

complished, and the impious foes of the priesthood swept away again and again from the face of the earth, than a revulsion of feeling takes place, and the higher principles of the sacredness of life, and of the blessedness of mercy, come forward to claim recognition; and a deep sense of the pollution of bloodshed calls aloud for atonement. In the Bhāgavata, as we have seen, Jamadagni imputes it as a crime to the avenger of the Brāhman that he had slain a king; and even goes the length of declaring that in doing so he had incurred greater guilt than if he had murdered a Brāhman.

In the same book of the Mahābhārata, verses 7163 ff., an extravagant description is given of the prerogatives and powers of the Brāhman; and Arjuna is again brought forward, in verses 7187 ff., as at first scouting their pretensions, but as ultimately conceding their unapproachable superiority: "The magnificent and mighty Kārtavīrya (Arjuna), possessing a thousand arms, was lord of this whole world, living in Māhishmatī. This Haihaya of unquestioned valour ruled over the whole sea-girt earth, with its oceans and continents" (verse 7187. *Sahasra-bhuja-bhṛit śrīmān Kārtavīryo 'bhavat prabhuḥ | asya lokasya sarvasya Māhishmatyām mahābalaḥ | sa tu ratnā-karavatīm sadvipām sāgarāmbaram | śasāsa prithivīm sarvām Haihayāḥ satya-vikramah*). He obtained boons from the muni Dattātreyā, a thousand arms whenever he should go into battle, power to make the conquest of the whole earth, a disposition to rule it with justice, and the promise of instruction from the virtuous in the event of his going astray. 7196. *Tataḥ sa ratham āsthāya jvalanārka-samadyutim | abravīt vīryyasammohāt "ko nū asti sadriṣo mama | dhairyye vīryye yaśaḥ-śaurye vikramenaṁjasa 'pi vā" | tad-vākyaṁte 'ntarikṣhe vai vāg uvāchāsarīrīnī | "na tvam mūḍha vijānīṣhe brāhmaṇaṁ kṣhattriyaḥ varam | sahito brāhmaṇeneha kṣhattriyaḥ śāsti vai prajāḥ" | Arjuna uvācha | kuryām bhūtāni tuṣṭo 'haṁ kruddho nāśaṁ tatkā naye | karmaṇā manasā vāchā na matto 'sti varo devajāḥ | 7200. Pūrvo brahmottaro vādo dvitīyāḥ kṣhattriyaḥ | trayaktau hetu-yuktau tau viśeṣaḥ tatra dṛīyate | brāhmaṇāḥ saṁśritāḥ kṣhattraṁ na kṣhattraṁ brāhmaṇāśritam | śritāḥ brahmopadhāḥ viprahā khādanti kṣhattriyaṁ bhuvi | kṣhattriyeṣu āśrito dharmāḥ prajānāṁ paripālanaḥ | kṣhattrād vṛttir brāhmaṇānāṁ taiḥ katham brāhmaṇo varah | sarva-bhū-pradhānāṁ tān bhāikṣa-vṛttin ahaṁ sadā | ātma-sambhāvitūn vipraṇ*

*sthāpayāmy ātmano vaśe | kathitaṁ hy anayā satyaṁ gāyatrīyā kanyayā
 divi | vijeshyāmy avasān sarvān brāhmaṇāṁś chaṛma-vāsasaḥ | 7205. Na
 cha māṁ chāvayed rāshtrāt trishu lokeshu kaśchana | devo vā mānuṣho
 vā 'pi tasmāj jyeshtho dvijād aham | atha brahmottaraṁ lokāṁ karishye
 kshattriyottaram | na hi me saṁyuge kaśchit soḍhum utsahate balam |
 Arjunasya vaccha śrutevā vitrastā 'bhūd nīśācharī | athainam antariksha-
 sthas tato Vāyur abhāshata | "tyajainam kaluṣam bhāvam brāhmaṇe-
 bhyo namaskuru | eteshāṁ kurvataḥ pāpāṁ rāshtra-kshobho bhaviṣyati |
 atha vā tvāṁ mahīpāla śamayishyanti vai dvijāḥ | nirasishyanti te rāsh-
 trād hatotsāham mahābalāḥ" | 7210. Taṁ rājā "kaś tvam" ity āha
 tatas tam prāha Mārutaḥ | "Vāyur vai deva-dūto 'smi hitaṁ tvāṁ pra-
 bravīmy aham" | Arjunaḥ uvācha | "aho tvayā 'dya vipresū bhakti-
 rāgaḥ pradarsitaḥ | yādriṣam prithivī-bhūtaṁ tādriṣam brūhi vai
 dvijam | vāyor vā sadriṣam kinchid brūhi tvam dvāhmaṇottamam | apāṁ
 vai sadriṣo vahnīḥ sūryasya nabhaso 'pi vā |* [Then ascending his
 chariot glorious as the resplendent sun, he exclaimed in the intoxication
 of his prowess, 'Who is like me in fortitude, courage, fame, heroism,
 energy, and vigour?' At the end of this speech a bodiless voice in the
 sky addressed him: 'Thou knowest not, o fool, that a Brāhman is
 better than a Kshattriya. It is with the help of the Brāhman that
 the Kshattriya rules his subjects.' Arjuna answers: 'If I am pleased,
 I can create, or, if displeased, annihilate, living beings; and no Brāh-
 man is superior to me in act, thought, or word. The first proposition
 is that the Brāhman is superior; the second that the Kshattriyas are
 superior; both of these thou hast stated with their grounds, but there
 is a difference between them (in point of force). The Brāhman is
 dependant on the Kshattriyas, and not the Kshattriyas on the
 Brāhman; and the Kshattriyas are eaten up by the Brāhman,
 who wait upon them, and only make the Vedas a pretence. Justice,
 the protection of the people, has its seat in the Kshattriyas. From
 them the Brāhman derives their livelihood: how then can the
 latter be superior? I always keep in subjection to myself those
 Brāhman, the chief of all beings, who subsist on alms, and who
 have a high opinion of themselves. For truth was spoken by
 that female the Gāyatrī in the sky. I shall subdue all those
 unruly Brāhman clad in hides. 7200. No one in the three worlds,
 god or man, can hurl me from my royal authority; wherefore I am



superior to any Brāhman.] Now shall I turn the world in which Brāhman have the upper hand into a place where Kshattriyas shall have the upper hand: for no one dares to encounter my force in battle.' Hearing this speech of Arjuna, the female roving in the night became alarmed. Then Vāyu, hovering in the air, said to Arjuna: 'Abandon this sinful disposition, and do obeisance to the Brāhman. If thou shalt do them wrong, thy kingdom shall be convulsed. They will subdue thee: those powerful men will humble thee, and expel thee from thy country.' The king asks him, 'Who art thou?' Vāyu replies, 'I am Vāyu, the messenger of the gods, and tell thee what is for thy benefit.' Arjuna rejoins, 'Oh, thou displayest to-day a great warmth of devotion to the Brāhman. But say that a Brāhman is like (any other) earth-born creature. Or say that this most excellent Brāhman is something like the wind. But fire is like the waters, or the sun, or the sky.'²⁴⁵ Vāyu, however, goes on to answer this spirited banter by adducing various instances in which the superiority or terrible power of the Brāhman had been manifested: 7124. *Tyaktvā mahitvam bhūmis tu sparddhayā 'nga-nripasya ha | nāsaṁ jagāma tāṁ vipro vyashtambhayata Kāśyapaḥ* | "The earth, being offended with king Anga, had abandoned her form and become destroyed: but the Brāhman Kāśyapa supported her." This is afterwards told more at length, verse 7232: *Imām bhūmīm devjātibhyo dīsur vai dakṣiṇām purā | Ango nāma nripo rājāṁs tatas chintām mahi yayau | "dhūraṇīm sarva-bhūtānām ayam prāpya varo nripaḥ | katham ichhati mām dātuṁ devjēbhyo Brahmanah sūtām | sū'haṁ tyaktvā gamishyāmi bhūmitram Brahmanah padam | ayaṁ sa-rāshṭro nripatir mā bhūd "* iti tato 'gamat | 7235. *Tatas tām Kāśyapo drishṭvā vrajantīm prithivīm tadā | praviveśa mahīm sadyo muktā "tmānaṁ samāhitaḥ | riddhā sū sarvato jājne trinaushadhi-samanvitā | 7238. Athāgamya mahārāja nāmaskṛitya cha Kāśyapam | prithivī Kāśyapī jājne sūtā tasya mahātmanah | esha rājann īdriśo vai brāhmanah Kāśyapo 'bhavat | anyam prabrūhi vā tvam cha Kāśyapāt kshattriyāṁ varam |* "King Anga wished to bestow this earth on the Brāhman as a sacrificial fee. The earth then reflected, 'How does this excellent king, after having obtained me, the daughter of Brahmā, and the supporter of all creatures, desire to give

²⁴⁵ The drift of the last line is not very clear, unless it be a reply by anticipation to line 225, which will be found a little further on.



me to the Brāhmans? I shall abandon my earthly form, and depart to the world of Brahmā. Let this king be without any realm.' Accordingly she departed. 7235. Beholding her going away, Kaśyapa, sunk in contemplation, entered into her, leaving his own body. She then became replenished, and covered with grass and plants, etc., etc. . . . 7238. She afterwards came and did obeisance to Kaśyapa, and became his daughter. Such was the Brāhman Kaśyapa: Declare, on your part, any Kshattriya who has been superior to him."

Further illustrations of the tremendous power of the Brāhmans are the following :

7215. *Apibat tejasa hy āpah svayam evāngirāḥ purā | sa tāḥ piban kṣhīram iva nātripiyate mahāmanāḥ | apūrayad mahaughena mahīm sarvām cha pārthiva | tasminn ahaṁ cha krudhe vai jagat tyaktvā tato gataḥ | vyatishṭham agnihotre cha chiram Angiraso bhayāt | atha saptaś cha bhagavān Gautamena Purandaraḥ | Ahalyām kāmayaṇo vai dharmaṁrtham cha na hiṁsitaḥ | yathā samudro nripate pūrṇo mṛishṭas cha vārinā | brāhmaṇair abhisaptaḥ san babhūva lavanodakāḥ | . . . 7223. Dandakānām mahad rājyam brāhmaṇena vināsitam | Tālajangham mahākshatram Aurvenaikena nāsitam | . . . 7225. Agniṁ tvam yajase nityam kaemād brāhmaṇam Arjuna | sa hi sarvasya lokasya havya-vāṭ kiṁ na vatsi tam | . . . 7241. Bhadrā Somasya duhitā rūpeṇa paramā matā | yasyās tulyam patiṁ Somah Utathyāṁ samapaśyata | sā cha tīraṇ tapas tepe mahābhāgā yasasvinī | Utathyārthe tu chārvāngi paramaṁ niyamam āsthitā | tataḥ āhūya sotathyāṁ dadāu Atir yasasvinīm | bhāryyārthe sa tu jāgrāha vidhivad bhūri-dakṣiṇāḥ | tām tv akāmayata śrīmān Varuṇaḥ pūrvam eva ha | sa chāgamya vanaprasthām Yamunāyām jahūra tām | 7245. Jaleśvaras tu hṛitvā tām anyat svapuram prati | paramādbhuta-sankāśam shat-sahasra-śataṁ hradam | na hi ramyatarāṁ kinchit tasmād anyat purottamam | prāsādair apsarobhis cha divyair kāmair cha śobhitam | tatra devas tayā sārddham reme rājan jaleśvaraḥ | athakhyātam Utathyāya tataḥ patny-avamarddanam | tach chhṛutvā Nāradaḥ sarvam Utathyo Nāradaṁ tadā | provācha "guckha brūhi tvam Varuṇam parushaṁ vachaḥ | madvākyād muncha me bhāryyam kasmāt tām hṛitavān asi | lokapālo 'si lokānām na lokasya vilumpakaḥ | Somena dattā me bhāryyā tvayā chāpahṛitā 'dya vai" | . . . 7251. Iti śrutvā vachas tasya talus tam Varuṇo 'bravīt | "mamaishā supriyā bhīrur nainām utsrashtum utsahe" | ity ukto Varuṇo'ṇṇtha Nā-*

*radah prāpya vai munim | Utathyam abravīd vākyaṁ nātihrishta-manāḥ
iva | "gale grihātva kshipto 'smi Varuṇena mahāmune | na prayachhati
te bhāryyāṁ yat te kāryyaṁ kurushvā tat" | Nāradasya vachah śrutevā
kruddhah prājvalad Angirāḥ | 7255. Apibat tejasa vāri vishtabhya sa
mahātapāḥ | piyamāne tu sarvasmiṁs toyē vai salileśvaraḥ | suhṛdibhiḥ
kshobhyamāno vai naivāmunchata tām tadā | tataḥ kruddho 'bravīd bhā-
mim Utathyo brāhmaṇottamāḥ | darsayasva chhalam bhadre shaṭ-sahasra-
śataṁ hradam | tatas tad īriṇaṁ jātāṁ samudras chāvasarpitah | tasmād
deśān nadiṁ chaiva provāchāsau dvijottamāḥ | "adriśyā gachha bhīru
tvāṁ Sarasvatī marūn prati | apunyaḥ esha bhavatu deśas tyaktas toyā
śubhe" | tasmin saṁśoshite deśe Bhadrām ādāya vāripaḥ | 7260. Adadāt
śaraṇaṁ gatvā bhāryyāṁ Āngirasāya vai | pratigrihya tu tām bhāryyāṁ
Utathyah sumanā 'bhavat | mumocha cha jagad duḥkhaḍ Varuṇaṁ chaiva
Haihaya | 7262. Mamaishā tapasā prāptā krośatas te jalādhipa |
7263. esha rājann idṛśo vai Utathyo brāhmaṇottamāḥ | bravīmy
aham brūhi vā tvam Utathyāt kshattriyaṁ varam |*

"Angiras, too, himself formerly drank up the waters by his own might. Drinking them up like milk he was not satisfied: and filled the whole earth with a great flood. When he was thus wroth, I abandoned the world and departed, and dwelt for a long time in the agnihotra. The divine Purandara (Indra), who had a passion for Ahalyā, was cursed by (her husband) Gautama; but, from motives of religion, he was not injured.²⁴⁶ The sea, which is filled and purified by water, being cursed by the Brāhmans, became salt." 7223. The great king-

²⁴⁶ See above pp. 121 and 310; and also pp. 107-113. In this same Anuśāsana Parva, verses 2262 ff., there is found another story (told to illustrate the frailty of the female sex) of Indra being enamoured of Ruchi, the wife of the rishi Devaśarman, and of the method which that sage's disciple, Vipula, (to whose care his preceptor's wife had been entrusted during her husband's absence,) devised to preserve his charge from being corrupted by the licentious immortal who was in the habit of assuming manifold Protean disguises in order to carry out his unworthy designs, and to save the female from being "licked up by the king of the gods, as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the sacrifice" (*Yathā Ruchiṁ nāvālihed devendro Bhṛigu-sattama | kratāv upahīte nyastaṁ haviḥ śveva durātmanā*), a respectful comparison, truly, to be applied to the chief of the Indian pantheon! The plan which Vipula adopted to save the virtue of his master's wife against her will was to take possession of her body with his own spirit, and to restrain her movements by the force of Yoga, and compel her to say the contrary of what she desired. The story ends by his re-entering his own body, reproaching Indra with his disgraceful behaviour, and compelling him to retire abashed.



dom of the Dandakas was overthrown by a Brāhman; and the great Kshattriya family of the Tāla-janghas was destroyed by Aurva alone. 7225. And why dost thou, o Arjuna, worship Agni (who is) a Brāhman? for knowest thou not that he bears the oblations of the whole world?" The story of Utathya, of the race of Angiras, is afterwards told: "7241. Bhadrā was the daughter of Soma, and considered to be a person of great beauty. Soma regarded Utathya as a fitting husband for her. She practised severe austerities in order to gain him. Atri (the father of Soma, according to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Wilson, 1st ed. p. 392) then sent for Utathya, and gave her to him, and he married her in due form, presenting large gifts. 7245. The god Varuṇa, however, who had formerly been enamoured of her, came and carried her off from the abode of the hermit, who was living on the banks of the Yamunā, and took her to his own city, to a very wonderful lake of six hundred thousand (yojanas). No city was more delightful than that, adorned as it was by palaces and apsarases, and rich in celestial objects of enjoyment. There the god enjoyed her society. His wife's dishonour being made known to Utathya by Nārada, he requested the latter to go and deliver a severe message to Varuṇa: 'I command thee to let my wife go, who was given to me by Soma; wherefore hast thou carried her away? Thou art a guardian of the world, not a robber.' . . . 7251. Varuṇa answered, 'She is my beloved; I cannot bear to give her up.' Nārada, in no very gratified humour, reported this answer to Utathya, and said, 'Varuṇa took me by the throat, and cast me out. He will not give up thy wife. Take whatever measures thou esteemest proper.' Utathya was greatly incensed (7255), and stopped up and drank all the sea. Still Varuṇa, though urged by his friends, would not give up the female. Utathya then desired the earth to try some other stratagem; and the lake above described was turned into a salt wilderness, and the ocean swept away. The saint then addressed himself to the countries and to the river: 'Sarasvatī, disappear into the deserts; and let this land, deserted by thee, become impure.' After the country had become dried up, Varuṇa submitted himself to Utathya, and brought back Bhadrā. The sage was pleased to get his wife, and released both the world and Varuṇa from their sufferings. . . . He said to the latter (7262) 'This, my wife, was gained by my austerities in spite of thy remonstrances.' 7263. . . . Such, o king, I say, was

the Brāhman Utathya; tell me of any Kshattriya superior to him.'"

A story is next told (verses 7265 ff.) of the gods being conquered by the Asuras or Dānavas, deprived of all oblations, and stripped of their dignity, and of their coming to earth, where they saw the sage Agastya, and applied to him for protection. The succour they implored was granted to them by the sage, who scorched the Dānavas, expelled them from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south. Thus were the gods reinstated in their dominion.

We have then, verses 7280-7290, the following legend of Vāsishṭha: The Ādityas were performing a sacrifice, bearing Vāsishṭha in their remembrance, when they were attacked by the Dānavas, called Khalins, who came in tens of thousands to slay them:

Verse 7284. *Tatas tair arāditāḥ devāḥ śaraṇaṁ Vāsavaṁ yayuḥ | sa
 cha tair vyathitāḥ Sakro Vāsishṭhaṁ śaraṇaṁ yayau | tato 'bhayaṁ
 dadau tebhyo Vāsishṭho bhagavān rishih | tadā tān duḥkhitān jñātvā
 ānṛiṣaṁsya-paro munih | ayatnenādahat sarvān Khalināḥ svena tejasā |*
 7289. *Evam sendrāḥ Vāsishṭhena rakshitās tridivaukasah |
 Brahma-datta-varās chaiva hatāḥ daityāḥ mahātmanā | etat karma
 Vāsishṭhasya kathitaṁ hi mayā 'nagha | bravīmy aham brūhi vā tvam
 Vāsishṭhāt kshattriyaṁ varam |*

"The gods being distressed by them, resorted to Indra; and he too, being harassed by them, went to Vāsishṭha for help. This reverend and benevolent sage gave them all his protection; and being aware of their distress, without any exertion, burnt up all the Dānavas 7289. Thus were the gods, including Indra, preserved by Vāsishṭha, and the Daityas, even although they had obtained a boon from Brahmā, were slain. Such was the exploit of Vāsishṭha: can you tell me of any Kshattriya who was superior to him?"

A further tale is told of the prowess of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods and restore light to the celestial luminaries:

Verse 7292. *Ghore tamasy ayudhyanta sahitaḥ deva-dānavāḥ | avidhyata
 sarais tatra Svarbhānuḥ Soma-bhāskarau | atha te tamasā grastāḥ viha-
 nyante sma dānavaiḥ | devāḥ nṛipati-śārdūla sahaiva Balibhis tadā |
 asurair badhyamānās te kṣīṇa-prāṇāḥ divaukasah | apaśyanta tapasyan-
 tam Atriṁ vipraṁ tapodhanam | 7297. Te 'bruvāṁs "chandramāḥ
 bhava | timira-ghnās cha savitā dasyu-hantā cha no bhava" | evam uktas
 tadā 'trir vai tamo-nud aṇavat śaśi | apaśyat saumya-bhāvāḥ cha soma-*

*vat-priya-darśanaḥ | drishtvā nātiprabhaṁ somaṁ tathā sūryaṁ cha pār-
thiva | prakāśam akarot Atris tapasā svena saṁyuge | 7300. Jagad
vitimirāṁ chāpi prakāśam akarot tadā | vyajayat śatru-saṁghāṁś cha
devānāṁ svena tejasā | . . . 7303. Devjēnāgni-dvītiyena japatā charma-
vāsasā | phala-bhakṣheṇa rājarshe paśya karmātrīṇā kritam | . . .
7304. . . . brāhi vā tvam Atritaḥ kshattriyaṁ varam |*

"The gods and Dānavas fought together in dreadful darkness; when Svarbhānu pierced with his arrows the sun and moon. Enveloped in gloom the gods were slaughtered by the Dānavas, together with the Balis. Being thus slain and exhausted, the celestials beheld the Brāhman Atri employed in austerities;" and invoked his aid in their extremity. He asked what he should do. They reply, verse 2297: "'Become the moon, and the gloom-dispelling sun, the slayer of the Dasyus.' Atri then became the gloom-dispelling moon, and in his character as such looked beautiful as Soma. Perceiving the sun and moon to be shorn of their brightness, Atri threw light upon the conflict, (7300) freed the world from darkness, by the power of his austere-fervour, and vanquished the enemies of the gods. . . . 7303. Behold the deed done by Atri, the Brāhman, attended by Agni, the mutterer of prayers, clad in a skin, and living upon fruits. . . . 7304. 'Tell me of any Kshattriya superior to Atri.'"

This story is founded on some verses of the Rig-veda, v. 40, 5 :

*Yat tvā sūryya Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad āsuraḥ | akṣetra-vid yathā
mudgho bhuvanāni adīdhayuh | 6. Svarbhānor adha yad Indra māyāḥ avo
divo varittamānāḥ avāhan | gūḥmaṁ sūryyaṁ tamasā 'pavratena turīyena
brahmaṇā 'vindat Atriḥ | 8. Grācno brahmā yujyānāḥ saparyyan kīriṇā
devān namasopasikshan | Atriḥ sūryasya divi chakṣhur ādhāt Svarbhānor
apa māyāḥ aghukṣhat | 9. Yaṁ vai sūryyaṁ Svarbhānus tamasā 'vidhyad
āsuraḥ | Atrayas tam anv avindan nahi anye āsakuwan |*

"When Svarbhānu of the Asura race pierced thee, o Sun, with darkness, all worlds appeared like a man who is bewildered in a region which he does not know. 6. When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical arts of Svarbhānu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered by the fourth text the Sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness. 8. Applying the (soma-crushing) stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest Atri placed the eye of the Sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of

Svarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered the Sun which Svarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could."

We have next a curious legend about the sage Chyavana, of the race of Bhṛigu :

7306. *Āsvinoḥ pratisaṁśrūtya Chyavanāḥ Pākāsāsanam | provācha saṁhito devaiḥ "somapāu Āsvinau kuru" | Indrāḥ uvācha | "asmābhir ninditāu etau bhavetām somapau katham | devair na sammitāu etau tasmād maivaṁ vadasva naḥ | Āsvibhyām saha nechhāmaḥ somam pātum mahā-vrata | yad anyad vakshyase vipra tat karishyāma te vacchaḥ" | Chyavanāḥ uvācha | "pibetām Āsvinau somam bhavadbhiḥ sahitāu ubhau | ubhāv etāv api surau sūryya-puttrau suresvara | 7310. Kriyatām mad-vacho devāḥ yathā vai samudāhṛitam | etad vaḥ kurvātām śreyo bhaved naitad akurvātām" | Indrāḥ uvācha | "Āsvibhyām saha somam vai na pāsyāmi dvijottama | pibanto anye yathākāmaṁ nāham pātum ihotsahe" | Chyavanāḥ uvācha | "na chet karishyasi vacho mayoktam bala-sūdana | mayā pramathitāḥ sadyaḥ somam pāsyasi vai makhe" | tataḥ karma samārabdham hitāya sahasā 'śvinoḥ | Chyavanena tato mantrair abhihūtāḥ surā 'bhavan | tat tu karma samārabdham dṛishṭvendraḥ krodha-murchhitāḥ | udyamya vipulaṁ śailaṁ Chyavanam samupādhravat | 7315. Tathā vajrena bhagavān amarśhākula-lochanāḥ | tam āpatantaṁ dṛishṭvair a Chyavanas tapasā 'nvitāḥ | adbhiḥ siktṛā 'stambhayat taṁ sa-vajraṁ saha-parvatam | athendrasya mahāghoraṁ so 'srījat śatrum eva hi | Mayā nāmāhuti-mayā vyādītāsyam mahāmuniḥ | 7319. Jihvā-mūlāsthītās tasya sarve devāḥ sa-vāsavaḥ | timer āsyam anupraptāḥ yathā matsyāḥ mahārṇave | te sammantrya tato deva Madasyāsya samīpagāḥ | abruvan sahitāḥ Sakram pranamāsmāi dvijātaye | Āsvibhyām saha somam cha pibāma vigata-jvarāḥ | tataḥ sa pranataḥ Sakraś chakūra Chyavanasya tat | Chyavanāḥ kṛitavān etāv Āsvinau soma-pāyinau | tataḥ protyāharat karma Madam cha vyabhajad muniḥ |*

"Having given a promise to that effect, Chyavana applied, along with the other gods, to Indra, to allow the Āsvins to partake in the soma juice. Indra answered, 'How can they become drinkers of the soma, seeing they are reviled by us, and are not on an equality with the gods? We do not wish to drink soma in their company; but we shall accede to your wishes in any other respect.' Chyavana repeats his request, and urges that the Āsvins also are gods, and the offspring of the Sun. 7310. He adds that it will be well for the gods if they accede to this



demand, and ill if they do not. Indra rejoins that the other gods may drink with the Aśvins if they please, but he cannot bring himself to do it. Chyavana retorts that if he does not, he shall be chastised by the sage, and made to drink soma (with them) at the sacrifice. A ceremony was then instantly begun by Chyavana for the benefit of the Aśvins; and the gods were vanquished by sacred texts. Indra, seeing this rite commenced, became incensed, uplifted a vast mountain (7315), and rushed with his thunderbolt, and with angry eyes, on Chyavana. The sage, however, sprinkling him with water, arrested him with his mountain and thunderbolt. Chyavana then created a fearful open-mouthed monster, called *Mada*, formed of the substance of the oblation," who is further described as having teeth and grinders of portentous length, and jaws, one of which enclosed the earth and the other the sky: and the gods, including Indra, are said (7319), "to have been at the root of his tongue [ready to be devoured] like fishes in the mouth of a sea monster. Finding themselves in his predicament, the gods took counsel and said to Indra, 'Make salutation to Chyavana, and let us drink soma along with the Aśvins, and so escape from our sufferings.' Indra then, making obeisance, granted the demand of Chyavana, who was thus the cause of the Aśvins becoming drinkers of the soma. He then performed the ceremony, and clove *Mada* to pieces."

Does this legend mean that this rishi of the Bhrigu family was the first to introduce the Aśvins within the circle of the Arian worship?

Compare the passages from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., and from the Vanaparvan of the M. Bh. verses 10316 ff. quoted in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic theogony and mythology," No. II., in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp 11 ff.; Ind. St. i. 188, and the Āśvamedhika-parvan of the M. Bh., verses 249 ff., there referred to. The Aśvins are, in different passages of the Rig-veda, as iii. 58, 7, 9; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7-10, invited to drink the soma-juice.

Vāyu relates to Arjuna yet one more instance of the irresistible power of the Brāhmans:

7327. *Madasyāsyam anuprāptāḥ yadā sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | tadaiva Chyavaneneha hṛitā teshāṃ vasundharā | ubhau lokau hṛitau matvā te devāḥ duhkhītāḥ bhrīṣam | śokārttāś cha mahātmāno Brahmāṇām śaraṇām yayuḥ | devāḥ ūchuḥ | Madāsya-vyatisiktānām asmākaṃ loka-pūjita | Chyavanena hṛitā bhūmiḥ Kapaiś chaiva divan prabho | Brahmā uvācha |*

7330. *Gachhadhvañ śaraṇaṁ viprān āśu sendrāḥ divaukasah | prasādyu-
tān ubhau lokān avāpsyatha yathā purā | te yayuḥ śaraṇaṁ viprān ūchus-
te "kān jayāmahe" | ity uktās te dvijān prāhur "jayateha Kapān" iti |
"bhūgatān hi vijetāro vayam" ity abruvan "dvijāḥ" | tataḥ karma sa-
mārabdham brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapā-nāśanam | tat śrutvā preshito dūto brāh-
maṇebhyo Dhanī Kapaiḥ | bhū-gatān brāhmaṇān āha Dhanī Kapā-vacho
yathā | "bhavadbhiḥ sadriśāḥ sarve Kapāḥ kim iha varittate | sarve veda-
vidāḥ prājñāḥ sarve cha kratu-yājinaḥ | 7335. Sarve satyavratās chaiva
sarve tulyāḥ maharshibhiḥ | śrīś chaiva ramataiteshu dhārayanti śrīyaṁ
cha te | 7339. Etais chānyais cha bahubhir guṇair yuktān kathāṁ
Kapān | 7340. Vijeshyatha nivarttadhvañ nirvittānāṁ śubhaṁ hi vaḥ" |
Brāhmaṇāḥ ūchuḥ | Kapān vayaṁ vijeshyāmo ye devās te vayaṁ smritāḥ |
tasmād badhyāḥ Kapā 'smākam Dhanin yāhi yathāgatam | Dhanī gatvā
Kapān āha "na no viprāḥ priyankarāḥ | grīhātva 'strāṇy atho viprān
Kapāḥ sarve samādravan | samudagra-dhvaṇān dṛishṭvā Kapān sarve dvi-
jātayah | vyasṛjan jvalitān agnīn Kapānām prāna-nāśanān | brahma-
sṛishṭāḥ havyabhujāḥ Kapān hatvā sanātānāḥ | nabhasīva yathā 'bhrāṇi
vyarājanta narādhipa | Hatvā vai dānavān devāḥ sarve sambhūya saṁ-
yuge | tenābhyajānan hi tadā brāhmaṇair nihātān Kapān | athāgamyā
mahātejāḥ Nārado 'kathayaḍ vibho | yathā hatāḥ mahābhāgais tejasā
brāhmaṇaiḥ Kapāḥ | Nāradasya vachāḥ śrutvā prītāḥ sarve divaukasah |
prasāsāmsuḥ dvijāns chāpi brāhmaṇāms cha yūśasvināḥ |*

"When the gods, including Indra, were enclosed within the mouth of Mada, the earth was taken from them by Chyavana. The gods then considering that they had lost both worlds, in their distress resorted to Brahmā, and said, 'Since we have been swallowed up in the mouth of Mada, the earth has been taken from us by Chyavana, and the heaven by the Kapas.' Brahmā answered, 'Go speedily, ye gods, with Indra, to the Brāhmans for help. After propitiating them ye shall regain both worlds.' They did so, and the Brāhmans, after ascertaining that the gods would themselves deal with those of their enemies who were on earth, began a ceremony for the destruction of the Kapas. The Kapas upon this sent a messenger to the Brāhmans, to say that they themselves were all, like them, skilled in the Vedas, learned, and offerers of sacrifice, all pure in their observances, and all resembling great rishis, etc., etc. How then should the Brāhmans be able to conquer them? It would be more for their interest to desist from the attempt. The Brāhmans,



however, would not be persuaded; and when, in consequence, the Kapas assailed them, they hurled forth fires by which the Kapas were destroyed. The gods themselves conquered the Dānavas, and learning from Nārada what the illustrious Brāhmans had effected, they sang their praises.²⁴⁷

Hearing of all these testimonies to the terrible might of the Brāhmans, Arjuna at length gives in, saying :

7350. *Jivāmy aham brāhmaṇārthaṁ sarvathā satatam prabho | brāhmaṇyo brāhmaṇebhyaś cha pranamāmi cha nityaśah | Dattātreya-prasādāh cha mayā prāptam idam balam | loka cha paramā kīrttir dharmaś cha charito mahān | aho brāhmaṇa-karmāni mayā Māruta tattvataḥ | tvayā proktāni kūrtsyena śrūtāni prayatena cha | Vāyur uvācha | brāhmaṇān kṣātrīya-dharmena pālayascendriyāni cha | Bhṛigubhyas te bhayaṁ ghoram tat tu kālād bharishyati |*

[“I live altogether and always for the sake of the Brāhmans. I am devoted to the Brāhmans, and do obeisance to them continually. And it is through the favour of Dattātreya (a Brāhman) that I have obtained all this power and high renown, and that I have practised righteousness.”] Thou hast declared to me truly all the acts of the Brāhmans, and I have listened intently.” Vāyu then says to him : “Protect the Brāhmans, fulfilling a Kshattriya’s function; and restrain your senses. A dreadful cause of apprehension impends over you from the Bhṛigus, but it will only take effect after some time.” This last remark may have been introduced to bring this story into harmony with the other legend about the destruction of Arjuna and the Kshattriyas.

The narrative, which has just been quoted, is, as I have already stated, preceded by a panegyric of some length pronounced by Bhīshma on the Brāhmans (verses 7163-7184), of which the following are specimens :

7163. *Brāhmaṇānām paribhavaḥ sādāyēd api devatāḥ |* 7164. *Te hi lokān imān sarvān dhārayanti manīṣināḥ |* 7175. *Chandane mala-panke cha bhojane’bhojane samāḥ | vāso yeshāṁ dukūlāṁ cha śāna-kṣaumājīnāni cha |* 7177. *Adaiṇaṁ daivataṁ kuryur daivataṁ vā’py adaiṇatam | lokān anyān sṛjeyus te lokapālāṁś cha kopitāḥ |* 7179. *Devānām api ye devāḥ kāraṇaṁ kāraṇasya cha |* 7181. *Avīdvān brāhmaṇo devaḥ . . . | vīdvān bhūyas tato devaḥ pūrṇa-sāgara-sannibhaḥ |*

[“The prowess of the Brāhmans can destroy even the gods. 7164.

²⁴⁷ This translation is a good deal condensed.

Those wise beings uphold all these worlds. 7175. To them it is indiffer-ent whether they are perfumed with sandal wood or deformed with mire, whether they eat or fast, whether they are clad in silk, or in sackcloth or skins. 7177. They can turn what is not divine into what is divine, and the converse; and can in their anger create other worlds with their guardians. 7179. They are the gods of the gods; and the cause of the cause. 7181. An ignorant Brāhman is a god, whilst a learned Brāhman is yet more a god, like the full ocean." (Compare the similar eulogies in p. 130, above.)

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, sections 52 ff., we have the story of Para-surāma, in connection with that of Viśvāmitra, yet once more handled. Yudhishtira says he is very curious to know something more about these two personages:

2718. *Katham esha samutpanno Rāmah satya-parākramah | katham brahmarshi-vaṁśo 'yaṁ kshattrā-dharmā vyajāyata | tad asya sambhavaṁ rājan nikhilenānukīrtaya | Kausikāch cha katham vaṁśāt kshattrād vai brāhmaṇo 'bhavat | aho prabhāvaḥ sumahān āsīd vai sumahātmanaḥ | Rāmasya cha nara-vyāghra Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi | katham puttrān atikramya teshāṁ napṭrīshv athābhavat | esha doshaḥ sūtān hitvā tat tvaṁ vyākhyātum arhasi |*

"How was this valiant Rāma, descended from the family of a Brāhman-rishi, born with the qualities of a Kshattriya? Tell me the whole story: and how did a Brāhman spring from the Kshattriya race of Kuśika? Great was the might of Rāma, and of Viśvāmitra. How did it happen that, passing over the sons [of Richika and Kuśika], this defect showed itself in their grandsons?"

Then there follows a long dialogue related by Bhīshma as having taken place between king Kuśika and the sage Chyavana. The latter, it seems, "foreseeing that this disgrace was about to befall his race [from connection with the Kuśikas], and entertaining, in consequence, after he had weighed all the good and evil, and the strength and weakness (on either side), the desire of burning up that whole family" (verse 2723. *Etaṁ dosham purā dṛisṭvā Bhārgavaś Chyavanas tadā | āgāminam mahābuddhiḥ sva-vaṁśe muni-sattamaḥ | niśchitya manasā sarvaṁ guṇa-dosham balābalaṁ | dagdhu-kāmaḥ kulāṁ sarvaṁ Kuśikānāṁ tapodhanaḥ |*), came to Kuśika. Chyavana is welcomed and treated with great attention, and receives from Kuśika the offer of all his king-

dom, etc. The saint, however, does not requite this honour with corresponding kindness, but makes the king and his wife perform many menial offices, rub his feet, attend while he sleeps, bring him food, and draw him in a chariot, while he lacerates their backs with a goad. All this is submitted to so patiently, that the sage is propitiated, addresses them in kindly tones, and touches their wounded bodies with his godlike hands. After creating a magical golden palace, with all the accompaniments of pleasure (2826 ff.), in order to give them a conception of heaven, (2892 ff.) the sage offers to bestow any boon the king may choose; and to solve any of his doubts. Kuśika asks the reason of the sage's unaccountable procedure. Chyavana answers that he had heard from Brahmā that there would be "a confusion of families in consequence of the hostility of Brāhmans and Kshattriya, and that a grandson of great glory and heroism would be born to Kuśika" (verse 2878. *Brahma-kshattra-virodhena bhavitā kula-sankarāḥ | pastras te bhavitā rājāṁś tejo-vīrya-samanvitāḥ* |); that he had intended in consequence to burn up the race of the Kuśikas, but that the king had come so well out of the severe ordeal to which he had been subjected, that the sage had become thoroughly pacified, and would grant the boon which Kuśika desired:

2897. *Bhaviṣhyaty eṣha te kāmā Kauśikāt Kauśiko dvijaḥ | tṛtīyaṁ puruṣaṁ tubhyaṁ brāhmaṇatvaṁ gamiṣhyati | vaṁśas te pāṛthiva-śreṣṭha Bhṛigūnām eva tejasā | pastras te bhavitā vipras tapasvī pāvana-dyutiḥ | yaḥ sa-deva-manuṣhyānām bhayaṁ utpādayiṣhyati |*

"This thy desire shall be fulfilled; from a Kauśika a Kauśika Brāhman shall arise: in the third generation thy race shall attain to Brāhmanhood by the might of the Bhṛigus. Thy son's son shall become a Brāhman, a devotee, splendid as fire, who shall alarm both gods and men." Kuśika being anxious to know how all this was to be brought to pass, Chyavana informs him:

2995. *Bhṛigūnām kshattriyaḥ yājyāḥ nityaṁ etaj janādhipa | te cha bhedaṁ gamiṣhyanti daiva-yuktēna hetunā | kshattriyaś cha Bhṛigūn sarvān badhiṣhyanti narādhipa | āgarbhād anukṛintanto daiva-danda nīḍitāḥ | tataḥ utpatsyate 'smākaṁ kula-gotra-vivardhanaḥ | Ūrvo nāma mahātejā jvalanārka-sama-dyutiḥ | sa trailokya-vināśāya kopāgniṁ janayiṣhyati | mahīm sa-parvata-vanām yaḥ kariṣhyati bhasmasāt | kancit kalam tu vahnīm cha sa eva samayiṣhyati | samudre vadavā-vaktre prak-*

shipya muni-sattamah | 2910. *Puttrañ tasya mahārāja Richikam Bhṛigu-nandanam* | *sākshāt kṛtsno dhanur-vedāḥ samupasthāsyate 'nagha* | *kshattriyānām abhāvāya daiva-yuktenā hetunā* | *sa tu tam pratigrihyaiva puttrañ sankrāmayishyati* | *Jamadagnau mahābhāge tapasā bhāvitātmani* | *sa chāpi Bhṛigu-sārdūlas tam vedāḥ dhārayishyati* | *kulāt tu tava dharmātman kanyāṁ so 'dhigamishyati* | *udbhāvanārtham bhavato vamsasya Bharatarshabha* | *Gādher duhitaram prāpya pauttrīm tava mahātapāḥ* | *brāhmaṇāṁ kshattri-dharmānam puttram utpādayishyati* | 2915. *Kshattriyañ vipra-karmānam Vṛihaspatim ivarjasā* | *Viśvāmitraṁ tava kule Gādheḥ puttraṁ sudharmikam* | *tapasā mahatā yuktam pradāsyati mahādyute* | *striya tu kāranaṁ tatra parivartte bhavishyataḥ* | *Pitāmaha-niyogād vai nānyathaitad bhavishyati* | *tritīye puruṣe tubhyam brāhmaṇatvam upaishyati* | *bhavitā tvāṁ cha sambandhī Bhṛigūnām bhāvitātmanām* | 2923. *Etat te kathitaṁ sarvaṁ āśeshena mayā nṛipa* | *Bhṛigūnām Kuśikānām cha abhisambandha-kāraṇam* | *yathoktam rishinō chāpi tadā tad abhavad nṛipa* | *janma Rāmasya cha muner Viśvāmitrasya chaiva hi* |

"The Bhṛigus have always been the priests of the Kshattriyas; but these will become hostile to each other for a fated reason. The Kshattriyas shall slay all the Bhṛigus, even to children in the womb, being oppressed by a divine nemesis. Then shall arise the glorious Ūrva,²⁴⁵ like the sun in splendour, who shall augment the glory of our race. He shall create a fire of wrath for the destruction of the three worlds, which shall reduce the earth with its mountains and forests to ashes. After a time he will extinguish the fire, throwing it into the ocean into the mouth of Vāḍavā (the submarine fire). Into his son Richika shall

²⁴⁵ Ūrva is here said (verse 2907) to belong to the race of Chyavana, but whether as a near or remote descendant is not stated. In verse 2910 Richika is said to be the son of Ūrva. In the Ādiparvan, verses 2610 ff., the matter is somewhat differently stated: *Ārushī tu Manoh kanyā tasya patnī yaśasvinī* | *Aurvas tasyāṁ samabhavad ūrum bhittvā mahāyaśāḥ* | *mahātejah mahāvīryyo dālah eva gunair yutah* | *Richikas tasya puttras tu Jamadagnis tato bhavat* | "Ārushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of the sage (Chyavana); of her was the illustrious Aurva born, having split his mother's thigh. He was great in glory and might, and from his childhood endowed with eminent qualities. Richika was his son, and Richika's was Jamadagni." Here Aurva is said to derive his name from having divided his mother's thigh (*ūru*); and no allusion is made to Ūrva, though the same person appears to be meant. In the passage of the Anusāsana-parvan, however, we have an Ūrva, the father of Richika, whose patronymic will thus be Aurva; as it is, in fact, in the Vishnu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 352.



enter the entire embodied Dhanur-veda (science of archery), for the destined destruction of the Kshattriyas. This science he shall transmit to his great son Jamadagni, whose mind shall be spiritualized by devotion, and who shall possess that Veda. He (R̥ichika) shall obtain [for his wife] a maiden of thy family, to prolong thy race. This great devotee, wedding thy grand-daughter, the daughter of Gādhi, shall beget a Brāhman (i.e. Paraśurāma), fulfilling the functions of a Kshattriya; (2915) and shall bestow on thy family a Kshattriya who shall perform the functions of a Brāhman, Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, an austere devotee, and glorious as Vrihaspati. The two wives shall be the cause of this interchange of characters. According to the decree of Brahmā all this shall so happen. Brāhmanhood shall come to thee in the third generation, and thou shalt become connected with the spiritual-minded Bhr̥igus." 2923. "Thus (concludes Bhīshma) have I told thee at length the cause of the connection between the Bhr̥igus and the Kuśikas. All this was accordingly fulfilled in the births of Paraśurāma and Viśvāmitra."

Is this legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Paraśurāma of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Viśvāmitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession?

According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3 (Wilson, 4to. ed. pp. 416, 417), Arjuna was of the race of Yadu, and the ninth in descent from Haihaya, the great-grandson of that prince. It is there said of him:

Kṛitavīryyād Arjunaḥ sapta-dvīpapatir bāhu-sahasrī jajñe yo 'sau bhagavad-aṁśam Atri-kula-prasūtaṁ Dattātreyaḥkhyam ārādhya bāhu-sahasram adharma-sevā-nivāraṇaṁ dharmeṇa prithivījayaṁ dharmataś chānupālanaṁ arātibhyo'parājayam akhila-jagat-prakhyāta-purushāccha mṛityum ity etān varān abhilaṣṭavān lebhe cha | tena iyaṁ aśeṣa-dvīpavati prithivī samyak paripālītā | daśa-yajña-sahasraṇy asāv ayajat | tasya cha śloko 'dyāpi giyate "na nūnaṁ kṛitavīryyasya gatiṁ yāsyanti pāṛthivāḥ | yajñair dānair tapobhir vā praśrayeṇa dumeṇa cha" | anasṭa-dravyatū tasya rājye'bhavat | 4. Evam panchāṣṭi-sahasraṇy abdān avyāhatārogya-śrī-bala-parākramo rājyam akarot | Māhishmatyām dig-vijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-kṛidā-nipāna-madākulena ayatnenaiva tena aśeṣa-deva-dāitya-gandharveṣa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo 'pi Rāvaṇaḥ paśur iva baddhaḥ svanagaraikānte sthāpitah | 5. Yaḥ panchāṣṭi-varsha-sahasropalakṣaṇa-kālāvāsāne bhagavan-nīrāyaṇāñśena Paraśurāmeṇa upasaṁhṛtaḥ |

“From Kṛitavīrya sprang Arjuna, who was lord of the seven dvīpas [circular and concentric continents of which the earth is composed], and had a thousand arms. Having worshipped a portion of the divine Being, called Dattātreya, sprung from the race of Atri, he sought and obtained these boons, viz. a thousand arms, the power of restraining wrong by justice, the conquest of the earth, and the disposition to rule it righteously, invincibility by enemies, and death at the hands of a man renowned over the whole world. By him this earth, with all its dvīpas, was perfectly governed. He offered ten thousand sacrifices. To this day this verse is repeated respecting him: ‘No other king shall ever equal Kārtavīrya in regard to sacrifices, liberality, austerities, courtesy, and self-restraint.’ In his reign no property was ever lost. 4. Thus he ruled for eighty-five thousand years with unbroken health, prosperity, strength, and valour. When he was excited by sporting in the Narmadā and by drinking wine, he had no difficulty in binding like a beast Rāvaṇa, who had arrived in Māhishmatī in his career of conquest, and who was filled with arrogance, arising from the pride of victory over all the gods, daityas, and gandharva chiefs, and imprisoning him in a secret place in his capital. At the end of his reign of eighty-five thousand years Arjuna was destroyed by Paraśurāma, who was a portion of the divine Nārāyaṇa.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 23, 20-27, assigns to him the same descent, and relates of him nearly the same particulars. Verse 23 says: *Arjunaḥ Kṛitavīryasya sapta-dvīpeśvaro 'bhavat | Dattātreyaḥ Harer aṁśāt prāpta-yoga-mahāguṇaḥ* | “Arjuna was the son of Kṛitavīrya, and ruler of the seven dvīpas. He obtained the great attribute of *Yoga* (supernatural powers arising from devotion) from Dattātreya, who was a portion of Hari,” etc.

The legend of Paraśurāma, as related, is of course fabulous. Not to speak of the miraculous powers which are ascribed to this hero, and the incredible number of the exterminations which he is said to have executed, we cannot even suppose it probable that the Brāhmins should in general have been sufficiently powerful and warlike to overcome the Kshattriyas by force of arms. But the legend may have had some small foundation in fact. Before the provinces of the sacerdotal and military classes were accurately defined, there may have been cases in which ambitious men of the former successfully



aspired to kingly dominion, just as scions of royal races became distinguished as priests and sages. But even without this assumption, the existence of such legends is sufficiently explained by the position which the Brāhmans eventually occupied. With the view of maintaining their own ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs on whose good will they were dependent, and of securing for themselves honour and profit, they would have an interest in working upon the superstitious feelings of their contemporaries by fabricating stories of supernatural punishments inflicted by their own forefathers on their royal oppressors, as well as by painting in lively colours the prosperity of those princes who were submissive to the spiritual order.



CHAPTER V.

RELATION OF THE BRAHMANICAL INDIANS TO THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES, ACCORDING TO MANU AND THE PURANAS.

I now propose to enquire what account the Indian writers give of the origin of those tribes which were not comprehended in their own polity, but with which, as dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, their countrymen were, in ancient times, brought into continual and familiar contact.

It appears to have been the opinion of Manu, the great authority in all matters regarding the Hindu religion and institutions in their full development, that there was no original race of men except the four castes of Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras; and that all other nations were derived from these. His own words (x. 4) are these: *Brāhmanah kshattriyo vaiśyas trayo varṇāḥ dvijātayaḥ | chaturthaḥ ekajātis tu śūdro nāsti tu pañchamaḥ* | "Three castes, the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, and the Vaiśya, are twice-born; the fourth, the Sūdra, is once-born; and there is no fifth." On the last clause of this verse Kullūka Bhaṭṭa annotates thus: *Pañchamaḥ punar varṇo nāsti sankīrṇa-jātinām tv aśvātara-vād mātā-pitri-jāti-vyatirikta-jāty-antaravād na varṇatvam | ayaṁ cha jāty-antaropadeśaḥ śāstre saṁvayavaharaṇārthaḥ* | "There is no fifth caste; for caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, from the fact that, like mules, they belong to another species, distinct from that of their father and mother. And this reference, which is made in the Śāstras to castes other than the four, is merely for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage."

Accordingly, in the following description which Manu gives in the same chapter of the rise of the inferior castes, they are all, even the



very lowest, such as Nishādas and Chāṇḍālas, derived from the mixture the four so-called original castes. Thus, in verse 8: *Brāhmaṇād vaiśya-kanyāyām ambashtho nāma jāyate | nishādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyām yaḥ parāśava uchyate* | "From a Brāhmaṇ father and a Vaiśya mother springs an Ambashthā: from a Brāhmaṇ father and a Śūdra mother is born a Nishāda, called also Parāśava."¹ Again, in verse 12: *Sūdrād āyogavaḥ kshattā chāṇḍālāś chāḍhamo nṛinām | vaiśya-rājanya-viprāsu jāyante varṇa-sunkarāḥ* | "From a Śūdra, by women of the Vaiśya, Kshattriya, and Brāhmaṇ castes are born those mixed classes, the Āyogava, the Kshattri, and the Chāṇḍāla, lowest of men." Again, in verse 20: *Dvijātayaḥ savarṇāsu janayanty avratāṁs tu yān | tān sāvitṛ-paribhrashtān vrātyāḥ iti vinirdiśet* | "Persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the gāyatrī, are to be designated as Vrātyas."² In the next three verses the inferior tribes, which spring from the Brāhmaṇ Vrātya, the Kshattriya Vrātya, and the Vaiśya Vrātya respectively, are enumerated.

In verses 43 and 44 it is stated: *Sanakais tu kriyā-lopād imāḥ*

¹ It does not appear how the account of the origin of the Nishāda race from king Vena, given above in pp. 301 and 303, can be reconciled with this theory of Manu; unless recourse be had to the explanation that that story relates to the Svāyambhuva Manvantara. But Manu's narrative seems to refer to the same period. See above, p. 39. If the Vedic expressions *pañchajanāḥ* and the other corresponding phrases signifying "the five tribes" be rightly interpreted of the "four castes, and the Nishādas," we might understand this as intimating that the Nishādas had at one time been regarded as a distinct race. But the phrase is variously understood by the old Vedic commentators; as has been shewn above, p. 177.

² Manu says, ii. 38 f.: *Ā-shoḍasād brāhmaṇasya sāvitṛ nātivartate | ā-dvāviṁsāt kshattrabhandhor ā-chaturviṁsater viśaḥ | ataḥ ūrdhham trayo'py ete yathā-kālam asaṁskṛtāḥ | sāvitṛ-patitāḥ vrātyāḥ bhavanty āryya-nigarhitāḥ* | "The gāyatrī should not, in the case of a Brāhmaṇ, be deferred beyond the sixteenth year; nor in the case of a Kshattriya beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vaiśya beyond the twenty-fourth. After these periods youths of the three classes, who have not been invested, become fallen from the gāyatrī, Vrātyas, condemned by respectable men (Āryyas)." In the following verse of the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2621, a different origin is ascribed to the Vrātyas: *Chāṇḍālo vrātya-vaidyau cha brāhmaṇyām kshattriyāsu cha | vaiśyāyām chaiva śūdrasya lakshyante pasādāś trayāḥ* | "The three outcaste classes are the Chāṇḍāla, the Vrātya, and the Vaidya, begotten by a Śūdra on females of the Brāhmaṇ, Kshattriya, and Vaiśya castes respectively." A Vrātya, therefore, according to this account, is the son of a Śūdra man and a Kshattriya woman. On the Vrātyas, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 33, 52, 138, 139, 445, 446, etc.

kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vṛishalatvaṁ gatāḥ loke brāhmaṇādarśanena cha | Paundrakās choḍra-dravidāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Yavanāḥ S'akāḥ | Pāradaḥ Pahlavās Chīnāḥ Kirātāḥ Daradāḥ Khasāḥ | "The following tribes of Kshattriyas have gradually sunk into the state of Vṛishalas (outcasts), from the extinction of sacred rites, and from having no communication with Brāhmans; viz. Paundrakas, Odras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khasās."

The same thing is affirmed in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 2103 f.: *S'akāḥ Yavana-kāmbojās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vṛishalatvaṁ parigatāḥ brāhmaṇānām adarśanāt | Dravidās cha Kalindās cha Pulindās chāpy Uśīnarāḥ | Kolisarpāḥ Māhishakās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ ityādi* | "These tribes of Kshattriyas, viz. Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Draviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Uśīnaras, Kolisarpas, and Māhishakas, have become Vṛishalas from seeing no Brāhmans." This is repeated in verses 2158-9, where the following additional tribes are named: Mekalas, Lāṭas, Konvaśiras, Saundīkas, Darvas, Chauras, Sāvaras, Barbaras, and Kirātas, and the cause of degradation is, as in verse 2103, restricted to the absence of Brāhmans. (Then follow the lines (2160 ff.) in glorification of the Brāhmans, already quoted in p. 130.)

The Yavanas are said in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, section 85, verse 3533, "to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlecchha tribes from Anu" (*Yados tu Yādavaḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sūtās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu mlecchha-jātayaḥ* |). Is it meant by this that the Yavanas are not to be reckoned among the Mlecchas? Their descent from Turvasu is not however, necessarily in conflict with the assertion of the authorities above quoted, that they are degraded Kshattriyas.

I shall not attempt to determine who the Yavanas, and other tribes mentioned in the text, were.

The verse which succeeds that last quoted from Manu is the following: 45. *Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām yāḥ loke jātayo vahīḥ | mlecchha-vāchaś chāryya-vāchaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛitāḥ* | "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, [of Brahmā, i.e. Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras,] whether they speak the language of the Mlecchas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." The interpretation to be given to this verse turns



upon the sense which we assign to "outside" (*vāhik*). Does it mean that the Dasyus were of a stock originally distinct from that of the four primeval castes, and therefore altogether separate from those tribes which sprang from the intermixture of those four castes, or which, by the neglect of sacred rites, apostatized from their communion? Or does it merely mean that the Dasyus became eventually excluded from the fellowship of the four castes? If the latter sense be adopted, then Dasyu will be little else than a general term embracing all the tribes enumerated in verses 43 and 44. The commentator Kullūka understands the word in the latter sense. His words are: *Brāhmaṇa-kṣhattriya-vaiśya-sūdrāṇāṃ kṛiyā-lopādīnā yāḥ jātayo vāhyāḥ jātāḥ mlechha-bhāṣā-yuktāḥ āryya-bhāṣhopetāḥ vā te dasyavaḥ sarve smṛitāḥ* | "All the tribes, which by loss of sacred rites, and so forth, have become outcasts from the pale of the four castes, Brāhmins, Kṣhattriya, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras; whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." His view is confirmed by a short passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, quoted above (p. 358), where Viśvāmītra, speaking to his sons, says: "Let your descendants possess the furthest ends (of the country)," and the author of the Brāhmaṇa adds: "These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Sābaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmītra." Here the writer of this ancient Brāhmaṇa connects together certain tribes named either in Manu, or in the Mahābhārata, as degraded Kṣhattriya, with the appellation Dasyu, thus intimating that the latter was a general name embracing all the former. This view is further confirmed by the following lines of the Mahābhārata, book ii. verses 1031-2: *Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pakaśāsaniḥ | prāgut-tarāṃ diśaṃ ye cha vasanty āsṛitya Dasyavaḥ* | "The son of Indra conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region;" and still more by the annexed verses from the Droṇaparvan, of the same epic poem, 4747: *Kāmbojānāṃ sahasraiścha Sakūnāṃ cha viśāmpate | S'avarānāṃ Kīrātānāṃ Varvarānāṃ tathaiva cha | agamya-rūpāṃ prithivīm māṃsa-śoṇita-karḍdamām | kṛitavāṃs tattra S'aineyaḥ kṣhapayaṃs tāvakam balam | Dasyūnāṃ sa-śīrastrāṇaiḥ śrobhīr lūna-mūrdhājaiḥ | dīrgha-kūrchair mahī kīrṇā vivarhair aṇḍajair iva* | "Saineya, destroying thy host, converted the beautiful earth into a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kāmbojas,

Sakas, Sabaras, Kirātas, and Varvaras. The ground was covered with the shorn and hairless but long-bearded heads of the Dasyus, and their helmets, as if with birds bereft of their plumes." Here the word Dasyu is evidently a general term for the tribes named just before. Some of these same tribes had previously been called Mlechhas in verses 4716, 4723, and 4745. See also Sabhāp. 1198 f.

There is a passage in the Śāntiparvan, section 65, lines 2429 ff., which is worth quoting, as it shows that the Brāhmins of that age regarded the Dasyus as owing allegiance to Brahmanical institutions. King Māndhātṛi had performed a sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a vision of Viṣṇu; who accordingly appeared to him in the form of Indra (verse 2399). The following is a part of their conversation. Māndhātṛi asks :

2429. *Yavanāḥ Kīratāḥ Gāndhārās Chīnāḥ Savara-varvarāḥ | Śakās
Tushārāḥ Kankās cha Pahlavās chāndhra-madrakāḥ |* 2430. *Paundrāḥ
Palindāḥ Ramaṭhāḥ Kāmbojās chaiva sarvaśaḥ | brahma-kshattri-prasū-
tās cha vaiśyāḥ śūdrās cha mānavāḥ | katham dharmam charishyanti
sarve vishaya-vāsināḥ | mad-vidhau cha katham sthāpyāḥ sarve vai dasyu-
jvināḥ | etad ichhāmy aham śrotum bhagavaṁ tad bravīhi me | tvam ban-
dhu-bhūto hy asmakam kshattriyānām sureśvara | Indrāḥ uvācha | mātā-
pitror hi śuśrūṣhā karttavyā sarva-dasyubhiḥ | āchāryya-guru-śuśrūṣhā
tathāivāśrama-vāsinām | bhūmipānām cha śuśrūṣhā karttavyā sarva-dasyu-
bhiḥ | veda-dharma-kriyās chaiva teshām dharmo vidhīyate |* 2435. *Pitṛi-
yajnās tatthā kṛpāḥ prapās cha śayanāni cha | dānāni cha yathā-kālām
dvijebhyo visṛjjet sadā | ahimsā satyam akrodho vṛitti-dāyanupālanaḥ |
bharanam putra-dārānām śaucaḥ adroha eva cha | dakṣiṇā sarva-
yajnānām dātavyā bhūtim ichhatā | pakayajnaḥ mahārhas cha dātavyāḥ
sarva-dasyubhiḥ | etāny evamprakārāni vihitāni purā 'nagha | sarva-
lokasya karmāni karttavyāniha pārthiva | Mandhātā uvācha | dṛśyante
mānuṣhe loke sarva-varṇeṣu Dasyavaḥ | lingāntare varttmanāḥ āśra-
meṣu chaturṣv api | Indrāḥ uvācha |* 2440. *Viṇaṣṭyām danda-nītyām
rāja-dharme nirākṛite | sampramūhyanti bhūtāni rāja-daurātmyato 'na-
gha | asankhyatāḥ bhaviṣhyanti bhikṣavo linginas tatthā | āśramānām
vikalpās cha nirpitte 'smīn kṛite yuge | āśrīvantāḥ purānānām dharmā-
nām paramāḥ gatīḥ | utpatham pratipatsyante kāma-manyu-samīritāḥ |*

“The Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, Savaras, Varvaras, Sakas, Tushāras, Kankas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Paundras, Pu-

lindas, Ramathas, Kāmbojas, men sprung from Brāhmanas, and from Kshattriyas, persons of the Vaiśya and Sūdra castes—how shall all these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as Dasyus? Instruct me on these points; for thou art the friend of our Kshattriya race.’ Indra answers: ‘All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, persons practising the rules of the four orders, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Vedas. They should sacrifice to the Pitris, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Brāhmanas. They should practise innocence, veracity, meekness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of their property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the Dasyus should offer costly pāka oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people.’ Māndhātṛi observes: ‘In this world of men, Dasyus are to be seen in all castes, living, under other garbs, even among men of the four orders (*āśramas*).’ Indra replies: ‘When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Kṛita age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness,’ etc. In these last lines it is implied that the Brahmanical polity of castes and orders was fully developed in the Kṛita [or golden] age. This idea, however, is opposed to the representations which we find in some though not in all other passages. See above, the various texts adduced in the first chapter.

In the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bhāratavarsha (India) is said to “have its eastern border occupied by the Kirātas; and the western by the Yavanas; while the middle is inhabited by Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, etc.” (Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 3, 7. *Pūrve Kirātāḥ yasyānte pāśchime Yavanāḥ sthitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ madhye sūdrāś cha bhāgaśaḥ | iḍyā-yuddha-vanijyādyair varttayanto vyavasthithāḥ* |).

Manu's account of the origin of the Yavanas, Sakas, Kāmbojas, etc., corresponds with the tenor of the following story, which we find in the fourth book of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, sect. 3. Bāhu, the seventh king in descent from Hariścandra (see above, p. 379) was overcome by the Haihāyas and Tāla-janghas,³ and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death one of his wives gave birth to a son, who received the name of Sagara. When he had grown up, the youth learnt from his mother all that had befallen his father.

Para. 18. *Tataḥ pitri-rājya-haranām arshito Haihaya-Tāla-janghādibadhāya pratijñam akarot prāyasaścha Haihayān jaghāna | Saka-Yavana-Kāmboja-Pārada-Pahlavāḥ hanyamānās tat-kula-guruṁ Vasiṣṭham śaraṇam yayuḥ |* 19. *Atha etān Vasiṣṭho jīvan-mṛitakān kṛtvā Sagaram āha "vatsa vatsa alam ebhir ati-jīvan-mṛitakair anusṛitāḥ |* 20. *Ete cha mayā eva tvat-pratijñā-paripālānāya nija-dharma-dvi-ja-sanga-parityāgam kṛitāḥ" |* 21. *Sa "tathā" iti tad guru-vachanam abhinandya teshām veshānyatvam akārayat | Yavanān apamundita-śīraśo 'rddhamundān Sakān pralamba-keśūn Pārādān Pahlavāms cha śmaśru-dharān niḥ-svādhyāya-vāṣaṭkārān etān anyāms cha kṣhatṛiyan chakāra | te cha nija-dharma-parityāgād brāhmaṇaiḥ parityaktāḥ mlechhatām yayuḥ |*

"Being vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom, he vowed to exterminate the Haihāyas and other enemies who had conquered it. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihāyas. When the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas were about to undergo a similar fate, they had recourse to Vasiṣṭha, the king's family-priest, who interposed in their behalf in these words addressed to Sagara, representing them as virtually dead: 'You have done enough, my son, in the way of pursuing these men, who are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to abandon the duties of their caste, and all association with the twice-born.' Agreeing to his spiritual guide's proposal, Sagara compelled these tribes to alter their costume. He made the Yavanas shave their heads, the Sakas shave half their heads, the Pāradas wear long hair, and the Pahlavas beards. These and other Kshatriyas he deprived of the

³ See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4to. edit., p. 416 and 418 note. In the note to p. 418 the Āvantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vāyu Purāṇa, as being a branch of the Haihāyas. In Manu, x. 21, the Āvantyas are said to be descended from Brāhmaṇa Vṛatyas.

study of the Vedas, and the vashaṭkāra. In consequence of their abandonment of their proper duties, and of their desertion by the Brāhmanas, they became Mlechhas.”

This story is also related in the Harivaṃśa, from which I extract the concluding part of the narrative :

773. *Aurvas tu jātakarmādi tasya kṛtvā mahātmanah | adhyāpya vedān akhilān tato 'stram pratyapādayat | āgneyam tu mahābāhur amarair api dussaham | sa tenāstra-balenājau balena cha samanvitaḥ | Haihayān nijaghānāsu kruddho Rudraḥ paśūn iva | ājahāra cha lokeshu kīrttiṃ kīrttimatīm varah | tataḥ Sakān sa-yavanān Kāmbojān Pāradāms tathā | Pahlavāns chaiva niśśeshān karttuṃ vyavasitaḥ kila | te badhyamānāḥ vīreṇa Sagareṇa mahātmanā | Vasīṣṭhaṃ śaraṇam gatvā pranipetum manīṣinam | Vasīṣṭhas tv atha tān dṛiṣṭvā samayena mahādṛyutīḥ | Sagaraṃ vārayāmāsa teshāṃ dattvā 'bhyam tadā | Sagaraḥ svam pratijñam cha guror vākyaṃ niśāmya cha | dharmam jaghāna teshāṃ vai veśānyatvaṃ chakāra ha | arddham Sakānām śirasā munḍayitvā vyasarjayat | Yavanānām śiraḥ sarvaṃ Kāmbojānām tathaiva cha | Pāradāḥ mukta-keśāścha Pahlavāḥ śmaśru-dhārīṇaḥ | niśśvādhyāya-vashaṭkārah kṛtās tena mahātmanā | Sakāḥ Yavana-kāmbojāḥ Pāradāḥ Pahlavās tathā | Koli-sarpāḥ sa-Mahīśāḥ Dārvas Cholāḥ sa-Keralāḥ | sarve te kṣhatṛīyās tāta teshāṃ dharmo nirākṛitaḥ | Vasīṣṭha-vachanād rājan Sagareṇa mahātmanā |*

“Aurva having performed Sagara's natal and other rites, and taught him all the Vedas, then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and accompanied by an army, Sagara, incensed, speedily slew the Haihayas, as Rudra slaughters beasts; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas. But they, when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vasīṣṭha, and fell down before him. Vasīṣṭha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara, after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (*dharmā*), and made them change their costumes. He released the Sakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven;—and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear



long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from the vashaṭkāra. The Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dārvas, Cholas, and Keralas had all been Kshattriyas; but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vaśiṣṭha." Other tribes are mentioned in the following line who seem to have undergone the same treatment.

It would appear from this legend, as well as from the quotations which preceded it, that the Epic and Puranic writers believed all the surrounding tribes to belong to the same original stock with themselves; though they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from the Brahmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim. Any further explanations on these points, however, must be sought in the second volume of this work.

In the passages quoted above, pp. 391, 393, and 398 from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it is stated that Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, etc., were created by Vaśiṣṭha's wonder-working cow, in order to repel the aggression of Viśvāmitra. It does not, however, appear that it is the object of that legend to represent this miraculous creation as the origin of those tribes. The narrators, if they had any distinct meaning, may not have intended anything more than that the cow called into existence large armies, of the same stock with particular tribes previously existing.

It is not very easy to say whether it is only the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha (viz. that portion of Jambudvīpa which answers to India) whom the Puranic writers intend to represent as deriving their origin from the four primeval Indian castes. Perhaps the writers themselves had no very clear ideas. At all events the conditions of life are different in the two cases. The accounts which these writers give us of the other divisions of Jambudvīpa, and of the other Dvīpas, or continents, of which they imagined the earth to be composed, and their respective inhabitants, will be considered in the next chapter.



CHAPTER VI.

PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH
EXTERIOR TO BHĀRATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

It will clearly appear from the contents of the present chapter that the authors or compilers of the Purāṇas in reality knew nothing of any part of the world except that immediately around them. Whenever they wander away beyond their own neighbourhood, they at once lose themselves in a misty region of fiction, and give the most unbridled scope to their fantastic imaginations.

The following is the account given in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa regarding the divisions of the earth, and their inhabitants. Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva, or the first Manu (see above, pp. 65 and 72) who is separated from the present time by an enormous interval (see pp. 43 ff. and 298, above), "distributed the seven dvīpas,¹ of which the earth is composed, among seven of his sons" (ii. 1, 7. *Priyavrato dadau teshāṃ saptānāṃ muni-sattama | vibhajya sapta dvīpāni Maitreya sumahāt-manām*).

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives us the following account, v. 1. 30. *Tad anabhinandan sama-javena rathena jyotirmayena rajanīm api dīnaṃ kari-shyāmi iti saptakṛitvas taranīm anuparyyagrāmad dvitīyah iva patan-gaḥ | [evaṃ kureṇām Priyavratam āgatya Chaturānanaḥ "tavādhikāro 'yaṃ na bhavati" iti nivārayāmāsa]* (The words in brackets are not in the Bombay edition, but are taken from Burnouf's.) 31. *Yo vai u ha tad-ratha-charaṇa-nemi-kṛita-parikhātās te sapta sindhavaḥ āsan yataḥ eva kṛitāḥ sapta bhuvo dvīpāḥ* |² "Priyavrata, being dissatisfied that only

¹ The original division of the earth into seven continents is assigned to Nārāyaṇa in the form of Brahmā; see above, pp. 51 and 76.

² In this passage we find the particles *vai*, *u*, *ha*, occurring all together as they do in the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas. This circumstance might seem to suggest the



half the earth was illuminated at one time by the solar rays, "followed the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. [Brahmā, however, came and stopped him, saying this was not his province.] The ruts which were formed by the motion of his chariot wheels were the seven oceans. In this way the seven continents of the earth were made."

The same circumstance is alluded to at the commencement of the 16th section of the same book, where the king says to the rishi: verse 2. *Tattrāpi Priyavrata-ratha-charaṇa-parikhātaiḥ saptabhiḥ sapta sindhavaḥ upakṛiptāḥ | yataḥ etasyāḥ sapta-dvīpa-viśeṣa-vikalpas tvayā bhagavan khalu sūchitāḥ |* "The seven oceans were formed by the seven ruts of the wheels of Priyavrata's chariot; hence, as you have indicated, the earth has become divided into seven different continents."

It is clear that this account given by the Bhāgavata Purāṇa of the manner in which the seven oceans and continents were formed does not agree with the description in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 51.

These seven continents are called "Jambu dvīpa, Plaksha dvīpa, Śāl-possibility of the passage, or its substance, being derived from some of the Brāhmaṇas (to which, as we have seen, p. 155 note, the compiler of this Purāṇa was in the habit of resorting for his materials); but the style has otherwise nothing of an archaic caste, and I am not aware that the dvīpas are mentioned in any of the Brāhmaṇas. It is also remarkable that the words sapta sindhavaḥ are here used for "seven oceans." This phrase occurs several times in the Vedas. For instance, it is to be found in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā (of the Yajur-veda), 38, 26, *yāvati dyāvā-prithivī yāvach cha sapta sindhavo vitasthīre |* "As wide as are the earth and sky, and as far as the seven oceans extend." The commentator Mahidhara understands the latter in the Puranic sense, as the oceans of milk, etc. (*sapta sindhavaḥ sapta samudrāḥ kṣhīradyāḥ*). The hemistich I have quoted from the Vāj. Saṁhitā occurs somewhat modified, and in a different connexion, in the Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 2. The same phrase, sapta sindhavaḥ, is to be found also in several places in the first Book of the Rig-veda. (See Benfey's Glossary to Sāma-veda, sub voce *saptan*.) In Rig-veda i. 32, 12, it is said to Indra *avāsṛjyah sartinave sapta sindhūn |* "Thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow." Sāyana understands this of the Ganges and other rivers, seven in number, mentioned in the Rig Veda, x. 75, 5: *imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvatī S'utudrī stomam sachatā Parushnyā |* "Receive this my hymn with favour, o Gāṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, S'utudrī, with the Parushnī, etc.;" but in this distich ten rivers in all are mentioned. (See Wilson's note to Rig-veda, i. 32, 12, vol. i. p. 88, of his translation). See also hymns 34, 8; 35, 8; 71, 7; and 102, 2, of the first, and 58, 12, and 85, 1, of the eighth Books of the Rig-veda. The "seven rivers" of the Veda are, according to Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 63), "the Indus, the five rivers of the Penjāb and the Sarasvatī."

mali dvīpa, Kuśa dvīpa, Krauncha dvīpa, Sāka dvīpa, and Pushkara dvīpa. They are surrounded severally by seven great seas, of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh water" (V.P. ii. 2, 4. *Jambū-plakshāhvayau dvīpau S'ālmaliś chāparo dvīja | Kuśaḥ Kraunchas tathā S'ākaḥ Pushkaraś chaiva saptamaḥ | 5. Ete dvīpāḥ samudrais tu sapta saptabhir āvṛitāḥ | lavanekshu-surā-sarpīr-dādhi-dugdha-jalair samam* |). Jambu dvīpa is in the centre of all these continents (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 110). It fell to the lot of Agnidhra, son of Priyavrata, who again divided it among his nine sons (Wilson, ii. 101). In the centre of Jambu dvīpa is the golden mountain Meru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā (ibid. p. 118). There are in this continent six cross-ranges of boundary-mountains, those of Himavat (= Himādri, or Himālaya), Hemakūṭa, and Nishadha lying south of Meru; and those of Nīla, Sveta, and Śringin, situated to the northward. Of these, Nishadha and Nīla are the nearest to Meru, while Himavat and Śringin are at the south and north extremities. The nine Varshas or divisions of Jambu dvīpa, separated by these and other ranges, are Bhārata (India), south of the Himavat mountains, and the southernmost of all; then (2) Kimpurusha, (3) Harivarsha, (4) Ilāvṛita, (5) Rāmyaka, (6) Hiraṇmaya, and (7) Uttara Kuru, each to the north of the last; while (8) Bhadrāsva and (9) Ketumāla lie respectively to the east and west of Ilāvṛita, the central region. Bhārata Varsha, and Uttara Kuru, as well as Bhadrāsva and Ketumāla,³ are situated on the exterior of the mountain ranges. (Wilson, ii. pp. 114-116, and 123.) The eight Varshas to the north of Bhārata Varsha (or India) are thus described:

V.P. ii. 1, 11. *Yāni Kimpurushādini varshāṇy ashtau mahāmune | teshāṃ svābhāviki siddhiḥ sukha-prāyā hy ayatnataḥ | 12. Viparyyayo*

³ The Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīṣmaparvan, verses 227-8, in regard to the Varsha of Ketumāla: *āyur daśa sahasrāṇi varshānām tatra Bhārata | suvarṇa-varṇāś cha narāḥ striyaś chāpsarasopamāḥ | anāmayaḥ vīta-śokāḥ nityam mudita-mānasāḥ | jāyante mānavāś tatra nishṭapta-kanaka-prabhāḥ* | "The people there live ten thousand years. The men are of the colour of gold, and the women fair as celestial nymphs. Men are born there of the colour of burnished gold, live free from sickness and sorrow, and enjoy perpetual happiness." The men by the side of the mountain Gandhamādana, west of Meru, are said (v. 231) "to be black, of great strength and vigour, while the women are of the colour of blue lotuses, and very beautiful" (*tatra krishnāḥ narāḥ rājāṃś tejo-yuktāḥ mahābalāḥ | striyaś chotpata-varṇābhāḥ sarvāḥ supriya-darśanāḥ*).

*na tattrāsti jarā-mṛityu-bhayaṁ na cha | dharmādharmau na teshu āstān
nottamādhama-madhyamāḥ | na teshu asti yugāvasthā kṣettreshu aṣṭasu
sarvadā |*

“In the eight Varshas, called Kimpurusha and the rest (i.e. in all except Bhārata Varsha) the inhabitants enjoy a natural perfection attended with complete happiness obtained without exertion. There is there no vicissitude, nor decrepitude, nor death, nor fear; no distinction of virtue and vice, none of the inequalities denoted by the words best, worst, and intermediate, nor any change resulting from the succession of the four yugas.” And again:

ii. 2, 35. *Yāni Kimpurushādyāni varshāṇy aṣṭau mahāmune | na
teshu śoko nāyāso nodvega-kṣud-bhayādikam | susthāḥ prajāḥ nirātankāḥ
sarva-duḥkha-vivarjītāḥ |* 36. *Dāsa-dvādāsa-varshāṇāṁ sahasrāni sthīra-
yushaḥ | na teshu varshate devo bhaumyāṇy ambhāṁsi teshu vai |* 37.
Kṛita-tretādikā naiva teshu sthāneṣhu kalpanā |

“In those eight Varshas there is neither grief, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor fear. The people live in perfect health, free from every suffering, for ten or twelve thousand years. Indra does not rain on those Varshas, for they have abundance of springs. There is there no division of time into the Kṛita, Tretā, and other ages.”

The Uttara Kurus, it should be remarked, may have been a real people, as they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 14: 4

*Atha enām udīchyāṁ diśi viśve devāḥ shadbhiḥ chaiva panchaviṁśair
ahobhir abhyashinchann etena cha trichena etena cha yajushā etābhiḥ cha
vyāhṛitibhir vairājyāya | tasmād etasyām udīchyāṁ diśi ye ke cha pareṇa
Himavantaṁ janapadāḥ “Uttara-Kuravaḥ Uttara-Madrāḥ” iti vairā-
jyāya eva te ’bhiśichyante |*

“Then in the northern region during six days on which the Panchaviṁśa stoma was recited, the Viśve-devas inaugurated him (Indra) for glorious dominion with these three rik-verses, this yajush-verse, and these mystic monosyllables. Wherefore the several nations who dwell in this northern quarter, beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious dominion (*vairājya*), and people term them the glorious (*virāj*).” See Colebrooke’s Misc. Essays, i. 38-43; Dr. Haug’s translation of the Ait. Brāhmaṇa; and Prof. Weber’s review of this translation in Ind. Studien, ix. pp. 341 f.

⁴ Quoted by Weber in Ind. St. i. 218.



In another passage of the same work,⁵ however, the Uttara Kurus are treated as belonging to the domain of mythology :

Ait. Br. viii. 23. *Etaṁ ha vai aindram mahābhishkekam Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātahavyo'tyārātaye Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyārātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantaṁ sarvataḥ prithivīm jayan pariyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyaḥ "ajaiśūr vai samantaṁ sarvataḥ prithivīm mahad mā gamaya" iti | sa ha uvācha Atyārātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa uttara-kurūn jayeyāṁ tvam u ha eva prithivyai rājā syāḥ senāpatir eva te 'haṁ syām" iti | sa ha uvācha Vāsishṭhaḥ Sātyahavyo "deva-kshettraṁ vai tad na vai tad marṭhyo jetum arhaty adrukshe me ā'taḥ idaṁ dade" iti | tato ha Atyārātim Jānantapim ātta-vīryyam niśśukram amitra-tapaṇaḥ Sushmināḥ S'aivyo rājā jaghāna | tasmād evaṁ-viduḥ brāhmaṇāya evaṁ-chakrushe kshattriyo na druhyed na id rāshṭrād avapadyeāt (?) na id vāma-prāṇo jahāt iti |*

"Sātyahavya of the family of Vāsishṭha declared this great inauguration similar to Indra's to Atyārāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyārāti, though not a king, by his knowledge, went round the earth on every side to its ends, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya then said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the earth in all directions to its limits; exalt me now to greatness.' Atyārāti replied, 'When, o Brāhmaṇ, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the realm of the gods; no mortal may make the conquest of it: Thou hast wronged me; therefore I take all this away from thee.' In consequence Sushmina, king of the Sivas, vexer of his foes, slew Atyārāti son of Janantapa who had been bereft of his valour and energy. Wherefore let no Kshattriya wrong a Brāhmaṇ who possesses such knowledge and has so acted, lest he should be expelled from his kingdom, be short-lived, and perish."

The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned in the description of the northern region in the Kishkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 43, 38, *Uttarāḥ Kuravas tatra kṛta-punya-pratiśrāyaḥ |* "There are the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit." In v. 57 it is said: *na kathanchana gantavyaṁ kurūnām uttareṇa vah | anyeṣāṁ api bhūtānām nānukramati vai gatiḥ |* "You must not go to the north of the Kurus: other beings also may not proceed further."

⁵ See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 43; Dr. Haug's translation; and Ind. Stud. ix. 346.



In the same way when Arjuna, in his career of conquest, arrives at the country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city, M. Bh. Sabhāparvan, 1045 :

Pārtha nedaṁ trayā śakyam puraṁ jetuṁ kathanchana | upārvarttasva kalyāṇa paryāptam idam Achyuta | idam puraṁ yaḥ praviśed dhruvaṁ na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . na chāttra kinchij jetavyam Arjunāttra pradrīśyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ete nāttra yuddham pravarttate | praviśto 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena śakyam attrābhivīkshitum |

"Thou canst not, son of Prithā, subdue this city. Refrain, fortunate man, for it is completely secure. He who shall enter this city must be certainly more than man. . . . Nor is there anything to be seen here which thou canst conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to assail. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing. For no one can perceive anything here with human senses."⁶

In the Anuśāsanaparvan, line 2841, Kuśika says, on seeing a magic palace formed by Chyavana (see above, p. 475):

Aho saha śarīreṇa prāpto 'smi paramāṁ gatim | Uttarān vā Kurān puṇyān athavā 'py Amarāvatīm |

"I have attained, even in my embodied condition, to the heavenly state; or to the holy Northern Kurus, or to Amarāvati [the city of Indra]!"

"The country to the north of the ocean, and to the south of the Himādri (or snowy range), is Bhārata Varsha, where the descendants of Bharata dwell" (V.P. ii. 3, 1. *Uttaraṁ yad samudrasya Himādreś chaiva dakṣiṇam | varshaṁ tad Bhārataṁ nāma Bhārati yattra santatiḥ*). It is divided into nine parts (*bhedāḥ*), Indradvīpa, Kaśerumat, Tāmra-varṇa, Gābhāstimāt, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vārūṇa; and "this ninth dvīpa," which is not named, is said to be "surrounded by the ocean" *ayaṁ tu navamas teshāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṁvṛtitaḥ*), and to be a thousand yojanas long from north to south. "On the east side of it are the Kirātas, on the west the Yavanas, and in the centre are the Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, following their respective occupations of sacrifice, arms, trade, etc." (The text⁶ of this passage, V.P. ii. 3, 7, has been already quoted in p. 485).

⁶ See the second vol. of this work, pp. 332-337, and vol. iv., p. 375.

The Vishṇu Purāṇa contains a very short list of the tribes inhabiting Bhārata Varsha. (See Wilson, vol. ii. pp. 132 f.) It specifies, as the principal, only the Kurus, Pāṇchālas, the people of Kāmarūpa, the Puṇḍras, Kalingas, Magadhas, Saurāshṭras, Sūras, Bhīras, Arbudas, Kārūshas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūnas, Sālvas, Śakalas, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashṭhas, and Pārasikas.⁷ These tribes seem to be all confined to India and its vicinity.

The praises of Bhārata Varsha are celebrated as follows:

V.P. ii. 3, 11. *Chatvāri Bhārata varshe yugāny atra mahāmune | kṛitaṁ tretā dvāparaś cha kalīś chānyatra na kvachit | 12. Tapas tapyanti yatayo juhvate chāttra yajvinaḥ | dānāni chāttra dīyante paralokārtham ādarāt | purushair yajna-purusho Jambu-dvīpe sadējyate | yajnair yajna-mayo Viṣṇur anyā-dvīpeshu chānyathā | 13. Attrāpi Bhārataṁ śreshṭhaṁ Jambu-dvīpe mahāmune | yato hi karma-bhūr eṣhā ato 'nyāḥ bhoga-bhūmayah | atra janma-sahasrāṇām sahasrair api sattamam | kadachit labhate jantur mānushyam puṇya-sanchayam | gāyanti devāḥ kila gītakāni "dhan-yās tu ye Bhārata-bhūmi-bhāge | svargāpavargasya dahe tu bhūte bhavanti bhūyah purushāḥ suratoāt | 14. Karmāny asankalpita-tut-phalāni sanṇyasya Viṣṇau paramātma-rūpe | avāpya tām karma-mahim ananto tasmīn layam ye tv amalāḥ prayānti | 15. Jānīma naitat kva vayeṁ vilīne svarga-prade karmani deha-bandham | prāpsyāma dhanyāḥ khalu te manushyāḥ ye Bhārata nendriya-viprahīṇāḥ" |*

"In Bhārata Varsha, and nowhere else, do the four Yugas, Kṛita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali exist. 12. Here devotees perform austerities, and priests sacrifice; here gifts are bestowed, to testify honour, for the sake of the future world. In Jambudvīpa Viṣṇu, the sacrificial Man, whose essence is sacrifice, is continually worshipped by men with sacrifices; and in other ways in the other dvīpas.⁸ 13. In this respect Bhārata is the most excellent division of Jambudvīpa; for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. Perhaps in a thousand thousand births, a living being obtains here that most excellent condition, humanity, the receptacle of virtue. The gods sing, 'Happy are those beings, who, when the rewards of their merits have

⁷ The list in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣmaparvan, 346 ff.), is much longer. See Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, vol. ii. pp. 132 f., and 156 ff.

⁸ "In other ways, i.e. in the form of Soma, Vāyu, Sūryya, etc." (*Anyathā Soma-vāyu-sūryyādi-rūpāḥ* |). Commentator.



been exhausted in heaven, are, after being gods, again born as men in Bhārata Varsha; (14) who, when born in that land of works, resign to the supreme and eternal Vishṇu their works, without regard to their fruits, and attain by purity to absorption in him. 15. We know not where we shall next attain a corporeal condition, when the merit of our works shall have become exhausted; but happy are those men who exist in Bhārata Varsha with perfect senses.”

To the same effect the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says, v. 17, 11:

Tattrāpi Bhāratam eva varsham karma-kshetram anyāny aṣṭa-varshāni svarginām punya-śeshopabhoga-sthānāni bhaumāni svarga-padāni vyapaśanti | 12. Eṣu puruṣhānām ayuta-puruṣhāyur-varshānām deva-kalpānām nāgāyuta-prāṇānām vajra-saṁhanana-vayo-moda-pramudita-mahāsaurata-mithuna-vyavāyāpavarga-varsha-dhṛitaiḥ garbha-kalatrānām tretā-yuga-samāh kālo varṭtate |

“Of these, Bhāratavarsha alone is the land of works: the other eight Varshas are places where the celestials enjoy the remaining rewards of their works; they are called terrestrial paradises. 12. In them men pass an existence equal to that of the Tretā age, living for the space of ten thousand ordinary lives, on an equality with gods, having the vitality of ten thousand elephants, and possessed of wives who bear one child after a year’s conception following upon sexual intercourse attended by all the gratification arising from adamantine bodies and from vigorous youth.”

The commentator remarks on verse 11: *Divya-bhauma-bīla-bhedāt trividhaḥ svargaḥ | tatra bhauma-svargasya padāni sthānāni vyapaśanti |* “Heaven is of three kinds, in the sky, on earth, and in the abyss. Here the other Varshas are called terrestrial heavens.”

It is curious to remark that in the panegyric on Bhārata Varsha it is mentioned as one of the distinguishing advantages of that division of Jambudvīpa that sacrifice is performed there, though, a little further on, it is said to be practised in Sālmali dvīpa also.

It would at first sight appear from the preceding passage (ii. 3, 11) of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (as well as from others which we shall encounter below), to be the intention of the writer to represent the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha as a different race, or, at least as living under quite different conditions, from the inhabitants of the other dvīpas, and even of the other divisions (*varshas*) of Jambu dvīpa itself. From the use



of the word *mānushya* (humanity) here applied to the inhabitants of Bhārata Varsha, viewed in reference to the context, it would seem to be a natural inference that all the people exterior to it were beings of a different race. Yet in the descriptions of Kuśa dvīpa and Pushkara dvīpa (see below) the words *manujāḥ* and *mānavāḥ* "descendants of Manu," or "men," are applied to the dwellers in those continents. In the passage of the Jātimālā, moreover, translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Misc. Essays, ii. 179), we are told that "a chief of the twice-born tribe was brought by Vishnu's eagle from Sāka dvīpa; thus have Sāka dvīpa Brāhmans become known in Jambu dvīpa." According to this verse, too, there should be an affinity of race between the people of these two dvīpas. It is also to be noted that the descendants of Priyavrata became kings of all the dvīpas, as well as of all the varshas of Jambu dvīpa (see above, pp. 489, 491). And in the passage quoted above, p. 478, from the Vishnu Purāṇa, iv. 11, 3, it is said of Arjuna, son of Kṛitavīrya, that he was "lord of the seven dvīpas," "that he ruled over the earth with all its dvīpas."⁹ If, however, the kings were of the human race, it is natural to infer the same of the people.

But, in a subject of this sort, where the writers were following the suggestions of imagination only, it is to be expected that we should find inconsistencies.

Jambu dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of salt water (Wilson, V.P. ii. 109); and that sea again is bounded on its outer side by the dvīpa or continent of Plaksha running all round it. (V.P. ii. 4, 1. *Kshāro-dena yathā dvīpo Jambu-sanjño 'bhiveshṭitāḥ | saṁveshṭya kshāram udadhīm Plaksha-dvīpas tathā sthitāḥ*). According to this scheme the several continents and seas form concentric circles, Jambu dvīpa being a circular island occupying the centre of the system.

Plaksha dvīpa is of twice the extent of Jambu dvīpa. The character and condition of its inhabitants are described as follows:

V. P. ii. 4, 5. *Nā chaivāsti yugāvasthā teshu sthāneshu saptaśu | 6. Tretā-yuga-samāḥ kālāḥ sarvadaiva mahāmāte | Plaksha-dvīpādīshu brahman S'ākadvīpāntākeshu vai | 7. Pancha-varsha-sahasrāṇi janāḥ jivantya anāmayāḥ | dharmāḥ panchasv athaiteshu varṇāśrama-vibhāga-jāḥ |*

⁹ Purāṇas is said to have possessed thirteen islands (dvīpas) of the ocean (above p. 307).



*varnās tattrāpi chatvāras tām nibodha gadāmi te | Aryyakāḥ Kuravās
chaiva Vivāsāḥ Bhāvins cha ye | vipra-kshattriya-vaiśyās te śūdrās cha
muni-sattama |*

"In those seven provinces [which compose Plaksha dvīpa] the division of time into Yugas does not exist: but the character of existence is always that of the Tretā age. In the [five] dvīpas, beginning with Plaksha and ending with Sāka, the people live 5000 years, free from sickness. In those five dvīpas duties arise from the divisions of castes and orders. There are there also four castes, Āryyakas, Kurus, Vivāsas, and Bhāvins, who are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras," and whose worship is thus described:

9. *Ijyate tatra bhagavāns tair varṇair Aryyakādibhiḥ | soma-rūpī
jagat-sraśtā sarvaḥ sarveśvaro Hariḥ |* "Hari who is All, and the lord of all, and the creator of the world, is adored in the form of Soma by these classes, the Āryyakas, etc."

The inhabitants of this dvīpa receive different names in the Bhāga-vata Purāṇa, being there called (v. 20, 4) "Hansas, Patangas, Ūrdhvāyanas, and Satyāngas, four castes, who, purified from passion and darkness by the touch of the waters of these rivers, live a thousand years, resemble the gods in their appearance and in their manner of procreation, and worship with the triple Veda the divine Soul, the Sun, who is the gate of heaven, and who is co-essential with the Vedas" (*Yāsām jalopasparśana-vidhūta-rajasa-tamaso Hamsa-patangorddhvāyana-satyānga-sanjñās chatvāro varnāḥ sahasrāyusho vibudhopama-sandarśana-prajananūḥ svarga-dvāram trayyā vidyayā bhagavantaṁ trayīmayam sūryam ātmānam yajante*).

In regard to Plaksha and the other four following dvīpas, the Bhāga-vata Purāṇa says, *ibid.* para. 6, that "their men are all alike in respect of natural perfection as shewn in length of life, senses, vigour, force, strength, intelligence, and courage" (*Plakshādishu panchasu purushāṇām āyur inriyam ojaḥ saho balaṁ buddhir vikramah iti cha sarveśhām utpattikiḥ siddhir avīśeshena varttate*).

Plaksha dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of the same compass as itself. ii. 4, 9, *Plaksha-dvīpa - pramāṇena Plaksha - dvīpauḥ samāvṛitah | tathaivekshu-rasodena pariveśūnukārīṇā |* Round the outer margin of this sea, and twice as extensive, runs Sālmala dvīpa (verse 11. *Sālmalena samudro 'sau dvīpenekshu-rasodakah | vistara-*

dviguṇenātha sarvataḥ saṃvṛitaḥ sthitaḥ). It is divided into seven Varshas, or divisions. Of their inhabitants it is said :

V. P. ii. 4, 12. *Saptaitāni tu varshāni chāturvarnya-yutāni cha | Sālmale ye tu varṇās cha vasanti te mahāmune | kapilās chāruṇāḥ pītāḥ krishṇās chaiva prīthak prīthak | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrās chaiva yajanti te | bhagavantaṁ samastasya Viṣṇum ātmānam avyayam | Vāyubhūtam makha-śreṣṭhāir yajino yajna-saṁsthitam | 13. Devānāṁ atra sānnidhyam atīva sumanoḥaram |*

“These seven Varshas have a system of four castes. The castes which dwell there are severally the Kapilas, Arunas, Pitas, and Krishnas (or the Tawny, the Purple, the Yellow, and the Black). These, the Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras, worship with excellent sacrifices Viṣṇu, the divine and imperishable Soul of all things, in the form of Vāyu, and abiding in sacrifice. Here the vicinity of the gods is very delightful to the soul.”

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says of this dvīpa, v. 20, 11: *Tad-varsha-purushāḥ Śrutadhara-vīryadhara-vasundharaśhundhara-saṁjñāḥ bhagavantaṁ vedamayāṁ somam ātmānaṁ vedena yajante* | “The men of the different divisions of this dvīpa, called Śrutadharas, Vīryadharas, Vasundharas, and Ishundharas, worship with the Veda the divine Soul Soma, who is co-essential with the Veda.”

This dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of wine of the same compass as itself (v. 13. *Esha dvīpaḥ samudreṇa suroḍena saṁvṛitaḥ | vistārāc chhālmalasyaiva samena tu samāntataḥ*). The exterior shore of this sea is encompassed by Kuśa dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as Sālmala dvīpa (v. 13. *Surodakāḥ parivṛitaḥ Kuśadvīpena sarvataḥ | Sālmalasya tu vistārād dviguṇena samāntataḥ*). The inhabitants of Kuśa dvīpa are thus described, V.P. ii 4, 14:

Tasyāṁ vasanti manuḥjāḥ saha Daiteya-dānavaiḥ | tathāiva deva-gandharva-yaksha-kimpurushāḍḍayāḥ | varṇās tattrāpi chatvāro nījanuṣṭhāna-tatparāḥ | Damināḥ Sushmināḥ Snehāḥ Mandehās cha mahāmune | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrās chānukramoditāḥ | 15. Yathokta-karma-karttrivāt svādhikāra-kṣayāya te | tatra te tu Kuśa-dvīpe Brahma-rūpaṁ Janārddanam | yajantaḥ kṣapayanty ugram adhikāram phala-pradam |

“In this set of Varshas (of Kuśa dvīpa) dwell men with Daityas, Dānavas, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kimpurushas, and other beings.



There, too, there are four castes, pursuing their proper observances, Damins, Sushmins, Snehas, and Mandehas, who in the order specified are Brāhmins, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. In order to destroy their right [to reward] derived from the performance of these works, they worship Janārdana in the form of Brahma, and so neutralize this direful merit which brings rewards."

Of Kuśa dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 455-7: *Eteshu deva-gandharvāḥ prajāścha jagatīśvara | viharante ramante cha na teshu nrityate janāḥ | na teshu dasyavaḥ santi mlechha-jātyo 'pi vā nrīpa | gaura-prāyo janāḥ sarvaḥ sukumāras cha pārthiva* | "In these (Varshas of Kuśa dvīpa), gods, Gandharvas, and living creatures, amuse and enjoy themselves. No one dies there. There are no Dasyus or Mlechhas there. The people are fair, and of very delicate forms." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 16, says, "The people of this dvīpa are called Kuśalas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas, and Kulakas" (*Kuśa-dvīpaukasāḥ Kuśala-kovidābhiyukta-kulaka-sanjñāḥ* |).

Kuśa dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of clarified butter, of the same circumference as itself.

Around this sea runs Krauncha dvīpa which is twice as large as Kuśa dvīpa. The V. P. says, ii. 4, 19: *Sarveshu eteshu ramyeshu varsha-saila-vareshu cha | nivasanti nirātankāḥ saha deva-gaṇaiḥ prajāḥ | Pushkarāḥ Pushkalāḥ Dhanyās Tishmās chāttra mahāmune | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ sūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ* | "In all these pleasant division-mountains of this dvīpa the people dwell, free from fear, in the society of the gods. [These people are] the Pushkaras, Pushkalas, Dhanyas, and Tishmas, who, as enumerated in order, are the Brāhmins, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras." The inhabitants of this dvīpa are called in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 22, ". . . Purushas, Rishabhas, Dravīnas, and Devakas" (*Purusharshabha-dravīna-devaka-sanjñāḥ*). This dvīpa is encompassed by the sea of curds, which is of the same circumference as itself. The sea again, on its exterior edge, is surrounded by Śāka dvīpa,¹⁰ a continent twice the size of Krauncha dvīpa.

Of Śāka dvīpa it is said in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 23 ff. :

Tattra puṇyāḥ janapadās chāturvārṇya-samanvitāḥ | nadyāś chāttra mahāpuṇyāḥ sarva-pāpa-bhayāpahāḥ | . . . tāḥ piḍanti mudā yuktāḥ Jaladādishu ye sthitāḥ | varsheshu te janapadāḥ svargād abhyetya me-

¹⁰ In the M. Bh. (Bhīshmap. v, 408 ff.) Śākadvīpa comes next after Jambudvīpa.

*dinīm | 24. Dharma-hānir na teshu asti na sangharshaḥ parasparam |
maryādā-vyutkrāmo nāpi teshu doṣeshu saptaśu | 25. Magās cha Māga-
dhās chaiva Mānasāḥ Mandagās tathā | Magāḥ brāhmaṇa-bhūyishṭhāḥ
Māgadhaḥ kshattriyās tu te | Vaiśyās tu Mānasāḥ jñeyāḥ śūdrās teshāṃ
tu Mandagāḥ | 26. S'ākadvīpe tu tair Viṣṇuḥ sūrya-rūpa-dhāro mune |
yathoktair ijjate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ |*

“There there are holy countries, peopled by persons belonging to the four castes; and holy rivers which remove all sin and fear. . . . The people who dwell in these divisions, Jalada, etc. [of S'ākadvīpa], drink these rivers with pleasure, even when they have come to earth from Svarga. There is among them no defect of virtue; nor any mutual rivalry; nor any transgression of rectitude in those seven countries. [There dwell] Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas, of whom the first are principally Brāhmans; the second are Kshattriyas; the third are Vaiśyas, and the fourth are Śūdras. By them Viṣṇu, in the form of the Sun, is worshipped with the prescribed ceremonies, and with intent minds.”

Of this dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīṣmaparvan, verse 410, that the “people there are holy, and no one dies” (*tatra punyāḥ janapadāḥ na tatra mriyate naraḥ*). One of the mountains there is called Syāma (black), “whence men have got this black colour” (verse 420. *Tataḥ śyāmatvam āpannāḥ janāḥ janapadeśvara*). Dhṛitarāshṭra then says to his informant Sanjaya that he has great doubts as to “how living creatures have become black.” Sanjaya promises in the following lines, the sense of which is not very clear, to explain the mystery: 422. *Sarvesho eva mahārāja dvīpeshu Kuru-nandana | gaurāḥ kṛṣṇās cha pātango yato varṇāntare dvijāḥ | śyāmo yasmāt pravṛtito vai tat te vakshyāmi Bhārata* | But as he proceeds no further, we lose the benefit of his solution of this interesting physiological problem. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 28, gives the four classes of men in this dvīpa the names of Rītavratas, Satyavratas, Dānavratas, and Anuvratas (*tad-varsha-purushāḥ Rītavrata-Satyavrata-Dānavratānuvrata-nāmānaḥ*).

This Sāka dvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of milk as by an armlet. This ocean again is encompassed on its outer side by Pushkara dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as Sāka dvīpa.

Of Pushkara dvīpa it is said, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, ii. 4, 28 ff.:

Daśa-varsha-sahasrāṇi tatra jīvanti mānavāḥ | nirāmayāḥ viśokāścha

rāga-dvesha-vivarijītāḥ | adhamottamau na teshv āstām na badhya-badhakau dvīpa | nershyā 'sūyā bhayaṁ rosho dosho lobhādiko na cha |

29. *Satyānrite na tattrāstām dvīpe Pushkara-sanjnite |* 30.

Tulya-vesās tu manujāḥ devais tattraika-rūpiṇaḥ | 31. Varṇāśramāchārāhīnam dharmācharaṇa-varjītam | trayī-vārttā-dandanīti-śūśrūṣārahitaṁ cha yat | 32. Varsha-dvayaṁ tu maittreya bhauma-svargo 'yam uttamah | sarvasya sukha-daḥ kālo jarā-roḡādi-varjītaḥ |

"In this dvīpa men live ten thousand years, free from sickness and sorrow, from affection and hatred. There is no distinction among them of highest and lowest, of killer and slain; there is no envy, nor ill-will, nor fear, nor anger, nor defect, nor covetousness, nor other fault; there is there neither truth nor falsehood. Men there are all of the same appearance, of one form with the gods. The two divisions of this dvīpa have no rules of caste or orders, nor any observances of duty; the three Vedas, the Purāṇas (or, trade), the rules of criminal law and service do not exist. This [dvīpa] is a most excellent terrestrial heaven; where time brings happiness to all, and is exempt from decay, sickness, and all other evils."¹¹

Of all the dvīpas together, the Mahābhārata says, Bhīṣmaparvan, verses 468 ff. :

Evam dvīpeshu sarveshu prajānām Kuru-nandana | brahmacharyyeṇa satyena prajānām hi damena cha | ārogyāyuhpramānābhyām dviguṇam dviguṇam tataḥ | eko janapado rājan dvīpeshv eteshu Bhārata | uktāḥ

¹¹ In the same way as Pushkara, the remotest dvīpa, is here described to be the scene of the greatest perfection, we find Homer placing the Elysian plains on the furthest verge of the earth :

ἀλλὰ σ' ἐς Ἑλύσιον πεδῖον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
 ἀθάνατοι πέμπουσιν, ὅθι ξανθὸς Ῥαδάμανθους,
 τῆπερ ῥητοῖη βιοτὴ πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν.
 οὐ νιφετὸς, οὐτ' ἄρ' χειμὼν πολλὸς οὔτε πυρ' ὄμβρος,
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγυρὸν πνεύοντασ' αἴητας
 Ὠκεανὸς ἀνίστην ἀναφύχων ἀνθρώπους. *Odyssey* Δ. 563-568.

"Thee, favoured man, to earth's remotest end,
 The Elysian plain, the immortal gods shall send,—
 That realm which fair-haired Rhadamanthys sways,
 Where, free from toil, men pass their tranquil days.
 No tempests vex that land, no rain, nor snow;
 But ceaseless Zephyrs from the ocean blow,
 Which sweetly breathe and gently stir the air,
 And to the dwellers grateful coolness bear."

*janapadāḥ yeshu karma chaikam pradṛśyate | īśvaro daṇḍam udyamya
evayam eva Prajāpatiḥ | dvīpānāṁ tu mahārāja rakshaṁśe tiṣṭhati ni-
tyadā | sa rājā sa śivo rājan sa pitā prapitāmahaḥ | gopāyati nara-
śreṣṭha prajāḥ sa-jaḍa-paṇḍitāḥ | bhōjanaṁ chāttra Kauravya prajāḥ
evayam upasthitam | siddham eva mahābāho tad hi bhunjanti nityadā |*

“Thus in all these dvīpas each country doubly exceeds the former one in the abstinence, veracity, and self-restraint, in the health and the length of life of its inhabitants. In these dvīpas the people is one, and one sort of action is perceivable. Prajāpati, the lord, wielding his sceptre, himself governs these dvīpas. He, the king, the auspicious one (*śiva*), the father, along with the patriarchs, protects all creatures, ignorant as well as learned.” (So there are differences of intellectual condition in these dvīpas after all!) “All these people eat prepared food, which comes to them of itself.”

Pushkara is surrounded by a sea of fresh water equal to itself in compass. What is beyond is afterwards described :

V.P. ii. 4, 37. *Svādūdakasya parato dṛśyate loka-saṁsthitiḥ | dviguṇā
kāncanā bhūmiḥ sarva-jantu-vivarjitaḥ | 38. Lokālokaḥ tataḥ śailo yoja-
nāyuta-vistṛitaḥ | uchchhṛāyeṇāpi tāvanti sahasrāṇy aśalo hi saḥ | tatas
tamaḥ samāvṛitya taṁ śailaṁ sarvataḥ sthitam | tamaś chāṇḍa-kaṭāhena
samantāt parisveshitaḥ |*

“On the other side of the sea is beheld a golden land of twice its extent, but without inhabitants. Beyond that is the Lokāloka mountain, which is ten thousand yojanas in breadth, and as many thousands in height. It is on all sides invested with darkness. This darkness is encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg.”¹²

In a following chapter, however, (the seventh) of this same book, the

¹² See Manu, i. verses 9 and 12, quoted above, p. 35. The thirteenth verse is as follows : *Tābhyāṁ sa śakātābhyāṁ cha divam bhūmiṁ cha nirmame | madhye vyoma
disaś chāṣṭūr apāṁ sthūnaṁ cha śāśvataḥ |* “From these two halves of the shell he fashioned the heaven and the earth, and in the middle (he formed) the sky, and the eight quarters, and the eternal abode of the waters.” In regard to the darkness (*tamas*) with which the mountain Lokāloka is said to be enveloped, compare Manu iv. 242, where the spirits of the departed are said to pass by their righteousness through the darkness which is hard to be traversed (*dharmena hi sahāyena tamas tarati dustaram*); and Atharva-veda, ix. 5, 1, “Crossing the darkness, in many directions immense, let the unborn ascend to the third heaven” (*ĕrtvā tamāṁsi bahudhā mahānti ajo nākam ā kramatām tritīyam*). See Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 298, note 2, and p. 304.

shell of the mundane egg is said to be outside of the seven spheres of which this system is composed :

V.P. ii. 7, 19. *Ete sapta mayā lokāḥ Maîtreya kathitās tava | pātālāni cha saptaiva brahmāṇḍasyaisha vistaraḥ | etad anda-katāhena tīryak choraddhram adhas tathā | kapīthasya yathā vijām sarvaśo vai samāvṛitam |*

"These seven spheres have been described by me; and there are also seven Pātālas : this is the extent of Brahmā's egg. The whole is surrounded by the shell of the egg at the sides, above, and below, just as the seed of the wood-apple (is covered by the rind)."

This system, however, it appears, is but a very small part of the whole of the universe :

Ibid. verse 24. *Andānām tu sahasrāṇām sahasrāṇy ayutāni cha | idrīśānām tathā tatra koṭi-koṭi-śatāni cha |*

"There are thousands and ten thousands of thousands of such mundane eggs; nay hundreds of millions of millions."

Indian mythology, when striving after sublimity, and seeking to excite astonishment, often displays an extravagant and puerile facility in the fabrication of large numbers. But, in the sentence last quoted, its conjectures are substantially in unison with the discoveries of modern astronomy; or rather, they are inadequate representations of the simple truth, as no figures can express the contents of infinite space.



APPENDIX.

Page 6, line 24.

Professor Wilson's analyses of the Agni, Brahma-vaivartta, Vishnu and Vāyu Purāṇas, were originally published, not in the "Gleanings in Science," but in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i.; and are reprinted in the 3rd vol. of Wilson's Collected Works, edited by Dr. R. Rost.

Page 37, line 1.

"Abodes of gods." Böhrtlingk and Roth in their Sanskrit Lexicon, s.v. *nikāya*, shew that in other passages, if not here also, the compound word *deva-nikāya* should be rendered "classes, or assemblages, of gods."

Page 50, line 25.

Compare the passage, quoted below, in the note on p. 115, from the Sāntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff.

Pages 90 ff.

The representations of the Kṛita yuga are not always consistent. In the Dronaparvan, verses 2023 ff. a story is told of King Akampana, who lived in that age, and who was yet so far from enjoying the tranquillity generally predicated of that happy time that he was overcome by his enemies in a battle, in which he lost his son, and suffered in consequence severe affliction.

Page 97, note 190.

It is similarly said in the Dronaparvan, verse 2395: *Kshatād nas trāyate sarvān iṣy evaṁ kshattriyo 'bhavat* | "He (Prithu) became a Kshattriya by delivering us all from injuries." See also Sāntiparvan, verse 1031.

Page 115, line 13.

The Sāntiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff., gives a similar description of the original state of all things, and of the birth of Brahmā. Bhīshma is the speaker : *Salilaikārnavaṁ tāta purā sarvaṁ abhūd idam | nishprakampam anākāśam anirdeśya-mahītalām | tamasā vṛitam asparsam api gambhīra-darśanam | nissābdaṁ vā 'prameyaṁ cha tatra jāgne Pitā-mahaḥ | so 'sṛjad vūtam agniṁ cha bhāskaraṁ chāpi vīryavān | ākāśam asṛjaech chorddhvam adho bhūmim cha nirṛitīm | nabhaḥ sa-chandra-tāraṁ cha nakshatratrāṇi grahāṁs tathā | saṁvatsarān ṛitūn māsān pak-shān atha lavān kṣaṇān | tataḥ sarīraṁ loka-sthāṁ sthāpayitvā Pitā-mahaḥ | janayāmāsa bhagavān puttrān uttama-tejasaḥ |* 6135. *Marīchim ṛishim Attriṁ cha Pulastyam Pulahaṁ Kratum | Vāsishṭhāngirasau cho-bhaṁ Rudraṁ cha prabhum īśvaram | Prachetasas tathā Dakṣaḥ kanyāḥ shashṭīm ajājanat | tāḥ vai brahmarshayaḥ sarvāḥ prajārtham prati-pedire | tābhyo viśvāni bhūtāni devāḥ pitri-gaṇās tatha | gandharvāp-sarasaś chaiva rakṣāṁsi vivūhāni cha | . . .* 6149. *Jagne tāta jagat sarvaṁ tathā sthāvara-jangamam |* 6150. *Bhūta-sargam imāṁ kṛtvā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | śāsvataṁ veda-paṭhitaṁ dharmam prayuyuje tataḥ | tasmin dharme sthitāḥ devāḥ sahāchāryya-purohitāḥ | ādityāḥ vasavo rudrāḥ sa-sādhyāḥ marud-asvinaḥ |* "This entire universe was formerly one expanse of water, motionless, without æther, without any distinguishable earth, enveloped in darkness, imperceptible to touch, with an appearance of (vast) depth, silent, and measureless. There Pitāmaha (Brahmā) was born. That mighty god created wind, fire, and the sun, the æther¹ above, and under it the earth belonging to Nirṛiti, the sky, with the moon, stars, constellations, and planets, the years, seasons, months, half-months, and the minute sub-divisions of time. Having established the frame of the universe, the divine Pitā-maha begot sons of eminent splendour, (6135) Marīchi, the rishi Attri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vāsishṭha, Angiras, and the mighty lord Rudra. Daksha, the son of Prachetas, also begot sixty daughters, all of whom were taken by the Brahmarshis² for the purpose of propagating offspring. From these females, all beings, gods, pitris, gandharvas, apsarases, and various kinds of rākshases, . . . (6149) this

¹ And yet it is elsewhere said (Anuśāsanap. 2161, quoted above in p. 130) that the æther (*ākāśa*) cannot be created.

² Here this word must mean "rishis, sons of Brahmā."



entire world, moving and stationary, was produced. 6150. Having formed this creation of living beings, the parent of all worlds established the eternal rule of duty as read in the Veda. To this rule of duty the gods, with their teachers and domestic priests, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts, and Āsvins conformed."

Another account of the creation is given in the same book of the M. Bh., verses 7518 ff., where it is ascribed to Viṣṇu in the form of Govinda, or Keśava (Kṛiṣṇa), who is identified with the supreme and universal Puruṣa. Resting on the waters (7527) he created by his thought Sankarṣaṇa, the first-born of all beings. Then (7529) a lotus sprang from his (either Sankarṣaṇa's or Viṣṇu's) navel, from which again (7530) Brahmā was produced. Brahmā afterwards created his seven mind-born sons, Marīchi, Attri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Dakṣa (7534).

Compare Bhīṣmaparvan, verses 3017 ff.

Page 122, note 223.

Compare the passage quoted in the last note from the Śāntiparvan, verse 6135.

Page 128, line 20.

The Śāntiparvan, verses 7548 ff. ascribes the creation of the four castes to Kṛiṣṇa: *Tataḥ Kṛiṣṇo mahābhāgaḥ pinar eva Yudhiṣṭhira | brāhmaṇānām śataṁ śreṣṭham mukhāt evāsrijat prabhūḥ | bāhubhyām kṣattriya-śataṁ vaiśyānām ūrutaḥ śataṁ | padbhyām śūdra-śataṁ chaiva Keśavo Bharatarṣabha* | "Then again the great Kṛiṣṇa created a hundred Brāhmans, the most excellent (class), from his mouth, a hundred Kṣattriyas from his arms, a hundred Vaiśyas from his thighs, and a hundred Śūdras from his feet."

Compare Bhīṣmaparvan, verse 3029.

Page 128, note 238.

In another place also, verses 6208 ff., the Anuśāsanaparvan ranks purohitas with Śūdras: *Śūdra-karma tu yaḥ kuryāt avahāya śva-karma cha | sa vijñeyo yathā śūdro na cha bhojyaḥ kathanchana | chikitsakaḥ kāṇḍapriṣṭhaḥ purādhyaḥ purōhitaḥ | sāmvaśaro vṛithādhyāyī sarve te śūdra-saṁmitāḥ* | "He, who, abandoning his own work, does the work of a Śūdra, is to be regarded as a Śūdra, and not to be invited to a feast. A physician, a kāṇḍapriṣṭha (see above, p. 442), a



city governor, a purohita, an astrologer, one who studies to no purpose,
—all these are on a level with Sūdras.”

Pages 144 ff.

See above, note on pp. 90 ff.

Page 150, line 4.

Compare Dronaparvan, verse 2397.

Page 220, line 14.

I am indebted to Professor Max Müller for pointing out to me two passages in Indian commentators in which Manu is spoken of as a Kshattriya. The first is from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, iv. 1. The words of the text are these: *Sri-Bhagavān uvācha | imāṁ Vivasvate yogam proktavān aham avyayam | Vivasvān Manave prāha Manur Ikshvākave 'bravīt | evam parāmparā-prāptam imāṁ rājarshayo viduḥ | sa kāleneha mahatā yogo naśṭhaḥ parantapa | sa evāyam mayā te 'dya yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ | bhakto 'si me sakhā cheti rahasyam etad uttamam |* “The divine Being (Kṛishṇa) said: I declared to Vivasvat (the Sun) this imperishable Yoga-doctrine. Vivasvat told it to (his son) Manu; and Manu to (his son) Ikshvāku. Thus do royal rishis know it as handed down by tradition. Through lapse of time however it was lost. I have to day therefore revealed to thee (anew) this ancient system, this most excellent mystery; for thou art devoted to me and my friend.”

On this Madhusūdana remarks: “*Vivasvate*” *sarva-kshattriya-vaṁśa-vīja-bhūtāya Ādityāya proktavān |* “‘I declared it to Vivasvat’ i.e. to Āditya (the Sun) who was the source of the whole Kshattriya race.”

The second passage is from Someśvara's *ṭikā* on Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Mīmāṃsa-vārttika*. I must, however, first adduce a portion of the text of the latter work which forms the subject of Someśvara's annotation. For a copy of this passage, which is otherwise of interest, I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker, who has been kind enough to copy it for me.² The first extract refers to Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 3; where the question under discussion is, in what circumstances authority can be assigned to

² See Professor Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 79 f. where this passage is partly extracted and translated. See also the same author's *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii. pp. 338 ff.



the Smṛiti when the Śruti, or Veda, is silent. After some other remarks Kumārila proceeds: *Sākyaḍi-vachanāni tu katipaya-dama-dānādi vachana-varjjaṃ sarvāṇy eva samasta-chaturdaśa-vidyā-sthāna-viruddhāni trayī-mārga-vyutthita-viruddhāccharaṇaiś cha Buddhādidhiḥ prañitāni trayī-bāhyebhyaś chaturtha-varṇa-niravasita-prāyebhyo vyāmūdhebhyaś samarthitāni iti na veda-mūlatvena sambhāvyante | svadharmātīkrameṇa cha yena kṣhattriyeṇa satā pravakṛitva-pratigrahaḥ pratipannau sa dharmam aviplutam upadekshyati iti kaḥ samāśvāsaḥ | uktam cha “para-loka-viruddhāni kurecāṇaṃ dūratas tyajet | ātmānaṃ yo viśaṃdhatte so ’nyasmai syāt katham hitaḥ” iti | Buddhādeḥ punar ayaṃ evātīkramo ’lan-kāra-buddhaḥ sthito yena evam āha “kālī-kalusha-kṛitāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu | vimucyātām tu lokāḥ” iti | sa kila loka-hitārtha-kṣhattriya-dharmam atikramya brāhmaṇa-vṛttim pravakṛitvam pratipadya prati-shedhātīkramāsamarthair brāhmaṇair ananusiṣṭam dharmam bāhya-janān anusāśaḍ dharma-pidām apy ātmano ’ngikṛīya parānugrahaṃ kṛitavān ity evaṃvidhair eva guṇaiḥ stūyate | tad-anusiṣṭānusārīṇaś cha sarve eva śruti-smṛiti-vihita-dharmātīkrameṇa vyavaharanto viruddhāccharatvena jñāyante | tena pratyakṣayā śrūtyā virodhe grantha-kāriṇām grahītrācharitṛiṇām grantha-prāmāṇya-bādhanam | na hy eṣāṃ pūrvoktena nyāyena śruti-pratibaddhānām eva-mūla-śrūty-anumāna-samarthyam asti |* “But the precepts of Sakya and others, with the exception of a few enjoining dispassion, liberality, etc., are all contrary to the fourteen classes of scientific treatises, and composed by Buddha and others whose practice was opposed to the law of the three Vedas, as well as calculated for men belonging mostly to the fourth caste who are excluded from the Vedas, debarred from pure observances, and deluded:—consequently they cannot be presumed to be founded on the Veda. And what confidence can we have that one (i.e. Buddha) who being a Kṣhattriya,³ transgressed the obligations of his own order, and assumed the function of teaching and the right to receive presents, would inculcate a pure system of duty? For it has been said: ‘Let everyone avoid a man who practises acts destructive to future happiness. How can he who ruins himself be of any benefit to others?’ And yet this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is conceived as being a feather in his cap; since he spoke thus, ‘Let all the evils resulting from the sin of the Kali age fall upon me; and let the world be redeemed.’ Thus, abandoning the

³ Compare Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 312.

duties of a Kshattriya, which are beneficial to the world, assuming the function of a teacher which belongs only to the Brāhmins, and instructing men who were out of the pale in duty which was not taught by the Brāhmins who could not transgress the prohibition (to give such instruction), he sought to do a kindness to others, while consenting to violate his own obligations; and for such merits as these he is praised! And all who follow his instructions, acting in contravention of the prescriptions of the Śruti and Smṛiti, are notorious for their erroneous practices. Hence from the opposition in which the authors of these books, as well as those who receive and act according to them, stand to manifest injunctions of the Veda, the authority of these works is destroyed.⁴ For since they are by the above reasoning opposed by the Veda, the inference that they rest upon independent Vedic authority of their own possesses no force."

The next passage is from Kumārila's Vārttika on Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 7: *Vedenavābhyānyānātā yeshām eva pravaktritā | nityānām abhidheyānām manvantara-yugādīshu | teshām viparivartteshu kurvātām dharmasamhitāḥ | vachanāni pramāṇāni nānyeshām iti niśchayaḥ | tathā cha Manur ṛichāḥ sāmīdhenyo bhavanti ity asya vidher vākya-śeṣe śrūyate* "Manur vai yat kinchid avadat tad bheshajam bheshajātāyai"⁵ *iti prayaścittādy-upadeśa-vachanam pāpa-vyādher bheshajam* | "It is certain that the precepts of those persons only whose right to expound the eternal meanings of scripture in the different manvantaras and yugas has been recognized by the Veda, are to be regarded as authoritative, when in the revolutions (of those great mundane periods) they compose codes of law. Accordingly by way of complement to the Vedic passage containing the precept (*vidhi*) beginning 'there are these sāmīdheni verses of Manu' it is declared, 'whatever Manu said is a healing remedy;' i.e. his prescriptions in regard to expiatory rites, etc., are remedies for the malady of sin."

⁴ The Nyāya-mālā-vistara, i. 3, 4, quotes Kumārila as raising the question whether the practice of innocence, which Śākya (Buddha) inculcated, was, or was not, a duty from its conformity to the Veda, and as solving it in the negative, since cow's milk put into a dogskin cannot be pure (*Śūkyoktāhiṃsanaṃ dharmo na vā dharmāḥ śrutavataḥ | na dharmo na hi pūtaṃ syād go-kshīraṃ śva-dṛitau dhṛitam*).

⁵ These words are quoted by Böhlingk and Roth, s.v. *bheshajātā*, as taken from the Panchaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, 23, 16, 7. A similar passage occurs in the Taitt. Saṃh. ii. 2, 10, 2.



From Someśvara's elaborate comment on the former of these two passages I need only extract the following sentences: *Etad abhiyukta-vachanena dradhayati "uktaṁ cha" | Manos tu kshattriyasyāpi prava-kṛtvam "yad vai kinchid Manuṛ avadat tad bheshajam" iti vedānujñāta-tvād aviruddham ity āsayah* | "This he confirms by the words of a learned man which he introduces by the phrase 'for it has been said.' But although Manu was a Kshattriya, his assumption of the office of teacher was not opposed to the Veda, because it is sanctioned by the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said was a remedy:' Such is the purport."

Page 254, line 12.

Yas tityāja sachi-vidam, etc. This verse is quoted in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (pp. 159 f. of Cal. edit.), which, however, reads *sakhi-vidam* instead of *sachi-vidam*. An explanation of the passage is there given by the Commentator.

Page 264, line 14.

Professor Weber considers (Indische Studien, i. 52) that "the *yau-dhāh* and the *arhantah* were the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmanas." See the whole passage below in the note on p. 366.

Page 268, note 51.

Compare Āśvalāyana's Śrauta-Sūtras, i. 3, 3 and 4, and commentary (p. 22 of Cal. edit.). Prithī Vainya is, as I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v., referred to also in the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24. The words are these: *Sā udakrāmat sā manushyān āgachhat | tām manushyāḥ upāhvayanta "irāvaty chi" iti | tasyāḥ Manuṛ Vaivasvato vatsaḥ āsīt prithivī pātram | tām Prithī Vainyo 'dhok tām kṛṣhīm cha sasyaṁ cha adhok | te kṛṣhīm cha sasyaṁ cha manushyāḥ upajīvanti ityādi* | "She (i.e. Virāj) ascended: she came to men. Men called her to them, saying, 'Come, Irāvati.' Manu Vaivasvata was her calf, and the earth her vessel. Prithī Vainya milked her; he milked from her agriculture and grain. Men subsist on agriculture and grain."

See Wilson's Vishnu Purāṇa, vol. i. pp. 183 ff., where Prithu's (this is the Puranic form of the word) reign is described. It is there stated that this king, "taking the lord Manu Svāyambhuva for his calf, milked from the earth into his own hand all kinds of grain from a desire to benefit his subjects" (V.P. i. 13, 54. *Sa kalpayitvā vatsaṁ tu*

Manuṁ Svāyambhuvaṁ prabhuṁ | sve pānau prithivī-nātho dudoha prithivīm Prithuḥ | 55. Sasya-jātāni sarvāṇi prajānāṁ hita-kāmyayā). See also the passage quoted from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa by the editor Dr. Hall in pp. 189 ff. The original germ of these accounts is evidently to be found in the passage of the Atharva-veda, from which the short text I have cited is taken.

Prithu's reign is also described in the Dronaparvan, 2394 ff., and Śāntiparvan, 1030 ff.

Page 286, line 8 from the foot.

The Srinjayas are mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 9, 3, 1 ff. and 13 (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 207), as opposing without effect the celebration of a sacrifice which was proposed to be offered for the restoration of Duṣṭarītu Paunsāyana to his ancestral kingdom.

Page 345, line 24.

Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me a short passage in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, iii. 1, 7, 2, in which Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are mentioned together as contending with Vasishṭha: *Viśvāmitra-Jamadagni Vasishṭhena asparidhetām | sa etaj Jamadagnir vihavayam apaśyat | tena vai sa Vasishṭhasya indriyaṁ vīryam avṛinkta | yad vihavayam śasyate indriyam eva tad vīryam yajamāno bhrātrivṛyasya vṛinkte | yasya bhūyāmso yajna-kratavaḥ ity āluḥ sa devatāḥ vṛinkte* | "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni were contending with Vasishṭha. Jamadagni beheld this vihavaya text, and with it he destroyed the vigour and energy of Vasishṭha. When the vihavaya is recited, then the sacrificer destroys the vigour and energy of his enemy. He whose oblations and all attendant ceremonies are superior destroys the gods (of his opponent)."

Page 366, note 164.

In a notice of Lāṭyāyana's Sūtras, in Indische Studien, i. 50, Professor Weber observes: "At the same time I remark here that the presence of Sūdras at the ceremonies, although on the outside of the sacrificial ground, was permitted—a point which results from the fact that during the dikṣhā they were not to be addressed (iii. 3). Here and there a Sūdra appears as acting, although in a degraded position. Compare iv. 3, 5: *āryo* (i.e. *vaiśyaḥ*, according to the commentator Agnisvāmin) *antarvedi . . . bahirvedi sūdraḥ | āryābhāve yaḥ kaś*



cha āryyo vārṇaḥ (brāhmaṇo vā kṣhattriyo vā, Agnisvāmin). Thus their position, like that of the Nishādas, was not so wretched as it became afterwards. Toleration was still necessary; indeed the strict Brahmanical principle was not yet generally recognized among the nearest Arian races. This is shown by the following fact. Before entering on the Vratya-stomas, Lātyāyana treats, viii. 5, of an imprecatory rite called Syena (the falcon), which is not taught in the Panchaviṃśa, but in the Shadvīṃśa (iv. 2). The tribes mentioned by Pāṇini, v. 3, 112 ff., are there described: *Vrātīnānām yaudhānām puttrān anūchānān ritvijō vrīṇīta syenasya* | “*arhatām eva*” *iti Sāṇḍilyaḥ* | (“Let the learned sons of warriors, who live by the profession of Vratas, be chosen as priests for the Syena. ‘The sons of arhats only’ [should be chosen] says Sāṇḍilya”). “Whilst,” proceeds Prof. W., “in the beginning of the Sūtra nine things are required for a ritvij (priest), viz. that he should be (1) ārsheyaḥ (*ā dasamāt puruṣhād anyavachhinnam ārshaṇ yasya*, ‘able to trace his unbroken descent for ten generations in the family of a rishi’); (2) anūchānaḥ (*śishyebhyo vidyā-sampradānaṁ yaḥ kṛitavān*, ‘one who has imparted knowledge to pupils’); (3) sādhu-charaṇaḥ (*ṣaṭsu brāhmaṇa-karmasv avasthitaḥ prasasta-karmā*, ‘one who has practised the six duties of a Brāhmaṇa, a man of approved conduct’); (4) vāgmī (eloquent); (5) anyūnāngaḥ (without deficiency in his members); (6) anatiṛiktāngaḥ (without superfluous members); (7) dvesataḥ (equal in length above and below the navel); (8) anati-kṛishṇaḥ; (9) anatisvetah (*na atibālo na ativridhah*, ‘neither too young nor too old’),—Lātyāyana here contents himself with putting forward one only of these requirements, the second (*i.e.* that the priest should be ‘learned’), as essential. The title Arhat for teacher, which was at a later period used exclusively by the Buddhists, is found in the Atapatha Brāhmaṇa, (iii. 4, 3, 6) and the Taittiriya Aranyaka,⁸ and

⁸ *Nānā-jātriyāḥ aniyata-vṛttayah utsedha-jīvinah sanghāḥ vrātāḥ* | (Patanjali, quoted by Weber) “Vratas are the various classes of people who have no fixed profession, and live by violence.” *Vratena śarīrāyāsena jīvati vrātīnaḥ* (Comm. Pāṇini, v. 2, 21) “He who lives by bodily labour is a *vrātīna*.” The word means “he who lives by the labour usual among Vratas,” according to another comment cited by Weber.

⁹ *Arhatām eva varanam kartavyam iti Sāṇḍilyaḥ* | “Arhats only are to be chosen, says Sāṇḍilya” (Agnisvāmin, quoted by Weber).

It also occurs in Ait. Br. i. 15 (see Böhling and Roth, s.v.). To his translation of this passage Dr. Haug appends the following note: “The term is *arhat*, a word

is known in the Gana Brāhmaṇa (Pāṇini, v. 1, 124). The Yaudhāh and Arhantaḥ are the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmanas. According to Professor Weber, Ind. St. i. 207, note, a Sthapati "means, according to Kātyāyana's Śrauta Sūtras, xxii. 11, 11, a Vaiśya, or any other person (according to Kātyāyana, i. 1, 12, he may even be a Nishāda) who has celebrated the Gosava sacrifice, after being chosen by his subjects to be their ruler."

Page 378, lines 1-3.

Compare Dronaparvan, verse 2149 : *nanv eshām nīśhitā nishṭhā nishṭhā saptapadī smṛitā* |

Page 400, line 9 from bottom.

If further proof of this sense of *brahmarshi* be wanted, it may be found in the words *viprarshi* and *dejarshi*, which must be regarded as its synonymes, and which can only mean "Brāhman-rishi."

Page 423, line 12, and foot-note.

The same verse with some variations is repeated in the Anuśāsana-parvan, verse 6262 : *Rājā Mitrasahaś chaiva Vaśishṭhōya mahātmane | Madāyantīm priyām bhāryyām datvā cha tridivām gataḥ* | "And king Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear wife Madayantī on the great Vaśishṭha, went to heaven." Here, it will be observed, the name Madayantī is correctly given.

Page 423, line 17.

This stanza is repeated in Anuśāsana-parvan, verse 6250, with the following variation in the second line : *arghyam pradāya vidhivāl lebhe lokān anuttamān* |

Page 436, line 5 from the foot.

I find that two other instances of Brāhmanas receiving instruction from Rājanyas are alluded to by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. 117

well known, chiefly to the students of Buddhism. Sāyana explains it by "a great Brāhman, or a Brāhman (in general)." In reference to another part of the sentence in which this word occurs, Dr. Haug adds : "That cows were killed at the time of receiving a most distinguished guest is stated in the Smritis. But as Sāyana observes (which entirely agrees with opinions held now-a-days), this custom belongs to former yugas (periods of the world). Thence the word *goghna*, i.e. 'cowkiller,' means in the more ancient Sanskrit books 'a guest' (see the commentators on Pāṇini, 3, 4, 73 for the reception of a high guest was the death of the cow of the house.)"



The first is recorded in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, x. 6, 1, 2 ff.; where it is stated that six Brāhmans, who were at issue with one another regarding Vaiśvānara (Agni), and were aware that king Aśvapati the Kaikeya was well informed on the subject, repaired to him for instruction and requested that he would treat them as his pupils. He first asked them 'if they were not themselves learned in the Veda as well as the sons of learned men, and how they could in that case come to consult him' ("Yan nu bhagavanto 'nūchānāḥ anūchāna-putrāḥ | kim idam" iti). They, however, persisted in their request, when he asked them severally what they considered Vaiśvānara to be, expressed his concurrence in their replies, though all different, as partial solutions of the question, and ended by giving them some further insight into the subject of their enquiry. The second instance is taken from the Chhāndogya Upanishad, i. 8, 1, which commences thus: *Trayo ha udgīthe kuśalāḥ babhūvaḥ Śīlakāḥ Śālāvatyaś Chaikitāyano Dālbyaḥ Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir iti | te ha ūchur "udgīthe kathāṁ vadāma" iti | 2. "Tathā" iti ha samupaviśuḥ | sa ha Pravāhaṇo Jaivalir uvācha "bhagavantāv agre vadatām | brāhmaṇayor vadator vāchaṁ śroshyāmi" iti |* "Three men were skilled in the Udgītha, Śīlaka Śālāvatya, Chaikitāyana Dālbya, and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali. They said, 'We are skilled in the Udgītha; come let us discuss it.' (Saying) 'so be it,' they sat down. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said, 'Let your reverences speak first; I will listen to the discourse of Brāhmans discussing the question.'" Śīlaka Śālāvatya then asked Chaikitāyana Dālbya a series of questions; but was dissatisfied with his final reply. Being interrogated in his turn by Chaikitāyana, Śīlaka answered; but his answer was disapproved by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, who finally proceeded to supply the proper solution.

In two other passages the same Upanishad, as quoted above in p. 195, and explained by the commentator, recognizes the fact of sacred science being possessed, and handed down, by Kshattriyas. See also the note on p. 220, above, p. 508. The doctrines held by Rājanyas are not, however, always treated with such respect. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, viii. 1, 4, 10, an opinion in regard to breath (*prāṇa*) is attributed to Svārijit Nāgnajita, or Nagnajit the Gāndhāra, of which the writer contemptuously remarks that "he said this like a Rājanya" (*Yat sa tad uvācha rājanyabandhur iva tv eva tad uvācha*); and he then proceeds to refute it (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 218). It appears that the Smṛiti

recognizes the possibility of a Brāhman becoming in certain circumstances the pupil of a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. Thus Manu says, ii. 241: *Abrahmanād adhyayanam āpat-kāle vidhīyate | anurajyā cha śuśrāṣhā yāvad adhyayanam guroḥ |* 242. *Nābrāhmaṇe gurau śishyo vāsam ātyantikam vaset | brāhmaṇe chānanūchāne kankshan gatim anuttamām |* 241. "In a time of calamity it is permitted to receive instruction from one who is not a Brāhman; and to wait upon and obey such a teacher during the period of study. 242. But let not a pupil, who aims at the highest future destiny, reside for an excessive period with such a teacher who is not a Brāhman, or with a Brāhman who is not learned in the Veda." Kullūka explains this to mean that when a Brāhman instructor cannot be had a Kshattriya may be resorted to, and in the absence of a Kshattriya, a Vaiśya.

Page 457, note 241.

When I wrote this note, I did not advert to the difficulty presented by the word *didāsithā*, which has at once the form of a desiderative verb, and of the second person of the perfect tense. Böhtlingk and Roth, *s.v. dā*, on a comparison of the two parallel passages, suppose that the present reading of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is corrupt as regards this word, which, as they quote it, is *didāsithā*. May not the correct reading be *dādāsithā* from the root *dās*?

Page 461, line 14.

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 4 f., says of Prajāpati: *So 'surān asṛijata | tad asya apriyam āsīt |* 5. *Tad durvarṇam hiranyam abhavat | tad durvarṇasya hiranyasya janma | . . . sa devān asṛijata tad asya priyam āsīt | tat suvarṇasya hiranyasya janma |* "He created Asuras. That was displeasing to him. 5. That became the precious metal with the bad colour (silver). This was the origin of silver. . . . He created gods. That was pleasing to him. That became the precious metal with the good colour (gold). That was the origin of gold."

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