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allusion to Sânkhya doctrines, but Mâdhava explains it in a different sense. He maintains that here also the Divine Self is meant by the Great Lord, and that Delusion is only one of his powers, as heat is a power of fire.1 And he appeals to another passage in the same Upanishad (I. 3.), where it is said "that sages endowed with meditation and intuition, saw the power of the Divine Self, concealed by his own qualities." This same interpretation is adopted in the Sûtras of the Vedânta-philosophy, but it by no means follows that therefore it is the true one. The principal interest of the older Upanishads consists in the absence of that systematic uniformity which we find in the later systems of philosophy, and it is to be regretted that nearly all scholars who have translated portions of the Upanishads have allowed themselves to be guided by the Brahmanic commentators. The commentators wrote all, more or less, under the influence of philosophical systems, and thought themselves justified in explaining the Upanishads in such a manner that they should agree, even in the most minute points, with the Sûtras of the philosophical schools. But the authors of the Upanishads were poets rather than philosophers. Truth itself assumed, in their eyes, an aspect varying ac-

े ननु श्रेताश्वतरोपनिषदि मायायाः प्रकृतिलं परमात्मनस्तियंद्वलं श्रूयते मायां तु॰ इति। नायं दोषः। मायायाः परमात्मश्रक्तिलेन श्रक्तिमतोऽष्यात्मनः प्रकृतिलावग्रंभावात्। दहनश्कियुक्तेऽश्री दाहकले व्यवहारदर्शनात्।
श्रात्मश्रक्तिलं च मायायास्त्रस्मित्रीपनिषदि श्रुतं ते ध्यानयोगानुगता अपध्यन्देवात्मश्रक्तिं खगुणर्निगृढाभिति॥

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cording to their own feelings and misgivings. We saw that the Bahvricha-upanishad placed Atman or the Self at the beginning of all things. The Taittiriyaupanishad1 speaks of Brahman the true, omniscient, and infinite, and derives from it the ether, the air, fire, water, earth, plants, food, seed, and body.2 This, in the eyes of the later commentators, may appear substantially the same doctrine as that of the Bahvricha-upanishad. But to us it is of interest to mark the difference, and to watch the various attempts which were made to express the idea of a creator. The Bahyrichas, by calling him Atman in the masculine, showed that they were impressed more strongly with the idea of a personal Being; the Taittiriyas, speaking of Brahman as neuter, gave more prominence to the idea of a Power. It was an epoch in the history of the human mind when the identity of the masculine Self and the neutral Brahman was for the first time perceived, and the name of the discoverer has not been forgotten. It was Sandilya who declared that the Self within our heart is Brahman (Chhand .- up. iii. 4. 14. p. 208.), and this tenet, somewhat amplified, is quoted as "Sandilya's wisdom" by the author of the Satapatha-brahmana (x. 6. 3.). Other sages among the Chhandogas again

¹ Bibl, Ind. vii. 56.

Purusha is body rather than man. Madhava says: तच पुरुषशब्देन शिर:पाण्याद्याक्षतियुक्तो देही ऽभिधीयते। स च देही ब्रह्मादिसंवांती बद्धप्रकारः॥

³ Chhând.-up. vi. 2.; Bibl. Ind. iii. 394. सन्तेव सोस्येट्सय श्रामीत् एकमदितीयं। तदेचत बड खां प्रजायेथेति।



speak simply of a Sat, or a Being, which desired to be many, and created the light, the light flowing into water, the water into food, and so on. The Atharvanikas speak of the Creator as Akshara, and it must remain doubtful whether they connected with this word the idea of the Indestructible or of Element.1 The term used by the Vajasanevins is Avyakrita, or the Undeveloped. Every one of these terms had originally a meaning of its own, and though in later times they may all be used synonymously, they ought to be kept distinct when we are tracing the history of the human mind. Some of the ancient sages, after having arrived at the idea of Avyakrita, Undeveloped, went even beyond, and instead of the Sat or τὸ ὄν, they postulated an Asat, τὸ μη ὄν, as the beginning of all things. Thus we read in the Chhândogya-upanishad 2: "And some say, in the beginning there was Asat (not being), alone, without a second; and from this Asat might the Sat be born."

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

तत्तेजऽस्जत। तत्तेज ऐचत बझ खां प्रजायेयेति तद-पोऽस्जत॥

¹ See Goldstücker's Dictionary, s. v. Mådhava says: अञ्चत इति वा न चरतीति वा परमात्मानमाच्छे॥

² Chhând.-up. vi. l. तद्भिक श्राह्यसदेवेदसय श्रासीदेकसे-वादितीयं तस्रादस्तः सञ्जायेत।

India.1 The old Upanishads, however, were not rejected, and to the present day the ten which are chiefly studied in Bengal are the Brihadaranyaka, the Aitareya, Chhândogya, Taittirîya, Îśa, Kena, Katha, Praśna, Mundaka and Mândûkya-upanishads. Every one of these has been published, and we possess an excellent edition both of text and commentary by Dr. Röer in the volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica. The whole number of Upanishads, however, known to be or to have been in existence, is much larger. It was commonly stated at 622, but it has lately been brought as high as 108 s, and even higher. Some of the titles given in various lists belong most likely to smaller portions of certain Upanishads, and these extracts, adopted by some sect or other, were afterwards quoted as independent treatises.4 Many are of very modern origin, and have no right to be mentioned in connection with Vedic literature: In order, however, to have this whole mass of literature together, every work that claims the title of Upanishad on any ground whatsoever, has been incorporated in an alphabetical list, which will be printed as an Appendix. There are several works which had to be consulted in drawing up this list. First, Anquetil Duperron's Oupnekhat⁵, a

2 Ward, loc. cit. p. 61.

¹ Ward, A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, ii. 61.

³ W. Elliot, Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, 1851, p. 607.

⁴ The Maitreyî-upanishad (29. 89.) is probably meant for the Dialogue between Yâjnavalkya and Maitreyî in the Brihadâranyaka. The Sândilya-upanishad (57. 105.) seems to be a portion of the Chhândogya-upanishad.

⁵ Oupnekhat, id est, Secretum tegendum: opus ipsa in India rarissimum continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theologicam et philosophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris, Rak

work which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin. [The author of this Persian translation is supposed to be Dârâ Shakoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, and pupil of Babu Lal; but in reality the work seems to have been performed by several Pandits, whom that enlightened prince called from Benares to Delhi, ordering them to translate some of their sacred works into Persian. Three years after the accomplishment of their work, their patron was put to death by his brother Aurung-

beid, Diedjer baid, Sam baid, Athrban baid, excerptam; ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samskreticis vocabulis intermixto, in Latinum conversum; Dissertationibus et Annotationibus difficiliora explanantibus, illustratum: studio et opera Anquetil Duperron, Indicopleustæ. Argentorati, typis et impensis fratrum Levrault, vol. i. 1801: vol. ii. 1802.

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

published) and into literal Latin.

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

The MS. was copied by Atma Ram in the year 1767 A.D. Duperron adds: Absolutum est hoc Apographum versionis Latinæ τῶν quinquaginta Oupnekhatha, ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samscreticis vocabulis intermixto, facta, die 9 Octobris, 1795,

18 Brumaire, anni 4. Reipubl. Gall. Parisiis.

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26.1] Secondly, there is Colebrooke's Essay on the Vedas, which gives a more complete enumeration of the Upanishads. Thirdly, Weber's Analysis of Duperron's translation of the Upanishads, in his "Indian Studies." Fourthly, an article by Mr. W. Elliot in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1851. giving an account of Upanishads known in the South of India, among the Telugu Brahmans. Fifthly, Dr. Röer's introductions to the various Upanishads, edited and translated by him in the volumes of the Bibliotheca Indica. There are other works, the wellknown pamphlets of Rammohun Roy, the Essays of Pauthier, Poley, d'Eckstein, Windischmann, and the publications of the Tattvabodhini Society, all of which had to be consulted in drawing up our own alphabetical list.

The names of the authors of the principal Upanishads 2 are unknown. This is owing to the very character of these works. They contain authoritative statements on the highest questions, and such statements would lose all authority if they were represented to the people at large as the result of human reasoning and imagination. They, in a higher degree than any other part of the Vedas, must

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

² Some of the most modern Upanishads are confessedly the works of Gaudapâda, Śankara, and other more recent philosophers.



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

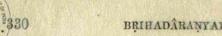
Another reason why we never hear of the authors of Upanishads as we hear of the Rishis of hymns is that in many instances the Upanishads are mere compilations from other works. Verses from the hymns are incorporated into various Upanishads, and stories originally propounded in the Brâhmanas, are enlarged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

sophical tracts.

¹ See Mundaka-up. ed. Röer.

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cases only where the Upanishads form part of an Aranyaka, the reputed authors of the larger works might likewise be considered as the authors of the Upanishads. This authorship, however, is different from the authorship of a Gaudapada and Sankara. As the Brihadaranyaka forms part of the Satapatha-brâhmana, Yâjnavalkya, the reputed author of the Brahmana, might well be considered as the author of the Upanishad known by the name of Brihadâranyaka. It forms the last five Prapâthakas of the 14th book of the Satapatha-brahmana in the Mâdhyandina-śâkhâ, whereas in the Kânya-śâkhâ the whole of the 17th book is comprised under the name of Upanishad. Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya is mentioned towards the end of the Brihadaranyaka as the person who received the whole of the White Yajur-veda from Aditya or the Sun. His influential position at the court of Janaka, king of Videha, is alluded to several times, and one portion of the Brihadaranyaka is called the Yajnavalkiyam Kandam, as specially celebrating the victories gained by that sage over all his rivals. But even if we accept the traditional opinion that Yajnavalkya was the author of the Brahmana and the Aranyaka, such a supposition would be of very little help to us in determining the probable age of the Upanishad portion of the Satapatha-brâhmana. We need not enter at present into the question whether the supposed authorship of Yajnavalkya implies that he actually composed, or only that he collected and arranged the sacred code of the Vajasaneyins. That code is, no doubt, in some peculiar sense, considered as Yajnavalkya's own work. At the time of Panini it was called by a name which, by its very character, indicated that the





Satapatha-brahmana was a work due to the exertion of one individual, and that it was not, like other Brâhmanas, simply proclaimed by him (prokta), or formed the traditional property of an ancient Vedic Śâkhâ bearing his name. This, together with a remark in the Vârttika to Pânini, iv. 3. 105., may be interpreted as indicating the more modern date of this Brâhmana and its Aranyaka, as compared with the Brahmanas and Aranyakas of other Vedas. But beyond this, the name of Vajasaneya Yajnavalkya, as the reputed author of these works, will not help us in fixing the age of the Vajasaneyi-brahmanaupanishad.

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

Although the poetical editor of this code of laws speaks of the Aranyaka1 as his own work, nobody will be misled by an assertion of this kind.2 But

ज्ञेयं चार्ष्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान। योगग्रासं च मलोकं जेयं योगमभीपाता॥

"He who wishes to attain Yoga (union with the Divine Spirit) must know the Aranyaka, which I have received from Aditya, and the Yoga-śâstra, which I have taught." I thought, at first, that there might have been old Dharma-sûtras of Yajnavalkya, and that the versifier of these Sûtras took this sentence simply

¹ This can only mean the Brihadâranyaka, as the commentator also observes.

² Yain. Dh. iii. 110.

even the age of the versifier of the Yajnavalkiya code of laws is difficult to determine. Professor Wilson, in his "Ariana Antiqua" (page 364), observes that the word Nanaka, a gold or silver coin having upon it the figure of Siva, may be derived from Nâna, a term which occurs on the coins of Kanerki. and is supposed to be "the name of a goddess; probably the same as the Anaitis or Anahid of the Persians, or the tutelary goddess of Armenia, Anaia, or Nanaca." If so (and I think the explanation extremely doubtful) the age of Yajnavalkya's legal dicta in which the word Nanaka occurs, would be subsequent to the era of Kanerki, and, as Professor Stenzler remarks in his edition of Yajnavalkya, the second century after Christ would be the earliest date that could be assigned to Yajnavalkya. Now the identification of Nânaka and Nâna (Nanaia, Nana Rao,) is a very ingenious conjecture, but no more. Even if admitted to be true, we should still have to prove that the same goddess did not occur in the same way on more ancient oriental coins. As the Hindus derived

from the Sûtras. I have not yet found, however, Yâjnavalkya-sûtras on Âchâra. The so-called Vaishnava-dharma-sâstra, or Śrî-bhagavad-Vishnu-sanhitâ, which has been printed at Calcutta, contains large portions of Sûtras which have been worked up in a very crude manner into a law treatise. The whole chapter on the anatomy of the human body, which in the Yâjnavalkîya Code precedes the verse in question (iii. 110.), a chapter which does not stand in the Mânava code, exists, still in prose, in the Vishnu-sanhitâ (fol. 28. a. line 11.). The simile of the lamp, also, representing the mind in the middle of the body, is borrowed by the editor of the Yâjnavalkîya Code from the Vishnu-sanhitâ (fol. 29. a. line 1.). Yet, although the Vishnu-sanhitâ, like the Code of Yâjnavalkya, goes on describing the Yoga, no mention is made here of the Ârun-yaka, nor does the author speak of himself in the first person, as the author of the metrical Code does.

निष्क: | Cf. v. 1. 37.



their knowledge of coined money from foreign nations, Nanakas may have been current in India long before the time of Kanerki, though the Nanakas of Kanerki may be the first known to us as coined in India. The occurrence of a word like Nanaka¹, therefore, is not sufficient by itself to prove that the second century after Christ is the earliest date of the Yajnaval-kiya Code, still less of Yajnavalkya, as Professor Stenzler supposes. But whatever date may be assigned to this Śloka work, the date of Yajnavalkya, the author of the Aranyaka and the Śatapatha-brahmana, would not be affected by it in any way, and

In the same way it might be said that the Rig-veda-sanhita could not have been collected before the second century after Christ, because the word Nishka occurs in the hymns. Nishka is a weight of gold, or gold in general, and it certainly has no satisfactory etymology in Sanskrit. Nothing seems to be more likely than that it should be derived from Kanishka, the Sanskrit name of Kanerki, as we speak of a "Sovereign," the French of a "Louis." The first syllable Ka may be taken as the usual royal prefix, particularly as Fahian calls the same king Kanika and Nika. (Cf. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 76.) Yet nobody would draw from this the conclusion that the Veda was written after the time of Kanishka. If Nishka be really derived from the name of Ka-Nishka, Kanishka must have been the name or title of more ancient kings, whose money became known in India. But Nishka may have a very different etymology, and at all events it does not furnish any solid basis for chronological conclusions. Nishka does once occur in Pânini's Sûtras, v. 2. 119.; and it is frequently quoted as an example. Pan. iv. 3. 156. निष्केण कीतं नैष्किकं। निष्कस्य विकारः नैष्किकः। दि।नष्कः। दिनैष्किक:। Pân. i. 4. 87. उप निष्के कार्पापएं। v. 2. 119. नैष्क्रमतिक:। vi. 2. 55. निष्क्रमाला। iv. 3. 153. हाटको

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the Satapatha-brahmana is the only work from which

we may expect information on this point.

Another attempt has been made to fix the age of Yajnavalkya, or, at least, to assign certain chronological limits to the first origin of the Sakha of the Mâdhyandinas, a subdivision of the Vâjasaneyins. Arrian, when speaking of the course of the Ganges, mentions among the rivers falling into the Ganges, the "Andomatis, flowing from the country of the Mandiadini, an Indian people." 1 Lassen thought he discovered in this the Sanskrit word Madhyandina, meridional; and, as a mere conjecture, such a remark was valuable. Professor Weber, however, went beyond this, and, taking for granted the identity of Mandiadini and Madhyandina, taking for granted also the identity of this Indian people with the Madhyandina, a subdivision of the Sakha of the Vajasaneyins, he concluded that the text of this Sakha, i. e. the Sanhità and Brahmana of the White Yajur-veda, published by himself, must have existed in the third century B.C. Such rapid conclusions are rarely safe. There may have been such a people as the Madhyandinas at any time before or after Christ, and there may have been such a Śâkhâ as that of the Mâdhyandinas at any time before or after Christ, but the people need not have had any connection with that Sakha, as little as the Prâchyas or Prasii had anything in common with the Sakha of the Prachya-Kathas, or the Kausloboxon, another Indian people, mentioned by Greek writers, with the Sakha of the Kapishthalas. Granted, however, that the Śakha was formed in the country of the Madhyandinas, and derived its name

¹ Indische Alterthumskunde, i. 180.; Schwanbeck, Megasthenis Indica, p. 106.

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from it, nothing whatever would follow from this as to the exact date when this was effected.

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

¹ See page 224.

would throw some doubt on the antiquity and genuineness of this class of Vedic writings¹, at least in that form in which we now possess them.

The Taittirîya-âranyaka consists of ten books, of which the four last are devoted to Upanishad doctrines. No author is mentioned, and Tittiri, who might seem to hold the same position for the Taittirîyâranyaka which Yâjnavalkya holds for the Brihadâranyaka, is represented by the Brahmans themselves neither as the author nor as the first teacher. He received the tradition from Yâska Paingi, who received it from Vaisampâyana. Tittiri himself handed it on to Ukha, and he to Âtreya. Tittiri, therefore, was believed to be the founder of a Sâkhâ, but not the author of the Âranyaka.

A third Aranyaka is the Aitareya-aranyaka, belonging to the Rig-veda. It forms a work by itself, and is not counted as part of the Aitareya-brahmana. This is an important point. The work consists of five books or Aranyakas², the second and third of which

¹ I find that Harisvâmin also, in his commentary on the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa, quotes the Dâkshiṇâtyas and Saurâshṭras, together with the Kâṇvas, as authorities on Vedic subjects. See Dr. Weber's Ind. Studien, i. 77. In the same place Dr. Weber attempts to prove the late origin of this work by the contraction of sa indrah into sendrah. This contraction, however, occurs already in the Rig-veda-sanhitâ. See also Pân. vi. 1. 134.

² The first Åranyaka consists of five Adhyâyas and twenty-two Khandas. The second Åranyaka consists of seven Adhyâyas and twenty-six Khandas. The Upanishad begins with the fourth Adhyâya and the twenty-first Khanda. The third Åranyaka consists of two Adhyâyas and twelve Khandas. The fourth Åranyaka consists of one Adhyâya and one Khanda (ascribed to Ásvalâyana în Shadgurusishya's commentary on the Sarvânu-krama). The fifth Åranyaka consists of three Adhyâyas and fourteen Khandas (ascribed to Saunaka).

form the Bahvricha-upanishad, if by this name we like



to distinguish the complete Upanishad from a portion of it, viz.: Adhyayas 4-6, of the second Aranyaka, commonly quoted as the Aitareyopanishad. If we ask for the name of the author, we find again the same uncertainty as in the Brihadâranyaka and the Taittirîyaranyaka. All we know for certain is that there was a Sakha of the Aitarevins, which was in the possession of a Brâhmana and an Aranyaka. Both these works were afterwards adopted by the later Śâkhâs of the Rig-veda, so that we actually hear of an Aśvalâyana text of the Aitareyakam. We also know from the Chhândogya-upanishad (iii. 16.) that there was a Mahidasa Aitareya, who, by means of his sacred knowledge was supposed to have defied death for 1,600 years; and in the Aitareya-âranyaka, not in the Brâhmana, he is several times quoted by the same name as an authority. In the later commentaries, a story is mentioned according to which the Brâhmana and Aranyaka of the Rig-veda were originally revealed to one Aitareya, the son of Itara. This story, however, sounds very apocryphal, and had a merely etymological origin. Itarâ, in Sanskrit, means not only the other of two, but also low, rejected. Thus, if the patronymic Aitareya was to be accounted for, it was extremely easy to turn it into a metronymic, and to make Aitareya the son of an Itarâ, a rejected wife. Thus Sâyana, in his introduction to the Aitareya-brâhmana, tells us that there was once a great Rishi who had many wives. One of them was called Itarâ, and she had a son called Mahidasa. His father preferred the sons of his other wives to Mahidasa, and once he insulted him in the sacrificial hall, by placing all his other sons

or his lap. Mahidâsa's mother, seeing her son with tears in his eyes, prayed to her own tutelary goddess, the Earth (sviyakuladevatâ Bhûmiḥ), and the goddess in her heavenly form appeared in the midst of the assembly, placed Mahidâsa on a throne, and gave him on account of his learning the gift of knowing the Brâhmaṇa, consisting of forty Adhyâyas, and, as Sâyaṇa calls it, another Brâhmaṇa, treating "of the Âranyaka duties."

This, and similar stories mentioned by Colebrooke¹, are not calculated to inspire much confidence. On the contrary we feel inclined to attach more value to the accidental admissions of the Brahmans who ascribe the later portions of the Aitareyâranyaka to such well known authors as Śaunaka and Aśvalâyana. There may have been an Aitareya, the founder of the Sâkhâ of the Aitareyins, and himself the expounder of those ceremonial, philological, and philosophical tracts which are incorporated in the Brâhmana and the Âranyaka of the Aitareyins. He is quoted himself as an authority in those works, but nothing is said in them of his degraded descent, nor of the erudition granted to him by the goddess of the earth.

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

¹ Miscellaneous Essays, i. 46. n.



lection not only the text and commentary of the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana, but likewise the Âranyaka, in three Adhyâyas, of which the third constitutes the Kaushîtaki-upanishad. Here again we know nothing as to the name of an author, Kaushîtakin being simply the name of that sect in which the text of these works was handed down from teacher to pupil.

There are no Aranyakas for the Sâma-veda, nor for

the so-called fourth Veda, the Atharvana.

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

¹ A Kumârî gandharvagrihîtâ is quoted as an authority in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana, and it is explained by "višeshâbhijnâ." Kaush.-br. ii. 9.; Ait.-br. v. 29. Ind. Studien, i. 84. 217.

and been uttered, so metaphysical speculations were carried on in the forests of India long before the names of Aranyaka or Upanishad were thought of. We must carefully distinguish between a period of growth, and a period which tried to reduce that growth to rules and formulas. In one sense the Aranyakas are old, for they reflect the very dawn of thought; in another, they are modern, for they speak of that dawn with all the experience of a past day. There are passages in these works, unequalled in any language for grandeur, boldness, and simplicity. These passages are the relics of a better age. But the generation which became the chronicler of those Titanic wars of thought, was a small race: they were dwarfs, measuring the footprints of departed giants.

/ Chronologically we can see with great clearness that the Aranyakas are anterior to the Sûtras. It is only in their latest portions that they show traces of the style of Sûtra compositions. We can likewise see that they are later than the Brâhmanas, to which they themselves, in several instances, form a kind of appendix. Beyond this we cannot go, and an impartial consideration of the arguments adduced in favour of a much earlier or a much later date for this class of Vedic literature, will show a complete absence of facts and arguments, such as are required for historical inductions. Whether Panini knew the Aranyakas as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain. Although he mentions the word "aranyaka," he only uses it in the sense of "living in the forest;" and it is the author of the Varttikas1 who first remarks that the same word is also used in the

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sense of "read in the forest." The word Upanishad, besides being used in the Upanishads themselves, occurs in the Sûtras of Pânini (i. 4. 79), but there is nothing to prove that Pânini knew Upanishad as the name of a class of sacred writings.

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

¹ Ait.-âr. îii. 1.; ibid, i. 11. Upanishasâda.

² Ait.-âr. ii. 9.

³ Ait.-âr. i. 10.: Bhûr bhuvah svar ityetâ vâva vyâhritaya ime trayo vedâ, bhûr ityeva Rig-veda, bhuva iti Yajur-vedah, svar iti Sâma-vedah.

ÂRANYAKAS.



The etymologies assigned to these names are not perhaps more absurd than those which we find in the Brâhmanas. But there are other etymological explanations in the Aranyakas such as we scarcely find in any genuine Brâhmana. Part of the first Aranyaka (i. 4.) reads almost like a commentary on the first hymns of the Rig-veda, and the short glosses scattered about in these books of the forest might well be considered as the first elements of a Nirukta.

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

Admitting, therefore, that the Aranyakas represent the latest productions of the Brahmana period, and that in some cases their authors belong to the age of Saunaka, in others even to a more modern age, we have now to consider the character of the genuine Brâhmanas, in order to point out the differences which distinguish the Brahmanas from the Satras by which they are followed, and from the Mantras by which they are preceded.



THE BRÂHMANAS.

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

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

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

¹ Rig-veda-bhashya, p. 11.



tical part, such as, 'At the Dîkshanîyâ ceremony he presents a purodâsa oblation to Agni and Vishnu.' Of the latter kind are all philosophical passages, such as, 'Self was all this alone in the beginning.'

But how can it be said," Sayana goes on, "that the Veda consists of Mantras and Brahmanas, as the essential qualities neither of the one nor of the other part can be satisfactorily defined? For if it be said that a Mantra alludes to those things which are commanded, this definition would not comprehend all Mantras, because there are some which are themselves commandments, as, for instance, 'He takes Kapinjalas for the Spring.' Again, if it be said that a Mantra is what makes one think (man, to think), this definition would comprehend the Brahmanas also. Other definitions have been given, that a Mantra ends with the word ' thou art,' or that it ends with the first person plural; but none of these definitions can be considered as exhaustive. The only means, then, by which Mantras can be distinguished from Brâhmanas lies in their general sacrificial appellation, which comprehends the most different things under the one common name of Mantras. There are some recording the performance of sacrifices; some contain praises, some end with the word thee (tva), some are invocations, some are directions, some contain deliberations, some contain complaints, some are questions, some are answers, &c. All these attributes are so heterogeneous, that none of them can be used for a definition. Knowing, however, that the Veda consists only of two parts, we may say that whatever does not come under the name of Mantra is Brahmana, whether it contain reasons, explanations, censures, recommendations, doubts, commandments, relations, old stories.



or particular determinations. Not one of these subjects belongs to the Brâhmanas exclusively, but they occur more or less frequently in the Mantras also, and could therefore not be used as definitions of the Brâhmanas. The same objection applies to all other definitions which have been attempted. Some have said that the frequent occurrence of the particle iti (thus) constitutes a Brâhmana; others, that a Brâhmana closes with the words ityâha (thus he said); others that a Brâhmana contains stories, &c.; but all this would apply with equal force to some of the Mantras. The only division therefore of the Veda that holds good consists in comprehending one part under the old traditional appellation of Mantra, and considering all the rest as Brâhmanas.

"But it might be objected," Sâyana continues, "that for instance in the chapter on the Brahmayajna, other parts of the Veda are mentioned besides the Brahmanas and Mantras, under the title of Itihasas, (epic stories) Purânas (cosmogonic stories), Kalpas (ceremonial rules), Gâthâs (songs), Nârâśansîs, (heroic poems). This however would be the same mistake. as if we should place a Brahman coordinate with a Brahman who is a mendicant. For all these titles, like Itihasa, &c., apply only to subdivisions of the Brâhmanas. Thus, passages from the Brâhmanas. like 'The gods and the Asuras were fighting,' &c., would be called Itihâsas; other passages like 'In the beginning there was nothing,' would be called Purânas; therefore we may safely say, that the Veda consists of two parts only, of Mantras and Brâh-- manas." 1

According to Madhusûdana's view, the Brâhmanas consist of three parts; of commandments, additional explanations, and Ve-



If after these not very satisfactory definitions of what a Brâhmaṇa is, and how it differs from a Mantra, we turn to the Brâhmaṇas themselves, such as we possess them in MS., we find that their number is much smaller than we should have expected.

If every Śâkhâ consisted of a Sanhitâ and a Brâhmana, the number of the old Brahmanas must have been very considerable. It must not be supposed, however, that the Brahmanas which belonged to different Śâkhâs, were works composed independently by different authors. On the contrary, as the Sanhitas of different Sakhas were nothing but different recensions of one and the same original collection of hymns, and could be distinguished from each other only by a number of authorised varia lectiones or by the addition and omission of certain hymns, the Brahmanas also, which were adopted by different Charanas of the same Veda, must be considered not as so many independent works, but in most instances as different recensions of one and the same original. There was originally but one body of Brahmanas for each of the three Vedas; for the Rig-veda, the Brahmanas of the Bahvrichas, for the Sâma-veda the Brâhmanas of the Chhandogas, and for the Yajur-veda in its two forms, the Brâhmanas of the Taittiriyas, and the Satapathabrâhmana. / These works were not written in metre, like the Sanhitâs, and were therefore more exposed to

dânta doctrines, the latter being more particularly represented by the Upanishads. The same author speaks of four classes of commandments. "A commandment may consist," he says, "either in a simple definition ('the oblation to Agni is given in eight cups,'); or it may include the aim ('he who wishes for life in heaven may perform the sacrifices of the new and full moon'); or it may detail the means by which the sacrifice is performed ('let him sacrifice with rice'); or it may contain all this together."



alteration in the course of a long continued oral tradition. /

We possess the Brahmana of the Bahvrichas, in the Śakhas of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins. The various readings of other Sakhas, quoted by the commentator on the Aitareva-brâhmana, show evidently that there were other Sakhas of the Bahyrichas, which differed but little in the wording of their Brâhmanas. But even the Brâhmana of the Kaushîtakins which has been preserved to us as a distinct work, different from the Brahmana of the Aitareyins, can only be considered as a branch of the original stock of Brâhmana literature, current among the Bahvrichas. Its arrangement differs considerably from that of the Aitareya-brâhmana. The sacrifice described in the beginning of the Aitarevabrâhmana forms the seventh Adhyâya of the Kaushîtaki-brahmana1, and most of the other sacrifices are equally displaced. Others which are discussed in the Aitareya-brâhmana are altogether wanting in the Kaushîtaki-brâhmana, and must be supplied from the Sûtras of the Sânkhâyana-śâkhâ, a subdivision of the Kaushitakins. But whenever parallel passages occur, it becomes clear that the coincidences in the description of sacrifices and the wording of legends cannot be accidental.

Most of the Brâhmaṇas which are left to us are collective works. A tradition has been preserved in confirmation of this fact. The Brâhmaṇa of the

¹ Aitareya-br. i. 1. श्रामें देवाना सवसी विष्णुः पर्मः, &c. Kaush.-br. vii. 1. श्रामें देवाना सवराद्धी विष्णुः पराद्धीः, &c. Ait.-brahm. ii. 2.=Kaush.-br. x. 2.; ii. 6.=x. 4. (Sankh.-sûtra, v. 17.); ii. 3.=xii. 1.





Taittiriyas, in the Śâkhâs both of the Apastambiyas and the Atreyas, contains some portions which bear the name of Katha, and were formerly the property of his followers. The component parts are frequently called Brâhmanas, instead of chapters or sections. The same applies to the Aranyakas and Upanishads. In some cases, these smaller Brahmanas are quoted by their special titles1; and in their collected form they are handed down, not always by the name of the Charana by which they were adopted, but more frequently by that of the Charana in which their original collection took place. Thus the Aitareya-brahmana, though adopted by the Aśvalâyanîyas, is more frequently quoted by its original name than by that of Aśvalavana-brahmana.2 The Brahmana of Kaushitakin or the Kaushîtakins is more usually referred to by this name than by that of the later Charana of the Sânkhâvanas.

In the Brâhmaṇa of the Chhandogas it is evident that, after the principal collection was finished (called the praudha or panchavinśa brâhmaṇa, i. e. consisting of twenty-five sections), a twenty-sixth Brâhmaṇa was added which is known by the name of Shadvinśa brâhmaṇa. This Brâhmaṇa together with the Adbhuta-brâhmaṇa must be of very modern date. It

² Quoted as such by Yâjnikadeva on Kâty. 2. 5. 13.; 6. 6. 25. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 230.

¹ Maitreyî-brâhmana is the title given to that portion of the Brihadâranyaka which contains the dialogue between Yâjnavalkya and Maitreyî. The Saulabhâni brâhmanâni, quoted by Âśvalâyana and Pâṇini as modern compositions, may refer to sections containing a dialogue similar to that between Janaka and Sulabhâ, which exists in the Mahâbhârata, III. v. 11,854. Cf. Lassen, Ind. Alterth. xv. note. According to Pâṇini, however, they ought to be taken as Brâhmanas composed by Sulabha.



mentions not only temples (Devâyatanâni), but images of gods (daivata-pratima) which are said to laugh, to cry, to sing, to dance, to burst, to sweat, and to twinkle. These two have long been supposed to be the only Brahmanas of the Chhandogas, and they constitute, no doubt, the most important part of that class of literature. It is curious, however, that whenever the Brahmanas of the Chhandogas are quoted, their number is invariably fixed at eight. Kumarila Bhatta, i. 31, says, "in the eight Brâhmanas, together with the Upanishads, which the Chhandogas read, no single accent is fixed." Still more explicit is a statement by Sâyana which I quoted in the introduction to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda.2 Here Sâyana says: "There are eight Brâhmanas; the Praudha is the first, (this means the large Brâhmana, or the Panchavinsa); the one called Shadvinsa or Shadvinsad-brâhmana, is the second; then follows the Sâmavidhi; then the Arsheya-brâhmana, the Devatâdhyâya-brâhmana, and the Upanishad. These with the Sanhitopanishad and the Vansa are called the eight books." Of these the Sâmavidhâna-brâhmana was well known, the very quotation of Sayana being taken from his commentary on this very curious work. It might have been difficult, however, to identify the other five works if there had not been among the MSS. of Professor Wilson's collection at the Bodleian Library, one (No. 451) containing four of these small tracts, the Sanhitopanishadam-brahmanam, the Devatâdhyâyah, the Vansa-brâhmanam, and the

¹ Brâhmanâni hi yâny ashtau sarahasyâny adhîyate Chhandogâs teshu sarveshu na kaśchin niyatah svarah.

² P. xxvii. note.

Arsheya-brâhmaṇam.¹ The only Brâhmaṇa, therefore, on which any doubt could remain, was the Upanishad, and here we shall probably not be wrong if we adopt one of Professor Weber's less bold conjectures, that Sâyaṇa intended this for the Chhândogya-upanishad.² With the exception of this and the Sâmavidhâna, which contains most important information on questions connected with Âchâra or customs, all the other tracts are of comparatively small

importance.

It is in the Satapatha-brâhmana, however, that we can best observe the gradual accumulation of various theological and ceremonial tracts which were to form the sacred code of a new Charana. The text of this work has been edited by Professor Weber, and we can likewise avail ourselves of several essays on this branch of Vedic literature, published from time to time by that industrious scholar. According to Indian traditions, Yâjnavalkya Vâjasaneya, the founder of the new Charana of the Vajasanevins is himself. if not the author, at least the first who proclaimed the Sanhita and Brahmana of the Vajasanevins. We can see clearly that the composition of both the Sanhitâ and Brâhmana was guided by the same spirit, and it is not at all unlikely that in this, the most modern of all Vedas, the final arrangement of the Sanhitâ may have been contemporaneous with, or even later than, the composition of the Brahmana.

First of all, it ought to be remarked that the story

¹ See also "A Catalogue Raisonée (sic) of Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the late College Fort St. George," by the Rev. W. Taylor, Madras, 1857, p. 69.

² The Vansa-brâhmana has lately been printed, with some valuable remarks, by Prof. A. Weber, Ind. Stud. iv. 371.

which has been preserved by tradition of the schism introduced by Yajnavalkya among the followers of the Adhvaryu or Yajur-veda is confirmed by internal evidence. The general name of the ancient Śâkhâs of the Yajur-veda is Charaka, and the Taittiriyas, therefore, together with the Kathas, and others are called by a general name, Charaka-śâkhâs. This name Charaka is used in one of the Khilas of the Vajasaneyi-sanhità as a term of reproach. In the 30th Adhyâya a list of people is given who are to be sacrificed at the Purushamedha, and among them we find the Charakâchârya, the teacher of the Charakas, as the proper victim to be offered to Dushkrita or Sin. This passage, together with similar hostile expressions in the Satapatha-brâhmana, were evidently dictated by a feeling of animosity against the ancient schools of the Adhvaryus, whose sacred texts we possess in the Taittiriya-veda, and from whom Yajnavalkva seceded in order to become himself the founder of the new Charanas of the Vajasanevins.

If we compare the Sanhitâ and Brâhmana of the Vâjasaneyins with those of the Charakas, we see that the order of the sacrifices is on the whole the same, and that the chief difference between the two consists in the division of Mantras and Brâhmanas, which is carried out more strictly by Yâjnavalkya than in the ancient text of the Taittirîyas. This was most likely the reason why the text of Yâjnavalkya was called Sukla Yajur-veda, which is generally translated by the White Yajur-veda. But some commentators explain Sukla more correctly by śuddha¹, and translate

¹ Dvivedaganga explains प्रक्वानि यजूषि by प्रदुर्हानि यहा बाह्यणेनामिश्रितसंचात्मकानि॥

by "cleared," because in this new text the Mantras had been cleared and separated from the Brâhmanas, and thus the whole had been rendered more lucid and intelligible. In opposition to this they suppose that the old text was called Krishna or dark, because in it the verses and rules are mixed together, and less intelligible; or because, as Vidyâranya says, it contained the rules of the Hotri as well as of the Adhvaryu priests, and thus bewildered the mind of the student.¹

It was in the nature of the duties which the Adhvaryus had to perform at the sacrifices, that their hymns and invocations could hardly be separated from the rules (vidhi), contained in the Brâhmanas. It was not a mere accident therefore that in the Veda of the ancient Adhvaryus the hymns and rules were mixed up, and it must be considered as a mere innovation if what is now called the Sanhita of the Black Yajur-veda is distinguished by this name from the Brâhmana, which in reality is a continuation of the same work. It is not unlikely that it was the very wish to have, like the Bahvrichas and Chhandogas, a Sanhitâ, i. e. a collection of hymns distinct from the ceremonial rules, which led to the secession of the Vâjasaneyins, and, by a kind of reaction, to the absurd adoption of the titles of Sanhitâ and Brâhmana among the Taittiriyas. In the new code of the Vajasaneyins the most important part was nevertheless the Brâhmana, the Sanhitâ being a mere collection of verses.

¹ विद्याराष्ट्रश्रीपादेर्थाख्यातलेनाध्वर्यं कचिद्धीतं कचि-दित्यव्यवस्थया बुद्धिमालिन्यहेत्तलात्त्रद्यजुः क्रण्णमीर्यते॥ Râmakrishna's Sanskâraganapati. Weber, Ind. Stud. i. 27. 84.

extracted and collected for the convenience of the officiating priest. The differences in the text of these verses and formulas would be marked in the Brahmana, and transferred from the Brahmana into the Sanhitâ. This is, therefore, the very opposite of what happened with the text of the Sanhita and Brahmana of the Bahvrichas. Here the Sanhita existed long before the Brâhmana, and it had diverged into different Sakhas, before the Brahmana of the Aitareyins was composed. The Våjasaneyi-sanhitâ may possibly represent various readings which existed in the Sakhas of the Taittiriyas; but these verses were collected and formed into a Sanhitâ only as an appendix to the Satapatha-brâhmana, the real code of the Vajasanevins. Where the sacrificial invocations of the Vajasaneyins differ from those of the Taittiriyas, we ought to recognise in those differences the last traces of Sakhas which existed previous to the establishment of the Vâjasanevins. In the beginning, for instance, of the Darsa-pûrnamâsa sacrifice, the Adhvaryu priest, having called the cows and calves together, has to touch the calves with a branch. This act of the sacrifice was originally accompanied by the words " vâyava stha, upâyava stha," " you are like the winds," - and the whole ceremony, together with these invocations, is contained in the Taittiriyasanhitâ. In the Mâdhyandina-śâkhâ, on the contrary, not only are the words "upâyava stha" omitted in the Sanhitâ, but a distinct warning is given in the Brahmana not to use these words, belonging to a different Śâkhâ.1

¹ Cf. Sâyana, Rig-veda-bhâshya, p. 12.; Satapatha-brâhmana, i. 7. 3. तसादाह वायव खेळापायव खेळा हैक त्राइक्प हि

BRÂHMANAS OF THE VÂJASANEYINS.

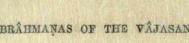
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A comparison of the texts of the Taittiriyas and Vâjasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake to call Yajnavalkya the author, in our sense of the word, of the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ and the Satapathabrâhmana. But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yajnavalkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brâhmanas into their present form, and, considering the differences between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charanas of other Vedas whose texts we possess. In this sense, Kâtyâyana says, in his Anukramanî, that Yajnavalkya received the Yajur-veda from the Sun. In the same sense the Satapatha-brahmana ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya2; and in the same sense Pânini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vårttika to iv. 3. 105. that there were modern

दितीयोऽयतीति तदु तथा न ब्र्यात्॥ In the commentary on Baudhâyana's Sûtras, a passage from a Brâhmaṇa is quoted, which may have belonged to the Baudhâyanîya-śâkhâ. द्रषे लोजें लेति गाखामाच्छिनत्ति वायव खोपायव खेति वत्मान-पाकरोति॥ The Baudhâyana-sûtras enjoin the first sentence for male calves, the second for female ones, वायव खेति पुंग उपायव खेति स्विय:।

े प्रकािन चर्जूषि भगवान्याज्ञवल्को वतः प्राप तं विवस्तंत्।

² श्रादित्यानीमानि ग्रुक्कानि यजूषि वाजमनेयेन याज्ञ-वन्न्येनास्थायंते॥



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Brâhmanas proclaimed by Yâjnavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brâhmanas. At the time when these titles were framed Yajnavalkya was still alive; and his work, therefore, was not yet considered as one handed down by tradition through several genera-There might seem to be some difficulty in making Yajnavalkya the author or editor of the whole Yajur-veda, because there are several portions of the Brâhmana where Yâjnavalkya himself is introduced as one of the chief interlocutors, so much so that part of the Brihadâranyaka, the last book of the Satapatha-brahmana, is designated by the name of Yâjnavalkîyam kândam. But similar instances occur in several of the traditional works of the Brahmans, and in this case the decided traces of a later origin which are to be found in the Brihadaranyaka, would justify us in supposing that these portions were added after Yajnavalkya's decease, particularly as it is called Yajnavalkiya, not Yajnavalkya-kanda.1

That Yajnavalkya, though deserting the Charakas, derived great advantage from their Veda, is seen at once by the whole arrangement of his work. I give a list of the various subjects treated in the Vajasaneyi-sanhitâ, according to Mahîdhara. The Sanhitâ

of the Vajasanevins begins with

The Darsapûrnamâsamantrâs, Adhyâya, i.-ii. 28.

Then follow :-Pitriyajnamantras, ii. 29 - 34. Agnyâdheyamantrâs, iii. 1-8. Agnihotram, iii. 9-10.

Agnyupasthânam, iii. 11-43.

¹ See Pân. v. 4. 105, on the purport of this difference.



Châturmâsyâni, iii. 44-63.

Soma. Agnishtomas, iv. 1-viii. 23.

Sâlâpraveśas, iv. 1—37.

Atithyeshtau havirgrahanadimantras, (yūpanirmanam), v. 1 — fin.

Yûpasanskâra (âgnîshomîyapasu) -somâbhishavaman-

trâs, vi. 1-fin.

Grahagrahanamantrâs (upânśvâdi-pradânânta), vii. 1—fin.

Tritîyasavənagatâ âdityagrahâdimantrâs, viii. 1.—23.

Pråsangikås, viii. 24-63.

Våjapeyas, ix. 1—34.

Râjasûyas, ix. 35-40.

Râjasûya abhishekârthajalâdânâdirâjasûyaseshas, Charakasautrâmanî cha, x. 1—fin.

Agnichayanam, ix. - xviii.

Ukhâsambharanâdimantrâs, xi.

Ukhâdhâraṇa, gârhapatyachayana, kshetrakarshaṇa, aushadhavapanâdi, xii.

Pushkaraparņādyupadhanamantras (prathama chitih),

xiii.

Dvitîyâdichititrayam, xiv.

Panchamachitih, xv.

Satarudriyâkhyahomamantrâs, xvi.

Chityaparishekâdimantrâs, xvii.

Vasordhârâdimantrâs, xviii.

Sautrâmanî, xix.—xxi.

Surådindråbhishekantam, xix.

Sekâsandyâdi-hautrântam, xx.

Yâjyâdi-preshanântam, xxi.

Asvamedhas, xxii .- xxv.

Homamantras, xxii.

Sishtam asvamedhikam, xxiii.1

1 According to the forty-eighth Atharvaparisishta, the thirty-

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Śrutirûpamantrâ âśvamedhikânâm paśûnâm, xxiv. Khilâni, xxvi. -- xxxv.

Anuktamantrakathanam, xxvi.

Panchachitikamantrâs, xxvii.

Sautramanîsambandhiprayajanuyajapraishanirûpanam, xxviii.

Sishtâsvamedhamantrâs, xxix.

Purushamedhas, xxx. -- xxxi.

Sarvamedhas, xxxii. - xxxiii. 54.

Brahmayajnas, xxxiii. 55 - xxxiv. fin.

Pitrimedhas, xxxv.

Sukriyam (panchâdhyâyî), xxxvi.-xl.1

Pravargya Śântipâthas, xxxvi.

Abhryadi-rauhinantam, xxxvii. Mahâvîranirûpanam, xxxviii.

Gharmâdinishkritis, lxi.

Inânakândam, xl.

According to this list the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ may be divided into different sections. The first section comprises the Darsapûrnamasa, &c., i.-iii.; the second the Soma sacrifices, iv. -x.; the third the Agnichayanas, xi. - xviii.

These eighteen Adhyâyas, which correspond to the Taittiriya-sanhità, are explained in the first nine books of the Satapatha-brâhmana and the first eighteen chapters of Kâtyâyana's Sûtras. They form, no doubt, the most important part of the Adhvaryuveda, but there is no evidence to show that they ever existed in a separate form. It has been well re-

second verse of the twenty-third Adhyaya would be the last verse of the Sanhitâ. See Weber, Ind. Stud. iv. p. 432.

According to the Mitâkshara commentary on Yajnavalkya's Dharma-sâstra, xxxvi. 1. forms the beginning of an Aranyaka. Weber, Vorlesungen, p. 103.

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marked, however, by the editor of the Satapathabrâhmaṇa, that the first nine books consist altogether of sixty Adhyâyas¹, and that the name of Shashṭipatha, the Sixty Paths, which is mentioned in the Vârttika to Pâṇ. iv. 2. 60., may refer to this portion, whereas the whole Brâhmaṇa, consisting of one hundred Adhyâyas, received the title of Satapatha, the Hundred Paths.

The Sautrâmanî ceremony, which begins with the 19th Adhyâya, has nothing corresponding to it in the Taittirîya-sanhitâ, but, like the following sacrifices, it has been incorporated in the Taittirîya-brâhmana. There is a difference also in the treatment which this sacrifice receives in the Satapatha-brâhmana. Adhyâya xix. and xx. are indeed explained there, in the 12th book, but they do not receive the same careful explanation which was given to the preceding sacrifices. The last Adhyâya, containing verses of the Hotri, is not explained at all. Kâtyâyana treats these three Adhyâyas in the 19th book of his Sûtras.

The Aśvamedha, which fills Books xxii. — xxv. of the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ, is but partially contained in the Taittirîya-sanhitâ; and the Satapatha also, though it devotes to this ceremony a considerable part of the 13th book, treats it in a much more superficial manner than the former sacrifices. Kâtyâyana explains it in his 20th book.

¹ A similar ingenious remark has been made by the same savant with regard to the Aitareya and Kaushîtaki, or, as he calls it, Sânkhâyana-brâhmaṇa. The former consists of forty, the latter of thirty Adhyâyas, and it is not unlikely that the rule in Pâṇini, v. 1. 62, how to form the names of Brâhmaṇas, consisting of thirty and forty Adhyâyas, had special reference to these works. The names are "trainsâni and châtvârinsâni brâhmaṇâni;" the explanation, "trinsad adhyâyâh parimâṇam eshâm brâhmaṇânâm."

BRÂHMANAS OF THE VÂJASANEYINS.

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The Adhyâyas, which follow the Aśvamedha, are distinctly called Khilas or supplements by Kâtyâyana. They are relegated to the Brâhmaṇa by the Taittiriyas, and explained with less detail in the Śatapathabrâhmaṇa. Adhyâya xxvi.—xxix. contain some hymns belonging to sacrifices previously explained, and they are passed over entirely by the Śatapathabrâhmaṇa and by Kâtyâyana. Adhyâya xxx. and xxxi. contain the Purushamedha, which the Taittiriyas treat in their Brâhmaṇa. The Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa devotes but a short space to it in its 13th book, and Kâtyâyana explains Adhyâya xxxi. in his 21st book.

The ceremonies comprised in the three following Adhyâyas, xxxii. to xxxiv., Sarvamedha and Brahma-yajna, are passed over by the Satapatha-brâhmana and Kâtyâyana. The Taittirîyas allow them no place in their Brâhmana, but include them in their Aranyaka.

The Pitrimedha which follows in the xxxvth Adhyaya, finds its place in the Brahmana of the Taittiriyas. The Satapatha and Katyayana explain it, the former in the 13th, the latter in the 21st book.

The Śukriya portion of the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ, xxxvi.—xl., is excluded from the Brâhmana of the Taittirîyas, and treated in their Âranyaka. The Śatapatha-brâhmana explains three of these Adhyâyas, xxxvii.—xxxix., in full detail in its 17th Kânda, and Kâtyâyana devotes to them the Sûtras of his last book.

Those who only take into account the general object of the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa, have called it a running commentary on the Vâjasaneyi-sanhitâ. But this applies strictly to the first nine books only, and with the tenth book the Brâhmaṇa assumes a new and more

BRÂHMANAS OF THE VÂJASANEYINS.



Agnirahasyam, the mystery of the fire, and it refers to no particular portion of the Sanhità, but enlarges on the ceremonies which have been described in the four preceding books. Towards the end (x. 4. 6.), it contains two chapters, which, in the Kâṇva-śâkhâ, form the beginning of the Bṛihadâraṇyaka-upanishad, and are there followed by the Madhu-kâṇḍa, the Yâ-jnavalkîya-kâṇḍa, and Khila-kâṇḍa of the 14th book of the Mâdhyandina-śâkhâ. The tenth book or Agnirahasyam closes with its own genealogy or Vanśa.

With the 11th book begins, according to Sâyana, the second part of the Satapatha-brâhmana. It is called Ashtâdhyâyî, and gives additional information on all the sacrifices mentioned before, beginning with

the Agnyâdhâna.

The 12th book, which is called Sautrâmanî, treats of prayaschitta, or penance in general, and it is only in its last portion that it refers to the text of the Sanhitâ, and to that ceremony in particular from which it has derived its name. Besides this name of Sautrâmanî, the 12th book is also known by the name of Madhyama or the middle book, and this title can only be explained if we begin the second part of the Satapatha, not, as Sâyana suggests, with the 11th, but with the 10th book.

The 13th book is chiefly concerned with the Aśvamedha, and its first three Adhyâyas may again be considered as a kind of commentary on the Sanhitâ. Towards the end some sacrifices, beginning with the Purushamedha, which the Sanhitâ treats in its Khila portion, are explained, but other ceremonies also are mentioned, for which there is no precedent in the Sanhitâ. The Brihadâranyaka, the last book of the 360

Satapatha, contains in its first three Adhyâyas, a close commentary on the Pravargya of the Sanhitâ, but becomes quite independent afterwards. Its object is no longer the sacrifice, but the knowledge of Brahman, without any particular reference, however, to the last Adhyâya of the Sanhitâ, which, as we saw, was equally devoted to the doctrine of the Upanishads.

It is clear, therefore, that the Satapatha-brahmana was not simply a running commentary on the Sanhita; nay there is nothing to prove that the hymnbook of the Vâjasanevins existed previous to their Brâhmana. The Satapatha-brâhmana may have been edited by Yajnavalkya, but its component parts, like the component parts of the other Brahmanas, must have been growing up during a long period of time in different localities before they were collected. The collection of ancient Brâhmanas must always have been the work of individual teachers, and their Brâhmanas, in their new and complete form, were at first the exclusive property of that one Charana to which the collectors belonged, or of which they became the founders. Afterwards these collective Brâhmanas were adopted by the members of other Charanas, who either added some chapters of their own, or introduced certain modifications, by which we now find that different texts of one and the same Brahmana differ from one another. We must distinguish, therefore, between old and new Brâhmanas, the former being those which from time immemorial had been living in the oral tradition of various Charanas, the latter comprising the great collective works. Some of the latter vary slightly in the editions adopted in various Charanas; others, and these the most modern, show the distinct influence of

individual editors. Pânini, whose views are not shackled by the inspiration-doctrine which blinded and misled all the followers of the orthodox Mimansa school, broadly states the fact, that there are old and new Brâhmanas; whereas, according to the doctrine of later divines, the Brahmanas are neither old nor new, but eternal, and of divine origin. Pânini, who is a grammarian, rests his opinion as to the different dates of the Brahmanas on the evidence of language. "A book," he says, "composed by a certain author, may be called by an adjective derived from the author's name." For instance, a book composed by Vararuchi, may be called "Vårarucho granthah." A work, on the contrary, which has only been taught and promulgated 2 by a person, is not to be called his book (grantha), but bears its own title, such as "grammar," or, whatever else it may be, together with an adjective, derived from the author's name. Pânini's grammar, for instance, is not to be called "Pâninîyo granthah," but "Pâṇinîyam vyâkaranam"; because it is a canonical work, revealed to Pânini, but not invented by him. It may also be called "Paniniyam," in the singular neuter; i. e. Pânineum.3 In the same way it is perfectly correct to speak of an "Apisalam," a work composed by Apiśala, of a "Paingi Kalpah," an old ceremonial of Pinga's, of a "Mâdhurî Vrittih," a commentary of Madhura4, and of "Chârakâh Ślokâh."

¹ Pân iv. 3. 116. इते गंघे॥ Kaiyyata says that this Sûtra does not belong to Pâṇini. See page 184.

² Pâṇ. iv. 3. 115. उपजाते। Bhâshya: विनोपदेशेन जातं॥ iv. 3. 101. तेन प्रोक्तं। Bhâshya: यत्तेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन क्रतं॥

³ Cf. iv. 3. 101; iv. 2. 64.

⁴ Cf. Pân. iv. 3. 108.



verses composed by Charaka. "But," says Pânini, "if the work referred to consists either of Vedic hymns (Chhandas), or of old Brâhmanas (purânaprokteshu Brâhmaneshu), then it is not correct to use these derivative adjectives in the singular (unless we employ secondary derivatives, such as Taittirîyakam, Kâthakam), but it is necessary to use the masculine plural." It is wrong to use the word Katham as an adjective from Katha, in the sense of hymns promulgated by Katha; or to use Taittirîyam (from Tittiri, like Paniniyam from Panini), or Taittirîyam Brâhmanam, in the sense of a Brâhmana promulgated by Tittiri. Even Kalpas and Sûtras like the Kalpas of Kasyapa, and Kausika, or the Sûtras of Pârâśarya, Śilâla, Karmanda, and Kriśâśva, are better quoted as "the Kâsyapins" &c. if they are old works.1 According to Panini, we must speak of " the Kathas," i. e. those who study and know the hymns promulgated by Katha 2; of "the Taittiriyas," those who study and know the Brahmana promulgated by Tittiri. This peculiarity of the Sanskrit language, which reminds us of the Greek expression of of mepl, admits of a very natural explanation, if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing, but were handed down by oral tradition in different communities, which represented, so to say, different works, or even different recensions of one and the same work, like so many manuscripts in

1 Cf. Pan. iv. 2. 66. हंदांशि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययांता-न्यध्येहवेदिहप्रत्ययं विना न प्रयोक्तव्यानि॥

² That the Kathas were an old Charana, possessing their own tradition and laws, is seen from the 11th Vârttika to Pân. iv. 3. 120. and from Pan. iv. 3. 126.

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later times. It was much more natural, therefore, to say, "the Taittiriyas relate," than to speak of a Taittirîyam, a work proclaimed by Tittiri, who was perhaps a merely nominal ancestor of the Taittirîyas, or to refer to a Taittirîya grantha, i. e. Tittiri's book, which in reality never existed. That this is the real ground for this Sanskrit idiom becomes more evident by the exceptions mentioned by Panini himself. There are no exceptions with regard to the names of hymns, or rather of the supporters of their texts; but there are Brâhmanas, Kalpas, and Sûtras spoken of in the same way as Pânini's own work. It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yajnavalkyas in the same sense as we speak of the Taittirivas, and the works promulgated by Yajnavalkya, although they are Brâhmanas, are called Yâjnavalkyâni Brâhmanâni.1 "And why?" says Kâtyâyana; "because they are of too recent an origin; that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves." Here, then, we see that as early as Pânini and Kâtyâyana a distinction was made, not only by learned men, but in common language, between old and modern Brâhmanas. We see that the Brâhmanas of Yâjnavalkya, whose works, as those of a seceder, we had reason to consider as modern, are by their very name classed as modern. What other Brahmanas belong to the same class, it is not so easy to say 2, because the only other instance quoted, besides the Brâhmanas of Yajnavalkya, are the Saulabhâni Brâhmanâni; and they have not yet been met with. It is not unlikely, however, that

¹ Pân. iv. 3. 105. 1. याज्ञवल्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकाल-लात ।

² There is no Gaṇa, Yâjnavalkyâdiḥ.



the so-called Anubrâhmanâni 1, or supplementary Brâhmanas, which we have, for instance, in the Sâma-veda 2, may come under this category. 3

That different Brahmanas existed at the time when the great collective Brahmanas were composed, might be proved, even without the testimony of Panini, by quotations occurring in the Brâhmanas themselves. The original Charanas were not all rival sects, and it was natural that one Charana should be ready to accept Brâhmanas of another, if they contained any additional traditions or precepts which seemed to be valuable. Thus we find the Brâhmanas of the Kathas added to the Brahmanas of the Taittiriyas. In other cases we find that one Brâhmana quotes the opinion of another Sakha, not in support of its own doctrines, but in order to refute it. Thus the Kaushîtakins are frequently attacked in the Tandya-brahmana. Now, if these quotations of different authorities, which we meet with in Brahmanas, alluded only to the opinions of certain individuals we might still be doubtful whether these opinions had formerly been laid down in separate Brahmana

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¹ Cf. Pân. iv. 2. 62.

² The Anubrâhmaninah are mentioned in the Nidâna-sûtra belonging to the Sâma-veda. Cf. Ind. Stud. i. 45.

³ Ancient Chhandas (Sanhitâ-śâkhâs) are those of the Kathas, Charakas, Maudas, and Paippalâdas, Sâunakins, Vâjasaneyins, &c., iv. 2. 66. Ancient Brâhmanas are those of the Bhâllavins, Taittirîyas, Vâratantavîyas, Khândikîyas, Aukhîyas; the Âlambins, Pâlangins, Kâmalins, Ārchâbhins, Āruṇins, Tâṇḍins, Śyâmâyanins, Kathas, and Kâlâpas (these descended from the nine pupils of Vaisampâyana); the Hâridrâvins, Taumburavins, Aulapins, and Chhâgaleyins (these derived their origin from the four pupils of Kalâpin); the Sâṭyâyanins. Old Kalpas are those of the Kâśyapins, Kausikins, the Paingî and Āruṇaparājî Kalpaḥ. Old Sûtras those of the Pârâśarins, Śailâlins, Karmandins, and Krišâśyins.



works. But when we see quotations like "iti Kaushitakam," "iti Paingyam," "so says the work of the Kaushitakins or Paingins," there can be little doubt that separate Brâhmaṇas, propagated by separate Charaṇas, are here intended, whatever commentators

may say to the contrary.'

What became of these numerous Brâhmaṇa-charaṇas which are quoted both in the Brâhmaṇas and in the Sûtras, is not quite clear. Most likely they were absorbed or replaced by a more modern class of Charaṇas, the Sûtra-charaṇas. When the Sûtras once came to be regarded as part of the sacred canon, they gave rise to a large number of new Charaṇas. Their members would preserve the text of the Sanhitâ and Brâhmaṇa of an earlier Charaṇa from which they originally branched off. The ground of division being in the Sûtras, the minor differences between the texts of the Sanhitâs and

¹ Indische Studien, i. 393.

े तैत्तिरीयके समाकाये समानाध्ययने नाना सूचाणि। तसादिप गाखाभेदः॥ तथा चैकस्यां तैत्तिरीयगाखायां समानपाठायां सूचभेदादवांतरगाखाभेदः॥

² Colebrooke has taken a different view with respect to the Sûtras. He says, "But those numerous Sâkhâs did not differ so widely from each other as might be inferred from the mention of an equal number of Sanhitâs, or distinct collections of texts. In general, the various schools of the same Veda seem to have used the same assemblage of prayers; they differed more in their copies of the precepts or Brâhmanas; and some received into their canon of scripture portions which do not appear to have been acknowledged by others. Yet the chief difference seems always to have been the use of particular rituals taught in aphorisms (sûtras) adopted by each school; and these do not constitute a portion of the Veda, but, like grammar and astronomy, are placed among its appendages." Misc. Essays, i. 18.



Brahmanas might be waived in these modern Charanas, and this would gradually lead to the loss of many of the old Sakhas. We saw before, in the case of the Sakalas and Bashkalas, that at the time when Sûtras began to be composed there was a tendency to reunite different Sakhas into one. That the introduction of Sûtras encroached on the study of the Brâhmanas and Sanhitâs in the schools of the Brahmans, becomes evident from passages in which the custom of performing sacrifices after the prescriptions of Sûtras only is declared to be without merit and without effect. Kumarila in one passage simply states the fact that priests perform sacrifices by means of the Kalpa-sûtras only, and without the Veda, but that they could not do the same by means of the Mantras and Brâhmanas, and without the Kalpas.1 In another place2 he declares that the reason why the

Kumárila, i. 3.
 वेदाहतेऽपि कुर्वति कन्पैः कर्माणि चाज्ञिकाः।
 न त कन्पैर्विना केचिन्धंचनाद्यणमाचकात्॥

² Knmārila, i. 3. 1. यनु किमर्थ वेदवाक्यान्येव नोपसंग्र-हीतानीति। संप्रदायविनामभीतेः। विभिष्टानुपूर्व्यवस्थितो हि खाध्याचोऽध्येतवः श्रूयते। सार्तायाचाराः केचित्क-चित्कस्यांचिक्काखायां। तत्रापि तु केचित्युरुषमेवाधिकत्या-सायंतेऽपरे कत्पप्रकरणास्नाताः केनचित्रिमिन्तेनोत्कथ्यमाणाः पुरुषधर्मतां भजते। यथा मलवदासमा सह न संवदेन्तसास्त्र शाह्यणायावगुरेदित्येवमादयः। तत्र यदि तावन्तान्येव वा-क्यानुद्धाध्यापयेयुस्ततः क्रमान्यलात्साध्यायविधिविरोधः स्थात्। स्रनेन च निदर्शनेनान्येऽपर्यवादोद्धारेण विधि- founded on the Veda, had not been made up of literal extracts, was because this would have endangered the sacred study of the whole Veda. The Veda would thus have been read in a different order, or small extracts only would have been studied instead of the whole Veda. Now this is what seems to have happened to a certain extent by the introduction of the Sûtras, and it would account for the loss of many of the old Sâkhâs, Sanhitâs as well as Brâhmanas.

In order to show more clearly to how great an extent the Vedic literature was fostered by means of the Charanas, I shall give a list from the Charanavvûha. This Parisishta is a document of a comparatively late period, though it may be one of the oldest works belonging to this class of literature.1 It is, therefore, no good authority as to the number of the old Sanhitâ-charanas and Brâhmana-charanas, many of which were lost or merged into others during the Sûtra period; but it is of interest as the first attempt at a complete enumeration of all Charanas, and may be trusted particularly with regard to the Sûtra-charanas, which, at the time of its composition, were still of recent origin. The number of the old Charanas would, no doubt, have to be increased considerably, if the quotations of different Sakhas were

माचमधीयीरन् कर्मीपाथिकमाचं वा। तच वेदप्रसयः प्रसच्चेत॥

¹ It has been printed by Prof. Weber in his Indische Studien. I possess the collation of some of the Berlin MSS., but not of all. In addition to the MSS. collated by Prof. Weber, I have used the text and various readings given in Rådhakântadeva's Sabdakalpadruma.





taken into account, which occur in the Brâhmanas as well as in the Sûtras. But at the same time we may conclude from the lists given in the Charanavyûha that most of these old Charanas were extinct shortly after the Sûtra-period, and that their works as well as their names, began to be forgotten.

Of the Rig-veda five Charanas are mentioned:

- 1. The Sakalas.1
- 2. Bâshkalas.2
- 3. Aśvalâyanas.3
- 4. Śânkhâyanas.4
- 5. Mândukâyanas.5

We miss the names of several old Śâkhâs such as the Aitareyins, Śaiśiras, Kaushîtakins, Paingins,

- ¹ Pâp. iv. 3. 128.: iv. 2. 117.
- ² Bâshkala. Not mentioned in Pânini. As to its etymology, cf. Pân. ii. 1. 65.
 - ³ Pân. iv. 1. 99. : Gana nadadi.
- ⁴ This Sâkhâ is spelt Sânkhyâyana, Sânkhyâyana, Sânkhâyana and Sânkhâyana. The last, however, is the most correct spelling. See Pâṇini, Gaṇapâtḥa, aśvâdi, and kunjâdi. This Sâkhâ is omitted by accident in MS. E. I. H.
- 5 Pân. iv. 1. 19 (text). Mândûka; derivative, Mândûkâyana. See also Pân. iv. 1. 119.
- ⁶ The Śaiśira-śākhâ, however, may perhaps be considered as a subdivision of the Śākala-śākhâ. Śaiśira, or Śiśira, is mentioned in the Purāṇas as one of the five Śākala pupils, who propagated different Śākhâs of the Rig-veda, all of them derived from the original recension of Śākalya Vedamitra. In the Vishņu-purāṇa these five pupils or descendants of Śākalya Vedamitra are called Mudgala, Gosvalu, Vātsya, Śālîya, and Śiśira. (Vishṇu-pur. 277.) In the Vâyu-purāṇa their names are Mudgala, Golaka, Khâlîya, Mātsya, Śaiśireya. In the commentary on the Śākala-prātiśākhya they are called Mudgala, Gokula, Vātsya, Śaiśira, and Śiśira, according to the Paris MS.; or Mudgala, Gokhula, Vātsya, Śârîra, and Śaiśira, according to the MS. at the E. I. H.

ददं शासं पार्षदास्थमस्तिनं संपूर्णमुत्तरत्र वच्छे वच्छाम

36SL

while the Asvalâyanas, who are mentioned, must be considered as the founders of one of the latest Śâkhâs

of the Rig-veda.

The number of Śākhās of the Yajur-veda is stated at eighty-six. We have first the twelve Charanas comprehended under the common name of Charakas. They are, according to the MS of the Charanavyûha:

- 1. Charakas.1
- 2. Åhvarakas.2
- 3. Kathas.3
- 4. Práchya-kathas.4
- 5. Kapishthala-kathas.5
- 6. Chârâyanîyas.6

द्रत्यर्थः। ग्रेभिरीये पारायणपाठ दति वाकाभेषः। ग्रेभिरी-यायां संहितायामित्यर्थः। ग्रेभिरी संहिता ग्रिभिर दृष्टलात्। तथा पुराण उत्तं। सृत्रलो गोकुलो वात्यः ग्रेभिरः ग्रिभिरस्तथा। पंचेते ग्राकलाः ग्रिय्याः ग्राखाभेदप्रवर्तका दति। तथा च च्येदे ग्रेभिरीयायां संहितायामिति। यथा च्येदे पारायणाखाये ग्राकक्ये ग्रेभिरीयकमिति वा। The verses to which this commentary refers are not in the MS.

Pân. iv. 3. 107. text; v. 1. 11. text. Gana Kshipakâdi.

² Åhvarakas, S. K. D. Åhûrakas, Sansk. G. P. Hvarakas, MS. Berol. 785. Cf. Pâņ. ii. 4. 20.; vi. 2. 124.; iii. 2. 135. comment. Several of these names are very problematical.

3 Pan. iv. 3. 107. text; ii. 1. 65. com.; vii. 4. 38. text; vi.

3, 42. com.; ii. 4. 3. com.; i. 3. 49. com.; ii. 1. 163. com.

4 Cf. Pân. vi. 2. 10.

5 Pan. viii. 3. 91. Kapishthalah and Kapisthalam. Gana kraudyâdi and upakâdi. As to Καμβίσθολοι, see Megasthenes, edit. Schwanbeck, p. 33. note, and p. 108.

6 Pân. iv. 1. 89. com.; iv. 1. 63. com.; iv. 1. 99. com.; iv. 3.

80. com. Gaņa nadādi.



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- 7. Vâratantavîyas.1
- 8. Śvetáśvataras.2
- 9. Aupamanyavas.3
- 10. Pâtas.4
- 11. Aindineyas.⁵
- 12. Maitrâyanîyas.6

The Maitrâyanîyas are subdivided into seven Charanas:—

- 13. Mânayas.7
- 14. Vârâhas.8
- 15. Dundubhas.
- 16. Chhâgaleyas.9
- 17. Hâridravîyas.10
- 18. Śyâmas.11

Vârtantavîya, MSS. See, however, Pân. iv. 3. 102.

- ² A different reading is mentioned in the S. K. D., namely, Svetâ Svetatarâh. MS. Chamb. 785., has Svetâh Svetântarâh; 376. Svetâ Asvatarâh. Sansk. G. P., Svetâh Svetatarâh.
 - 3 See Gana Vidâdi.
 - 4 Ashthalakathas, S. K. D. Patandiniyas, Chamb. 785.
 - ⁵ Vârâyanîyas, Ś. K. D.
 - 6 See Ganapâtha, arîhanâdi.
- ⁷ Pân. iv. 1. 105. Gana Gargâdi, unless the reading be manutantu.
 - 8 Pân. iv. 2. 80. Gana Varâhâdi. Pân. iv. 1. 78.
- 9 Chaikeyas S. K. D. MSS. Chamb. 376. 785, have Chhâgeyas. MS. 785. places the Hâridravîyas at the end, adding five new divisions. तच हार्द्रिवीया नाम पंच भेदा भवंति। हारि-

द्रवमासुरं गार्थे भाकराचसमायावसवीयं पंचममेते हारि-

द्वसंप्राः। Pâṇ. iv. 1. 117, Chhâgala, âtreyas chet, chhâgalir anyaḥ; iv. 3. 109, Chhâgaleyinaḥ; vii. 1. 2, Gaṇa takshasilâdi. Chhâgaleyaḥ, Pâṇ. iv. 2. 30, Gaṇa Sakhyâdi.

10 Pân. iv. 3. 104, Haridru and hâridravinah; iv. 4. 53, Gana

kisarâdi.

11 Gaņa âśvadi.



79. Syâmâyanîyas.1

Then follow

- 20. Taittiriyas, subdivided into
- Aukhîyas² and
 Khândikîyas.³

The Khandikiyas are again subdivided into:-

23. Kâleyas.4

24. Sâtyâyanins.

25. Hiranyakeśins.

26. Bhâradvâjins.

27. Apastambins.

This gives altogether twenty-seven Śâkhâs, the same number which is mentioned in the Vishņu-purâṇa⁵, although the manner of computing them is different.

Then follow the fifteen Sakhas of the Vajasaneyins, a number which is confirmed by the Pratijna-pari-sishta, and has also been preserved in the Vishnu-purana, while the Charanavyuha of the Sabda-kalpa-druma brings their number to seventeen. They are:—

28. Jábálas.6

¹ Pân. iv. 3. 104.

² Aukshyas and Aukhyas, S. K. D.; Aukhiyas, Ch. 785.; Ausheyas, Ch. 376. Cf. Pâp. iv. 3. 102.

3 Khândikîyas, Ch. 785.; Shândikeyas, Ch. 376.; Pân. iv. 3...

102.

⁴ The Charanavyûha of the Ś. K. D. has, — 23. Âpastambins; 24. Baudhâyanins; 25. Satyâshâḍhins; 26. Hiranyakeśins; 27. Aukheyas or Audheyins. MS. Ch. 785. has, — 23. Kâleyas (Kâleyâh, Pâṇ. iv. 2. 8.); 24. Śâtyayanas (Pâṇ. iv. 3. 105.); 25. Hiranyakeśas; 26. Bhâradvâjas; 27. Âpastambîyas. MS. 376., Kaletas, Sâtyâyinins, Hiranyakeśins, Bhâradvâjins, Âpastambins.

⁵ P. 279. "Of the tree of the Yajur-veda there are twenty-seven branches, which Vaisampâyana, the pupil of Vyâsa, compiled and

taught to as many disciples."

6 Pân. vi. 2. 38. text ; ii. 4. 58. 1.





- 29. Baudheyas.1
- 30. Kanvas.2
- 31. Mâdhyandinas.3
- 32. Śâpheyas.4
- 33. Tâpanîyas.5
- 34. Kapolas.6
- 35. Paundravatsas.7
- 36. Avatikas.8
- 37. Paramâvaţikas.9
- 38. Pârâśaryas. 10
- 39. Vaineyas.11
- 40. Vaidheyas.12
- 41. Audheyas.18
- 42. Mauneyas.14

Though the number of the Śâkhâs of the Yajurveda is stated as eighty-six by the Charaṇavyûha,

- ¹ Baudheyas, P.-p. Ch. 785.; Augheyas, S. K. D.; Gaudheyas, S. G. P.; Baudhayanas, Ch. 376. E. I. H.; Baudhiḥ, Pâṇ. ii. 4. 58. 1.
 - ² Pân. iv. 2. 111, text.
 - 3 Mâdhyandineyas, Ch. 376. See Gana utsâdi.
 - 4 Sâpeyas, P.-p.; Śâpiyas, Ś. K. D.; Śâpeya, Gaņa śaunakâdi.
 - ⁵ Tâpâyanîyas, Ś. K. D.; Ch. 376.; Tâpâyanas, Ch. 785.
- ⁶ Kalâpas, P.-p.; Kapâlas, S. K. D.; Ch. 785.; Kapolas, Ch. 376.
 - ⁷ Paundravachhas, P.-p.; Ch. 376. Cf. Pâp. vii. 3. 24.
 - 8 Cf. Gana gargâdi, Pân. iv. 1. 17.; iv. 1. 75, text.
 - 9 Pamâvaţikas or Paramâvaţikas, Ś. K. D.
- 10 Pârâśaras, P.-p.; Ch. 785. 376.; Pârâśarîyas, Ś. K. D.; Gaṇa kṛiśâsvâdi; gargâdi.
 - 11 Vaidheyas, Ch. 785.; Vaineyas, Ch. 376.
 - 12 Vaidheyas, Ch. 376.; Vaineyas, Ch. 785.
- ¹³ Aukhyas, P.-p.; Addhas, Ch. 376.; Ugheyas, S. K. D.; See Pân. ii. 4. 7.; Aukhîyas, Ch. 785.
- ¹⁴ Baudhyaśvas, P.-p.; Mauneyas, Ch. 785.; Bodheyas, Ch. 376. The S. K. D. adds here,—42. Galavas; 48. Vaijaras; 44. Kâtyâ-yanîyas.



The names given, including the Vâjasaneyins, amount only to forty-three, exactly half the number expected. It is difficult to account for this, for although some other names are mentioned, for instance the Prâchya, Udîchya and Nairritya Kathas, yet this would not increase the number of Śâkhâs sufficiently.

The largest number of Śâkhâs is ascribed to the Sâma-veda. It is said to have been a thousand. The author of the Charaṇavyûha, however, confesses that the greater part of them no longer exist. Those remaining at the time when the Charaṇavyûha was composed were the seven Śâkhâs of the

- 1. Rânâyanîyas.2
- Sâtyamugryas.³
- 3. Kâlâpas.4
- 4. Mahâkalopas.5
- 5. Lângalâyanas.6
- 6. Sårdûlas.7
- 7. Kauthumas.8

The Kauthumas are again subdivided into the

- 8. Aśurâyaņas.9
- 9. Vâtâyanas.10

¹ In a MS. of the Charaka-sâkhâ of the Kâthaka, 101 Sâkhâs of the Yajur-veda are mentioned. Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., p. 38. "Ekottarasatâdhvaryuśâkhâprabhedabhinne yajurvedakâthake."

² Gana pailâdi.

- Sâtyamurgyas and Sâtyamurgryas, Ch. 785.; Sâtyamurgryas, Ch. 376.; Pâm. iv. 1. 81.
 - 4 Kâlopas, Ch. 785. 376., Pâp. iv. 3. 108.
 - ⁵ Mahâkâlopas, Ch. 785. 376.; probably Mahâkâlâpas.

6 Lângalas, Ch. 785.

⁷ Śardûlas, Ch. 376.; wanting in Ch. 785.

8 Gana Kârtakaujapâdi.

- 9 Kauthumas, Ch. 785.; Gaņa taulvalyādi.
- 10 Sârdulas, Ch. 785.





10. Pranjalidvaitabhrits.1

11. Prâchînayogyas.2

12. Naigeya-Kauthumas.

The account given by the S. K. D. is very different and in many places corrupt. Here we have, 1. the Asurâyanîyas or Surâyanîyas, 2. Vârtântaveyas, 3. Prânjalas, 4. Rigvarnabhedas, 5. Prâchînayogyas, 6. Jnânayogyas, 7. Rânâyanîyas. The Rânâyanîyas are subdivided into nine; Rânâyanîyas, 8. Śâṭhyâyanîyas (or Śârâyanîyas, Śâṭhyamugryas), 9. Śâṭvalas (or Sâṭyamudbhavas), 10. Maudgalas (not mentioned in the Bhâshya), 11. Khallalas, 12. Mahâkhallavas, 13. Lângalas, 14. Kauthumas, 15. Gautamas, 16. Jaiminîyas.

Of the Atharva-veda nine divisions are mentioned, but the names given are incomplete and corrupt. They are given here, with some conjectural emenda-

tions from the MSS.4

1. Paippalâdas.5

¹ Surânâyanîyas, Ch. 785.

² Prâjvalanâdvaitabhrits, Ch. 785.; Prânjalidvenabhrits, Ch. 376. Gaņa Gargâdi.

³ Prâchînayogyas and Naigeyas.

4 The text in the S. K. D. has पैष्पला:। दांता:। प्रदांता:। खाता:। खीता दित च पाठ:। खीता:। ब्रह्मदावला:। शीनकी। देविदर्शती। चरणविद्यासेति॥ दाता प्रदाता श्रीता ब्रह्मदीपशी वेदशी दित आस्त्रे नामांतरं॥ MS. Ch. 785. reads शीनका दासोदा तीत्तायना जायला ब्रह्मपला श्रुन खी देवदर्शी चारणविद्यासेति। MS. Ch. 376. reads, शीनका दासोदा तोत्तायना जावाला ब्रह्मपलाशा शीन-की देविष चारणविद्यासेति॥

⁵ Pân. iv. 2. 66.





- 2. Śaunakas.1
- 3. Dâmodas.
- 4. Tottâyanas.
- 5. Jayalas.
- 6. Brâhmapalâśas.
- 7. Kaunakhins.
- 8. Devadarsanins.2
- 9. Châranavidyas.

This list makes no distinction between old and new If we had the whole Vedic literature before us, as it was living during ancient times in the tradition of numerous Brahmanic families, it would be possible to determine which of these Charanas owe their origin to Sûtras, which to Brahmanas or Sanhitâs. As it is, we can only infer that some Charanas, like those of the Aśvalâyanas, Hiranyakeśins, Bhâradvâjins, Apastambins, Baudhâyanas, Pârâśaryas, &c., are in all probability of modern origin, because the only works ascribed to their founders are Sûtra compilations. Their Sanhitas and Brahmanas, whenever they are mentioned, seem to be the same as those of older Charanas, with but small medifications. Other Charanas, like those of the Paingins, Kaushîtakins, Aitarevins, Sâtyâyanins, &c., are not mentioned in connection with any Satras composed by authors bearing these names; and it is most likely, therefore, that they derive their origin from authors whose names have been perpetuated in the titles of certain Brâhmanas. Whether these Charanas were in possession of Sûtras is doubtful, nor have we any means of determining whether, for instance, a member of the Aitarevi-charana, after adopting the Kalpa-sûtras of

¹ Pân. iv. 3. 106.

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Saunaka, would retain his allegiance to the Aitarevins or not. The ancient Sanhitâs used in these Brâhmanacharanas, and originally adopted from older Charanas, were not likely to be affected by considerable differences after their adoption. The fact that we never find a Kaushîtaki-sanhitâ or Paingi-sanhitâ quoted tends to show that the Charanas, which owe their independent constitution to the introduction of a Brâhmana, retained in most instances the original text of their Sanhitâs. Charanas, lastly, like those of the Sakalas, Bashkalas, Saisiras, &c., whose names are connected neither with Sûtras nor Brâhmanas, but with Sanhitâs only, must be referred to the earliest period of the formation of Vedic communities, and must have existed, as the bearers of their own traditional collection of hymns, before the composition of either Brahmanas or Satras. With regard to many Charanas, however, it will remain doubtful to which of these three classes they belong, until a larger number of Vedic works peculiar to each Charana becomes available. Charanas like those of the Mâdhyandinas and Kânvas must be referred to the Brahmana period, because their Sanhitas and Brahmanas are ascribed to one and the same teacher. This teacher, Yajnavalkya, is represented as the author of modern Brahmanas, and we saw that, in all probability, his Sanhitâ was even more modern than his Brahmanas. The fact, however, that the Sûtras adopted by the Mâdhyandina and Kânva-charanas are ascribed to Kâtyâyana, shows that these Charanas existed certainly previous to the Satra period. With regard to the Sanhitacharanas it will always be difficult to determine how far their differences were fixed, if not originally



called forth by the introduction of the Brahmanas. Most likely the Sanhitâ-charanas are restricted to the Rig-veda. It is certain, at least, that no Brahmana belonging to any Veda was composed before the division of priests into Hotris, Udgatris, and Adhvaryus,—had taken place. Before that division there was but one collection of hymns, that of the Bahvrichas, and it is among the Bahvrichas only that we have any distinct traces of Sanhitâ-charanas.

It will always be very difficult to assign a distinct meaning to such terms as Charana and Śakha, because we have nothing that exactly corresponds to them in our own experience. Literary works, such as the Śâkhâs were, have assumed with us a much more tangible shape. They exist as books, and not merely as a body of thought handed down in schools, or in families. To read a śâkhâ meant not only to go over it, but to take possession of it, to guard it in the memory, and to enable others to read it by repeating it to them. A man who had read a book was himself the book: the song of a poet had no outward existence except through those who heard and remembered it. A work, once composed, might either wither for want of an audience, or grow, like a tree, of which every new listener would become a new branch. The idea of representing what we should call an edition of a hundred copies, by the simile of a branch, was a very natural one, and if we once adopt it and enter into the spirit of this Sanskrit idiom, we see that it is difficult to distinguish between the branch, as the book, and the branch, as the reader; between the trust, and the trustee. It would be well, however, to speak of the former only as sakha, and of the latter as the reader of a śakha, while we should

reserve the name of Charana for those ideal successions or fellowships to which all those belonged who read the same śākhā.

If it is difficult to describe what a Sakha and a Charana were, it is all the more necessary to state what they were not. Now a Charana was not the same as a Gotra or Kula. Gotra or Kula means a family, and the number of families that had a right to figure in the Brahmanic Peerage of India was very considerable. The Brahmans were proud of their ancestors, and preserved their memory with the most scrupulous care, as may be seen by the numerous treatises on the subject which are preserved to the present day. Mådhava, for instance, after stating who his father, mother, and brothers were, what Sakha he followed, what Satra he had adopted, adds at the end that his family descended from Bhâradvâja.1 Gotras, or families existed among Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as well as among Brahmans.2 Charanas were confined to the priestly caste. Gotras depended on a real or imaginary community of blood, and thus correspond to what we call families. Charanas depended on the community of sacred texts. They were ideal fellowships, held together by ties, more sacred in the eyes of a Brahman than the mere ties of blood. They were the living depositaries of the most sacred texts, and with the extinction of a

> े श्रीमती जननी यस सुकीर्तिमीयणः पिता। सायणो भोगनाथस मनोबुद्धी महोदरी॥ यस बीधायनं सूत्रं शाखा यस च याजुषी। भारदाजं कुलं यस स⁵ज्ञः स हि माधवः॥

1.1

² Baudhâyana-sûtra-bhâshya. MS. E. I. H. 104, p. 91.



Charana, the words which were believed to be the breath of God would have been lost without the hope of recovery. Members of different Gotras might belong to the same Charana. Where the member of a Gotra became the founder of a new Charana, the new Charana might bear the name of its founder, and thus become synonymous, but not identical, with a Gotra.

The names of the Charanas were naturally preserved as long as the texts which they embodied continued to be studied. The names of the Gotras were liable to confusion, particularly in later times, when their number had become very considerable. But the respect which the Brahmans, from the very earliest time, paid to their ancestors, and the strictness with which they prohibited marriages between members of the same family, lead us to suppose that the genealogical lists, such as we find in the Brahmanas, in the Sûtras, in the Mahâbhârata, in the Purânas, and even at the present day, present in their general outlines a correct account of the priestly families of India. All Brahmanic families who keep the sacred fires are supposed to descend from the Seven Rishis. These are: _Bhriqu, Angiras, Visvâmitra, Vasishtha, Kåsyapa, Atri, Agasti. The real ancestors, however, are eight in number: - Jamadagni, Gautama and Bharadvâja, Visvâmitra, Vasishtha, Kâsyapa, Atri, The eight Gotras, which descend from these Rishis, are again subdivided into forty-nine Gotras, and these forty-nine branch off into a still larger number of families. The names gotra, vansa, varga, paksha, and gana are all used in the same sense, to express the larger as well as the smaller families, descended from the eight Rishis.





A Brahman, who keeps the sacrificial fire, is obliged by law to know to which of the forty-nine Gotras his own family belongs, and in consecrating his own fire he must invoke the ancestors who founded the Gotra to which he belongs. Each of the forty-nine Gotras claims one, or two, or three, or five ancestors, and the names of these ancestors constitute the distinctive character of each Gotra. A list of these forms part of most of the Kalpa-sûtras, and I here give one of them from the 12th Book of Aśvalâyana's Śrauta-sûtras.

List of the Forty-nine Gotras, according to Aśvalayana, xii. 10. seq.

1. THE BHRIGUS.

Name of Gotra. No. of Ancestors. Invocation of Ancestors.

1. Jâmadagnâ Vatsâḥ • 5 Bhârgava, Chyâvana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, Jâmadagnetî.

2. Jâmadagnyâh or Jâmadagnâh. 5 Bhârgava, Chyâvana, Âpnavâna, Ârshṭisheṇa, Anûpeti.

ं मर्वगोत्राणि प्रवर्गणायत्तानि। गोत्राणां तु सङ्खाणि प्रयतान्यर्वदानि च। ऊनपंचाश्रदेतेषां प्रवरा ऋषिदर्शनात्॥

These lists vary considerably in the different Sûtras. Purushottama, in his Pravaramanjarî, has made an attempt at collecting and explaining them. He uses the Kalpa-sûtras of Baudhâyana, Âpastamba, Satyâshâḍha, Kuṇḍina, Bharadvâja, Laugâkshi, Kâtyâyana, and Áśvalâyana; the Matsya-purâṇa, the Bhârata, Manu's Law-book and their commentaries. For Baudhâyana he quotes a commentary by Amala; for Âpastamba, Dhûrtasvamin, Kapardisvâmin, Gurudevasvâmin; for Âśvalâyana, Devasvâmin.

Name of Gotra.
3. Bidah

No. of Ancestors. Invocation of Ancestors.

5 Bhârgava, Chyâvana, Âpnavâna, Aurva, Baideti.

4. Yaska
Bâdhaula
Mauna
Mauka
Śârkarâkshi
Sârshṭi
Sâvarṇi
Śâlankâyana
Jaimini
Devantyâyanâḥ

3 Bhârgava, Vaitahavya, Sâvetaseti.

Devantyâ, 5. Syaitâh

3 Bhârgava, Vainya, Pârtheti.

Bâdhryaśveti.

6. Mitrayuvah

or 3 Bhârgava, Daivodâsa, Bâdhryaśveti.

1 Gârtsamadeti.

7. Śunakâh

or 3 Bhârgava, Śaunahotra, Gârtsamadeti.

II. THE ANGIRASAS. -

- 8. Gotamâḥ
- 3 Ångirasa, Åyâsya, Gautameti.
- 9. Uchathyâḥ
- 3 Ångirasa, Auchathya, Gautameti.
- 10. Rahûganâh
- Angirasa, Râhûganya, Gautameti.
- 11. Somarâjakayah
- Angirasa, Somarâjya, Gautameti.

Name of Gotra	No. of Ancest	ors. Invocation of Ancestors
12. Vâmadevâh	3	Angirasa, Vâmadevya,
		Gautameti.
13. Brihadukthâh	3	Angirasa, Bârhaduk-
		thya, Gautameti.
14. Prishadaśvâh	[3	Angirasa, Pârshadaśva,
	or	Vairûpeti.
	or 3	Ashţâdanshţra, Pârsha-
		daśva, Vairûpeti.
15. Rikshâh	5	Ângirasa, Bârhaspatya,
		Bhâradvâja, Vândana,
		Mâtavachaseti.
16. Kakshîvantah	5	Angirasa, Auchathya,
		Gautama, Ausija, Kâk-
		shivateti.
17. Dirghatamasa	h 3	Angirasa, Auchathya,
		Dairghatamaseti.

II. b. THE BHARADVÂJAS.

18. Bharadvájágnive- syáh	} 3	Ângirasa, Bârhaspatya, Bhâradvâjeti.
A CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF TH	(3	Ângirasa, Bhârmyaśva,
19. Mudgalâḥ	or	Maudgalyeti.
	3	Tarkshya, Bhârmyaśva,
	L	Maudgalyeti.
20. Vishnuvriddhâh	3	Angirasa, Paurukutsya,
		Trâsadasyaveti.
	(5	Angirasa, Bârhaspatya,
21. Gargāḥ	or	Bhâradvâja, Gârgya,
	1 "	Sainyeti.
	3	Angirasa, Sainya, Gâr-
		gyeti.

and of Gotra

No. of Ancestors. Invocation of Ancestors

99 Harita

Kutsa Pinga Sankha Darbhya

Bhaimagavah

23. Sankriti Putimásha Tandi Sambhu Saivagavâh

24. Kanyâh

25. Kapayah

Angirasa, Ambarisha, or Yauvanâśveti.

3 Måndhåtra, Ambarîsha, Yauvanâsveti.

Angirasa, Gaurivîta or Sânkrityeti.

Sâktya, Gaurivîta, Sânkrityeti.

Angirasa, Ajamîlha, Kânveti.

Angirasa, Ghaura, Kân-

veti. Angirasa, Mahiyava, Urukshayaseti.

5 Angirasa, Barhaspatya, or Bhâradvâja, Kâtya, At-

kîleti.

III. THE ATRIS.

27. Atrayah

28. Gavishthirah

Atreya, Archanânasa. Syavasveti.

Atreya, Gavishthira, Paurvâtitheti.

IV. THE VIŚVÂMITRAS.

29. Chikita-Gâlava-Kâlabava-Manutantu-Kuśikâh

Vaisvâmitra, Devarâta. Audaleti.

·//		
Name of Gotra. No. of A	nces	tors. Invocation of Ancestors.
30. Śraumata-kâmakâ-]		Vaišvâmitra, Devasrava- sa, Daivataraseti.
yanâh J	3	
31. Dhananjayâḥ	9	Vaisvâmitra, Mâdhu- chhandasa, Dhânanjay- yeti.
32. Ajâḥ	3	Vaisvâmitra, Mâdhu- chhandasa, Âjyeti.
33. Rohinâh	3	Vaisvâmitra, Mâdhu-
55. Romiai		chhandasa, Rauhineti.
34. Ashtakâh	3	Vaiśvâmitra, Mâdhu-
94. Ashiakan		chhandasa, Ashtaketi.
35. Pûraṇa-Vâridhâpa-]	3	Vaisvâmitra, Devarâta,
yantâh }		Pauraneti.
36. Katâh	3	Vaisvâmitra, Kâtya, Ât- kîleti.
37. Aghamarshaṇâḥ	3	Vaišvāmitra, Aghamar- shaņa, Kaušiketi
38. Reņavaḥ	3	Vaišvâmitra, Gâthina, Rainaveti.
39. Veṇavaḥ	3	Vaisvâmitra, Gâthina- Vainaveti.
40. Śâlankâyana-		
Śâlâksha-	3	Vaisvâmitra, Śâlankâ-
Lohitâksha-		yana, Kauśiketi.
Lohitajahnavah		The state of the state of
37 (0	77	

THE KASYAPAS.

Kâsyapa, Âvatsâra, Âsi-41. Kasyapâḥ teti. Avatsâra, Kâśyapa, 42. Nidhruvâh 3 Naidhruveti. Kâsyapa, Avatsâra, Rai-43. Rebhâh bhyeti.



44. Śandilâh

No. of Ancestors. Invocation of Ancestors.

Sandila, Asita, Daivaleti.

Kâśyapa, Âsita, Daiva-leti.

VI. THE VASISHTHAS.

45. Vasishthâh

46. Upamanyayah

47. Parâśarâh

48. Kundinâh

1 Vasishtheti.

Vâsishtha, Abharadvasu, Indrapramadeti.

Våsishtha, Såktva, Pårâśaryeti.

Våsishtha, Maitravaruna, Kaundinyeti.

VII. THE AGASTIS.

49. Agastayah

3 Ågastya, Dârdhachyuta, or Idhmavâheti. 3 Ågastya, Dârdhachyuta, Somavâheti.

There are other lists of much greater extent, which may become useful in time for chronological calculations. In them the first branch of the Bhrigus, the Vatsas, count 73 names; among them such names as Saunakayanah (8), Pailah (13), Paingalayanah (14), Pâninih (29), Vâlmîkayah (30). The Vidas comprise 13, the Arshtishenas 8, the Yaskas 20, the Mitrayus 11, the Vainyas 3, and the Sunakas 9 names. It would occupy too much space to print these lists here.

In order to prove that these lists were not merely arbitrary compositions, their practical bearing on two very important acts of the ancient Brahmanic society,

the consecrating of the sacrificial fires, and marriage,

When the fire is to be consecrated, Agni Havyavâhana, the god who carries the libations to heaven, must be invoked. This invocation or invitation of Agni, is called pravara.1 Agni himself or the fire is called Arsheva, the offspring of the Rishis, because the Rishis first lighted him at their sacrifices. He is the Hotri as well as the Adhvaryu among the gods. Like the Hotri and Adhvaryu priests, he is supposed to invite the gods to the sacrifice, and to carry himself the oblation to the seat of the immortals. therefore a Brahman has his own fire consecrated, he wishes to declare that he is as worthy as his ancestors to offer sacrifices, and he invites Agni to carry his oblations to the gods as he did for his ancestors. The names of these ancestors must then be added to his invitation, and thus the invitation or invocation of the ancestors came to be called pravara. For instance, if a Brahman belongs to the family of the Mândûkeyas, he must know that the Mandûkeyas belong to the Vatsas, and that the Vatsas are descended from Bhrigu, and invoke five ancestors. He must, therefore, like all members of the Vatsa-gotra, invoke Agni by the names of Bhargava, Chyavana, Apnavana, Aurva, and Jamadgna. If he belong to the family of Yajnavalkya, a branch of the Kusikas, descendants of Viśvâmitra, he must invoke Agni by the name of Viśvâmitra, Devarâta and Udala. This, at least, is

े तस्य (श्रग्नेराहवनीयस्थ) प्रकर्षण प्रार्थनानि तैसीर्मेचहु-ग्रिनेकदिविपंचसंस्थाकैर्विशिष्टानि एकार्षेयाद्वार्षेयास्थार्षेयाः पंचार्षेयाः प्रवरा दत्युस्थंते॥ which the Aśvalâyana-sûtra coincides, except that it does not mention the Yâjnavalkyas as a subdivision of the Kuśikas. This custom was known at the time of the composition of the Brâhmaṇas, and we have no reason to doubt that ever since the first establishment of Vedic sacrifices, the forty-nine families preserved the tradition of their sacred pedigree, and that their genealogies possess a certain historical value.

This is confirmed still further if we consider the ancient Brahmanic marriage laws. To marry a woman belonging to the same Gotra, or having the same Pravara, was considered incest, and visited with severe penance. Aśvalâyana (xii. 15.) says: " Asamånapravarair vivåhah." "Marriage takes place with persons who have not the same Prayara, i. e. who do not invoke the same Rishis as their ancestors." Apastamba says: "Sagotrâya duhitaram na prayachchhet," "Thou shalt not give thy daughter to a man belonging to the same Gotra or family." Yajnavalkya says: "Aroginîm bhrâtrimatîm asamanarshagotrajam udvahet." "Let a man marry a woman who is free from disease, who has brothers, and who is not the daughter of a man having the same ancestors and belonging to the same Gotra as himself." In each case severe punishments are threatened if a man

¹ Thus we read in the Srauta-sûtras of the Mânavas, that the Dîkshita must say his name, the name of his Gotra, of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather; a custom which, if observed as a sacred law, must have preserved a genealogical knowledge for many generations. दीचितोऽयमसाविति नाम ग्रहाति। आन्स्यायण्मिति गोत्रं। अमृष्य पुत्र दति पित्नं सा। अमृष्य पौत्रेति पितामहस्य। अमृष्य निव्यति प्रितामहस्य।

ingly. There are some special rules with regard to marriage, which differ again according to different Satras; of which the following, taken from Asvalayana, may serve as a specimen:

1. Persons who have the same Pravara must not intermarry. Hence a Parâśara must not marry the

daughter of a Parâsara.

2. Persons belonging to the same Gotra must not intermarry. Hence a Viśvâmitra must not marry

the daughter of a Viśvâmitra.

3. There are exceptions to this rule among the Bhrigus and Angirasas. As a general rule, persons are called sagotra, if but one of the Rishis whom they invoke is the same. Hence an Upamanyu must not marry the daughter of a Parâsara, because the name of Vasishtha occurs in the tryarsheya pravara of both. But the three Gotras of the Bhrigus, from the Syaitas to the Sunakas, may intermarry. The first four Gotras of the Bhrigus must not, neither the six first Gotras of the Gotamas. The Prishadasvas, Mudgalas, Vishnuvriddhas, Kanvas, Agastyas, Haritas, Sankritis, Kapis and Yaskas may intermarry among themselves, and with the Jâmadagnyas, &c. Dhîrghatamas', on the contrary, Auchathyas and Kakshivats are to be considered as members of one Gotra, nor are marriages allowed between the Bharadvajagnivesis, Rikshas, Sunga-Saisiris, (or Sungas, Saisiris), Katas, and, according to some, the Gargas.

It is clear from this that the science of genealogy, being so intimately connected with the social and ecclesiastical system of the Brahmans, must have been studied with great care in India, and that the



genealogical lists which have been preserved to us in ancient works represent something real and historical.

After we have thus gained an insight into the system by which the Brahmanas were handed down from generation to generation, we now return to a consideration of the literary merits of these works. The Brâhmanas represent no doubt a most interesting phase in the history of the Indian mind, but judged by themselves, as literary productions, they are most disappointing. No one would have supposed that at so early a period, and in so primitive a state of society, there could have risen up a literature which for pedantry and downright absurdity can hardly be matched anywhere. There is no lack of striking thoughts, of bold expressions, of sound reasoning, and curious traditions in these collections. But these are only like the fragments of a torso, like precious gems set in brass and lead. The general character of these works is marked by shallow and insipid grandiloquence, by priestly conceit, and antiquarian pedantry. It is most important to the historian that he should know how soon the fresh and healthy growth of a nation can be blighted by priestcraft and superstition. It is most important that we should know that nations are liable to these epidemics in their youth as well as in their dotage. These works deserve to be studied as the physician studies the twaddle of idiots, and the raving of madmen. They will disclose to a thoughtful eye the ruins of faded grandeur, the memories of noble aspirations. But let us only try to translate these works into our own language, and we shall feel astonished that

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human language and human thought should ever have been used for such purposes. The following is a small specimen, and it has not been chosen to give an unfavourable idea of the Brâhmaṇas. It is the beginning of the Aitareya-brâhmaṇa, and explains a sacrificial act in itself full of meaning. Originally the Dîkshaṇîyâ, as this ceremony is called, was meant to represent, by simple and natural emblems, the new birth through which a man, on his first admission to the sacrifice, was believed to enter a new life. Let us see what became of this act in the hands of the Brahmans.

Aitareya-brâhmana.—Dîkshanîyâ.

Agni is the first among the Gods, Vishnu the last. Between them stand all the other deities.

They offer a Purolâsa to Agni and Vishņu which has been prepared for the Dîkshanîyâ in eleven jars.²

े ऋग्निवें देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमस्तदंतरेण सर्वा अन्या देवताः॥

The commentator says that the gods among whom Agni and Vishnu are the first and last, are the gods to whom prayers are offered at the ceremonies belonging to the Agnishtoma. There are 12 prayers (sastra), and the first is addressed to Agni (bhûr Agnir jyotiḥ); the last, which is an âgnimâruta, contains a verse in praise of Vishnu (Vishnor nu kam). See Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa, viii. 1. This passage proves nothing as to the relative dignity of Agni and Vishnu. In the Kaush.-br. Agni is called avarârddhya, Vishnu parârddhyas, and the Com. explains these terms as signifying the first in the former, and the first in the latter half.

े त्रामाविष्णवं पुरो द्धामं निर्वपति दीचणीयमेकाद मकपालं॥

A purolâsa is a baked flour cake (pakvah pishtapindah), and nirvap, to strew, means originally to take four handfuls of rice

They offer it indeed to all the deities of this ceremony, without any difference.1

For Agni is all the deities, Vishņu is all the deities.²

They are the two extremities of the sacrifice, Agni and Vishņu. Thus when men offer the Purolâsa to Agni and Vishņu, they worship the deities at both ends.³

Here they say, if there be a Purolasa prepared in eleven jars, and there be two gods, Agni and Vishņu, what rule is there for the two, or what division?

The Purolâsa of eight jars belongs to Agni, for the Gâyatrî verse consists of eight syllables, and the Gâyatri is Agni's metre. That of three jars belongs to Vishņu, for Vishņu strode thrice through this universe. This is their rule here, and this the division.⁵

from the cart and throw them into a winnowing basket. Here, however, it means the offering of the oblation which has been prepared in that manner. The original meaning of Dîkshâ is said to be "shaving or cleansing."

- । मर्वाभ्य एवैनं तद्देवताभ्योऽनंतरायं निर्वपति॥
- ² अग्निवें सर्वा देवता विष्णुः सर्वा देवताः॥
- ै एते वै यज्ञस्वांत्ये तन्ती यद्धिय विष्णुय तद्यदाभाविष्णवं पुरो द्वाभं निर्वपंत्यंतत एव तद्देवानुभुवंति॥
- ' तदा जर्यदेका दशकपानः पुरो द्वाशी दावशाविष्णू केन-यो स्तव क्रिप्तिः का विभक्तिरिति॥
- े त्रष्टाकपाल त्राग्नेयोऽष्टाचरा वै गायची गायचमग्ने-ञ्चंदिखकपालो वैष्णविखर्चीदं विष्णुर्विचक्रमत वैनयोस्तच कृप्तिः सा विभिक्तिः॥



GL

He who thinks himself without wealth, may offer a Charu in ghee (clarified butter).1

On this earth no one succeeds who has no wealth.2

The ghee in the Charu, is the milk of the woman, the grains belong to the man; both together are a pair. Thus the Charu increases him by this very pair with progeny and cattle, so that he may prosper.³

He who knows this is increased with progeny.4

He who performs the New-moon and Full-moon sacrifices, has commenced with the sacrifice and with the gods.⁵ After having sacrificed with the new moon or full-moon oblation, he may perform the Dîkshâ on the same oblation and the same sacrificial seat.⁶

- ' घृते चरं निवीपेत चो ऽप्रतिष्ठितो मन्येत॥
- ' अस्थां वाव स न प्रतितिष्ठति यो न प्रतितिष्ठति॥
- 3 तद्यहृतं तित्वये पयो ये तंबुलास्ते पुंसस्तियथुनं मि-युनेनैवेनं तत्प्रजया पश्चभिः प्रजनयति प्रजात्ये॥
 - प्रजायते प्रजया प्रश्निर्य एवं वेद॥
- ै आरअयज्ञो वा एव आरअदेवती यो दर्भपूर्णमा-माभ्यां यजत आमावास्थेन वा इविषेद्वा पीर्णमामेन वा तसिन्नेव इविधि तसिन्बर्डिषि दीचेतैयो एका दीचा॥

The commentator tries to show that the Darśa-pûrṇa-mâsa sacrifices are connected with all other rites. Although the Soma sacrifice is not a modification of the Darśa-pûrṇa-mâsa, still the Ishtis, as, for instance, the Dîkshaṇŷa and Prâyaṇŷa, are, and they form part of the Soma sacrifice. The Agnihotra also, with all its parts, does not follow the rule of the D. P., but it has reference to the Ahavanîya and the other sacred fires, and these fires must be p. The means of the Pavamâna-ishti. Now, as all the Ishtis are fions of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the pavamâna-ishti. Now, as all the Ishtis are fions of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the pavamâna-ishti. Now, as all the Ishtis are fions of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the pavamâna-ishti. Now, as all the Ishtis are fions of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established; and the does not follow the rule of the D. P., the relation is established.

⁶ The commentator says: havin means the sacrifice, and barhin



This is one Dîkshâ.1

The Hotri must recite seventeen Sâmidhenî verses.2

The Prajapati, the Lord of the World, is seventeenfold, the months are twelve, and the seasons five, by putting the Hemanta and Sisira seasons as one. So much is the year, and the year is Prajapati.

He who knows this prospers by those verses which

reside in Prajapati.4

The sacrifice went away from the gods. They wished to find it by means of the Ishtis. The Ishtis are called Ishtis because with them they wished (ish, to wish) to find it.⁵ They found it.⁶

means the same, and he takes the two locatives in the sense of "after this new moon and full moon sacrifice has been performed." इति: ग्रब्दवहर्षि: ग्रब्दो ऽपि यज्ञोपलचनः। तसिनामावा-स्थाखो इतिषि यज्ञे तसिन्पीर्णमामाखो बर्हिषि यज्ञेऽन्षिते

सति पश्चादेव दीचेत॥

¹ The last words, "this is one Dîkshâ," indicate that there is another; that is to say, some allow the Soma sacrifice, which begins with the Dîkshâ, before the Darśa-pûrṇa-mâsa.

³ सप्तदश सामिधेनीरनुत्र्यात्॥

The number is stated, because generally the Sâmidhenîs are only fifteen in number. These fifteen were originally but eleven verses, of which the first and last are repeated three times.

- असद्यो वै प्रजापितद्वाद्य मासाः पंचर्तवो हेमंत्रि-ग्रयोः समामेन तावां संवत्सरः संवत्सरः प्रजापितः॥
- प्रजापत्यायतनाभिरेवाभी राभ्रोति य एवं वेद॥१॥
- ⁵ The Brâhmana gives here three fanciful etymologies of ishti, the technical name of the sacrifice; of âhuti, the oblations enjoined at the sacrifice; and of ûti, another name for the same. The real etymology of ishti is not ish, to wish, but yaj, to sacrifice; of âhuti, not hvayati, to call, but juhoti, to offer; of ûti, not âyâti, to come, but avati, to protect.
 - ॰ यज्ञो वै देवेभ्य उदकामन्तिमिष्टिभिः प्रैषमैक्कन्यदिष्टिभिः



He who knows this prospers after having found the sacrifice.1

What are called oblations (âhûti) are invocations (âhûti); with them the sacrificer calls the gods, this is why they are called âhûtis.²

They are called Ûtis, for by their means the gods come to the calling of the sacrificer (âyanti, they come). Or because they are the paths and the ways, they are called ûtis; for they are the way to heaven for the sacrificer.³

There they say, as another priest makes the oblation (scil. the Adhvaryu), then why do they call him the Hotri (the offerer), who recites the prayers and formulas?⁴

Because he causes the deities to be brought near

प्रैषमे चंसदिष्टीनामिष्टिलं तमन्वविंदन्॥

- ' अनुवित्तयज्ञी राभ्रोति य ए वेद॥
- ' श्राह्नतयो वै नामैता यदाक्रतय एताभिर्वे देवानाज-मानो इयित तदाक्रतीनामाक्रतिलं॥
- े जतयो खलु वे ज्ञा नाम याभिर्देवा यजमानख इवमायंति ये वे पंथानो याः स्तुतयस्ता वा जतयस्त उ एवैतत्स्वर्गयाणा यजमानस्य भवंति॥
- 4 तदाज्ञर्यदन्यो जुहोत्यय योऽनु चाह यजित च कसानं होतेत्याचवत दित॥

The commentator says, that the proper name for the Hotri would seem to be Anuvaktri or Yashtri, because पुरोनुवाकां चानुबूते याच्यां च पठति॥

according to their station, saying, "Bring him, bring him," this is the reason why he is called Hotri; he is a Hotri (from avah, to bring near.)

He who knows this, is called a Hotri.2

He whom the priests initiate (by means of the Dîkshâ ceremony), he is made again to be an embryo (he is born again.)³

They sprinkle him with water.4

Water is seed; having thus given this to him,

they initiate him.5

They anoint him with fresh butter (navanîta). Clarified butter for the gods is (called) Âjya; for men Surabhighrita; for the manes Âyuta; for the embryos Navanîta. Therefore by anointing him with navanîta, they increase him with his own portion.⁶

- े यदाव स तच यथाभाजनं देवता श्रमुमावहामुमावहे-त्यावाहयति तदेव होतुर्होहलं होता भवति॥
 - े होतेत्येनमाचचते य एवं वेद॥२॥
 - ° पुनर्वा एनमृतिजो गर्भ सुर्वेति यं दीचयंति॥
 - ' श्रद्धिर्भिषंचंति॥
 - ं रेतो वा श्रापः धरेतसमेवैनं तस्त्रला दीचयंति॥
 - ं नवनीतेनाभ्यंजंति॥

श्राच्यं वै देवानां सुर्भिघृतं मनुष्याणामायुतं पित्हणां नव-नीतं गर्भाणां तद्यन्नवनीतेनाभ्यंजंति खेनैवैनं तद्वागधेयेन समर्थयंति॥

The commentator quotes a verse to the effect that molten ghee is called âjya; hardened, it is called ghrita; slightly molten, it is called âyuta; and well seasoned, it is called surabhi. But the Taittiriyas say, "ghrita is for the gods, astu for the manes, nishpakva for men." Astu is here the same as âyuta, slightly molten, and nishpakva, quite liquid.





They anoint his eyes with a collyrium.1

Anointing is light for the eyes. Having thus imparted light to him, they initiate him.2

They rub him clean with twenty-one handfuls of

Kuśa grass.3

Him who is pure and has thus been cleaned, they initiate.4

They take him to the hall.5

The hall is the womb for the pupil (dîkshita). By taking him to the hall they take him (who was before represented as an embryo) into his womb.⁶

In this true womb he sits, and hence he departs. Therefore the fruit is borne in the true womb and brought forth from it.8

Therefore let not the sun shine upon him in its

- 1 त्रांजत्येनं॥
- ं तेजो वा एतदच्योर्थदांजनं सतेजसमेवैनं तत्कला दी-चर्यति॥
 - ^३ एकविंग्रत्या दर्भिपंजू नैः पावयंति॥
 - श्रुद्धमेवैनं तत्पृतं दीचयंति॥
 - ॰ दीचितविमितं प्रपादयंति॥

The hall is called Dîkshita-vimita, because it was made (vimita) for the initiated (dîkshita). It is commonly called Prâchînavansa.

- ं योनिर्वा एषा दीचितस्य यद्दीचितविमितं योनिमेवै॰ं तत्स्यां प्रपादयंति॥
 - ं तस्राद्भवादीनेरासे च चरति च॥
 - े तसाद्भुवाद्योनेर्गर्भा धीयंते च प्र च जायंते॥

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rising or setting away from the hall, nor let the

They cover him with a cloth.2

This cloth is the caul in which the pupil is to be born; thus they cover him with the caul.³

The skin of a black antelope is his next cloak.4

Next to the caul is the Jarâyu; thus they cover him with the Jarâyu.5

He closes his hands.6

With closed hands the embryo lies, with closed hands the child is born. As he closes his hands, he holds the sacrifice, and all its gods between his hands.⁷

They say, there is no confusion for him who has first finished his Dîkshâ; for his sacrifice is held fast (between his hands), and the gods are so likewise. Therefore there can be no loss for him, like that which falls on him whose Dîkshâ was finished later.8

- े तसाही चितं नान्यच दी चितविभितादादित्यो ऽभ्युदि-यादाभ्यस्तभियादापि वाभ्यात्रावयेयुः॥
 - ² वाससा प्रोर्णुवंति॥
 - ³ उल्बं वा एतद्दीचितस्य यदाम उल्बेनैवैनं तत्प्रोर्ण्वंति॥
 - ' कृष्णाजिनमुत्तरं भवति॥
 - ॰ उत्तरं वा उल्बाज्यरायु जरायुणैवैनं तत्योर्णुवंति॥
 - 6 मुष्टी कुरुते॥
- ं मुष्टी वे कला गर्भी उंतः शेते मुष्टी कला कुमारी जायते तद्यमुष्टी कुरते यश्चे चैव तस्पर्वास देवता मुख्योः कुरते॥
 - ै तदा अर्ने पूर्वदी विणः संसवी ऽस्ति परिश्हीतो वा

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After having put off his cloak, he descends to the bath. Therefore an embryo is born after he is separated from the Jarâyu.1

He descends together with his cloth - therefore a

child is born together with the caul.2

For him who has not offered a sacrifice before, let (the Hotri) recite two puronuvâkyâs, "tvam agne saprathâ asi," (v. 13. 4.) for the first, "soma yâs te mayobhuvah" (i. 91. 9.) for the second portion of the ghee.3

(The third line of the first verse is) "through thee they carry out the sacrifice;" and by reciting this line the Hotri carries out the sacrifice for the pupil.4

एतस्य यज्ञः परिगृहीता देवता नैतस्यान्तिरस्यपरदीविण एव यथा तथिति॥

It is said by the commentator that if two or more Brahmans perform the Soma sacrifice on the same spot and at the same time, they commit a sin, which is called sansava, confusion of libations. They ought to be separated by a river or a mountain. He, however, who has finished his Dîkshâ first and holds the gods between his closed hands, is not exposed to the consequences of the sansava, because the gods will be with him and not with the other man whose Dîkshâ was finished later.

- े उन्न्य क्षणाजिनमवस्यमभ्यवैति तसान्मृका गर्भा ज-रायोर्जायंते॥
 - े सहैव वासमाभ्यवैति तसात्महैवो छोन कुमारो जायते॥३॥
- वसंग्रे सप्रया श्रमि सोम यासे सयोभ्व इत्याज्यभा-गयोः पुरोनुवाक्ये अनुबूयाद्यः पूर्वमनीजानः खात्तसी॥

After the general remarks on the Dîkshanîyeshti which were given in the first three sections, without any particular regard to the offices of the Hotri, the fourth section begins with the ceremonial rules for the Hotri. The Hotri has to recite certain verses

on being ordered to do so by the Adhvaryu.

ं लया यज्ञं वितन्वत इति यज्ञमेवासा एनदितनोति॥



For him who has offered a sacrifice before, let the Hotri recite instead "Agnih pratnena manmanâ," (viii. 44. 12.) and "soma gîrbhish tvâ vayam" (i. 91. 11.)¹

By saying "pratnam" (former) a word which occurs in the first verse, he alludes to the former

sacrifice.2

Both these rules (of using certain verses for a man who has not, and for a man who has, sacrificed before) are not to be observed.³

Let him rather use the two verses on the destruction of Vritra "Agnir vritrâni janghanat," (vi. 16. 24.) and "tvam Somâsi satpatih" (i. 91. 5.)4

For he whom the sacrifice approaches destroys Vritra; therefore verses on the destruction of Vritra

are to be used.5

Having enjoined these two verses for the introductory ceremony of the offering of ghee, the Brâhmaṇa now proceeds to detail the yâjyânuvâkyâs for the principal offering.

- े श्रिप्तः प्रत्नेन समाना सोम गीर्भिद्दा वयमिति यः पूर्वभीजानः खात्तस्ति॥
 - ² प्रत्नमिति पूर्वे कर्माभिवदति॥
 - ³ तत्तवादृत्यं॥
- श्रमिर्वृत्राणि जंघनत्वं सोमासि सत्पतिरिति वार्नघावेव
 कुर्यात्॥
- े हुनं वा एव इंति यं यज्ञ उपनमित तसादार्नज्ञावेव कर्तव्याविति॥

The reason which the commentator gives for this extraordinary proceeding is, that in each of the two couples of verses which were first recommended, the first verse only contained an allusion to the peculiarities of the sacrifices, while the two verses now enjoined both treat of the destruction of Vritra.

"Agnir mukham prathamo devatânâm," &c., is the Puronuvâkyâ, "Agnis cha Vishno tapa uttamam mahah," etc. the Yâjyâ verse. These two verses on Agni and Vishnu are correct in form. The correctness of a sacrifice consists in its correctness of form; it consists in this that the verse recited alludes to the act performed.

Agni and Vishnu are the guardians of the Dîkshâ among the gods. They are the lords of the Dîkshâ. Therefore as the oblation is to Agni and Vishnu, they who are the lords of the Dîkshâ are pleased and grant the Dîkshâ, saying, Let those who perform this rite

be initiated.2

They are Trishtubhs (by their metre), in order

that they may give bodily strength.3

Having explained the verses used by the Hotri at the principal part of the sacrifice, the Brâhmana adds some rules on the Svishtakrit verses.

मह द्वाग्राविषावस्य स्विषो याच्यानुवास्य भवतः। आग्रा-वैषायो रूपसमृद्धे एतदे यज्ञस्य समृद्धं पद्रूपसमृद्धं यत्कर्म कियमाणमगभिवदति॥

Instead of saying "anuvâkyâyâjye," because the anuvâkyâ comes before the yâjyâ, the compound yâjyânuvâkye is formed, the shorter word, according to grammar, standing first in a Dvandva compound. The verses are not in the Śâkala-śâkhâ of the

Rig-veda.

श्रिश्च ह वै विष्णु देवानां दी चापाली तो दी चाया ईशाते तद्यदाग्राविष्णवं हिवर्भवति यो दी चाया ईशाते तो प्रीती दी चां प्रयक्कतां यो दी चियतारी तो दी च-चेता मिति॥

³ चिष्ठुभी भवतः सेंद्रियत्वाय॥४॥

The who wishes for beauty and for wisdom, let him Si use the two Gâyatrî verses of the Svishtakrit.

The Gâyatrî is beauty, full of wisdom.3

He who knowing this uses the two Gâyatrîs becomes possessed of beauty and wisdom.4

He who desires long life, let him use two Ushnih

verses.5

Ushnih is life.6

He who knowing this uses the two Ushnihs, arrives at any age.7

He who desires heaven, let him use two Anush-

tubhs.8

There are sixty-four syllables in the two Anushtubhs, and three are these worlds, (earth, sky and heaven) each of twenty-one parts. With each twenty-one syllables he ascends to these worlds, and with the sixty-fourth he stands firm in heaven.⁹

¹ They are "Sa havyavâļ amartyaḥ," (iii. 11. 2.) and "Agnir hotâ purohitaḥ." (iii. 11. 1.)

ै गायद्यी खिष्टकतः संयाज्ये कुर्वीत तेजस्कामो ब्रह्मय-र्चसकामः॥ ३ तेजी वै ब्रह्मवर्चसं गायची॥

- ' तेजस्वी ब्रह्मवर्चसी भवति य एवंविदान् गायची कुरूते॥
- ं उणिहावायुःकामः कुर्वीत॥

They are "Agne vâjasya gomataḥ," (i. 79.4.) and "Sa idhâno vasush kaviḥ." (i. 79.5.)

- त्रायुवी उच्चिक्॥
- मर्वमायुरिति य एवंविदानुष्णिची कुरुते॥
- ⁸ त्रनुषुभी खर्गकामः कुर्वति॥

They are "Tvam Agne vasûn." (i. 45. 1.)

े दयोवी अनुषुभोश्चतुःषष्टिरचराणि वय दम ऊर्द्धा एकविंगा लोका एकविंगत्यैकविंगत्यैवेमा स्नोकाचो हित स्वर्ग एव लोके चतुःषष्टितमेन प्रतितिष्ठति॥ 402.

He who knowing this uses the two Anushtubhs stands firm.1

He who desires wealth and glory, let him use two Brihatîs.2

The Brihatî is wealth and glory.3

He who knowing this uses two Brihatîs, gives himself wealth and glory.4

He who loves the sacrifice, let him use two

Panktis.5

The sacrifice is like a Pankti.6

The sacrifice comes to him who, knowing this, uses two Panktis.7

Let him who desires strength, use two Trishtubhs.8 Trishtubh is strength, which is vigour and power.9

He who knowing this uses two Trishtubhs, becomes strong, vigorous and powerful.10

- म् प्रतितिष्ठति च एवंविदाननुष्ट्रभी कुद्ते॥
- े ब्हत्यी श्रीकामी यश्कामः कुर्वति॥

They are "Enâ vo agnim (vii. 16. 1.), and Udasya sochih." (vii. 16. 3.)

- े अवि यम्बंदमां हहती॥
- ' श्रियमेव यम् श्रात्मन्धत्ते य एवंविदान्स्हत्यी कुर्ते॥
- े पंत्री यज्ञकामः क्वीत॥

They are "Agnim tam manye." (v. 6. 1.)

- ⁶ पांको वे यजः॥
- ं उपैनं यज्ञो नसति य एवंविद्वान् पंत्री सुरुते॥
- धिष्टुभी वीर्यकामः कुर्वीत॥

They are "Dve virûpe charatah." (i. 95. 1.)

- ॰ श्रोजो वा इंद्रियं वीर्धं विष्प्॥
- ग्रेजिसीड्रियवान् वीर्यवान्भवति य एवंविदाँ विष्युभी क्रत्॥

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Let him who desires cattle, use two Jagatîs.¹ Cattle is Jagatî-like.²

He who knowing this uses two Jagatis, becomes rich in cattle.3

Let him who desires food, use two Virâj verses.4

Virâj is food. (virâj, to shine.)

Therefore he who has the largest food here shines most on earth; this is the reason why it is called Virâj (shining).

He who knows this shines forth among his own

people; he is the best of his friends.7

All these are voluntary verses. We now come to those which are always to be used.

Now the metre Viraj possesses five powers.

Because it has three lines, therefore it is Gâyatrî and Ushnih (which also have three lines). Because its lines have each eleven syllables, therefore it is Trishtubh. Because it has thirty-three syllables, therefore it is Anushtubh. (If it be said that the two Virâj verses in question, i. e. "preddho agne," &c. and "imo agne," &c., have only thirty-one and thirty-

' जगत्यी पश्चकामः कुर्वीत॥

They are "Janasya gopâ." (v. 11. 1.)

- ² जागता वै पश्वः॥
- ³ पश्चमान्भवति च एवंविद्वान् जगत्वी कुर्ते॥
- ¹ विराजावसासकामः कुर्वीत॥

They are "Preddho agne" (vii. 1. 3.), "Imo agne." (vii. 1. 18.)

- े ऋबं वै विराद्॥
- े तस्माद्यस्थिव अधिष्ठमस्रं भवति स एव अधिष्ठं सोके विराजित तिदराजी विराट्लं॥
 - 7 वि खेषु राजित श्रेष्ठः खानां भवति य एवं वेद॥५॥



two syllables, it must be remembered that) metres do not change by one syllable or by two. The fifth power

is that it is Viraj (shining).1

He who knowing this uses the two Virâj verses, obtains the power of all metres, retains the power of all metres, obtains union, uniformity and unison with all metres, eats and has to eat, has food together with his family.²

Therefore the two Virâj verses are certainly to be used, those which begin with "Preddho agne" and

"Imo agne."8

Dîkshâ is right, Dîkshâ is truth, therefore a man who performs the Dîkshâ must speak the truth.4

Now they say, what man can speak all truth? Gods are full of truth, men are full of falsehood.⁵

म्यो पंचवीर्यं वा एतच्छंदो यदिराद्॥ यत् विपदा तेनीत्रिण्हागायची यदस्या एकादशाचराणि प-दानि तेन विषुप् यत् चयस्त्रिंशदचरा तेनानुष्टुस्न वा एकेनाच-रेण इंदांसि विधंति न दाभ्यां यदिराद् तत्यंचमं॥

- े सर्वेषां इंदर्श वीर्यमवर्ष्ट्धे सर्वेषां इंदर्श वीर्यमञ्जूते स-र्वेषां इंद्रशां सायुक्यं सक्ष्पतां सस्तोकतामञ्जूते ऽत्वादो ऽत्वपति-र्भवत्यञ्जते प्रजयान्नायं य एवंविदान् विराजी सुरुते॥
 - े तसादिराजावेव कर्तथे। प्रेद्धो अग्न रमो अग्न रखेते॥
- 4 स्टतं वाव दीचा सत्यं दीचा तसादीचितेन सत्यसेव विदत्यं।

Right (rita) and truth (satya) are said to differ, inasmuch as rita means a true conception, satya, a true speech.

े अयो खल्वाजः कोऽईति मनुष्यः सर्वे सत्यं विदित्रं सत्यसंहिता वैदेवा अनृतसंहिता मनुष्या दति॥



Let him make each speech with the word "Vichakshana." (which means, let him put "vichakshana" at the end of the name of a person whom he addresses.)

The eye is vichakshana, for with it he sees clearly

(vi-chaksh, to perceive.)2

The eye is established as truth among men.3

Therefore people say to a man who tells something, "Hast thou seen it?" And if he says "I saw it," then they believe him. And if one sees a thing one-self, one does not believe others, even many.4

Therefore let a man make each speech with the word "Vichakshana"; then his uttered speech be-

comes full of truth.5

' विचचणवती वाचं वदेत्॥

For instance, instead of saying, "Devadatta, bring the cow;" let him say, "Devadatta, vichakshana, bring the cow." According to Apastamba, vichakshana ought to be used after the names of a Kshatriya and Vaisya, but "chanasita" after the name of a Brahman.

- े चचुर्वे विचचणं वि ह्येनेन पायतीति॥ Kaush.-br. चचुर्वे विचचणं चचुषा हि विपायति॥
 - ं एतद्भ वे मनुखेषु मत्यं निहितं यचनुः॥
- 'तसादाचनाणमाज्ञरद्रागिति च यद्यदर्शनित्या हायाख अद्धति यद्यु वै खयं पश्चति न बह्ननां चनान्येषां अद्धाति॥
- ै तस्मादिचचणवतीमेव वाचं वदेखाळोत्तरा हैवास्य वागु-दिता भवति भवति॥ ६॥

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The next extract is from the Kaushitaki-brahmana (xxvi. 5.). It will show how completely the true
character of the sacrifice had been forgotten, and how
much importance was attached to mere trifles. It is
intelligible, wherever there is an established ceremonial, and priests appointed to watch over it, that certain rules should be laid down for remedying any
mistake that may have occurred in the performance
of a sacrifice. The chapter of accidents is a large
one, and the Brahmans have spared no pains in laying
down the most complicated rules, how to counteract
the consequences of a real mistake. The rules of pe-

। त्रय इ साइदेवोदासिः प्रतर्दनो नैमिषीयाणां सत्रम्पग-म्योपाखद्य विचिकित्सां पप्रच्छ यद्यतिक्रांतमुख्यणं सदस्यो बो-धयेतर्लिजां वान्यतमी बुध्येत कथं वीऽनुत्वणं स्वादिति त उ इ द्वणीमासुलेवामजीकयुर्वाचराती ब्रह्माम स होवाच नाहमेनदेद एंत पूर्वेषामाचार्थ खविरं जातुकर्छ एच्छानीति तं च पप्रच्छ यद्यतिकांतमुल्बणं कर्ता वा खयं बुध्येतान्यो वा बोधयेत कथं तद्व्वणमनुख्वणं भवेत्युनर्वचनेन वा मंत्रस होमेन वेति पुनर्वाच्यो मंत्र इति इ साह जातुक-र्धासमसीकयुः पुनः पप्रच्छ प्रखं वानुवचनं वा निगदं वा याच्यां वा यदान्यसर्वे तत्पुनर्त्र्यादिति यावन्याचमुलाणं ता-बदुबहु चं वार्द्ध चे या पादं वा पदं वा वर्ण विति इ स्नाइ आतुकर्खोऽय र सार की वीतिकर्न मंत्रं पुनर्वृयाजाङ्गति जुड़चादनुल्बणमेतदिति ह साह कौषीतिकर्यद्वि होतारो यज्ञस्य किंचिदुत्वणमनुष्यमानाः कुर्वति सर्वे तद्विद्वी हो-तानुब्बणं करोति तदेतदृचाभ्यदितं॥