnam prachakrire | 2310. Na chāsya niyamād buddhir apayāti mahāt-
manaḥ | tataḥ pareṇa yatnena taptvā bahu-vidhāṁ tapāḥ | tejasā bhāska-
rākāro Gādhijāḥ samapadyata | tapasā tu tathā yuktam Viśvāmitram
Pitāmahaḥ | amanyata mahātejāḥ vara-do varam asya tat | sa tu vavre
varam rājan "syām aham brāhmaṇas tv" iti | tatheti chābravīd Brahmā
sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | sa labdhvā tapasogreṇa brāhmaṇatvam mahāyāsāḥ |
vichachāra mahīm kṛtsnām kṛitakāmāḥ suropamaḥ |*

"2295. So too the Kauśika, constant in austerities, and subduing his senses, acquired Brāhmaṇhood by the severity of his exercises. There was a great Kshattriya named Gādhī, renowned in the world, whose son was the powerful Viśvāmitra. This Kauśika prince (Gādhī) was greatly addicted to contemplation (*mahāyogī*) : and after having installed his son as king, he resolved to abandon his corporeal existence. His subjects, however, submissively said to him, 'Do not go, o great sage, but deliver



us from our great alarm.' He replied, 'My son shall become the protector of the whole world.' 2300. Having accordingly installed Viśvāmitra, Gādhi went to heaven, and his son became king. Viśvāmitra, however, though energetic, was unable to protect the earth. He then heard that there was great cause of apprehension from the Rākshasas, and issued forth from the city, with an army consisting of four kinds of forces. Having performed a long journey, he arrived at the hermitage of Vaśishṭha. There his soldiers constructed many dwellings. In consequence the divine Brāhman Vaśishṭha, son of Brahmā, beheld the whole forest being cut up; and becoming enraged, he said to his cow, (2305) 'Create terrible Savaras.' The cow, so addressed, created men of dreadful aspect, who broke and scattered in all directions the army of Viśvāmitra. Hearing of this rout of his army, the son of Gādhi devoted himself to austerities, which he regarded as the highest (resource). In this sacred spot on the Sarasvatī he macerated his body with acts of self-restraint and fastings, absorbed in contemplation, and living on water, air, and leaves, sleeping on the sacrificial ground, and practising all the other rites. Several times the gods threw impediments in his way; (2310) but his attention was never distracted from his observances. Having thus with strenuous effort undergone manifold austerities, the son of Gādhi became luminous as the sun; and Brahmā regarded his achievements as most eminent. The boon which Viśvāmitra chose was to become a Brāhman; and Brahmā replied, 'So be it.' Having attained Brāhmanhood, the object of his desire, by his severe austerities, the renowned sage traversed the whole earth, like a god."

We have already seen how the power of austere fervour (*tapas*) is exemplified in the legend of Nahusha (above, pp. 308 ff.). In regard to the sense of this word *tapas*, and the potency of the exercise which it denotes, I may refer to my articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 348 f., and for 1864, p. 63, as well as to the fourth volume of this work, pp. 20 ff. and 288; and to pp. 23 and 28 of the present volume. In further illustration of the same subject I quote the following panegyric upon *tapas* from Manu, xi. 234 ff. where, however, the word cannot have the same sense in all the verses:

*Tapo-mūlam idaṁ sarvaṁ daiva-mānushakaṁ sukham | tapo-madhyam
buddhaiḥ proktaṁ tapo 'ntaṁ veda-darśibhiḥ | 235. Brāhmanasya tapo jñā-
naṁ tapaḥ kshatrasya rakṣaṇam | vaiśyasya tu tapo vārtā tapaḥ śūdra-*

EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN

nya sevnam | 236. Rishayah sañyatātmanāḥ phala-mūlānilāsanāḥ | tapasaiva prapaśyanti trailokyam sa-charācharam | 237. Aushadhāny agado vidyā daivī cha vividhā sthitiḥ | tapasaiva prasiddhyanti tapas teshām hi sādhanam | 238. Yad dustaraṁ yad durāpaṁ yad durgam yach cha dush-karam | sarvaṁ tu tapasā sādhyam tapo hi duḥptikramam | 239. Mahāpātakinas chaiva śeshās chākāryya-kārinah | tapasaiva sutuptena muchyante kilviśāt tataḥ | 240. Kiṭās chāhi-patangās cha paśavaś cha vayāmsi cha | sthāvarāṇi cha bhūtāni divaṁ yānti tapo-balāt | 241. Yat kinchid enaḥ kurvanti mano-vān-mūrtibhir janāḥ | tat sarvaṁ nirdahanty āsu tapasaiva tapodhanāḥ | 242. Tapasaiva viśuddhasya brāhmanasya divaukasah | iḡyās cha pratigrihṇanti kāmān sañvarddhayanti cha | 243. Prajāpatir idam sāstraṁ tapasaivāśrijat prabhuh | tathāiva vedān ṛishayas tapasā pratipedire | 244. Ity etat tapaso devāḥ mahābhāgyam prachakshate | sarvasyāsya prapaśyantas tapasah punyam uttamam |

"234. All the enjoyment, whether of gods or men, has its root, its centre, and its end in *tapas*; so it is declared by the wise who have studied the Veda. 235. Knowledge is a Brāhman's *tapas*; protection that of a Kshattriya; traffic that of Vaiśya; and service that of a Sūdra. 236. It is by *tapas* that rishis of subdued souls, subsisting on fruits, roots, and air obtain a vision of the three worlds with all things moving and stationary. 237. Medicines, health, science, and the various divine conditions are attained by *tapas* alone as their instrument of acquisition. 238. Whatever is hard to be traversed, or obtained, or reached, or effected, is all to be accomplished through *tapas*, of which the potency is irresistible. 239. Both those who are guilty of the great sins, and all other transgressors, are freed from sin by fervid *tapas*. 240. Worms, serpents, insects, beasts, birds, and beings without motion attain to heaven through the force of *tapas*. 241. Whatever sin men commit by thought, word, or bodily acts, by *tapas* they speedily consume it all, when they become rich in devotion. 242. The gods both accept the sacrifices and augment the enjoyments of the Brāhman who has been purified by *tapas*. 243. It was by *tapas* that Prajāpati the lord created this scripture; and through it that the rishis obtained the Vedas. 244. Such is the great dignity which the gods ascribe to *tapas*, beholding its transcendent merit."

I return for a moment to the story of Vasishṭha and his cow.

Lassen remarks (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 631, note) that Atharyan is given

in the Lexicons as a name of Vasishṭha (see Wilson's Dictionary, *s.v.*). Weber (Ind. St. i. 289) quotes from Mallinātha's Commentary on the Kirātārjunīya the following words: *Atharvaṇas tu mantroddhāro Vasishṭhena kṛitah ity āgamaḥ* | "There is a passage of scripture to the effect that the mantras of the Atharvan were selected by Vasishṭha." In Böhrtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, *s.v.* Atharvan, it is noticed that the eleventh hymn of the fifth book of the Atharva-veda contains a conversation between Atharvan and Varuṇa about the possession of a wonderful cow bestowed by the latter on the former; and it is remarked that this circumstance may explain the subsequent identification of Atharvan with Vasishṭha. Prof. Roth, however (Diss. on the A.V., Tübingen, 1865, p. 9), thinks the two sages are distinct. The cow is spoken of in A.V. vii. 104, as the "brindled cow given by Varuṇa to Atharvan which never lacked a calf" (*prīṣṇīm dhenuṃ Varuṇena dattām Atharvane nitya-vatsām*). The following is the curious hymn referred to :

A.V. v. 11, 1. *Katham mahe asurāya abravīr iha katham pitre haraye tvesha-nṛimrah* | *prīṣṇīm Varuṇa dakṣhiṇāṃ dadāvān punarmaghatvam*¹⁸⁷ *manasā 'chikitsīh* | 2. *Na kāmēna punarmagho bhavāmi saṃ chakṣhe kam prīṣṇīm etām upāje* | *kena nu tvam Atharvan kārṇyena kena jātena asi jāta-vedāh* | 3. *Satyam ahaṃ gabhīrah kārṇyena satyāṃ jātena asmi jāta-vedāh* | *na me dāso na āryyo mahitvā vratam mīmāya yad ahaṃ dharishye* | 4. *Na tvad anyah kavitaro na medhayā dhīrataro Varuṇa svadhāvan* | *tvāṃ tā viśvā bhūvanāni vettha sa chid nu tvaj jano māyī bibhāya* | 5. *Tvāṃ hi anga Varuṇa svadhāvan viśvā vettha janimā supra-*
nīte | *kiṃ rajasah enā paro anyad asti enā kim pareṇa avaram amūra* | 6. *Ekam rajasah enā paro anyad asti enā parah ekena durṇasāṃ chid arvāk* | *tat te vidvān Varuṇa pra bravīmi adhvachasah paṇayo bhavantu* | *nichair dāsah upa sarpante bhūmim* | 7. *Tvāṃ hi anga Varuṇa bravishi punarmaghesu avadyāni bhūri* | *mo shu paṇīr abhi etāvato bhūr mā tvā vohann arādhāsāṃ janāsah* | 8. *Mā mā vohann arādhāsāṃ janāsah punas te prīṣṇīm jarilar dadāmi* | *stotram me viśvam ā yāhi śachibhir antar viśvāsu mānushishu vikshu* | 9. *Ā te stotrāni udyatāni yantu antar viśvāsu mānushishu vikshu* | *dehi nu me yad me ādatto asi yujyo me sapta-padaḥ sakhā 'si* | 10. *Samāno bandhur Varuṇa samā jā vedāhaṃ tad yad nāv eshā samā jā* | *dadāmi tad yat te ādatto asmi yujyas*

¹⁸⁷ This is the reading proposed by Professor Aufrecht instead of *punarmagha tvam*, which is found in Roth and Whitney's edition of the A.V.

*te sapta-padaḥ saḥā 'smi | 11. Devo devāya grīṇate vayoḍāḥ vipro viprāya
stuvate sumedhāḥ | aḥijano hi Varuṇa svadhāvann Atharvānam pitarām
deva-bandhum | tasmai u rādhaḥ kṛinūhi supraśastaṁ saḥā no asi para-
maś cha bandhuh |*

1. (Atharvan speaks) "How hast thou, who art mighty in energy, declared before the great deity, how before the shining father (that the cow was mine)?¹⁸⁸ Having bestowed a brindled cow (on me) as a sacrificial gift, thou hast resolved in thy mind to take her back. 2. (Varuṇa replies) It is not through desire that I revoke the gift; I drive hither this brindled cow that I may contemplate her. But by what wisdom, o Atharvan, in virtue of what nature, doest thou know the nature of beings? 3. (Atharvan answers) In truth I am profound in wisdom; in truth by my nature I know the nature of beings. Neither Dāsa nor Āryya can hinder the design which I shall undertake. 4. There is none other wiser or sager in understanding than thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa. Thou knowest all creatures; even the man of deep devices is afraid of thee. 5. Thou, o self-dependent Varuṇa, o wise director, knowest all creatures. What other thing is beyond this atmosphere? and what is nearer than that remotest thing, o thou unerring? 6. (Varuṇa replies) There is one thing beyond this atmosphere; and on this side of that one there is that which is near though inaccessible. Knowing that thing I declare it to thee. Let the glory of the niggards be cast down; let the Dāsas sink downward into the earth. 7. (Atharvan rejoins) Thou, o Varuṇa, sayest many evil things of those who revoke their gifts. Be not thou numbered among so many niggards; let not men call thee illiberal. 8. (Varuṇa replies) Let not men call me illiberal; I restore to thee, o worshipper, the brindled cow. Attend with all thy powers at every hymn in my honour among all the tribes of men. 9. (Atharvan answers) Let hymns ascend to thee among all the tribes of men. Give me that which thou hast taken from me; thou art to me an intimate friend of seven-fold value. 10. We two have a common bond, o Varuṇa, a common descent. I know what this common descent of ours is. (Varuṇa answers) I give thee that which I

¹⁸⁸ Professor Aufrecht thinks that *Dyaus*, 'the Heaven,' is denoted by *mahe asu-rāya*, and that *pitre haraye*, if the correct reading, can only mean the Sun, the word *hari* being several times applied to that great luminary. I am otherwise indebted to Prof. A. for the correct sense of this line, and for other suggestions.



have taken from thee. I am thy intimate friend of seven-fold value, who, myself a god, confer life on thee a god [or priest, *devāya*] who praisest me, an intelligent sage on thee a sage. (The poet says) Thou, o self-dependent Varuna, hast begotten our father Atharvan, a kinsman of the gods. Grant to him most excellent wealth; thou art our friend and most eminent kinsman."

SECT. XI.—*The same, and other legends, according to the Rāmāyana.*

The story told in the preceding section is related at greater length in chapters 51–65¹⁸⁹ of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, or first book, of the *Rāmāyana*, of which I shall furnish an outline, noting any important variations from, or additions to, the account in the *Mahābhārata*, and at the same time giving an abstract of the other legends which are interwoven with the narrative. [There was formerly, we are told, a king called Kuśa, son of Prajāpati, who had a son called Kuśanābha, who was father of Gādhi, the father of Viśvāmitra. The latter ruled the earth for many thousand years. On one occasion, when he was making a circuit of the earth, he came to Vaśiṣṭha's hermitage, the pleasant abode of many saints, sages, and holy devotees (chapter 51, verses 11–29), where, after at first declining, he allowed himself to be hospitably entertained with his followers by the son of Brahmā (ch. 52). Viśvāmitra (ch. 53), however, coveting the wondrous cow, which had supplied all the dainties of the feast, first of all asked that she should be given to him in exchange for a hundred thousand common cows, adding that "she was a gem, that gems were the property of the king, and that, therefore, the cow was his by right" (53, 9. *Ratnaṁ hi bhagavann etad ratna-hārī cha pārthivaḥ* | 10. *Tasmād me śabalām dehi ma-maishā dharmato dvija*). On this price being refused, the king advances immensely in his offers, but all without effect. He then proceeds (ch. 54)—very ungratefully and tyrannically, it must be allowed—to have the cow removed by force, but she breaks away from his attendants, and rushes back to her master, complaining that he was deserting her. He replies that he was not deserting her, but that the king was

¹⁸⁹ These are the sections of Schlegel's and the Bombay editions, which correspond to sections 52–67 of Gorresio's edition.

much more powerful than he. She answers, 54, 14 : *Na balam kshattriasyāhur brāhmaṇāḥ balavattarāḥ | brahmaṇ brahma-balaṁ divyaṁ kshātrārāḥ cha balabattaram | aprameyam balaṁ tubhyaṁ na trayā balavattarāḥ | Viśvāmitro mahāvīro tejas tava durāsadam | niyunkshva mām mahātejas tvam brahma-bala-sambhritām | tasya darpam balam yatnaṁ nāśayāmi durātmanah |* "Men do not ascribe strength to a Kshattriya : the Brāhmans are stronger. The strength of Brāhmans is divine, and superior to that of Kshattriyas. 15. Thy strength is immeasurable. Viśvāmitra, though of great vigour, is not more powerful than thou. Thy energy is invincible. Commission me, who have been acquired by thy Brahmanical power, and I will destroy the pride, and force, and attempt of this wicked prince."¹⁹⁰ She accordingly by her bellowing creates hundreds of Pahlavas, who destroy the entire host (*nāśayanti balaṁ sarvam*, verse 19) of Viśvāmitra, but are slain by him in their turn. Sakas and Yavanas, of great power and valour, and well armed, were then produced, who consumed the king's soldiers,¹⁹¹ but were routed by him. The cow then (ch. 55) calls into existence by her bellowing, and from different parts of her body, other warriors of various tribes, who again destroyed Viśvāmitra's entire army, foot soldiers, elephants, horses, chariots, and all. A hundred of the monarch's sons, armed with various weapons, then rushed in great fury on Vaśishṭha, but were all reduced to ashes in a moment by the blast of that sage's mouth.¹⁹² Viśvāmitra, being thus utterly vanquished and humbled, appointed one of his sons to be regent, and travelled to the Himālaya, where he betook himself to austerities, and thereby obtained a vision of Mahādeva, who at his desire revealed to him the science of arms in all its branches, and gave him celestial weapons with which, elated and full of pride, he consumed the hermitage of Vaśishṭha, and put its inhabitants to flight. Vaśishṭha then threatens Viśvāmitra and

¹⁹⁰ Compare Manu, xi. 32 : *Sva-vīryād rāja-vīryāḥ cha sva-vīryam balavattaram | tasmāt svenaiva vīryeṇa nigrihṇīyād arin devīḥ |* "Of the two, his own, and a king's might, let a Brāhmaṇ know that his own is superior. By his own might alone, therefore, let him restrain his enemies."

¹⁹¹ We had been before told that they had been killed, so that this looks like a slaying of the slain, as no resuscitation of the army is alluded to.

¹⁹² On this the Commentator remarks that "though these princes were Kshattriyas, they were not actual kings, and had acted tyrannically ; so that a very slight expiation was required for killing them" (*kshattriyato'pi prithivī-patīvābhāvāt tad-badhe alpa-prāyāścittam ātatāyivāḥ cha |*).



uplifts his Brahmanical mace. Viśvāmitra, too, raises his fiery weapon and calls out to his adversary to stand. Vaśishṭha bids him to show his strength, and boasts that he will soon humble his pride. He asks:

[56, 4] *Kva cha te kshattriya-balam kva cha brahma-balam mahat | paśya brahma-balam divyam mama kshattriya-pāṁsanā | tasyāstram Gādhipu-trasya ghoram āgneyam udyatam | brahma-dandena tach chhāntam agner vegah ivāmbhasā*]

“What comparison is there between a Kshattriya's might, and the great might of a Brāhman? Behold, thou contemptible Kshattriya, my divine Brahmanical power.’ The dreadful fiery weapon uplifted by the son of Gādhi was then quenched by the rod of the Brāhman, as fire is by water.” Many and various other celestial missiles,

as the nooses of Brahmā, Kāla (Time), and Varuṇa, the discus of Viṣṇu, and the trident of Śiva, were hurled by Viśvāmitra at his antagonist, but the son of Brahmā swallowed them up in his all-devouring mace. Finally, to the intense consternation of all the gods, the warrior shot off the terrific weapon of Brāhmā (*brāhmāstra*); but this was equally ineffectual against the Brahmanical sage. Vaśishṭha had now assumed a direful appearance:

[58, 18] *Roma-kūpeshu sarveshu Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanah | marichyah va nishpetur agner dhūmakulārchishah | prajāvalat brahma-dandaś cha Vaśishṭhasya karodyatah | vidhūmah va kālāgnir Yama-dandaḥ ivāparah*]

“Jets of fire mingled with smoke darted from the pores of his body; (19) the Brahmanical mace blazed in his hand like a smokeless¹⁹³ mundane conflagration, or a second sceptre of Yāma.”

Being appeased, however, by the munis, who proclaimed his superiority to his rival, the sage stayed his vengeance; and Viśvāmitra exclaimed with a groan:

[56, 23] *Dhig balam kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | ekena brahma-dandena sarvāstrāṇi hatāni me* |

“Shame on a Kshattriya's strength: the strength of a Brāhman's might alone is strength: by the single Brahmanical mace all my weapons have been destroyed.”

No alternative now remains to the humiliated monarch, but either to acquiesce in this helpless inferiority, or to work out his own elevation to the Brahmanical order. He embraces the latter alternative: (56, 24) *Tad etat prasamīkshyāham prasannendriya-mānasah | tapo mahat samāsthāsye yad vai brahmatva-kāraṇam* | “Having pondered well this defeat, I shall betake myself, with composed senses and mind,

¹⁹³ The Bombay edition has *vidhūmah*. Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions have *sadhūmah*, “enveloped in smoke.”

to strenuous austere fervour, which shall exalt me to the rank of a Brāhman." Intensely vexed and mortified, groaning and full of hatred against his enemy, he travelled with his queen to the south, and carried his resolution into effect; (Ch. 57) and we are first of all told that three sons Havishyanda, Madhusyanda, and Driḍhanetra were born to him. At the end of a thousand years Brahmā appeared, and announced that he had conquered the heaven of royal sages (rājārshis); and, in consequence of his austere fervour, he was recognised as having attained that rank. Viśvāmitra, however, was ashamed, grieved, and incensed at the offer of so very inadequate a reward, and exclaimed: "I have practised intense austerity, and the gods and rishis regard me only as a rājārshi!"¹⁹⁴ Austerities, it appears, are altogether fruitless" (57, 5. *Jitāḥ rājārshi-lokās te tapasā Kuśikātmaḥ* | 6. *Anena tapasā tvam hi rājārshir iti vidmahe* | . . . 7. *Viśvāmitro 'pi tach chhurutvā hriyā kinchid avāñ-mukhaḥ | duḥkhena mahatā 'viśṭaḥ samanyur idam abravīt | tapas cha sumahat taptam rājārshir iti mām viduḥ | devāḥ sarshi-guṇāḥ sarve nāsti manye tapaḥ-phalam*). Notwithstanding

¹⁹⁴ The Vishnu Purāṇa, iii. 6, 21, says: "There are three kinds of rishis: Brāhmārshis, after them Dēvarshis, and after them Rājārshis" (*jneyāḥ brahmarshayah pūrvam tebhya devarshayah punaḥ | rājārshayah punas tebhyaḥ rishi-prakṛitayas trayah* |). Böhlingk and Roth, s.v. *rishi*, mention also (on the authority of the vocabulary called Trikaṇḍaśeṣa) the words *māharshi* (great rishi), *pārāmarshi* (most eminent rishi), *śrutarshi* (secondary rishi), and *kāṇḍarshi*, who is explained s.v. to be a teacher of a particular portion (*kāṇḍa*) of the Veda. *Devarshis* are explained by Professor Wilson (V.P. iii. p. 68, paraphrasing the text of the Vishnu Purāṇa), to be "sages who are demi-gods also;" *Brāhmārshis* to be "sages who are sons of Brahmā or Brāhmanas;" and *Rājārshis* to be "princes who have adopted a life of devotion." In a note he adds: "A similar enumeration is given in the Vāyu, with some additions: Rishi is derived from *rish*, 'to go to,' or 'approach;' the Brahmarshis, it is said, are descendants of the five patriarchs, who were the founders of races or gotras of Brāhmanas, or Kaśyapa, Vasishṭha, Angiras, Atri, and Bhṛigu; the Devarshis are Nara and Nārāyaṇa, the sons of Dharma; the Bālakhilyas, who sprang from Kratu; Kardama, the son of Pulaha; Kuvēra, the son of Pulastya; Achala, the son of Pratyūsha; Nārada and Parvata, the sons of Kaśyapa. Rājārshis are Ikshvāku and other princes. The Brahmarshis dwell in the sphere of Brahmā; the Devarshis in the region of the gods; and the Rājārshis in the heaven of Indra." Brahmarshis are evidently rishis who were priests; and Rājārshis, rishis of kingly extraction. If so, a Devarshi, having a divine character, should be something higher than either. Professor Roth, following apparently the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, defines them as "rishis dwelling among the gods." I am not aware how far back this classification of rishis goes in Indian literature. Roth, s.v. *rishi*, *brahmarshi* and *devarshi* does not give any references to these words as occurring in the Brāhmanas; and they are not found in the hymns of the R.V. where, however, the "seven rishis" are mentioned. Regarding *rājārshis* see pp. 263 ff. above.



this disappointment, he had ascended one grade, and forthwith recommenced his work of mortification.

At this point of time his austerities were interrupted by the following occurrences: King Trisanku, one of Ikshvāku's descendants, had conceived the design of celebrating a sacrifice by virtue of which he should ascend bodily to heaven. As Vasiṣṭha, on being summoned, declared that the thing was impossible (*asākyam*), Trisanku travelled to the south, where the sage's hundred sons were engaged in austerities, and applied to them to do what their father had declined. Though he addressed them with the greatest reverence and humility, and added that "the Ikshvākus regarded their family-priests as their highest resource in difficulties, and that, after their father, he himself looked to them as his tutelary deities" (57, 22. *Ikshvākūṇām hi sarveśhām purodhāḥ paramā gatiḥ | tasmād anantaram sarve bhavanto daivatam mama*), he received from the haughty priests the following rebuke for his presumption: (58, 2) *Pratyākhyāto 'si durbuddhe gurunā satyavādinā | taṁ kathāṁ samatikramya śūkhāntaram upeyivān | 3. Ikshvākūṇām hi sarveśhām purodhāḥ paramā gatiḥ | na chātikramitūṁ śākyāṁ vachanaṁ satyavādināḥ | 4. "Asākyam" iti chovācha Vasiṣṭho bhagavān rishih | taṁ vayāṁ vai samāharttum kratūṁ śaktāḥ kathāṁ tava | 5. Bālīśas tvaṁ nara-śreṣṭha gamyatāṁ sva-puram punaḥ | yājane bhagavān śaktas trailokyasyāpi pāṛthiva | avamānaṁ kathāṁ kartūṁ tasya śakṣyāmahe vayam |* "Fool, thou hast been refused by thy truth-speaking preceptor. How is it that, disregarding his authority, thou hast resorted to another school (*śākhā*)?"¹⁹⁵ 3. The family-priest is the highest oracle of all the Ikshvākus; and the command of that veracious personage cannot be transgressed. 4. Vasiṣṭha, the divine rishi, has declared that 'the thing cannot be;' and how can we undertake thy sacrifice? 5. Thou art foolish, king; return to thy capital. The divine (Vasiṣṭha) is competent to

¹⁹⁵ It does not appear how Trisanku, in asking the aid of Vasiṣṭha's sons after applying in vain to their father, could be charged with resorting to another *śākhā* (school), in the ordinary sense of that word: as it is not conceivable that the sons should have been of another *śākhā* from the father, whose cause they espouse with so much warmth. The Commentator in the Bombay edition explains the word *śūkhāntaram* as = *yājānādinā rakṣakāntaram*, "one who by sacrificing for thee, etc., will be another protector." Gorresio's Gauda text, which may often be used as a commentary on the older one, has the following paraphrase of the words in question, ch. 60, 3. *Mūlam utsriṣṭva kasmāt tvaṁ śākhāṁ icchasi lambitum |* "Why, forsaking the root, dost thou desire to hang upon the branches."

act as priest of the three worlds; how can we shew him disrespect?" Trisanku then gave them to understand, that as his preceptor and "his preceptor's sons had declined compliance with his requests, he should think of some other expedient." In consequence of his venturing to express this presumptuous intention, they condemned him by their imprecation to become a Chāṇḍāla (58, 7. "*Pratyākhyāto bhagavatā guru-putrais tathaiva cha | anyām gatim gamishyāmi svasti vo 'stu tapodhanāḥ*" | *rishi-putrās tu tach chhruvā vākyaṁ ghorābhisamhitam | śepuḥ parama-sankruddhās "chāṇḍālatvaṁ gamishyasi"* |). As this curse soon took effect, and the unhappy king's form was changed into that of a degraded outcast, he resorted to Viśvāmītra (who, as we have seen, was also dwelling at this period in the south), enlarging on his own virtues and piety, and bewailing his fate. Viśvāmītra commiserated his condition (ch. 59), and promised to sacrifice on his behalf, and exalt him to heaven in the same Chāṇḍāla-form to which he had been condemned by his preceptors' curse. "Heaven is now as good as in thy possession, since thou hast resorted to the son of Kuśika" (59, 4. *Guru-sāpa-kṛitāṁ rūpaṁ yad idaṁ trayi varṭtate | anena saha rūpeṇa saśarīro gamishyasi | hasta-prāptam aham manye svargaṁ tava narādhipa | yas tvam Kauśikam āgamyā śaranyāḥ śaranaṁ gataḥ* |). He then directed that preparations should be made for the sacrifice, and that all the rishis, including the family of Vaśiṣṭha, should be invited to the ceremony. The disciples of Viśvāmītra, who had conveyed his message, reported the result on their return in these words: (59, 11) *Śrūtvā te vachanaṁ sarve samāyānti dvijātayaḥ | sarva-dēśeṣhu chāgachhan varjayitvā Mahodayam | Vāsishṭhaṁ tach chhataṁ sarvaṁ krodha-paryākulāksharam | yad uvācha vacho ghoram śṛiṇu tvam muni-pungava | "kshattriyo yājako yasya chāṇḍālasya viśeṣataḥ | katham sadasi bhoktāro havis tasya surarshayaḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ vā mahātmāno bhuktvā chāṇḍāla-bhojanam | katham svargaṁ gamishyanti Viśvāmītreṇa pālitaḥ"* | *etad vachana-naishṭhuryyam ūchuḥ saṁrakta-lochanāḥ | Vāsishṭhāḥ muni-sārdūla sarve saha-mahodayāḥ* | "Having heard your message, all the Brāhmins are assembling in all the countries, and have arrived, excepting Mahodaya (Vaśiṣṭha?). Hear what dreadful words those hundred Vaśiṣṭhas, their voices quivering with rage, have uttered: 'How can the gods and rishis¹⁹⁶ con-

¹⁹⁶ The rishis as priests (*ritvik*) would be entitled to eat the remains of the sacrifice, according to the Commentator.



sume the oblation at the sacrifice of that man, especially if he be a Chāṇḍāla, for whom a Kshattriya is officiating-priest? How can illustrious Brāhmans ascend to heaven, after eating the food of a Chāṇḍāla, and being entertained by Viśvāmitra?' These ruthless words all the Vasishṭhas, together with Mahodaya, uttered, their eyes inflamed with anger." Viśvāmitra, who was greatly incensed on receiving this message, by a curse doomed the sons of Vasishṭha to be reduced to ashes, and reborn as degraded outcasts (*mṛitapāh*) for seven hundred births, and Mahodaya to become a Nishāda. Knowing that this curse had taken effect (ch. 60), Viśvāmitra then, after eulogizing Triśanku, proposed to the assembled rishis that the sacrifice should be celebrated. To this they assented, being actuated by fear of the terrible sage's wrath. Viśvāmitra himself officiated at the sacrifice as *yājaka*; ¹⁹⁷ and the other rishis as priests (*ritvijah*) (with other functions) performed all the ceremonies. Viśvāmitra next invited the gods to partake of the oblations: (60, 11) *Nābhyagaman yadā tatra bhāgārthaṁ sarva-devatāḥ | tataḥ kopa-samāviṣṭo Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sruvam udyamya sakrodhas Triśankum idam abravīt | "paśya me tapaso vīryaṁ svārjitasya nareśvara | esha tvām svaśarīreṇa nayāmi svargam ojasā | dushprāpyaṁ svaśarīreṇa svargaṁ gachchha nareśvara | svārjitam kinchid apy asti mayā hi tapasaḥ phalam |* "When, however, the deities did not come to receive their portions, Viśvāmitra became full of wrath, and raising aloft the sacrificial ladle, thus addressed Triśanku: 'Behold, o monarch, the power of austere fervour acquired by my own efforts. I myself, by my own energy, will conduct thee to heaven. Ascend to that celestial region which is so arduous to attain in an earthly body. I have surely earned some reward of my austerity.'" Triśanku ascended instantly to heaven in the sight of the munis. Indra, however, ordered him to be gone, as a person who, having incurred the curse of his spiritual preceptors, was unfit for the abode of the celestials;—and to fall down headlong to earth (60, 17. *Triśanko gachchha bhūyas tvam nāsi svargakṛitālayaḥ | guru-śāpa-hato mudha pata bhūmim avāk-śirāḥ |*). He accordingly began to descend, invoking loudly, as he fell, the help of his spiritual patron. Viśvāmitra, greatly incensed, called out to him to stop: (60, 20) *Tato brahma-tapo-yogāt Prajāpatir ivāparaḥ | sasarija dakṣiṇe bhāge saptarshin aparāṇ punaḥ | dakṣiṇām diśam āsthāya*

¹⁹⁷ This means as *adhvaryu* according to the Commentator.

rishi-madhye mahāyāsāḥ | nakshatra-mālām aparām asṛijāt krodha-mūrchhitāḥ | anyam Indram karishyāmi loko vā syād anīdrakah | daivatāny api sa krodhāt srashtuṃ samupachakrame ¹⁹⁸ "Then by the power of his divine knowledge and austere fervour he created, like another Prajāpati, other Seven Rishis (a constellation so called) in the southern part of the sky. Having proceeded to this quarter of the heavens, the renowned sage, in the midst of the rishis, formed another garland of stars, being overcome with fury. Exclaiming, 'I will create another Indra, or the world shall have no Indra at all,' he began, in his rage, to call gods also into being." The rishis, gods (Suras), and Asuras now became seriously alarmed and said to Viśvāmitra, in a conciliatory tone, that Trisanku, "as he had been cursed by his preceptors, should not be admitted bodily into heaven, until he had undergone some lustration" (60, 24. *Ayam rājā mahābhāga guru-śāpa-parīkshataḥ | saśarīro divaṃ yātuṃ nūrhaty akṛita-pāvanaḥ* |).¹⁹⁹ The sage replied that he had given a promise to Trisanku, and appealed to the gods to permit his protégé to remain bodily in heaven, and the newly created stars to retain their places in perpetuity. The gods agreed that "these numerous stars should remain, but beyond the sun's path, and that Trisanku, like an immortal, with his head downwards, should shine among them, and be followed by them," adding "that his object would be thus attained, and his renown secured, and he would be like a dweller in heaven" (60, 29. *Evam bhavatu bhadrām te tishthantv etāni sarvaśaḥ | gagane tāny anekāni vaiśvānara-pathād vahiḥ | nakshatrāṇi muni-śreṣṭha teshu jyōtishshu jāyvalan | avāk-śirās Trisankuś cha tishthate amara-sannibhaḥ | anuyāsyanti chaitāni jyōtīṃshi nṛipa-sattamam | kṛitārthaṃ kīrtimantaṃ cha svarga-loka-gataṃ yathā* |). Thus was this great dispute adjusted by a compromise, which Viśvāmitra accepted.

This story of Trisanku, it will have been observed, differs materially from the one quoted above (p. 375 ff.) from the Harivaṃśa; but brings out more distinctly the character of the conflict between Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

When all the gods and rishis had departed at the conclusion of the

¹⁹⁸ I follow Schlegel's text, which differs verbally, though not in substance, both from the Bombay edition and from Gorresio's.

¹⁹⁹ The last compound word *akṛitapāvanaḥ*, "without lustration," is given by Schlegel and Gorresio. The Bombay edition has instead of it *eva tapodhana*, "o sage rich in austerity."



sacrifice, Viśvāmitra said to his attendant devotees: (61, 2) *Mahān vighnaḥ pravṛitto 'yaṁ dakṣiṇām āsthito diśam | diśam anyām prapat-syāmas tatra tapyāmahe topaḥ* | "This has been a great interruption [to our austerities] which has occurred in the southern region: we must proceed in another direction to continue our penances." He accordingly went to a forest in the west, and began his austerities anew. Here the narrative is again interrupted by the introduction of another story, that of king Ambarīsha, king of Ayodhyā, who was, according to the Rāmāyaṇa, the twenty-eighth in descent from Ikṣhvāku, and the twenty-second from Trisanku. (Compare the genealogy in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., with that in Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. iii. pp. 260 ff. 280, 284 ff. and 303; which is different.) Viśvāmitra is nevertheless represented as flourishing contemporaneously with both of these princes. [The story relates that Ambarīsha was engaged in performing a sacrifice, when Indra carried away the victim. The priest said that this ill-omened event had occurred owing to the king's bad administration; and would call for a great expiation, unless a human victim could be produced (61, 8. *Prāyaścittam mahad hy etad naraṁ vā puruṣaḥ śabha | ānayaśva pāśūṁ śighraṁ yāvat karma pravarttate*).] After a long search the royal-rishi (Ambarīsha) came upon the Brāhmaṇa-rishi Richika, a descendant of Bhṛigu, and asked him to sell one of his sons for a victim, at the price of a hundred thousand cows. Richika answered that he would not sell his eldest son; and his wife added that she would not sell the youngest: "eldest sons," she observed, "being generally the favourites of their fathers, and youngest sons of their mothers" [(61, 18. *Prāyeṇa hi nara-śreṣṭha jyeshṭhāḥ pitṛiṣu valla-bhāḥ | mātṛiṇām cha kaṇṭhyāṁsas tasmād rakshe kaṇṭyasam*).] The second son, Sunaśśepa, then said that in that case he regarded himself as the one who was to be sold, and desired the king to remove him. The hundred thousand cows, with ten millions of gold-pieces and heaps of jewels, were paid down, and Sunaśśepa carried away. As they were passing through Pushkara (ch. 62) Sunaśśepa beheld his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra (see Rāmāyaṇa, i. 34, 7,²⁰⁰ and p. 352 above) who was engaged in austerities there with other rishis, threw himself into his arms,

²⁰⁰ *Pūrvajā bhaginī chāpi mama Rāghava suvatā | nāmnā Satyavatī nāma Richike pratipādītā* | "And I have a religious sister older than myself called Satyavatī, who was given in marriage to Richika."

and implored his assistance, urging his orphan, friendless, and helpless state, as claims on the sage's benevolence [(62, 4. *Na me 'sti mātā na pitā jñātayo bāndhavāḥ kutah | trātum arhasi mām saumya dharmena muni-pungava | 7. Na me nātho hy anāthasya bhava bhavyena chetasā*)]. Viśvāmitra soothed him; and pressed his own sons to offer themselves as victims in the room of Sunaśśepa. This proposition met with no favour from Madhushyanda²⁰¹ and the other sons of the royal hermit, who answered with haughtiness and derision: [(62, 14) *Katham ātma-sutān hītvā trāyase 'nya-sutān vibho | akāryyam iva paśyāmaḥ svamāṁsam iva bhojane*] "How is it that thou sacrificest thine own sons, and seekest to rescue those of others? We look upon this as wrong, and like the eating of one's own flesh."²⁰² The sage was exceedingly wroth at this disregard of his injunction, and doomed his sons to be born in the most degraded classes, like Vāśiṣṭha's sons, and to eat dog's flesh,²⁰³ for a thousand years. He then said to Sunaśśepa: [(62, 19) *Pavitra-pāśair ābuddho rakta-mālyānulepanaḥ | Vaiṣṇavaṁ yūpam āśūdyā vāgbhir Agniṁ udāhara | ime cha gāthē dve divye gāyethāḥ muni-puttraka | Ambarīṣasya yajñe 'smiṁs tataḥ siddhim avāpsyasi*] "When thou art bound with hallowed cords, decked with a red garland, and anointed with unguents, and fastened to the sacrificial post of Viṣṇu, then address thyself to Agni, and sing these two divine verses (*gāthās*), at the sacrifice of Ambarīṣa; then shalt thou attain the fulfilment [of thy desire]." Being furnished with the two *gāthās*, Sunaśśepa proposed at once to king Ambarīṣa that they should set out for their destination. When bound at the stake to be immolated, dressed in a red garment, "he celebrated the two gods, Indra and his younger brother (Viṣṇu), with the excellent verses. The Thousand-eyed (Indra) was pleased with the secret hymn, and bestowed long life on Sunaśśepa" [(62, 25. *Sa baddho vāgbhir agryābhir abhitsuṣṭāva vai surau | Indram Indrānujaṁ chaiva yathāvad muni-puttrakaḥ | tasmai prītaḥ sahasrākṣho*

²⁰¹ The word is written thus in Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions. The Bombay edition reads Madhuchanda.

²⁰² Schlegel and Gorresio read *svamāṁsam*, "one's own flesh," which seems much more appropriate than *śva-māṁsam*, "dog's flesh," the reading of the Bombay edition.

²⁰³ Gorresio's edition alone reads *śva-māṁsa-vṛttitayāḥ*, "subsisting on your own flesh," and makes this to be allusion to what the sons had just said and a punishment for their impertinence (64, 16. *Yasmāt śva-māṁsam uddiṣṭam yushmābhir avamanya mām*).



rahasya-stuti-toshitah | dirgham āyus tadā prādāch Chhunaśsephāya Vāsavaḥ |).²⁰⁴ King Ambarisha also received great benefits from this sacrifice. Viśvāmitra meanwhile proceeded with his austerities, which he prolonged for a thousand years.

At the end of this time (ch. 63) the gods came to allot his reward; and Brahmā announced that he had attained the rank of a rishi, thus apparently advancing an additional step. Dissatisfied, as it would seem, with this, the sage commenced his task of penance anew. After a length of time he beheld the nymph (Apsāras) Menākā, who had come to bathe in the lake of Pushkara. She flashed on his view, unequalled in her radiant beauty, like lightning in a cloud (63, 5. *Rūpenāprati-mām tatra vidyutaṁ jalade yathā*). He was smitten by her charms, invited her to be his companion in his hermitage, and for ten years remained a slave to her witchery, to the great prejudice of his austerities.²⁰⁵ At length he became ashamed of this ignoble subjection, and full of indignation at what he believed to be a device of the gods to disturb his devotion; and, dismissing the nymph with gentle accents, he departed for the northern mountains, where he practised severe austerities for a thousand years on the banks of the Kauśikī river. The gods became alarmed at the progress he was making, and decided that he should be dignified with the appellation of great rishi (*māhārshi*); and Brahmā, giving effect to the general opinion of the deities, announced that he had conferred that rank upon him. Joining his hands and bowing his head, Viśvāmitra replied that he should consider himself to have indeed completely subdued his senses, if the incomparable title of Brāhman-rishi were conferred upon him (63, 31. *Brah-marshi-sābdam atulaṁ svārjitaiḥ karmabhiḥ śubhaiḥ | yadi me bhagavān āha tato 'haṁ vijitendriyaḥ* |). Brahmā informed him in answer, that he had not yet acquired the power of perfectly controlling his senses; but should make further efforts with that view. The sage then began to put himself through a yet more rigorous course of austerities, standing with his arms erect, without support, feeding on air, in summer exposed to five fires (*i.e.* one on each of four sides, and the sun overhead), in the rainy season remaining unsheltered from the wet, and in

²⁰⁴ I have alluded above, p. 358, note, to the differences which exist between this legend of S'unaśsepa and the older one in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

²⁰⁵ Compare Mr. Leckie's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 86.



winter lying on a watery couch night and day. This he continued for a thousand years. At last Indra and the other deities became greatly distressed at the idea of the merit he was storing up, and the power which he was thereby acquiring; and the chief of the celestials desired (ch. 64) the nymph Rāmbhā to go and bewitch him by her blandishments. She expressed great reluctance to expose herself to the wrath of the formidable muni, but obeyed the repeated injunction of Indra, who promised that he and Kandarpa (the god of love) should stand by her, and assumed her most attractive aspect with the view of overcoming the sage's impassibility. He, however, suspected this design, and becoming greatly incensed, he doomed the nymph by a curse to be turned into stone and to continue in that state for a thousand years.²⁰⁶ The curse took effect, and Kandarpa and Indra slunk away. In this way, though he resisted the allurements of sensual love,²⁰⁷ he lost the whole fruit of his austerities by yielding to anger; and had to begin his work over again. He resolved to check his irascibility, to remain silent, not even to breathe for hundreds of years; to dry up his body; and to fast and stop his breath till he had obtained the coveted character of a Brāhman. He then (ch. 65) left the Himālaya and travelled to the east, where he underwent a dreadful exercise, unequalled in the whole history of austerities, maintaining silence, according to a vow, for a thousand years. At the end of this time he had attained to perfection, and although thwarted by many obstacles, he remained unmoved by anger. On the expiration of this course of austerity, he prepared some food to eat; which Indra, coming in the form of a Brāhman, begged that he would give him. Viśvāmitra did so, and though he had none left for himself, and was obliged to remain fasting, he said nothing to the Brāhman, on account of his vow of silence. 65, 8. *Tasyānuchchhvasamānasya mūrdhni dhūmo vyajayata* | 9. *Trailokyam yena sambhrāntam ātāpitam ivābhavat* | . . . 11. "*Bahubhiḥ kārāṇair deva Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ* | *lobhitaḥ krodhitaḥ chaiva tapasā chābhivardhate* | . . . 12. *Na dīyate yadi to asya manasā yad abhīpsitam* | 13. *Vināśayati trailokyam tapasā sa-charāccharam* | *vyākulāś*

²⁰⁶ On this the Commentator remarks that this incident shews that anger is more difficult to conquer than even lust (*etena kāmād api krodho durjeyah iti sūchitam*).

²⁰⁷ The Commentator, however, suggests that the sudden sight of Rāmbhā may at first have excited in him some feelings of this kind (*āpātato Rāmbhā-darsāna-pravṛtityā kāmēnāpi tapah-kṣeyah*).

cha diśaḥ sarvāḥ na cha kinchit prakāśate | 14. *Sāgarāḥ kṣubhitāḥ sarve viśiriyante cha parvatāḥ* | *prakampate cha vasudhā vāyur vātika sankulāḥ* | 15. *Brahman na pratijānimo nāstiko jāyate janāḥ* | 16. *Buddhiṃ na kurute yāvad nāśe deva mahāmuniḥ* | 17. *Tāvat prasādyo bhagavān agnirūpo mahādyutiḥ* | 19. *Brahmarśhe svāgataṃ te 'stu tapasā smaḥ sutośhitāḥ* | 20. *Brāhmanyāṃ tapasogreṇa prāptavān asi Kauśika* | *dirgham āyusḥ che te brahman dadāmi sa-marud-gaṇāḥ* | 21. . . . *svasti prāpnuhi bhadrāṃ te gachha saumya yathāsukham* | . . . 22. . . . *brāhmanyāṃ yadi me prāptaṃ dirgham āyus tathaiva cha* | 23. *Oṃkāro 'tha vashāṭkāro vedāś cha varayantu mām* | *kshattri-veda-vidāṃ śreṣṭhō brahma-veda-vidāṃ api* | 24. *Brahma-putro Vaśiṣṭhō mām evaṃ vadatu devatāḥ* | 25. *Tataḥ prasādito devair Vaśiṣṭhō japatāṃ varaḥ* | *sakhyaṃ chaṭkāra brahmarśhir "evam asto" iti chābravit* | 26. "*Brahmarśhitvaṃ na śandehaḥ sarvām sampadyate tava*" | 27. *Viśvāmitro 'pi dharmātmā labdhvā brāhmanyam uttamam* | *pūjyāmāsa brahmarśhiṃ Vaśiṣṭhaṃ japatāṃ varam* | "As he continued to suspend his breath, smoke issued from his head, to the great consternation and distress of the three worlds." The gods, rishis, etc., then addressed Brahmā: "The great muni Viśvāmitra has been allured and provoked in various ways, but still advances in his sanctity. If his wish is not conceded, he will destroy the three worlds by the force of his austerity. All the regions of the universe are confounded, no light anywhere shines; all the oceans are tossed, and the mountains crumble, the earth quakes, and the wind blows confusedly. 15. We cannot, o Brahmā, guarantee that mankind shall not become atheistic. . . . 16. Before the great and glorious sage of fiery form resolves to destroy (everything) let him be propitiated." The gods, headed by Brahmā, then addressed Viśvāmitra: "'Hail Brāhman rishi, we are gratified by thy austerities; o Kauśika, thou hast, through their intensity, attained to Brāhmanhood. I, o Brāhman, associated with the Maruts, confer on thee long life. May every blessing attend thee; depart wherever thou wilt.' The sage, delighted, made his obeisance to the gods, and said: 'If I have obtained Brāhmanhood, and long life, then let the mystic monosyllable (*oṃkāra*) and the sacrificial formula (*vashāṭkāra*) and the Vedas recognise me in that capacity. And let Vaśiṣṭha, the son of Brahmā, the most eminent of those who are skilled in the Kshattri-veda, and the Brāhma-veda (the knowledge of the Kshattriya and the Brahmanical disciplines), address me simi-



larly.' Accordingly Vaśiṣṭha, being propitiated by the gods, became reconciled to Viśvāmitra, and recognised his claim to all the prerogatives of a Brāhman rishi. . . . Viśvāmitra, too, having attained the Brahmanical rank, paid all honour to Vaśiṣṭha." Such was the grand result achieved by Viśvāmitra, at the cost of many thousand years of intense mortification of the body, and discipline of the soul. During the course of the struggle he had manifested, as the story tells us, a power little, if at all, inferior to that of Indra, the king of the gods; and as in a former legend we have seen King Nahusha actually occupying the throne of that deity, we cannot doubt that—according to the recognised principles of Indian mythology—Viśvāmitra had only to recommence his career of self-mortification in order to raise himself yet higher than he had yet risen, to the rank of a devarshi, or divine rishi (if this be, indeed, a superior grade to that of brahmarshi), or to any other elevation he might desire. But, as far as the account in the Rāmāyaṇa informs us, he was content with his success. He stood on a footing of perfect equality with his rival Vaśiṣṭha, and became indifferent to further honours. In fact, it was not necessary for the purpose of the inventors of the legend to carry him any higher. They only wished to account for his exercising the prerogatives of a Brāhman; and this had been already accomplished to their satisfaction.

In the story of Sakuntalā, however, as narrated in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, sixty-ninth and following sections, we are informed that, to the great alarm of Indra, Viśvāmitra renewed his austerities, even long after he had attained the position of a Brāhman, verse 2914: *Tapyamānaḥ kila purā Viśvāmitro mahat tapaḥ | subhriṣaṁ tāpayāmāsa Sakraṁ sura-gaṇeśvaram | tapasā dṛpta-vīryyo'yaṁ sthānād māṁ chyāvayed iti* | "Formerly Viśvāmitra, who was practising intense austere-fervour, occasioned great distress to Sakra (Indra), the lord of the deities, lest by the fiery energy so acquired by the saint he himself should be cast down from his place." Indra accordingly resorted to the usual device of sending one of the Apsarases, Menakā, to seduce the sage by the display of her charms, and the exercise of all her allurements, "by beauty, youth, sweetness, gestures, smiles, and words" (verse 2920, *Rāpa-yauvana-mādhuryya-chesṭita-smita-bhāshitaiḥ*), into the indulgence of sensual love; and thus put an end to his efforts after increased sanctity. Menakā urges the dangers of the mission arising from the great power

and irascibility of the sage, of whom, she remarked, even Indra himself was afraid, as a reason for excusing her from undertaking it; and refers to some incidents in Viśvāmitra's history, verse 2923: *Mahābhāgaṁ Vasiṣṭhaṁ yaḥ putrair iṣṭair vyayojayat | kṣattrā-jātaś cha yaḥ pūrvam abhavad brāhmaṇo balāt | śaughārthaṁ yo naḍīm chakre durgamām bahubhir jalaiḥ | yām tām punyatamām loke Kauśikīṁ vidur janāḥ |* 2925. *Bāhāra yatrāsya purā kāle dūrge mahātmanah | dūrān Matango dharmātmā rājarshir vyādhatām gataḥ | atīta-kāle durbhikṣhe abhyetya punar āśramam | muniḥ Pāreti nadyāḥ vai nāma chakre tadā prabhukḥ | Matangam yājyāṇchakre yatra prīta-manāḥ svayam | tvam cha somam bhayād yasya gataḥ pātuṁ sureśvara | chakārānyaṁ cha lokam vai krudho nakṣattrā-sampadā | pratiśravaṇa-pūrvāṇi nakṣattrāṇi chakāra yaḥ | guru-śūpa-hatasyāpi Triśankoh śaraṇam dadau |* "2923. He deprived the great Vasiṣṭha of his beloved sons; and though born a Kshatriya, he formerly became a Brāhmaṇ by force. For the purpose of purification he rendered the holy river, known in the world as the Kauśikī, unfordable from the mass of water. 2925. His wife was once maintained there in a time of distress by the righteous rājarshi Matanga, who had become a huntsman; and when the famine was past, the muni returned to his hermitage, gave to the river the name of Pārā, and being gratified, sacrificed for Matanga on its banks; and then thou thyself, Indra, from fear of him wentest to drink his soma. He created, too, when incensed, another world, with a garland of stars, formed agreeably to his promise, and gave his protection to Triśanku, even when smitten by his preceptor's curse." Menakā, however, ends by saying that she cannot decline the commission which has been imposed upon her; but begs that she may receive such succours as may ensure her success. She accordingly shows herself in the neighbourhood of Viśvāmitra's hermitage. The saint yields to the influence of love, invites her to become his companion, and as a result of their intercourse Śakuntalā is born. The Apsaras then returns to Indra's paradise.

SECT. XII.—*Other accounts, from the Mahābhārata, of the way in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhmaṇ.*

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, sections 105-118, a story is told regarding Viśvāmitra and his pupil Galava, in which a different

account is given of the manner in which Viśvāmitra attained the rank of a Brāhman; viz. by the gift of Dharma, or Righteousness, appearing in the form of his rival. M. Bh. Udyogap. 3721: *Viśvāmitraṁ tapasyantam Dharmo jijnāsaya purā | abhyāgachhat svayam bhūtvā Vāsishṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ | . . . 3728. Atha varsha-śato pūrṇe Dharmah punar upāgamat | Vāsishṭhaṁ veśam āsthāya Kauśikam bhajanepsayā | sa drishṭvā śirasā bhaktaṁ dhriyamānam maharshiṇā | tiṣṭhatā vāyubhakṣheṇa Viśvāmitreṇa dhīmataḥ | pratigrihya tato Dharmas tathaiwoṣṇam tathā naram | bhuktvā "prito'smi viprarshe" tam uktvā sa munir gataḥ | kṣattri-bhāvād apagato brāhmaṇateam upāgataḥ | Dharmasya vachanāt prito Viśvāmitras tathā bhavat | "Dharma, assuming the personality of the sage Vāsishṭha, once came to prove Viśvāmitra, when he was living a life of austerity;" and after consuming some food, given him by other devotees, desired Viśvāmitra, who brought him some freshly cooked charu, quite hot, to stand still for the present. Viśvāmitra accordingly stood still, nourished only by air, with the boiled rice on his head. "The same personage, Dharma, in the same disguise, reappeared after a hundred years, desiring food, and consumed the rice (still quite hot and fresh), which he saw supported upon the hermit's head, while he himself remained motionless, feeding on air. Dharma then said to him, 'I am pleased with thee, o Brāhman rishi;' and went away. Viśvāmitra, having become thus transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman by the word of Dharma, was delighted."*

In the Anuśāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, we have another reference to the story of Viśvāmitra. King Yudhisṭhira enquires of Bhīshma (verse 181) how, if Brāhmanhood is so difficult to be attained by men of the other three castes, it happened that the great Kshattriya acquired that dignity. The prince then recapitulates the chief exploits of Viśvāmitra: 183. *Tena hy amita-vīryeṇa Vāsishṭhasya mahātmanah | hatam putra-śataṁ sadyas tapasū'pi pitāmaha | yātudhānās cha bahavo rākṣasās tigma-tejasah | manyunā "viṣṭa-dehena srisṭhāḥ kālāntakopamāḥ | 185. Mahān Kuśika-vaṁśās cha brahmarshi-śata-sankulaḥ | sthāpito nara-loke 'smin vidvān brāhmaṇa-saṁyutaḥ | Rikikasyātmajās chaiva Śunahṣepho mahātapaḥ | vimokṣhito mahāsattvāt paśutām apy upāgataḥ | Hariṣchandra-kṛatau devāṁs toshayitvā "tma-tejasā | putratām anusumprāpto Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | nābhivādayato jyeshṭhaṁ Devarātām narā-*



dhīpa | puttrāḥ pañchāśad evāpi śaptāḥ śvapachatām gatāḥ | Triśankur bandhuhir muktaḥ Aikshvakuḥ priti-pūrvakam | avāk-śirāḥ divaṁ nīto dakṣiṇām āśrito diśam | . . . tato vighnakarī chaiva Pañchachūḍā su-sammataḥ | Rambhā nāmāpsarāḥ śūpād yasya śailatvam āgataḥ | tathāivasya bhayād buddhvā Vaśiṣṭhaḥ salile purā | ātmānam majjayan śrīmān vipāśaḥ punar utthitah | "For he destroyed Vaśiṣṭha's hundred sons by the power of austere-fervour; when possessed by anger, he created many demons, fierce and destructive as death; he (185) established the great and wise family of the Kuśikas, which was full of Brāhmans and hundreds of Brāhman rishis; he delivered Śunaśsepha, son of Richika, who was on the point of being slaughtered as a victim, and who became his son, after he had, at Hariśchandra's sacrifice, through his own power, propitiated the gods; he cursed his fifty sons who would not do homage to Devarāta, (adopted as) the eldest, so that they became outcastes; through affection he elevated Triśanku, when forsaken by his relations, to heaven, where he remained fixed with his head downwards in the southern heavens; (191) . . . he changed the troublesome nymph Rambhā, known as Pañchachūḍā, by his curse into a form of stone; he occasioned Vaśiṣṭha through fear to bind and throw himself into the river, though he emerged thence unbound;" and performed other deeds calculated to excite astonishment. Yudhisṭhira ends by enquiring, "how this Kshattriya became a Brāhman without transmigrating into another body" (197. *Dehāntaram anāsādya katham sa brāhmaṇo 'bhavat* |). In answer to this question, Bhīṣma (verses 200 ff.) deduces the descent of Viśvāmitra from Ajamīḍha, of the race of Bharata, who was a pious priest, or sacrificer (*yajvā dharmā-bhritāṁ varah*), the father of Jahnu, who again was the progenitor of Kuśika, the father of Gādhi; and narrates the same legend of the birth of Viśvāmitra, which has been already extracted from the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, pp. 349 f.). The conclusion of the story as here given is, that the wife of Richika bore Jamadagni, while "the wife of Gādhi, by the grace of the rishi, gave birth to Viśvāmitra, who was a Brāhman rishi, and an utterer of the Veda; who, though a Kshattriya, attained to Brāhmanhood, and became afterwards also the founder of a Brāhman race" (246. *Viśvāmitraṁ chājanayad Gādhi-bhāryā yāśasvinī | rīṣeḥ prasādād rājendra brahmarṣim brahmanādinam | tato brāhmaṇatām yāto Viśvāmitro mahātapaḥ | kshattriyah so 'py atha tathā brahma-vāṁśasya kūrakah* |).

of which the members are detailed,²⁰⁵ including the great rishi Kapila. In regard to the mode in which Viśvāmitra was transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman, we are only told that he belonged to the former class, and that "Richika infused into him this exalted Brāhmanhood" (259. *Tuthaiva kshattriyo rājan Viśvāmitro mahātapaḥ | Richikenāhitam brahma param etad Yudhishṭhira |*).

This version of the story is different from all those preceding ones which enter into any detail, as it makes no mention of Viśvāmitra having extorted the Brahmanical rank from the gods by force of his austerities; and ascribes his transformation to a virtue communicated by the sage Richika.

I have above (p. 296 f.) quoted a passage from Manu on the subject of submissive and refractory monarchs, in which reference is made to Viśvāmitra's elevation to the Brahmanical order. Nothing is there said of his conflict with Vaśishṭha, or of his arduous penances, endured with the view of conquering for himself an equality with his rival. On the contrary, it is to his submissiveness, *i.e.* to his dutiful recognition of the superiority of the Brāhmins, that his admission into their class is ascribed. Kullūka, indeed, explains the word submissiveness (*vināya*) to mean virtue in general; but the contrast which is drawn between Prithu, Manu, and Viśvāmitra, on the one hand, and Veṇa, Nahusha, Sudās, and Nimi, the resisters of Brāhmanical prerogatives (as all the legends declare them to have been), on the other, makes it tolerably evident that the merit which Manu means to ascribe to Viśvāmitra is that of implicit submission to the spiritual authority of the Brāhmins.

SECT. XIII.—*Legend of Saudāsa.*

In the reign of Mitrasaha, also called Saudāsa, and Kalmāshapāda, the son of Sudāsa, and the descendant of Triśanku in the twenty-second generation (see p. 337, above), we still find Vaśishṭha figuring in the legend, as the priest of that monarch, and causing him, by an imprecation, to become a cannibal, because he had, under the influence of a delusion, offered the priest human flesh to eat. I shall not extract the

²⁰⁵ The names in this list differ considerably from those given above, p. 352, from the *Harivaṃśa*.



version of the story given in the Vishnu Purāṇa in detail (Wilson, V.P. vol. iii. pp. 304 ff.), as it does not in any way illustrate the rivalry of Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra.

The Mahābhārata gives the following variation of the history (Ādi-parvan, sect. 176): ["Kalmāshapāda was a king of the race of Ikshvāku. Viśvāmitra wished to be employed by him as his officiating priest; but the king preferred Vaśishṭha"] (verse 6699. *Akāmayaṭ taṁ yājyārthe Viśvāmitraḥ pratāpavān | sa tu rājā mahātmānaṁ Vaśishṭhaṁ ṛishi-sat-tamam* |). It happened, however, that the king went out to hunt, and after having killed a large quantity of game, he became very much fatigued, as well as hungry and thirsty. Meeting Saktri, the eldest of Vaśishṭha's hundred sons, on the road, he ordered him to get out of his way. The priest civilly replied (verse 6703): *Mama panthāḥ mahārāja dharmāḥ esha sanātanaḥ | rājñā sarveshu dharmeshu deyaḥ panthāḥ dvijā-taye* | "The path is mine, o king; this is the immemorial law; in all observances the king must cede the way to the Brāhman." Neither party would yield, and the dispute waxing warmer, the king struck the muni with his whip. The muni, resorting to the usual expedient of offended sages, by a curse doomed the king to become a man-eater. "It happened that at that time enmity existed between Viśvāmitra and Vaśishṭha on account of their respective claims to be priest to Kalmāshapāda" (verse 6710. *Tato yājya-nimittaṁ tu Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhayoh | vairam āsit tadā taṁ tu Viśvāmitro'nvapadyata* |). Viśvāmitra had followed the king; and approached while he was disputing with Saktri. Perceiving, however, the son of his rival Vaśishṭha, Viśvāmitra made himself invisible, and passed them, watching his opportunity. The king began to implore Saktri's clemency: but Viśvāmitra wishing to prevent their reconciliation, commanded a Rākshasa (a man-devouring demon) to enter into the king. Owing to the conjoint influence of the Brāhman-rishi's curse, and Viśvāmitra's command, the demon obeyed the injunction. Perceiving that his object was gained, Viśvāmitra left things to take their course, and absented himself from the country. The king having happened to meet a hungry Brāhman, and sent him, by the hand of his cook (who could procure nothing else), some human flesh to eat, was cursed by him also to the same effect as by Saktri. The curse, being now augmented in force, took effect, and Saktri himself was the first victim, being eaten up by the king. The same fate

befell all the other sons of Vasishṭha at the instigation of Viśvāmitra :
 [6736. *S'aktrim taṁ tu mṛitaṁ drishṭvā Viśvāmitrah punaḥ punaḥ | Vaśish-*
ṭhasyaiva putreshu tad rakṣhaḥ sandideśa ha | sa tān S'aktry-avarān putrān
Vaśishṭhasya mahātmanah | bhakshayāmāsa sankruddhaḥ sīṁhaḥ kṣudra-
mṛigān ivā | Vaśishṭho ghātītān śrutvā Viśvāmitrena tān sutān | dhāra-
yāmāsa taṁ śokam mahādrir ivā medinīm | chakre chātma-vināśāya bud-
dhiṁ sa muni-sattamaḥ | na tv eva Kauśikochhedam mene matimatām
varaḥ | 6740. *Sa Meru-kuṭād ātmānam mumocha bhagavān ṛishih | giroś*
tasya śilāyām tu tūla-rāśāv ivāpatat | na māmāra cha pātana sa yadā
tena Pāṇḍava | tadā 'gnim iddham bhagavān saṁviveśa mahāvane | taṁ
tadā susamiddho 'pi na dadāha hutāśanaḥ | dīpyamāno 'py amitra-ghna
śīto 'gnir abhavat tataḥ | sa samudram abhiprekshya śokāviśṭo mahāmu-
niḥ | baddhvā kaṇṭhe śilāṁ gurvīm nipapāta tadā 'mbhasi | sa samudror-
mi-vegena sthale nyasto mahāmuniḥ | jagāma sa tataḥ khinnah punar
evāśramam prati | 6745. *Tato drishṭvā "śrama-padaṁ rahitaṁ taiḥ sutair*
muniḥ | nirjagāma suduḥkhārttaḥ punar apy āśramāt tataḥ | so 'paśyat
saritam pūrṇam prāvirāt-kāle navāmbhasā | vṛikshān bahuvīdhān pārtha
harantiṁ tira-jān bahūn | atha chintāṁ samāpede punaḥ kaurava-nan-
dana | "ambhasy asyām nimajjeyam" iti duḥkha-samanvitaḥ | tataḥ pāśais
tadā "tmānam gādham baddhvā mahāmuniḥ | tasyāḥ jale mahānadyāḥ
nimamajja suduḥkhitaḥ | atha chhittvā nadi pāśāṁs tasyāri-bala-sūdana |
sthala-sthaṁ tam ṛishim kṛitvā vipāśāṁ samavāśṛjāt | 6750. *Uttatāra*
tataḥ pāśair vimuktaḥ sa mahān ṛishih | Vipāseti cha nāmāsyāḥ nadyās
chakre mahān ṛishih | 6752. *Drishṭvā sa punar evarshir nadīm*
haimavatiṁ tadā | chandragrāhavatiṁ bhīmāṁ tasyāḥ srotasy apātayat |
sā tam agni-samūḥ vipram anuchintya sarid varā | śatadhā vidrutā yas-
māch śatadrur iti viśrutā | 6774. *Saudāso 'ham mahābhāga yājyas*
te muni-sattama | asmin kāle yad iṣṭaṁ te brūhi kiṁ karavāṇi te | Va-
śishṭha uvācha | vṛittam etad yathā-kālāṁ gachha rājyam praśādhi vai |
brāhmaṇāṁs tu manushyendra mā 'vamaṁsthaḥ kadāchana | rājā uvācha |
nāvamaṁsyē mahābhāga kadāchid brāhmaṇarshabhān | tvan-nideśe sthitaḥ
samyuk pūjayiśhyāmy ahaṁ devjān | Ikshvākūṇāṁ cha yenāham anṛinaḥ
syām devjottama | tat tvattaḥ prāptum ichchāmi sarva-veda-vidāṁ vara |
apatyam īpsitam mahyam dātum arhasi sattama |] "Perceiving Saktri to
 be dead, Viśvāmitra again and again incited the Rākshasa against the
 sons of Vasishṭha; and accordingly the furious demon devoured those
 of his sons who were younger than Saktri, as a lion eats up the small

beasts of the forest.²⁰⁰ On hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvāmitra, Vaśishṭha supported his affliction, as the great mountain sustains the earth. He meditated his own destruction, but never thought of exterminating the Kauśikas. 6740. This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; (6745) but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief and went out; and seeing the river Vipāsā which was swollen by the recent rains, and sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, he conceived the design of drowning himself into its waters: he accordingly tied himself firmly with cords, and threw himself in; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (*vipāsā*) on dry land; whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage.²¹⁰ 6752. He afterwards saw and threw himself into the dreadful Satadru (Sutlej), which was full of alligators, etc., and derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brāhman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more stranded; and seeing he could not kill himself, he went back to his hermitage. After roaming about over many mountains and countries, he was followed home by his daughter-in-law Adriśyāntī, Saktri's widow, from whose womb he heard a sound of the recitation of the Vedas, as she was pregnant with a child, which, when born, received the name of Parāśara, verse 6794. Learning from her that there was

²⁰⁰ See above (pp. 327 ff.), the passages quoted from the Brāhmaṇas, about the slaughter of Vaśishṭha's sons. In the Panchaviṃśa Br. (cited by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i. 32) Vaśishṭha is spoken of as *putra-hatah*.

²¹⁰ The Nirukta, ix. 26, after giving other etymologies of the word Vipās, adds a verse: *Pāsāḥ asyām vyapāsānta Vaśishṭhasya mumūrshataḥ | tasmād Vipāś uchyate pūreṇa āsād Urujirā* | "In it the bonds of Vaśishṭha were loosed, when he was on the point of death: hence it is called Vipās. It formerly bore the name of Urujirā." It does not appear whether or not this verse is older than the Mahābhārata. On this text of the Nirukta, Durga (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, ii. Pref. p. liv.) annotates; *Vaśishṭhaḥ kila nimamajja asyām mumūrshuḥ putra-maraṇa-sōkārttaḥ pāśair ātmānam baddhāv | tasya kila te pāsāḥ asyām vyapāsānta vyamuchyanta udakena* | "Vaśishṭha plunged into it, after binding himself with bonds, wishing to die when grieved at the death of his sons. In it (the river) his bonds were loosed by the water."

thus a hope of his line being continued, he abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmāshapāda, however, whom they encountered in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vasiṣṭha stopped him by a blast from his mouth; and sprinkling him with water consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasiṣṭha thus: "Most excellent sage, I am Saudāsa, whose priest thou art: what can I do that would be pleasing to thee?" Vasiṣṭha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but, o monarch, never contemn the Brāhmanas.' The king replied: 'Never shall I despise the most excellent Brāhmanas; but submitting to thy commands I shall pay them all honour. And I must obtain from thee the means of discharging my debt to the Ikṣhvākus. Thou must give me the offspring which I desire.' Vasiṣṭha promised to comply with his request. They then returned to Ayodhyā. And Vasiṣṭha having been solicited by the king to beget an heir to the throne²¹¹ (verse 6787. *Rājnas tasyājñayā devī Vasiṣṭham upachakrame | maharṣiḥ saṁvidāṁ kṛitvā sambabhūva tayā saha | devyā divyena vidhinā Vasiṣṭho bhagavān ṛishiḥ*), the queen became pregnant by him, and brought forth a son at the end of twelve years. This extraordinary proceeding, so contrary to all the recognized rules of morality, is afterwards (verses 6888-6912) explained to have been necessitated by the curse of a Brāhmaṇī, whose husband Kalmāshapāda had devoured when in the forest, and who had doomed him to die if he should attempt to become a father, and had foretold that Vasiṣṭha should be the instrument of propagating his race (verse 6906: *Patnīm ṛitāv anuprāpya sadyas tyakṣhyasi jīvitam | yasya charsher Vasiṣṭhasya tvayā putrāḥ vināsitāḥ | tena sangamya te bhāryyā tanayāṁ janayishyati*).²¹²

²¹¹ The same story is told in the Vishnu Pur. iv., 4, 38 (Wilson, vol. 3, p. 310).

²¹² This incident is alluded to in the Ādip., section 122. It is there stated that in the olden time women were subject to no restraint, and incurred no blame for abandoning their husbands and cohabiting with anyone they pleased (verse 4719. *Anāpṛitāḥ kila purā striyaḥ āsan varānane | kāmā-chāra-vihōriṇyaḥ svatantrās chāru-hāsiniḥ | tāsāṁ vyuchcharamāṇānāṁ kaumārāt subhage patīm | nādharmo 'bhūḍ varāroke sa hi dharmah purā 'bhavat*, compare verse 4729). A stop was, however, put to this practice by Uddālaka Svetaṅketu, whose indignation was on one occasion aroused by a Brāhmaṇ taking his mother by the hand, and inviting her to go away with him, although his father, in whose presence this occurred, informed him that



The Mahābhārata has a further legend, regarding Viśvāmitra's jealousy of Vaśishṭha, which again exhibits the former in a very odious light, and as destitute of the moral dispositions befitting a saint, while Vaśishṭha is represented as manifesting a noble spirit of disinterestedness and generosity.

Salyap. 2360. *Viśvāmitrasya viprarsher Vaśishṭhasya cha Bhārata | bhṛīṣam vāiram abhūd rājāms tapaḥ-sparddhā-kṛitam mahat | āśramo vai Vaśishṭhasya sthānu-tīrthe 'bhavad mahān | pūrватаḥ pārsvataś chāsīd Viśvāmitrasya dhimataḥ | 2366. Viśvāmitra-Vaśishṭhau tāv ahany ahani Bhārata | sparddhām tapaḥ-kṛitām tīvrām chakratuṣ tau topo-dhanau | tattrāpy adhika-santapto Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | dṛishṭvā tejo Vaśishṭhasya chintām ati jagāma ha | tasya buddhir iyaṁ hy āsīd dharma-nētyasya Bhārata | iyaṁ Sarasvatī tūrṇam mat-samīpaṁ topo-dhanam | ānayishyati vegena Vaśishṭhaṁ japatām varam | ihāgataṁ dvija-śreṣṭhāṁ hanishyāmi na saṁśayaḥ | 2370. Evaṁ nischitya bhagavān Viśvāmitro mahāmuniḥ | sasmāra saritaṁ śreṣṭhāṁ krodha-saṁrakta-lochanah | sū dhyātā muninā tena vyākulataṁ jagāma ha | jāno chainam mahāvīryyam mahākopaṁ cha bhāvinī | tataḥ enaṁ vepa-mānā vivarṇā prāñjaliḥ tadā | upataste muni-varaṁ Viśvāmitraṁ Sar-asvatī | hata-vīrā yathā nārī sū 'bhavad duḥkhitā bhṛīṣam | brāhī kīm karavāṇīti provācha muni-sattamam | tām uvācha muniḥ kruddho "Vaśishṭhaṁ śiḡhram ānaya | yāvad enaṁ nihanmy adya" tach chhruṭvā vyathitā nadi | 2375. Prāñjaliḥ tu tataḥ kṛitvā pūṇḍarīka-nibhokṣaṇā |*

there was no reason for his displeasure, as the custom was one which had prevailed from time immemorial (verse 4726. *S'vetaketoh kila purā samakṣham mātaram pītuh | jagrāha brāhmaṇah pānu "gachhāva" iti chābravīt | rishis-putras tataḥ kopāṁ chakrāmarsha-choditah | mātaram tāṁ tathā dṛishṭvā nīyamānām balād iva | krud-dhāṁ tāṁ tu pītū dṛishṭvā S'vetaketum uvācha ha | "mā tāta kopāṁ kārshīs tvam esha dharmah sarātanaḥ |"). But S'vetaketu could not tolerate the practice, and introduced the existing rule (verse 4730. *Rishi-putro 'tha tāṁ dharmāṁ S'vetaketur na chakṣhame | chakāra chaiva maryādām imām stri-puṁsayor bhuvī |*). A wife and a husband indulging in promiscuous intercourse were therefore thenceforward guilty of sin. But a wife, when appointed by her husband to raise up seed to him (by having intercourse with another man), is in like manner guilty if she refuse (4734. *Patyā niyuktā yā chaiva patnī putrārtham eva cha | na karishyati tasyās cha bhavishyati tad eva hi | iti tena purā bhīru maryādā sthūpitā balāt |*). Pāṇḍu, the speaker, then proceeds to give an instance of the latter procedure in the case of Madayanti, the wife of Saudāsa, who, by her husband's command, visited Vaśishṭha for the purpose in question (4736. *Saudāsena cha rambhoru niyuktā putra-janmani | Madayanti jagāmarshiṁ Vaśishṭham iti naḥ śrutam |*). Compare what is said above, p. 224, of Angiras, and in pp. 232 and 233 of Dīrgatamas or Dīrghatapas; and see p. 423, below.*

prākampata bhrīṣam bhītā vāyunenāhatā latā | ... 2377. Sā tasya vaccha-
nam śrutvā jñātvā pāpa-chikīrṣitam | Vasiṣṭhasya prabhāvaṃ cha jā-
nanty apratimam bhūvi | sū 'dhigamya Vasiṣṭhaṃ cha imam artham
achodayat | yad uktā saritā śreṣṭhā Viśvāmitrena dhimatā | ubhayoḥ
śāpayor bhītā vepamānā punaḥ punaḥ | ... 2380. Tām kṛiṣāṃ cha vivarṇāṃ
cha dṛiṣṭvā chintā-samanvitāṃ | uvācha rājan dharmātmā Vasiṣṭho
dvipadāṃ varāḥ | Vasiṣṭhaḥ uvācha | "pāhy ātmānaṃ saric-chhresṭhe
vāha māṃ śighra-gāmini | Viśvāmitraḥ śaped hi tvāṃ mā kṛithās tvāṃ
vichāraṇam" | tasya tad vacchanāṃ śrutvā kṛipā-śīlasya sā sarit | chintayā-
māsa Kauravya kiṃ kṛitvā sukṛitam bhavet | tasyās chintā samutpannā
"Vasiṣṭho mayy atīva hi | kṛitavān hi dayāṃ nityam tasya kāryyaṃ hitam
mayā" | atha kālā svake rājan japantam rishi-sattamam | juḥvānaṃ Kau-
śīkam prekshya sarasvaty abhyachintayat | 2385. "Idam antaram" ity eva
tataḥ sā saritāṃ varā | kulāpahāram akarot svena vegena sā sarit | tena
kulāpahārena Maitrāvaruṇir auhyata | ūhyamānaḥ sa tusthāva tadā
rājan Sarasvatīm | Pītāmahasya sarasaḥ pravṛittā 'si Sarasvatī | vyūp-
taṃ chedam jagat sarvaṃ tavaivambhobhir uttamaiḥ | tvam evākāśa-gā-
devi megheśhūtsrijaso payaḥ | sarvās chāpas tvam eveti tvatto vāyam adhī-
mahi | puṣṭhir dyutis tathā kṛitih siddhir buddhir umā tathā | tvam eva
vāṇī svāhā tvāṃ tavāyattam idam jagat | 2390. Tvam eva sarva-bhūteshu
vasasīha chaturvidhā | ... 2392. Tam ānitaṃ Sarasvatyā dṛiṣṭvā
kopa-samanvitāḥ | athānveshat praharaṇāṃ Vasiṣṭhānta-karaṃ tadā |
taṃ tu kruddham abhiprekshya brahma-badhya-bhayād nadi | apovāha
Vasiṣṭhaṃ tu prāchīṃ diśam atandritā | ubhayoḥ kurvati vākyaṃ
vachayitvā cha Gādhiyam tato 'pavāhitaṃ dṛiṣṭvā Vasiṣṭham rishi-
sattamam | 2395. Abravid duḥkha-sankruddho Viśvāmitro hy amarsha-
naḥ | "yasmād māṃ tvāṃ saric-chhresṭhe vachayitoḥ punargatā |
sonitaṃ vaha kalyāṇi rakṣo-gra-māṇi-sammataṃ" | tataḥ Sarasvatī
śaptā Viśvāmitrena dhimatā | avahach chhonitonmiśraṃ toyaṃ saṃvat-
sāraṃ tadā | ... 2401. Athājagmus tato rājan rākshasās tatra
Bhārata | tatra te śonitaṃ sarvā pīvantaḥ sukhā āsate | ... 2402.
Nṛityantaś cha hasantaś cha yathā svarga-jitas tathā | ... 2407.
tān dṛiṣṭvā rākshasān rājan munayaḥ saṃśita-vratāḥ | paritrāṇe
Sarasvatyāḥ parāṇ yatnam prachakṛire |

"2360. There existed a great enmity, arising from rivalry in their austerities, between Viśvāmitra and the Brāhman rishi Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha had an extensive hermitage in Sthānūtīrtha, to the east of



which was Viśvāmītra's 2366. These two great ascetics were every day exhibiting intense emulation in regard to their respective austerities. But Viśvāmītra, beholding the might of Vaśishṭha, was the most chagrined; and fell into deep thought. The idea of this sage, constant in duty (!), was the following: 'This river Sarasvatī will speedily bring to me on her current the austere Vaśishṭha, the most eminent of all mutterers of prayers. When that most excellent Brāhmaṇ has come, I shall most assuredly kill him.' 2370. Having thus determined, the divine sage Viśvāmītra, his eyes reddened by anger, called to mind the chief of rivers. She being thus the subject of his thoughts, became very anxious, as she knew him to be very powerful and very irascible. Then trembling, pallid, and with joined hands, the Sarasvatī stood before the chief of munis. Like a woman whose husband has been slain, she was greatly distressed; and said to him, 'What shall I do?' The incensed muni replied, 'Bring Vaśishṭha hither speedily, that I may slay him.' 2375. The lotus-eyed goddess, joining her hands, trembled in great fear, like a creeping plant agitated by the wind." Viśvāmītra, however, although he saw her condition, repeated his command. 2377. "The Sarasvatī, who knew how sinful was his design, and that the might of Vaśishṭha was unequalled, went trembling, and in great dread of being cursed by both the sages, to Vaśishṭha, and told him what his rival had said. 2380. Vaśishṭha seeing her emaciated, pale, and anxious, spoke thus: 'Deliver thyself, o chief of rivers; carry me unhesitatingly to Viśvāmītra, lest he curse thee.' Hearing these words of the merciful sage, the Sarasvatī considered how she could act most wisely. She reflected, 'Vaśishṭha has always shown me great kindness; I must seek his welfare.' Then observing the Kauśika sage [so in the text, but does not the sense require Vaśishṭha?] praying and sacrificing on her brink, she regarded (2385) that as a good opportunity, and swept away the bank by the force of her current. In this way the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (Vaśishṭha)²¹³ was carried down; and while he was being borne along, he thus celebrated the river: 'Thou, o Sarasvatī, issuest from the lake of Brāhmā, and pervadest the whole world with thy excellent streams. Residing in the sky, thou dischargest water into the clouds. Thou alone art all waters. By thee we study.' [Here the river Sarasvatī is identified with Saras-

²¹³ See above, pp. 316 and 320 f.



vatī the goddess of speech.] ²¹⁴ ‘Thou art nourishment, radiance, fame, perfection, intellect, light. Thou art speech; thou art Svāhā; this world is subject to thee. 2390. Thou, in fourfold form, dwellest in all creatures.’ 2392. Beholding Vasishṭha brought near by the Sarasvatī, Viśvāmitra searched for a weapon with which to make an end of him. Perceiving his anger, and dreading lest Brahmanicide should ensue, the river promptly carried away Vasishṭha in an easterly direction; thus fulfilling the commands of both sages, but eluding Viśvāmitra. Seeing Vasishṭha so carried away, (2395) Viśvāmitra, impatient, and enraged by vexation, said to her: ‘Since thou, o chief of rivers, hast eluded me, and hast receded, roll in waves of blood acceptable to the chief of demons,’ [which are fabled to gloat on blood]. ‘The Sarasvatī, being thus cursed, flowed for a year in a stream mingled with blood. . . . 2401. Rākshasas came to the place of pilgrimage, where Vasishṭha had been swept away, and revelled in drinking to satiety the bloody stream in security, dancing and laughing, as if they had conquered heaven.’ Some rishis who arrived at the spot some time after were horrified to see the blood-stained water, and the Rākshasas quaffing it, and (2407) “made the most strenuous efforts to rescue the Sarasvatī.” After learning from her the cause of the pollution of her waters, they propitiated Mahādeva by the most various austerities, and thus obtained the restoration of the river to her pristine purity (2413 ff.).

We have another reference to the connection of the families of Sudās and Vasishṭha in the legend of Paraśurāma,²¹⁵ the destroyer of the Kshattriyas, in the 49th section of the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata. Sarvakarman, a descendant of Sudās, is there mentioned as one of those

²¹⁴ See the remarks on Sarasvatī in my “Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology No. II.,” in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp. 18 ff.

²¹⁵ Paraśurāma was the son of Jamadagnī, regarding whose birth, as well as that of Viśvāmitra and the incarnation of Indra in the person of his father Gādhi, the same legend as has been already given above, p. 349 ff, is repeated at the commencement of the story referred to in the text. In discoursing with his wife Satyavatī about the exchange of her own and her mother’s messes, Richika tells her, verse 1741: *Brahmahūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet* | “All the family of thy father (Gādhi) shall be Brahmanical;” and Vāsudeva, the narrator of the the legend, says, verse 1745: *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dōyādāṁ Gādhiḥ Kusikanandanah* | *yam prōpa brahmasammitāṁ visvair brahmaguṇair yutam* | “And Gādhi begot a son, Viśvāmitra, whom he obtained equal to a Brāhman, and possessed of all Brahmanical qualities.”



Kshattriyas who had been preserved from the general massacre by Parāśara, grandson of Vaśishṭha : verse 1792. *Tathā 'nukampamānena yajivanā 'mita-tejasā | Parāśareṇa dāyādāḥ Saudāsasyābhirakshitāḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya vai devijah | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātāḥ sa mām rakshatu pāṛthivāḥ* | "Sarvakarman, the son of Saudāsa, was preserved by the tender-hearted priest Parāśara, who performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices for him, like a Śūdra ; whence the prince's name ;—may this king protect me (the earth)." The same book of the Mahābhārata, when recording a number of good deeds done to Brāhmans, has also the following allusion to Mitrasaha and Vaśishṭha : verse 8604. *Rājā Mitrasahaś chāpi Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane | Damayantīm priyām dattvā tayā saha divaṁ gataḥ* | "King Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear Damayantī on Vaśishṭha, ascended to heaven along with her."²¹⁶

The same passage has two further allusions to Vaśishṭha, which, though unconnected with our present subject, may be introduced here. In verse 8591 it is said : *Rantidevaś cha Sāṅkṛityo Vaśishṭhāya mahātmane | apah pradāya śitoshnāḥ nāka-prishṭhe mahīyate* | "Rantideva, son of Sāṅkṛiti, who gave Vaśishṭha tepid water, is exalted to the heavenly regions." (See the Bhāg. Pur. ix. 21, 2-18, where the various acts of self-sacrifice practised by this prince are celebrated.) It is said of Vaśishṭha in verse 8601 : *Avarshati cha Parjanya sarva-bhūtāni bhūta-kṛit | Vaśishṭho jīvayāmāsa prajāpatir vāparaḥ* | "When Parjanya failed to send rain, the creative Vaśishṭha, like Brahmā, gave life to all beings."

Vaśishṭha, in short, is continually reappearing in the Mahābhārata. I will here adduce but one other passage. In the Sāntiparvan, verses 10,118 ff., it is said : *Tasya Vṛittrārddhitasyātha mohah āsīch chhatakra-toḥ | rathantareṇa tam tattra Vaśishṭhaḥ samabodhayat | Vaśishṭhaḥ uvācha | deva-śreshṭho 'si devendra dāityāsura-nibarhanā | trailokya-bala-*

²¹⁶ This appears to refer to the story told above, p. 418 ff., of Kalmāshapāda (who was the same as Mitrasaha), allowing Vaśishṭha to be the agent in propagating the royal race ; for both there (v. 6910) and in the Vishṇu Pur. (Wilson, vol. iii., pp. 308 and 310), the name of the queen is said to have been Madayantī, which is probably the right reading here also, the first two letters only having been transposed. If so, however, it is to be observed that a quite different turn is given to the story here, where it is represented as a meritorious act on the king's part, and as a favour to Vaśishṭha, that the queen was given up to him ; whilst, according to the other account, the king's sole object in what he did was to get progeny.

saṃyuktaḥ kasmāch chhakra nishūdasi | esha Brahmā cha Vishnuḥ cha S'ivaś chaiva jagat-patiḥ | Somaś cha bhagavān devaḥ sarve cha paramarshayaḥ | mā kārṣhīḥ kasmalaṃ Sakra kaṣchid evetaro yathā | āryyāṃ yuddhe matiṃ kṛtvā jahi śatrūn surādhipa | "By reciting the Rathantāra, Vasiṣṭha encouraged Indra, when he had become bewildered and distressed in his conflict with Vritra, saying to him, 'Thou art the chief of the gods, o slayer of the Daityas and Asuras, possessing all the strength of the three worlds: wherefore, Indra, dost thou despond? There are here present Brahmā, Vishnu, S'iva, the divine Soma, and all the chief rishis. Faint not, o Indra, like an ordinary being. Assume a heroic spirit for the fight, and slay thine enemies, etc.'" Strength was thus infused into Indra.

In a later work, the Rāja Taranginī, Book IV. verses 619-655 (pp. 188 ff. and note, pp. 521 and 522, of Troyer's edition, vol. i. and vol. ii. 189, 469, note), a curious echo of these old legends is found still reverberating. A story is there told of a king Jayāpīḍa who oppressed his people, and persecuted the Brāhmanas, and was eventually destroyed by them in a miraculous manner. He is compared to Saudāsa in verse 625: *Sa Saudāsaḥ ivāneka-loka-prāṇāpahārakṛt | astutya-kṛitya-sauhityaṃ swapne 'pi na samāyayau |* "Like Saudāsa, depriving many persons of their lives, he was not satiated with wicked deeds even in his dreams." One of the Brāhmanas stood up on behalf of the rest to remonstrate: *Āha sma "Viśvāmitro vā Vasiṣṭho vā taponidhiḥ | tvam Agastyo 'thavā kiṃ stha" iti darpeṇa taṃ nripaḥ | . . . bhavān yatra Hariṣchandras Triśanku Nahusho 'pi vā | Viśvāmitra-mukhebhyaḥ 'haṃ tattraiko bhavitūṃ kṣamaḥ | vihasyovācha taṃ rājā "Viśvāmitrādīkopataḥ | Hariṣchandrāyo nashṭās toayi krudde tu kim bhavet" | pāninā tādayann ūrviṃ tataḥ krudde 'bhyadhād dvijaḥ | "mayi krudde kṣaṇād eva brahma-dāṇḍaḥ patet na kim" | tach chkrutvā vihasan rājā kopād brāhmaṇam abravīt | "patatu brahma-dāṇḍo 'sau kim adyāpi vilambate" | nano ayam patito jālmety aha vipreṇa bhāṣhite | rājāḥ kanaka-dāṇḍo 'nge vītāna-skhalito 'patat |* "The king haughtily asked him: 'Art thou Viśvāmitra, or Vasiṣṭha, so rich in devotion? or Agastya? or what art thou?' . . . The Brāhman answered, swelling with indignation: 'Just as thou art a Hariṣchandra, a Triśanku, or a Nahusha, so too have I power to be a Viśvāmitra, or one of those other rishis.' The king answered with a smile of contempt: 'Hariṣchandra



and the rest perished by the wrath of Viśvāmitra and the other sages : but what will come of thy wrath ?' The Brāhman angrily replied, smiting the ground with his hand, ' When I am incensed, shall not the Brahmanical bolt instantly descend ?' The king retorted with an angry laugh : ' Let it descend ; why does it not come down at once ?' ' Has it not fallen, tyrant ?' said the Brāhman ; and he had no sooner spoken, than a golden beam fell from the canopy and smote the king," so that he became tortured by worms, and shortly after died ; and went, as the story concludes, to hell.

Professor Lassen, who quotes the stories regarding Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 718 f.), makes the following remarks on their import :

"The legend of the struggle between Vasishṭha and Viśvāmitra embraces two distinct points : one is the contest between the priests and warriors for the highest rank ; the other is the temporary alienation of the Ikshvākus from their family priests. Vasishṭha is represented as the exemplar of such a priest ; and the story of Kalmāshapāda is related for the express purpose of showing by an example that the Ikshvākus, after they had retained him, were victorious, and fulfilled perfectly the duties of sacrifice (see above, p. 390) : in his capacity of priest he continues to live on, and is the representative of his whole race. We may conclude from the legend that his descendants had acquired the position of family priests to the Ikshvākus, though neither he himself nor his son Saktri belonged to their number. Trisanku is the first prince who forsook them, and had recourse to Viśvāmitra. His successor Ambarisha received support from that personage, as well as from Richika, one of the Bhrigus ;—a family whose connection with the Kuśikas appears also in the story of Paraśurāma. The hostility between the Ikshvākus and the family of Vasishṭha continued down to Kalmāshapāda. Viśvāmitra is represented as having intentionally fostered the alienation ; while Vasishṭha is described as forbearing (though he had the power) to annihilate his rival.

"The conflict between the two rivals with its motives and machinery is described in the forms peculiar to the fully developed epos. To this style of poetry is to be referred the wonder-working cow, which supplies all objects of desire. There is no ground for believing in any actual war with weapons between the contending parties, or in

any participation of degraded Kshatriyas, or aboriginal tribes, in the contest; for all these things are mere poetical creations. Besides, the proper victory of Vasishṭha was not gained by arms, but by his rod. The legend represents the superiority of the Brāhmanas as complete, since Viśvāmitra is forced to acknowledge the insufficiency of a warrior's power; and acquires his position as a Brāhman by purely Brahmanical methods.

"From Viśvāmitra are derived many of the sacerdotal families, which bear the common name of Kausika, and to which many rishis famous in tradition belong. As there were also kings in this family, we have here an example of the fact that one of the old Vedic races became divided, and in later times belonged to both of the two higher castes. It appears impossible that any of the aboriginal tribes should have been among the descendants of Viśvāmitra's sons, as the legend represents; and the meaning of this account may therefore be that some of his sons and their descendants accepted the position of priests among these tribes, and are in consequence described as accursed."²¹⁷

SECT. XIV.—*Story from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka becoming a Brāhman.*

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following account of a discussion between Janaka, king of Videha, and some Brāhmanas:²¹⁸

xi. 6, 2, 1. *Janako ha vai Vaidēho brāhmaṇair dhāvayadbhir samājagāma Svetaaketunā Aruṇeyena Somaśushmena Sātyajajninā Yājñavalkyena | tūn ha uvācha "katham katham agnihotram juhutha" iti | 2. Sa ha uvācha Svetaaketur Aruṇeyo "gharmāv eva samrād aham ajasrau yaśasā viśyandamanāv anyo 'nyasmin juhomi" iti | "katham tad" iti | ādityo vai gharmanas tam sāyam agnau juhomi agnir vai gharmanas tam pratar ādityo juhomi" iti | "kim eva bhavati yaś evaṁ juhoti" | "ajasraḥ eva śrīyā yaśasā bhavaty etayoś cha devatayoś sāyujyam salokatām jayati" iti | 3. Atha ha uvācha Somaśushmah Sātyajajnih "tejaś eva samrād aham tejasi juhomi" iti | "katham tad" iti | "Ādityo vai tejas tam sāyam agnau juhomi | agnir vai tejas tam pratar ādityo juhomi"*

²¹⁷ See also Prof. Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 80 f., 383 f., 408, 413 ff., 485 f.

²¹⁸ This passage is referred to and translated by Prof. Müller, *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 421 ff.



iti | "kiñ sa bhavati yaḥ evaṁ juhōti" iti | "tejasvī yaśasvy annādo bhavaty etayoḥ chaiva devatayoḥ sāyujyaṁ salokatāṁ jayati" iti | 4. Atha ha uvācha Yājñavalkyaḥ "yad aham agnim uddharāmy agnihotram eva tad udyachhāmi | ādityaṁ vai astaṁ yantam sarve devāḥ anuyanti | te me etam agnim uddhṛitaṁ drishṭvā upāvarittante atha aham pūtrāṇi nir-
nījya upavāpya āgnihotrīm dohayitvā paśyan paśyatas tarpayāmi" iti |
tvam nedishṭhāṁ yājñavalkya agnihotrasya amīmāṁsisṭhāḥ | dhenu-
śataṁ dadāmi" iti ha uvācha "na tv eva enayos tvam utkrāntīm na
gatiṁ na pratishṭhāṁ na triptīm na punarāvrittiṁ na lokāṁ praty-
utthāyam" | ity uktvā ratham āsthāya pradhācayān chakāra | 5.
Te ha ūchur "atī vai no 'yaṁ rājanyabandhur avādīd hanta enam
brahmodyam āhvayāmahai" iti | sa ha uvācha Yājñavalkyo "brāh-
maṇāḥ vai vayaṁ smo rājanyabandhur asau yady amīm vayaṁ jayema
kam ajaishma iti brūyāma atha yady asāv asmān jayed brāhmaṇān
rājanyabandhur ajaishīd iti no brūyuh | mā idam ādṛidhvam" iti |
tad ha asya jānuḥ | atha ha Yājñavalkyo ratham āsthāya pradhā-
cayānochakāra taṁ ha anvājagāma | sa ha uvācha "agnihotraṁ Yājña-
valkya veditum" iti | "agnihotraṁ samrād" iti | 6. "Te vai ete āhuti
hute utkrāmatas te antariksham āviśatas te antariksham eva āhavanīyaṁ
kurvāte vāyuṁ samidham marichir eva śukrām āhutiṁ te antarikshaṁ
tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 7. Te divam āviśatas te divam eva āha-
vanīyaṁ kurvāte ādityaṁ samidham chandramasam eva śukrām āhutiṁ te
divaṁ tarpayatas te tataḥ ācarttete | 8. Te imām āviśatas te imām eva
āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte agniṁ samidham oshadhīr eva śukrām āhutiṁ te
imām tarpayatas te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 9. Te puruṣam āviśatas tasya
mukham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte jīhvām samidham annam eva śukrām
āhutiṁ te puruṣaṁ tarpayataḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān āsnāty agnihotram
eva asya hutam bhavati | te tataḥ utkrāmataḥ | 10. Te striyam āviśatas
tasyāḥ upastham eva āhavanīyaṁ kurvāte dhārakām samidham (dhārakā
ha vai nāma eshā | etayā ha vai Prajāpatiḥ prajāḥ dhārayānochakāra)
retāḥ eva śukrām āhutiṁ te striyaṁ tarpayataḥ | sa yaḥ evaṁ vidvān
mithunam upaity agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati yas tataḥ putro
jāyate sa lokāḥ pratyutthāyī | etad agnihotraṁ Yājñavalkya na atah
param asti" iti ha uvācha | tasmai Yājñavalkyo varaṁ dadau | sa ha
uvācha "kāmaprasnāḥ eva me trayi Yājñavalkya asad" iti | tato brahmā
Janakāḥ āsa |

"Janaka of Videha met with some travelling Brāhmans, Svetaketu

Aruneya, Somaśushma Sātyayajni, and Yājñavalkya, and said to them, 'How do ye respectively offer the agnihotra oblation?' 2. Svetaketu replied, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw the one of the two eternal heats which pervade the world with their splendour into the other.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. (S. replied), 'Āditya (the sun) is one heat; in the evening I throw him into Agni (Fire). Agni is the other heat; in the morning I throw him into Āditya.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He acquires' (replied S.) 'perpetual prosperity and renown; conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 3. Then Somaśushma answered, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw light into light.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. 'The Sun' (answered S.) 'is light; in the evening I throw him into Fire: and Fire is light; in the morning I throw him into the Sun.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He becomes' (rejoined S.) 'luminous, and renowned, an eater of food, and conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 4. Then Yājñavalkya said, 'When I take up the fire I lift the agnihotra. All the gods follow the Sun when he sets; and when they see me take up the Fire, they come back to me. Then, after washing and putting down the vessels, and having the Agnihotra Cow milked, beholding them as they behold me, I satisfy them (with sacrificial food).' The king answered, 'Thou hast approached very close to a solution of the Agnihotra, o Yājñavalkya; I give thee a hundred milch-cows: but thou hast not discovered the ascent of these two (oblations), nor the course, nor the resting-place, nor the satisfaction, nor the return, nor the world where they reappear(?)'. Having so spoken, Janaka mounted his car and drove away. 5. The Brāhmins then said amongst themselves, 'This Rājanya has surpassed us in speaking; come, let us invite him to a theological discussion.' Yājñavalkya, however, interposed, 'We are Brāhmins, and he a Rājanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? but if he overcome us, men will say to us, a Rājanya has overcome Brāhmins. Do not follow this course.' They assented to his advice. Then Yājñavalkya mounted his car, and drove after the king; and came up to him. Janaka asked, 'is it to learn the agnihotra (that thou hast come), Yājñavalkya?' 'The agnihotra, o



monarch,' said Y. 6. The king rejoined, 'These two oblations, when offered, ascend; they enter the air, they make the air their āhavanīya fire, the wind their fuel, the rays their bright oblation, they satisfy the air, and thence ascend. 7. They enter the sky, they make the sky their āhavanīya fire, the sun their fuel, the moon their bright oblation; they satisfy the sky, they return thence. 8. They enter this earth, they make this earth their āhavanīya fire, Agni their fuel, the plants their bright oblation; they satisfy the earth, they ascend thence. They enter man, they make his mouth their āhavanīya fire, his tongue their fuel, food their bright oblation; they satisfy man. (He who, thus knowing, eats, truly offers the agnihotra). 9. They ascend from him, they enter into woman [the details which follow are better left untranslated], they satisfy her. The man who, thus knowing, approaches his wife, truly offers the agnihotra. The son who is then born is the world of re-appearance. This is the agnihotra, o Yājñavalkya; there is nothing beyond this.' Y. offered the king the choice of a boon. He replied, 'Let me enquire of thee whatever I desire, o Yājñavalkya.' Henceforward Janaka was a Brāhmān." ²¹⁹

By Brāhmān in the last sentence we have, I presume, to understand a Brāhman. Even if it were taken to dignify a priest of the kind called Brāhmān, the conclusion would be the same; as at the time when the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was written, none but Brāhmans could officiate as priests. ²²⁰

Janaka's name occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata. In the Vana-parvan of that poem (8089) he is called a rājarshi. In the Śānti-parvan, verse 6640, it is said: *Atrāpy udāharantimam itihāsam purātanam | gītāṁ Videha-rājena Janakena praśāmyatā | "anantaṁ vata me vittaṁ yasya me nāsti kinchana | Mithilāyām pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kinchana"* | "They here relate an ancient story,—the words recited by Janaka the tranquil-minded king of Videha:

'Though worldly pelf I own no more,
Of wealth I have a boundless store:
While Mithilā the flames devour,
My goods can all defy their power.'

²¹⁹ The Commentator explains *brahmā* by *brahmishṭhaḥ*, "Most full of divine knowledge."

²²⁰ Prof. Müller remarks in his article on Caste (Chips from a German Workshop, ii. 338): "That king Janaka of Videha possessed superior knowledge is acknowledged by one of the most learned among the Brahmins, by Yājñavalkya himself; and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is believed to have been the work of Yājñavalkya, it is said that king Janaka became a Brahman."

The same sentiment is ascribed to the same royal rishi in verse 7891 :
Api cha bhavati Maithilena gitaṁ nagaram upāhitam agninā 'bhivikshya |
"na khalu mama hi dahyate 'ttra kinchit" svayam idam āha sma bhūmi-
pālāḥ | "And these words were repeated by the king of Mithilā when
he beheld the city enveloped in fire, 'nothing of mine is burnt here ;'
—so said the king himself."

Another "ancient story" of Janaka is related in verses 7882-7983 of the same book. It is there stated that this king was constantly engaged in thinking on matters connected with a future life ; and that he had a hundred religious teachers to instruct him on different points of duty (verse 7884). He was, however, visited by the rishi Panchaśikha²²¹ (verses 7886, 7888), a pupil of Āsuri (verse 7890), who so confounded the king's hundred instructors by his reasoning, that they were abandoned by their pupil, who followed this new teacher (7898. *Upetya śatam āchāryān mohayāmāsa hetubhiḥ |* 7899. *Janakas tv abhisamraktaḥ Kāpilayānudarśanāt | utarijya śatam āchāryyān prishṭhato 'nujagāmatam*). Panchaśikha appears also, at verse 11839, as his instructor. At verse 10699 Janaka is again brought forward as receiving religious information from Parāśara ; in verses 11545-11836 as being taught by the rishi Yājñavalkya the principles of the Yoga and Sāṅkhya philosophies ; and in verses 11854-12043 as holding a conversation with a travelling female mendicant (*bhikṣhukī*), named Sulabhā, who sought to prove him, and to whom he declares himself to be a pupil of Panchaśikha (here said to belong to the family of Parāśara, verse 11875), and an adept in the systems just mentioned ; and from whom, in answer to some reproaches he had addressed to her regarding her procedure, he learns that she belongs to the Rājanya class, like himself, of the family of the rājarshi Pradhāna, that she had obtained no suitable husband, and wandered about, following an ascetic life, and seeking final emancipation (verses 12033 ff.).

A further story in illustration of Janaka's indifference to worldly objects is told in the Āśvamedhikaparvan, verses 887 ff.

²²¹ See Prof. Wilson's Sāṅkhya-kārikā, p. 190 ; and Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of the Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya, pp. 9 ff.



SECT. XV.—*Other instances in which Brāhmins are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.*

Two other cases in which Brāhmins are recorded to have received instruction from Kshattriyas are thus stated by Professor Müller :²²²

“For a Kshattriya to teach the law was a crime (*sva-dharmātikrama*), and it is only by a most artificial line of argument that the dogmatic philosophers of the Mīmāṃsā school tried to explain this away. The Brāhmins seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upanishads, Ajātasatru, the king of Kāśi, possessed more knowledge than Gārgya, the son of Balāka, who was renowned as a reader of the Veda, and that Gārgya desired to become his pupil, though it was not right, as the king himself remarked, that a Kshattriya should initiate a Brāhmin. They must have forgotten that Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, king of the Panchālas, silenced Svetaketu Āruṇeya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kshattriyas only, but no Brāhmins, had ever known before.” I subjoin two separate versions of each of these stories. The first is that of Ajātasatru :

Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, iv. 1. *Atha ha vai Gārgyo Bālākir anūchānaḥ saṃspashṭaḥ āsa | so 'vasad Uśinareshu savasan Matsyeshu Kuru-panchāleshu Kāśi-videheshv iti | sa ha Ajātasatruṃ Kāśyam āvrajya uvācha “brahma te bravāni” iti | taṃ ha uvācha Ajātasatruḥ “sahasraṃ dadmaḥ” iti “etasyāṃ vāchi | ‘Janako Janakāḥ’ iti vai u janāḥ dhāvanti” iti | . . . 19. Tataḥ u ha Bālākiḥ tūshṇīm āsa | taṃ ha uvācha Ajātasatruḥ “etāvad nu Bālāke” iti | “etāvad” iti ha uvācha Bālākiḥ | tam ha uvācha Ajātasatruḥ “mṛishā vai khalu mā saṃvādayishīhāḥ “brahma te bravāni” iti | yo vai Bālāke eteshāṃ puru-shāṇāṃ kartā yasya vai tat karma sa vai veditavyaḥ” iti | tataḥ u ha Bālākiḥ samit-pāṇiḥ pratichakrame “upāyāni” iti | taṃ ha uvācha Ajātasatruḥ “pratiloma-rūpaṃ eva tad manye yat kshattriyo brāhmaṇam upanayeta ehi vy eva tvā jnapayishyāmi” iti | taṃ ha pāṇāv abhipadya pravavrāja |*

“Now Gārgya Bālāki was renowned as a man well read in the Veda. He dwelt among the Uśinaras, Matsyas, Kurus, Panchālas, Kāśis, and Videhas, travelling from place to place. He came to

²²² Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 338.

Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, and said, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatru said, 'We bestow on thee a thousand (cows) for this word.' Men run to us crying, 'Janaka, Janaka.' The learned man accordingly addresses Ajātaśatru in a series of statements regarding the object of his own worship, but is silenced by the king's display of superior knowledge on every topic.²²³ The story ends thus: 19. "Then the son of Balāka remained silent. Ajātaśatru said to him, 'Dost (thou know only) so much, o Bālāki.' 'Only so much,' he answered. The king rejoined, 'Thou hast vainly proposed to me, let me teach thee divine knowledge.' He, son of Balāka, who is the maker of these souls, whose work that is,—he is the object of knowledge.' Then the son of Balāka approached the king with fuel in his hand, and said, 'Let me attend thee (as thy pupil).' The king replied, 'I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a Kshattriya should initiate a Brāhman. (But) come, I will instruct thee. Then, having taken him by the hand, he departed."

Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 5, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad, ii. 1, 1, p. 334 of Cal. edit.). *Dṛiptabālākir ha anūchāno Gārgyaḥ āsa | sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruṁ Kāśyam "brahma te bravāni" iti | sa uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasram etasyāṁ vāchi dadmaḥ 'Janako Janakah' iti vai janāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . 12. Sa ha tūshṇīm āsa Gārgyaḥ | 13. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "etavad nu" iti | "etavad hi" iti | "na etavatā viditaṁ bhavati" iti | sa ha uvācha Gārgyaḥ "upa tvā ayāni" iti | 14. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratilomaṁ vai tad yad brāhmaṇaḥ kshattriyam upeyād 'brahma me vakshyati' iti | vy eva tvā jñāpayishyāmi" iti | tam pūṇāv ādāya uttasthau |*

"Dṛiptabālāki Gārgya was well read in the Veda. He said to Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatru replied, 'We give thee a thousand (cows) for this word. Men run to me calling out, "Janaka, Janaka." At the end of their conversation we are told: 12. "Gārgya remained silent. 13. Then Ajātaśatru asked him, '(Dost thou know) so much only?' 'Only so much,' he replied. 'But this,' rejoined Ajātaśatru, 'does not comprehend the whole of knowledge.' Then said Gārgya, 'Let me come to thee (as thy disciple).' Ajātaśatru answered, 'This is an inversion of the proper rule, that a Brāhman should attend a Kshattriya with the view

²²³ See Prof. Cowell's Translation of the Upanishad, pp. 167 ff.



of being instructed in divine knowledge. (But) I will teach thee.' He took him by the hand, and rose."

The second story is that of Pravāhana Jaivali:

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 9, 1, 1 (= Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad, vi. 2, 1, p. 1030 of Cal. edit.). *Svetaketur ha vai Āruneyah Panchālānām parishadam ājagāma | sa ājagāma Pravāhanam Jaivalim parichārgyamānam | tam udikshya abhyuvāda "kumāra" iti | sa "bhoh" iti pratisūs-rāva | "anusiṣṭo ne asi pitrā" | "om" iti ha uvācha | 2. "Vettha yathā imāḥ prajāḥ prayatyo virratipadyante" iti | "na" iti ha uvācha | "vettha yathā imāḥ lokam punar āpadyante" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha yathā 'sau lokah eam bahubhiḥ punaḥ punaḥ prayadbhir na sampūryate" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | 3. "Vettha yatithyām āhutyām hutūyām āpaḥ puruṣa-eācho bhūtvā samut-thāya vadanti" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha u devayānasya cā pathaḥ pratipadam pitṛiyānasya vā yat kritvā devayānam vā ponthānam pratipadyate pitṛiyānam vā | 4. Api hi naḥ ṛisher vacaḥ śrutam (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vāj. S. 19, 47) 'dve sṛitī āsṛiṇavam pitṛiṇam aham devānām uta marttyānām | tābhyām idam viśvam ejaṁ sameti yad antaraḥ pitaram mātaram cha'" iti | "na aham ataḥ ekanachana veda" iti ha uvācha | 5. Atha ha enaḥ vasatyā upamantrayānchakre | anādṛitya vasatiṁ kumārāḥ pradadrāva | sa ājagāma pitaram | tam ha uvācha "iti vāva kila ne bhavān purā 'nusiṣṭān avochaḥ"²²⁴ iti | "katham sumedhaḥ" iti | "pancha mā praśnān rājanyabandhur aprākṣhit tato na ekanachana veda" iti ha uvācha | "katame te" iti | "ime" iti ha pratikāny udājahāra | 6. Sa ha uvācha | "tathā naḥ tvaṁ tāta jānīthāḥ yathā yad aham kincha veda sarvam aham tat tubhyam avocham | prehi tu tatra pratitya brahmacharyyam vatsyāva" iti | bhavān eva gachhatv"²²⁵ iti | 7. Sa ājagāma Gautamo yatra Pravāhanasya Jaivaler āsa | tasmai āsanam āharyya²²⁶ udakam āhārayānchakāra | atha ha asmai argham²²⁶ chākara | 8. Sa ha uvācha "varam bhavate Gautamāya dadmaḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "pratijnāto me esha varaḥ | yām tu kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām me brūhi" iti | 9. Sa ha uvācha "daiveshu vai Gautama tad vareṣhu | mānushhānām brūhi" iti | 10. Sa ha uvācha "vijñāyate ha asti hiranyasya apāttaṁ go-ācānām dāśīnām pravarūnām paridhānānām | mā ne bhavān bahor anantasya*

²²⁴ The text of the Bṛihadāranyaka Up. reads *avochat*.

²²⁵ The Bṛih. Ār. reads *āhṛitya*.

²²⁶ The Bṛih. Ār. reads *arghyam*.

aparyantasya abhy avadānyo bhūd" iti | "sa vai Gaṇḍama tīrthēna ichhāsai" iti | "upaimy aham bhavantam" iti "vāchā ha sma eva pūrve upayanti" | 11. Sa ha upāyana-kīrttā²²⁷ uvācha | "tathā neṣṭvaṁ Gaṇḍama mā'parādhās tava cha pitāmahāḥ yathā | iyaṁ vidyā itaḥ pūrvaṁ na kasmimśchana brāhmaṇe uvāsa | tāṁ tv ahaṁ tubhyaṁ vakshyāmi | ko hi tvā evam bruvāntam arhati pratyākhyātum" iti |

"Svetaketu Āruṇeya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. He came to Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who was receiving service from his attendants. Seeing Svetaketu, the king said, 'o youth.' 'Sire,' he answered. (King) 'Hast thou been instructed by thy father?' (Svetaketu) 'I have.' 2. (K.) 'Dost thou know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how they return to this world?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled with those numerous beings who are thus constantly departing?' (S.) 'No.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know after the offering of what oblation the waters, acquiring human voices, rise and speak?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the means of attaining the path which leads to the gods, or that which leads to the Pitris; by what act the one or the other is gained?' 4. And we have heard the words of the rishi: (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vaj. S. 19, 47) "I have heard of two paths for mortals, one to the pitris, another to the gods. By these proceeds every moving thing that exists between the father and the mother (*i.e.* between Dyaus and Prithivī, heaven and earth)."' 'I know none of all these things,' answered Svetaketu. 5. The king then invited him to stay. The youth, however, did not accept this invitation, but hastened away, and came to his father, to whom he said, 'Thou didst formerly declare me to be instructed.' 'How now (my) intelligent (son)?' asked his father. 'The Rājanya,' replied the son, 'asked me five questions, of which I know not even one.' 'What were the questions?' 'They were these,' and he told him the initial words of each of them. 6. The father then said, 'Be assured, my son, that I told thee all that I myself know. But come, let us proceed thither, and become (his) pupils.' 'Do thou thyself go,' rejoined the son. 7. Gaṇḍama accordingly arrived (at the abode) of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who caused a seat to be brought, and water and the madhuparka mess to be

²²⁷ The text of the Brih. Ār. Up. reads *kīrttyā uvāsa*.



presented: 8. and said, 'We offer thee a boon, 'Gautama.' Gautama replied, 'Thou hast promised me this boon: explain to me the questions which thou hast proposed to the youth.' 9. The king replied, 'That is one of the divine boons; ask one of those that are human.' 10. Gautama rejoined, 'Thou knowest that I have received gold, cows, horses, female slaves, attendants, raiment; be not illiberal towards us in respect to that which is immense, infinite, boundless.' 'This, o Gautama,' said the king, 'thou rightly desirest.' 'I approach thee (as thy) disciple,' answered Gautama. The men of old used to approach (their teachers) with words (merely). He (accordingly) attended him by merely intimating his intention to do so.²²⁵ 'Do not,' then said the king, 'attach any blame to me, as your ancestors (did not). This knowledge has never heretofore dwelt in any Brāhman; but I shall declare it to thee. For who should refuse thee when thou so speakest?'"

Chhândogya Upanishad, v. 3, 1. *Svetaketur ha Āruneyaḥ Panchālānām samitīm eyāya | taṁ ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha "kumāra anu tvā 'śishat pitā" iti | "anu hi bhagavaḥ" iti |* 2. *"Vettha yad ito 'dhi prajāḥ prayanti" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā punar āvartante" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha pathor deva-yānasya pitṛi-yānasya cha vyāvarttane" iti | "na bhagavaḥ" iti |* 3. *"Vettha yathā 'sau loko na sampūryyate" | "na bhagavaḥ" iti | "vettha yathā panchamyām āhutāv āpaḥ puruṣa-vachaso bhavanti" iti | "naiva bhagavaḥ" iti |* 4. *"Atha nu kim anuśiṣṭo 'vachathāḥ | yo hi imāni na vidyāt kathaṁ so 'nuśiṣṭo bravita" iti | sa ha āyastuḥ pitur arddham eyāya | taṁ ha uvācha "ananuśiṣhya vāva kila mā bhagavān abravīd 'anu tvā 'śisham'" iti |* 5. *"Pancha mā rājanyabandhuḥ praśnān aprākṣhīt teshāṁ na ekanchana aśakaṁ vivaktum" iti | sa ha uvācha "yathā mā tvam tadā etān avado yathā 'ham eṣhāṁ na ekanchana veda yady aham imān aveśiṣhyāṁ kathaṁ te na avakṣhyam" iti |* 6. *Sa ha Gautamo rājno 'rddham eyāya | tasmai ha prāptāya arhāṁ chakāra | sa ha prātaḥ sabhāgaḥ udeyāya | taṁ ha uvācha "mānushasya bhagavan Gautama vitasya varaṁ vṛinīthāḥ" iti | sa ha uvācha "tava eva rājan mānushaṁ vittaṁ | yāṁ eva kumārasya ante vācam abhāshathās tām eva me brūhi" iti |* 7. *Sa ha kṛichhrī babhūva | taṁ ha "chiraṁ vas" ity ājnāpayān-*

²²⁵ Or, "by merely intimating, not performing, the respectful mode of approach by touching his feet," according to the Commentator.

EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN

*chakāra | taṁ ha uvācha “yathā mā tvāṁ Gautama avado yathā iyaṁ
na prāk tvattāḥ purā brāhmaṇān gacchati tasmād u sarveshu lokeshu
kshattrasya eva praśāsanam abhūd” iti | tasmai ha uvācha |*

“1. Svetaketu Āruneya came to the assembly of the Panchālas. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali asked him, ‘Young man, has thy father instructed thee?’ ‘He has, sire,’ replied Svetaketu. 2. ‘Dost thou know,’ asked the king, ‘whither living creatures proceed when they go hence?’ (S.) ‘No, sire.’ (King) ‘Dost thou know how they return?’ (S.) ‘No, sire.’ (K.) ‘Dost thou know the divergences of the two paths whereof one leads to the gods, and the other to the pitris?’ (S.) ‘No, sire.’ 3. (K.) ‘Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled?’ (S.) ‘No, sire.’ (K.) ‘Dost thou know how at the fifth oblation the waters acquire human voices?’ (S.) ‘I do not, sire.’ 4. (K.) ‘And hast thou then said “I have been instructed?” for how can he who does not know these things allege that he has been so?’ The young man, mortified, went to his father, and said, ‘Thou didst tell me, I have instructed thee, when thou hadst not done so.’ 5. That Rājanya proposed to me five questions, of which I could not solve even one.’ The father replied, ‘As thou didst then say to me regarding these five questions, I know not one of them,—(so I ask thee whether) if I had known them, I would not have told them to thee?’ 6. Gautama went to the king, who received him with honour. In the morning, having received his share (of attention), he presented himself before the king, who said to him, ‘Ask, o reverend Gautama, a present of human riches.’ He replied, ‘To thee, o king, belongs wealth of that description. Declare to me the questions which thou proposedst to the youth.’ 7. The king was perplexed and desired him to make a long stay: and said to him, ‘As thou hast declared to me, o Gautama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brāhmans (who lived) before thee, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline inculcated by the Kshattriya class alone.’ He then declared it to him.”

SECT. XVI.—*Story of King Viśvantara and the Syāparṇa Brāhmans.*

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 27. *Viśvantaro ha Saushadmanaḥ Syāparṇān
parichakshāno viśyāpāraṁ yajnam ājahre | tad ha anubudhya Syāparṇās
taṁ yajnaṁ ājagmuḥ | te ha tad-antarvedy āsāṇchakrīre | tān ha dṛiṣṭvā*

uvācha “pāpasya vai ime karmanah karitārāh āsate apūtāyai vācho
vādītāro yach chhyāparṇāh imān utthāpayata ime me 'ntarvedim āsi-
shata” iti | “tathā” iti tām utthāpayānchakruḥ | te ha utthāpyamānāh
ruruviro “ye tebhya Bhūtavirebhyah Asitamrigāh Kāśyapānām soma-
pītham abhijigyuh Pārikshitasya Janamejayasya vikaśyape yajne tais te
tatra vīravantah āsuh | kaḥ svit so 'smāka asti vīro yah imām somapītham
abhijeshyati” iti | “ayam aham asmi vo vīrah” iti ha uvācha Rāmo Mār-
gaveyah | Rāmo ha āsa Mārgaveyo 'nūchānah Syāparṇīyah | teshām ha
utthiṣṭhatām uvācha “api nu rājann itthamvidān veder utthāpayanti”
iti | “yas tvaṁ katham vettha brahmabandho” iti | 28. “Yatra Indrām
devatāh paryavṛjjan Viśvarūpām Tvāshṭram abhyamañista Vrittram
astrita yatīn sālāvrikebhyah prādād Arurmaghān avadhīd Brīhaspateh
pratyavadhīd” iti | “tatra Indrah somapīthena vyārdhyata | Indrasya
anu vyridhīm kshattram somapīthena vyārdhyata | api Indrah somapīthe
'bhavat Tvāshṭur āmushya somam | tad vyridham eva adyāpi kshattram
somapīthena | sa yas tam bhakshām vidyād yah kshattrasya somapīthena
vyridhasya yena kshattram samridhyate katham tam veder utthāpayanti”
iti | “vettha brāhmaṇa tvaṁ tam bhaksham” | “veda hi” iti | “tam vai
no brāhmaṇa brūhi” iti | “tasmai vai te rājann” iti ha uvācha | 29.
Trayānām bhakshānām ekam āharishyanti somam vā dadhi vā apo vā |
sa yadi somam brāhmaṇānām sa bhakshah | brāhmaṇāns tena bhakshena
jinvishyasi | brāhmaṇa-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate ādāyī āpāyī āva-
sāyī yathā-kāma-prajāpyah | yadā vai kshattriya pāpam bhavati
brāhmaṇa-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād devītyo vā trītiyo
vā brāhmaṇatām abhyupaitoh sa brahmabandhavena jiyūshatah | atha
yadi dadhi vaiśyānām sa bhakshah | vaiśyāns tena bhakshena jinvishyasi |
vaiśya-kalpas te prajāyām ājanishyate 'nyasya bali-kṛid anyasya ādyo
yathā-kāma-jyeyah | yadā vai kshattriya pāpam bhavati vaiśya-kalpo
'sya prajāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād devītyo vā trītiyo vā vaiśyatām
abhyupaitoh sa vaiśyatayā jiyūshitah | atha yady apah śūdrānām sa
bhakshah | śūdrāns tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | śūdra-kalpas te prajā-
yām ājanishyate 'nyasya preshyah kāmottāpyo yathakāma-vadhyah |
yadā vai kshattriya pāpam bhavati śūdra-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate |
īśvaro ha asmād devītyo vā trītiyo vā śūdratām abhyupaitoh | sa śūdra-
tayā jiyūshitah | 30. Ele vai te trayo bhakshāh rājann” iti ha uvācha
“yeshām āsām na iyāt kshattriyo yajamānah esha asya esha svo 'bha-
kshah” ityādi |

"Visvantara, the son of Sushadman, setting aside the Syāparṇas, was performing a sacrifice without their aid. Hearing of this the Syāparṇas came to the ceremony, and sat down within the sacrificial enclosure. Observing them, the king said, 'Remove these Syāparṇas, doers of evil deeds, and speakers of impure language,²²⁹ who have sat down within my sacrificial enclosure.' Saying, 'So be it,' they removed them. When they were being removed, they exclaimed, 'The Kaśyapas found champions in the Asitamrigas who conquered for them from the Bhūtāvīras the soma-draught at the sacrifice which Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, was performing without their (the Kaśyapas') aid. Who is the champion who will conquer for us this soma-draught?' 'I am your champion,' cried Rāma Mārgaveya. This Rāma was a learned man, belonging to the Syāparṇa race. When the Syāparṇas were moving away, he said, 'Do they, o king, remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who possesses such knowledge [as I]?' 'How dost thou possess it, Brāhmaṇ?' asked the king. 28. (Rāma answered) "When the deities rejected Indra, who had killed Tvāṣṭra,²³⁰ prostrated Vṛittra, given over the Yatis to the wolves, slain the Aruṁmaghas, and contradicted Brihaspati, then he (Indra) forfeited the soma-draught. In consequence of his forfeiture, the Kshātra (Kshattriya) class lost it

²²⁹ Prof. Weber (Ind. St. i., 215) thinks the words "doers of evil deeds" appear to refer to some variety of ceremonial peculiar to the Syāparṇas, and the words "speakers of impure language" to a difference in their dialect; and he is inclined to derive the patronymic of Rāma, Mārgavēya, from the impure caste of Mārgavas mentioned in Manu, x. 34; by which supposition, he thinks, a ground would be discovered for the reproaches which Visvantara addresses to the Syāparṇa family. In reference to the story of Janamejaya, alluded to in this passage, Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i. 204): "The same work (the Aitareya Brahmana, vii., 27) makes mention of a dispute which this king had with the sacerdotal family of the Bhūtāvīras, a branch of the Kaśyapas; and which was adjusted by the intervention of the Asitamrigas, who belonged to the same race." A Syāparṇa is alluded to in S' P. Br. x., 4, 1, 10 (quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i., 215): *Etad ha sma vai tad vidvān Syāparṇaḥ Sāyakāyanaḥ āha "yad vai me idam karma samāpsyata mama eva prajā Salvānaḥ rājāno bhaviṣhyan mama brāhmaṇāḥ mama vaiśyāḥ | yat tu me etāvat karmaṇaḥ samāpi tena me ubhayathā Salvān prajā tīrekshyate" iti* | "Knowing this Sāyakāyana, the Syāparṇa, said, 'If this my rite had been completed, my offspring would have become the kings of the Salvās, mine their Brāhmins, mine their Vaiśyas. But as (only) so much of the rite has been completed, my offspring shall, in both respects, excel the Salvās.'" See also Ind. St. x. 18.

²³⁰ See Dr. Haug's note, p. 487, where he states why he cannot follow Sāyana in rendering *abhyamañsta* by "killed." Prof. Weber (Ind. St. ix. 326) defends Sāyana's interpretation.



also. (But Indra recovered a share in the soma-draught, having stolen Tvashtri's soma.) Hence at present also the Kshatriyas are excluded from the soma-draught. Why do they remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who knows that (other) draught which (properly belongs) to the Kshatriyas who are excluded from the soma-draught, and by which they are rendered prosperous?' 'Dost thou, o Brāhman, know that draught?' asked the king. 'I know it,' answered Rāma. 'Declare it then to us,' rejoined the prince. 'I declare it to thee, o king,' said the other. 29. 'Of the three draughts they shall bring one, either soma, or curds, or water. If he (the priest, bring) the soma, that is the draught of the Brāhmans, and with it thou shalt satisfy the Brāhmans. One like a Brāhman shall be born in thy line, a receiver of gifts, a drinker (of soma), a seeker of food,²³¹ a rover at will.' Whenever the offence (of drinking the Brāhman's draught)²³² is chargeable to a Kshatriya, one like a Brāhman is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Brāhman, and likes to live as a Brāhman. Next, if (the priest bring) curds, that is the Vaiśya's draught; with it thou shalt satisfy the Vaiśyas. One like a Vaiśya shall be born in thy line, one who is tributary to another, who is to be used (*lit.* eaten) by another, and who may be oppressed at will. Whenever the offence (of consuming the Vaiśya's portion) is chargeable to a Kshatriya, one like a Vaiśya is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Vaiśya, and is desirous of living as a Vaiśya. Next, if (the priest bring) water, that is the Sūdra's draught; with it thou shalt satisfy the Sūdras. One like a Sūdra shall be born in thy line, the servant of another, who may be expelled and slain at pleasure. When the offence (of drinking the Sūdra's draught) is chargeable against a Kshatriya, one like a Sūdra is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Sūdra, and desires to live like a Sūdra. 30. 'These, o king, are the three draughts, which the Kshatriya when sacrificing should not desire. His own proper draught is as follows: Let him squeeze the descending branches

²³¹ Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 326) would prefer to translate *āvasayī* (überall-) wohnend, "dwelling everywhere."

²³² Dr. Haug translates "when there is any fault on the Kshatriya (who, when sacrificing, eats the Brāhmana portion)," etc. See the beginning of par. 30 below.



of the nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree, with the fruits of the udumbara, the aśvattha, and the plaksha trees, and drink these juices. This is his own proper draught."

The continuation may be read in Dr. Haug's translation, pp. 486 ff. After the priest has given the king a deal of further information the result is told in par. 34, as follows:

Tam evam etam bhakṣam provācha Rāmo Mārgaveya Viśvantarāya Saushadmanāya | tasmin ha uvācha prokte "sahasram u ha brāhmaṇa tubhyaṁ dadmaḥ | saśyāparṇaḥ u me yajnaḥ" iti |

"This draught did Rāma Mārgaveya declare to Viśvantara the son of Sushadman. When it had been declared the king said, 'Brāhmaṇa, we give thee a thousand (cows): and my sacrifice (shall be performed) with (the aid of the) Syāparṇas.'"

SECT. XVII.—*Story of Matanga who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brāhmaṇa.*

The legend of Matanga, which is narrated in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 1872 ff., is introduced by a question which Yudhisṭhira addresses to Bhīṣma, verse 1867: *Kṣhattriyaḥ yadi vā vaiśyaḥ śūdra vā rājasattama | brāhmaṇyam prapṇuyād yena tad me vyākhyātum arhasi | tapasā vā sumahatā karmaṇā vā śruteṇa vā | brāhmaṇyaṁ atha ched ichhet tad me brūhi samāsataḥ | Bhīṣmaḥ uvācha | 1870. Brāhmaṇyaṁ tāta dushprāpyaṁ varṇaiḥ kṣattrādibhis tribhiḥ | paraṁ hi sarva-bhūtānāṁ sthānam etad Yudhisṭhira | bahvīs tu saṁsaran yonīr jāyamānaḥ punaḥ punaḥ | paryāye tāta kasmimśched brāhmaṇo nāma jāyate |* "Explain to me the means—whether it be intense austere-fervour, or ceremonies, or Vedic learning—whereby a Kṣhattriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra, if he desire it, can attain to the state of a Brāhmaṇa. Bhīṣma replies (1870), The state of a Brāhmaṇa is hard to be acquired by men of the other three classes, the Kṣhattriya, etc.; for this Brāhmaṇhood is the highest rank among all living creatures. It is only after passing through numerous wombs, and being born again and again, that such a man, in some revolution of being, becomes a Brāhmaṇa." Bhīṣma proceeds to illustrate this principle by the case of Matanga, who was apparently the son of a Brāhmaṇa, was distinguished for his good qualities, and was esteemed to be himself of the same class as his

father (verse 1873 : *dvijāteḥ kasyachit tāta tulya-varṇaḥ sutas tv abhāt | Matango nāma nāmnā vai survaiḥ samudito guṇaiḥ |*) He was, however, discovered to be of spurious birth in the following manner: He happened to be sent somewhere by his father to perform sacrifice, and was travelling in a car drawn by asses. On his way he repeatedly pierced on its nose with the goad the colt which was conveying him along with its mother. Feeling for the wound thus inflicted on her offspring, the she-ass said: "Be not distressed, my son, it is a Chāṇḍāla who is on the car. There is nothing dreadful in a Brāhman; he is declared to be kindly, a teacher who instructs all creatures: how then can he smite any one? This man of wicked disposition shows no pity to a tender colt, and thereby indicates his origin; for it is birth which determines the character" (verse 1876. *Uvācha mā śucaḥ puttra chāṇḍālas tv adhitishṭhati | brāhmaṇe dārūṇaṁ nāsti maitro brāhmaṇa uchyate | āchāryaḥ sarva-bhūtānāṁ śāstā kim praharishyati | ayaṁ tu pāpa-prakṛitir bāle na kurute dayāṁ | sva-yonim mānayaty eṣa bhāvo bhāvaṁ niyachhati |*). Overhearing this colloquy, Matanga instantly got down from the car and besought the she-ass, whom he honoured with the epithet of "most intelligent," to tell him how she knew him to be a Chāṇḍāla and how his mother had been corrupted. The she-ass informs him that his mother when intoxicated had received the embraces of a low-born barber, and that he was the offspring of this connection and consequently no Brāhman (verse 1882. *Brāhmanyāṁ vṛishalena tvam mat-tāyāṁ nāpitenā ha | jātas tvam asi chāṇḍālo brāhmanyāṁ tena te 'naṣat |*). On receiving this unwelcome revelation, Matanga returned home, and being questioned by his reputed father about the cause of his speedy reappearance, he told him what he had heard; and expressed his determination to enter on a course of austerities. He does so accordingly with such effect that he alarms the gods, and receives the offer of a boon from Indra. He asks for Brāhmanhood; but Indra tells him that he must perish if he continues to make that request, as the high position he seeks cannot be obtained by one born as a Chāṇḍāla (verse 1895). Matanga, however, continues his exercises for a hundred years, when Indra repeats his former determination, and supports it by reasons, explaining (1901 ff.) that a Chāṇḍāla can only become a Sūdra in a thousand births, a Sūdra a Vaiśya after a period thirty times as long, a Vaiśya a Rājanya after a period sixty times the length, a Rā-



janya a Brāhman after a period of sixty times the duration, and so on, a Brāhman only becoming a Kāṇḍapriṣṭha, a Kāṇḍapriṣṭha a Japa, a Japa a Srotriya, after immense intervals. Indra therefore advises Matanga to choose some other boon. But the devotee is still dissatisfied with the god's decision, and renews his austerities for a thousand years. At the end of that period he receives still the same answer, and the same advice. But though distressed he did not yet despair; but proceeded to balance himself on his great toe; which, although reduced to skin and bone, he succeeded in doing for a hundred years without falling. At length, when he was on the point of tumbling, Indra ran up and supported him; but continued inexorably to refuse his request; and though further importuned, would only consent to give him the power of moving about like a bird, and changing his shape at will, and of being honoured and renowned (verses 1934 ff.).

The assertion here made of the impossibility of a Kshattriya becoming a Brāhman until he has passed through a long series of births is of course in flagrant contradiction with the stories of Viśvāmitra, Vītahavya, and others.

Matanga (or a Matanga) is mentioned in a passage already quoted in p. 411 as a rājarshi who supported Viśvāmitra's family and for whom that sage sacrificed. He is also named in the Sabhā-parvan, verse 340, as sitting in Yama's assembly along with Agastya, Kāla, and Mrityu, etc., etc.; in the Vana-parvan, 8079, as a great rishi (*maharshi*); and in the Sānti-parvan, 10875, as one of certain sages who had acquired their position by austerities (see above, p. 132). His disciples, he himself, and his forest are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 73, 23, 29, 30.

SECT. XVIII.—*Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas.*

As Paraśurāma belonged to the race of the Bhṛigus, it may be advisable to premise some particulars regarding that family.

In his *Lexicon*, s.v., Professor Roth tells us that the Bhṛigus were a class of mythical beings, who, according to the Nirukta, xi. 19, belonged to the middle or aerial class of gods ("mādhyamiko deva-gaṇaḥ" *iti Nairuktāḥ*). They were the discoverers of fire and brought it to men



(R.V. x. 46, 2, etc.)²³³ He adds, however, that this race has also a connection with history, as one of the chief Brahmanical families bears this name, and allusions are made to this fact even in the hymns of the Rig-veda (vii. 18, 6; viii. 3, 9, 16; viii. 6, 18; viii. 91, 4). Bhrigu is also, as Prof. Roth observes, the name of a rishi representing a family, who is mentioned in Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1, as suffering injury at the hands of the Srinjayas (see above, p. 286). As regards his birth, it is said in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 34, that first the Sun, and then Bhrigu arose out of the seed which had issued from Prajāpati,²³⁴ that Bhrigu was adopted by Varuṇa, and was consequently called Vāruṇi, etc. (*Tasya yad retasaḥ prathamam udatipyata tad asāv ādityo 'bhavat | yad dvitīyam āsīt tad Bhrigur abhavat | taṁ Varuṇo nyagrihṇta | tas-māt sa Bhrigur Vāruṇiḥ*). He is accordingly called by this name in the S. P. Br. xi. 6, 1, 1, where he is said to have conceived himself to be superior in knowledge to his father Varuṇa (*Bhrigur ha vai Vāruṇir Varuṇam pitaram vidyayā 'timene*); and also in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (Bibl. Ind. p. 123 : *Bhrigur vai Vāruṇir Varuṇaṁ pitaram upa-sasāra*).²³⁵ The preceding story of Bhrigu's birth is developed and modified in the Anuśāsana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verse 4104 ff. : *Vaśiṣṭhaḥ uvācha | api chedam purā Rāma śrutam me Brahma-darśanam | Pitāmahasya yad vṛttam Brahmanah paramātmanah | devasya mahatas tāta Vāruṇim bibhratas tanum | aśvaryye vāruṇe Rāma Rudrasyeśasya vai prabhoḥ |* "Vaśiṣṭha said, 4104: I have also heard, o Rāma (*i.e.* Paraśurāma), of this vision of Brahmā, of that which occurred regarding Pitāmaha, Brahma, the supreme spirit, the great god (*i.e.* Mahādeva), Rudra, Īśa, the lord, assuming the body of Varuṇa, and invested with the dominion of Varuṇa." After this singular description of Mahādeva as identified with Brahmā, Brahma the supreme spirit, and Varuṇa, the speaker goes on to tell us that the munis, the gods headed by Agni, the embodied portions of the sacrifice, and the Vedas, etc., assembled on the occasion referred to, and then proceeds, verse 4112 : *Esha Brahmā Sivo Rudro Varuṇo 'gniḥ Prajā-patiḥ | kīrttyate bhagavān devaḥ sarva-bhūta-patiḥ śivaḥ | tasya yajnaḥ*

²³³ See my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Āryyan Indians" in Journ. R. A. S. for 1863, p. 415 f.; and above, pp. 168 and 170.

²³⁴ The commencement of the story, of which this is part of the sequel, is given above, p. 107 f.

²³⁵ See Ind. Stud. ii. 231, and Journ. of the German Or. Soc. ix. 240.

*Paśupates tapah kratava eva cha | dikshā dīpta-vratā devī diśās cha sa-
digīśvarāḥ | deva-patnyās cha kanyās cha devānām chaiva mātaraḥ |
ājagmuḥ sahitās tatra tadā Bhṛigu-kulodaha | 4115. Yajnam Paśu-
pateḥ prītāḥ Varunasya mahātmanah | Svayambhuvas tu tāḥ drishṭvā
retāḥ samapatad bhuvi | tasya sukraśya viśyandāt pūmśūn sangrihya
bhūmitaḥ | prāśyat Pūshā karābhyām vai tasminn eva hutāsane | tatas
tasmīn sampravṛitte sattre jvalita-pāvake | Brahmano juhvasas tatra
prādurbhāvo babhūva ha | skanna-mātraṁ cha tach chhukram śruveṇa
parigrihya sah | ājya-vaḍ mantrataś chāpi so 'juhod Bhṛigu-nandana |
tatas tu janayāmāsa bhūta-grāmaṁ cha vīryyavān | . . . 4121. Sukre
hute 'gnau tasmīns tu prādurāsaṁ trayāḥ prabho | puruṣāḥ vapuṣhā
yuktāḥ svaiḥ svaiḥ prasava-jair-guṇaiḥ | "bhṛig" ity eva Bhṛiguḥ pūr-
vam angārebhyo 'ngirā 'bhavat | angāra-saṁśrayāch chaivo Kavir ity
āparo 'bhavat | saha jvalābhir utpanno Bhṛigus tasmād Bhṛiguḥ smṛitah |
. . . 4140. "Varuṇas cheśvaro deva labhatām kāmam īpsitam" | nisar-
gād Brahmanas chāpi Varuṇo yādasāmpatiḥ | jagrāha vai Bhṛigum pūr-
vam apatyāṁ sūrya-varchasam | Īsvaro 'ngirasāṁ chāgner apatyārtham
akalpayat | Pitāmahas tv apatyāṁ vai Kaviṁ jagrāha tattva-ait | tadā
sa Varuṇaḥ khyāto Bhṛiguḥ prasava-karma-kṛit | Āgneyas tv Angirāḥ
śrīmān Kavir Brāhmo mahāyasaḥ | Bhārgavāngirasau loke loka-san-
tāna-lakṣhanau | ete hi prasavāḥ sarve prajānām patayas trayāḥ |
sarvam santānam eteṣhām idam ity upadhāraya | Bhṛigos tu putrāḥ
saptāsan sarve tulyāḥ Bhṛigor guṇatḥ | Chyavanō Vajrasirśas cha
Suchir Aurvas tathaiva cha | Sukro Varenyaś cha Vibhuḥ Savanas
cheti sapta te | Bhārgavāḥ Varuṇāḥ sarve yeshām vaṁso bhavān api |
"4112. This adorable and gracious god, lord of all creatures, is known
as Brahmā, Siva, Rudra, Varuṇa, Agni, Prajūpati. This Paśupati (had)
a sacrifice.²³⁶ Austere-fervour, Oblations, Consecration, (Dikshā) that
goddess with brilliant rites, the Points of the compass, their regents,
the wives, daughters and mothers of the gods came all together with
joy (4115) to this sacrifice of Paśupati the great Varuṇa. When Sva-
yambhū (Brahmā) saw these goddesses his seed fell to the ground.
Pūshan in consequence collected the particles of dust which were thus
moistened, and threw them into the fire. When the sacrifice with its
blazing fires had begun, there was seen an apparition of Brahmā offering
an oblation. Collecting with the sacrificial ladle that which had fallen,*

236 Such seems to be the construction of this line.



he cast it, like butter, with sacred texts, into the fire. And thence the powerful god generated all beings. . . . 4121. When the seed had been cast into the fire, there arose three men endowed with bodies, and with their own respective qualities derived from their generation. Bhṛigu sprang first from *bhṛik* (the blazing of the fire), Angiras from the cinders, and Kavi²³⁷ from a heap of cinders. Bhṛigu was so named because he was produced together with flames." The god, called Mahādeva, Varuṇa, and Pavana, claimed these three men as his own, and the fruit of his sacrifice (verse 4133 f.). Agni and Brahmā also claimed them (4135 f.). The other gods, however, entreated Brahmā to accede to the wishes of Agni and Varuṇa: "4140. 'And let Varuṇa, the lord, the god, also receive the object of his desire.' By the gift of Brahmā, Varuṇa, lord of sea-monsters, first received for his offspring Bhṛigu brilliant as the sun. And Īśvara (Mahādeva) appointed Angiras to be Agni's son. And Pitāmaha, who knows the reality of things took Kavi as his offspring. Then Bhṛigu, the progenitor of creatures, was named the son of Varuṇa, Angiras the son of Agni, and the glorious Kavi the son of Brahmā. The Bhārgava and the Āngirasa are distinguished in the world as the propagators of mankind. For all these three lords of creatures were propagators. Know the whole of this world to be their offspring. Bhṛigu had seven sons, all equal to their father in good qualities, Ōyavana, Vajraśirsha, Suchi, Aurva, Sukra, Varenya, Vibhu, and Savana. These were all Bhārgavas, and Vāruṇas, to whose race you (Paraśurāma) yourself also belong."

In another passage of the M. Bh. Ādip. 869, it is similarly said: *Bhṛigur maharshir bhagavān Brahmanā vai Svayambhuvā | Varuṇasya kratau jātāḥ pāvakād iti naḥ śrutam |* "We have heard that the great and venerable rishi Bhṛigu was produced by Brahmā from fire at the sacrifice of Varuṇa."

The Nirukta, iii. 17, has the following etymology of Bhṛigu: *Archishī Bhṛiguh sambabhūva | Bhṛigur bhṛijyamāno na dehe |* "Bhṛigu was produced in the flame; though roasted, he was not consumed."

The Taitt. Br. i. 8, 2, 5, has a different account: *Indrasya sushuvānasya tredhā indryaṁ vīryam parāpatat | Bhṛigus tritīyam abhavat |*

²³⁷ In the M. Bh. Ādip. v. 2606, Kavi is said to be Bhṛigu's son (*Bhṛigoh puttrah Kavir vidvān Sukrah*). On the other hand he, or another person of the same name, is said in the Anuśasana-p. 4150, to be, along with Kavi, a son of Kavi.

"While Indra was continuing to pour out Soma, his manly vigour fell in three portions. The third became Bhrigu."

Bhrigu is declared in the Vishnu P. (see above, p. 65) to have been one of the nine Brahmās, mental sons of Brahmā. The Bhāg. P. iii. 12, 23, says he sprang from the skin of the creator (*Bhrigus tvachi*). The M. Bh. Ādip. 2605, on the contrary declares: *Brahmano hridayam bhit-tvā nissrito bhagavān Bhriguḥ* | "The venerable Bhrigu, having split Brahmā's heart, issued forth" (Weber, Ind. St. ii. 231). So, too, the Vāyu P. i. 9, 100: *Bhrigus tu hridayāj jajne rishiḥ Salilajanmanaḥ* | "Bhrigu was produced from the heart of the Water-born (Brahmā);" and adds, verse 103: *Ity ete mānasāḥ puttrāḥ vijneyāḥ Brahmanaḥ sutaḥ* | *Bhrigu-ādayas tu ye śriṣṭāḥ navaito brahma-vādinaḥ* | 104. *Gṛhamedhinaḥ purāṇas dharmaś taiḥ prāk pravarttitaḥ* | "These were the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Bhrigu, and the others, nine in all, who were created, were declarers of sacred knowledge and ancient householders; by them was duty of old established." Manu mentions Bhrigu (i. 35, see above, p. 36) as one of his own ten sons. He also speaks of him (i. 59, 60, above, p. 38) as commissioned by himself (Manu) to promulgate his code. In Manu, v. 1. however, the sage is said to have sprung from fire (*idam ūchur mahātmānam anala-prabhavam Bhrigum*). As, however, he had been previously declared to be one of Manu's ten sons, and is so called also in the third verse of book v. and the second of book vii., where he is styled *Mānavo Bhriguḥ*, Kullūka thinks it necessary to explain this other alleged descent from fire by saying that that had been the sage's origin in a previous mundane era (*Kalpa*): *Yadyapi prathamādhyāye daśa-prajāpati-mādhye "Bhriguḥ Nāradaḥ eva cha" iti Bhrigu-śriṣṭir api Manutaḥ eva uktā tathāpi kalpa-bhedena agni-prabhavatvam uchyate | tathā cha śrutiḥ "tasya yad retasaḥ prathamam dīpyate tad asāv ādityo bhavat | yad dvītiyam āsīd Bhrigur" iti | ataḥ eva bhrashtād retasaḥ utpannatvād Bhriguḥ* | "Though the creation of Bhrigu, as one of the ten Prajāpātis, is declared, in the 35th verse of the first book, to have proceeded from Manu, still he is here said to have been produced from fire, from the difference in the manner of his birth in the different Kalpas. And so the Veda says (in the passage quoted above from the Ait. Br.). Hence he is called Bhrigu, because he sprang from the seed which fell (*bhrashtāt*).²³⁵

²³⁵ See Prof. Wilson's note, Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. i. p. 100 ff., in the course of



Professor Roth (Lit. and History of the Veda, p. 135) says: "The Bhrigus are one of the most important Vedic families, to which Jamadagni, Chyavana, Aurva, Apnavāna, and other rishis are assigned. Many conjectures might be formed in connection with the part which these several Bhrigus play in the later legends; but it seems to me unsafe to draw any conclusions till we are in possession of the intermediate links, and especially till we have learnt more precisely from the Vedic hymns themselves the relations of these families to each other. Nevertheless I will remark that Sunahśepa, the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, is, according to the Purāṇas, a Bhrigu; and consequently the Bhrigus appear in intimate connection with the enemy of Vasishṭha; and further, that Sagara, who was reared by the Bhrigu Aurva, is restrained by Vasishṭha in his war of extermination against the Sakas and other barbarous tribes. His enemies, when hard pressed, had resorted to Vasishṭha as an intercessor." (See above, p. 337, and Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. iii. p. 291.)

The story of Paraśurāma and the Kshattriya is briefly mentioned in the second section of the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 272-280), where the events referred to are said to have occurred in the interval between the Tretā and Dvāpara ages (*Tretā-dvāparayor sandhau Rāmaḥ śāstra-bhritāṃ varāḥ | asakṛit pāṛthivāṃ kshatṛāṃ jaghānāmarsha-choditāḥ | sa sarvāṃ kshatṛam utsādyā sa-vīryeṇānala-dyutiḥ |*). The history is more fully told in other parts of the Mahābhārata. In the 178th-180th sections of the Ādiparvan there is a legend in which no mention is made of Paraśurāma, or the slaughter of the Kshattriya; but in which we have the following particulars: Paraśara was son of Saktri, and grandson of Vaśishṭha, as we have seen above, p. 417. When he heard of the way in which his father had met his death, he determined to execute a general slaughter of all creatures (v. 6800);²³⁹ but his grandfather restrained him by narrating the history of the

which he says, "The Vāyu has also another account of their (the Prajāpatis) origin, and states them to have sprung from the fires of a sacrifice offered by Brahmā; an allegorical mode of expressing their probable original—considering them to be in some degree real persons—from the Brahmanical ritual, of which they were the first institutors and observers."

²³⁹ Reference is made in the commencement of the Vishṇu Purāṇa to the same circumstance (Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 7 ff.). Paraśara is the narrator of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (ibid. p. 11).



Bhrigus and Kshattriyas, as follows: [There was a king named Kṛitavīrya, by whose liberality the Bhrigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money (verse 6802. *Yājño veda-vidāṃ loke Bhrigūṇāṃ pārthivarsha-bhaḥ | sa tān agra-bhujas tāta dhānyena cha dhanena cha | somānte tarpayāmāsa vipulena viśāmpate |*). After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhrigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Brāhmins, being afraid of the Kshattriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshattriya, while digging the ground, discovered some money buried in the house of a Bhrigu. The Kshattriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and, being incensed, slew in consequence all the Bhrigus, whom they regarded with contempt, down to the children in the womb (verse 6809. *Avamānya tataḥ krodhād Bhrigūṃs tān śaranāgatān | nijaghnūḥ parameshtvāsāḥ sarvāṃs tān niśitaiḥ śaraiḥ | ā-garbhād avakṛintantaś cheruḥ sarvāṃ vasundharām |*). The widows, however, fled to the Himālaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshattriyas, hearing of its existence from a Brāhmaṇī informant, sought to kill it; but it issued forth from its mother's thigh with lustre, and blinded the persecutors. After wandering about bewildered among the mountains for a time, they humbly supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedāṅgas, had entered (verse 6823. *Shad-angas chākhilo vedaḥ imāṃ garbhastham eva ha | viveśa Bhrigu-vaṃśasya bhūyaḥ priya-chikīrshayā |*), as the person who (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives) had robbed them of their eyesight, and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhrigus, and entered on a course of austerities which alarmed both gods, asuras, and men; but his progenitors (Pitṛis) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshattriyas: 6834. *Nā-nisair hi tadā tāta Bhrigubhir bhāvitātmanabhiḥ | badho hy upēkshitāḥ sarvaiḥ kshattriyāṇāṃ vihiṃsatām | āyushā viprakṛiṣṭena yadā naḥ*



*kheda āviśat | tadā 'smābhir badhas tāta kshattriyaṃ īpsitaḥ svayam |
nikhātān yach cha vai vittaṃ kenachid Bhrigu-veśmani | vairāyaiva tadā
nyastān kshattriyaṃ kopayishnubhiḥ | kim hi vittaṃ naḥ kāryaṃ svar-
gepsūnām devijottama | 6841. Mā badhiḥ kshattriyaṃ tāta na
lokān sapta puttraka | dūshayantaṃ tapas-tejaḥ krodham utpatitaṃ jahi |*
“6834. It was not from weakness that the devout Bhrigu overlooked
the massacre perpetrated by the murderous Kshattriya. When we
became distressed by old age, we ourselves desired to be slaughtered by
them. The money which was buried by some one in a Bhrigu's house
was placed there for the purpose of exciting hatred, by those who
wished to provoke the Kshattriya. For what had we, who were
desiring heaven, to do with money?” They add that they hit upon
this device because they did not wish to be guilty of suicide, and con-
cluded by calling upon Aurva to restrain his wrath; and abstain from
the sin he was meditating, verse 6841: “Destroy not the Kshattriya,
o son, nor the seven worlds. Suppress thy kindled anger which nullifies
the power of austere-fervour.” Aurva, however, replies that he cannot
allow his threat to remain unexecuted. His anger, unless wreaked
upon some other object, will, he says, consume himself. And he argues
on grounds of justice, expediency, and duty, against the clemency which
his progenitors recommend. He is, however, persuaded by the Pitṛis
to throw the fire of his anger into the sea, where they say it will find
exercise in assailing the watery element, and in this way his threat
will be fulfilled.] “It accordingly became the great Hayaśira, known
to those who are acquainted with the Veda, which vomits forth that
fire and drinks up the waters” (*Mahad Hayaśiro bhūtvā yat tad veda-
vido viduḥ | tam agnim udgirad vaktrāt pibaty āpo mahodadhau*). It is
worthy of remark that in a legend, one object of which, at least, would
seem to be to hold up to abhorrence the impiety of the Kshattriya in
oppressing the Brāhman, we should thus find a palliation of the con-
duct of the oppressors, coming from the other world. But here the
principle of the nothingness of mundane existence asserts itself; and
the final superiority of the Brāhman is vindicated, while their magna-
nimity is exemplified.

The next version of this legend, which I shall quote, is that given
in the 115th–117th sections of the Vanaparvan. Arjuna, son of Kṛiṭa-
vīrya, and king of the Haihāyas, had, we are told, a thousand arms.

He obtained from Dattātreyā an aerial car of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, Yākshas, rishis, and oppressed all creatures (10137. *Ayāhatā-gatīś chaiva rathas tasya mahāt-manah | rathena tena tu tadā vara-dānena vīryyavān | mamardā devān yakshāmś cha rishimś chaiva samantatah | bhūtāmś chaiva sa sarvāmś tu pīdayāmāsa sarvatah |*). The gods and rishis applied to Viṣṇu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. At this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kānyakubja, called Gādhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatī. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Rīchika, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in nearly the same way as above narrated in page 350. [Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Paraśurāma. By his father's command he kills his mother (who, by the indulgence of impure desire, had fallen from her previous sanctity), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Paraśurama's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason; and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder; and obtains the boon of invincibility and long life from his father. His history now begins to be connected with that of king Arjuna (or Kārtavīrya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received by his wife; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Paraśurāma was filled with indignation, attacked Arjuna, cut off his thousand arms, and slew him. Arjuna's sons, in return, slew the peaceful sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Paraśurāma. The narrative thus proceeds:

10201. *Dadāha pitarāṃ chāgnau Rāmaḥ para-puranjayah | pratijajne badhaṃ chāpi sarva-kshattrasya Bhārata | sa kruddho 'tibalaḥ sankhye śastraṃ ādāya vīryyavān | jaghnivān Kārttavīryyasya sūtān eko 'ntak-opamaḥ | Teshāṃ chānugatāḥ ye cha kshattriyāḥ kshattriyarshabha | tāṃś cha sarvān avāmṛidhnād Rāmaḥ praharatāṃ varah | trissapta-kṛiteaḥ prithivīm kṛtvā nīkshattriyām prabhuh | samantapanchake pancha chakāra raudhirān hradān | 10205. Sa teshu tarpayāmāsa Bhṛīgūn Bhṛigu-kulodvahaḥ | sākshād dadarśa charchikāṃ sa cha Rāmaṃ*



*nyavedayat | tato yajnena mahatā Jāmadagnyaḥ pratāpavān | tarpayā-
māsa devendram ritvigbhyah pradadan mahīm | vedīm chāpy adadād hai-
mīm Kāśyapāya mahātmane | daśa-vyāmāyatīm kṛtvā navotsedhām
viśūmpate | tām Kāśyapasyānumater brāhmaṇāḥ khaṇḍasas tadā | rya-
bhajāms te tadā rājan prakhyātāḥ Khāṇḍavāyanāḥ | sa pradāya mahīm
tasmai Kāśyapāya mahātmane | asmin mahendre śailendre vasaty amita-
vikramah | evaṁ vairam abhūt tasya kshattriyaḥ loka-vāsibhiḥ | prithivī
chāpi vijitā Rāmaṇāmīta-tejasā |*

“Rāma, after performing, on his return, his father's funeral obsequies, vowed to destroy the whole Kshattriya race; and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers. Twenty-one times did he sweep away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; (10,205) in which he satiated the manes of the Bhṛigus, and beheld face to face (his grand-father) Rīchika, who addressed himself to Rāma. The latter gratified Indra by offering to him a grand sacrifice, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar, ten fathoms long and nine high, on the mighty Kāśyapa. This, by his permission, the Brāhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khāṇḍavāyanas. Having given away the earth to Kāśyapa, Paraśu-rāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahendra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshattriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might.”

The means by which the Kshattriya race was restored are described in the following passage from the Ādiparvan, verses 2459 ff. :

*Trissapta-kṛtvah prithivīm kṛtvā nihkshattriyaṁ purā | Jāmad-
agnyaś tapas tepe Mahendre parvatottame | 2460. Tadā nihkshattriya
loke Bhārgaveṇa kṛte sati | brāhmaṇān kshattriyaḥ rājan sūtārthīṇyo
'bhichakramuḥ | tābhiḥ saha samāpetur brāhmaṇāḥ śamsita-vratāḥ | rītā-
v rītā nara-vyūḥ na kāmād nānṛitau tathā | tebhyas cha lebhire garb-
haṁ kshattriyaś taḥ sahasraśah | tataḥ sushuvire rājan kshattriyaṁ
vīryavattarān | kumāraṁś cha kumārīś cha punaḥ kshattrābhivṛd-
dhyaye | evaṁ tad brāhmaṇāḥ kshattram kshattriyaśu tapasvibhiḥ |
jātaṁ vṛiddhaṁ cha dharmena sudirghenāyushānvitam | chatvāro 'pi tato
carnāḥ bābhūvur brāhmaṇottarāḥ |*

[“2459. Having one and twenty times swept away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, the son of Jamadagni engaged in austerities on

Mahendra the most excellent of mountains. 2460. After he had cleared the world of Kshattriyas, their widows came to the Brāhmanas, praying for offspring. The religious Brāhmanas, free from any impulse of lust, cohabited at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brāhmanas on Kshattriya women, and became multiplied and long-lived. Thence there arose four castes inferior to the Brāhmanas."

This restoration of the Kshattriyas and their rule is said to have been followed by a state of great virtue, happiness, and prosperity. As one exemplification of the religious perfection which prevailed, it is said that "the Brāhmanas did not sell their sacred lore, nor recite the Vedas in the vicinity of Sūdras" (verse 2474. *Na cha vikrīṇate brahma brāhmaṇās cha tadā nṛipa | na cha śūdra-samābhyāse vedān uchchārayanty uta* |).

Another version of this legend is given in the Śāntiparvan, section 49. The birth of Jamadagni as the son of Richika and Satyavati is related very much as in the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see above, p. 349 f.); but Richika tells his wife that the whole of her father's race shall become Brāhmanical (verse 1741. *Brahma-bhūtaṁ hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet*); and of Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, we are told that he "had the character of a Brāhman, and was possessed of all Brahmanical qualities" (1745. *Viśvāmitraṁ cha dāyādāṁ Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanah | gam prāpa brahma-samitaṁ viśvair brahma-guṇair yutam* |). Jamadagni was father of the dreadful Paraśurāma, "who became perfect in science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshattriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahādeva he obtained, among other weapons, the irresistible axe (*paraśu*)" (1747. *Sarva-vidyānta-gaṁ śreṣṭhāṁ dhanur-vedasya pāragam | Rāmaṁ kshattriya-hantāram pra-dīptam iva pāvakam | toshayitvā Mahādevam parvate Gandhamādane | astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśum chātitejasam* |), from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, king of the Haihayas, is here also represented as having a thousand arms, but in opposition to the previous account he is described as a "dutiful and religious monarch, who at an *asvamedha* (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Brāhmanas the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered by his

arms and weapons" (verse 1751. *Chakravartti mahātejā viprāṇām āśva-medhike | dadau sa prithivīm sarvām sapta-dvīpām sa-parvatām | svabāhu-asthra-balenājau jīvā parama-dharma-vit |*). He had, however, at the solicitation of Agni permitted that voracious deity to consume his towns, villages, forests, etc.; and as the hermitage of Āpava (Vasishṭha) had been destroyed in the conflagration, Arjuna was doomed by the sage's curse to have his arms cut off by Paraśurāma. The story proceeds:

Verse 1769. *Arjunaś tu mahātejā bali nityam samātmekah | brahmanyas cha śaranyas datā śuras cha Bhārata |* 1760. *Nāchintayat tadā śāpam tena dattam mahātmanā | tasya putrās tu balinah śāpenāsaur pitur badhe | nimittād avaliptāḥ vai nṛśaṁsās chaiva sarvadā | Jama-dagni-dhenvās te vatsam āminyur Bharatarshabha | ajnātam Kārtta-vīryena Haihayendrena dhīmatā | tannimittam abhūd yuddham Jāmadagner mahātmanah | tato 'rjunasya bāhuṁś tām chhittvā Rāmo rushā 'nvitah |* 1766. *Tataḥ pitri-badhāmarshād Rāmaḥ parama-manyumān | nihkshattriyām pratiśrutya mahīm śāstram agrīhṇata | tataḥ sa Bhṛigu-śārdūlāḥ Kārttavīryasya vīryavān | vikramya vijaghānāśu puttrān paut-trāṁś cha sarvasāḥ | sa Haihaya-sahasrāṇi hatvā parama-manyumān | chakāra Bhārgavo rājan mahīm śonita-kardamām | sa tathā "śu mahātejāḥ kṛtvā nihkshattriyām mahīm |* 1770. *Kṛipayā parayā "viśto vanam eva jagāma ha | tato varsha-sahasreshu samatīteshu keshuchit | kshepam samapṛāptavāṁś tatra prakṛityā kopanaḥ prabhuḥ | Viśvāmitrasya pauttras tu Raiḍhya-puttro mahātōpāḥ | Parāvasur mahārāja kshiptāḥ (kshiptvā "ha?) jana-saṁsadi | "ye te Yayāti-patane yujne santah samāgatāḥ | Pratarddana-prabhṛitayo Rāma kiṁ kshattriyāḥ na te | mithyā-pratijño Rāma tvam katthase jana-saṁsadi | bhayāt kshattriya-vīrāṇām parvatām samupāśritāḥ | sū punaḥ kshattriya-śataiḥ prithivī sarvatas tritā" |* 1775. *Parāvasor vachah śrutvā śāstram jagrāha Bhārgavaḥ | tato ye Kshattriyāḥ rājan śataśas tena varjjitāḥ | te vividdhāḥ mahāvīryyāḥ prithivī-patayo 'bhavan | sa punas tām jaghānāśu bālān api narādhipa | garbhasthais tu mahi vyāptā punar evābhavat tadā | jātaṁ jātaṁ sa garbham tu punar eva jaghāna ha | arakshaṁś tu sūtān kāmśchit tadā kshattriya-yoshitāḥ | trissapta-kṛitvāḥ prithivīm kṛtvā nihkshattriyām prabhuḥ | dakṣiṇām āśvamedhānte Kaśyapāyādādāt tadā | sa kshattriyāṇām śeshārthaṁ karenoddīśya Kaśyapaḥ |* 1780. *Sruk-pragrahavatā rājāṁś tato vākyam athābravit | "gachha tīram sapṭadṛasya dakṣiṇasya mahāmune | na te mad-vishaye Rāma vastavyam iha karhicit" | tataḥ*

*Sūrpārakaṁ deśaṁ sūgaras tasya nirmame | sahasā Jāmadagnyasya so
'parānta-mahitalam | Kāsyapas tām mahārāja pratigrihya vasundharām |
kṛtvā brāhmaṇa-saṁsthām vai pravishṭaḥ sumahāvanam | tataḥ śūdrās
cha vaiśyās cha yathā - svaira - prachāriṇaḥ | avarttanta dvijāgryānām
dāreshu Bharatarshabha | arājake jīva-loke durbalāḥ balavattaraiḥ |
1785. Pīdyante na hi vitteshu prabhutvaṁ kasyachit tadā | tataḥ kālena
prithivī pīdyamānā durātmabhiḥ | viparyayaṇa tenāsu praviveśa rasāta-
lam | arakshyamānā vidhivat kshattriyair dharmarakhshibhiḥ | tān
drishṭvā dravātīm tatra santrāsāt sa mahāmanuḥ | ūruṇā dhārayāmāsa
Kāsyapaḥ prithivīm tataḥ | dhṛitā tenoruna yena tenorvīti mahī smṛitā |
rakshanārthaṁ samuddiśya yayāche prithivī tadā | prasādyā Kāsyapaḥ
devī varayāmāsa bhūmipam | prithivy uvācha | 1790. "Santi brahman
mayā guptāḥ strīṣu kshattriya-pungavāḥ | Haihayānām kule jātās te
saṁrakshantu mām mune | asti Paurava-dāyādo Vidūratha-sutaḥ prabho |
ṛikshaiḥ saṁvardhito vipra ṛikshavaty aṭha parvate | tathā 'nukampa-
mānena yajnaṁ 'py amitaṁ yajā | Parāsureṇa dāyādāḥ Saudāsasyā-
bhīrakṣitāḥ | sarva-karmāṇi kurute śūdra-vat tasya sa dvijaḥ | Sarva-
karmaty abhikhyātāḥ sa mām rakshatu pāṛthivaḥ | . . . 1799. Ete
kshattriya-dāyādās tatra tatra pariśritāḥ | dyokāra-hema-kārādi-jātibhiḥ
nityam samāśritāḥ | 1800. Yadi mām abhirakshanti tadā sthāsyāmi
niśchalā | eteshām pitaras chaiva tathaiva cha pitāmahāḥ | mad-arthaṁ
nihatāḥ yuddhe Rāmeṇāklīṣṭa-karmaṇā | teshām apachītiś chaiva mayā
kāryyā mahāmune | na hy ahaṁ kāmāye nityam atikrāntena rakṣaṇam |
varttamānena vartteyaṁ tat kṣhipraṁ saṁvidhiyātām" | tataḥ prithivyā
nirdiśṭāṁs tān samāniya Kāsyapaḥ | abhyashinchad mahīpālān kshat-
triyān vīrya-sammātān |*

"Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of an arrogant and barbarous disposition, became the cause of its resulting in his death. Without their father's knowledge they took away Jamadagni's calf; and in consequence Parāsurāma attacked Arjuna and cut off his arms." His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. 1766. Parāsurāma incensed at the slaughter of his father, having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshattriyas from the earth, seized his weapons; and slaying all the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud. 1770. Having thus cleared the earth of



Kshattriyas, he became penetrated by deep compassion and retired to the forest. After some thousands of years had elapsed, the hero, naturally irascible, was taunted by Parāvasu, the son of Raibhya and grandson of Viśvāmitra, in a public assembly in these words: 'Are not these virtuous men, Pratardana and the others, who are assembled at the sacrifice in the city of Yayāti,—are they not Kshattriyas? Thou hast failed to execute thy threat, and vainly boastest in the assembly. Thou hast withdrawn to the mountain from fear of those valiant Kshattriyas, while the earth has again become overrun by hundreds of their race.' Hearing these words, Rāma seized his weapons. The hundreds of Kshattriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These, however, Paraśurāma now slew with their children, and all the numerous infants then unborn as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, Rāma gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kaśyapa at the conclusion of an aśvamedha. 1780. Making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, Kaśyapa, in order that the remaining Kshattriyas should be spared, said to Paraśurāma, 'Go, great muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not dwell in my territory.' Śāgara (the ocean) created for him a country called Sūrpāraka on the remotest verge of the earth. Having received dominion over the earth, Kaśyapa made it an abode of Brāhmanas, and himself withdrew to the forest. Sūdras and Vaiśyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Brāhmanas; and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak (1785) were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of any property. The Earth, being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, and unprotected according to rule by the Kshattriyas, the guardians of justice, descended to the lower regions. Perceiving her moving from place to place in terror, Kaśyapa upheld her with his thigh (*ūru*). From this circumstance she derives her name of *urvī*.²⁴⁰ The goddess Earth then propitiated Kaśyapa, and supplicated him for protection, and for a king. 'I have,' she said, 'preserved among females many Kshattriyas who have been born in the race of the Haihayas; let them be my protectors. There is the heir of the Pauravas, the son of Vidūratha, who has been brought up by bears

²⁴⁰ *Urvī* really means "the broad," signifying the same as *prithivī*.

on the mountain Rikshavat: let him protect me. So, too, the heir of Saudāsa has been preserved by the tender-hearted and glorious priest, Parāśara, who has performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices (*sarvakarmāṇi*) for him, like a Sūdra;—whence the prince's name Sarvakarman." After enumerating other kings who had been rescued, the Earth proceeds: "All these Kshattriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places, abiding continually among the classes of dyokāras and goldsmiths. If they protect me, I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Rāma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [such as Kaśyapa]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler. Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Kaśyapa then sent for these Kshattriyas who had been pointed out by the Earth, and installed them in the kingly office."

This reference to the bestowal of the Earth upon Kaśyapa is founded on an older story which occurs both in the Aitareya and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇas. The passage in the first-named work is as follows, viii. 21. *Etena ha vai Aindreṇa mahābhishokeṇa Kaśyapo Viśvakarmānam Bhauvanam abhishishocha | tasmād u Viśvākarmā Bhauvanah samantān sarvataḥ prithivīm jayan parīyāya āsvena cha madhyena ije | bhūmir ha jagāv ity udāharanti* "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mām didāsitha | nimankshye 'haṁ salilasya madhye moghas te esha Kaśyapāyāsa sangarah" iti | "With this great inauguration like that of Indra did Kaśyapa consecrate Viśvakarman Bhauvana, who in consequence went round the Earth in all directions, conquering it; and offered an aśvamedha sacrifice. They relate that the Earth then recited this verse:

"Me may no mortal give away; but thou, oh king, dost so essay;
Deep will I plunge beneath the main; thy pledge to Kaśyapa is vain."

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 7, 1. 15, says: *Tam ha Kaśyapo yā-jayānchakāra | tad api bhūmiḥ slokaṁ jagau* "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dātum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mandah āsitha | upamankshyati syā salilasya madhye mṛishaisha te sangarah Kaśyapāya" iti | "Kaśyapa officiated for him at this sacrifice. Wherefore also the Earth recited this verse: 'No mortal may give me away. Viśvakarman, son of



Bhauvana, thou wast foolish (in offering to do so). She will sink into the midst of the waters. Thy promise to Kaśyapa is vain.'"²⁴¹

The story is also related in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in a similar way. I note the chief points and variations. When Gādhi's daughter was demanded in marriage by the rishi Richika, the king considered that the suitor was not a fit husband for a daughter of his noble race; and said, "Give me a thousand horses white as the moon, each with one black ear, as a marriage gift for the maiden; for we are Kuśikas" (ix. 15, 5. *Varaṁ viśadrīṣam matvā Gādhir Bhārgavam abravīt | 6. Ekataḥ śyāma-karṇānām hayānām chandra-varchasām | sahasraṁ dīyatām ſulkaṁ kanyāyāḥ Kuśikāḥ vayam |*). The youngest offspring of their union was, we are told, "Paraśurāma, who is declared to have been a portion of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛiṣṇa),"²⁴² and who exterminated the Haihaya race. Thrice seven times he swept away from this earth all the Kshattriyas, that depraved and impious race, full of passion and darkness, with which she was burthened. He destroyed them, though the offence which they had committed was but insignificant (v. 14. *Yam āhur Vāsudevāṁśam Haihayānām kulāntakam | triśaptakṛitvo yāḥ imāṁ chakre nīḥkshattriyāṁ mahīm | dūṣṭāṁ kshattram bhuvo bhāram abrahmanyam anīnaśat | rajas-tamo-eritam ahaṁ phalgūny api kṛite 'mhasi |*). King Arjuna, who had been endowed with miraculous powers, took Rāvana prisoner, then released him, and afterwards carried away by force Jamadagni's cow and calf. Paraśurāma, in revenge, after a terrible battle, and the defeat of the king's army, cut off Arjuna's arms and head, and recovered the cow and calf. When his father was informed of the king's death, he said to Paraśurāma: "Rāma, Rāma, thou hast committed sin, in that thou hast causelessly slain the lord of men, who is composed of all the deities."²⁴³ It is by longsuffering that we, the Brāhmans, have acquired respect; the same means whereby the deity, the instructor of all worlds, attained the highest rank of godhead. By

²⁴¹ It will be observed that there are some varieties of reading in the verse, as given in the two Brāhmaṇas. *Manda āsitha* in the S. P. Br. looks like a corruption of the *mām didāsitha* of the Aitareya. The story of Arjuna, Paraśurāma, and the Kshattriyas is briefly told again in the Āśvamedhika-parvan, but without any new circumstances of particular interest.

²⁴² See above, p. 350, and note 146. None of the passages I have quoted from the Mahābhārata allude to Paraśurāma being an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

²⁴³ Compare the passages quoted above in p. 300 from the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, and from Manu.

patience the fortune of Brahmā shines like the splendour of the Sun. Hari, the lord, is speedily pleased with those who are patient. The murder of a king who has been formally inaugurated is worse than that of a Brāhman. Go and expiate thy sin by visiting holy places, with thy mind intent upon Achyuta (Vishnu)" (ix. 15, 38. *Rāma Rāma mahābhāga bhavān pāpam akārushit*²⁴⁴ | *abadhīd nara-devaṃ yat sarva-devamayāṃ vrithā* | *vayaṃ hi brāhmaṇās tāta kshamayā 'rhanatām gatāḥ* | *yayā loka-gurur devaḥ pārameshṭhyam ayāt padam* | *kshamayā rochate lakshmīr Brāhmī saurī yathā prabhā* | *kshamiṇām āsu bhagavāns tushyate Harir īśvaraḥ* | *rājno mārḍhābhishiktasya badho brahma-badhād guruḥ* | *tīrtha-saṃsevayā chāmho jaly angāchyuta-chetanah* |). On his return from this pilgrimage Rāma was desired by his father to kill his mother (on grounds similar to those stated in the account quoted above, p. 450, from the Mahābhārata), as well as his brothers, and executed the order; but at his intercession they were all restored to life. During his absence in the forest, his father Jamadagni was slain, and his head cut off, notwithstanding the entreaties of his wife, by the sons of Arjuna, in revenge for the loss of their own father. Paraśurāma, hearing his mother's outcries, hastened back to the hermitage, and laying hold of his axe, proceeded to avenge this outrage: ix. 16, 17. *Gatvā Māhishmatīm Rāmo brahma-gṇa-vihata-śriyam* | *teshām sa śirshabhiḥ rājan madhye chakre mahāgirim* | 18. *Tad-raktena nadīm ghorām abrahmanya-bhayāvahām* | *hetuṃ kṛtvā pitṛi-badhaṃ kshattre 'mangala-kāriṇi* | . . . 20. *Pituh kāyena sandhāya śirah ādāya barhishi* | *sarva-devamayāṃ devam ātmānam ayajad makhaiḥ* | 21. *Dadau prāchīm diśam hotre brahmane dakṣiṇām diśam* | *adhvaryave pratichīm vai udgātre uttarām diśam* | 22. *Anyebhyo 'vāntara-diśaḥ Kāśyapāya cha madhyataḥ* | *āryāvarttam upadrashtre sadasyebhyas tataḥ param* | 23. *Tataś chāvabhṛitha-snāna-vidhātāśesha-kilviśaḥ* | *Sarasvatyām brahma-nadyām reje vyabhṛaḥ ivāṃśumān* | . . . 26. *Āste 'dyāpi Mahendrādrav nyastadandāḥ prasāntadhīḥ* | *upagīyamāna-charitāḥ siddha-gandharva-chāraṇaiḥ* | 27. *Evam Bhṛiguṣhu viśvātmā bhagavān Harir īśvaraḥ* | *avatīrya param bhāram bhuvō 'han bahuśo nṛipān* | "17. He went to the city of Māhishmatī, which had been robbed of its glory by those Brāhman-slayers, and raised in the midst of it a great mountain composed of their heads. With their blood he formed a dreadful river, which struck

²⁴⁴ So in the Bombay edition. Burnouf's text has the usual form *akārshīt*.



fear into the impious; justifying his action against the oppressive Kshattriyas by their murder of his father. . . . 20. He then united his father's head to his body, laying it on the sacred grass; and offered a sacrifice to the divine Spirit, who is formed of all the deities. On this occasion he gave the eastern region of the earth to the hotri priest, the south to the brahman, the west to the adhvaryu, and the north to the udgātri. To others he gave the intermediate regions (south-east, south-west, etc.), to Kaśyapa the central; on the upadrashṭri he bestowed Āryāvartta, and on the Sadasyas what was beyond. Having then cleansed all his impurity by the avabhṛitha ablution in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahmā, he shone like the sun unobscured by clouds. . . . 26. Having laid aside his weapons, he sits to this day in tranquillity of mind on the mountain Mahendra, whilst his exploits are celebrated by the Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Chāranas. Thus did the universal Spirit, the divine lord, Hari, become incarnate in the Bhṛigus, and destroy numerous kings who were a burden to the earth." It is singular that sin requiring expiation should be, as it is in this narrative, imputed to Paraśurāma, while he is at the same time declared to have been a portion of Viṣṇu, the supreme Spirit.

The story of Paraśurāma is also told in the Dronaparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 2427 ff., after those of many other kings and warriors, to illustrate the truth that death must sooner or later overtake even the most pious and distinguished personages. The earlier incidents are briefly narrated; but some of the details, as the slaughter of the Kshattriyas, are dwelt on at greater length than in the other accounts. Some of the victims of the hero's vengeance are described as "haters of Brāhmins" (*brahma-dvishām*, verse 2431). The Kshattriyas who were slain are described as of various provinces, viz. Kāśmīras, Daradas, Kuntis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas, Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Raksho-vāhas, Vītihoṭras, Trigarttas, Mārttikāvatas, Śivis, and other Rājanyas (*Śivīm anyāṃś cha rājanyān*, verse 2437). At verse 2443 the narrative proceeds: *Nirdasyum prithivīm kṛtvā śiṣṭeṣṭa-jana-sankulām | Kaśyapāya dadau Rāmo haya-medhe mahāmakhe | trisapta-vārān prithivīm kṛtvā nihkshattriyām prabhuḥ | iṣṭvā kratu-śatair viro brāhmaṇe-bhyo hy amanyata | sapta-dvīpām vasumatim Mārīcho 'grihṇata dvijāḥ | Rāmam provācha "nirgachha vasudhāto māmājnayā | sa Kaśyapasya*

*vachanāt protsārya saritāmpatim | ishupātair yudhām śreshṭhaḥ kurvan
brāhmaṇa-sāsanam | adhyāvasad giri-śreshṭham Mahendram parvato-
ttamam |* “2443. Having freed the earth from Dasyus (or robbers), and
filled her with respectable and desirable inhabitants, he gave her to
Kāśyapa at an aśvamedha. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth
of Kshattriyas, and offered hundreds of sacrifices, he destined the earth
for the Brāhmans. The Brāhman, the son of Marichi (*i.e.* Kāśyapa),
received the earth, and then said to Rāma, ‘Depart out of her by my
command.’ Having repelled the ocean by his arrows, and established
the rule of the Brāhmans, Rāma dwelt on the mountain Mahendra.”

The Anuśāsanaparvan of the same poem has another “ancient story”
about Paraśurāma, which, like the preceding passage from the Bhāga-
vata Purāṇa, adverts to the pollution incurred by that warrior from his
numerous deeds of blood. It begins as follows: verse 3960. *Jāmad-
agnyena Rāmeṇa tīvra-roshānvitena vai | trissapta-kṛtvāḥ pṛthivī kṛtā
nīlākṣattriyā purā | tato jītvā mahīm kṛtsnām Rāmo rājīva-lochanah |
ājāhāra kratuṁ vīro brahma-kṣattreṇa pūjitam | vāji-medham mahārāja
sarva-kāma-samanvitam | pāvanaṁ sarva-bhūtānām tejo-āyuti-vivardha-
nam | vipāpmā sa cha tejasvī tena kratu-phalena cha | naivātmano 'tha
laghutām Jāmadagnyo 'dhyagachhata | sa tu kratu-vareṇeshṭvā mahātmā
dakṣiṇāvataḥ |* 3965. *Papracchāgama-sampannān rishīn devānś cha
Bhārgavaḥ |* “*pāvanaṁ yat param nṛinām ugre karmanī varttatām |
tad uchyatām mahābhāgāḥ*” *iti jāta-gṛiṇo 'bravīt | ity uktāḥ veda-
sāstra-jñās tam ūchus te maharshayaḥ |* “*Rāma viprah saktkriyantām
veda-prāmānya-darśanāt | bhūyaścha viprarshi-gaṇāḥ praśṭavyāḥ pāva-
nam prati | te yad brūyur mahāprājñās tach chaiva samudāchare |*
“3960. Rāma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared
the world of Kshattriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed
the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which
confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, and augments
power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did
not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but after offering the most
excellent of sacrifices, at which presents were bestowed, he (3965) en-
quired of the rishis skilled in the scriptures, and of the gods, what was
that which most perfectly cleansed those men who had committed
deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The
rishis skilled in the Vedas and Sāstras replied, ‘Let the Brāhmans be



the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires; let the Brāhman-rishis be further consulted in regard to the means of lustration; and do whatever these wise men may enjoin.” Paraśurāma accordingly consulted Vaśishṭha, Agastya, and Kaśyapa. They replied that a sinner was cleansed by bestowing cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great. “Those who bestow it, bestow the gods,” a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: “for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni” (verse 3987. *Devatās te prayachhanti ye suvarṇam dadaty atha | Agnir hi devatāḥ sarvāḥ suvarṇam cha tadātmakam*). In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vaśishṭha tells a very long story, which he had heard Prajāpati relate, how it was born by the goddess Gangā to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was thus the son of that god. “Thus was gold born the offspring of Jātavedas (Agni). That which is produced in Jambūnada is the best, and a fit ornament even for the gods. It is called the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajāpati” (verse 4099. *Evaṁ suvarṇam utpannam apatyam Jātavedasah | tatra Jambūnadam śreṣṭham devānam api bhūṣaṇam | 4001. Ratnānam uttamaṁ ratnam bhūṣaṇānam tathottamam | pavitraṁ cha pavitrānam maṅgalānam cha maṅgalam | yat suvarṇam sa bhagavān Agnir īśaḥ prajāpatiḥ |*). It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brāhman, to be assured that the gold which they bestow has such a high mystical, as well as current, exchangeable value. “Paraśurāma,” the story concludes, “after being thus addressed by Vaśishṭha, gave gold to the Brāhmans, and was freed from sin” (verse 4183. *Ity uktah sa Vaśishṭhena Jāmadagnyah pratāpavān | dadau suvarṇam viprebhyo vyamuchyata cha kilviṣhāt*).

It is interesting to remark how the different distinctive principles of Indian religion and sentiment severally assert themselves in turn, and thus, occasionally, come into conflict with each other, as in the story of Paraśurāma. The primary object of this legend is no doubt to illustrate the vengeance which inevitably overtakes all those who violate the sacredness of the Brāhmanical prerogative, and the meritorious character of those who act as its defenders. No sooner, however, is this end ac-