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Omnia facturum te dicis, nil facis autem.

Nil mirum! levius dicere quam facere est!

Omnia vincetas, sperabas omnia, Müller.

Omnia deficient: incipis esse nihil!

This variation of the old epigram was written by Merrill on a copy of Müller's letter to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press in which he argues the desirability of a continuation of the series "Sacred Books of the East."

1882.

Communicated to W. D. W. by R. Kost.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

London

MACMILLAN AND CO.



PUBLISHERS TO THE UNIVERSITY OF

Oxford.

THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

TRANSLATED

BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

VOL. I

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1879

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THE UPANISHADS

TRANSLATED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

PART I

THE *KHÂNDOGYA*-UPANISHAD

THE *TALAVAKÂRA*-UPANISHAD

THE *AITAREYA-ÂRANYAKA*

THE *KAUSHÎTAKI-BRÂHMAVA*-UPANISHAD

AND

THE *VÂGASANEYI-SAMHITÂ*-UPANISHAD

5

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1879

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IND L 380.2



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
LATELY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA,

SIR HENRY J. S. MAINE, K.C.S.I.

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA,

AND

THE VERY REV. H. G. LIDDELL, D.D.

DEAN OF CHRIST CHURCH,

TO WHOSE KIND INTEREST AND EXERTIONS

THIS ATTEMPT TO MAKE KNOWN TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

IS SO LARGELY INDEBTED,

I NOW DEDICATE THESE VOLUMES

WITH SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

F. MAX MÜLLER.

'The general inclinations which are naturally implanted in my soul to some religion, it is impossible for me to shift off: but there being such a multiplicity of religions in the world, I desire now seriously to consider with my self which of them all to restrain these my general inclinations to. And the reason of this my enquiry is not, that I am in the least dissatisfied with that religion I have already embraced; but because 'tis natural for all men to have an overbearing opinion and esteem for that particular religion they are born and bred-up in. That, therefore, I may not seem biassed by the prejudice of education, I am resolved to prove and examine them all; that I may see and hold fast to that which is best. . . .

'Indeed there was never any religion so barbarous and diabolical, but it was preferred before all other religions whatsoever, by them that did profess it; otherwise they would not have professed it. . . .

'And why, say they, may not you be mistaken as well as we? Especially when there is, at least, six to one against your Christian religion; all of which think they serve God aright; and expect happiness thereby as well as you. . . . And hence it is that in my looking out for the truest religion, being conscious to my self how great an ascendant Christianity holds over me beyond the rest, as being that religion whereinto I was born and baptized, that which the supreme authority has enjoined and my parents educated me in; that which every one I meet withal highly approves of, and which I my self have, by a long continued profession, made almost natural to me: I am resolved to be more jealous and suspicious of this religion, than of the rest, and be sure not to entertain it any longer without being convinced by solid and substantial arguments, of the truth and certainty of it. That, therefore, I may make diligent and impartial enquiry into all religions and so be sure to find out the best, I shall for a time, look upon my self as one not at all interested in any particular religion whatsoever, much less in the Christian religion; but only as one who desires, in general, to serve and obey Him that made me, in a right manner, and thereby to be made partaker of that happiness my nature is capable of.'

BISHOP BEVERIDGE (1636-1707).

Private Thoughts on Religion, Part I, Article 2.

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P R E F A C E

TO

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

I MUST begin this series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East with three cautions:— the first, referring to the character of the original texts here translated; the second, with regard to the difficulties in making a proper use of translations; the third, showing what is possible and what is impossible in rendering ancient thought into modern speech.

Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kings of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed on consulting these volumes. Looking at many of the books that have lately been published on the religions of the ancient world, I do not wonder that such a belief should have been raised; but I have long felt that it was high time to dispel such illusions, and to place the study of the ancient religions of the world on a more real and sound, on a more truly historical basis. It is but natural that those who write on

ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than for their dark sides. The former absorb all the attention of the student, the latter, as they teach nothing, seem hardly to deserve any notice. Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of the original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only than to display all the refuse from which they had to extract them. I do not blame them for this, perhaps I should feel that I was open to the same blame myself, for it is but natural that scholars in their joy at finding one or two fragrant fruits or flowers should gladly forget the brambles and thorns that had to be thrown aside in the course of their search.

But whether I am myself one of the guilty or not, I cannot help calling attention to the real mischief that has been done and is still being done by the enthusiasm of those pioneers who have opened the first avenues through the bewildering forest of the sacred literature of the East. They have raised expectations that cannot be fulfilled, fears also that, as will be easily seen, are unfounded. Anyhow they have removed the study of religion from that wholesome and matter-of-fact atmosphere in which alone it can produce valuable and permanent results.

The time has come when the study of the ancient religions of mankind must be approached in a different, in a less enthusiastic, and more discriminating, in fact, in a more scholarlike spirit. Not

that I object to dilettanti, if they only are what by their name they profess to be, devoted lovers, and not mere amateurs. The religions of antiquity must always be approached in a loving spirit, and the dry and cold-blooded scholar is likely to do here as much mischief as the enthusiastic sciolist. But true love does not ignore all faults and failings: on the contrary, it scans them keenly, though only in order to be able to understand, to explain, and thus to excuse them. To watch in the Sacred Books of the East the dawn of the religious consciousness of man, must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world; and he whose heart cannot quiver with the first quivering rays of human thought and human faith, as revealed in those ancient documents, is, in his own way, as unfit for these studies as, from another side, the man who shrinks from copying and collating ancient MSS., or toiling through volumes of tedious commentary. What we want here, as everywhere else, is the truth, and the whole truth; and if the whole truth must be told, it is that, however radiant the dawn of religious thought, it is not without its dark clouds, its chilling colds, its noxious vapours. Whoever does not know these, or would hide them from his own sight and from the sight of others, does not know and can never understand the real toil and travail of the human heart in its first religious aspirations; and not knowing its toil and travail, can never know the intensity of its triumphs and its joys.

In order to have a solid foundation for a comparative study of the religions of the East, we must have before all things complete and thoroughly

faithful translations of their sacred books. Extracts will no longer suffice. We do not know Germany, if we know the Rhine; nor Rome, when we have admired St. Peter's. No one who collects and publishes such extracts can resist, no one at all events, so far as I know, has ever resisted, the temptation of giving what is beautiful, or it may be what is strange and startling, and leaving out what is commonplace, tedious, or it may be repulsive, or, lastly, what is difficult to construe and to understand. We must face the problem in its completeness, and I confess it has been for many years a problem to me, aye, and to a great extent is so still, how the Sacred Books of the East should, by the side of so much that is fresh, natural, simple, beautiful, and true, contain so much that is not only unmeaning, artificial, and silly, but even hideous and repellent. This is a fact, and must be accounted for in some way or other.

To some minds this problem may seem to be no problem at all. To those (and I do not speak of Christians only) who look upon the sacred books of all religions except their own as necessarily the outcome of human or superhuman ignorance and depravity, the mixed nature of their contents may seem to be exactly what it ought to be, what they expected it would be. But there are other and more reverent minds who can feel a divine afflatus in the sacred books, not only of their own, but of other religions also, and to them the mixed character of some of the ancient sacred canons must always be extremely perplexing.

I can account for it to a certain extent, though not entirely to my own satisfaction. Most of the

ancient sacred books have been handed down by oral tradition for many generations before they were consigned to writing. In an age when there was nothing corresponding to what we call literature, every saying, every proverb, every story handed down from father to son, received very soon a kind of hallowed character. They became sacred heirlooms, sacred, because they came from an unknown source, from a distant age. There was a stage in the development of human thought, when the distance that separated the living generation from their grandfathers or great-grandfathers was as yet the nearest approach to a conception of eternity, and when the name of grandfather and great-grandfather seemed the nearest expression of God¹. Hence, what had been said by these half-human, half-divine ancestors, if it was preserved at all, was soon looked upon as a more than human utterance. It was received with reverence, it was never questioned and criticised.

Some of these ancient sayings were preserved because they were so true and so striking that they could not be forgotten. They contained eternal truths, expressed for the first time in human language. Of such oracles of truth it was said in India that they had been heard, *sruta*, and from it arose the word *sruti*, the recognised term for divine revelation in Sanskrit.

But besides those utterances which had a vitality of their own, strong enough to defy the power of

¹ Bishop Callaway, *Unkulunkulu, or the Tradition of Creation, as existing among the Amazulu and other tribes of South Africa*, p. 7.

time, there were others which might have struck the minds of the listeners with great force under the peculiar circumstances that evoked them, but which, when these circumstances were forgotten, became trivial and almost unintelligible. A few verses sung by warriors on the eve of a great battle would, if that battle ended in victory, assume a charm quite independent of their poetic merit. They would be repeated in memory of the heroes who conquered, and of the gods who granted victory. But when the heroes, and the gods, and the victory were all forgotten, the song of victory and thanksgiving would often survive as a relic of the past, though almost unintelligible to later generations.

Even a single ceremonial act, performed at the time of a famine or an inundation, and apparently attended with a sudden and almost miraculous success, might often be preserved in the liturgical code of a family or a tribe with a superstitious awe entirely beyond our understanding. It might be repeated for some time on similar emergencies, till when it had failed again and again it survived only as a superstitious custom in the memory of priests and poets.

Further, it should be remembered that in ancient as in modern times, the utterances of men who had once gained a certain prestige, would often receive attention far beyond their merits, so that in many a family or tribe the sayings and teachings of one man, who had once in his youth or manhood uttered words of inspired wisdom, would all be handed down together, without any attempt to separate the grain from the chaff.

Nor must we forget that though oral tradition, when once brought under proper discipline, is a most faithful guardian, it is not without its dangers in its incipient stages. Many a word may have been misunderstood, many a sentence confused, as it was told by father to son, before it became fixed in the tradition of a village community, and then resisted by its very sacredness all attempts at emendation.

Lastly, we must remember that those who handed down the ancestral treasures of ancient wisdom, would often feel inclined to add what seemed useful to themselves, and what they knew could be preserved in one way only, namely, if it was allowed to form part of the tradition that had to be handed down, as a sacred trust, from generation to generation. The priestly influence was at work, even before there were priests by profession, and when the priesthood had once become professional, its influence may account for much that would otherwise seem inexplicable in the sacred codes of the ancient world.

These are some of the considerations which may help to explain how, mixed up with real treasures of thought, we meet in the sacred books with so many passages and whole chapters which either never had any life or meaning at all, or if they had, have, in the form in which they have come down to us, completely lost it. We must try to imagine what the Old Testament would have been, if it had not been kept distinct from the Talmud; or the New Testament, if it had been mixed up not only with the spurious gospels, but with the records of the wranglings of the early Councils, if we wish to understand; to some extent at least, the wild confusion of sublime truth

with vulgar stupidity that meets us in the pages of the Veda, the Avesta, and the Tripitaka. The idea of keeping the original and genuine tradition separate from apocryphal accretions was an idea of later growth, that could spring up only after the earlier tendency of preserving whatever could be preserved of sacred or half-sacred lore, had done its work, and wrought its own destruction.

In using, what may seem to some of my fellow-workers, this very strong and almost irreverent language with regard to the ancient Sacred Books of the East, I have not neglected to make full allowance for that very important intellectual parallax which, no doubt, renders it most difficult for a Western observer to see things and thoughts under exactly the same angle and in the same light as they would appear to an Eastern eye. There are Western expressions which offend Eastern taste as much as Eastern expressions are apt to offend Western taste. A symphony of Beethoven's would be mere noise to an Indian ear, an Indian Saṅgīta seems to us without melody, harmony, or rhythm. All this I fully admit, yet after making every allowance for national taste and traditions, I still confidently appeal to the best Oriental scholars, who have not entirely forgotten that there is a world outside the four walls of their study, whether they think that my condemnation is too severe, or that Eastern nations themselves would tolerate, in any of their classical literary compositions, such violations of the simplest rules of taste as they have accustomed themselves to tolerate, if not to admire, in their sacred books.

But then it might no doubt be objected that books of such a character hardly deserve the honour of

being translated into English, and that the sooner they are forgotten, the better. Such opinions have of late been freely expressed by some eminent writers, and supported by arguments worthy of the Khalif Omar himself. In these days of anthropological research, when no custom is too disgusting to be recorded, no rules of intermarriage too complicated to be disentangled, it may seem strange that the few genuine relics of ancient religion which, as by a miracle, have been preserved to us, should thus have been judged from a purely æsthetic, and not from an historical point of view. There was some excuse for this in the days of Sir William Jones and Colebrooke. The latter, as is well known, considered 'the Vedas as too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole,' adding that 'what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader; much less that of the translator¹.' The former went still further in the condemnation which he pronounced on Anquetil Duperron's translation of the *Zend-avesta*. Sir W. Jones, we must remember, was not only a scholar, but also a man of taste, and the man of taste sometimes gained a victory over the scholar. His controversy with Anquetil Duperron, the discoverer of the *Zend-avesta*, is well known. It was carried on by Sir W. Jones apparently with great success, and yet in the end the victor has proved to be the vanquished. It was easy, no doubt, to pick out from Anquetil Duperron's translation of the sacred writings of Zoroaster hundreds of passages which were or seemed to be utterly unmeaning or absurd. This arose partly, but partly only, from the imperfections

¹ Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, vol. ii, p. 102.

of the translation. Much, however, of what Sir W. Jones represented as ridiculous, and therefore unworthy of Zoroaster, and therefore unworthy of being translated, forms an integral part of the sacred code of the Zoroastrians. Sir W. Jones smiles at those who 'think obscurity sublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloisters and temples, shedding,' as Milton expresses it, 'a dim religious light'¹. 'On possédait déjà,' he writes in his letter addressed to Anquetil Duperron, 'and composed in very good and sparkling French, 'plusieurs traités attribués à Zardusht ou Zeratusht, traduits en Persan moderne; de prétendues conférences de ce législateur avec Ormuzd, des prières, des dogmes, des lois religieuses. Quelques savans, qui ont lu ces traductions, nous ont assuré que les originaux étaient de la plus haute antiquité, parce qu'ils renfermaient beaucoup de platitudes, de bévues, et de contradictions: mais nous avons conclu par les mêmes raisons, qu'ils étaient très-modernes, ou bien qu'ils n'étaient pas d'un homme d'esprit, et d'un philosophe, tel que Zoroastre est peint par nos historiens. Votre nouvelle traduction, Monsieur, nous confirme dans ce jugement: tout le collège des Guèbres aurait beau nous l'assurer; nous ne croirons jamais que le charlatan le moins habile ait pu écrire les fadaises dont vos deux derniers volumes sont remplis'². He at last sums up his argument in the following words: 'Ou Zoroastre n'avait pas le sens commun, ou il n'écrivit pas le livre que vous lui attribuez: s'il n'avait pas le sens commun, il fallait le laisser dans la foule, et dans l'obscurité; s'il n'écrivit pas

¹ Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. iv, p. 113.

² *Ib.*, vol. x, p. 408.

ce livre, il était impudent de le publier sous son nom. Ainsi, ou vous avez insulté le goût du public en lui présentant des sottises, ou vous l'avez trompé en lui donnant des faussetés: et de chaque côté vous méritez son mépris ¹.

This alternative holds good no longer. The sacred code of Zoroaster or of any other of the founders of religions may appear to us to be full of absurdities, or may in fact really be so, and it may yet be the duty of the scholar to publish, to translate, and carefully to examine those codes as memorials of the past, as the only trustworthy documents in which to study the growth and decay of religion. It does not answer to say that if Zoroaster was what we believe him to have been, a wise man, in our sense of the word, he could not have written the rubbish which we find in the Avesta. If we are once satisfied that the text of the Avesta, or the Veda, or the Tripitaka is old and genuine, and that this text formed the foundation on which, during many centuries, the religious belief of millions of human beings was based, it becomes our duty, both as historians and philosophers, to study these books, to try to understand how they could have arisen, and how they could have exercised for ages an influence over human beings who in all other respects were not inferior to ourselves, nay, whom we are accustomed to look up to on many points as patterns of wisdom, of virtue, and of taste.

The facts, such as they are, must be faced, if the study of the ancient religions of the world is ever to assume a really historical character; and having

¹ Works, vol. x, p. 437.

myself grudged no praise to what to my mind is really beautiful or sublime in the early revelations of religious truth, I feel the less hesitation in fulfilling the duty of the true scholar, and placing before historians and philosophers accurate, complete, and unembellished versions of some of the sacred books of the East. Such versions alone will enable them to form a true and just estimate of the real development of early religious thought, so far as we can still gain a sight of it in literary records to which the highest human or even divine authority has been ascribed by the followers of the great religions of antiquity. It often requires an effort to spoil a beautiful sentence by a few words which might so easily be suppressed, but which are there in the original, and must be taken into account quite as much as the pointed ears in the beautiful Faun of the Capitol. We want to know the ancient religions such as they really were, not such as we wish they should have been. We want to know, not their wisdom only, but their folly also; and while we must learn to look up to their highest points where they seem to rise nearer to heaven than anything we were acquainted with before, we must not shrink from looking down into their stony tracts, their dark abysses, their muddy moraines, in order to comprehend both the height and the depth of the human mind in its searchings after the Infinite.

I can answer for myself and for those who have worked with me, that our translations are truthful, that we have suppressed nothing, that we have varnished nothing, however hard it seemed sometimes even to write it down.

There is only one exception. There are in ancient

books, and particularly in religious books, frequent allusions to the sexual aspects of nature, which, though perfectly harmless and innocent in themselves, cannot be rendered in modern language without the appearance of coarseness. We may regret that it should be so, but tradition is too strong on this point, and I have therefore felt obliged to leave certain passages untranslated, and to give the original, when necessary, in a note. But this has been done in extreme cases only, and many things which we should feel inclined to suppress have been left in all their outspoken simplicity, because those who want to study ancient man, must learn to study him as he really was, an animal, with all the strength and weaknesses of an animal, though an animal that was to rise above himself, and in the end discover his true self, after many struggles and many defeats.

After this first caution, which I thought was due to those who might expect to find in these volumes nothing but gems, I feel I owe another to those who may approach these translations under the impression that they have only to read them in order to gain an insight into the nature and character of the religions of mankind. There are philosophers who have accustomed themselves to look upon religions as things that can be studied as they study the manners and customs of savage tribes, by glancing at the entertaining accounts of travellers or missionaries, and then classing each religion under such wide categories as fetishism, polytheism, monotheism, and the rest. That is not the case. Translations can do much, but they can never take the place of the originals, and if the originals require not only to be

read, but to be read again and again, translations of sacred books require to be studied with much greater care, before we can hope to gain a real understanding of the intentions of their authors or venture on general assertions.

Such general assertions, if once made, are difficult to extirpate. It has been stated, for instance, that the religious notion of sin is wanting altogether in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and some important conclusions have been based on this supposed fact. Yet the gradual growth of the concept of guilt is one of the most interesting lessons which certain passages of these ancient hymns can teach us¹. It has been asserted that in the Rig-veda Agni, fire, was adored essentially as earthly sacrificial fire, and not as an elemental force. How greatly such an assertion has to be qualified, may be seen from a more careful examination of the translations of the Vedic hymns now accessible². In many parts of the Avesta fire is no doubt spoken of with great reverence, but those who speak of the Zoroastrians as fire-worshippers, should know that the true followers of Zoroaster abhor that very name. Again, there are certainly many passages in the Vedic writings which prohibit the promiscuous communication of the Veda, but those who maintain that the Brahmans, like Roman Catholic priests, keep their sacred books from the people, must have for-

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, 1859, p. 540 seq.

² Ludwig, Rig-veda, übersetzt, vol. iii, p. 331 seq. Muir, Sanskrit Texts, vol. v, p. 199 seq. On the later growth of Agni, see a very useful essay by Holtzmann, 'Agni, nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata,' 1878.

gotten the many passages in the Brâhmanas, the Sûtras, and even in the Laws of Manu, where the duty of learning the Veda by heart is inculcated for every Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaisya, that is, for every man except a Sûdra.

These are a few specimens only to show how dangerous it is to generalise even where there exist complete translations of certain sacred books. It is far easier to misapprehend, or even totally to misunderstand, a translation than the original; and it should not be supposed, because a sentence or a whole chapter seems at first sight unintelligible in a translation, that therefore they are indeed devoid of all meaning.

What can be more perplexing than the beginning of the *Khândogya-upanishad*? 'Let a man meditate,' we read, or, as others translate it, 'Let a man worship the syllable Om.' It may seem impossible at first sight to elicit any definite meaning from these words and from much that follows after. But it would be a mistake, nevertheless, to conclude that we have here *vox et præterea nihil*. Meditation on the syllable Om consisted in a long-continued repetition of that syllable with a view of drawing the thoughts away from all other subjects, and thus concentrating them on some higher object of thought of which that syllable was made to be the symbol. This concentration of thought, *ekâ-gratâ* or one-pointedness, as the Hindus called it, is something to us almost unknown. Our minds are like kaleidoscopes of thoughts in constant motion; and to shut our mental eyes to everything else, while dwelling on one thought only, has become to most of us almost as impossible as to apprehend one

musical note without harmonics. With the life we are leading now, with telegrams, letters, newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, and books ever breaking in upon us, it has become impossible, or almost impossible, ever to arrive at that intensity of thought which the Hindus meant by ekâgratâ, and the attainment of which was to them the indispensable condition of all philosophical and religious speculation. The loss may not be altogether on our side, yet a loss it is, and if we see the Hindus, even in their comparatively monotonous life, adopting all kinds of contrivances in order to assist them in drawing away their thoughts from all disturbing impressions and to fix them on one subject only, we must not be satisfied with smiling at their simplicity, but try to appreciate the object they had in view.

When by means of repeating the syllable Om, which originally seems to have meant 'that,' or 'yes,' they had arrived at a certain degree of mental tranquillity, the question arose what was meant by this Om, and to this question the most various answers were given, according as the mind was to be led up to higher and higher objects. Thus in one passage we are told at first that Om is the beginning of the Veda, or, as we have to deal with an Upanishad of the Sâma-veda, the beginning of the Sâma-veda, so that he who meditates on Om, may be supposed to be meditating on the whole of the Sâma-veda. But that is not enough. Om is said to be the essence of the Sâma-veda, which, being almost entirely taken from the Rig-veda, may itself be called the essence of the Rig-veda. And more than that. The Rig-veda stands for all speech, the Sâma-veda for all breath or life, so that Om may be conceived again as the

symbol of all speech and all life. Om thus becomes the name, not only of all our physical and mental powers, but especially of the living principle, the *Prâna* or spirit. This is explained by the parable in the second chapter, while in the third chapter, that spirit within us is identified with the spirit in the sun. He therefore who meditates on Om, meditates on the spirit in man as identical with the spirit in nature, or in the sun; and thus the lesson that is meant to be taught in the beginning of the *Khândogya-upanishad* is really this, that none of the Vedas with their sacrifices and ceremonies could ever secure the salvation of the worshipper, i. e. that sacred works, performed according to the rules of the Vedas, are of no avail in the end, but that meditation on Om alone, or that knowledge of what is meant by Om alone, can procure true salvation, or true immortality. Thus the pupil is led on step by step to what is the highest object of the Upanishads, viz. the recognition of the self in man as identical with the Highest Self or Brahman. The lessons which are to lead up to that highest conception of the universe, both subjective and objective, are no doubt mixed up with much that is superstitious and absurd; still the main object is never lost sight of. Thus, when we come to the eighth chapter, the discussion, though it begins with Om or the *Udgîtha*, ends with the question of the origin of the world; and though the final answer, namely, that Om means ether (*âkâsa*), and that ether is the origin of all things, may still sound to us more physical than metaphysical, still the description given of ether or *âkâsa*, shows that more is meant by it than the physical ether, and that ether

is in fact one of the earlier and less perfect names of the Infinite, of Brahman, the universal Self. This, at least, is the lesson which the Brahmans themselves read in this chapter¹; and if we look at the ancient language of the Upanishads as representing mere attempts at finding expression for what their language could hardly express as yet, we shall, I think, be less inclined to disagree with the interpretation put on those ancient oracles by the later Vedânta philosophers², or, at all events, we shall hesitate before we reject what is difficult to interpret, as altogether devoid of meaning.

This is but one instance to show that even behind the fantastic and whimsical phraseology of the sacred writings of the Hindus and other Eastern nations, there may be sometimes aspirations after truth which deserve careful consideration from the student of the psychological development and the historical growth of early religious thought, and that after careful sifting, treasures may be found in what at first we may feel inclined to throw away as utterly worthless.

And now I come to the third caution. Let it not be supposed that a text, three thousand years old, or, even if of more modern date, still widely distant from our own sphere of thought, can be translated in the same manner as a book

¹ The Upanishad itself says: 'The Brahman is the same as the ether which is around us; and the ether which is around us, is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within, that is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness.' *Kh. Up.* III, 12, 7-9.

² Cf. Vedânta-sûtras I, 1, 22.

written a few years ago in French or German. Those who know French and German well enough, know how difficult, nay, how impossible it is, to render justice to certain touches of genius which the true artist knows how to give to a sentence. Many poets have translated Heine into English or Tennyson into German, many painters have copied the Madonna di San Sisto or the so-called portrait of Beatrice Cenci. But the greater the excellence of these translators, the more frank has been their avowal, that the original is beyond their reach. And what is a translation of modern German into modern English compared with a translation of ancient Sanskrit or Zend or Chinese into any modern language? It is an undertaking which, from its very nature, admits of the most partial success only, and a more intimate knowledge of the ancient language, so far from facilitating the task of the translator, renders it only more hopeless. Modern words are round, ancient words are square, and we may as well hope to solve the quadrature of the circle, as to express adequately the ancient thoughts of the Veda in modern English.

We must not expect therefore that a translation of the sacred books of the ancients can ever be more than an approximation of our language to theirs, of our thoughts to theirs. The translator, however, if he has once gained the conviction that it is impossible to translate old thought into modern speech, without doing some violence either to the one or to the other, will hardly hesitate in his choice between two evils. He will prefer to do some violence to language rather than to misrepresent old thoughts by clothing them in words which do

not fit them. If therefore the reader finds some of these translations rather rugged, if he meets with expressions which sound foreign, with combinations of nouns and adjectives such as he has never seen before, with sentences that seem too long or too abrupt, let him feel sure that the translator has had to deal with a choice of evils, and that when the choice lay between sacrificing idiom or truth, he has chosen the smaller evil of the two. I do not claim, of course, either for myself or for my fellow-workers, that we have always sacrificed as little as was possible of truth or idiom, and that here and there a happier rendering of certain passages may not be suggested by those who come after us. I only wish to warn the reader once more not to expect too much from a translation, and to bear in mind that, easy as it might be to render word by word, it is difficult, aye, sometimes impossible, to render thought by thought.

I shall give one instance only from my own translation of the Upanishads. One of the most important words in the ancient philosophy of the Brahmans is *Âtman*, nom. sing. *Âtmâ*. It is rendered in our dictionaries by 'breath, soul, the principle of life and sensation, the individual soul, the self, the abstract individual, self, one's self, the reflexive pronoun, the natural temperament or disposition, essence, nature, character, peculiarity, the person or the whole body, the body, the understanding, intellect, the mind, the faculty of thought and reason, the thinking faculty, the highest principle of life, Brahma, the supreme deity or soul of the universe, care, effort, pains, firmness, the sun, fire, wind, air, a son.'

This will give classical scholars an idea of the chaotic state from which, thanks to the excellent work done by Boehtlingk, Roth, and others, Sanskrit lexicology is only just emerging. Some of the meanings here mentioned ought certainly not to be ascribed to *âtman*. It never means, for instance, the understanding, nor could it ever by itself be translated by sun, fire, wind, air, pains or firmness. But after deducting such surplusage, there still remains a large variety of meanings which may, under certain circumstances, be ascribed to *âtman*.

When *âtman* occurs in philosophical treatises, such as the Upanishads and the Vedânta system which is based on them, it has generally been translated by soul, mind, or spirit. I tried myself to use one or other of these words, but the oftener I employed them, the more I felt their inadequacy, and was driven at last to adopt self and Self as the least liable to misunderstanding.

No doubt in many passages it sounds strange in English to use self, and in the plural selfs instead of selves; but that very strangeness is useful, for while such words as soul and mind and spirit pass over us unrealised, self and selfs will always ruffle the surface of the mind, and stir up some reflection in the reader. In English to speak even of the I and the Non-I, was till lately considered harsh; it may still be called a foreign philosophical idiom. In German the Ich and Nicht-ich have, since the time of Fichte, become recognised and almost familiar, not only as philosophical terms, but as legitimate expressions in the literary language of the day. But while the Ich with Fichte expressed the highest abstraction of personal existence, the

corresponding word in Sanskrit, the Aham or Ahañkāra, was always looked upon as a secondary development only, and as by no means free from all purely phenomenal ingredients. Beyond the Aham or Ego, with all its accidents and limitations, such as sex, sense, language, country, and religion, the ancient sages of India perceived, from a very early time, the Âtman or the self, independent of all such accidents.

The individual âtman or self, however, was with the Brahmans a phase or phenomenal modification only of the Highest Self, and that Highest Self was to them the last point which could be reached by philosophical speculation. It was to them what in other systems of philosophy has been called by various names, τὸ ὄν, the Divine, the Absolute. The highest aim of all thought and study with the Brahman of the Upanishads was to recognise his own self as a mere limited reflection of the Highest Self, to know his self in the Highest Self, and through that knowledge to return to it, and regain his identity with it. Here to know was to be, to know the Âtman was to be the Âtman, and the reward of that highest knowledge after death was freedom from new births, or immortality.

That Highest Self which had become to the ancient Brahmans the goal of all their mental efforts, was looked upon at the same time as the starting-point of all phenomenal existence, the root of the world, the only thing that could truly be said to be, to be real and true. As the root of all that exists, the Âtman was identified with the Brahman, which in Sanskrit is both masculine and neuter, and with the Sat, which is neuter only, that which is,

or Satya, the true, the real. It alone exists in the beginning and for ever; it has no second. Whatever else is said to exist, derives its real being from the Sat. How the one Sat became many, how what we call the creation, what they call emanation (*πρόοδος*), constantly proceeds and returns to it, has been explained in various more or less fanciful ways by ancient prophets and poets. But what they all agree in is this, that the whole creation, the visible and invisible world, all plants, all animals, all men are due to the one Sat, are upheld by it, and will return to it.

If we translate *Âtman* by soul, mind, or spirit, we commit, first of all, that fundamental mistake of using words which may be predicated, in place of a word which is a subject only, and can never become a predicate. We may say in English that man possesses a soul, that a man is out of his mind, that man has or even that man is a spirit, but we could never predicate *âtman*, or self, of anything else. Spirit, if it means breath or life; mind, if it means the organ of perception and conception; soul, if, like *ĥaitanya*, it means intelligence in general, all these may be predicated of the *Âtman*, as manifested in the phenomenal world. But they are never subjects in the sense in which the *Âtman* is; they have no independent being, apart from *Âtman*. Thus to translate the beginning of the *Aitareya-upanishad*, *Âtmâ vâ idam eka evâgra âsît*, by 'This (world) verily was before (the creation of the world) soul alone' (Röer); or, 'Originally this (universe) was indeed soul only' (Colebrooke), would give us a totally false idea. M. Regnaud in his '*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philo-*

sophie de l'Inde' (vol. ii, p. 24) has evidently felt this, and has kept the word *âtman* untranslated, 'Au commencement cet univers n'était que l'âtman.' But while in French it would seem impossible to find any equivalent for *âtman*, I have ventured to translate in English, as I should have done in German, 'Verily, in the beginning all this was Self, one only.'

Thus again when we read in Sanskrit, 'Know the Self by the self,' *âtmanam âtmanâ pasya*, tempting as it may seem, it would be entirely wrong to render it by the Greek *γνώθι σεαυτόν*. The Brahman called upon his young pupil to know not himself, but his Self, that is, to know his individual self as a merely temporary reflex of the Eternal Self. Were we to translate this so-called *âtma vidyâ*, this self-knowledge, by knowledge of the soul, we should not be altogether wrong, but we should nevertheless lose all that distinguishes Indian from Greek thought. It may not be good English to say to know his self, still less to know our selves, but it would be bad Sanskrit to say to know himself, to know ourselves; or, at all events, such a rendering would deprive us of the greatest advantage in the study of Indian philosophy, the opportunity of seeing in how many different ways man has tried to solve the riddles of the world and of his soul.

I have thought it best therefore to keep as close as possible to the Sanskrit original, and where I could not find an adequate term in English, I have often retained the Sanskrit word rather than use a misleading substitute in English. It is impossible, for instance, to find an English equivalent for so simple a word as *Sat*, τὸ ὄν. We cannot render the Greek τὸ

ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν by Being or Not-being, for both are abstract nouns; nor by 'the Being,' for this would almost always convey a wrong impression. In German it is easy to distinguish between das Sein, i. e. being, in the abstract, and das Seiende, τὸ ὄν. In the same way the Sanskrit sat can easily be rendered in Greek by τὸ ὄν, in German by das Seiende, but in English, unless we say 'that which is,' we are driven to retain the original Sat.

From this Sat was derived in Sanskrit Sat-ya, meaning originally 'endowed with being,' then 'true.' This is an adjective; but the same word, as a neuter, is also used in the sense of truth, as an abstract; and in translating it is very necessary always to distinguish between Satyam, the true, frequently the same as Sat, τὸ ὄν, and Satyam, truth, veracity. One example will suffice to show how much the clearness of a translation depends on the right rendering of such words as âtman, sat, and satyam.

In a dialogue between Uddâlaka and his son Svetaketu, in which the father tries to open his son's mind, and to make him see man's true relation to the Highest Self (*Khândogya-upanishad* VI), the father first explains how the Sat produced what we should call the three elements¹, viz. fire, water, and earth, which he calls heat, water, and food. Having produced them (VI, 2, 4), the Sat entered into them, but not with its real nature, but only with its 'living self' (VI, 3, 3), which is a reflection (âbhâsamâtram) of the real Sat, as the sun in the water is a reflection

¹ Devatâs, literally deities, but frequently to be translated by powers or beings. Mahadeva Moreshvar Kunte, the learned editor of the Vedânta-sûtras, ought not (p. 70) to have rendered devâta, in *Kh. Up.* I, 11, 5, by goddess.

of the real sun. By this apparent union of the Sat with the three elements, every form (rûpa) and every name (nâman) in the world was produced; and therefore he who knows the three elements is supposed to know everything in this world, nearly in the same manner in which the Greeks imagined that through a knowledge of the elements, everything else became known (VI, 4, 7). The same three elements are shown to be also the constituent elements of man (VI, 5). Food or the earthy element is supposed to produce not only flesh, but also mind; water, not only blood, but also breath; heat, not only bone, but also speech. This is more or less fanciful; the important point, however, is this, that, from the Brahmanic point of view, breath, speech, and mind are purely elemental, or external instruments, and require the support of the living self, the *ġivâtman*, before they can act.

Having explained how the Sat produces progressively heat, how heat leads to water, water to earth, and how, by a peculiar mixture of the three, speech, breath, and mind are produced, the teacher afterwards shows how in death, speech returns to mind, mind to breath, breath to heat, and heat to the Sat (VI, 8, 6). This Sat, the root of everything, is called *parâ devatâ*, the highest deity, not in the ordinary sense of the word deity, but as expressing the highest abstraction of the human mind. We must therefore translate it by the Highest Being, in the same manner as we translate *devatâ*, when applied to heat, water, and earth, not by deity, but by substance or element.

The same Sat, as the root or highest essence of all material existence, is called *animan*, from

anu, small, subtile, infinitesimal, atom. It is an abstract word, and I have translated it by subtile essence.

The father then goes on explaining in various ways that this Sat is underlying all existence, and that we must learn to recognise it as the root, not only of all the objective, but likewise of our own subjective existence. 'Bring the fruit of a Nyagrodha tree,' he says, 'break it, and what do you find?' 'The seeds,' the son replies, 'almost infinitesimal.' 'Break one of them, and tell me what you see.' 'Nothing,' the son replies. Then the father continues: 'My son, that subtile essence which you do not see there, of that very essence this great Nyagrodha tree exists.'

After that follows this sentence: 'Etadâtmyam idam sarvam, tat satyam, sa âtmâ, tat tvam asi Svetaketo.'

This sentence has been rendered by Rajendralal Mitra in the following way: 'All this universe has the (Supreme) Deity for its life. That Deity is Truth. He is the Universal Soul. Thou art He, O Svetaketu ¹.'

This translation is quite correct, as far as the words go, but I doubt whether we can connect any definite thoughts with these words. In spite of the division adopted in the text, I believe it will be necessary to join this sentence with the last words of the preceding paragraph. This is clear from the commentary, and from later paragraphs, where this sentence is repeated, VI, 9, 4, &c. The division

¹ Anquetil Duperron translates: 'Ipso hoc modo (ens) illud est subtile: et hoc omne, unus âtma est: et id verum et rectum est, O Sapatkit, tatoumes, id est, ille âtma tu as.'

in the printed text (VI, 8, 6) is wrong, and VI, 8, 7 should begin with sa ya esho 'nimâ, i. e. that which is the subtile essence.

The question then is, what is further to be said about this subtile essence. I have ventured to translate the passage in the following way :

'That which is the subtile essence (the Sat, the root of everything), in it all that exists has its self, or more literally, its self-hood. It is the True (not the Truth in the abstract, but that which truly and really exists). It is the Self, i. e. the Sat is what is called the Self of everything¹.' Lastly, he sums up, and tells Svetaketu that, not only the whole world, but he too himself is that Self, that Satya, that Sat.

No doubt this translation sounds strange to English ears, but as the thoughts contained in the Upanishads are strange, it would be wrong to smoothe down their strangeness by clothing them in language familiar to us, which, because it is familiar, will fail to startle us, and because it fails to startle us, will fail also to set us thinking.

To know oneself to be the Sat, to know that all that is real and eternal in us is the Sat, that all came from it and will, through knowledge, return to it, requires an independent effort of speculative thought. We must realise, as well as we can, the thoughts of the ancient *Rishis*, before we can hope to translate them. It is not enough simply to read the half-religious, half-philosophical utterances which we find in

¹ The change of gender in sa for tad is idiomatic. One could not say in Sanskrit tad âtmâ, it is the Self, but sa âtmâ. By sa, he, the Sat, that which is, is meant. The commentary explains sa âtmâ by tat sat, and continues tat sat tat tvam asi (p. 443).

the Sacred Books of the East, and to say that they are strange, or obscure, or mystic. Plato is strange, till we know him; Berkeley is mystic, till for a time we have identified ourselves with him. So it is with these ancient sages, who have become the founders of the great religions of antiquity. They can never be judged from without, they must be judged from within. We need not become Brahmans or Buddhists or Taosze altogether, but we must for a time, if we wish to understand, and still more, if we are bold enough to undertake to translate their doctrines. Whoever shrinks from that effort, will see hardly anything in these sacred books or their translations but matter to wonder at or to laugh at; possibly something to make him thankful that he is not as other men. But to the patient reader these same books will, in spite of many drawbacks, open a new view of the history of the human race, of that one race to which we all belong, with all the fibres of our flesh, with all the fears and hopes of our soul. We cannot separate ourselves from those who believed in these sacred books. There is no specific difference between ourselves and the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, or the Taosze. Our powers of perceiving, of reasoning, and of believing may be more highly developed, but we cannot claim the possession of any verifying power or of any power of belief which they did not possess as well. Shall we say then that they were forsaken of God, while we are His chosen people? God forbid! There is much, no doubt, in their sacred books which we should tolerate no longer, though we must not forget that there are portions in our own sacred books, too, which many of us would wish to be absent,

which, from the earliest ages of Christianity, have been regretted by theologians of undoubted piety, and which often prove a stumblingblock to those who have been won over by our missionaries to the simple faith of Christ. But that is not the question. The question is, whether there is or whether there is not, hidden in every one of the sacred books, something that could lift up the human heart from this earth to a higher world, something that could make man feel the omnipresence of a higher Power, something that could make him shrink from evil and incline to good, something to sustain him in the short journey through life, with its bright moments of happiness, and its long hours of terrible distress.

If some of those who read and mark these translations learn how to discover some such precious grains in the sacred books of other nations, though hidden under heaps of rubbish, our labour will not have been in vain, for there is no lesson which at the present time seems more important than to learn that in every religion there are such precious grains ; that we must draw in every religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human ; and that though the non-essential may fill many volumes, the essential can often be comprehended in a few words, but words on which 'hang all the law and the prophets.'

PROGRAM OF A TRANSLATION
OF
THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

I here subjoin the program in which I first put forward the idea of a translation of the Sacred Books of the East, and through which I invited the co-operation of Oriental scholars in this undertaking. The difficulty of finding translators, both willing and competent to take a part in it, proved far greater than I had anticipated. Even when I had secured the assistance of a number of excellent scholars, and had received their promises of prompt co-operation, illness, domestic affliction, and even death asserted their control over all human affairs. Professor Childers, who had shown the warmest interest in our work, and on whom I chiefly depended for the Pali literature of the Buddhists, was taken from us, an irreparable loss to Oriental scholarship in general, and to our undertaking in particular. Among native scholars, whose co-operation I had been particularly desired to secure, Rajendralal Mitra, who had promised a translation of the *Vāyu-purāna*, was prevented by serious illness from fulfilling his engagement. In other cases sorrow and sickness have caused, at all events, serious delay in the translation of the very books which were to have inaugurated this Series. However, new offers of assistance have come, and I hope that more may still come from Oriental scholars both in India and England, so that the limit of time which had been originally

assigned to the publication of twenty-four volumes may not, I hope, be much exceeded.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST, TRANSLATED, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES, BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS, AND EDITED BY F. MAX MÜLLER.

Apart from the interest which the Sacred Books of all religions possess in the eyes of the theologian, and, more particularly, of the missionary, to whom an accurate knowledge of them is as indispensable as a knowledge of the enemy's country is to a general, these works have of late assumed a new importance, as viewed in the character of ancient historical documents. In every country where Sacred Books have been preserved, whether by oral tradition or by writing, they are the oldest records, and mark the beginning of what may be called documentary, in opposition to purely traditional, history.

There is nothing more ancient in India than the Vedas; and, if we except the Vedas and the literature connected with them, there is again no literary work in India which, so far as we know at present, can with certainty be referred to an earlier date than that of the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists. Whatever age we may assign to the various portions of the Avesta and to their final arrangement, there is no book in the Persian language of greater antiquity than the Sacred Books of the followers of Zarathustra, nay, even than their translation in Pehlevi. There may have been an extensive ancient literature in China long before Khung-fû-ze and Láo-ze, but among all that was rescued and preserved of it, the five King and the four Shû claim again the highest antiquity. As to the Koran, it is known to be the fountain-head both of the religion and of the literature of the Arabs.

This being the case, it was but natural that the attention of the historian should of late have been more strongly attracted by these Sacred Books, as likely to afford most valuable information, not only on the religion, but also on the moral sentiments, the social institutions, the legal maxims of some of the most important nations of antiquity. There are not many nations that have preserved sacred writings, and many of those that have been preserved have but lately become accessible to us in their original form, through the rapid advance of Oriental scholarship in Europe. Neither Greeks, nor Romans, nor Germans, nor Celts, nor Slaves have left us anything that deserves the name of Sacred Books. The

Homeric Poems are national Epics, like the *Râmâyana*, and the Nibelunge, and the Homeric Hymns have never received that general recognition or sanction which alone can impart to the poetical effusions of personal piety the sacred or canonical character which is the distinguishing feature of the Vedic Hymns. The sacred literature of the early inhabitants of Italy seems to have been of a liturgical rather than of a purely religious kind, and whatever the Celts, the Germans, the Slaves may have possessed of sacred traditions about their gods and heroes, having been handed down by oral tradition chiefly, has perished beyond all hope of recovery. Some portions of the Eddas alone give us an idea of what the religious and heroic poetry of the Scandinavians may have been. The Egyptians possessed Sacred Books, and some of them, such as the Book of the Dead, have come down to us in various forms. There is a translation of the Book of the Dead by Dr. Birch, published in the fifth volume of Bunsen's Egypt, and a new edition and translation of this important work may be expected from the combined labours of Birch, Chabas, Lepsius, and Naville. In Babylon and Assyria, too, important fragments of what may be called a Sacred Literature have lately come to light. The interpretation, however, of these Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform texts is as yet so difficult that, for the present, they are of interest to the scholar only, and hardly available for historical purposes.

Leaving out of consideration the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, it appears that the only great and original religions which profess to be founded on Sacred Books¹, and have preserved them in manuscript, are:—

1. The religion of the Brahmans.
2. The religion of the followers of Buddha.
3. The religion of the followers of Zarathustra.
4. The religion of the followers of Khung-fû-ze.
5. The religion of the followers of Lâo-ze.
6. The religion of the followers of Mohammed.

A desire for a trustworthy translation of the Sacred Books of these six Eastern religions has often been expressed. Several have been translated into English, French, German, or Latin, but in some cases these translations are difficult to procure, in others they are loaded with notes and commentaries, which are intended for

¹ Introduction to the Science of Religion, by F. Max Müller (Longmans, 1873), p. 104.

students by profession only. Oriental scholars have been blamed for not having as yet supplied a want so generally felt, and so frequently expressed, as a complete, trustworthy, and readable translation of the principal Sacred Books of the Eastern Religions. The reasons, however, why hitherto they have shrunk from such an undertaking are clear enough. The difficulties in many cases of giving complete translations, and not selections only, are very great. There is still much work to be done in a critical restoration of the original texts, in an examination of their grammar and metres, and in determining the exact meaning of many words and passages. That kind of work is naturally far more attractive to scholars than a mere translation, particularly when they cannot but feel that, with the progress of our knowledge, many a passage which now seems clear and easy, may, on being re-examined, assume a new import. Thus while scholars who are most competent to undertake a translation, prefer to devote their time to more special researches, the work of a complete translation is deferred to the future, and historians are left under the impression that Oriental scholarship is still in so unsatisfactory a state as to make any reliance on translations of the Veda, the Avesta, or the Tão-te King extremely hazardous.

It is clear, therefore, that a translation of the principal Sacred Books of the East can be carried out only at a certain sacrifice. Scholars must leave for a time their own special researches in order to render the general results already obtained accessible to the public at large. And even then, really useful results can be achieved *viribus unitis* only. If four of the best Egyptologists have to combine in order to produce a satisfactory edition and translation of one of the Sacred Books of ancient Egypt, a much larger number of Oriental scholars will be required for translating the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, the Zoroastrians, the followers of Khung-fû-ze, Lâo-ze, and Mohammed.

Lastly, there was the most serious difficulty of all, a difficulty which no scholar could remove, viz. the difficulty of finding the funds necessary for carrying out so large an undertaking. No doubt there exists at present a very keen interest in questions connected with the origin, the growth, and decay of religion. But much of that interest is theoretic rather than historical. How people might or could or should have elaborated religious ideas, is a topic most warmly discussed among psychologists and theologians, but a study of the documents, in which alone the actual growth of religious thought can be traced, is much neglected.

A faithful, unvarnished prose translation of the Sacred Books of India, Persia, China, and Arabia, though it may interest careful students, will never, I fear, excite a widespread interest, or command a circulation large enough to make it a matter of private enterprise and commercial speculation.

No doubt there is much in these old books that is startling by its very simplicity and truth, much that is elevated and elevating, much that is beautiful and sublime; but people who have vague ideas of primeval wisdom and the splendour of Eastern poetry will soon find themselves grievously disappointed. It cannot be too strongly stated, that the chief, and, in many cases, the only interest of the Sacred Books of the East is historical; that much in them is extremely childish, tedious, if not repulsive; and that no one but the historian will be able to understand the important lessons which they teach. It would have been impossible to undertake a translation even of the most important only of the Sacred Books of the East, without the support of an Academy or a University which recognises the necessity of rendering these works more generally accessible, on the same grounds on which it recognises the duty of collecting and exhibiting in Museums the petrifications of bygone ages, little concerned whether the public admires the beauty of fossilised plants and broken skeletons, as long as hard-working students find there some light for reading once more the darker pages in the history of the earth.

Having been so fortunate as to secure that support, having also received promises of assistance from some of the best Oriental scholars in England and India, I hope I shall be able, after the necessary preparations are completed, to publish about three volumes of translations every year, selecting from the stores of the six so-called 'Book-religions' those works which at present can be translated, and which are most likely to prove useful. All translations will be made from the original texts, and where good translations exist already, they will be carefully revised by competent scholars. Such is the bulk of the religious literature of the Brahmans and the Buddhists, that to attempt a complete translation would be far beyond the powers of one generation of scholars. Still, if the interest in the work itself should continue, there is no reason why this series of translations should not be carried on, even after those who commenced it shall have ceased from their labours.

What I contemplate at present, and I am afraid at my time of life even this may seem too sanguine, is no more than a Series

of twenty-four volumes, the publication of which will probably extend over eight years. In this Series I hope to comprehend the following books, though I do not pledge myself to adhere strictly to this outline :—

1. From among the Sacred Books of the Brahmans I hope to give a translation of the Hymns of the Rig-veda. While I shall continue my translation of selected hymns of that Veda, a traduction raisonnée which is intended for Sanskrit scholars only, on the same principles which I have followed in the first volume¹, explaining every word and sentence that seems to require elucidation, and carefully examining the opinions of previous commentators, both native and European, I intend to contribute a freer translation of the hymns to this Series, with a few explanatory notes only, such as are absolutely necessary to enable readers who are unacquainted with Sanskrit to understand the thoughts of the Vedic poets. The translation of perhaps another *Samhitâ*, one or two of the *Brâhmanas*, or portions of them, will have to be included in our Series, as well as the principal Upanishads, theosophic treatises of great interest and beauty. There is every prospect of an early appearance of a translation of the *Bhagavad-gîtâ*, of the most important among the sacred Law-books, and of one at least of the *Purânas*. I should have wished to include a translation of some of the *Gain* books, of the *Granth* of the Sikhs, and of similar works illustrative of the later developments of religion in India, but there is hardly room for them at present.

2. The Sacred Books of the Buddhists will be translated chiefly from the two original collections, the Southern in Pali, the Northern in Sanskrit. Here the selection will, no doubt, be most difficult. Among the first books to be published will be, I hope, *Sûtras* from the *Dîgha Nikâya*, a part of the *Vinaya-piñaka*, the *Dhammapada*, the *Divyâvadâna*, the *Lalita-vistara*, or legendary life of Buddha.

3. The Sacred Books of the Zoroastrians lie within a smaller compass, but they will require fuller notes and commentaries in order to make a translation intelligible and useful.

4. The books which enjoy the highest authority with the followers of *Khung-fû-tze* are the *King* and the *Shû*. Of the former the *Shû King* or *Book of History*; the *Odes of the Temple* and

¹ Rig-veda-sanhitâ, The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmans, translated and explained by F. Max Müller. Vol. i. Hymns to the Maruts or the Storm-Gods. London, 1869.

the Altar, and other pieces illustrating the ancient religious views and practices of the Chinese, in the Shih King or Book of Poetry; the Yî King; the Lî Kî; and the Hsiâo King or Classic of Filial Piety, will all be given, it is hoped, entire. Of the latter, the Series will contain the Kung Yung or Doctrine of the Mean; the Tâ Hsio or Great Learning; all Confucius' utterances in the Lun Yü or Confucian Analects, which are of a religious nature, and refer to the principles of his moral system; and Mäng-ze's Doctrine of the Goodness of Human Nature.

5. For the system of Lâo-ze we require only a translation of the Tâo-teh King with some of its commentaries, and, it may be, an authoritative work to illustrate the actual operation of its principles.

6. For Islam, all that is essential is a trustworthy translation of the Koran.

It will be my endeavour to divide the twenty-four volumes which are contemplated in this Series as equally as possible among the six religions. But much must depend on the assistance which I receive from Oriental scholars, and also on the interest and the wishes of the public.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

OXFORD, October, 1876.

The following distinguished scholars, all of them occupying the foremost rank in their own special departments of Oriental literature, are at present engaged in preparing translations of some of the Sacred Books of the East: S. Beal, R. G. Bhandarkar, G. Bühler, A. Burnell, E. B. Cowell, J. Darmesteter, T. W. Rhys Davids, J. Eggeling, V. Fausböll, H. Jacobi, J. Jolly, H. Kern, F. Kielhorn, J. Legge, H. Oldenberg, E. H. Palmer, R. Pischel, K. T. Telang, E. W. West.

The works which for the present have been selected for translation are the following:

I. ANCIENT VEDIC RELIGION.

Hymns of the *Rig-veda*.

The *Satapatha-brâhmana*.

The Upanishads.

The *Grihya-sûtras* of *Hiranyakesin* and others.

II. LAW-BOOKS IN PROSE.

The *Sûtras* of *Āpastamba*, *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, *Vasishtha*, *Vishnu*, &c.

III. LAW-BOOKS IN VERSE.

The *Laws of Manu*, *Yāgñavalkya*, &c.

IV. LATER BRAHMANISM.

The *Bhagavad-gītā*.

The *Vāyu-purāna*.

V. BUDDHISM.

I. Pali Documents.

The *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, the *Tevigga Sutta*, the *Mahasudassana Sutta*, the *Dhammakakkappavattana Sutta*; the *Suttanipāta*; the *Mahāvagga*, the *Kullavagga*, and the *Pātimokkha*.

2. Sanskrit Documents.

The *Divyāvadāna* and *Saddharmapundarika*.

3. Chinese Documents.

The *Phû-yáo King*, or life of *Buddhā*.

4. Prakrit Gāina Documents.

The *Āśārāṅga Sûtra*, *Dasavaikālika Sûtra*, *Sûtra-kritāṅga*, and *Uttarādhyayana Sûtra*.

VI. PARSİ RELİGİON.

1. Zend Documents.

The *Vendidad*.

2. Pehlevi and Parsi Documents.

The Bundahis, Bahman Yasht, Shâyast-lâ-shâyast, Dâdistâni Dînt, Mainyôî Khard.

VII. MOHAMMEDANISM.

The Koran.

VIII. CHINESE RELIGION.

1. Confucianism.

The Shû King, Shih King, Hsiâo King, Yî King, Lî Kî, Lun Yü, and Măng-ze.

2. Tâoism.

The Tâo-teh King, Kwang-ze, and Kan Ying Phien.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS.

The system of transcribing Oriental words with Roman types, adopted by the translators of the Sacred Books of the East, is, on the whole, the same which I first laid down in my *Proposals for a Missionary Alphabet*, 1854, and which afterwards I shortly described in my *Lectures on the Science of Language*, Second Series, p. 169 (ninth edition). That system allows of great freedom in its application to different languages, and has, therefore, recommended itself to many scholars, even if they had long been accustomed to use their own system of transliteration.

It rests in fact on a few principles only, which may be applied to individual languages according to the views which each student has formed for himself of the character and the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants of any given alphabet.

It does not differ essentially from the Standard Alphabet proposed by Professor Lepsius. It only endeavours to realise, by means of the ordinary types which are found in every printing office, what my learned friend has been enabled to achieve, it may be in a more perfect manner, by means of a number of new types with diacritical marks, cast expressly for him by the Berlin Academy.

The general principles of what, on account of its easy application to all languages, I have called the *Missionary Alphabet*, are these :

I. No letters are to be used which do not exist in ordinary founts.

2. The same Roman type is always to represent the same foreign letter, and the same foreign letter is always to be represented by the same Roman type.

3. Simple letters are, as a rule, to be represented by simple, compound by compound types.

4. It is not attempted to indicate the pronunciation of foreign languages, but only to represent foreign letters by Roman types, leaving the pronunciation to be learnt, as it is now, from grammars or from conversation with natives.

5. The foundation of every system of transliteration must consist of a classification of the typical sounds of human speech. Such classification may be more or less perfect, more or less minute, according to the objects in view. For ordinary purposes the classification in vowels and consonants, and of consonants again in gutturals, dentals, and labials suffices. In these three classes we distinguish hard (not-voiced) and sonant (voiced) consonants, each being liable to aspiration; nasals, sibilants, and semivowels, some of these also, being either voiced or not-voiced.

6. After having settled the typical sounds, we assign to them, as much as possible, the ordinary Roman types of the first class.

7. We then arrange in every language which possesses a richer alphabet, all remaining letters, according to their affinities, as modifications of the nearest typical letters, or as letters of the second and third class. Thus linguals in Sanskrit are treated as nearest to dentals, palatals to gutturals.

8. The manner of expressing such modifications is uniform throughout. While all typical letters of

the first class are expressed by Roman types, modified letters of the second class are expressed by italics, modified letters of the third class by small capitals. Only in extreme cases, where another class of modified types is wanted, are we compelled to have recourse either to diacritical marks, or to a different fount of types.

9. Which letters in each language are to be considered as primary, secondary, or tertiary may, to a certain extent, be left to the discretion of individual scholars.

10. As it has been found quite impossible to devise any practical alphabet that should accurately represent the pronunciation of words, the Missionary Alphabet, by not attempting to indicate minute shades of pronunciation, has at all events the advantage of not misleading readers in their pronunciation of foreign words. An italic *t*, for instance, or a small capital **T**, serves simply as a warning that this is not the ordinary *t*, though it has some affinity with it. How it is to be pronounced must be learnt for each language, as it now is, from a grammar or otherwise. Thus *t* in Sanskrit is the lingual *t*. How that is to be pronounced, we must learn from the Prātisākhya, or from the mouth of a highly educated Srotriya. We shall then learn that its pronunciation is really that of what we call the ordinary dental *t*, as in town, while the ordinary dental *t* in Sanskrit has a pronunciation of its own, extremely difficult to acquire for Europeans.

11. Words or sentences which used to be printed in italics are spaced.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| CONSONANTS. | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | | | क | 𐬕 | 𐬎 | ک | ك | כ | k |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | | | ख | 𐬖 | 𐬏 | خ | خ | כ | kh |
| 3 Media | g | | | ग | 𐬗 | 𐬐 | گ | ج | ג | . . . |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | | | घ | 𐬘 | 𐬑 | غ | ج | ג | . . . |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | | | ङ | 𐬙 | 𐬒 | ق | ق | ך | . . . |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | | | ण | 𐬚 | 𐬓 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | | | ह | 𐬛 | 𐬔 | . . . | . . . | . . . | h, hs |
| 8 " lenis | , | | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 11 " asper fricatus | . . . | 'h | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | . . . | 'h | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | | k | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 14 " aspirata | | kh | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 15 Media | | g | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 16 " aspirata | | gh | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 17 " Nasalis | | ñ | | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |

| CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | y | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬨 | و | ي | ي | י | y |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (y) | | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 21 " asper asibilatus | | s | | श | 𐬨 | س | ش | ش | | |
| 22 " lenis asibilatus | | z | | | 𐬨 | ز | ز | | | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬨 | ت | ت | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | थ | 𐬨 | | | | ת | th |
| 25 " asibilata | d | | TH | द | 𐬨 | د | د | د | ד | |
| 26 Media | dh | | | ध | 𐬨 | د | د | د | ד | |
| 27 " aspirata | | | | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 28 " asibilata | | | DH | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬨 | ن | ن | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | ल | 𐬨 | ل | ل | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | ळ | 𐬨 | ل | ل | ل | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | स | 𐬨 | س | س | س | ש | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | s (ʃ) | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | | 𐬨 | ز | ز | ز | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (ʒ) | | 𐬨 | | | | | |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (ʒ) | | 𐬨 | | | | | |

| Dentales modificatae (linguales, &c.) | f | th | d | dh | n | r | r | sh | zh |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 38 Tenuis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 39 " aspirata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 40 Media | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 41 " aspirata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 42 Nasalis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 43 Semivocalis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 44 " fricata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 45 " diacritica | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 46 Spiritus asper | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 47 " lenis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| Labiales. | | | | | | | | | |
| 48 Tenuis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 49 " aspirata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 50 Media | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 51 " aspirata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 52 Tenuissima | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 53 Nasalis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 54 Semivocalis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 55 " aspirata | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 56 Spiritus asper | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 57 " lenis | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 58 Anusvāra | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 59 Visarga | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

| VOVELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | 0 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | o | | | | | | | | | ō |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ɔ | | | | | | | | | o |
| 3 " labialis | o | | | | | | | | | o |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | | | | | | | a |
| 5 " longa | ā | (a) | | अ | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | ا | ا | א | ā |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | | | | | | | i |
| 7 " longa | ī | (ē) | | इ | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | ی | ی | י | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | h | | | ह | | | | | | |
| 9 " longa | h | | | ह | | | | | | |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | रि | | | | | | |
| 11 " longa | rī | | | रि | | | | | | |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | (u) | उ | | | | | | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | | | उ | | | | | | ū |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | | (e) | ए | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ه | ه | א | e |
| 15 " longa | é (au) | | | ए | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ه | ه | א | é |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | āi | (āi) | | आ | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ای | ای | אי | āi |
| 17 " " | ei (ēi) | | | इ | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ای | ای | אי | ei, ēi |
| 18 " " | oi (ōu) | | | उ | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ای | ای | אי | o |
| 19 Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | | (o) | ओ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | او | او | או | o |
| 20 " longa | o | | (o) | ओ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | او | او | או | o |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | āu | (au) | | आ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | او | او | או | āu |
| 22 " " | eu (ēu) | | | इ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | او | او | או | eu |
| 23 " " | ou (ōu) | | | उ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | او | او | או | ou |
| 24 Gutturalis fracta | ä | | | अ | | | | | | ä |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | i | | | इ | | | | | | i |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ü | | | उ | | | | | | ü |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | ö | | | उ | | | | | | ö |

APPROXIMATE PRONUNCIATION OF THE ROMAN LETTERS
AS REPRESENTING THE SANSKRIT ALPHABET.

| VOWELS. | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|-----------|---|
| a | अ as in sam | ī | ई as in new |
| ā | आ „ psalm | y | य „ yet |
| i | इ „ knit | ś | श „ sharp |
| ī | ई „ neat | Dentals. | |
| ri | रि „ fiery | t | त as in tin <small>(tip of tongue striking the bone of the teeth)</small> |
| ri | रि „ — | th | थ „ lanthorn |
| li | लि „ friendly | d | द „ din |
| li | लि „ — | dh | ध „ landholder |
| u | उ „ full | n | न „ nay |
| ū | ऊ „ fool | l | ल „ let |
| e | ए „ date | l | ळ „ — |
| ai | ऐ „ aisle | s | स „ grass |
| o | ओ „ note | Linguals. | |
| au | औ „ proud | t | ट as in town <small>(tip of tongue strik- ing alveolar region)</small> |
| CONSONANTS. | | th | ठ „ outhouse |
| Gutturals. | | d | ड „ done |
| k | क as in kite | dh | ढ „ rodhook |
| kh | ख „ inkhorn | n | ण „ no |
| g | ग „ gate | r | र „ red |
| gh | घ „ springhead | sh | ष „ shun |
| ñ (ng) | ङ „ sing | Labials. | |
| h | ह „ hear | p | प as in pan |
| Palatals. | | ph | फ „ topheavy |
| k | च as in church | b | ब „ bed |
| kh | छ „ church-history | bh | भ „ clubhouse |
| g | ज „ jolly | m | म „ mill |
| gh | झ „ bridge-house | v | व „ live |
| | | m | म् „ Anusvāra <small>(slight nasal)</small> |
| | | h | ः „ Visarga <small>(slight breathing)</small> |

Proper names have frequently been left in their ordinary spelling, e. g. Rājendra, instead of Rāgendra. In words which have almost become English, the diacritical marks have often been omitted, e. g. Rig-veda, instead of Rīg-veda; Brahman, instead of Brāhmana; Confucius, Zoroaster, Koran, &c.

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE UPANISHADS.

FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE UPANISHADS.

DÂRÂ SHUKOH, ANQUETIL DUPERRON, SCHOPENHAUER.

THE ancient Vedic literature, the foundation of the whole literature of India, which has been handed down in that country in an unbroken succession from the earliest times within the recollection of man to the present day, became known for the first time beyond the frontiers of India through the Upanishads. The Upanishads were translated from Sanskrit into Persian by, or, it may be, for Dârâ Shukoh, the eldest son of Shâh Jehân, an enlightened prince, who openly professed the liberal religious tenets of the great Emperor Akbar, and even wrote a book intended to reconcile the religious doctrines of Hindus and Moham-medans. He seems first to have heard of the Upanishads during his stay in Kashmir in 1640. He afterwards invited several Pandits from Benares to Delhi, who were to assist him in the work of translation. The translation was finished in 1657. Three years after the accomplishment of this work, in 1659, the prince was put to death by his brother Aurangzib¹, in reality, no doubt, because he was the eldest son and legitimate successor of Shâh Jehân, but under the pretext that he was an infidel, and dangerous to the established religion of the empire.

When the Upanishads had once been translated from Sanskrit into Persian, at that time the most widely read language of the East and understood likewise by many European scholars, they became generally accessible to

¹ Elphinstone, *History of India*, ed. Cowell, p. 610.

all who took an interest in the religious literature of India. It is true that under Akbar's reign (1556-1586) similar translations had been prepared¹, but neither those nor the translations of Dârâ Shukoh attracted the attention of European scholars till the year 1775. In that year Anquetil Duperron, the famous traveller and discoverer of the Zend-avesta, received one MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads, sent to him by M. Gentil, the French resident at the court of Shuja ud daula, and brought to France by M. Bernier. After receiving another MS., Anquetil Duperron collated the two, and translated the Persian translation² into French (not published), and into Latin. That Latin translation was published in 1801 and 1802, under the title of 'Oupnek'hat, id est, Secretum tegendum: opus ipsa in India rarissimum, continens antiquam et arcanam, seu theologicam et philosophicam doctrinam, e quatuor sacris Indorum libris Rak baid, Djedjer baid, Sam baid, Athrban baid excerptam; ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samkreticis 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, 1802³.'

This translation, though it attracted considerable interest among scholars, was written in so utterly unintelligible a style, that it required the lynxlike perspicacity of an intre-

¹ M. M., Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 79.

² Several other MSS. of this translation have since come to light; one at Oxford, Codices Wilsoniani, 399 and 400. Anquetil Duperron gives the following title of the Persian translation: 'Hanc interpretationem τῶν Oupnekhatihai 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 τῶν Schonbeh, vigesimo sexto mensis τῶν Ramazzan, anno 1067 τῶν Hedjri (Christi, 1657) in urbe Delhi, in mansione nakhe noudeh, cum absolute ad finem fecit pervenire.' The MS. was copied by Âtma Ram in the year 1767 A. D. Anquetil Duperron adds: 'Absolutum est hoc Apographum versionis Latine τῶν quinquaginta Oupnekhatha, ad verbum, e Persico idiomate, Samskreticis vocabulis intermixto, factæ, die 9 Octobris, 1796, 18 Brumaire, anni 4, Reipublic. Gall. Parisiis.'

³ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, p. 325.

pid philosopher, such as Schopenhauer, to discover a thread through such a labyrinth. Schopenhauer, however, not only found and followed such a thread, but he had the courage to proclaim to an incredulous age the vast treasures of thought which were lying buried beneath that fearful jargon.

As Anquetil Duperron's volumes have become scarce, I shall here give a short specimen of his translation, which corresponds to the first sentences of my translation of the *Khândogya-upanishad* (p. 1):—'Oum hoc verbum (esse) adkit ut sciveris, sic rò maschghouli fac (de eo meditare), quod ipsum hoc verbum aodkit est; propter illud quod hoc (verbum) oum, in Sam Beid, cum voce altâ, cum harmoniâ pronunciatum fiat.

'Adkitech porro cremor (optimum, selectissimum) est: quemadmodum ex (præ) omni quieto (non moto), et moto, pulvis (terra) cremor (optimum) est; et e (præ) terra aqua cremor est; et ex aqua, comedendum (victus) cremor est; (et) e comedendo, comedens cremor est; et e comedente, loquela (id quod dicitur) cremor est; et e loquela, aïet rōv Beid, et ex aïet, rò siam, id est, cum harmonia (pronunciatum); et e Sam, rò adkit, cremor est; id est, oum, voce alta, cum harmonia pronunciare, aokit, cremor cremorum (optimum optimorum) est. Major, ex (præ) adkit, cremor alter non est.'

Schopenhauer not only read this translation carefully, but he makes no secret of it, that his own philosophy is powerfully impregnated by the fundamental doctrines of the Upanishads. He dwells on it again and again, and it seems both fair to Schopenhauer's memory and highly important for a true appreciation of the philosophical value of the Upanishads, to put together what that vigorous thinker has written on those ancient rhapsodies of truth.

In his 'Welt als Wille und Vorstellung,' he writes, in the preface to the first edition, p. xiii:

"If the reader has also received the benefit of the Vedas, the access to which by means of the Upanishads is in my eyes the greatest privilege which this still young century (1818) may claim before all previous centuries, (for I anticipate that the influence of Sanskrit literature will not be less pro-

found than the revival of Greek in the fourteenth century.)—if then the reader, I say, has received his initiation in primeval Indian wisdom, and received it with an open heart, he will be prepared in the very best way for hearing what I have to tell him. It will not sound to him strange, as to many others, much less disagreeable; for I might, if it did not sound conceited, contend that every one of the detached statements which constitute the Upanishads, may be deduced as a necessary result from the fundamental thoughts which I have to enunciate, though those deductions themselves are by no means to be found there.’

And again¹:

‘If I consider how difficult it is, even with the assistance of the best and carefully educated teachers, and with all the excellent philological appliances collected in the course of this century, to arrive at a really correct, accurate, and living understanding of Greek and Roman authors, whose language was after all the language of our own predecessors in Europe, and the mother of our own, while Sanskrit, on the contrary, was spoken thousands of years ago in distant India, and can be learnt only with appliances which are as yet very imperfect;—if I add to this the impression which the translations of Sanskrit works by European scholars, with very few exceptions, produce on my mind, I cannot resist a certain suspicion that our Sanskrit scholars do not understand their texts much better than the higher class of schoolboys their Greek. Of course, as they are not boys, but men of knowledge and understanding, they put together, out of what they do understand, something like what the general meaning may have been, but much probably creeps in *ex ingenio*. It is still worse with the Chinese of our European Sinologues.

‘If then I consider, on the other hand, that Sultan Mohammed Dârâ Shukoh, the brother of Aurangzib, was born and bred in India, was a learned, thoughtful, and enquiring man, and therefore probably understood his Sanskrit about as well as we our Latin, that moreover

¹ Schopenhauer, *Parerga*, third edition, II, p. 426.

he was assisted by a number of the most learned Pandits, all this together gives me at once a very high opinion of his translation of the Vedic Upanishads into Persian. If, besides this, I see with what profound and quite appropriate reverence Anquetil Duperron has treated that Persian translation, rendering it in Latin word by word, retaining, in spite of Latin grammar, the Persian syntax, and all the Sanskrit words which the Sultan himself had left untranslated, though explaining them in a glossary, I feel the most perfect confidence in reading that translation, and that confidence soon receives its most perfect justification. For how entirely does the Oupnekhat breathe throughout the holy spirit of the Vedas! How is every one who by a diligent study of its Persian Latin has become familiar with that incomparable book, stirred by that spirit to the very depth of his soul! How does every line display its firm, definite, and throughout harmonious meaning! From every sentence deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death!

‘ Though ¹ I feel the highest regard for the religious and philosophical works of Sanskrit literature, I have not been able to derive much pleasure from their poetical compositions. Nay, they seem to me sometimes as tasteless and monstrous as the sculpture of India.

‘ In ² most of the pagan philosophical writers of the first Christian centuries we see the Jewish theism, which, as Christianity, was soon to become the faith of the people, shining through, much as at present we may perceive shining through in the writings of the learned, the native

¹ Loc. cit. II, pp. 425.

² Loc. cit. I, p. 59.

pantheism of India, which is destined sooner or later to become the faith of the people. *Ex oriente lux.*'

This may seem strong language, and, in some respects, too strong. But I thought it right to quote it here, because, whatever may be urged against Schopenhauer, he was a thoroughly honest thinker and honest speaker, and no one would suspect him of any predilection for what has been so readily called Indian mysticism. That Schelling and his school should use rapturous language about the Upanishads, might carry little weight with that large class of philosophers by whom everything beyond the clouds of their own horizon is labelled mysticism. But that Schopenhauer should have spoken of the Upanishads as 'products of the highest wisdom' (*Ausgeburten der höchsten Weisheit*)¹, that he should have placed the pantheism there taught high above the pantheism of Bruno, Malebranche, Spinoza, and Scotus Erigena, as brought to light again at Oxford in 1681², may perhaps secure a more considerate reception for these relics of ancient wisdom than anything that I could say in their favour.

RAMMOHUN ROY.

Greater, however, than the influence exercised on the philosophical thought of modern Europe, has been the impulse which these same Upanishads have imparted to the religious life of modern India. In about the same year (1774 or 1775) when the first MS. of the Persian translation of the Upanishads was received by Anquetil Duperron, Rammohun Roy³ was born in India, the reformer and reviver of the ancient religion of the Brahmans. A man who in his youth could write a book 'Against the Idolatry of all Religions,' and who afterwards expressed in so many exact words his 'belief in the divine authority of Christ⁴,' was not likely to retain anything of the sacred literature of his own religion, unless he had perceived in it the same

¹ Loc. cit. II, p. 428.

² Loc. cit. I, p. 6. These passages were pointed out to me by Professor Noiré.

³ Born 1774, died at 2.30 A.M., on Friday, 28th September, 1833.

⁴ Last Days of Rammohun Roy, by Mary Carpenter, 1866, p. 135.

divine authority which he recognised in the teaching of Christ. He rejected the Purānas, he would not have been swayed in his convictions by the authority of the Laws of Manu, or even by the sacredness of the Vedas. He was above all that. But he discovered in the Upanishads and in the so-called Vedānta something different from all the rest, something that ought not to be thrown away, something that, if rightly understood, might supply the right native soil in which alone the seeds of true religion, aye, of true Christianity, might spring up again and prosper in India, as they had once sprung up and prospered from out the philosophies of Origen or Synesius. European scholars have often wondered that Rammohun Roy, in his defence of the Veda, should have put aside the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmanas*, and laid his finger on the Upanishads only, as the true kernel of the whole Veda. Historically, no doubt, he was wrong, for the Upanishads presuppose both the hymns and the liturgical books of the Veda. But as the ancient philosophers distinguished in the Veda between the *Karma-kānda* and the *Gñāna-kānda*, between works and knowledge; as they themselves pointed to the learning of the sacred hymns and the performance of sacrifices as a preparation only for that enlightenment which was reserved as the highest reward for the faithful performance of all previous duties¹, Rammohun Roy, like Buddha and other enlightened men before him, perceived that the time for insisting on all that previous discipline with its minute prescriptions and superstitious observances was gone, while the knowledge conveyed in the Upanishads or the Vedānta, enveloped though it may be in strange coverings, should henceforth form the foundation of a new religious life². He would tolerate nothing idolatrous, not even in his mother, poor woman, who after joining his most bitter opponents, confessed to her son, before she set out on her

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 319.

² 'The adoration of the invisible Supreme Being is exclusively prescribed by the Upanishads or the principal parts of the Vedas and also by the Vedant.' Rammohun Roy, Translation of the Kena-upanishad, Calcutta, 1816, p. 6. M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 320.

last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died, that 'he was right, but that she was a weak woman, and grown too old to give up the observances which were a comfort to her.' It was not therefore from any regard of their antiquity or their sacred character that Rammohun Roy clung to the Upanishads, that he translated them into Bengali, Hindi, and English, and published them at his own expense. It was because he recognised in them seeds of eternal truth, and was bold enough to distinguish between what was essential in them and what was not,—a distinction, as he often remarked with great perplexity, which Christian teachers seemed either unable or unwilling to make¹.

The death of that really great and good man during his stay in England in 1833, was one of the severest blows that have fallen on the prospects of India. But his work has not been in vain. Like a tree whose first shoot has been killed by one winter frost, it has broken out again in a number of new and more vigorous shoots, for whatever the outward differences may be between the Âdi Brahmô Samâj of Debendranath Tagore, or the Brahmô Samâj of India of Keshub Chunder Sen, or the Sadharan Brahmô Samâj, the common root of them all is the work done, once for all, by Rammohun Roy. That work may have disappeared from sight for a time, and its present manifestations may seem to many observers who are too near, not very promising. But in one form or another, under one name or another, I feel convinced that work will live. 'In India,' Schopenhauer writes, 'our religion will now and never strike root: the primitive wisdom of the human race will never be pushed aside there by the events of Galilee. On the contrary, Indian wisdom will flow back upon Europe, and produce a thorough change in our knowing and thinking.' Here, again, the great philosopher seems to me to have allowed himself to be carried away too far by his enthusiasm for the less known. He is blind for the dark sides of the Upanishads, and he wilfully shuts his eyes against the bright rays of eternal truth in the Gospels, which even

¹ Last Days, p. 11.

Rammohun Roy was quick enough to perceive behind the mists and clouds of tradition that gather so quickly round the sunrise of every religion.

POSITION OF THE UPANISHADS IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

If now we ask what has been thought of the Upanishads by Sanskrit scholars or by Oriental scholars in general, it must be confessed that hitherto they have not received at their hands that treatment which in the eyes of philosophers and theologians they seem so fully to deserve. When the first enthusiasm for such works as *Sakuntalâ* and *Gîta-Govinda* had somewhat subsided, and Sanskrit scholars had recognised that a truly scholarlike study of Indian literature must begin with the beginning, the exclusively historical interest prevailed to so large an extent that the hymns of the *Veda*, the *Brâhmaṇas*, and the *Sûtras* absorbed all interest, while the Upanishads were put aside for a time as of doubtful antiquity, and therefore of minor importance.

My real love for Sanskrit literature was first kindled by the Upanishads. It was in the year 1844, when attending Schelling's lectures at Berlin, that my attention was drawn to those ancient theosophic treatises, and I still possess my collations of the Sanskrit MSS. which had then just arrived at Berlin, the Chambers collection, and my copies of commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, which I made at that time. Some of my translations which I left with Schelling, I have never been able to recover, though to judge from others which I still possess, the loss of them is of small consequence. Soon after leaving Berlin, when continuing my Sanskrit studies at Paris under Burnouf, I put aside the Upanishads, convinced that for a true appreciation of them it was necessary to study, first of all, the earlier periods of Vedic literature, as represented by the hymns and the *Brâhmaṇas* of the Vedas.

In returning, after more than thirty years, to these favourite studies, I find that my interest in them, though it has changed in character, has by no means diminished.

It is true, no doubt, that the stratum of literature which contains the Upanishads is later than the *Samhitās*, and later than the *Brāhmaṇas*, but the first germs of Upanishad doctrines go back at least as far as the Mantra period, which provisionally has been fixed between 1000 and 800 B.C. Conceptions corresponding to the general teaching of the Upanishads occur in certain hymns of the *Rig-veda-samhitā*, they must have existed therefore before that collection was finally closed. One hymn in the *Samhitā* of the *Rig-veda* (I, 191) was designated by *Kātyāyana*, the author of the *Sarvānukramanikā*, as an Upanishad. Here, however, *upanishad* means rather a secret charm than a philosophical doctrine. Verses of the hymns have often been incorporated in the Upanishads, and among the *Ōpnekhats* translated into Persian by *Dārā Shukoh* we actually find the *Purusha-sūkta*, the 90th hymn of the tenth book of the *Rig-veda*¹, forming the greater portion of the *Bark'heh Soukt*. In the *Samhitā* of the *Yagur-veda*, however, in the *Vāgasaneyi-sākhā*, we meet with a real Upanishad, the famous *Īsā* or *Īsāvāsya-upanishad*, while the *Sivasamkalpa*, too, forms part of its thirty-fourth book². In the *Brāhmaṇas* several Upanishads occur, even in portions which are not classed as *Āraṇyakas*, as, for instance, the well-known *Kena* or *Talavakāra-upanishad*. The recognised place, however, for the ancient Upanishads is in the *Āraṇyakas*, or forest-books, which, as a rule, form an appendix to the *Brāhmaṇas*, but are sometimes included also under the general name of *Brāhmaṇa*. *Brāhmaṇa*, in fact, meaning originally the sayings of Brahmins, whether in the general sense of priests, or in the more special of Brahman-priest, is a name applicable not only to the books, properly so called, but to all old prose traditions, whether contained in the *Samhitās*, such as the *Taittirīya-samhitā*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas*, the Upanishads, and even, in certain cases, in the *Sūtras*. We shall see in the introduction to the *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, that that *Āraṇyaka* is in the beginning

¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, IX, p. 1 seq.

² See M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 317.

a *Brāhmaṇa*, a mere continuation of the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, explaining the *Mahāvratā* ceremony, while its last book contains the *Sūtras* or short technical rules explaining the same ceremony which in the first book had been treated in the style peculiar to the *Brāhmaṇas*. In the same *Aitareya-āraṇyaka*, III, 2, 6, 6, a passage of the *Upanishad* is spoken of as a *Brāhmaṇa*, possibly as something like a *Brāhmaṇa*, while something very like an *Upanishad* occurs in the *Āpastamba-sūtras*, and might be quoted therefore as a *Sūtra*¹. At all events the *Upanishads*, like the *Āraṇyakas*, belong to what Hindu theologians call *Sruti*, or revealed literature, in opposition to *Smṛiti*, or traditional literature, which is supposed to be founded on the former, and allowed to claim a secondary authority only; and the earliest of these philosophical treatises will always, I believe, maintain a place in the literature of the world, among the most astounding productions of the human mind in any age and in any country.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF UPANISHADS.

The ancient *Upanishads*, i. e. those which occupy a place in the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Āraṇyakas*, must be, if we follow the chronology which at present is commonly, though, it may be, provisionally only, received by Sanskrit scholars, older than 600 B. C., i. e. anterior to the rise of Buddhism. As to other *Upanishads*, and their number is very large, which either stand by themselves, or which are ascribed to the *Atharva-veda*, it is extremely difficult to fix their age. Some of them are, no doubt, quite modern, for mention is made even of an *Allah-upanishad*; but others may claim a far higher antiquity than is generally assigned to them on internal evidence. I shall only mention that the name of *Atharva-siras*, an *Upanishad* generally assigned to a very modern date, is quoted in the *Sūtras* of *Gautama* and *Baudhāyana*²;

¹ *Āpastamba*, translated by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. 75.

² *Gautama*, translated by Bühler, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. 272, and *Introduction*, p. lvi.

that the Svetâsvatara-upanishad, or the Svetâsvatarâxâm Mantropanishad, though bearing many notes of later periods of thought, is quoted by Sañkara in his commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras¹; while the *Nrisimhottaratâpaniya*-upanishad forms part of the twelve Upanishads explained by Vidyâranya in his Sarvopanishad-arthânubhûti-prakâsa. The Upanishads comprehended in that work are :

1. Aitareya-upanishad.
2. Taittirîya-upanishad.
3. *Khândogya*-upanishad.
4. *Mundaka*-upanishad.
5. *Prasna*-upanishad.
6. *Kaushîtaki*-upanishad.
7. *Maitrâyanîya*-upanishad.
8. *Kathavallî*-upanishad.
9. *Svetâsvatara*-upanishad.
10. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*-upanishad.
11. *Talavakâra* (*Kena*)-upanishad.
12. *Nrisimhottaratâpaniya*-upanishad².

The number of Upanishads translated by Dârâ Shukoh amounts to 50; their number, as given in the *Mahâvâkyamuktâvalî* and in the *Muktikâ-upanishad*, is 108³. Professor Weber thinks that their number, so far as we know at present, may be reckoned at 235⁴. In order, however, to arrive at so high a number, every title of an Upanishad would have to be counted separately, while in several cases it is clearly the same Upanishad which is quoted under different names. In an alphabetical list which I published in 1865 (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XIX, 137-158), the number of real Upanishads reached 149. To that number Dr. Burnell⁵ in his Catalogue

¹ Vedânta-sûtras I, 1, 11.

² One misses the *Îsâ* or *Îsâvâsya*-upanishad in this list. The Upanishads chiefly studied in Bengal are the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, *Aitareya*, *Khândogya*, *Taittirîya*, *Îsâ*, *Kena*, *Katha*, *Prasna*, *Mundaka*, and *Mândûkyâ*, to which should be added the *Svetâsvatara*. M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 325.

³ Dr. Burnell thinks that this is an artificial computation, 108 being a sacred number in Southern India. See Kielhorn in Gough's Papers on Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 193.

⁴ Weber, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 155 note.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, II, 267.

(p. 59) added 5, Professor Haug (*Brahma und die Brahmanen*) 16, making a sum total of 170. New names, however, are constantly being added in the catalogues of MSS. published by Bühler, Kielhorn, Burnell, Rajendralal Mitra, and others, and I shall reserve therefore a more complete list of Upanishads for a later volume.

Though it is easy to see that these Upanishads belong to very different periods of Indian thought, any attempt to fix their relative age seems to me for the present almost hopeless. No one can doubt that the Upanishads which have had a place assigned to them in the *Samhitās*, *Brāhmanas*, and *Āraṇyakas* are the oldest. Next to these we can draw a line to include the Upanishads clearly referred to in the *Vedānta-sūtras*, or explained and quoted by *Saṅkara*, by *Sāyana*, and other more modern commentators. We can distinguish Upanishads in prose from Upanishads in mixed prose and verse, and again Upanishads in archaic verse from Upanishads in regular and continuous *Anuṣṭubh* Slokas. We can also class them according to their subjects, and, at last, according to the sects to which they belong. But beyond this it is hardly safe to venture at present. Attempts have been made by Professor Weber and M. Regnaud to fix in each class the relative age of certain Upanishads, and I do not deny to their arguments, even where they conflict with each other, considerable weight in forming a preliminary judgment. But I know of hardly any argument which is really convincing, or which could not be met by counter arguments equally strong. Simplicity may be a sign of antiquity, but it is not so always, for what seems simple, may be the result of abbreviation. One Upanishad may give the correct, another an evidently corrupt reading, yet it does not follow that the correct reading may not be the result of an emendation. It is quite clear that a large mass of traditional Upanishads must have existed before they assumed their present form. Where two or three or four Upanishads contain the same story, told almost in the same words, they are not always copied from one another, but they have been settled independently, in different localities, by different teachers, it may be, for different purposes.

Lastly, the influence of Sâkhâs or schools may have told more or less on certain Upanishads. Thus the Maitrâyaṇīya-upanishad, as we now possess it, shows a number of irregular forms which even the commentator can account for only as peculiarities of the Maitrâyaṇīya-sâkhâ¹. That Upanishad, as it has come down to us, is full of what we should call clear indications of a modern and corrupt age. It contains in VI, 37, a sloka from the Mânava-dharma-sâstra, which startled even the commentator, but is explained away by him as possibly found in another Sâkhâ, and borrowed from there by Manu. It contains corruptions of easy words which one would have thought must have been familiar to every student. Thus instead of the passage as found in the *Khândogya-upanishad* VIII, 7, 1, ya âtmâpahatapâpmâ vigaro vimṛityur visoko 'vigighatso 'pipâsaḥ, &c., the text of the Maitrâyaṇīya-upanishad (VII, 7) reads, âtmâpahatapâpmâ vigaro vimṛityur visoko 'vikikitso 'vipâsaḥ. But here again the commentator explains that another Sâkhâ reads 'vigi-ghatsa, and that avipâsa is to be explained by means of a change of letters as apipâsa. Corruptions, therefore, or modern elements which are found in one Upanishad, as handed down in one Sâkhâ, do not prove that the same existed in other Sâkhâs, or that they were found in the original text.

All these questions have to be taken into account before we can venture to give a final judgment on the relative age of Upanishads which belong to one and the same class. I know of no problem which offers so many similarities with the one before us as that of the relative age of the four Gospels. All the difficulties which occur in the Upanishads occur here, and no critical student who knows the difficulties that have to be encountered in determining the relative age of the four Gospels, will feel inclined, in the present state of Vedic scholarship, to speak with confidence on the relative age of the ancient Upanishads.

¹ They are generally explained as *khândasa*, but in one place (Maitr. Up. II, 4) the commentator treats such irregularities as *etakhâkhâsâṅketapâḥaḥ*, a reading peculiar to the Maitrâyaṇīya school. Some learned remarks on this point may be seen in an article by Dr. L. Schroeder, *Über die Maitrâyaṇī Samhitâ*.

CRITICAL TREATMENT OF THE TEXT OF THE
UPANISHADS.

With regard to a critical restoration of the text of the Upanishads, I have but seldom relied on the authority of new MSS., but have endeavoured throughout to follow that text which is presupposed by the commentaries, whether they are the work of the old Saṅkarācārya, or of the more modern Saṅkarānanda, or Sāyana, or others. Though there still prevails some uncertainty as to the date of Saṅkarācārya, commonly assigned to the eighth century A.D., yet I doubt whether any MSS. of the Upanishads could now be found prior to 1000 A. D. The text, therefore, which Saṅkara had before his eyes, or, it may be, his ears, commands, I think, a higher authority than that of any MSS. likely to be recovered at present.

It may be objected that Saṅkara's text belonged to one locality only, and that different readings and different recensions may have existed in other parts of India. That is perfectly true. We possess various recensions of several Upanishads, as handed down in different Sākhās of different Vedas, and we know of various readings recorded by the commentators. These, where they are of importance for our purposes, have been carefully taken into account.

It has also been supposed that Saṅkara, who, in writing his commentaries on the Upanishad, was chiefly guided by philosophical considerations, his chief object being to use the Upanishads as a sacred foundation for the Vedānta philosophy, may now and then have taken liberties with the text. That may be so, but no stringent proof of it has as yet been brought forward, and I therefore hold that when we succeed in establishing throughout that text which served as the basis of Saṅkara's commentaries, we have done enough for the present, and have fulfilled at all events the first and indispensable task in a critical treatment of the text of the Upanishads.

But in the same manner as it is easy to see that the text

of the Rig-veda, which is presupposed by Sâyana's commentary and even by earlier works, is in many places palpably corrupt, we cannot resist the same conviction with regard to the text of the Upanishads. In some cases the metre, in others grammar, in others again the collation of analogous passages enable us to detect errors, and probably very ancient errors, that had crept into the text long before Saṅkara composed his commentaries.

Some questions connected with the metres of the Upanishads have been very learnedly treated by Professor Gilde-meister in his essay, 'Zur Theorie des Sloka.' The lesson to be derived from that essay, and from a study of the Upanishads, is certainly to abstain for the present from conjectural emendations. In the old Upanishads the same metrical freedom prevails as in the hymns; in the later Upanishads, much may be tolerated as the result of conscious or unconscious imitation. The metrical emendations that suggest themselves are generally so easy and so obvious that, for that very reason, we should hesitate before correcting what native scholars would have corrected long ago, if they had thought that there was any real necessity for correction.

It is easy to suggest, for instance, that in the Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ-upanishad, verse 5, instead of tad antar asya sarvasya tadu sarvasyâsya bâhyataḥ, the original text may have been tad antar asya sarvasya tadu sarvasya bâhyataḥ; yet Saṅkara evidently read sarvasyâsya, and as the same reading is found in the text of the Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ, who would venture to correct so old a mistake?

Again, if in verse 8, we left out yâthâtathyataḥ, we should get a much more regular metre,

Kavir manîshî paribhûḥ svyambhûḥ
ârthân vyâdadhâḥ kḥâsvâtîbhyaḥ sâmbhyaḥ.

Here vyâḍ forms one syllable by what I have proposed to call synzesis¹, which is allowed in the Upanishads as well as in the hymns. All would then seem right, except

¹ Rig-veda, translated by M. M., vol. i, Preface, p. cxliii.

that it is difficult to explain how so rare a word as *yāthā-tathyatah* could have been introduced into the text.

In verse 10 one feels tempted to propose the omission of *eva* in *anyad āhur avidyayā*, while in verse 11, an *eva* inserted after *vidyām ka* would certainly improve the metre.

In verse 15 the expression *satyadharmāya dṛishṭaye* is archaic, but perfectly legitimate in the sense of 'that we may see the nature of the True,' or 'that we see him whose nature is true.' When this verse is repeated in the *Maitr. Up. VI, 35*, we find instead, *satyadharmāya vishṇave*, 'for the true Vishṇu.' But here, again, no sound critic would venture to correct a mistake, intentional or unintentional, which is sanctioned both by the MSS. of the text and by the commentary.

Such instances, where every reader feels tempted at once to correct the *textus receptus*, occur again and again, and when they seem of any interest they have been mentioned in the notes. It may happen, however, that the correction, though at first sight plausible, has to be surrendered on more mature consideration. Thus in the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā-upanishad*, verse 2, one feels certainly inclined to write *evam tve nānyatheto 'sti*, instead of *evam tvayi nānyatheto 'sti*. But *tve*, if it were used here, would probably itself have to be pronounced dissyllabically, while *tvayi*, though it never occurs in the *Rig-veda*, may well keep its place here, in the last book of the *Vāgasaneyi-samhitā*, provided we pronounce it by synizesis, i. e. as one syllable.

Attempts have been made sometimes to go beyond *Saṅkara*, and to restore the text, as it ought to have been originally, but as it was no longer in *Saṅkara's* time. It is one thing to decline to follow *Saṅkara* in every one of his interpretations, it is quite another to decline to accept the text which he interprets. The former is inevitable, the latter is always very precarious.

Thus I see, for instance, that *M. Regnaud*, in the *Errata* to the second volume of his excellent work on the *Upanishads* (*Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde, 1878*) proposes to read in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka-*

upanishad IV, 3, 1-8, sam anena vadishya iti, instead of sam mene na vadishya iti. Saṅkara adopted the latter reading, and explained accordingly, that Yāgñavalkya went to king Ganaka, but made up his mind not to speak. M. Regnaud, reading sam anena vadishya iti, takes the very opposite view, namely, that Yāgñavalkya went to king Ganaka, having made up his mind to have a conversation with him. As M. Regnaud does not rest this emendation on the authority of any new MSS., we may examine it as an ingenious conjecture; but in that case it seems to me clear that, if we adopted it, we should have at the same time to omit the whole sentence which follows. Saṅkara saw clearly that what had to be accounted or explained was why the king should address the Brahman first, samrād eva pūrvam paprakṣha; whereas if Yāgñavalkya had come with the intention of having a conversation with the king, he, the Brahman, should have spoken first. This irregularity is explained by the intervening sentence, in which we are reminded that on a former occasion, when Ganaka and Yāgñavalkya had a disputation on the Agnihotra, Yāgñavalkya granted Ganaka a boon to choose, and he chose as his boon the right of asking questions according to his pleasure. Having received that boon, Ganaka was at liberty to question Yāgñavalkya, even though he did not like it, and hence Ganaka is introduced here as the first to ask a question.

All this hangs well together, while if we assume that Yāgñavalkya came for the purpose of having a conversation with Ganaka, the whole sentence from 'atha ha yag ganakas ka' to 'pūrvam paprakṣha' would be useless, nor would there be any excuse for Ganaka beginning the conversation, when Yāgñavalkya came himself on purpose to question him.

It is necessary, even when we feel obliged to reject an interpretation of Saṅkara's, without at the same time altering the text, to remember that Saṅkara, where he is not blinded by philosophical predilections, commands the highest respect as an interpreter. I cannot help thinking therefore that M. Regnaud (vol. i, p. 59) was right in translating the passage in the *Khând. Up. V, 3, 7, tasmād u*

sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasyaiva prasāsanam abhūt, by ' que le kshatriya seul l'a enseignée dans tous les mondes.' For when he proposes in the ' Errata ' to translate instead, ' c'est pourquoi l'empire dans tous les mondes fut attribué au kshatriya seulement,' he forgets that such an idea is foreign to the ordinary atmosphere in which the Upanishads move. It is not on account of the philosophical knowledge possessed by a few Kshatriyas, such as Ganaka or Pravāhana, that the privilege of government belongs everywhere to the second class. That rests on a totally different basis. Such exceptional knowledge, as is displayed by a few kings, might be an excuse for their claiming the privileges belonging to the Brahmans, but it would never, in the eyes of the ancient Indian Āryas, be considered as an argument for their claiming kingly power. Therefore, although I am well aware that prasās is most frequently used in the sense of ruling, I have no doubt that Saṅkara likewise was fully aware of that, and that if he nevertheless explained prasāsana here in the sense of prasāstritvam sishyānām, he did so because this meaning too was admissible, particularly here, where we may actually translate it by proclaiming, while the other meaning, that of ruling, would simply be impossible in the concatenation of ideas, which is placed before us in the Upanishad.

It seems, no doubt, extremely strange that neither the last redactors of the text of the Upanishads, nor the commentators, who probably knew the principal Upanishads by heart, should have perceived how certain passages in one Upanishad represented the same or nearly the same text which is found in another Upanishad, only occasionally with the most palpable corruptions.

Thus when the ceremony of offering a mantha or mash is described, we read in the *Khândogya*-upanishad V, 2, 6, that it is to be accompanied by certain words which on the whole are intelligible. But when the same passage occurs again in the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka*, those words have been changed to such a degree, and in two different ways in the two *Sākhās* of the *Mādhyandinas* and *Kāṇvas*, that, though the commentator explains them, they are almost unintel-

ligible. I shall place the three passages together in three parallel lines :

- I. *Khândogya-upanishad* V, 2, 6 :
- II. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, XIV, 9, 3, 10 :
- III. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, *Kânva-sâkhâ*, VI, 3, 5 :
- I. Amo nâmâsy amâ hi te sarvam idam sa hi *gyeshtha*
 II. âmo 'sy âmam hi te mayi sa hi
 III. âmamsy âmamhi te mahi sa hi
- I. *sreshtha râgâdhipati* sa mâ *gyaishthyam* *srai-*
 II. *râgesâno* 'dhipati sa mâ *râgesâno*
 III. *ragesâno*
- I. *shthyam* *râgyam* *âdhipatyam* *gamayatv* *aham* *evedam*
 II. 'dhipati *karotv* *iti*.
 III. 'dhipati *karotv* *iti*.
- I. *sarvam* *asâniti*.
 II.
 III.

The text in the *Khândogya-upanishad* yields a certain sense, viz. 'Thou art Ama by name, for all this together exists in thee. He is the oldest and best, the king, the sovereign. May he make me the oldest, the best, the king, the sovereign. May I be all this.' This, according to the commentator, is addressed to *Prâna*, and Ama, though a purely artificial word, is used in the sense of *Prâna*, or breath, in another passage also, viz. *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-up.* I, 3, 22. If therefore we accept this meaning of Ama, the rest is easy and intelligible.

But if we proceed to the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, in the *Mâdhyandina-sâkhâ*, we find the commentator proposing the following interpretation : 'O Mantha, thou art a full knower, complete knowledge of me belongs to thee.' This meaning is obtained by deriving *âmah* from *â + man*, in the sense of knower, and then taking *âmam*, as a neuter, in the sense of knowledge, derivations which are simply impossible.

Lastly, if we come to the text of the *Kânva-sâkhâ*, the grammatical interpretation becomes bolder still. *Saṅkara* does not explain the passage at all, which is strange, but *Anandagiri* interprets *âmamsi tvam* by 'Thou knowest

(all),’ and *âmanhi te mahi*, by ‘we know thy great (shape),’ which are again impossible forms.

But although there can be little doubt here that the reading of the *Khândogya-upanishad* gives us the original text, or a text nearest to the original, no sound critic would venture to correct the readings of the *Bṛihad-âranyaka*. They are corruptions, but even as corruptions they possess authority, at all events up to a certain point, and it is the fixing of those certain points or chronological limits, which alone can impart a scientific character to our criticism of ancient texts.

In the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad* Professor Cowell has pointed out a passage to me, where we must go beyond the text as it stood when commented on by the *Saṅkarâ-nanda*. In the beginning of the fourth *adhyâya* all MSS. of the text read *savasan*, and this is the reading which the commentator seems anxious to explain, though not very successfully. I thought that possibly the commentator might have had before him the reading *sa vasan*, or so *’vasan*, but both would be very unusual. Professor Cowell in his *Various Readings*, p. xii, conjectured *samvasan*, which would be liable to the same objection. He now, however, informs me that, as B. has *samtvan*, and C. *satvan*, he believes the original text to have been *Satvan-Matsyeshu*. This seems to me quite convincing, and is borne out by the reading of the Berlin MS., so far as it can be made out from Professor Weber’s essay on the *Upanishads*, *Indische Studien I*, p. 419. I see that *Boehtlingk* and *Roth* in their *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s. v. *satvat*, suggest the same emendation.

The more we study the nature of Sanskrit MSS., the more, I believe, we shall feel convinced that their proper arrangement is one by locality rather than by time. I have frequently dwelt on this subject in the introductions to the successive volumes of my edition of the *Rig-veda* and its commentary by *Sâyana*, and my convictions on this point have become stronger ever since. A MS., however modern, from the south of India or from the north, is more important as a check on the *textus receptus* of

any Sanskrit work, as prevalent in Bengal or Bombay, than ever so many MSS., even if of greater antiquity, from the same locality. When therefore I was informed by my friend Dr. Bühler that he had discovered in Kashmir a MS. of the Aitareya-upanishad, I certainly expected some real help from such a treasure. The MS. is described by its discoverer in the last number of the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, p. 34¹, and has since been sent to me by the Indian Government. It is written on birch bark (bhûrga), and in the alphabet commonly called Sâradâ. The leaves are very much injured on the margin, and it is almost impossible to handle them without some injury. In many places the bark has shrunk, probably on being moistened, and the letters have become illegible. Apart from these drawbacks, there remain the difficulties inherent in the Sâradâ alphabet which, owing to its numerous combinations, is extremely difficult to read, and very trying to eyes which are growing weak. However, I collated the Upanishad from the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, which turned out to be the last portion only, viz. the Samhitâ-upanishad (Ait. Âr. III, 1-2), or, as it is called here, Samhitâraṇya, and I am sorry to say my expectations have been disappointed. The MS. shows certain graphic peculiarities which Dr. Bühler has pointed out. It is particularly careful in the use of the sibilants, replacing the Visarga by sibilants, writing $s + s$ and $s + \text{ś}$ instead of $h + s$ and $h + \text{ś}$; distinguishing also the Gihvâmûliya and Upadhmanîya. If therefore the MS. writes antastha, we may be sure that it really meant to write so, and not antaśstha, or, as it would have written, antasstha. It shows equal care in the use of the nasals, and generally carries on the sandhi between different paragraphs. Here and there I met with better readings than those given in Rajendralal Mitra's edition, but in most cases the commentary would have been sufficient to restore the right reading. A few various readings, which seemed to deserve being mentioned, will be found

¹ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1877. Extra Number, containing the Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS., made in Kâsmîr, Rajputana, and Central India, by G. Bühler.

in the notes. The MS., though carefully written, is not free from the ordinary blunders. At first one feels inclined to attribute some importance to every peculiarity of a new MS., but very soon one finds out that what seems peculiar, is in reality carelessness. Thus Ait. Âr. III, 1, 5, 2, the Kashmir MS. has *pûrvam aksharam rûpam*, instead of what alone can be right, *pûrvarûpam*. Instead of *pragayâ pasubhih* it writes repeatedly *pragaya pasubhih*, which is impossible. In III, 2, 2, it leaves out again and again *manomaya* between *hhandomaya* and *vânmaya*; but that this is a mere accident we learn later on, where in the same sentence *manomayo* is found in its right place. Such cases reduce this MS. to its proper level, and make us look with suspicion on any accidental variations, such as I have noticed in my translation.

The additional paragraph, noticed by Dr. Bühler, is very indistinct, and contains, so far as I am able to find out, *jânti* verses only.

I have no doubt that the discovery of new MSS. of the Upanishads and their commentaries will throw new light on the very numerous difficulties with which a translator of the Upanishads, particularly in attempting a complete and faithful translation, has at present to grapple. Some of the difficulties, which existed thirty years ago, have been removed since by the general progress of Vedic scholarship, and by the editions of texts and commentaries and translations of Upanishads, many of which were known at that time in manuscript only. But I fully agree with M. Regnaud as to the *difficultés considérables que les meilleures traductions laissent subsister*, and which can be solved only by a continued study of the Upanishads, the *Âraṇyakas*, the *Brâhmanas*, and the *Vedânta-sûtras*.

MEANING OF THE WORD UPANISHAD.

How Upanishad became the recognised name of the philosophical treatises contained in the Veda is difficult to explain. Most European scholars are agreed in deriving

upa-ni-shad from the root sad, to sit down, preceded by the two prepositions ni, down, and upa, near, so that it would express the idea of session, or assembly of pupils sitting down near their teacher to listen to his instruction. In the *Trikāndāśeṣha*, upanishad is explained by *samīpasādāna*, sitting down near a person¹.

Such a word, however, would have been applicable, it would seem, to any other portion of the Veda as well as to the chapters called Upanishad, and it has never been explained how its meaning came thus to be restricted. It is still more strange that upanishad, in the sense of session or assembly, has never, so far as I am aware, been met with. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine, secret doctrine, or is simply used as the title of the philosophic treatises which constitute the *gñānakānda*, the knowledge portion, as opposed to the *karmakānda*, the work or ceremonial portion, of the Veda.

Native philosophers seem never to have thought of deriving upanishad from sad, to sit down. They derive it either from the root sad, in the sense of destruction, supposing these ancient treatises to have received their name because they were intended to destroy passion and ignorance by means of divine revelation², or from the root sad, in the sense of approaching, because a knowledge of Brahman comes near to us by means of the Upanishads, or because we approach Brahman by their help. Another explanation proposed by Saṅkara in his commentary on the *Taittirīya-upanishad* II, 9, is that the highest bliss is contained in the Upanishad (*param sreyo 'syāṁ nishannam*).

These explanations seem so wilfully perverse that it is difficult to understand the unanimity of native scholars. We ought to take into account, however, that very general tendency among half-educated people, to acquiesce in any etymology which accounts for the most prevalent meaning of a word. The *Āraṇyakas* abound in

¹ Pāṇini I, 4, 79, has *upanishatkṛīya*.

² M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 318; Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 92; Regnaud, *Matériaux*, p. 7.

such etymologies, which probably were never intended as real etymologies, in our sense of the word, but simply as plays on words, helping to account somehow for their meaning. The Upanishads, no doubt, were meant to destroy ignorance and passion, and nothing seemed more natural therefore than that their etymological meaning should be that of destroyers¹.

The history and the genius of the Sanskrit language leave little doubt that upanishad meant originally session, particularly a session consisting of pupils, assembled at a respectful distance round their teacher.

With upa alone, sad occurs as early as the hymns of the Rig-veda, in the sense of approaching respectfully² :—

Rig-veda IX, 11, 6. Námasá ít úpa sídata, 'approach him with praise.' See also Rig-veda X, 73, 11 ; I, 65, 1.

In the *Khândogya-upanishad* VI, 13, 1, a teacher says to his pupil, atha má prâtar upasídathâh, 'come to me (for advice) to-morrow morning.'

In the same Upanishad VII, 8, 1, a distinction is made between those who serve their teachers (*pariâaritâ*), and those who are admitted to their more intimate society (*upasattâ*, comm. *samîpagaâ*, *antarañgaâ*, *priyââ*).

Again, in the *Khândogya-upanishad* VII, 1, we read of a pupil approaching his teacher (*upâsasâda* or *upapasâda*), and of the teacher telling him to approach with what he knows, i. e. to tell him first what he has learnt already (*yad vettha tena mopasîda*³).

In the *Sûtras* (*Gobhîlîya Grîhya-sûtra* II, 10, 38) *upasad* is the recognised term for the position assumed by a pupil with his hands folded and his eyes looking up to the teacher who is to instruct him.

It should be stated, however, that no passage has yet been met with in which *upa-ni-sad* is used in the sense of pupils approaching and listening to their teacher. In the

¹ The distinction between possible and real etymologies is as modern as that between legend and history.

² See M. M.'s History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 318.

³ See also *Khand. Up.* VI, 7, 2.

only passage in which upanishasâda occurs (Ait. Âr. II, 2, 1), it is used of Indra sitting down by the side of Visvâ-mitra, and it is curious to observe that both MSS. and commentaries give here upanishasasâda, an entirely irregular form.

The same is the case with two other roots which are used almost synonymously with sad, viz. âs and vis. We find upa + âs used to express the position which the pupil occupies when listening to his teacher, e.g. Pân. III, 4, 72, upâsito gurum bhavân, 'thou hast approached the Guru,' or upâsito gurur bhavatâ, 'the Guru has been approached by thee.' We find pari + upa + âs used with regard to relations assembled round the bed of a dying friend, *Khând. Up. VI, 15*; or of hungry children sitting round their mother, and likened to people performing the Agnihotra sacrifice (*Khând. Up. V, 24, 5*). But I have never met with upa-ni-as in that sense.

We likewise find upa-vis used in the sense of sitting down to a discussion (*Khând. Up. I, 8, 2*), but I have never found upa + ni + vis as applied to a pupil listening to his teacher.

The two prepositions upa and ni occur, however, with pat, to fly, in the sense of flying down and settling near a person, *Khând. Up. IV, 7, 2*; *IV, 8, 2*. And the same prepositions joined to the verb sri, impart to it the meaning of sitting down beneath a person, so as to show him respect: *Brh. Âr. I, 4, 11*. 'Although a king is exalted, he sits down at the end of the sacrifice below the Brahman,' brahmaivântata upanisrayati.

Sad, with upa and ni, occurs in upanishâdin only, and has there the meaning of subject, e.g. Satap. Brâhm. IX, 4, 3, 3, kshatrâya tad visam adhastâd upanishâdinim karoti, 'he thus makes the Vis (citizen) below, subject to the Kshatriya.'

Sometimes nishad is used by the side of upanishad, and so far as we can judge, without any difference of meaning¹.

All we can say therefore, for the present, is that upani-

¹ Mahâbhârata, Sântiparva, 1613.

shad, besides being the recognised title of certain philosophical treatises, occurs also in the sense of doctrine and of secret doctrine, and that it seems to have assumed this meaning from having been used originally in the sense of session or assembly in which one or more pupils receive instruction from a teacher.

Thus we find the word upanishad used in the Upanishads themselves in the following meanings :

1. Secret or esoteric explanation, whether true or false.
2. Knowledge derived from such explanation.
3. Special rules or observances incumbent on those who have received such knowledge.
4. Title of the books containing such knowledge.

I. Ait. Ār. III, 1, 6, 3. 'For this Upanishad, i.e. in order to obtain the information about the true meaning of *Samhitā*, Tārukshya served as a cowherd for a whole year.'

Taitt. Up. I, 3. 'We shall now explain the Upanishad of the *Samhitā*.'

Ait. Ār. III, 2, 5, 1. 'Next follows this Upanishad of the whole speech. True, all these are Upanishads of the whole speech, but this they declare especially.'

Talav. Up. IV, 7. 'As you have asked me to tell you the Upanishad, the Upanishad has now been told you. We have told you the Brāhmi Upanishad,' i.e. the true meaning of Brahman.

In the *Khând. Up.* III, 11, 3, after the meaning of Brahman has been explained, the text says : 'To him who thus knows this Brahma upanishad (the secret doctrine of Brahman) the sun does not rise and does not set.' In the next paragraph brahma itself is used, meaning either Brahman as the object taught in the Upanishad, or, by a slight change of meaning, the Upanishad itself.

Khând. Up. I, 13, 4. 'Speech yields its milk to him who knows this Upanishad (secret doctrine) of the Sāmans in this wise.'

Khând. Up. VIII, 8, 4. When Indra and Viroḍana had both misunderstood the teaching of Pragāpati, he says : 'They both go away without having perceived and without having known the Self, and whoever of these two, whether

Devas or Asuras, will follow this doctrine (upanishad), will perish.'

II. In the *Khând. Up. I, 1*, after the deeper meaning of the Udgîtha or Om has been described, the advantage of knowing that deeper meaning is put forward, and it is said that the sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, with faith, and with the Upanishad, i.e. with an understanding of its deeper meaning, is more powerful.

III. In the Taittiriya-upanishad, at the end of the second chapter, called the Brahmânandavallî, and again at the end of the tenth chapter, the text itself says: Ity upanishad, 'this is the Upanishad, the true doctrine.'

IV. In the Kaushîtaki-upanishad II, 1; 2, we read: 'Let him not beg, this is the Upanishad for him who knows this.' Here upanishad stands for vrata or rahasya-vrata, rule.

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I.

THE *KHĀNDOGYA*-UPANISHAD.

THE *Khândogya*-upanishad belongs to the *Sâma*-veda. Together with the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*, which belongs to the *Yagur*-veda, it has contributed the most important materials to what may be called the orthodox philosophy of India, the *Vedânta*¹, i. e. the end, the purpose, the highest object of the Veda. It consists of eight *adhyâyas* or lectures, and formed part of a *Khândogya-brâhmaṇa*, in which it was preceded by two other *adhyâyas*. While MSS. of the *Khândogya*-upanishad and its commentary are frequent, no MSS. of the whole *Brâhmaṇa* has been met with in Europe. Several scholars had actually doubted its existence, but *Rajendralal Mitra*², in the Introduction to his translation of the *Khândogya*-upanishad, states that in India 'MSS. of the work are easily available, though as yet he has seen no commentary attached to the *Brâhmaṇa* portion of any one of them.' 'According to general accep-

¹ *Vedânta*, as a technical term, did not mean originally the last portions of the Veda, or chapters placed, as it were, at the end of a volume of Vedic literature, but the end, i. e. the object, the highest purpose of the Veda. There are, of course, passages, like the one in the *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka* (ed. *Rajendralal Mitra*, p. 820), which have been misunderstood both by native and European scholars, and where *vedânta* means simply the end of the Veda:—*yo vedâdau svaraḥ prokto vedânte ka pratishṭhitaḥ*, 'the Om which is pronounced at the beginning of the Veda, and has its place also at the end of the Veda.' Here *vedânta* stands simply in opposition to *vedâdau*, and it is impossible to translate it, as *Sâyana* does, by *Vedânta* or *Upanishad*. *Vedânta*, in the sense of philosophy, occurs in the *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka* (p. 817), in a verse of the *Nârâyaṇya*-upanishad, repeated in the *Mundaka*-upanishad III, 2, 6, and elsewhere, *vedântavigñânasunikṣitârthâḥ*, 'those who have well understood the object of the knowledge arising from the *Vedânta*,' not 'from the last books of the Veda;' and *Svetâsvatara*-up. VI, 22, *vedânte paramam guhyam*, 'the highest mystery in the *Vedânta*.' Afterwards it is used in the plural also, e. g. *Kshurikopanishad*, 10 (Bibl. Ind. p. 210), *pundariketi vedânteshu nigadyate*, 'it is called *pundarîka* in the *Vedântas*,' i. e. in the *Khândogya* and other *Upanishads*, as the commentator says, but not in the last books of each Veda. A curious passage is found in the *Gautama-sûtras* XIX, 12, where a distinction seems to be made between *Upanishad* and *Vedânta*. *Sacred Books*, vol. ii, p. 272.

² *Khândogya*-upanishad, translated by *Rajendralal Mitra*, Calcutta, 1862, Introduction, p. 17.

tation,' he adds, 'the work embraces ten chapters, of which the first two are reckoned to be the *Brāhmaṇa*, and the rest is known under the name of *Khândogya-upanishad*. In their arrangement and style the two portions differ greatly, and judged by them they appear to be productions of very different ages, though both are evidently relics of pretty remote antiquity. Of the two chapters of the *Khândogya-brāhmaṇa* ¹, the first includes eight *sûktas* (hymns) on the ceremony of marriage, and the rites necessary to be observed at the birth of a child. The first *sûkta* is intended to be recited when offering an oblation to Agni on the occasion of a marriage, and its object is to pray for prosperity in behalf of the married couple. The second prays for long life, kind relatives, and a numerous progeny. The third is the marriage pledge by which the contracting parties bind themselves to each other. Its spirit may be guessed from a single verse. In talking of the unanimity with which they will dwell, the bridegroom addresses his bride, "That heart of thine shall be mine, and this heart of mine shall be thine ²." The fourth and the fifth invoke Agni, Vāyu, *Kandramas*, and *Sûrya* to bless the couple and ensure healthful progeny. The sixth is a mantra for offering an oblation on the birth of a child; and the seventh and the eighth are prayers for its being healthy, wealthy, and powerful, not weak, poor, or mute, and to ensure a profusion of wealth and milch-cows. The first *sûkta* of the second chapter is addressed to the Earth, Agni, and Indra, with a prayer for wealth, health, and prosperity; the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth are mantras for offering oblations to cattle, the manes, *Sûrya*, and divers minor deities. The seventh is a curse upon worms, insects, flies, and other nuisances, and the last, the concluding mantra of the marriage ceremony, in which a general blessing is invoked for all concerned.'

After this statement there can be but little doubt that

¹ It begins, Om, deva savitaḥ, pra suva yagnam pra suva yagnapatim bhagāya. The second begins, yaḥ prātyām disi sarparāga esha te baliḥ.

² Yad etad dhridayam tava tad astu hridayam mama, Yad idam hridayam mama tad astu hridayam tava.

this Upanishad originally formed part of a Brâhmana. This may have been called either by a general name, the Brâhmana of the *Kândogas*, the followers of the Sâma-veda, or, on account of the prominent place occupied in it by the Upanishad, the Upanishad-brâhmana¹. In that case it would be one of the eight Brâhmanas of the Sâma-veda, enumerated by Kumârila Bhatta and others², and called simply Upanishad, scil. Brâhmana.

The text of the Upanishad with the commentary of Saṅkara and the gloss of Ānandagiri has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The edition can only claim the character of a manuscript, and of a manuscript not always very correctly read.

A translation of the Upanishad was published, likewise in the Bibliotheca Indica, by Rajendralal Mitra.

It is one of the Upanishads that was translated into Persian under the auspices of Dârâ Shukoh³, and from Persian into French by Anquetil Duperron, in his *Oupnekhat*, i. e. *Secretum Tegendum*. Portions of it were translated into English by Colebrooke in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, into Latin and German by F. W. Windischmann, in his *Saṅkara, seu de theologumenis Vedanticorum* (Bonn, 1833), and in a work published by his father, K. J. H. Windischmann, *Die Philosophie im Fortgang der Weltgeschichte* (Bonn, 1827-34). Professor A. Weber has treated of this Upanishad in his *Indische Studien* I, 254; likewise M. P. Regnaud in his *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde* (Paris, 1876) and Mr. Gough in several articles on 'the Philosophy of the Upanishads,' in the *Calcutta Review*, No. CXXXI.

I have consulted my predecessors whenever there was a serious difficulty to solve in the translation of these ancient texts. These difficulties are very numerous, as those know

¹ The same name seems, however, to be given to the adhyâya of the Talavakâra-brâhmana, which contains the Kena-upanishad.

² M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 348. Most valuable information on the literature of the Sâma-veda may be found in Dr. Burnell's editions of the smaller Brâhmanas of that Veda.

³ M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 325.

best who have attempted to give complete translations of these ancient texts. It will be seen that my translation differs sometimes very considerably from those of my predecessors. Though I have but seldom entered into any controversy with them, they may rest assured that I have not deviated from them without careful reflection.

II.

THE TALAVAKĀRA-UPANISHAD.

THIS Upanishad is best known by the name of Kena-upanishad, from its first word. The name of brāhmī-upanishad (IV, 7) can hardly be considered as a title. It means 'the teaching of Brahman,' and is used with reference to other Upanishads also¹. Saṅkara, in his commentary, tells us that this Upanishad forms the ninth adhyāya of a Brāhmaṇa, or, if we take his words quite literally, he says, 'the beginning of the ninth adhyāya is "the Upanishad beginning with the words Keneshitam, and treating of the Highest Brahman has to be taught."' In the eight preceding adhyāyas, he tells us, all the sacred rites or sacrifices had been fully explained, and likewise the meditations (upāsana) on the prāṇa (vital breath) which belongs to all these sacrifices, and those meditations also which have reference to the fivefold and sevenfold Sāmans. After that followed Gâyatra-sāman and the Vamsa, the genealogical list. All this would naturally form the subject of a Sāma-veda-brāhmaṇa, and we find portions corresponding to the description given by Saṅkara in the *Khândogya-upanishad*, e. g. the fivefold Sāman, II, 2 ; the sevenfold Sāman, II, 8 ; the Gâyatra-sāman, III, 12, 1.

Ānandaġṇāna tells us that our Upanishad belonged to the Sākhā of the Talavakāras.

All this had formerly to be taken on trust, because no Brāhmaṇa was known containing the Upanishad. Dr. Burnell, however, has lately discovered a Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma-veda which comes very near the description given by Saṅkara. In a letter dated Tanjore, 8th Dec. 1878, he

¹ See before, p. lxxxiii.

writes : 'It appears to me that you would be glad to know the following about the Kena-upanishad, as it occurs in my MS. of the Talavakâra-brâhmana.

'The last book but one of this Brâhmana is termed Upanishad-brâhmana. It consists of 145 khandas treating of the Gâyatra-sâman, and the 134th is a Vamsa. The Kena-upanishad comprises the 135-145 khandas, or the tenth anuvâka of a chapter. The 139th section begins: âsâ vâ idam agra âsit, &c.

'My MS. of the Talavakâra-brâhmana agrees, as regards the contents, exactly with what Saṅkara says, but not in the divisions. He says that the Kena-upanishad begins the ninth adhyâya, but that is not so in my MS. Neither the beginning nor the end of this Upanishad is noticed particularly.

'The last book of this Brâhmana is the Ârsheya-brâhmana, which I printed last February.

'Among the teachers quoted in the Brâhmana I have noticed both Tândya and Sâtyâyani. I should not be surprised to find in it the difficult quotations which are incorrectly given in the MSS. of Sâyana's commentary on the Rig-veda. The story of Apâlâ, quoted by Sâyana in his commentary on the Rig-veda, VIII, 80, as from the Sâtyâyanaka, is found word for word, except some trivial var. lectiones, in sections 220-221 of the Agnishoma book of the Talavakâra-brâhmana. The Sâtyâyanis seem to be closely connected with the Talavakâra-sâkhâ.'

From a communication made by Dr. Burnell to the Academy (1 Feb. 79), I gather that this Talavakâra-brâhmana is called by those who study it 'Gaiminiya-brâhmana,' after the Sâkhâ of the Sâma-veda which they follow. The account given in the Academy differs on some particulars slightly from that given in Dr. Burnell's letter to me. He writes: 'The largest part of the Brâhmana treats of the sacrifices and the Sâmans used at them. The first chapter is on the Agnihotra, and the Agnishoma and other rites follow at great length. Then comes a book termed Upanishad-brâhmana. This contains 145 sections in four chapters. It begins with speculations on the Gâyatra-

sâman, followed by a *Vamśa*; next, some similar matter and another *Vamśa*. Then (§§ 135-138) comes the *Kena-upanishad* (*Talavakâra*). The last book is the *Ârsheya*. The *Upanishad* forms the tenth *anuvâka* of the fourth chapter, not the beginning of a ninth chapter, as *Saṅkara* remarks.'

The *Kena-upanishad* has been frequently published and translated. It forms part of *Dârâ Shukoh's* Persian, and *Anquetil Duperron's* Latin translations. It was several times published in English by *Rammohun Roy* (*Translations of Several Principal Books, Passages, and Texts of the Veda*, London, 1832, p. 41), in German by *Windischmann*, *Poley*, and others. It has been more or less fully discussed by *Colebrooke*, *Windischmann*, *Poley*, *Weber*, *Röer*, *Gough*, and *Regnaud* in the books mentioned before.

Besides the text of this *Upanishad* contained in the *Brâhmana* of the *Sâma-veda*, there is another text, slightly differing, belonging to the *Atharva-veda*, and there are commentaries on both texts (*Colebrooke*, *Misc. Essays*, 1873, II, p. 80).

III.

THE AITAREYA-ÂRANYAKA.

IN giving a translation of the *Aitareya-upanishad*, I found it necessary to give at the same time a translation of that portion of the *Aitareya-âranyaka* which precedes the *Upanishad*. The *Âranyakas* seem to have been from the beginning the proper repositories of the ancient *Upanishads*, though it is difficult at first sight to find out in what relation the *Upanishads* stood to the *Âranyakas*. The *Âranyakas* are to be read and studied, not in the village (*grâme*), but in the forest, and so are the *Upanishads*. But the subjects treated in the *Upanishads* belong to a very different order from those treated in the other portions of the *Âranyakas*, the former being philosophical, the latter liturgical.

The liturgical chapters of the *Âranyakas* might quite as well have formed part of the *Brâhmanas*, and but for the restriction that they are to be read in the forest, it is difficult to distinguish between them and the *Brâhmanas*. The

first chapter of the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* is a mere continuation of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa, and gives the description of the Mahāvratā, the last day but one of the Gavāmāyana, a sattrā or sacrifice which is supposed to last a whole year. The duties which are to be performed by the Hotṛi priests are described in the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka*; not all, however, but those only which are peculiar to the Mahāvratā day. The general rules for the performance of the Mahāvratā are to be taken over from other sacrifices, such as the Visvagit, *Katurvimsa*, &c., which form the type (*prakṛiti*) of the Mahāvratā. Thus the two sastras or recitations, called *Āgya-prāṅga*, are taken over from the Visvagit, the sastras of the Hotrakas from the *Katurvimsa*. The Mahāvratā is treated here as belonging to the Gavāmāyana sattrā, which is described in a different Sākhā, see Taittirīya *Samhitā* VII, 5, 8, and partly in other Vedas. It is the day preceding the udayanīya, the last day of the sattrā. It can be celebrated, however, by itself also, as an ekāha or ahīna sacrifice, and in the latter case it is the tenth day of the Ekadasarātra (eleven nights sacrifice) called *Pundarīka*.

Sāyana does not hesitate to speak of the Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* as a part of the Brāhmaṇa¹; and a still earlier authority, Saṅkara, by calling the Aitareya-upanishad by the name of *Bahvṛika-brāhmaṇa-upanishad*², seems to imply that both the Upanishad and the *Āraṇyaka* may be classed as Brāhmaṇa.

The Aitareya-*Āraṇyaka* appears at first sight a miscellaneous work, consisting of liturgical treatises in the first, fourth, and fifth *Āraṇyakas*, and of three Upanishads, in the second and third *Āraṇyakas*. This, however, is not the case. The first *Āraṇyaka* is purely liturgical, giving a description of the Mahāvratā, so far as it concerns the Hotṛi priest. It is written in the ordinary Brāhmaṇa style. Then follows the first Upanishad, *Āraṇyaka* II, 1-3, showing

¹ Aitareyabrāhmaṇe 'sti kāṇḍam āraṇyakābhīdham (introduction), a remark which he repeats in the fifth *Āraṇyaka*. He also speaks of the *Āraṇyaka-vratārūpam brāhmaṇam*; see p. cxiv, l. 24.

² In the same manner the Kaushītaki-upanishad is properly called Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, though occurring in the *Āraṇyaka*; see Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, ed. Cowell, p. 30.

how certain portions of the Mahāvratā, as described in the first *Āraṇyaka*, can be made to suggest a deeper meaning, and ought to lead the mind of the sacrificer away from the purely outward ceremonial to meditation on higher subjects. Without a knowledge of the first *Āraṇyaka* therefore the first Upanishad would be almost unintelligible, and though its translation was extremely tedious, it could not well have been omitted.

The second and third Upanishads are not connected with the ceremonial of the Mahāvratā, but in the fourth and fifth *Āraṇyakas* the Mahāvratā forms again the principal subject, treated, however, not as before in the style of the *Brāhmanas*, but in the style of *Sūtras*. The fourth *Āraṇyaka* contains nothing but a list of the Mahānāmni hymns¹, but the fifth describes the Mahāvratā again, so that if the first *Āraṇyaka* may be looked upon as a portion of the Aitareya-brāhmanas, the fifth could best be classed with the *Sūtras* of *Āsvalāyana*.

To a certain extent this fact, the composite character of the Aitareya-*āraṇyaka*, is recognised even by native scholars, who generally do not trouble themselves much on such questions. They look both on the Aitareya-brāhmana and on the greater portion of Aitareya-*āraṇyaka* as the works of an inspired *Rishi*, Mahidāsa Aitareya², but they consider the fourth and fifth books of the *Āraṇyaka* as contributed by purely human authors, such as *Āsvalāyana* and *Saunaka*, who, like other *Sūtrakāras*, took in verses belonging to other *Sākhās*, and did not confine their rules to their own *Sākhā* only.

There are many legends about Mahidāsa, the reputed author of the Aitareya-brāhmana and *Āraṇyaka*. He is

¹ See Boehtlingk and Roth, s.v. 'Neun Vedische Verse die in ihrem vollständigen Wortlaut aber noch nicht nachgewiesen sind.' Weber, *Indische Studien* VIII, 68. How these hymns are to be employed we learn from the *Āsvalāyana-sūtras* VII, 12, 10, where we are told that if the *Udgātṛis* sing the *Sākva Sāman* as the *Prishastotra*, the nine verses beginning with *Vidā maghavan*, and known by the name of *Mahānāmni*, are to be joined in a peculiar manner. The only excuse given, why these *Mahānāmni*s are mentioned here, and not in the *Brāhmana*, is that they are to be studied in the forest.

² M. M., *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 177, 335.

quoted several times as Mahidāsa Aitareya in the *Āraṇyaka* itself, though not in the *Brāhmaṇa*. We also meet his name in the *Khândogya-upanishad* (III, 16, 7), where we are told that he lived to an age of 116 years¹. All this, however, would only prove that, at the time of the composition or collection of these *Āraṇyakas* and *Upanishads*, a sage was known of the name of Mahidāsa Aitareya, descended possibly from Itara or Itarā, and that one text of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Āraṇyakas* of the *Bahvrikas* was handed down in the family of the Aitareyins.

Not content with this apparently very obvious explanation, later theologians tried to discover their own reasons for the name of Aitareya. Thus Sāyana, in his introduction to the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*², tells us that there was once a *Rishi* who had many wives. One of them was called Itarā, and she had a son called Mahidāsa. His father preferred the sons of his other wives to Mahidāsa, and once he insulted him in the sacrificial hall, by placing his other sons on his lap, but not Mahidāsa. Mahidāsa's mother, seeing her son with tears in his eyes, prayed to her tutelary goddess, the Earth (*svīyakuladevatā Bhūmī*), and the goddess in her heavenly form appeared in the midst of the assembly, placed Mahidāsa on a throne, and on account of his learning, gave him the gift of knowing the *Brāhmaṇa*, consisting of forty *adhyāyas*, and, as Sāyana calls it, another *Brāhmaṇa*, 'treating of the *Āraṇyaka* duties' (*āraṇyakavratārūpam brāhmaṇam*).

Without attaching much value to the legend of Itarā, we see at all events that Sāyana considered what we call the *Aitareyāraṇyaka* as a kind of *Brāhmaṇa*, not however the whole of it, but only the first, second, and third *Āraṇyakas* (*atha mahāvratam ityādikam ākāryā ākāryā ityantam*). How easy it was for Hindu theologians to invent such legends we see from another account of Mahidāsa, given by *Ānandatīrtha* in his notes on the *Aitareya-upani-*

¹ Not 1600 years, as I printed by mistake; for 24 + 44 + 48 make 116 years. Rajendralal Mitra should not have corrected his right rendering 116 into 1600. Ait. Ār. Introduction, p. 3.

² M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 336.

shad. He, as Colebrooke was the first to point out, takes Mahidāsa 'to be an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa, proceeding from Visāla, son of Abga,' and he adds, that on the sudden appearance of this deity at a solemn celebration, the whole assembly of gods and priests (suraviprasaṅha) fainted, but at the intercession of Brahmā, they were revived, and after making their obeisance, they were instructed in holy science. This avatāra was called Mahidāsa, because those venerable personages (mahin) declared themselves to be his slaves (dāsa) ¹.

In order properly to understand this legend, we must remember that Ānandatīrtha, or rather Visvesvaratīrtha, whose commentary he explains, treated the whole of the Mahaitareya-upanishad from a Vaishṇava point of view, and that his object was to identify Mahidāsa with Nārāyaṇa. He therefore represents Nārāyaṇa or Hari as the avatāra of Visāla, the son of Brahman (abgasuta), who appeared at a sacrifice, as described before, who received then and there the name of Mahidāsa (or Mahidāsa), and who taught this Upanishad. Any other person besides Mahidāsa would have been identified with the same ease by Visvesvaratīrtha with Vishṇu or Bhagavat.

A third legend has been made up out of these two by European scholars who represent Mahidāsa as the son of Visāla and Itarā, two persons who probably never met before, for even the Vaishṇava commentator does not attempt to take liberties with the name of Aitareya, but simply states that the Upanishad was called Aitareyī, from Aitareya.

Leaving these legends for what they are worth, we may at all events retain the fact that, whoever was the author of the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa and the first three books of the Aitareya-āraṇyaka, was not the author of the two concluding Āraṇyakas. And this is confirmed in different ways. Sāyana, when quoting in his commentary on the Rig-veda from the last books, constantly calls it a Sūtra of Saunaka, while the fourth Āraṇyaka is specially ascribed

¹ Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, II, p. 42.

to Āsvalāyana, the pupil and successor of Saunaka¹. These two names of Saunaka and Āsvalāyana are frequently intermixed. If, however, in certain MSS. the whole of the Aitareya-Āraṇyaka is sometimes ascribed either to Āsvalāyana or Saunaka, this is more probably due to the colophon of the fourth and fifth Āraṇyakas having been mistaken for the title of the whole work than to the fact that such MSS. represent the text of the Āraṇyaka, as adopted by the school of Āsvalāyana.

The Aitareya-Āraṇyaka consists of the following five Āraṇyakas :

The first Āraṇyaka has five Adhyāyas :

1. First Adhyāya, Atha mahāvratam, has four Khandas, 1-4.
2. Second Adhyāya, Ā tvā ratham, has four Khandas, 5-8.
3. Third Adhyāya, Hīnkāreṇa, has eight² Khandas, 9-16.
4. Fourth Adhyāya, Atha sūdadohāt, has three Khandas, 17-19.
5. Fifth Adhyāya, Vasam samsati, has three Khandas, 20-22.

The second Āraṇyaka has seven Adhyāyas :

6. First Adhyāya, Eshā panthāt, has eight Khandas, 1-8.
7. Second Adhyāya, Esha imam lokam, has four Khandas, 9-12.
8. Third Adhyāya, Yo ha vā ātmānam, has eight (not three) Khandas, 13-20.
9. Fourth Adhyāya, Ātmā vā idam, has three Khandas, 21-23.
10. Fifth Adhyāya, Purushe ha vā, has one Khandā, 24.
11. Sixth Adhyāya, Ko 'yam ātmeti, has one Khandā, 25.
12. Seventh Adhyāya, Vān me manasi, has one Khandā, 26.

The third Āraṇyaka has two Adhyāyas :

13. First Adhyāya, Athātāt samhitāyā upanishat, has six Khandas, 1-6.
14. Second Adhyāya, Prāno vamsa iti sthaviṛāt Sākalyāt, has six Khandas, 7-12.

The fourth Āraṇyaka has one Adhyāya :

15. First Adhyāya, Vidā maghavan, has one Khandā (the Mahā-nāmnī's).

The fifth Āraṇyaka has three Adhyāyas :

16. First Adhyāya, Mahāvratasya pañcavimsatim, has six Khandas, 1-6.
17. Second Adhyāya, (Grīvāt) Yasyedam, has five Khandas, 7-11.
18. Third Adhyāya, (Ūrū) Indrāgni, has four Khandas, 11-14.

¹ M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 235.

² Not six, as in Rajendralal Mitra's edition.

With regard to the Upanishad, we must distinguish between the Aitareya-upanishad, properly so-called, which fills the fourth, fifth, and sixth adhyāyas of the second *Āraṇyaka*, and the Mahaitareya-upanishad¹, also called by a more general name *Bahvṛika-upanishad*, which comprises the whole of the second and third *Āraṇyakas*.

The Persian translator seems to have confined himself to the second *Āraṇyaka*², to which he gives various titles, Sarbsar, Asarbeh, Antrteheh. That Antrteheh انترتبه is a misreading of ايتربه was pointed out long ago by Burnouf, and the same explanation applies probably to اسربه, asarbeh, and if to that, then to Sarbsar also. No explanation has ever been given why the Aitareya-upanishad should have been called Sarvasāra, which Professor Weber thinks was corrupted into Sarbsar. At all events the Aitareya-upanishad is not the Sarvasāra-upanishad, the Oupnek'hat Sarb, more correctly called Sarvopanishatsāra, and ascribed either to the Taittirīyaka or to the Atharva-veda³.

The Aitareya-upanishad, properly so called, has been edited and translated in the Bibliotheca Indica by Dr. Röer. The whole of the Aitareya-*āraṇyaka* with Śāyana's commentary was published in the same series by Rajendral Mitra.

Though I have had several MSS. of the text and commentary at my disposal, I have derived little aid from them, but have throughout endeavoured to restore that text which Śaṅkara (the pupil of Govinda) and Śāyana had before them. Śāyana, for the Upanishad portion, follows Śaṅkara's commentary, of which we have a gloss by Ānandagñāna.

Colebrooke in his *Essays* (vol. ii, p. 42) says that he

¹ This may have been the origin of a *Rishi Mahaitareya*, by the side of the *Rishi Aitareya*, mentioned in the *Āsvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtras* III, 4 (ed. Stenzler). Professor Weber takes Aitareya and Mahaitareya here as names of works, but he admits that in the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihya-sūtras* they are clearly names of *Rishis* (Ind. Stud. I, p. 389).

² He translates II, 1-II, 3, 4, leaving out the rest of the third adhyāya; afterwards II, 4-II, 7.

³ Bibliotheca Indica, the *Atharvāna-upanishads*, p. 394.

possessed one gloss by Nārāyaṇendra on Saṅkara's commentary, and another by Ānandatīrtha on a different gloss for the entire Upanishad. The gloss by Nārāyaṇendra¹, however, is, so Dr. Rost informs me, the same as that of Ānandagñāna, while, so far as I can see, the gloss contained in MS. E. I. H. 2386 (also MS. Wilson 401), to which Colebrooke refers, is not a gloss by Ānandatīrtha at all, but a gloss by Visvesvaratīrtha on a commentary by Ānandatīrthabhagavatpādātārya, also called Pūrṇapragñātārya, who explained the whole of the Mahaitareya-upanishad from a Vaiṣṇava point of view.

IV.

THE KAUSHĪTAKI-BRĀHMAṆA-UPANISHAD.

THE Kaushītaki-upanishad, or, as it is more properly called, the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, belongs, like the Aitareya-upanishad, to the followers of the Rig-veda. It was translated into Persian under the title of Kokhenk, and has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica with Saṅkara's commentary and an excellent translation by Professor Cowell.

Though it is called the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa-upanishad, it does not form part of the Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa in 30 adhyāyas which we possess, and we must therefore account for its name by admitting that the Āraṇyaka, of which it formed a portion, could be reckoned as part of the Brāhmaṇa literature of the Rig-veda (see Aitareya-āraṇyaka, Introduction, p. xcii), and that hence the Upanishad might be called the Upanishad of the Brāhmaṇa of the Kaushītakins².

From a commentary discovered by Professor Cowell it appears that the four adhyāyas of this Upanishad

¹ A MS. in the Notices of Sanskrit MSS., vol. ii, p. 133, ascribed to Abhinavanārāyaṇendra, called Ātmashaḥkabhāshyaḥkā, begins like the gloss edited by Dr. Röer, and ends like Sāyana's commentary on the seventh adhyāya, as edited by Rajendralal Mitra. The same name is given in MS. Wilson 94, Śrīmatkaivalyendrasarasvatīpūgyapādāśishya-śrīmadabhinavanārāyaṇendrasarasvatī.

² A Mahā-kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa is quoted, but has not yet been met with.

were followed by five other adhyâyas, answering, so far as we can judge from a few extracts, to some of the adhyâyas of the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, while an imperfect MS. of an Âraṇyaka in the Royal Library at Berlin (Weber, Catalogue, p. 20) begins, like the Aitareya-âraṇyaka, with a description of the Mahâvrata, followed by discussions on the uktha in the second adhyâya; and then proceeds in the third adhyâya to give the story of K'itra Gâṅgyâyani in the same words as the Kaushîtaki-upanishad in the first adhyâya. Other MSS. again adopt different divisions. In one MS. of the commentary (MS. A), the four adhyâyas of the Upanishad are counted as sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth (ending with ityâraṇyake navamo 'dhyâya/); in another (MS. P) the third and fourth adhyâyas of the Upanishad are quoted as the fifth and sixth of the Kaushîtakyâraṇyaka, possibly agreeing therefore, to a certain extent, with the Berlin MS. In a MS. of the Sâṅkhâyana Âraṇyaka in the Royal Library at Berlin, there are 15 adhyâyas, 1 and 2 corresponding to Ait. Âr. 1 and 5; 3-6 containing the Kaushîtaki-upanishad; 7 and 8 corresponding to Ait. Âr. 3¹. Poley seems to have known a MS. in which the four adhyâyas of the Upanishad formed the first, seventh, eighth, and ninth adhyâyas of a Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa.

As there were various recensions of the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa (the Sâṅkhâyana, Kauthuma, &c.), the Upanishad also exists in at least two texts. The commentator, in some of its MSS., refers to the various readings of the Sâkhâs, explaining them, whenever there seems to be occasion for it. I have generally followed the text which is presupposed by Saṅkarânanda's Dîpikâ, and contained in MSS. F, G (Cowell, Preface, p. v), so far as regards the third and fourth adhyâyas. According to Professor Cowell, Vidyâranya in his Sarvopanishadarthânubhûtiprakâsa followed the text of the commentary, while Saṅkarâçârya, if we may trust to extracts in his commentary on the Vedânta-sûtras, followed the other text, contained in MS. A (Cowell, Preface, p. v).

¹ See Weber, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 50.

The style of the commentator differs in so marked a manner from that of Sañkarākārya, that even without the fact that the author of the commentary on the Kaushîtiki-upanishad is called Sañkarānanda, it would have been difficult to ascribe it, as has been done by some scholars, to the famous Sañkarākārya. Sañkarānanda is called the teacher of Mādhavākārya (Hall, Index, p. 98), and the disciple of Ānandātma Muni (Hall, Index, p. 116).

I have had the great advantage of being able to consult for the Kaushîtiki-upanishad, not only the text and commentary as edited by Professor Cowell, but also his excellent translation. If I differ from him in some points, this is but natural, considering the character of the text and the many difficulties that have still to be solved, before we can hope to arrive at a full understanding of these ancient philosophical treatises.

V.

THE VĀGASANEYI-SAMHITĀ-UPANISHAD.

THE Vāgasaneyi-samhitā-upanishad, commonly called from its beginning, *Īśā* or *Īśāvāsya*, forms the fortieth and concluding chapter of the *Samhitā* of the White Yagur-veda. If the *Samhitās* are presupposed by the *Brāhmanas*, at least in that form in which we possess them, then this Upanishad, being the only one that forms part of a *Samhitā*, might claim a very early age. The *Samhitā* of the White Yagur-veda, however, is acknowledged to be of modern origin, as compared with the *Samhitā* of the Black Yagur-veda, and it would not be safe therefore to ascribe to this Upanishad a much higher antiquity than to those which have found a place in the older *Brāhmanas* and *Āranyakas*.

There are differences between the text, as contained in the Yagur-veda-samhitā, and the text of the Upanishad by itself. Those which are of some interest have been mentioned in the notes.

In some notes appended to the translation of this Upanishad I have called attention to what seems to me

its peculiar character, namely, the recognition of the necessity of works as a preparation for the reception of the highest knowledge. This agrees well with the position occupied by this Upanishad at the end of the *Samhitâ*, in which the sacrificial works and the hymns that are to accompany them are contained. The doctrine that the moment a man is enlightened, he becomes free, as taught in other Upanishads, led to a rejection of all discipline and a condemnation of all sacrifices, which could hardly have been tolerated in the last chapter of the *Yagur-veda-samhitâ*, the liturgical Veda par excellence.

Other peculiarities of this Upanishad are the name *Îs*, lord, a far more personal name for the highest Being than Brahman; the *asurya* (demoniacal) or *asûrya* (sunless) worlds to which all go who have lost their self; *Mâtariśvan*, used in the sense of *prâna* or spirit; *asnâviram*, without muscles, in the sense of incorporeal; and the distinction between *sambhûti* and *asambhûti* in verses 12-14.

The editions of the text, commentaries, and glosses, and the earlier translations may be seen in the works quoted before, p. lxxxiv.

KHÂNDOGYA-UPANISHAD.

KHĀNDOGYA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. LET a man meditate on the syllable² Om, called the udgītha; for the udgītha (a portion of the Sâma-veda) is sung, beginning with Om.

The full account, however, of Om is this:—

2. The essence³ of all beings is the earth, the essence of the earth is water, the essence of water

¹ The *Khândogya-upanishad* begins with recommending meditation on the syllable Om, a sacred syllable that had to be pronounced at the beginning of each Veda and of every recitation of Vedic hymns. As connected with the Sâma-veda, that syllable Om is called udgītha. Its more usual name is *pranava*. The object of the Upanishad is to explain the various meanings which the syllable Om may assume in the mind of a devotee, some of them being extremely artificial and senseless, till at last the highest meaning of Om is reached, viz. Brahman, the intelligent cause of the universe.

² Akshara means both syllable and the imperishable, i.e. Brahman.

³ Essence, *rasa*, is explained in different ways, as origin, support, end, cause, and effect. *Rasa* means originally the sap of trees. That sap may be conceived either as the essence extracted from the tree, or as what gives vigour and life to a tree. In the former case it might be transferred to the conception of effect, in the latter to that of cause. In our sentence it has sometimes the one, sometimes the other meaning. Earth is the support of all beings, water pervades the earth, plants arise from water, man lives by plants, speech is the best part of man, the Rig-veda the best part of speech, the Sâma-veda the best extract from the *Rik*, udgītha, or the syllable Om, the crown of the Sâma-veda.

the plants, the essence of plants man, the essence of man speech, the essence of speech the Rig-veda, the essence of the Rig-veda the Sâma-veda¹, the essence of the Sâma-veda the udgîtha (which is Om).

3. That udgîtha (Om) is the best of all essences, the highest, deserving the highest place², the eighth.

4. What then is the *Rik*? What is the Sâman? What is the udgîtha? This is the question.

5. The *Rik* indeed is speech, Sâman is breath, the udgîtha is the syllable Om. Now speech and breath, or *Rik* and Sâman, form one couple.

6. And that couple is joined together in the syllable Om. When two people come together, they fulfil each other's desire.

7. Thus he who knowing this, meditates on the syllable (Om), the udgîtha, becomes indeed a fulfiller of desires.

8. That syllable is a syllable of permission, for whenever we permit anything, we say Om, yes. Now permission is gratification. He who knowing this meditates on the syllable (Om), the udgîtha, becomes indeed a gratifier of desires.

9. By that syllable does the threefold knowledge (the sacrifice, more particularly the Soma-sacrifice, as founded on the three Vedas) proceed. When the Adhvaryu priest gives an order, he says Om. When the Hotri priest recites, he says Om. When the Udgâtri priest sings, he says Om,

¹ Because most of the hymns of the Sâma-veda are taken from the Rig-veda.

² Parârdhya is here derived from para, highest, and ardha, place. The eighth means the eighth or last in the series of essences.

—all for the glory of that syllable. The threefold knowledge (the sacrifice) proceeds by the greatness of that syllable (the vital breaths), and by its essence (the oblations)¹.

10. Now therefore it would seem to follow, that both he who knows this (the true meaning of the syllable Om), and he who does not, perform the same sacrifice². But this is not so, for knowledge and ignorance are different. The sacrifice which a man performs with knowledge, faith, and the Upanishad³ is more powerful. This is the full account of the syllable Om.

¹ These are allusions to sacrificial technicalities, all intended to show the importance of the syllable Om, partly as a mere word, used at the sacrifices, partly as the mysterious name of the Highest Self. As every priest at the Soma-sacrifices, in which three classes of priests are always engaged, has to begin his part of the ceremonial with Om, therefore the whole sacrifice is said to be dependent on the syllable Om, and to be for the glory of that syllable, as an emblem of the Highest Self, a knowledge of whom is the indirect result of all sacrifices. The greatness of the syllable Om is explained by the vital breaths of the priest, the sacrificer, and his wife; its essence by rice, corn, &c., which constitute the oblations. Why breath and food are due to the syllable Om is explained by the sacrifice, which is dependent on that syllable, ascending to the sun, the sun sending rain, rain producing food, and food producing breath and life.

² He who simply pronounces the syllable Om as part of his recitation at a sacrifice, and he who knows the hidden meaning of that syllable, both may perform the same sacrifice. But that performed by the latter is more powerful, because knowledge is better than ignorance. This is, as usual, explained by some comparisons. It is true that both he who knows the quality of the haritakî and he who does not, are purged alike if they take it. But on the other hand, if a jeweller and a mere clod sell a precious stone, the knowledge of the former bears better fruit than the ignorance of the latter.

³ Upanishad is here explained by yoga, and yoga by devatâdivishayam upâsanam, meditation directed to certain deities. More

SECOND KHANDA¹.

1. Whent he Devas and Asuras² struggled together, both of the race of Pragâpati, the Devas took the udgîtha³ (Om), thinking they would vanquish the Asuras with it.

2. They meditated on the udgîtha³ (Om) as the breath (scent) in the nose⁴, but the Asuras pierced it (the breath) with evil. Therefore we smell by the breath in the nose both what is good-smelling and what is bad-smelling. For the breath was pierced by evil.

3. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as speech, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we speak both truth and falsehood. For speech is pierced by evil.

4. Then they meditated on the udgîtha (Om) as the eye, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. There-

likely, however, it refers to this very upanishad, i.e. to the udgîtha-vidyâ, the doctrine of the secret meaning of Om, as here explained.

¹ A very similar story is told in the *Bṛhad-âraṇyaka* I, 1, 3, 1. But though the coincidences between the two are considerable, amounting sometimes to verbal identity, the purport of the two seems to be different. See *Vedânta-sûtra* III, 3, 6.

² Devas and Asuras, gods and demons, are here explained by the commentator as the good and evil inclinations of man ; Pragâpati as man in general.

³ Udgîtha stands, according to the commentator, for the sacrificial act to be performed by the Udgâtri, the Sâma-veda priest, with the udgîtha hymns ; and as these sacrificial acts always form part of the *Gyotish/oma* &c., these great Soma-sacrifices are really intended. In the second place, however, the commentator takes udgîtha in the sense of Udgâtri, the performer of the udgîtha, which is or was by the Devas thought to be the breath in the nose. I have preferred to take udgîtha in the sense of Om, and all that is implied by it.

⁴ They asked that breath should recite the udgîtha. Comm.

fore we see both what is sightly and unsightly. For the eye is pierced by evil.

5. Then they meditated on the udgītha (Om) as the ear, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we hear both what should be heard and what should not be heard. For the ear is pierced by evil.

6. Then they meditated on the udgītha (Om) as the mind, but the Asuras pierced it with evil. Therefore we conceive both what should be conceived and what should not be conceived. For the mind is pierced by evil.

7. Then comes this breath (of life) in the mouth¹. They meditated on the udgītha (Om) as that breath. When the Asuras came to it, they were scattered, as (a ball of earth) would be scattered when hitting a solid stone.

8. Thus, as a ball of earth is scattered when hitting on a solid stone, will he be scattered who wishes evil to one who knows this, or who persecutes him; for he is a solid stone.

9. By it (the breath in the mouth) he distinguishes neither what is good nor what is bad-smelling, for that breath is free from evil. What we eat and drink with it supports the other vital breaths (i. e. the senses, such as smell, &c.) When at the time of death he² does not find that breath (in the

¹ Mukhya prāṇa is used in two senses, the principal or vital breath, also called śreshṭhā, and the breath in the mouth, also called āsanya.

² According to the commentator, the assemblage of the other vital breaths or senses is here meant. They depart when the breath of the mouth, sometimes called sarvambhari, all-supporting, does no longer, by eating and drinking, support them.

mouth, through which he eats and drinks and lives), then he departs. He opens the mouth at the time of death (as if wishing to eat).

10. *Ângiras*¹ meditated on the *udgtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Ângiras*, i. e. the essence of the members (*angânâṃ rasah*);

11. Therefore *Bṛihaspati* meditated on *udgtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Bṛihaspati*, for speech is *bṛihatī*, and he (that breath) is the lord (*pati*) of speech;

12. Therefore *Ayâsya* meditated on the *udgtha* (Om) as that breath, and people hold it to be *Ayâsya*, because it comes (*ayati*) from the mouth (*âsya*);

13. Therefore *Vaka Dâlbhya* knew it. He was the *Udgâtri* (singer) of the *Naimishya*-sacrificers, and by singing he obtained for them their wishes.

14. He who knows this, and meditates on the syllable Om (the imperishable *udgtha*) as the breath of life in the mouth, he obtains all wishes by singing. So much for the *udgtha* (Om) as meditated on with reference to the body².

¹ The paragraphs from 10 to 14 are differently explained by Indian commentators. By treating the nominatives *aṅgirâs*, *bṛihaspatis*, and *ayâsyas* (here the printed text reads *ayâsyam*) as accusatives, or by admitting the omission of an *iti* after them, they connect paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 with paragraph 12, and thus gain the meaning that *Vaka Dâlbhya* meditated on the breath in the mouth as *Ângiras*, *Bṛihaspati*, and *Ayâsya*, instead of those saints having themselves thus meditated; and that he, knowing the secret names and qualities of the breath, obtained, when acting as *Udgâtri* priest, the wishes of those for whom he sacrificed. *Tena* is difficult to explain, unless we take it in the sense of *tenânusishatā*, taught by him.

² *Adhyâtma* means with reference to the body, not with reference to the self or the soul. Having explained the symbolical

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Now follows the meditation on the udgītha with reference to the gods. Let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as he who sends warmth (the sun in the sky). When the sun rises it sings as Udgātri for the sake of all creatures. When it rises it destroys the fear of darkness. He who knows this, is able to destroy the fear of darkness (ignorance).

2. This (the breath in the mouth) and that (the sun) are the same. This is hot and that is hot. This they call svāra (sound), and that they call pratyāsvara¹ (reflected sound). Therefore let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as this and that (as breath and as sun).

3. Then let a man meditate on the udgītha (Om) as vyāna indeed. If we breathe up, that is prāna, the up-breathing. If we breathe down, that is apāna, the down-breathing. The combination of prāna and apāna is vyāna, back-breathing or holding in of the breath. This vyāna is speech. Therefore when we utter speech, we neither breathe up nor down.

4. Speech is *Rik*, and therefore when a man utters a *Rik* verse he neither breathes up nor down.

meaning of Om as applied to the body and its organs of sense, he now explains its symbolical meaning adhidaivatam, i.e. as applied to divine beings.

¹ As applied to breath, svāra is explained by the commentator in the sense of moving, going out; pratyāsvara, as applied to the sun, is explained as returning every day. More likely, however, svāra as applied to breath means sound, Om itself being called svāra (*Kh. Up. I, 4, 3*), and prasvāra in the *Rig-veda-prātisākhya*, 882. As applied to the sun, svāra and pratyāsvara were probably taken in the sense of light and reflected light.

Rik is Sâman, and therefore when a man utters a Sâman verse he neither breathes up nor down.

Sâman is udgîtha, and therefore when a man sings (the udgîtha, Om) he neither breathes up nor down.

5. And other works also which require strength, such as the production of fire by rubbing, running a race, stringing a strong bow, are performed without breathing up or down. Therefore let a man meditate on the udgîtha (Om) as vyâna.

6. Let a man meditate on the syllables of the udgîtha, i. e. of the word udgîtha. Ut is breath (*prâna*), for by means of breath a man rises (*ut-tishthati*). Gî is speech, for speeches are called *girah*. Tha is food, for by means of food all subsists (*sthita*).

7. Ut is heaven, gî the sky, tha the earth. Ut is the sun, gî the air, tha the fire. Ut is the Sâma-veda, gî the Yagur-veda, tha the Rig-veda¹.

¹ The commentator supplies explanations to all these fanciful etymologies. The heaven is ut, because it is high; the sky is gî, because it gives out all the worlds (*girânât*); earth is tha, because it is the place (*sthâna*) of living beings. The sun is ut, because it is high. The wind is gî, because it gives out fire, &c. (*girânât*); fire is tha, because it is the place (*sthâna*) of the sacrifice. The Sâma-veda is ut, because it is praised as *svarga*; the Yagur-veda is gî, because the gods take the oblation offered with a Yagus; the Rig-veda is tha, because the Sâma verses stand in it. All this is very childish, and worse than childish, but it is interesting as a phase of human folly which is not restricted to the Brahmins of India. I take the following passage from an interesting article, 'On the Ogam Beithluisnin and on Scythian Letters,' by Dr. Charles Graves, Bishop of Limerick. 'An Irish antiquary,' he says, 'writing several hundred years ago, proposes to give an account of the origin of the names of the notes in the musical scale.

"It is asked here, according to Saint Augustine, What is chanting, or why is it so called? Answer. From this word *cantaleua*;

Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself¹, to him who thus knowing meditates on those

and *cantalena* is the same thing as *lenis cantus*, i. e. a soft, sweet chant to God, and to the Virgin Mary, and to all the Saints. And the reason why the word *puince* (*puncta*) is so called is because the points (or musical notes) *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, hurt the devil and puncture him. And it is thus that these points are to be understood: viz. When Moses the son of Amram with his people in their Exodus was crossing the Red Sea, and Pharaoh and his host were following him, this was the chant which Moses had to protect him from Pharaoh and his host—these six points in praise of the Lord:—

“The first point of these, i. e. *ut*: and *ut* in the Greek is the same as *liberat* in the Latin; and that is the same as *saer* in the Gaelic; i. e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from the harm of the devil.

“The second point of them, i. e. *re*: and *re* is the same as *saer*; i. e. O God, deliver us from everything hurtful and malignant.

“The third point, i. e. *mi*: and *mi* in the Greek is the same as *militum* in the Latin; and that is the same as *ridere* (a knight) in the Gaelic; i. e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from those knights who are pursuing us.

“The fourth point, i. e. *fa*: and *fa* in the Greek is the same as *famulus* in the Latin; and that is the same as *mug* (slave) in the Gaelic; i. e. O God, said Moses, deliver us from those slaves who are pursuing us.

“The fifth point, i. e. *sol*: and *sol* is the same as *grian* (sun); and that is the same as righteousness; because righteousness and Christ are not different; i. e. O Christ, said Moses, deliver us.

“The sixth point, i. e. *la*, is the same as *lav*; and that is the same as *indail* (wash); i. e. O God, said Moses, wash away our sins from us.

“And on the singing of that laud Pharaoh and his host were drowned.

“Understand, O man, that in whatever place this laud, i. e. this chant, is sung, the devil is bound by it, and his power is extirpated thence, and the power of God is called in.”

‘We have been taught that the names of the first six notes

¹ The milk of speech consists in rewards to be obtained by the Rig-veda, &c. Or we may translate, Speech yields its milk to him who is able to milk speech.

syllables of the name of udgîtha, he becomes rich in food and able to eat food.

8. Next follows the fulfilment of prayers. Let a man thus meditate on the *Upasarānas*, i. e. the objects which have to be approached by meditation: Let him (the *Udgâtri*) quickly reflect on the *Sâman* with which he is going to praise;

9. Let him quickly reflect on the *Rik* in which that *Sâman* occurs; on the *Rîshi* (poet) by whom it was seen or composed; on the *Devatâ* (object) which he is going to praise;

10. On the metre in which he is going to praise; on the tune with which he is going to sing for himself;

11. On the quarter of the world which he is going to praise. Lastly, having approached himself (his name, family, &c.) by meditation, let him sing the hymn of praise, reflecting on his desire, and avoiding all mistakes in pronunciation, &c. Quickly¹ will the desire be then fulfilled to him, for the sake of which he may have offered his hymn of praise, yea, for which he may have offered his hymn of praise².

in the gamut were suggested by the initial syllables of the first six hemistichs in one of the stanzas of a hymn to St. John:

Ut queant laxis
Resonare fibris
Mira gestorum
Famuli tuorum,
Solve polluti
Labii reatum,
 Sancte *Ioannes*.'

¹ *Abhyâso* ha yat, lit. depend on it that it will be fulfilled, but always explained by quickly. See *Kh. Up.* II, 1, 4; III, 19, 4; V, 10, 7. Frequently, but wrongly, written with a dental s.

² The repetition of the last sentence is always an indication that a chapter is finished. This old division into chapters is of great importance for a proper study of the Upanishads.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the syllable Om, for the udgītha is sung beginning with Om. And this is the full account of the syllable Om :—

2. The Devas, being afraid of death, entered upon (the performance of the sacrifice prescribed in) the threefold knowledge (the three Vedas). They covered themselves with the metrical hymns. Because they covered (*khad*) themselves with the hymns, therefore the hymns are called *khandas*.

3. Then, as a fisherman might observe a fish in the water, Death observed the Devas in the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman*-(sacrifices). And the Devas seeing this, rose from the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman*-sacrifices, and entered the Svара¹, i. e. the Om (they meditated on the Om).

4. When a man has mastered the Rig-veda, he says quite loud Om; the same, when he has mastered the *Sâman* and the *Yagus*. This Svара is the imperishable (syllable), the immortal, free from fear. Because the Devas entered it, therefore they became immortal, and free from fear.

5. He who knowing this loudly pronounces (*pranauti*)² that syllable, enters the same (imperishable) syllable, the Svара, the immortal, free from fear, and having entered it, becomes immortal, as the Devas are immortal.

¹ Cf. I, 3, 2.

² *Pranauti*, he lauds, i. e. he meditates on. Comm.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The udgītha is the *praṇava*¹, the *praṇava* is the udgītha. And as the udgītha is the sun², so is the *praṇava*, for he (the sun) goes sounding Om.

2. 'Him I sang praises to, therefore art thou my only one,' thus said Kaushītaki to his son. 'Do thou revolve his rays, then thou wilt have many sons.' So much in reference to the Devas.

3. Now with reference to the body. Let a man meditate on the udgītha as the breath (in the mouth), for he goes sounding Om³.

4. 'Him I sang praises to, therefore art thou my only son,' thus said Kaushītaki to his son. 'Do thou therefore sing praises to the breath as manifold, if thou wishest to have many sons.'

5. He who knows that the udgītha is the *praṇava*, and the *praṇava* the udgītha, rectifies from the seat of the *Hotri* priest any mistake committed by the *Udgātri* priest in performing the udgītha, yea, in performing the udgītha.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. The *Rik* (veda) is this earth, the *Sāman* (veda) is fire. This *Sāman* (fire) rests on that *Rik* (earth)⁴. Therefore the *Sāman* is sung as resting on the *Rik*.

¹ *Praṇava* is the name used chiefly by the followers of the Rig-veda, udgītha the name used by the followers of the Sāma-veda. Both words are intended for the syllable Om.

² Cf. *Kṛ. Up.* I, 3, 1.

³ The breath in the mouth, or the chief breath, says Om, i. e. gives permission to the five senses to act, just as the sun, by saying Om, gives permission to all living beings to move about.

⁴ The Sāma verses are mostly taken from the Rig-veda.

Sâ is this earth, ama is fire, and that makes Sâma.

2. The *Rik* is the sky, the Sâman air. This Sâman (air) rests on that *Rik* (sky). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the sky, ama the air, and that makes Sâma.

3. *Rik* is heaven, Sâman the sun. This Sâman (sun) rests on that *Rik* (heaven). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is heaven, ama the sun, and that makes Sâma.

4. *Rik* is the stars, Sâman the moon. This Sâman (moon) rests on that *Rik* (stars). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the stars, ama the moon, and that makes Sâma.

5. *Rik* is the white light of the sun, Sâman the blue exceeding darkness¹ (in the sun). This Sâman (darkness) rests on that *Rik* (brightness). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*.

6. Sâ is the white light of the sun, ama the blue exceeding darkness, and that makes Sâma.

Now that golden² person, who is seen within the sun, with golden beard and golden hair, golden altogether to the very tips of his nails,

7. Whose eyes are like blue lotus's³, his name is ut, for he has risen (udita) above all evil. He also who knows this, rises above all evil.

8. *Rik* and Sâman are his joints, and therefore he is udgîtha. And therefore he who praises him

¹ The darkness which is seen by those who can concentrate their sight on the sun.

² Bright as gold.

³ The colour of the lotus is described by a comparison with the Kapyâsa, the seat of the monkey (kapirish/hânto yena upavisati). It was probably a botanical name.

(the ut) is called the Ud-gâtri¹ (the out-singer). He (the golden person, called ut) is lord of the worlds beyond that (sun), and of all the wishes of the Devas (inhabiting those worlds). So much with reference to the Devas.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Now with reference to the body. *Rik* is speech, Sâman breath². This Sâman (breath) rests on that *Rik* (speech). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is speech, ama is breath, and that makes Sâma.

2. *Rik* is the eye, Sâman the self³. This Sâman (shadow) rests on that *Rik* (eye). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the eye, ama the self, and that makes Sâma.

3. *Rik* is the ear, Sâman the mind. This Sâman (mind) rests on that *Rik* (ear). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the ear, ama the mind, and that makes Sâma.

4. *Rik* is the white light of the eye, Sâman the blue exceeding darkness. This Sâman (darkness) rests on the *Rik* (brightness). Therefore the Sâman is sung as resting on the *Rik*. Sâ is the white light of the eye, ama the blue exceeding darkness, and that makes Sâma.

5. Now the person who is seen in the eye, he is *Rik*, he is Sâman, Uktha⁴, Yagus, Brahman. The form of that person (in the eye) is the same⁵ as the

¹ Name of the principal priest of the Sâma-veda.

² Breath in the nose, sense of smelling. Comm.

³ The shadow-self, the likeness or image thrown upon the eye; see *Kh. Up. VIII, 9, 1*.

⁴ A set of hymns to be recited, whereas the Sâman is sung, and the Yagus muttered.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up. I, 6, 6*.

form of the other person (in the sun), the joints of the one (*Riḥ* and *Sāman*) are the joints of the other, the name of the one (ut) is the name of the other.

6. He is lord of the worlds beneath that (the self in the eye), and of all the wishes of men. Therefore all who sing to the *vīṇā* (lyre), sing him, and from him also they obtain wealth.

7. He who knowing this sings a *Sāman*, sings to both (the *adhidaivata* and *adhyātma* self, the person in the sun and the person in the eye, as one and the same person). He obtains through the one, yea, he obtains the worlds beyond that, and the wishes of the *Devas*;

8. And he obtains through the other the worlds beneath that, and the wishes of men.

Therefore an *Udgātri* priest who knows this, may say (to the sacrificer for whom he officiates);

9. 'What wish shall I obtain for you by my songs?' For he who knowing this sings a *Sāman* is able to obtain wishes through his song, yea, through his song.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. There were once three men, well-versed in *udgītha*¹, *Silaka Sālāvātya*, *Kaikitāyana Dālbhya*, and *Pravāhana Gaivali*. They said: 'We are well-versed in *udgītha*. Let us have a discussion on *udgītha*.'

2. They all agreed and sat down. Then *Pravāhana Gaivali*² said: 'Sirs, do you both speak first,

¹ Cognisant of the deeper meanings of *udgītha*, i. e. Om.

² He, though not being a *Brāhmaṇa*, turns out to be the only one who knows the true meaning of *udgītha*, i. e. the Highest Brahman.

for I wish to hear what two Brâhmanas¹ have to say.'

3. Then Silaka Sâlâvatya said to Kaikitâyana Dâlbhya : 'Let me ask you.'

'Ask,' he replied.

4. 'What is the origin of the Sâman?' 'Tone (svara),' he replied.

'What is the origin of tone?' 'Breath,' he replied.

'What is the origin of breath?' 'Food,' he replied.

'What is the origin of food?' 'Water,' he replied.

5. 'What is the origin of water?' 'That world (heaven),' he replied.

'And what is the origin of that world?'—

He replied: 'Let no man carry the Sâman beyond the world of svarga (heaven). We place (recognise) the Sâman in the world of svarga, for the Sâman is extolled as svarga (heaven).'

6. Then said Silaka Sâlâvatya to Kaikitâyana Dâlbhya: 'O Dâlbhya, thy Sâman is not firmly established. And if any one were to say, Your head shall fall off (if you be wrong), surely your head would now fall.'

7. 'Well then, let me know this from you, Sir,' said Dâlbhya.

'Know it,' replied Silaka Sâlâvatya.

'What is the origin of that world (heaven)?' 'This world,' he replied.

'And what is the origin of this world?'—

He replied: 'Let no man carry the Sâman beyond this world as its rest. We place the Sâman

¹ In V, 3, 5, Pravâhaya Gaivali is distinctly called a râganyabandhu.

in this world as its rest, for the Sâman is extolled as rest.'

8. Then said Pravâhana Gaivali to Silaka Sâlâvatya : 'Your Sâman (the earth), O Sâlâvatya, has an end. And if any one were to say, Your head shall fall off (if you be wrong), surely your head would now fall.'

'Well then, let me know this from you, Sir,' said Sâlâvatya.

'Know it,' replied Gaivali.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'What is the origin of this world?' 'Ether¹,' he replied. For all these beings take their rise from the ether, and return into the ether. Ether is older than these, ether is their rest.

2. He is indeed the udgtha (Om = Brahman), greater than great (parovarīyas), he is without end.

He who knowing this meditates on the udgtha, the greater than great, obtains what is greater than great, he conquers the worlds which are greater than great.

3. Atidhanvan Saunaka, having taught this udgtha to Udara-sândilya, said : 'As long as they will know in your family this udgtha, their life in this world will be greater than great.'

4. 'And thus also will be their state in the other world.' He who thus knows the udgtha, and meditates on it thus, his life in this world will be greater than great, and also his state in the other world, yea, in the other world.

¹ Ether, or we might translate it by space, both being intended, however, as names or symbols of the Highest Brahman. See Vedânta-sûtra I, 1, 22.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. When the Kurus had been destroyed by (hail) stones¹, Ushasti Kākṛāyana lived as a beggar with his virgin² wife at Ibhyagrāma.

2. Seeing a chief eating beans, he begged of him. The chief said: 'I have no more, except those which are put away for me here.'

3. Ushasti said: 'Give me to eat of them.' He gave him the beans, and said: 'There is something to drink also.' Then said Ushasti: 'If I drank of it, I should have drunk what was left by another, and is therefore unclean.'

4. The chief said: 'Were not those beans also left over and therefore unclean?'

'No,' he replied; 'for I should not have lived, if I had not eaten them, but the drinking of water would be mere pleasure³.'

5. Having eaten himself, Ushasti gave the remaining beans to his wife. But she, having eaten before, took them and put them away.

6. Rising the next morning, Ushasti said to her: 'Alas, if we could only get some food, we might gain a little wealth. The king here is going to offer a sacrifice, he should choose me for all the priestly offices.'

¹ When they had been killed either by stone weapons, or by a shower of stones, which produced a famine in the land. Comm.

² Āīkī is not the name of the wife of Ushasti, nor does it mean strong enough to travel. Saṅkara explains it as anupagātapayodharādistrivyaṅganā, and Ānandagiri adds, Svairasamāre 'pi na vyabhikārasaṅketi darsayitum āīkyeti viśeṣaṇam. She was so young that she was allowed to run about freely, without exciting any suspicion. Another commentator says, Gr̥hād bahirgantumarhā anupagātapayodharā.

³ Or, according to the commentator, 'water I can get whenever I like.'

7. His wife said to him: 'Look, here are those beans of yours.' Having eaten them, he went to the sacrifice which was being performed.

8. He went and sat down on the orchestra near the Udgâtris, who were going to sing their hymns of praise. And he said to the Prastotri (the leader):

9. 'Prastotri, if you, without knowing¹ the deity which belongs to the prastâva (the hymns &c. of the Prastotri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

10. In the same manner he addressed the Udgâtri: 'Udgâtri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the udgîtha (the hymns of the Udgâtri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

11. In the same manner he addressed the Pratihartri: 'Pratihartri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the pratihâra (the hymns of the Pratihartri), are going to sing it, your head will fall off.'

They stopped, and sat down in silence.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Then the sacrificer said to him: 'I should like to know who you are, Sir.' He replied: 'I am Ushasti Kâkrâyana.'

2. He said: 'I looked for you, Sir, for all these sacrificial offices, but not finding you², I chose others.'

¹ The commentator is at great pains to show that a priest may officiate without knowing the secret meanings here assigned to certain parts of the sacrifice, and without running any risk of punishment. Only, if another priest is present, who is initiated, then the uninitiated, taking his place, is in danger of losing his head.

² Should it be avittvâ, as in I, 2, 9?

3. 'But now, Sir, take all the sacrificial offices.'

Ushasti said : 'Very well ; but let those, with my permission, perform the hymns of praise. Only as much wealth as you give to them, so much give to me also.'

The sacrificer assented.

4. Then the Prastotri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Prastotri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the prastâva, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

5. He said : 'Breath (prâna). For all these beings merge into breath alone, and from breath they arise. This is the deity belonging to the prastâva. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung forth your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me.'

6. Then the Udgâtri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Udgâtri, if you, without knowing the deity which belongs to the udgtha, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

7. He said : 'The sun (âditya). For all these beings praise the sun when it stands on high. This is the deity belonging to the udgtha. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung out your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me.'

8. Then the Pratihartri approached him, saying : 'Sir, you said to me, "Pratihartri, if you, without knowing the deity belonging to the pratihâra, are going to sing it, your head will fall off,"—which then is that deity?'

9. He said : 'Food (anna). For all these beings

live when they partake of food. This is the deity belonging to the pratihāra. If, without knowing that deity, you had sung your hymns, your head would have fallen off, after you had been warned by me¹.

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. Now follows the udgītha of the dogs. Vaka Dālbhya, or, as he was also called, Glāva Maitreya, went out to repeat the Veda (in a quiet place).

2. A white (dog) appeared before him, and other dogs gathering round him, said to him: 'Sir, sing and get us food, we are hungry.'

3. The white dog said to them: 'Come to me to-morrow morning.' Vaka Dālbhya, or, as he was also called, Glāva Maitreya, watched.

4. The dogs came on, holding together, each dog keeping the tail of the preceding dog in his mouth, as the priests do when they are going to sing praises with the Vahishpavamāna hymn². After they had settled down, they began to say Hiñ.

5. 'Om, let us eat! Om, let us drink! Om, may the divine Varuṇa, Praḡāpati, Savitri³ bring us food! Lord of food, bring hither food, bring it, Om!'

¹ There are certain etymological fancies for assigning each deity to a certain portion of the Sāma-veda ceremonial. Thus prāna is assigned to the prastāva, because both words begin with pra. Āditya is assigned to the udgītha, because the sun is ut. Anna, food, is assigned to the pratihāra, because food is taken, pratihriyate, &c.

² This alludes to a ceremony where the priests have to walk in procession, each priest holding the gown of the preceding priest.

³ The commentator explains Varuṇa and Praḡāpati as epithets of Savitri, or the sun, meaning rain-giver and man-protector.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. The syllable Hâu ² is this world (the earth), the syllable Hâi ³ the air, the syllable Atha the moon, the syllable Iha the self, the syllable Î ⁴ is Agni, fire.

2. The syllable Ô is the sun, the syllable E is the Nihava or invocation, the syllable Auhoi ⁵ is the Virve Devas, the syllable Hiñ is Pragâpati, Svava ⁶ (tone) is breath (prâna), the syllable Yâ is food, the syllable Vâg ⁷ is Virâg.

3. The thirteenth stobha syllable, viz. the indistinct syllable Huñ, is the Undefined (the Highest Brahman).

4. Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself to him who knows this Upanishad (secret doctrine) of the Sâmans in this wise. He becomes rich in food, and able to eat food ⁸,—yea, able to eat food.

¹ The syllables here mentioned are the so-called stobhâksharas, sounds used in the musical recitation of the Sâmân hymns, probably to fill out the intervals in the music for which there were no words in the hymns. These syllables are marked in the MSS. of the Sâmâ-veda, but their exact character and purpose are not quite clear.

² A stobha syllable used in the Rathantara Sâmân.

³ Used in the Vâmadevya Sâmân.

⁴ The Sâmân addressed to Agni takes the syllable î as nidhana.

⁵ The stobha syllables used in the Sâmân addressed to the Virve Devas.

⁶ See *Kh. Up.* I, 4, 4.

⁷ The commentator takes vâg as a stobha, as a syllable occurring in hymns addressed to Virâg, and as implying either the deity Virâg or food.

⁸ I.e. wealthy and healthy.

SECOND PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Meditation on the whole¹ of the Sâman is good, and people, when anything is good, say it is Sâman; when it is not good, it is not Sâman.

2. Thus they also say, he approached him with Sâman, i. e. becomingly; and he approached him without Sâman, i. e. unbecomingly.

3. And they also say, truly this is Sâman for us, i. e. it is good for us, when it is good; and truly that is not Sâman for us, i. e. it is not good for us, when it is not good.

4. If any one knowing this meditates on the Sâman as good, depend upon it all good qualities will approach quickly, aye, they will become his own².

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman³ as the five worlds. The hînkâra is the earth, the prastâva the fire, the udgîtha the sky, the pratihâra the sun, the nidhana heaven; so in an ascending line.

2. In a descending line, the hînkâra is heaven,

¹ Hitherto meditation on certain portions only of the Sâma-veda and the Sâma-sacrifice had been enjoined, and their deeper meaning explained. Now the same is done for the whole of the Sâman.

² Cf. *Kk.* Up. III, 19, 4.

³ The five forms in which the Sâman is used for sacrificial purposes. The Sâman is always to be understood as the Good, as Dharma, and as Brahman.

the *prastāva* the sun, the *udgītha* the sky, the *pratihāra* the fire, the *nidhana* the earth.

3. The worlds in an ascending and in a descending line belong to him who knowing this meditates on the fivefold *Sāman* as the worlds ¹.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold *Sāman* as rain. The *hīnkāra* is wind (that brings the rain); the *prastāva* is, 'the cloud is come;' the *udgītha* is, 'it rains;' the *pratihāra*, 'it flashes, it thunders;'

2. The *nidhana* is, 'it stops.' There is rain for him, and he brings rain for others who thus knowing meditates on the fivefold *Sāman* as rain.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold *Sāman* in all waters. When the clouds gather, that is the *hīnkāra*; when it rains, that is the *prastāva*; that which flows in the east ², that is the *udgītha*; that which flows in the west ³, that is the *pratihāra*; the sea is the *nidhana*.

2. He does not die in water ⁴, nay, he is rich in

¹ The commentator supplies some fanciful reasons why each of the five *Sāmans* is identified with certain objects. Earth is said to be the *hīnkāra*, because both always come first. Agni is *prastāva*, because sacrifices are praised in the fire (*prastūyante*). The sky is *udgītha*, because it is also called *gagana*, and both words have the letter *g* in common. The sun is *pratihāra*, because everybody wishes the sun to come towards him (*prati*). Heaven is *nidhana*, because those who depart from here are placed there (*nidhīyante*), &c.

² The Ganges, &c. Comm.

³ The Narmadā, &c. Comm.

⁴ The commentator adds, 'unless he wishes to die in the Ganges.'

water who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as all waters.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman as the seasons. The hiñkâra is spring, the prastâva summer (harvest of yava, &c.), the udgtha the rainy season, the pratihâra autumn, the nidhana winter.

2. The seasons belong to him, nay, he is always in season (successful) who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as the seasons.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman in animals. The hiñkâra is goats, the prastâva sheep, the udgtha cows, the pratihâra horses, the nidhana man.

2. Animals belong to him, nay, he is rich in animals who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sâman as animals.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the fivefold Sâman, which is greater than great, as the prânas (senses). The hiñkâra is smell¹ (nose), the prastâva speech (tongue), the udgtha sight (eye), the pratihâra hearing (ear), the nidhana mind. These are one greater than the other.

2. What is greater than great belongs to him, nay, he conquers the worlds which are greater than

¹ Prâna is explained by ghrâna, smell; possibly ghrâna may have been the original reading. Anyhow, it cannot be the mukhya prâna here, because it is distinctly represented as the lowest sense.

great, who knowing this meditates on the fivefold Sāman, which is greater than great, as the *prānas* (senses).

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Next for the sevenfold Sāman. Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sāman in speech. Whenever there is in speech the syllable *huñ*¹, that is *hiñkāra*, *pra* is the *prastāva*, *ā* is the *ādi*, the first, i. e. Om,

2. Ud is the *udgītha*, *pra* the *pratihāra*, *upa* the *upadrava*, *ni* the *nidhana*.

3. Speech yields the milk, which is the milk of speech itself, to him who knowing this meditates on the sevenfold Sāman in speech. He becomes rich in food, and able to eat food.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. Let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sāman as the sun. The sun is Sāman, because he is always the same (*sama*); he is Sāman because he is the same, everybody thinking he looks towards me, he looks towards me².

2. Let him know that all beings are dependent on him (the sun). What he is before his rising, that is the *hiñkāra*. On it animals are dependent. Therefore animals say *hiñ* (before sunrise), for they share the *hiñkāra* of that Sāman (the sun).

3. What he is when first risen, that is the *prastāva*. On it men are dependent. Therefore men love praise (*prastuti*) and celebrity, for they share the *prastāva* of that Sāman.

¹ These are again the *stobhāksharas*, or musical syllables used in the performance of the Sāman hymns; see p. 22.

² Cf. *Kā. Up. II, 2, 2. Comm.*

4. What he is at the time of the saṅgava¹, that is the âdi, the first, the Om. On it birds are dependent. Therefore birds fly about in the sky without support, holding themselves, for they share the âdi² (the Om) of that Sâman.

5. What he is just at noon, that is the udgtha. On it the Devas are dependent (because they are brilliant). Therefore they are the best of all the descendants of Pragâpati, for they share the udgtha of that Sâman.

6. What he is after midday and before afternoon, that is the pratihâra. On it all germs are dependent. Therefore these, having been conceived (pratihrita), do not fall, for they share the pratihâra of that Sâman.

7. What he is after the afternoon and before sunset, that is the upadrava. On it the animals of the forest are dependent. Therefore, when they see a man, they run (upadravanti) to the forest as a safe hiding-place, for they share the upadrava of that Sâman.

8. What he is when he first sets, that is the nidhana. On it the fathers are dependent. Therefore they put them³ down (nidadhati), for they share the nidhana of that Sâman. Thus a man meditates on the sevenfold Sâman as the sun.

¹ When the sun puts forth his rays, and when the cows are together with their calves, i. e. as Rajendralal Mitra says, after the cows have been milked and are allowed by the cowherds to suckle their young.

² The tertium comparationis is here the â of âdi and the â of âdâya, i. e. holding. The d might have been added.

³ The cakes for the ancestral spirits, or the spirits themselves.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. Next let a man meditate on the sevenfold Sâman which is uniform in itself¹ and leads beyond death. The word hînkâra has three syllables, the word prastâva has three syllables: that is equal (sama).

2. The word âdi (first, Om) has two syllables, the word pratihâra has four syllables. Taking one syllable from that over, that is equal (sama).

3. The word udgîtha has three syllables, the word upadrava has four syllables. With three and three syllables it should be equal. One syllable being left over, it becomes trisyllabic. Hence it is equal.

4. The word nidhana has three syllables, therefore it is equal. These make twenty-two syllables.

5. With twenty-one syllables a man reaches the sun (and death), for the sun is the twenty-first² from here; with the twenty-second he conquers what is beyond the sun: that is blessedness, that is freedom from grief.

6. He obtains here the victory over the sun (death), and there is a higher victory than the victory over the sun for him, who knowing this meditates on the sevenfold Sâman as uniform in itself, which leads beyond death, yea, which leads beyond death.

ELEVENTH KHANDA³.

1. The hînkâra is mind, the prastâva speech, the udgîtha sight, the pratihâra hearing, the nidhana

¹ Âtmasammita is explained by the commentator either as having the same number of syllables in the names of the different Sâmans, or as equal to the Highest Self.

² There are twelve months, five seasons, three worlds, then follows the sun as the twenty-first. Comm.

³ After having explained the secret meaning of the whole Sâma-

breath. That is the Gâyatra Sâman, as interwoven in the (five) prânas¹.

2. He who thus knows this Gâyatra interwoven in the prânas, keeps his senses, reaches the full life, he lives long², becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. The rule of him who thus meditates on the Gâyatra is, 'Be not high-minded.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. The hiñkâra is, he rubs (the fire-stick); the prastâva, smoke rises; the udgîtha, it burns; the pratihâra, there are glowing coals; the nidhana, it goes down; the nidhana, it is gone out. This is the Rathantara Sâman as interwoven in fire³.

2. He who thus knows this Rathantara interwoven in fire, becomes radiant⁴ and strong. He reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. The rule is, 'Do not rinse the mouth or spit before the fire.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1, 2. Next follows the Vâmadevya as interwoven in generation⁵.

veda ceremonial, as it is to be understood by meditation only (dhyâna), he proceeds to explain the secret meaning of the same ceremonial, giving to each its proper name in proper succession (gâyatra, rathantara, &c.), and showing the hidden purport of those names.

¹ Cf. *Kh.* Up. II, 7, 1, where prâna is explained differently. The Gâyatrî itself is sometimes called prâna.

² The commentator generally takes *gyok* in the sense of bright.

³ The Rathantara is used for the ceremony of producing fire.

⁴ *Brahmavarâsa* is the 'glory of countenance' produced by higher knowledge, an inspired look. *Annâda*, lit. able to eat, healthy, strong.

⁵ *Upamantrayate sa hiñkâro, gñapayate sa prastâvañ, striyâ saha*

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Rising, the sun is the *hînkâra*, risen, he is the *prastâva*, at noon he is the *udgîtha*, in the afternoon he is the *pratihâra*, setting, he is the *nidhana*. That is the *Bṛihat Sâman* as interwoven in the sun ¹.

2. He who thus knows the *Bṛihat* as interwoven in the sun, becomes refulgent ² and strong, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the heat of the sun.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The mists gather, that is the *hînkâra*; the cloud has risen, that is the *prastâva*; it rains, that is the *udgîtha*; it flashes and thunders, that is the *pratihâra*; it stops, that is the *nidhana*. That is the *Vairûpa Sâman*, as interwoven in *Parganya*, the god of rain.

2. He who thus knows the *Vairûpa* as interwoven in *Parganya*, obtains all kinds of cattle (*virûpa*), he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the rain.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The *hînkâra* is spring, the *prastâva* summer, the *udgîtha* the rainy season, the *pratihâra* autumn,

sete sa udgîthah, pratistrî saha sete sa pratihârah, kâlam gakkhati tan nidhanam, pâram gakkhati tan nidhanam. Etad vâmadevyam mithune protam. 2. Sa ya evam etad vâmadevyam mithune protam veda, mithunî bhavati, mithunân mithunât pragâyate, sarvam âyur eti, gycg gîvati, mahân pragayâ parubhir bhavati, mahân kîrttyâ. Na kâmkana pariharet tad vratam.

¹ The sun is *bṛihat*. The *Bṛihat Sâman* is to be looked upon as the sun, or the *Bṛihat* has *Âditya* for its deity.

² The same as *brahmavarâkasin*.

the nidhana winter. That is the Vairāga Sāman, as interwoven in the seasons.

2. He who thus knows the Vairāga, as interwoven in the seasons, shines (virāgati) through children, cattle, and glory of countenance. He reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the seasons.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hiṅkāra is the earth, the prastāva the sky, the udgītha heaven, the pratihāra the regions, the nidhana the sea. These are the Sakvarī Sāmans, as interwoven in the worlds¹.

2. He who thus knows the Sakvarīs, as interwoven in the worlds, becomes possessed of the worlds, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of the worlds.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hiṅkāra is goats, the prastāva sheep, the udgītha cows, the pratihāra horses, the nidhana man. These are the Revatī Sāmans, as interwoven in animals.

2. He who thus knows these Revatīs, as interwoven in animals, becomes rich in animals², he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Never complain of animals.'

¹ The Sakvarīs are sung with the Mahānāmns. These are said to be water, and the worlds are said to rest on water.

² Revat means rich.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. The hiñkâra is hair, the prastâva skin, the udgîtha flesh, the pratihâra bone, the nidhana marrow. That is the Yagñâyagñîya Sâman, as interwoven in the members of the body.

2. He who thus knows the Yagñâyagñîya, as interwoven in the members of the body, becomes possessed of strong limbs, he is not crippled in any limb, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Do not eat marrow for a year,' or 'Do not eat marrow at all.'

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

1. The hiñkâra is fire, the prastâva air, the udgîtha the sun, the pratihâra the stars, the nidhana the moon. That is the Râgana Sâman, as interwoven in the deities.

2. He who thus knows the Râgana, as interwoven in the deities, obtains the same world, the same happiness, the same company as the gods, he reaches the full life, he lives long, becomes great with children and cattle, great by fame. His rule is, 'Do not speak evil of the Brâhmanas.'

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

1. The hiñkâra is the threefold knowledge, the prastâva these three worlds, the udgîtha Agni (fire), Vâyu (air), and Âditya (sun), the pratihâra the stars, the birds, and the rays, the nidhana the serpents, Gandharvas, and fathers. That is the Sâman, as interwoven in everything.

2. He who thus knows this Sâman, as interwoven in everything, he becomes everything.

3. And thus it is said in the following verse :
 ' There are the fivefold three (the three kinds of sacrificial knowledge, the three worlds &c. in their fivefold form, i. e. as identified with the hinkâra, the prastâva, &c.), and the other forms of the Sâman. Greater than these there is nothing else besides.'

4. He who knows this, knows everything. All regions offer him gifts. His rule is, ' Let him meditate (on the Sâman), knowing that he is everything, yea, that he is everything'¹.

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA ².

1. The udgîtha, of which a poet said, I choose the deep sounding note of the Sâman as good for cattle, belongs to Agni; the indefinite note belongs to Pragâpati, the definite note to Soma, the soft and smooth note to Vâyû, the smooth and strong note to Indra, the heron-like note to Brihaspati, the dull note to Varuna. Let a man cultivate all of these, avoiding, however, that of Varuna.

2. Let a man sing³, wishing to obtain by his song immortality for the Devas. ' May I obtain by my song oblations (svadhâ) for the fathers, hope for men, fodder and water for animals, heaven for the sacrificer, food for myself,' thus reflecting on these in his mind, let a man (Udgâtri priest) sing praises, without making mistakes in pronunciation, &c.

¹ Here ends the Sâmopâsana.

² These are lucubrations on the different tones employed in singing the Sâman hymns, and their names, such as vinardi, anirukta, nirukta, mridu slakshna, slakshna balavad, krauñka, apadhvanta.

³ It would be better if the first ity âgâyet could be left out. The commentator ignores these words.

3. All vowels (svara) belong to Indra, all sibilants (ûshman) to Pragâpati, all consonants (sparsa) to Mrityu (death). If somebody should reprove him for his vowels, let him say, 'I went to Indra as my refuge (when pronouncing my vowels) : he will answer thee.'

4. And if somebody should reprove him for his sibilants, let him say, 'I went to Pragâpati as my refuge : he will smash thee.' And if somebody should reprove him for his consonants, let him say, 'I went to Mrityu as my refuge : he will reduce thee to ashes.'

5. All vowels are to be pronounced with voice (ghosha) and strength (bala), so that the Udgâtri may give strength to Indra. All sibilants are to be pronounced, neither as if swallowed (agrasta)¹, nor as if thrown out (nirasta)², but well opened³ (vivrita), so that the Udgâtri may give himself to Pragâpati. All consonants are to be pronounced slowly, and without crowding them together⁴, so that the Udgâtri may withdraw himself from Mrityu.

¹ Grâsa, according to the Rig-veda-prâtisâkhya 766, is the stiffening of the root of the tongue in pronunciation.

² Nirâsa, according to the Rig-veda-prâtisâkhya 760, is the withdrawing of the active from the passive organ in pronunciation.

³ The opening, vivrita, may mean two things, either the opening of the vocal chords (kha), which imparts to the ûshmans their surd character (Rig. Prât. 709), or the opening of the organs of pronunciation (karana), which for the ûshmans is asprisham sthitam (Rig. Prât. 719), or vivrita (Ath. Prât. I, 31 ; Taitt. Prât. II, 5).

⁴ Anabhinihita, for thus the commentaries give the reading, is explained by anabhinikshipta. On the real abhinidhâna, see Rig. Prât. 393. The translation does not follow the commentary. The genitive pragâpateh is governed by paridadâni.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. There are three branches of the law. Sacrifice, study, and charity are the first¹,

2. Austerity the second, and to dwell as a Brahma-kārin in the house of a tutor, always mortifying the body in the house of a tutor, is the third. All these obtain the worlds of the blessed; but the Brahmasamstha alone (he who is firmly grounded in Brahman) obtains immortality.

3. Pragāpati brooded on the worlds. From them, thus brooded on, the threefold knowledge (sacrifice) issued forth. He brooded on it, and from it, thus brooded on, issued the three syllables, Bhûh, Bhuvah, Svah.

4. He brooded on them, and from them, thus brooded on, issued the Om. As all leaves are attached to a stalk, so is all speech (all words) attached to the Om (Brahman). Om is all this, yea, Om is all this.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. The teachers of Brahman (Veda) declare, as the Prâtaḥ-savana (morning-oblation) belongs to the Vasus, the Mâdhyandina-savana (noon-libation) to

¹ Not the first in rank or succession, but only in enumerating the three branches of the law. This first branch corresponds to the second stage, the âsrama of the householder. Austerity is meant for the Vânaprastha, the third âsrama, while the third is intended for the Brahma-kārin, the student, only that the naish/hika or perpetual Brahma-kārin here takes the place of the ordinary student. The Brahmasamstha would represent the fourth âsrama, that of the Sannyâsin or parivrâg, who has ceased to perform any works, even the tapas or austerities of the Vânaprastha.

the Rudras, the third Savana (evening-libation) to the Âdityas and the Visve Devas,

2. Where then is the world of the sacrificer? He who does not know this, how can he perform the sacrifice? He only who knows, should perform it¹.

3. Before the beginning of the Prâtaranuvâka (matin-chant), the sacrificer, sitting down behind the household altar (gârhapatya), and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Vasus :

4. 'Open the door of the world (the earth), let us see thee, that we may rule (on earth).'

5. Then he sacrifices, saying: 'Adoration to Agni, who dwells on the earth, who dwells in the world! Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer! That is the world for the sacrificer!'

6. 'I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! (he says, in offering the libation.) Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises. For him the Vasus fulfil the morning-oblation.

7. Before the beginning of the Mâdhyandina-savana, the noon-oblation, the sacrificer, sitting down behind the Âgnidhrtiya altar, and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Rudras :

8. 'Open the door of the world (the sky), let us see thee, that we may rule wide (in the sky).'

9. Then he sacrifices, saying: 'Adoration to

¹ The commentator is always very anxious to explain that though it is better that a priest should know the hidden meaning of the sacrificial acts which he has to perform, yet there is nothing to prevent a priest, who has not yet arrived at this stage of knowledge, from performing his duties.

Vâyu (air), who dwells in the sky, who dwells in the world. Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer! That is the world for the sacrificer!

10. 'I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises. For him the Rudras fulfil the noon-oblation.

11. Before the beginning of the third oblation, the sacrificer, sitting down behind the Âhavantya altar, and looking towards the north, sings the Sâman, addressed to the Âdityas and Visve Devas:

12. 'Open the door of the world (the heaven), let us see thee, that we may rule supreme (in heaven).' This is addressed to the Âdityas.

13. Next the Sâman addressed to the Visve Devas: 'Open the door of the world (heaven), let us see thee, that we may rule supreme (in heaven).'

14. Then he sacrifices, saying: 'Adoration to the Âdityas and to the Visve Devas, who dwell in heaven, who dwell in the world. Obtain that world for me, the sacrificer!'

15. 'That is the world for the sacrificer! I (the sacrificer) shall go thither, when this life is over. Take this! Cast back the bolt!' Having said this, he rises.

16. For him the Âdityas and the Visve Devas fulfil the third oblation. He who knows this, knows the full measure of the sacrifice, yea, he knows it.

THIRD PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. The sun is indeed the honey² of the Devas. The heaven is the cross-beam (from which) the sky (hangs as) a hive, and the bright vapours are the eggs of the bees³.

2. The eastern rays of the sun are the honey-cells in front. The *Rik* verses are the bees, the Rig-veda (sacrifice) is the flower, the water (of the sacrificial libations) is the nectar (of the flower).

3. Those very *Rik* verses then (as bees) brooded over the Rig-veda sacrifice (the flower); and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health⁴.

4. That (essence) flowed forth and went towards the sun⁵. And that forms what we call the red (rohita) light of the rising sun.

¹ After the various meditations on the Sâma-veda sacrifice, the sun is next to be meditated on, as essential to the performance of all sacrifices.

² Everybody delights in the sun, as the highest reward of all sacrifices.

³ I am not certain whether this passage is rightly translated. Rajendralal Mitra speaks of an arched bamboo, whence the atmosphere hangs pendant like a hive, in which the vapours are the eggs. Apûpa means a cake, and may mean a hive. In order to understand the simile, we ought to have a clearer idea of the construction of the ancient bee-hive.

⁴ Annâdya, explained as food, but more likely meaning power to eat, appetite, health. See III, 13, 1.

⁵ The commentator explains: The *Rik* verses, on becoming part of the ceremonial, perform the sacrifice. The sacrifice (the flower), when surrounded by the *Rik* verses (bees), yields its essence, the nectar. That essence consists in all the rewards to be obtained through sacrifice, and as these rewards are to be enjoyed in the

SECOND KHANDA.

1. The southern rays of the sun are the honey-cells on the right. The Yagus verses are the bees, the Yagur-veda sacrifice is the flower, the water (of the sacrificial libations) is the nectar (of the flower).

2. Those very Yagus verses (as bees) brooded over the Yagur-veda sacrifice (the flower); and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the white (sukla) light of the sun.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. The western rays of the sun are the honey-cells behind. The Sâman verses are the bees, the Sâma-veda sacrifice is the flower, the water is the nectar.

2. Those very Sâman verses (as bees) brooded over the Sâma-veda sacrifice; and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the dark (krishna) light of the sun.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. The northern rays of the sun are the honey-cells on the left. The (hymns of the) Atharvângiras are the bees, the Itihâsa-purâna¹ (the reading of the old stories) is the flower, the water is the nectar.

next world and in the sun, therefore that essence or nectar is said to ascend to the sun.

¹ As there is no Atharva-veda sacrifice, properly so called, we have corresponding to the Atharva-veda hymns the so-called fifth

2. Those very hymns of the Atharvângiras (as bees) brooded over the Itihâsa-purâna ; and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth, and went towards the sun. And that forms what we call the extreme dark (*paraḥ krishnam*) light of the sun.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The upward rays of the sun are the honey-cells above. The secret doctrines are the bees, Brahman (the Om) is the flower, the water is the nectar.

2. Those secret doctrines (as bees) brooded over Brahman (the Om) ; and from it, thus brooded on, sprang as its (nectar) essence, fame, glory of countenance, brightness, vigour, strength, and health.

3. That flowed forth, and went towards the sun. And that forms what seems to stir in the centre of the sun.

4. These (the different colours in the sun) are the essences of the essences. For the Vedas are essences (the best things in the world) ; and of them (after they have assumed the form of sacrifice) these (the colours rising to the sun) are again the essences. They are the nectar of the nectar. For the Vedas are nectar (immortal), and of them these are the nectar.

Veda, the Itihâsa-purâna. This may mean the collection of legends and traditions, or the old book of traditions. At all events it is taken as one Purâna, not as many. These ancient stories were repeated at the Asvamedha sacrifice during the so-called Pariplava nights. Many of them have been preserved in the Brâhmanas ; others, in a more modern form, in the Mahâbhârata. See Weber, Indische Studien, I, p. 258, note.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. On the first of these nectars (the red light, which represents fame, glory of countenance, vigour, strength, health) the Vasus live, with Agni at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that (red) colour, and they rise from that colour¹.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Vasus, with Agni at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, too, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west², so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Vasus.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. On the second of these nectars the Rudras live, with Indra at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that white colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Rudras, with Indra at their head, he sees the

¹ This is differently explained by the commentator. He takes it to mean that, when the Vasus have gone to the sun, and see that there is no opportunity for enjoying that colour, they rest; but when they see that there is an opportunity for enjoying it, they exert themselves for it. I think the colour is here taken for the colour of the morning, which the Vasus enter, and from which they go forth again.

² 1. East: Vasus: red: Agni. 2. South: Rudras: white: Indra. 3. West: Âditya: dark: Varuṇa. 4. North: Marut: very dark: Soma. 5. Upward: Sâdhya: centre: Brahman.

nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west, twice as long does it rise in the south and set in the north ; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Rudras.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. On the third of these nectars the Âdityas live, with Varuṇa at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that (dark) colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Âdityas, with Varuṇa at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the south and sets in the north, twice as long does it rise in the west and set in the east ; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Âdityas.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. On the fourth of these nectars the Maruts live, with Soma at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter in that (very dark) colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Maruts, with Soma at their head, he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the west and sets

in the east, twice as long does it rise in the north and set in the south; and so long does he follow the sovereign supremacy of the Maruts.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. On the fifth of these nectars the Sādhyas live, with Brahman at their head. True, the Devas do not eat or drink, but they enjoy by seeing the nectar.

2. They enter into that colour, and they rise from that colour.

3. He who thus knows this nectar, becomes one of the Sādhyas, with Brahman at their head; he sees the nectar and rejoices. And he, having entered that colour, rises again from that colour.

4. So long as the sun rises in the north and sets in the south, twice as long does it rise above, and set below; and so long does he follow the sovereign power of the Sādhyas¹.

¹ The meaning of the five *Khandas* from 6 to 10 is clear, in so far as they are intended to show that he who knows or meditates on the sacrifices as described before, enjoys his reward in different worlds with the Vasus, Rudras, &c. for certain periods of time, till at last he reaches the true Brahman. Of these periods each succeeding one is supposed to be double the length of the preceding one. This is expressed by imagining a migration of the sun from east to south, west, north, and zenith. Each change of the sun marks a new world, and the duration of each successive world is computed as double the duration of the preceding world. Similar ideas have been more fully developed in the *Purānas*, and the commentator is at great pains to remove apparent contradictions between the *Paurānik* and *Vaidik* accounts, following, as *Ānandagīrī* remarks, the *Dravidakārya* (p. 173, l. 13).

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. When from thence he has risen upwards, he neither rises nor sets. He is alone, standing in the centre. And on this there is this verse :

2. 'Yonder he neither rises nor sets at any time. If this is not true, ye gods, may I lose Brahman.'

3. And indeed to him who thus knows this Brahma-upanishad (the secret doctrine of the Veda) the sun does not rise and does not set. For him there is day, once and for all¹.

4. This doctrine (beginning with III, 1, 1) Brahman (m. Hiranyagarbha) told to Pragâpati (Virâg), Pragâpati to Manu, Manu to his offspring (Ikshvâku, &c.) And the father told that (doctrine of) Brahman (n.) to Uddâlaka Âruni.

5. A father may therefore tell that doctrine of Brahman to his eldest son², or to a worthy pupil.

But no one should tell it to anybody else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure, for this doctrine is worth more than that, yea, it is worth more.

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. The Gâyatri³ (verse) is everything whatsoever here exists. Gâyatri indeed is speech, for speech

¹ Cf. *Kh. Up.* VIII, 4, 2.

² This was the old, not the present custom, says Ânandagiri. Not the father, but an âtârya, has now to teach his pupils.

³ The Gâyatri is one of the sacred metres, and is here to be meditated on as Brahman. It is used in the sense of verse, and as the name of a famous hymn. The Gâyatri is often praised as the most powerful metre, and whatever can be obtained by means of the recitation of Gâyatri verses is described as the achievement of the Gâyatri. The etymology of gâyatîrî from gai and trâ is, of course, fanciful.

sings forth (gāya-ti) and protects (trāya-te) everything that here exists.

2. That Gāyatrī is also the earth, for everything that here exists rests on the earth, and does not go beyond.

3. That earth again is the body in man, for in it the vital airs (prāṇas¹, which are everything) rest, and do not go beyond.

4. That body again in man is the heart within man, for in it the prāṇas (which are everything) rest, and do not go beyond.

5. That Gāyatrī has four feet² and is sixfold³. And this is also declared by a *Rik* verse (Rig-veda X, 90, 3):—

6. 'Such is the greatness of it (of Brahman, under the disguise of Gāyatrī⁴); greater than it is the Person⁵ (purusha). His feet are all things. The immortal with three feet is in heaven (i. e. in himself).'

¹ The prāṇas may be meant for the five senses, as explained in *Kh.* I, 2, 1; II, 7, 1; or for the five breathings, as explained immediately afterwards in III, 13, 1. The commentator sees in them everything that here exists (*Kh.* Up. III, 15, 4), and thus establishes the likeness between the body and the Gāyatrī. As Gāyatrī is the earth, and the earth the body, and the body the heart, Gāyatrī is in the end to be considered as the heart.

² The four feet are explained as the four quarters of the Gāyatrī metre, of six syllables each. The Gāyatrī really consists of three feet of eight syllables each.

³ The Gāyatrī has been identified with all beings, with speech, earth, body, heart, and the vital airs, and is therefore called sixfold. This, at least, is the way in which the commentator accounts for the epithet 'sixfold.'

⁴ Of Brahman modified as Gāyatrī, having four feet, and being sixfold.

⁵ The real Brahman, unmodified by form and name.

7. The Brahman which has been thus described (as immortal with three feet in heaven, and as Gâyatri) is the same as the ether which is around us ;

8. And the ether which is around us, is the same as the ether which is within us. And the ether which is within us,

9. That is the ether within the heart. That ether in the heart (as Brahman) is omnipresent and unchanging. He who knows this obtains omnipresent and unchangeable happiness.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. For that heart there are five gates belonging to the Devas (the senses). The eastern gate is the Prâna (up-breathing), that is the eye, that is Âditya (the sun). Let a man meditate on that as brightness (glory of countenance) and health. He who knows this, becomes bright and healthy.

2. The southern gate is the Vyâna (back-breathing), that is the ear, that is the moon. Let a man meditate on that as happiness and fame. He who knows this, becomes happy and famous.

3. The western gate is the Apâna (down-breathing), that is speech, that is Agni (fire). Let a man meditate on that as glory of countenance and health. He who knows this, becomes glorious and healthy.

4. The northern gate is the Samâna (on-breathing), that is mind, that is Parganya (rain). Let a man meditate on that as celebrity and beauty.

¹ The meditation on the five gates and the five gate-keepers of the heart is meant to be subservient to the meditation on Brahman, as the ether in the heart, which, as it is said at the end, is actually seen and heard by the senses as being within the heart.

He who knows this, becomes celebrated and beautiful.

5. The upper gate is the Udâna (out-breathing), that is air, that is ether. Let a man meditate on that as strength and greatness. He who knows this, becomes strong and great.

6. These are the five men of Brahman, the door-keepers of the Svarga (heaven) world. He who knows these five men of Brahman, the door-keepers of the Svarga world, in his family a strong son is born. He who thus knows these five men of Brahman, as the door-keepers of the Svarga world, enters himself the Svarga world.

7. Now that light which shines above this heaven, higher than all, higher than everything, in the highest world, beyond which there are no other worlds, that is the same light which is within man. And of this we have this visible proof¹:

8. Namely, when we thus perceive by touch the warmth here in the body². And of it we have this audible proof: Namely, when we thus, after stopping our ears, listen to what is like the rolling of a carriage, or the bellowing of an ox, or the sound of a burning fire³ (within the ears). Let a man meditate on this as the (Brahman) which is seen and heard.

¹ The presence of Brahman in the heart of man is not to rest on the testimony of revelation only, but is here to be established by the evidence of the senses. Childish as the argument may seem to us, it shows at all events how intently the old Brahmins thought on the problem of the evidence of the invisible.

² That warmth must come from something, just as smoke comes from fire, and this something is supposed to be Brahman in the heart.

³ Cf. Ait. Âr. III, 2, 4, 11-13.

He who knows this, becomes conspicuous and celebrated, yea, he becomes celebrated.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. All this is Brahman (n.) Let a man meditate on that (visible world) as beginning, ending, and breathing¹ in it (the Brahman).

Now man is a creature of will. According to what his will is in this world, so will he be when he has departed this life. Let him therefore have this will and belief :

2. The intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed ; he who embraces all this, who never speaks, and is never surprised,

3. He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

4. He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and who is never surprised, he, my self within the heart, is that Brahman (n.) When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him (that Self). He who has this faith² has no doubt ; thus said *Sândilya*³, yea, thus he said.

¹ Galân is explained by *ga*, born, *la*, absorbed, and *an*, breathing. It is an artificial term, but fully recognised by the Vedânta school, and always explained in this manner.

² Or he who has faith and no doubt, will obtain this.

³ This chapter is frequently quoted as the *Sândilya-vidyâ*, *Vedântasâra*, in it ; *Vedânta-sûtra* III, 3, 31.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. The chest which has the sky for its circumference and the earth for its bottom, does not decay, for the quarters are its sides, and heaven its lid above. That chest is a treasury, and all things are within it.

2. Its eastern quarter is called *Guhû*, its southern *Sahamānā*, its western *Rāgñī*, its northern *Subhûtā*². The child of those quarters is *Vāyu*, the air, and he who knows that the air is indeed the child of the quarters, never weeps for his sons. 'I know the wind to be the child of the quarters, may I never weep for my sons.'

3. 'I turn to the imperishable chest with such and such and such³.' 'I turn to the *Prāna* (life) with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Bhûh* with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Bhuvaḥ* with such and such and such.' 'I turn to *Svaḥ* with such and such and such.'

4. 'When I said, I turn to *Prāna*, then *Prāna* means all whatever exists here—to that I turn.'

5. 'When I said, I turn to *Bhûh*, what I said is, I turn to the earth, the sky, and heaven.'

¹ The object of this section, the *Kosavigñāna*, is to show how the promise made in III, 13, 6, 'that a strong son should be born in a man's family,' is to be fulfilled.

² These names are explained by the commentator as follows: Because people offer libations (*guhvati*), turning to the east, therefore it is called *Guhû*. Because evil doers suffer (*sahante*) in the town of *Yama*, which is in the south, therefore it is called *Sahamānā*. The western quarter is called *Rāgñī*, either because it is sacred to king *Varuṇa* (*rāgan*), or on account of the red colour (*rāga*) of the twilight. The north is called *Subhûtā*, because wealthy beings (*bhūtimat*), like *Kuvera* &c., reside there.

³ Here the names of the sons are to be pronounced.

6. 'When I said, I turn to *Bhuvah*, what I said is, I turn to *Agni* (fire), *Vâyû* (air), *Âditya* (sun).'

7. 'When I said, I turn to *Svah*, what I said is, I turn to the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sâma-veda*. That is what I said, yea, that is what I said.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. Man is sacrifice. His (first) twenty-four years are the morning-libation. The *Gâyatri* has twenty-four syllables, the morning-libation is offered with *Gâyatri* hymns. The *Vasus* are connected with that part of the sacrifice. The *Prânas* (the five senses) are the *Vasus*, for they make all this to abide (*vâsayanti*).

2. If anything ails him in that (early) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prânas*, ye *Vasus*, extend this my morning-libation unto the midday-libation, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prânas* or *Vasus*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

3. The next forty-four years are the midday-libation. The *Trishûbh* has forty-four syllables, the midday-libation is offered with *Trishûbh* hymns. The *Rudras* are connected with that part of it. The *Prânas* are the *Rudras*, for they make all this to cry (*rodanti*).

4. If anything ails him in that (second) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prânas*, ye *Rudras*, extend this my midday-libation unto the third libation, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prânas* or *Rudras*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

5. The next forty-eight years are the third

¹ The object of this *Khanda* is to show how to obtain long life, as promised before.

libation. The *Gagati* has forty-eight syllables, the third libation is offered with *Gagati* hymns. The *Âdityas* are connected with that part of it. The *Prânas* are the *Âdityas*, for they take up all this (*âdadata*).

6. If anything ails him in that (third) age, let him say: 'Ye *Prânas*, ye *Âdityas*, extend this my third libation unto the full age, that I, the sacrificer, may not perish in the midst of the *Prânas* or *Âdityas*.' Thus he recovers from his illness, and becomes whole.

7. *Mahidâsa Aitareya* (the son of *Itarâ*), who knew this, said (addressing a disease): 'Why dost thou afflict me, as I shall not die by it?' He lived a hundred and sixteen years (i. e. 24 + 44 + 48). He, too, who knows this lives on to a hundred and sixteen years.

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. When a man (who is the sacrificer) hungers, thirsts, and abstains from pleasures, that is the *Dîkshâ* (initiatory rite).

2. When a man eats, drinks, and enjoys pleasures, he does it with the *Upasadas* (the sacrificial days on which the sacrificer is allowed to partake of food).

3. When a man laughs, eats, and delights himself, he does it with the *Stuta-sastras* (hymns sung and recited at the sacrifices).

4. Penance, liberality, righteousness, kindness, truthfulness, these form his *Dakshinâs* (gifts bestowed on priests, &c.)

5. Therefore when they say, 'There will be a

¹ Here we have a representation of the sacrifice as performed without any ceremonial, and as it is often represented when performed in thought only by a man living in the forest.

birth,' and 'there has been a birth' (words used at the Soma-sacrifice, and really meaning, 'He will pour out the Soma-juice,' and 'he has poured out the Soma-juice'), that is his new birth. His death is the Avabhṛītha ceremony (when the sacrificial vessels are carried away to be cleansed).

6. Ghora Āngirasa, after having communicated this (view of the sacrifice) to Kṛīṣṇa, the son of Devākt¹—and he never thirsted again (after other knowledge)—said: 'Let a man, when his end ap-

¹ The curious coincidence between Kṛīṣṇa Devakīputra, here mentioned as a pupil of Ghora Āngirasa, and the famous Kṛīṣṇa, the son of Devākt, was first pointed out by Colebrooke, *Miscell. Essays*, II, 177. Whether it is more than a coincidence, is difficult to say. Certainly we can build no other conclusions on it than those indicated by Colebrooke, that new fables may have been constructed elevating this personage to the rank of a god. We know absolutely nothing of the old Kṛīṣṇa Devakīputra except his having been a pupil of Ghora Āngirasa, nor does there seem to have been any attempt made by later Brahmans to connect their divine Kṛīṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva, with the Kṛīṣṇa Devakīputra of our Upanishad. This is all the more remarkable because the author of the *Sāṅgīya-sūtras*, for instance, who is very anxious to find a *śrauta* authority for the worship of Kṛīṣṇa Vāsudeva as the supreme deity, had to be satisfied with quoting such modern compilations as the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, *Atharvasiras*, VI, 9, *brahmaṇyo devakīputro brahmaṇyo madhusūdanaḥ* (see *Sāṅgīya-sūtras*, ed. Ballantyne, p. 36, translated by Cowell, p. 51), without venturing to refer to the Kṛīṣṇa Devakīputra of the *Kīāndogya-upaniṣad*. The occurrence of such names as Kṛīṣṇa, Vāsudeva, Madhusūdana stamps Upanishads, like the *Ātmabodha-upaniṣad*, as modern (Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 101), and the same remark applies, as Weber has shown, to the *Gopālatāpani-upaniṣad* (*Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 183), where we actually find such names as *Sṛīkṛīṣṇa Govinda*, *Gopīganavallabha*, *Devakyām gātaḥ* (p. 38), &c. Professor Weber has treated these questions very fully, but it is not quite clear to me whether he wishes to go beyond Colebrooke and to admit more than a similarity of name between the pupil of Ghora Āngirasa and the friend of the Gopīs.

proaches, take refuge with this Triad¹: "Thou art the imperishable," "Thou art the unchangeable," "Thou art the edge of Prāna." On this subject there are two *Rik* verses (Rig-veda VIII, 6, 30):—

7. 'Then they see (within themselves) the ever-present light of the old seed (of the world, the Sat), the highest, which is lighted in the brilliant (Brahman).' Rig-veda I, 50, 10:—

'Perceiving above the darkness (of ignorance) the higher light (in the sun), as the higher light within the heart, the bright source (of light and life) among the gods, we have reached the highest light, yea, the highest light².'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA³.

1. Let a man meditate on mind as Brahman (n.), this is said with reference to the body. Let a man meditate on the ether as Brahman (n.), this is said with reference to the Devas. Thus both the meditation which has reference to the body, and the meditation which has reference to the Devas, has been taught.

2. That Brahman (mind) has four feet (quarters).

¹ Let him recite these three verses.

² Both these verses had to be translated here according to their scholastic interpretation, but they had originally a totally different meaning. Even the text was altered, *divā* being changed to *divi*, *svaḥ* to *sve*. The first is taken from a hymn addressed to Indra, who after conquering the dark clouds brings back the light of the sun. When he does that, then the people see again, as the poet says, the daily light of the old seed (from which the sun rises) which is lighted in heaven. The other verse belongs to a hymn addressed to the sun. Its simple meaning is: 'Seeing above the darkness (of the night) the rising light, the Sun, bright among the bright, we came towards the highest light.'

³ This is a further elucidation of *Kh.* Up. III, 14, 2.

Speech is one foot, breath is one foot, the eye is one foot, the ear is one foot—so much with reference to the body. Then with reference to the gods, Agni (fire) is one foot, Vâyu (air) is one foot, Âditya (sun) is one foot, the quarters are one foot. Thus both the worship which has reference to the body, and the worship which has reference to the Devas, has been taught.

3. Speech is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Agni (fire) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

4. Breath is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Vâyu (air) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

5. The eye is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with Âditya (sun) as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

6. The ear is indeed the fourth foot of Brahman. That foot shines with the quarters as its light, and warms. He who knows this, shines and warms through his celebrity, fame, and glory of countenance.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. Âditya (the sun¹) is Brahman, this is the doctrine, and this is the fuller account of it :—

In the beginning this was non-existent². It be-

¹ Âditya, or the sun, had before been represented as one of the four feet of Brahman. He is now represented as Brahman, or as to be meditated on as such.

² Not yet existing, not yet developed in form and name, and therefore as if not existing.

came existent, it grew. It turned into an egg¹. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold.

2. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yoke) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea.

3. And what was born from it that was Āditya, the sun. When he was born shouts of hurrah arose, and all beings arose, and all things which they desired. Therefore whenever the sun rises and sets, shouts of hurrah arise, and all beings arise, and all things which they desire.

4. If any one knowing this meditates on the sun as Brahman, pleasant shouts will approach him and will continue, yea, they will continue.

FOURTH PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA².

1. There lived once upon a time Gānasruti Pau-trāyana (the great-grandson of Ganasruta), who was a pious giver, bestowing much wealth upon the

¹ *Ānda* instead of *anda* is explained as a Vedic irregularity. A similar cosmogony is given in Manu's Law Book, I, 12 seq. See Kellgren, *Mythus de ovo mundano*, Helsingfors, 1849.

² *Vāyu* (air) and *Prāna* (breath) had before been represented as feet of Brahman, as the second pair. Now they are represented as Brahman, and as to be meditated on as such. This is the teaching of Raikva. The language of this chapter is very obscure, and I am not satisfied with the translation.

people, and always keeping open house. He built places of refuge everywhere, wishing that people should everywhere eat of his food.

2. Once in the night some *Hamsas* (flamingoes) flew over his house, and one flamingo said to another: 'Hey, *Bhalláksha*, *Bhalláksha* (short-sighted friend). The light (glory) of *Gânasruti Pautráyana* has spread like the sky. Do not go near, that it may not burn thee.'

3. The other answered him: 'How can you speak of him, being what he is (a *râganya*, noble), as if he were like *Raikva* with the car¹?''

4. The first replied: 'How is it with this *Raikva* with the car of whom thou speakest?'

The other answered: 'As (in a game of dice) all the lower casts² belong to him who has conquered with the *Kṛita* cast, so whatever good deeds other people perform, belong to that *Raikva*. He who knows what he knows, he is thus spoken of by me.'

5. *Gânasruti Pautráyana* overheard this conversation, and as soon as he had risen in the morning, he said to his door-keeper (*kshattrî*): 'Friend, dost thou speak of (me, as if I were) *Raikva* with the car?'

He replied: 'How is it with this *Raikva* with the car?'

6. The king said: 'As (in a game of dice), all the lower casts belong to him who has conquered with the *Kṛita* cast, so whatever good deeds other people perform, belong to that *Raikva*. He who knows what he knows, he is thus spoken of by me.'

¹ *Sayugvan* is explained as possessed of a car with yoked horses or oxen. Could it have meant originally, 'yoke-fellow, equal,' as in *Rig-veda* X, 130, 4? *Anquetil* renders it by 'semper cum se ipso camelum solutum habens.'

² Instead of *adhareyâh*, we must read *adhare 'yâh*.

7. The door-keeper went to look for Raikva, but returned saying, 'I found him not.' Then the king said: 'Alas! where a Brāhmaṇa should be searched for (in the solitude of the forest), there go for him.'

8. The door-keeper came to a man who was lying beneath a car and scratching his sores¹. He addressed him, and said: 'Sir, are you Raikva with the car?'

He answered: 'Here I am.'

Then the door-keeper returned, and said: 'I have found him.'

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Then Gānasruti Pautrāyana took six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules, went to Raikva and said:

2. 'Raikva, here are six hundred cows, a necklace, and a carriage with mules; teach me the deity which you worship.'

3. The other replied: 'Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sūdra, together with the cows.'

Then Gānasruti Pautrāyana took again a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, and his own daughter, and went to him.

4. He said to him: 'Raikva, there are a thousand cows, a necklace, a carriage with mules, this wife, and this village in which thou dwellest. Sir, teach me!'

5. He, opening her mouth², said: 'You have

¹ It is curious that in a hymn of the Atharva-veda (V, 22, 5, 8) takman, apparently a disease of the skin, is relegated to the Mahāvṛiṣhas, where Raikva dwelt. Roth, Zur Literatur des Veda, p. 36.

² To find out her age. The commentator translates, 'Raikva, knowing her mouth to be the door of knowledge, i. e. knowing that for her he might impart his knowledge to Gānasruti, and that

brought these (cows and other presents), O Sûdra, but only by that mouth did you make me speak.'

These are the Raikva-parva villages in the country of the Mahâvrihas (mahâpurîyas) where Raikva dwelt under him¹. And he said to him :

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'Air (vâyu) is indeed the end of all². For when fire goes out, it goes into air. When the sun goes down, it goes into air. When the moon goes down, it goes into air.

2. 'When water dries up, it goes into air. Air indeed consumes them all. So much with reference to the Devas.

3. 'Now with reference to the body. Breath (prâna) is indeed the end of all. When a man sleeps, speech goes into breath, so do sight, hearing, and mind. Breath indeed consumes them all.

4. 'These are the two ends, air among the Devas, breath among the senses (prânâh).'

5. Once while Saunaka Kâpeya and Abhipratârin Kâkshaseni were being waited on at their meal, a religious student begged of them. They gave him nothing.

6. He said: 'One god—who is he?—swallowed the four great ones³, he, the guardian of the world.

Gânasruti by bringing such rich gifts had become a proper receiver of knowledge, consented to do what he had before refused.'

¹ The commentator supplies adât, the king gave the villages to him.

² Samvarga, absorption, whence samvargavidyâ, not samsarga. It is explained by samvargana, samgrahana, and samgrasana, in the text itself by adana, eating.

³ This must refer to Vâyu and Prâna swallowing the four, as explained in IV, 3, 2, and IV, 3, 3. The commentator explains

O Kâpeya, mortals see him not, O Abhipratârin, though he dwells in many places. He to whom this food belongs, to him it has not been given¹.

7. Saunaka Kâpeya, pondering on that speech, went to the student and said : 'He is the self of the Devas, the creator of all beings, with golden tusks, the eater, not without intelligence. His greatness is said to be great indeed, because, without being eaten, he eats even what is not food². Thus do we, O Brahmaârin, meditate on that Being.' Then he said : 'Give him food.'

8. They gave him food. Now these five (the eater Vâyu (air), and his food, Agni (fire), Âditya (sun), Kândramas (moon), Ap (water)) and the other five (the eater Prâna (breath), and his food, speech, sight, hearing, mind) make ten, and that is the *Kṛita* (the highest³) cast (representing the ten, the eaters and the food). Therefore in all quarters those ten are food (and) *Kṛita* (the highest cast). These are again the *Virâg*⁴ (of ten syllables)

it by Pragâpati, who is sometimes called Ka. In one sense it would be Brahman, as represented by Vâyu and Prâna.

¹ The food which you have refused to me, you have really refused to Brahman.

² Saunaka wishes the student to understand that though 'mortals see him not,' he sees and knows him, viz. the god who, as Vâyu, swallows all the gods, but produces them again, and who, as prâna, swallows during sleep all senses, but produces them again at the time of waking.

³ The words are obscure, and the commentator does not throw much light on them. He explains, however, the four casts of the dice, the *Kṛita*=4, the *Tretâ*=3, the *Dvâpara*=2, the *Kali*=1, making together 10, the *Kṛita* cast absorbing the other casts, and thus counting ten.

⁴ *Virâg*, name of a metre of ten syllables, and also a name of food. One expects, 'which is the food and eats the food.'

which eats the food. Through this all this becomes seen. He who knows this sees all this and becomes an eater of food, yea, he becomes an eater of food.

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. Satyakâma, the son of Gabâlâ, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmaçârin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant (waiting on the guests in my father's house), I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma (Philaethes). Say that thou art Satyakâma Gâbâla.'

3. He going to Gautama Hâridrumata said to him, 'I wish to become a Brahmaçârin with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?'

4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, Sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered: "In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Gabâlâ by name, thou art Satyakâma," I am therefore Satyakâma Gâbâla, Sir.'

5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brâhmaçâra would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend, I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'

Having initiated him, he chose four hundred lean and weak cows, and said: 'Tend these, friend.'

¹ This carries on the explanation of the four feet of Brahman, as first mentioned in III, 18, 1. Each foot or quarter of Brahman is represented as fourfold, and the knowledge of these sixteen parts is called the Shodâśakalâvidyâ.

He drove them out and said to himself, 'I shall not return unless I bring back a thousand.' He dwelt a number of years (in the forest), and when the cows had become a thousand,

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. The bull of the herd (meant for Vāyu) said to him: 'Satyakāma!' He replied: 'Sir!' The bull said: 'We have become a thousand, lead us to the house of the teacher;

2. 'And I will declare to you one foot of Brahman.' 'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'The eastern region is one quarter, the western region is one quarter, the southern region is one quarter, the northern region is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, and called Prakāsavat (endowed with splendour).

3. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Prakāsavat, becomes endowed with splendour in this world. He conquers the resplendent worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of the four quarters, by the name of Prakāsavat.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'Agni will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the bull), Satyakāma, on the morrow, drove the cows (toward the house of the teacher). And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking to the east.

2. Then Agni (the fire) said to him : 'Satyakāma!' He replied : 'Sir.'

3. Agni said : 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him : 'The earth is one quarter, the sky is one quarter, the heaven is one quarter, the ocean is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called Anantavat (endless).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Anantavat, becomes endless in this world. He conquers the endless worlds, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of Anantavat.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'A *Hamsa* (flamingo, meant for the sun) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of Agni), Satyakāma, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a *Hamsa* flew near and said to him : 'Satyakāma.' He replied : 'Sir.'

3. The *Hamsa* said : 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him : 'Fire is one quarter, the sun is one quarter, the moon is one quarter, lightning is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called *Gyotishmat* (full of light).

4. 'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of *Gyotishmat*, becomes full of light in this world. He conquers the worlds which are full of light, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of *Gyotishmat*.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'A diver-bird (*Madgu*, meant for *Prāna*) will declare to you another foot of Brahman.'

(After these words of the *Hamsa*, *Satyakāma*, on the morrow, drove the cows onward. And when they came towards the evening, he lighted a fire, penned the cows, laid wood on the fire, and sat down behind the fire, looking toward the east.

2. Then a diver flew near and said to him: '*Satyakāma*.' He replied: 'Sir.'

3. The diver said: 'Friend, I will declare unto you one foot of Brahman.'

'Declare it, Sir,' he replied.

He said to him: 'Breath is one quarter, the eye is one quarter, the ear is one quarter, the mind is one quarter. This is a foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, and called *Āyatanavat* (having a home).

'He who knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of *Āyatanavat*, becomes possessed of a home in this world. He conquers the worlds which offer a home, whoever knows this and meditates on the foot of Brahman, consisting of four quarters, by the name of *Āyatanavat*.'

NINTH KHANDA.

1. Thus he reached the house of his teacher. The teacher said to him : ' Satyakāma.' He replied : ' Sir.'

2. The teacher said : ' Friend, you shine like one who knows Brahman. Who then has taught you ¹? ' He replied : ' Not men. But you only, Sir, I wish, should teach me ² ;

3. ' For I have heard from men like you, Sir, that only knowledge which is learnt from a teacher (Ākārya), leads to real good.' Then he taught him the same knowledge. Nothing was left out, yea, nothing was left out.

TENTH KHANDA ³.

1. Upakosala Kāmalāyana dwelt as a Brahma-kārin (religious student) in the house of Satyakāma Gābāla. He tended his fires for twelve years. But the teacher, though he allowed other pupils (after they had learnt the sacred books) to depart to their own homes, did not allow Upakosala to depart.

2. Then his wife said to him : ' This student, who is quite exhausted (with austerities), has carefully tended your fires. Let not the fires themselves blame you, but teach him.' The teacher, however, went away on a journey without having taught him.

3. The student from sorrow was not able to eat.

¹ It would have been a great offence if Satyakāma had accepted instruction from any man, except his recognised teacher.

² The text should be, bhagavāms tv eva me kāme brūyāt (me kāme = mamekākāryām).

³ The Upakosala-vidyā teaches first Brahman as the cause, and then in its various forms, and is therefore called ātma-vidyā and agni-vidyā.

Then the wife of the teacher said to him : ' Student, eat! Why do you not eat?' He said : ' There are many desires in this man here, which lose themselves in different directions. I am full of sorrows, and shall take no food.'

4. Thereupon the fires said among themselves : ' This student, who is quite exhausted, has carefully tended us. Well, let us teach him.' They said to him :

5. ' Breath is Brahman, Ka (pleasure) is Brahman, Kha (ether) is Brahman.'

He said : ' I understand that breath is Brahman, but I do not understand Ka or Kha ¹.'

They said : ' What is Ka is Kha, what is Kha is Ka ².' They therefore taught him Brahman as breath, and as the ether (in the heart) ³.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. After that the Gârhapatya fire ⁴ taught him : ' Earth, fire, food, and the sun (these are my forms, or

¹ I do not understand, he means, how Ka, which means pleasure, and is non-eternal, and how Kha, which means ether, and is not intelligent, can be Brahman.

² The commentator explains as follows :—Ka is pleasure, and Kha is ether, but these two words are to determine each other mutually, and thus to form one idea. Ka therefore does not mean ordinary pleasures, but pleasures such as belong to Kha, the ether. And Kha does not signify the ordinary outward ether, but the ether in the heart, which alone is capable of pleasure. What is meant by Ka and Kha is therefore the sentient ether in the heart, and that is Brahman, while Prâna, breath, is Brahman, in so far as it is united with the ether in the heart.

³ And as its ether, i. e. as the ether in the heart, the Brahman, with which prâna is connected. Comm.

⁴ The household altar.

forms of Brahman). The person that is seen in the sun, I am he, I am he indeed ¹.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Gârhapatya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Anvâhârya fire ² taught him: 'Water, the quarters, the stars, the moon (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the moon, I am he, I am he indeed.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Anvâhârya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Âhavantya ³ fire taught him: 'Breath, ether, heaven, and lightning (these are my forms). The person that is seen in the lightning, I am he, I am he indeed.

¹ Fanciful similarities and relations between the fires of the three altars and their various forms and manifestations are pointed out by the commentator. Thus earth and food are represented as warmed and boiled by the fire. The sun is said to give warmth and light like the fire of the altar. The chief point, however, is that in all of them Brahman is manifested.

² The altar on the right. Anvâhârya is a sacrificial oblation, chiefly one intended for the manes.

³ The Âhavantya altar is the altar on the eastern side of the sacrificial ground.

2. 'He who knowing this meditates on him, destroys sin, obtains the world (of Agni Āhavanīya), reaches his full age, and lives long; his descendants do not perish. We guard him in this world and in the other, whosoever knowing this meditates on him.'

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then they all said: 'Upakosala, this is our knowledge, our friend, and the knowledge of the Self, but the teacher will tell you the way (to another life).'

2. In time his teacher came back, and said to him: 'Upakosala.' He answered: 'Sir.' The teacher said: 'Friend, your face shines like that of one who knows Brahman. Who has taught you?'

'Who should teach me, Sir?' he said. He denies, as it were. And he said (pointing) to the fires: 'Are these fires other than fires?'

The teacher said: 'What, my friend, have these fires told you?'

3. He answered: 'This' (repeating some of what they had told him).

The teacher said: 'My friend, they have taught you about the worlds, but I shall tell you this; and as water does not cling to a lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows it.' He said: 'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. He said: 'The person that is seen in the eye, that is the Self. This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman¹. Even though they drop melted

¹ This is also the teaching of Prajāpati in VIII, 7, 4.

butter or water on him, it runs away on both sides¹.

2. 'They call him *Samyadvāma*, for all blessings (*vāma*) go towards him (*samyanti*). All blessings go towards him who knows this.

3. 'He is also *Vāmant*, for he leads (*nayati*) all blessings (*vāma*). He leads all blessings who knows this.

4. 'He is also *Bhāmant*, for he shines (*bhāti*) in all worlds. He who knows this, shines in all worlds.

5. 'Now (if one who knows this, dies), whether people perform obsequies for him or no, he goes to light (*arḥis*)², from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months during which the sun goes to the north, from the months to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human,

6. 'He leads them to Brahman. This is the path of the *Devas*, the path that leads to Brahman. Those who proceed on that path, do not return to the life of man, yea, they do not return.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA³.

1. Verily, he who purifies (*Vāyu*) is the sacrifice, for he (the air) moving along, purifies everything.

¹ It does so in the eye, and likewise with the person in the eye, who is not affected by anything. Cf. *Kṛ. Up.* IV, 14, 3.

² The commentator takes light, day, &c. as persons, or *devatās*. Cf. *Kṛ. Up.* V, 10, 1.

³ If any mistakes happen during the performance of a sacrifice, as described before, they are remedied by certain interjectional

Because moving along he purifies everything, therefore he is the sacrifice. Of that sacrifice there are two ways, by mind and by speech.

2. The Brahman priest performs one of them in his mind¹, the *Hotri*, *Adhvaryu*, and *Udgātri* priests perform the other by words. When the Brahman priest, after the *Prâtaranuvâka* ceremony has begun, but before the recitation of the *Paridhântyâ* hymn, has (to break his silence and) to speak,

3. He performs perfectly the one way only (that by words), but the other is injured. As a man walking on one foot, or a carriage going on one wheel, is injured, his sacrifice is injured, and with the injured sacrifice the sacrificer is injured; yes, having sacrificed, he becomes worse.

4. But when after the *Prâtaranuvâka* ceremony has begun, and before the recitation of the *Paridhântyâ* hymn, the Brahman priest has not (to break his silence and) to speak, they perform both ways perfectly, and neither of them is injured.

5. As a man walking on two legs and a carriage going on two wheels gets on, so his sacrifice gets on, and with the successful sacrifice the sacrificer gets on; yes, having sacrificed, he becomes better.

syllables (*vyâhṛiti*), the nature of which is next described. All this is supposed to take place in the forest.

¹ While the other priests perform the sacrifice, the Brahman priest has to remain silent, following the whole sacrifice in his mind, and watching that no mistake be committed. If a mistake is committed, he has to correct it, and for that purpose certain corrective penances (*prâyasaitta*) are enjoined. The performance of the Brahman priest resembles the meditations of the sages in the forest, and therefore this chapter is here inserted.

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Pragâpati brooded over the worlds, and from them thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, Agni (fire) from the earth, Vâyu (air) from the sky, Âditya (the sun) from heaven.

2. He brooded over these three deities, and from them thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, the *Rik* verses from Agni, the *Yagus* verses from Vâyu, the *Sâman* verses from Âditya.

3. He brooded over the threefold knowledge (the three Vedas), and from it thus brooded on he squeezed out the essences, the sacred interjection *Bhûs* from the *Rik* verses, the sacred interjection *Bhuvas* from the *Yagus* verses, the sacred interjection *Svar* from the *Sâman* verses.

4. If the sacrifice is injured from the *Rig*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the *Gârhapatya* fire, saying, *Bhûh, Svâha!* Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Rik* verses themselves, whatever break the *Rik* sacrifice may have suffered.

5. If the sacrifice is injured from the *Yagur*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the *Dakshina* fire, saying, *Bhuvañ, Svâhâ!* Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Yagus* verses themselves, whatever break the *Yagus* sacrifice may have suffered.

6. If the sacrifice is injured by the *Sâma*-veda side, let him offer a libation in the *Âhavantya* fire, saying, *Svañ, Svâhâ!* Thus does he bind together and heal, by means of the essence and the power of the *Sâman* verses themselves, whatever break the *Sâman* sacrifice may have suffered.

7. As one binds (softens) gold by means of *lavana*¹ (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron (*loha*) by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, or also by means of leather,

8. Thus does one bind together and heal any break in the sacrifice by means of (the *Vyâhr̥itis* or sacrificial interjections which are) the essence and strength of the three worlds, of the deities, and of the threefold knowledge. That sacrifice is healed² in which there is a Brahman priest who knows this.

9. That sacrifice is inclined towards the north (in the right way) in which there is a Brahman priest who knows this. And with regard to such a Brahman priest there is the following *Gāthā*³: 'Wherever it falls back, thither the man⁴ goes,'—viz. the Brahman only, as one of the *R̥itvig* priests. 'He saves the Kurus as a mare' (viz. a Brahman priest who

¹ *Lavana*, a kind of salt, explained by *kshâra* and *ṭanka* or *ṭankana*. It is evidently borax, which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes.

² *Bheshagakṛita*, explained by *bheshagena 'iva kṛitah samskr̥itah*, and also by *ṭikitsakena susikshitenā 'esha yag̥ño bhavati*, which looks as if the commentator had taken it as a genitive of *bheshagakṛit*.

³ This *Gāthā* (or, according to *Saṅkara*, *Anugāthā*) is probably a *Gāyatrī*, though *Ānandagiri* says that it is not in the *Gāyatrī* or any other definite metre. It may have been originally 'yato yata āvartate, tattad gakkhati mānavaḥ, kur̥ṭn asvābhirakshati.' This might be taken from an old epic ballad, 'Wherever the army fell back, thither the man went; the mare (mares being preferred to stallions in war) saves the Kurus.' That verse was applied to the Brahman priest succouring the sacrifice, whenever it seemed to waver, and protecting the Kurus, i. e. the performers of the sacrifice.

⁴ *Mānava*, explained from *mauna*, or *manana*, but possibly originally, a descendant of *Manu*.

knows this, saves the sacrifice, the sacrificer, and all the other priests). Therefore let a man make him who knows this his Brahman priest, not one who does not know it, who does not know it.

FIFTH PRAPÂTHAKA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He who knows the oldest and the best becomes himself the oldest and the best. Breath indeed is the oldest and the best.

2. He who knows the richest, becomes himself the richest. Speech indeed is the richest.

3. He who knows the firm rest, becomes himself firm in this world and in the next. The eye indeed is the firm rest.

4. He who knows success, his wishes succeed, both his divine and human wishes. The ear indeed is success.

5. He who knows the home, becomes a home of his people. The mind indeed is the home.

6. The five senses quarrelled together², who was the best, saying, I am better, I am better.

¹ The chief object is to show the different ways on which people proceed after death. One of these ways, the Devapatha that leads to Brahman and from which there is no return, has been described, IV, 15. The other ways for those who on earth know the conditioned Brahman only, have to be discussed now.

² The same fable, the *prânasamvâda* or *prânavidyâ*, is told in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* VI, 1, 1-14, the *Aitareya Âr.* II, 4, the *Kaush. Up.* III, 3, and the *Prasna Up.* II, 3. The last is the simplest version of all, but it does not follow therefore that it is the oldest. It would be difficult to find two fables apparently more alike, yet in reality differing from each other more characteristically than this fable and the fable told to the plebeians by Menenius Agrippa.

7. They went to their father Pragāpati and said : 'Sir, who is the best of us?' He replied : 'He by whose departure the body seems worse than worst, he is the best of you.'

8. The tongue (speech) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like mute people, not speaking, but breathing with the breath, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then speech went back.

9. The eye (sight) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like blind people, not seeing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, hearing with the ear, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the eye went back.

10. The ear (hearing) departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like deaf people, not hearing, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, thinking with the mind. Thus we lived.' Then the ear went back.

11. The mind departed, and having been absent for a year, it came round and said : 'How have you been able to live without me?' They replied : 'Like children whose mind is not yet formed, but breathing with the breath, speaking with the tongue, seeing with the eye, hearing with the ear. Thus we lived.' Then the mind went back.

12. The breath, when on the point of departing, tore up the other senses, as a horse, going to start,

might tear up the pegs to which he is tethered¹. They came to him and said: 'Sir, be thou (our lord); thou art the best among us. Do not depart from us!'

13. Then the tongue said to him: 'If I am the richest, thou art the richest.' The eye said to him: 'If I am the firm rest, thou art the firm rest².'

14. The ear said to him: 'If I am success, thou art success.' The mind said to him: 'If I am the home, thou art the home.'

15. And people do not call them, the tongues, the eyes, the ears, the minds, but the breaths (prāna, the senses). For breath are all these.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Breath said: 'What shall be my food?' They answered: 'Whatever there is, even unto dogs and birds.' Therefore this is food for Ana (the breather). His name is clearly Ana³. To him who knows this there is nothing that is not (proper) food.

2. He said: 'What shall be my dress?' They answered: 'Water.' Therefore wise people, when they are going to eat food, surround their food before and after with water⁴. He (prāna) thus gains a dress, and is no longer naked⁵.

¹ Padvīsa, fetter, πείδη, pedica, a word now well known, but which Burnouf (Commentaire sur le Yaçna, Notes, CLXXIV) tried in vain to decipher.

² Burnouf rightly preferred pratish/hāsi to pratish/ho'si, though the commentary on the corresponding passage of the Brhadāra-nyaka seems to favour tatpratish/ho'si.

³ Ana, breather, more general than pra-ana=prāna, forth-breather, and the other more specified names of breath.

⁴ They rinse the mouth before and after every meal.

⁵ We expect, 'He who knows this' instead of prāna, but as

3. Satyakāma Gābāla, after he had communicated this to Gosruti Vaiyāghrapadya, said to him : 'If you were to tell this to a dry stick, branches would grow, and leaves spring from it.'

4. If¹ a man wishes to reach greatness, let him perform the Dīkshā² (preparatory rite) on the day of the new moon, and then, on the night of the full moon, let him stir a mash of all kinds of herbs with curds and honey, and let him pour ghee on the fire (āvasathya laukika), saying, 'Svāhā to the oldest and the best.' After that let him throw all that remains (of the ghee)³ into the mash.

5. In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svāhā to the richest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svāhā to the firm rest.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

In the same manner let him pour ghee on the fire, saying, 'Svāhā to success.' After that let him throw all that remains together into the mash.

6. Then going forward and placing the mash

prāna may apply to every individual prāna, the usual finishing sentence was possibly dropt on purpose.

¹ The oblation here described is called mantha, a mortar, or what is pounded in a mortar, i. e. barley stirred in some kind of gravy. See Gaim. N. M. V. p. 406.

² Not the real dīkshā, which is a preparatory rite for great sacrifices, but penance, truthfulness, abstinence, which take the place of dīkshā with those who live in the forest and devote themselves to upāsana, meditative worship.

³ What is here called sampātam avanayati is the same as samsravam avanayati in the Br̥h. Ār. VI, 3, 2. The commentator says: Sruvāvalepanam āgyam mantham samsrāvayati.

in his hands, he recites : 'Thou (Prâna) art Ama¹ by name, for all this together exists in thee. He is the oldest and best, the king, the sovereign. May he make me the oldest, the best, the king, the sovereign. May I be all this.'

7. Then he eats with the following *Rik* verse at every foot : 'We choose that food'—here he swallows—'Of the divine Savitri (prâna)'—here he swallows—'The best and all-supporting food'—here he swallows—'We meditate on the speed of Bhaga (Savitri, prâna)'—here he drinks all.

8. Having cleansed the vessel, whether it be a *kamsa* or a *kamasa*, he sits down behind the fire on a skin or on the bare ground, without speaking or making any other effort. If in his dream he sees a woman, let him know this to be a sign that his sacrifice has succeeded.

9. On this there is a Sloka : 'If during sacrifices which are to fulfil certain wishes he sees in his dreams a woman, let him know success from this vision in a dream, yea, from this vision in a dream.'

THIRD KHANDA².

1. Svetaketu Âruneya went to an assembly³ of the Pañçâlas. Pravâhana Gaivali⁴ said to him : 'Boy, has your father instructed you ?' 'Yes, Sir,' he replied.

2. 'Do you know to what place men go from here ?' 'No, Sir,' he replied.

¹ Cf. *Bṛh. Âr.* I, 1, 3, 22.

² This story is more fully told in the *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* VI, 2, *Satapatha-brâhmana* XIV, 8, 16.

³ Samiti, or parishad, as in the *Bṛh. Âr.*

⁴ He is the same Kshatriya sage who appeared in I, 8, 1, silencing the Brâhmins.

‘Do you know how they return again?’ ‘No Sir,’ he replied.

‘Do you know where the path of Devas and the path of the fathers diverge?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

3. ‘Do you know why that world¹ never becomes full?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

‘Do you know why in the fifth libation water is called Man²?’ ‘No, Sir,’ he replied.

4. ‘Then why did you say (you had been) instructed? How could anybody who did not know these things say that he had been instructed?’ Then the boy went back sorrowful to the place of his father, and said: ‘Though you had not instructed me, Sir, you said you had instructed me.

5. ‘That fellow of a Rāganya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them.’ The father said: ‘As you have told me these questions of his, I do not know any one of them³. If I knew these questions, how should I not have told you⁴?’

6. Then Gautama went to the king’s place, and when he had come to him, the king offered him proper respect. In the morning the king went out on his way to the assembly⁵. The king said to him :

¹ That of the fathers. Comm.

² Or, according to others, why the water has a human voice; *purushavākāḥ* in *Bṛh. Âr. XIV, 9, 3*.

³ I doubt whether the elliptical construction of these sentences is properly filled out by the commentator. In the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka* the construction is much easier. ‘You know me well enough to know that whatever I know, I told you.’

⁴ I read *avedishyam*, though both the text and commentary give *avadishyam*. Still *viditavān asmi* points to an original *avedishyam*, and a parallel passage, VI, 1, 7, confirms this emendation.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up. V, 11, 5*.

‘Sir, Gautama, ask a boon of such things as men possess.’ He replied: ‘Such things as men possess may remain with you. Tell me the speech which you addressed to the boy.’

7. The king was perplexed, and commanded him, saying: ‘Stay with me some time.’ Then he said: ‘As (to what) you have said to me, Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brâhmaṇa before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone. Then he began:

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. ‘The altar (on which the sacrifice is supposed to be offered) is that world (heaven), O Gautama; its fuel is the sun itself, the smoke his rays, the light the day, the coals the moon, the sparks the stars.

2. ‘On that altar the Devas (or prâṇas, represented by Agni, &c.) offer the sradhâ libation (consisting of water). From that oblation rises Soma, the king² (the moon).

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. ‘The altar is Parganya (the god of rain), O Gautama; its fuel is the air itself, the smoke the cloud, the light the lightning, the coals the thunderbolt, the sparks the thunderings³.

¹ He answers the last question, why water in the fifth libation is called Man, first.

² The sacrificers themselves rise through their oblations to heaven, and attain as their reward a Soma-like nature.

³ Hrâduni, generally explained by hail, but here by stanayitnu-sabdâḥ, rumblings.

2. 'On that altar the Devas offer Soma, the king (the moon). From that oblation rises rain¹.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is the earth, O Gautama ; its fuel is the year itself, the smoke the ether, the light the night, the coals the quarters, the sparks the intermediate quarters.

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prānas) offer rain. From that oblation rises food (corn, &c.)

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is man, O Gautama ; its fuel speech itself, the smoke the breath, the light the tongue, the coals the eye, the sparks the ear.

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prānas) offer food. From that oblation rises seed.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'The altar is woman, O Gautama².

2. 'On that altar the Devas (prānas) offer seed. From that oblation rises the germ.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'For this reason is water in the fifth oblation called Man. This germ, covered in the womb, having dwelt there ten months, or more or less, is born.

2. 'When born, he lives whatever the length of his life may be. When he has departed, his friends carry him, as appointed, to the fire (of the funeral pile) from whence he came, from whence he sprang.

¹ The water, which had assumed the nature of Soma, now becomes rain.

² Tasyā upastha eva samid, yad upamantrayate sa dhūmo, yonir arkir, yad antaḥ karoti te 'ngārā abhinandā vishphulingāḥ.

TENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Those who know this¹ (even though they still be *gri*hasthas, householders) and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities (the *vâna*-prasthas, and of the *parivrâgakas* those who do not yet know the Highest Brahman) go² to light (*arkis*), from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from the six months when the sun goes to the north to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human³,—

2. 'He leads them to Brahman (the conditioned Brahman). This is the path of the Devas.

3. 'But they who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms, they go to the smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from the dark half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south. But they do not reach the year.

4. 'From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether, from the ether to the moon. That is Soma, the king. Here they are loved (eaten) by the Devas, yes, the Devas love (eat) them⁴.

¹ The doctrine of the five fires, and our being born in them, i. e. in heaven, rain, earth, man, and woman.

² Cf. *Kk.* Up. IV, 15, 5.

³ Instead of *mânava*, human, or *amânava*, not human, the *Bṛh.* *Âr.* reads *mânasa*, mental, or created by *manas*, mind.

⁴ This passage has been translated, 'They are the food of the gods. The gods do eat it.' And this is indeed the literal meaning of the words. But *bhag* (to enjoy) and *bhakhsh* (to eat) are often

5. 'Having dwelt there, till their (good) works are consumed, they return again that way as they came¹, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer, having become air, becomes smoke, having become smoke, he becomes mist,

6. 'Having become mist, he becomes a cloud, having become a cloud, he rains down. Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. From thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. For whoever the persons may be that eat the food, and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like unto them.

used by theosophical writers in India, in the more general sense of cherishing or loving, and *anna* in the sense of an object of desire, love, and protection. The commentators, however, as the use of *bhaksh* in this sense is exceptional, or as it has no support in the use of the ancients, warn us here against a possible misunderstanding. If those, they say, who have performed sacrifices enter at last into the essence of Soma, the moon, and are eaten by the Devas, by Indra, &c., what is the use of their good works? No, they reply, they are not really eaten. Food (*anna*) means only what is helpful and delightful; it is not meant that they are eaten by morsels, but that they form the delight of the Devas. Thus we hear it said that men, women, and cattle are food for kings. And if it is said that women are loved by men, they are, in being loved, themselves loving. Thus these men also, being loved by the Devas, are happy and rejoice with the Devas. Their body, in order to be able to rejoice in the moon, becomes of a watery substance, as it was said before, that the water, called the *Sradhdhâ* libation, when offered in heaven, as in the fire of the altar, becomes Soma, the king (*Kh. Up. V, 4, 1*). That water becomes, after various changes, the body of those who have performed good works, and when a man is dead and his body burnt (*Kh. Up. V, 9, 2*), the water rises from the body upwards with the smoke, and carries him to the moon, where, in that body, he enjoys the fruits of his good works, as long as they last. When they are consumed, like the oil in a lamp, he has to return to a new round of existences.

¹ But only to a certain point.

7. 'Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brâhmana, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or a *Kandâla*.

8. 'On neither of these two ways those small creatures (flies, worms, &c.) are continually returning of whom it may be said, Live and die. Theirs is a third place.

'Therefore that world never becomes full¹ (cf. V, 3, 2).

¹ In this manner all the five questions have been answered. First, why in the fifth oblation water is called man; secondly, to what place men go after death, some by the path of the Devas, others by the path of the fathers, others again by neither of these paths; thirdly, how they return, some returning to Brahman, others returning to the earth; fourthly, where the paths of the Devas and the fathers diverge, viz. when from the half-year the path of the Devas goes on to the year, while that of the fathers branches off to the world of the fathers; fifthly, why that world, the other world, does never become full, viz. because men either go on to Brahman or return again to this world.

Many questions are raised among Indian philosophers on the exact meaning of certain passages occurring in the preceding paragraphs. First, as to who is admitted to the path of the Devas? Householders, who know the secret doctrine of the five fires or the five libations of the Agnihotra, as described above, while other householders, who only perform the ordinary sacrifices, without a knowledge of their secret meaning, go by the path of the fathers. Secondly, those who have retired to the forest, and whose worship there consists in faith and austerities, i. e. Vânaprasthas and Parivrâgakas, before they arrive at a knowledge of the true Brahman. The question then arises, whether religious students also enter the path of the Devas? This is affirmed, because Purânas and Smritis assert it, or because our text, if properly understood, does not exclude it. Those, on the contrary, who know not only a conditioned, but the highest unconditioned Brahman, do not proceed on the path of the Devas, but obtain Brahman immediately.

Again, there is much difference of opinion whether, after a man

‘Hence let a man take care to himself¹! And thus it is said in the following Sloka² :—

9. ‘A man who steals gold, who drinks spirits,

has been in the moon, consuming his works, he can be born again. Birth is the result of former works, and if former works are altogether consumed, there can be no new birth. This, however, is shown to be an erroneous view, because, besides the good sacrificial works, the fruits of which are consumed in the moon, there are other works which have to be enjoyed or expiated, as the case may be, in a new existence.

The great difficulty or danger in the round of transmigration arises when the rain has fructified the earth, and passes into herbs and trees, rice, corn, and beans. For, first of all, some of the rain does not fructify at once, but falls into rivers and into the sea, to be swallowed up by fishes and sea monsters. Then, only after these have been dissolved in the sea, and after the sea water has been attracted by the clouds, the rain falls down again, it may be on desert or stony land. Here it may be swallowed by snakes or deer, and these may be swallowed by other animals, so that the round of existence seems endless. Nor is this all. Some rain may dry up, or be absorbed by bodies that cannot be eaten. Then, if the rain is absorbed by rice, corn, &c., and this be eaten, it may be eaten by children or by men who have renounced marriage, and thus again lose the chance of a new birth. Lastly, there is the danger arising from the nature of the being in whom the food, such as rice and corn, becomes a new seed, and likewise from the nature of the mother. All these chances have to be met before a new birth as a Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, or Vaisya can be secured.

Another curious distinction is here made by Śaṅkara in his commentary. There are some, he says, who assume the form of rice, corn, &c., not in their descent from a higher world, as described in the Upanishad, but as a definite punishment for certain evil deeds they have committed. These remain in that state till the results of their evil deeds are over, and assume then a new body, according to their work, like caterpillars. With them there is also a consciousness of these states, and the acts which caused them to

¹ Let him despise it. Comm.

² Evidently an old Trishubh verse, but irregular in the third line. See Manu XI, 54.

who dishonours his Guru's bed, who kills a Brahman; these four fall, and as a fifth he who associates with them.

10. 'But he who thus knows the five fires is not defiled by sin even though he associates with them. He who knows this, is pure, clean, and obtains the world of the blessed, yea, he obtains the world of the blessed.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA¹.

1. Prāñnasāla Aupamanyava, Satyayagña Paulushi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Gana Śārkārākshya, and Buḍiḷa Āsvatarasvi, these five great householders and great theologians came once together and held a discussion as to What is our Self, and what is Brahman².

2. They reflected and said: 'Sirs, there is that Uddālaka Āruṇi, who knows at present that Self,

assume' this or that body, leave impressions behind, like dreams. This is not the case with those who in their descent from the moon, pass, as we saw, through an existence as rice, corn, &c. They have no consciousness of such existences, at least not in their descent. In their ascent to the moon, they have consciousness, as a man who climbs up a tree knows what he is about. But in their descent, that consciousness is gone, as it is when a man falls down from a tree. Otherwise a man, who by his good works had deserved rewards in the moon, would, while corn is being ground, suffer tortures, as if he were in hell, and the very object of good works, as taught by the Veda, would be defeated. As we see that a man struck by a hammer can be carried away unconscious, so it is in the descent of souls, till they are born again as men, and gain a new start for the attainment of the Highest Brahman.

¹ The same story is found in the Satapatha-brāhmaṇa X, 6, 1, 1.

² Ātman and Brāhman are to be taken as predicate and subject.

called Vaisvānara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

3. But he reflected: 'Those great householders and great theologians will examine me, and I shall not be able to tell them all; therefore I shall recommend another teacher to them.'

4. He said to them: 'Sirs, Arjapati Kaikeya knows at present that Self, called Vaisvānara. Well, let us go to him.' They went to him.

5. When they arrived (the king) ordered proper presents to be made separately to each of them. And rising the next morning¹ he said: 'In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress. I² am going to perform a sacrifice, Sirs, and as much wealth as I give to each *Ritviḡ* priest, I shall give to you, Sirs. Please to stay here.'

6. They replied: 'Every man ought to say for what purpose he comes. You know at present that Vaisvānara Self, tell us that.'

7. He said: 'To-morrow I shall give you an answer.' Therefore on the next morning they approached him, carrying fuel in their hands (like students), and he, without first demanding any preparatory rites³, said to them:

¹ The commentator explains that the king, seeing that they would not accept his presents, and thinking that they did not consider him worthy of bestowing presents on them, made these remarks.

² When they still refused his presents, he thought the presents he had offered were too small, and therefore invited them to a sacrifice.

³ He was satisfied with the humility of the Brahmans, who, being Brahmans, came to him, who was not a Brahman, as pupils. Gene-

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Aupamanyava, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'Heaven only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Sutegas (having good light). Therefore every kind of Soma libation is seen in your house¹.

2. 'You eat food, and see your desire (a son, &c.), and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food, sees his desire, and has Vedic glory (arising from study and sacrifice) in his house. That, however, is but the head of the Self, and thus your head would have fallen (in a discussion), if you had not come to me.'

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Satyayagña Paulushi: 'O Prâ-
ĕtnayogyâ, whom do you meditate on as the Self?' He replied: 'The sun only, venerable king.' He said: 'The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Visvarûpa (multiform). Therefore much and manifold wealth is seen in your house.

2. 'There is a car with mules, full of slaves and jewels. You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

'That, however, is but the eye of the Self, and you would have become blind, if you had not come to me.'

rally a pupil has first to pass through several initiatory rites before he is admitted to the benefit of his master's teaching.

¹ Soma is said to be suta in the Ekâha, prasuta in the Ahîna, âsuta in the Sattra-sacrifices.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Indradyumna Bhállaveya : ' O Vaiyâghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self ?' He replied : ' Air only, venerable king.' He said : ' The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Prîthagvartman (having various courses). Therefore offerings come to you in various ways, and rows of cars follow you in various ways.

2. ' You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

' That, however, is but the breath of the Self, and your breath would have left you, if you had not come to me.'

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Gana Sârkarâkshya : ' Whom do you meditate on as the Self ?' He replied : ' Ether only, venerable king.' He said : ' The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Bahula (full). Therefore you are full of offspring and wealth.

2. ' You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

' That, however, is but the trunk of the Self, and your trunk would have perished, if you had not come to me.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Budîla Âsvatarâsvi, ' O Vaiyâghrapadya, whom do you meditate on as the Self ?' He replied : ' Water only, venerable king.' He said :

‘The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Rayi (wealth). Therefore are you wealthy and flourishing.

2. ‘You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

‘That, however, is but the bladder of the Self, and your bladder would have burst, if you had not come to me.’

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to Auddâlaka Ârûni : ‘O Gautama, whom do you meditate on as the Self?’ He replied : ‘The earth only, venerable king.’ He said : ‘The Self which you meditate on is the Vaisvânara Self, called Pratishtâ (firm rest). Therefore you stand firm with offspring and cattle.

2. ‘You eat food and see your desire, and whoever thus meditates on that Vaisvânara Self, eats food and sees his desire, and has Vedic glory in his house.

‘That, however, are but the feet of the Self, and your feet would have given way, if you had not come to me.’

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Then he said to them all : ‘You eat your food, knowing that Vaisvânara Self as if it were many. But he who worships the Vaisvânara Self as a span long, and as¹ identical with himself, he eats food in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.

¹ The two words *prâdesamâtra* and *abhivimâna* are doubtful. The commentator explains the first in different ways, which are all more or less fanciful. He is measured or known (*mâtra*) as Self,

2. 'Of that Vaisvānara Self the head is Sutegas (having good light), the eye Visvarūpa (multiform), the breath Prīthagvartman (having various courses), the trunk Bahula (full), the bladder Rayi (wealth), the feet the earth, the chest the altar, the hairs the grass on the altar, the heart the Gārhapatya fire, the mind the Anvāhārya fire, the mouth the Āhavanīya fire.

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Therefore¹ the first food which a man may take, is in the place of Homa. And he who offers that first oblation, should offer it to Prāna (up-breathing), saying Svāhā. Then Prāna (up-breathing) is satisfied,

2. 'If Prāna is satisfied, the eye is satisfied, if the eye is satisfied, the sun is satisfied, if the sun is satisfied, heaven is satisfied, if heaven is satisfied, whatever is under heaven and under the sun is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

by means of heaven as his head and the earth as his feet, these being the prādesas; or, in the mouth and the rest, which are instruments, he is known as without action himself; or, he has the length from heaven to earth, heaven and earth being called prādesa, because they are taught. The interpretation, supported by the Gābāla-sruti, that prādesa is the measure from the forehead to the chin, he rejects. Abhivimāna is taken in the same meaning as abhimāna in the Vedānta, seeing everything in oneself. Vaisvānara is taken as the real Self of all beings, and, in the end, of all Selves, and as thus to be known and worshipped.

¹ The object now is to show that to him who knows the Vaisvānara Self, the act of feeding himself is like feeding Vaisvānara, and that feeding Vaisvānara is the true Agnihotra.

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the second oblation, should offer it to Vyâna (back-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Vyâna is satisfied,

2. 'If Vyâna is satisfied, the ear is satisfied, if the ear is satisfied, the moon is satisfied, if the moon is satisfied, the quarters are satisfied, if the quarters are satisfied, whatever is under the quarters and under the moon is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the third oblation, should offer it to Apâna (down-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Apâna is satisfied. If Apâna is satisfied, the tongue is satisfied, if the tongue is satisfied, Agni (fire) is satisfied, if Agni is satisfied, the earth is satisfied, if the earth is satisfied, whatever is under the earth and under fire is satisfied.

2. 'And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the fourth oblation, should offer it to Samâna (on-breathing), saying Svâhâ. Then Samâna is satisfied,

2. 'If Samâna is satisfied, the mind is satisfied, if the mind is satisfied, Parganya (god of rain) is satisfied, if Parganya is satisfied, lightning is satisfied, if lightning is satisfied, whatever is under Parganya and under lightning is satisfied. And through their

satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'And he who offers the fifth oblation, should offer it to Udāna (out-breathing), saying Svāhā. Then Udāna is satisfied,

2. 'If Udāna is satisfied, Vāyu (air) is satisfied, if Vāyu is satisfied, ether is satisfied, if ether is satisfied, whatever is under Vāyu and under the ether is satisfied. And through their satisfaction he (the sacrificer or eater) himself is satisfied with offspring, cattle, health, brightness, and Vedic splendour.

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'If, without knowing this, one offers an Agnihotra, it would be as if a man were to remove the live coals and pour his libation on dead ashes.

2. 'But he who offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport, he offers it (i. e. he eats food)¹ in all worlds, in all beings, in all Selves.

3. 'As the soft fibres of the Ishikā reed, when thrown into the fire, are burnt, thus all his sins are burnt whoever offers this Agnihotra with a full knowledge of its true purport.

4. 'Even if he gives what is left of his food to a *Kandāla*, it would be offered in his (the *Kandāla*'s) Vaisvānara Self. And so it is said in this Sloka :—

'As hungry children here on earth sit (expectantly) round their mother, so do all beings sit round the Agnihotra, yea, round the Agnihotra.'

¹ Cf. V, 18, 1.

SIXTH PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

i/ i/ 1. Hari, Om. There lived once Svetaketu Āruneya (the grandson of Aruṇa). To him his father (Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa) said: 'Svetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who, not having studied (the Veda), is, as it were, a Brāhmaṇa by birth only.'

2. Having begun his apprenticeship (with a teacher) when he was twelve years of age¹, Svetaketu returned to his father, when he was twenty-four, having then studied all the Vedas,—conceited, considering himself well-read, and stern.

3. His father said to him: 'Svetaketu, as you are so conceited, considering yourself so well-read, and so stern, my dear, have you ever asked for that instruction by which we hear what cannot be heard, by which we perceive what cannot be perceived, by which we know what cannot be known?'

4. 'What is that instruction, Sir?' he asked.

The father replied: 'My dear, as by one clod of clay all that is made of clay is known, the difference² being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is clay;

5. 'And as, my dear, by one nugget of gold³

¹ This was rather late, for the son of a Brahman might have begun his studies when he was seven years old. Āpastamba-sūtras I, 1, 18. Twelve years was considered the right time for mastering one of the Vedas.

² Vikāra, difference, variety, change, by form and name, development, cf. VI, 3, 3.

³ The commentator takes lohamāṇi here as suvarṇapinda.

all that is made of gold is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is gold?

6. 'And as, my dear, by one pair of nail-scissors all that is made of iron (*kārshnāyasam*) is known, the difference being only a name, arising from speech, but the truth being that all is iron,—thus, my dear, is that instruction.'

7. The son said: 'Surely those venerable men (my teachers) did not know that. For if they had known it, why should they not have told it me? Do you, Sir, therefore tell me that.' 'Be it so,' said the father.

SECOND KHANDA ¹.

1. 'In the beginning,' my dear, 'there was that only which is (*τὸ ὅν*), one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not (*τὸ μὴ ὅν*), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is was born.

2. 'But how could it be thus, my dear?' the father continued. 'How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.

3. 'It thought ⁽²⁾ may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire ³.

¹ Cf. Taitt. Up. II, 6.

⁽²⁾ Literally, it saw. This verb is explained as showing that the Sat is conscious, not unconscious (*bewusst, nicht unbewusst*).

³ In other Upanishads the Sat produces first *ākāśa*, ether, then *vāyu*, air, and then only *tegas*, fire. Fire is a better rendering for *tegas* than light or heat. See Jacobi, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, XXIX, p. 242. The difficulties, however, of

‘That fire¹ thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth water².

‘And therefore whenever anybody anywhere is hot and perspires, water is produced on him from fire alone.

4. ‘Water thought, may I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth earth³ (food).

‘Therefore whenever it rains anywhere, most food is then produced. From water alone is eatable food produced.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. ‘Of all living things there are indeed three origins only⁴, that which springs from an egg (oviparous), that which springs from a living being (viviparous), and that which springs from a germ.

2. ‘That Being⁵ (i. e. that which had produced fire, water, and earth) thought, let me now enter those three beings⁶ (fire, water, earth) with this living

accurately translating *tegas* are not removed by rendering it by fire, as may be seen immediately afterward in VI, 4, 1, where *tegas* is said to supply the red colour of agni, the burning fire, not the god of fire. See also VI, 8, 6. In later philosophical treatises the meaning of *tegas* is more carefully determined than in the Upanishads.

¹ Really the Sat, in the form of fire. Fire is whatever burns, cooks, shines, and is red.

² By water is meant all that is fluid, and bright in colour.

³ By *anna*, food, is here meant the earth, and all that is heavy, firm, dark in colour.

⁴ In the Ait. Up. four are mentioned, *andaga*, here *ândaga*, *gâruga* (i. e. *garâyuga*), here *gîvaga*, *svedaga*, and *udbhigga*, *svedaga*, born from heat, being additional. Cf. Atharva-veda I, 12, 1.

⁵ The text has *devatâ*, deity; here used in a very general sense. The Sat, though it has produced fire, water, and earth, has not yet obtained its wish of becoming many.

Self (*gīva ātmā*)¹, and let me then reveal (develop) names and forms.

3. 'Then that Being having said, Let me make each of these three tripartite (so that fire, water, and earth should each have itself for its principal ingredient, besides an admixture of the other two) entered into those three beings (*devatā*) with this living self only, and revealed names and forms.

4. 'He made each of these tripartite; and how these three beings become each of them tripartite, that learn from me now, my friend!

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'The red colour of burning fire (*agni*) is the colour of fire, the white colour of fire is the colour of water, the black colour of fire the colour of earth. Thus vanishes what we call fire, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true (*satya*) are the three colours (or forms).

2. 'The red colour of the sun (*āditya*) is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the sun, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

3. 'The red colour of the moon is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus vanishes what we call the moon, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

4. 'The red colour of the lightning is the colour of fire, the white of water, the black of earth. Thus

¹ This living self is only a shadow, as it were, of the Highest Self; and as the sun, reflected in the water, does not suffer from the movement of the water, the real Self does not suffer pleasure or pain on earth, but the living self only.

vanishes what we call the lightning, as a mere variety, being a name, arising from speech. What is true are the three colours.

5. 'Great householders and great theologians of olden times who knew this, have declared the same, saying, "No one can henceforth mention to us anything which we have not heard, perceived, or known¹." Out of these (three colours or forms) they knew all.

6. 'Whatever they thought looked red, they knew was the colour of fire. Whatever they thought looked white, they knew was the colour of water. Whatever they thought looked black, they knew was the colour of earth.

7. 'Whatever they thought was altogether unknown, they knew was some combination of those three beings (devatā).

'Now learn from me, my friend, how those three beings, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'The earth (food) when eaten becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes feces, its middle portion flesh, its subtlest portion mind.

2. 'Water when drunk becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes water, its middle portion blood, its subtlest portion breath.

3. 'Fire (i. e. in oil, butter, &c.) when eaten becomes threefold; its grossest portion becomes bone, its middle portion marrow, its subtlest portion speech².

¹ This reminds one of the Aristotelian *διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τούτων πάντα γνωρίζεται, ἀλλ' οὐ ταῦτα διὰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.*

² Food, water, and fire are each to be taken as tripartite; hence animals which live on one of the three elements only, still share in some measure the qualities of the other elements also.

4. 'For truly, my child, mind comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'That which is the subtile portion of curds, when churned, rises upwards, and becomes butter.

2. 'In the same manner, my child, the subtile portion of earth (food), when eaten, rises upwards, and becomes mind.

3. 'That which is the subtile portion of water, when drunk, rises upwards, and becomes breath.

4. 'That which is the subtile portion of fire, when consumed, rises upwards, and becomes speech.

5. 'For mind, my child, comes of earth, breath of water, speech of fire.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Man (purusha), my son, consists of sixteen parts. Abstain from food for fifteen days, but drink as much water as you like, for breath comes from water, and will not be cut off, if you drink water.'

2. Svetaketu abstained from food for fifteen days. Then he came to his father and said: 'What shall I say?' The father said: 'Repeat the *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sāman* verses.' He replied: 'They do not occur to me, Sir.'

3. The father said to him: 'As of a great lighted fire one coal only of the size of a firefly may be left, which would not burn much more than this (i. e. very

little), thus, my dear son, one part only of the sixteen parts (of you) is left, and therefore with that one part you do not remember the Vedas. Go and eat!

4. 'Then wilt thou understand me.' Then Svetaketu ate, and afterwards approached his father. And whatever his father asked him, he knew it all by heart. Then his father said to him :

5. 'As of a great lighted fire one coal of the size of a firefly, if left, may be made to blaze up again by putting grass upon it, and will thus burn more than this,

6. 'Thus, my dear son, there was one part of the sixteen parts left to you, and that, lighted up with food, burnt up, and by it you remember now the Vedas.' After that, he understood what his father meant when he said : 'Mind, my son, comes from food, breath from water, speech from fire.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it¹.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Uddâlaka Âruzi said to his son Svetaketu : 'Learn from me the true nature of sleep (svapna). When a man sleeps here, then, my dear son, he becomes united with the True², he is gone to his

¹ The repetition shows that the teaching of the Trivritkarana, the tripartite nature of things, is ended.

² The deep sushupta sleep is meant, in which personal consciousness is lost, and the self for a time absorbed in the Highest Self. Sleep is produced by fatigue. Speech, mind, and the senses rest, breath only remains awake, and the gîva, the living soul, in order to recover from his fatigue, returns for a while to his true Self (âtma). The Sat must be taken as a substance, nay, as the highest substance or subject, the Brahman. The whole purpose of the Upanishad is obscured if we translate sat or satyam by truth, instead of the True, the true one, τὸ ὄντως ὄν.

own (Self). Therefore they say, svapiti, he sleeps, because he is gone (ap̄ta) to his own (sva)¹.

2. 'As a bird when tied by a string flies first in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down at last on the very place where it is fastened, exactly in the same manner, my son, that mind (the *ḡtva*, or living Self in the mind, see VI, 3, 2), after flying in every direction, and finding no rest anywhere, settles down on breath²; for indeed, my son, mind is fastened to breath.

3. 'Learn from me, my son, what are hunger and thirst. When a man is thus said to be hungry, water is carrying away (digests) what has been eaten by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (*go-nāya*), a horse-leader (*asva-nāya*), a man-leader (*purusha-nāya*), so they call water (which digests food and causes hunger) food-leader (*asa-nāya*). Thus (by food digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth, for this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

4. 'And where could its root be except in food (earth)³? And in the same manner, my son, as

¹ This is one of the many recognised plays on words in the Upanishads and the Vedānta philosophy. Svapiti, he sleeps, stands for *sva* (his own), i.e. the self, and *ap̄ta*, gone to.

² The commentator takes *prāna* here in the sense of Sat, which it often has elsewhere. If so, this illustration would have the same object as the preceding one. If we took *prāna* in the sense of breath, breath being the result of water, this paragraph might be taken to explain the resignation of the living Self to its bondage to breath, while on earth.

³ That food is the root of the body is shown by the commentator in the following way: Food when softened by water and digested becomes a fluid, blood (*sonita*). From it comes flesh, from flesh fat, from fat bones, from bones marrow, from marrow seed. Food eaten by a woman becomes equally blood (*lohita*),

food (earth) too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. water. And as water too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. And as fire too is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, my son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

5. 'When a man is thus said to be thirsty, fire carries away what has been drunk by him. Therefore as they speak of a cow-leader (*go-nâya*), of a horse-leader (*asva-nâya*), of a man-leader (*purusha-nâya*), so they call fire *udanyâ*, thirst, i. e. water-leader. Thus (by water digested &c.), my son, know this offshoot (the body) to be brought forth : this (body) could not be without a root (cause).

6. 'And where could its root be except in water? As water is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. fire. As fire is an offshoot, seek after its root, viz. the True. Yes, all these creatures, O son, have their root in the True, they dwell in the True, they rest in the True.

'And how these three beings (*devatâ*), fire, water, earth, O son, when they reach man, become each of them tripartite, has been said before (VI, 4, 7). When a man departs from hence, his speech¹ is merged

and from seed and blood combined the new body is produced. We must always have before us the genealogical table :—

Sat, *rô* *śv*.

|
Tegas (fire) = Vâk (speech).

|
Ap (water) = Prâna (breath).

|
Anna (earth) = Manas (mind).

¹ If a man dies, the first thing which his friends say is, He speaks no more. Then, he understands no more. Then, he moves no more. Then, he is cold.

in his mind, his mind in his breath, his breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being.

7. 'Now that which is that subtile essence (the root of all), in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. 'As the bees¹, my son, make honey by collecting the juices of distant trees, and reduce the juice into one form,

2. 'And as these juices have no discrimination, so that they might say, I am the juice of this tree or that, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have become merged in the True (either in deep sleep or in death), know not that they are merged in the True.

3. 'Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a musquito, that they become again and again.

4. 'Now that which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

¹ At the beginning of each chapter the commentator supplies the question which the son is supposed to have asked his father. The first is: All creatures falling every day into deep sleep (su-shupti) obtain thereby the Sat, the true being. How is it then that they do not know that they obtain the Sat every day?

TENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. 'These rivers, my son, run, the eastern (like the Gangâ) toward the east, the western (like the Sindhu) toward the west. They go from sea to sea (i. e. the clouds lift up the water from the sea to the sky, and send it back as rain to the sea). They become indeed sea. And as those rivers, when they are in the sea, do not know, I am this or that river,

2. 'In the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have come back from the True, know not that they have come back from the True. Whatever these creatures are here, whether a lion, or a wolf, or a boar, or a worm, or a midge, or a gnat, or a musquito, that they become again and again.

3. 'That which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

ELEVENTH KHANDA ².

1. 'If some one were to strike at the root of this large tree here, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its stem, it would bleed, but live. If he were to strike at its top, it would bleed, but live.

¹ The next question which the son is supposed to have asked is: If a man who has slept in his own house, rises and goes to another village, he knows that he has come from his own house. Why then do people not know that they have come from the Sat?

² The next question is: Waves, foam, and bubbles arise from the water, and when they merge again in the water, they are gone. How is it that living beings, when in sleep or death they are merged again in the Sat, are not destroyed?

Pervaded by the living Self that tree stands firm, drinking in its nourishment and rejoicing ;

2. ' But if the life (the living Self) leaves one of its branches, that branch withers ; if it leaves a second, that branch withers ; if it leaves a third, that branch withers. If it leaves the whole tree, the whole tree withers ¹. In exactly the same manner, my son, know this.' Thus he spoke :

3. ' This (body) indeed withers and dies when the living Self has left it ; the living Self dies not.

' That which is that subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, Svetaketu, art it.'

' Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

' Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

¹ The commentator remarks that according to the Veda, trees are conscious, while Buddhists and followers of *Kaṇāda* hold them to be unconscious. They live, because one sees how their sap runs and how it dries up, just as one sees the sap in a living body, which, as we saw, was produced by food and water. Therefore the simile holds good. The life, or, more correctly, the liver, the living Self, pervades the tree, as it pervades man, when it has entered the organism which produces breath, mind, and speech. If any accident happens to a branch, the living Self draws himself away from that branch, and then the branch withers. The sap which caused the living Self to remain, goes, and the living Self goes away with it. The same applies to the whole tree. The tree dies when the living Self leaves it, but the living Self does not die ; it only leaves an abode which it had before occupied. Some other illustrations, to show that the living Self remains, are added by the commentator : First, with regard to the living Self being the same when it awakes from deep sleep (*sushupti*), he remarks that we remember quite well that we have left something unfinished before we fell asleep. And then with regard to the living Self being the same when it awakes from death to a new life, he shows that creatures, as soon as they are born take the breast, and exhibit terror, which can only be explained, as he supposes, by their possessing a recollection of a former state of existence.

TWELFTH KHANDA¹.

1. 'Fetch me from thence a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree.'

'Here is one, Sir.'

'Break it.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'These seeds, almost infinitesimal.'

'Break one of them.'

'It is broken, Sir.'

'What do you see there?'

'Not anything, Sir.'

2. The father said: 'My son, that subtile essence which you do not perceive there, of that very essence this great Nyagrodha tree exists.'

3. 'Believe it, my son. That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'Place this salt in water, and then wait on me in the morning.'

The son did as he was commanded.

The father said to him: 'Bring me the salt, which you placed in the water last night.'

¹ The question which the son is supposed to have asked is: How can this universe which has the form and name of earth &c. be produced from the Sat which is subtile, and has neither form nor name?

² The question here is supposed to have been: If the Sat is the root of all that exists, why is it not perceived?

The son having looked for it, found it not, for, of course, it was melted.

2. The father said: 'Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?'

The son replied: 'It is salt.'

'Taste it from the middle. How is it?'

The son replied: 'It is salt.'

'Taste it from the bottom. How is it?'

The son replied: 'It is salt.'

The father said: 'Throw it away¹ and then wait on me.'

He did so; but salt exists for ever.

Then the father said: 'Here also, in this body, forsooth, you do not perceive the True (Sat), my son; but there indeed it is.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'As one might lead a person with his eyes covered away from the Gandhâras³, and leave him

¹ Read abhiprâsya, which is evidently intended by the commentary: abhiprâyasya parityagya. See B. R. Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v.

² The question here asked is: The salt, though no longer perceptible by means of sight or touch, could be discovered by taste. Then how can the Sat be discovered, although it is imperceptible by all the senses?

³ The Gandhâras, but rarely mentioned in the Rig-veda and the Ait. Brâhmaṇa, have left their name in *Kάνδαροι* and Candahar. The fact of their name being evidently quite familiar to the author of the Upanishad might be used to prove either its antiquity or its Northern origin.

then in a place where there are no human beings ; and as that person would turn towards the east, or the north, or the west, and shout, " I have been brought here with my eyes covered, I have been left here with my eyes covered,"

2. 'And as thereupon some one might loose his bandage and say to him, " Go in that direction, it is Gandhâra, go in that direction ;" and as thereupon, having been informed and being able to judge for himself, he would by asking his way from village to village arrive at last at Gandhâra,—in exactly the same manner does a man, who meets with a teacher to inform him, obtain the true knowledge ¹. For him

¹ Tedious as the commentator is in general, he is sometimes almost eloquent in bringing out all that is implied or supposed to be implied in the sacred text. He explains the last simile as follows : A man was carried away by robbers from his own country. After his eyes had been covered, he was taken to a forest full of terrors and dangers arising from tigers, robbers, &c. Not knowing where he was, and suffering from hunger and thirst, he began to cry, wishing to be delivered from his bonds. Then a man took pity on him and removed his bonds, and when he had returned to his home, he was happy. Next follows the application. Our real home is the True (Sat), the Self of the world. The forest into which we are driven is the body, made of the three elements, fire, water, earth, consisting of blood, flesh, bones, &c., and liable to cold, heat, and many other evils. The bands with which our eyes are covered are our desires for many things, real or unreal, such as wife, children, cattle, &c., while the robbers by whom we are driven into the forest are our good and evil deeds. Then we cry and say : ' I am the son of so and so, these are my relatives, I am happy, I am miserable, I am foolish, I am wise, I am just, I am born, I am dead, I am old, I am wretched, my son is dead, my fortune is gone, I am undone, how shall I live, where shall I go, who will save me ? ' These and hundreds and thousands of other evils are the bands which blind us. Then, owing to some supererogatory good works we may have done, we suddenly meet a man who knows the Self of Brahman, whose own bonds have been broken, who takes pity on us and shows us the way to see the evil which attaches to all

there is only delay so long as he is not delivered (from the body); then he will be perfect¹.

3. 'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA².

1. 'If a man is ill, his relatives assemble round him and ask: "Dost thou know me? Dost thou know me?" Now as long as his speech is not

that we love in this world. We then withdraw ourselves from all worldly pleasures. We learn that we are not mere creatures of the world, the son of so and so, &c., but that we are that which is the True (Sat). The bands of our ignorance and blindness are removed, and, like the man of Gandhāra, we arrive at our own home, the Self, or the True. Then we are happy and blessed.

¹ The last words are really—'for him there is only delay so long as I shall not be delivered; then I shall be perfect.' This requires some explanation. First of all, the change from the third to the first person, is best explained by assuming that at the point where all individuality vanishes, the father, as teacher, identifies himself with the person of whom he is speaking.

The delay (the *āira* or *kshepa*) of which he speaks is the time which passes between the attainment of true knowledge and death, or freedom from the effects of actions performed before the attainment of knowledge. The actions which led to our present embodiment must be altogether consumed, before the body can perish, and then only are we free. As to any actions performed after the attainment of knowledge, they do not count; otherwise there would be a new embodiment, and the attainment of even true knowledge would never lead to final deliverance.

² The question supposed to be asked is: By what degrees a man, who has been properly instructed in the knowledge of Brahman, obtains the Sat, or returns to the True. To judge from the text both he who knows the True and he who does not, reach, when they die, the Sat, passing from speech to mind and breath and heat (fire). But whereas he who knows, remains in the Sat, they who do not

merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being (devatâ), he knows them.

2. 'But when his speech is merged in his mind, his mind in breath, breath in heat (fire), heat in the Highest Being, then he knows them not.

'That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.'

'Please, Sir, inform me still more,' said the son.

'Be it so, my child,' the father replied.

SIXTEENTH KHANDA¹.

1. 'My child, they bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: "He has taken something, he has committed a theft." (When

know, return again to a new form of existence. It is important to observe that the commentator denies that he who knows, passes at his death through the artery of the head to the sun, and then to the Sat. He holds that with him who knows there is no further cause for delay, and that as soon as he dies, he returns to the Sat.

¹ The next question is: Why does he who knows, on obtaining the Sat, not return, while he who does not know, though obtaining the Sat in death, returns? An illustration is chosen which is intended to show how knowledge produces a material effect. The belief in the efficacy of ordeals must have existed at the time, and appealing to that belief, the teacher says that the man who knows himself guilty, is really burnt by the heated iron, while the man who knows himself innocent, is not. In the same manner the man who knows his Self to be the true Self, on approaching after death the true Self, is not repelled and sent back into a new existence, while he who does not know, is sent back into a new round of births and deaths. The man who tells a falsehood about himself, loses his true Self and is burnt; the man who has a false conception about his Self, loses likewise his true Self, and not knowing the true Self, even though approaching it in death, he has to suffer till he acquires some day the true knowledge.

he denies, they say), "Heat the hatchet for him." If he committed the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is not. Then the false-minded, having covered his true Self by a falsehood, grasps the heated hatchet—he is burnt, and he is killed.

2. 'But if he did not commit the theft, then he makes himself to be what he is. Then the true-minded, having covered his true Self by truth, grasps the heated hatchet—he is not burnt, and he is delivered.

'As that (truthful) man is not burnt, thus has all that exists its self in That. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it.' He understood what he said, yea, he understood it.

SEVENTH PRAPÂTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Nârada approached Sanatkumâra and said, 'Teach me, Sir!' Sanatkumâra said to him: 'Please to tell me what you know; afterward I shall tell you what is beyond.'

2. Nârada said: 'I know the *Rig-veda*, Sir, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sâma-veda*, as the fourth the *Âtharvâna*, as the fifth the *Itihâsa-purâna* (the *Bhârata*); the *Veda* of the *Vedas* (grammar); the *Pitrya* (the rules for the sacrifices for the ancestors); the *Râsi* (the science of numbers); the *Daiva* (the science of portents); the *Nidhi* (the science of time); the *Vâkovâkya* (logic); the *Ekâyana* (ethics); the *Devavidyâ* (etymology); the *Brahma-vidyâ* (pronunciation, *sikshâ*, ceremonial, *kalpa*, prosody, *khandas*); the *Bhûta-vidyâ* (the science of demons); the *Kshatra-*

vidyâ (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra-vidyâ (astronomy); the Sarpa and Devagana-vidyâ (the science of serpents or poisons, and the sciences of the genii, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing, and other fine arts)¹. All this I know, Sir.

3. 'But, Sir, with all this I know the Mantras only, the sacred books, I do not know the Self. I have heard from men like you, that he who knows the Self overcomes grief. I am in grief. Do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine.'

Sanatkumâra said to him: 'Whatever you have read, is only a name.

4. 'A name is the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sâma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Âtharvâna*, as the fifth the *Itihâsa-purâna*, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Râsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vâko-vâkyâ*, the *Ekâyana*, the *Deva-vidyâ*, the *Brahma-vidyâ*, the *Bhûta-vidyâ*, the *Kshatra-vidyâ*, the *Nakshatra-vidyâ*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyâ*. All these are a name only. Meditate on the name.

5. 'He who meditates on the name as Brahman²,

¹ This passage, exhibiting the sacred literature as known at the time, should be compared with the *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, II, 4, 10. The explanation of the old titles rests on the authority of Saṅkara, and he is not always consistent. See Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, 1873, II, p. 10.

² Why a man who knows the Veda should not know the Self, while in other places it is said that the Veda teaches the Self, is well illustrated by the commentary. If a royal procession approaches, he says, then, though we do not see the king, because he is hidden by flags, parasols, &c., yet we say, there is the king. And if we ask who is the king, then again, though we cannot see him and point him out, we can say, at least, that he is different from all that is seen. The Self is hidden in the Veda as a king is hidden in a royal procession.

is, as it were, lord and master as far as the name reaches—he who meditates on the name as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than a name?’

‘Yes, there is something better than a name.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

SECOND KHANDA.

1. ‘Speech is better than a name. Speech makes us understand the *Rīg-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, *Sāma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Ātharvāna*, as the fifth the *Itihāsa-purāna*, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Rāsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vākovākya*, the *Ekāyana*, the *Deva-vidyā*, the *Brahma-vidyā*, the *Kshatra-vidyā*, the *Nakshatra-vidyā*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyā*; heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing. For if there were no speech, neither right nor wrong would be known¹, neither the true nor the false, neither the good nor the bad, neither the pleasant nor the unpleasant. Speech makes us understand all this. Meditate on speech.

2. ‘He who meditates on speech as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as speech reaches—he who meditates on speech as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than speech?’

‘Yes, there is something better than speech.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

¹ The commentator explains *vyagñāpayishyat* by *avignātam abhavishyat*. Possibly *hrīdayagñō* stands for *hrīdayagñam*.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'Mind (manas) is better than speech. For as the closed fist holds two amalaka or two kola or two aksha fruits, thus does mind hold speech and name. For if a man is minded in his mind to read the sacred hymns, he reads them ; if he is minded in his mind to perform any actions, he performs them ; if he is minded to wish for sons and cattle, he wishes for them ; if he is minded to wish for this world and the other, he wishes for them. For mind is indeed the self¹, mind is the world, mind is Brahman. Meditate on the mind.

2. 'He who meditates on the mind as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as the mind reaches—he who meditates on the mind as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than mind ?'

'Yes, there is something better than mind.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'Will² (sañkalpa) is better than mind. For when a man wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these therefore (beginning with mind and

¹ The commentator explains this by saying that, without the instrument of the mind, the Self cannot act or enjoy.

² Sañkalpa is elsewhere defined as a modification of manas. The commentator says that, like thinking, it is an activity of the inner organ. It is difficult to find any English term exactly corresponding to sañkalpa. Rajendralal Mitra translates it by will, but it implies not only will, but at the same time conception, determination, and desire.

ending in sacrifice) centre in will, consist of will, abide in will. Heaven and earth willed, air and ether willed, water and fire willed. Through the will of heaven and earth &c. rain wills; through the will of rain food wills; through the will of food the vital airs will; through the will of the vital airs the sacred hymns will; through the will of the sacred hymns the sacrifices will; through the will of the sacrifices the world (as their reward) wills; through the will of the world everything wills¹. This is will. Meditate on will.

3. 'He who meditates on will as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he has willed; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as will reaches—he who meditates on will as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than will?'

'Yes, there is something better than will.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Consideration (*kītta*)² is better than will. For when a man considers, then he wills, then he thinks in his mind, then he sends forth speech, and he

¹ This paragraph is obscure. The text seems doubtful, for instance, in *samakīpatām*, *samakalpetām*, and *samakalpatām*. Then the question is the exact meaning of *samkīptiyai*, which must be taken as an instrumental case. What is intended is that, without rain, food is impossible &c. or inconceivable; but the text says, 'By the will of rain food wills,' &c. Will seems almost to be taken here in the sense in which modern philosophers use it, as a kind of creative will. By the will of rain food wills, would mean, that first rain wills and exists, and afterwards the vital airs will and exist, &c.

² *Kītta*, thought, implies here consideration and reflection.

sends it forth in a name. In a name the sacred hymns are contained, in the sacred hymns all sacrifices.

2. 'All these (beginning with mind and ending in sacrifice) centre in consideration, consist of consideration, abide in consideration. Therefore if a man is inconsiderate, even if he possesses much learning, people say of him, he is nothing, whatever he may know; for, if he were learned, he would not be so inconsiderate. But if a man is considerate, even though he knows but little, to him indeed do people listen gladly. Consideration is the centre, consideration is the self, consideration is the support of all these. Meditate on consideration.

3. 'He who meditates on consideration as Brahman, he, being himself safe, firm, and undistressed, obtains the safe, firm, and undistressed worlds which he has considered; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as consideration reaches—he who meditates on consideration as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than consideration?'

'Yes, there is something better than consideration.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'Reflection (dhyâna)¹ is better than consideration. The earth reflects, as it were, and thus does the sky, the heaven, the water, the mountains, gods and men. Therefore those who among men obtain

¹ Reflection is concentration of all our thoughts on one object, *ekâgratâ*. And as a man who reflects and meditates on the highest objects acquires thereby repose, becomes firm and immovable, so the earth is supposed to be in repose and immovable, as it were, by reflection and meditation.

greatness here on earth, seem to have obtained a part of the object of reflection (because they show a certain repose of manner). Thus while small and vulgar people are always quarrelling, abusive, and slandering, great men seem to have obtained a part of the reward of reflection. Meditate on reflection.

2. 'He who meditates on reflection as Brahman, is lord and master, as it were, as far as reflection reaches—he who meditates on reflection as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than reflection?'

'Yes, there is something better than reflection.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Understanding (*vignāna*) is better than reflection. Through understanding we understand the *Rig-veda*, the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sāma-veda*, and as the fourth the *Ātharvāna*, as the fifth the *Itihāsa-purāna*¹, the Veda of the Vedas, the *Pitrya*, the *Rāsi*, the *Daiva*, the *Nidhi*, the *Vākovākya*, the *Ekāyana*, the *Deva-vidyā*, the *Brahma-vidyā*, the *Bhūta-vidyā*, the *Kshatra-vidyā*, the *Nakshatra-vidyā*, the *Sarpa* and *Devagana-vidyā*, heaven, earth, air, ether, water, fire, gods, men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; what is right and what is wrong; what is true and what is false; what is good and what is bad; what is pleasing and what is not pleasing; food and savour, this world and that, all this we understand through understanding. Meditate on understanding.

2. 'He who meditates on understanding as Brahman, reaches the worlds where there is understanding

¹ See before, p. 109.

and knowledge¹; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as understanding reaches—he who meditates on understanding as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than understanding?’

‘Yes, there is something better than understanding.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Power (bala) is better than understanding. One powerful man shakes a hundred men of understanding. If a man is powerful, he becomes a rising man. If he rises, he becomes a man who visits wise people. If he visits, he becomes a follower of wise people. If he follows them, he becomes a seeing, a hearing, a perceiving, a knowing, a doing, an understanding man. By power the earth stands firm, and the sky, and the heaven, and the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs, trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants; by power the world stands firm. Meditate on power.

2. ‘He who meditates on power as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as power reaches—he who meditates on power as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than power?’

‘Yes, there is something better than power.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

NINTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Food (anna) is better than power. Therefore if a man abstain from food for ten days, though he live, he would be unable to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. But when he obtains

¹ The commentator takes *vigñāna* here as understanding of sacred books, *gñāna* as cleverness with regard to other subjects.

food, he is able to see, hear, perceive, think, act, and understand. Meditate on food.

2. 'He who meditates on food as Brahman, obtains the worlds rich in food and drink; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as food reaches—he who meditates on food as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than food?'

'Yes, there is something better than food.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Water (ap) is better than food. Therefore if there is not sufficient rain, the vital spirits fail from fear that there will be less food. But if there is sufficient rain, the vital spirits rejoice, because there will be much food. This water, on assuming different forms, becomes this earth, this sky, this heaven, the mountains, gods and men, cattle, birds, herbs and trees, all beasts down to worms, midges, and ants. Water indeed assumes all these forms. Meditate on water.

2. 'He who meditates on water as Brahman, obtains all wishes, he becomes satisfied; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as water reaches—he who meditates on water as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than water?'

'Yes, there is something better than water.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Fire (tegas) is better than water. For fire united with air, warms the ether. Then people say, It is hot, it burns, it will rain. Thus does fire, after showing this sign (itself) first, create water. And

thus again thunderclaps come with lightnings, flashing upwards and across the sky. Then people say, There is lightning and thunder, it will rain. Then also does fire, after showing this sign first, create water. Meditate on fire.

2. 'He who meditates on fire as Brahman, obtains, resplendent himself, resplendent worlds, full of light and free of darkness; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as fire reaches—he who meditates on fire as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than fire?'

'Yes, there is something better than fire.'

'Sir, tell it me.'

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Ether (or space) is better than fire. For in the ether exist both sun and moon, the lightning, stars, and fire (agni). Through the ether we call, through the ether we hear, through the ether we answer¹. In the ether or space we rejoice (when we are together), and rejoice not (when we are separated). In the ether everything is born, and towards the ether everything tends when it is born². Meditate on ether.

2. 'He who meditates on ether as Brahman, obtains the worlds of ether and of light, which are free from pressure and pain, wide and spacious³; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as ether reaches—he who meditates on ether as Brahman.'

'Sir, is there something better than ether?'

¹ Cf. *Kā.* Up. IV, 5, 1.

² The seed grows upwards towards the ether; not downwards.

³ Cf. *Kā.* Up. II, 11.

‘Yes, there is something better than ether.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

THIRTEENTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Memory¹ (smara) is better than ether. Therefore where many are assembled together, if they have no memory, they would hear no one, they would not perceive, they would not understand. Through memory we know our sons, through memory our cattle. Meditate on memory.

2. ‘He who meditates on memory as Brahman, is, as it were, lord and master as far as memory reaches—he who meditates on memory as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than memory?’

‘Yes, there is something better than memory.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. ‘Hope (āśā) is better than memory. Fired by hope does memory read the sacred hymns, perform sacrifices, desire sons and cattle, desire this world and the other. Meditate on hope.

2. ‘He who meditates on hope as Brahman, all his desires are fulfilled by hope, his prayers are not in vain; he is, as it were, lord and master as far as hope reaches—he who meditates on hope as Brahman.’

‘Sir, is there something better than hope?’

‘Yes, there is something better than hope.’

‘Sir, tell it me.’

¹ The apparent distance between ether and memory is bridged over by the commentator pointing out that without memory everything would be as if it were not, so far as we are concerned.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. 'Spirit' (prâna) is better than hope. As the spokes of a wheel hold to the nave², so does all this (beginning with names and ending in hope) hold to spirit. That spirit moves by the spirit, it gives spirit to the spirit. Father means spirit, mother is spirit, brother is spirit, sister is spirit, tutor is spirit, Brâhmaṇa is spirit.

2. 'For if one says anything unbecoming to a father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or Brâhmaṇa, then people say, Shame on thee! thou hast offended thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor, or a Brâhmaṇa.

3. 'But, if after the spirit has departed from them, one shoves them together with a poker, and burns them to pieces, no one would say, Thou offendest thy father, mother, brother, sister, tutor or a Brâhmaṇa.

4. 'Spirit then is all this. He who sees this, perceives this, and understands this, becomes an ativâdin³. If people say to such a man, Thou

¹ Prâna is used here in a technical sense. It does not mean simply breath, but the spirit, the conscious self (pragñâtman) which, as we saw, enters the body in order to reveal the whole variety of forms and names. It is in one sense the mukhya prâna.

² The commentary carries the simile still further. The fellow, he says, holds to the spokes, the spokes to the nave. So do the bhûtamâtrâs hold to the pragñâmâtrâs, and these to the prâna.

³ One who declares something that goes beyond all the declarations made before, beginning with the declaration that names are Brahman, and ending with the declaration that hope is Brahman;—one who knows that prâna, spirit, the conscious self, is Brahman. This declaration represents the highest point reached by ordinary people, but Nârada wishes to go beyond. In the *Mundaka*, III, 1, 4, an ativâdin is contrasted with one who really knows the highest truth.

art an ativâdin, he may say, I am an ativâdin ; he need not deny it.'

SIXTEENTH KHANDA¹.

I. 'But in reality he is an ativâdin who declares the Highest Being to be the True (Satya, τὸ ὄντως ὅν).'

'Sir, may I become an ativâdin by the True?'

'But we must desire to know the True.'

'Sir, I desire to know the True.'

SEVENTEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one understands the True, then one declares the True. One who does not understand it, does not declare the True². Only he who understands it, declares the True. This understanding, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

EIGHTEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one perceives, then one understands. One who does not perceive, does not understand. Only he who perceives, understands. This perception, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

¹ As Nârada asks no further, whether there is anything better, higher, truer than *prâna*, he is supposed to be satisfied with his belief that *prâna* is the Highest Being. Sanatkumâra, however, wishes to lead him on to a still higher view ; hence the paragraphs which follow from 16 to 26.

² He would, for instance, call fire real, not knowing that fire is only a mixture of the three elements (cf. VI, 4), the *rûpatraya*, a mere variety (*vikâra*), and name (*nâman*).

NINETEENTH KHANDA.

I. 'When one believes, then one perceives. One who does not believe, does not perceive. Only he who believes, perceives. This belief, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTIETH KHANDA.

I. 'When one attends on a tutor (spiritual guide), then one believes. One who does not attend on a tutor, does not believe. Only he who attends, believes. This attention on a tutor, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FIRST KHANDA.

I. 'When one performs all sacred duties¹, then one attends really on a tutor. One who does not perform his duties, does not really attend on a tutor. Only he who performs his duties, attends on his tutor. This performance of duties, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-SECOND KHANDA.

I. 'When one obtains bliss (in oneself), then one performs duties. One who does not obtain bliss, does not perform duties. Only he who obtains bliss, performs duties. This bliss, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

¹ The duties of a student, such as restraint of the senses, concentration of the mind, &c.

TWENTY-THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'The Infinite (bhûman)¹ is bliss. There is no bliss in anything finite. Infinity only is bliss. This Infinity, however, we must desire to understand.'

'Sir, I desire to understand it.'

TWENTY-FOURTH KHANDA.

1. 'Where one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the Infinite. Where one sees something else, hears something else, understands something else, that is the finite. The Infinite is immortal, the finite is mortal.'

'Sir, in what does the Infinite rest?'

'In its own greatness—or not even in greatness?'

2. 'In the world they call cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves, wives, fields and houses greatness. I do not mean this,' thus he spoke; 'for in that case one being (the possessor) rests in something else, (but the Infinite cannot rest in something different from itself.)

TWENTY-FIFTH KHANDA.

1. 'The Infinite indeed is below, above, behind, before, right and left—it is indeed all this.

'Now follows the explanation of the Infinite as

¹ Bhûman is sometimes translated by grandeur, the superlative, the akme. It is the highest point that can be reached, the infinite and the true.

² This phrase reminds one of the last verse in the No sad âsîd hymn, where, likewise, the expression of the highest certainty is followed by a misgiving that after all it may be otherwise. The commentator takes yadi vâ in the sense of, If you ask in the highest sense, then I say no; for the Infinite cannot rest in anything, not even in greatness.

the I : I am below, I am above, I am behind, before, right and left—I am all this.

2. 'Next follows the explanation of the Infinite as the Self: Self is below, above, behind, before, right and left—Self is all this.

'He who sees, perceives, and understands this, loves the Self, delights in the Self, revels in the Self, rejoices in the Self—he becomes a Svarâg, (an autocrat or self-ruler); he is lord and master in all the worlds.

'But those who think differently from this, live in perishable worlds, and have other beings for their rulers.

TWENTY-SIXTH KHANDA.

1. 'To him who sees, perceives, and understands this¹, the spirit (*prâna*) springs from the Self, hope springs from the Self, memory springs from the Self; so do ether, fire, water, appearance and disappearance², food, power, understanding, reflection, consideration, will, mind, speech, names, sacred hymns, and sacrifices—aye, all this springs from the Self.

2. 'There is this verse, "He who sees this, does not see death, nor illness, nor pain; he who sees this, sees everything, and obtains everything everywhere.

"He is one (before creation), he becomes three

¹ Before the acquirement of true knowledge, all that has been mentioned before, spirit, hope, memory, &c., on to names, was supposed to spring from the Sat, as something different from oneself. Now he is to know that the Sat is the Self.

² In the preceding paragraphs appearance and disappearance (birth and death) are not mentioned. This shows how easy it was in these treatises either to omit or to add anything that seemed important.

(fire, water, earth), he becomes five, he becomes seven, he becomes nine; then again he is called the eleventh, and hundred and ten and one thousand and twenty¹.”

‘When the intellectual aliment has been purified, the whole nature becomes purified. When the whole nature has been purified, the memory becomes firm. And when the memory (of the Highest Self) remains firm, then all the ties (which bind us to a belief in anything but the Self) are loosened.

‘The venerable Sanatkumâra showed to Nârada, after his faults had been rubbed out, the other side of darkness. They call Sanatkumâra Skanda, yea, Skanda they call him.’

EIGHTH PRAPĀTHAKA.

FIRST KHANDA².

I. Hari^h, Om. There is this city of Brahman (the body), and in it the palace, the small lotus (of

¹ This too is meant as a verse. The commentary says that the various numbers are intended to show the endless variety of form on the Self after creation. Cf. Mait. Up. V, 2.

² The eighth Prapâthaka seems to form a kind of appendix to the Upanishad. The highest point that can be reached by speculation had been reached in the seventh Prapâthaka, the identity of our self and of everything else with the Highest Self. This speculative effort, however, is too much for ordinary people. They cannot conceive the Sat or Brahman as out of space and time, as free from all qualities, and in order to help them, they are taught to adore the Brahman, as it appears in space and time, an object endowed with certain qualities, living in nature and in the human heart. The Highest Brahman, besides which there is nothing, and which can neither be reached as an object, nor be considered as

the heart), and in it that small ether. Now what exists within that small ether, that is to be sought for, that is to be understood.

2. And if they should say to him: 'Now with regard to that city of Brahman, and the palace in it, i. e. the small lotus of the heart, and the small ether within the heart, what is there within it that deserves to be sought for, or that is to be understood?'

3. Then he should say: 'As large as this ether (all space) is, so large is that ether within the heart. Both heaven and earth are contained within it, both fire and air, both sun and moon, both lightning and stars; and whatever there is of him (the Self) here in the world, and whatever is not (i. e. whatever has been or will be), all that is contained within it¹.'

4. And if they should say to him: 'If everything that exists is contained in that city of Brahman, all beings and all desires (whatever can be imagined or desired), then what is left of it, when old age reaches it and scatters it, or when it falls to pieces?'

5. Then he should say: 'By the old age of the body, that (the ether, or Brahman within it) does not age; by the death of the body, that (the ether, or Brahman within it) is not killed. That (the Brah-

an effect, seems to ordinary minds like a thing which is not. Therefore while the true philosopher, after acquiring the knowledge of the Highest Sat, becomes identified with it suddenly, like lightning, the ordinary mortal must reach it by slow degrees, and as a preparation for that higher knowledge which is to follow, the eighth Prapāṭhaka, particularly the first portion of it, has been added to the teaching contained in the earlier books.

¹ The ether in the heart is really a name of Brahman. He is there, and therefore all that comes of him when he assumes bodily shapes, both what is and what is not, i. e. what is no longer or not yet; for the absolute nothing is not intended here.

man) is the true Brahma-city (not the body¹). In it all desires are contained. It is the Self, free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine. Now as here on earth people follow as they are commanded, and depend on the object which they are attached to, be it a country or a piece of land,

6. 'And as here on earth, whatever has been acquired by exertion, perishes, so perishes whatever is acquired for the next world by sacrifices and other good actions performed on earth. Those who depart from hence without having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is no freedom in all the worlds. But those who depart from hence, after having discovered the Self and those true desires², for them there is freedom in all the worlds.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. 'Thus he who desires the world³ of the fathers, by his mere will the fathers come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the fathers, he is happy.

2. 'And he who desires the world of the mothers, by his mere will the mothers come to receive him,

¹ I translate this somewhat differently from the commentator, though the argument remains the same.

² True desires are those which we ought to desire, and the fulfilment of which depends on ourselves, supposing that we have acquired the knowledge which enables us to fulfil them.

³ World is the nearest approach to loka: it means life with the fathers, or enjoying the company of the fathers.

and having obtained the world of the mothers, he is happy.

3. 'And he who desires the world of the brothers, by his mere will the brothers come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the brothers, he is happy.

4. 'And he who desires the world of the sisters, by his mere will the sisters come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the sisters, he is happy.

5. 'And he who desires the world of the friends, by his mere will the friends come to receive him, and having obtained the world of the friends, he is happy.

6. 'And he who desires the world of perfumes and garlands (gandhamālya), by his mere will perfumes and garlands come to him, and having obtained the world of perfumes and garlands, he is happy.

7. 'And he who desires the world of food and drink, by his mere will food and drink come to him, and having obtained the world of food and drink, he is happy.

8. 'And he who desires the world of song and music, by his mere will song and music come to him, and having obtained the world of song and music, he is happy.

9. 'And he who desires the world of women, by his mere will women come to receive him, and having obtained the world of women, he is happy.

'Whatever object he is attached to, whatever object he desires, by his mere will it comes to him, and having obtained it, he is happy.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. 'These true desires, however, are hidden by what is false; though the desires be true, they have a covering which is false. Thus, whoever belonging to us has departed this life, him we cannot gain back, so that we should see him with our eyes.

2. 'Those who belong to us, whether living or departed, and whatever else there is which we wish for and do not obtain, all that we find there (if we descend into our heart, where Brahman dwells, in the ether of the heart). There are all our true desires, but hidden by what is false¹. As people who do not know the country, walk again and again over a gold treasure that has been hidden somewhere in the earth and do not discover it, thus do all these creatures day after day go into the Brahma-world (they are merged in Brahman, while asleep), and yet do not discover it, because they are carried away by untruth (they do not come to themselves, i. e. they do not discover the true Self in Brahman, dwelling in the heart).

3. 'That Self abides in the heart. And this is the etymological explanation. The heart is called *hrīd-ayam*, instead of *hrīdy-ayam*, i. e. He who is in the heart. He who knows this, that He is in the heart, goes day by day (when in *sushupti*, deep sleep) into heaven (*svarga*), i. e. into the Brahman of the heart.

4. 'Now that serene being² which, after having

¹ All the desires mentioned before are fulfilled, if we find their fulfilment in our Self, in the city of Brahman within our heart. There we always can possess those whom we have loved, only we must not wish to see them with our eyes; that would be a false covering to a true desire.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* VIII, 12, 3.

risen from out this earthly body, and having reached the highest light (self-knowledge), appears in its true form, that is the Self,' thus he spoke (when asked by his pupils). This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman. And of that Brahman the name is the True, Satyam,

5. This name Sattyam consists of three syllables, sat-tī-yam¹. Sat signifies the immortal, t, the mortal, and with yam he binds both. Because he binds both, the immortal and the mortal, therefore it is yam. He who knows this goes day by day into heaven (svarga).

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. That Self is a bank², a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Day and night do not pass that bank, nor old age, death, and grief; neither good nor evil deeds. All evil-doers turn back from it, for the world of Brahman is free from all evil.

2. Therefore he who has crossed that bank, if blind, ceases to be blind; if wounded, ceases to be wounded; if afflicted, ceases to be afflicted. Therefore when that bank has been crossed, night becomes day indeed, for the world of Brahman is lighted up once for all³.

3. And that world of Brahman belongs to those

¹ We ought probably to read Sattyam, and then Sat-tī-yam. The ī in tī would then be the dual of an anubandha ī. Instead of yaddhi, I conjecture yatti. See Ait. Āraṇyaka II, 5, 5.

² Setu, generally translated by bridge, was originally a bank of earth (mṛidādīmaya), thrown up to serve as a pathway (pons) through water or a swamp. Such banks exist still in many places, and they serve at the same time as boundaries (maryādā) between fields belonging to different properties. Cf. Mait. Up. VII, 7; Kāṇ. Up. III, 2; Talav. Up. comm. p. 59; Mund. Up. II, 2, 5.

³ Kā. Up. III, 11, 3.

only who find it by abstinence—for them there is freedom in all the worlds.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. What people call sacrifice (*yagñā*), that is really abstinence (*brahmaṭarya*). For he who knows, obtains that (world of Brahman, which others obtain by sacrifice), by means of abstinence.

What people call sacrifice (*ishṭa*), that is really abstinence, for by abstinence, having searched (*ish-tvā*), he obtains the Self.

2. What people call sacrifice (*sattrāyana*), that is really abstinence, for by abstinence he obtains from the Sat (the true), the safety (*trāna*) of the Self.

What people call the vow of silence (*mauna*), that is really abstinence, for he who by abstinence has found out the Self, meditates (*manute*).

3. What people call fasting (*anāsakāyana*), that is really abstinence, for that Self does not perish (*na nasyati*), which we find out by abstinence.

What people call a hermit's life (*aranyaṅyana*), that is really abstinence. *Ara*¹ and *Nya* are two lakes in the world of Brahman, in the third heaven from hence; and there is the lake *Airammadhya*, and the *Asvattha* tree, showering down Soma, and the city of Brahman (*Hiranyagarbha*) *Aparāgitā*², and the golden *Prabhuvimīta* (the hall built by *Prabhu*, Brahman).

Now that world of Brahman belongs to those who find the lakes *Ara* and *Nya* in the world of Brahman by means of abstinence; for them there is freedom in all the worlds³.

¹ In the Kaush. Br. Up. I, 3, the lake is called *Āra*, at least according to the commentator.

² In the Kaush. Br. Up. *Aparāgita* is not *pūh*, but *āyatanam*.

³ The fifth khanda is chiefly meant to recommend *brahmaṭarya*

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Now those arteries of the heart consist of a brown substance, of a white, blue, yellow, and red

or abstinence from all worldly enjoyments, enjoined on the brahmârin, the student, as a means of obtaining a knowledge of Brahman. But instead of showing that such abstinence is indispensable for a proper concentration of our intellectual faculties, we are told that abstinence is the same as certain sacrifices; and this is shown, not by arguments, but by a number of very far-fetched plays on words. These it is impossible to render in any translation, nay, they hardly deserve being translated. Thus abstinence is said to be identical with sacrifice, *yagña*, because *yo gñâtâ*, 'he who knows,' has a certain similarity with *yagña*. *Ishâ*, another kind of sacrifice, is compared with *eshanâ*, search; *sattrâyana* with *Sat*, the True, the Brahman, and *trâyana*, protection; *mauna*, silence, with *manana*, meditating (which may be right); *anâsakâyana*, fasting, with *naś*, to perish, and *aranyâgana*, a hermit's life, with *ara*, *nya*, and *ayana*, going to the two lakes *Ara* and *Nya*, which are believed to exist in the legendary world of Brahman. Nothing can be more absurd. Having once struck the note of Brahmanic legends, such as we find it, for instance, in the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad*, the author goes on. Besides the lakes *Ara* and *Nya* (in the *Kaushîtaki-brâhmana-upanishad* we have only one lake, called *Âra*), he mentions the *Airamadîya* lake, and explains it as *aira* (*irâ annam, tanmaya airo mandas, tena pûrnam airam*) and *madîya*, delightful. The *Asvattha* tree, which pours down *Soma*, is not tortured into anything else, except that *Soma* is explained as the immortal, or nectar. *Aparâgita* becomes the city of Brahman, because it can be conquered by no one except those who have practised abstinence. And the hall which elsewhere is called *Vibhu-pramita* becomes *Prabhuvimitam*, or *Prabhu-vinirmita*, made by *Prabhu*, i.e. Brahman. All the fulfilled desires, as enumerated in *khandas* 2-5, whether the finding again of our fathers and mothers, or entering the *Brahmaloka* with its lakes and palaces, must be taken, not as material (*sthûla*), but as mental only (*mânasa*). On that account, however, they are by no means considered as false or unreal, as little as dreams are. Dreams are false and unreal, relatively only, i.e. relatively to what we see, when we awake; but not in themselves. Whatever we see in waking, also, has been shown to be

substance, and so is the sun brown, white, blue, yellow, and red.

2. As a very long highway goes to two places, to one at the beginning, and to another at the end, so do the rays of the sun go to both worlds, to this one and to the other. They start from the sun, and enter into those arteries; they start from those arteries, and enter into the sun.

3. And when a man is asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest, so that he sees no dream¹, then he has entered into those arteries. Then no evil touches him, for he has obtained the light (of the sun).

4. And when a man falls ill, then those who sit round him, say, 'Do you know me? Do you know me?' As long as he has not departed from this body, he knows them.

5. But when he departs from this body, then he departs upwards by those very rays (towards the worlds which he has gained by merit, not by knowledge); or he goes out while meditating on Om² (and thus securing an entrance into the Brahma-

false; because it consists of forms and names only; yet these forms and names have a true element in them, viz. the Sat. Before we know that Sat, all the objects we see in waking seem true; as dreams seem true in dreaming. But when once we awake from our waking by true knowledge, we see that nothing is true but the Sat. When we imagine we see a serpent, and then discover that it is a rope, the serpent disappears as false, but what was true in it, the rope, remains true.

¹ Svapna in Sanskrit is both somnus and somnium. Hence one might translate also, 'so that he is not aware that he is asleep,' which in some respects would seem even more appropriate in our passage; cf. VIII, 11, 1.

² According to the explanation given of the Om in the Upanishads, and more particularly in the Dahara-vidyâ contained in this Prapâthaka.

loka). And while his mind is failing, he is going to the sun. For the sun is the door of the world (of Brahman). Those who know, walk in; those who do not know, are shut out. There is this verse¹: 'There are a hundred and one arteries of the heart; one of them penetrates the crown of the head; moving upwards by it a man reaches the immortal; the others serve for departing in different directions, yea, in different directions².'

SEVENTH KHANDA³.

1. Pragâpati said: 'The Self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand. He who has searched out that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires.'

2. The Devas (gods) and Asuras (demons) both heard these words, and said: 'Well, let us search for that Self by which, if one has searched it out, all worlds and all desires are obtained.'

Thus saying Indra went from the Devas, Viroçana from the Asuras, and both, without having communicated with each other, approached Pragâpati,

¹ Prasna Up. II, 1.

² The same verse occurs in the *Ka/ha* 6, 16, and is frequently quoted elsewhere, for instance, *Mait. comm.* p. 164. For *vishvaññ*, the right reading would seem to be *vishvak*. In the *Mait. Up.* VI, 30, the *Trish/tubh* are reduced to *Anush/tubh* verses. See also *Prasna Up.* III, 6-7; *Mund. Up.* II, 2.

³ Here the highest problem is treated again, the knowledge of the true Self, which leads beyond the world of *Brahmâ* (masc.), and enables the individual self to return into the Highest Self.

holding fuel in their hands, as is the custom for pupils approaching their master.

3. They dwelt there as pupils for thirty-two years. Then Pragâpati asked them: 'For what purpose have you both dwelt here?'

They replied: 'A saying of yours is being repeated, viz. "the Self which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, which desires nothing but what it ought to desire, and imagines nothing but what it ought to imagine, that it is which we must search out, that it is which we must try to understand. He who has searched out that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires." Now we both have dwelt here because we wish for that Self.'

Pragâpati said to them: 'The person that is seen in the eye¹, that is the Self. This is what I have said. This is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

They asked: 'Sir, he who is perceived in the water, and he who is perceived in a mirror, who is he?'

He replied: 'He himself indeed is seen in all these².'

¹ The commentator explains this rightly. Pragâpati means by the person that is seen in the eye, the real agent of seeing, who is seen by sages only, even with their eyes shut. His pupils, however, misunderstand him. They think of the person that is seen, not of the person that sees (Yoga-sûtras II, 6). The person seen in the eye is to them the small figure imaged in the eye, and they go on therefore to ask, whether the image in the water or in a mirror is not the Self.

² The commentators are at great pains to explain that Pragâpati told no falsehood. He meant by purusha the personal element in the highest sense, and it was not his fault that his pupils took purusha for man or body.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. 'Look at your Self in a pan of water, and whatever you do not understand of your Self¹, come and tell me.'

They looked in the water-pan. Then Pragâpati said to them: 'What do you see?'

They said: 'We both see the self thus altogether, a picture even to the very hairs and nails.'

2. Pragâpati said to them: 'After you have adorned yourselves, have put on your best clothes and cleaned yourselves, look again into the water-pan.'

They, after having adorned themselves, having put on their best clothes and cleaned themselves, looked into the water-pan.

Pragâpati said: 'What do you see?'

3. They said: 'Just as we are, well adorned, with our best clothes and clean, thus we are both there, Sir, well adorned, with our best clothes and clean.'

Pragâpati said: 'That is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then both went away satisfied in their hearts.

4. And Pragâpati, looking after them, said: 'They both go away without having perceived and without having known the Self, and whoever of these two², whether Devas or Asuras, will follow this doctrine (upanishad), will perish.'

Now Viroçana, satisfied in his heart, went to the Asuras and preached that doctrine to them, that the self (the body) alone is to be worshipped, that the

¹ I take *âtmanaḥ* as a genitive, governed by *yad*, not as an accusative plural.

² The commentator reads *yatare* for *yataḥ*.

self (the body) alone is to be served, and that he who worships the self and serves the self, gains both worlds, this and the next.

5. Therefore they call even now a man who does not give alms here, who has no faith, and offers no sacrifices, an Āsura, for this is the doctrine (upaniśhad) of the Asuras. They deck out the body of the dead with perfumes, flowers, and fine raiment by way of ornament, and think they will thus conquer that world¹.

NINTH KHANDA.

1. But Indra, before he had returned to the Devas, saw this difficulty. As this self (the shadow in the water)² is well adorned, when the body is well adorned, well dressed, when the body is well dressed, well cleaned, if the body is well cleaned, that self will also be blind, if the body is blind, lame, if the body is lame³, crippled, if the body is crippled, and will perish in fact as soon as the body perishes. Therefore I see no good in this (doctrine).

2. Taking fuel in his hand he came again as a pupil to Praḡāpati. Praḡāpati said to him: 'Maghavat (Indra), as you went away with Viroḡana, satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

¹ This evidently refers to the customs and teaching of tribes not entirely conforming to the Brahmanic system. Whether the adorning of the dead body implies burial instead of burning, seems doubtful.

² The commentator remarks that though both Indra and Viroḡana had mistaken the true import of what Praḡāpati said, yet while Viroḡana took the body to be the Self, Indra thought that the Self was the shadow of the body.

³ Srāma, lame, is explained by the commentator as one-eyed, ekanetra.

He said : ' Sir, as this self (the shadow) is well adorned, when the body is well adorned, well dressed, when the body is well dressed, well cleaned, if the body is well cleaned, that self will also be blind, if the body is blind, lame, if the body is lame, crippled, if the body is crippled, and will perish in fact as soon as the body perishes. Therefore I see no good in this (doctrine).'

3. ' So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati ; ' but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you. Live with me another thirty-two years.'

He lived with him another thirty-two years, and then Pragâpati said :

TENTH KHANDA.

1. ' He who moves about happy in dreams, he is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then Indra went away satisfied in his heart. But before he had returned to the Devas, he saw this difficulty. Although it is true that that self is not blind, even if the body is blind, nor lame, if the body is lame, though it is true that that self is not rendered faulty by the faults of it (the body),

2. Nor struck when it (the body) is struck, nor lamed when it is lamed, yet it is as if they struck him (the self) in dreams, as if they chased him ¹.

¹ I have adopted the reading *vikkhâyayanti*, because it is the most difficult, and therefore explains most easily the various corruptions, or it may be emendations, that have crept into the text. Sankara explains *vikkhâdayanti* by *vidrâvayanti*, and this shows that he too must have read *vikkhâyayanti*, for he could not have explained *vikkhâdayanti*, which means they uncover or they deprive of their clothing, by *vidrâvayanti*, they drive away. It is true that *vikkhâyayanti* may be explained in two ways ; it may be the causative of *khâ*, to cut, but this meaning is not very appropriate here,

He becomes even conscious, as it were, of pain, and sheds tears. Therefore I see no good in this.

3. Taking fuel in his hands, he went again as a pupil to Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him: 'Maghavat, as you went away satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

He said: 'Sir, although it is true that that self is not blind even if the body is blind, nor lame, if the body is lame, though it is true that that self is not rendered faulty by the faults of it (the body),

4. Nor struck when it (the body) is struck, nor lamed when it is lamed, yet it is as if they struck him (the self) in dreams, as if they chased him. He becomes even conscious, as it were, of pain, and sheds tears. Therefore I see no good in this.'

'So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati; 'but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you. Live with me another thirty-two years.'

He lived with him another thirty-two years. Then Pragâpati said:

and quite inadmissible in another passage where *vikkhâyayati* occurs, whereas, if derived from *vikh* (*οἰχομαι*) in a causative sense, Saṅkara could hardly have chosen a better explanation than *vidrāvayanti*, they make run away. The root *vikh*, *vikkhâyayati* is recognised in Pāṇini III, 1, 28, and in the Dhâtupāṭha 28, 129, but it has hitherto been met with in this passage only, and in *Bṛihadâraṇyaka* Up. IV, 3, 20. Here also the author speaks of a man who imagines that people kill him or do him violence, or that an elephant chases him or that he falls into a pit. Here we have *hastîva vikkhâyayati*, and Saṅkara, at least as printed by Dr. Roer, explains this by *vikkhâpayati*, *vikkhâdayati*, *vidrāvayati*; *dhâvatîty arthaḥ*. Much better is Dvivedaganga's commentary, as published by Dr. Weber, Satap. Brâhm. p. 1145, *Kadâkid enam hastî vikkhâyayatîva vidrāvayatîva*; *vikha gatau, gupûdhûpavikkhipanipañibhya âya iti* (Pāṇ. III, 1, 28) *svârtha âyapratyayaḥ*. In the Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth the derivation from *khâ*, to cut, is preferred; see *Nachträge*, s. v. *khâ*.

ELEVENTH KHANDA.

1. 'When a man being asleep, reposing, and at perfect rest¹, sees no dreams, that is the Self, this is the immortal, the fearless, this is Brahman.'

Then Indra went away satisfied in his heart. But before he had returned to the Devas, he saw this difficulty. In truth he thus does not know himself (his self) that he is I, nor does he know anything that exists. He is gone to utter annihilation. I see no good in this.

2. Taking fuel in his hand he went again as a pupil to Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him: 'Maghavat, as you went away satisfied in your heart, for what purpose did you come back?'

He said: 'Sir, in that way he does not know himself (his self) that he is I, nor does he know anything that exists. He is gone to utter annihilation. I see no good in this.'

3. 'So it is indeed, Maghavat,' replied Pragâpati; 'but I shall explain him (the true Self) further to you, and nothing more than this². Live here other five years.'

He lived there other five years. This made in all one hundred and one years, and therefore it is said that Indra Maghavat lived one hundred and one years as a pupil with Pragâpati. Pragâpati said to him:

TWELFTH KHANDA.

1. 'Maghavat, this body is mortal and always held by death. It is the abode of that Self which is

¹ See *Kh. Up.* VIII, 6, 3.

² Sañkara explains this as meaning the real Self, not anything different from the Self.

immortal and without body¹. When in the body (by thinking this body is I and I am this body) the Self is held by pleasure and pain. So long as he is in the body, he cannot get free from pleasure and pain. But when he is free of the body (when he knows himself different from the body), then neither pleasure nor pain touches him².

2. 'The wind is without body, the cloud, lightning, and thunder are without body (without hands, feet, &c.) Now as these, arising from this heavenly ether (space), appear in their own form, as soon as they have approached the highest light,

3. 'Thus does that serene being, arising from this body, appear in its own form, as soon as it has approached the highest light (the knowledge of Self³). He (in that state) is the highest person (uttama pūrusha). He moves about there laughing (or eating), playing, and rejoicing (in his mind), be it with women, carriages, or relatives, never minding that body into which he was born⁴.

¹ According to some, the body is the result of the Self, the elements of the body, fire, water, and earth springing from the Self, and the Self afterwards entering them.

² Ordinary, worldly pleasure. Comm.

³ The simile is not so striking as most of those old similes are. The wind is compared with the Self, on account of its being for a time lost in the ether (space), as the Self is in the body, and then rising again out of the ether and assuming its own form as wind. The chief stress is laid on the highest light, which in the one case is the sun of summer, in the other the light of knowledge.

⁴ These are pleasures which seem hardly compatible with the state of perfect peace which the Self is supposed to have attained. The passage may be interpolated, or put in on purpose to show that the Self enjoys such pleasures as an inward spectator only, without identifying himself with either pleasure or pain. He sees them, as he says afterwards, with his divine eye. The Self per-

‘Like as a horse attached to a cart, so is the spirit¹ (prâna, pragñâtman) attached to this body.

4. ‘Now where the sight has entered into the void (the open space, the black pupil of the eye), there is the person of the eye, the eye itself is the instrument of seeing. He who knows, let me smell this, he is the Self, the nose is the instrument of smelling. He who knows, let me say this, he is the Self, the tongue is the instrument of saying. He who knows, let me hear this, he is the Self, the ear is the instrument of hearing.

5. ‘He who knows, let me think this, he is the Self, the mind is his divine eye². He, the Self, seeing these pleasures (which to others are hidden like a buried treasure of gold) through his divine eye, i. e. the mind, rejoices.

‘The Devas who are in the world of Brahman meditate on that Self (as taught by Pragâpati to Indra, and by Indra to the Devas). Therefore all worlds belong to them, and all desires. He who knows that Self and understands it, obtains all worlds and all desires.’ Thus said Pragâpati, yea, thus said Pragâpati.

ceives in all things his Self only, nothing else. In his commentary on the Taittirîya Upanishad (p. 45) Saṅkara refers this passage to Brahman as an effect, not to Brahman as a cause.

¹ The spirit, the conscious self, is not identical with the body, but only joined to it, like a horse, or driving it, like a charioteer. In other passages the senses are the horses; buddhi, reason, the charioteer; manas, mind, the reins. The spirit is attached to the cart by the *ketana*; cf. *Ânandagñânagiri*.

² Because it perceives not only what is present, but also what is past and future.

THIRTEENTH KHANDA ¹.

1. From the dark (the Brahman of the heart) I come to the nebulous (the world of Brahman), from the nebulous to the dark, shaking off all evil, as a horse shakes his hairs, and as the moon frees herself from the mouth of Rāhu ². Having shaken off the body, I obtain, self made and satisfied, the uncreated world of Brahman, yea, I obtain it.

FOURTEENTH KHANDA.

1. He who is called ether³ (ākāśa) is the revealer of all forms and names. That within which these forms and names are contained is the Brahman, the Immortal, the Self.

I come to the hall of Praḡāpati, to the house; I am the glorious among Brāhmins, glorious among princes, glorious among men⁴. I obtained that glory, I am glorious among the glorious. May I never go to the white, toothless, yet devouring, white abode⁵; may I never go to it.

¹ This chapter is supposed to contain a hymn of triumph.

² Rāhu, in later times a monster, supposed to swallow the sun and moon at every solar or lunar eclipse. At first we only hear of the mouth or head of Rāhu. In later times a body was assigned to him, but it had to be destroyed again by Vishṇu, so that nothing remained of him but his head. Rāhu seems derived from rah, to separate, to remove. From it raksh, to wish or strive to remove, to keep off, to protect, and in a different application rākshas, a tearing away, violence, rakshās, a robber, an evil spirit.

³ Ākāśa, ether or space, is a name of Brahman, because, like ether, Brahman has no body and is infinitely small.

⁴ Here the three classes, commonly called castes, are clearly marked by the names of brāhmana, rājan, and vis.

⁵ Yonisabditam pragananendriyam.

FIFTEENTH KHANDA.

1. Brahmâ (Hiranyagarbha or Paramesvara) told this to Pragâpati (Kasyapa), Pragâpati to Manu (his son), Manu to mankind. He who has learnt the Veda from a family of teachers, according to the sacred rule, in the leisure time left from the duties to be performed for the Guru, who, after receiving his discharge, has settled in his own house, keeping up the memory of what he has learnt by repeating it regularly in some sacred spot, who has begotten virtuous sons, and concentrated all his senses on the Self, never giving pain to any creature, except at the tîrthas¹ (sacrifices, &c.), he who behaves thus all his life, reaches the world of Brahman, and does not return, yea, he does not return.

¹ The commentator says that even travelling about as a mendicant causes pain, but that a mendicant is allowed to importune people for alms at tîrthas, or sacred places. Others explain this differently.

TALAVAKĀRA
OR
KENA-UPANISHAD.

TALAVAKÂRA-UPANISHAD.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. THE Pupil asks: 'At whose wish does the mind sent forth proceed on its errand? At whose command does the first breath go forth? At whose wish do we utter this speech? What god directs the eye, or the ear?'

2. The Teacher replies: 'It is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of speech, the breath of breath, and the eye of the eye. When freed (from the senses) the wise, on departing from this world, become immortal¹.

3. 'The eye does not go thither, nor speech, nor mind. We do not know, we do not understand, how any one can teach it.

4. 'It is different from the known, it is also above the unknown, thus we have heard from those of old, who taught us this².

5. 'That which is not expressed by speech and

¹ This verse admits of various translations, and still more various explanations. Instead of taking *vâkam*, like all the other words, as a nominative, we might take them all as accusatives, governed by *atimukhya*, and *sa u prânasya prânaḥ* as a parenthetical sentence. What is meant by the ear of the ear is very fully explained by the commentator, but the simplest acceptation would seem to take it as an answer to the preceding questions, so that the ear of the ear should be taken for him who directs the ear, i. e. the Self, or Brahman. This will become clearer as we proceed.

² Cf. *Îsa Up.* 11; 13.

by which speech is expressed, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

6. 'That which does not think by mind, and by which, they say, mind is thought¹, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

7. 'That which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees (the work of) the eyes, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

8. 'That which does not hear by the ear, and by which the ear is heard, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.

9. 'That which does not breathe by breath, and by which breath is drawn, that alone know as Brahman, not that which people here adore.'

SECOND KHANDA.

1. The Teacher says: 'If thou thinkest I know it well; then thou knowest surely but little, what is that form of Brahman known, it may be, to thee²?'

2. The Pupil says: 'I do not think I know it well, nor do I know that I do not know it. 'He

¹ The *varia lectio manaso matam* (supported also by the commentary) is metrically and grammatically easier, but it may be, for that very reason, an emendation.

² In order to obtain a verse, we must leave out the words *tvam yad asya deveshv atha nu mîmâmsyam eva*. They were probably inserted, as an excuse for the third *khandâ* treating of the relation of Brahman to the Devas. There is considerable variety in the text, as handed down in the *Sâma-veda* and in the *Atharva-veda*, which shows that it has been tampered with. *Daharam* for *dabhram* may be the older reading, as *synezeisis* occurs again and again in the Upanishads.

among us who knows this, he knows it, nor does he know that he does not know it¹.

3. 'He by whom it (Brahman) is not thought, by him it is thought; he by whom it is thought, knows it not. It is not understood by those who understand it, it is understood by those who do not understand it.

4. 'It is thought to be known (as if) by awakening, and (then) we obtain immortality indeed. By the Self we obtain strength, by knowledge we obtain immortality.

5. 'If a man know this here, that is the true (end of life); if he does not know this here, then there is great destruction (new births). The wise who have thought on all things (and recognised the Self in them) become immortal, when they have departed from this world.'

THIRD KHANDA².

1. Brahman obtained the victory for the Devas. The Devas became elated by the victory of Brah-

¹ This verse has again been variously explained. I think the train of thought is this: We cannot know Brahman, as we know other objects, by referring them to a class and pointing out their differences. But, on the other hand, we do not know that we know him not, i. e. no one can assert that we know him not, for we want Brahman in order to know anything. He, therefore, who knows this double peculiarity of the knowledge of Brahman, he knows Brahman, as much as it can be known; and he does not know, nor can anybody prove it to him, that he does not know Brahman.

² This *khanda* is generally represented as a later addition, but its prose style has more of a *Brâhmana* character than the verses in the preceding *khandas*, although their metrical structure is irregular, and may be taken as a sign of antiquity.

man, and they thought, this victory is ours only, this greatness is ours only.

2. Brahman perceived this and appeared to them. But they did not know it, and said: 'What sprite (yaksha or yakshya) is this?'

3. They said to Agni (fire): 'O Gâtavedas, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes,' he said.

4. He ran toward it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'I am Agni, I am Gâtavedas.'

5. Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Agni replied: 'I could burn all whatever there is on earth.'

6. Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Burn this.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not burn it. Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.'

7. Then they said to Vâyu (air): 'O Vâyu, find out what sprite this is.' 'Yes,' he said.

8. He ran toward it, and Brahman said to him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'I am Vâyu, I am Mâtarisvan.'

9. Brahman said: 'What power is in you?' Vâyu replied: 'I could take up all whatever there is on earth.'

10. Brahman put a straw before him, saying: 'Take it up.' He went towards it with all his might, but he could not take it up. Then he returned thence and said: 'I could not find out what sprite this is.'

11. Then they said to Indra: 'O Maghavan, find out what sprite this is.' He went towards it, but it disappeared from before him.

12. Then in the same space (ether) he came

towards a woman, highly adorned : it was Umâ, the daughter of Himavat¹. He said to her : 'Who is that sprite?'

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. She replied : 'It is Brahman. It is through the victory of Brahman that you have thus become great.' After that he knew that it was Brahman.

2. Therefore these Devas, viz. Agni, Vâyu, and Indra, are, as it were, above the other gods, for they touched it (the Brahman) nearest².

3. And therefore Indra is, as it were, above the other gods, for he touched it nearest, he first knew it.

4. This is the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the gods (mythological) : It is that which now

Epilog

¹ Umâ may here be taken as the wife of Siva, daughter of Himavat, better known by her earlier name, Pârvatî, the daughter of the mountains. Originally she was, not the daughter of the mountains or of the Himâlaya, but the daughter of the cloud, just as Rudra was originally, not the lord of the mountains, girîsa, but the lord of the clouds. We are, however, moving here in a secondary period of Indian thought, in which we see, as among Semitic nations, the manifested powers, and particularly the knowledge and wisdom of the gods, represented by their wives. Umâ means originally flax, from vâ, to weave, and the same word may have been an old name of wife, she who weaves (cf. duhitri; spinster, and possibly wife itself, if O. H. G. wîb is connected with O. H. G. wēban). It is used almost synonymously with ambikâ, Taitt. Âr. p. 839. If we wished to take liberties, we might translate umâ haimavatî by an old woman coming from the Himavat mountains; but I decline all responsibility for such an interpretation.

² The next phrase was borrowed from § 3, without even changing the singular to the plural. As Indra only found out that it was Brahman, the original distinction between Indra and the other gods, who only came near to it, was quite justified. Still it might be better to adopt the var. lect. sa hy etat in § 2.

flashes forth in the lightning, and now vanishes again.

5. And this is the teaching of Brahman, with regard to the body (psychological): It is that which seems to move as mind, and by it imagination remembers again and again¹.

6. That Brahman is called Tadvana², by the name of Tadvana it is to be meditated on. All beings have a desire for him who knows this.

7. The Teacher: 'As you have asked me to tell you the Upanishad, the Upanishad has now

¹ I have translated these paragraphs very differently from Saṅkara and other interpreters. The wording is extremely brief, and we can only guess the original intention of the Upanishad by a reference to other passages. Now the first teaching of Brahman, by means of a comparison with the gods or heavenly things in general, seems to be that Brahman is what shines forth suddenly like lightning. Sometimes the relation between the phenomenal world and Brahman is illustrated by the relation between bubbles and the sea, or lightning and the unseen heavenly light (Mait. Up. VI, 35). In another passage, *Kh. Up. VIII, 12, 2*, lightning, when no longer seen, is to facilitate the conception of the reality of things, as distinct from their perceptibility. I think, therefore, that the first simile, taken from the phenomenal world, was meant to show that Brahman is that which appears for a moment in the lightning, and then vanishes from our sight.

The next illustration is purely psychological. Brahman is proved to exist, because our mind moves towards things, because there is something in us which moves and perceives, and because there is something in us which holds our perceptions together (saṅkalpa), and revives them again by memory.

I give my translation as hypothetical only, for certainty is extremely difficult to attain, when we have to deal with these enigmatical sayings which, when they were first delivered, were necessarily accompanied by oral explanations.

² Tadvana, as a name of Brahman, is explained by 'the desire of it,' and derive.d from van, to desire, the same as *vāññh*.

been told you. We have told you the Brâhmi Upanishad.

8. 'The feet on which that Upanishad stands are penance, restraint, sacrifice; the Vedas are all its limbs¹, the True is its abode.

9. 'He who knows this Upanishad, and has shaken off all evil, stands in the endless, unconquerable² world of heaven, yea, in the world of heaven.'

¹ It is impossible to adopt Saṅkara's first rendering, 'the Vedas and all the Aṅgas,' i.e. the six subsidiary doctrines. He sees himself that sarvâṅgâni stands in opposition to pratishā and âyatana, but seeing Veda and Aṅga together, no Brahman could help thinking of the Vedâṅgas.

² Might we read agyeye for gyeye? cf. Satap. Brâhm. XI, 5, 7, 1.

AITAREYA-ĀRANYAKA.

See Introd.
p. xcvi.

AITAREYA - ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Now follows the Mahâvrata ceremony.
2. After having killed *Vritra*, Indra became great. When he became great, then there was the Mahâvrata (the great work). This is why the Mahâvrata ceremony is called Mahâvrata.
3. Some people say: 'Let the priest make two (recitations with the offering of the) âgya (ghee) on that day,' but the right thing is one¹.
4. He who desires prosperity should use the hymn, *pra vo devâyâgnaye* (Rv. III, 13, 1).
5. He who desires increase should use the hymn, *viso viso atithim* (Rv. VIII, 74, 1).

¹ That it should be one only is proved from the types, i. e. from other sacrifices, that have to be followed in the performance of the Mahâvrata. The first type is the *Agnish/oma*, where one *sastra* is enjoined as *âgyasastra*, viz. *pra vo devâyâgnaye*. In the *Visvagit*, which has to follow the *Agnish/oma*, another hymn is put in its place, viz. *agnim naro dîdhitibhih*. In the Mahâvrata, which has to follow the *Visvagit*, some people recommend the use of both these hymns. But that is wrong, for there must be in the sacrifices which follow the *Agnish/oma* twelve *sastras* altogether; and if there were two here, instead of one, we should get a total of thirteen.

6. The people (*visaḥ*) indeed are increase¹, and therefore he (the sacrificer) becomes increased.

7. But (some say), there is the word *atithim* (in that hymn, which means a guest or stranger, asking for food). Let him not therefore take that hymn. Verily, the *atithi* (stranger) is able² to go begging.

8. 'No,' he said, 'let him take that hymn.'

9. 'For he who follows the good road and obtains distinction, he is an *atithi* (guest)³.

10. 'They do not consider him who is not so, worthy to be (called) an *atithi* (guest).'

11. 'Therefore let him by all means take that hymn.'

12. If he takes that hymn, let him place the (second) *tristich*, *âganma vṛitrahantamam*, 'we came near to the victorious,' first.

13. For people worship the whole year (performing the *Gavâmayana* sacrifice) wishing for this day (the last but one)—they do come near.

14. The (next following) three *tristichs* begin with an *Anushṭubh*⁴. Now *Brahman* is *Gâyatri*; speech is *Anushṭubh*. He thus joins speech with *Brahman*.

15. He who desires glory should use the hymn, *abodhy agniḥ samidhâ ganânâm* (*Rv. V, 1, 1*).

¹ The word *visaḥ*, which occurs in the hymn, means people. The commentator says that because the *Vaiśyas* or tradespeople increase their capital, therefore they are called increase.

² Able, or liable; cf. *Ait. Âr. II, 3, 5, 7*.

³ *Atithi* is here explained by *yo bhavati*, and *bhavati* is explained as walking on the good road. One expects *yo vâ atati*. The obtaining of distinction is probably derived from *ati*, above, in *atithi*.

⁴ In the first and second the *Anushṭubh* is followed by two *Gâyatris*.

16. He who desires offspring and cattle should use the hymn, *hotâganishṭa ketanaḥ* (Rv. II, 5, 1).

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He who desires proper food¹ should use the hymn, *agnim naro dâdhitibhiḥ* (Rv. VII, 1, 1)².

2. Verily, Agni (fire) is the eater of food.

In the other (recitations accompanying the) offerings of *âgya* (where Agni is likewise mentioned) the worshippers come more slowly near to Agni (because the name of Agni does not stand at the beginning of the hymn). But here a worshipper obtains proper food at once, he strikes down evil at once.

3. Through the words (occurring in the second foot of the first verse), *hastakṛyuti ganayanta*, 'they caused the birth of Agni by moving their arms,' the hymn becomes endowed with (the word) birth. Verily, the sacrificer is born from this day of the sacrifice, and therefore the hymn is endowed with (the word) birth.

4. There are four metrical feet (in the *Trishṭubh* verses of this hymn). Verily, cattle have four feet, therefore they serve for the gaining of cattle.

5. There are three metrical feet (in the *Virâg* verses of this hymn). Verily, three are these three-

¹ *Annâdyam* is always explained as food, here as *annam tad âdyaṃ ka*. It must be so translated here and elsewhere (I, 2, 10), though it is often an abstract of *annâda*, an eater of food, a healthy man.

² This hymn is prescribed in the *Visvagit* sacrifice, and taken over to the *Mahâvrata*, according to rule. It is used, however, both as obligatory and as optional at the same time, i. e. it is an essential part of the sacrifice, and at the same time to be used by those who wish for proper food.

fold worlds. Therefore they serve for the conquest of the worlds.

6. These (the Trishṭubh and Virâg verses of the hymn) form two metres, which form a support (pratiṣṭhâ). Verily, man is supported by two (feet), cattle by four feet. Therefore this hymn places the sacrificer who stands on two feet among cattle which stand on four.

7. By saying them straight on there are twenty-five verses in this hymn. Man also consists of twenty-five. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk (âtman) the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-fifth, by this hymn.

8. And then this day (of the sacrifice) consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five¹ (verses); it becomes the same through the same. Therefore these two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five².

9. These twenty-five verses, by repeating the first thrice and the last thrice, become thirty less one. This is a Virâg verse (consisting of thirty syllables), too small by one. Into the small (heart) the vital spirits are placed, into the small stomach food is placed³, therefore this Virâg, small by one, serves for the obtainment of those desires.

10. He who knows this, obtains those desires.

11. The verses (contained in the hymn agnim naro dâdhitiḥ) become the Br̥ḥatî⁴ metre and

¹ Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 1, 4, 21; II, 3, 4, 2.

² The plural after the dual is explained by the fact that the hymn means the twenty-five verses.

³ Cf. I, 3, 7, 5.

⁴ The hymn consists of eighteen Virâg and seven Trishṭubh

the Virâg metre, (they become) the perfection which belongs to that day (the mahâvrata). Then they also become Anushûbh¹, for the offerings of âgya (ghee) dwell in Anushûbhs².

THIRD KHANDA³.

1. Some say: 'Let him take a Gâyatrî hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Gâyatrî is brightness and glory of countenance, and thus the sacrificer becomes bright and glorious.'

2. Others say: 'Let him take a Ushñih hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Ushñih is life, and thus the sacrificer has a long life.'

Others say: 'Let him take an Anushûbh hymn

verses. Therefore the eighteen Virâg verses remain what they are, only that the first is repeated three times, so that we have twenty Virâg verses. The seven Trishûbhs, by repeating the last three times, become nine. We then take eight syllables away from each verse, thus changing them into nine Brîhatî verses. The nine times eight syllables, which were taken off, give us seventy-two syllables, and as each Brîhatî consists of thirty-six syllables, two Brîhatîs.

¹ The change of the first verse, which is a Virâg of thirty-three syllables, into an Anushûbh is produced by a still easier process. The first Virâg consists here of thirty-three syllables, the Anushûbh should have thirty-two. But one or two syllables more or less does not destroy a metre, according to the views of native metricians. The Virâg itself, for instance, should have thirty syllables, and here has thirty-three. Therefore if changed into an Anushûbh, it simply has one syllable over, which is of no consequence. Comm.

² Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 1, 1, 4.

³ Thus far the hymn which has to be recited by the Hotrî priest, after the eating of the rîugrahas, has been considered. What follows next is the so-called Pra-uga hymn, consisting of seven trîkas, which the Hotrî has to recite after the Visvedevagraha. Different Sâkhâs recommend hymns of different metres, our Sâkhâ fixes on the Gâyatrî.

for the Pra-uga. Verily, Anushṭubh is valour, and it serves for obtaining valour.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Br̥hātī hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Br̥hātī is fortune, and thus the sacrificer becomes fortunate.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Pañkti hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Pañkti is food, and thus the sacrificer becomes rich in food.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Trishṭubh hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, Trishṭubh is strength, and thus the sacrificer becomes strong.'

Others say: 'Let him take a Gagatī hymn for the Pra-uga. Verily, cattle is Gagatī-like, and thus the sacrificer becomes rich in cattle.'

3. But we say: 'Let him take a Gâyatrī hymn only. Verily, Gâyatrī is Brahman, and that day (the mahâvrata) is (for the attainment of) Brahman. Thus he obtains Brahman by means of Brahman.

4. 'And it must be a Gâyatrī hymn by Madhukḥhandas,

5. 'For Madhukḥhandas is called Madhukḥhandas, because he wishes (kḥhandati) for honey (madhu) for the Rishis.

6. 'Now food verily is honey, all is honey, all desires are honey, and thus if he recites the hymn of Madhukḥhandas, it serves for the attainment of all desires.

7. 'He who knows this, obtains all desires.'

This (Gâyatrī pra-uga), according to the one-day (ekâha) ceremonial¹, is perfect in form². On that day (the mahâvrata) much is done now and then which

¹ It is copied from the Visvagīt, and that from the Agnishōma.

² Nothing is wanting for its performance, if one only follows the rules given in the Agnishōma.

has to be hidden¹, and has to be atoned for (by recitation of hymns). Atonement (*sânti*) is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year (on the last day but one of the sacrifice that lasts a whole year) the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest.

8. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

FOURTH KHANDA².

1. Rv. I, 2, 1-3. *Vâyav â yâhi darsateme somâ aram kṛitâh*, 'Approach, O *Vâyu*, conspicuous, these Somas have been made ready.' Because the word ready occurs in these verses, therefore is this day (of the sacrifice) ready (and auspicious) for the sacrificer and for the gods.

2. Yes, this day is ready (and auspicious) to him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

3. Rv. I, 2, 4-6. *Indravâyû ime sutâ, â yâtam upa nishkrîtam*, 'Indra and *Vâyû*, these Somas are prepared, come hither towards what has been prepared.' By *nishkrîta*, prepared, he means what has been well prepared (*samskrîta*).

4. Indra and *Vâyû* go to what has been prepared by him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

¹ *Dâsînṛîya*-bahubhûta-maithuna-brahmakâripumsakâlisampravâdâdikam. See Rajendralal Mitra, Introduction to his edition of the *Aitareya-âranyaka*, p. 25. It might be better to join *ekâha* with *sântiyâm*, but even then the argumentation is not quite clear.

² Next follows a list of the verses which form the seven *trikas* (groups of three verses) of the *Pra-uga* hymn, with occasional remarks on certain words.

5. Rv. I, 2, 7. *Mitram* huve pūtaksham, *dhiyam* *ghritāktm* sādhanā, 'I call Mitra of holy strength; (he and Varuna) they fulfil the prayer accompanied with clarified butter.' Verily, speech is the prayer accompanied with clarified butter.

6. Speech is given to him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

7. Rv. I, 3, 1. *Asvinā* *yagvartr* *ishah*, 'O Asvinau, (eat) the sacrificial offerings.' Verily, the sacrificial offerings are food, and this serves for the acquirement of food.

8. Rv. I, 3, 3. *Ā yātam* *rudravartant*, 'Come hither, ye Rudravartant.'

9. The Asvinau go to the sacrifice of him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

10. Rv. I, 3, 4-6. *Indrā yāhi* *kitrabhāno*, *indrā yāhi* *dhiyeshitah*, *indrā yāhi* *tūtugāna*, 'Come hither, Indra, of bright splendour, Come hither, Indra, called by prayer, Come hither, Indra, quickly!' Thus he recites, Come hither, come hither!

11. Indra comes to the sacrifice of him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

12. Rv. I, 3, 7. *Omāsas* *karshantidhrīto* *visve devāsa* *ā gata*, 'Visve Devas, protectors, supporters of men, come hither!'

13. Verily, the Visve Devas come to the call of him who knows this, or for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites.

14. Rv. I, 3, 7. *Dāsvāmsō* *dāsushah* *sutam*, 'Come ye givers to the libation of the giver!' By *dāsushah* he means *dadushah*, i. e. to the libation of every one that gives.

15. The gods fulfil his wish, with whatever wish he recites this verse,

16. (The wish of him) who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

17. Rv. I, 3, 10. Pāvakâ naḥ sarasvatī yagnam vashṭu dhiyâvasuḥ, 'May the holy Sarasvatī accept our sacrifice, rich in prayer!' Speech is meant by 'rich in prayer.'

18. Speech is given to him who knows this, or for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites.

19. And when he says, 'May she accept our sacrifice!' what he means is, 'May she carry off our sacrifice!'

20. If these verses are recited straight on, they are twenty-one. Man also consists of twenty-one. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, and the trunk the twenty-first. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-first, by this hymn.

21. By repeating the first and the last verses thrice, they become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and Pragâpati is the twenty-fifth. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk, the twenty-fifth, by this hymn¹.

Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same through the same. Therefore these two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five, yea, twenty-five.

¹ Cf. I, 1, 2, 7; I, 3, 5, 7.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

FIRST KHANDA¹.

1. The two *trikas*, Rv. VIII, 68, 1-3, *â tvâ ratham yathotaye*, and Rv. VIII, 2, 1-3, *idam vaso sutam andhañ*, form the first (pratiṣṭhā) and the second (anukāra) of the Marutvatīya hymn.

2. Both, as belonging to the one-day ceremonial², are perfect in form. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn³.

3. In the second verse of (the Pragātha⁴), *indra nedīya ed ihi, pra sū tirā sañbhīr ye ta ukthinañ* (Rv. VIII, 53, 5, 6), there occurs the word *ukthinañ*, reciters of hymns⁵. Verily, this day (the mahāvratā) is an *uktha* (hymn), and as endowed with an *uktha*, the form of this day is perfect.

4. In the first verse (of another Pragātha) the word *vīra*, strong, occurs (Rv. I, 40, 3), and as endowed with the word *vīra*, strong, the form of this day is perfect.

¹ In the first adhyāya the two hymns to be recited by the *Hotri* priest at the morning-libation (the *āgya* and *pra-uga sastra*) have been considered. Now follows the Marutvatīya hymn, to be recited by the *Hotri* priest at the noon-libation.

² Taken from the *Agnishōma*.

³ Cf. I, 1, 3, 7-8.

⁴ All these Pragāthas consist of two verses expanded into a *trika*.

⁵ *Hotrādāya ukthinañ sastrinañ*.

5. In the second verse (of another Pragâtha) the word *suvîryam*, strength, occurs (Rv. I. 40, 1), and as endowed with the word *suvîrya*, strength, the form of this day is perfect.

6. In the first verse (of another Pragâtha) the word *ukthyam*, to be hymned, occurs (Rv. I, 40, 5). Verily, this day is an *uktha*, and as endowed with an *uktha*, the form of this day is perfect.

7. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *agnir netâ* (Rv. III, 20, 4) the word *vritrahâ*, killer of *Vritra*, occurs. The killing of *Vritra* is a form (character) of Indra, this day (the *mahâvrata*) belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

8. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *tvam soma kratubhih sukatur bhûh* (Rv. I, 91, 2) the word *vrihâ*¹, powerful, occurs. Powerful is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

9. In the (Dhayyâ) verse *pinvanty apah* (Rv. I, 64, 6) the word *vâginam*, endowed with food, occurs. Endowed with food is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

10. In the same verse the word *stanayantam*, thundering, occurs. Endowed with thundering is a form (character) of Indra, this day belongs to Indra, and this is the (perfect) form of that day.

11. In (the Pragâtha) *pra va indrâya brîhate* (Rv. VIII, 89, 3) (the word *brîhat* occurs). Verily, *brîhat* is *mahat* (great), and as endowed with *mahat*, great, the form of this day (*mahâvrata*) is perfect.

12. In (the Pragâtha) *brîhad indrâya gâyata* (Rv.

¹ Cf. I, 2, 14.

VIII, 89, 1) (the word *br̥ihat* occurs). Verily, *br̥ihat* is mahat (great), and as endowed with mahat, the form of this day is perfect.

13. In (the Pragātha) *nakiḥ sudāso ratham paryāsa na rīramad* (Rv. VII, 32, 10) the words *paryāsa* (he moved round) and *na rīramad* (he did not enjoy) occur, and as endowed with the words *paryasta* and *rānti* the form of this day is perfect ¹.

He recites all (these) Pragāthas, in order to obtain all the days (of the sacrifice), all the Ukthas ², all the *Prishthas* ³, all the Sastras ⁴, all the Pra-ugas ⁵, and all the Savanas (libations).

SECOND KHANDA ⁶.

1. He recites the hymn, *asat su me garitaḥ sābhi-vegaḥ* (Rv. X, 27, 1), (and in it the word) *satya-dhvr̥itam*, the destroyer of truth. Verily, that day

¹ Because the performance of the Mahāvratā sacrifice moves the worshipper round to another world and gives him enjoyment. Comm. It is difficult to surpass the absurdity of these explanations. *Na rīramat* means no one stopped the chariot of Sudās. But even if it meant that no one rejoiced through the chariot of Sudās, it would be difficult to see how the negative of enjoyment, mentioned in the hymn, could contribute to the perfection of a sacrifice which is to confer positive enjoyment on the worshipper.

² The stotras following after the *Yagnāyagnīya Sāman*, serving for the *ukthya-kratus*.

³ The stotras of the noon-libation, to be performed with the *Rathantara*, *Br̥ihat*, and other *Sāmans*.

⁴ The sastras, recitations, accompanying the oblations of *āgya*.

⁵ The pra-ugas, a division of sastras, described above.

⁶ The type after which the *Marutvatīya-sastra* is to be performed is the *Katurvimsa* day. Hitherto (from *ā tvā ratham to nakiḥ sudāsaḥ*), all that is taken over from the type to the modification, i. e. the *Marutvatīya*, has been explained. Now follow the verses which are new and peculiar to the *Marutvatīya* of the Mahāvratā.

is truth, and as endowed with the word satya, truth, the form of this day is perfect ¹.

2. That hymn is composed by Vasukra. Verily, Vasukra is Brahman, and that day is Brahman. Thus he obtains Brahman by means of Brahman ².

3. Here they say: 'Why then is that Marutvatya hymn completed by the hymn of Vasukra?' Surely because no other *Rishi* but Vasukra brought out a Marutvatya hymn, or divided it properly ³. Therefore that Marutvatya hymn is completed by the hymn of Vasukra.

4. That hymn, *asat su me*, is not definitely addressed to any deity, and is therefore supposed to be addressed to *Pragâpati*. Verily, *Pragâpati* is indefinite, and therefore the hymn serves to win *Pragâpati*.

5. Once in the hymn (Rv. X, 27, 22) he defines Indra (*indrâya sunvat*); therefore it does not fall off from its form, as connected with Indra.

6. He recites the hymn (Rv. VI, 17, 1) *pibâ somam abhi yam ugra tarda*.

7. In the verse *ûrvam gavyam mahi grinâna indra* the word *mahi*, great, occurs. Endowed with the word *mahat*, the form of this day is perfect.

8. That hymn is composed by *Bharadvâga*, and *Bharadvâga* was he who knew most, who lived longest, and performed the greatest austerities among the *Rishis*, and by this hymn he drove away evil. Therefore if he recites the hymn of *Bharadvâga*,

¹ The commentator endeavours to make the meaning more natural by taking in the word *prahantâ*, he who kills the destroyer of truth. But considering the general character of these remarks, this is hardly necessary.

² Cf. I, 1, 3, 3.

³ By separating the first *trika* from the second, and so forth.

then, after having driven away evil, he becomes learned, long-lived, and full of austerities.

9. He recites the hymn *kayâ subhâ savayasaḥ sanlâḥ* (Rv. I, 165, 1).

10. In the verse *â sâsate prati haryanty ukthâ* (Rv. I, 165, 4) the word *ukthâ* occurs. Verily, that day (the *mahâvrata*) is *uktha* (hymn). Endowed with the word *uktha*, the form of this day becomes perfect.

11. That hymn is called *Kayâsubhṭya*¹. Verily, that hymn, which is called *Kayâsubhṭya*, is mutual understanding and it is lasting. By means of it Indra, Agastya, and the Maruts came to a mutual understanding. Therefore, if he recites the *Kayâsubhṭya* hymn, it serves for mutual understanding.

12. The same hymn is also long life. Therefore, if the sacrificer is dear to the *Hotri*, let him recite the *Kayâsubhṭya* hymn for him.

13. He recites the hymn *marutvân indra vṛishabo ranâya* (Rv. III, 47, 1).

14. In it the words *indra vṛishabha* (powerful) occur. Verily, powerful is a form of Indra², this day belongs to Indra, and this is the perfect form of that day.

15. That hymn is composed by *Visvâmitra*. Verily, *Visvâmitra* was the friend (*mitra*) of all (*visva*).

16. Everybody is the friend of him who knows this, and for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

17. The next hymn, *ganishthâ ugraḥ sahase turâya* (Rv. I, 73, 1), forms a *Nividhâna*³, and,

¹ Cf. Ait. Brâhm. V, 16.

² Cf. Ait. Ār. II, 2, 1, 8.

³ The hymn consists of eleven verses. In the middle, after the sixth verse, *nivids* or *invocations*, such as *indro marutvân*, are inserted, and therefore it is called a *nividhâna* hymn.

according to the one-day (ekâha) ceremonial, is perfect in form. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for (by recitation of hymns). Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year (on the last day but one of the sacrifice that lasts a whole year) the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest.

He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a Hotri priest who knows this, recites this hymn ¹.

18. These, if recited straight on, are ninety-seven verses². The ninety are three Virâg, each consisting of thirty, and then the seven verses which are over. Whatever is the praise of the seven, is the praise of ninety also.

¹ With this hymn the Marutvatîya-sastra is finished. All the hymns from â tvâ ratham to asat su me garitar are simply taken over from the Katurvîmsa ceremonial, the rest are peculiar to the Mahâvrata day, the day preceding the Udayaniya or final day of the Gavâmayana sattra. All this is more fully described in the fifth Âranyaka (V, 1, 1, 8), containing the Sûtras or rules of Saunaka, while the earlier Âranyakas are reckoned as Brâhmanas, and are therefore mixed up with matters not actually required for the performance of the sacrifice.

² The first Stotriya and Ânurûpa

trikas = 6 (I, 2, 1, 1).

The six Pragâthas, each of 2 verses

raised to 3 (but the text gives

seven Pragâthas) = . . . 18 (I, 2, 1, 3; 4; 5; 6; 11; 12; 13).

Three Dhâyyâs = 3 (I, 2, 1, 7; 8; 9).

Asat su = 24 (I, 2, 2, 1).

Pibâ somam = 15 (I, 2, 2, 6).

Kayâ subhâ = 15 (I, 2, 2, 9).

Marutvân indra = 5 (I, 2, 2, 13).

Ganish/hâ ugrâ = 11 (I, 2, 2, 17).

19. By repeating the first and last verses three times each, they become one hundred and one verses.

20. There are five fingers, of four joints each, two pits (in the elbow and the arm), the arm, the eye, the shoulder-blade; this makes twenty-five. The other three parts have likewise twenty-five each¹. That makes a hundred, and the trunk is the one hundred and first.

21. Hundred is life, health, strength, brightness. The sacrificer as the one hundred and first rests in life, health, strength, and brightness.

22. These verses become Trishṭubh², for the noonday-libation consists of Trishṭubh verses.

THIRD KHANDA³.

1. They say: 'What is the meaning of preṅkha, swing?' Verily, he is the swing, who blows (the wind). He indeed goes forward (pra + iṅkate) in these worlds, and that is why the swing is called preṅkha.

2. Some say, that there should be one plank, because the wind blows in one way, and it should be like the wind.

3. That is not to be regarded.

4. Some say, there should be three planks, because there are these three threefold worlds, and it should be like them.

¹ The left side as well as the right, and then the left and right side of the lower body. Thus we have twenty joints of the five toes, a thigh, a leg, and three joints, making twenty-five on each side.

² Approach the Trishṭubh metre of the last hymn. Comm.

³ After having considered the Marutvatīya, he proceeds to consider the Nishkevalya. This has to be recited by the Hotrī while sitting on a swing.

5. That is not to be regarded.

6. Let there be two, for these two worlds (the earth and heaven) are seen as if most real, while the ether (space) between the two is the sky (antariksha). Therefore let there be two planks.

7. Let them be made of Udumbara wood. Verily, the Udumbara tree is sap and eatable food, and thus it serves to obtain sap and eatable food.

8. Let them be elevated in the middle (between the earth and the cross-beam). Food, if placed in the middle, delights man, and thus he places the sacrificer in the middle of eatable food.

9. There are two kinds of rope, twisted towards the right and twisted towards the left. The right ropes serve for some animals, the left ropes for others. If there are both kinds of rope, they serve for the attainment of both kinds of cattle.

10. Let them be made of Darbha (Kusa grass), for among plants Darbha is free from evil, therefore they should be made of Darbha grass.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Some say: 'Let the swing be one ell (aratni) above the ground, for by that measure verily the Svarga worlds are measured.' That is not to be regarded.

2. Others say: 'Let it be one span (prâdesa), for by that measure verily the vital airs were measured.' That is not to be regarded¹.

3. Let it be one fist (mushî), for by that measure verily all eatable food is made, and by that measure

¹ They rise one span above the heart, and they proceed one span from out the mouth. Comm.

all eatable food is taken ; therefore let it be one fist above the ground.

4. They say: 'Let him mount the swing from east to west, like he who shines; for the sun mounts these worlds from east to west.' That is not to be regarded.

5. Others say: 'Let him mount the swing sideways, for people mount a horse sideways¹, thinking that thus they will obtain all desires.' That is not to be regarded.

6. They say: 'Let him mount the swing² from behind, for people mount a ship from behind, and this swing is a ship in which to go to heaven.' Therefore let him mount it from behind.

7. Let him touch the swing with his chin (*khu-buka*). The parrot (*suka*) thus mounts a tree, and he is of all birds the one who eats most food. Therefore let him touch it with his chin.

8. Let him mount the swing with his arms³. The hawk swoops thus on birds and on trees, and he is of all birds the strongest. Therefore let him mount with his arms.

9. Let him not withdraw one foot (the right or left) from the earth, for fear that he may lose his hold.

10. The *Hotri* mounts the swing, the *Udgâtri* the seat made of *Udumbara* wood. The swing is masculine, the seat feminine, and they form a union. Thus he makes a union at the beginning of the *uktha* in order to get offspring.

¹ Here we have clearly riding on horseback.

² While the swing points to the east, let him stand west, and thus mount.

³ The fore-arms, from the elbow to the end, the *aratni*. Comm.

11. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

12. Next the swing is food, the seat fortune. Thus he mounts and obtains food and fortune.

13. The Hotrakas (the *Prasâstri*, *Brâhmanâkkhamsin*, *Potri*, *Neshtri*, *Agntdhra*, and *Akkhâvâka*) together with the Brahman sit down on cushions made of grass, reeds, leaves, &c.

14. Plants and trees, after they have grown up, bear fruit. Thus if the priests mount on that day altogether (on their seats), they mount on solid and fluid as their proper food. Therefore this serves for the attainment of solid as proper food ¹.

15. Some say: 'Let him descend after saying *vasha* ².' That is not to be regarded. For, verily, that respect is not shown which is shown to one who does not see it ³.

16. Others say: 'Let him descend after he has taken the food in his hand.' That is not to be regarded. For, verily, that respect is not shown which is shown to one after he has approached quite close.

17. Let him descend after he has seen the food. For, verily, that is real respect which is shown to one when he sees it. Only after having actually

¹ One expects *isha* before *ûrgah*, but it is wanting in both text and commentary, and in other MSS. also.

² The word by which the *Hotri* invites the Adhvaryu to offer the oblation to the gods. The descending from the swing belongs, of course, to a later part of the sacrifice.

³ It is supposed that the *Hotri* rises from the swing to show respect to the sacrificial food, when it is brought near. But as it is not brought near, immediately after the *Hotri* has finished his part with the word *vasha*, the food could not see the *Hotri* rise, and this mark of respect, intended for the food, would thus be lost.

seen the food (that is brought to the sacrifice), let him descend from the swing.

18. Let him descend turning towards the east, for in the east the seed of the gods springs up¹. Therefore let him rise turning towards the east, yea, turning towards the east.

THIRD ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let him begin this day² with singing 'Him,' thus they say.

2. Verily, the sound Him is Brahman, that day also is Brahman. He who knows this, obtains Brahman even by Brahman.

3. As he begins with the sound Him, surely that masculine sound of Him and the feminine *Rik* (the verse) make a couple. Thus he makes a couple at the beginning of the hymn in order to get offspring³. He who knows this, gets cattle and offspring.

4. Or, as he begins with the sound Him, surely like a wooden spade, so the sound Him serves to dig up Brahman (the sap of the Veda). And as a man wishes to dig up any, even the hardest soil, with a spade, thus he digs up Brahman.

5. He who knows this digs up, by means of the sound Him, everything he may desire.

6. If he begins with the sound Him, that sound is the holding apart of divine and human speech.

¹ Should it be devareta^h sampragâyate, or devaretasam pragâyate?

² The Nishkevalya-sastra, of the noon-libation; cf. I, 2, 2, 1.

³ Cf. I, 2, 4, 10.

Therefore, he who begins, after having uttered the sound Him, holds apart divine and human speech ¹.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. And here they ask: 'What is the beginning of this day?' Let him say: 'Mind and speech².'

2. All desires dwell in the one (mind), the other yields all desires.

3. All desires dwell in the mind, for with the mind he conceives all desires.

4. All desires come to him who knows this.

5. Speech yields all desires, for with speech he declares all his desires.

6. Speech yields all desires to him who knows this.

7. Here they say: 'Let him not begin this day with a *Rik*, a *Yagus*, or a *Sâman* verse (divine speech), for it is said, he should not start with a *Rik*, a *Yagus*, or a *Sâman* ³.'

8. Therefore, let him say these *Vyâhr̥itis* (sacred interjections) first.

9. These interjections *Bhûs*, *Bhuvas*, *Svar* are the three Vedas, *Bhûs* the *Rig-veda*, *Bhuvas* the *Yagur-veda*, *Svar* the *Sâma-veda*. Therefore (by

¹ Human speech is the ordinary speech, divine speech that of the Veda. Thus between the hymns, or the divine speech, and the ordinary language of conversation the sound Him is interposed as a barrier.

² Mind, to think about the hymns which have to be recited; speech, to recite them without a flaw.

³ It is doubtful whether *neyâd rikah* and *apagakkhet* can have this meaning. However, what is intended is clear, viz. that the priest, even after having uttered the sound Him, should not immediately begin with verses from the Vedas, but should intercalate the three syllables *bhûr bhuvah svar*, or, if taken singly, *bhûs*, *bhuvas*, *svar*.

intercalating these) he does not begin simply with a *Rik*, *Yagus*, or *Sâman* verse, he does not start with a *Rik*, *Yagus*, or *Sâman* verse.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He begins with *tad*, this, (the first word of the first hymn, *tad id âsa*). Verily 'this, this' is food, and thus he obtains food.

2. *Pragâpati* indeed uttered this as the first word, consisting of one or two syllables, viz. *tata* and *tâta* (or *tat*)¹. And thus does a child, as soon as he begins to speak, utter the word, consisting of one or two syllables, viz. *tata* and *tâta* (or *tat*). With this very word, consisting of *tat* or *tatta*, he begins.

3. This has been said by a *Rishi* (*Rv. X, 71, 1*)²:—

4. 'O *Brîhaspati*, the first point of speech ;'—for this is the first and highest point of speech.

5. 'That which you have uttered, making it a name ;'—for names are made by speech.

¹ *Tata* and *tâta* are used both by children in addressing their parents, and by parents in addressing their children. If *tat* is called the very same word, *eva* is used in the sense of *iva*.

² The verse is cited to confirm the meaning of *tat*, the first word of the first hymn (*tad id âsa*), as explained before. It was said that *tat* was the first name applied to a child. Now, according to *Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra* I, 16, 8, a name is given to a child at the time of its birth, a name which no one knows except father and mother, till the time when he is initiated by a *Guru*. This is called the *abhivadanîya* name. In allusion to this custom it is said here that *tata* is the secret name of the child, which becomes publicly known at a later time only. Of course the interpretation of the verse in that sense is unnatural, but quite in keeping with the general character of the *Âranyaka*. I doubt whether even the commentator understood what was intended by the author, and whether the gods who enter the body are supposed to know the name, or whether the name refers to these gods, or, it may be, to *tad*, the *Brahman*.

6. 'That (name) which was the best and without a flaw;'—for this is the best and without a flaw.

7. 'That which was hidden by their love, is made manifest;'—for this was hidden in the body, viz. those deities (which enter the body, Agni as voice, entering the mouth, &c.); and that was manifest among the gods in heaven. This is what was intended by the verse.

FOURTH KHANDA¹.

1. He begins with: 'That indeed was the oldest in the worlds²;'—for that (the Brahman) is verily the oldest in the worlds.

2. 'Whence was born the fierce one, endowed with brilliant force;'—for from it was born the fierce one, who is endowed with brilliant force.

3. 'When born he at once destroys the enemies;'—for he at once when born struck down the evil one.

4. 'He after whom all friends rejoice;'—verily all friends are the creatures, and they rejoice after him, saying, 'He has risen, he has risen³.'

5. 'Growing by strength, the almighty⁴;'—for he (the sun) does grow by strength, the almighty.

6. 'He, as enemy, causes fear to the slave;'—for everything is afraid of him.

7. 'Taking the breathing and the not-breathing;'—this means the living and the lifeless.

8. 'Whatever has been offered at feasts came to thee;'—this means everything is in thy power.

9. 'All turn their thought also on thee⁵;'—this

¹ He now explains the first hymn of the Nishkevalya, which is called the Râgana.

² Rv. X, 120, 1.

³ The sun and the fire.

⁴ Rv. X, 120, 2.

⁵ Rv. X, 120, 3.

means all these beings, all minds, all thoughts also turn to thee.

10. 'When these two become three protectors;—i. e. when these two united beget offspring.

11. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

12. 'Join what is sweeter than sweet (offspring) with the sweet (the parents);—for the couple (father and mother) is sweet, the offspring is sweet, and he thus joins the offspring with the couple.

13. 'And this (the son, when married) being very sweet, conquered through the sweet;—i. e. the couple is sweet, the offspring is sweet, and thus through the couple he conquers offspring¹.

14. This is declared by a *Rishi*²: 'Because he (Pragāpati) raised his body (the hymn tad id āsa or the Veda in general) in the body (of the sacrificer)' (therefore that Nishkevalya hymn is praised);—i. e. this body, consisting of the Veda, in that corporeal form (of the sacrificer).

15. 'Then let this body indeed be the medicine of that body;—i. e. this body, consisting of the Veda, of that corporeal form (of the sacrificer).

16. Of this (the first foot of Rv. X, 120, 1) the eight syllables are Gāyatrī, the eleven syllables are Trishūbh, the twelve syllables are Gagatī, the ten syllables are Virāg. The Virāg, consisting of ten syllables, rests in these three metres³.

17. The word purusha, consisting of three syllables, that indeed goes into the Virāg⁴.

¹ All these are purely fanciful interpretations.

² Not to be found in our Sākhā of the Rig-veda.

³ These metres are obtained by a purely arbitrary counting of syllables in the hymn tadidāsa, which really consists of Trishūbh verses.

⁴ If we simply count syllables, the first and second feet of the

18. Verily, these are all metres, these (Gâyatri, Trishûbh, Gagati) having the Virâg as the fourth. In this manner this day is complete in all metres to him who knows this.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. He extends these (verses) by (interpolating) the sound¹. Verily, the sound is purusha, man. Therefore every man when he speaks, sounds loud, as it were.

2. At the end of each foot of the first verse of the hymn tad id âsa, he inserts one foot of the second verse of hymn Rv. VIII, 69, nadam va odatnâm, &c. Thus the verse is to be recited as follows :

Tad id âsa bhuvaneshu gyesht^ham pu
 nadam va odatnâm,
 Yato gagña ugras tveshanrimno ru
 nadam yoyuvatinâm,
 Sadyo gagñâno ni rinâti satrûn
 patim vo aghnyânâm,
 Anu yam visve madanti ûmâh sho
 dhenûnâm ishudhyasi.

first verse consist of ten syllables only, the fourth of nine or ten. In order to bring them to the right number, the word purusha is to be added to what is a Virâg, i. e. to the first, the second, and fourth feet. We thus get :

tad id âsa bhuvaneshu gyesht^ham pu
 yato gagña ugras tveshanrimno ru
 sadyo gagñâno ni rinâti satrûn
 anu yam visve madanti ûmâh sha^h.

Cf. Ait. Âr. V, 1, 6.

¹ The sound, nada, is really a verse beginning with nadam, and which is interpolated after the syllables pu ru sha^h.

In *nadam* va *odatinām* (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), *odati*¹ are the waters in heaven, for they water all this; and they are the waters in the mouth, for they water all good food.

3. In *nadam* *yoyuvatnām* (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), *yoyuvatī* are the waters in the sky, for they seem to inundate; and they are the waters of perspiration, for they seem to run continually.

4. In *patim* vo *aghnyânām* (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), *aghnyâ* are the waters which spring from the smoke of fire, and they are the waters which spring from the organ.

5. In *dhenûnām* *ishudhyasi* (Rv. VIII, 69, 2), the *dhenu* (cows) are the waters, for they delight all this; and *ishudhyasi* means, thou art food.

6. He extends a *Trishṭubh* and an *Anushṭubh*². *Trishṭubh* is the man, *Anushṭubh* the wife, and they make a couple. Therefore does a man, after having found a wife, consider himself a more perfect man.

7. These verses, by repeating the first three times, become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and *Pragâpati* is the twenty-fifth³. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk as the twenty-fifth. Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the *Stoma* hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same

¹ The nasal *pluta* on *iti* is explained as *pâdapratîkagrahane 'tyantamâdarârthaḥ*. Cf. Ait. Ār. II, 1, 4, 3.

² *Tad id âsa* is a *Trishṭubh*, *nadam vaḥ* an *Anushṭubh*.

³ Cf. I, 1, 2, 7; I, 1, 4, 21.

through the same. Therefore the two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five¹.

SIXTH KHANDA.

This is an exact repetition of the third *khanda*. According to the commentator, the third *khanda* was intended for the glory of the first word *tad*, while the sixth is intended for the glory of the whole hymn.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. He begins with the hymn, *Tad id âsa bhuvaneshu gyeshtham* (Rv. X, 120). Verily, *gyeshtha*, the oldest, is *mahat*, great. Endowed with *mahat* the form of this day is perfect.

2. Then follows the hymn, *Tâm su te kîrtim maghavan mahitvâ* (Rv. X, 54), with the auspicious word *mahitvâ*.

3. Then follows the hymn, *Bhûya id vavridhe vîryâya* (Rv. VI, 30), with the auspicious word *vîrya*.

4. Then follows the hymn, *Nrinâm u tvâ nri-tamam gobhir ukthaiḥ* (Rv. I, 51, 4), with the auspicious word *uktha*.

5. He extends the first two *pâdas*, which are too small, by one syllable (Rv. X, 120, 1 a, and Rv. VIII, 69, 2 a)². Into the small heart the vital spirits are placed, into the small stomach food is placed. It

¹ The number is obtained as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Tad id âsa</i> (Rv. X, 120)= | . | . | 9 verses |
| 2. <i>Tâm su te kîrtim</i> (Rv. X, 54)= | . | . | 6 " |
| 3. <i>Bhûya id vavridhe</i> (Rv. VI, 30)= | . | . | 5 " |
| 4. <i>Nrinâm u tvâ</i> (Rv. I, 51, 4)= | . | . | 3 " |
| | | | <u>23 + 2 = 25</u> |

² Cf. I, 1, 2, 9.

serves for the attainment of these desires. He who knows this, obtains these desires.

6. The two feet, each consisting of ten syllables (Rv. X, 120, 1 a, b), serve for the gaining of both kinds of food¹, of what has feet (animal food), and what has no feet (vegetable food).

7. They come to be of eighteen syllables each². Of those which are ten, nine are the *prânas* (openings of the body)³, the tenth is the (vital) self. This is the perfection of the (vital) self. Eight syllables remain in each. He who knows them, obtains whatever he desires.

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. He extends (these verses) by (interpolating) the sound⁴. Verily, breath (*prâna*) is sound. Therefore every breath when it sounds, sounds loud, as it were.

2. The verse (VIII, 69, 2) *nadam va odatnâm*, &c., is by its syllables an *Ushnih*⁵, by its feet an *Anush tubh*⁶. *Ushnih* is life, *Anush tubh*, speech. He thus places life and speech in him (the sacrificer.)

3. By repeating the first verse three times, they

¹ Because *Virâg*, a foot of ten syllables, is food.

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|----|
| Rv. X, 120, 1 a = | . | . | 10 |
| Rv. VIII, 69, 2 a = | . | . | 7 |
| Syllable pu = | . | . | 1 |
| | | | 18 |

³ Seven in the head and two in the body; *sapta vai sîrshanyâh prâna dvâv avânkâv iti*.

⁴ Cf. I, 3, 5, 1.

⁵ Each *pâda* has seven syllables, the third only six; but a seventh syllable is gained by pronouncing the *y* as *i*. Comm.

⁶ Because it has four *pâdas*.

become twenty-five. The trunk is the twenty-fifth, and Pragâpati is the twenty-fifth. There are ten fingers on his hands, ten toes on his feet, two legs, two arms, and the trunk the twenty-fifth. He adorns that trunk as the twenty-fifth. Now this day consists of twenty-five, and the Stoma hymn of that day consists of twenty-five: it becomes the same through the same. Therefore the two, the day and the hymn, are twenty-five. This is the twenty-fifth with regard to the body.

4. Next, with regard to the deities: The eye, the ear, the mind, speech, and breath, these five deities (powers) have entered into that person (purusha), and that person entered into the five deities. He is wholly pervaded there with his limbs to the very hairs and nails. Therefore all beings to the very insects are born as pervaded (by the deities or senses)¹.

5. This has been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 114, 8):—

6. 'A thousandfold are these fifteen hymns;—for five arise from ten².

7. 'As large as heaven and earth, so large is it;—verily, the self (*ġtvâtman*) is as large as heaven and earth.

8. 'A thousandfold are the thousand powers³;—

¹ The commentator takes this in a different sense, explaining *atra*, there, as the body pervaded by the person, yet afterwards stating that all beings are born, pervaded by the senses.

² The commentator explains *ukthâ*, hymns, as members or organs. They are the five, and they spring from the ten, i. e. from the five elements (earth, water, fire, wind, and ether), forming part of the father and mother each, and therefore called ten, or a decade. *Dasata* is explained by *bhûtadasakât*.

³ The application of the senses to a thousand different objects.

by saying this the poet pleases the hymns (the senses), and magnifies them.

9. 'As far as Brahman reaches, so far reaches speech;'—wherever there is Brahman, there is a word; and wherever there is a word, there is Brahman, this was intended.

10. The first of the hymns among all those hymns has nine verses. Verily, there are nine *prānas* (openings), and it serves for their benefit.

11. Then follows a hymn of six verses. Verily, the seasons are six, and it serves to obtain them.

12. Then follows a hymn of five verses. Verily, the *Pañkti* consists of five feet. Verily, *Pañkti* is food, and it serves for the gaining of proper food.

13. Then follows a tristich. Three are these threefold worlds, and it serves to conquer them.

14. These verses become *Bṛihatī*¹, that metre being immortal, leading to the world of the Devas. That body of verses is the trunk (of the bird represented by the whole *sastra*), and thus it is. He who knows this comes by this way (by making the verses the trunk of the bird) near to the immortal Self, yea, to the immortal Self².

¹ Each foot of the *Trishūbh* has eleven syllables, to which seven are added from the *Nada* hymn. This gives eighteen syllables for each *pāda*. Two *pādas* therefore give thirty-six syllables, and this is a *Bṛihatī*. In this manner the twenty-three verses of the hymns yield forty-six *Bṛihatīs*. Comm.

² He obtains a birth among the gods by means of this *Mahāvratā* ceremonial, if performed with meditation and a right understanding of its hidden meaning.

FOURTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Next comes the Sûdadohas¹ verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

2. Next follow the neck verses. They recite them as Ushnih, according to their metre².

3. Next comes (again) the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

4. Next follows the head. That is in Gâyatri verses. The Gâyatri is the beginning of all metres³; the head the first of all members. It is in Arkavat verses (Rv. I, 7, 1-9)⁴. Arka is Agni. They are nine verses. The head consists of nine pieces. He recites the tenth verse, and that is the skin and the hairs on the head. It serves for reciting one verse more than (the nine verses contained in) the Stoma⁵.

¹ The Nishkevalya-sastra is represented in the shape of a bird, consisting of trunk, neck, head, vertebrae, wings, tail, and stomach. Before describing the hymns which form the neck, another hymn has to be mentioned, called Sûdadohas, which has to be recited at the end of the hymns, described before, which form the trunk. Sûdadohas is explained as 'yielding milk,' and because that word occurs in the verse, the verse is called Sûdadohas. It follows on the Nada verse, Rv. VIII, 69, 3. Cf. Ait. Âr. I, 5, 1, 7.

² They occur in another jâkhâ, and are to be recited such as they are, without any insertions. They are given by Saunaka, Ait. Âr. V, 2, 1.

³ It was created from the mouth of Pragâpati.

⁴ They are called so, because the word arka occurs in them.

⁵ The chanters of the Sâma-veda make a Trivrâ Stoma of this hymn, without any repetitions, leaving out the tenth verse. The reciters of the Rig-veda excel them therefore by reciting a tenth verse. This is called atisamsanam (or -nâ).

These form the Trivṛit Stoma and the Gâyatri metre, and whatever there exists, all this is produced after the production of this Stoma and this metre. Therefore the recitation of these head-hymns serves for production.

5. He who knows this, gets offspring and cattle.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Verily, Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

7. Next follow the vertebrae¹ (of the bird). These verses are Virâg (shining). Therefore man says to man, 'Thou shinest above us;' or to a stiff and proud man, 'Thou carriest thy neck stiff.' Or because the (vertebrae of the neck) run close together, they are taken to be the best food. For Virâg is food, and food is strength.

8. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

¹ Vigavas may be a singular, and the commentator seems to take it as such in his first explanation. The text, tâ virâgo bhavanti, proves nothing, because it could not be sa virâgo bhavanti, nor even sa virâd bhavati. Possibly the word may occur in both forms, vigu, plural vigavaḥ, and vigavaḥ. In a somewhat similar way we find grīvâ and grīvâḥ, folia and la feuille. On p. 109, the commentator speaks of vigavabhâga, and again, p. 110, pakshamûlarûpâ vigavâ abhihitâḥ. He, however, explains its meaning rightly, as the root of the wings, or rather the lower bones of the neck. Grīvâḥ, plural, were originally the vertebrae of the neck. The paragraph, though very empty, contains at least some interesting forms of language. First vigu, vertebrae, then the participles duta and sambâḥatama, and lastly the verb pratyakḥ, the last probably used in the sense of to bring near, to represent, with the superlative adverb annatamâm (Pân. V, 4, 11), i. e. they are represented as if they brought the best food.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next follows the right wing. It is this world (the earth), it is this Agni, it is speech, it is the Rathantara ¹, it is Vasishtha, it is a hundred ². These are the six powers (of the right wing) ³. The Sampâta hymn (Rv. IV, 20) serves indeed for obtaining desires and for firmness. The Pañkti verse (Rv. I, 80, 1) serves for proper food.

2. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, thereby he joins all joints with breath.

3. Next follows the left wing. It is that world (heaven), it is that sun, it is mind, it is the Br̥zhat, it

¹ Rathantara is the name of the whole number of hymns to be recited at this part of the sacrifice. It was made by Vasishtha, and consists of one hundred verses.

| | |
|--|----------|
| ² 1. Stotriya, abhi tvâ s̥tra nonumaḥ (Rv. VII, 32, 22) | 2 (3) |
| 2. Anurūpa, abhi tvâ p̥urvap̥taye (Rv. VIII, 3, 7) | 2 (3) |
| 3. Indrasya nu (Rv. I, 32) | 15 |
| 4. Tve ha (Rv. VII, 18, 1-15) | 15 |
| 5. Yas tigma (Rv. VII, 19) | 11 |
| 6. Ugro gagñe (Rv. VII, 20) | 10 |
| 7. Ud u (Rv. VII, 23) | 6 |
| 8. Â te mahaḥ (Rv. VII, 25) | 6 |
| 9. Na somaḥ (Rv. VII, 26) | 5 |
| 10. Indram naraḥ (Rv. VII, 27) | 5 |
| 11. Brahmâ naḥ (Rv. VII, 28) | 5 |
| 12. Ayam somaḥ (Rv. VII, 29) | 5 |
| 13. Â na indraḥ (Rv. IV, 20) | 11 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 98 (100) |
| 14. Itthâ hi (Rv. I, 80, 1) | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 99 (101) |
| | <hr/> |

These hymns and verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 1. Here we also learn that hymn Rv. IV, 20, is called Sampâta, and that the last verse is a Pañkti.

³ The six powers are earth, Agni, speech, Rathantara, Vasishtha, and a hundred.

is Bharadvâga, it is a hundred¹. These are the six powers (of the left wing). The Sampâta hymn (Rv. IV, 23) serves indeed for obtaining desires and for firmness. The Pañkti verse (Rv. I, 81, 1) serves for proper food.

4. These two (the right and the left wings) are deficient and excessive². The *Brîhat* (the left wing) is man, the *Rathantara* (the right wing) is woman. The excess belongs to the man, the deficiency to the woman. Therefore they are deficient and excessive.

5. Now the left wing of a bird is verily by one feather better, therefore the left wing is larger by one verse.

¹ The hundred verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 5.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Stotriya, tvâm id dhi (Rv. VI, 46, 1) | 2 (3) |
| 2. Anurûpa, tvam hy ehi (Rv. VIII, 61, 7) | 2 (3) |
| 3. Tam u sh'tuhi (Rv. VI, 18) | 15 |
| 4. Suta it tvam (Rv. VI, 23) | 10 |
| 5. <i>Vrîshâ madañ</i> (Rv. VI, 24) | 10 |
| 6. Yâ ta ôtiñ (Rv. VI, 25) | 9 |
| 7. Abhûr ekañ (Rv. VI, 31) | 5 |
| 8. Apûrvyâ (Rv. VI, 32) | 5 |
| 9. Ya ogish ha ñ (Rv. VI, 33) | 5 |
| 10. Sam ka tve (Rv. VI, 34) | 5 |
| 11. Kadâ bhuvan (Rv. VI, 35) | 5 |
| 12. Satrá madâsañ (Rv. VI, 36) | 5 |
| 13. Arvâg ratham (Rv. VI, 37) | 5 |
| 14. Apâd (Rv. VI, 38) | 5 |
| 15. Kathâ mahân (Rv. IV, 23) | 11 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 99 (101) |
| 16. Indro madâya (Rv. I, 81, 1) | 1 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100 (102) |
| | <hr/> |

Though there are said to be 100 verses before the Pañkti (No. 16), I can get only 99 or 101. See the following note.

² The right wing is deficient by one verse, the left wing exceeds by one verse. I count 99 or 101 verses in the right, and 100 or 102 in the left wing.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas is breath, and thereby he joins all joints with breath.

7. Next follows the tail. They are twenty-one Dvipadâ verses¹. For there are twenty-one backward feathers in a bird.

8. Then the Ekavimsa is the support of all Stomas, and the tail the support of all birds².

9. He recites a twenty-second verse. This is made the form of two supports. Therefore all birds support themselves on their tail, and having supported themselves on their tail, they fly up. For the tail is a support.

10. He (the bird and the hymn) is supported by two decades which are Virâg. The man (the sacrificer) is supported by the two Dvipadâs, the twenty-first and twenty-second. That which forms the bird serves for the attainment of all desires; that which forms the man, serves for his happiness, glory, proper food, and honour.

11. Next comes a Sûdadohas verse, then a Dhayyâ, then a Sûdadohas verse. The Sûdadohas is a man, the Dhayyâ a woman, therefore he recites the Dhayyâ as embraced on both sides by the Sûdadohas. Therefore does the seed of both, when it is effused, obtain oneness, and this with regard to the

¹ These verses are given Ait. Âr. V, 2, 2, 9.

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Imâ nu kam (Rv. X, 157) | 5 |
| 2. Â yâhi (Rv. X, 172) | 4 |
| 3. Pra va indrâya &c. (not in the Sâkalya-samhitâ) | 9 |
| 4. Esha brahmâ &c. (not in the Sâkalya-samhitâ) | 3 |
| | 21 |

² The other Stomas of the Agnishoma are the Trivrît, Pañtadaśa, Saptadaśa, the Ekavimsa being the highest. Cf. I, 5, 1, 3.

woman only. Hence birth takes place in and from the woman. Therefore he recites that Dhayyâ in that place ¹.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He recites the eighty tristichs of Gâyatrîs ². Verily, the eighty Gâyatrî tristichs are this world (earth). Whatever there is in this world of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

2. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins this world with breath.

3. He recites the eighty tristichs of Brîhatis. Verily, the eighty Brîhatî tristichs are the world of the sky. Whatever there is in the world of the sky of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

4. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins the world of the sky with breath.

5. He recites the eighty tristichs of Ushnih. Verily, the eighty Ushnih tristichs are that world, the heaven. Whatever there is in that world of glory, greatness, wives, food, and honour, also the divine being of the Devas (Brahman), may I obtain it, may I win it, may it be mine.

6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is the breath. He joins that world with breath, yea, with breath.

¹ Asmin vigavabhâge. Comm.

² These and the following verses form the food of the bird. Comm. The verses themselves are given by Saunaka in the fifth Âranyaka.

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He recites the Vasa hymn¹, wishing, May everything be in my power.
2. They (its verses) are twenty-one², for twenty-one are the parts (the lungs, spleen, &c.) in the belly.
3. Then the Ekavimsa is verily the support of all Stomas, and the belly the support of all food.
4. They consist of different metres. Verily, the intestines are confused, some small, some large.
5. He recites them with the prava³, according to the metre⁴, and according to rule⁵. Verily, the intestines are according to rule, as it were; some shorter, some longer.
6. Next comes the Sûdadohas verse. Sûdadohas verily is breath. He joins the joints with breath.
7. After having recited that verse twelve times he

* ¹ Having recited the verses which form the body, neck, head, wings, and tail of the bird, also the food intended for the bird, he now describes the Vasa hymn, i.e. the hymn composed by Vasa, Rv. VIII, 46. That hymn takes the place of the stomach, which receives the food intended for the bird. Cf. Ait. Âr. V, 2, 5. In I, 5, 2, 4 it is called a Nivid.

² Verses 1-20 of the Vasa hymn, and one Sûdadohas.

³ Prava means 'with prava,' i.e. inserting Om in the proper places.

⁴ According as the metres of the different verses are fixed by Saunaka, Ait. Âr. V, 2, 5, who says that verse 15 is Dvipadâ, and that the last four words, nûnam atha, form an Ekapadâ.

⁵ According to rule, i.e. so that they should come right as Ârvalâyana has prescribed the recitation of Dvipadâ and Ekapadâ verses. In a Dvipadâ there should be a stop after the first foot, and Om at the end of the second. In an Ekapadâ there should be Om at the beginning and at the end.

leaves it off there. These *prânas* are verily twelve-fold, seven in the head, two on the breast, three below. In these twelve places the *prânas* are contained, there they are perfect. Therefore he leaves it off there¹.

8. The hymn *indrâgnt yuvam su nañ* (Rv. VIII, 40) forms the two thighs (of the bird) belonging to Indra and Agni, the two supports with broad bones.

9. These (verses) consist of six feet, so that they may stand firm. Man stands firm on two feet, animals on four. He thus places man (the sacrificer), standing on two feet, among four-footed cattle.

10. The second verse has seven feet, and he makes it into a *Gâyatri* and *Anushñubh*. *Gâyatri* is Brahman, *Anushñubh* is speech; and he thus puts together speech with Brahman.

11. He recites a *Trishñubh* at the end. *Trishñubh* is strength, and thus does he come round animals by strength. Therefore animals come near where there is strength (of command, &c.); they come to be roused and to rise up, (they obey the commands of a strong shepherd.)

SECOND KHANDA.

1. When he recites the *Nishkevalya* hymn addressed to Indra (Rv. X, 50), *pra vo mahe*, he inserts a *Nivid*² (between the fourth and fifth verses). Thus he clearly places strength in himself (in the *sastra*, in the bird, in himself).

2. They are *Trishñubhs* and *Gagatis*.

¹ He repeats the *Sûdadohas* verse no more. Comm.

² Sentences like *indro devañ somam pibatu*.

3. There they say: 'Why does he insert a Nivid among mixed Trishûbhs and Gagatts¹?' But surely one metre would never support the Nivid of this day, nor fill it: therefore he inserts the Nivid among mixed Trishûbhs and Gagatts.

4. Let him know that this day has three Nivids: the Vasa hymn is a Nivid, the Vâ lakhilyas² are a Nivid, and the Nivid itself is a Nivid. Thus let him know that day as having three Nivids.

5. Then follow the hymns vane na vâ (Rv. X, 29) and yo gâta eva (Rv. II, 12). In the fourth verse of the former hymn occur the words anne samasya yad asan manishâh, and they serve for the winning of proper food.

6. Then comes an insertion. As many Trishûbh and Gagattî verses³, taken from the ten Mandâlas and addressed to Indra, as they insert (between the two above-mentioned hymns), after changing them into Brîhatts, so many years do they live beyond the (usual) age (of one hundred years). By this insertion age is obtained.

7. After that he recites the Sagantya hymn, wishing that cattle may always come to his offspring.

8. Then he recites the Târکشya hymn⁴. Târکشya is verily welfare, and the hymn leads to welfare. Thus (by reciting the hymn) he fares well⁵.

¹ According to the Prakrîti of the Agnishôma they ought to be all Trishûbhs. Comm.

² These hymns occur in the eighty Brîhatî tristichs.

³ From the Samhitâ, which consists of ten thousand verses. Comm.

⁴ Rv. X, 178. Târکشya Garudâ being the deity of the hymn, it is called Târکشya.

⁵ Cf. I, 5, 3, 13.

9. Then he recites the Ekapadā (indro visvam vi rāgati), wishing, May I be everything at once, and may I thus finish the whole work of metres¹.

10. In reciting the hymn indram visvā avtvri-dhan (Rv. I, 11) he intertwines the first seven verses by intertwining their feet². There are seven prānas (openings) in the head, and he thus places seven prānas in the head. The eighth verse (half-verse) he does not intertwine³. The eighth is speech, and he thinks, May my speech never be intertwined with the other prānas. Speech therefore, though dwelling in the same abode as the other prānas, is not intertwined with them.

11. He recites the Virāg verses⁴. Verily, Virāg verses are food, and they thus serve for the gaining of food.

12. He ends with the hymn of Vasishtha⁵, wishing, May I be Vasishtha!

13. But let him end with the fifth verse, esha stomo maha ugrāya vāhe, which, possessing the word mahat, is auspicious.

14. In the second foot of the fifth verse the word dhuri occurs. Verily, dhurī (the place where the horse is fastened to the car) is the end (of the car). This day also is the end (of the sacrifice which lasts a whole year)⁶. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

¹ The Ekapadā forms the last metre in this ceremony.

² The first and last half-verses of the hymn are not to be intertwined. Of the remaining fourteen half-verses he joins, for instance, the fourth foot of the first verse with the second foot of the second verse, and so on. Comm.

³ Because nothing more follows. Comm.

⁴ Rv. VII, 22, 1-6.

⁵ Rv. VII, 24.

⁶ The last day is the udayanfyâtirâtra. Comm.

15. In the third foot the word *arka* is auspicious.

16. The last foot is: 'Make our glory high as heaven over heaven.' Thus wherever Brahmanic speech is uttered, there his glory will be, when he who knows this finishes with that verse. Therefore let a man who knows this, finish (the *Nishkevalya*) with that verse.

THIRD KHANDA ¹.

1. *Tat savitur vrin̄tmahe* (Rv. V, 82, 1-3) and *adyâ no deva savitar* (Rv. V, 82, 4-6) are the beginning (*pratipad*) and the next step (*anukâra*) of the *Vaisvadeva* hymn, taken from the *Ekâha* ceremonial and therefore proper ².

2. On that day ³ much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

3. Then (follows) the hymn addressed to *Savitrî*, *tad devasya savitur vâryam mahat* (Rv. IV, 53). Verily, *mahat*, great, (in this foot) is the end ⁴. This day too is the end. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

¹ After finishing the *Nishkevalya* of the noon-libation, he explains the *vaisvadevasastra* of the third libation.

² The norm of the *Mahâvrata* is the *Virvagit*, and the norm of that, the *Agnishôma Ekâha*. The verses to be used for the *Vaisvadeva* hymn are prescribed in those normal sacrifices, and are here adopted.

³ Cf. *Ait. Âr. I, 2, 1, 2*.

⁴ Nothing higher than the great can be wished for or obtained. Comm.

4. The hymn *katarâ pûrvâ katarâ parâyoḥ* (Rv. I, 185), addressed to *Dyâvâpṛithivī*, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also (the *mahâvrata*) is one in which many receive the same reward¹. Thus it is fit for the day.

5. The hymn *anasvo gâto anabhīsur ukthyaḥ* (Rv. IV, 36) is addressed to the *Riḅhus*.

6. In the first verse the word *tri* (*kakraḥ*) occurs, and *trivat*² is verily the end. This day also is the end (of the sacrifice). Thus the verse is fit for the day.

7. The hymn *asya vâmasya palitasya hotuḥ* (Rv. I, 164), addressed to the *Visvedevas*, is multiform. This day also is multiform³. Thus the verse is fit for the day.

8. He recites the end of it, beginning with *gaurīr mimâya* (Rv. I, 164, 41).

9. The hymn *â no bhadrâḥ kratavo yantu visvataḥ* (Rv. I, 89), addressed to the *Visvedevas*, forms the *Nividdhâna*, taken from the *Ekâha* ceremonial, and therefore proper.

10. On that day much is done now and then which has to be hidden, and has to be atoned for. Atonement is rest, the one-day sacrifice. Therefore at the end of the year the sacrificers rest on this atonement as their rest. He who knows this rests firm, and they also for whom a *Hotri* priest who knows this, recites this hymn.

11. The hymn *vaisvânarâya dhishanzâm rita-*

¹ All who perform the ceremony obtain Brahman. Cf. § 12.

² The third wheel, in addition to the usual two wheels, forms the end of a carriage, as before the *dhuḥ*, cf. I, 5, 2, 14. This day also is the end.

³ Consisting of Vedic hymns and dances, &c. Comm.

vridhe (Rv. III, 2) forms the beginning of the Âgnimâruta. *Dhishanâ*, thought, is verily the end, this day also is the end. Thus it is fit for the day.

12. The hymn *prayagyavo maruto bhrâgadrishṭayaḥ* (Rv. V, 55), addressed to the Maruts, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also is one in which many receive the same reward. Thus it is fit for the day¹.

13. He recites the verse *gâtavedase sunavâma somam* (Rv. I, 99, 1), addressed to *Gâtavedas*, before the (next following) hymn. That verse addressed to *Gâtavedas* is verily welfare, and leads to welfare. Thus (by reciting it) he fares well².

14. The hymn *imam stomam arhate gâtavedase* (Rv. I, 94), addressed to *Gâtavedas*, is one in which many verses have the same ending. Verily, this day also (the *mahâvrata*) is one in which many receive the same reward. Thus it is fit for the day, yea, it is fit for the day.

¹ Cf. § 4.

² Cf. I, 5, 2, 8.

SECOND ÂRANYAKA.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

With the second Âranyaka the Upanishad begins. It comprises the second and third Âranyakas, and may be said to consist of three divisions, or three Upanishads. Their general title is *Bahvrika-upanishad*, sometimes *Mahaitareya-upanishad*, while the Upanishad generally known as *Aitareya-upanishad* comprises the 4th, 5th, and 6th adhyâyas only of the second Âranyaka.

The character of the three component portions of the Upanishad can best be described in Sañkara's own words (Âr. III, 1, 1, *Introd.* p. 306): 'There are three classes of men who want to acquire knowledge. The highest consists of those who have turned away from the world, whose minds are fixed on one subject and collected, and who yearn to be free at once. For these a knowledge of Brahman is intended, as taught in the *Ait. Âr. II, 4-6*. The middle class are those who wish to become free gradually by attaining to the world of *Hiranyagarbha*. For them the knowledge and worship of *Prâna* (breath and life) is intended, as explained in the *Ait. Âr. II, 1-3*. The lowest class consists of those who do not care either for immediate or gradual freedom, but who desire nothing but offspring, cattle, &c. For these the meditative worship of the *Samhitâ* is intended, as explained in the third Âranyaka. They cling too strongly to the letter of the sacred text to be able to surrender it for a knowledge either of *Prâna* (life) or of Brahman.'

The connexion between the Upanishad or rather the three Upanishads and the first Âranyaka seems at first sight very slight. Still we soon perceive that it would be impossible to understand the first Upanishad, without a previous knowledge of the *Mahâ-vrata* ceremony as described in the first Âranyaka.

On this point too there are some pertinent remarks in Sañkara's commentary on the Âranyaka II, 1, 2. 'Our first duty,' he says, 'consists in performing sacrifices, such as are described in the first portion of the Veda, the *Samhitâs*, *Brâhmanas*, and, to a certain extent, in the Âranyakas also. Afterwards arises a desire for knowledge, which cannot be satisfied except a man has first attained

complete concentration of thought (*ekâgratâ*). In order to acquire that concentration, the performance of certain upâsanas or meditations is enjoined, such as we find described in our Upanishad, viz. in Âr. II, 1-3.

This meditation or, as it is sometimes translated, worship is of two kinds, either brahmopâsana or pratikopâsana. Brahmopâsana or meditation on Brahman consists in thinking of him as distinguished by certain qualities. Pratikopâsana or meditation on symbols consists in looking upon certain worldly objects as if they were Brahman, in order thus to withdraw the mind from the too powerful influence of external objects.

These objects, thus lifted up into symbols of Brahman, are of two kinds, either connected with sacrifice or not. In our Upanishad we have to deal with the former class only, viz. with certain portions of the Mahâvrata, as described in the first Âranyaka. In order that the mind may not be entirely absorbed by the sacrifice, it is lifted up during the performance from the consideration of these sacrificial objects to a meditation on higher objects, leading up at last to Brahman as *prâna* or life.

This meditation is to be performed by the priests, and while they meditate they may meditate on a hymn or on a single word of it as meaning something else, such as the sun, the earth, or the sky, but not vice versâ. And if in one Sâkhâ, as in that of the Aitareyins, for instance, a certain hymn has been symbolically explained, the same explanation may be adopted by another Sâkhâ also, such as that of the Kaushâtakins. It is not necessary, however, that every part of the sacrifice should be accompanied by meditation, but it is left optional to the priest in what particular meditation he wishes to engage, nor is even the time of the sacrifice the only right time for him to engage in these meditations.

1. This is the path : this sacrifice, and this Brahman. This is the true¹.

2. Let no man swerve from it, let no man transgress it.

¹ Comm. The path is twofold, consisting of works and knowledge. Works or sacrifices have been described in the Samhitâ, the Brâhmana, and the first Âranyaka. Knowledge of Brahman forms the subject of the second and third Âranyakas. The true path is that of knowledge.

3. For the old (sages) did not transgress it, and those who did transgress, became lost.

4. This has been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. VIII, 101, 14): 'Three (classes of) people transgressed, others settled down round about the venerable (Agni, fire); the great (sun) stood in the midst of the worlds, the blowing (Vāyu, air) entered the Harits (the dawns, or the ends of the earth).'

5. When he says: 'Three (classes of) people transgressed,' the three (classes of) people who transgressed are what we see here (on earth, born again) as birds, trees, herbs, and serpents¹.

6. When he says: 'Others settled down round about the venerable,' he means those who now sit down to worship Agni (fire).

7. When he says: 'The great stood in the midst of the worlds,' the great one in the midst of the world is meant for this *Āditya*, the sun.

8. When he says: 'The blowing entered the Harits,' he means that Vāyu, the air, the purifier, entered all the corners of the earth².

SECOND KHANDA.

1. People say: 'Uktha, uktha,' hymns, hymns! (without knowing what uktha, hymn³, means.) The

¹ *Vaṅgāḥ* is explained by *vanagatā vṛikshāḥ*; *avagadhāḥ* is explained by *vṛihiyavādyā oshadhayaḥ*; *īrapādāḥ* is explained by *urāḥ-pādāḥ sarpāḥ*. Possibly they are all old ethnic names, like *Vaṅga*, *Kera*, &c. In *Ānandaīrtha's* commentary *vayāmsi* are explained by *Pisāṭa*, *Vaṅgāvagadhas* by *Rākshasa*, and *īrapādas* by *Asuras*.

² Three classes of men go to *Naraka* (hell); the fourth class, full of faith and desirous of reaching the highest world, worships Agni, Vāyu, and other gods. Comm.

³ The Comm. explains *uktha* as that from whence the favour of the gods arises, *uttish/haty anena devatāprasāda iti vyutpatteḥ*.

hymn is truly (to be considered as) the earth, for from it all whatsoever exists arises.

2. The object of its praise is Agni (fire), and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

3. The hymn is truly the sky, for the birds fly along the sky, and men drive following the sky. The object of its praise is Vâyu (air), and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

4. The hymn is truly the heaven, for from its gift (rain) all whatsoever exists arises. The object of its praise is Âditya (the sun), and the eighty verses are food, for by means of food one obtains everything.

5. So much with reference to the gods (mythological); now with reference to man (physiological).

6. The hymn is truly man. He is great, he is Pragâpati. Let him think, I am the hymn.

7. The hymn is his mouth, as before in the case of the earth.

8. The object of its praise is speech, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

9. The hymn is the nostrils, as before in the case of the sky.

10. The object of its praise is breath, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

11. The slight bent (at the root) of the nose is, as it were, the place of the brilliant (Âditya, the sun).

The object is now to show that the uktha or hymn used at the Mahâvrata ceremony has a deeper meaning than it seems to have, and that its highest aim is Brahman; not, however, the highest Brahman, but Brahman considered as life (prâna).

12. The hymn is the forehead, as before in the case of heaven. The object of its praise is the eye, and the eighty verses (of the hymn) are food, for by means of food he obtains everything.

13. The eighty verses (of the hymn) are alike food with reference to the gods as well as with reference to man. For all these beings breathe and live by means of food indeed. By food (given in alms, &c.) he conquers this world, by food (given in sacrifice) he conquers the other. Therefore the eighty verses (of the hymn) are alike food, with reference to the gods as well as with reference to man.

14. All this that is food, and all this that consumes food, is only the earth, for from the earth arises all whatever there is.

15. And all that goes hence (dies on earth), heaven consumes it all; and all that goes thence (returns from heaven to a new life) the earth consumes it all.

16. That earth is thus both food and consumer.

He also (the true worshipper who meditates on himself as being the uktha) is both consumer and consumed (subject and object¹). No one possesses that which he does not eat, or the things which do not eat him².

¹ As a master who lives by his servants, while his servants live by him. Comm.

² I have translated these paragraphs, as much as possible, according to the commentator. I doubt whether, either in the original or in the interpretation of the commentator, they yield any very definite sense. They are vague speculations, vague, at least, to us, though intended by the Brahmans to give a deeper meaning to certain ceremonial observances connected with the Mahāvratā. The uktha, or hymn, which is to be meditated on, as connected with the sacrifice, is part of the Mahāvratā, an important ceremony, to be

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Next follows the origin of seed. The seed of Pragâpati are the Devas (gods). The seed of the Devas is rain. The seed of rain are herbs. The seed of herbs is food. The seed of food is seed. The seed of seed are creatures. The seed of creatures is the heart. The seed of the heart is the mind. The seed of the mind is speech (Veda). The seed of speech is action (sacrifice). The action done (in a former state) is this man, the abode of Brahman.

2. He (man) consists of food (irâ), and because he consists of food (irâmaya), he consists of gold (hiraṃmaya¹). He who knows this becomes golden in the other world, and is seen as golden (as the sun) for the benefit of all beings.

performed on the last day but one (the twenty-fourth) of the Gavâmayana sacrifice. That sacrifice lasts a whole year, and its performance has been fully described in the Brâhmanas and Âranyakas. But while the ordinary performer of the Mahâvrata has simply to recite the uktha or nishkevalya-rastra, consisting of eighty verses (*trika*) in the Gâyatrî, Brihatî, and Ushnih metres, the more advanced worshipper (or priest) is to know that this uktha has a deeper meaning, and is to meditate on it as being the earth, sky, heaven, also as the human body, mouth, nostrils, and forehead. The worshipper is in fact to identify himself by meditation with the uktha in all its senses, and thus to become the universal spirit or Hiraṃyagarbha. By this process he becomes the consumer and consumed, the subject and object, of everything, while another sacrificer, not knowing this, remains in his limited individual sphere, or, as the text expresses it, does not possess what he cannot eat (perceive), or what cannot eat him (perceive him). The last sentence is explained differently by the commentator, but in connexion with the whole passage it seems to me to become more intelligible, if interpreted as I have proposed to interpret it.

¹ Play on words. Comm.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Brahman (in the shape of *prāna*, breath) entered into that man by the tips of his feet, and because Brahman entered (*prāpadyata*) into that man by the tips of his feet, therefore people call them the tips of the feet (*prapada*), but hoofs and claws in other animals.

2. Then Brahman crept up higher, and therefore they were (called)¹ the thighs (*ūrū*).

3. Then he said: 'Grasp wide,' and that was (called) the belly (*udara*).

4. Then he said: 'Make room for me,' and that was (called) the chest (*uras*).

5. The *Sārkarākshyas* meditate on the belly as Brahman, the *Āruvis* on the heart². Both (these places) are Brahman indeed³,

6. But Brahman crept upwards and came to the head, and because he came to the head, therefore the head is called head⁴.

7. Then these delights alighted in the head, sight, hearing, mind, speech, breath.

8. Delights alight on him who thus knows, why the head is called head.

9. These (five delights or senses) strove together, saying: 'I am the *uktha* (hymn), I am the *uktha*⁵.' 'Well,' they said, 'let us all go out from

¹ These are all plays on words. Comm.

² This does not appear to be the case either in the *Kṛ. Up. V*, 15; 17, or in the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa X*, 6, 1.

³ The *pluti* in *tâḥi* is explained as *sâstrīyaprasiddhyarthâ*.

⁴ All puns, as if we were to say, because he hied up to the head, therefore the head was called head.

⁵ Each wished to be identified with the *uktha*, as it was said before that the human body, mouth, nostrils, forehead were to be identified with the *uktha*. Cf. *Kaush. Up. III*, 3.

this body ; then on whose departure this body shall fall, he shall be the uktha among us¹.’

10. Speech went out, yet the body without speaking remained, eating and drinking.

Sight went out, yet the body without seeing remained, eating and drinking.

Hearing went out, yet the body without hearing remained, eating and drinking.

Mind went out, yet the body, as if blinking, remained, eating and drinking.

Breath went out, then when breath was gone out, the body fell.

11. It was decayed, and because people said, it decayed, therefore it was (called) body (*jartra*). That is the reason of its name.

12. If a man knows this, then the evil enemy who hates him decays, or the evil enemy who hates him is defeated.

13. They strove again, saying : ‘ I am the uktha, I am the uktha.’ ‘ Well,’ they said, ‘ let us enter that body again ; then on whose entrance this body shall rise again, he shall be the uktha among us.’

14. Speech entered, but the body lay still. Sight entered, but the body lay still. Hearing entered, but the body lay still. Mind entered, but the body lay still. Breath entered, and when breath had entered, the body rose, and it became the uktha.

15. Therefore breath alone is the uktha.

16. Let people know that breath is the uktha indeed.

17. The Devas (the other senses) said to breath : ‘ Thou art the uktha, thou art all this, we are thine, thou art ours.’

¹ Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 1; *Bṛh. Up.* VI, 1; *Kaush. Up.* II, 12-14; III, 2; *Prasna Up.* II, 1.

18. This has also been said by a *Rīshi* (Rv. VIII, 92, 32): 'Thou art ours, we are thine.'

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Then the Devas carried him (the breath) forth, and being carried forth, he was stretched out, and when people said, 'He was stretched out,' then it was in the morning; when they said, 'He is gone to rest,' then it was in the evening. Day, therefore, is the breathing up, night the breathing down ¹.

2. Speech is Agni, sight that *Āditya* (sun), mind the moon, hearing the *Dis* (quarters): this is the *prahitām samyoga* ², the union of the deities as sent forth. These deities (Agni, &c.) are thus in the body, but their (phenomenal) appearance yonder is among the deities—this was intended.

3. And *Hiranyadat Vaida* also, who knew this (and who by his knowledge had become *Hiranyagarbha* or the universal spirit), said: 'Whatever they do not give to me, they do not possess themselves.' I know the *prahitām samyoga*, the union of the deities, as entered into the body ³. This is it.

¹ All these are plays on words, *prātar* being derived from *prātāyi*, *sāyam* from *samāgāt*. The real object, however, is to show that breath, which is the *uktha*, which is the worshipper, is endowed with certain qualities, viz. time, speech, &c.

² The meaning is, that the four deities, Agni, *Āditya*, Moon, and the *Dis* proceed from their own places to dwell together in the body of man, and that this is called the *prahitām samyogaḥ*. *Prahit* is explained as *prahita*, placed, sent. It is probably formed from *hi*, not from *dhā*. *Prahitoh samyoganam* is the name of a *Sāman*, Ind. Stud. III, 225. As Devas or gods they appear each in its own place. The whole passage is very obscure.

³ All this is extremely obscure, possibly incorrect. For *yam*, unless it refers to some other word, we expect *yan*. For *dadyuḥ* one expects *dadyāt*. What is intended is that *Hiranyadat* had

4. To him who knows this all creatures, without being constrained, offer gifts.

5. That breath is (to be called) *sattya* (the true), for *sat* is breath, *ti* is food, *yam* is the sun¹. This is threefold, and threefold the eye also may be called, it being white, dark, and the pupil. He who knows why true is true (why *sattya* is *sattya*), even if he should speak falsely, yet what he says is true.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Speech is his (the breath's) rope, the names the knots². Thus by his speech as by a rope, and by his names as by knots, all this is bound. For all this are names indeed, and with speech he calls everything.

2. People carry him who knows this, as if they were bound by a rope.

3. Of the body of the breath thus meditated on, the *Ushnih* verse forms the hairs, the *Gâyatri* the skin, the *Trishṭubh* the flesh, the *Anushṭubh* the muscles, the *Gagati* the bone, the *Pañkti* the marrow, the *Bṛihati* the breath³ (*prâna*). He is covered with the verses (*khandas*, metres). Because he is thus covered with verses, therefore they call them *khandas* (coverings, metres).

4. If a man knows the reason why *khandas* are called *khandas*, the verses cover him in whatever place he likes against any evil deed.

through meditation acquired identity with the universal spirit, and that therefore he might say that whatever was not surrendered to him did not really belong to anybody. On *Hiranyadat*, see *Ait. Brâhm.* III, 6.

¹ Cf. *Kh. Up.* VIII, 3, 5.

² The rope is supposed to be the chief rope to which various smaller ropes are attached for fastening animals.

³ Here conceived as the air breathed, not as the deity. *Comm.*

5. This is said by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 164, 13):—

6. 'I saw (the breath) as a guardian, never tiring, coming and going on his ways (the arteries). That breath (in the body, being identified with the sun among the Devas), illuminating the principal and intermediate quarters of the sky, is returning constantly in the midst of the worlds.'

He says: 'I saw a guardian,' because he, the breath, is a guardian, for he guards everything.

7. He says: 'Never tiring,' because the breath never rests.

8. He says: 'Coming and going on his ways,' because the breath comes and goes on his ways.

9. He says: 'Illuminating the principal and intermediate,' because he illuminates these only, the principal and intermediate quarters of the sky.

10. He says: 'He is returning constantly in the midst of the worlds,' because he returns indeed constantly in the midst of the worlds.

11. And then, there is another verse (Rv. I, 55, 81): 'They are covered like caves by those who make them,'

12. For all this is covered indeed by breath.

13. This ether is supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*, and as this ether is supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*, so one should know that all things, not excepting ants, are supported by breath as *Bṛhatī*.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. Next follow the powers of that Person¹.

2. By his speech earth and fire were created.

¹ The purusha, as described before in the second chapter, is the *Pragāpati* or universal spirit with whom the worshipper is to identify himself by meditation. The manifestations of his power consist in creating the earth, fire, the sky, the air, heaven, the sun.

Herbs are produced on the earth, and Agni (fire) makes them ripe and sweet. 'Take this, take this,' thus saying do earth and fire serve their parent, speech.

3. As far as the earth reaches, as far as fire reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the earth and fire does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows this power of speech.

4. By breath (in the nose) the sky and the air were created. People follow the sky, and hear along the sky, while the air carries along pure scent. Thus do sky and air serve their parent, the breath.

As far as the sky reaches, as far as the air reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the sky and the air does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows this power of breath.

5. By his eye heaven and the sun were created. Heaven gives him rain and food, while the sun causes his light to shine. Thus do the heaven and the sun serve their parent, the eye.

As far as heaven reaches and as far as the sun reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of heaven and the sun does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the eye.

6. By his ear the quarters and the moon were created. From all the quarters they come to him, and from all the quarters he hears, while the moon produces for him the bright and the dark halves for the sake of sacrificial work. Thus do the quarters and the moon serve their parent, the ear.

As far as the quarters reach and as far as the

moon reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of the quarters and the moon does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the ear.

7. By his mind the water and Varuṇa were created. Water yields to him faith (being used for sacred acts), Varuṇa keeps his offspring within the law. Thus do water and Varuṇa serve their parent, the mind.

As far as water reaches and as far as Varuṇa reaches, so far does his world extend, and as long as the world of water and Varuṇa does not decay, so long does his world not decay who thus knows the power of the mind.

EIGHTH KHANDA ¹.

1. Was it water really? Was it water? Yes, all this was water indeed. This (water) was the root (cause), that (the world) was the shoot (effect). He (the person) is the father, they (earth, fire, &c.) are the sons. Whatever there is belonging to the son, belongs to the father; whatever there is belonging to the father, belongs to the son. This was intended².

2. Mahidâsa Aitareya, who knew this, said: 'I know myself (reaching) as far as the gods, and I know the gods (reaching) as far as me. For these

¹ Having described how Prâṇa, the breath, and his companions or servants created the world, he now discusses the question of the material cause of the world out of which it was created. Water, which is said to be the material of the world, is explained by the commentator to mean here the five elements.

² Cause and effect are not entirely separated, therefore water, as the elementary cause, and earth, fire, &c., as its effect, are one; likewise the worshipper, as the father, and the earth, fire, &c. as his sons, as described above. Mûla and tûla, root and shoot, are evidently chosen for the sake of the rhyme, to signify cause and effect.

gods receive their gifts from hence, and are supported from hence.'

3. This is the mountain¹, viz. eye, ear, mind, speech, and breath. They call it the mountain of Brahman.

4. He who knows this, throws down the evil enemy who hates him; the evil enemy who hates him is defeated.

5. He (the *Prâna*, identified with Brahman) is the life, the breath; he is being (while the *ġtvâtman* remains), and not-being (when the *ġtvâtman* departs).

6. The Devas (speech, &c.) worshipped him (*prâna*) as *Bhûti* or being, and thus they became great beings. And therefore even now a man who sleeps, breathes like *bhûrbhuġ*.

7. The Asuras worshipped him as *Abhûti* or not-being, and thus they were defeated.

8. He who knows this, becomes great by himself, while the evil enemy who hates him, is defeated.

9. He (the breath) is death (when he departs), and immortality (while he abides).

10. And this has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 164, 38):—

11. 'Downwards and upwards he (the wind of the breath) goes, held by food;—for this up-breathing, being held back by the down-breathing, does not move forward (and leave the body altogether).

12. 'The immortal dwells with the mortal;—for through him (the breath) all this dwells together, the bodies being clearly mortal, but this being (the breath), being immortal.

¹ *Prâna* is called the *giriġ*, because it is swallowed or hidden by the other senses (*giranât*). Again a mere play of words, intended to show that Brahman under the form of *Prâna*, or life, is to be meditated on.

13. 'These two (body and breath) go for ever in different directions (the breath moving the senses of the body, the body supporting the senses of the breath : the former going upwards to another world, the body dying and remaining on earth). They increase the one (the body), but they do not increase the other,' i. e. they increase these bodies (by food), but this being (breath) is immortal.

14. He who knows this becomes immortal in that world (having become united with Hiranyagarbha), and is seen as immortal (in the sun) by all beings, yea, by all beings.

SECOND ADHYĀYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He (the sun), who shines, honoured this world (the body of the worshipper, by entering into it), in the form of man² (the worshipper who meditates on breath). For he who shines (the sun) is (the same as) the breath. He honoured this (body of the worshipper) during a hundred years, therefore there are a hundred years in the life of a man. Because he honoured him during a hundred years, therefore there are (the poets of the first *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the *Satarṅin*, (having honour for a

¹ In the first adhyāya various forms of meditating on Uktha, conceived as *Prāna* (life), have been declared. In the second some other forms of meditation, all extremely fanciful, are added. They are of interest, however, as showing the existence of the hymns of the Rig-veda, divided and arranged as we now possess them, at the time when this *Āranyaka* was composed.

² The identity of the sun and of breath as living in man has been established before. It is the same power in both, conceived either *adhidaivatam* (mythological) or *adhyātman* (physiological).

hundred years.) Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Satarîin* poets¹.

2. He (breath) placed himself in the midst of all whatsoever exists. Because he placed himself in the midst of all whatsoever exists, therefore there are (the poets of the second to the ninth *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) the *Mâdhyamas*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Mâdhyama* poets.

3. He as up-breathing is the swallower (*gritsa*), as down-breathing he is delight (*mada*). Because as up-breathing he is swallower (*gritsa*) and as down-breathing delight (*mada*), therefore there is (the poet of the second *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Gritsamada*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Gritsamada*.

4. Of him (breath) all this whatsoever was a friend. Because of him all (*visvam*) this whatsoever was a friend (*mitram*), therefore there is (the poet of the third *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Visvâmitra*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Visvâmitra*.

5. The *Devas* (speech, &c.) said to him (the breath): 'He is to be loved by all of us.' Because the *Devas* said of him, that he was to be loved (*vâma*) by all of them, therefore there is (the poet of the fourth *Mandala* of the *Rig-veda*, called) *Vâmadeva*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Vâmadeva*.

6. He (breath) guarded all this whatsoever from evil. Because he guarded (*atrâyata*) all this whatso-

¹ The real ground for the name is that the poets of the first *Mandala* composed on an average each about a hundred *Rik* verses.

ever from evil, therefore there are (the poets of the fifth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Atrayah*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Atrayah*.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. He (breath) is likewise a *Bibhradvâga* (bringer of offspring). Offspring is *vâga*, and he (breath) supports offspring. Because he supports it, therefore there is (the poet of the sixth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Bharadvâga*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Bharadvâga*.

2. The *Devas* (speech, &c.) said to him: 'He it is who chiefly causes us to dwell on earth.' Because the *Devas* said of him, that he chiefly caused them to dwell on earth, therefore there is (the poet of the seventh *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) *Vasishtha*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), *Vasishtha*¹.

3. He (breath) went forth towards² all this whatsoever. Because he went forth toward all this whatsoever, therefore there are (the poets of the eighth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the *Pragâthas*. Therefore people call him who is really *Prâna* (breath), the *Pragâthas*.

4. He (breath) purified all this whatsoever. Because he purified all this whatsoever, therefore there

¹ I translate in accordance with the commentator, and probably with the intention of the author. The same etymology is repeated in the commentary on II, 2, 4, 2. It would be more natural to take *vasishtha* in the sense of the richest.

² This is the interpretation of the commentator, and the preposition *abhi* seems to show that the author too took that view of the etymology of *pragâtha*.

are (the hymns and also the poets ¹ of the ninth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the Pavamânis. Therefore people called him who is really Prâna (breath), the Pavamânis.

5. He (breath) said: 'Let me be everything whatsoever, small (kshudra) and great (mahat), and this became the Kshudrasûktas and Mahâsûktas.' Therefore there were (the hymns and also the poets of the tenth *Mandala* of the Rig-veda, called) the Kshudrasûktas (and Mahâsûktas). Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), the Kshudrasûktas (and Mahâsûktas).

6. He (breath) said once: 'You have said what is well said (su-ukta) indeed. This became a Sûkta (hymn).' Therefore there was the Sûkta. Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), Sûkta ².

7. He (breath) is a *Rik* (verse), for he did honour ³ to all beings (by entering into them). Because he did honour to all beings, therefore there was the *Rik* verse. Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), *Rik*.

8. He (breath) is an *Ardharêa* (half-verse), for he did honour to all places (ardha) ⁴. Because he did honour to all places, therefore there was the *Ardharêa*. Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), *Ardharêa*.

¹ It seems, indeed, as if in the technical language of the Brahmans, the poets of the ninth *Mandala* were sometimes called Pavamânis, and the hymns of the tenth *Mandala* Kshudrasûktas and Mahâsûktas (masc.) Cf. Ârsheya-brâhmana, ed. Burnell, p. 42.

² The poet also is called Sûkta, taddrash/âpi sûktanâmako 'bhût. Comm.

³ I translate according to the commentator.

⁴ Ardha means both half and place.

9. He (breath) is a Pada (word)¹, for he got into all these beings. Because he got (pâdi) into all these beings, therefore there was the Pada (word). Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), Pada.

10. He (breath) is an Akshara (syllable), for he pours out (ksharati) gifts to all these beings, and without him no one can pour out (atiksharati) gifts. Therefore there was the Akshara (syllable). Therefore people call him who is really Prâna (breath), Akshara².

11. Thus all these *Rik* verses, all Vedas, all sounds³ are one word, viz. Prâna (breath). Let him know that Prâna is all *Rik* verses.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. While Visvâmitra was going to repeat the hymns of this day (the mahâvrata), Indra sat down near him⁴. Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, 'This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatī* verses⁵.

¹ It may also be intended for pâda, foot of a verse.

² The Prâna (breath) is to be meditated on as all hymns, all poets, all words, &c. Comm.

³ All aspirated sonant consonants. Comm.

⁴ Upanishasasâda, instead of upanishasâda. The mistake is probably due to a correction, sa for sha; the commentator, however, considers it as a Vedic license. Sakâro 'dhikas *Mândasa*h.

⁵ These are meant for the Nishkevalya hymn recited at the noon-libation of the Mahâvrata. That hymn consists of ten parts, corresponding, as we saw, to ten parts of a bird, viz. its body, neck, head, root of wings, right wing, left wing, tail, belly, chest, and thighs. The verses corresponding to these ten parts, beginning with tad id âsa bhuvaneshu *gyesh/ham*, are given in the first *Āraṇyaka*, and more fully in the fifth *Āraṇyaka* by Saunaka.

By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

2. Indra said to him : ' *Rishi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. *Rishi*, repeat a second hymn ¹.' Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, ' This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatî* verses. By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

3. Indra said to him : ' *Rishi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. *Rishi*, repeat a third hymn.' Visvâmitra (guessing that Indra wanted food) said to him, ' This (the verses of the hymn) is food,' and repeated the thousand *Bṛihatî* verses. By means of this he went to the delightful home of Indra (Svarga).

4. Indra said to him : ' *Rishi*, thou hast come to my delightful home. I grant thee a boon.' Visvâmitra said : ' May I know thee.' Indra said : ' I am *Prâna* (breath), O *Rishi*, thou art *Prâna*, all things are *Prâna*. For it is *Prâna* who shines as the sun, and I here pervade all regions under that form. This food of mine (the hymn) is my friend and my support (*dakshina*). This is the food prepared by Visvâmitra. I am verily he who shines (the sun).'

Though they consist of many metres, yet, when one counts the syllables, they give a thousand *Bṛihatî* verses, each consisting of thirty-six syllables.

¹ Although the *Nishkevalya* is but one hymn, consisting of eighty *trikas*, yet as these eighty *trikas* were represented as three kinds of food (see Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2, 2-4), the hymn is represented as three hymns, first as eighty *Gâyatrî trikas*, then as eighty *Bṛihatî trikas*, lastly as eighty *Ushnih trikas*.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. This then becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses. Its consonants¹ form its body, its voice² (vowels) the soul³, its sibilants⁴ the air of the breath.

2. He who knew this became *Vasishṭha*, he took this name from thence⁵.

3. Indra verily declared this to *Viśvāmitra*, and Indra verily declared this to *Bharadvāga*. Therefore Indra is invoked by him as a friend⁶.

4. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses⁷, and of that hymn perfect with a thousand *Bṛihatī* verses, there are 36,000 syllables⁸. So many are also the thousands of days of a hundred years (36,000). With the consonants they fill the nights, with the vowels the days.

5. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses. He who knows this, after this thousand of *Bṛihatīs* thus accomplished, becomes full of knowledge, full of the gods, full of Brahman, full of the immortal, and then goes also to the gods.

6. What I am (the worshipper), that is he (sun); what he is, that am I.

¹ *Vyañjanāni*, explained by *kādini*.

² *Ghoshā*, explained by aspirated sonant consonants.

³ *Ātmā*, explained by *madhyasarātram*.

⁴ *Sashasahāḥ*. Comm.

⁵ He became *Prāna*, and because *Prāna* causes all to dwell, or covers all (*vāsayati*), therefore the *Rishi* was called *Vasishṭha*. Comm. Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 2, 2, 2.

⁶ At the *Subrahmanyâ* ceremony in the Soma sacrifices, the invocations are, Indra â *gakkha*, hariva â *gakkha*.

⁷ Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 3, 8, 8.

⁸ Each *Bṛihatī* has thirty-six syllables.

7. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 115, 1) :
'The sun is the self of all that moves and rests.'

8. Let him look to that, let him look to that!

THIRD ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. He who knows himself as the fivefold hymn (*uktha*), the emblem of *Prâna* (breath), from whence all this springs², he is clever. These five are the earth, air, ether, water, and fire (*gyotis*). This is the self, the fivefold *uktha*. For from him all this springs, and into him it enters again (at the dissolution of the world). He who knows this, becomes the refuge of his friends.

2. And to him who knows the food (object) and the feeder (subject) in that *uktha*, a strong son is born, and food is never wanting. Water and earth are food, for all food consists of these two. Fire and air are the feeder, for by means of them³ man eats all food. Ether is the bowl, for all this is poured into the ether. He who knows this, becomes the bowl or support of his friends.

3. To him who knows the food and the feeder in that *uktha*, a strong son is born, and food is never wanting. Herbs and trees are food, animals the feeder, for animals eat herbs and trees.

4. Of them again those who have teeth above

¹ In this *adhyâya* some more qualities are explained belonging to the *Mahâvrata* ceremonial and the hymns employed at it, which can be meditated on as referring to *Prâna*, life.

² Because the world is the result or reward for performing a meditation on the *uktha*. Comm.

³ The digestive fire is lighted by the air of the breath. Comm.

and below, shaped after the likeness of man, are feeders, the other animals are food. Therefore these overcome the other animals, for the eater is over the food.

5. He who knows this is over his friends.

SECOND KHANDA ¹.

1. He who knows the gradual development of the self in him (the man conceived as the uktha), obtains himself more development.

2. There are herbs and trees and all that is animated, and he knows the self gradually developing in them. For in herbs and trees sap only is seen ², but thought (*kitta*) in animated beings.

3. Among animated beings again the self develops gradually, for in some sap (blood) is seen (as well as thought), but in others thought is not seen.

4. And in man again the self develops gradually, for he is most endowed with knowledge. He says what he has known, he sees what he has known ³. He knows what is to happen to-morrow, he knows heaven and hell. By means of the mortal he desires the immortal—thus is he endowed.

5. With regard to the other animals' hunger and thirst only are a kind of understanding. But they do not say what they have known, nor do they see

¹ This treats of the gradual development of life in man, particularly of the development of a thinking soul (*âtanya*).

² In stones there is not even sap, but only being, *sattâ*. Comm.

³ What he has known yesterday he remembers, and is able to say before men, I know this. And when he has known a thing he remembers it, and goes to the same place to see it again. Comm.

what they have known. They do not know what is to happen to-morrow, nor heaven and hell. They go so far and no further, for they are born according to their knowledge (in a former life).

THIRD KHANDA.

1. That man (conceived as uktha) is the sea, rising beyond the whole world¹. Whatever he reaches, he wishes to go beyond². If he reaches the sky, he wishes to go beyond.

2. If he should reach that (heavenly) world, he would wish to go beyond.

3. That man is fivefold. The heat in him is fire; the apertures (of the senses) are ether; blood, mucus, and seed are water; the body is earth; breath is air.

4. That air is fivefold, viz. up-breathing, down-breathing, back-breathing, out-breathing, on-breathing. The other powers (devatâs), viz. sight, hearing, mind, and speech, are comprised under up-breathing and down-breathing. For when breath departs, they also depart with it.

5. That man (conceived as uktha) is the sacrifice, which is a succession now of speech and now of thought. That sacrifice is fivefold, viz. the Agnihotra, the new and full moon sacrifices, the four-monthly sacrifices, the animal sacrifice, the Soma sacrifice. The Soma sacrifice is the most perfect of sacrifices, for in it these five kinds of ceremonies are seen: the first which precedes the libations (the Dîkshâ, &c.), then three libations, and what follows (the Avabhṛitha, &c.) is the fifth.

¹ Bhûloka. Comm.

² Should it not be aty enan manyate?

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. He who knows one sacrifice above another, one day above another, one deity above the others, he is clever. Now this great uktha (the nishkevalya-sastra) is the sacrifice above another, the day above another, the deity above others¹.

2. This uktha is fivefold. With regard to its being performed as a Stoma (chorus), it is Trivrit, Pañkadasa, Saptadasa, Ekavimsa, and Pañkavimsa. With regard to its being performed as a Sâman (song), it is Gâyatra, Rathantara, Brîhat, Bhadra, and Râgana. With regard to metre, it is Gâyatri, Ushnih, Brîhathi, Trishtubh, and Dvipadâ. And the explanation (given before in the Âranyaka) is that it is the head, the right wing, the left wing, the tail, and the body of the bird².

¹ The uktha is to be conceived as prâna, breath or life, and this prâna was shown to be above the other powers (devatâs), speech, hearing, seeing, mind. The uktha belongs to the Mahâvrata day, and that is the most important day of the Soma sacrifice. The Soma sacrifice, lastly, is above all other sacrifices.

² All these are technicalities connected with the singing and reciting of the uktha. The commentator says: The stoma is a collection of single *Rik* verses occurring in the *trikas* which have to be sung. The Trivrit stoma, as explained in the Sâma-brâhmana, is as follows: There are three Sûktas, each consisting of three verses, the first being upâsmai gâyata, S. V. Uttarârîka I, 1, 1=Rv. IX, 11. The Udgâtri first sings the first three verses^a in each hymn. This is the first round. He then sings the three middle verses in each hymn. This is the second round. He lastly sings the last three verses in each hymn. This is the third round. This song is called Udyati.

The Pañkadasa stoma is formed out of one Sûkta only, consisting of three verses. In the first round he sings the first verse

^a Hînkri with dative is explained as gai with accusative.

3. He performs the Prastâva in five ways, he performs the Udgîtha in five ways, he performs the

three times, the second and third once. In the second round he sings the middle verse three times, in the third round he sings the last verse three times. This song is called Vishvîti.

The Saptadasa stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the first verse three times, in the second the middle verse three times, in the third round the middle and last verses three times. This song is called Darasapta.

The Ekavimsa stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the last verse once, in the second the first verse once, in the third the middle verse once, while the other verses are each repeated three times. This song is called Saptasaptinî.

The Pañkavimsa stoma is formed in the same manner, only that in the first round he sings the first verse three times, the second four times, the last once; in the second round the first once, the second three times, the third four times; in the third round the first five times, the second once, the last three times; or he sings in the third round the first verse four times, the second twice, the last three times.

Sâyana in his commentary on the Ait. Âr. takes the Trivrit stoma to be formed out of three hymns, each consisting of three verses, while he says that the other stomas are formed out of one hymn only. B. and R., s. v. trivrit, state that this stoma consists of verses 1, 4, 7; 2, 5, 8; and 3, 6, 9 of the Rig-veda hymn IX, 11, but, according to Sâyana, the stoma consists (1) of the first verses of the three Sûktas, upâsmai gâyata, davidyutatyâ, and pavamânasya at the beginning of the Sâmâ-veda-Uttarârîka, (2) of the second, (3) of the third verses of the same three hymns. Mahîdhâra (Yv. X, 9) takes the same view, though the MSS. seem to have left out the description of the second paryâya, while Sâyana in his commentary to the Tândya-brâhmana seems to support the opinion of B. and R. There is an omission, however, in the printed text of the commentary, which makes it difficult to see the exact meaning of Sâyana.

The Pañkadasa stoma is well described by Sâyana, Tândya Br. II, 4. Taking the Sûkta agna â yâhi (Uttarârîka I, 1, 4=Rv. VI, 16, 10-12), he shows the stoma to consist of (1) verse 1 × 3, 2, 3; (2) verse 1, 2 × 3, 3; (3) verse 1, 2, 3 × 3.

The five Sâmans are explained by the commentator. The

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Pratihâra in five ways, he performs the Upadrava in five ways, he performs the Nidhana in five ways¹. All this together forms one thousand Stobhas, or musical syllables².

4. Thus also are the *Rik* verses, contained in the Nishkevalya, recited (by the *Hotri*) in five orders. What precedes the eighty *trikas*, that is one order, then follow the three sets of eighty *trikas* each, and what comes after is the fifth order³.

Gâyatra is formed out of the *Rik* (III, 62, 10) tat savitur varenyam. The Rathantara is formed out of the *Rik* (VII, 32, 22) abhi tvâ sûra nonuma. The *Brihat* is formed out of the *Rik* (VI, 46, 1) tvâm id dhi havâmahe. The *Bhadra* is formed out of the *Rik* (X, 157, 1) imâ nu kam. The *Râgana* is formed out of the *Rik* (VII, 27, 1) indram naro nemadhitâ.

The metres require no explanation.

In identifying certain portions of the Nishkevalya hymn with a bird, the head of the bird corresponds to the hymns indram id gâthinah, &c.; the right wing to the hymns abhi tvâ sûra, &c.; the left wing to the hymns tvâm id dhi, &c.; the tail to the hymns imâ nu kam, &c.; the body to the hymns tad id âsa, &c. All this was explained in the first *Āranyaka*.

¹ The *Sâmagas* sing the *Râgana* at the *Mahâvrata*, and in that *Sâman* there are, as usual, five parts, the *Prastâva*, *Udgâtha*, *Pratihâra*, *Upadrava*, and *Nidhana*. The *Prastotri*, when singing the *Prastâva* portions, sings them five times. The *Udgâtri* and *Pratihatri* sing their portions, the *Udgâtha* and *Pratihâra*, five times. The *Udgâtri* again sings the *Upadrava* five times. And all the *Udgâtris* together sing the *Nidhana* five times.

² The *Stobha* syllables are syllables without any meaning, added when verses have to be sung, in order to have a support for the music. See *Kh. Up. I, 13*. In singing the five *Sâmans*, each five times, one thousand of such *Stobha* syllables are required.

³ There are in the Nishkevalya hymn, which the *Hotri* has to recite, three sets of eighty *trikas* each. The first, consisting of *Gâyatri*s, begins with mahâñ indro ya ogasâ. The second, consisting of *Brihati*s, begins with mâ ñid anyad. The third, consisting of *Ushni*s, begins with ya indra somapâtama. These three sets form the food of the bird, as the emblem of the *sastra*. The hymns

5. This (the hymns of this Sastra) as a whole (if properly counted with the Stobha syllables) comes to one thousand (of *Bṛihatī* verses). That (thousand) is the whole, and ten, ten is called the whole. For number is such (measured by ten). Ten tens are a hundred, ten hundreds are a thousand, and that is the whole. These are the three metres (the tens, pervading everything). And this food also (the three sets of hymns being represented as food) is threefold, eating, drinking, and chewing. He obtains that food by those (three numbers, ten, hundred, and thousand, or by the three sets of eighty *trikas*).

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. This (*nishkevalya-sastra*) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses.

2. Some teachers (belonging to a different *Sākhā*) recognise a thousand of different metres (not of *Bṛihatī* only). They say: 'Is another thousand (a thousand of other verses) good? Let us say it is good.'

3. Some say, a thousand of *Trishūbh* verses, others a thousand of *Gagatī* verses, others a thousand of *Anushūbh* verses.

4. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 124, 9):—

5. 'Poets through their understanding discovered Indra dancing an *Anushūbh*.' This is meant to say: They discovered (and meditated) in speech (called *Anushūbh*)—at that time (when they wor-

which precede these, form the body, head, and wings of the bird. This is one order. Then follow the three sets of eighty *trikas* each; and lastly, the fifth order, consisting of the hymns which form the belly and the legs of the bird.

shipped the uktha)—the Prâna (breath) connected with Indra.

6. He (who takes the recited verses as Anushṭubhs) is able to become celebrated and of good report.

7. No! he says; rather is such a man liable to die before his time. For that self (consisting of Anushṭubhs) is incomplete. For if a man confines himself to speech, not to breath, then driven by his mind, he does not succeed with speech¹.

8. Let him work towards the Brîhatî, for the Brîhatî (breath) is the complete self.

9. That self (gṛtvâtman) is surrounded on all sides by members. And as that self is on all sides surrounded by members, the Brîhatî also is on all sides surrounded by metres².

10. For the self (in the heart) is the middle of these members, and the Brîhatî is the middle of the metres.

11. 'He is able to become celebrated and of good

¹ This passage is obscure, and probably corrupt. I have followed the commentator as much as possible. He says: 'If the Hotri priest proceeds with reciting the sastra, looking to the Anushṭubh, which is speech, and not to the thousand of Brîhatîs which are breath, then, neglecting the Brîhatî (breath), and driven by his mind to the Anushṭubh (speech), he does not by his speech obtain that sastra. For in speech without breath the Hotri cannot, through the mere wish of the mind, say the sastra, the activity of all the senses being dependent on breath.' The commentator therefore takes vâgabhi for vâtam abhi, or for some old locative case formed by abhi. He also would seem to have read prâne na. One might attempt another construction, though it is very doubtful. One might translate, 'For that self, which is speech, is incomplete, because he understands if driven to the mind by breath, not (if driven) by speech.'

² Either in the sastra, or in the list of metres, there being some that have more, others that have less syllables.

report, but (the other) able to die before his time,' thus he said. For the *Bṛihatī* is the complete self, therefore let him work towards the *Bṛihatī* (let him reckon the *sastra* recitation as a thousand *Bṛihatīs*).

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. This (*nishkevalya-sastra*) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses. In this thousand of *Bṛihatīs* there are one thousand one hundred and twenty-five *Anuṣṭubhs*. For the smaller is contained in the larger.

2. This has been said by a *Rishi* (*Rv. VIII, 76, 12*):—

3. 'A speech of eight feet;'—because there are eight feet of four syllables each in the *Anuṣṭubh*.

4. 'Of nine corners;'—because the *Bṛihatī* becomes nine-cornered (having nine feet of four syllables each).

5. 'Touching the truth;'—because speech (*Anuṣṭubh*) is truth, touched by the verse (*Bṛihatī*)¹.

6. 'He (the *Hotṛī*) makes the body out of *Indra*;'—for out of this thousand of *Bṛihatī* verses turned into *Anuṣṭubhs*, and therefore out of *Prâna* as connected with *Indra*², and out of the *Bṛihatī* (which is *Prâna*), he makes speech, that is *Anuṣṭubh*, as a body³.

7. This *Mahaduktha* is the highest development

¹ *Vâk*, speech, taking the form of *Anuṣṭubh*, and being joined with the *Rik*, or the *Bṛihatī*, touches the true, i. e. *Prâna*, breath, which is to be meditated on under the form of the *Bṛihatī*. Comm.

² Cf. Ait. Âr. II, 2, 3, 4.

³ Because the *Anuṣṭubh* is made out of the *Bṛihatī*, the *Bṛihatī* being breath, therefore the *Anuṣṭubh* is called its body.

of speech, and it is fivefold, viz. measured, not measured, music, true, and untrue.

8. A *Rik* verse, a *gāthā*¹, a *kumbyā*² are measured (metrical). A *Yagus* line, an invocation, and general remarks³, these are not measured (they are in prose). A *Sāman*, or any portion (*parvan*) of it, is music. *Om* is true, *Na* is untrue.

9. What is true (*Om*) is the flower and fruit of speech. He is able to become celebrated and of good report, for he speaks the true (*Om*), the flower and fruit of speech.

10. Now the untrue is the root⁴ of speech, and as a tree whose root is exposed dries up and perishes, thus a man who says what is untrue exposes his root, dries up and perishes. Therefore one should not say what is untrue, but guard oneself from it.

11. That syllable *Om* (yes) goes forward (to the first cause of the world) and is empty. Therefore if a man says *Om* (yes) to everything, then that (which he gives away) is wanting to him here⁵. If he says *Om* (yes) to everything, then he would empty himself, and would not be capable of any enjoyments.

12. That syllable *Na* (no) is full for oneself⁶. If a man says *No* to everything, then his reputation

¹ A *gāthā* is likewise in verse, for instance, *prātaḥ prātar anṛitaṃ te vadanti*.

² A *kumbyā* is a metrical precept, such as, *brahmaṭāryasyāpo-sānaṃ karma kuru, divā mā svāpsīḥ, &c.*

³ Such as *arthavādas*, explanatory passages, also gossip, such as is common in the king's palace, laughing at people, &c.

⁴ As diametrically opposed to the flowers and fruits which represent the true. *Comm.*

⁵ Then that man is left empty here on earth for that enjoyment. *Comm.*

⁶ He who always says *No*, keeps everything to himself.

would become evil, and that would ruin him even here.

13. Therefore let a man give at the proper time only, not at the wrong time. Thus he unites the true and the untrue, and from the union of those two he grows, and becomes greater and greater.

14. He who knows this speech of which this (the mahaduktha) is a development, he is clever. A is the whole of speech, and manifested through different kinds of contact (mutes) and of wind (sibilants), it becomes manifold and different.

15. Speech if uttered in a whisper is breath, if spoken aloud, it is body. Therefore (if whispered) it is almost hidden, for what is incorporeal is almost hidden, and breath is incorporeal. But if spoken aloud, it is body, and therefore it is perceptible, for body is perceptible.

SEVENTH KHANDA.

1. This (nishkevalya-sastra) becomes perfect as a thousand of *Bṛihatī*. It is glory (the glorious Brahman, not the absolute Brahman), it is Indra. Indra is the lord of all beings. He who thus knows Indra as the lord of all beings, departs from this world by loosening the bonds of life¹—so said Mahidāsa Aitareya. Having departed he becomes Indra (or *Hiranyagarbha*) and shines in those worlds².

¹ The commentator explains *visrasā* by 'merging his manhood in the identity with all,' and doing this while still alive. *Visras* is the gradual loosening of the body, the decay of old age, but here it has the meaning of *vairāgya* rather, the shaking off of all that ties the Self to this body-or this life.

² The fourteen worlds in the egg of Brahman. Comm. Some hold that he who enters on this path, and becomes deity, does not

2. And with regard to this they say: 'If a man obtains the other world in this form (by meditating on the *prâna*, breath, which is the *uktha*, the hymn of the *mahâvrata*), then in what form does he obtain this world¹?'

3. Here the blood of the woman is a form of *Agni* (fire); therefore no one should despise it. And the seed of the man is a form of *Âditya* (sun); therefore no one should despise it. This self (the woman) gives her self (skin, blood, and flesh) to that self (fat, bone, and marrow), and that self (man) gives his self (fat, bone, and marrow) to this self (skin, blood, and flesh). Thus² these two grow together. In this form (belonging to the woman and to fire) he goes to that world (belonging to the man and the sun), and in that form (belonging to man and the sun) he goes to this world (belonging to the woman and to fire³).

EIGHTH KHANDA.

1. Here (with regard to obtaining *Hiranyagarbha*) there are these *Slokas* :

arrive at final liberation. Others, however, show that this identification with the *uktha*, and through it with the *prâna* (breath) and *Hiranyagarbha*, is provisional only, and intended to prepare the mind of the worshipper for the reception of the highest knowledge of *Brahman*.

¹ The last line on page 246 should, I think, be the penultimate line of page 247.

² The body consists of six elements, and is hence called *shâkaurika*. Of these, three having a white appearance (fat, bone, and marrow), come from the sun and from man; three having a red appearance, come from fire and from the woman.

³ It is well therefore to shake off this body, and by meditating on the *uktha* to obtain identity with *Hiranyagarbha*. Comm.

2. The fivefold body into which the indestructible (prâna, breath) enters, that body which the harnessed horses (the senses) draw about, that body where the true of the true (the highest Brahman) follows after, in that body (of the worshipper) all gods¹ become one.

3. That body into which goes the indestructible (the breath) which we have joined (in meditation), proceeding from the indestructible (the highest Brahman), that body which the harnessed horses (the senses) draw about, that body where the true of the true follows after, in that body all gods become one.

4. After separating themselves from the Yes and No of language, and of all that is hard and cruel, poets have discovered (what they sought for); dependent on names they rejoiced in what had been revealed².

5. That in which the poets rejoiced (the revealed nature of prâna, breath), in it the gods exist all joined together. Having driven away evil by means of that Brahman (which is hidden in prâna), the enlightened man goes to the Svarga world (becomes one with Hiraṇyagarbha³, the universal spirit).

6. No one wishing to describe him (prâna, breath) by speech, describes him by calling him 'woman,' 'neither woman nor man,' or 'man' (all such names applying only to the material body, and not to prâna or breath).

¹ The worshipper identifies himself by meditation with prâna, breath, which comprehends all gods. These gods (Agni and the rest) appear in the forms of speech, &c. Comm.

² The prâna, breath, and their identity with it through meditation or worship. Comm.

³ Sarvâhammâni hiraṇyagarbha iti sruteḥ. Comm.

7. Brahman (as hidden beneath *prâna*) is called the A; and the I (ego) is gone there (the worshipper should know that he is *uktha* and *prâna*).

8. This becomes perfect as a thousand of *Brihatt* verses, and of that hymn, perfect with a thousand *Brihatt* verses, there are 36,000 syllables. So many are also the thousands of days of human life¹. By means of the syllable of life (the a) alone (which is contained in that thousand of hymns) does a man obtain the day of life (the *mahâvrata* day, which completes the number of the days in the *Gavâmayana* sacrifice), and by means of the day of life (he obtains) the syllable of life.

9. Now there is a chariot of the god (*prâna*) destroying all desires (for the worlds of Indra, the moon, the earth, all of which lie below the place of *Hiranyagarbha*). Its front part (the point of the two shafts of the carriage where the yoke is fastened) is speech, its wheels the ears, the horses the eyes, the driver the mind. *Prâna* (breath) mounts that chariot (and on it, i. e. by means of meditating on *Prâna*, he reaches *Hiranyagarbha*).

10. This has been said by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 39, 12):—

11. 'Come hither on that which is quicker than mind,' and (Rv. VIII, 73, 2) 'Come hither on that which is quicker than the twinkling of an eye,' yea, the twinkling of an eye².

¹ Cf. II, 2, 4, 4.

² The commentator remarks that the worship and meditation on the *uktha* as *prâna*, as here taught, is different from the *prânavidyâ*, the knowledge of *prâna*, taught in the *Khândogya*, the *Brihadâra-nyaka*, &c., where *prâna* or life is represented as the object of meditation, without any reference to the *uktha* or other portions of the *Mahâvrata* ceremony. He enjoins that the meditation on

the uktha as *prâna* should be continued till the desired result, the identification of the worshipper with *prâna*, is realised, and that it should afterwards be repeated until death, because otherwise the impression might vanish, and the reward of becoming a god, and going to the gods, be lost. Nor is the worship to be confined to the time of the sacrifice, the *Mahâvrata*, only, but it has to be repeated mentally during life. There are neither certain postures required for it, nor certain times and places. At the time of death, however, he who has become perfect in this meditation on uktha, as the emblem of *prâna*, will have his reward. Up to a certain point his fate will be the same as that of other people. The activity of the senses will be absorbed in the mind, the activity of the mind in breath, breath in the activity of life, life with breath in the five elements, fire, &c., and these five elements will be absorbed up to their seed in the *Paramâtman* or Highest Self. This ends the old birth. But then the subtile body, having been absorbed in the Highest Self, rises again in the lotus of the heart, and passing out by the channel of the head, reaches a ray of the sun, whether by day or by night, and goes at the northern or southern course of the sun to the road of *Arktis* or light. That *Arktis*, light, and other powers carry him on, and led by these he reaches the *Brahma-loka*, where he creates to himself every kind of enjoyment, according to his wish. He may create for himself a material body and enjoy all sorts of pleasures, as if in a state of waking, or he may, without such a body, enjoy all pleasures in mind only, as if in a dream. And as he creates these various bodies according to his wish, he creates also living souls in each, endowed with the internal organs of mind, and moves about in them, as he pleases. In fact this world is the same for the devotee (*yogin*) and for the Highest Self, except that creative power belongs truly to the latter only. At last the devotee gains the highest knowledge, that of the Highest Self in himself, and then, at the dissolution of the *Brahma-loka*, he obtains complete freedom with Brahman.

FOURTH ADHYĀYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

With this adhyāya begins the real Upanishad, best known under the name of the Aitareya-upanishad, and often separately edited, commented on, and translated. If treated separately, what we call the fourth adhyāya of the second Āranyaka, becomes the first adhyāya of the Upanishad, sometimes also, by counting all adhyāyas from the beginning of the Aitareya-āranyaka, the ninth. The divisions adopted by Sāyana, who explains the Upanishad as part of the Āranyaka, and by Saṅkara, who explains it independently, vary, though Sāyana states that he follows in his commentary on the Upanishad the earlier commentary of Saṅkara. I have given the divisions adopted by Sāyana, and have marked those of Saṅkara's by figures in parentheses, placed at the end of each paragraph. The difference between this Upanishad and the three preceding adhyāyas is easily perceived. Hitherto the answer to the question, Whence this world? had been, From Prāna, prāna meaning breath and life, which was looked upon for a time as a sufficient explanation of all that is. From a psychological point of view this prāna is the conscious self (pragñātman); in a more mythological form it appears as Hiranyagarbha, 'the golden germ,' sometimes even as Indra. It is one of the chief objects of the prānavidyā, or life-knowledge, to show that the living principle in us is the same as the living principle in the sun, and that by a recognition of their identity and of the true nature of prāna, the devotee, or he who has rightly meditated on prāna during his life, enters after death into the world of Hiranyagarbha.

This is well expressed in the Kaushṭaki-upanishad III, 2, where Indra says to Pratarana: 'I am Prāna; meditate on me as the conscious self (pragñātman), as life, as immortality. Life is prāna, prāna is life. Immortality is prāna, prāna is immortality. By prāna he obtains immortality in the other world, by knowledge (pragñā) true conception. Prāna is consciousness (pragñā), consciousness is prāna.'

This, however, though it may have satisfied the mind of the Brahmans for a time, was not a final solution. That final solution of the problem not simply of life, but of existence, is given in the Upanishad which teaches that Ātman, the Self, and not Prāna, Life, is the last and only cause of everything. In some places this

doctrine is laid down in all its simplicity. Our true self, it is said, has its true being in the Highest Self only. In other passages, however, and nearly in the whole of this Upanishad, this simple doctrine is mixed up with much that is mythological, fanciful, and absurd, arthavâda, as the commentators call it, but as it might often be more truly called, anarthavâda, and it is only towards the end that the identity of the self-conscious self with the Highest Self or Brahman is clearly enuniated.

Adoration to the Highest Self. Hari, Om !

1. Verily, in the beginning¹ all this was Self, one only; there was nothing else blinking² whatsoever.

2. He thought : ' Shall I send forth worlds ? ' (1)
He sent forth these worlds,

3. Ambhas (water), Martîi (light), Mara (mortal), and Ap (water).

4. That Ambhas (water) is above the heaven, and it is heaven, the support. The Martîis (the lights) are the sky. The Mara (mortal) is the earth, and the waters under the earth are the Ap world³. (2)

¹ Before the creation. Comm.

² Blinking, mishat, i. e. living ; cf. Rv. X, 190, 2, visvasya mishato vast, the lord of all living. Sâyana seems to take mishat as a 3rd pers. sing.

³ The names of the four worlds are peculiar. Ambhas means water, and is the name given to the highest world, the waters above the heaven, and heaven itself. Martîis are rays, here used as a name of the sky, antariksha. Mara means dying, and the earth is called so, because all creatures living there must die. Ap is water, here explained as the waters under the earth. The usual division of the world is threefold, earth, sky, and heaven. Here it is fourfold, the fourth division being the water round the earth, or, as the commentator says, under the earth. Ambhas was probably intended for the highest heaven (dyaus), and was then explained both as what is above the heaven and as heaven itself, the support. If we translate, like Sañkara and Colebrooke, ' the water is the region above the heaven which heaven upholds, ' we should lose heaven altogether, yet heaven, as the third with sky and earth, is essential in the Indian view of the world.

5. He thought: 'There are these worlds; shall I send forth guardians of the worlds?'

He then formed the Purusha (the person)¹, taking him forth from the water². (3)

6. He brooded on him³, and when that person had thus been brooded on, a mouth burst forth⁴ like an egg. From the mouth proceeded speech, from speech Agni (fire)⁵.

Nostrils burst forth. From the nostrils proceeded scent (prāna)⁶, from scent Vāyu (air).

Eyes burst forth. From the eyes proceeded sight, from sight Āditya (sun).

Ears burst forth. From the ears proceeded hearing, from hearing the Dis (quarters of the world).

Skin burst forth. From the skin proceeded hairs (sense of touch), from the hairs shrubs and trees.

The heart burst forth. From the heart proceeded mind, from mind *Kāndramas* (moon).

The navel burst forth. From the navel proceeded the Apāna (the down-breathing)⁷, from Apāna death.

¹ Purusha; an embodied being, Colebrooke; a being of human shape, Röer; purushākāram virātpindam, Sāyana.

² According to the commentator, from the five elements, beginning with water. That person is meant for the Virāg.

³ Tap, as the commentator observes, does not mean here and in similar passages to perform austerities (tapas), such as the *Krikkhra*, the *Kāndrāyana*, &c., but to conceive and to will and to create by mere will. I have translated it by brooding, though this expresses a part only of the meaning expressed by tap.

⁴ Literally, was opened.

⁵ Three things are always distinguished here—the place of each sense, the instrument of the sense, and the presiding deity of the sense.

⁶ Prāna, i. e. ghrāṇendriya, must be distinguished from the prāna, the up-breathing, one of the five prānas, and likewise from the prāna as the principle of life.

⁷ The Apāna, down-breathing, is generally one of the five vital airs

The generative organ burst forth. From the organ proceeded seed, from seed water. (4)

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Those deities (devatâ), Agni and the rest, after they had been sent forth, fell into this great ocean¹.

Then he (the Self) besieged him, (the person) with hunger and thirst.

2. The deities then (tormented by hunger and thirst) spoke to him (the Self): 'Allow us a place in which we may rest and eat food².' (1)

He led a cow towards them (the deities). They said: 'This is not enough.' He led a horse towards them. They said: 'This is not enough.' (2)

He led man³ towards them. Then they said: 'Well done⁴, indeed.' Therefore man is well done.

3. He said to them: 'Enter, each according to his place.' (3)

4. Then Agni (fire), having become speech, entered the mouth. Vâyu (air), having become scent, entered the nostrils. Âditya (sun), having become sight, entered the eyes. The Dis (regions), having become hearing, entered the ears. The shrubs and trees, having become hairs, entered the skin. Kandramas (the moon), having become mind, entered

which are supposed to keep the body alive. In our place, however, apâna is deglutition and digestion, as we shall see in II, 4, 3, 10.

¹ They fell back into that universal being from whence they had sprung, the first created person, the Virâg. Or they fell into the world, the last cause of which is ignorance.

² To eat food is explained to mean to perceive the objects which correspond to the senses, presided over by the various deities.

³ Here purusha is different from the first purusha, the universal person. It can only be intended for intelligent man.

⁴ Sukrîta, well done, virtue; or, if taken for svakrîta, self-made.

the heart. Death, having become down-breathing, entered the navel. The waters, having become seed, entered the generative organ. (4)

5. Then Hunger and Thirst spoke to him (the Self): 'Allow us two (a place).' He said to them: 'I assign you to those very deities there, I make you co-partners with them.' Therefore to whatever deity an oblation is offered, hunger and thirst are co-partners in it. (5)

THIRD KHANDA.

1. He thought: 'There are these worlds and the guardians of the worlds. Let me send forth food for them.' (1)

He brooded over the water¹. From the water thus brooded on, matter² (mūrti) was born. And that matter which was born, that verily was food³. (2)

2. When this food (the object matter) had thus been sent forth, it wished to flee⁴, crying and turning away. He (the subject) tried to grasp it by speech. He could not grasp it by speech. If he had grasped it by speech, man would be satisfied by naming food. (3)

He tried to grasp it by scent (breath). He could not grasp it by scent. If he had grasped it by scent, man would be satisfied by smelling food. (4)

He tried to grasp it by the eye. He could not

¹ The water, as mentioned before, or the five elements.

² Mūrti, for mūrṭti, form, Colebrooke; a being of organised form, Rōer; vrīhiyavādirūpā mūshakādirūpā ā mūrtiḥ, i. e. vegetable food for men, animal food for cats, &c.

³ Offered food, i. e. objects for the Devatās and the senses in the body.

⁴ Atyagīghāmsat, atisayena hantum gantum aikṣhat. Sāyana.

grasp it by the eye. If he had grasped it by the eye, man would be satisfied by seeing food. (5)

He tried to grasp it by the ear. He could not grasp it by the ear. If he had grasped it by the ear, man would be satisfied by hearing food. (6)

He tried to grasp it by the skin. He could not grasp it by the skin. If he had grasped it by the skin, man would be satisfied by touching food. (7)

He tried to grasp it by the mind. He could not grasp it by the mind. If he had grasped it by the mind, man would be satisfied by thinking food. (8)

He tried to grasp it by the generative organ. He could not grasp it by the organ. If he had grasped it by the organ, man would be satisfied by sending forth food. (9)

He tried to grasp it by the down-breathing (the breath which helps to swallow food through the mouth and to carry it off through the rectum, the pâyvindriya). He got it.

3. Thus it is Vâyu (the getter¹) who lays hold of food, and the Vâyu is verily Annâyu (he who gives life or who lives by food). (10)

4. He thought : 'How can all this be without me ?'

5. And then he thought : 'By what way shall I get there ?'

6. And then he thought : 'If speech names, if scent smells, if the eye sees, if the ear hears, if the skin feels, if the mind thinks, if the off-breathing digests, if the organ sends forth, then what am I?' (11)

¹ An attempt to derive vâyu from vî, to get.

² Or, by which of the two ways shall I get in, the one way being from the top of the foot (cf. Ait. Âr. II, 1, 4, 1), the other from the skull? Comm.

7. Then opening the suture of the skull, he got in by that door.

8. That door is called the *Vidṛiti* (tearing asunder), the *Nāndana* (the place of bliss).

9. There are three dwelling-places for him, three dreams; this dwelling-place (the eye), this dwelling-place (the throat), this dwelling-place (the heart)¹. (12)

10. When born (when the Highest Self had entered the body) he looked through all things, in order to see whether anything wished to proclaim here another (Self). He saw this person only (himself) as the widely spread Brahman. 'I saw it,' thus he said²; (13)

Therefore he was *Idam-dra* (seeing this).

11. Being *Idam-dra* by name, they call him *Indra* mysteriously. For the *Devas* love mystery, yea, they love mystery. (14)

¹ Passages like this must always have required an oral interpretation, but it is by no means certain that the explanation given in the commentaries represents really the old traditional interpretation. *Sāyana* explains the three dwelling-places as the right eye, in a state of waking; as the throat, in a state of dreaming; as the heart, in a state of profound sleep. *Saṅkara* explains them as the right eye; the inner mind, and the ether in the heart. *Sāyana* allows another interpretation of the three dwelling-places being the body of the father, the body of the mother, and one's own body. The three dreams or sleeps he explains by waking, dreaming, and profound sleep, and he remarks that waking too is called a dream as compared with the true awakening, which is the knowledge of Brahman. In the last sentence the speaker, when repeating three times 'this dwelling-place,' is supposed to point to his right eye, the throat, and the heart. This interpretation is supported by a passage in the *Brahma-upanishad*, *Netre gāgaritam vidyāt kanthe svapnam samādiset, sushuptam hrīdayasya tu.*

² In this passage, which is very obscure, *Saṅkara* fails us, either because, as *Ānandagīṇa* says, he thought the text was too easy to require any explanation, or because the writers of the MSS. left out

FIFTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let the women who are with child move away!¹
2. Verily, from the beginning he (the self) is in man as a germ, which is called seed.
3. This (seed), which is strength gathered from all the limbs of the body, he (the man) bears as self in his self (body). When he commits the seed to the woman, then he (the father) causes it to be born. That is his first birth. (I)
4. That seed becomes the self of the woman, as

the passage. Ânandaçâna explains: 'He looked through all creatures, he identified himself with them, and thought he was a man, blind, happy, &c.; or, as it is elsewhere expressed, he developed forms and names. And how did this mistake arise? Because he did not see the other, the true Self;' or literally, 'Did he see the other Self?' which is only a figure of speech to convey the meaning that he did not see it. The particle *iti* is then to be taken in a causal sense, (i.e. he did so, because what else could he have wished to proclaim?) But he allows another explanation, viz. 'He considered all beings, whether they existed by themselves or not, and after having considered, he arrived at the conclusion, What shall I call different from the true Self?' The real difficulties, however, are not removed by these explanations. First of all, we expect *vâvadisham* before *iti*, and secondly, unless *anyam* refers to *âtmanam*, we expect *anyad*. My own translation is literal, but I am not certain that it conveys the true meaning. One might understand it as implying that the Self looked about through all things, in order to find out, 'What does wish to proclaim here another Self?' And when he saw there was nothing which did not come from himself, then he recognised that the Purusha, the person he had sent forth, or, as we should say, the person he had created, was the developed Brahman, was the Âtman, was himself. Sâyana explains *vâvadishat* by *vadishyâmi*, but before *iti* the third person cannot well refer to the subject of *vyaikshat*.

¹ Some MSS. begin this *adhyâya* with the sentence *apakrâmantu garbhiniyâh*, may the women who are with child walk away! It is counted as a paragraph.

if one of her own limbs. Therefore it does not injure her.

5. She nourishes his (her husband's) self (the son) within her. (2) She who nourishes, is to be nourished.

6. The woman bears the germ. He (the father) elevates the child even before the birth, and immediately after¹.

7. When he thus elevates the child both before and after his birth, he really elevates his own self,

8. For the continuation of these worlds (men). For thus are these worlds continued.

9. This is his second birth. (3)

10. He (the son), being his self, is then placed in his stead for (the performance of) all good works.

11. But his other self (the father), having done all he has to do, and having reached the full measure of his life, departs.

12. And departing from hence he is born again. That is his third birth.

13. And this has been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. IV, 27, 1): (4)

14. 'While dwelling in the womb, I discovered all the births of these Devas. A hundred iron strongholds kept me, but I escaped quickly down like a falcon.'

15. Vāmadeva, lying in the womb, has thus declared this. (5)

And having this knowledge he stepped forth, after this dissolution of the body, and having obtained all his desires in that heavenly world, became immortal, yea, he became immortal. (6)

¹ By nourishing the mother, and by performing certain ceremonies both before and after the birth of a child.

SIXTH ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Let the women go back to their place.
2. Who is he whom¹ we meditate on as the Self? Which² is the Self?
3. That by which we see (form), that by which we hear (sound), that by which we perceive smells, that by which we utter speech, that by which we distinguish sweet and not sweet, (1) and what comes from the heart and the mind, namely, perception, command, understanding, knowledge, wisdom, seeing, holding, thinking, considering, readiness (or suffering), remembering, conceiving, willing, breathing, loving, desiring?
4. No, all these are various names only of knowledge (the true Self). (2)
5. And that Self, consisting of (knowledge), is Brahman (m.)³, it is Indra, it is Pragâpati⁴. All these Devas, these five great elements, earth, air, ether, water, fire, these and those which are, as it were, small and mixed⁵, and seeds of this kind and that kind, born from eggs, born from the womb, born from heat, born from germs⁶, horses, cows, men, elephants, and whatsoever breathes, whether walking or flying, and what is immoveable—all that is led (produced) by knowledge (the Self).
6. It rests on knowledge (the Self). The world

¹ I read ko yam instead of ko'yam.

² Or, Which of the two, the real or the phenomenal, the nirupâdhika or sopâdhika?

³ Hiraṇyagarbha. Comm.

⁴ Virâg. Comm.

⁵ Serpents, &c., says the commentary.

⁶ Cf. *Kā. Up.* VI, 3, 1, where the svedaga, born from heat or perspiration, are not mentioned.

is led (produced) by knowledge (the Self). Knowledge is its cause¹.

7. Knowledge is Brahman. (3)

8. He (Vâmadeva), having by this conscious self stepped forth from this world, and having obtained all desires in that heavenly world, became immortal, yea, he became immortal. Thus it is, Om. (4)

SEVENTH ADHYÂYA².

FIRST KHANDA.

1. My speech rests in the mind, my mind rests in speech³. Appear to me (thou, the Highest Self)! You (speech and mind) are the two pins⁴ (that hold the wheels) of the Veda. May what I have learnt not forsake me⁵. I join day and night with what I have learnt⁶. I shall speak of the real, I shall speak the true. May this protect me, may this protect the teacher! May it protect me, may it protect the teacher, yea, the teacher!

¹ We have no words to distinguish between *pragñâ*, state of knowing, and *pragñâna*, act of knowing. Both are names of the Highest Brahman, which is the beginning and end (*pratish/hâ*) of everything that exists or seems to exist.

² This seventh adhyâya contains a propitiatory prayer (*sântikaro mantra*). It is frequently left out in the MSS. which contain the Aitareya-upanishad with Sâṅkara's commentary, and Dr. Rôer has omitted it in his edition. Sâyana explains it in his commentary on the Aitareya-âranyaka; and in one MS. of Sâṅkara's commentary on the Aitareya-upanishad, which is in my possession, the seventh adhyâya is added with the commentary of Mâdhavâmâtya, the Âgñâpâlaka of Virabukka-mahârâga.

³ The two depend on each other.

⁴ *Âṅg*, explained by the commentator as *ânayanasartha*.

⁵ Cf. *Kh. Up.* IV, 2, 5.

⁶ I repeat it day and night so that I may not forget it.

THIRD ÂRANYAKA¹.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Next follows the Upanishad of the *Samhitâ*².
2. The former half is the earth, the latter half the heaven, their union the air³, thus says *Mândukeya*; their union is the ether, thus did *Mâkshavya* teach it.
3. That air is not considered⁴ independent⁵, therefore I do not agree with his (*Mandûka*'s) son.
4. Verily, the two are the same, therefore air is

¹ This last portion of the Upanishad is found in the MS. discovered by Dr. Bühler in Kashmir, and described by him in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1877, p. 36. I have collated it, so far as it was possible to read it, many lines being either broken off altogether, or almost entirely obliterated.

² *Samhitâ* is the sacred text in which all letters are closely joined. The joining together of two letters is called their *samhitâ*; the first letter of a joined group the *pûrvarûpa* (n.), the second the *uttararûpa*. For instance, in *agnim î/e* the *m* is *pûrvarûpa*, the *î* *uttararûpa*, and *mî* their *samhitâ* or union.

³ As in worshipping the *Śâlagrâma* stone, we really worship *Vishnu*, so we ought to perceive the earth, the heaven, and the air when we pronounce the first and the second letters of a group, and that group itself.

⁴ *Mene* has here been taken as 3rd pers. sing. perf. passive. The commentator, however, explains it as an active verb, *niskitavân*.

⁵ Because it is included in the ether, not the ether in the air. Comm.

considered independent, thus says Âgastya. For it is the same, whether they say air or ether ¹.

5. So far with reference to deities (mythologically); now with reference to the body (physiologically):

6. The former half is speech, the latter half is mind, their union breath (prâna), thus says Sûravtra ² Mândukeya.

7. But his eldest son said: The former half is mind, the latter half speech. For we first conceive with the mind indeed ³, and then we utter with speech. Therefore the former half is indeed mind, the latter half speech, but their union is really breath.

8. Verily, it is the same with both, the father (Mândukeya) and the son ⁴.

9. This (meditation as here described), joined ⁵ with mind, speech, and breath, is (like) a chariot drawn by two horses and one horse between them (prashîvâhana).

10. And he who thus knows this union, becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

11. Now all this comes from the Mândukeyas.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next comes the meditation as taught by Sâkalya.

¹ Both views are tenable, for it is not the actual air and ether which are meditated on, but their names, as declared and explained in this peculiar act of worship. We should read âkârasâkti, a reading confirmed both by the commentary and by the Kashmir MS.

² The man among heroes. Comm.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads manasaivâgre.

⁴ Both views are admissible. Comm.

⁵ Prânasamhitâ, Kashmir MS.

2. The first half is the earth, the second half heaven, their uniting the rain, the uniter Parganya ¹.

3. And so it is when he (Parganya) rains thus strongly, without ceasing, day and night ²,

4. Then they say also (in ordinary language), 'Heaven and earth have come together.'

5. So much with regard to the deities; now with regard to the body:—

6. Every man is indeed like an egg ³. There are two halves ⁴ (of him), thus they say: 'This half is the earth, that half heaven.' And there between them is the ether (the space of the mouth), like the ether between heaven and earth. In this ether there (in the mouth) the breath is fixed, as in that other ether the air is fixed. And as there are those three luminaries (in heaven), there are these three luminaries in man.

7. As there is that sun in heaven, there is this eye in the head. As there is that lightning in the sky, there is this heart in the body; as there is that fire on earth, there is this seed in the member.

8. Having thus represented the self (body) as the whole world, Sākalya said: This half is the earth, that half heaven.

9. He who thus knows this union, becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of coun-

¹ If i is followed by a, the i is changed to y, and both are united as ya. Here a is the cause which changes i into y. Thus Parganya, the god of rain, is the cause which unites earth and heaven into rain. Comm.

² When it rains incessantly, heaven and earth seem to be one in rain.

³ Ândam, *andasadrīsam*. Comm.

⁴ The one half from the feet to the lower jaw, the other half from the upper jaw to the skull. Comm.

tenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

THIRD KHANDA¹.

1. Next come the reciters of the Nirbhuga².
2. Nirbhuga abides on earth, Pratrinna in heaven, the Ubhayamantarena in the sky.
3. Now, if any one should chide him who recites the Nirbhuga, let him answer : ' Thou art fallen from the two lower places³.' If any one should chide him who recites the Pratrinna, let him answer : ' Thou art fallen from the two higher places⁴.' But he who recites the Ubhayamantarena, there is no chiding him.
4. For when he turns out the Sandhi (the union of words), that is the form of Nirbhuga⁵; and when he pronounces two syllables pure (without modification), that is the form of Pratrinna⁶. This comes

¹ Cf. Rig-veda-prâtisâkhyâ, ed. Max Müller, p. iii, and Nachträge, p. ii.

² Nirbhuga(n) is the recitation of the Veda without intervals, therefore the same as Samhitâ. Pratrinna is the recitation of each word by itself (pada-pâtha); Ubhayamantarena, the between the two, is the intertwining of Samhitâ and Pada-pâtha, the so-called Krama-pâtha. By reciting the Samhitâ inattentively, one may use forms which belong to the Pada-text; and by reciting the Pada inattentively, one may use forms which belong to the Samhitâ-text. But in reciting the Krama both the Samhitâ and Pada forms are used together, and therefore mistakes are less likely to happen.

³ From earth and sky. Cf. *Kh. Up.* II, 22, 3.

⁴ From the sky and from heaven.

⁵ Nirbhuga may mean without arms, as if the arms of the words were taken away, or with two arms stretched out, the two words forming, as it were, two arms to one body.

⁶ Pratrinna means cut asunder, every word being separated from the others.

first¹. By the Ubhayamantara (what is between the two) both are fulfilled (both the sandhi and the pada).

5. Let him who wishes for proper food say the Nirbhuga ; let him who wishes for Svarga, say the Pratrinna ; let him who wishes for both say the Ubhayamantarena.

6. Now if another man (an enemy) should chide him who says the Nirbhuga, let him say to him : ' Thou hast offended the earth, the deity ; the earth, the deity, will strike thee.'

If another man should chide him who says the Pratrinna, let him say to him : ' Thou hast offended heaven, the deity ; heaven, the deity, will strike thee.'

If another man should chide him who says the Ubhayamantarena, let him say to him : ' Thou hast offended the sky, the deity ; the sky, the deity, will strike thee.'

7. And whatever the reciter shall say to one who speaks to him or does not speak to him, depend upon it, it will come to pass.

8. But to a Brâhmana let him not say anything except what is auspicious.

9. Only he may curse a Brâhmana in excessive wealth².

10. Nay, not even in excessive wealth should he curse a Brâhmana, but he should say, ' I bow before Brâhmanas,'—thus says Sûravtra Mândûkeya.

¹ The words were first each separate, before they were united according to the laws of Sandhi.

² He may curse him, if he is exceeding rich ; or he may wish him the curse of excessive wealth ; or he may curse him, if something great depends on it.

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. Next follow the imprecations¹.

2. Let him know that breath² is the beam (on which the whole house of the body rests).

3. If any one (a Brāhmana or another man) should chide him, who by meditation has become that breath as beam³, then, if he thinks himself strong, he says: 'I grasped the breath, the beam, well; thou dost not prevail against me who have grasped the breath as the beam.' Let him say to him: 'Breath, the beam, will forsake thee.'

4. But if he thinks himself not strong, let him say to him: 'Thou couldst not grasp him who wishes to grasp the breath as the beam. Breath, the beam, will forsake thee.'

5. And whatever the reciter shall say to one who speaks to him or does not speak to him, depend upon it, it will come to pass. But to a Brāhmana let him not say anything except what is auspicious. Only he may curse a Brāhmana in excessive wealth. Nay, not even in excessive wealth should he curse a Brāhmana, but he should say, 'I bow before Brāhmanas,'—thus says Śûravtra Mândûkeya.

¹ The commentator explains anuvyâhâra, not as imprecations, but as referring to those who teach or use the imprecations, such imprecations being necessary to guard against the loss of the benefits accruing from the meditation and worship here described; such teachers say what follows.

² Breath, the union of mind and speech, as explained before. This is the opinion of Sthavira Śâkalya, cf. III, 2, 1, 1.

³ If he should tell him that he did not meditate on breath properly.

FIFTH KHANDA.

1. Now those who repeat the Nirbhuga say:

2. 'The former half¹ is the first syllable, the latter half the second syllable, and the space between the first and second halves is the Samhitâ (union).'

3. He who thus knows this Samhitâ (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

4. Now Hrasva Mândûkeya says: 'We reciters of Nirbhuga say, "Yes, the former half is the first syllable, and the latter half the second syllable, but the Samhitâ is the space between the first and second halves in so far as by it one turns out the union (sandhi), and knows what is the accent and what is not², and distinguishes what is the mora and what is not."'

5. He who thus knows this Samhitâ (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

6. Now his middle son, the child of his mother Prâtibodhî³, says: 'One pronounces these two syllables letter by letter, without entirely separating

¹ As spoken of before, III, 1, 1, 1.

² In agnim îe, îe by itself has no accent, but as joined by sandhi with agnim, its first syllable becomes svarita, its second prakîta. In tava it, the vowel i is a short mora or mâtrâ; but if joined with va, it vanishes, and becomes long e, tavet. .Comm.

³ Prâtibodhîputra, the son of Prâtibodhî, she being probably one out of several wives of Hrasva. Another instance of this metronymic nomenclature occurred in Krishna Devakîputra, Kî. Up. III, 7, 6. The Kashmir MS. reads Prâtibodhî, but Prati-bodha is a recognised name in Gana Vidâdi, and the right reading is probably Prâtibodhî. The same MS. leaves out putra âha.

them, and without entirely uniting them¹. Then that mora between the first and second halves, which indicates the union, that is the Sâman (evenness, sliding). I therefore hold Sâman only to be the Samhitâ (union).

7. This has also been declared by a Rîshi (Rv. II, 23, 16):—

8. 'O Brîhaspati, they know nothing higher than Sâman.'

9. He who thus knows this Samhitâ (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Târûkshya² said: 'The Samhitâ (union) is formed by means of the Brîhat and Rathantara³ Sâmans.'

2. Verily, the Rathantara Sâman is speech, the Brîhat Sâman is breath. By both, by speech and breath, the Samhitâ is formed⁴.

3. For this Upanishad (for acquiring from his teacher the knowledge of this Samhitâ of speech and breath) Târûkshya guards (his teacher's) cows a whole year.

4. For it alone Târûkshya guards the cows a whole year.

¹ So that the ê in tavet should neither be one letter e, nor two letters a+i, but something between the two, enabling us to hear a+i in the pronunciation of ê.

² The Kashmir MS. reads Târûkshya, a name used before as the title of a hymn (Ait. Âr. I, 5, 2, 8). Here Târûkshya seems preferable, see Pân. IV, 1, 105.

³ See Ait. Âr. I, 4, 2, 1-4.

⁴ These two, the Brîhat and Rathantara, are required for the Prîshthastotra in the Agnishôma, and they are to remind the worshipper that speech and breath are required for all actions.

5. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 181, 1; and Rv. X, 181, 2):—

6. 'Vasishtha carried hither the Rathantara; 'Bharadvâga brought hither the Brihat of Agni.'

7. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

8. Kauntharavya said: 'Speech is united with breath, breath with the blowing air, the blowing air with the Visvedevas, the Visvedevas with the heavenly world, the heavenly world with Brahman. That *Samhitâ* is called the gradual *Samhitâ*.'

9. He who knows this gradual *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga, in exactly the same manner as this *Samhitâ*, i. e. gradually.

10. If that worshipper, whether for his own sake or for that of another, recites (the *Samhitâ*), let him know when he is going to recite, that this *Samhitâ* went up to heaven, and that it will be even so with those who by knowing it become Devas. May it always be so!

11. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

12. Pañtâlakanda said: 'The *Samhitâ* (union, composition) is speech.'

13. Verily, by speech the Vedas, by speech the metres are composed. Friends unite through speech, all beings unite through speech; therefore speech is everything here¹.

¹ Everything can be obtained by speech in this life and in the next. Comm.

14. With regard to this (view of speech being more than breath), it should be borne in mind that when we thus repeat (the Veda) or speak, breath is (absorbed) in speech; speech swallows breath. And when we are silent or sleep, speech is (absorbed) in breath; breath swallows speech. The two swallow each other. Verily, speech is the mother, breath the son.

15. This has been declared also by a *Rishi* (Rv. X, 114, 4):—

16. 'There is one bird; (as wind) he has entered the sky; (as breath or living soul) he saw this whole world. With my ripe mind I saw him close to me (in the heart); the mother (licks or) absorbs him (breath), and he absorbs the mother (speech).'

17. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

18. Next follows the *Pragâpati-Samhitâ*.

19. The former half is the wife, the latter half the man; the result of their union the son; the act of their union the begetting; that *Samhitâ* is *Aditi* (indestructible).

20. For *Aditi* (indestructible) is all this whatever there is, father, mother, son, and begetting.

21. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (Rv. I, 189, 10):—

22. 'Aditi is mother, is father, is son.'

23. He who thus knows this *Samhitâ* (union), becomes united with offspring, cattle, fame, glory of countenance, and the world of Svarga. He lives his full age.

SECOND ADHYÂYA¹.

FIRST KHANDA.

1. Sthavira Sâkalya said that breath is the beam², and as the other beams rest on the house-beam, thus the eye, the ear, the mind, the speech, the senses, the body, the whole self rests on this³ breath.

2. Of that self the breathing is like the sibilants, the bones like the mutes, the marrow like the vowels, and the fourth part, flesh, blood, and the rest, like the semivowels⁴,—so said Hrasva Mândûkeya.

3. To us it was said to be a triad only⁵.

4. Of that triad, viz. bones, marrow, and joints, there are 360 (parts) on this side (the right), and 360 on that side (the left). They make 720 together, and 720⁶ are the days and nights of the year. Thus that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the days.

5. He who thus knows this self, which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, as like unto the days, obtains union, likeness, or nearness with the days, has sons and cattle, and lives his full age.

¹ In the first adhyâya meditations suggested by *samhitâ*, *pada*, and *krama* have been discussed. Now follow meditations suggested by certain classes of letters.

² Ait. Âr. III, 1, 4.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads *etasmin prâne*. The self here is meant for the body, and yet it seems to be different from *sarîra*.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. writes *antastha* without *visarga*, while it is otherwise most careful in writing all sibilants.

⁵ Sâkalya, as we saw, told his disciples that there were three classes only, not four. Comm. The Kashmir MS. reads *trayam tv eva na ityetat proktam*.

⁶ The Kashmir MS. reads *sapta vimśatis ka satâni*.

SECOND KHANDA.

1. Next comes *Kauntharavya* :
2. There are 360 syllables (vowels), 360 sibilants (consonants), 360 groups.
3. What we called syllables are the days, what we called sibilants are the nights, what we called groups are the junctions of days and nights. So far with regard to the gods (the days).
4. Now with regard to the body. The syllables which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the bones; the sibilants which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the marrow.
5. Marrow is the real breath (life), for marrow is seed, and without breath (life) seed is not sown. Or when it is sown without breath (life), it will decay, it will not grow.
6. The groups which we explained mythologically, are physiologically the joints.
7. Of that triad, viz. bones, marrow, and joints, there are 540 (parts) on this side (the right), and 540 on that side (the left). They make 1080 together, and 1080 are the rays of the sun. They make the *Bṛihatī* verses and the day (of the *Mahāvratā*)¹.
8. Thus that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the syllables.
9. He who knows this self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, as like unto syllables, obtains union, likeness, or nearness with the syllables, has sons and cattle, and lives his full age.

¹ There are in the *Mahāvratā* eighty tristichs of *Bṛihatī*s, and as each *Bṛihatī* is decreed to consist of thirty-six syllables, ten would give 360 syllables, and three times ten, 1080. Comm.

THIRD KHANDA.

1. Bād̥hva¹ says, there are four persons (to be meditated on and worshipped).

2. The person of the body, the person of the metres, the person of the Veda, and the Great person.

3. What we call the person of the body is this corporeal self. Its essence is the incorporeal conscious self.

4. What we call the person of the metres is this collection of letters (the Veda). Its essence is the vowel a.

5. What we call the person of the Veda is (the mind) by which we know the Vedas, the *Rig-veda*, *Yagur-veda*, and *Sāma-veda*. Its essence is Brahman² (m.)

6. Therefore let one chose a Brahman-priest who is full of Brahman (the Veda), and is able to see any flaw in the sacrifice.

7. What we call the Great person is the year, which causes some beings to fall together, and causes others to grow up. Its essence is yonder sun.

8. One should know that the incorporeal conscious self and yonder sun are both one and the same. Therefore the sun appears to every man singly (and differently).

9. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (*Rv.* I, 115, 1):—

10. 'The bright face of the gods arose, the eye of *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, and *Agni*; it filled heaven and earth

¹ Instead of Bād̥hya, the commentary and the Kashmir MS, read Bād̥hva.

² *Hiranyagarbha*, with whom he who knows the Veda becomes identified. Comm.

and the sky,—the sun is the self of all that rests and moves.’

11. ‘This I think to be the regular *Samhitā* as conceived by me,’ thus said Bādhva.

12. For the *Bahvrikas* consider him (the self) in the great hymn (*mahad uktha*), the *Adhvaryus* in the sacrificial fire, the *Khandogas* in the *Mahāvratā* ceremony. Him they see in this earth, in heaven, in the air, in the ether, in the water, in herbs, in trees, in the moon, in the stars, in all beings. Him alone they call *Brahman*.

13. That self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like unto the year.

14. He who recites to another that self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech, and is like unto the year,

FOURTH KHANDA.

1. To him the *Vedas* yield no more milk, he has no luck in what he has learnt (from his *Guru*); he does not know the path of virtue.

2. This has also been declared by a *Rishi* (*Rv. X, 71, 6*):—

3. ‘He who has forsaken the friend (the *Veda*), that knows his friends, in his speech there is no luck. Though he hears, he hears in vain, for he does not know the path of virtue.’

4. Here it is clearly said that he has no luck in what he has learnt, and that he does not know the path of virtue.

5. Therefore let no one who knows this, lay the sacrificial fire (belonging to the *Mahāvratā*) for another, let him not sing the *Sāmans* of the *Mahāvratā*

for another, let him not recite the Sastras of that day for another.

6. However, let him willingly do this for a father or for an Âkârya; for that is done really for himself.

7. We have said that the incorporeal conscious self and the sun are one¹. When these two become separated², the sun is seen as if it were the moon³; no rays spring from it; the sky is red like madder; the patient cannot retain the wind, his head smells bad like a raven's nest:—let him know then that his self (in the body) is gone, and that he will not live very long⁴.

8. Then whatever he thinks he has to do, let him do it, and let him recite the following hymns : Yad anti yakê ka dûrake (Rv. IX, 67, 21-27); Âd it pratnasya retasah (Rv. VIII, 6, 30); Yatra brahmâ pavamâna (Rv. IX, 113, 6-11); Ud vayam tamasas pari (Rv. I, 50, 10).

9. Next, when the sun is seen pierced, and seems like the nave of a cart-wheel, when he sees his own shadow pierced, let him know then that it is so (as stated before, i. e. that he is going to die soon).

10. Next, when he sees himself in a mirror or in the water with a crooked head, or without a head⁵, or when his pupils are seen inverted⁶ or not straight, let him know then that it is so.

¹ Ait. Âr. III, 2, 3, 8.

² This separation of the self of the sun and the conscious self within us is taken as a sign of approaching death, and therefore a number of premonitory symptoms are considered in this place.

³ ἥλιος μνηοειδής, Xen. Hist. gr. 4, 3, 10.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. reads gîvayishyati.

⁵ The Kashmir MS. reads gihmasirasam vâsarîram âtmânam.

⁶ A white pupil in a black eye-ball. Comm.

11. Next, let him cover his eyes and watch, then threads are seen as if falling together¹. But if he does not see them, let him know then that it is so.

12. Next, let him cover his ears and listen, and there will be a sound as if of a burning fire or of a carriage². But if he does not hear it, let him know then that it is so.

13. Next, when fire looks blue like the neck of a peacock³, or when he sees lightning in a cloudless sky, or no lightning in a clouded sky, or when he sees as it were bright rays in a dark cloud, let him know then that it is so.

14. Next, when he sees the ground as if it were burning, let him know that it is so.

15. These are the visible signs (from 7-14).

16. Next come the dreams⁴.

17. If he sees a black man with black teeth, and that man kills him; or a boar kills him; a monkey jumps on⁵ him; the wind carries him along quickly; having swallowed gold he spits it out⁶; he eats honey; he chews stalks; he carries a red lotus; he drives with asses and boars; wearing a wreath of red flowers (naladas) he drives a black cow with a black calf, facing the south⁷,

18. If a man sees any one of these (dreams), let

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads *baṣṛakâṁi sampatantva*.

² See *Kṛ. Up.* III, 13, 8. The Kashmir MS. and the commentary give the words *rathasyevopabdis*, which are left out in the printed text.

³ The Kashmir MS. reads *mayûragrivâ ameghe*.

⁴ The Kashmir MS. reads *svapnaḥ*.

⁵ The Kashmir MS. reads *âskandati*.

⁶ The Kashmir MS. reads *avagirati*.

⁷ The commentator separates the last dream, so as to bring their number to ten.

him fast, and cook a pot of milk, sacrifice it, accompanying each oblation with a verse of the Râtri hymn (Rv. X, 127), and then, after having fed the Brâhmanas, with other food (prepared at his house) eat himself the (rest of the) oblation.

19. Let him know that the person within all beings, not heard here¹, not reached, not thought, not subdued, not seen, not understood, not classed, but hearing, thinking, seeing, classing, sounding, understanding, knowing, is his Self.

FIFTH KHANDA².

1. Now next the Upanishad of the whole speech. True all these are Upanishads of the whole speech, but this they call so (chiefly).

2. The mute consonants represent the earth, the sibilants the sky, the vowels heaven.

The mute consonants represent Agni (fire), the sibilants air, the vowels the sun.

The mute consonants represent the *Rig-veda*, the sibilants the *Yagur-veda*, the vowels the *Sâma-veda*.

The mute consonants represent the eye, the sibilants the ear, the vowels the mind.

The mute consonants represent the up-breathing, the sibilants the down-breathing, the vowels the back-breathing.

3. Next comes this divine lute (the human body, made by the gods). The lute made by man is an imitation of it.

4. As there is a head of this, so there is a head of that (lute, made by man). As there is a stomach

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads *sa yatas sruto*.

² After having inserted the preceding chapter on omnia and the concluding paragraph on the highest knowledge, he now returns to the meditation on the letters.

of this, so there is the cavity¹ (in the board) of that. As there is a tongue of this, so there is a tongue² in that. As there are fingers of this, so there are strings of that³. As there are vowels of this, so there are tones of that. As there are consonants of this, so there are touches of that. As this is endowed with sound and firmly strung, so that is endowed with sound and firmly strung. As this is covered with a hairy skin, so that is covered with a hairy skin.

5. Verily, in former times they covered a lute with a hairy skin.

6. He who knows this lute made by the Devas (and meditates on it), is willingly listened to, his glory fills the earth, and wherever they speak Âryan languages, there they know him.

7. Next follows the verse, called *vâgrasa*, the essence of speech. When a man reciting or speaking in an assembly does not please, let him say this verse :

8. 'May the queen of all speech, who is covered, as it were, by the lips, surrounded by teeth, as if by spears, who is a thunderbolt, help me to speak well.' This is the *vâgrasa*, the essence of speech.

SIXTH KHANDA.

1. Next *Krishna-Hârîta*⁴ confided this *Brâhmana*⁵ concerning speech to him (his pupil) :

¹ The Kashmir MS. reads *udara evam*, &c.

² *Vâdanam*, what makes the instrument speak, *hastena*. Comm.

³ Here the order is inverted in the text.

⁴ One of the sons of Harita, who was dark. Comm.

⁵ *Brâhmana*, in the sense of *Upanishad*, this secret doctrine or explanation. It forms an appendix, like the *svishakrit* at the end of a sacrifice. 'Iva,' which the commentator explains as restrictive or useless, may mean, something like a *Brâhmana*.

2. Pragâpati, the year, after having sent forth all creatures, burst. He put himself together again by means of *khandas* (Vedas). Because he put himself together again by means of *khandas*, therefore (the text of the Veda) is called *Samhitâ* (put together).

3. Of that *Samhitâ* the letter *n* is the strength, the letter *sh* the breath and self (*âtman*).

4. He who knows the *Rik* verses and the letters *n* and *sh* for every *Samhitâ*, he knows the *Samhitâ* with strength and breath. Let him know that this is the life of the *Samhitâ*.

5. If the pupil asks, 'Shall I say it with the letter *n* or without it?' let the teacher say, 'With the letter *n*.' And if he asks, 'Shall I say it with the letter *sh* or without it?' let the teacher say, 'With the letter *sh*!'

6. Hrasva Mândûkeya said: 'If we here recite the verses according to the *Samhitâ* (attending to the necessary changes of *n* and *s* into *n* and *sh*²), and if we say the *adhyâya* of Mândûkeya (Ait. Âr. III, 1), then the letters *n* and *sh* (strength and breath) have by this been obtained for us.'

7. Sthavira Sâkalya said: 'If we recite the verses according to the *Samhitâ*, and if we say the *adhyâya* of Mândûkeya, then the letters *n* and *sh* have by this been obtained for us.'

8. Here the *Rishis*, the Kâvasheyas³, knowing

¹ The letters *n* and *sh* refer most likely to the rules of *natva* and *shatva*, i. e. the changing of *n* and *s* into *n* and *sh*.

² If we know whenever *n* and *s* should be changed to *n* and *sh* in the *Samhitâ*.

³ The Kâvasheyas said that, after they had arrived at the highest knowledge of Brahman (through the various forms of meditation and worship that lead to it and that have been described in the Upanishad) no further meditation and no further sacrifice could be

this, said: 'Why should we repeat (the Veda), why should we sacrifice? We offer as a sacrifice breath in speech, or speech in breath. What is the beginning (of one), that is the end (of the other).'

9. Let no one tell these *Samhitās* (Ait. Ār. III, 1-III, 2) to one who is not a resident pupil, who has not been with his teacher at least one year, and who is not himself to become an instructor¹. Thus say the teachers, yea, thus say the teachers.

required. Instead of the morning and evening stoma they offer breath in speech, whenever they speak, or speech in breath, when they are silent or asleep. When speech begins, breathing ceases; when breathing begins, speech ceases.

¹ The strict prohibition uttered at the end of the third *Āranyaka*, not to divulge a knowledge of the *Samhitā-ūpanishad* (Ait. Ār. III, 1-2), as here explained, is peculiar. It would have seemed self-evident that, like the rest of the *śruti* or sacred literature, the *Āranyaka* too, and every portion of it, could have been learnt from the mouth of a teacher only, and according to rule (*niyamena*), i. e. by a pupil performing all the duties of a student (*brahmaṭārin*²), so that no one except a regular pupil (*antevāsin*) could possibly gain access to it. Nor can there be any doubt that we ought to take the words *asamvatsaravāsin* and *apravaktri* as limitations, and to translate, 'Let no one tell these *Samhitās* to any pupil who has not at least been a year with his master, and who does not mean to become a teacher in turn.'

That this is the right view is confirmed by similar injunctions given at the end of the fifth *Āranyaka*. Here we have first some rules as to who is qualified to recite the *Mahāvṛata*. No one is permitted to do so, who has not passed through the *Dikshā*, the initiation for the *Agnishōma*. If the *Mahāvṛata* is performed as a *Sattra*, the sacrificer is a *Hotri* priest, and he naturally has passed through that ceremony. But if the *Mahāvṛata* is performed as an *Ekāha* or *Ahīna* ceremony, anybody might be the sacrificer, and therefore it was necessary to say that no one who is *adikshita*, uninitiated, should recite it for another person; nor should he do so,

² *Āpastamba-sūtras*, translated by Bühler, p. 18.

when the Mahâvrata is performed without (or with) an altar, or if it does not last one year. In saying, however, that one should not recite the Mahâvrata for another person, parents and teachers are not to be understood as included, because what is done for them, is done for ourselves.

After these restrictions as to the recitation of the Mahâvrata, follow other restrictions as to the teaching of it, and here we read, as at the end of the Upanishad :

4. 'Let no one teach this day, the Mahâvrata, to one who is not a regular pupil (antevâsin), and has been so for one year, certainly not to one who has not been so for one year; nor to one who is not a brahmaçârin and does not study the same Veda¹, certainly not to one who does not study the same Veda; nor to one who does not come to him.

5. 'Let the teaching not be more than saying it once or twice, twice only.

6. 'One man should tell it to one man, so says *Gâtukarṇya*.

7. 'Not to a child, nor to a man in his third stage of life.

8. 'The teacher and pupil should not stand, nor walk, nor lie down, nor sit on a couch; but they should both sit on the ground.

9. 'The pupil should not lean backward while learning, nor lean forward. He should not be covered with too much clothing, nor assume the postures of a devotee, but without using any of the apparel of a devotee, simply elevate his knees. Nor should he learn, when he has eaten flesh, when he has seen blood, or a corpse, or when he has done an unlawful thing²; when he has anointed his eyes, oiled or rubbed his body, when he has been shaved or bathed, put colour on, or ornamented himself with flower-wreaths, when he has been writing or effacing his writing³.

10. 'Nor should he finish the reading in one day, so says *Gâtukarṇya*, while according to *Gâlava*, he should finish it in one day. *Âgnivesyâyana* holds that he should finish all before the *Trikâstis*⁴, and then rest in another place finishing it.

11. 'And in the place where he reads this, he should not read

¹ See *Gautama-sûtras* XIV, 21, and *Bühler's* note.

² *Nâvratyam âkramya* is explained by the commentator by *uklêshishâdyâkramana*.

³ This, if rightly translated, would seem to be the earliest mention of actual writing in Sanskrit literature.

⁴ See *Ait. Âr.* I, 4, 3, 1-4.

anything else, though he may read this (the Mahāvratā) where he has read something else.

12. 'No one should bathe and become a snātaka¹ who does not read this. Even if he has read many other things, he should not become a snātaka if he has not read this.

13. 'Nor should he forget it, and even if he should forget anything else, he should not forget this.

14. 'No, he should never forget this.

15. 'If he does not forget this, it will be enough for himself (or for acquiring a knowledge of the Self).

16. 'It is enough, let him know this to be true.

17. 'Let him who knows this not communicate, nor dine, nor amuse himself with any one who does not know it.'

Then follow some more rules as to the reading of the Veda in general:

18. 'When the old water that stood round the roots of trees is dried up (after about the month of Pausha, January to February²) he should not read; nor (at any time) in the morning or in the afternoon, when the shadows meet (he should begin at sunrise so soon as the shadows divide, and end in the evening before they fall together). Nor should he read³ when a cloud has risen; and when there is an unseasonable rain (after the months of Śrāvāna and Bhādrapada, August and September⁴) he should stop his Vedic reading for three nights. Nor should he at that time tell stories, not even during the night, nor should he glory in his knowledge.

19. 'This (the Veda thus learnt and studied) is the name of that Great Being; and he who thus knows the name of that Great Being, he becomes Brahman, yea, he becomes Brahman.'

¹ Āpastamba-sūtras, translated by Bühler, p. 92 (I, 2, 30, 4).

² Āpastamba-sūtras, translated by Bühler, p. 33 (I, 3, 9, 2).

³ Āpastamba-sūtras, translated by Bühler, p. 44 (I, 3, 11, 31).

⁴ Āpastamba-sūtras, translated by Bühler, p. 33 (I, 3, 9, 1).

KAUSHÎTAKI-BRÂHMANA-
UPANISHAD.

KAUSHÎTAKI-UPANISHAD.

FIRST ADHYÂYA.

1. *KÎTRA* Gângyâyani¹, forsooth, wishing to perform a sacrifice, chose *Âruzi* (Uddâlaka², to be his chief priest). But *Âruzi* sent his son, *Svetaketu*, and said: 'Perform the sacrifice for him.' When *Svetaketu*³ had arrived, *Kîtra* asked him: 'Son of *Gautama*⁴, is there a hidden place in the world where you are able to place me, or is it the other way, and are you going to place me in the world to which it (that other way) leads⁵?'

¹ It is difficult to determine whether *Kîtra*'s name was Gângyâyani or Gârgyâyani. Professor Weber adopted first Gârgyâyani (*Indische Studien* I, p. 395), afterwards Gângyâyani (*ibid.* II, 395). Professor Cowell adopts Gângyâyani, but he tells us that the Telugu MS. reads Gârgyâyani throughout, and the other MSS. B, C do so occasionally. The commentator explains Gângyâyani as the descendant (*yuvâpatyam*) of Gângya. I confess a preference for Gârgyâyani, because both Gaṅgâ and Gângya are names of rare occurrence in ancient Vedic literature, but I admit that for that very reason the transition of Gângyâyani into Gârgyâyani is perhaps more intelligible than that of Gârgyâyani into Gângyâyani.

² Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 11, 2; *Brh. Âr.* VI, 2, 1.

³ Cf. *Kh. Up.* V, 3; VI, 1.

⁴ *Brh. Âr.* VI, 2, 4.

⁵ The question put by *Kîtra* to *Svetaketu* is very obscure, and was probably from the first intended to be obscure in its very wording. What *Kîtra* wished to ask we can gather from other passages in the Upanishads, where we see another royal sage, *Pravâhara Gaivali* (*Kh. Up.* V, 3; *Brh. Âr.* VI, 2), enlightening *Svetaketu* on the future life. That future life is reached by two roads;

He answered and said: 'I do not know this. But, let me ask the master.' Having approached his father, he asked: 'Thus has *Kītra* asked me; how shall I answer?'

one, the Devapatha, leading to the world of Brahman (the conditioned), beyond which there lies one other stage only, represented by knowledge of and identity with the unconditioned Brahman; the other leading to the world of the fathers, and from thence, after the reward of good works has been consumed, back to a new round of mundane existence. There is a third road for creatures which live and die, worms, insects, and creeping things, but they are of little consequence. Now it is quite clear that the knowledge which king *Kītra* possesses, and which *Svetaketu* does not possess, is that of the two roads after death, sometimes called the right and the left, or the southern and northern roads. These roads are fully described in the *Khândogya*-upanishad and in the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, with certain variations, yet on the whole with the same purpose. The northern or left road, called also the path of the Devas, passes on from light and day to the bright half of the moon; the southern or right road, called also the path of the fathers, passes on from smoke and night to the dark half of the moon. Both roads therefore meet in the moon, but diverge afterwards. While the northern road passes by the six months when the sun moves towards the north, through the sun, (moon,) and the lightning to the world of Brahman, the southern passes by the six months when the sun moves towards the south, to the world of the fathers, the ether, and the moon. The great difference, however, between the two roads is, that while those who travel on the former do not return again to a new life on earth, but reach in the end a true knowledge of the unconditioned Brahman, those who pass on to the world of the fathers and the moon return to earth to be born again and again.

The question therefore which *Kītra* addresses to *Svetaketu* can refer to these two roads only, and though the text is very corrupt, and was so evidently even at the time when the commentary was written, we must try to restore it in accordance with the teaching imparted by *Kītra* in what follows. I propose to read: *Gautamasya putra, asti samvṛitam loke yasmin mā dhāsyasy anyatamo vādhvā tasya (or yasya) mā loke dhāsyasi*, 'Is there a hidden place in the world where you (by your sacrificing and teaching) are able to

Āruzi said: 'I also do not know this. Only after having learnt the proper portion of the Veda in Kītra's own dwelling, shall we obtain what others give us (knowledge). Come, we will both go.'

Having said this he took fuel in his hand (like a pupil), and approached Kītra Gāṅgyāyani, saying: 'May I come near to you?' He replied: 'You are worthy of Brahman¹, O Gautama, because you were not led away by pride. Come hither, I shall make you know clearly.'

2. And Kītra said: All who depart from this world (or this body) go to the moon². In the former, (the bright) half, the moon delights in their spirits; in the other, (the dark) half, the moon sends them on

place me, or is it the other way, and will you place me in the world to which it leads?' Even thus the text is by no means satisfactory, but it is better than anyam aho vādhvâ, adopted by the commentator and explained by him: Is there a hidden place in that world in which you will place me as another, i. e. as different from the whole world or identical with the whole world, and, if as different, then having bound me (vādhvâ = baddhvâ) and made me a different person? We may read anyataro for anyatamo vādhvâ. The commentator sums up the question as referring to a hidden or not hidden place, where Kītra should be placed as another person or not another person, as bound or not bound; or, as Professor Cowell renders it, 'O son of Gautama, is there any secret place in the world where thou canst set me unconnected, having fixed me there (as wood united with glue); or is there some other place where thou canst set me?' The speculations on the fate of the soul after death seem to have been peculiar to the royal families of India, while the Brahmans dwelt more on what may be called the shorter cut, a knowledge of Brahman as the true Self. To know, with them, was to be, and, after the dissolution of the body, they looked forward to immediate emancipation, without any further wanderings.

¹ Worthy to know Brahman, or, as the commentator, who reads brahmârg̃ha, thinks, to be honoured like Brahman.

² Both roads lead to the moon, and diverge afterwards.

to be born again¹. Verily, the moon is the door of the Svarga world (the heavenly world). Now, if a man objects to the moon (if one is not satisfied with life there) the moon sets him free². But if a man does not object, then the moon sends him down as rain upon this earth. And according to his deeds and according to his knowledge he is born again here as a worm, or as an insect, or as a fish, or as a bird, or as a lion, or as a boar, or as a serpent³, or as a tiger, or as a man, or as something else in different places⁴. When he has thus returned to the earth, some one (a sage) asks: 'Who art thou?' And he should answer: 'From the wise moon, who orders the seasons⁵, when it is born consisting of fifteen parts, from the moon who is the home of our ancestors, the seed was brought. This seed, even me, they (the gods mentioned in the Pañcāgnividyā⁶) gathered up in an active man, and through an active

¹ I should like to read *aparapakshe praganayati*, instead of *aparapaksheṇa*, or *aparapakshe na*. The negative is out of the question, for *praganayati*, he sends into a new life, is exactly what the moon does to those who do not proceed on the *Devapatha* to the *Brahmaloka*. Therefore if the reading *aparapaksheṇa* must be retained, it should be rendered by 'the moon with the dark half sends them into a new life.'

² This is supposed to be the hidden place, or rather the way to it, when the departed leave the moon, and pass on to lightning and to the world of Brahman. This is in fact the *Devayāna*, as opposed to the *Pitriyāna*, described in the *Khândogya-upanishad*.

³ *Parasvā*, *dandarūkavireshaḥ*. There is no authority for translating it by dog; cf. *Indische Studien* I, 396.

⁴ This might even include *naraka* or hell.

⁵ If *ṛitavaḥ* is here the genitive of *ṛitu*, its meaning would be the ordainer of the seasons; cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 247. *Vitakshana* is applied to the moon again, II, 9, and the throne of Brahman also is called *vitakshanaḥ*, I, 3.

⁶ *Kh. Up.* V, 4-8.

man they brought me to a mother. Then I, growing up to be born, a being living by months, whether twelve or thirteen, was together with my father, who also lived by (years of) twelve or thirteen months, that I might either know it (the true Brahman) or not know it. Therefore, O ye seasons¹, grant that I may attain immortality (knowledge of Brahman). By this my true saying, by this my toil (beginning with the dwelling in the moon and ending with my birth on earth) I am (like) a season, and the child of the seasons.' 'Who art thou?' the sage asks again. 'I am thou,' he replies. Then he sets him free² (to proceed onward).

3. He (at the time of death), having reached the path of the gods, comes to the world of Agni (fire), to the world of Vāyu (air), to the world of Varuṇa, to the world of Indra, to the world of Pragâpati (Virâḡ), to the world of Brahman (Hiranyagarbha). In that world there is the lake Āra³, the moments called Yeshîha⁴, the river Vigarâ (age-less), the tree Ilya⁵, the city Sâlagya, the palace Aparâgita (unconquerable), the door-keepers Indra

¹ The commentator takes *ritavaḥ* as an accusative. I take it as a vocative, and as used in a sense analogous to the Zend *ratu*, an epithet of Ahura. Darmesteter, Ormazd, p. 12, n. 3.

² If a person fears heaven (*svarga*) as much as hell, because neither gives final liberation, then he is fit to proceed to a knowledge of Brahman. It would seem that after this, this person is in the same position as the other who, objecting to remain in the moon, was set free at once.

³ Consisting of ari's, enemies, such as love, anger, &c. In the *Kh. Up. VIII, 5, 3*, it is called *Ara*.

⁴ Explained to mean, killing the sacrifice, which consists in a desire for Brahman.

⁵ The same as the *arvatthaḥ somasavanaḥ* in *Kh. Up. VIII, 5, 3*.

and Pragâpati, the hall of Brahman, called Vibhu ¹ (built by vibhu, egoism), the throne *Vikakshanâ* (buddhi, perception), the couch *Amitaugas* (endless splendour), and the beloved *Mânast* (mind) and her image *Kâkshusht* (eye), who, as if taking flowers, are weaving the worlds, and the *Apsaras*, the *Ambâs* (*sruti*, sacred scriptures), and *Ambâyavts* (buddhi, understanding), and the rivers *Ambayâs* (leading to the knowledge of Brahman). To this world he who knows this (who knows the *Paryanka-vidyâ*) approaches. Brahman says to him: 'Run towards him (servants) with such worship as is due to myself. He has reached the river *Vigarâ* (age-less), he will never age.'

4. Then five hundred *Apsaras* go towards him, one hundred with garlands in their hands, one hundred with ointments in their hands, one hundred with perfumes in their hands, one hundred with garments in their hands, one hundred with fruit ² in their hands. They adorn him with an adornment worthy of Brahman, and when thus adorned with the adornment of Brahman, the knower of Brahman moves towards Brahman (neut.)³ He comes to the lake *Âra*, and he crosses it by the mind, while those who come to it without knowing the truth ⁴, are drowned. He comes to the moments called *Yeshîha*, they flee from him.

¹ *Vibhunâmakam pramitam sabhâsthalam.*

² Some MSS. read *pharahastâh*, and the commentator explains *phara* by *âbharana*.

³ Though *brahman* is used here as a neuter, it refers to the conditioned Brahman.

⁴ *Samprativid* is here explained as *brahmavidyâsrûnya*, ignorant, while in other places (*Ait. Âr. II, 3, 1*) it stands for *samyagabhigñâ*. If the latter is the true meaning, we might read here *tam itvâsamprativido*.

He comes to the river Vigarā, and crosses it by the mind alone, and there shakes off his good and evil deeds. His beloved relatives obtain the good, his unbeloved relatives the evil he has done. And as a man, driving in a chariot, might look at the two wheels (without being touched by them), thus he will look at day and night, thus at good and evil deeds, and at all pairs (at all correlative things, such as light and darkness, heat and cold, &c.) Being freed from good and freed from evil he, the knower of Brahman (neut.), moves towards Brahman.

5. He approaches the tree Ilya, and the odour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the city Sālagya, and the flavour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the palace Aparāgita, and the splendour of Brahman reaches him. He approaches the door-keepers Indra and Pragāpati, and they run away from him. He approaches the hall Vibhu, and the glory of Brahman reaches him (he thinks, I am Brahman). He approaches the throne Viśakṣarā. The Sāman verses, *Bṛihad* and *Rathantara*, are the eastern feet of that throne¹; the Sāman verses, *Syaita* and *Naudhasa*, its western feet; the Sāman verses, *Vairūpa* and *Vairāga*, its sides lengthways (south and north); the Sāman verses, *Sākvara* and *Raivata*, its sides crossways (east and west). That throne is *Pragñā*, knowledge, for by knowledge (self-knowledge) he sees clearly. He approaches the couch *Amitaugas*. That is *Prāna* (speech). The past and the future are its eastern feet; prosperity and earth its western feet; the Sāman verses, *Bṛihad* and *Rathantara*, are the two sides lengthways of the couch (south and north);

¹ Cf. Atharva-veda XV; Aufrecht, in *Indische Studien* I, p. 122.

the Sāman verses, Bhadra and Yagñāyagñīya, are its cross-sides at the head and feet (east and west); the *Rik* and Sāman are the long sheets¹ (east and west); the *Yagus* the cross-sheets (south and north); the moon-beam the cushion; the *Udgītha* the (white) coverlet; prosperity the pillow². On this couch sits Brahman, and he who knows this (who knows himself one with Brahman sitting on the couch) mounts it first with one foot only. Then Brahman says to him: 'Who art thou?' and he shall answer:

6. 'I am (like) a season, and the child of the seasons, sprung from the womb of endless space, from the light (from the luminous Brahman). The light, the origin of the year, which is the past, which is the present, which is all living things, and all elements, is the Self³. Thou art the Self. What thou art, that am I.'

Brahman says to him: 'Who am I?' He shall answer: 'That which is, the true' (Sat-tyam).

Brahman asks: 'What is the true?' He says to him: 'What is different from the gods and from the senses (*prāna*) that is Sat, but the gods and the

¹ Sheets or coverings seem more applicable here than mere threads forming the woof and warp; cf. Aufrecht, *Indische Studien* I, p. 131.

² I read *udgītha upasrīh, srīr upabarhanam*. The Atharva text has *udgītho 'pasrayah*.

³ This passage is corrupt, and the various readings and various interpretations of the commentators do not help us much. One view, which I have followed, as far as possible, is that it had to be explained how the same being could be the child of the seasons, or living from year to year, and, at the same time, born of the light. The answer is, Because light is the seed or cause of the year, and the year the cause of everything else. I take no responsibility for this view, and I see no way of discovering the original reading and the original meaning of these sentences.

senses are Tyam. Therefore by that name Sat-tya (true) is called all this whatever there is. All this thou art.'

7. This is also declared by a verse : ' This great *Rīshi*, whose belly is the *Yagus*, the head the *Sāman*, the form the *Rik*, is to be known as being imperishable, as being Brahman.'

Brahman says to him : 'How dost thou obtain my male names?' He should answer : 'By breath (*prāṇaḥ*).'

Brahman asks : 'How my female names?' He should answer : 'By speech (*vâḥ*).'

Brahman asks : 'How my neuter names?' He should answer : 'By mind (*manas*).'

'How smells?' 'By the nose.' 'How forms?' 'By the eye.' 'How sounds?' 'By the ear.' 'How flavours of food?' 'By the tongue.' 'How actions?' 'By the hands.' 'How pleasures and pain?' 'By the body.' 'How joy, delight, and offspring?' 'By the organ.' 'How journeyings?' 'By the feet.' 'How thoughts, and what is to be known and desired?' 'By knowledge (*pragñâ*) alone.'

Brahman says to him : 'Water indeed is this my world¹, the whole Brahman world, and it is thine.'

Whatever victory, whatever might belongs to Brahman, that victory and that might he obtains who knows this, yea, who knows this².

¹ It sprang from water and the other elements. Comm. Professor Weber proposes to translate *âpaḥ* by *Erlangungen*, acquisitions, with reference to *apnoshi*, 'how dost thou acquire my names?' in what precedes.

² Who knows the conditioned and mythological form of Brahman as here described, sitting on the couch.

SECOND ADHYĀYA.

1. *Prāna* (breath)¹ is Brahman, thus says Kaushītaki. Of this *prāna*, which is Brahman, the mind (*manas*) is the messenger, speech the housekeeper, the eye the guard, the ear the informant. He who knows mind as the messenger of *prāna*, which is Brahman, becomes possessed of the messenger. He who knows speech as the housekeeper, becomes possessed of the housekeeper. He who knows the eye as the guard, becomes possessed of the guard. He who knows the ear as the informant, becomes possessed of the informant.

Now to that *prāna*, which is Brahman, all these deities (mind, speech, eye, ear) bring an offering, though he asks not for it, and thus to him who knows this all creatures bring an offering, though he asks not for it. For him who knows this, there is this Upanishad (secret vow), 'Beg not!' As a man who has begged through a village and got nothing sits down and says, 'I shall never eat anything given by those people,' and as then those who formerly refused him press him (to accept their alms), thus is the rule for him who begs not, but the charitable will press him and say, 'Let us give to thee.'

2. *Prāna* (breath) is Brahman, thus says Paiṅgya. And in that *prāna*, which is Brahman, the eye

¹ In the first chapter it was said, 'He approaches the couch Amitaugas, that is *prāna*, breath, spirit, life. Therefore having explained in the first adhyāya the knowledge of the couch (of Brahman), the next subject to be explained is the knowledge of *prāna*, the living spirit, taken for a time as Brahman, or the last cause of everything.'

stands firm behind speech, the ear stands firm behind the eye, the mind stands firm behind the ear, and the spirit stands firm behind the mind¹. To that *prâna*, which is Brahman, all these deities bring an offering, though he asks not for it, and thus to him who knows this, all creatures bring an offering, though he asks not for it. For him who knows this, there is this Upanishad (secret vow), 'Beg not!' As a man who has begged through a village and got nothing sits down and says, 'I shall never eat anything given by those people,' and as then those who formerly refused him press him (to accept their alms), thus is the rule for him who begs not, but the charitable will press him and say, 'Let us give to thee.'

3. Now follows the attainment of the highest treasure (scil. *prâna*, spirit²). If a man meditates on that highest treasure, let him on a full moon or a new moon, or in the bright fortnight, under an auspicious Nakshatra, at one of these proper times, bending his right knee, offer oblations of ghee with a ladle (*sruva*), after having placed the fire, swept the ground³, strewn the sacred grass, and sprinkled water. Let him say: 'The deity called Speech is

¹ I translate *vâkparastât*, *akshuḥparastât*, *manahparastât* as compounds, and read *śrotraparastât*. The commentator requires this. He says that speech is uncertain, and has to be checked by the eye. The eye is uncertain, taking mother of pearl for silver, and must be checked by the ear. The ear is uncertain, and must be checked by the mind, for unless the mind is attentive, the ear hears not. The mind, lastly, depends on the spirit, for without spirit there is no mind. The commentator is right in reading *rundhe* or *runddhe* instead of *rundhate*.

² The vital spirits are called the highest treasure, because a man surrenders everything to preserve his vital spirits or his life.

³ Cf. *Bṛih. Âr. VI, 3, 1*.

the attainer, may it attain this for me from him (who possesses and can bestow what I wish for). Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called *prâna* (breath) is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called the eye is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called the ear is the attainer, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

‘The deity called mind (*manas*) is the attainer of it, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it.’

‘The deity called *pragñâ* (knowledge) is the attainer of it, may it attain this for me from him. Svâhâ to it!’

Then having inhaled the smell of the smoke, and having rubbed his limbs with the ointment of ghee, walking on in silence, let him declare his wish, or let him send a messenger. He will surely obtain his wish.

4. Now follows the *Daiva Smara*, the desire to be accomplished by the gods. If a man desires to become dear ¹ to any man or woman, or to any men or women, then at one of the (fore-mentioned) proper times he offers, in exactly the same manner (as before), oblations of ghee, saying: ‘I offer thy speech in myself, I (this one here ²), Svâhâ.’ ‘I offer thy ear in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.’ ‘I offer thy

¹ As dear as *prâna* or life.

² The commentator explains these mysterious utterances by: ‘I offer, I throw, in the fire, which is lit by the fuel of thy indifference or dislike, in myself, being the object of thy love, speech, the organ of speech, of thee, who art going to love me. This one, i. e. I myself, or my love, may prosper. Svâhâ, my speech, may grant approval to the oblation of me, the lover.’

mind in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.' ' I offer thy *pragñâ* (knowledge) in myself, I (this one here), Svâhâ.' Then having inhaled the smell of the smoke, and having rubbed his limbs with the ointment of ghee, walking on in silence, let him try to come in contact or let him stand speaking in the wind, (so that the wind may carry his words to the person by whom he desires to be loved). Surely he becomes dear, and they think of him.

5. Now follows the restraint (*samyamana*) instituted by Pratardana (the son of Divodâsa): they call it the inner Agni-hotra. So long as a man speaks, he cannot breathe, he offers all the while his *prâna* (breath) in his speech. And so long as a man breathes, he cannot speak, he offers all the while his speech in his breath. These two endless and immortal oblations he offers always, whether waking or sleeping. Whatever other oblations there are (those, e.g. of the ordinary Agnihotra, consisting of milk and other things), they have an end, for they consist of works (which, like all works, have an end). The ancients, knowing this (the best Agnihotra), did not offer the (ordinary) Agnihotra.

6. Uktha¹ is Brahman, thus said Sushkabhriṅgâra. Let him meditate on it (the uktha) as the same with the *Rik*, and all beings will praise him as the best. Let him meditate on it as the same with the *Yagus*, and all beings will join before him

¹ Uktha, a Vedic hymn, has been identified with *prâna*, breath, in the *Kâṇva* and other *Sâkhâs* (*Bṛih. Âr. V, 13, 1; Ait. Âr. II, 1, 2*). Here uktha, i. e. the *prâna* of the uktha, is further identified with Brahman. As uktha (the hymn) is *prâna*, and as the sacrifice is performed with hymns, the sacrifice, too, is uktha, and therefore *prâna*, and therefore Brahman. Comm.

as the best. Let him meditate on it as the same with the Sâman, and all beings will bow before him as the best¹. Let him meditate on it as the same with might, let him meditate on it as the same with glory, let him meditate on it as the same with splendour. For as the bow is among weapons the mightiest, the most glorious, the most splendid, thus is he who knows this among all beings the mightiest, the most glorious, the most splendid. The Adhvaryu conceives the fire of the altar, which is used for the sacrifice, to be himself. In it he (the Adhvaryu) weaves the Yagus portion of the sacrifice. And in the Yagus portion the Hotri weaves the Rik portion of the sacrifice. And in the Rik portion the Ud-gâtri weaves the Sâman portion of the sacrifice. He (the Adhvaryu or prâna) is the self of the threefold knowledge; he indeed is the self of it (of prâna). He who knows this is the self of it (becomes prâna²).

¹ The verbs *ark*, *yug*, and *sannam* are not used idiomatically, but with reference to the words *rik*, *yagus*, and *sâman*.

² The commentator explains this somewhat differently. He takes it to be the object of the last paragraph to show that the Prâna-vidyâ can ultimately produce final liberation, and not only temporal rewards. The Adhvaryu priest, he says, takes what is called *uktha*, and has been identified with *Rik*, *Yagus*, and *Sâman* hymns, all contained in the mouth, as being outwardly the sacrificial fire of the altar, because that fire cannot be lighted without such hymns. Thus the self of the Adhvaryu priest becomes identified, not only with the *uktha*, the hymns, but also with the sacrificial fire, and he meditates on himself as fire, as hymn (*uktha*), and as breath (*prâna*). I read *sa esha sarvasyai trayyai vidyâyâ âtmâ, esha u evâsyâtmâ. Etadâtmâ bhavati ya evam veda*. But if we read *asyâtmâ*, we cannot with the commentator explain it by *asyâ uktâyâs trayyâ âtmâ*, but must refer *asya* to *prâna*, breath, life, which is here to be identified with Brahman.

7. Next follow the three kinds of meditation of the all-conquering (sarvagit) Kaushṭaki. The all-conquering Kaushṭaki adores the sun when rising, having put on the sacrificial cord¹, having brought water, and having thrice sprinkled the water-cup, saying: 'Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.' In the same manner he adores the sun when in the zenith, saying: 'Thou art the highest deliverer, deliver me highly from sin.' In the same manner he adores the sun when setting, saying: 'Thou art the full deliverer, deliver me fully from sin.' Thus he fully removes whatever sin he committed by day and by night. And in the same manner he who knows this, likewise adores the sun, and fully removes whatever sin he committed by day and by night.

8. Then (secondly) let him worship every month (in the year) at the time of the new moon, the moon as it is seen in the west in the same manner (as before described with regard to the sun), or let him send forth his speech toward the moon with two green blades of grass, saying: 'O thou who art mistress of immortal joy, through that gentle heart of mine which abides in the moon, may I never weep for misfortune concerning my children.'

The children of him (who thus adores the moon) do not indeed die before him. Thus it is with a man to whom a son is already born.

Now for one to whom no son is born as yet. He mutters the three *Rik* verses. 'Increase, O Soma! may vigour come to thee' (Rv. I, 91, 16; IX, 31, 4).

¹ This is one of the earliest, if not the earliest mention of the yagñopavīta, the sacred cord as worn over the left shoulder for sacrificial purposes; cf. Taitt. Brāhm. III, 10, 19, 12.

‘May milk, may food go to thee’ (Rv. I, 91, 18);
 ‘That ray which the Ādityas gladden.’

Having muttered these three *Rik* verses, he says :
 ‘Do not increase by our breath (*prāna*), by our offspring, by our cattle; he who hates us and whom we hate, increase by his breath, by his offspring, by his cattle. Thus I turn the turn of the god, I return the turn of Āditya¹.’ After these words, having raised the right arm (toward Soma), he lets it go again².

¹ This refers to movements of the arm, following the moon and the sun.

² It is extremely difficult to translate the Vedic verses which are quoted in the Upanishads. They are sometimes slightly changed on purpose (see § 11), frequently turned from their original purport by the authors of the Upanishads themselves, and then again subjected to the most fanciful interpretations by the various commentators on the Upanishads. In our paragraph (§ 8) the text followed by the commentator differs from the printed text. The commentator seems to have read : *Yat te susṭmam hrīdayam adhi kandra-masi sṛitam, tenāmṛitatvasyesāne māham pautram agham rudam.* I have translated according to the commentator, at least up to a certain point, for, as Professor Cowell remarks, there is an undercurrent in the commentator’s explanation, implying a comparison between the husband as the sun or fire, and the wife as the moon, which it would be difficult to render in an English translation. The same or a very similar verse occurs in § 10, while other modifications of it may be seen in Āsval. *Grīhya-sūtras* I, 13, 7, and elsewhere. The translation of the verses in full, of three of which the Upanishad gives the beginnings only, would be according to the commentator : ‘(O goddess of the moon) who hast obtained immortal joy through that which is a beautiful (portion of the sun) placed in the moon, and filling thy heart (with pleasure), may I never weep for misfortune concerning my children.’

Rv. I, 91, 16; IX, 31, 4. ‘O goddess of the moon, increase ! may the vigour from everywhere (from every limb of the fire or the sun) go to thee ! Help us in the attainment of food.’ Rv. I, 91, 18. ‘O goddess of the moon, may the streams of thy milk go well to our sons, those streams of milk which are invigorating, and

9. Then (thirdly) let him worship on the day of the full moon the moon as it is seen in the east in the same manner, saying: 'Thou art Soma, the king, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brâhmaṇa is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the kings (Kshatriyas); make me an eater of food by that mouth! The king is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the people (Vaisyas); make me an eater of food by that mouth! The hawk is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest the birds; make me an eater of food by that mouth! Fire is one of thy mouths; with that mouth thou eatest this world; make me an eater of food by that mouth! In thee there is the fifth mouth; with that mouth thou eatest all beings; make me an eater of food by that mouth! Do not decrease by our life, by our offspring, by our cattle; he who hates us and whom we hate, decrease by his life, by his offspring, by his cattle. Thus I turn the turn of the god, I return the turn of Âditya.' After these words, having raised the right arm, he lets it go again.

10. Next (having addressed these prayers to Soma) when being with his wife, let him stroke her

help to conquer the enemy. O Soma-goddess, increasing for immortal happiness (for the birth of a son), do thou place the highest glory (the streams of thy milk) in the sky.' 'That ray (sushumâ) which (as a woman) the Âdityas gladden, that Soma which as imperishable the imperishable Âdityas drink, may the guardian of the world (Pragâpati), Brihaspati, and king Varuṇa gladden us by it.'

The translations are made by the commentator regardless of grammar and sense: yet they command a certain authority, and must be taken into account as throwing light on the latest development of Indian mysticism.

heart, saying: 'O fair one, who hast obtained immortal joy by that which has entered thy heart through Praḡāpati, mayest thou never fall into sorrow about thy children¹.' Her children then do not die before her.

11. Next, if a man has been absent and returns home, let him smell (kiss) his son's head, saying: 'Thou springest from every limb, thou art born from the heart, thou, my son, art my self indeed, live thou a hundred harvests.' He gives him his name, saying: 'Be thou a stone, be thou an axe, be thou solid² gold; thou, my son, art light indeed, live thou a hundred harvests.' He pronounces his name. Then he embraces him, saying: 'As Praḡāpati (the lord of creatures) embraced his creatures for their welfare, thus I embrace thee,' (pronouncing his name.) Then he mutters into his right ear, saying: 'O thou, quick Maghavan, give to him' (Rv. III, 36, 10³). 'O Indra, bestow the best wishes' (Rv. II, 21, 6), thus he whispers into his left ear. Let him then thrice smell (kiss) his head, saying: 'Do not cut off (the line of our race), do not suffer. Live a hundred harvests of life; I kiss thy head, O son, with thy name.' He then thrice makes a lowing sound over his head, saying: 'I low over thee with the lowing sound of cows.'

12. Next follows the Daiva Parimara⁴, the dying around of the gods (the absorption of the two

¹ Cf. *Ārvalāyana Gr̥hya-sūtras* I, 13, 7.

² Widely scattered, everywhere desired. Comm. Professor Cowell proposes unscattered, hoarded, or unconcealed.

³ The original has *asme*, to us, not *asmai*, to him.

⁴ Cf. *Taitt. Up.* III, 10, 4; *Ait. Brāhm.* V, 28; *Colebrooke, Miscellaneous Essays* (1873), II, p. 39.

classes of gods, mentioned before, into *prāna* or Brahman). This Brahman shines forth indeed when the fire burns, and it dies when it burns not. Its splendour goes to the sun alone, the life (*prāna*, the moving principle) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the sun is seen, and it dies when it is not seen. Its splendour goes to the moon alone, the life (*prāna*) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the moon is seen, and it dies when it is not seen. Its splendour goes to the lightning alone, its life (*prāna*) to the air.

This Brahman shines forth indeed when the lightning flashes, and it dies when it flashes not. Its splendour goes to the air, and the life (*prāna*) to the air.

Thus all these deities (i. e. fire, sun, moon, lightning), having entered the air, though dead, do not vanish; and out of the very air they rise again. So much with reference to the deities (mythological). Now then with reference to the body (physiological).

13. This Brahman shines forth indeed when one speaks with speech, and it dies when one does not speak. His splendour goes to the eye alone, the life (*prāna*) to breath (*prāna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one sees with the eye, and it dies when one does not see. Its splendour goes to the ear alone, the life (*prāna*) to breath (*prāna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one hears with the ear, and it dies when one does not hear. Its splendour goes to the mind alone, the life (*prāna*) to breath (*prāna*).

This Brahman shines forth indeed when one thinks with the mind, and it dies when one does not think. Its splendour goes to the breath (*prāna*) alone, and the life (*prāna*) to breath (*prāna*).

Thus all these deities (the senses, &c.), having entered breath or life (*prāna*) alone, though dead, do not vanish ; and out of very breath (*prāna*) they rise again. And if two mountains, the southern and northern, were to move forward trying to crush him who knows this, they would not crush him. But those who hate him and those whom he hates, they die around him.

14. Next follows the *Nihsreyasādāna*¹ (the accepting of the pre-eminence of *prāna* (breath or life) by the other gods). The deities (speech, eye, ear, mind), contending with each for who was the best, went out of this body, and the body lay without breathing, withered, like a log of wood. Then speech went into it, but speaking by speech, it lay still. Then the eye went into it, but speaking by speech, and seeing by the eye, it lay still. Then the ear went into it, but speaking by speech, seeing by the eye, hearing by the ear, it lay still. Then mind went into it, but speaking by speech, seeing by the eye, hearing by the ear, thinking by the mind, it lay still. Then breath (*prāna*, life) went into it, and thence it rose at once. All these deities, having recognised the pre-eminence in *prāna*, and having comprehended *prāna* alone as the conscious self (*pragñātman*)², went out of this body with all these (five different kinds of

¹ For other versions of this story see *Kh. Up. V, 1*, note 2 ; *Ait. Ār. II, 1, 4, 9* ; *Brh. Ār. VI, 1, 1-14* ; and *Kaush. Up. III, 3*.

² Cf. *Kh. Up. VII, 15*, note.

prāna), and resting in the air (knowing that prāna had entered the air), and merged in the ether (ākāśa), they went to heaven. And in the same manner he who knows this, having recognised the pre-eminence in prāna, and having comprehended prāna alone as the conscious self (pragñātman), goes out of this body with all these (does no longer believe in this body), and resting in the air, and merged in the ether, he goes to heaven, he goes to where those gods (speech, &c.) are. And having reached this he, who knows this, becomes immortal with that immortality which those gods enjoy.

15. Next follows the father's tradition to the son, and thus they explain it¹. The father, when going to depart, calls his son, after having strewn the house with fresh grass, and having laid the sacrificial fire, and having placed near it a pot of water with a jug (full of rice), himself covered with a new cloth, and dressed in white. He places himself above his son, touching his organs with his own organs, or he may deliver the tradition to him while he sits before him. Then he delivers it to him. The father says: 'Let me place my speech in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy speech in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my scent (prāna) in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy scent in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my eye in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy eye in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my ear in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy ear in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my tastes of food in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy tastes of food in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my actions

¹ Cf. *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* I, 5, 17.

in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy actions in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my pleasure and pain in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy pleasure and pain in me.' The father says: 'Let me place happiness, joy, and offspring in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy happiness, joy, and offspring in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my walking in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy walking in me¹.' The father says: 'Let me place my mind in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy mind in me.' The father says: 'Let me place my knowledge (pragñā) in thee.' The son says: 'I take thy knowledge in me.' But if the father is very ill, he may say shortly: 'Let me place my spirits (prānas) in thee,' and the son: 'I take thy spirits in me.'

Then the son walks round his father keeping his right side towards him, and goes away. The father calls after him: 'May fame, glory of countenance, and honour always follow thee.' Then the other looks back over his left shoulder, covering himself with his hand or the hem of his garment, saying: 'Obtain the heavenly worlds (svarga) and all desires.'

If the father recovers, let him be under the authority of his son, or let him wander about (as an ascetic). But if he departs, then let them despatch him, as he ought to be despatched, yea, as he ought to be despatched².

¹ Another sâkhâ adds here dhiyaḥ, the thoughts (active), vigñâtavyam, their object, and kâ mâḥ, desires.

² I have taken samâpayati in the sense of performing the last duties towards a dead person, though I confess I know of no parallel passage in which samâpayati occurs in that sense. Professor Cowell translates: 'If he dies, then let them cause the son duly to receive the tradition, as the tradition is to be given.' The text itself varies, for the reading presupposed by the commentator is enam (putram) samâpayati, instead of enam samâpayeyuḥ.

THIRD ADHYĀYA¹.

1. Pratardana, forsooth, the son of Divodāsa (king of Kāśī), came by means of fighting and strength to the beloved abode of Indra. Indra said to him: 'Pratardana, let me give you a boon to choose.' And Pratardana answered: 'Do you yourself choose that boon for me which you deem most beneficial for a man.' Indra said to him: 'No one who chooses, chooses for another; choose thyself.' Then Pratardana replied: 'Then that boon to choose is no boon for me.'

Then, however, Indra did not swerve from the truth, for Indra is truth. Indra said to him: 'Know me only; that is what I deem most beneficial for man, that he should know me. I slew the three-headed son of *Tvashtri*; I delivered the Arunmukhas, the devotees, to the wolves (*sālāvrika*); breaking many treaties, I killed the people of Prahlāda in heaven, the people of Puloma in the sky, the people of Kāla-kañga on earth². And not one hair of me was harmed there. And he who knows me thus, by no deed of his is his life harmed, not by the murder of

¹ The object now is to explain the true Brahma-vidyā, while the first and second chapters are only introductory, treating of the worship of the couch (*paryāṅkopāsanā*) and of the worship of *prāna*.

² This refers to heroic deeds performed by Indra, as represented in the hymns of the Rig-veda. See Rig-veda V, 34, 4, and Śāyana's commentary; Ait. Brāhm. VII, 28. Weber, *Indische Studien* I, 410-418, has tried to discover an original physical meaning in the heroic deeds ascribed to Indra. A curious remark is made by the commentator, who says that the skulls of the Arunmukhas were turned into the thorns of the desert (*kaṛṣṭra*) which remain to this day,—a very common phase in popular tradition.

his mother, not by the murder of his father, not by theft, not by the killing of a Brahman. If he is going to commit a sin, the bloom¹ does not depart from his face.'

2. Indra said: 'I am *prāna*, meditate on me as the conscious self (*pragñātman*), as life, as immortality. Life is *prāna*, *prāna* is life. Immortality is *prāna*, *prāna* is immortality. As long as *prāna* dwells in this body, so long surely there is life. By *prāna* he obtains immortality in the other world, by knowledge true conception. He who meditates on me as life and immortality, gains his full life in this world, and obtains in the Svarga world immortality and indestructibility.'

(Pratardana said): 'Some maintain here, that the *prānas* become one, for (otherwise) no one could at the same time make known a name by speech, see a form with the eye, hear a sound with the ear, think a thought with the mind. After having become one, the *prānas* perceive all these together, one by one. While speech speaks, all *prānas* speak after it. While the eye sees, all *prānas* see after it. While the ear hears, all *prānas* hear after it. While the mind thinks, all *prānas* think after it. While the *prāna* breathes, all *prānas* breathe after it.'

'Thus it is indeed,' said Indra, 'but nevertheless there is a pre-eminence among the *prānas* ².

3. Man lives deprived of speech, for we see dumb people. Man lives deprived of sight, for we see

¹ Professor Cowell compares Taittirīya-Samhitā III, 1, 1, *nāśya nītam na haro vyeti*.

² *Prānās*, in the plural, is supposed to stand for the five senses as modifications of breath. It would be better if we could read *prānasya nihsreyasam*. See before, II, 14.

blind people. Man lives deprived of hearing, for we see deaf people. Man lives deprived of mind, for we see infants. Man lives deprived of his arms, deprived of his legs, for we see it thus. But *prāna* alone is the conscious self (*pragñātman*), and having laid hold of this body, it makes it rise up. Therefore it is said, Let man worship it alone as uktha¹. What is *prāna*, that is *pragñā* (self-consciousness); what is *pragñā* (self-consciousness), that is *prāna*, for together they (*pragñā* and *prāna*) live in this body, and together they go out of it. Of that, this is the evidence, this is the understanding. When a man, being thus asleep, sees no dream whatever, he becomes one with that *prāna* alone². Then speech goes to him (when he is absorbed in *prāna*) with all names, the eye with all forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he awakes, then, as from a burning fire sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that self the *prānas* (speech, &c.) proceed, each towards its place; from the *prānas* the gods (Agni, &c.), from the gods the worlds.

Of this, this is the proof, this is the understanding. When a man is thus sick, going to die, falling into weakness and faintness, they say: 'His thought has departed, he hears not, he sees not, he speaks not, he thinks not.' Then he becomes one with that *prāna* alone. Then speech goes to him (who is absorbed in *prāna*) with all names, the eye with all

¹ Uktha, hymn, is artificially derived from *ut-thāpayati*, to raise up, and hence uktha, hymn, is to be meditated on as *prāna*, breath, which likewise raises up the body. See Ait. Ār. II, 1, 15.

² He is absorbed in *prāna*. Or should it be *prānaḥ* as nominative?

forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he departs from this body, he departs together with all these ¹.

4. Speech gives up to him (who is absorbed in *prāna*) all names, so that by speech he obtains all names. The nose gives up to him all odours, so that by scent he obtains all odours. The eye gives up to him all forms, so that by the eye he obtains all forms. The ear gives up to him all sounds, so that by the ear he obtains all sounds. The mind gives up to him all thoughts, so that by the mind he obtains all thoughts. This is the complete absorption in *prāna*. And what is *prāna* is *pragñā* (self-consciousness), what is *pragñā* (self-consciousness) is *prāna*. For together do these two live in the body, and together do they depart.

Now we shall explain how all things become one in that *pragñā* (self-consciousness).

5. Speech is one portion taken out ² of *pragñā* (self-conscious knowledge), the word is its object, placed outside. The nose is one portion taken out of it, the odour is its object, placed outside. The eye is one portion taken out of it, the form is its object, placed outside. The ear is one portion taken out of it, the sound is its object, placed outside. The tongue is one portion taken out of it, the taste of food is its object, placed outside. The two hands

¹ According to another reading we might translate, 'Speech takes away all names from that body; and *prāna*, in which speech is absorbed, thus obtains all names.'

² I read *udūḥam* or *udūḥam*, instead of *adūḥam*, explained by the commentator as *adūduhat*. Professor Cowell translates, 'Speech verily milked one portion thereof,' which may have been the original purport of the writer.

are one portion taken out of it, their action is their object, placed outside. The body is one portion taken out of it, its pleasure and pain are its object, placed outside. The organ is one portion taken out of it, happiness, joy, and offspring are its object, placed outside. The two feet are one portion taken out of it, movements are their object, placed outside. Mind is one portion taken out of it, thoughts and desires are its object, placed outside.

6. Having by *pragñā* (self-conscious knowledge) taken possession of speech, he obtains by speech all words. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the nose, he obtains all odours. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the eye, he obtains all forms. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the ear, he obtains all sounds. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the tongue, he obtains all tastes of food. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the two hands, he obtains all actions. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the body, he obtains pleasure and pain. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the organ, he obtains happiness, joy, and offspring. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of the two feet, he obtains all movements. Having by *pragñā* taken possession of mind, he obtains all thoughts.

7. For without *pragñā* (self-consciousness) speech does not make known (to the self) any word¹. 'My

¹ Professor Cowell has translated a passage from the commentary which is interesting as showing that its author and the author of the Upanishad too had a clear conception of the correlative nature of knowledge. 'The organ of sense,' he says, 'cannot exist without *pragñā* (self-consciousness), nor the objects of sense be obtained without the organ, therefore—on the principle, that when one thing cannot exist without another, that thing is said to be identical with the other—as the cloth, for instance, being

mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that word.' Without *pragñā* the nose does not make known any odour. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that odour.' Without *pragñā* the eye does not make known any form. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that form.' Without *pragñā* the ear does not make known any sound. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that sound.' Without *pragñā* the tongue does not make known any taste. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that taste.' Without *pragñā* the two hands do not make known any act. 'Our mind was absent,' they say, 'we did not perceive any act.' Without *pragñā* the body does not make known pleasure or pain. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that pleasure or pain.' Without *pragñā* the organ does not make known happiness, joy, or offspring. 'My mind was absent,' he says, 'I did not perceive that happiness, joy, or offspring.' Without *pragñā* the two feet do not make known any movement. 'Our mind was absent,' they say, 'we did not perceive that movement.' Without *pragñā* no thought succeeds, nothing can be known that is to be known.

8. Let no man try to find out what speech is, let him know the speaker. Let no man try to find out what odour is, let him know him who smells. Let no man try to find out what form is, let him know the seer. Let no man try to find out what sound is, let

never perceived without the threads, is identical with them, or the (false perception of) silver being never found without the mother of pearl is identical with it, so the objects of sense being never found without the organs are identical with them, and the organs being never found without *pragñā* (self-consciousness) are identical with it.

him know the hearer. Let no man try to find out the tastes of food, let him know the knower of tastes. Let no man try to find out what action is, let him know the agent. Let no man try to find out what pleasure and pain are, let him know the knower of pleasure and pain. Let no man try to find out what happiness, joy, and offspring are, let him know the knower of happiness, joy, and offspring. Let no man try to find out what movement is, let him know the mover. Let no man try to find out what mind is, let him know the thinker. These ten objects (what is spoken, smelled, seen, &c.) have reference to *pragñā* (self-consciousness), the ten subjects (speech, the senses, mind) have reference to objects. If there were no objects, there would be no subjects; and if there were no subjects, there would be no objects. For on either side alone nothing could be achieved. But that (the self of *pragñā*, consciousness, and *prāna*, life) is not many, (but one.) For as in a car the circumference of a wheel is placed on the spokes, and the spokes on the nave, thus are these objects (circumference) placed on the subjects (spokes), and the subjects on the *prāna*. And that *prāna* (breath, the living and breathing power) indeed is the self of *pragñā* (the self-conscious self), blessed, imperishable, immortal. He does not increase by a good action, nor decrease by a bad action. For he (the self of *prāna* and *pragñā*) makes him, whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds, do a good deed; and the same makes him, whom he wishes to lead down from these worlds, do a bad deed¹. And he is the guardian of the world, he is

¹ The other text says, 'whom he wishes to draw after him; and whom he wishes to draw away from these worlds.' Rāmātrtha, in

the king of the world, he is the lord of the universe,—and he is my (Indra's) self, thus let it be known, yea, thus let it be known!

FOURTH ADHYĀYA¹.

1. There was formerly Gārgya Bālāki², famous as a man of great reading; for it was said of him that he lived among the Uśtnaras, among the Satvat-Matsyas, the Kuru-Pañśālas, the Kāśt-Videhas³. Having gone to Agātasatru, (the king) of Kāśt, he said to him: 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' Agātasatru said to him: 'We give a thousand (cows) for that speech (of yours), for verily all people run away, saying, "Ganaka (the king of Mithilā) is our father (patron)."'

2.⁴ BRĪHAD-ĀRANYAKA- KAUSHĪTAKI-BRĀHMANA-
UPANISHAD. UPANISHAD.

i. Āditye puruṣaḥ. i. Id.
atishthāḥ sarveśhām brīhat pāṇḍaravāsā

his commentary on the Mait. Up. 3, 2, quotes the text as translated above.

¹ Prāna, breath or life, has been explained in the preceding chapter. But this prāna is not yet the highest point that has to be reached. Prāna, life, even as united with prañā, consciousness, is only a covering of something else, viz. the Self, and this Highest Self has now to be explained.

² The same story is told in the Brīhad-āraṇyaka II, 1 seq., but with important variations.

³ I take iti to depend on saṃspashā, and read satvanmatsyeshu, though the commentary seems to have read so 'vasan, or sa vasan, for savasan. See Introduction, p. lxxvii.

⁴ The second paragraph forms a kind of table of contents for the discussion which is to follow. I have given instead a fuller table of contents, taken from the Brīhad-āraṇyaka II, as compared with the Kaushītaki-upanishad in its two texts. The variations of text A are given in small letters. In text B, the table of contents is given at the end of the discussion, in § 18.

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|--|---|
| bhûtânâm mûrdhâ râgâ. | (<i>pânduravâsâ</i>) atish- <i>thâh</i> sarveshâm bhûtânâm mûrdhâ. |
| ii. <i>Kandre purushah.</i> <i>brihat pândaravâsâh</i> somo râgâ. (Nâ- syânnam kshtyate, is the reward.) | ii. <i>Kandramasi.</i> somo râgâ, annasyâ- tmâ. <i>Only annasyâtmâ.</i> |
| iii. <i>Vidyuti purushah.</i> tegasvî. | iii. Id. tegasvî âtmâ. <i>satya-</i> <i>syâtmâ.</i> |
| iv. <i>Âkâse purushah.</i> pûrnam apravarti. | iii ^b . <i>stanayitnau puru-</i> <i>shah.</i> sabdasyâtmâ. iv. Id. (5) pûrnam apravarti brahma. <i>appravrittî.</i> |
| v. <i>Vâyau purushah.</i> indro vaikuntho 'pa- râgitâ senâ. | v. Id. (4) Id. |
| vi. <i>Agnau purushah.</i> <i>vishâsah.</i> | vi. Id. Id. |
| vii. <i>Apsu purushah.</i> pratirûpah. | vii. Id. nâmnasyâtmâ. <i>tegasvî</i> <i>âtmâ.</i> |
| viii. <i>Âdarse purushah.</i> <i>rokishnuh.</i> | viii. Id. pratirûpah. |
| ix. <i>Yantam paskâk khab-</i> <i>dah.</i> asuh. | viii ^b . <i>pratisrutkâyâm pu-</i> <i>rushah.</i> (9) <i>dvityo 'napagah.</i> <i>a-</i> <i>sub.</i> ix. <i>Yah sabdah purus-</i> <i>ham anveti.</i> (10) <i>sabde.</i> Id. <i>mrityuh.</i> |

- | | |
|---|---|
| x. Dikshu purushah. dvitīyo 'napagah. | x. Deest. |
| xi. Khâyâmayah puru- shah. mrityuh. | x. Khâyâpurushah. (8 ^b) khâyâydm. Id. dvitīyo 'napagah. |
| xii. Âtmani purushah. âtmanvi. | xi. Sârtrah purushah. (12) sartré purushah. pragâpatih. |
| | xii. Yah prâgña âtmâ, yenaitat suptah svapnayâ karati. Yamo râgâ. (11) puru- shah svapnayâ karati yamo râgâ. |
| | xiii. Dakshine 'kshan pu- rushah. nâamna (vâka) âtmâ, agner âtmâ, gyoti- sha âtmâ. |
| | xiv. Savye 'kshan puru- shah. satyasyâtmâ, vidyuta âtmâ, tegasa âtmâ. |

3. Bâlâki said : ' The person that is in the sun, on him I meditate (as Brahman).'

Agâtasatru said to him : ' No, no! do not challenge me (to a disputation) on this ¹. I meditate on him who is called great, clad in white raiment ², the supreme, the head of all beings. Whoso meditates

¹ The king means to say that he knows this already, and that he can mention not only the predicates of the person in the sun thus meditated on as Brahman, but also the rewards of such meditation.

² This is properly a predicate of the moon, and used as such in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka-upanishad*, in the second paragraph of the dialogue.

on him thus, becomes supreme, and the head of all beings.'

4. Bālâki said: 'The person that is in the moon, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Soma, the king, the self, (source) of all food. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self, (source) of all food.'

5. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the lightning, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self in light. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self in light.'

6. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the thunder, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of sound¹. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self of sound.'

7. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the ether, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the full, quiescent Brahman. Whoso meditates on him thus, is filled with offspring and cattle. Neither he himself nor his offspring dies before the time.'

8. Bâlâki said: 'The person that is in the air, on him I meditate.'

Agâtasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Indra Vaikuntha, as the unconquerable army. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes victorious, unconquerable, conquering his enemies.'

¹ This is not mentioned in the *Bṛihad-âraṇyaka*.

9. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the fire, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as powerful. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes powerful among others¹.'

10. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the water, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the name. Whoso meditates on him thus, becomes the self of the name.' So far with regard to deities (mythological); now with regard to the body (physiological).

11. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the mirror, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the likeness. Whoso meditates on him thus, to him a son is born in his family who is his likeness, not one who is not his likeness.'

12. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the echo, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the second, who never goes away. Whoso meditates on him thus, he gets a second from his second (his wife), he becomes doubled².'

13. Bālāki said: 'The sound that follows a man, on that I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on

¹ Instead of anyeshu, the second text, as printed by Professor Cowell, has anv esha.

² This paragraph does not occur in the *Bṛihad-Āraṇyaka*.

this. I meditate on him as life. Whoso meditates on him thus, neither he himself nor his offspring will faint before the time.'

14. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the shadow, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as death. Whoso meditates on him thus, neither he himself nor his offspring will die before the time.'

15. Bālāki said: 'The person that is embodied, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Lord of creatures. Whoso meditates on him thus, is multiplied in offspring and cattle.'

16. Bālāki said: 'The Self which is conscious (prāgña), and by whom he who sleeps here, walks about in sleep, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as Yama the king. Whoso meditates on him thus, everything is subdued for his excellencies.'

17. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the right eye, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the name, as the self of fire, as the self of splendour. Whoso meditates on him thus, he becomes the self of these.'

18. Bālāki said: 'The person that is in the left eye, on him I meditate.'

Agātasatru said to him: 'Do not challenge me on this. I meditate on him as the self of the true, as the self of lightning, as the self of light. Whoso

meditates on him thus, he becomes the self of these.'

19. After this Bâlâki became silent. Agâtasatru said to him: 'Thus far only (do you know), O Bâlâki?' 'Thus far only,' replied Bâlâki.

Then Agâtasatru said to him: 'Vainly did you challenge me, saying: 'Shall I tell you Brahman? O Bâlâki, he who is the maker of those persons (whom you mentioned), he of whom all this is the work, he alone is to be known.'

Thereupon Bâlâki came, carrying fuel in his hand, saying: 'May I come to you as a pupil?' Agâtasatru said to him: 'I deem it improper that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brâhmaṇa. Come, I shall make you know clearly.' Then taking him by the hand, he went forth. And the two together came to a person who was asleep. And Agâtasatru called him, saying: 'Thou great one, clad in white raiment, Soma, King¹.' But he remained lying. Then he pushed him with a stick, and he rose at once. Then said Agâtasatru to him: 'Bâlâki, where did this person here sleep? Where was he? Whence came he thus back?' Bâlâki did not know.

20. And Agâtasatru said to him: 'Where this person here slept, where he was, whence he thus came back, is this: The arteries of the heart called Hita extend from the heart of the person towards the surrounding body. Small as a hair divided a thousand times, they stand full of a thin fluid of various colours, white, black, yellow, red. In these the person is when sleeping he sees no dream.

¹ See § 3 init.

Then he becomes one with that *prâna* alone. Then speech goes to him with all names, the eye with all forms, the ear with all sounds, the mind with all thoughts. And when he awakes, then, as from a burning fire, sparks proceed in all directions, thus from that self the *prânas* (speech, &c.) proceed, each towards its place, from the *prânas* the gods, from the gods the worlds. And as a razor might be fitted in a razor-case, or as fire in the fire-place (the *arâni* on the altar), even thus this conscious self enters the self of the body (considers the body as himself) to the very hairs and nails. And the other selves (such as speech, &c.) follow that self, as his people follow the master of the house. And as the master feeds with his people, nay, as his people feed on the master, thus does this conscious self feed with the other selves, as a master with his people, and the other selves follow him, as his people follow the master. So long as Indra did not understand that self, the Asuras conquered him. When he understood it, he conquered the Asuras and obtained the pre-eminence among all gods, sovereignty, supremacy. And thus also he who knows this obtains pre-eminence among all beings, sovereignty, supremacy,—yea, he who knows this.

VÂGASANEYI-SAMHITÂ-
UPANISHAD,

SOMETIMES CALLED

ÎSÂVÂSYA OR ÎSÂ-
UPANISHAD.

VÂGASANĒYI-SAMHITÂ- UPANISHAD.

1. ALL this, whatsoever moves on earth, is to be hidden in the Lord (the Self). When thou hast surrendered all this, then thou mayest enjoy. Do not covet the wealth of any man!

2. Though a man may wish to live a hundred years, performing works, it will be thus with him; but not in any other way: work will thus not cling to a man.

3. There are the worlds of the Asuras¹ covered with blind darkness. Those who have destroyed their self (who perform works, without having arrived at a knowledge of the true Self), go after death to those worlds.

4. That one (the Self), though never stirring, is swifter than thought. The Devas (senses) never reached it, it walked² before them. Though standing still, it overtakes the others who are running. Mâtariśvan (the wind, the moving spirit) bestows powers³ on it.

¹ Asuryà, Vâg. Samhitâ; asûryâ, Upan. Asuryà in the Upanishads in the sense of belonging to the Asuras, i. e. gods, is exceptional. I should prefer asûryâ, sunless, as we find asûryé tâmasi in the Rig-veda, V, 32, 6.

² Pûrvam arśat, Vâg. Samh.; pûrvam arśat, Upan. Mahîdhara suggests also arśat as a contraction of a-rīśat, not perishing.

³ Apas is explained by karmâni, acts, in which case it would be meant for âpas, opus. But the Vâg. Samhitâ accentuates âpas, i. e.

5. It stirs and it stirs not ; it is far, and likewise near¹. It is inside of all this, and it is outside of all this.

6. And he who beholds all beings in the Self, and the Self in all beings, he never turns away from it².

7. When to a man who understands, the Self has become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?

8. He³ (the Self) encircled all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil ; a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years.

9. All who worship what is not real knowledge (good works), enter into blind darkness : those who delight in real knowledge, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

10. One thing, they say, is obtained from real knowledge ; another, they say, from what is not knowledge. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this⁴.

11. He who knows at the same time both knowledge and not-knowledge, overcomes death through not-knowledge, and obtains immortality through knowledge.

12. All who worship what is not the true cause,

aquas, and Ānandagiri explains that water stands for acts, because most sacrificial acts are performed with water.

¹ Tad v antike, Vāg. Samh. ; tadvad antike, Upan.

² Viñikitsati, Vāg. Samh. ; vigugupsate, Upan.

³ Sañkara takes the subject to be the Self, and explains the neuter adjectives as masculines. Mahīdhara takes the subject to be the man who has acquired a knowledge of the Self, and who reaches the bright, incorporeal Brahman, &c. Mahīdhara, however, likewise allows the former explanation.

⁴ Cf. Talavak. Up. I, 4 ; vidyâyâh, avidyâyâh, Vāg. Samh. ; vidyayâ, avidyayâ, Upan.

enter into blind darkness : those who delight in the true cause, enter, as it were, into greater darkness.

13. One thing, they say, is obtained from (knowledge of) the cause ; another, they say, from (knowledge of) what is not the cause. Thus we have heard from the wise who taught us this.

14. He who knows at the same time both the cause and the destruction (the perishable body), overcomes death by destruction (the perishable body), and obtains immortality through (knowledge of) the true cause.

15. The door of the True is covered with a golden disk¹. Open that, O Pûshan, that we may see the nature of the True².

16. O Pûshan, only seer, Yama (judge), Sûrya (sun), son of Pragâpati, spread thy rays and gather them ! The light which is thy fairest form, I see it. I am what He is (viz. the person in the sun)³.

17. Breath⁴ to air, and to the immortal ! Then this my body ends in ashes. Om ! Mind, remember ! Remember thy deeds ! Mind, remember ! Remember thy deeds⁵ !

18. Agni, lead us on to wealth (beatitude) by a good path, thou, O God, who knowest all things !

¹ Mahîdhara on verse 17 : 'The face of the true (purusha in the sun) is covered by a golden disk.'

² Cf. Maitr. Up. VI, 35.

³ Asau purusha^h should probably be omitted.

⁴ These lines are supposed to be uttered by a man in the hour of death.

⁵ The Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ reads : Om, krato smara, k/ibe smara, *kritam* smara. Uvâfa holds that Agni, fire, who has been worshipped in youth and manhood, is here invoked in the form of mind, or that kratu is meant for sacrifice. 'Agni, remember me ! Think of the world ! Remember my deeds !'

Keep far from us crooked evil, and we shall offer thee the fullest praise! (Rv. I, 189, 1.)

This Upanishad, though apparently simple and intelligible, is in reality one of the most difficult to understand properly. Coming at the end of the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā, in which the sacrifices and the hymns to be used by the officiating priests have been described, it begins by declaring that all has to be surrendered to the Lord. The name *Is, lord*, is peculiar, as having a far more personal colouring than *Ātman*, *Self*, or *Brahman*, the usual names given by the Upanishads to what is the object of the highest knowledge.

Next follows a permission to continue the performance of sacrifices, provided that all desires have been surrendered. And here occurs our first difficulty, which has perplexed ancient as well as modern commentators.

I shall try, first of all, to justify my own translation. I hold that the Upanishad wishes to teach the uselessness by themselves of all good works, whether we call them sacrificial, legal, or moral, and yet, at the same time, to recognise, if not the necessity, at least the harmlessness of good works, provided they are performed without any selfish motives, without any desire of reward, but simply as a preparation for higher knowledge, as a means, in fact, of subduing all passions, and producing that serenity of mind without which man is incapable of receiving the highest knowledge. From that point of view the Upanishad may well say, Let a man wish to live here his appointed time, let him even perform all works. If only he knows that all must be surrendered to the Lord, then the work done by him will not cling to him. It will not work on and produce effect after effect, nor will it involve him in a succession of new births in which to enjoy the reward of his works, but it will leave him free to enjoy the blessings of the highest knowledge. It will have served as a preparation for that higher knowledge which the Upanishad imparts, and which secures freedom from further births.

The expression '*na karma lipyate nare*' seems to me to admit of this one explanation only, viz. that work done does not cling to man, provided he has acquired the highest knowledge. Similar expressions occur again and again. *Lip* was, no doubt, used originally of evil deeds which became, as it were, engrained in man; but afterwards of all work, even of good work, if done with a desire of reward. The doctrine of the Upanishads is throughout that orthodoxy and sacrifice can procure a limited beatitude only,

and that they are a hindrance to real salvation, which can be obtained by knowledge alone. In our passage therefore we can recognise one meaning only, viz. that work does not cling to man or stain him, if only he knows, i. e. if he has been enlightened by the Upanishad.

Saṅkara, in his commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras III, 4, 7; 13; 14, takes the same view of this passage. The opponent of Bādarāyana, in this case, Gaimini himself, maintains that karma, work, is indispensable to knowledge, and among other arguments, he says, III, 4, 7, that it is so 'Niyamāt,' 'Because it is so laid down by the law.' The passage here referred to is, according to Saṅkara, our very verse, which, he thinks, should be translated as follows: 'Let a man wish to live a hundred years here (in this body) performing works; thus will an evil deed not cling to thee, while thou art a man; there is no other way but this by which to escape the influence of works.' In answer to this, Bādarāyana says, first of all, III, 4, 13, that this rule may refer to all men in general, and not to one who knows; or, III, 4, 14, if it refers to a man who knows, that then the permission to perform works is only intended to exalt the value of knowledge, the meaning being that even to a man who performs sacrifices all his life, work does not cling, if only he knows;—such being the power of knowledge.

The same Saṅkara, however, who here sees quite clearly that this verse refers to a man who knows, explains it in the Upanishad as referring to a man who does not know (*itarasyānātmagñatayāt-magrahaṇāsaktasya*). It would then mean: 'Let such a one, while performing works here on earth, wish to live a hundred years. In this manner there is no other way for him but this (the performance of sacrifices), so that an evil deed should not be engrained, or so that he should not be stained by such a deed.' The first and second verses of the Upanishad would thus represent the two paths of life, that of knowledge and that of works, and the following verses would explain the rewards assigned to each.

Mahādhara, in his commentary on the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā, steers at first a middle course. He would translate: 'Let one who performs the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, without any desire of reward, wish to live here a hundred years. If thou do so, there will be salvation for thee, not otherwise. There are many roads that lead to heaven, but one only leading to salvation, namely, performance of good works, without any desire of reward, which produces a pure heart. Work thus done, merely as a preparation for salvation, does not cling to man, i. e. it produces a pure heart, but does not

entail any further consequences.' So far he agrees with Uvata's explanation¹. He allows, however, another explanation also, so that the second line would convey the meaning: 'If a man lives thus (performing good works), then there is no other way by which an evil deed should not be engrained; i. e. in order to escape the power of sin, he must all his life perform sacred acts.'

Next follows a description of the lot of those who, immersed in works, have not arrived at the highest knowledge, and have not recovered their true self in the Highest Self, or Brahman. That Brahman, though the name is not used here, is then described, and salvation is promised to the man who beholds all things in the Self and the Self in all things.

The verses 9-14 are again full of difficulty, not so much in themselves as in their relation to the general system of thought which prevails in the Upanishads, and forms the foundation of the Vedānta philosophy. The commentators vary considerably in their interpretations. Sankara explains avidyā, not-knowledge, by good works, particularly sacrifice, performed with a hope of reward; vidyā, or knowledge, by a knowledge of the gods, but not, as yet, of the highest Brahman. The former is generally supposed to lead the sacrificer to the *pitṛloka*, the world of the fathers, from whence he returns to a series of new births; the latter to the *devaloka*, the world of the gods, from whence he may either proceed to Brahman, or enter upon a new round of existences. The question then arises, how in our passage the former could be said to lead to blind darkness, the latter to still greater darkness. But for that statement, I have no doubt that all the commentators would, as usual, have taken vidyā for the knowledge of the Highest Brahman, and avidyā for orthodox belief in the gods and good works, the former securing immortality in the sense of freedom from new births, while the reward of the latter is blessedness in heaven for a limited period, but without freedom from new births.

This antithesis between vidyā and avidyā seems to me so firmly established that I cannot bring myself to surrender it here. Though this Upanishad has its own very peculiar character, yet its object is, after all, to impart a knowledge of the Highest Self, and not to inculcate merely a difference between faith in the ordinary gods and good works. It was distinctly said before (ver. 3), that those who have destroyed their self, i. e. who perform works only,

¹ Uvata explains *gigīshivishet* for *gigīvishet* as a *purushavyatayaḥ*.

and have not arrived at a knowledge of the true Self, go to the worlds of the Asuras, which are covered with blind darkness. If then the same blind darkness is said in verse 9 to be the lot of those who worship not-knowledge, this can only mean those who have not discovered the true Self, but are satisfied with the performance of good works. And if those who perform good works are opposed to others who delight in true knowledge, that knowledge can be the knowledge of the true Self only.

The difficulty therefore which has perplexed Śaṅkara is this, how, while the orthodox believer is said to enter into blind darkness, the true disciple, who has acquired a knowledge of the true Self, could be said to enter into still greater darkness. While Śaṅkara in this case seems hardly to have caught the drift of the Upanishad, Uvaṭa and Mahādhara propose an explanation which is far more satisfactory. They perceive that the chief stress must be laid on the words *ubhayam saha*, 'both together,' in verses 11 and 14. The doctrine of certain Vedānta philosophers was that works, though they cannot by themselves lead to salvation, are useful as a preparation for the highest knowledge, and that those who imagine that they can attain the highest knowledge without such previous preparation, are utterly mistaken. From this point of view therefore the author of the Upanishad might well say that those who give themselves to what is not knowledge, i. e. to sacrificial and other good works, enter into darkness, but that those who delight altogether in knowledge, despising the previous discipline of works, deceive themselves and enter into still greater darkness.

Then follows the next verse, simply stating that, according to the teaching of wise people, the reward of knowledge is one thing, the reward of ignorance, i. e. trust in sacrifice, another. Here Mahādhara is right again by assigning the *pitṛloka*, the world of the fathers, as the reward of the ignorant; the *devaloka*, the world of the gods, as the reward of the enlightened, provided that from the world of the gods they pass on to the knowledge of the Highest Self or Brahman.

The third verse contains the strongest confirmation of Mahādhara's view. Here it is laid down distinctly that he only who knows both together, both what is called ignorance and what is called knowledge, can be saved, because by good works he overcomes death, here explained by natural works, and by knowledge he obtains the Immortal, here explained by oneness with the gods, the last step that leads on to oneness with Brahman.

Uvaṭa, who takes the same view of these verses, explains at once,

and even more boldly than Mahīdhara¹, vidyā, or knowledge, by brahmavignāna, knowledge of Brahman, which by itself, and if not preceded by works, leads to even greater darkness than what is called ignorance, i. e. sacrifice and orthodoxy without knowledge.

The three corresponding verses, treating of sambhūti and asambhūti instead of vidyā and avidyā, stand first in the Vāgasaneyi-samhitā. They must necessarily be explained in accordance with our explanation of the former verses, i. e. sambhūti must correspond to vidyā, it must be meant for the true cause, i. e. for Brahman, while asambhūti must correspond with avidyā, as a name of what is not real, but phenomenal only and perishable.

Mahīdhara thinks that these verses refer to the Bauddhas, which can hardly be admitted, unless we take Buddhist in a very general sense. Uvāta puts the Lokāyatas in their place². It is curious also to observe that Mahīdhara, following Uvāta, explains asambhūti at first by the denial of the resurrection of the body, while he takes sambhūti rightly for Brahman. I have chiefly followed Uvāta's commentary, except in his first explanation of asambhūti, resurrection³. In what follows Uvāta explains sambhūti rightly by the only cause of the origin of the whole world, i. e. Brahman⁴, while he takes vināsa, destruction, as a name of the perishable body⁵.

Sāṅkara sees much more in these three verses than Uvāta. He takes asambhūti as a name of Prakṛiti, the undeveloped cause, sambhūti as a name of the phenomenal Brahman or Hiranyagarbha. From a worship of the latter a man obtains supernatural powers, from devotion to the former, absorption in Prakṛiti.

Mahīdhara also takes a similar view, and he allows, like Sāṅkara, another reading, viz. sambhūtim avināsam ka, and avināsenam mṛityum tīrtvā. In this case the sense would be: 'He who knows the worship both of the developed and the undeveloped, overcomes

¹ Mahīdhara decides in the end that vidyā and amṛitam must here be taken in a limited or relative sense, tasmād vidyopāsanā-mṛitam kṛāpekshikam iti dik, and so agrees on the whole with Sāṅkara, pp. 25-27.

² Shad anushubhaḥ, lokāyatikāḥ prastūyante yeshām etad darsanam.

³ Mṛitasya sataḥ punaḥ sambhavo nāsti, ataḥ sarīragrahaṇād asmākam muktir eva.

⁴ Samastasya gataḥ sambhavaikahetu brahma.

⁵ Vināsam vināsi ka vapuḥ sarīram.

death, i. e. such evil as sin, passion, &c., through worship of the undeveloped, while he obtains through worship of the developed, i. e. of Hiraṇyagarbha, immortality, absorption in Prakṛiti.'

All these forced explanations to which the commentators have recourse, arise from the shifting views held by various authorities with regard to the value of works. Our Upanishad seems to me to propound the doctrine that works, though in themselves useless, or even mischievous, if performed with a view to any present or future rewards, are necessary as a preparatory discipline. This is or was for a long time the orthodox view. Each man was required to pass through the āśramas, or stages of student and householder, before he was admitted to the freedom of a Sannyâsin. As on a ladder, no step was to be skipped. Those who attempted to do so, were considered to have broken the old law, and in some respects they may indeed be looked upon as the true precursors of the Buddhists.

Nevertheless the opposite doctrine, that a man whose mind had become enlightened, might at once drop the fetters of the law, without performing all the tedious duties of student and householder, had strong supporters too among orthodox philosophers. Cases of such rapid conversion occur in the ancient traditions, and Bâdarâyana himself was obliged to admit the possibility of freedom and salvation without works, though maintaining the superiority of the usual course, which led on gradually from works to enlightenment and salvation¹. It was from an unwillingness to assent to the decided teaching of the Īśâ-upanishad that Saṅkara attempted to explain vidyâ, knowledge, in a limited sense, as knowledge of the gods, and not yet knowledge of Brahman. He would not admit that knowledge without works could lead to darkness, and even to greater darkness than works without knowledge. Our Upanishad seems to have dreaded libertinism, knowledge without works, more even than ritualism, works without knowledge, and its true object was to show that orthodoxy and sacrifice, though useless in themselves, must always form the preparation for higher enlightenment.

How misleading Saṅkara's explanation may prove, we can see from the translation of this Upanishad by Rammohun Roy. He followed Saṅkara implicitly, and this is the sense which he drew from the text:—

'9. Those observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors,

¹ Vedânta-sûtras III, 4, 36-39.

to men, and to other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark region : and those practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker than the former.

‘ 10. It is said that adoration of the celestial gods produces one consequence ; and that the performance of the worship of sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, produce another : thus have we heard from learned men, who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

‘ 11. Of those observers of ceremonies whosoever, knowing that adoration of celestial gods, as well as the worship of the sacred fire, and oblation to sages, to ancestors, to men, and to other creatures, should be observed alike by the same individual, performs them both, will, by means of the latter, surmount the obstacles presented by natural temptations, and will attain the state of the celestial gods through the practice of the former.

‘ 12. Those observers of religious rites who worship Prakṛti alone (Prakṛti or nature, who, though insensible, influenced by the Supreme Spirit, operates throughout the universe) shall enter into the dark region : and those practisers of religious ceremonies that are devoted to worship solely the prior operating sensitive particle, allegorically called Brahmá, shall enter into a region much more dark than the former.

‘ 13. It is said that one consequence may be attained by the worship of Brahmá, and another by the adoration of Prakṛti. Thus have we heard from learned men, who have distinctly explained the subject to us.

‘ 14. Of those observers of ceremonies, whatever person, knowing that the adoration of Prakṛti and that of Brahmá should be together observed by the same individual, performs them both, will by means of the latter overcome indigence, and will attain the state of Prakṛti, through the practice of the former.’

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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST

[2]

HENRY FROWDE, M.A.

PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



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THE
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BY VARIOUS ORIENTAL SCHOLARS

AND EDITED BY

F. MAX MÜLLER

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THE
SACRED LAWS OF THE ÂRYAS

AS TAUGHT IN THE SCHOOLS OF

ÂPASTAMBA, GAUTAMA, VÂSISHTHA,
AND BAUDHÂYANA

TRANSLATED BY

GEORG BÜHLER

PART I

ÂPASTAMBA AND GAUTAMA

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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INTRODUCTION

TO

ÂPASTAMBA.

FOR all students of Sanskrit philology and Indian history Âpastamba's aphorisms on the sacred law of the Âryan Hindus possess a special interest beyond that attaching to other works of the same class. Their discovery enabled Professor Max Müller, forty-seven years ago, to dispose finally of the Brahmanical legend according to which Hindu society was supposed to be governed by the codes of ancient sages, compiled for the express purpose of tying down each individual to his station, and of strictly regulating even the smallest acts of his daily life¹. It enabled

¹ Max Müller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 133 seq.

The following letter, addressed to the late W. H. Morley, and published by him in his Digest of Indian Cases, 1850, may be of interest as connected with the first discovery of the Âpastamba-sûtras :—

9, Park Place, Oxford, July 29, 1849.

MY DEAR MORLEY,—I have been looking again at the law literature, in order to write you a note on the sources of Manu. I have treated the subject fully in my introduction to the Veda, where I have given an outline of the different periods of Vaidik literature, and analysed the peculiarities in the style and language of each class of Vaidik works. What I consider to be the sources of the Mânava-dharma-sâstra, the so-called Laws of Manu, are the Sûtras. These are works which presuppose the development of the prose literature of the Brâhmanas (like the Aitareya-brâhmana, Taittiriya-brâhmana, &c.) These Brâhmanas, again, presuppose, not only the existence, but the collection and arrangement of the old hymns of the four Samhitâs. The Sûtras are therefore later than both these classes of Vaidik works, but they must be considered as belonging to the Vaidik period of literature, not only on account of their intimate connection with Vaidik subjects, but also because they still exhibit the irregularities of the old Vaidik language. They form indeed the last branch of Vaidik literature; and it will perhaps be possible to fix some of these works chronologically, as they are contemporary with the first spreading of Buddhism in India.

Again, in the whole of Vaidik literature there is no work written (like the Mânava-dharma-sâstra) in the regular epic Sloka, and the continuous employment of this metre is a characteristic mark of post-Vaidik writings.

One of the principal classes of Sûtras is known by the name of Kalpa-sûtras,

him not only to arrive at this negative result, but also to substitute a sounder theory the truth of which subsequent investigations have further confirmed, and to show that the sacred law of the Hindus has its source in the teaching of the Vedic schools, and that the so-called revealed law codes are, in most cases, but improved metrical editions of older

or rules of ceremonies. These are avowedly composed by human authors, while, according to Indian orthodox theology, both the hymns and *Brāhmaṇas* are to be considered as revelation. The *Sūtras* generally bear the name of their authors, like the *Sūtras* of *Ārvalāyana*, *Kātyāyana*, &c., or the name of the family to which the *Sūtras* belonged. The great number of these writings is to be accounted for by the fact that there was not one body of *Kalpa-sūtras* binding on all Brahmanic families, but that different old families had each their own *Kalpa-sūtras*. These works are still very frequent in our libraries, yet there is no doubt that many of them have been lost. *Sūtras* are quoted which do not exist in Europe, and the loss of some is acknowledged by the Brahmins themselves. There are, however, lists of the old Brahmanic families which were in possession of their own redaction of Vaidik hymns (*Samhitās*), of *Brāhmaṇas*, and of *Sūtras*. Some of these families followed the *Rig-veda*, some the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sāma-veda*, and *Atharva-veda*; and thus the whole Vaidik literature becomes divided into four great classes of *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras*, belonging to one or the other of the four principal Vedas.

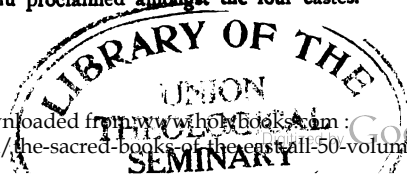
Now one of the families following the *Yagur-veda* was that of the *Mānavas* (cf. *Karavyūha*). There can be no doubt that that family, too, had its own *Sūtras*. Quotations from *Mānava-sūtras* are to be met with in commentaries on other *Sūtras*; and I have found, not long ago, a MS. which contains the text of the *Mānava-srauta-sūtras*, though in a very fragmentary state. But these *Sūtras*, the *Srauta-sūtras*, treat only of a certain branch of ceremonies connected with the great sacrifices. Complete *Sūtra* works are divided into three parts: 1. the first (*Srauta*), treating on the great sacrifices; 2. the second (*Gṛhya*), treating on the *Saṃskāras*, or the purificatory sacraments; 3. the third (*Sāmavāyārika* or *Dharma-sūtras*), treating on temporal duties, customs, and punishments. The last two classes of *Sūtras* seem to be lost in the *Mānava-sūtra*. This loss is, however, not so great with regard to tracing the sources of the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, because whenever we have an opportunity of comparing *Sūtras* belonging to different families, but following the same *Veda*, and treating on the same subjects, the differences appear to be very slight, and only refer to less important niceties of the ceremonial. In the absence, therefore, of the *Mānava-sāmavāyārika-sūtras*, I have taken another collection of *Sūtras*, equally belonging to the *Yagur-veda*, the *Sūtras* of *Āpastamba*. In his family we have not only a *Brāhmaṇa*, but also *Āpastamba Srauta*, *Gṛhya*, and *Sāmavāyārika-sūtras*. Now it is, of course, the third class of *Sūtras*, on temporal duties, which are most likely to contain the sources of the later metrical Codes of Law, written in the classical *Sloka*. On a comparison of different subjects, such as the duties of a *Brahmaṭārin*, a *Gṛhastha*, laws of inheritance, duties of a king, forbidden fruit, &c., I find that the *Sūtras* contain generally almost the same words which have been brought into verse by the compiler of the *Mānava-*

prose works which latter, in the first instance, were destined to be committed to memory by the young Āryan students, and to teach them their duties. This circumstance, as well as the fact that Āpastamba's work is free from any suspicion of having been tampered with by sectarians or modern editors, and that its intimate connection with the manuals teaching the performance of the great and small sacrifices, the *Srauta* and *Gr̥ihya-sūtras*, which are attributed to the same author, is perfectly clear and indisputable, entitle it, in spite of its comparatively late origin, to the first place in a collection of *Dharma-sūtras*.

The Āpastambīya *Dharma-sūtra* forms part of an enormous *Kalpa-sūtra* or body of aphorisms, which digests the teaching of the *Veda* and of the ancient *R̥ishis* regarding the performance of sacrifices and the duties of twice-born men, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kshatriyas*, and *Vaiśyas*, and which, being chiefly based on the second of the four *Vedas*, the *Yagur-veda* in the *Taittirīya* recension, is primarily intended for the benefit of the *Adhvaryu* priests in whose families the study of the *Yagur-veda* is hereditary.

The entire *Kalpa-sūtra* of Āpastamba is divided into

dharma-sāstra. I consider, therefore, the *Sūtras* as the principal source of the metrical *Smṛitis*, such as the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, *Yāgyavalkya-dharma-sāstra*, &c., though there are also many other verses in these works which may be traced to different sources. They are paraphrases of verses of the *Samhitās*, or of passages of the *Brāhmaṇas*, often retaining the same old words and archaic constructions which were in the original. This is indeed acknowledged by the author of the *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, when he says (B. II, v. 6), 'The roots of the Law are the whole *Veda* (*Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*), the customs and traditions of those who knew the *Veda* (as laid down in the *Sūtras*), the conduct of good men, and one's own satisfaction.' The *Mānava-dharma-sāstra* may thus be considered as the last redaction of the laws of the *Mānavas*. Quite different is the question as to the old *Manu* from whom the family probably derived its origin, and who is said to have been the author of some very characteristic hymns in the *Rig-veda-samhitā*. He certainly cannot be considered as the author of a *Mānava-dharma-sāstra*, nor is there even any reason to suppose the author of this work to have had the same name. It is evident that the author of the metrical Code of Laws speaks of the old *Manu* as of a person different from himself, when he says (B. X, v. 63), 'Not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, to keep the body clean, and to restrain the senses, this was the short law which *Manu* proclaimed amongst the four castes.'—
Yours truly, M. M.



thirty sections, called *Prasnas*, literally questions¹. The first twenty-four of these teach the performance of the so-called *Srauta* or *Vaitānika* sacrifices, for which several sacred fires are required, beginning with the simplest rites, the new and full moon offerings, and ending with the complicated *Sattras* or sacrificial sessions, which last a whole year or even longer². The twenty-fifth *Prasna* contains the *Paribhāshās* or general rules of interpretation³, which are valid for the whole *Kalpa-sūtra*, the *Pravara-khanda*, the chapter enumerating the patriarchs of the various Brahmanical tribes, and finally the *Hotraka*, prayers to be recited by the *Hotraka* priests. The twenty-sixth section gives the *Mantras* or Vedic prayers and formulas for the *Gr̥hya* rites, the ceremonies for which the sacred domestic or *Gr̥hya* fire is required, and the twenty-seventh the rules for the performance of the latter⁴. The aphorisms on the sacred law fill the next two *Prasnas*; and the *Sulva-sūtra*⁵, teaching the geometrical principles, according to which the altars necessary for the *Srauta* sacrifices must be constructed, concludes the work with the thirtieth *Prasna*.

The position of the *Dharma-sūtra* in the middle of the collection at once raises the presumption that it originally formed an integral portion of the body of *Sūtras* and that it is not a later addition. Had it been added later, it would either stand at the end of the thirty *Prasnas* or altogether outside the collection, as is the case with some other treatises attributed to *Āpastamba*⁶. The Hindus are, no doubt, unscrupulous in adding to the works of famous teachers. But such additions, if of considerable extent, are usually not embodied in the works themselves which they are intended to supplement. They are mostly given

¹ Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, I, 5 seq.

² The *Srauta-sūtra*, Pr. I–XV, has been edited by Professor R. Garbe in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and the remainder is in the press.

³ See Professor Max Müller's Translation in S. B. E., vol. xxx.

⁴ The *Gr̥hya-sūtra* has been edited by Dr. Winternitz, Vienna, 1887.

⁵ On the *Sulva-sūtras* see G. Thibaut in 'the *Pandit*,' 1875, p. 292.

⁶ Burnell, loc. cit.

as *śeshas* or *pariśiṣṭas*, tacked on at the end, and generally marked as such in the MSS.

In the case of the *Āpastamba Dharma-sūtra* it is, however, not necessary to rely on its position alone, in order to ascertain its genuineness. There are unmistakable indications that it is the work of the same author who wrote the remainder of the *Kalpa-sūtra*. One important argument in favour of this view is furnished by the fact that *Prasna XXVII*, the section on the *Gṛihya* ceremonies, has evidently been made very short and concise with the intention of saving matter for the subsequent sections on the sacred law. The *Āpastambīya Gṛihya-sūtra* contains nothing beyond a bare outline of the domestic ceremonies, while most of the other *Gṛihya-sūtras*, e. g. those of *Āsvalāyana*, *Sāṅkhāyana*, *Gobhila*, and *Pāraskara*, include a great many rules which bear indirectly only on the performance of the offerings in the sacred domestic fire. Thus on the occasion of the description of the initiation of *Āryan* students, *Āsvalāyana* inserts directions regarding the dress and girdle to be worn, the length of the student-ship, the manner of begging, the disposal of the alms collected, and other similar questions¹. The exclusion of such incidental remarks on subjects that are not immediately connected with the chief aim of the work, is almost complete in *Āpastamba's Gṛihya-sūtra*, and reduces its size to less than one half of the extent of the shorter ones among the works enumerated above. It seems impossible to explain this restriction of the scope of *Prasna XXVII* otherwise than by assuming that *Āpastamba* wished to reserve all rules bearing rather on the duties of men than on the performance of the domestic offerings, for his sections on the sacred law.

A second and no less important argument for the unity of the whole *Kalpa-sūtra* may be drawn from the cross-references which occur in several *Prasnas*. In the *Dharma-sūtra* we find that on various occasions, where the performance

¹ *Āsvalāyana Gṛihya-sūtra* I, 19, ed. Stenzler.

of a ceremony is prescribed, the expressions *yathoktam*, 'as has been stated,' *yathopadesam*, 'according to the injunction,' or *yathâ purastât*, 'as above,' are added. In four of these passages, Dh. I, 1, 4, 16; II, 2, 3, 17; 2, 5, 4; and 7, 17, 16, the *Grîhya-sûtra* is doubtlessly referred to, and the commentator Haradatta has pointed out this fact. On the other hand, the *Grîhya-sûtra* refers to the *Dharma-sûtra*, employing the same expressions which have been quoted from the latter. Thus we read in the beginning of the chapter on funeral oblations, *Grîhya-sûtra* VIII, 21, 1, *mâsîrâddhasyâparapakshe yathopadesam kâlâh*, 'the times for the monthly funeral sacrifice (fall) in the latter (dark) half of the month according to the injunction.' Now as neither the *Grîhya-sûtra* itself nor any preceding portion of the *Kalpa-sûtra* contains any injunction on this point, it follows that the long passage on this subject which occurs in the *Dharma-sûtra* II, 7, 16, 4-22 is referred to. The expression *yathopadesam* is also found in other passages of the *Grîhya-sûtra*, and must be explained there in a like manner¹. There are further a certain number of *Sûtras* which occur in the same words both in the *Prasna* on domestic rites, and in that on the sacred law, e. g. Dh. I, 1, 1, 18; I, 1, 2, 38; I, 1, 4, 14. It seems that the author wished to call special attention to these rules by repeating them. Their recurrence and literal agreement may be considered an additional proof of the intimate connection of the two sections.

Through a similar repetition of, at least, one *Sûtra* it is possible to trace the connection of the *Dharma-sûtra* with the *Srauta-sûtra*. The rule *ritve vâ gâyam*, 'or (he may have conjugal intercourse) with his wife in the proper season,' is given, Dh. II, 2, 5, 17, with reference to a householder who teaches the *Veda*. In the *Srauta-sûtra* it occurs twice, in the sections on the new and full moon sacrifices III, 17, 8, and again in connection with the *Kâturmâsya* offerings, VIII, 4, 6, and it refers both times

¹ See the details, given by Dr. Winternitz in his essay, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 5 (*Denkschr. Wiener Akademie*, Bd. 40).

to the sacrificer. In the first passage the verb, *upeyât*, is added, which the sense requires; in the second it has the abbreviated form, which the best MSS. of the Dharma-sûtra offer. The occurrence of the irregular word, *ṛitve* for *ṛitvye*, in all the three passages, proves clearly that we have to deal with a self-quotation of the same author. If the Dharma-sûtra were the production of a different person and a later addition, the Pseudo-Āpastamba would most probably not have hit on this peculiar irregular form. Finally, the *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, too, contains several cross-references to the *Srauta-sûtra*, and the close agreement of the Sûtras on the Vedic sacrifices, on the domestic rites, and on the sacred, both in language and style, conclusively prove that they are the compositions of one author¹.

Who this author really was, is a problem which cannot be solved for the present, and which probably will always remain unsolved, because we know his family name only. For the form of the word itself shows that the name *Āpastamba*, just like those of most founders of Vedic schools, e.g. *Bhâradvâga*, *Āsvalâyana*, *Gautama*, is a patronymic. This circumstance is, of course, fatal to all attempts at an identification of the individual who holds so prominent a place among the teachers of the Black *Yagur-veda*.

But we are placed in a somewhat better position with respect to the history of the school which has been named after *Āpastamba* and of the works ascribed to him. Regarding both, some information has been preserved by tradition, and a little more can be obtained from inscriptions and later works, while some interesting details regarding the time when, and the place where the Sûtras were composed, may be elicited from the latter themselves. The data, obtainable from these sources, it is true, do not enable us to determine with certainty the year when the *Āpastambîya* school was founded, and when its Sûtras were composed. But they make it possible to ascertain the position of the school and of its Sûtras in Vedic litera-

¹ See Dr. Winternitz, loc. cit.

ture, their relative priority or posteriority as compared with other Vedic schools and works, to show with some amount of probability in which part of India they had their origin, and to venture, at least, a not altogether unsupported conjecture as to their probable antiquity.

As regards the first point, the *Karavyūha*, a supplement of the White Yagur-veda which gives the lists of the Vedic schools, informs us that the Āpastambīya school formed one of the five branches of the Khândikīya school, which in its turn was a subdivision of the Taittirīyas, one of the ancient sections of Brāhmanas who study the Black Yagur-veda. Owing to the very unsatisfactory condition of the text of the *Karavyūha* it is unfortunately not possible to ascertain what place that work really assigns to the Āpastambīyas among the five branches of the Khândikīyas. Some MSS. name them first, and others last. They give either the following list, 1. Kāleyas (Kāletas), 2. Sātyāyanins, 3. Hiranyakesins, 4. Bhāradvāgins, and 5. Āpastambins, or, 1. Āpastambins, 2. Baudhāyanins or Bodhāyanins, 3. Satyāshādins, 4. Hiranyakesins, 5. Aukheyas¹. But this defect is remedied to a certain extent by the now generally current, and probably ancient tradition that the Āpastambīyas are younger than the school of Baudhāyana, and older than that of Satyāshādha Hiranyakesin. Baudhāyana, it is alleged, composed the first set of Sūtras connected with the Black Yagur-veda, which bore the special title 'pravaṅkana,' and he was succeeded by Bhāradvāga, Āpastamba, and Satyāshādha Hiranyakesin, who all founded schools which bear their names².

¹ Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 371. A MS. of the *Karavyūha* with an anonymous commentary, in my possession, has the following passage : कांडकेयानां पंच भेदा भवन्ति । आपस्तंबी बोधायनी सत्याषाढी हरिकेशी शौलेयी चेति.

² Max Müller, Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 194. These statements occur in the introduction of Mahādeva's commentary on the Srauta-sūtra of Hiranyakesin (Weber, Hist. Sansk. Lit., p. 110, 2nd ed.) and in an interpolated passage of Bhāradvāga's *Gṛhya-sūtra* (Winternitz, op. cit., p. 8, note 1), as well as, with the omission of Bhāradvāga's name, in interpolated passages of

This tradition has preserved two important pieces of information. First, the Âpastamba school is what Professor Max Müller appropriately calls a *Sûtra-karana*, i. e. a school whose founder did not pretend to have received a revelation of Vedic Mantras or of a *Brâhmana* text, but merely gave a new systematic arrangement of the precepts regarding sacrifices and the sacred law. Secondly, the *Sûtras* of Âpastamba occupy an intermediate position between the works of Baudhâya and Hiraṇyakesin. Both these statements are perfectly true, and capable of being supported by proofs, drawn from Âpastamba's own and from other works.

As regards the first point, Professor Max Müller has already pointed¹ out that, though we sometimes find a *Brâhmana* of the Âpastambîyas mentioned, the title Âpastamba-brâhmana is nothing but another name of the Taittiriya-brâhmana, and that this *Brâhmana*, in reality, is always attributed to Tittiri or to the pupils of Vaisampâyana, who are said to have picked up the Black Yagur-veda in the shape of partridges (tittiri). The same remark applies to the collection of the Mantras of the Black Yagur-veda, which, likewise, is sometimes named Âpastamba-samhitâ. The *Karanavyûha* states explicitly that the five branches of the Khândikîya school, to which the Âpastambîyas belong, possess one and the same recension of the revealed texts, consisting of 7 *Kândas*, 44 *Prasnas*, 651 *Anuvâkas*, 2198 *Pannâsîs*, 19290 *Padas*², and 253,868 syllables, and indicates thereby that all these five schools were *Sûtra-karanas*.

If we now turn to Âpastamba's own works, we find still

Baudhâya's *Dharma-sûtra* (II, 5, 9, 14) and of the same author's *Gr̥hya-sûtra* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxxvi, note 1). Adherents of a *Pravaçana-sûtra*, no doubt identical with that of Baudhâya, the *Pravaçanakartâ* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xiv, p. xxxvi), are mentioned in a land grant, originally issued by the Pallava king Nandivarman in the beginning of the eighth century A. D., see Hultsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. ii, p. 361 seqq.; see also Weber, *Hist. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 110, 2nd ed.

¹ Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

² See also Weber, *Ind. Lit.*, p. 98, 2nd ed.

clearer proof that he laid no claim to the title *Rishi*, or inspired seer of Vedic texts. For (Dharma-sûtra I, 2, 5, 4-5) he says distinctly that on account of the prevalent transgression of the rules of studentship no *Rishis* are born among the *Avaras*, the men of later ages or of modern times, but that some, by virtue of a residue of the merit which they acquired in former lives, become similar to *Rishis* by their knowledge of the *Veda*. A man who speaks in this manner, shows that he considers the holy ages during which the great saints saw with their mind's eye the uncreated and eternal texts of the *Veda* to be past, and that all he claims is a thorough acquaintance with the scriptures which had been handed down to him. The same spirit which dictated this passage is also observable in other portions of the *Dharma-sûtra*. For *Âpastamba* repeatedly contrasts the weakness and sinfulness of the *Avaras*, the men of his own times, with the holiness of the ancient sages, who, owing to the greatness of their 'lustre,' were able to commit various forbidden acts without diminishing their spiritual merit¹. These utterances prove that *Âpastamba* considered himself a child of the *Kali Yuga*, the age of sin, during which, according to Hindu notions, no *Rishis* can be born. If, therefore, in spite of this explicit disclaimer, the *Samhitâ* and the *Brâhmaṇa* of the *Black Yagur-veda* are sometimes called *Âpastamba* or *Âpastambiya*, i. e. belonging to *Âpastamba*, the meaning of this expression can only be, that they were and are studied and handed down by the school of *Âpastamba*, not that its founder was their author, or, as the Hindus would say, saw them.

The fact that *Âpastamba* confined his activity to the composition of *Sûtras* is highly important for the determination of the period to which he belonged. It clearly shows that in his time the tertiary or *Sûtra* period of the *Yagur-veda* had begun. Whether we assume, with Professor Max Müller, that the *Sûtra* period was one and the same for all the four *Vedas*, and fix its limits with him

¹ *Dharma-sûtra* II, 6, 13, 1-10; II, 10, 27, 4.

between 600–200 B.C., or whether we believe, as I am inclined to do, that the date of the Sûtra period differed for each Veda, still the incontestable conclusion is that the origin of the Âpastambiya school cannot be placed in the early times of the Vedic period, and probably falls in the last six or seven centuries before the beginning of the Christian era.

The correctness of the traditional statement that Âpastamba is younger than Baudhâyana may be made very probable by the following considerations. First, Baudhâyana's and Âpastamba's works on Dharma have a considerable number of Sûtras in common. Thus in the chapter on Penances not less than seven consecutive Sûtras, prescribing the manner in which outcasts are to live and to obtain readmission into the Brahmanical community for their children, occur in both treatises¹. Besides this passage, there are a number of single Sûtras² which agree literally. Taken by itself this agreement does not prove much, as it may be explained in various ways. It may show either that Baudhâyana is older than Âpastamba, and that the latter borrowed from the former, or that the reverse was the case. It may also indicate that both authors drew from one common source. But if it is taken together with two other facts, it gains a considerable importance. First, Âpastamba holds in several cases doctrines which are of a later origin than those held by Baudhâyana. With respect to this point the puritan opinions which Âpastamba puts forward regarding the substitutes for legitimate sons and regarding the appointment of widows (niyoga), and his restriction of the number of marriage-rites, may be adduced as examples. Like many other ancient teachers, Baudhâyana permits childless Âryans to satisfy their craving for representatives bearing their name, and to allay their fears of falling after death into the regions of torment through a failure of the funeral oblations, by the affiliation

¹ Baudh. Dh. II, 1, 2, 18–23 = Âp. Dh. I, 10, 29, 8–14.

² E. g. Âp. Dh. I, 1, 2, 30; I, 2, 6, 8–9; I, 5, 15, 8 correspond respectively to Baudh. Dh. I, 2, 3, 39–40; I, 2, 3, 38; I, 2, 3, 29.

of eleven kinds of substitutes for a legitimate son. Illegitimate sons, the illegitimate sons of wives, the legitimate and illegitimate offspring of daughters, and the children of relatives, or even of strangers who may be solemnly adopted, or received as members of the family without any ceremony, or be acquired by purchase, are all allowed to take the place and the rights of legitimate sons¹. Âpastamba declares his dissent from this doctrine. He allows legitimate sons alone to inherit their father's estate and to follow the occupations of his caste, and he explicitly forbids the sale and gift of children².

In like manner he protests against the custom of making over childless widows to brothers-in-law or other near relatives in order to obtain sons who are to offer the funeral oblations to the deceased husband's manes, while Baudhâyana has as yet no scruple on the subject³. Finally, he omits from his list of the marriage-rites the *Paisâka vivâha*, where the bride is obtained by fraud⁴; though it is reluctantly admitted by Baudhâyana and other ancient teachers. There can be no doubt that the law which placed the regular continuance of the funeral oblations above all other considerations, and which allowed, in order to secure this object, even a violation of the sanctity of the marriage-tie and other breaches of the principles of morality, belongs to an older order of ideas than the stricter views of Âpastamba. It is true that, according to Baudhâyana's own statement⁵, before his time an ancient sage named *Aupagañghani*, who is also mentioned in the *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa*, had opposed the old practice of taking substitutes for a legitimate son. It is also very probable that for a long time the opinions of the *Brâhmaṇa* teachers, who lived in different parts of India and belonged to different schools, may have been divided on this subject. Still it seems very improbable that of two authors who both belong to the same Veda and to the same school, the

¹ Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 17 seqq.

² Âp. Dh. II, 10, 27, 2-7.

³ Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 33.

⁴ Âp. Dh. II, 5, 13, 1-2, 11.

⁵ Âp. Dh. II, 5, 11 and 12.

earlier one should hold the later doctrine, and the later one the earlier opinion. The contrary appears the more probable assumption. The same remarks apply to the cases of the Niyoga and of the Paisāka marriage¹.

The second fact, which bears on the question how the identity of so many Sûtras in the two Dharma-sûtras is to be explained, affords a still stronger proof of Āpastamba's posteriority to Baudhāyana. For on several occasions, it appears, Āpastamba controverts opinions which Baudhāyana holds, or which may be defended with the help of the latter's Sûtras. The clearest case of this kind occurs in the chapter on Inheritance, where the treatment of the eldest son on the division of the estate by the father is discussed. There Āpastamba gives it as his own opinion that the father should make an equal division of his property 'after having gladdened the eldest son by some (choice portion of his) wealth,' i. e. after making him a present which should have some value, but should not be so valuable as to materially affect the equality of the shares². Further on he notices the opinions of other teachers on this subject, and states that the practice advocated by some, of allowing the eldest alone to inherit, as well as the custom prevailing in some countries, of allotting to the eldest all the father's gold, or the black cows, or the black iron and grain, is not in accordance with the precepts of the Vedas. In order to prove the latter assertion he quotes a passage of the Taittirīya Samhitā, in which it is declared that 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons,' and no difference in the treatment of the eldest son is prescribed. He adds that a second passage occurs in the same Veda, which declares that 'they distinguish the eldest son by (a larger portion of) the heritage,' and which thus apparently countenances the partiality for the first-born. But this second passage, he contends, appealing to the

¹ For another case, the rules, referring to the composition for homicide, regarding which Āpastamba holds later views than Baudhāyana, see the Festgruss an R. von Roth, pp. 47-48.

² Āp. Dh. II, 6, 13, 13, and II, 6, 14, 1.

opinion of the Mīmāṃsists, is, like many similar ones, merely a statement of a fact which has not the authority of an injunction¹. If we now turn to Baudhāyana, we find that he allows of three different methods for the distribution of the paternal estate. According to him, either an equal share may be given to each son, or the eldest may receive the best part of the wealth, or, also, a preferential share of one tenth of the whole property. He further alleges that the cows, horses, goats, and sheep respectively go to the eldest sons of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. As authority for the equal division he gives the first of the two Vedic passages quoted above; and for the doctrine that the eldest is to receive the best part of the estate, he quotes the second passage which Āpastamba considers to be without the force of an injunction². The fact that the two authors' opinions clash is manifest, and the manner in which Āpastamba tries to show that the second Vedic passage possesses no authority, clearly indicates that before his time it had been held to contain an injunction. As no other author of a Dharma-sūtra but Baudhāyana is known to have quoted it, the conclusion is that Āpastamba's remarks are directed against him. If Āpastamba does not mention Baudhāyana by name, the reason probably is that in olden times, just as in the present day, the Brahmanical etiquette forbade a direct opposition against doctrines propounded by an older teacher who belongs to the same spiritual family (*vidyāvamsa*) as oneself.

A similar case occurs in the chapter on Studentship³, where Āpastamba, again appealing to the Mīmāṃsists, combats the doctrine that pupils may eat forbidden food, such as honey, meat, and pungent condiments, if it is given to them as leavings by their teacher. Baudhāyana gives no explicit rule on this point, but the wording of his Sūtras is not opposed to the doctrine and practice, to which Āpastamba objects. Baudhāyana says that students

¹ Āp. Dh. II, 6, 14, 6-13.

² Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 3, 2-7.

³ Āp. Dh. I, 1, 4, 5-7.

shall avoid honey, meat, pungent condiments, &c. ; he further enjoins that pupils are to obey their teachers except when ordered to commit crimes which cause loss of caste (*patanīya*) ; and he finally directs them to eat the fragments of food given to them by their teachers. As the eating of honey and other forbidden substances is not a crime causing loss of caste, it is possible that Baudhāyana himself may have considered it the duty of a pupil to eat any kind of food given by the teacher, even honey and meat. At all events the practice and doctrine which Āpastamba blames, may have been defended by the wording of Baudhāyana's rules ¹.

The three points which have been just discussed, viz. the identity of a number of Sūtras in the works of the two authors, the fact that Āpastamba advocates on some points more refined or puritan opinions, and, especially, that he labours to controvert doctrines contained in Baudhāyana's Sūtras, give a powerful support to the traditional statement that he is younger than that teacher. It is, however, difficult to say how great the distance between the two really is. Mahādeva, as stated above, places between them only Bhāradvāga, the author of a set of Sūtras, which as yet have not been completely recovered. But it seems to me not likely that the latter was his immediate predecessor in the *vidyāvamsa* or spiritual family to which both belonged. For it cannot be expected that two successive heads of the school should each have composed a Sūtra and thus founded a new branch-school. It is

¹ Cases, in which Āpastamba's *Gr̥hya-sūtra* appears to refer to, or to controvert, Baudhāyana's *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, have been collected by Dr. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 8. Dr. Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 34, too, considers Baudhāyana to be older than Āpastamba, because his style is so much simpler. With this remark may be compared Dr. Winternitz's very true assertion that Baudhāyana's style resembles sometimes, especially in the discussion of disputed points, that of the *Brāhmaṇas*. On the other hand, Dr. R. G. Bhāradārkar, *Second Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, p. 34, believes Baudhāyana to be later than Āpastamba and Bhāradvāga, because he teaches other developments of sacrificial rites, unknown to the other two Sūtrakāras. This may be true, but it must not be forgotten that every portion of Baudhāyana's Sūtras, which has been subjected to a critical enquiry, has turned out to be much interpolated and enlarged by later hands.

more probable that Baudhâyana and Bhâradvâga, as well as the latter and Âpastamba, were separated by several intervening generations of teachers, who contented themselves with explaining the works of their predecessors. The distance in years between the first and the last of the three Sûtrakâras must, therefore, I think, be measured rather by centuries than by decades ¹.

As regards the priority of Âpastamba to the school of Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin, there can be no doubt about the correctness of this statement. For either Hiranyakesin himself, or, at least, his immediate successors have appropriated Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra and have inserted it with slight modifications in their own collection. The alterations consist chiefly in some not very important additions, and in the substitution of more intelligible and more modern expressions for difficult and antiquated words ². But they do not extend so far as to make the language of the Dharma-sûtra fully agree with that of the other sections of the collection, especially with the Grîhya-sûtra. Numerous discrepancies between these two parts are observable. Thus we read in the Hiranyakesi

¹ The subjoined pedigree of the Sûtrakâras of the Black Yagur-veda will perhaps make the above remarks and my interpretation of the statements of Mahâdeva and the other authorities mentioned above more intelligible:—

Khândîka, taught the Taittirîya recension of the Black Yagur-veda.

(Successors of Khândîka, number unknown, down to)

Baudhâyana, Pravaçanakartâ, i. e. 1st Sûtrakâra, and founder of Baudhâyana-*karana*.

(Successors of Baudhâyana down to fellow-pupil of Bhâradvâga, number unknown.)

(Successors of Baudhâyana after the schism down to the present day.)

Bhâradvâga, 2nd Sûtrakâra, and founder of Bhâradvâga-*karana*.

(Successors of Bhâradvâga down to fellow-pupil of Âpastamba, number unknown.)

(Successors after the schism down to the present day.)

Âpastamba, 3rd Sûtrakâra, and founder of Âpastamba-*karana*.

(Successors of Âpastamba down to fellow-pupil of Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin, number unknown.)

(Successors of Âpastamba down to the present day.)

Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin, 4th Sûtrakâra, and founder of Hiranyakesi-*karana*.

(Successors of Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin down to the present day.)

After the schism of Satyâshâdha Hiranyakesin the pedigree has not been continued, though Mahâdeva asserts that several other Sûtrakâras arose. But to work it out further would be useless.

² See Appendix II to Part I of my second edition of Âpastamba's Dharma-sûtra, p. 117 seqq.

Gr̥hya-sūtra that a *Brāhmaṇa* must, ordinarily, be initiated in his seventh year, while the rule of the *Dharma-sūtra*, which is identical with *Āp. Dh. I, 1, 1, 18*, prescribes that the ceremony shall take place in the eighth year after conception. The commentators, *Mātridatta* on the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* and *Mahādeva* on the *Dharma-sūtra*, both state that the rule of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* refers to the seventh year after birth, and, therefore, in substance agrees with the *Dharma-sūtra*. They are no doubt right. But the difference in the wording shows that the two sections do not belong to the same author. The same inference may be drawn from the fact that the *Hiranyakesi Gr̥hya-sūtra*, which is much longer than *Āpastamba's*, includes a considerable amount of matter which refers to the sacred law, and which is repeated in the *Dharma-sūtra*. According to a statement which I have heard from several learned *Brāhmaṇas*, the followers of *Hiranyakesin*, when pronouncing the *samkalpa* or solemn pledge to perform a ceremony, declare themselves to be members of the *Hiranyakesi* school that forms a subdivision of *Āpastamba's* (*āpastambāntargatahiranyakesisākhādhyāyī . . . aham*). But I have not been able to find these words in the books treating of the ritual of the *Hiranyakesins*, such as the *Mahesabharṇī*. If this assertion could be further corroborated, it would be an additional strong proof of the priority of *Āpastamba*, which, however, even without it may be accepted as a fact¹. The distance in time between the two teachers is probably not so great as that between *Āpastamba* and *Baudhāyana*, as *Mahādeva* mentions no intermediate *Sūtrakāra* between them. Still it is probably not less than 100 or 150 years.

The results of the above investigation which show that the origin of the *Āpastamba* school falls in the middle of the *Sūtra* period of the *Black Yagur-veda*, and that its *Sūtras* belong to the later, though not to the latest products of Vedic literature, are fully confirmed by an

¹ Compare also Dr. Winternitz's remarks on the dependence of the *Gr̥hya-sūtra* of the *Hiranyakesins* on *Āpastamba's*, op. cit., p. 6 seqq., and the second edition of the *Āp. Dh.*, Part I, p. xi.

examination of the quotations from and references to Vedic and other books contained in Āpastamba's Sūtras, and especially in the Dharma-sūtra. We find that all the four Vedas are quoted or referred to. The three old ones, the *Rik*, *Yagur*, and *Sāman*, are mentioned both separately and collectively by the name *trayî vidyâ*, i.e. threefold sacred science, and the fourth is called not *Atharvâṅgirasah*, as is done in most ancient Sūtras, but *Atharva-veda*¹. The quotations from the *Rik* and *Sāman* are not very numerous. But a passage from the ninth *Mandala* of the former, which is referred to Dh. I, 1, 2, 2, is of some extent, and shows that the recension which Āpastamba knew, did not differ from that which still exists. As Āpastamba was an adherent of the Black *Yagur-veda*, he quotes it, especially in the *Srauta-sūtra*, very frequently, and he adduces not only texts from the *Mantra-samhitâ*, but also from the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* and *Āraṇyaka*. The most important quotations from the latter work occur Dh. II, 2, 3, 16-II, 2, 4, 9, where all the Mantras to be recited during the performance of the *Bali-offerings* are enumerated. Their order agrees exactly with that in which they stand in the sixty-seventh *Anuvāka* of the tenth *Prapâṭhaka* of the recension of the *Āraṇyaka* which is current among the *Āndhra Brāhmaṇas*². This last point is of considerable importance, both for the history of the text of that book and, as we shall see further on, for the history of the Āpastambîya school.

The White *Yagur-veda*, too, is quoted frequently in the *Srauta-sūtra* and once in the section on *Dharma* by the title *Vāgasaneyaka*, while twice its *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Vāgasaneyi-brāhmaṇa*, is cited. The longer one of the two passages, taken from the latter work, Dh. I, 4, 12, 3, does, however, not fully agree with the published text of the *Mādhyandina* recension. Its wording possesses just sufficient resemblance to allow us to identify the passage which Āpastamba meant, but differs from the *Satapatha-*

¹ Āp. Dh. II, 11, 29, 12.

² The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* exists in three recensions, the *Karnâta*, *Drâvida*, and the *Āndhra*, the first of which has been commented on by *Sâyana*.

brāhmaṇa in many details¹. The cause of these discrepancies remains doubtful for the present². As regards the Atharva-veda, Āpastamba gives, besides the reference mentioned above and a second to the Āṅgīrasa-pavitra³, an abstract of a long passage from Atharva-veda XV, 10-13, regarding the treatment of a Vrātya, i.e. a learned mendicant Brāhmaṇa, who really deserves the title of an atithi, or guest⁴. It is true that Āpastamba, in the passage referred to, does not say that his rule is based on the Atharva-veda. He merely says that a Brāhmaṇa is his authority. But it seems, nevertheless, certain that by the expression a Brāhmaṇa, the Brāhmaṇa-like fifteenth book of the Atharva-veda is meant, as the sentences to be addressed by the host to his guest agree literally with those which the Atharva-veda prescribes for the reception of a Vrātya. Haradatta too, in his commentary, expresses the same opinion. Actual quotations from the Atharva-veda are not frequent in Vedic literature, and the fact that Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra contains one, is, therefore, of some interest.

Besides these Vedic texts⁵, Āpastamba mentions, also, the Aṅgas or auxiliary works, and enumerates six classes, viz. treatises on the ritual of the sacrifices, on grammar, astronomy, etymology, recitation of the Veda, and metrics⁶. The number is the same as that which is considered the correct one in our days⁷.

As the Dharma-sūtra names no less than nine teachers in connection with various topics of the sacred law, and frequently appeals to the opinion of some (eke), it follows that a great many such auxiliary treatises must have existed in Āpastamba's time. The Ātīāryas mentioned are Eka, Kanva, Kānva, Kumika, Kutsa, Kautsa, Push-

¹ Compare on this point Professor Eggeling's remarks in Sacred Books of the East, vol. xii, p. xxxix seqq.

² See the passage from the *Kāraṇavyūhābhāṣya* given below, ver. 10.

³ Āp. Dh. I, 2, 2, 2.

⁴ Āp. Dh. II, 3, 7, 12-17.

⁵ Some more are quoted in the *Srauta-sūtra*, see Professor Garbe in the *Garupāgākaumudī*, p. 33 seqq.

⁶ Āp. Dh. II, 4, 8, 10.

⁷ See also Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 111.

karasâdi, Vârshyâyani, Svetaketu, and Hârîta¹. Some of these persons, like Hârîta and Kaṇva, are known to have composed Sûtras on the sacred law, and fragments or modified versions of their works are still in existence, while Kânva, Kautsa, Pushkarasâdi or Paushkarasâdi, as the grammatically correct form of the name is, and Vârshyâyani are quoted in the Nirukta, the Prâtisâkhyas, and the Vârttikas on Pânini as authorities on phonetics, etymology, and grammar². Kânva, finally, is considered the author of the still existing Kalpa-sûtras of the Kânva school connected with the White Yagur-veda. It seems not improbable that most of these teachers were authors of complete sets of Aṅgas. Their position in Vedic literature, however, except as far as Kânva, Hârîta, and Svetaketu are concerned, is difficult to define, and the occurrence of their names throws less light on the antiquity of the Āpastambîya school than might be expected. Regarding Hârîta it must, however, be noticed that he is one of the oldest authors of Sûtras, that he was an adherent of the Maitrâyaṇîya Sâkhâ³, and that he is quoted by Baudhâyana, Āpastamba's predecessor. The bearing of the occurrence of Svetaketu's name will be discussed below.

Of even greater interest than the names of the teachers are the indications which Āpastamba gives, that he knew two of the philosophical schools which still exist in India, viz. the Pûrvâ or Karma Mîmâṃsâ and the Vedânta. As regards the former, he mentions it by its ancient name, Nyâya, which in later times and at present is usually applied to the doctrine of Gautama Akshapâda. In two passages⁴ he settles contested points on the authority of those who know the Nyâya, i. e. the Pûrvâ Mîmâṃsâ, and

¹ Āp. Dh. I, 6, 19, 3-8; I, 10, 28, 1-2; I, 4, 13, 10; I, 6, 18, 2; I, 6, 19, 12; I, 10, 28, 5, 16; I, 10, 29, 12-16.

² Max Müller, loc. cit., p. 142.

³ A Dharma-sûtra, ascribed to this teacher, has been recovered of late, by Mr. Vâman Shâstrî Islâmpurkar. Though it is an ancient work, it does not contain Āpastamba's quotations, see Grundriss d. Indo-Ar. Phil. und Altertumsk., II, 8, 8.

⁴ Āp. Dh. II, 4, 8, 13; II, 6, 14, 13.

in several other cases he adopts a line of reasoning which fully agrees with that followed in *Gaimini's Mīmāṃsā-sūtras*. Thus the arguments¹, that 'a revealed text has greater weight than a custom from which a revealed text may be inferred,' and that 'no text can be inferred from a custom for which a worldly motive is apparent,' exactly correspond with the teaching of *Gaimini's Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* I, 3, 3-4. The wording of the passages in the two works does not agree so closely that the one could be called a quotation of the other. But it is evident, that if *Āpastamba* did not know the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtras* of *Gaimini*, he must have possessed some other very similar work. As to the *Vedānta*, *Āpastamba* does not mention the name of the school. But *Khandas* 22, 23 of the first *Paśala* of the *Dharma-sūtra* unmistakably contain the chief tenets of the *Vedāntists*, and recommend the acquisition of the knowledge of the *Ātman* as the best means for purifying the souls of sinners. Though these two *Khandas* are chiefly filled with quotations, which, as the commentator states, are taken from an *Upanishad*, still the manner of their selection, as well as *Āpastamba's* own words in the introductory and concluding *Sūtras*, indicates that he knew not merely the unsystematic speculations contained in the *Upanishads* and *Āraṇyakas*, but a well-defined system of *Vedāntic* philosophy identical with that of *Bādarāyana's* *Brahma-sūtras*. The fact that *Āpastamba's* *Dharma-sūtra* contains indications of the existence of these two schools of philosophy, is significant as the *Pūrvā Mīmāṃsā* occurs in one other *Dharma-sūtra* only, that attributed to *Vasishtha*, and as the name of the *Vedānta* school is not found in any of the prose treatises on the sacred law.

Of non-Vedic works *Āpastamba* mentions the *Purāna*. The *Dharma-sūtra* not only several times quotes passages from 'a *Purāna*' as authorities for its rules², but names in one case the *Bhaviṣyat-purāna* as the particular *Purāna* from which the quotation is taken³. References to the

¹ *Āp. Dh.* I, 1, 14, 8, 9-10.

² *Āp. Dh.* I, 6, 19, 13; I, 10, 29, 7.

³ *Āp. Dh.* II, 9, 24, 6.

Purāna in general are not unfrequent in other Sūtras on the sacred law, and even in older Vedic works. But Āpastamba, as far as I know, is the only Sūtrakāra who specifies the title of a particular Purāna, and names one which is nearly or quite identical with that of a work existing in the present day, and he is the only one, whose quotations can be shown to be, at least in part, genuine Paurānic utterances.

Among the so-called Upa-purānas we find one of considerable extent which bears the title Bhavishya-purāna or also Bhavishyat-purāna¹. It is true that the passage quoted in the Dharma-sūtra from the Bhavishyat-purāna is not to be found in the copy of the Bhavishya-purāna which I have seen. It is, therefore, not possible to assert positively that Āpastamba knew the present homonymous work. Still, considering the close resemblance of the two titles, and taking into account the generally admitted fact that most if not all Purānas have been remodelled and recast², it seems to me not unlikely that Āpastamba's

¹ Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 400.

² Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 40-42. Weber, *Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 206-208. Though I fully subscribe to the opinion, held by the most illustrious Sanskritists, that, in general, the existing Purānas are not identical with the works designated by that title in Vedic works, still I cannot believe that they are altogether independent of the latter. Nor can I agree to the assertion that the Purānas known to us, one and all, are not older than the tenth or eleventh century A. D. That is inadmissible, because Bérûnî (*India*, I, 131) enumerates them as canonical books. And his frequent quotations from them prove that in 1030 A. D. they did not differ materially from those known to us (see *Indian Antiquary*, 19, 382 seqq.). Another important fact bearing on this point may be mentioned here, viz. that the poet Bāna, who wrote shortly after 600 A. D., in the *Srīharsha-karita*, orders his Paurānika to recite the Pavanaprokta-purāna, i. e. the Vāyu-purāna (*Harsha-karita*, p. 61, Calcutta ed.). Dr. Hall, the discoverer of the life of Harsha, read in his copy *Yavanaprokta-purāna*, a title which, as he remarks, might suggest the idea that Bāna knew the Greek epic poetry. But a comparison of the excellent Ahmadābād and Benares Devanāgarī MSS. and of the Kasmīr Sāradā copies shows that the correct reading is the one given above. The earlier history of the Purānas, which as yet is a mystery, will only be cleared up when a real history of the orthodox Hindu sects, especially of the Sivites and Vishnuites, has been written. It will, then, probably become apparent that the origin of these sects reaches back far beyond the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. It will also be proved

authority was the original on which the existing *Upapurāna* is based. And in favour of this view it may be urged that passages, similar to *Āpastamba's* quotation, actually occur in our *Paurānic* texts. In the *Gyotish-prakāra* section of several of the chief *Purānas* we find, in connection with the description of the Path of the Manes (*pitriyāna*)¹, the assertion that the pious sages, who had offspring and performed the *Agnihotra*, reside there until the general destruction of created things (*â bhūtasamplavāt*), as well as, that in the beginning of each new creation they are the propagators of the world (*lokasya samtānakarāḥ*) and, being re-born, re-establish the sacred law. Though the wording differs, these passages fully agree in sense with *Āpastamba's Bhavishyat-purāna* which says, 'They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things. At the new creation (of the world) they become the seed.' In other passages of the *Purānas*, which refer to the successive creations, we find even the identical terms used in the quotation. Thus the *Vāyup.*, *Adhy.* 8, 23, declares that those beings, which have gone to the *Ganaloka*, 'become the seed at the new creation' (*punaḥ sarge . . . bigārtham tā bhavanti hi*).

These facts prove at all events that *Āpastamba* took his quotation from a real *Purāna*, similar to those existing. If it is literal and exact, it shows, also, that the *Purānas* of his time contained both prose and verse.

Further, it is possible to trace yet another of *Āpastamba's* quotations from 'a *Purāna*.' The three *Purānas*, mentioned above, give, immediately after the passages referred to, enlarged versions of the two verses² regarding the sages, who begot offspring and obtained 'burial-grounds,' and

that the orthodox sects used *Purānas* as text books for popular readings, the *Purānapātāna* of our days, and that some, at least, of the now existing *Purānas* are the latest recensions of those mentioned in Vedic books.

¹ *Vāyup.*, *Adhy.* 50, 208 seqq.; *Matsyap.*, *Adhy.* 123, 96 seqq.; *Vishṇup.* II, 8. 86-89; H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇup.*, vol. ii, pp. 263-268 (ed. Hall).

² *Āp. Dh.* II, 9, 23, 4-5.

regarding those who, remaining chaste, gained immortality¹. In this case Āpastamba's quotation can be restored almost completely, if certain interpolations are cut out. And it is evident that Āpastamba has preserved genuine Paurāṇic verses in their ancient form. A closer study of the unfortunately much neglected Purāṇas, no doubt, will lead to further identifications of other quotations, which will be of considerable interest for the history of Indian literature.

There is yet another point on which Āpastamba shows a remarkable agreement with a theory which is prevalent in later Sanskrit literature. He says (Dh. II, 11, 29, 11-12), 'The knowledge which Sūdras and women possess, is the completion of all study,' and 'they declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the Atharva-veda.' The commentator remarks with reference to these two Sūtras, that 'the knowledge which Sūdras and women possess,' is the knowledge of dancing, acting, music, and other branches of the so-called Arthasāstra, the science of useful arts and of trades, and that the object of the Sūtras is to forbid the study of such matters before the acquisition of sacred learning. His interpretation is, without doubt, correct, as similar sentiments are expressed by other teachers in parallel passages. But, if it is accepted, Āpastamba's remark that 'the knowledge of Sūdras and women is a supplement of the Atharva-veda,' proves that he knew the division of Hindu learning which is taught in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthānabheda². For Madhusūdana allots to each Veda an Upa-veda or supplementary Veda, and asserts that the Upa-veda of the Atharva-veda is the Arthasāstra. The agreement of Āpastamba with the modern writers on this point, furnishes, I think, an additional argument that he belongs to the later Vedic schoolmen.

In addition to this information regarding the relative position of the Āpastambīya school in ancient Sanskrit literature, we possess some further statements as to the

¹ An abbreviated version of the same verses, ascribed to the Paurāṇikas, occurs in Saṅkarācārya's Comm. on the *Kāṅdogyā* Up., p. 336 (Bibl. Ind.).

² Weber, Ind. Stud. I, 1-24.

part of India to which it belongs, and these, as it happens, are of great importance for fixing approximately the period in which the school arose. According to the Brahmanical tradition, which is supported by a hint contained in the Dharma-sûtra and by information derivable from inscriptions and the actual state of things in modern India, the Âpastambiyas belong to Southern India, and their founder probably was a native of or resided in the Ândhra country. The existence of this tradition, which to the present day prevails among the learned Brahmans of Western India and Benares, may be substantiated by a passage from the above-mentioned commentary of the *Karavyûha*¹, which,

¹ *Karavyûhabhâshya*, fol. 15^a, l. 4 seqq. :—

तत्र प्राच्योदीच्यां नैर्ऋत्यां नैर्ऋत्यास्तत्र (?) वाजसनेयानां पञ्चदश भेदा भवन्ति । प्राच्योदीच्यनैर्ऋत्यास्तिस्रो दिशायां (?) वाजसनेयवेदोत्पत्तिः अग्ने वक्ष्यामः (?) । इतरदेशेषु वेदशास्त्रयोर्विभाग उच्यते । स च महार्णवे ।

पृथिव्या मध्येरेता च नर्मदा परिकीर्तिता ।

दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्भागे शाखाभेदाश्च [दृष्ट] उच्यते ॥ १ ॥

नर्मदा दक्षिणे भागे (sic) आपस्तम्ब्याश्चलायनी ।

राषायणी पिप्पला च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥ २ ॥

माध्यन्दिनी शाखा [शाङ्गा]यनी कौपुमी शौनकी तथा ।

नर्मदोत्तरभागे च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥ ३ ॥

तुङ्गा कृष्णा तथा गोदा सत्याद्रिश्चिरावधि ।

आन्ध्रदेशपर्यन्तं चतुर्विध्याश्चलायनी ॥ ४ ॥

उत्तरे गुर्जरे देशे चतुर्विधकीर्तिताः [चाः परिकीर्तिताः] ।

कौपीतकी [कि] ब्राह्मणं च शाखा शाङ्गायनी स्थिता ॥ ५ ॥

आन्धादिदक्षिणाग्नेयीगोदासागर आवधि (sic) ।

यजुर्वेदस्तु तैत्तिर्यो आपस्तम्बी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ६ ॥

सत्याद्रिपर्वतारम्भाद्दिशां नैऋत्यसागरात् (sic) ।

हिरण्यकेशी [शि]शाखा पर्शुरामस्य (sic) संनिधौ ॥ ७ ॥

मयूरपर्वताच्चैव यावद्गुर्जरदेशतः ।

व्याप्ता व्या [वा] यथ्यदेशान्तु मैत्रायणी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ८ ॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गाश्च कान्चीनो (?) गुर्जरास्तथा (sic) ।

वाजसनीय [नेय] शाखा च माध्यन्दिनी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ ९ ॥

शुचिणा याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वदेशेषु विस्तृता ।

वाजसनीय [नेय] वेदस्य प्रथमा कश्यप [काश्य] संज्ञकेति ॥ १० ॥

though written in barbarous Sanskrit, and of quite modern origin, possesses great interest, because its description of the geographical distribution of the Vedas and Vedic schools is not mentioned elsewhere. The verses from a work entitled *Mahârûna*, which are quoted there, state that the earth, i. e. India, is divided into two equal halves by the river Narmadâ (Nerbudda), and that the school of Âpastamba prevails in the southern half (ver. 2). It is further alleged (ver. 6) that the Yagur-veda of Tittiri and the Âpastambîya school are established in the Ândhra country and other parts of the south and south-east up to the mouth of the Godâvarî (godâsâgara-âvadhî). According to the *Mahârûna* the latter river marks, therefore, the northern frontier of the territory occupied by the Âpastambîyas, which comprises the Marâtha and Kânara districts of the Bombay Presidency, the greater part of the Nizâm's dominions, Berar, and the Madras Presidency, with the exception of the northern Sirkârs and the western coast. This assertion agrees, on the whole, with the actual facts which have fallen under my observation. A great number of the Desastha-brâhmanas in the Nâsik, Puna, Ahmadnagar, Sâtârâ, Sholâpur, and Kolhâpur districts, and of the Kânarâ or Karnâta-krâhmanas in the Belgâm, Dhârvâd, Kalâdghî, and Karvâd collectorates, as well as a smaller number among the Kittapâvanas of the Koñkana are Âpastambîyas. Of the Nizâm's dominions and the Madras Presidency I possess no local knowledge. But I can say that I have met many followers of Âpastamba among the Teliñgana-brâhmanas settled in Bombay, and that the frequent occurrence of MSS. containing the Sûtras of the Âpastambîya school in the Madras Presidency proves that the *Karana* there must count many adherents. On the other hand, I have never met with any Âpastambîyas among the ancient indigenous subdivisions of the Brahmanical community dwelling north of the Marâtha country and north of the Narmadâ. A few Brâhmanas of this school, no doubt, are scattered over Gugarât and Central India, and others are found in the great places of

pilgrimage in Hindustan proper. The former mostly have immigrated during the last century, following the Maráthâ chieftains who conquered large portions of those countries, or have been imported in the present century by the Maráthâ rulers of Gwalior, Indor, and Baroda. The settlers in Benares, Mathurá, and other sacred cities also, have chiefly come in modern times, and not unfrequently live on the bounty of the Maráthâ princes. But all of them consider themselves and are considered by the Bráhmaṇas, who are indigenous in those districts and towns, as aliens, with whom intermarriage and commensality are not permitted. The indigenous sections of the Bráhmaṇas of Gugarát, such as the Nâgaras, Khedâvals, Bhârgavas, Kapilas, and Motálâs, belong, if they are adherents of the Yagur-veda, to the Mâdhyandina or Kânva schools of the White Yagur-veda. The same is the case with the Bráhmaṇas of Ragputâna, Hindustan, and the Pañjab. In Central India, too, the White Yagur-veda prevails; but, besides the two schools mentioned above, there are still some colonies of Maitráyaṇiyas or Mánavas¹. It seems, also, that the restriction of the Âpastambîya school to the south of India, or rather to those subdivisions of the Brahmanical community which for a long time have been settled in the south and are generally considered as natives of the south, is not of recent date. For it is a significant fact that the numerous ancient landgrants which have been found all over India indicate exactly the same state of things. I am not aware that in any grant issued by a king of a northern dynasty to Bráhmaṇas who are natives of the northern half of India, an Âpastambîya is mentioned as donee. But among the southern landgrants there are several on which the name of the school appears. Thus in a sâsana of king Harihara of Vidyânagara, dated Sakasamvat 1317 or 1395 A.D., one of the recipients of the royal bounty is 'the learned Ananta Dikshita, son of Rámabhatâ, chief

¹ See Bhâñ Dâgá, Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. X, 40. Regarding the Maitráyaṇiyas in Gugarát, of whom the *Karavyûha* speaks, compare my Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1879-80, p. 3.

of the Âpastambya (read Âpastambîya) sâkhâ, a scion of the Vasishtha gotra¹. Further, the eastern Kâlukya king Vigayâditya II², who ruled, according to Dr. Fleet, from A.D. 799-843, presented a village to six students of the Hiranyakesi-sûtra and to eighteen students of the Apastamba, *recte* the Âpastamba-sûtra. Again, in the above-mentioned earlier grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman, there are forty-two students of the Âpastambha-sûtra³ among the 108 sharers of the village of Udayakandra-maṅgalam. Finally, on an ancient set of plates written in the characters which usually are called cave-characters, and issued by the Pallava king Simhavarman II, we find among the donees five Âpastambîya Brâhmanas, who, together with a Hairanyakesa, a Vâgasaneya, and a Sâma-vedî, received the village of Maṅgadûr, in Veṅgôrâshtra⁴. This inscription is, to judge from the characters, thirteen to fourteen hundred years old, and on this account a very important witness for the early existence of the Âpastambîyas in Southern India.

Under the circumstances just mentioned, a casual remark made by Âpastamba, in describing the Srâddhas or funeral oblations, acquires considerable importance. He says (Dh. II, 7, 17, 17) that the custom of pouring water into the hands of Brâhmanas invited to a Srâddha prevails among the northerners, and he indicates thereby that he himself does not belong to the north of India. If this statement is taken together with the above-stated facts, which tend to show that the Âpastambîyas were and are restricted to the south of India, the most probable construction which can be put on it is that Âpastamba declares himself to be a southerner. There is yet another indication to the same effect contained in the Dharma-sûtra. It has been pointed

¹ Colebrooke, Essays, II, p. 264, ver. 24 (Madras ed.)

² See Hultsch, South Indian Inscriptions, vol. i, p. 31 seqq., and Indian Antiquary, vol. xx, p. 414 seqq.

³ Âpastambha may be a mistake for Âpastamba. But the form with the aspirate occurs also in the earlier Pallava grant and in Devapâla's commentary on the Kâthaka Grihya-sûtra.

⁴ Ind. Ant. V, 135.

out above that the recension of the Taittirīya *Āraṇyaka* which *Āpastamba* recognises is that called the *Āndhra* text or the version current in the *Āndhra* country, by which term the districts in the south-east of India between the *Godāvārī* and the *Kṛishṇā* have to be understood¹. Now it seems exceedingly improbable that a Vedic teacher would accept as authoritative any other version of a sacred work except that which was current in his native country. It would therefore follow, from the adoption of an *Āndhra* text by *Āpastamba*, that he was born in that country, or, at least, had resided there so long as to have become naturalised in it. With respect to this conclusion it must also be kept in mind that the above-quoted passage from the *Mahārṇava* particularly specifies the *Āndhra* country (*āndhrādi*) as the seat of the *Āpastambīyas*. It may be that this is due to an accident. But it seems to me more probable that the author of the *Mahārṇava* wished to mark the *Āndhra* territory as the chief and perhaps as the original residence of the *Āpastambīyas*.

This discovery has, also, a most important bearing on the question of the antiquity of the school of *Āpastamba*. It fully confirms the result of the preceding enquiry, viz. that the *Āpastambīyas* are one of the later *Karanas*. For the south of India and the nations inhabiting it, such as *Kaliṅgas*, *Dravidas*, *Andhras*, *Kolas*, and *Pāṇḍyas*, do not play any important part in the ancient Brahmanical traditions and in the earliest history of India, the centre of both of which lies in the north-west or at least north of the *Vindhya* range. Hitherto it has not been shown that the south and the southern nations are mentioned in any of the Vedic *Samhitās*. In the *Brāhmaṇas* and in the *Sūtras* they do occur, though they are named rarely and in a not complimentary manner. Thus the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* gives the names of certain degraded, barbarous tribes, and among them that of the *Andhras*², in whose country, as

¹ See Cunningham, *Geography*, p. 527 seqq.; Burnell, *South Ind. Pal.*, p. 14, note 2.

² *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* VII, 18.

has been shown, the Āpastambīyas probably originated. Again, Baudhāyana, in his Dharma-sūtra I, 1, quotes some verses in which it is said that he who visits the Kaliṅgas must purify himself by the performance of certain sacrifices in order to become fit for again associating with Aryans. The same author, also, mentions distinctive forbidden practices (ākāra) prevailing in the south (loc. cit.). Further, Pāṇini's grammatical Sūtras and Kātyāyana's Vārttikas thereon contain rules regarding several words which presuppose an acquaintance with the south and the kingdoms which flourished there. Thus Pāṇini, IV, 2, 98, teaches the formation of dākshivātya in the sense of 'belonging to or living in the south or the Dekhan,' and a Vārttika of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, IV, 1, 175, states that the words *Kola* and *Pāndya* are used as names of the princes ruling over the *Kola* and *Pāndya* countries, which, as is known from history, were situated in the extreme south of India. The other southern nations and a fuller description of the south occur first in the Mahābhārata¹. While an acquaintance with the south can thus be proved only by a few books belonging to the later stages of Vedic literature, several of the southern kingdoms are named already in the oldest historical documents. Asoka in his edicts², which date from the second half of the third century B.C., calls the *Kolas*, *Pāndyas*, and the *Keralaputra* or *Ketalaputra* his *pratyantas* (*prakantā*) or neighbours. The same monarch informs us also that he conquered the province of *Kaliṅga* and annexed it to his kingdom³, and his remarks on the condition of the province show that it was thoroughly imbued with the Aryan civilisation⁴. The same fact is attested still more clearly by the annals of the *Keta* king of *Kaliṅga*, whose thirteenth year fell in the 165th year of the Maurya era or about 150 B.C.⁵ The early

¹ Lassen, Ind. Alterthumskunde, I, 684, 2nd ed.

² Edict II, Epigraphia Indica, vol. ii, pp. 449-450, 466.

³ Edict XIII, op. cit., pp. 462-465, 470-472.

⁴ See also Indian Antiquary, vol. xxiii, p. 246.

⁵ Actes du 6^{ème} Congrès Int. d. Orient., vol. iii, 2, 135 seqq., where, however, the beginning of the Maurya era is placed wrongly in the eighth year of Asoka.

spread of the Aryan civilisation to the eastern coast-districts between the Godâvari and the *Krîshnâ* is proved by the inscriptions on the *Bhattiprolu* relic caskets, which probably belong to the period of 200 B.C.¹ Numerous inscriptions in the Buddhist caves of Western India², as well as coins, prove the existence during the last centuries before, and the first centuries after, the beginning of our era of a powerful empire of the Andhras, the capital of which was probably situated near the modern *Amarâvati* on the lower *Krîshnâ*. The princes of the latter kingdom, though great patrons of the Buddhist monks, appear to have been Brahmanists or adherents of the ancient orthodox faith which is founded on the Vedas. For one of them is called *Vedisiri* (*vedisrî*), 'he whose glory is the Veda,' and another *Yañāsiri* (*yagñāsri*), 'he whose glory is the sacrifice,' and a very remarkable inscription on the *Nânâghât*³ contains a curious catalogue of sacrificial fees paid to priests (*dakshinâ*) for the performance of *Srauta* sacrifices. For the third and the later centuries of our era the information regarding Southern India becomes fuller and fuller. Very numerous inscriptions, the accounts of the Buddhist chroniclers of Ceylon, of the Greek geographers, and of the Chinese pilgrims, reveal the existence and give fragments, at least, of the history of many kingdoms in the south, and show that their civilisation was an advanced one, and did not differ materially from that of Northern India.

There can be no doubt that the south of India has been conquered by the Aryans, and has been brought within the pale of Brahmanical civilisation much later than India north of the *Vindhya* range. During which century precisely that conquest took place, cannot be determined for the present. But it would seem that it happened a considerable time before the Vedic period came to an end, and it certainly was an accomplished fact, long before the

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, p. 323 seqq.

² See Burgess, *Arch. Surv. Reports, West India*, vol. iv, pp. 104-114 and vol. v, p. 75 seqq.

³ *Op. cit.*, vol. v, p. 39 seqq. Its date probably falls between 150-140 B. C.

authentic history of India begins, about 500 B. C., with the Persian conquest of the Pañjab and Sindh. It may be added that a not inconsiderable period must have elapsed after the conquest of the south, before the Aryan civilisation had so far taken root in the conquered territory, that, in its turn, it could become a centre of Brahmanical activity, and that it could produce new Vedic schools.

These remarks will suffice to show that a Vedic *Karana* which had its origin in the south, cannot rival in antiquity those whose seat is in the north, and that all southern schools must belong to a comparatively recent period of Vedic history. For this reason, and because the name of Âpastamba and of the Âpastambîyas is not mentioned in any Vedic work, not even in a Kalpa-sûtra, and its occurrence in the older grammatical books, written before the beginning of our era, is doubtful¹, it might be thought advisable to fix the terminus a quo for the composition of the Âpastambîya-sûtras about or shortly before the beginning of the era, when the Brahmanist Ândhra kings held the greater part of the south under their sway. It seems to me, however, that such a hypothesis is not tenable, as there are several points which indicate that the school and its writings possess a much higher antiquity. For, first, the Dharma-sûtra contains a remarkable passage in which its author states that Svetaketu, one of the Vedic teachers who is mentioned in the Satapatha-brâhmana and in the *Khândogya* Upanishad, belongs to the Avaras, to the men of later, i. e. of his own times. The passage referred to, Dh. I, 2, 5, 4-6, has been partly quoted above in order to show that Âpastamba laid no claim to the title *Rishi*, or seer of revealed texts. It has been stated that according to Sûtra 4, 'No *Rishis* are born among the Avaras, the men of later ages, on account of the prevailing transgression of the rules of studentship;' and that according to Sûtra 5,

¹ The name Âpastamba occurs only in the *gana* vidâdi, which belongs to Pâṇini IV, 1, 104, and the text of this *gana* is certain only for the times of the Kâśikâ, about 650 A. D. The Srauta-sûtra of Âpastamba is mentioned in the nearly contemporaneous commentary of Bhartṛhari on the Mahâbhâshya, see *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xxxvi, p. 654.

‘Some in their new birth become similar to *Rīshis* by their knowledge of the Veda (*śrutarshi*) through a residue of merit acquired in former existences.’ In order to give an illustration of the latter case, the author adds in *Sūtra* 6, ‘Like *Svetaketu*.’ The natural, and in my opinion, the only admissible interpretation of these words is, that *Āpastamba* considers *Svetaketu* to be one of the *Avaras*, who by virtue of a residue of merit became a *Srutarshi*. This is also the view of the commentator *Haradatta*, who, in elucidation of *Sūtra* 6, quotes the following passage from the *Khândogya Upanishad* (VI, 1, 1-2):

‘1. Verily, there lived *Svetaketu*, a descendant of *Aruna*. His father spake unto him, “O *Svetaketu*, dwell as a student (with a teacher); for, verily, dear child, no one in our family must neglect the study of the Veda and become, as it were, a *Brāhmaṇa* in name only.”

‘Verily, he (*Svetaketu*) was initiated at the age of twelve years, and when twenty-four years old he had learned all the Vedas; he thought highly of himself and was vain of his learning and arrogant.’

There can be no doubt that this is the person and the story referred to in the *Dharma-sūtra*. For the fact which the *Upanishad* mentions, that *Svetaketu* learned all the Vedas in twelve years, while the *Smṛitis* declare forty-eight years to be necessary for the accomplishment of that task, makes *Āpastamba*’s illustration intelligible and appropriate. A good deal more is told in the *Khândogya Upanishad* about this *Svetaketu*, who is said to have been the son of *Uddālaka* and the grandson of *Aruna* (*âruneya*). The same person is also frequently mentioned in the *Satapatha-brāhmaṇa*. In one passage of the latter work, which has been translated by Professor Max Müller¹, it is alleged that he was a contemporary of *Yâgñavalkya*, the promulgator of the White *Yagur-veda*, and of the learned king *Ganaka* of *Videha*, who asked him about the meaning of the *Agnihotra* sacrifice. Now, as has been shown above, *Āpastamba* knew and quotes the White *Yagur-veda* and

¹ Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 421 seq.

the *Satapatha-brâhmana*. The passage of the latter work, which he quotes, is even taken from the same book in which the story about Svetaketu and Ganaka occurs. The fact, therefore, that Âpastamba places a teacher whom he must have considered as a contemporary of the promulgator of the White Yagur-veda among the Avaras, is highly interesting and of some importance for the history of Vedic literature. On the one hand it indicates that Âpastamba cannot have considered the White Yagur-veda, such as it has been handed down in the schools of the *Kânvas* and *Mâdhyandinas*, to belong to a remote antiquity. On the other hand it makes the inference which otherwise might be drawn from the southern origin of the Âpastambîya school and from the non-occurrence of its name in the early grammatical writings, viz. that its founder lived not long before the beginning of our era, extremely improbable. For even if the term *Avara* is not interpreted very strictly and allowed to mean not exactly a contemporary, but a person of comparatively recent times, it will not be possible to place between Svetaketu and Âpastamba a longer interval than, at the utmost, two or three hundred years. Svetaketu and *Yâgñavalkya* would accordingly, at the best, find their places in the fourth or fifth century B. C., and the *Satapatha-brâhmana* as well as all other Vedic works, which narrate incidents from their lives, must have been composed or at least edited still later. Though little is known regarding the history of the Vedic texts, still it happens that we possess some information regarding the texts in question. For we know from a statement made by *Kâtyâyana* in a *Vârttika* on *Pânini* IV, 3, 105, and from *Patañjali's* commentary on his words that the *Brâhmana* proclaimed by *Yâgñavalkya*, i. e. the *Satapatha-brâhmana* of the White Yagur-veda, was considered to have been promulgated by one of the Ancients, in the times of these two writers, i. e. probably in the fourth and second centuries B. C.¹

¹ This famous *Vârttika* has been interpreted in various ways; see Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, pp. 360-364; Goldstücker, *Pânini*, pp. 132-140; Weber,

These considerations will show that it is necessary to allow for Âpastamba a much higher antiquity than the first century B.C.

The same inference may also be drawn from another series of facts, viz. the peculiarities of the language of his Sûtras. The latter are very considerable and very remarkable. They may be classed under four heads. In the Âpastambîya Dharma-sûtra we have, first, archaic words and forms either occurring in other Vedic writings or formed according to the analogy of Vedic usage; secondly, ancient forms and words specially prescribed by Pânini, which have not been traced except in Âpastamba's Sûtras; thirdly, words and forms which are both against Vedic usage and against Pânini's rules, and which sometimes find their analogies in the ancient Prakrits; and fourthly, anomalies in the construction of sentences. To the first class belong, *kravyâdas*, I, 7, 21, 15, carnivorous, formed according to the analogy of *risâdas*; the frequent use of the singular *dâra*, e.g. II, 1, 1, 17-18, a wife, instead of the plural *dârâh*; *salâvrîkî*, I, 3, 10, 19, for *sâlavrîkî*; the substitution of *l* for *r* in *plenkha*, I, 11, 31, 14; occa-

Ind. Stud. V, 65-74; XIII, 443, 444. As regards the explanation of Kâtâyana's and Patañjali's words, I side with Kaiyata and Professor Goldstücker. But I am unable to follow the latter in the inferences which he draws from the fact, that Kâtâyana and Patañjali declare Yâgyavalkya and other sages to be as ancient as those whose Brâhmanas and Kalpas are designated by the plural of adjectives formed by the addition of the affix *in* to the names of the promulgators. Though Pânini asserts, IV, 3, 105, that only those Brâhmanas which are known by appellations like *Bhâllavinah*, *Kaushîtakinah*, &c., have been proclaimed by ancient sages, and though Kâtâyana and the author of the Great Commentary add that this rule does not hold good in the case of the work called *Yâgyavalkânî Brâhmanâni*, it does not necessarily follow, as Professor Goldstücker thinks, that an extraordinarily long interval lies between Pânini and Kâtâyana—so long a period that what Pânini considered to be recent had become ancient in Kâtâyana's time. Professor Weber has rightly objected to this reasoning. The difference between the statements of the two grammarians may have been caused by different traditions prevailing in different schools, or by an oversight on the part of Pânini, which, as the scene of Yâgyavalkya's activity seems to have been Videha in eastern India, while Pânini belonged to the extreme north-west, is not at all improbable. As regards the two dates, I place, following, with Professor Max Müller, the native tradition, Kâtâyana in the fourth century B.C., and Patañjali, with Professors Goldstücker, Kern, and Bhândarkar, between 178-140 B.C.

sional offences against the rules of internal and external Sandhi, e.g. in *agrihyamânakâraṇaḥ*, I, 4, 12, 8; in *skuptvâ*, I, 11, 31, 22, the irregular absolutive of *skubh* or of *sku*; in *pâdûna*, I, 1, 2, 13; in *adhâsanasâyin*, I, 1, 2, 21; and in *sarvatopeta*, I, 6, 19, 8; the neglect of the rule requiring *vridhhi* in the first syllable of the name *Pushkarasâdi*, I, 10, 28, 1; the irregular instrumentals *vidyâ*, I, 11, 30, 3, for *vidyayâ*, and *nihsreyasâ*, II, 7, 16, 2, for *nihsreyasena*; the nominatives dual *âvam*, I, 7, 20, 6, for *âvâ m*, and *kruṅṅakrauṅṅa*, I, 5, 17, 36 for *°krauṅṅau*; and the potentials in *îta*, such as *prakshâlayîta*, I, 1, 2, 28; *abhiprasârayîta*, I, 2, 6, 3, &c.

Among the words mentioned by Pânini, but not traced except in the Dharma-sûtra, may be enumerated the verb *strih*, to do damage, I, 11, 31, 9; the verb *sriṅkh*, to sneeze, from which *sriṅkhânikâ*, I, 5, 16, 14, and *nihsriṅkhana*, II, 2, 5, 9, are derived; and the noun *vedâdhyâya*, I, 9, 24, 6; II, 4, 8, 5, in the sense of a student of the Veda. Words offending against rules given by Pânini, without being either archaic or Prakritic, are e.g. *sarvânnin*, I, 6, 18, 33, one who eats anybody's food, which, according to Pânini V, 2, 9, should be *sarvânnina*; *sarpasîrshin*, I, 5, 17, 39; *annasamskartri*, a cook, II, 3, 6, 16; *dhârmya*, righteous, for *dharmya*, I, 2, 7, 21, and elsewhere; *dîvitri*, a gambler, II, 10, 25, 13, for *devitri*, the very remarkable form *prâsṅâti*, I, 1, 4, 1, for *prâsnâti*, finds an analogy in the Vedic *snaptre* for *snaptri*¹ and in Pali, *pañha* from *prasṅa* for *prasna*; and the curious compounds *avâṅgagra*, I, 1, 2, 38, *parâṅgâvrîta*, II, 5, 10, 11, where the first parts show the forms of the nominative instead of the base, and *pratisûryamatsyaḥ*, I, 3, 11, 31, which as a copulative compound is wrong, though not without analogies in Prakrit and in later Sanskrit². The irregular forms caused by the same tendencies as those which effected the formation of the

¹ Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, vol. i, p. xxxiii.

² See *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morg. Ges.*, vol. xl, p. 539 seq.; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, p. 3.

Prakrit languages, are, *aviprakramina*, II, 2, 5, 2, for *aviprakramana*, where an *a* standing in thesi has been changed to *i*; *sâmvrittih*, II, 3, 6, 13, *sâmvartete*, II, 5, 11, 20, and *paryânta*, I, 3, 9, 21, and I, 3, 11, 33 (compare *Marâthi âmt* for *antaḥ*), in each of which *a* standing before a nasal has been lengthened; *anika*, I, 6, 19, 1, the initial *a* of which stands for *ri*, if it really has the meaning of *rinika*, as some commentators asserted; *anulepana*, I, 3, 11, 13; I, 11, 32, 5, with the Prakritic change of *na* to *na*; *vyupagâva*, I, 2, 8, 15, with *va* for *pa*; *ritve* for *ritvye*, where *y* seems to have been absorbed by the following *e*; *apassayîta*, I, 11, 32, 16, for *apâsrayîta*, and *bhatrivyatikrama*, I, 10, 28, 20, where *r* has been assimilated to the preceding, or has been lost before the following consonant. The irregularities in the construction are less frequent. But in two Sûtras, I, 3, 10, 2, and I, 3, 11, 31, some words which ought to stand in the locative case have the terminations of the nominative, and it looks as if the author had changed his mind about the construction which he meant to use. In a third passage II, 10, 26, 20, *sisnakkhedanam savrishanasya*, the adjective which is intended to qualify the noun *sisna* has been placed in the genitive case, though the noun has been made the first part of a compound.

The occurrence of so many irregularities¹ in so small a treatise as the Dharma-sûtra is, proves clearly that the author did not follow Pânini's grammar, and makes it very unlikely that he knew it at all. If the anomalous forms used by Âpastamba all agreed with the usage of the other Sûtrakâras, known to us, it might be contended that, though acquainted with the rules of the great grammarian, he had elected to adopt by preference the language of the Vedic schools. But this is by no means the case. The majority of the irregular forms are peculiar to Âpastamba. As it is thus not probable that Âpastamba employed his peculiar expressions in obedience to the tradition of the

¹ Many more may be collected from the other divisions of the body of Sûtras. See Winternitz, op. cit., p. 13 seqq.; Gurupûgâkaumudî, p. 34 seq.

Vedic schools or of his particular school, he must have either been unacquainted with Pāṇini or have considered his teachings of no great importance. In other words, he must either have lived earlier than Pāṇini or before Pāṇini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India, and become the standard authority for Sanskrit authors. In either case so late a date as 150 B.C. or the first century B.C. would not fit. For Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya furnishes abundant proof that at the time of its composition, in the second century B.C., Pāṇini's grammar occupied a position similar to that which it holds now, and has held since the beginning of our era in the estimation of the learned of India. On linguistic grounds it seems to me Āpastamba cannot be placed later than the third century B.C., and if his statement regarding Svetaketu is taken into account, the lower limit for the composition of his Sūtras must be put further back by 150–200 years.

But sufficient space has already been allotted to these attempts to assign a date to the founder of the Āpastambīya school, the result of which, in the present state of our knowledge of the ancient history of India, must remain, I fear, less certain and less precise than is desirable. It now is necessary to say, in conclusion, a few words about the history of the text of the Dharma-sūtra, and about its commentary, the *Ugḡvalā Vṛitti* of Haradatta. The oldest writer with a known date who quotes the Āpastambīya Dharma-sūtra is Saṅkarākārya¹, c. 800 A.D. Even somewhat earlier Kumārila, c. 750, refers repeatedly to a law-book by Āpastamba². But it is improbable that he had our Dharma-sūtra before him. For he says, p. 138, that Āpastamba expressly sanctions local usages, opposed to the teaching of the Vedas, for the natives of those districts where they had prevailed since ancient times. Now, that is just an opinion, which our Dharma-sūtra declares to be wrong and refutes repeatedly³. As it seems

¹ See Deussen, *Vedānta*, p. 35.

² *Tantravārttika*, pp. 138, 139, 142, 174, 175, 179, Benares ed.

³ Āp. Dh. I, 1, 14, 8, 9–10; II, 6, 14, 10–13; II, 6, 15, 1.

hazardous to impute to a man, like Kumârila, ignorance or spite against Âpastamba, I am inclined to assume that the great Mîmâmsaka refers to some other work, attributed to Âpastamba, perhaps the metrical Âpastamba-smṛiti which Aparârka quotes very frequently¹. Among the commentators on Smṛitis the oldest, who quote the Dharma-sûtra, are Medhâtithi, the author of the Manubhâshya, and Viṅṅânesvara, who composed the Mitâksharâ. the well-known commentary on Yâgyavalkya's Dharma-sâstra during the reign of the Kâlukya king Vikramâditya VI, of Kalyâna towards the end of the eleventh century. From that time downwards Âpastamba is quoted by almost every writer on law. But the whole text, such as it is given in my edition², is vouched for only by the commentator Haradatta, who wrote his *Uggvalâ Vṛitti*, at the latest, in the fifteenth century A. D. or possibly 100 years earlier³. Haradatta was, however, not the first commentator of the Dharma-sûtra. He frequently quotes the opinions of several predecessors whom he designates by the general expressions *anyaḥ* or *aparaḥ*, i. e. another (writer). The fact that the *Uggvalâ* was preceded by earlier commentaries which protected the text from corruption, also speaks in favour of the authenticity of the latter, which is further attested by the close agreement of the *Hiranyakesi* Dharma-sûtra, mentioned above.

As regards the value of the *Uggvalâ* for the explanation of Âpastamba's text, it certainly belongs to the best com-

¹ Âp. Dh., Introd., p. x.

² Âpastambîya Dharma-sûtram, second edition, Part i, Bombay, 1892; Part ii, Bombay, 1894.

³ It seems not doubtful that Haradatta, the author of the *Uggvalâ*, is the same person who wrote the *Anâkulâ Vṛitti* on the Âpastambîya *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, an explanation of the Âpastambîya *Gr̥hya-mantras* (see Burnell, Ind. Ant. I, 6), and the *Mitâksharâ Vṛitti* on the Dharma-sûtra of Gautama. From the occurrence in the latter work of Tamil words, added in explanation of Sanskrit expressions, it follows that Haradatta was a native of the south of India. I am not in a position to decide if our author also wrote the *Padamañjarî Vṛitti* on the *Kârikâ* of Vâmana and *Gayâditya*. This is Professor Aufrecht's opinion, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 754 seq. See also my remarks in the Introd. to the second ed., p. viii.

mentaries existing. Haradatta possessed in the older *Vrittis* abundant and good materials on which he could draw; he himself apparently was well versed in Hindu law and in Sanskrit grammar, and distinguished by sobriety and freedom from that vanity which induces many Indian commentators to load their works with endless and useless quotations. His explanations, therefore, can mostly be followed without hesitation, and, even when they appear unacceptable, they deserve careful consideration.

INTRODUCTION

TO

GAUTAMA.

COMPARED with the information collected above regarding the origin and the history of Āpastamba's Dharma-sūtra, the facts which can be brought to bear on Gautama's Institutes are scanty and the conclusions deducible from them somewhat vague. There are only two points, which, it seems to me, can be proved satisfactorily, viz. the connection of the work with the Sāma-veda and a Gautama *Karava*, and its priority to the other four Dharma-sūtras which we still possess. To go further appears for the present impossible, because very little is known regarding the history of the schools studying the Sāma-veda, and because the Dharmasāstra not only furnishes very few data regarding the works on which it is based, but seems also, though not to any great extent, to have been tampered with by interpolators.

As regards its origin, it was again Professor Max Müller, who, in the place of the fantastic statements of a fabricated tradition, according to which the author of the Dharmasāstra is the son or grandson of the sage Utathya, and the grandson or great-grandson of Usanas or Sukra, the regent of the planet Venus, and the book possessed generally binding force in the second or Tretā Yuga¹, first put forward a rational explanation which, since, has been adopted by all other writers on Sanskrit literature. He says, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 134, 'Another collection of Dharma-sūtras, which, however, is liable to critical doubts, belongs

¹ *Manu* III, 19; Colebrooke, *Digest of Hindu Law*, Preface, p. xvii (Madras ed.); Anantayagvan in Dr. Burnell's *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.*, (p. 57; *Pārāśara, Dharmasāstra* I, 22 (Calcutta ed.)

to the Gautamas, a *Karana* of the *Sâma-veda*.' This assertion agrees with Kumârila's statement, that the *Dharmasâstra* of Gautama and the *Grihya-sûtra* of Gobhila were (originally) accepted (as authoritative) by the *Khandogas* or *Sâmavedins* alone¹. Kumârila certainly refers to the work known to us. For he quotes in other passages several of its *Sûtras*².

That Kumârila and Professor Max Müller are right, may also be proved by the following independent arguments. Gautama's work, though called *Dharmasâstra* or *Institutes of the Sacred Law*, closely resembles, both in form and contents, the *Dharma-sûtras* or *Aphorisms on the Sacred Law*, which form part of the *Kalpa-sûtras* of the Vedic schools of *Baudhâyana*, *Âpastamba*, and *Hiranyakesin*. As we know from the *Karanavyûha*, from the writings of the ancient grammarians, and from the numerous quotations in the *Kalpa-sûtras* and other works on the Vedic ritual, that in ancient times the number of Vedic schools, most of which possessed *Srauta*, *Grihya*, and *Dharma-sûtras*, was exceedingly great, and that the books of many of them have either been lost or been disintegrated, the several parts being torn out of their original connection, it is not unreasonable to assume that the aphoristic law-book, usually attributed to the *Rishi* Gautama, is in reality a manual belonging to a *Gautama Karana*. This conjecture gains considerably in probability, if the fact is taken into account that formerly a school of *Sâma-vedis*, which bore the name of *Gautama*, actually existed. It is mentioned in one of the redactions of the *Karanavyûha*³ as a subdivision of the *Rânâyaniya* school. The *Vamśa-brâhmana* of the *Sâma-veda*, also, enumerates four members of the *Gautama* family among the teachers who handed down the third *Veda*, viz. *Gâtri* *Gautama*, *Sumantra* *Bâbhava*

¹ *Tantravârttika*, p. 179 (Benares ed.), तस्यथा गौतमीयगोभिलीये इन्द्रोर्गैरेव च परिगृहीते ॥

² Viz. *Gautama* I, 2 on p. 143; II, 45-46 on p. 112, and XIV, 45-46 on p. 109.

³ Max Müller, *Hist. Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 374.

Gautama, *Samkara* Gautama, and *Râdha* Gautama¹, and the existing *Srauta* and *Grîhya-sûtras* frequently appeal to the opinions of a Gautama and of a *Sthavira* Gautama². It follows, therefore, that at least one, if not several *Gautama Karanas*, studied the *Sâma-veda*, and that, at the time when the existing *Sûtras* of *Lâtyâyana* and *Gobhila* were composed, *Gautama Srauta* and *Grîhya-sûtras* formed part of the literature of the *Sâma-veda*. The correctness of the latter inference is further proved by Dr. Burnell's discovery of a *Pitrîmedha-sûtra*, which is ascribed to a teacher of the *Sâma-veda*, called *Gautama*³.

The only link, therefore, which is wanting in order to complete the chain of evidence regarding *Gautama's* Aphorisms on the sacred law, and to make their connection with the *Sâma-veda* perfectly clear, is the proof that they contain special references to the latter. This proof is not difficult to furnish. For *Gautama* has borrowed one entire chapter, the twenty-sixth, which contains the description of the *Krikkhras* or difficult penances from the *Sâma-vidhâna*, one of the eight *Brâhmanas* of the *Sâma-veda*⁴. The agreement of the two texts is complete except in the *Mantras* (*Sûtra* 12) where invocations of several deities, which are not usually found in Vedic writings, have been introduced. Secondly, in the enumeration of the purificatory texts, XIX, 12, *Gautama* shows a marked partiality for the *Sâma-veda*. Among the eighteen special texts mentioned, we find not less than nine *Sâmans*. Some of the latter, like the *Brihat*, *Rathantara*, *Gyeshtha*, and *Mahâdivâkîrtya* chants, are mentioned also in works belonging to the *Rig-veda* and the *Yagur-veda*, and are considered by *Brâhmanas* of all schools to possess great efficacy. But others, such as the *Purushagati*, *Rauhina*, and *Mahâvairâga* *Sâmans*, have hitherto not been met with anywhere but in books belonging to the *Sâma-veda*, and

¹ See Burnell, *Vamsa-brâhmana*, pp. 7, 9, 11, and 12.

² See the Petersburg Dictionary, s. v. *Gautama*; Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 77 (English ed.); *Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra* III, 10, 6.

³ Weber, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 84, note 89 (English ed.)

⁴ See below, pp. 292-296.

do not seem to have stood in general repute. Thirdly, in two passages, I, 50 and XXV, 8, the Dharmasâstra prescribes the employment of five Vyâhr̥itis, and mentions in the former Sûtra, that the last Vyâhr̥iti is satyam, truth. Now in most Vedic works, three Vyâhr̥itis only, bhûh, bhuvah, svah, are mentioned; sometimes, but rarely, four or seven occur. But in the Vyâhr̥iti Sâmān, as Haradatta points out¹, five such interjections are used, and satyam is found among them. It is, therefore, not doubtful, that Gautama in the above-mentioned passages directly borrows from the Sâmā-veda. These three facts, taken together, furnish, it seems to me, convincing proof that the author of our Dharmasâstra was a Sâmā-vedî. If the only argument in favour of this conclusion were, that Gautama appropriated a portion of the Sâmavidhâna, it might be met by the fact that he has also taken some Sûtras (XXV, 1-6), from the Taittiriya Âraṇyaka. But his partiality for Sâmāns as purificatory texts and the selection of the Vyâhr̥itis from the Vyâhr̥iti Sâmān as part of the Mantras for the initiation (I, 50), one of the holiest and most important of the Brahmanical sacraments, cannot be explained on any other supposition than the one adopted above.

Though it thus appears that Professor Max Müller is right in declaring the Gautama Dharmasâstra to belong to the Sâmā-veda, it is, for the present, not possible to positively assert, that it is the Dharma-sûtra of that Gautama *Karana*, which according to the *Karavavyûha*, quoted in the *Sabdakalpadruma* of Râdhâkanta, formed a subdivision of the *Râṇâyanîyas*. The enumeration of four *Âkâryas*, bearing the family-name Gautama, in the *Vamśa-brâhmana*, and *Lâtyâyana's* quotations from two Gautamas, make it not unlikely, that several Gautama *Karanas* once existed among the Sâmā-vedî *Brâhmanas*, and we possess no means for ascertaining to which our Dharmasâstra must be attributed. Further researches into the history of the schools of the Sâmā-veda must be awaited until we can do more. Probably the living tradition of the Sâmā-vedîs of

¹ See Gautama I, 50, note.

Southern India and new books from the South will clear up what at present remains uncertain.

In concluding this subject I may state that Haradatta seems to have been aware of the connection of Gautama's law-book with the Sâma-veda, though he does not say it expressly. But he repeatedly and pointedly refers in his commentary to the practices of the *Khandogas*, and quotes the *Gr̥hya-sûtra* of the *Gaiminîyas*¹, who are a school of Sâma-vedîs, in explanation of several passages. Another southern author, Govindasvâmin (if I understand the somewhat corrupt passage correctly), states directly in his commentary on *Baudhâyana I, 1, 2, 6*, that the *Gautamiya Dharmasâstra* was originally studied by the *Khandogas* alone².

In turning now to the second point, the priority of Gautama to the other existing Dharma-sûtras, I must premise that it is only necessary to take into account two of the latter, those of *Baudhâyana* and *Vasishtha*. For, as has been shown above in the Introduction to *Âpastamba*, the *Sûtras* of the latter and those of *Hiranyakesin Satyâshâdha* are younger than *Baudhâyana's*. The arguments which allow us to place Gautama before both *Baudhâyana* and *Vasishtha* are, that both those authors quote Gautama as an authority on law, and that *Baudhâyana* has transferred a whole chapter of the *Dharmasâstra* to his work, which *Vasishtha* again has borrowed from him.

As regards the case of *Baudhâyana*, his references to Gautama are two, one of which can be traced in our *Dharmasâstra*. In the discussion on the peculiar customs prevailing in the South and in the North of India (*Baudh. Dh. I, 2, 1-8*) *Baudhâyana* expresses himself as follows :

¹ A *Gr̥hya-sûtra* of the *Gaiminîyas* has been discovered by Dr. Burnell with a commentary by *Sr̥nivâsa*. He thinks that the *Gaiminîyas* are a *Sûtra-sâkhâ* of the *Sâtyâyana-Talavakâras*.

² My transcript has been made from the MS. presented by Dr. Burnell, the discoverer of the work, to the India Office Library. The passage runs as follows: *Yathâ vâ bodhânyânam dharmasâstram kaisikid eva pathyamânam sarvâdhikâram bhavati tathâ gautamîye gobhîlîye (?) khandogair eva pathyate || vâsishtham tu bahvrikhair eva ||*

‘ 1. There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the South and in the North.

‘ 2. We shall explain those (peculiar) to the South.

‘ 3. They are, to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one’s wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.

‘ 4. Now (the customs peculiar) to the North are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and to go to sea.

‘ 5. He who follows (these practices) in (any) other country than the one where they prevail commits sin.

‘ 6. For each of these practices (the rule of) the country should be (considered) the authority.

‘ 7. Gautama declares that this is false.

‘ 8. And one should not take heed of either (set of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of those learned (in the sacred law¹).’

From this passage it appears that the Gautama Dharma-sûtra, known to Bauddhâyana, expressed an opinion adverse to the authoritativeness of local customs which might be opposed to the tradition of the Sishyas, i. e. of those who really deserve to be called learned in the law. Our Gautama teaches the same doctrine, as he says, XI, 20, ‘The laws of countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the (sacred) records, have also authority.’

¹ पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोत्तरतः ॥१॥

यानि दक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ॥२॥

यथैतदनुपेतेन सह भोजनं स्त्रिया सह भोजनं पर्युषितभोजनं मातुलपितृ-
ध्वसृदुहितृगमनमिति ॥३॥

स्योत्तरत ऊर्णाधिक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदद्भिर्व्यवहार आयुधीयकं समुद्र-
यानमिति ॥४॥

इतरदितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्नुष्यति ॥५॥

तत्रतत्र देशप्रामाण्यमेव स्यात् ॥६॥

मिथ्यैतदिति गौतमः ॥७॥

उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् ॥८॥

As clear as this reference, is the case in which Baudhâyana has borrowed a whole chapter of our Dharmasâstra. The chapter in question is the nineteenth, which in Gautama's work forms the introduction to the section on penances and expiation. It is reproduced with a number of various readings¹ in the third Prasna of Baudhâyana's Dharma-sûtra, where it forms the tenth and last Adhyâya. Its contents, and especially its first Sûtra which connects the section on penances with the preceding ones on the law of castes and orders, make it perfectly clear that its proper position can only be at the beginning of the rules on expiation, not in the middle of the discussion, as Baudhâyana places it². This circumstance alone would be sufficient to prove that Baudhâyana is the borrower, not Gautama, even if the name of the latter did not occur in Baudhâyana's Dharma-sûtra. But the character of many of Baudhâyana's readings, especially of those in Sûtras 2, 10, 11, 13, and 15, which, though supported by all the MSS. and Govindasvâmin's commentary, appear to have arisen chiefly through clerical mistakes or carelessness, furnishes

¹ Baudhâyana's various readings are the following: Gaut. XIX, 1 = Baudh. III, 10, 1, वर्षीधर्मेन्द्रा°. Gaut. XIX, 2 = Baudh. III, 10, 2, कर्मेणा निथ्या वाचरत्ययाज्यं वा याजयत्वप्रतिग्राह्यस्य वा प्रतिगृह्णात्यनाश्यात्स्य वा त्वमभ्रात्यचरणीयेन वा चरति. Gaut. XIX, 4 left out. Gaut. XIX, 6 = Baudh. III, 10, 5, कुर्यादित्येव. Gaut. XIX, 7 = Baudh. III, 10, 6, पुनस्तोमेन यजेत; विज्ञायते left out. Gaut. XIX, 8 left out. Gaut. XIX, 9 = Baudh. III, 10, 7, अथाप्युदाहरन्ति तरति. Gaut. XIX, 10 = Baudh. III, 10, 8, °नो यजेत. Gaut. XIX, 12 = Baudh. III, 10, 10, वेदादयो वेदान्ताः; कूर्मास्त्रः. Gaut. XIX, 13 = Baudh. III, 10, 11, उपसंन्यायेन पयोव्रतता. Gaut. XIX, 14 = Baudh. III, 10, 12, क्षुषिनि-केतनानि; गोष्ठ्येत्रपरि°. Gaut. XIX, 15 = Baudh. III, 10, 13, अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं सवनोपस्पर्शनं गुरुशुश्रूषणं ब्रह्मचर्यमथःशयनमेकवस्त्रताना°. Gaut. XIX, 17 = Baudh. III, 10, 15, अहोरात्रमेकाह इति कालाः. Gaut. XIX, 18 = Baudh. III, 10, 16, विकल्पेन left out. Gaut. XIX, 20 = Baudh. III, 10, 18, सर्वप्रायश्चित्तिः.

² Baudhâyana's treatment of the subject of penances is very un-methodical. He devotes to them the following sections: II, 1-2; II, 2, 3, 48-53; II, 2, 4; III, 5-10; and the greater part of Prasna IV.

even an additional argument in favour of the priority of Gautama's text. It must, however, be admitted that the value of this point is seriously diminished by the fact that Baudhâyana's third Prasna is not above suspicion and may be a later addition ¹.

As regards Baudhâyana's second reference to Gautama, the opinion which it attributes to the latter is directly opposed to the teaching of our Dharma-sâtra. Baudhâyana gives II, 2, 4, 16 the rule that a Brâhmaṇa who is unable to maintain himself by teaching, sacrificing, and receiving gifts, may follow the profession of a Kshatriya, and then goes on as follows ²:

'17. Gautama declares that he shall not do it. For the duties of a Kshatriya are too cruel for a Brâhmaṇa.'

As the commentator Govindasvâmin also points out, exactly the opposite doctrine is taught in our Dharma-sâtra, which (VII, 6) explicitly allows a Brâhmaṇa to follow, in times of distress, the occupations of a Kshatriya. Govindasvâmin explains this contradiction by assuming that in this case Baudhâyana cites the opinion, not of the author of our Dharma-sâtra, but of some other Gautama. According to what has been said above ³, the existence of two or even more ancient Gautama Dharma-sûtras is not very improbable, and the commentator may possibly be right. But it seems to me more likely that the Sûtra of Gautama (VII, 6) which causes the difficulty is an interpolation, though Haradatta takes it to be genuine. My reason for considering it to be spurious is that the permission to follow the trade of arms is opposed to the sense of two other rules of Gautama. For the author states at the end of the same chapter on times of distress, VII, 25, that 'even a Brâhmaṇa may take up arms when his life is in danger.' The meaning of these words can only be, that a Brâhmaṇa must not fight under any other circumstances.

¹ See Sacred Books of the East, vol. xiv, p. xxxiv seq.

² Baudh. Dh. II, 2, 4, 17.

नेति गौतमोऽप्युच्यते हि क्षत्रधर्मो ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

³ See p. lii.

But according to Sûtra 6 he is allowed to follow the occupations of a Kshatriya, who lives by fighting. Again, in the chapter on funeral oblations, XV, 18, those Brâhmanas 'who live by the use of the bow' are declared to defile the company at a funeral dinner. It seems to me that these two Sûtras, taken together with Baudhâyana's assertion that Gautama does not allow Brâhmanas to become warriors, raise a strong suspicion against the genuineness, of VII, 6, and I have the less hesitation in rejecting the latter Sûtra, as there are several other interpolated passages in the text received by Haradatta¹. Among them I may mention here the Mantras in the chapter taken from the Sâmaavidhâna, XXVI, 12, where the three invocations addressed to Siva are certainly modern additions, as the old Sûtrakâras do not allow a place to that or any other Paurânic deity in their works. A second interpolation will be pointed out below.

The Vâsishtha Dharma-sûtra shows also two quotations from Gautama; and it is a curious coincidence that, just as in the case of Baudhâyana's references, one of them only can be traced in our Dharmasâstra. Both the quotations occur in the section on impurity, Vâs. IV, where we read as follows²:

'33. If an infant aged less than two years, dies, or in the case of a miscarriage, the impurity of the Sapindas (lasts) for three (days and) nights.

'34. Gautama declares that (they become) pure at once (after bathing).

'35. If (a person) dies in a foreign country and (his Sapindas) hear (of his death) after the lapse of ten days, the impurity lasts for one (day and) night.

'36. Gautama declares that if a person who has kindled the sacred fire dies on a journey, (his Sapindas) shall again

¹ In some MSS. a whole chapter on the results of various sins in a second birth is inserted after Adhyâya XIX. But Haradatta does not notice it; see Stenzler, Gautama, Preface, p. iii.

² In quoting the Vâsishtha Dh. I always refer to the Benares edition, which is accompanied by the commentary of Krishnapandita Dharmâdhikârin, called Vidvanmodinî.

celebrate his obsequies, (burning a dummy made of leaves or straw,) and remain impure (during ten days) as (if they had actually buried) the corpse.'

The first of these two quotations or references apparently points to Gautama Dh. XIV, 44, where it is said, that 'if an infant dies, the relatives shall be pure at once.' For, though *Vasishtha's* Sûtra 34, strictly interpreted, would mean, that Gautama declares the relatives to be purified instantaneously, both if an infant dies and if a miscarriage happens, it is also possible to refer the exception to one of the two cases only, which are mentioned in Sûtra 33. Similar instances do occur in the Sûtra style, where brevity is estimated higher than perspicuity, and the learned commentator of *Vasishtha* does not hesitate to adopt the same view. But, as regards the second quotation in Sûtra 36, our Gautama contains no passage to which it could possibly refer. Govindasvâmin, in his commentary on the second reference to Gautama in Baudhâyana's *Dharmasâstra* II, 2, 71, expresses the opinion that this Sûtra, too, is taken from the 'other' Gautama Dharma-sûtra, the former existence of which he infers from Baudhâyana's passage. And curiously enough the regarding the second funeral actually is found in the metrical *Vridhdha-Gautama*¹ or *Vaishnava Dharma-sâstra*, which, according to Mr. Vâman Shâstrî Islâmpurkar², forms chapters 94-115 of the *Asvamedha-parvan* of the *Mahâbhârata* in a Malayâlam MS. Nevertheless, it seems to me very doubtful if *Vasishtha* did or could refer to this work. As the same rule occurs sometimes in the *Srauta-sûtras*³, I think it more probable that the *Srauta-sûtra* of the Gautama school is meant. And it is significant that the *Vridhdha-Gautama* declares its teaching to be *kalpakodita* 'enjoined in the Kalpa or ritual.'

Regarding Gautama's nineteenth chapter, which appears in the *Vâsishtha Dharmasâstra* as the twenty-second, I have

¹ *Dharmasâstra samgraha* (Gîbânand), p. 627, Adhy. 20, 1 seqq.

² *Parâsara Dharma Samhitâ* (Bombay Sansk. Series, No. xlvi), vol. i, p. 9.

³ See e. g. *Âp. Sr. Sû.*

already stated above that it is not taken directly from Gautama's work, but from Baudhâyana's. For it shows most of the characteristic readings of the latter. But a few new ones also occur, and some Sûtras have been left out, while one new one, a well-known verse regarding the efficacy of the Vaisvânara vratapati and of the Pavitreshî, has been added. Among the omissions peculiar to Vasishtha, that of the first Sûtra is the most important, as it alters the whole character of the chapter, and removes one of the most convincing arguments as to its original position at the head of the section on penances. Vasishtha places it in the beginning of the discussion on penances which are generally efficacious in removing guilt, and after the rules on the special penances for the classified offences.

These facts will, I think, suffice to show that the Gautama Dharmasâstra may be safely declared to be the oldest of the existing works on the sacred law¹. This assertion must, however, not be taken to mean, that every single one of its Sûtras is older than the other four Dharmasûtras. Two interpolations have already been pointed out above², and another one will be discussed presently. It is also not unlikely that the wording of the Sûtras has been changed occasionally. For it is a suspicious fact that Gautama's language agrees closer with Pâzini's rules than that of Âpastamba and Baudhâyana. If it is borne in mind that Gautama's work has been torn out of its original connection, and from a school-book has become a work of general authority, and that for a long time it has been studied by Pandits who were brought up in the traditions of classical grammar, it seems hardly likely that it could retain much of its ancient peculiarities of language. But I do not think that the interpolations and alterations can have affected the general character of the book very much. It is too methodically planned and too carefully arranged to admit of any very great changes. The fact, too, that in

¹ Professor Stenzler, too, had arrived independently at this conclusion, see *Grundriss der Indo-Ar. Phil. und Altertumsk.*, vol. ii, Pt. 8, p. 5.

² See p. lvii.

the chapter borrowed by Baudhâyana the majority of the variae lectiones are corruptions, not better readings, favours this view. Regarding the distance in time between Gautama on the one hand, and Baudhâyana and Vasishtha on the other, I prefer not to hazard any conjecture, as long as the position of the Gautamas among the schools of the Sâmaveda has not been cleared up. So much only can be said that Gautama probably was less remote from Baudhâyana than from Vasishtha. There are a few curious terms and rules in which the former two agree, while they, at the same time, differ from all other known writers on Dharma. Thus the term bhikshu, literally a beggar, which Gautama¹ uses to denote an ascetic, instead of the more common yati or sannyâsin, occurs once also in Baudhâyana's Sûtra. The same is the case with the rule, III, 13, which orders the ascetic not to change his residence during the rains. Both the name bhikshu and the rule must be very ancient, as the Gainas and Buddhists have borrowed them, and have founded on the latter their practice of keeping the Vasso, or residence in monasteries during the rainy season.

As the position of the Gautamas among the Sâmân schools is uncertain, it will, of course, be likewise inadvisable to make any attempt at connecting them with the historical period of India. The necessity of caution in this respect is so obvious that I should not point it out, were it not that the Dharmasâstra contains one word, the occurrence of which is sometimes considered to indicate the terminus a quo for the dates of Indian works. The word to which I refer is Yavana. Gautama quotes, IV, 21, an opinion of 'some,' according to which a Yavana is the offspring of a Sûdra male and a Kshatriya female. Now it is well known that this name is a corruption of the Greek Ἰαῶν, an Ionian, and that in India it was applied, in ancient times, to the Greeks, and especially to the early Seleucids who kept up intimate relations with the first Mauryas, as well as later to the Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Grecian kings who from the beginning of the second century B. C. ruled

¹ Gaut. Dh. III, 2, 11; see also Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 327 (English ed.)

over portions of north-western India. And it has been occasionally asserted that an Indian work, mentioning the Yavanas, cannot have been composed before 300 B. C., because Alexander's invasion first made the Indians acquainted with the name of the Greeks. This estimate is certainly erroneous, as there are other facts, tending to show that at least the inhabitants of north-western India became acquainted with the Greeks about 200 years earlier¹. But it is not advisable to draw any chronological conclusions from Gautama's Sûtra, IV, 21. For, as pointed out in the note to the translation of Sûtra IV, 18, the whole section with the second enumeration of the mixed castes, IV, 17-21, is probably spurious.

The information regarding the state of the Vedic literature, which the Dharmasâstra furnishes, is not very extensive. But some of the items are interesting, especially the proof that Gautama knew the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka, from which he took the first six Sûtras of the twenty-fifth Adhyâya ; the Sâmavidhâna Brâhmaṇa, from which the twenty-sixth Adhyâya has been borrowed ; and the Atharvasiras, which is mentioned XIX, 12. The latter word denotes, according to Haradatta, one of the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, which usually are not considered to belong to a high antiquity. The fact that Gautama and Baudhâyana knew it, will probably modify this opinion. Another important fact is that Gautama, XXI, 7, quotes Manu, and asserts that the latter declared it to be impossible to expiate the guilt incurred by killing a Brâhmaṇa, drinking spirituous liquor, or violating a Guru's bed. From this statement it appears that Gautama knew an ancient work on law which was attributed to Manu. It probably was the foundation of the existing Mânava Dharmasâstra². No other teacher on law, besides Manu, is mentioned by name. But the numerous references to the opinions of 'some' show that Gautama's work was not the first Dharma-sûtra.

¹ See my Indian Studies, No. iii, p. 26, note 1.

² Compare also Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxv, p. xxxiv seq.

In conclusion, I have to add a few words regarding the materials on which the subjoined translation is based. The text published by Professor Stenzler for the Sanskrit Text Society has been used as the basis¹. It has been collated with a rough edition, prepared from my own MSS. P and C, a MS. belonging to the Collection of the Government of Bombay, bought at Belgâm, and a MS. borrowed from a *Puṇa Sâstri*. But the readings given by Professor Stenzler and his division of the *Sûtras* have always been followed in the body of the translation. In those cases, where the *variae lectiones* of my MSS. seemed preferable, they have been given and translated in the notes. The reason which induced me to adopt this course was that I thought it more advisable to facilitate references to the printed Sanskrit text than to insist on the insertion of a few alterations in the translation, which would have disturbed the order of the *Sûtras*. The notes have been taken from the above-mentioned rough edition and from my MSS. of Haradatta's commentary, called *Gautamîyâ Mitâksharâ*, which are now deposited in the India Office Library, Sansk. MSS. Bühler, Nos. 165-67.

¹ The Institutes of Gautama, edited with an index of words by A. F. Stenzler, London, 1876.

Â P A S T A M B A,
APHORISMS ON THE SACRED LAW
OF THE HINDUS.

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APHORISMS ON THE SACRED LAW
OF THE HINDUS.

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 1.

1. Now, therefore, we will declare the acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life, as they have been settled by the agreement (of those who know the law).

2. The authority (for these duties) is the agreement of those who know the law,

3. And (the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone.

4. (There are) four castes—Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.

5. Amongst these, each preceding (caste) is superior by birth to the one following.

6. (For all these), excepting Sûdras and those who have committed bad actions, (are ordained) the initiation, the study of the Veda, and the kindling of

1. 1. Samaya, 'agreement, decision,' is threefold. It includes injunction, restriction, and prohibition.

Dharma, 'acts productive of merit,' usually translated by 'duty or law,' is more accurately explained as an act which produces the quality of the soul called apûrva, the cause of heavenly bliss and of final liberation.

2. Manu II, 6, 12; Yâgñ. I, 7; Gautama I, 1.

6. Manu II, 35.

the sacred fire; and (their) works are productive of rewards (in this world and the next).

7. To serve the other (three) castes (is ordained) for the Sûdra.

8. The higher the caste (which he serves) the greater is the merit.

9. The initiation is the consecration in accordance with the texts of the Veda, of a male who is desirous of (and can make use of) sacred knowledge.

10. A Brâhmana declares that the Gâyatrî is learnt for the sake of all the (three) Vedas.

11. (Coming) out of darkness, he indeed enters darkness, whom a man unlearned in the Vedas, initiates, and (so does he) who, without being learned in the Vedas, (performs the rite of initiation.) That has been declared in a Brâhmana.

12. As performer of this rite of initiation he shall seek to obtain a man in whose family sacred learning is hereditary, who himself possesses it, and who is devout (in following the law).

13. And under him the sacred science must be

7. Manu I, 91, VIII, 410, and IX, 334; Yâgñ. I, 120.

9. The use of the masculine in the text excludes women. For though women may have occasion to use such texts as 'O fire, lord of the dwelling,' &c. at the Agnihotra, still it is specially ordained that they shall be taught this and similar verses only just before the rite is to be performed.

10. The object of the Sûtra is to remove a doubt whether the ceremony of initiation ought to be repeated for each Veda, in case a man desires to study more than one Veda. This repetition is declared to be unnecessary, except, as the commentator adds, in the case of the Atharva-veda, for which, according to a passage of a Brâhmana, a fresh initiation is necessary. The latter rule is given in the Vaitâna-sûtra I, 1, 5.

13. Haradatta: 'But this (latter rule regarding the taking of

studied until the end, provided (the teacher) does not fall off from the ordinances of the law.

14. He from whom (the pupil) gathers (*âkīnoti*) (the knowledge of) his religious duties (*dharmān*) (is called) the *Ākārya* (teacher).

15. Him he should never offend.

16. For he causes him (the pupil) to be born (a second time) by (imparting to him) sacred learning.

17. This (second) birth is the best.

18. The father and the mother produce the body only.

19. Let him initiate a *Brāhmaṇa* in spring, a *Kshatriya* in summer, a *Vaiśya* in autumn, a *Brāhmaṇa* in the eighth year after conception, a *Kshatriya* in the eleventh year after conception, (and) a *Vaiśya* in the twelfth after conception.

20. Now (follows the enumeration of the years

another teacher) does not hold good for those who have begun to study, solemnly binding themselves to their teacher. How so? As he (the pupil) shall consider a person who initiates and instructs him his *Ākārya*, and a pupil who has been once initiated cannot be initiated again, how can another man instruct him? For this reason it must be understood that the study begun with one teacher may not be completed with another, if the first die.' Compare also *Haradatta* on I, 2, 7, 26, and the rule given I, 1, 4, 26. In our times also pupils, who have bound themselves to a teacher by paying their respects to him and presenting a cocoa-nut, in order to learn from him a particular branch of science, must not study the same branch of science under any other teacher.

14. *Manu* II, 69; *Yāgñ.* I, 15.

15. *Manu* II, 144.

16. *Manu* II, 146-148.

17. 'Because it procures heavenly bliss and final liberation.'—

Haradatta.

18. *Manu* II, 147.

19. *Yāgñ.* I, 14; *Manu* II, 36; *Āsvalāyana Gri. Sū.* I, 19, 1, 4; *Weber, Ind. Stud.* X, 20 seq.

to be chosen) for the fulfilment of some (particular) wish.

21. (Let him initiate) a person desirous of excellence in sacred learning in his seventh year,

22. A person desirous of long life in his eighth year,

23. A person desirous of manly vigour in his ninth year,

24. A person desirous of food in his tenth year,

25. A person desirous of strength in his eleventh year,

26. A person desirous of cattle in his twelfth year.

27. There is no dereliction (of duty, if the initiation takes place), in the case of a Brâhmana before the completion of the sixteenth year, in the case of a Kshatriya before the completion of the twenty-second year, in the case of a Vaisya before the completion of the twenty-fourth year. (Let him be initiated at such an age) that he may be able to perform the duties, which we shall declare below.

28. If the proper time for the initiation has passed, he shall observe for the space of two months

21. Manu II, 37.

22-26. *Āsv. Gr̥i. Sû.* I, 19, 5, 7; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 21.

27. The meaning of the Sûtra is, that the initiation shall be performed as soon as the child is able to begin the study of the Veda. If it is so far developed at eight years, the ceremony must then be performed; and if it be then neglected, or, if it be neglected at any time when the capacity for learning exists, the expiation prescribed in the following Sûtras must be performed. The age of sixteen in the case of Brâhmanas is the latest term up to which the ceremony may be deferred, in case of incapacity for study only. After the lapse of the sixteenth year, the expiation becomes also necessary. Manu II, 38; *Yâgñ.* I, 37.

28. The meaning is, he shall keep all the restrictions imposed upon a student, as chastity, &c., but that he shall not perform

the duties of a student, as observed by those who are studying the three Vedas.

29. After that he may be initiated.

30. After that he shall bathe (daily) for one year.

31. After that he may be instructed.

32. He, whose father and grandfather have not been initiated, (and his two ancestors) are called 'slayers of the Brahman.'

33. Intercourse, eating, and intermarriage with them should be avoided.

34. If they wish it (they may perform the following) expiation ;

35. In the same manner as for the first neglect (of the initiation, a penance of) two months (was) prescribed, so (they shall do penance for) one year.

36. Afterwards they may be initiated, and then they must bathe (daily),

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 2.

1. For as many years as there are uninitiated persons, reckoning (one year) for each ancestor (and the person to be initiated himself),

2. (They should bathe daily reciting) the seven

fire-worship or service to a teacher, nor study. Manu II, 39; XI, 192; Yâgñ. I, 38; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 101.

30. 'If he is strong, he shall bathe three times a day—morning, midday, and evening.'—Haradatta.

32. Brahman, apparently, here means 'Veda,' and those who neglect its study may be called metaphorically 'slayers of the Veda.'

33. Manu II, 40; Âsv. Grî. Sû. I, 19, 8, 9; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 21.

35. Compare above, I, 1, 1, 28.

2. 2. The seven Pâvamânîs are seven verses which occur *Rîg-veda* IX, 67, 21-27. *Yagushpavitra* = Taitt. Samh. I, 2, 1, 1. The *Sâmapavitra* is found *Sâma-veda* I, 2, 2, 3, 5. *Ângirasapavitra* = *Rîg-veda* IV, 40, 5.

Pāvamāntis, beginning with 'If near or far,' the Yagushpavitra, ('May the waters, the mothers purify us,' &c.) the Sāmapavitra, ('With what help assists,' &c.), and the Āngirasapavitra ('A swan, dwelling in purity'),

3. Or also reciting the Vyāhr̥itis (om, bhûh, bhuvah, suvah).

4. After that (such a person) may be taught (the Veda).

5. But those whose great-grandfather's (grandfather's and father's) initiation is not remembered, are called 'burial-grounds.'

6. Intercourse, dining, and intermarriage with them should be avoided. For them, if they like, the (following) penance (is prescribed). (Such a man) shall keep for twelve years the rules prescribed for a student who is studying the three Vedas. Afterwards he may be initiated. Then he shall bathe, reciting the Pāvamāntis and the other (texts mentioned above, I, 1, 2, 2).

7. Then he may be instructed in the duties of a householder.

8. He shall not be taught (the whole Veda), but only the sacred formulas required for the domestic ceremonies.

9. When he has finished this (study of the Gr̥hya-mantras), he may be initiated (after having performed the penance prescribed) for the first neglect (I, 1, 1, 28).

10. Afterwards (everything is performed) as in the case of a regular initiation.

10. The commentator observes that for those whose great-great-grandfather or remoter ancestors were not initiated, no penance is prescribed, and that it must be fixed by those who know the law.

11. He who has been initiated shall dwell as a religious student in the house of his teacher,

12. For forty-eight years (if he learns all the four Vedas),

13. (Or) a quarter less (i. e. for thirty-six years),

14. (Or) less by half (i. e. for twenty-four years),

15. (Or) three quarters less (i.e. for twelve years),

16. Twelve years (should be) the shortest time (for his residence with his teacher).

17. A student who studies the sacred science shall not dwell with anybody else (than his teacher).

18. Now (follow) the rules for the studentship.

19. He shall obey his teacher, except (when ordered to commit) crimes which cause loss of caste.

20. He shall do what is serviceable to his teacher, he shall not contradict him.

21. He shall always occupy a couch or seat lower (than that of his teacher).

11. Manu II, 164.

12. Manu III, 1, and Yâgñ. I, 36; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

16. The commentator declares that in Manu III, 1, the expression 'until he has learnt it,' must be understood in this sense, that the pupil may leave his teacher, if he has learnt the Veda, after twelve years' study, never before. But compare also Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 3.

17. The commentator states that this rule refers only to a temporary, not to a professed student (*naish/hika*). He also gives an entirely different explanation to the Sûtra, which, according to some, means, 'A student who learns the sacred science shall not fast in order to obtain heaven.' This rendering also is admissible, as the word *para* may mean either a 'stranger' or 'heaven,' and *upavâsa*, 'dwelling' or 'fasting.'

19. Regarding the crimes which cause loss of caste (*patanîya*), see below, I, 7, 21, 7.

20. Manu II, 108, and Yâgñ. I, 27.

21. Manu II, 108, 198; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 123 and 124.

22. He shall not eat food offered (at a sacrifice to the gods or the Manes),
23. Nor pungent condiments, salt, honey, or meat.
24. He shall not sleep in the day-time.
25. He shall not use perfumes.
26. He shall preserve chastity.
27. He shall not embellish himself (by using ointments and the like).
28. He shall not wash his body (with hot water for pleasure).
29. But, if it is soiled by unclean things, he shall clean it (with earth or water), in a place where he is not seen by a Guru.
30. Let him not sport in the water whilst bathing; let him swim (motionless) like a stick.
31. He shall wear all his hair tied in one braid.
32. Or let him make a braid of the lock on the crown of the head, and shave the rest of the hair.

23. Regarding the meaning of kshâra, 'pungent condiments,' see Haradatta on II, 6, 15, 15. Other commentators explain the term differently.—Manu II, 177; Yâgñ. I, 33; and Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 123. Âsv. Grî. Sû. I, 22, 2.

25. Manu II, 177; Yâgñ. I, 33.

26. Manu II, 180.

27. Manu II, 178; Yâgñ. I, 33.

29. 'Here, in the section on the teacher, the word guru designates the father and the rest also.'—Haradatta.

30. Another version of the first portion of this Sûtra, proposed by Haradatta, is, 'Let him not, whilst bathing, clean himself (with bathing powder or the like).' Another commentator takes Sûtra 28 as a prohibition of the daily bath or washing generally ordained for Brâhmanas, and refers Sûtra 29 to the naimittika snâna or 'bathing on certain occasions,' and takes Sûtra 30 as a restriction of the latter.

31. Manu II, 219.

33. The girdle of a Brâhmana shall be made of Muñga grass, and consist of three strings; if possible, (the strings) should be twisted to the right.

34. A bowstring (should be the girdle) of a Kshatriya,

35. Or a string of Muñga grass in which pieces of iron have been tied.

36. A wool thread (shall be the girdle) of a Vaisya,

37. Or a rope used for yoking the oxen to the plough, or a string made of Tamala-bark.

38. The staff worn by a Brâhmana should be made of Palâsa wood, that of a Kshatriya of a branch of the Banian tree, which grows downwards, that of a Vaisya of Bâdara or Udumbara wood. Some declare, without any reference to caste, that the staff of a student should be made of the wood of a tree (that is fit to be used at the sacrifice).

39. (He shall wear) a cloth (to cover his nakedness).

40. (It shall be made) of hemp for a Brâhmana, of flax (for a Kshatriya), of the skin of a (clean) animal (for a Vaisya).

41. Some declare that the (upper) garment (of a Brâhmana) should be dyed with red Lodh,

33. Manu II, 42-44; Yâgñ. I, 29; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 12; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 23.

38. Manu II, 45; Yâgñ. I, 29; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 13; 20, 1; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 23.

Haradatta gives no commentary on this Sûtra, but refers back to the Grihya-sûtra, 11, 16-17, where the same words occur.

39. The word forms a Sûtra by itself, in order to show that every one must wear this cloth.

40. Manu II, 41. 'Clean' means here and everywhere else, if applied to animals or things, 'fit to be used at the sacrifice.'

41. Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 11; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 22.

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 3.

1. And that of a Kshatriya dyed with madder,
2. And that of a Vaisya dyed with turmeric.
3. (The skin) worn by a Brâhmana shall be that of a common deer or of a black doe.
4. If he wears a black skin, let him not spread it (on the ground) to sit or lie upon it.
5. (The skin worn) by a Kshatriya shall be that of a spotted deer.
6. (The skin worn) by a Vaisya shall be that of a he-goat.
7. The skin of a sheep is fit to be worn by all castes,
8. And a blanket made of wool.
9. He who wishes the increase of Brâhmana power shall wear skins only ; he who wishes the increase of Kshatriya power shall wear cloth only ; he who wishes the increase of both shall wear both (skin and cloth). Thus says a Brâhmana.
10. But (I, Âpastamba, say), let him wear a skin only as his upper garment.
11. Let him not look at dancing.
12. Let him not go to assemblies (for gambling, &c.), nor to crowds (assembled at festivals).

3. 3. Manu II, 41 ; Yâgñ. I, 29 ; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 19, 10.

9. See also Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 4.

10. According to I, 1, 2, 39—I, 1, 3, 10, the rule of dress for students is the following:—According to Âpastamba, a student shall wear a piece of cloth to cover his nakedness (*langoî*), and a skin as upper garment. Other teachers allow, besides, an upper dress of cloth, coloured differently for the different castes, with or without the addition of a deer-skin.

11. Manu II, 178.

12-13. Manu II, 179 ; Yâgñ. I, 33.

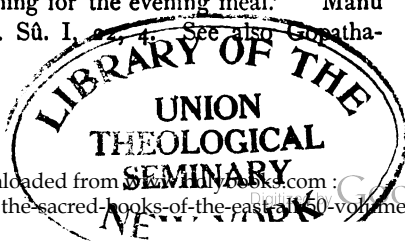
13. Let him not be addicted to gossiping.
14. Let him be discreet.
15. Let him not do anything for his own pleasure in places which his teacher frequents.
16. Let him talk with women so much (only) as his purpose requires.
17. (Let him be) forgiving.
18. Let him restrain his organs from seeking illicit objects.
19. Let him be untired in fulfilling his duties ;
20. Modest ;
21. Possessed of self-command ;
22. Energetic ;
23. Free from anger ;
24. (And) free from envy.
25. Bringing all he obtains to his teacher, he shall go begging with a vessel in the morning and in the evening, (and he may) beg (from everybody) except low-caste people unfit for association (with Âryas) and Abhisastas.

15. 'Anything for his own pleasure,' i.e. keeping conversations with friends, making his toilet, &c.

19. The explanations of the last two terms, *sânta* (Sûtra 18) and *dânta* (Sûtra 19), are different from those given usually. *Sama* is usually explained as 'the exclusive direction of the mind towards God,' and *dama* as 'the restraining of the senses.'

23. *Manu II, 178.*

25. Regarding the explanation of the term *Abhisasta*, see below, I, 7, 21, 17. *Haradatta*: 'Apapâtras are called those born from a high-caste mother and a low-caste father, such as washmen. For their cooking vessels &c. are unfit for the use of the four castes. . . . Since *Âpastamba* says, "In the evening and in the morning, food obtained in the evening must not be used for the morning meal, nor food obtained in the morning for the evening meal." *Manu II, 182, 183, 185; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 2, 4.* See also *Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 6.*



26. A Brāhmaṇa declares : Since a devout student takes away from women, who refuse (to give him alms, the merit gained) by (Srauta)-sacrifices, by gifts, (and) by burnt-offerings (offered in the domestic fire), as well as their offspring, their cattle, the sacred learning (of their families), therefore, indeed, (a woman) should not refuse (alms) to the crowd of students ; for amongst those (who come to beg), there might be one of that (devout) kind, one who thus (conscientiously) keeps his vow.

27. Alms (shall) not (be considered) leavings (and be rejected) by inference (from their appearance), but on the strength of ocular or oral testimony (only).

28. A Brāhmaṇa shall beg, prefacing (his request) by the word ' Lady ' ;

29. A Kshatriya (inserting the word) ' Lady ' in the middle (between the words ' give alms ') ;

30. A Vaisya, adding the word ' Lady ' (at the end of the formula).

31. (The pupil) having taken those (alms) shall place them before his teacher and offer them to him.

32. He may eat (the food) after having been ordered to do so by his teacher.

27. To eat the residue of the meal of any person except that left by the teacher and other Gurus, is not permitted to a student ; see also below, I, 1, 4, 1 seq. ; Manu II, 56 ; Yâgñ. I, 33.

28. The formula to be used by a Brāhmaṇa is, ' Lady, give alms ; ' that to be used by a Kshatriya, ' Give, lady, alms ; ' and that used by a Vaisya, ' Give alms, lady. ' Manu II, 49 ; Yâgñ. I, 30 ; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 8.

31. The words with which he announces the alms are, Idam ittham âhr̥itam, ' this much have I received. ' Manu II, 51 ; Yâgñ. I, 27 ; Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 22, 10.

32. The answer of the teacher is, Saumya tvameva bhukṣhva, ' friend, eat thou. '

33. If the teacher is absent, the pupil (shall offer the food) to (a member of) the teacher's family.

34. If the (family of the teacher) is (also) absent, the pupil (may offer the food) to other learned Brâhmanas (Srotriyas) also (and receive from them the permission to eat).

35. He shall not beg for his own sake (alone).

36. After he has eaten, he himself shall clean his dish.

37. And he shall leave no residue (in his dish).

38. If he cannot (eat all that he has taken in his dish), he shall bury (the remainder) in the ground ;

39. Or he may throw it into the water ;

40. Or he may place (all that remains in a pot), and put it down near an (uninitiated) Ârya ;

41. Or (he may put it down) near a Sûdra slave (belonging to his teacher).

42. If (the pupil) is on a journey, he shall throw

34. Regarding the term Srotriya, see below, II, 3, 6, 4.

35. 'The meaning of this Sûtra is, that the rule given, Sûtra 42 (below), for a pupil who is on a journey, shall hold good also for a pupil who is at home, if (in the absence of his teacher) no Srotriyas are to be found (from whom he can receive the permission to eat).—Haradatta.

36. 'He commits no sin, if he has the alms-pot cleaned by somebody else. Some say that the Sûtra refers to both vessels (the alms-pot and his own dish).'

40. An Ârya is a person belonging to one of the first three castes (see below). The Ârya must be a boy who is not initiated, because children are kâmbhakshâh, i.e. allowed to eat what they like, even leavings.

42. This rule holds good if no Srotriyas are near. If Srotriyas are to be found, Sûtra 34 applies. Agni, the god of fire, is considered to be of the Brahminical caste, and hence he takes the place of the teacher or of the Srotriyas. See also Manu II, 247,

a part of the alms into the fire and eat (the remainder).

43. Alms are declared to be sacrificial food. In regard to them the teacher (holds the position which) a deity (holds in regard to food offered at a sacrifice).

44. And (the teacher holds also the place which) the Āhavanīya fire occupies (at a sacrifice, because a portion of the alms is offered in the fire of his stomach).

45. To him (the teacher) the (student) shall offer (a portion of the alms),

PRASNA I, PATALA 1, KHANDA 4.

1. And (having done so) eat what is left.

2. For this (remnant of food) is certainly a remnant of sacrificial food.

3. If he obtains other things (besides food, such as cattle or fuel, and gives them to his teacher) as he obtains them, then those (things hold the place of) rewards (given to priests for the performance of a sacrifice).

4. This is the sacrifice to be performed daily by a religious student.

5. And (the teacher) shall not give him anything that is forbidden by the revealed texts, (not even as) leavings,

6. Such as pungent condiments, salt, honey, or meat (and the like).

248, and the passages collected from the Brāhmaṇas, by Prof. Weber, Ind. Stud. IX, 39.

44. Manu II, 231.

4. 6. See above, I, 1, 2, 23.

7. By this (last Sûtra it is) explained (that) the other restrictions (imposed upon a student, such as abstinence from perfumes, ointments, &c., are likewise not to be broken).

8. For (explicit) revealed texts have greater force than custom from which (the existence of a permissive passage of the revelation) may be inferred.

9. Besides (in this particular case) a (worldly) motive for the practice is apparent.

7. See above, I, 1, 2, 24 seq. :—According to Haradatta, teachers were in the habit of giving ointments and the like forbidden substances to their pupils, and Âpastamba gives this rule in order to show his dissent from the practice.

8. 'Ânumânika means "proper to be inferred from." For the existence of a text of the revelation or tradition (Smṛiti) is inferred from custom. A visible text of the revelation is (however) of greater weight than a custom from which the existence of a text may be inferred. It is impossible to infer (the existence of a text) which is opposed to such (a visible text), on account of the maxim "an inference (can be made only, if it is) not opposed (by ocular proof)." (Âpastamba), by speaking thus, ("For revealed texts," &c.,) shows that the rule forbidding a student to eat pungent condiments, salt &c. is based on the existing text of a Brâhmaṇa.'—Haradatta.

9. 'Though the text forbidding the use of pungent condiments, salt, and the like refers to such substances if they are not leavings, still it is improper to assert, on the ground of the custom from which a permissive text may be inferred, that it (the existing text), which is general, must be restricted (to those cases only) where the forbidden substances are not leavings given by the teacher. (If an opponent should answer that) certainly there are also texts which contradict each other, such as "he takes" and "he does not take," and that therefore there is no reason why a text restricted (to the case in which forbidden substances are leavings of the teacher) should not be inferred. In order to answer (that plea), he (Âpastamba) says (Sûtra 9), "True, that would be right if no motive whatever could be discovered for that custom (to eat forbidden food which is given by the teacher). But a reason for this course of action exists."—Haradatta.

10. For pleasure is obtained (by eating or using the forbidden substances).

11. A residue of food left by a father and an elder brother, may be eaten.

12. If they act contrary to the law, he must not eat (their leavings).

13. In the evening and in the morning he shall fetch water in a vessel (for the use of his teacher).

14. Daily he shall fetch fuel from the forest, and place it on the floor (in his teacher's house).

15. He shall not go to fetch firewood after sunset.

16. After having kindled the fire, and having swept the ground around (the altar), he shall place

10. 'What is that (reason)? [Sūtra 10] For to eat pungent condiments, salt, &c. gives pleasure to the eater, and therefore according to the maxim, I, 4, 12, 11, "That in case a custom has pleasure for its motive, there is no text of the holy law to authorise it," no text restricting (the prohibition of forbidden substances to the case in which a Brahmacārin does not receive them as leavings from his teacher) can be inferred (from the practice of eating such leavings).'—Haradatta.

12. Another explanation of this Sūtra is given by Haradatta: 'If by eating their leavings he should commit a sin (because the food contains salt &c.), he shall not do it.'

13. Manu II, 182.

14. The reason for placing the fuel on the ground is, according to Haradatta, the fear lest, if placed on some shelf or the like, it should tumble down and injure the teacher's children. Others, however, are of opinion that the wood which the pupil fetches daily, is not to be used by the teacher for cooking, but for the performance of the pupil's daily fire-offering. The reason for this interpretation is, that in the *Gr̥hya-sūtra*, 11, 24, the daily offering of fuel is enjoined with the same words. See Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 123; Manu II, 186.

16. Some explain, instead of 'after having swept the ground around the altar,' &c., 'after having raked the scattered brands into a heap.'—Haradatta.

the sacred fuel on the fire every morning and evening, according to the prescription (of the *Grihya-sûtra*).

17. Some say that the fire is only to be worshipped in the evening.

18. He shall sweep the place around the fire after it has been made to burn (by the addition of fuel), with his hand, and not with the broom (of *Kusa* grass).

19. But, before (adding the fuel, he is free to use the broom) at his pleasure.

20. He shall not perform non-religious acts with the residue of the water employed for the fire-worship, nor sip it.

21. He shall not sip water which has been stirred with the hand, nor such as has been received into one hand only.

22. And he shall avoid sleep (whilst his teacher is awake).

23. Then (after having risen) he shall assist his teacher daily by acts tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit and of wealth.

24. Having served (his teacher during the day in this manner, he shall say when going to bed): I have protected the protector of the law (my teacher).

18. *Âp. Gri. Sû. 11, 22.*

20. During the fire-worship water is wanted for sprinkling the altar in various ways.

23. Acts tending to the acquisition of merit are here—collecting sacred fuel, *Kusa* grass, and flowers for sacrifices. Acts tending to the acquisition of wealth are—gathering fuel for cooking, &c. *Manu* II, 182; *Weber, Ind. Stud.* X, 123 and 124.

24. Another explanation of the words spoken by the student is, 'O law, I have protected him; protect thou me.' See also *Gopatha-brâhmana* I, 2, 4.

25. If the teacher transgresses the law through carelessness or knowingly, he shall point it out to him privately.

26. If (the teacher) does not cease (to transgress), he himself shall perform the religious acts (which ought to be performed by the former) ;

27. Or he may return home.

28. Now of him who rises before (his teacher) and goes to rest after (him), they say that he does not sleep.

29. The student who thus entirely fixes his mind there (in the teacher's family), has thereby performed all acts which yield rewards (such as the *Gyotish-toma*), and also those which must be performed by a householder.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 2, KHANḌA 5.

1. The word 'austerity' (must be understood to apply) to (the observance of) the rules (of student-ship).

2. If they are transgressed, study drives out the knowledge of the Veda acquired already, from the (offender) and from his children.

26. Compare above, I, 1, 1, 13.

29. The Sūtra refers to a *naish/hika brahmaṭārin* or professed student, who never leaves his teacher's family, and never enters any other order; and it declares his merit to be equal to that of one who becomes a householder. *Manu* II, 243, 244; *Yāgñ.* I, 49, 50.

5. 1. *Manu* II, 164.

2. The meaning of the phrase, 'Study drives out the Veda, which has already been learnt from him who studies transgressing the rules prescribed for the student,' is, 'The Veda recited at the *Brahmayagña* (daily study), and other religious rites, produces no effect, i.e. gains no merit for the reciter.' *Manu* II, 97. *Hara-*

3. Besides he will go to hell, and his life will be shortened.

4. On account of that (transgression of the rules of studentship) no *Rishis* are born amongst the men of later ages.

5. But some in their new birth, on account of a residue of the merit acquired by their actions (in former lives), become (similar to) *Rishis* by their knowledge (of the Veda),

6. Like *Svetaketu*.

7. And whatever else, besides the Veda, (a student) who obeys the rules learns from his teacher, that brings the same reward as the Veda.

8. Also, if desirous to accomplish something (be

datta gives also the following three explanations of this *Sûtra*, adopted by other commentators:—

a. If these (rules) are transgressed, he loses his capacity for learning, because the Brahman forsakes him, &c.

b. If these rules are transgressed, the capacity for learning and the Brahman leave him, &c.

c. From him who studies whilst transgressing these rules, the Brahman goes out, &c.

4. 'Amongst the avaras means "amongst the men of modern times, those who live in the Kaliyuga." No *Rishis* are born means "there are none who see (receive the revelation of) Mantras, Vedic texts."—Haradatta.

5. 'How is it then that men in our days, though they transgress the rules prescribed for students, learn the four Vedas with little trouble? (The answer is), By virtue of a residue of the reward (due) for the proper observance of those rules (of studentship) in a former Yuga. Therefore *Âpastamba* says, *Sûtra* 6, "But some," &c. New existence means "new birth (life)."—Haradatta.

6. An example of this (follows, *Sûtra* 6): 'Like *Svetaketu*. For *Svetaketu* learned the four Vedas in a short time; as we read in the *Khândogya Upanishad* (*Prapâhika* VI, 1).—Haradatta.

7. 'Whatever else besides the Veda, such as poison-charms and the like.'—Haradatta.

it good or evil), he thinks it in his mind, or pronounces it in words, or looks upon it with his eye, even so it will be; thus teach (those who know the law).

9. (The duties of a student consist in) acts to please the spiritual teacher, the observance (of rules) conducive to his own welfare, and industry in studying.

10. Acts other than these need not be performed by a student.

11. A religious student who retains what he has learned, who finds pleasure in the fulfilment of the law, who keeps the rules of studentship, who is upright and forgiving, attains perfection.

12. Every day he shall rise in the last watch of the night, and standing near his teacher, salute him with (this) salutation: I, N. N., ho! (salute thee.)

13. And (he shall salute) before the morning meal also other very aged (learned Brāhmanas) who may live in the same village.

14. If he has been on a journey, (he shall salute

9. 'Acts to please the teacher are—washing his feet and the like; observance (of rules) conducive to welfare are—obedience to the prohibition to cross a river swimming, to eat pungent condiments, and obedience to the injunction to beg.'—Haradatta.

10. 'Acts other than these, such as pilgrimages and the like.'—Haradatta.

11. 'What this "perfection" is has been declared in Sūtras 7, 8.'—Haradatta.

12. Manu II, 122 and 124.

14. This salutation is to be performed only when the occasion requires it. The formerly-mentioned salutation (Sūtras 12, 13) is to be performed daily. In the next Sūtra follows that by which the fulfilment of a wish may be obtained.—Haradatta. Manu II, 121; Yâgñ. I, 26.

the persons mentioned) when he meets them on his return.

15. (He may also salute the persons mentioned at other times), if he is desirous of heaven and long life.

16. A Brâhmana shall salute stretching forward his right arm on a level with his ear, a Kshatriya holding it on a level with the breast, a Vaisya holding it on a level with the waist, a Sûdra holding it low, (and) stretching forward the joined hands.

17. And when returning the salute of (a man belonging) to the first (three) castes, the (last syllable of the) name (of the person addressed) is produced to the length of three moras.

18. But when he meets his teacher after sunrise (coming for his lesson), he shall embrace (his feet).

19. On all other occasions he shall salute (him in the manner described above).

20. But some declare that he ought to embrace the (feet of his) teacher (at every occasion instead of saluting him).

21. Having stroked the teacher's right foot with his right hand below and above, he takes hold of it and of the ankle.

22. Some say, that he must press both feet, each with both hands, and embrace them.

23. He shall be very attentive the whole day

16. 'A Vaisya shall salute stretching forth his arm on a level with his middle, i.e. the stomach; others say, on a level with his thigh; the Sûdra stretching it forth low, i.e. on a level with his feet.'—Haradatta.

17. See also Manu II, 125.

18. Manu II, 71.

22. Manu II, 72.

23. Manu II, 191.

long, never allowing his mind to wander from the lesson during the (time devoted to) studying.

24. And (at other times he shall be attentive) to the business of his teacher.

25. And during the time for rest (he shall give) his mind (to doubtful passages of the lesson learnt).

26. And he shall study after having been called by the teacher (and not request the teacher to begin the lesson).

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 6.

1. Every day he shall put his teacher to bed after having washed his (teacher's) feet and after having rubbed him.

2. He shall retire to rest after having received (the teacher's permission).

3. And he shall not stretch out his feet towards him.

4. Some say, that it is not (sinful) to stretch out the feet (towards the teacher), if he be lying on a bed.

5. And he shall not address (the teacher), whilst he himself is in a reclining position.

6. But he may answer (the teacher) sitting (if the teacher himself is sitting or lying down).

7. And if (the teacher) stands, (he shall answer him,) after having risen also.

26. Yâgñ. I, 27; Manu II, 191.

6. 1. Manu II, 209.

2. Manu II, 194.

4. 'But, in Āpastamba's opinion, it is sinful even in this case.'—Haradatta.

5. Manu II, 195.

6. Manu II, 196.

8. He shall walk after him, if he walks.

9. He shall run after him, if he runs.

10. He shall not approach (his teacher) with shoes on his feet, or his head covered, or holding (implements) in his hand.

11. But on a journey or occupied in work, he may approach him (with shoes on, with his head covered, or with implements in his hand),

12. Provided he does not sit down quite near (to his teacher).

13. He shall approach his teacher with the same reverence as a deity, without telling idle stories, attentive and listening eagerly to his words.

14. (He shall not sit near him) with his legs crossed.

15. If (on sitting down) the wind blows from the pupil towards the master, he shall change his place.

16. (He shall sit) without supporting himself with his hands (on the ground),

17. Without leaning against something (as a wall or the like).

18. If the pupil wears two garments, he shall wear the upper one after the fashion of the sacred thread at the sacrifices.

19. But, if he wears a (lower) garment only, he shall wrap it around the lower part of his body.

20. He shall turn his face towards his teacher though the latter does not turn his towards him.

21. He shall sit neither too near to, nor too far (from the teacher),

15. Manu II, 203.

18. At sacrifices the sacred thread passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Manu II, 63, and Taitt. Âr. II, 1, 3.

20. Manu II, 197.

22. (But) at such a distance, that (the teacher) may be able to reach him with his arms (without rising).

23. (He shall not sit in such a position) that the wind blows from the teacher, towards himself.

24. (If there is) only one pupil, he shall sit at the right hand (of the teacher).

25. (If there are) many, (they may sit) as it may be convenient.

26. If the master (is not honoured with a seat and) stands, the (pupil) shall not sit down.

27. (If the master is not honoured with a couch) and sits, the (pupil) shall not lie down on a couch.

28. And if the teacher tries (to do something), then (the pupil) shall offer to do it for him, if it is in his power.

29. And, if his teacher is near, he shall not embrace (the feet of) another Guru who is inferior (in dignity);

30. Nor shall he praise (such a person in the teacher's presence) by (pronouncing the name of) his family.

31. Nor shall he rise to meet such an (inferior Guru) or rise after him,

32. Even if he be a Guru of his teacher.

33. But he shall leave his place and his seat, (in order to show him honour.)

23. See Sûtra 15 and Manu quoted there.

29. The term Guru includes a father, maternal uncle, &c. (see above), and these are inferior to the teacher. Manu II, 205.

31-32. 'The pupil is not to show the mentioned marks of respect to any of his own inferior Gurus, even if the person is the Guru, e.g. the maternal uncle, of his teacher.'—Haradatta.

34. Some say, that (he may address) a pupil of his teacher by (pronouncing) his name, if he is also one of his (the pupil's) own Gurus.

35. But towards such a person who is generally revered for some other reason than being the teacher (e.g. for his learning), the (student) should behave as towards his teacher, though he be inferior in dignity to the latter.

36. After having eaten in his (teacher's) presence, he shall not give away the remainder of the food without rising.

37. Nor shall he sip water (after having eaten in the presence of his teacher without rising).

38. (He shall rise) addressing him (with these words), 'What shall I do?'

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 7.

1. Or he may rise silently.

2. Nor shall he (in going away) move around his teacher with his left hand turned towards him; he shall go away after having walked around him with his right side turned towards him.

3. He shall not look at a naked woman.

4. He shall not cut the (leaves or flowers) of herbs or trees, in order to smell at them.

34. 'But Âpastamba's own opinion is that he ought not to address by name a (maternal uncle or other) Guru (who visits his teacher).—Haradatta.

36. According to I, 1, 3, 40 seq., a student shall give what he is unable to eat to a child, or to a slave. If he has eaten in the presence of his teacher, he shall not give the food away without rising for the purpose.

7. 3. Manu IV, 53; Yâgñ. I, 135.

4. Gopatha-brâhmana I, 2, 2.

5. He shall avoid (the use of) shoes, of an umbrella, a chariot, and the like (luxuries).

6. He shall not smile.

7. If he smiles, he shall smile covering (the mouth with his hand); thus says a Brâhmana.

8. He shall not touch a woman with his face, in order to inhale the fragrance of her body.

9. Nor shall he desire her in his heart.

10. Nor shall he touch (a woman at all) without a particular reason.

11. A Brâhmana declares, 'He shall be dusty, he shall have dirty teeth, and speak the truth.'

12. Those teachers, who instructed his teacher in that science which he (the pupil) studies with him, (are to be considered as) spiritual teachers (by the pupil).

13. But if (a teacher), before the eyes of his (pupil), embraces the feet of any other persons, then he (the pupil also) must embrace their feet, (as long as he remains) in that (state of studentship).

5. Manu II, 178.

10. Manu II, 179.

11. 'Though both (these first two precepts) have been given in Sûtra I, 1, 2, 27, still they are repeated, in order to show that a Srâuta penance for the breach of them, is enjoined by a revealed text.'—Haradatta.

12. The term *vamsya*, 'ancestor,' for the teacher's teacher is explained by the circumstance, that Hindus consider a 'school,' consisting of a succession of teachers and pupils, as a spiritual family, and call it a *vidyâvamsa*, *vidyâparamparâ*. Manu II, 205.

13. 'Another (commentator) says, "He, the pupil, must embrace their feet (at every meeting) from that time (when he first saw his teacher do it)." Because the word "but" is used in the Sûtra, he must do so even after he has returned home (on completion of his studies).'—Haradatta.

14. If (a pupil) has more than one teacher, the alms (collected by him) are at the disposal of him to whom he is (just then) bound.

15. When (a student) has returned home (from his teacher), he shall give (whatever he may obtain by begging or otherwise) to his mother.

16. The mother shall give it to her husband ;

17. (And) the husband to the (student's) teacher.

18. Or he may use it for religious ceremonies.

19. After having studied as many (branches of) sacred learning as he can, he shall procure in a righteous manner the fee for (the teaching of) the Veda (to be given to his teacher), according to his power.

20. But, if the teacher has fallen into distress, he may take (the fee) from an Ugra or from a Sûdra.

21. But some declare, that it is lawful at any time to take the money for the teacher from an Ugra or from a Sûdra.

14. 'More than one teacher,' i.e. several, who have taught him the several Vedas. Each Brahman generally knowing one Veda only.

This passage shows, that the young Brahmans in olden time, just as now, went from one teacher to the other, learning from each what he knew. The rules, which seemingly enjoin a pupil to stay with one and the same teacher, refer only to the principle, that the pupil must stay with his teacher, until he has learnt the subject which he began with him.

18. 'Religious ceremonies, i.e. the wedding and the like. For them he may use it optionally. He, i.e. on failure of the teacher ; the father, on failure of the father ; the mother, on failure of all (the pupil) himself.'—Haradatta.

19. Manu II, 245 and 246 ; Yâgñ. I, 51 ; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

20. 'The word Ugra denotes either the offspring of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra woman, or a twice-born man, who perpetrates dreadful deeds.'—Haradatta.

22. And having paid (the fee), he shall not boast of having done so.

23. And he shall not remember what he may have done (for his teacher).

24. He shall avoid self-praise, blaming others, and the like.

25. If he is ordered (by his teacher to do something), he shall do just that.

26. On account of the incompetence of his teacher, (he may go) to another (and) study (there).

27. He shall behave towards his teacher's wife as towards the teacher himself, but he shall not embrace her feet, nor eat the residue of her food.

28. So also (shall he behave) towards him who teaches him at (the teacher's) command,

29. And also to a fellow-student who is superior (in learning and years).

30. He shall behave to his teacher's son (who is superior to himself in learning or years) as to his teacher, but not eat the residue of his food.

31. Though he may have returned home, the

24. *Manu II, 179.*

26. See above, I, 1, 1, 13, and note. Here also Haradatta states that the permission to leave the teacher is to be restricted to those who have not solemnly bound themselves to their teacher by allowing him to perform the ceremony of initiation.

27. *Manu II, 208-212.*

28. 'The use of the present "adhyâpayati," shows that this rule holds good only for the time during which he is taught by such a man.'—Haradatta.

29. 'Because (an older fellow-student) is of use to him, according to the verse: One-fourth (of his learning) a pupil receives from his teacher, one-fourth he acquires by his own intelligence, one-fourth from his fellow-students, one-fourth he is taught by time.'—Haradatta.

30. *Manu II, 207-209.*

behaviour towards his (teacher and the rest) which is prescribed by the rule of conduct settled by the agreement (of those who know the law, must be observed by him to the end),

PRASNA I, PATALA 2, KHANDA 8.

1. Just as by a student (actually living with his teacher).

2. He may wear garlands, anoint his face (with sandal), oil his hair and moustaches, smear his eyelids (with collyrium), and (his body) with oil, wear a turban, a cloth round his loins, a coat, sandals, and wooden shoes.

3. Within the sight of his (teacher or teacher's relations) he shall do none of those (actions, as putting on a garland), nor cause them to be done.

4. Nor (shall he wear garlands &c. whilst performing) acts for his pleasure,

5. As, for instance, cleaning his teeth, shampooing, combing the hair, and the like.

6. And the teacher shall not speak of the goods of the (pupil) with the intention to obtain them.

7. But some declare, that, if a pupil who has bathed (after completing his studies) is called by his teacher or has gone to see him, he shall not take off

8. 1. Haradatta does not connect this Sûtra with the preceding one. He explains it by itself: '(We will now declare) how a student (who has left his teacher, but is not married) ought to behave.'

6. 'If the teacher comes to the house of his (former) pupil (who has become a householder), he shall, for instance, not say, "Oh, what a beautiful dish!" in such a manner, that his desire to obtain it becomes apparent.'—Haradatta.

7. This opinion is contrary to Âpastamba's view given in Sûtras 2 and 3 above.

that (garland or other ornaments) which he wears according to the law at the time (of that ceremony).

8. He shall not sit on a seat higher (than that of his teacher),

9. Nor on a seat that has more legs (than that of his teacher),

10. Nor on a seat that stands more firmly fixed (on the ground than that of his teacher),

11. Nor shall he sit or lie on a couch or seat which is used (by his teacher).

12. If he is ordered (by his teacher), he shall on a journey ascend a carriage after him.

13. (At his teacher's command) he shall also enter an assembly, ascend a roller (which his teacher drags along), sit on a mat of fragrant grass or a couch of straw (together with his teacher).

14. If not addressed by a Guru, he shall not speak to him, except (in order to announce) good news.

15. He shall avoid to touch a Guru (with his finger), to whisper (into his ear), to laugh (into his face), to call out to him, to pronounce his name or to give him orders and the like (acts).

10. 'When he gives to his teacher a wooden seat (with legs), he shall not sit on a cane-seat (without legs), for the latter touches the ground on all sides.'—Haradatta.

11. *Manu II, 119.*

12. This rule is an exception to I, 2, 7, 5. *Manu II, 204.*

13. 'The roller is an implement used by husbandmen, with which the ploughed land is made even. If one person ascends it and another drags it along, the ground becomes even. If that is dragged by the teacher, the pupil shall ascend it at his command. He shall not disobey from fear of the unseemliness of the action.'—Haradatta.

15. *Manu II, 199; regarding the term Guru, see above, I, 2, 6, 29.*

16. In time of need he may attract attention (by any of these acts).

17. If (a pupil) resides (in the same village) with (his teacher after the completion of his studies), he shall go to see him every morning and evening, without being called.

18. And if he returns from a journey, he shall (go to) see him on the same day.

19. If his teacher and his teacher's teacher meet, he shall embrace the feet of his teacher's teacher, and then show his desire to do the same to his teacher.

20. The other (the teacher) shall (then) forbid it.

21. And (other marks of) respect (due to the teacher) are omitted in the presence of the (teacher's teacher).

22. And (if he does not live in the same village), he shall go frequently to his teacher's residence, in order to see him, and bring him some (present), with his own hand, be it even only a stick for cleaning the teeth. Thus (the duties of a student have been explained).

23. (Now) the conduct of a teacher towards his pupil (will be explained).

24. Loving him like his own son, and full of attention, he shall teach him the sacred science, without hiding anything in the whole law.

25. And he shall not use him for his own purposes to the detriment of his studies, except in times of distress.

17. This and the following Sûtras refer to a person who has finished his studentship, while the preceding ones, from Sûtra 8, apply to the time of studentship also.

24. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 126.

26. That pupil who, attending to two (teachers), accuses his (principal and first) teacher of ignorance, remains no (longer) a pupil.

27. A teacher also, who neglects the instruction (of his pupil), does no (longer) remain a teacher.

28. If the (pupil) commits faults, (the teacher) shall always reprove him.

29. Frightening, fasting, bathing in (cold) water, and banishment from the teacher's presence are the punishments (which are to be employed), according to the greatness (of the fault), until (the pupil) leaves off (sinning).

30. He shall dismiss (the pupil), after he has performed the ceremony of the Samāvartana and has finished his studentship, with these words, 'Apply thyself henceforth to other duties.'

PRASNA I, PATALA 3, KHANDA 9.

1. After having performed the Upākarma for studying the Veda on the full moon of the month *Śrāvana* (July–August), he shall for one month not study in the evening.

26. 'Another commentator says, "That pupil who offends his teacher in word, thought, or deed, and directs his mind improperly, i.e. does not properly obey, does not (any longer) remain a pupil."'—Haradatta.

29. But see also Manu VIII, 299, where corporal punishment is permitted.

9. 1. The Upākarma is the ceremony which is performed every year at the beginning of the course of study. It is in fact the solemn opening of the Brahmanic term. 'Because Āpastamba uses the word evening (i.e. first part of the night) it is not sinful to study later in the night.'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 95; *Yāgñ. I, 142, 143*; Weber, *Ind. Stud. X, 130 and 134.*

2. On the full moon of the month of Pausha (December–January), or under the constellation Rohini, he shall leave off reading the Veda.

3. Some declare, (that he shall study) for four months and a half.

4. He shall avoid to study the Veda on a high-road.

5. Or he may study it (on a high-road), after having smeared (a space) with cowdung.

6. He shall never study in a burial-ground nor anywhere near it within the throw of a Samyâ.

7. If a village has been built over (a burial-ground) or its surface has been cultivated as a field, the recitation of the Veda (in such a place) is not prohibited.

8. But if that place is known to have been (a burial-ground), he shall not study (there).

2. The term lasts therefore for five months; (i. e. latter half of Srâvana, Bhâdrapada, Âsvina, Kârttika, Mârgasirsha, and the first half of Pausha.) The Rohini-day of Pausha is meant.

3. 'According to this latter opinion the Upâkarma should be performed on the full moon of Bhâdrapada, as has been taught in another work (Manu IV, 95); the (time of the) Utsargana, (the solemn closing of the term) should be advanced; and after the Utsargana has been performed, one may study the Veda during the light nights of each month until the full moon of Srâvana, in order to fix in one's mind the part learned already; and in the dark fortnight of each month one may study the Vedângas, i. e. grammar and the rest (Manu IV, 98). On the full moon of Srâvana the Upâkarma should be performed once more, and that part of the Veda should be studied which has not yet been learned.'—Haradatta.

4. Nigamâh, 'high-roads,' are squares and the like.—Haradatta.

6. The Samyâ is either the pin in the bullock's yoke or the round stick, about a foot and a half in length, which is used for the preparation of the Vedi. Manu IV, 116; Yâgñ. I, 148.

8. 'Nor anywhere near it within the throw of a Samyâ.' This must be understood from Sûtra 6.

9. A Sûdra and an outcast are (included by the term) burial-ground, (and the rule given, Sûtra 6, applies to them).

10. Some declare, that (one ought to avoid only, to study) in the same house (where they dwell).

11. But if (a student and) a Sûdra woman merely look at each other, the recitation of the Veda must be interrupted,

12. Likewise, if (a student and) a woman, who has had connexion with a man of a lower caste, (look at each other).

13. If he, who is about to study the Veda, wishes to talk to a woman during her courses, he shall first speak to a Brâhmana and then to her, then again speak to a Brâhmana, and afterwards study. Thereby the children (of that woman) will be blessed.

14. (He shall not study in a village) in which a corpse lies ;

15. Nor in such a one where *Kândâlas* live.

16. He shall not study whilst corpses are being carried to the boundary of the village,

17. Nor in a forest, if (a corpse or *Kândâla*) is within sight.

18. And if outcasts have entered the village, he shall not study on that day,

9. *Yâgñ. I, 148.*

13. The last part of the Sûtra may also be interpreted : ' Thus she will be blessed with children.'—Haradatta.

14. *Manu IV, 108 ; Yâgñ. I, 148.*

18. Haradatta explains *Bâhya*, ' outcasts,' by ' robbers, such as *Ugras* and *Nishâdas*.' But, I think, it means simply such outcasts as live in the forest or outside the village in the *Vâdi*, like the *Dhêrs*, *Mahârs*, *Mângs* of the present day. Most of these tribes, however, are or were given to thieving. See *Kullûka* on *Manu X, 28*, and the *Petersburg Dict. s. v.*

19. Nor if good men (have come).
20. If it thunders in the evening, (he shall not study) during the night.
21. If lightning is seen (in the evening, he shall not study during that night), until he has slept.
22. If lightning is seen about the break of dawn, or at the time when he may distinguish at the distance of a *Samyâ*-throw, whether (a cow) is black or red, he shall not study during that day, nor in the following evening.
23. If it thunders in the second part of the third watch of the night, (he shall not study during the following day or evening).
24. Some (declare, that this rule holds good, if it thunders), after the first half of the night has passed.
25. (Nor shall he study) whilst the cows are prevented from leaving (the village on account of thieves and the like),
26. Nor (on the imprisonment of criminals) whilst they are being executed.
27. He shall not study whilst he rides on beasts (of burden).
28. At the new moon, (he shall not study) for two days and two nights.

19. *Yâgñ. I, 150.*

20. *Manu IV, 106; Yâgñ. I, 145.* 'This rule refers to the rainy season. (For thunder at other (seasons) he orders below a longer (cessation).—Haradatta.

27. *Manu IV, 120; Yâgñ. I, 151.*

28. "'For two days," i.e. on the day of the new moon and the preceding one, the fourteenth of the half month.'—Haradatta. *Manu IV, 113; Yâgñ. I, 146.*

PRASNA I, PATALA 3, KHANDA 10.

1. (Nor shall he study) on the days of the full moons of those months in which the *Kâturmâsya*-sacrifice may be performed (nor on the days preceding them).

2. At the time of the *Vedotsarga*, on the death of Gurus, at the *Ashṭakâ-Srâddha*, and at the time of the *Upâkarma*, (he shall not study) for three days ;

3. Likewise if near relations have died.

4. (He shall not study) for twelve days, if his mother, father, or teacher have died.

5. If these (have died), he must (also) bathe for the same number of days.

6. Persons who are younger (than the relation deceased), must shave (their hair and beard).

10. 1. The three full-moon days are *Phâlgunî* (February–March), *Âshâḍhî* (June–July), *Kârttikî* (October–November).

2. The construction is very irregular, the first noun standing in the nominative and the rest in the locative. A similar irregularity occurs below, I, 3, 11, 31. The *Vedotsarga* is the ceremony which is performed at the end of the Brahmanic term, in January. 'In the case of the death of a Guru, the vacation begins with the day on which the death occurs. On the other occasions mentioned he shall not study on the day preceding (the ceremony), on the day (of the ceremony), nor on the day following it.'—Haradatta. *Manu* IV, 119; *Yâgñ.* I, 144. 'The Gurus' intended here, are fathers-in-law, uncles, &c.

3. 'This rule applies to a student only. It is known from another work that those who have been infected by impurity (on the death of a relation), must not study whilst the impurity lasts.'—Haradatta. *Yâgñ.* I, 144.

6. The word *anubhâvinaḥ*, interpreted by Haradatta as 'persons who are younger than the deceased,' is explained in different ways by others; firstly, as 'the mourners,' and secondly, as 'Samânodakas or gentiles beyond the sixth degree.' In the latter case the *Sûtra* ought to be translated thus: 'On the death of gentiles beyond the sixth degree, (the head) ought to be shaved.'

7. Some declare, that students who have returned home on completion of their studentship, shall never shave, except if engaged in the initiation to a Sruta-sacrifice.

8. Now a Brâhmana also declares, 'Verily, an empty, uncovered (pot) is he, whose hair is shaved off entirely; the top-lock is his covering.'

9. But at sacrificial sessions the top-lock must be shaved off, because it is so enjoined in the Veda.

10. Some declare, that, upon the death of the teacher, (the reading should be interrupted) for three days and three nights.

11. If (he hears of) the death of a learned Brâhmana (Srotriya) before a full year (since the death) has elapsed, (he shall interrupt his reading) for one night (and day).

12. Some declare, (that the deceased Srotriya must have been) a fellow-student.

13-14. If a learned Brâhmana (Srotriya) has arrived and he is desirous of studying or is actually studying, (or if he is desirous of teaching or is teach-

7. Regarding the Dikshâ 'initiation,' see Aitareya-brâhmana I, 1, and Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 309 seq.

8. Hence it follows that the top-lock should not be shaved off, except in the case mentioned in the following Sûtra.

9. Sattras, 'sacrificial sessions,' are sacrifices which last longer than twelve days.

10. 'But in his opinion it should be twelve days, as declared above, Sûtra 4.'—Haradatta. It appears, therefore, that this Sûtra is to be connected with Sûtra 4.

11. 'Because the word "death" is used here, death only is the reason (for stopping the reading), in the case of Gurus and the rest (i. e. the word "died" must be understood in Sûtra 2 and the following ones).'—Haradatta.

ing,) he may study or teach after having received permission (to do so from the Srotriya).

15-16. He may likewise study or teach in the presence of his teacher, if (the latter) has addressed him (saying), 'Ho, study! (or, Ho, teach!).'

17. When a student desires to study or has finished his lesson, he shall at both occasions embrace the feet of his teacher.

18. Or if, whilst they study, another person comes in, he shall continue his recitation, after those words ('Ho, study!') have been pronounced (by the new-comer).

19. The barking of (many) dogs, the braying of (many) asses, the cry of a wolf or of a solitary jackal or of an owl, all sounds of musical instruments, of weeping, and of the Sâman melodies (are reasons for discontinuing the study of the Veda).

20. If another branch of the Veda (is being recited in the neighbourhood), the Sâman melodies shall not be studied.

21. And whilst other noises (are being heard, the recitation of the Veda shall be discontinued), if they mix (with the voice of the person studying).

15-16. Manu II, 73.

17. Manu II, 73.

18. Haradatta states rightly, that the plural ('they study') is useless. According to him, the use of the verb in the singular may be excused thereby, that the advice is addressed to each of the persons engaged in study. Manu IV, 122.

19. The *ekasṛika*, 'solitary jackal,' is now called Bâlu or Pheugh, and is considered to be the constant companion of a tiger or panther. Its unharmonious cry is, in the present day also, considered to be an evil omen. *Yâgñ.* I, 148; Manu IV, 108, 115 and 123.

21. Manu IV, 121.

22. After having vomited (he shall not study) until he has slept.

23. Or (he may study) having eaten clarified butter (after the attack of vomiting).

24. A foul smell (is a reason for the discontinuance of study).

25. Food turned sour (by fermentation), which he has in his stomach, (is a reason for the discontinuance of the recitation, until the sour rising ceases).

26. (Nor shall he study) after having eaten in the evening,

27. Nor as long as his hands are wet.

28. (And he shall discontinue studying) for a day and an evening, after having eaten food prepared in honour of a dead person (for whom the *Sapindikarana* has not yet been performed),

29. Or until the food (eaten on that occasion) is digested.

30. But he shall (always) eat in addition (to the meal given in honour of a dead person), food which has not been given at a sacrifice to the Manes.

22. Manu IV, 121.

24. Manu IV, 107; *Yâgñ.* I, 150.

25. Manu IV, 121.

26. 'Therefore he shall sup, after having finished his study.'—Haradatta.

27. Manu IV, 121; *Yâgñ.* I, 149.

28. Manu IV, 112; *Yâgñ.* I, 146.

29. 'If that food has not been digested by the end of that time (i.e. in the evening), he shall not study until it has been digested.'—Haradatta.

30. 'Because in this *Sûtra* the expression "food not given at a *Srâddha*" occurs, some think that the preceding *Sûtra* refers to "food eaten at a *Srâddha*."—Haradatta. This explanation is not at all improbable.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 3, KHANDA 11.

1. (The recitation of the Veda shall be interrupted for a day and evening if he has eaten), on beginning a fresh *Kānda* (of his Veda), food given by a motherless person,

2. And also if he has eaten, on the day of the completion of a *Kānda*, food given by a fatherless person.

3. Some declare, that (the recitation shall be interrupted for the same space of time), if he has eaten at a sacrifice offered in honour of gods who were formerly men.

4. Nor is the recitation interrupted, if he has eaten rice received the day before, or raw meat (though these things may have been offered in honour of the dead),

5. Nor (if he has eaten at a funeral dinner) roots or fruits of herbs and trees.

6. When he performs the ceremony for beginning a *Kānda*, or when he studies the index of the Anu-

11. 1. The Black Yagur-veda, to which Âpastamba belongs, is divided throughout into books called *Kāndas*.

3. Haradatta names as such gods, Nandīvara and Kubera. Other commentators, however, explain *Manushyaprakṛiti* by *Manushyamukha*, 'possessing human faces.' A similar rule occurs Gautama XVI, 34, where a *Manushyayagña* is mentioned as a cause for discontinuing the recitation of the Veda. In his commentary on Gautama, also, Haradatta is in doubt. He first refers the term to the sacraments like the *Simantonnayana*, and then adds, that some explain it to mean 'a sacrifice to gods who formerly were men.'

4. This *Sūtra* is an exception to I, 3, 10, 28.

6. Haradatta's commentary on this *Sūtra* is very meagre, and he leaves the word *anuvākya* unexplained. I am not certain that my explanation is correct. But it is countenanced by the statements of the *Gṛihya-sūtras* regarding the order of studying. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 132.

vâkas of a (*Kânda*), he shall not study that (*Kânda*) on that day (nor in that night).

7. And if he performs the ceremonies prescribed on beginning or ending the recitation of one entire Veda, he shall not study that Veda (during that day).

8. If the wind roars, or if it whirls up the grass on the ground, or if it drives the rain-drops forward during a rain-shower, (then the recitation shall be interrupted for so long a time as the storm lasts).

9. (Nor shall he study) on the boundary between a village and forest,

10. Nor on a highway.

11. If (some of his) fellow-students are on a journey, he shall not study during that day, (the passage) which they learn together.

12. And whilst performing acts for his pleasure,

13. Such as washing his feet, shampooing or anointing himself,

14. He shall neither study nor teach, as long as he is thus occupied.

7. *Yâgñ. I, 145.* This *Sûtra* is a *Gñâpaka* or 'such a one which indicates the existence of a rule not expressly mentioned.' Above (I, 3, 9, 1) the yearly performance of the *Upâkarma* and *Utsarga* ceremonies for the beginning and end of the Brahmanic term has been prescribed. In this *Sûtra* the performance of the *Upâkarma* and *Utsarga* at the beginning and completion of the *Pârâyana* or the vow to go through a whole Veda is incidentally mentioned. Thence it may be inferred that these ceremonies must be likewise performed on the latter occasions, though no absolute rule to this effect has been given. Such *Gñâpakas* are of frequent occurrence in all *Sûtras*, and constitute one of the chief difficulties of their interpretation.

8. *Yâgñ. I, 149; Manu IV, 102, 122.*

11. Others explain the *Sûtra* thus: 'If he meets fellow-students, after they have come home from a journey, he shall not study with them on that day.'

15. (He shall not study or teach) in the twilight,
 16. Nor whilst sitting on a tree,
 17. Nor whilst immersed in water,
 18. Nor at night with open doors,
 19. Nor in the day-time with shut doors.
 20. During the spring festival and the festival (of Indra), in the month of *Âshâdha* (June-July), the study of an *Anuvâka* is forbidden.
 21. (The recitation) of the daily portion of the *Veda* (at the *Brahmayagña* is likewise forbidden if done) in a manner differing from the rule (of the *Veda*).
 22. (Now follows) the rule (for the daily recitation) of that (*Brahmayagña*).
 23. Before taking his morning-meal, he shall go to the water-side, and having purified himself, he shall recite aloud (a portion of the *Veda*) in a pure

15. *Yâgñ.* I, 145 ; *Manu* IV, 113.

16. *Yâgñ.* I, 151 ; *Manu* IV, 120.

20. According to *Haradatta*, *Âpastamba* uses the word *Anuvâka* in order to indicate that smaller portions of the *Veda* may be studied. Others think, that by *Anuvâka*, the *Samhitâ* and the *Brâhmana* are meant, and that the study of the *Ângas* is permitted. The *Vasantotsava*, or spring-festival, which, according to the *Dramas*, was, in olden times, kept all over India, falls, according to *Haradatta*, on the thirteenth of the first half of *Kaitra*, about the beginning of April.

21. 'Hence, if one has forgotten it and eaten one's breakfast, a penance, not the *Brahmayagña*, must be performed.'—*Haradatta*.

23. See *Taittirîya Âranyaka* II, 11, 1 and 11 ; *Âsv. Gri. Sû.* III, 2, 1-2. In our days this rule is usually not observed. *Brâhmanas* mostly recite at the daily *Brahmayagña*, 'Veda-offering,' one particular formula, which symbolically comprises the whole *Veda*. A few learned *Brâhmana* friends, however, have assured me, that they still recite the whole of their *Sâkhâ* every year according to this rule of *Âpastamba*.

place, leaving out according to (the order of the) texts (what he has read the day before).

24. If a stoppage of study is enjoined (for the day, he shall recite the daily portion) mentally.

25. If lightning flashes without interruption, or, thunder rolls continually, if a man has neglected to purify himself, if he has partaken of a meal in honour of a dead person, or if hoarfrost lies on the ground, (in these cases) they forbid the mental recitation (of the daily portion of the Veda).

26. Some forbid it only in case one has eaten a funeral dinner.

27. Where lightning, thunder, and rain happen together out of season, the recitation shall be interrupted for three days.

28. Some (declare, that the recitation shall stop) until the ground is dry.

29. If one or two (of the phenomena mentioned in Sûtra 27 appear, the recitation shall be interrupted) from that hour until the same hour next day.

30. In the case of an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, of an earthquake, of a whirlwind, of the fall of a meteor, or of a fire (in the village), at whatever time these events happen, the recitation of all the sacred sciences (Vedas and Aṅgas) must be interrupted from that hour until the same hour next day.

31. If a cloud appears out of season, if the sun or the moon is surrounded by a halo, if a rainbow, a parhelion or a comet appears, if a (high) wind (blows),

25. Yâgñ. I, 149; Manu IV, 106, 120, 127; Taitt. Âr. II, 15, 1.

26. Manu IV, 109, 116.

27. Manu IV, 103 and 104.

30. Yâgñ. I, 145; Manu IV, 105, 118.

31. Manu IV, 104, and see above.

a foul smell (is observed), or hoarfrost (lies on the ground, at all these occasions (the recitation of all the sacred sciences must be interrupted) during the duration (of these phenomena).

32. After the wind has ceased, (the interruption of the recitation continues) for one muhūrta.

33. If (the howl of) a wolf or of a solitary jackal (has been heard, he shall stop the reading) until he has slept.

34. At night (he shall not study) in a wood, where there is no fire nor gold.

35. Out of term he shall not study any part of the Veda which he has not learnt before.

36. Nor (shall he study during term some new part of the Veda) in the evening.

37. That which has been studied before, must never be studied (during the vacation or in the evening).

38. Further particulars (regarding the interruption

32. One muhūrta = 48 minutes.

36. Other commentators interpret the Sūtra in a different sense. They take it to mean: 'And during the night (from the twelfth to the thirteenth of each half of the month, he shall not study at all, be it in or out of term).'

37. 'What has been studied before, must not be studied (again) at any time in the vacation nor in the evening.'—Haradatta.

38. Haradatta thinks that by 'Parishad,' Manu's and other Dharma-sāstras are meant. This explanation is, however, not exact. Parishad, 'assemblage,' means, in the language of the Sāstras, either a Pañc, an assemblage of learned Brahmans called together to decide some knotty point of law, or a Brahminical school, which studies a particular redaction of the Veda (see the Petersburg Dict. s. v.) The latter meaning is that applicable to this Sūtra. By 'Parishadaḥ' are here intended the Vedic schools, and their writings and teaching. Gautama also says, XVI, 49, Prâitvidyaṃ yān smaranti smaranti, '(he shall observe the stoppages of the

of the Veda-study may be learnt) from the (teaching and works of other) Vedic schools.

PRASNA I, PATALA 4, KHANDA 12.

1. A Brâhmaṇa declares, 'The daily recitation (of the Veda) is austerity.'

2. In the same (sacred text) it is also declared, 'Whether he recites the daily portion of the Veda standing, or sitting, or lying down, he performs austerity thereby; for the daily recitation is austerity.'

3. Now the Vâgasaneyi-brâhmaṇa declares also, 'The daily recitation is a sacrifice at which the Veda is offered. When it thunders, when lightning flashes or thunderbolts fall, and when the wind blows violently, these sounds take the place of the exclamations Vashaṭ (Vaushaṭ and Svâhâ). Therefore he shall recite the Veda whilst it thunders, whilst lightning flashes and thunderbolts fall, and whilst the wind blows violently, lest the Vashaṭ (should be heard) in vain.'

Veda-study) which they teach in (the writings belonging to) each of the Vedas.'

12. 1. 'It procures as much reward as penance.'—Haradatta. Manu II, 166; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 113. The phrase occurs frequently in the Brâhmaṇas, e.g. Taitt. Âr. II, 14, 3.

2. Regarding the proper position at the 'Veda-offering,' or daily recitation, see above, I, 3, 11, 23, and Taitt. Âr. II, 11, 3. Passages similar to the first part of the sentence quoted in this Sûtra occur Taitt. Âr. II, 12, 3, and 15, 3. It ought to be observed, that the Taitt. Âr. in both places has the word 'vraṅan,' which is also read in the P. and P. U. MSS. The second part is taken apparently from the same work, II, 14, 2.

3. See Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XI, 5, 6, 8, where a passage very similar to that quoted by Âpastamba occurs. Vashaṭ and the other exclamations, which are pronounced by the Hotri-priest, serve as signals for the Adhvaryu to throw the oblations into the fire.

4. The conclusion of the passage from that (Vâgasaneyi-brâhmana is found) in another Sâkhâ (of the Veda).

5. 'Now, if the wind blows, or if it thunders, or if lightning flashes, or thunderbolts fall, then he shall recite one *Rik*-verse (in case he studies the *Rig-veda*), or one *Yagus* (in case he studies the *Yagur-veda*), or one *Sâman* (in case he studies the *Sâma-veda*), or (without having regard to his particular Veda, the following *Yagus*), "Bhûh Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ, in faith I offer true devotion." Then, indeed, his daily recitation is accomplished thereby for that day.'

6. If that is done, (if the passage of the Vâgasaneyi-brâhmana is combined with that quoted in Sûtra 5, the former stands) not in contradiction with the decision of the Āryas.

7. For they (who know the law) teach both the continuance and the interruption (of the daily recitation of the Veda). That would be meaningless, if one paid attention to the (passage of the) Vâgasaneyi-brâhmana (alone).

8. For no (worldly) motive for the decision of those Āryas is perceptible ; (and hence it must have a religious motive and be founded on a passage of the Veda).

9. (The proper interpretation therefore is, that) the prohibition to study (given above and by the

5. 'Some suppose that the words Bhûh Bhuvaḥ and Suvaḥ &c. (are to be used only) if one studies the Brâhmana portion of the Veda, not everywhere.'—Haradatta.

6. Haradatta explains Āryas by *visishâh*, 'excellent ones,' i. e. persons who know the law, and he gives Manu as an instance.

8. See above, I, 1, 4, 9 and 10, and notes.

Âryas generally) refers only to the repetition of the sacred texts in order to learn them, not to their application at sacrifices.

10. (But if you ask, why the decision of the Âryas presupposes the existence of a Vedic passage, then I answer): All precepts were (originally) taught in the Brâhmanas, (but) these texts have been lost. Their (former existence) may, however, be inferred from usage.

11. But it is not (permissible to infer the former existence of) a (Vedic) passage in cases where pleasure is obtained (by following a rule of the *Smṛiti* or a custom).

12. He who follows such (usages) becomes fit for hell.

13. Now follow (some rites and) rules that have been declared in the Brâhmanas.

14. By way of laudation they are called 'great sacrifices' or 'great sacrificial sessions.'

15. (These rites include): The daily Bali-offering

10. How then is their existence known? 'They are inferred from usage.' "Usage" means the teaching of the law-books and the practice. From that it is inferred that Manu and other (authors of law-books) knew such texts of the Brâhmanas. For how could otherwise (*Rishis* like Manu) teach in their works or practise (such customs) for which no authority is now found? And certainly they were intimately connected with the revealed texts (i. e. saw them).—Haradatta.

11. Compare above, I, 1, 4, 8-10.

13. The consequence of the introduction of these rules into a *Smṛiti* work is, that their omission must be expiated by a *Smârta* penance and not by a *Srauta* one.

14. The commentator observes, that, as these rites are called 'great sacrifices,' by way of laudation only, the particular laws binding on performers of real Soma-sacrifices cannot be transferred to the performers of these ceremonies. Regarding the

to the (seven classes of) beings; the (daily) gift of (food) to men according to one's power;

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 4, KHANDA 13.

1. The oblation to the gods accompanied by the exclamation Svâhâ, which may consist even of a piece of wood only; the offering to the Manes accompanied by the exclamation Svadhâ, which may consist even of a vessel with water only; the daily recitation.

2. Respect must be shown to those who are superior by caste,

3. And also to (persons of the same caste who are) venerable (on account of learning, virtue, and the like).

4. A man elated (with success) becomes proud, a proud man transgresses the law, but through the transgression of the law hell indeed (becomes his portion).

5. It has not been declared, that orders (may be addressed by the teacher) to a pupil who has returned home.

6. The syllable 'Om' is the door of heaven.

term 'great sacrifices,' see also Taitt. Âr. II, 11, 10, 1 seq., and Satapatha-brâhmana XI, 5, 6, 1.

13. 1. Taitt. Âr. II, 10, 2 and 3, and Satapatha-br. loc. cit. 2. Haradatta observes, that some consider the Devayagña, mentioned in the Sûtra, to be different from the Vaisvadeva, but that he holds it to be the same. Further he mentions, that some prescribe this Vaisvadeva to be performed even if one has nothing to eat.

2. 'Namely, by allowing them to walk in front on the road and by giving them perfumed garlands and the like at festive occasions.' —Haradatta.

5. Haradatta gives as an example the order to fetch water, and adds that a voluntary act on a former pupil's part ought not to be forbidden.

6. Compare also Taitt. Âr. I, 2, 4, and Manu II, 74.

Therefore he who is about to study the Veda, shall begin (his lesson) by (pronouncing) it.

7. If he has spoken anything else (than what refers to the lesson, he shall resume his reading by repeating the word 'Om'). Thus the Veda is separated from profane speech.

8. And at sacrifices the orders (given to the priests) are headed by this word.

9. And in common life, at the occasion of ceremonies performed for the sake of welfare, the sentences shall be headed by this word, as, for instance, '(Om) an auspicious day,' '(Om) welfare,' '(Om) prosperity.'

10. Without a vow of obedience (a pupil) shall not study (nor a teacher teach) a difficult (new book) with the exception of (the texts called) *Triśrāvāna* and *Triśahavākāna*.

11. Hârīta declares, that the (whole) Veda must be studied under a vow of obedience until there is no doubt (regarding it in the mind of the pupil).

9. The example given in the Sūtra is that of the *Punyâhavākāna*, which precedes every *Gr̥hya* ceremony, and at which the sacrificer requests a number of invited *Brâhmanas* to wish him success. The complete sentences are, The sacrificer: *Om karmanaḥ punyâham bhavanto bruvantviti*, 'Om, wish that the day may be auspicious for the performance of the ceremony.' The *Brâhmanas*: *Om punyâham karmana iti*, 'Om, may the day be auspicious for the ceremony.' In the same manner the *Brâhmanas* afterwards wish 'welfare,' *svasti*, 'prosperity,' *vṛiddhi*, to the sacrificer.

10. *Manu II, 112.*

11. The meaning of Hârīta is, that the vow of obedience is required for the *Triśrāvāna* and *Triśahavākāna*, which *Âpastamba* exempted in the preceding Sūtra. It follows from this rule that the *Ângas* or works explanatory of the Veda need not be studied under a vow of obedience.

12. No obedience is due (to the teacher for teaching) works which do not belong to the Veda.

13. (A student) shall embrace the feet of a person, who teaches him at the request of his (regular teacher), as long as the instruction lasts.

14. Some (declare, that he shall do so) always, (if the substitute is) a worthy person.

15. But obedience (as towards the teacher) is not required (to be shown towards such a person).

16. And (pupils) older (than their teacher need not show him obedience).

17. If (two persons) teach each other mutually (different redactions of) the Veda, obedience (towards each other) is not ordained for them.

18. (For) the (wise) say, 'The Veda-knowledge (of either of them) grows.'

19. Svetaketu declares, 'He who desires to study more, after having settled (as a householder), shall dwell two months every year, with collected mind, in the house of his teacher,'

20. (And he adds), 'For by this means I studied a larger part of the Veda than before, (during my studentship.)'

21. That is forbidden by the Sâstras.

22. For after the student has settled as a householder, he is ordered by the Veda, to perform the daily rites,

13. This rule is a supplement to I, 2, 7, 29.

14. "A worthy person," i.e. on account of his learning or character.—Haradatta.

16. 'According to some, this rule refers only to the time after the instruction has been completed; according to others, to the time of studentship.'—Haradatta. But see Manu II, 151 seq.

PRASNA I, PATALA 4, KHANDA 14.

1. (That is to say) the Agnihotra, hospitality,
2. And what else of this kind (is ordained).
3. He whom (a student) asks for instruction, shall certainly not refuse it ;
4. Provided he does not see in him a fault, (which disqualifies him from being taught).
5. If by chance (through the pupil's stupidity the teaching) is not completed, obedience towards the (teacher is the pupil's only refuge).
6. Towards a mother (grandmother and great-grandmother) and a father (grandfather and great-grandfather) the same obedience must be shown as towards a teacher.
7. The feet of all Gurus must be embraced (every day) by a student who has returned home ;
8. And also on meeting them, after returning from a journey.
9. The feet of (elder) brothers and sisters must be embraced, according to the order of their seniority.
10. And respect (must) always (be shown to one's elders and betters), according to the injunction

14. 1. The Agnihotra, i.e. certain daily oblations of clarified butter.

3. Manu II, 109-115.

5. Manu II, 218.

6. Manu II, 228, 235.

7. The word Gurus, 'venerable persons,' includes besides the teacher and persons mentioned in the preceding Sûtra, an elder brother, a maternal uncle, and all others who are one's betters or elders. See above, I, 2, 6, 29-35.

8. 'That is to say, whether he himself or "the venerable persons" undertook the journey.'—Haradatta.

9. Manu II, 133.

10. See above, I, 4, 13, 2.

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(given above and according to the order of their seniority).

11. He shall salute an officiating priest, a father-in-law, a father's brother, and a mother's brother, (though they may be) younger than he himself, and (when saluting) rise to meet them.

12. Or he may silently embrace their feet.

13. A friendship kept for ten years with fellow-citizens (is a reason for giving a salutation, and so is) a friendship, contracted at school, which has lasted for five years. But a learned Brâhmaṇa (known) for less than three years, must be saluted.

14. If the age (of several persons whom one meets) is exactly known, one must salute the eldest (first).

15. He need not salute a person, who is not a Guru, and who stands in a lower or higher place than he himself.

16. Or he may descend or ascend (to the place where such a person stands) and salute him.

17. But every one (Gurus and others) he shall salute, after having risen (from his seat).

18. If he is impure, he shall not salute (anybody);

19. (Nor shall he salute) a person who is impure.

11. Manu II, 130.

12. The commentator adds that the mode of salutation must depend on their learning and virtue.

13. Manu II, 134.

16. This Sûtra, like the preceding, refers to those who are not 'Gurus.'

17. Manu II, 120.

18. 'Impure,' i.e. unfit for associating with others on account of the death of relations or through other causes, see below, I, 5, 15, 7 seq.

20. Nor shall he, being impure, return a salutation.

21. Married women (must be saluted) according to the (respective) ages of their husbands.

22. He shall not salute with his shoes on, or his head wrapped up, or his hands full.

23. In saluting women, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya he shall use a pronoun, not his name.

24. Some (declare, that he shall salute in this manner even) his mother and the wife of his teacher.

25. Know that a Brâhmana of ten years and a Kshatriya of a hundred years stand to each other in the relation of father and son. But between those two the Brâhmana is the father.

26. A younger person or one of equal age he shall ask, about his well-being (employing the word *kusala*).

27. (He shall ask under the same conditions) a Kshatriya, about his health (employing the word *anâmaya*);

28. A Vaisya if he has lost anything (employing the word *anashṭa*).

23. He shall say, 'I salute,' not 'I, N. N., salute.' Manu II, 123.

24. Âpastamba, of course, holds the contrary opinion. Manu II, 216.

25. This verse, which is found with slight variations in most Smṛitis, contains, according to Haradatta, an instruction given by a teacher to his pupil. Manu II, 135.

26. Of course, in case the person addressed is a Brahman. Manu II, 127. Kullôka quotes under this verse the above and the following Sûtras. But his quotation has only a faint resemblance to our text.

28. That is to say in these terms: 'I hope you have not lost any cattle or other property!'—Haradatta.

29. A Sûdra, about his health (employing the word *ârogya*).

30. He shall not pass a learned Brâhmaṇa without addressing him ;

31. Nor an (unprotected) woman in a forest (or any other lonely place).

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 5, KHANḌA 15.

1. When he shows his respect to Gurus or aged persons or guests, when he offers a burnt-oblation (or other sacrifice), when he murmurs prayers at dinner, when sipping water and during the (daily) recitation of the Veda, his garment (or his sacrificial thread) shall pass over his left shoulder and under his right arm.

2. By sipping (pure) water, that has been collected on the ground, he becomes pure.

3. Or he, whom a pure person causes to sip water, (becomes also pure).

31. He shall address a woman in order to re-assure her, and do it in these terms: 'Mother, or sister, what can I do for you? Don't be afraid!' &c.—Haradatta.

15. 1. Taitt. Âr. II, 1, 2 seq.; Manu IV, 58.

2. Pure water is that which a cow will drink. Yâgñ. I, 192; Manu V, 128.

3. The ceremony of 'sipping water' may be performed in two ways; either the 'person sipping' may take the water out of a river, pond, &c., or he may get the water poured into his hand by another person. But, according to Âpastamba, he must not take a pot or gourd in his left hand and pour the water into his right, as some Smṛitis allow. The reason for this rule is, that Âpastamba considers it essential that both hands should be used in conveying the water to the mouth; see also above, I, 1, 4, 21. This agrees with the custom now followed, which is to bend the right hand into the form of a cow's ear, and to touch the right wrist with the left hand while drinking.

4. He shall not sip rain-drops.
5. (He shall not sip water) from a (natural) cleft in the ground.
6. He shall not sip water heated (at the fire) except for a particular reason (as sickness).
7. He who raises his empty hands (in order to scare) birds, (becomes impure and) shall wash (his hands).
8. If he can (find water to sip) he shall not remain impure (even) for a muhūrta.
9. Nor (shall he remain) naked (for a muhūrta if he can help it).
10. Purification (by sipping water) shall not take place whilst he is (standing) in the water.
11. Also, when he has crossed a river, he shall purify himself by sipping water.
12. He shall not place fuel on the fire, without having sprinkled it (with water).

4. 'Some think, that this Sūtra is intended to forbid also the drinking of rain-water. Other commentators declare that, according to this Sūtra, it is allowed to use for "sipping" drops of water which fall from a vessel suspended by ropes [because the Sūtra emphatically excludes "rain-drops" only].—Haradatta.

6. *Manu* II, 61. 'Because the term "heated by fire" is used, there is no objection to water heated by the rays of the sun. In the same manner the use of "hot" water only is usually forbidden in the *Smṛitis*.'—Haradatta.

7. 'Because the phrase "with empty hands" is used, he commits no fault if he raises his hand, holding a stick or a clod. Some declare, that the term "touching water" (rendered by "washing") means "sipping water."—Haradatta.

11. The translation given above is based on the interpretation of Haradatta, who considers that *Āpastamba* holds 'crossing a river' to cause impurity. The natural and probably the right interpretation, however, is that rejected by Haradatta, 'But he shall sip water after having come out (of the river or tank).'

12. "On the fire used for Vedic or *Smārta* sacrifices or for

13. (If he is seated in company with) other unclean persons on a seat consisting of a confused heap of straw, and does not touch them, he may consider himself pure.

14. (The same rule applies, if he is seated) on grass or wood fixed in the ground.

15. He shall put on a dress, (even if it is clean,) only after having sprinkled it with water.

16. If he has been touched by a dog, he shall bathe, with his clothes on ;

17. Or he becomes pure, after having washed that part (of his body) and having touched it with fire and again washed it, as well as his feet, and having sipped water.

18. Unpurified, he shall not approach fire, (so near that he can feel the heat).

19. Some declare, that (he shall not approach nearer) than the length of an arrow.

20. Nor shall he blow on fire with his breath.

21. Nor shall he place fire under his bedstead.

household purposes." . . . Some declare, that (the fuel need not be sprinkled with water) if used for the kitchen fire.'—Haradatta.

14. Haradatta's commentary is of little use, and I am not quite certain that my translation is correct.

15. *Manu* V, 118.

17. This second proceeding is adopted in case the dog has touched the hands or the lower parts of the body, as may be learnt by the comparison of a verse of *Manu*.

18. *Manu* IV, 142 ; *Yâgñ.* I, 155.

20. *Manu* IV, 53. Haradatta mentions other explanations of this *Sûtra*. Some say, that the *Srauta* fire may be kindled by blowing, because that is ordained particularly in the *Vâgasaneyaka*, but that the domestic fire is not to be treated so. Others again consider the rule absolute, and say, that a hollow reed or bellows must be used for kindling the fire, lest drops of saliva should fall upon it.

21. *Manu* IV, 54.

22. It is lawful for a Brâhmaṇa to dwell in a village, where there is plenty of fuel and water, (and) where he may perform the rites of purification by himself.

23. When he has washed away the stains of urine and fæces after voiding urine or fæces, the stains of food (after dinner), the stains of the food eaten the day before (from his vessels), and the stains of semen, and has also washed his feet and afterwards has sipped water, he becomes pure.

PRASNA I, PATALA 5, KHANDA 16.

1. He shall not drink water standing or bent forwards.

2. Sitting he shall sip water (for purification) thrice, the water penetrating to his heart.

22. The last condition mentioned in the Sûtra indicates, that the place must have a river or tank, not wells only, as the purification by sipping water cannot be performed without help, with water from wells.

23. Manu V, 138.

16. 1. Haradatta takes âkām here to mean 'to drink water,' and thinks that it is forbidden to do this standing or in a bent position. Others refer the prohibition to 'sipping water for the sake of purification,' and translate, 'He shall not sip water standing or in a bent position (except in case of necessity),' i.e. if the bank of the river is so high that he cannot reach the water sitting down, and in this case he shall enter it up to his thighs or up to his navel.

2. Manu II, 60 and 62; V, 139; and Yâgy. I, 20 and 27; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 165. Haradatta observes, that the further particulars regarding purification by sipping water must be supplied from other Smṛitis. The rule quoted by him is as follows: 'The performer should be sitting in a pure place, not on a seat, except when sipping water after dinner, and should sip thrice from his hand water which is free from bubbles and foam, and which he has attentively regarded, in such a quantity as would cover a Mâsha-

3. He shall wipe his lips three times.
4. Some (declare, that he shall do so) twice.
5. He shall then touch (his lips) once (with the three middle fingers).
6. Some (declare, that he shall do so) twice.
7. Having sprinkled water on his left hand with his right, he shall touch both his feet, and his head and (the following three) organs, the eyes, the nose, and the ears.
8. Then he shall wash (his hands).
9. But if he is going to eat he shall, though pure, twice sip water, twice wipe (his mouth), and once touch (his lips).
10. He shall rub the gums and the inner part of his lips (with his finger or with a piece of wood) and then sip water.
11. He does not become impure by the hair (of his moustaches) getting into his mouth, as long as he does not touch them with his hand.
12. If (in talking), drops (of saliva) are perceived to fall from his mouth, then he shall sip water.
13. Some declare, that if (the saliva falls) on the ground, he need not sip water.

bean. The water sipped by a Brahman should reach his heart, that sipped by a Kshatriya the throat, and that sipped by a Vaisya the palate. A Sûdra sips once as much as to wet his tongue.'

7. The eyes are to be touched with the thumb and the fourth finger, either at once, or one after the other, the nostrils with the thumb and the second finger, the ears with the thumb and the small finger.

9. Manu V, 138.

11. Haradatta observes that this Sûtra shows, that every other foreign substance brought with the food into the mouth, makes the food 'leavings' and the eater impure. Manu V, 141.

12. Manu V, 141 declares sipping to be unnecessary in this case.

14. On touching during sleep or in sternutation the effluvia of the nose or of the eyes, on touching blood, hair, fire, kine, a Brâhmaṇa, or a woman, and after having walked on the high road, and after having touched an impure (thing or man), and after having put on his lower garment, he shall either bathe or sip or merely touch water (until he considers himself clean).

15. (Or he may touch) moist cowdung, wet herbs, or moist earth.

16. He shall not eat meat which has been cut with a sword (or knife) used for killing.

17. He shall not bite off with his teeth (pieces from) cakes (roots or fruits).

18. He shall not eat in the house of a (relation within six degrees) where a person has died, before the ten days (of impurity) have elapsed.

19. (Nor shall he eat in a house) where a lying-in woman has not (yet) come out (of the lying-in chamber),

20. (Nor in a house) where a corpse lies.

14. Manu V, 145.

18. 'The term "ten days" is used in order to indicate the time of impurity generally. In some cases, as that of a Kshatriya, this lasts longer. In other cases, where the impurity lasts thirty-six hours only, (the abstention from dining in such houses is shorter.)'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 217.

19. A lying-in woman is impure, and must not be touched during the first ten days after her confinement. During this time, she exclusively occupies the Sûtikâgrîha or lying-in chamber. Manu IV, 217.

20. Haradatta remarks that in the case of the death of a person who is not a relation, it is customary to place at the distance of 'one hundred bows' a lamp and water-vessel, and to eat (beyond that distance).

21. Food touched by a (Brâhmaṇa or other high-caste person) who is impure, becomes impure, but not unfit for eating.

22. But what has been brought (be it touched or not) by an impure Śûdra, must not be eaten,

23. Nor that food in which there is a hair,

24. Or any other unclean substance.

25. (Nor must that food be eaten) which has been touched with an unclean substance (such as garlic),

26. Nor (that in which) an insect living on impure substances (is found),

27. Nor (that in which) excrements or limbs of a mouse (are found),

28. Nor that which has been touched by the foot (even of a pure person),

29. Nor what has been (touched) with the hem of a garment,

30. Nor that which has been looked at by a dog or an Apapâtra,

21. 'Food which is simply impure, may be purified by putting it on the fire, sprinkling it with water, touching it with ashes or earth, and praising it.'—Haradatta.

22. Others say, that the food becomes unfit for eating, only, if in bringing it, the Śûdra has touched it.—Haradatta.

23. Manu IV, 207; Yâgñ. I, 167. 'But this rule holds good only if the hair had been cooked with the food. If a hair falls into it at dinner, then it is to be purified by an addition of clarified butter, and may be eaten.'—Haradatta.

24. Haradatta quotes a passage from Baudhâyana, which enumerates as 'unclean things' here intended, 'hair, worms or beetles, nail-parings, excrements of rats.' The rule must be understood as the preceding, i.e. in case these things have been cooked with the food.

26. Manu IV, 207; Yâgñ. I, 167, 168. This Sûtra must be read with Sûtra 23 above.

30. Manu IV, 208; Yâgñ. I, 167. Apapâtras are persons whom

31. Nor what has been brought in the hem of a garment, (even though the garment may be clean),

32. Nor what has been brought at night by a female slave.

33. If during his meal,

PRASNA I, PATALA 5, KHANDA 17.

1. A Sûdra touches him, (then he shall leave off eating).

2. Nor shall he eat sitting in the same row with unworthy people.

3. Nor shall he eat (sitting in the same row with persons) amongst whom one, whilst they eat, rises and gives his leavings to his pupils or sips water;

4. Nor (shall he eat) where they give him food, reviling him.

one must not allow to eat from one's dishes, e.g. *Kandâlas*, *Patitas*, a woman in her courses or during the ten days of impurity after confinement. See also above, I, 1, 3, 25.

32. Haradatta thinks, that as the Sûtra has the feminine gender, *dâsî*, it does not matter if a male slave brings the food. But others forbid also this.

17. 1. 'Some say, that this Sûtra indicates that the touch of a Sûdra does not defile at any other time but at dinner, whilst others hold that a Sûdra's touch defiles always, and that the Sûtra is intended to indicate an excess of impurity, if it happens at dinner-time.'—Haradatta.

2. 'Unworthy people are those who are neither of good family, nor possess learning and virtue.'—Haradatta.

3. According to Haradatta a person who misbehaves thus, is called 'a dinner-thorn.' This point of etiquette is strictly observed in our days also. Manu IV, 212.

4. Manu IV, 212; *Yâgñ. I*, 167.

5. Nor (shall he eat) what has been smelt at by men or other impure (beings, as cats).
6. He shall not eat in a ship,
7. Nor on a wooden platform.
8. He may eat sitting on ground which has been purified (by the application of cowdung and the like).
9. (If he eats) out of an earthen vessel, he shall eat out of one that has not been used (for cooking).
10. (If he can get) a used vessel (only, he shall eat from it), after having heated it thoroughly.
11. A vessel made of metal becomes pure by being scoured with ashes and the like.
12. A wooden vessel becomes pure by being scraped.
13. At a sacrifice (the vessels must be cleaned) according to the precepts of the Veda.
14. He shall not eat food which has been bought or obtained ready-prepared in the market.
15. Nor (shall he eat) flavoured food (bought in the market) excepting raw meat, honey, and salt.
16. Oil and clarified butter (bought in the market) he may use, after having sprinkled them with water.
17. Prepared food which has stood for a night, must neither be eaten nor drunk.

5. 'As the text has avagrâta, "smelt at," it does not matter if they smell the food from a distance.'—Haradatta.

11. 'It must be understood from other Smṛtis, that brass is to be cleaned with ashes, copper with acids, silver with cowdung, and gold with water.'—Haradatta. Manu V, 114.

12. Manu V, 115.

16. 'Having sprinkled them with water and purified them by boiling; or, according to others, mixing them with so much water as will not spoil them.'—Haradatta.

17. The Sanskrit has two terms for 'eating;' the first 'khâd'

18. Nor (should prepared food) that has turned sour (be used in any way).

19. (The preceding two rules do) not (hold good in regard to) the juice of sugar-cane, roasted rice-grains, porridge prepared with whey, roasted yava, gruel, vegetables, meat, flour, milk and preparations from it, roots and fruits of herbs and trees.

20. (Substances which have turned) sour without being mixed with anything else (are to be avoided).

21. All intoxicating drinks are forbidden.

22. Likewise sheep's milk,

23. Likewise the milk of camels, of does, of animals that give milk while big with young, of those that bear twins, and of (one-hoofed animals),

24. Likewise the milk of a cow (buffalo-cow or she-goat) during the (first) ten days (after their giving birth to young ones),

25. Likewise (food mixed) with herbs which serve for preparing intoxicating liquors,

26. (Likewise) red garlic, onions, and leeks,

applies to hard substances, the second 'ad' to soft substances. Manu IV, 211; Yâgñ. I, 167.

18. Manu IV, 211; V, 9; Yâgñ. I, 167.

19. Manu V, 10, 24 and 25.

20. According to Haradatta, Âpastamba returns once more to the question about sour food, in order to teach that dishes prepared with curds and other sour substances may be eaten.

22. Manu V, 8; Yâgñ. I, 170.

23. Manu V, 8, 9; Yâgñ. I, 170. 'Sandhinî, translated by "females that give milk while big with young," means, according to others, "female animals that give milk once a day."—Haradatta.

24. Manu V, 8.

26. Manu V, 5; Yâgñ. I, 176.

27. Likewise anything else which (those who are learned in the law) forbid.

28. Mushrooms ought not to be eaten ; that has been declared in a Brâhmaṇa ;

29. (Nor the meat) of one-hoofed animals, of camels, of the Gayal, of village pigs, of Sarabhas, and of cattle.

30. (But the meat) of milch-cows and oxen may be eaten.

31. The Vâgasaneyaka declares ' bull's flesh is fit for offerings.'

32. Amongst birds that scratch with their feet for food, the (tame) cöck (must not be eaten).

33. Amongst birds that feed thrusting forward their beak, the (heron, called) Plava (or Saka/abila, must not be eaten).

34. Carnivorous (birds are forbidden),

35. Likewise the swan, the Bhâsa, the Brâhmaṇi duck, and the falcon.

36. Common cranes and Sâras-cranes (are not to

27. Haradatta observes that Âpastamba, finding the list of forbidden vegetables too long, refers his pupils to the advice of the Sishyas. The force of this Sûtra is exactly the same as that of I, 3, 11, 38.

28. Yâgñ. I, 171.

29. The camel, Gayal, and Sarabha are mentioned as 'forbidden animals,' Satapatha-br. I, 2, 1, 8; Aitareya-br. II, 1, 8; see also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 62; Manu V, 11, 18; Yâgñ. I, 172, 176.

32. Yâgñ. I, 176.

33. Manu V, 12; Yâgñ. I, 172.

34. Manu V, 11; Yâgñ. I, 172.

35. Yâgñ. I, 172.

36. Manu V, 12; Yâgñ. I, 172. Other commentators take the whole Sûtra as one compound, and explain it as an exception to Sûtra 34. In that case the translation runs thus: ('Carnivorous birds are forbidden) except the Kruñka, Krauñka, Vâdhrâṇasa,

be eaten) with the exception of the leather-nosed Lakshmana.

37. Five-toed animals (ought not to be eaten) with the exception of the iguana, the tortoise, the porcupine, the hedgehog, the rhinoceros, the hare, and the Pûtikhasha.

38. Amongst fishes, the *Keta* ought not to be eaten,

39. Nor the snake-headed fish, nor the alligator, nor those which live on flesh only, nor those which are misshaped (like) mermen.

PRASNA I, PATALA 6, KHANDA 18.

1. Honey, uncooked (grain), venison, land, roots, fruits, (a promise of) safety, a pasture for cattle, a house, and fodder for a draught-ox may be accepted (even) from an Ugra.

2. Hârîta declares, that even these (presents) are to be accepted only if they have been obtained by a pupil.

and Lakshmana.'—Haradatta. This translation is objectionable, because both the *Kruñkas*, now called Kulam or *Kûñk*, and the *Krauñka*, the red-crested crane, now called *Sâras* (Cyrus), feed on grain. *Kruñkakrauñka* is a Vedic dual and stands for *kruñka-krauñkâ* or *kruñkakrauñkau*.

37. *Manu* V, 18; *Yâgñ. I.*, 177. Pûtikhasha is, according to Haradatta, an animal resembling a hare, and found in the Himâlayas.

39. Haradatta closes this chapter on flesh-eating by quoting *Manu* V, 56, which declares flesh-eating, drinking spirituous liquor, and promiscuous intercourse to be allowable, but the abstinence therefrom of greater merit. He states that the whole chapter must be understood in this sense.

18. 1. *Manu* IV, 247. 'Ugra denotes either a bad twice-born man or the offspring of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra-woman. Other persons of a similar character must be understood to be included by the term.'—Haradatta.

3. Or they (Brāhmana householders) may accept (from an Ugra) uncooked or (a little) unflavoured boiled food.

4. (Of such food) they shall not take a great quantity (but only so much as suffices to support life).

5. If (in times of distress) he is unable to keep himself, he may eat (food obtained from anybody),

6. After having touched it (once) with gold,

7. Or (having touched it with) fire.

8. He shall not be too eager after (such a way of living). He shall leave it when he has obtained a (lawful) livelihood.

9. (A student of the Brahmanic caste) who has returned home shall not eat (in the house) of people belonging to the three tribes, beginning with the Kshatriya (i. e. of Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras).

10. He may (usually) eat (the food) of a Brāhmana on account of (the giver's) character (as a Brāhmana). It must be avoided for particular reasons only.

4. Also this rule seems to belong to Hârîta, on account of its close connection with the preceding two.

8. Haradatta quotes, in support of the last Sūtras, a passage of the *Khândogya* Upanishad, I, 10, 1, and one from the *Rig-veda*, IV, 18, 13, according to which it would be lawful to eat even impure food, as a dog's entrails, under such circumstances. Other commentators explain this and the preceding three Sūtras differently. According to them the translation would run thus: 'If he himself does not find any livelihood (in times of distress, he may dwell even with low-caste people who give him something to eat, and) he may eat (food given by them) paying for it with (some small gift in) gold or with animals.' This second explanation is perhaps preferable.

9. *Manu* IV, 218, 219, and 223.

11. He shall not eat in a house where (the host) performs a rite which is not a rite of penance, whilst he ought to perform a penance.

12. But when the penance has been performed, he may eat (in that house).

13. According to some (food offered by people) of any caste, who follow the laws prescribed for them, except that of *Sûdras*, may be eaten.

14. (In times of distress) even the food of a *Sûdra*, who lives under one's protection for the sake of spiritual merit, (may be eaten).

15. He may eat it, after having touched it (once) with gold or with fire. He shall not be too eager after (such a way of living). He shall leave it when he obtains a (lawful) livelihood.

16. Food received from a multitude of givers must not be eaten,

17. Nor food offered by a general invitation (to all comers).

18. Food offered by an artisan must not be eaten,

19. Nor (that of men) who live by the use of arms (with the exception of *Kshatriyas*),

11. 'If a *Brâhmana* who has been ordered to perform a penance, performs a *Vaisvadeva* or other rite without heeding the order of his spiritual teacher, then a student who has returned home ought not to eat in his house, until the enjoined penance has been performed.'—*Haradatta*.

12. 'The use of the part. perf. pass. "performed" indicates that he must not eat there, whilst the penance is being performed.'—*Haradatta*.

14. *Yâgñ.* I, 166.

15. *Manu* IV, 223.

16. *Manu* IV, 209.

17. *Manu* IV, 209; *Yâgñ.* I, 168.

18. *Manu* IV, 210, 215; *Yâgñ.* I, 162-164.

19. *Yâgñ.* I, 164.

20. Nor (that of men) who live by letting lodgings or land.

21. A (professional) physician is a person whose food must not be eaten,

22. (Also) a usurer,

23. (Also) a Brâhmana who has performed the Dikshant̄yeshṭī (or initiatory ceremony of the Soma-sacrifice) before he has bought the king (Soma).

24. (The food given by a person who has performed the Dikshant̄yeshṭī may be eaten), when the victim sacred to Agni and Soma has been slain.

25. Or after that the omentum of the victim (sacred to Agni and Soma) has been offered.

26. For a Brâhmana declares, 'Or they may eat of the remainder of the animal, after having set apart a portion for the offering.'

27. A eunuch (is a person whose food must not be eaten),

28. (Likewise) the (professional) messenger employed by a king (or others),

29. (Likewise a Brâhmana) who offers substances that are not fit for a sacrifice,

30. (Likewise) a spy,

21. Manu IV, 212; Yâgñ. I, 162.

22. Manu IV, 210; Yâgñ. I, 161.

23. 'That is to say, one who has begun, but not finished a Soma-sacrifice.'—Haradatta. Manu IV, 210, and Gopatha-brâhmana III, 19.

25. Aitareya-brâhmana II, 1, 9.

27. Manu IV, 211; Yâgñ. I, 161.

28. The village or town messengers are always men of the lowest castes, such as the Mahârs of Mahârâshṭra.

29. 'For example, he who offers human blood in a magic rite.'—Haradatta.

30. Haradatta explains kârî, translated by 'spy,' to mean 'a

31. (Also) a person who has become an ascetic without (being authorized thereto by) the rules (of the law),

32. (Also) he who forsakes the sacred fires (without performing the sacrifice necessary on that occasion),

33. Likewise a learned Brâhmana who avoids everybody, or eats the food of anybody, or neglects the (daily) recitation of the Veda, (and) he whose (only living) wife is of the Sûdra caste.

PRASNA I, PATALA 6, KHANDA 19.

1. A drunkard, a madman, a prisoner, he who learns the Veda from his son, a creditor who sits with his debtor (hindering the fulfilment of his duties), a debtor who thus sits (with his creditor, are persons whose food must not be eaten) as long as they are thus engaged or in that state.

2. Who (then) are those whose food may be eaten?

secret adherent of the Sâkta sect' (*gûdhakârî, sâkta*). The existence of this sect in early times has not hitherto been proved.

31. Haradatta gives the Sâkyas or Baudhdhas as an instance. But it is doubtful, whether Âpastamba meant to refer to them, though it seems probable that heretics are intended.

32. *Yâgñ. I, 160.*

33. 'Who avoids everybody, i.e. who neither invites nor dines with anybody.'—Haradatta.

19. 1. Manu IV, 207; *Yâgñ. I, 161, 162.* Another commentator explains *avika*, translated above 'he who learns the Veda from his son,' by 'a money-lender,' and combines *pratyupavishatâh* with this word, i.e. 'a money-lender who sits with his debtor hindering him from fulfilling his duties.' This manner of forcing a debtor to pay, which is also called *Âkârîta* (see Manu VIII, 49), is, though illegal, resorted to sometimes even now.

2. 'The object of this Sûtra is to introduce the great variety of opinions quoted below.'—Haradatta.

3. *Kaṇva* declares, that it is he who wishes to give.
4. *Kautsa* declares, that it is he who is holy.
5. *Vārshyâyazi* declares, that it is every giver (of food).
6. For if guilt remains fixed on the man (who committed a crime, then food given by a sinner) may be eaten (because the guilt cannot leave the sinner). But if guilt can leave (the sinner at any time, then food given by the sinner may be eaten because) he becomes pure by the gift (which he makes).
7. Offered food, which is pure, may be eaten, according to *Eka*, *Kuzika*, *Kâṇva*, *Kutsa*, and *Pushkarasâdi*.
8. *Vārshyâyazi*'s opinion is, that (food) given unasked (may be accepted) from anybody.
9. (Food offered) willingly by a holy man may be eaten.
10. Food given unwillingly by a holy man ought not to be eaten.
11. Food offered unasked by any person whatsoever may be eaten,
12. 'But not if it be given after an express previous announcement;' thus says *Hârîta*.
13. Now they quote also in a *Purâna* the following two verses :

4. 'Holy' means not only 'following his lawful occupations,' but particularly 'practising austerities, reciting prayers, and offering burnt-oblations.'—*Haradatta*.

10. Another commentator explains this *Sûtra* thus: 'He need not eat the food offered by a righteous man, if he himself does not wish to do so.'—*Haradatta*.

13. See *Manu* IV, 248 and 249, where these identical verses occur.

‘ The Lord of creatures has declared, that food offered unasked and brought by the giver himself, may be eaten, though (the giver be) a sinner, provided the gift has not been announced beforehand. The Manes of the ancestors of that man who spurns such food, do not eat (his oblations) for fifteen years, nor does the fire carry his offerings (to the gods).’

14. (Another verse from a Purâṇa declares): ‘ The food given by a physician, a hunter, a surgeon, a fowler, an unfaithful wife, or a eunuch must not be eaten.’

15. Now (in confirmation of this) they quote (the following verse): ‘ The murderer of a Brâhmaṇa learned in the Veda heaps his guilt on his guest, an innocent man on his calumniator, a thief set at liberty on the king, and the petitioner on him who makes false promises.’

PRASNA I, PATALA 7, KHANDA 20.

1. He shall not fulfil his sacred duties merely in order to acquire these worldly objects (as fame, gain, and honour).

2. For when they ought to bring rewards, (duties thus fulfilled) become fruitless.

3. (Worldly benefits) are produced as accessories (to the fulfilment of the law), just as in the case of a mango tree, which is planted in order to obtain fruit, shade and fragrance (are accessory advantages).

14. Manu IV, 211, 212.

15. Regarding the liberation of the thief, see Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 4. A similar verse occurs Manu VIII, 317, which has caused the confusion observable in many MSS., as has been stated in the critical notes to the text.

4. But if (worldly advantages) are not produced, (then at least) the sacred duties have been fulfilled.

5. Let him not become irritated at, nor be deceived by the speeches of hypocrites, of rogues, of infidels, and of fools.

6. For Virtue and Sin do not go about and say, 'Here we are ;' nor do gods, Gandharvas, or Manes say (to men), 'This is virtue, that is sin.'

7. But that is virtue, the practice of which wise men of the three twice-born castes praise ; what they blame, is sin.

8. He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct which in all countries is unanimously approved by men of the three twice-born castes, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice, nor hypocrites.

9. Acting thus he will gain both worlds.

10. Trade is not lawful for a Brāhmaṇa.

11. In times of distress he may trade in lawful merchandise, avoiding the following (kinds), that are forbidden :

12. (Particularly) men, condiments and liquids, colours, perfumes, food, skins, heifers, substances

20. 7. The Sūtra is intended to show how the law should be ascertained in difficult cases. Haradatta quotes here the passage of Yâgñ. I, 9, on Parishads, and states that the plural âryâḥ shows that three or four must be employed to arrive at a decision. See also Manu XII, 108 seq.

8. Manu I, 6.

11. This Sūtra, which specifies only one part of a Vaisya's occupations as permissible for Brāhmaṇas in distress, implies, according to Haradatta, that his other occupations also, as well as those of a Kshatriya, are permissible. Manu IV, 6 ; X, 82 ; Yâgñ. III, 35.

12. Manu X, 86-89 ; Yâgñ. III, 36-39.

used for glueing (such as lac), water, young corn-stalks, substances from which spirituous liquor may be extracted, red and black pepper, corn, flesh, arms, and the hope of rewards for meritorious deeds.

13. Among (the various kinds of) grain he shall especially not sell sesamum or rice (except he have grown them himself).

14. The exchange of the one of these (above-mentioned goods) for the other is likewise unlawful.

15. But food (may be exchanged) for food, and slaves for slaves, and condiments for condiments, and perfumes for perfumes, and learning for learning.

16. Let him traffic with lawful merchandise which he has not bought,

PRASNA I, PATALA 7, KHANDA 21.

1. With *Muñga*-grass, *Balbaga*-grass (and articles made of them), roots, and fruits,

2. And with (other kinds of) grass and wood which have not been worked up (into objects of use).

3. He shall not be too eager (after such a livelihood).

4. If he obtains (another lawful) livelihood, he shall leave off (trading).

13. The exception stated above, is given by Haradatta on the authority of Manu X, 90; *Yâgñ.* III, 39.

15. 'From the permission to exchange learning for learning, it may be known that it is not lawful to sell it.'—Haradatta. Manu X, 94.

21. 2. 'Since it is known that *Muñga* and *Balbaga* are kinds of grass, it may be inferred from their being especially mentioned (in *Sûtra* 1) that objects made of them (may be also sold).—Haradatta.

4. *Yâgñ.* III, 35.

5. Intercourse with fallen men is not ordained,
6. Nor with Apapâtras.
7. Now (follows the enumeration of) the actions which cause loss of caste (Patanîya).
8. (These are) stealing (gold), crimes whereby one becomes an Abhisasta, homicide, neglect of the Vedas, causing abortion, incestuous connection with relations born from the same womb as one's mother or father, and with the offspring of such persons, drinking spirituous liquor, and intercourse with persons the intercourse with whom is forbidden.
9. That man falls who has connection with a female friend of a female Guru, or with a female friend of a male Guru, or with any married woman.
10. Some (teachers declare), that he does not fall by having connection with any other married female except his teacher's wife.
11. Constant commission of (other) sins (besides those enumerated above) also causes a man to lose his caste.
12. Now follows (the enumeration of) the acts which make men impure (Asuîikara).
13. (These are) the cohabitation of Aryan women with Sûdras,
14. Eating the flesh of forbidden (creatures),

5. Manu XI, 180.

6. Regarding the definition of the word Apapâtra, see above, I, 5, 16, 29.

8. The crimes by which a person becomes Abhisasta are enumerated below, I, 9, 24, 6 seq., where an explanation of the term will be given.

9. Regarding the 'male Gurus' see above. By 'female Gurus' their wives are meant.

10. I.e. he need not perform so heavy a penance.

15. As of a dog, a man, village cocks or pigs, carnivorous animals,

16. Eating the excrements of men,

17. Eating what is left by a Sûdra, the cohabitation of Aryans with Apapâtra women.

18. Some declare, that these acts also cause a man to lose his caste.

19. Other acts besides those (enumerated) are causes of impurity.

20. He who learns (that a man has) committed a sin, shall not be the first to make it known to others ; but he shall avoid the (sinner), when performing religious ceremonies.

PRASNA I, PATALA 8, KHANDA 22.

1. He shall employ the means which tend to the acquisition of (the knowledge of) the Âtman, which are attended by the consequent (destruction of the passions, and) which prevent the wandering (of the mind from its object, and fix it on the contemplation of the Âtman).

2. There is no higher (object) than the attainment of (the knowledge of the) Âtman.

3. We shall quote the verses (from the Veda)

20. 'That is to say, he is not to invite the sinner to dinners, given at the occasion of religious ceremonies.'—Haradatta.

22. 1. The knowledge of the Vedânta and the means which prepare men for the knowledge of the Âtman, the 'Self, the universal soul,' are placed in this Patala at the head of the penances, because they are most efficacious for the removal of all sin. The means are absence of anger &c., which are enumerated I, 8, 23, 6.

2. Haradatta gives in his commentary a lengthy discussion on the Âtman, which corresponds nearly to Sañkara's Introduction to and Commentary on the first Sûtra of Bâdarâyana.

3. According to Haradatta, the following verses are taken from an Upanishad.

which refer to the attainment of (the knowledge of) the Âtman.

4. All living creatures are the dwelling of him who lies enveloped in matter, who is immortal and who is spotless. Those become immortal who worship him who is immovable and lives in a movable dwelling.

5. Despising all that which in this world is called an object (of the senses) a wise man shall strive after the (knowledge of the) Âtman.

6. O pupil, I, who had not recognised in my own self the great self-luminous, universal, (absolutely) free Âtman, which must be obtained without the mediation of anything else, desired (to find) it in others (the senses). (But now as I have obtained the pure knowledge, I do so no more.) Therefore follow thou also this good road that leads to welfare (salvation), and not the one that leads into misfortune (new births).

7. It is he who is the eternal part in all creatures, whose essence is wisdom, who is immortal, unchangeable, destitute of limbs, of voice, of the (subtle) body,

4. The spotless one &c. is the Paramâtman. The spots are merit and demerit which, residing in the Manas, the internal organ of perception, are only falsely attributed to the Âtman, 'the soul.' To become immortal means 'to obtain final liberation.'

5. It seems to me that Haradatta's explanation of the words 'idam idi ha idi ha' is wrong. They ought to be divided thus, 'idamid, iha id, iha loke.' The general sense remains the same, and there is no necessity to assume very curious and otherwise unknown Vedic forms.

6. The verse is addressed by a teacher to his pupil. My translation strictly follows Haradatta's gloss. But his interpretation is open to many doubts. However, I am unable to suggest anything better.

7. The Sûtra contains a further description of the Paramâtman.

(even) of touch, exceedingly pure ; he is the universe, he is the highest goal ; (he dwells in the middle of the body as) the Vishuvat day is (the middle of a Sattrasacrifice) ; he, indeed, is (accessible to all) like a town intersected by many streets.

8. He who meditates on him, and everywhere and always lives according to his (commandments), and who, full of devotion, sees him who is difficult to be seen and subtle, will rejoice in (his) heaven.

PRASNA I, PATALA 8, KHANDA 23.

1. That Brâhmaṇa, who is wise and recognises all creatures to be in the Âtman, who pondering (thereon) does not become bewildered, and who recognises the Âtman in every (created) thing, shines, indeed, in heaven.

2. He, who is intelligence itself and subtler than the thread of the lotus-fibre, pervades the universe, and who, unchangeable and larger than the earth, contains the universe ; he, who is different from the knowledge of this world, obtained by the senses and identical with its objects, possesses the highest (form consisting of absolute knowledge). From him, who divides himself, spring all (created) bodies. He is the primary cause, he is eternal, he is unchangeable.

8. Haradatta explains the word *vishvat*, 'heaven,' by 'pain-freed greatness,' apparently misled by a bad etymology. The heaven of the Âtman is, of course, liberation, that state where the individual soul becomes merged in the Brahman or Paramâtman, which is pure essence, intelligence and joy.

23. 2. This Sûtra again contains a description of the Paramâtman. The translation strictly follows the commentary, though the explanation, given in the latter, is open to objections.

3. But the eradication of the faults is brought about in this life by the means (called Yoga). A wise man who has eradicated the (faults) which destroy the creatures, obtains salvation.

4. Now we will enumerate the faults which tend to destroy the creatures.

5. (These are) anger, exultation, grumbling, covetousness, perplexity, doing injury, hypocrisy, lying, gluttony, calumny, envy, lust, secret hatred, neglect to keep the senses in subjection, neglect to concentrate the mind. The eradication of these (faults) takes place through the means of (salvation called) Yoga.

6. Freedom from anger, from exultation, from grumbling, from covetousness, from perplexity, from hypocrisy (and) hurtfulness; truthfulness, moderation in eating, silencing slander, freedom from envy, self-denying liberality, avoiding to accept gifts, uprightness, affability, extinction of the passions, subjection of the senses, peace with all created beings, concentration (of the mind on the contemplation of the Ātman), regulation of one's conduct according to that of the Āryas, peacefulness and contentedness; —these (good qualities) have been settled by the agreement (of the wise) for all (the four) orders; he who, according to the precepts of the sacred law, practises these, enters the universal soul.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 24.

1. He who has killed a Kshatriya shall give a thousand cows (to Brāhmaṇas) for the expiation of his sin.

24. 1. Manu XI, 128; Yâgyñ. III, 266. Others explain the phrase *vairayâtanârtham*, 'for the expiation of his sin,' thus: 'He, who is

2. (He shall give) a hundred cows for a Vaisya,
3. Ten for a Sûdra,
4. And in every one (of these cases) one bull (must be given) in excess (of the number of cows) for the sake of expiation.
5. And if women of the (three castes mentioned have been slain) the same (composition must be paid).
6. He who has slain a man belonging to the two (first-mentioned castes) who has studied the Veda, or had been initiated for the performance of a Soma-sacrifice, becomes an Abhisasta.
7. And (he is called an Abhisasta) who has slain a man belonging merely to the Brâhmana caste (though he has not studied the Veda or been initiated for a Soma-sacrifice),

slain by anybody, becomes, in dying, an enemy of his slayer (and thinks), "O that I might slay him in another life," for the removal of this enmity!—Haradatta. I am strongly inclined to agree with the other commentator, and to translate *vairayâtânârtham*, 'in order to remove the enmity.' I recognise in this fine a remnant of the law permitting compositions for murder which was in force in ancient Greece and among the Teutonic nations. With the explanation adopted by Haradatta, it is impossible to find a reasonable interpretation for *prâyasakittârtha*, Sûtra 4. Haradatta, seduced by the parallel passage of Manu, takes it to be identical with *vairayâtânârtham*. I propose to translate our Sûtra thus: 'He who has killed a Kshatriya shall give a thousand cows (to the relations of the murdered man) in order to remove the enmity.' According to Baudhâyana I, 10. 19. 1 (compare *Zeitschr. d. D. Morg. Ges.*, vol. 41, pp. 672-76; Festgruss an Roth, pp. 44-52), the cows are to be given to the king.

2. Manu XI, 130; *Yâgñ.* III, 267.

3. Manu XI, 131; *Yâgñ.* III, 267.

6. Manu XI, 87. Abhisasta means literally 'accused, accused,' and corresponds in Âpastamba's terminology to the *mahâpâtakin* of Manu and *Yâgñavalkya*, instead of which latter word Manu uses it occasionally, e.g. II, 185.

8. Likewise he who has destroyed an embryo of a (Brâhmana, even though its sex be) undistinguishable,

9. Or a woman (of the Brâhmana caste) during her courses.

10. (Now follows) the penance for him (who is an Abhisasta).

11. He (himself) shall erect a hut in the forest, restrain his speech, carry (on his stick) the skull (of the person slain) like a flag, and cover the space from his navel to his knees with a quarter of a piece of hempen cloth.

12. The path for him when he goes to a village, is the space between the tracks (of the wheels).

13. And if he sees another (Ârya), he shall step out of the road (to the distance of two yards).

14. He shall go to the village, carrying a broken tray of metal of an inferior quality.

15. He may go to seven houses only, (crying,) 'Who will give alms to an Abhisasta?'

16. That is (the way in which he must gain) his livelihood.

17. If he does not obtain anything (at the seven houses), he must fast.

18. And (whilst performing this penance) he must tend cows.

19. When they leave and enter the village, that is the second occasion (on which he may enter) the village.

9. 'Others interpret âtreya, "during her courses," by "belonging to the race of Atri."'—Haradatta.

11. Others say that he may carry the skull of any corpse. This Sûtra is to be construed with Sûtra 14, Sûtras 12 and 13 being inserted parenthetically.—Haradatta. Manu XI, 72-78; Yâgñ. III, 243.

20. After having performed (this penance) for twelve years, (he must perform) the ceremony known (by custom), through which he is re-admitted into the society of the good.

21. Or (after having performed the twelve years' penance), he may build a hut on the path of robbers, and live there, trying to take from them the cows of Brâhmanas. He is free (from his sin), when thrice he has been defeated by them, or when he has vanquished them.

22. Or he is freed (from his sin), if (after the twelve years' penance) he bathes (with the priests) at the end of a horse-sacrifice.

23. This very same (penance is ordained) for him who, when his duty and love of gain come into conflict, chooses the gain.

24. If he has slain a Guru or a Brâhmana, who has studied the Veda and finished the ceremonies of a Soma-sacrifice, he shall live according to this very same rule until his last breath.

25. He cannot be purified in this life. But his sin is removed (after death).

20. 'I.e. after having performed the penance, he shall take grass and offer it to a cow. If the cow approaches and confidently eats, then one should know that he has performed the penance properly, not otherwise.'—Haradatta. Manu XI, 195 and 196.

21. Manu XI, 81.—Thus Haradatta, better, 'when thrice he has fought with them,' see the Pet. Dict. s. v. rād h.

22. Manu XI, 83; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 67.

23. 'Or the Sûtra may have reference to unrighteous gain acquired by false testimony and the like.'—Haradatta.

24. 'Guru means "the father and the rest."'—Haradatta.

25. 'His sin is removed after death. Hence the meaning is that his sons or other (relations) may perform the funeral ceremonies and the like. But others think that the first part of the Sûtra forbids this, and that the meaning of pratyâpattiḥ (can be

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 25.

1. He who has had connection with a Guru's wife shall cut off his organ together with the testicles, take them into his joined hands and walk towards the south without stopping, until he falls down dead.

2. Or he may die embracing a heated metal image of a woman.

3. A drinker of spirituous liquor shall drink exceedingly hot liquor so that he dies.

4. A thief shall go to the king with flying hair, carrying a club on his shoulder, and tell him his deed. He (the king) shall give him a blow with that (club). If the thief dies, his sin is expiated.

5. If he is forgiven (by the king), the guilt falls upon him who forgives him,

6. Or he may throw himself into the fire, or perform repeatedly severe austerities,

7. Or he may kill himself by diminishing daily his portion of food,

8. Or he may perform *Krikkhira* penances (uninterruptedly) for one year.

purified) is "connection by being received as a son or other relation."—Haradatta.

25. 1. Haradatta's explanation of a 'Guru's wife' by 'mother' rests on a comparison of similar passages from other *Smṛitis*, where a different 'penance' is prescribed for incestuous intercourse with other near relations. *Manu* XI, 105; *Yâgñ.* III, 259.

2. *Manu* XI, 104; *Yâgñ.* III, 259.

3. *Manu* XI, 91, 92; *Yâgñ.* III, 253.

4. I.e. who has stolen the gold of a Brâhmana. *Manu* VIII, 314, 316; XI, 99-101; *Yâgñ.* III, 257.

5. *Manu* VIII, 317.

6. *Manu* XI, 102.

8. According to Haradatta this *Sûtra* refers to all kinds of sins,

9. Now they quote also (the following verse) :

10. Those who have committed a theft (of gold), drunk spirituous liquor, or had connection with a Guru's wife, but not those who have slain a Brâhmana, shall eat every fourth meal-time a little food, bathe at the times of the three libations (morning, noon, and evening), passing the day standing and the night sitting. After the lapse of three years they throw off their guilt.

11. (A man of any caste) excepting the first, who has slain a man of the first caste, shall go on a battle-field and place himself (between the two hostile armies). There they shall kill him (and thereby he becomes pure).

12. Or such a sinner may tear from his body and make the priest offer as a burnt-offering his hair, skin, flesh, and the rest, and then throw himself into the fire.

13. If a crow, a chameleon, a peacock, a Brâhmanî duck, a swan, the vulture called Bhâsa, a frog, an ichneumon, a musk-rat, or a dog has been killed, then the same penance as for a Sûdra must be performed.

and it must be understood that the *Krikkkra* penances must be heavy for great crimes, and lighter for smaller faults; see also below, I, 9, 27, 7 and 8.

9. Haradatta states that the verse is taken from a *Purâna*.

11. *Manu* XI, 74; *Yâgñ.* III, 248.

12. The Mantras given in the commentary, and a parallel passage of *Vasishtha* XX, 25-26, show that this terrible penance is not altogether a mere theory of *Âpastamba*. *Yâgñ.* III, 247.

13. 'According to some, the penance must be performed if all these animals together have been slain; according to others, if only one of them has been killed.'—Haradatta. *Manu* XI, 132, 136; *Yâgñ.* III, 270-272.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 26.

1. (The same penance must be performed), if a milch-cow or a full-grown ox (has been slain), without a reason.

2. And for other animals (which have no bones), if an ox-load of them has been killed.

3. He who abuses a person who (on account of his venerability) ought not to be abused, or speaks an untruth (regarding any small matter) must abstain for three days from milk, pungent condiments, and salt.

4. (If the same sins have been committed) by a Sūdra, he must fast for seven days.

5. And the same (penances must also be performed) by women, (but not those which follow).

6. He who cuts off a limb of a person for whose murder he would become an Abhisasta (must perform the penance prescribed for killing a Sūdra), if the life (of the person injured) has not been endangered.

26. 1. 'A reason' for hurting a cow is, according to Haradatta, anger, or the desire to obtain meat.

2. Manu XI, 141; Yāgñ. III, 269. That 'animals without bones,' i.e. insects or mollusks, are intended in the Sūtra is an inference, drawn by Haradatta from the parallel passages of Gautama, Manu, and Yāgñavalkya.

3. 'A person who ought not to be abused, i. e. a father, a teacher, and the like.'—Haradatta.

5. The same penances, i. e. those prescribed I, 9, 24—I, 9, 26, 4. According to Haradatta this Sūtra is intended to teach that women shall not perform the penances which follow. Others, however, are of opinion that it is given in order to indicate that the preceding Sūtras apply to women by an atidesa, and that, according to a Smārta principle, applicable to such cases, it may be inferred, that women are to perform one-half only of the penances prescribed for men.

7. He who has been guilty of conduct unworthy of an Aryan, of calumniating others, of actions contrary to the rule of conduct, of eating or drinking things forbidden, of connection with a woman of the Sûdra caste, of an unnatural crime, of performing magic rites with intent (to harm his enemies) or (of hurting others) unintentionally, shall bathe and sprinkle himself with water, reciting the (seven) verses addressed to the Waters, or the verses addressed to Varuna, or (other verses chosen from the Anuvâka, called) Pavitra, in proportion to the frequency with which the crime has been committed.

8. A (student) who has broken the vow of chastity, shall offer to Nirriti an ass, according to the manner of the Pâkayagña-rites.

9. A Sûdra shall eat (the remainder) of that (offering).

10. (Now follows) the penance for him who transgresses the rules of studentship.

11. He shall for a year serve his teacher silently, emitting speech only during the daily study (of the Veda, in announcing necessary business to) his teacher or his teacher's wife, and whilst collecting alms.

12. The following (penances) which we are going to proclaim, may be performed for the same sin, and

7. The Anuvâka intended is Taitt. Samh. II, 5, 12.

8. Taitt. Âr. II, 18, and Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 102; Manu XI, 119 seq.; and Yâgñ. III, 280. Regarding the Pâkayagña-rites, see Âsv. Gri. Sû. I, 1, 2, and Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 203.

12. Regarding the Pataniya-crimes which cause loss of caste, see above, I, 7, 21, 7 seq.

also for other sinful acts, which do not cause loss of caste.

13. He may either offer oblations to Kâma and Manyu (with the following two Mantras), 'Kâma (passion) has done it; Manyu (anger) has done it.' Or he may mutter (these Mantras).

14. Or, after having eaten sesamum or fasted on the days of the full and new moon he may, on the following day bathe, and stopping his breath, repeat the Gâyatrî one thousand times, or he may do so without stopping his breath.

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 9, KHANDA 27.

1. After having eaten sesamum or having fasted on the full moon day of the month *Śrāvana* (July–August), he may on the following day bathe in the water of a great river and offer (a burnt-oblation of) one thousand pieces of sacred fuel, whilst reciting the Gâyatrî, or he may mutter (the Gâyatrî) as many times.

2. Or he may perform *Ishṭis* and Soma-sacrifices for the sake of purifying himself (from his sins).

3. After having eaten forbidden food, he must fast, until his entrails are empty.

4. That is (generally) attained after seven days.

5. Or he may during winter and during the dewy

13. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 102. According to the greatness of the crime the number of the burnt-oblations must be increased and the prayers be repeated.

27. 1. 'The oblations of sacred fuel (*samidh*) are not to be accompanied by the exclamation *Svâhâ*.'—Haradatta.

2. *Ishṭis* are the simplest forms of the *Śrauta*-sacrifices, i.e. of those for which three fires are necessary.

3. For some particular kinds of forbidden food the same penance is prescribed, *Manu* XI, 153–154.

season (November–March) bathe in cold water both morning and evening.

6. Or he may perform a *Krikkhra* penance, which lasts twelve days.

7. The rule for the *Krikkhra* penance of twelve days (is the following) : For three days he must not eat in the evening, and then for three days not in the morning ; for three days he must live on food which has been given unasked, and three days he must not eat anything.

8. If he repeats this for a year, that is called a *Krikkhra* penance, which lasts for a year.

9. Now follows another penance. He who has committed even a great many sins which do not cause him to fall, becomes free from guilt, if, fasting, he recites the entire *Sâkhâ* of his Veda three times consecutively.

10. He who cohabits with a non-Aryan woman, he who lends money at interest, he who drinks (other) spirituous liquors (than *Surâ*), he who praises everybody in a manner unworthy of a *Brâhmaṇa*, shall sit on grass, allowing his back to be scorched (by the sun).

11. A *Brâhmaṇa* removes the sin which he committed by serving one day and night (a man of) the black race, if he bathes for three years, eating at every fourth meal-time.

7. The same penance is described, under the name *Prâgâpatya krikkhra*, the *Krikkhra* invented by *Pragâpati*, *Manu* XI, 212, and *Yâgñ.* III, 320.

9. *Manu* XI, 259.

11. The expression *krishna varṇa*, 'the black race,' is truly Vedic. In the *Rîg-veda* it usually denotes the aboriginal races, and sometimes the demons. Others explain the *Sûtra* thus :

PRASNA I, PĀTALA 10, KHANDA 28.

1. He who, under any conditions whatsoever, covets (and takes) another man's possessions is a thief; thus (teach) Kautsa and Hârîta as well as Kaṇva and Pushkarasâdi.

2. Vârshyâyami declares, that there are exceptions to this law, in regard to some possessions.

3. (E.g.) seeds ripening in the pod, food for a draught-ox; (if these are taken), the owners (ought) not (to) forbid it.

4. To take even these things in too great a quantity is sinful.

5. Hârîta declares, that in every case the permission (of the owner must be obtained) first.

6. He shall not go to visit a fallen teacher or blood relation.

7. Nor shall he accept the (means for procuring) enjoyments from such a person.

8. If he meets them accidentally he shall silently embrace (their feet) and pass on.

9. A mother does very many acts for her son, therefore he must constantly serve her, though she be fallen.

10. But (there shall be) no communion (with a fallen mother) in acts performed for the acquisition of spiritual merit.

A Brâhmana removes the sin, which he committed by cohabiting for one night with a female of the Sûdra caste, &c.—Haradatta. The latter explanation has been adopted by Kullûka on Manu XI, 179.

28. 3. The same rule Manu emphatically ascribes to himself, Manu VIII, 339. But see also VIII, 331.

7. Haradatta remarks, that this Sûtra implicitly forbids to accept the heritage of an outcast.

11. Enjoyments taken unrighteously he shall give up; he shall say, 'I and sin (do not dwell together).' Clothing himself with a garment reaching from the navel down to the knee, bathing daily, morn, noon, and evening, eating food which contains neither milk nor pungent condiments, nor salt, he shall not enter a house for twelve years.

12. After that he (may be) purified.

13. Then he may have intercourse with Aryans.

14. This penance may also be employed in the case of the other crimes which cause loss of caste (for which no penance has been ordained above).

15. But the violator of a Guru's bed shall enter a hollow iron image and, having caused a fire to be lit on both sides, he shall burn himself.

16. According to Hârîta, this (last-mentioned penance must) not (be performed).

17. For he who takes his own or another's life becomes an Abhisasta.

18. He (the violator of a Guru's bed) shall perform to his last breath (the penance) prescribed by that rule (Sûtra 11). He cannot be purified in this world. But (after death) his sin is taken away.

19. He who has unjustly forsaken his wife shall put on an ass's skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses, saying, 'Give alms to him who forsook his wife.' That shall be his livelihood for six months.

20. But if a wife forsakes her husband, she shall

11. A similar but easier penance is prescribed, Manu XI, 194.

15. '(This penance, which had been prescribed above, I, 9, 25, 1), is enjoined (once more), in order to show that it is not optional (as might be expected according to Sûtra 14).'—Haradatta.

perform the twelve-night *Krikkhra* penance for as long a time.

21. He who has killed a *Bhrûna* (a man learned in the Vedas and Vedângas and skilled in the performance of the rites) shall put on the skin of a dog or of an ass, with the hair turned outside, and take a human skull for his drinking-vessel,

PRASNA I, PATALA 10, KHANDA 29.

1. And he shall take the foot of a bed instead of a staff and, proclaiming the name of his deed, he shall go about (saying), 'Who (gives) alms to the murderer of a *Bhrûna*?' Obtaining thus his livelihood in the village, he shall dwell in an empty house or under a tree, (knowing that) he is not allowed to have intercourse with Aryans. According to this rule he shall act until his last breath. He cannot be purified in this world. But (after death) his sin is taken away.

2. He even who slays unintentionally, reaps nevertheless the result of his sin.

3. (His guilt is) greater, (if he slays) intentionally.

4. The same (principle applies) also to other sinful actions,

5. And also to good works.

6. A *Brâhmana* shall not take a weapon into his hand, though he be only desirous of examining it.

7. In a *Purâna* (it has been declared), that he who

29. 5. Haradatta gives, as an example, the case where a warrior saves the property of a traveller from thieves. If the traveller turns out to be a *Brâhmana*, and the warrior did not know his caste before rescuing his property, his merit will be less than if he had rescued knowingly the property of a *Brâhmana*.

slays an assailant does not sin, for (in that case) wrath meets wrath.

8. But Abhisastas shall live together in dwellings (outside the village); considering this their lawful (mode of life), they shall sacrifice for each other, teach each other, and marry amongst each other.

9. If they have begot sons, let them say to them: 'Go out from amongst us, for thus the Âryas, (throwing the guilt) upon us, will receive you (amongst their number).

10. For the organs do not become impure together with the man.

11. (The truth of) that may be learned from this (parallel case); a man deficient in limbs begets a son who possesses the full number of limbs.

12. Hârîta declares that this is wrong.

13. A wife is similar to the vessel which contains the curds (for the sacrifice).

14. For if one makes impure milk curdle (by mixing it with whey and water) in a milk-vessel and stirs it, no sacrificial rite can be performed with (the curds produced from) that. Just so no intercourse

9. It is impossible to agree with Haradatta's explanation of the words to be addressed by Abhisastas to their children. No Vedic license can excuse the use of the second person plural instead of the third. I propose the following: 'Go out from among us; for thus (leaving the guilt) to us, you will be received (as) Âryas.' It is, however, not improbable that our text is disfigured by several very old corruptions, compare Baudhâyana II, 1, 2, 18.

11. 'In like manner a man who has lost his rights, (can) beget a son, who possesses the rights (of his caste). For the wife is also a cause (of the birth of the son), and she is guiltless.'—Haradatta.

13. The statements now following are those with which Âpastamba agrees. Those contained in Sûtras 8-11 are merely the pûrvapaksha.

can be allowed with the impure seed which comes (from an Abhisasta).

15. Sorcery and curses (employed against a Brâhmaṇa) cause a man to become impure, but not loss of caste.

16. Hârîta declares that they cause loss of caste.

17. But crimes causing impurity must be expiated, (when no particular penance is prescribed,) by performing the penance enjoined for crimes causing loss of caste during twelve months, or twelve half months, or twelve twelve-nights, or twelve se'nnights, or twelve times three days, or twelve days, or seven days, or three days, or one day.

18. Thus acts causing impurity must be expiated according to the manner in which the (sinful) act has been committed (whether intentionally or unintentionally).

PRASNA I, PATALA 11, KHANDA 30.

1. Some declare, that a student shall bathe after (having acquired) the knowledge of the Veda, (however long or short the time of his studentship may have been).

2. (He may) also (bathe) after having kept the student's vow for forty-eight, (thirty-six or twenty-four) years, (though he may not have mastered the Veda).

3. Some declare, that the student (shall bathe) after (having acquired) the knowledge of the Veda and after (the expiration of) his vow.

30. 1. The bath is taken at the end of the studentship, and forms part of the Samâvartana-ceremony. From this rite a student who has completed his course of study derives the name Snâtaka, 'one who has bathed.' See also Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125.

4. To all those persons who have bathed (in accordance with any of the above rules must be shown) the honour due to a Snātaka.

5. The reverence (shown to a Snātaka) brings, however, different rewards according to the degree of devotion or of learning (possessed by the person honoured).

6. Now follow the observances (chiefly to be kept) by a Snātaka.

7. He shall usually enter the village and leave it by the eastern or the northern gate.

8. During the morning and evening twilights, he shall sit outside the village, and not speak anything (referring to worldly matters).

9. (But an Agnihotrī, who is occupied at home by oblations in the morning and evening, must not go out; for) in the case of a conflict (of duties), that enjoined by the Veda is the more important.

10. He shall avoid all dyed dresses,

11. And all naturally black cloth.

12. He shall wear a dress that is neither shining,

13. Nor despicable, if he is able (to afford it).

14. And in the day-time he shall avoid to wrap up his head, except when voiding excrements.

15. But when voiding excrements, he shall envelop his head and place some (grass or the like) on the ground.

16. He shall not void excrements in the shade (of a tree, where travellers rest).

10. The rule to wear white garments is given Yāgñ. I, 131; Manu IV, 35.

13. Manu IV, 34.

15. Manu IV, 49.

17. But he may discharge urine on his own shadow.

18. He shall not void excrements with his shoes on, nor on a ploughed field, nor on a path, nor in water.

19. He shall also avoid to spit into, or to have connection with a woman in water.

20. He shall not void excrements facing the fire, the sun, water, a Brāhmaṇa, cows, or (images of) the gods.

21. He shall avoid to clean his body from excrements with a stone, a clod of earth, or with (boughs of) herbs or trees which he has broken off, whilst they were on the tree and full of sap.

22. If possible, he shall not stretch out his feet towards a fire, water, a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, (images of) the gods, a door, or against the wind.

23. Now they quote also (the following verse) :

PRASNA I, PATALA 11, KHANDA 31.

1. He shall eat facing the east, void fæces facing the south, discharge urine facing the north, and wash his feet turned towards the west.

2. He shall void excrements far from his house, having gone towards the south or south-west.

3. But after sunset he must not void excrements outside the village or far from his house.

4. And as long as he is impure he (shall avoid) to pronounce the names of the gods.

18. Manu IV, 45, 46 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

19. Manu IV, 56.

20. Manu IV, 48, 52 ; Yâgñ. I, 134.

22. The prohibition to stretch the feet towards a fire occurs also Manu IV, 53 ; Yâgñ. I, 137.

31. 2. Manu IV, 151 ; Yâgñ. I, 16.

5. And he shall not speak evil of the gods or of the king.

6. He shall not touch with his foot a Brāhmaṇa, a cow, nor any other (venerable beings).

7. (Nor shall he touch them) with his hand, except for particular reasons.

8. He shall not mention the blemishes of a cow, of sacrificial presents, or of a girl.

9. And he shall not announce it (to the owner) if a cow does damage (by eating corn or grass in a field).

10. (Nor shall he call attention to it) if a cow is together with her calf, except for a particular reason.

11. And of a cow which is not a milch-cow he shall not say, 'She is not a milch-cow.' He must say, 'This is a cow which will become a milch-cow.'

12. He shall not call 'lucky' that which is lucky. He shall call it 'a mercy, a blessing.'

13. He shall not step over a rope to which a calf (or cow) is tied.

14. He shall not pass between the posts from which a swing is suspended.

15. (In company) he shall not say, 'This person

5. Manu IV, 163.

8. 'In the section on transcendental knowledge (I, 8, 23, 5), "speaking evil" has been forbidden, in connection with the means of salvation. And below (Sūtra 25) the (author) will declare that the sins which destroy the creatures are to be avoided. But this precept (is given in order to indicate that) in the case of cows and the rest an extra penance must be performed.'—Haradatta.

12. Manu IV, 139.

13. Manu IV, 38.

14. 'Or according to others, "He shall not pass between pillars supporting an arch."'—Haradatta.

is my enemy.' If he says, 'This person is my enemy,' he will raise for himself an enemy, who will show his hatred.

16. If he sees a rainbow, he must not say to others, 'Here is Indra's bow.'

17. He shall not count (a flock of) birds.

18. He shall avoid to look at the sun when he rises or sets.

19. During the day the sun protects the creatures, during the night the moon. Therefore let him eagerly strive to protect himself on the night of the new moon by purity, continence, and rites adapted for the season.

20. For during that night the sun and the moon dwell together.

21. He shall not enter the village by a by-path. If he enters it thus, he shall mutter this *Rîk*-verse, 'Praise be to Rudra, the lord of the dwelling,' or some other (verse) addressed to Rudra.

22. He shall not (ordinarily) give the residue of his food to a person who is not a *Brâhmaṇa*. When he gives it (to such a one), he shall clean his teeth and give (the food) after having placed in it (the dirt from his teeth).

16. Manu IV, 59.

17. 'Others explain (the *Sûtra*' thus): He shall not announce it to others, if he sees (the souls of) good men falling from heaven on account of the expenditure of their merit, (i.e.) he shall not call attention to shooting-stars.'—Haradatta.

18. Manu IV, 37.

19. Manu IV, 153.

21. Manu IV, 73; *Yâgñ.* I, 140.

22. Manu IV, 80. 'This prohibition (given in the first part of the *Sûtra*) refers to *Sûdras* who are not dependents; to dependents the following (exception applies).—Haradatta.

23. And let him avoid the faults that destroy the creatures, such as anger and the like.

PRASNA I, PĀṬALA 11, KHANḌA 32.

1. Let him who teaches, avoid connubial intercourse during the rainy season and in autumn.

2. And if he has had connection (with his wife), he shall not lie with her during the whole night.

3. He shall not teach whilst he is lying on a bed.

4. Nor shall he teach (sitting) on that couch on which he lies (at night with his wife).

5. He shall not show himself adorned with a garland, or anointed with ointments.

6. At night he shall always adorn himself for his wife.

7. Let him not submerge his head together with his body (in bathing),

8. And (let him avoid) to bathe after sunset.

9. Let him avoid to use a seat, clogs, sticks for cleaning the teeth, (and other utensils) made of Palāsa-wood.

10. Let him avoid to praise (himself) before his teacher, saying, 'I have properly bathed or the like.'

11. Let him be awake from midnight.

12. Let him not study (or teach) in the middle of the night; but (he may point out) their duties to his pupils.

13. Or (he may) by himself mentally (repeat the sacred texts).

14. After midnight he may teach.

23. See above, I, 8, 23, 4 and 5, and Manu IV, 163.

32. 1. Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 42.

2. Manu IV, 40.

5. Manu IV, 72.

15. When he has risen (at midnight, and taught) during the third watch of the night, let him not lie down again (saying), 'Studying is forbidden.'

16. At his pleasure he may (sleep) leaning (against a post or the like).

17. Or he may mentally repeat (the sacred texts).

18. Let him not visit inferior men (such as Nishâdas), nor countries which are inhabited by them,

19. Nor assemblies and crowds.

20. If he has entered a crowd, he shall leave it, turning his right hand towards the crowd.

21. Nor shall he enter towns frequently.

22. Let him not answer directly a question (that is difficult to decide).

23. Now they quote also (the following verse):

24. (The foolish decision) of a person who decides wrongly destroys his ancestors and his future happiness, it harms his children, cattle, and house. 'Oh Dharmaprahârâda, (this deed belongs) not to Kumâlana!' thus decided Death, weeping, the question (addressed to him by the *Rîshi*).

15. I. e. if the following day is a forbidden day, e.g. an Ashvini. See also Manu IV, 99.

18. Manu IV, 60 and 61.

24. Haradatta tells the story to which the second half of the verse alludes, in the following manner: 'A certain *Rîshi* had two pupils, called Dharmaprahârâda and Kumâlana. Once they brought from the forest two great bundles of firewood and threw them negligently into their teacher's house, without looking. One of the bundles struck the teacher's little son so that he died. Then the teacher asked his two pupils, "Which of you two has killed him?" Both answered, "Not I, not I." Hereupon the teacher, being unable to (come to a decision in order to) send away the sinner and to keep the innocent one, called Death, and asked him, "Which of the two has killed the boy?" Then Death, finding himself involved in a difficult law-question, began to weep, and

25. Let him not ascend a carriage yoked with asses; and let him avoid to ascend or to descend from vehicles in difficult places.

26. And (let him avoid) to cross a river swimming.

27. And (let him avoid) ships of doubtful (solidity).

28. He shall avoid cutting grass, crushing clods of earth, and spitting, without a particular reason,

29. And whatever else they forbid.

PRASNA II, PATALA 1, KHANDA 1.

1. After marriage the rites prescribed for a householder and his wife (must be performed).

2. He shall eat at the two (appointed) times, (morning and evening).

giving his decision, said, "Oh Dharmaprahâda, not to Kumâlana (the dative has the sense of the genitive), this sin is none of Kumâlana's!" Instead of declaring, "Dharmaprahâda, thou hast done this," he said, "The other did not do it." Still from the circumstances of the case it appeared that the meaning of the answer was, "The other has done it." "This was the decision which he gave crying."—The reading of the text rendered in the translation is, dharmaprahâda na kumâlanâya.

26. Manu IV, 77.

28. Manu IV, 70 and 71.

1. 1. According to Haradatta, this rule is intended to refute the opinion of those who hold that the sacred household-fire may be kept, and the prescribed offerings therein may be performed, either from the time of the marriage, or after the division of the family estate. He also states that the use of the dual *grîhamedhinoḥ* indicates that husband and wife must perform the rites conjointly. Manu III, 67.

2. Haradatta thinks that this Sûtra is intended to prevent householders from having more than two meals a day, and to keep them from gluttony. Others are of opinion that its object is to keep householders from excessive fasting, and to make them perform the Prâñâgnihotra at either meal. At the Prâñâgnihotra the sacrificer eats five mouthfuls invoking successively, whilst he

3. And he shall not eat to repletion.
4. And both (the householder and his wife) shall fast on (the days of) the new and full moon.
5. To eat once (on those days in the morning), that also is called fasting.
6. And they may eat (at that meal) until they are quite satisfied.
7. And on (the anniversary of) that (wedding)-day they may eat that food of which they are fond.
8. And (on the night of that day) they shall sleep on the ground (on a raised heap of earth).
9. And they shall avoid connubial intercourse.
10. And on the day after (that day) a Sthâlpâka must be offered.
11. The manner in which that offering must be

eats, the five vital airs. At the first mouthful he says, 'To Prâṇa svâhâ;' at the second, 'To Apâna svâhâ,' &c.

5. *Āsv. Gri. Sû. I, 10, 2.*

7. Haradatta holds that the words 'on that day' do not refer to the days of the new and full moon, the Parvan-days, mentioned in Sûtra 4. His reasons are, first, that the permission to eat food, of which the householder may be particularly fond, has already been given in Sûtra 6, by the term *trīptiḥ*, 'satisfaction'; and, secondly, that the singular 'on this day' does not agree with the plural 'on the Parvan-days.' Hence he comes to the conclusion that the words 'on that day' must refer to the wedding-day, mentioned in Sûtra 1, as well as to its anniversary. Haradatta is, probably, right in his explanation, though the reasons adduced here are very weak. A stronger reason for detaching this Sûtra from Sûtra 4 will be brought forward below, under Sûtra 11. Mahâdeva, the commentator of the *Hiranyakesidharma*, adopts the view rejected by Haradatta.

8. *Āsv. Gri. Sû. I, 3, 10.*

10. A Sthâlpâka is an offering at which rice cooked in a pot, *sthâlî*, is offered in the fire. A full description of this kind of sacrifice occurs, *Āsv. Gri. Sû. I, 10, 1 seq.*

11. The *Pârvana Sthâlpâka* has been described by Āpastamba

performed has been declared by (the description of the Sthâlpâka) to be performed on the days of the new and full moon (the Pârvana).

12. And they declare (that this rite which is known) amongst the people (must be performed) every (year).

13. At every (burnt-offering), when he wishes to place the fire on the altar (called Sthandîla), let him draw on that (altar) three lines from west to east and three lines from south to north, and sprinkle (the altar) with water, turning the palm of the hand downwards, and let him then make the fire burn brightly by adding (fuel).

14. He shall pour out (the remainder of) this water used for sprinkling, to the north or to the east (of the altar), and take other (water into the vessel).

15. The water-vessels in the house shall never be empty; that is the duty to be observed by the householder and his wife.

in the *Gr̥hya-sûtra*, III, 7. Again, Haradatta returns to the question whether the words on that day (*Sûtra* 7) refer to the Parvan-days, or the marriage-day and its anniversaries. He now adds, in favour of the latter view, that the word Pârvana, 'by the rite to be performed on Parvan-days,' by which the Sthâlpâka on Parvan-days is intended, clearly proves the impossibility to refer the preceding rules to the Parvan-days. He adds that some, nevertheless, adopt the explanation rejected by himself.

12. They, i.e. the *Sishvas*, those learned in the law. 'Another commentator says, the rite which will be taught (in the following *Sûtra*), and which is known from the usage of the learned, is constant, i.e. must be performed in every case. That it is what the "learned" declare.'—Haradatta. The latter explanation of the *Sûtra* is adopted by Mahâdeva.

13. *Âsv. Gr̥i. Sû. I, 3, 1-3.*

15. Haradatta states that the object of the repetition of the words 'the householder and his wife' is to show that they

16. Let him not have connubial intercourse (with his wife) in the day-time.

17. But let him have connection with his wife at the proper time, according to the rules (of the law).

18. Let him have connubial intercourse in the interval also, if his wife (desires it, observing the restrictions imposed by the law).

19. (The duty of) connubial intercourse (follows from) the passage of a Brâhmaṇa, ('Let us dwell together until a son be born.')

20. But during intercourse he shall be dressed in a particular dress kept for this purpose.

21. And during intercourse only they shall lie together,

22. Afterwards separate.

23. Then they both shall bathe ;

PRASNA II, PATALA 1, KHANDA 2.

1. Or they shall remove the stains with earth or water, sip water, and sprinkle the body with water.

2. Men of all castes, if they fulfil their (assigned) duties, enjoy (in heaven) the highest, imperishable bliss.

3. Afterwards when (a man who has fulfilled his duties) returns to this world, he obtains, by virtue of

themselves must fill the water-vessels, and not employ others for this purpose. He adds that, according to another commentator, the object of the repetition is to show that Sûtras 13 and 14 apply not only to householders, but also to students, and that hence students, when they offer the daily oblations of sacred fuel (above, I, 1, 4, 14 seq.), should also perform the rites taught in the preceding Sûtras.

17. See Manu III, 46-48; Yâgñ. I, 79, 80.

18. Manu III, 45; Yâgñ. I, 81.

19. See Taittirîya Samhitâ II, 5, 1, 5.

a remainder of merit, birth in a distinguished family, beauty of form, beauty of complexion, strength, aptitude for learning, wisdom, wealth, and the gift of fulfilling the laws of his (caste and order). Therefore in both worlds he dwells in happiness, (rolling) like a wheel (from the one to the other).

4. As the seed of herbs (and) trees, (sown) in good and well-cultivated soil, gives manifold returns of fruit (even so it is with men who have received the various sacraments).

5. The increase of the results of sins has been explained hereby.

6. Thus after having undergone a long punishment in the next world, a person who has stolen (the gold of a *Brâhmana*) or killed a (*Brâhmana*) is born again, in case he was a *Brâhmana* as a *Kândâla*, in case he was a *Kshatriya* as a *Paulkasa*, in case he was a *Vaisya* as a *Vaina*.

7. In the same manner other (sinners) who have become outcasts in consequence of their sinful actions are born again, on account of (these) sins, losing their caste, in the wombs (of various animals).

8. As it is sinful to touch a *Kândâla*, (so it is also sinful) to speak to him or to look at him. The penance for these (offences will be declared).

9. (The penance) for touching him is to bathe, submerging the whole body; for speaking to him to speak to a *Brâhmana*; for looking at him to look at the lights (of heaven).

2. 6. *Manu* XII, 55; *Yâgyñ.* III, 206, 207. A *Paulkasa* is said to be the offspring of a *Nishâda* and a *Kshatriya* woman. See the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. A *Vaina* is a rope-dancer, or equilibrist.

7. *Manu* XII, 52.

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, KHANDA 3.

1. Pure men of the first three castes shall prepare the food (of a householder which is used) at the Vaisvadeva ceremony.

2. The (cook) shall not speak, nor cough, nor sneeze, while his face is turned towards the food.

3. He shall purify himself by touching water if he has touched his hair, his limbs, or his garment.

4. Or Sûdras may prepare the food, under the superintendence of men of the first three castes.

5. For them is prescribed the same rule of sipping water (as for their masters).

6. Besides, the (Sûdra cooks) daily shall cause to be cut the hair of their heads, their beards, the hair on their bodies, and their nails.

7. And they shall bathe, keeping their clothes on.

8. Or they may trim (their hair and nails) on the eighth day (of each half-month), or on the days of the full and new moon.

9. He (the householder himself) shall place on the fire that food which has been prepared (by Sûdras) without supervision, and shall sprinkle it with water. Such food also they state to be fit for the gods.

10. When the food is ready, (the cook) shall place

3, 1. 'The food which is used at the Vaisvadeva, i. e. the food prepared for the meals of the householder and of his wife.'—Haradatta.

5. This Sûtra is a *Gñâpaka*, as it indicates that Āpastamba also recognises the different rules which are usually prescribed in the *Smṛitis* for Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras. See above, I, 5, 16, 2.

7. Usually in bathing both Āryas and Sûdras wear no dress except the langofi.

himself before his master and announce it to him (saying), 'It is ready.'

11. The answer (of the master) shall be, 'That well-prepared food is the means to obtain splendour; may it never fail!'

12. The burnt-oblations and Bali-offerings made with the food which the husband and his wife are to eat, bring (as their reward) prosperity, (and the enjoyment of) heaven.

13. Whilst learning the sacred formulas (to be recited during the performance) of those (burnt-oblations and Bali-offerings, a householder) shall sleep on the ground, abstain from connubial intercourse and from eating pungent condiments and salt, during twelve days.

14. (When he studies the Mantras) for the last (Bali offered to the goblins), he shall fast for one (day and) night.

15. For each Bali-offering the ground must be prepared separately. (The performer) sweeps (the ground) with his (right) hand, sprinkles it with water, turning the palm downwards, throws down (the offering), and afterwards sprinkles water around it.

11. *Manu* II, 54.

12. Balis are portions of food which are thrown before the door, or on the floor of the house. See below, *Sûtra* 16 seq.

13. Others explain this *Sûtra* thus: 'After having used for the first time these sacred formulas (which are to be recited in offering the burnt-oblation and the Balis, the householder and his wife) shall sleep,' &c.

14. Regarding the use of *ekarâtra* in the sense of 'a (day and a) night,' see above. The 'last' Bali-offering is that described below, II, 2, 4, 5.

15. 'They say that the word "afterwards" is used in order to indicate that perfumes, garlands, and other (*Upakâras*) must be offered between (the last two acts).—*Haradatta*.

16. (At the Vaisvadeva sacrifice) he shall offer the oblations with his hand, (throwing them) into the kitchen-fire or into the sacred (*Grihya*)-fire, and reciting (each time one of) the first six Mantras (prescribed in the *Nârâyana* Upanishad).

17. He shall sprinkle water all around both times (before and after the oblations), as (has been declared) above.

18. In like manner water is sprinkled around once only after the performance of those Bali-offerings that are performed in one place.

19. (If a seasoning) has been prepared, (the Bali-offering should consist of rice) mixed with that seasoning.

20. With the seventh and eighth Mantras (Balis

16. It is a disputed point with the commentators whether every *Brâhmana* may offer the Vaisvadeva in the common kitchen-fire, or those persons only who do not keep a sacred domestic fire. The six Mantras, which are given Taitt. Âr. X, 67, 1, are: 1. Agnaye svâhâ, 'to Agni svâhâ'; 2. Somâya svâhâ, 'to Soma svâhâ'; 3. Visvebhyo devebhyah svâhâ, 'to all the gods svâhâ'; 4. Dhruvâya bhûmaya svâhâ, 'to Dhruva Bhûma svâhâ'; 5. Dhruvakshitaye svâhâ, 'to Dhruvakshiti svâhâ'; 6. Akhutakshitaye svâhâ, 'to Akhutakshiti svâhâ.' Haradatta adds that some add a seventh formula, addressed to Agni svishṭakṛtî, 'to the fire which causes the proper performance of the sacrifice,' while others leave out the second Mantra and give that addressed to Agni svishṭakṛtî the sixth place. This latter is the order given in the Calcutta edition of the Taittirîya *Āraṇyaka*.

17. 'Above, i.e. *Grihya-sûtra*, I, 2, 3, 8.'—Haradatta. The Mantras recited are: 1. at the first sprinkling, Adite numanyasva, 'Aditi permit'; Anumate numanyasva, 'Anumati permit'; Sarasvaty anumanyasva, 'Sarasvatî permit'; Deva Savitah prasuva, 'Divine Savitri permit'; 2. at the second sprinkling, the same as above, anvamasthâh and prâsâvîh, 'thou hast permitted,' being substituted for anumanyasva and prasuva.

18. This Sûtra is a restriction of Sûtra 15.

20. The first six offerings constitute the *Devayagña* or Vaisva-

must be offered to Dharma and Adharma) behind the fire, and must be placed the one to the north of the other.

21. With the ninth (Mantra a Bali offered to the waters must be placed) near the water-vessel (in which the water for domestic purposes is kept).

22. With the tenth and eleventh (Mantras, Balis, offered to the herbs and trees and to Rakshodevaganā, must be placed) in the centre of the house, and the one to the east of the other.

23. With the following four (Mantras, Balis must be placed) in the north-eastern part of the house (and the one to the east of the other).

PRASNA II, PATALA 2, KHANDA 4.

1. Near the bed (a Bali must be offered) with (a Mantra) addressed to Kāma (Cupid).

2. On the door-sill (a Bali must be placed) with (a Mantra) addressed to Antariksha (the air).

3. With (the Mantra) that follows (in the Upanishad, he offers a Bali) near the door.

deva, which is offered in the fire. Now follow the Bali-offerings, which are merely placed on the ground. 'Behind the fire' means 'to the east of the fire'; for the sacrificer must face the east.

21. The Mantra is, *Adbhyaḥ svāhā*, 'to the Waters *svāhā*'.

22. The Mantras are, *Oshadhivanaspatibhyaḥ svāhā*, 'to the herbs and trees *svāhā*'; *Rakshodevaganebhyaḥ svāhā*, 'to the Rākshasas and the servants of the gods *svāhā*'.

23. These four Balis are sacred to the *Gr̥zhās*, to the *Avasānas*, to the *Avasānapatis*, and to all creatures.

4. 2. 'Others explain *dehalī*, "the door-sill," to mean "the door-case."'—Haradatta.

3. 'Others explain *apidhāna*, "the panels of the door," to mean "the bolt of the door."'—Haradatta. The offering is made to *Nāma*, 'the name, or essence of things.'

4. With the following (ten Mantras, addressed to Earth, Air, Heaven, Sun, Moon, the Constellations, Indra, *Bṛihaspati*, *Pragâpati*, and Brahman, he offers ten Balis, each following one to the east of the preceding one), in (the part of the house called) the seat of Brahman.

5. He shall offer to the south (of the Balis offered before, a Bali) with a Mantra addressed to the Manes; his sacrificial cord shall be suspended over the right shoulder, and the (palm of his right hand shall be turned upwards and) inclined to the right.

6. To the north (of the Bali given to the Manes, a Bali shall be offered) to Rudra, in the same manner as to the (other) gods.

7. The sprinkling with water (which precedes and follows the oblation) of these two (Balis, takes place) separately, on account of the difference of the rule (for each case).

4. Haradatta gives two explanations of the word *Brahmasadana*, 'the seat of Brahman.' According to some, it is an architectural term, designating the centre of the house; according to others, it denotes the place where, at the time of the burnt-oblations, the Brahman or superintending priest is seated, i.e. a spot to the south of the sacred fire.

5. Balis and water for the Manes are placed or poured into the palm of the hand and thrown out between the thumb and forefinger. That part of the palm is, therefore, sometimes called 'the *tīrtha* sacred to the Manes.' See *Manu* II, 39.

6. 'That is to say, the sacrificial cord shall not be suspended over the right shoulder, nor shall the Bali be thrown out between the thumb and forefinger.'—Haradatta.

7. In sprinkling around an offering to the gods, the sacrificer turns his right hand towards the oblation and pours out the water, beginning in the south and ending in the east. In sprinkling around an offering to the Manes, exactly the opposite order is to be followed.

8. At night only he shall offer (the Bali to the goblins), throwing it into the air and reciting the last (Mantra).

9. He who devoutly offers those (above-described Balis and Homas), according to the rules, (obtains) eternal bliss in heaven and prosperity.

10. And (after the Balis have been performed, a portion of the food) must first be given as alms.

11. He shall give food to his guests first,

12. And to infants, old or sick people, female (relations, and) pregnant women.

13. The master (of the house) and his wife shall not refuse a man who asks for food at the time (when the Vaisvadeva offering has been performed).

14. If there is no food, earth, water, grass, and a kind word, indeed, never fail in the house of a good man. Thus (say those who know the law).

8. At night, i. e. before the evening meal. The Mantra is, 'To those beings which, being servants of Vituda, roam about day and night, desiring a Bali-offering, I offer this Bali, desirous of prosperity. May the Lord of prosperity grant me prosperity, svâhâ.' Haradatta adds, that according to another commentator, no other Bali but this is to be offered in the evening, and that some modify the Mantra for each occasion, offering the Bali in the morning to 'the Bhûtas that roam about during the day,' and in the evening 'to the night-walkers.' Compare for the whole section Manu III, 90-92; *Yâgñ.* I, 102-104.

10. Manu III, 94 seq.

11. Manu III, 115; *Yâgñ.* I, 105.

12. Manu III, 114; *Yâgñ.* I, 105.

14. Manu III, 101; *Yâgñ.* I, 107. As read in the text, the first line of the verse has one syllable in excess. This irregularity would disappear if *trinâ*, the Vedic form of the nom. acc. plural, were read for *trinâni*, and it seems to me not improbable that *trinâni* is a correction made by a Pandit who valued grammatical correctness higher than correctness of metre.

15. Endless worlds are the portion (of those householders and wives) who act thus.

16. To a Brâhmaṇa who has not studied the Veda, a seat, water, and food must be given. But (the giver) shall not rise (to do him honour).

17. But if (such a man) is worthy of a salutation (for other reasons), he shall rise to salute him.

18. Nor (shall a Brâhmaṇa rise to receive) a Kshatriya or Vaisya (though they may be learned).

19. If a Sûdra comes as a guest (to a Brâhmaṇa), he shall give him some work to do. He may feed him, after (that has been performed).

20. Or the slaves (of the Brâhmaṇa householder) shall fetch (rice) from the royal stores, and honour the Sûdra as a guest.

21. (A householder) must always wear his garment over (his left shoulder and under his right arm).

22. Or he may use a cord only, slung over his left shoulder and passed under his right arm, instead of the garment.

23. He shall sweep together (the crumbs) on the place where he has eaten, and take them away. He shall sprinkle water on that place, turning the palm downwards, and remove the stains (of food from the cooking-vessels with a stick), wash them with water, and take their contents to a clean place to the north (of the house, offering them) to Rudra. In this manner his house will become prosperous.

16. Manu III, 99.

18. Manu III, 110-112; Yâgñ. I, 107.

19. Manu loc. cit.

20. 'Hence it is known that the king ought to keep stores of rice and the like in every village, in order to show hospitality to Sûdra guests.'—Haradatta.

24. It is declared in the *Smritis* that a *Brâhmaṇa* alone should be chosen as teacher (or spiritual guide).

25. In times of distress a *Brâhmaṇa* may study under a *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya*.

26. And (during his pupilship) he must walk behind (such a teacher).

27. Afterwards the *Brâhmaṇa* shall take precedence before (his *Kshatriya* or *Vaisya* teacher).

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 2, KHANDA 5.

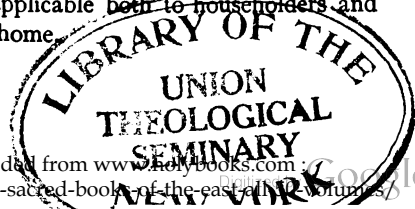
1. On the day on which, beginning the study of the whole sacred science, the *Upanishads* (and the rest, he performs the *Upâkarma* in the morning), he shall not study (at night).

2. And he shall not leave his teacher at once after having studied (the *Veda* and having returned home).

24. *Manu* II, 241, 242. From here down to II, 3, 6, 2, *Âpastamba* again treats of the duties of students and teachers, a subject which appears to have in his eyes a greater importance than any other. The rules given now apply chiefly to householders. It would seem that they have been inserted in this particular place, because the reception of a former teacher is to be described II, 3, 5, 4-11, and that of a 'learned guest' II, 3, 6, 3 seq.

5. 1. This rule refers to the *Upâkarma*, to be performed yearly by householders. In our days, too, the custom is observed, and the whole Brahminical community change on this occasion their *Genvis* or sacrificial cords in the month of *Śrâvāna*. The adherents of the various *Śâkhâs* of the *Vedas*, however, perform the ceremony on different days. According to *Haradatta*, the *Upanishads* are named, in order to show that they are of the highest importance. See also *Satapatha-brâhmaṇa* X, 3, 5, 12.

2. Others consider that this *Sûtra* refers to the annual *Upâkarma* of the householder. In that case the translation would be, 'And after having performed the *Upâkarma*,' &c. Probably *Âpastamba* means to give a general rule, applicable both to householders and to students who have returned home.



3. If he is in a hurry to go, he shall perform the daily recitation of the Veda in the presence of his teacher, and then go at his pleasure. In this manner good fortune will attend both of them.

4. If the (former) teacher visits him after he has returned home, he shall go out to meet him, embrace his (feet), and he shall not wash himself (after that act), showing disgust. He then shall let him pass first into the house, fetch (the materials necessary for a hospitable reception), and honour him according to the rule.

5. If (his former teacher is) present, he himself shall use a seat, a bed, food, and garments inferior to, and lower (than those offered to the teacher).

6. Standing (with his body bent), he shall place his left hand (under the water-vessel, and bending with his other hand its mouth downwards), he shall offer to his teacher water for sipping.

7. And (he shall offer water for sipping in this manner) to other guests also who possess all (good qualities) together.

8. He shall imitate (his teacher) in rising, sitting, walking about, and smiling.

4. 'Though he may suspect that the teacher had been defiled by the touch of a *Kāṇḍāla* or the like, still he shall not show disgust nor wash himself.'—Haradatta. Regarding the rule of receiving guests, see below, II, 4, 8, 6 seq.

6. According to Haradatta, the repetition of the word *ākāryam*, 'the teacher,' in this *Sūtra*, indicates that the rule holds good not only when the teacher comes as a guest to his former pupil, but on every occasion when he receives water for sipping.

7. 'He is called *samudeta*, "possessed of all (good qualities) together," who is endowed with (good) birth, disposition, behaviour, (great) learning, and a (venerable) age.'—Haradatta.

8. The word *syāt* is to be understood from *Sūtra* 5.

9. In the presence (of his teacher) he shall not void excrements, discharge wind, speak aloud, laugh, spit, clean his teeth, blow his nose, frown, clap his hands, nor snap his fingers.

10. Nor shall he tenderly embrace or address caressing words to his wife or children.

11. He shall not contradict his teacher,

12. Nor any of his betters.

13. (He shall not) blame or revile any creature.

14. (He shall not revile one branch of) sacred learning by (invidiously comparing it with) another.

15. If he is not well versed in a (branch of) sacred learning (which he studied formerly), he shall again go to the (same) teacher and master it, observing the (same) rules as (during his first studentship).

16. The restrictions (to be kept) by the teacher from the beginning of the course of teaching to its end are, to avoid cutting the hair on the body, partaking of meat or of oblations to the Manes, and connection (with a woman).

17. Or (he may have conjugal intercourse) with his wife at the proper season.

18. He shall be attentive in instructing his pupils in the sacred learning, in such a manner that they

13. Haradatta states that 'speaking evil' is forbidden here once more in order that it should be particularly avoided.

14. 'For example, he shall not say, "The *Rîg*-veda is sweet to the ear, the other Vedas grate on the ear," or "the Taittirîya-veda is a *Sâkhâ* consisting of leavings," or "the *Brâhmaṇa* proclaimed by *Yâgñavalkya* is of modern origin."—Haradatta. The second sentence refers to the story that *Yâgñavalkya* vomited the Black *Yagur*-veda, and his fellow-students, becoming partridges, picked it up. Regarding the third sentence, see *Vârttika* on *Pânini* IV, 3, 105, and *Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 363.

16. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 42.

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master it, and in observing the restrictions (imposed upon householders during their teaching). He who acts thus, gains heavenly bliss for himself, his descendants and ancestors.

19. He who entirely avoids with mind, word, nose, eye, and ear the sensual objects (such as are) enjoyed by the touch, the organ, or the stomach, gains immortality.

PRASNA II, PATALA 3, KHANDA 6.

1. If he has any doubts regarding the caste and conduct of a person who has come to him in order to fulfil his duty (of learning the Veda), he shall kindle a fire (with the ceremonies prescribed for kindling the sacrificial fire) and ask him about his caste and conduct.

2. If he declares himself to be (of) good (family and conduct, the teacher elect) shall say, 'Agni who sees, Vāyu who hears, Āditya who brings to light, vouch for his goodness; may it be well with this person! He is free from sin.' Then he shall begin to teach him.

3. A guest comes to the house resembling a burning fire.

6. 1. The person desirous to study addresses his teacher elect with the following Mantra : *Bhagavan maitreṇa kakshushā pasya sivena manasānugrīhāna prasīda mām adhyāpaya*, 'venerable Sir, look on me with a friendly eye, receive me with a favourable mind, be kind and teach me.' The teacher elect then asks : *Kimgotro'si saumya, kimāḥārah*, 'friend, of what family art thou? what is thy rule of conduct?'

3. The object of this Sūtra is to show the absolute necessity of feeding a guest. For, if offended, he might burn the house with the flames of his anger.

4. He is called a Srotriya who, observing the law (of studentship), has learned one recension of the Veda (which may be current in his family).

5. He is called a guest (who, being a Srotriya), approaches solely for the fulfilment of his religious duties, and with no other object, a householder who lives intent on the fulfilment of his duties.

6. The reward for honouring (such a guest) is immunity from misfortunes, and heavenly bliss.

7. He shall go to meet such (a guest), honour him according to his age (by the formulas of salutation prescribed), and cause a seat to be given to him.

8. Some declare that, if possible, the seat should have many feet.

9. The (householder himself) shall wash the feet of that (guest); according to some, two Sûdras shall do it.

10. One of them shall be employed in pouring water (over the guest, the other in washing his feet).

11. Some declare that the water for the (guest) shall be brought in an earthen vessel.

4. The object of this Sûtra is to complete the definition of the term 'guest' to be given in the following Sûtra. In my translation I have followed Haradatta's gloss. The literal sense of Âpastamba's words is, 'He who, observing the law, has studied one recension of each (of the four) Vedas, becomes a Srotriya.' Haradatta says this definition would be contrary to the current acceptance of the term. That argument proves, however, nothing for Âpastamba's times.

5. Manu III, 102, 103; Yâgñ. I, 111.

6. Yâgñ. I, 109; Manu III, 101.

8. Haradatta states that this is also Âpastamba's opinion.

11. According to Haradatta, Âpastamba is of opinion that it should be brought in a pot made of metal.

12. But (a guest) who has not yet returned home from his teacher shall not be a cause for fetching water.

13. In case a (student comes, the host) shall repeat the Veda (together with him) for a longer time (than with other guests).

14. He shall converse kindly (with his guest), and gladden him with milk or other (drinks), with eatables, or at least with water.

15. He shall offer to his guest a room, a bed, a mattress, a pillow with a cover, and ointment, and what else (may be necessary).

16. (If the dinner has been finished before the arrival of the guest), he shall call his cook and give him rice or yava for (preparing a fresh meal for) the guest.

17. (If dinner is ready at the arrival of the guest), he himself shall portion out the food and look at it, saying (to himself), 'Is this (portion) greater, or this?'

18. He shall say, 'Take out a larger (portion for the guest).'

19. A guest who is at enmity (with his host) shall not eat his food, nor (shall he eat the food of a host) who hates him or accuses him of a crime, or of one who is suspected of a crime.

20. For it is declared in the Veda that he (who eats the food of such a person) eats his guilt.

12. I.e. it is unnecessary to offer water for washing the feet to a student.

15. 'Ointment, (i.e.) oil or clarified butter for anointing the feet.'—Haradatta. Manu III, 107.

16. Manu III, 108.

19. Manu IV, 213; Yâgñ. I, 162.

PRASNA II, PATALA 3, KHANDA 7.

1. This reception of guests is an everlasting (Srauta)-sacrifice offered by the householder to Pragâpati.

2. The fire in the stomach of the guest (represents) the Âhavantya, (the sacred fire) in the house of the host represents the Gârhapatya, the fire at which the food for the guest is cooked (represents) the fire used for cooking the sacrificial viands (the Dakshinâgni).

3. He who eats before his guest consumes the food, the prosperity, the issue, the cattle, the merit which his family acquired by sacrifices and charitable works.

4. Food (offered to guests) which is mixed with milk procures the reward of an Agnishôma-sacrifice, food mixed with clarified butter procures the reward of an Ukthya, food mixed with honey the reward of an Atirâtra, food accompanied by meat the reward of a Dvâdasâha, (food and) water numerous offspring and long life.

5. It is declared in the Veda, 'Both welcome and indifferent guests procure heaven (for their host).'

7. 1. 'Prâgâpatya may mean either "created by Pragâpati" or "sacred to Pragâpati."—Haradatta.

2. In the first Sûtra the reception of guests had been compared to an everlasting Vedic sacrifice. This analogy is traced further in detail in this Sûtra. One of the chief characteristics of a Vedic sacrifice is the vitâna, or the use of three sacred fires. Hence Âpastamba shows that three fires also are used in offering hospitality to guests.

4. Regarding the Agnishôma and the other sacrifices mentioned, see Aitareya-brâhmana III, 8; IV, 1; IV, 4.

6. When he gives food in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, (these gifts) are the Savanas (of that sacrifice offered to Pragâpati).

7. When he rises after his guest has risen (to depart), that act represents the Udavasântiyâ ishî (of a Vedic sacrifice).

8. When he addresses (the guest) kindly, that kind address (represents) the Dakshinâ.

9. When he follows (his departing guest, his steps represent) the steps of Vishnu.

10. When he returns (after having accompanied his guest), that (act represents) the Avabhîtha, (the final bath performed after the completion of a sacrifice.)

11. Thus (a Brâhmana shall treat) a Brâhmana, (and a Kshatriya and a Vaisya their caste-fellows.)

12. If a guest comes to a king, he shall make (his Purohita) honour him more than himself.

13. If a guest comes to an Agnihotrin, he himself

6. The morning, midday, and evening offerings offered at the great Vedic sacrifices are called Savanas. The object of this Sûtra is to prescribe the hospitable reception of guests at all times of the day, and to further describe the similarity of a guest-offering to a Vedic sacrifice.

7. Regarding the Udavasântiyâ ishî, see Aitareya-brâhmana VIII, 5. It is the 'concluding ishî.'

8. Dakshinâ is the reward given to priests who officiate at a sacrifice.

9. 'The steps of Vishnu' are three steps which the sacrificer has to make between the Vedi and the Âhavanîya-fire. See Pet. Dict. s. v.

12. 'A guest,' i.e. such a one as described above, II, 3, 6, 4 and 5.

13. An Agnihotrin is a Brâhmana who offers certain daily burnt-offerings called Agnihotra. The translation of the last clause renders tarpayantu, the reading of the Atharva-veda.

shall go to meet him and say to him : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, where didst thou stay (last night) ? ' (Then he offers water, saying) : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, here is water. ' (Next he offers milk or the like, saying) : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may (these fluids) refresh (thee). '

14. (If the guest stays at the time of the Agnihotra, he shall make him sit down to the north of the fire and) murmur in a low voice, before offering the oblations : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy heart desires ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy will is ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy wish is ; ' ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, may it be as thy desire is. '

15. If a guest comes, after the fires have been placed (on the altar), but before the oblations have been offered, (the host) himself shall approach him and say to him : ' O faithful fulfiller of thy vows, give me permission ; I wish to sacrifice. ' Then he shall sacrifice, after having received permission. A Brāhmaṇa declares that he commits a sin if he sacrifices without permission.

16. He who entertains guests for one night obtains earthly happiness, a second night gains the middle air, a third heavenly bliss, a fourth the world of unsurpassable bliss ; many nights procure endless worlds. That has been declared in the Veda.

17. If an unlearned person who pretends to be

14. According to some, all these sentences must be pronounced ; according to Haradatta, one only, which may be selected optionally.

15. Haradatta states that the Brāhmaṇa mentioned in the text is the Ātharvaṇa-brāhmaṇa. See Atharva-veda XV, 11-12.

(worthy of the appellation) 'guest' comes to him, he shall give him a seat, water, and food, (thinking) 'I give it to a learned Brâhmaṇa.' Thus (the merit) of his (gift) becomes (as) great (as if a learned Brâhmaṇa had received it).

PRASNA II, PATALA 4, KHANDA 8.

1. On the second and following days of the guest's stay, the host shall not rise or descend (from his couch) in order to salute his (guest), if he has been saluted before (on the first day).

2. He shall eat after his guests.

3. He shall not consume all the flavoured liquids in the house, so as to leave nothing for guests.

4. He shall not cause sweetmeats to be prepared for his own sake.

5. (A guest) who can repeat the (whole) Veda (together with the supplementary books) is worthy to receive a cow and the Madhuparka,

6. (And also) the teacher, an officiating priest, a Snâtaka, and a just king (though not learned in the Veda).

7. A cow and the Madhuparka (shall be offered) to the teacher, to an officiating priest, to a father-in-law, and to a king, if they come after a year has elapsed (since their former visit).

8. 2. Manu III, 117; Yâgñ. I, 105.

3. Flavoured liquids, i.e. milk, whey, &c.

4. Manu III, 106.

5. Manu III, 119 and 120; Yâgñ. I, 110; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 125. A guest is also called goghna, 'cow-killer,' because formerly a cow used to be killed on the arrival of a distinguished guest. The rite is described by Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 24, 31-33.

8. The Madhuparka shall consist of curds mixed with honey, or of milk mixed with honey.

9. On failure (of these substances) water (mixed with honey may be used).

10. The Veda has six Aṅgas (auxiliary works).

11. (The six auxiliary works are) the Kalpa (teaching the ritual) of the Veda, the treatises on grammar, astronomy, etymology, phonetics, and metrics.

12. (If any one should contend that) the term Veda (on account of its etymology, implying that which teaches duty or whereby one obtains spiritual merit) applies to the complete collection of (works which contain) rules for rites to be performed on the authority of precepts, (that, consequently, the Kalpa-sūtras form part of the Veda, and that thereby) the number (fixed above) for those (Aṅgas) is proved to be wrong,

13. (Then we answer), All those who are learned in Mīmāṃsā are agreed that (the terms Veda, Brâhmana, and the like, which are applied to) the principal (works), do not include the Aṅgas (the Kalpa-sūtras and the rest).

14. If he remembers at any time during dinner, that he has refused a guest, he shall at once leave off eating and fast on that day,

8. Âsvalâyana Gr̥hya-sūtra I, 24, 5 and 6.

10. This Sūtra explains the term vedādhyâya, '(a guest) who can repeat the (whole) Veda,' which occurs above, Sūtra 5.—Haradatta. See Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 111.

12. This Sūtra and the following one are directed against those who consider the Kalpa-sūtras to be a part of the Veda, the revealed texts. See also Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 95 seq.

PRASNA II, PATALA 4, KHANDA 9.

1. And on the following day (he shall search for him), feast him to his heart's content, and accompany him (on his departure).

2. (If the guest) possesses a carriage, (he shall accompany him) as far as that.

3. Any other (guest he must accompany), until permission to return is given.

4. If (the guest) forgets (to give leave to depart), the (host) may return on reaching the boundary of his village.

5. To all (those who come for food) at (the end of) the Vaisvadeva he shall give a portion, even to dogs and *Kandâlas*.

6. Some declare that he shall not give anything to unworthy people (such as *Kandâlas*).

7. A person who has been initiated shall not eat the leavings of women or of an uninitiated person.

8. All gifts are to be preceded by (pouring out) water.

9. (But gifts offered to priests) at sacrifices (are to be given) in the manner prescribed by the Veda.

10. The division of the food must be made in such a manner that those who receive daily portions (slaves) do not suffer by it.

9. 1. Yâgñ. I, 113.

7. After a long discussion on the object of this Sûtra, Haradatta comes to the conclusion that it is given 'against the improper custom to dine out of the same vessel with one's wife and uninitiated children, which prevails in some countries.'

8. 'Consequently a gift of food also.' The custom is to pour water, usually with the spoon called Darvî (Pallî), into the extended palm of the recipient's right hand.

11. At his pleasure, he may stint himself, his wife, or his children, but by no means a slave who does his work.

12. And he must not stint himself so much that he becomes unable to perform his duties.

13. Now they quote also (the following two verses) :

‘Eight mouthfuls are the meal of an ascetic, sixteen that of a hermit living in the woods, thirty-two that of a householder, and an unlimited quantity that of a student. An Agnihotrin, a draught-ox, and a student, those three can do their work only if they eat; without eating (much), they cannot do it.’

PRASNA II, PATALA 5, KHANDA 10.

1. The reasons for (which) begging (is permissible are), (the desire to collect the fee for) the teacher, (the celebration of) a wedding, (or of) a *Srauta*-sacrifice, the desire to keep one's father and mother, and the (impending) interruption of ceremonies performed by a worthy man.

2. (The person asked for alms) must examine the qualities (of the petitioner) and give according to his power.

3. But if persons ask for alms for the sake of sensual gratification, that is improper; he shall not take heed of that.

4. The lawful occupations of a *Brâhmana* are,

13. Manu VI, 28; *Yâgñ.* III, 55.

10. 1. Manu IV, 251; XI, 1 seq.; *Yâgñ.* I, 216. By the term arhat, ‘a worthy person,’ a *Brâhmana* is here designated who has studied the Veda and performs an Agnihotra.

4. Manu I, 88; X, 75; *Yâgñ.* I, 118.

studying, teaching, sacrificing for himself, officiating as priest for others, giving alms, receiving alms, inheriting, and gleaning corn in the fields ;

5. And (he may live by taking) other things which belong to nobody.

6. (The lawful occupations) of a Kshatriya are the same, with the exception of teaching, officiating as priest, and receiving alms. (But) governing and fighting must be added.

7. (The lawful occupations) of a Vaisya are the same as those of a Kshatriya, with the exception of governing and fighting. (But in his case) agriculture, the tending of cattle, and trade must be added.

8. He (shall) not choose (for the performance of a *Srauta*-sacrifice) a priest who is unlearned in the Veda, nor one who haggles (about his fee).

9. (A priest) shall not officiate for a person unlearned in the Veda.

10. In war (Kshatriyas) shall act in such a manner as those order, who are learned in that (art of war).

11. The *Āryas* forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who (beg for mercy) with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives.

12. The spiritual guide shall order those who,

5. I.e. wild roots and fruits.

6. *Manu* I, 89 ; X, 77, 79 ; *Yâgñ.* I, 118, 119.

7. *Manu* I, 90 ; X, 78, 79 ; *Yâgñ.* loc. cit.

11. *Manu* VII, 91 seq. ; *Yâgñ.* I, 325.

12. Haradatta explains the words *Sâstrair adhigatânâm*, 'who whilst participating, according to the sacred law, (in the rights of their caste,)' by 'who have been sanctified according to the law by the sacraments, such as the *Garbhâdhâna*, and are entitled (to the rights and occupations of their caste).'

(whilst) participating according to sacred law (in the rights of their caste), have gone astray through the weakness of their senses, to perform penances proportionate to (the greatness of) their sins, according to the precepts (of the *Smṛiti*).

13. If (such persons) transgress their (*Ātārya's*) order, he shall take them before the king.

14. The king shall (send them) to his domestic priest, who should be learned in the law and the science of governing.

15. He shall order (them to perform the proper penances if they are) *Brāhmaṇas*.

16. He shall reduce them (to reason) by forcible means, excepting corporal punishment and servitude.

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 5, KHANDA 11.

1. In the cases of (men of) other castes, the king, after having examined their actions, may punish them even by death.

2. And the king shall not punish on suspicion.

3. But having carefully investigated (the case) by means of questions (addressed to witnesses) and even of ordeals, the king may proceed to punish.

4. A king who acts thus, gains both (this and the next) world.

5. The road belongs to the king except if he meets a *Brāhmaṇa*.

16. Probably this *Sūtra* is meant to give a general rule, and to exempt *Brāhmaṇas* in every case from corporal punishment and servitude. *Manu VIII, 379-380*.

11. 3. See also below, II, 11, 29, 6.

5. *Manu II, 139; Yāgñ. I, 117*. According to *Haradatta* this *Sūtra* is given, though the precedence among the various castes has been already settled, in order to show that common *Kshatriyas* must make way for an anointed king.

6. But if he meets a Brâhmaṇa, the road belongs to the latter.

7. All must make way for a (laden) vehicle, for a person who carries a burden, for a sick man, for a woman and others (such as old men and infants).

8. And (way must be made), by the other castes, for those men who are superior by caste.

9. For their own welfare all men must make way for fools, outcasts, drunkards, and madmen.

10. In successive births men of the lower castes are born in the next higher one, if they have fulfilled their duties.

11. In successive births men of the higher castes are born in the next lower one, if they neglect their duties.

12. If he has a wife who (is willing and able) to perform (her share of) the religious duties and who bears sons, he shall not take a second.

13. If a wife is deficient in one of these two (qualities), he shall take another, (but) before he kindles the fires (of the Agnihotra).

14. For a wife who assists at the kindling of the fires, becomes connected with those religious rites of which that (fire-kindling) forms a part.

6. Manu II, 138; Yâgñ. I, 117.

10. Manu X, 64, 65; Yâgñ. I, 96.

12. Manu IX, 95; Yâgñ. I, 76.

13. Manu IX, 80, 81; Yâgñ. I, 73.

14. A wife who assists at the kindling of the fires for any sacrificial rite, becomes connected with that rite like any priest, and in that rite no other woman can take her place. Hence in the case of an Agnihotra, which lasts during the performer's lifetime, or at least as long as he is a householder, the performer cannot take another principal wife after he once has begun his sacrifice. If the wife of an Agnihotrin dies, he must marry again, and also kindle his fires afresh. Manu V, 167, 168; Yâgñ. I, 89.

15. He shall not give his daughter to a man belonging to the same family (Gotra),

16. Nor to one related (within six degrees) on the mother's or (the father's) side.

17. At the wedding called Brâhma, he shall give away (his daughter) for bearing children and performing the rites that must be performed together (by a husband and his wife), after having enquired regarding (the bridegroom's) family, character, learning, and health, and after having given (to the bride) ornaments according to his power.

18. At the wedding called Ârsha, the bridegroom shall present to the father of the bride a bull and a cow.

19. At the wedding called Daiva, (the father) shall give her to an officiating priest, who is performing a Sruta-sacrifice.

15. The term Gotra corresponds to the Latin Gens. It may be of two kinds, Vaidika for Brâhmanas and Laukika, 'worldly,' for men of other castes. In the first case it denotes 'persons descended from the same Rîshi;' in the second, 'persons distinguished by the same family name, or known to be descended from the same ancestor.' In our days Brâhmanas also have Laukika Gotras, which form subdivisions of the very large Vedic Gotras. Regarding the Vaidika Gotras, see Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 379-390, and particularly p. 387. Manu III, 5; Yâgñ. I, 33; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 75 seq.

16. The term yonisambandha, 'related (within six degrees),' corresponds to the more common Sapinda of Manu, Yâgñavalkya, and others; see the definitions given below, II, 6, 15, 2. In Âpastamba's terminology Sapinda has probably a more restricted sense. It seems very doubtful whether Haradatta's explanation of *ka*, translated by 'or,' is correct, and whether his interpolation of 'the father's' ought to be admitted. Probably Sûtra 15 refers to the father's side, and Sûtra 16 to the mother's side.

17. Manu III, 27; Yâgñ. I, 58.

18. Manu III, 29; Yâgñ. I, 59.

19. Manu III, 28; Yâgñ. I, 59.

20. If a maiden and a lover unite themselves through love, that is called the Gândharva-rite.

PRASNA II, PATALA 5, KHANDA 12.

1. If the suitor pays money (for his bride) according to his ability, and marries her (afterwards), that (marriage is called) the Âsura-rite.

2. If the (bridegroom and his friends) take away (the bride), after having overcome (by force) her father (or relations), that is called the Râkshasa-rite.

3. The first three amongst these (marriage-rites are considered) praiseworthy; each preceding one better than the one following.

4. The quality of the offspring is according to the quality of the marriage-rite.

5. He shall not step on a spot which has been touched by the hand of a Brâhmaṇa, without having sprinkled it with water.

6. He shall not pass between a fire and a Brâhmaṇa,

7. Nor between Brâhmaṇas.

8. Or he may pass between them after having received permission to do so.

9. He shall not carry fire and water at the same time.

20. Manu III, 32; Yâgñ. I, 61.

12. 1. Manu III, 31; Yâgñ. I, 61. It must be understood that, at this rite, a regular sale of the bride must take place. If a suitor merely gives presents to the bride, that is not an Âsura-marriage.

2. Manu III, 33; Yâgñ. I, 61. Haradatta points out that the other law-books enumerate two additional marriage-rites, the Prâgâpatya or Kâya and the Paisâta. But Vasishṭha I, 29-35, like Âpastamba, gives six rites only.

3. Manu III, 24, 25; Yâgñ. I, 58-60.

4. I. e. from praiseworthy marriages virtuous children are born, and from blamable marriages bad ones. Manu III, 42.

10. He shall not carry fires (burning in) separate (places) to one (spot).

11. If, whilst he walks, fire is being carried towards him, he shall not walk around it with his right hand turned towards it, except after it has been placed on the ground.

12. He shall not join his hands on his back.

13. If the sun sets whilst he sleeps, he shall sit up, fasting and silent, for that night. On the following morning he shall bathe and then raise his voice (in prayer).

14. If the sun rises whilst he is asleep, he shall stand during that day fasting and silent.

15. Some declare that he shall restrain his breath until he is tired.

16. And (he shall restrain his breath until he is tired) if he has had a bad dream,

17. Or if he desires to accomplish some object,

18. Or if he has transgressed some other rule.

19. (If he is) doubtful (whether) the result (of an action will be good or evil), he shall not do it.

20. (He shall follow) the same principle (if he is in doubt whether he ought) to study or not.

21. He shall not talk of a doubtful matter as if it were clear.

22. In the case of a person who slept at sunset, of

10. Another commentator says, 'He shall not throw (brands taken from) one fire into another fire.'—Haradatta.

11. The Sûtra implies that under other circumstances he must show this respect to a fire.

13. Manu II, 220.

18. Manu XI, 200.

21. See above, I, 11, 32, 22.

22. These sinners are enumerated in nearly the same order,

one who slept at sunrise, of one who has black nails, or black teeth, of one who married a younger sister before the elder one was married, of one who married an elder sister whose younger sister had been married already, (of a younger brother who has kindled the sacred *Grihya*-fire before his elder brother,) of one whose younger brother has kindled the sacred fire first, (of a younger brother who offers a Soma-sacrifice before his elder brother,) of an elder brother whose younger brother offered a Soma-sacrifice first, of an elder brother who marries or receives his portion of the inheritance after his younger brother, and of a younger brother who takes a wife or receives his portion of the inheritance before his elder brother,—penances ordained for crimes causing impurity, a heavier one for each succeeding case, must be performed.

23. Some declare, that after having performed that penance, he shall remove its cause.

PRASNA II, PATALA 6, KHANDA 13.

1. Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has

Taittirīya-brâhmana III, 2, 8, 11 and 12, and Âp. Srauta-sûtra IX, 12, 11. See also Manu XI, 44-49. Regarding the crimes causing impurity, see above, I, 7, 21, 12-19.

23. 'Its cause, i.e. the black nails, &c. According to another *Smṛiti*, one shall not put away a wife or extinguish a fire, for the taking or kindling of which the penance had to be performed.'—Haradatta. But see *Vasishtha* XX, 7 seq.

13. 1. 'Sâstravihitâ (translated by "who has been married to him legally") means either "married according to the rites prescribed in the Sâstras," or "possessed of the qualities (which have been described) by (the rule of) the Sâstras, He shall not give his daughter to a man of the same Gotra," and in similar (passages).'—Haradatta. See also Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text cxcix.

not belonged to another man, and who has been married legally, have a right to (follow) the occupations (of their castes),

2. And to (inherit the) estate,

3. If they do not sin against either (of their parents).

4. If a man approaches a woman who had been married before, or was not legally married to him, or belongs to a different caste, they both commit a sin.

5. Through their (sin) their son also becomes sinful.

6. A Brâhmana (says), 'The son belongs to the begetter.'

7. Now they quote also (the following Gâthâ from the Veda) : '(Having considered myself) formerly a father, I shall not now allow (any longer) my wives (to be approached by other men), since they have declared that a son belongs to the begetter in the world of Yama. The giver of the seed carries off the son after death in Yama's world; therefore they guard

3. Another (commentator) says, 'Neither of the parents shall pass them over at (the distribution of) the heritage. Both (parents) must leave their property to them.'—Haradatta. The text of the Sûtra admits of either explanation.

6. See also Manu IX, 32 seq., where the same difference of opinion occurs.

7. According to Haradatta this Gâthâ gives the sentiments of a husband who neglected to watch his wives, and who had heard from those learned in the law that the sons of his unfaithful wives would in the next world belong to their natural fathers, and that he would not derive any spiritual benefit from their oblations. He adds that this verse does not refer to or prevent the appointment of a eunuch's wife or of a childless widow to a relation. He also quotes a passage from the *Srauta-sûtra* I, 9, 7, in which the *dvipitâ*, 'the son of two fathers,' is mentioned. But Haradatta's view cannot be reconciled with the statements made below, II, 10, 27,

their wives, fearing the seed of strangers. Carefully watch over (the procreation of) your children, lest stranger seed be sown on your soil. In the next world the son belongs to the begetter, an (imprudent) husband makes the (begetting of) children vain (for himself).'

8. Transgression of the law and violence are found amongst the ancient (sages).

9. They committed no sin on account of the greatness of their lustre.

10. A man of later times who seeing their (deeds) follows them, falls.

11. The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised.

12. It is declared in the Veda that at the time of marriage a gift, for (the fulfilment of) his wishes, should be made (by the bridegroom) to the father

2-7, where the Niyoga is plainly forbidden. Baudhāyana, who (II, 2, 3, 34) quotes the same Gāthā, reads in the first line the vocative 'ganaka' instead of the nominative 'ganakāh', and in the fifth line 'pare bigāni' instead of 'parabigāni.' The commentator Govindasvāmin adds that the verses are addressed by the Rishi Aupagaṅghani to king Ganaka of Videha. The translation of the first line must therefore run thus: 'O Ganaka, now I am jealous of my wives, (though I was) not so formerly,' &c. Baudhāyana's readings are probably the older ones, and Govindasvāmin's explanation the right one. See also Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text ccli.

11. Haradatta thinks that, as most other Smṛitis enumerate the adopted son, and 'the son bought' in their lists of substitutes for lawful sons of the body, Āpastamba's rule can refer only to the gift or sale of an eldest son, or to the gift or sale of a child effected by a woman. Though it is possible that he may be right in his interpretation, it remains a remarkable fact that Āpastamba does not mention the 'twelve kinds of sons,' which are known to other Smṛitis.

12. This Sūtra seems to be directed against Vasishṭha I, 36.

of the bride, in order to fulfil the law. 'Therefore he should give a hundred (cows) besides a chariot; that (gift) he should make bootless (by returning it to the giver).' In reference to those (marriage-rites), the word 'sale' (which occurs in some *Smṛitis* is only used as) a metaphorical expression; for the union (of the husband and wife) is effected through the law.

13. After having gladdened the eldest son by some (choice portion of his) wealth,

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 6, KHANDA 14.

1. He should, during his lifetime, divide his wealth equally amongst his sons, excepting the eunuch, the mad man, and the outcast.

2. On failure of sons the nearest *Sapinda* (takes the inheritance).

14. 1. The last *Sūtra* of *Khandā* 13 and the first of *Khandā* 14 are quoted by Colebrooke, *Digest*, Book V, Text xlii, and *Mitāksharā*, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6. Colebrooke translates *gīvan*, 'during his lifetime,' by 'who makes a partition during his lifetime.' I think that this is not quite correct, and that *Āpastamba* intends to exhort householders to make a division during their lifetime, as later they ought to become ascetics or hermits. *Haradatta* introduces into his commentary on this *Sūtra* the whole chapter on the division of a father's estate amongst his sons, supplementing *Āpastamba's* short rule by the texts of other lawyers. No doubt, *Āpastamba* means to lay down, in these and the following *Sūtras*, only the leading principles of the law of inheritance, and he intends that the remaining particulars should be supplied from the law of custom or other *Smṛitis*.

2. *Haradatta* gives in his commentary a full summary of the rules on the succession of remoter relations. One point only deserves special mention. He declares that it is the opinion of *Āpastamba*, that widows cannot inherit. In this he is probably right, as *Āpastamba* does not mention them, and the use of the

3. On failure of them the spiritual teacher (inherits); on failure of the spiritual teacher a pupil shall take (the deceased's wealth), and use it for religious works for the (deceased's) benefit, or (he himself may enjoy it);

4. Or the daughter (may take the inheritance).

5. On failure of all (relations) let the king take the inheritance.

6. Some declare, that the eldest son alone inherits.

7. In some countries gold, (or) black cattle, (or) black produce of the earth is the share of the eldest.

8. The chariot and the furniture in the house are the father's (share).

masculine singular 'sapinda^h' in the text precludes the possibility of including them under that collective term. It seems to me certain, that Âpastamba, like Baudhâyana, considered women, especially widows, unfit to inherit.

4. 'Some say "on failure of sons," others that the rule refers to the preceding Sûtra (i.e. that the daughter inherits on failure of pupils only).—Haradatta. The latter seems to be the correct interpretation.

5. 'Because the word "all" is used, (the king shall take the estate) only on failure of Bandhus and Sagotras, i.e. gentiles within twelve degrees.—Haradatta.

6. 'The other sons shall live under his protection.—Haradatta. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6.

7. "'Black produce of the earth," i.e. black grain, or according to others black iron.—Haradatta. Compare for this and the following Sûtras Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6, and Digest, Book V, Text xlvi.

8. The translation given above agrees with what I now recognise to be Haradatta's explanation, and with Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ, Chap. I, Sect. iii, Par. 6. Both the P. U. and Mr. U. MSS. of the Uggvalâ read rathah pituramso grîhe yatparibhândam upakarânam pîthâdi tadapi, 'the chariot (is) the father's share; the furniture which (is) in the house, that also.' To this reading Mahâdeva's Uggvalâ on the Hiranyakesi Sûtra points likewise, which gives pitur antah. The N. U. MS. of the Uggvalâ, according to which

9. According to some, the share of the wife consists of her ornaments, and the wealth (which she may have received) from her relations.

10. That (preference of the eldest son) is forbidden by the Sâstras.

11. For it is declared in the Veda, without (marking) a difference (in the treatment of the sons) : Manu divided his wealth amongst his sons.

12. Now the Veda declares also in conformity with (the rule in favour of the eldest son) alone : They distinguish the eldest by (a larger share of) the heritage.

I made the translation given in the Appendix to West and Bühler's Digest (1st edition), leaves out the word *amsah*, and therefore makes it necessary to combine this Sûtra with the preceding one, and to translate, 'The father's chariot and the furniture in the house (are) also (the share of the eldest).' This latter translation agrees nearly with that given by Colebrooke, Digest, Book V, Text xlvi, where this and the preceding Sûtra have been joined; but the chariot is not mentioned. A further variation in the interpretation of this Sûtra occurs in Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text lxxxix, and Mitâksharâ, loc. cit., where the words 'the furniture in the house' are joined with Sûtra 9, and the furniture is declared to be the wife's share. Considering that Sûtra 9 is again quoted in Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text ccclxxii, and is not joined with the latter part of Sûtra 8, it is not too much to say that Gagannâtha has not shown any greater accuracy than his brethren usually do.

9. The Mitâksharâ, loc. cit., apparently takes the words 'according to some' as referring only to property received from relations. I follow Haradatta. The former interpretation is, however, admissible, if the Sûtra is split into two.

10. The Sâstras are, according to Haradatta, the Vedas.

11. Taittirîyâ Sambhitâ III, 1, 9, 4.

12. 'Athâpi (now also) means "and certainly." They distinguish, they set apart the eldest son by wealth : this has been declared in the Veda in conformity with (the rule regarding) one (heir, Sûtra 6). He denies (Sûtra 13) that a passage also, which

13. (But to this plea in favour of the eldest I answer) : Now those who are acquainted with the interpretation of the law declare a statement of facts not to be a rule, as for instance (the following) : 'Therefore amongst cattle, goats and sheep walk together ;' (or the following), 'Therefore the face of a learned Brâhmana (a Snâtaka) is, as it were, resplendent ;' (or), 'A Brâhmana who has studied the Vedas (a Srotriya) and a he-goat evince the strongest sexual desires.'

14. Therefore all (sons) who are virtuous inherit.

15. But him who expends money unrighteously, he shall disinherit, though he be the eldest son.

16. No division takes place between husband and wife.

agrees with the statement that the eldest son alone inherits, is found in the Veda.'—Haradatta. See Taittiriya Samhitâ II, 5, 2, 7.

13. Those who are acquainted with the interpretation of the law are the Mimâmsakas. The translation of the second Vedic passage is by no means certain, as the root ribh, translated by 'to be resplendent,' usually means 'to give a sound.' Haradatta thinks that Âpastamba means to show that the passage 'Manu divided his wealth among his sons' is likewise merely a statement of facts, and cannot be considered a rule. This is probably erroneous, as Sûtras 10 and 11 distinctly state, that the practice to allow the eldest alone to inherit, is forbidden by the above-mentioned passage of the Veda.

15. Compare for this Sûtra and the following one Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text cccxv. The translation of pratipâdayati, 'expends,' by 'gains,' which is also proposed by Gagannâtha, is against Âpastamba's usage, see II, 5, 11, 17, and below, II, 8, 20, 19.

16. According to Haradatta, this Sûtra gives the reason why, in Sûtra 1, no share has been set apart for the wife. Compare Colebrooke's Digest, Book V, Text lxxxix, for this Sûtra and the following two.

17. For, from the time of marriage, they are united in religious ceremonies,

18. Likewise also as regards the rewards for works by which spiritual merit is acquired,

19. And with respect to the acquisition of property.

20. For they declare that it is not a theft if a wife expends money on occasions (of necessity) during her husband's absence.

PRASNA II, PATALA 6, KHANDA 15.

1. By this (discussion) the law of custom, which is observed in (particular) countries or families, has been disposed of.

2. On account of the blood relations of his mother and (on account of those) of his father within six degrees, or, as far as the relationship is traceable, he shall bathe if they die, excepting children that have not completed their first year.

3. On account of the death of the latter the parents alone bathe,

4. And those who bury them.

5. If a wife or one of the chief Gurus (a father or *Ātārya*) die, besides, fasting (is ordained from the time at which they die) up to the same time (on the following day).

20. See below, II, 11, 29, 3.

15. 1. Customs are to be followed only if they are not opposed to the teaching of the Vedas and *Smṛitis*.

2. *Manu* V, 60; *Yâgñ.* I, 53; *Manu* V, 60; *Manu* V, 58; *Yâgñ.* III, 3.

4. *Manu* V, 69 and 70.

5. *Manu* V, 80.

6. (In that case) they shall also show the (following) signs of mourning :

7. Dishevelling their hair and covering themselves with dust (they go outside the village), and, clothed with one garment, their faces turned to the south, stepping into the river they throw up water for the dead once, and then, ascending (the bank), they sit down.

8. This (they repeat) thrice.

9. They pour out water consecrated in such a manner that the dead will know it (to be given to them). Then they return to the village without looking back, and perform those rites for the dead which (pious) women declare to be necessary.

10. Some declare, that these same (observances) shall also be kept in the case (of the death) of other (*Sapindas*).

11. At all religious ceremonies, he shall feed *Brâhmanas* who are pure and who have (studied and remember) the *Veda*.

12. He shall distribute his gifts at the proper places, at the proper times, at the occasion of purificatory rites, and to proper recipients.

13. That food must not be eaten of which (no portion) is offered in the fire, and of which no portion is first given (to guests).

7-9. *Yâgñ.* III, 5, 7 seq. The Mantra to be spoken in throwing the water is, 'I give this water to you N. N. of the family of N. N.' The water ought to be mixed with sesamum. According to Haradatta those who know the correct interpretation, declare that the word 'women' denotes in this *Sûtra* 'the *Smṛitis*.' But I fear these learned interpreters will find few adherents among those who pay attention to the last *Sûtra* of this work.

11. *Manu* III, 128.

12. *Manu* III, 98.

14. No food mixed with pungent condiments or salt can be offered as a burnt-offering.

15. Nor (can food) mixed with bad food (be used for a burnt-oblation).

16. If (he is obliged to offer) a burnt-offering of food unfit for that purpose, he shall take hot ashes from the northern part of his fire and offer the food in that. That oblation is no oblation in the fire.

17. A female shall not offer any burnt-oblation,

18. Nor a child, that has not been initiated.

19. Infants do not become impure before they receive the sacrament called Annaprāsana (the first feeding).

20. Some (declare, that they cannot become impure) until they have completed their first year,

21. Or, as long as they cannot distinguish the points of the horizon.

22. The best (opinion is, that they cannot be defiled) until the initiation has been performed.

23. For at that (time a child) according to the rules of the Veda obtains the right (to perform the various religious ceremonies).

14. 'That (substance) is called kshâra, "of pungent or alkaline taste," the eating of which makes the saliva flow.'—Haradatta.

15. Avarâna, 'bad food,' is explained by 'kuliṭṭha and the like.' Kuliṭṭha, a kind of vetch, is considered low food, and eaten by the lower castes only. The meaning of the Sûtra, therefore, is, 'If anybody has been forced by poverty to mix his rice or *Dâl* with kuliṭṭha or similar bad food, he cannot offer a burnt-oblation at the Vaisvadeva ceremony with that. He must observe the rule, given in the following Sûtra.

17. Manu V, 155 ; XI, 36.

18. Manu II, 171.

24. That ceremony is the limit (from which the capacity to fulfil the law begins).

25. And the *Smṛiti* (agrees with this opinion).

PRASNA II, PĀTALA 7, KHANDA 16.

1. Formerly men and gods lived together in this world. Then the gods in reward of their sacrifices went to heaven, but men were left behind. Those men who perform sacrifices in the same manner as the gods did, dwell (after death) with the gods and Brahman in heaven. Now (seeing men left behind), Manu revealed this ceremony, which is designated by the word *Srâddha* (a funeral-oblation).

2. And (thus this rite has been revealed) for the salvation of mankind.

3. At that (rite) the Manes (of one's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather) are the deities (to whom the sacrifice is offered). But the *Brâhmanas*, (who are fed,) represent the *Âhavanîya*-fire.

4. That rite must be performed in each month.

25. Haradatta quotes Gautama II, 1-3, on this point, and is apparently of opinion that *Âpastamba* alludes to the same passage. But he is probably wrong, as all *Smṛitis* are agreed on the point mentioned by *Âpastamba*.

16. 1. 'Intending to give the rules regarding the monthly *Srâddha*, he premises this explanatory statement in order to praise that sacrifice.'—Haradatta.

2. The reading '*niḥsreyasâ ka*' apparently has given great trouble to the commentators. Their explanations are, however, grammatically impossible. The right one is to take *niḥsreyasâ* as a Vedic instrumental, for *niḥsreyasena*, which may designate the 'reason.' If the dative is read, the sense remains the same.

3. 'The comparison of the *Brâhmanas* with the *Âhavanîya* indicates that to feed *Brâhmanas* is the chief act at a *Srâddha*.'—Haradatta.

4. Manu III, 122, 123; *Yâgñ.* I, 217.

5. The afternoon of (a day of) the latter half is preferable (for it).

6. The last days of the latter half (of the month) likewise are (preferable to the first days).

7. (A funeral-oblation) offered on any day of the latter half of the month gladdens the Manes. But it procures different rewards for the sacrificer according to the time observed.

8. If it be performed on the first day of the half-month, the issue (of the sacrificer) will chiefly consist of females.

9. (Performed on the second day it procures) children who are free from thievish propensities.

10. (If it is performed) on the third day children will be born to him who will fulfil the various vows for studying (portions of the Veda).

11. (The sacrificer who performs it) on the fourth day becomes rich in small domestic animals.

12. (If he performs it) on the fifth day, sons (will be born to him). He will have numerous and distinguished offspring, and he will not die childless.

13. (If he performs it) on the sixth day, he will become a great traveller and gambler.

14. (The reward of a funeral-oblation performed) on the seventh day is success in agriculture.

15. (If he performs it) on the eighth day (its reward is) prosperity

16. (If he performs it) on the ninth day (its reward consists in) one-hoofed animals.

5. Manu III, 255, 278.

7. Manu III, 277; Yâgñ. I, 264, 265.

12. The translation follows the corrected reading given in the Addenda to the Critical Notes.

17. (If he performs it) on the tenth day (its reward is) success in trade.

18. (If he performs it) on the eleventh day (its reward is) black iron, tin, and lead.

19. (If he performs a funeral-oblation) on the twelfth day, he will become rich in cattle.

20. (If he performs it) on the thirteenth day, he will have many sons (and) many friends, (and) his offspring will be beautiful. But his (sons) will die young.

21. (If he performs it) on the fourteenth day (its reward is) success in battle.

22. (If he performs it) on the fifteenth day (its reward is) prosperity.

23. The substances (to be offered) at these (sacrifices) are sesamum, mâsha, rice, yava, water, roots, and fruits.

24. But, if food mixed with fat (is offered), the satisfaction of the Manes is greater, and (lasts) a longer time,

25. Likewise, if money, lawfully acquired, is given to worthy (persons).

26. Beef satisfies (the Manes) for a year,

20. Others read the last part of the Sûtra, *ayuvamârinastu bhavanti*, 'they will not die young.'—Haradatta. If the two halves of the Sûtra are joined and *Darsanîyâpatyoyuvamârinastu* is read, the Sandhi may be dissolved in either manner.

21. Manu III, 276, and *Yâgñ.* I, 263, declare the fourteenth day to be unfit for a *Srâddha*, and the latter adds that *Srâddhas* for men killed in battle may be offered on that day. This latter statement explains why *Āpastamba* declares its reward to be 'success in battle.' The nature of the reward shows that on that day *Kshatriyas*, not *Brâhmanas*, should offer their *Srâddhas*.

23. Manu III, 267; *Yâgñ.* I, 257.

26. Manu III, 271.

27. Buffalo's (meat) for a longer (time) than that.
28. By this (permission of the use of buffalo's meat) it has been declared that the meat of (other) tame and wild animals is fit to be offered.

PRASNA II, PATALA 7, KHANDA 17.

1. (If) rhinoceros' meat (is given to Brâhmanas seated) on (seats covered with) the skin of a rhinoceros, (the Manes are satisfied) for a very long time.
2. (The same effect is obtained) by (offering the) flesh (of the fish called) Satabali,
3. And by (offering the) meat of the (crane called) Vârdhrâṇasa.
4. Pure, with composed mind and full of ardour, he shall feed Brâhmanas who know the Vedas, and who are not connected with him by marriage, blood relationship, by the relationship of sacrificial priest and sacrificer, or by the relationship of (teacher and) pupil.
5. If strangers are deficient in the (requisite) good qualities, even a full brother who possesses them, may be fed (at a Srâddha).
6. (The admissibility of) pupils (and the rest) has been declared hereby.
7. Now they quote also (in regard to this matter the following verse) :
8. The food eaten (at a sacrifice) by persons related to the giver is, indeed, a gift offered to the goblins. It reaches neither the Manes nor the

17. 1. Manu III, 272; Yâgñ. I, 259.
 2. Manu V, 16, where Rohita is explained by Satabali.
 4. Manu III, 128-138, and 149, 188; Yâgñ. I, 225.
 8. See Manu III, 141, where this Trishubh has been turned into an Anushubh.

gods. Losing its power (to procure heaven), it errs about in this world as a cow that has lost its calf runs into a strange stable.

9. The meaning (of the verse) is, that gifts which are eaten (and offered) mutually by relations, (and thus go) from one house to the other, perish in this world.

10. If the good qualities (of several persons who might be invited) are equal, old men and (amongst these) poor ones, who wish to come, have the preference.

11. On the day before (the ceremony) the (first) invitation (must be issued).

12. On the following day the second invitation takes place.

13. (On the same day also takes place) the third invitation (which consists in the call to dinner).

14. Some declare, that every act at a funeral-sacrifice must be repeated three times.

15. As (the acts are performed) the first time, so they must be repeated) the second and the third times.

16. When all (the three oblations) have been

11. Manu III, 187; Yâgñ. I, 225. According to Haradatta the formula of invitation is, *Svaḥ srâddham bhavitâ, tatrâhavanî-yârthe bhavadbhiḥ prasâdaḥ kartavya iti*, 'to-morrow a *Srâddha* will take place. Do me the favour to take at that the place of the *Âhavanîya*-fire.'

12. The formula is, *Adya srâddham*, 'to-day the *Srâddha* takes place.'

13. The call to dinner is, *Siddham âgamyatâm*, 'the food is ready; come.'

16. *Āpastamba Grihya-sûtra* VIII, 21, 9. 'He shall eat it pronouncing the Mantra, "*Prâne nivishṭosmrîtam guhomi.*"' Taitt. Ār. X, 34, 1.

offered, he shall take a portion of the food of all (three), and shall eat a small mouthful of the remainder in the manner described (in the *Gṛihya-sūtra*).

17. But the custom of the Northerners is to pour into the hands of the *Brāhmaṇas*, when they are seated on their seats, (water which has been taken from the water-vessel.)

18. (At the time of the burnt-offering which is offered at the beginning of the dinner) he addresses the *Brāhmaṇas* with this Mantra : ' Let it be taken out, and let it be offered in the fire.'

19. (They shall give their permission with this Mantra) : ' Let it be taken out at thy pleasure, let it be offered in the fire at thy pleasure.' Having received this permission, he shall take out (some of the prepared food) and offer it.

20. They blame it, if dogs and *Apapâtras* are allowed to see the performance of a funeral-sacrifice.

21. The following persons defile the company if they are invited to a funeral-sacrifice, viz. a leper, a bald man, the violator of another man's bed, the son of a *Brāhmaṇa* who follows the profession of a *Kshatriya*, and the son of (a *Brāhmaṇa* who by marrying first a *Sūdra* wife had himself become) a *Sūdra*, born from a *Brāhmaṇa* woman.

17. The North of India begins to the north of the river *Sarāvati*. The rule alluded to is given by *Yâgñ. I, 226, 229*; *Manu III, 210*.

18. *Yâgñ. I, 235*.

20. *Manu III, 239*.

21. *Manu III, 152-166*, and particularly 153 and 154; *Yâgñ. I, 222-224*. *Haradatta's* explanation of the word '*Sūdra*' by 'a *Brāhmaṇa* who has become a *Sūdra*' is probably right, because the son of a real *Sūdra* and of a *Brāhmaṇa* female is a *Kandâla*, and has been disposed of by the preceding *Sūtra*.

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22. The following persons sanctify the company if they eat at a funeral-sacrifice, viz. one who has studied the three verses of the Veda containing the word 'Madhu,' each three times; one who has studied the part of the Veda containing the word 'Suparna' three times; a *Trinâkiketa*; one who has studied the Mantras required for the four sacrifices (called *Asvamedha*, *Purushamedha*, *Sarvamedha*, and *Pitri-medha*); one who keeps five fires; one who knows the *Sâman* called *Gyeshtha*; one who fulfils the duty of daily study; the son of one who has studied and is able to teach the whole Veda with its *Ângas*, and a *Srotriya*.

23. He shall not perform (any part of) a funeral-sacrifice at night.

24. After having begun (a funeral-sacrifice), he shall not eat until he has finished it.

25. (He shall not perform a funeral-sacrifice at

22. Compare *Manu* III, 185, 186; *Yâgñ.* I, 219-221. The three verses to be known by a *Trimadhu* are, *Madhu vâtâ ritâyate*, &c., which occur both in the *Taitt. Samh.* and in the *Taitt. Âr.* The explanation of *Trisuparna* is not certain. *Haradatta* thinks that it may mean either a person who knows the three verses *Katushkapardâ yuvatiñ supesâ*, &c., *Taittirîya-brâhmana* I, 2, 1, 27, &c., or one who knows the three *Anuvâkas* from the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka* X, 48-50, beginning, *Brahmometu mâm*, &c. The word '*Trinâkiketa*' has three explanations:—*a.* A person who knows the *Nâkiketa*-fire according to the *Taittirîyaka*, *Kathavallî*, and the *Satapatha*, i.e. has studied the portions on the *Nâkiketa*-fire in these three books. *b.* A person who has thrice kindled the *Nâkiketa*-fire. *c.* A person who has studied the *Anuvâka*, called *Viragas*. *Katurmedha* may also mean 'one who has performed the four sacrifices' enumerated above.

23. *Manu* III, 280.

24. 'The *Strâddha* is stated to begin with the first invitation to the *Brahmans*.'—*Haradatta*.

25. 'The *Northerners* do not generally receive this *Sûtra*, and

night), except if an eclipse of the moon takes place.

PRASNA II, PATALA 8, KHANDA 18.

1. He shall avoid butter, butter-milk, oil-cake, honey, meat.

2. And black grain (such as kulittha), food given by Sûdras, or by other persons, whose food is not considered fit to be eaten.

3. And food unfit for oblations, speaking an untruth, anger, and (acts or words) by which he might excite anger. He who desires a (good) memory, fame, wisdom, heavenly bliss, and prosperity, shall avoid these twelve (things and acts) ;

4. Wearing a dress that reaches from the navel to the knees, bathing morning, noon, and evening, living on food that has not been cooked at a fire, never seeking the shade, standing (during the day), and sitting (during the night), he shall keep this vow for one year. They declare, that (its merit) is equal to that of a studentship continued for forty-eight years.

5. (Now follows) the daily funeral-oblation.

6. Outside the village pure (men shall) prepare (the food for that rite) in a pure place.

therefore former commentators have not explained it.'—Haradatta.

18. 1. Sûtras 1-4 contain rules for a vow to be kept for the special objects mentioned in Sûtras 3 and 4 for one year only. Haradatta (on Sûtra 4) says that another commentator thinks that Sûtras 1-3 prescribe one vow, and Sûtra 4 another, and that the latter applies both to householders and students. A passage from Baudhâyana is quoted in support of this latter view.

5. Manu III, 82 seq.

6. The term 'pure (men) ' is used in order to indicate that they must be so particularly, because, by II, 2, 3, 1, purity has already been prescribed for cooks.

7. New vessels are used for that,
8. In which the food is prepared, and out of which it is eaten.
9. And those (vessels) he shall present to the (Brāhmaṇas) who have been fed.
10. And he shall feed (Brāhmaṇas) possessed of all (good qualities).
11. And he shall not give the residue (of that funeral-dinner) to one who is inferior to them in good qualities.
12. Thus (he shall act every day) during a year.
13. The last of these (funeral-oblations) he shall perform, offering a red goat.
14. And let him cause an altar to be built, concealed (by a covering and outside the village).
15. Let him feed the Brāhmaṇas on the northern half of that.
16. They declare, that (then) he sees both the Brāhmaṇas who eat and the Manes sitting on the altar.
17. After that he may offer (a funeral-sacrifice once a month) or stop altogether.
18. For (by appearing on the altar) the Manes signify that they are satisfied by the funeral-offering.
19. Under the constellation Tishya he who desires prosperity,

7. For the unusual meaning of dravya, 'vessel,' compare the term *sītādravyāni*, 'implements of husbandry,' Manu IX, 293, and the Petersburg Dict. s. v.

13. The red goat is mentioned as particularly fit for a *Śrāddha*, *Yāgñ.* I, 259, and Manu III, 272.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 8, KHANḌA 19.

1. Shall cause to be prepared powder of white mustard-seeds, cause his hands, feet, ears, and mouth to be rubbed with that, and shall eat (the remainder). If the wind does not blow too violently, he shall eat sitting, silent and his face turned towards the south, on a seat (facing the) same (direction)—the first alternative is the skin of a he-goat.

2. But they declare, that the life of the mother of that person who eats at this ceremony, his face turned in that direction, will be shortened.

3. A vessel of brass, the centre of which is gilt, is best (for this occasion).

4. And nobody else shall eat out of that vessel.

5. He shall make a lump of as much (food) as he can swallow (at once).

6. (And he shall) not scatter anything (on the ground).

7. He shall not let go the vessel (with his left hand);

8. Or he may let it go.

19. 1. The ceremony which is here described, may also be performed daily. If the reading *prāśya* is adopted, the translation must run thus: 'and he shall scatter (the remainder of the powder). If the wind,' &c.

2. 'Therefore those whose mothers are alive should not perform this ceremony.'—Haradatta.

4. If the masculine *bhoktavyaḥ* is used instead of *bhoktavyam*, the participle must be construed with *kamasaḥ*.

5. The *verbum finitum*, which according to the Sanskrit text ought to be taken with the participle *samnyan*, is *grasīta*, Sūtra 9.

8. 'Why is this second alternative mentioned, as (the first Sūtra) suffices? True. But according to the maxim that "restrictions are made on account of the continuance of an action once begun," the meaning of this second Sūtra is that he shall

9. He shall swallow the whole mouthful at once, introducing it, together with the thumb, (into the mouth.)

10. He shall make no noise with his mouth (whilst eating).

11. And he shall not shake his right hand (whilst eating).

12. After he (has eaten and) sipped water, he shall raise his hands, until the water has run off (and they have become dry).

13. After that he shall touch fire.

14. And (during this ceremony) he shall not eat in the day-time anything but roots and fruit.

15. And let him avoid Sthâlpâka-offerings, and food offered to the Manes or to the Gods.

16. He shall eat wearing his upper garment over his left shoulder and under his right arm.

17. At the (monthly) Srâddha which must necessarily be performed, he must use (food) mixed with fat.

18. The first (and preferable) alternative (is to employ) clarified butter and meat.

19. On failure (of these), oil of sesamum, vegetables, and (similar materials may be used).

20. And under the asterism Maghâ he shall feed the Brâhmanas more (than at other times) with (food mixed with) clarified butter, according to the rule of the Srâddha.

continue to the end to handle the vessel (in that manner in which) he has handled it when eating for the first time.—Haradatta.

16. Haradatta remarks that some allow, according to II, 2, 4, 22, the sacred thread to be substituted, and others think that both the thread and the garment should be worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

PRASNA II, PATALA 8, KHANDA 20.

1. At every monthly *Srâddha* he shall use, in whatever manner he may be able, one *drona* of *sesamum*.

2. And he shall feed *Brâhmanas* endowed with all (good qualities), and they shall not give the fragments (of the food) to a person who does not possess the same good qualities (as the *Brâhmanas*).

3. He who desires prosperity shall fast in the half of the year when the sun goes to the north, under the constellation *Tishya*, in the first half of the month, for (a day and) a night at least, prepare a *Sthâlpâka*-offering, offer burnt-oblations to *Kubera* (the god of riches), feed a *Brâhmana* with that (food prepared for the *Sthâlpâka*) mixed with clarified butter, and make him wish prosperity with (a *Mantra*) implying prosperity.

4. This (rite he shall repeat) daily until the next *Tishya*-(day).

5. On the second (*Tishya*-day and during the second month he shall feed) two (*Brâhmanas*).

6. On the third (*Tishya*-day and during the third month he shall feed) three (*Brâhmanas*).

7. In this manner (the *Tishya*-rite is to be performed) for a year, with a (monthly) increase (of the number of *Brâhmanas* fed).

20. 1. A *drona* equals 128 seers or seras. The latter is variously reckoned at 1-3 lbs.

3. The reason why the constellation *Tishya* has been chosen for this rite seems to be that *Tishya* has another name, *Pushya*, i.e. 'prosperous.' This sacrifice is to begin on the *Tishya*-day of the month called *Taisha* or *Pausha* (December-January), and to continue for one year.

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8. (Thus) he obtains great prosperity.
9. But the fasting takes place on the first (Tishya-day) only.
10. He shall avoid to eat those things which have lost their strength (as butter-milk, curds, and whey).
11. He shall avoid to tread on ashes or husks of grain.
12. To wash one foot with the other, or to place one foot on the other,
13. And to swing his feet,
14. And to place one leg crosswise over the knee (of the other),
15. And to make his nails
16. Or to make (his finger-joints) crack without a (good) reason,
17. And all other (acts) which they blame.
18. And let him acquire money in all ways that are lawful.
19. And let him spend money on worthy (persons or objects).
20. And let him not give anything to an unworthy (person), of whom he does not stand in fear.
21. And let him conciliate men (by gifts or kindness).
22. And he may enjoy the pleasures which are not forbidden by the holy law.
23. (Acting) thus he conquers both worlds.
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11. Manu IV, 78.

16. 'Good reasons for cracking the joints are fatigue or rheumatism.'—Haradatta.

19. Manu XI, 6, and passim.

PRASNA II, PĀṬALA 9, KHANDA 21.

1. There are four orders, viz. the order of householders, the order of students, the order of ascetics, and the order of hermits in the woods.

2. If he lives in all these four according to the rules (of the law), without allowing himself to be disturbed (by anything), he will obtain salvation.

3. The duty to live in the teacher's house after the initiation is common to all of them.

4. Not to abandon sacred learning (is a duty common) to all.

5. Having learnt the rites (that are to be performed in each order), he may perform what he wishes.

6. Worshipping until death (and living) according to the rule of a (temporary) student, a (professed) student may leave his body in the house of his teacher.

7. Now (follow the rules) regarding the ascetic (*Samnyâsin*).

8. Only after (having fulfilled) the duties of that (order of students) he shall go forth (as an ascetic), remaining chaste.

21. 1. 'Though four (orders) are enumerated, he uses the word "four," lest, in the absence of a distinct rule of the venerable teacher, one order only, that of the householder, should be allowed, as has been taught in other *Smṛitis*.'—Haradatta. Manu VI, 87.

2. Manu VI, 88.

3. Manu II, 247-249, and above.

8. The meaning of the *Sūtra* is, that the studentship is a necessary preliminary for the *Samnyâsin*. If a man considers himself sufficiently purified by his life in that order, he may become a *Samnyâsin* immediately after its completion. Otherwise he may first become a householder, or a hermit, and enter the last

9. For him (the *Samnyâsin*) they prescribe (the following rules) :

10. He shall live without a fire, without a house, without pleasures, without protection. Remaining silent and uttering speech only on the occasion of the daily recitation of the Veda, begging so much food only in the village as will sustain his life, he shall wander about neither caring for this world nor for heaven.

11. It is ordained that he shall wear clothes thrown away (by others as useless).

12. Some declare that he shall go naked.

13. Abandoning truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, the Vedas, this world and the next, he shall seek the *Âtman*.

14. (Some say that) he obtains salvation if he knows (the *Âtman*).

15. (But) that (opinion) is opposed to the *Sâstras*.

16. (For) if salvation were obtained by the knowledge of the *Âtman* alone, then he ought not to feel any pain even in this (world).

17. Thereby that which follows has been declared.

order, when his passions are entirely extinct. See also Manu VI, 36; *Yâgñ.* III, 56-57.

10. Manu VI, 33, 42-45; *Yâgñ.* III, 58 seq.

12. 'Another (commentator) says, "Some declare that he is free from all injunctions and prohibitions, i.e. he need neither perform nor avoid any (particular actions)."'—Haradatta.

13. 'He shall seek, i.e. worship, the *Âtman* or Self, which has been described in the section on transcendental knowledge (I, 8).'
—Haradatta.

15. Haradatta apparently takes the word *Sâstras* to mean 'Dharma-sâstras.

17. 'That which follows' are the *Yogas*, which must be employed in order to cause the annihilation of pain, after the knowledge of the *Âtman* or Self has been obtained.

18. Now (follow the rules regarding) the hermit living in the woods.

19. Only after (completing) that (studentship) he shall go forth, remaining chaste.

20. For him they give (the following rules) :

21. He shall keep one fire only, have no house, enjoy no pleasures, have no protector, observe silence, uttering speech on the occasion of the daily recitation of the Veda only.

PRASNA II, PATALA 9, KHANDA 22.

1. A dress of materials procured in the woods (skins or bark) is ordained for him.

2. Then he shall wander about, sustaining his life by roots, fruits, leaves, and grass.

3. In the end (he shall live on) what has become detached spontaneously.

4. Next he shall live on water, (then) on air, then on ether.

5. Each following one of these modes of subsistence is distinguished by a (greater) reward.

6. Now some (teachers) enjoin for the hermit the

21. 'But which is that one fire? Certainly not the *Gr̥hya*-fire, because he must remain chaste. Therefore the meaning intended is, "He shall offer a *Samidh* morn and evening in the common fire, just as formerly, (during his studentship)." Another commentator says, "Gautama declares that he shall kindle a fire according to the rule of the *Sr̥manaka S̥tra*. The *Sr̥manaka S̥tra* is the *Vaikhānasa S̥tra*. Having kindled a fire in the manner prescribed there, he shall sacrifice in it every morning and every evening."—Haradatta. See also *Manu* VI, 4; *Yâgñ.* III, 45.

22. 1. *Manu* VI, 6. 2. *Manu* VI, 5, 21; *Yâgñ.* III, 46.

4. 'Then he shall live on ether, i. e. eat nothing at all.'—Haradatta. *Manu* VI, 31; *Yâgñ.* III, 55.

successive performance (of the acts prescribed for the several orders).

7. After having finished the study of the Veda, having taken a wife and kindled the sacred fires, he shall begin the rites, which end with the Soma-sacrifices, (performing) as many as are prescribed in the revealed texts.

8. (Afterwards) he shall build a dwelling, and dwell outside the village with his wife, his children, and his fires,

9. Or (he may live) alone.

10. He shall support himself by gleaning corn.

11. And after that he shall not any longer take presents.

12. And he shall sacrifice (only) after having bathed (in the following manner) :

13. He shall enter the water slowly, and bathe without beating it (with his hand), his face turned towards the sun.

14. This rule of bathing is valid for all (castes and orders).

15. Some enjoin (that he shall prepare) two sets of utensils for cooking and eating, (and) of choppers, hatchets, sickles, and mallets.

6. 'The word *atha*, "now," introduces a different opinion. Above, it has been declared that the life in the woods (may be begun) after the studentship only. But some teachers enjoin just for that hermit a successive performance of the acts.

8. *Manu VI, 3 seq.*; *Yâgñ. III, 45.*

10. *Haradatta* thinks that this rule refers both to the hermit who lives with his family and to him who lives alone. Others refer it to the latter only.

15. According to *Haradatta*, the word *kâga* appears to designate 'a mallet;' in the passage from the *Râmâyana* quoted in the *Petersburg Dict.* the commentator explains it by *peśaka*, 'basket.'

16. He shall take one of each pair (of instruments), give the others (to his wife), and (then) go into the forest.

17. After that time (he shall perform) the burnt-oblations, (sustain) his life, (feed) his guests, and (prepare) his clothes with materials produced in the forest.

18. Rice must be used for those sacrifices for which cakes mixed with meat (are employed by the householder).

19. And all (the Mantras), as well as the daily portion of the Veda, (must be recited) inaudibly.

20. He shall not make the inhabitants of the forest hear (his recitation).

21. (He shall have) a house for his fire (only).

22. He himself (shall live) in the open air.

23. His couch and seat must not be covered (with mats).

24. If he obtains fresh grain, he shall throw away the old (store).

PRASNA II, PATALA 9, KHANDA 23.

1. If he desires (to perform) very great austerities, he (shall not make a hoard of grain, but) collect food every day only, morning and evening, in his vessel.

2. Afterwards he shall wander about, sustaining his life with roots, fruits, leaves, and grass (which he

17. Yâgñ. III, 46.

20. This Sûtra explains the word upâmsu, 'inaudibly.'

24. Manu VI, 15; Yâgñ. III, 47.

23. 1. The following rules apply to a solitary hermit.

2. These Sûtras are repeated in order to show that, according to the opinion of those who allow hermits to live with their families, the end should be the same.

collects). Finally (he shall content himself with) what has become detached spontaneously. Then he shall live on water, then on air, (and finally) upon ether. Each succeeding mode of subsistence procures greater rewards.

3. Now they quote (the following) two verses from a Purāna :

4. Those eighty thousand sages who desired offspring passed to the south by Aryaman's road and obtained burial-grounds.

5. Those eighty thousand sages who desired no offspring passed by Aryaman's road to the north and obtained immortality.

6. Thus are praised those who keep the vow of chastity.

7. Now they accomplish also their wishes merely by conceiving them,

8. For instance, (the desire to procure) rain, to bestow children, second-sight, to move quick as thought, and other (desires) of this description.

9. Therefore on account of (passages) of the revealed texts, and on account of the visible results, some declare these orders (of men keeping the vow of chastity to be) the most excellent.

10. But (to this we answer) : It is the firm opinion of those who are well versed in the threefold sacred learning, that the Vedas are the highest authority.

3. 'The "orders" have been described. Now, giving conflicting opinions, he discusses which of them is the most important.'—Haradatta.

4. This verse and the next are intended to disparage the order of householders. Haradatta explains 'burial-grounds' by 'new births which lead to new deaths;' but see below, Sūtra 10. See also Yāgñ. III, 186-187.

They consider that the (rites) which are ordered there to be performed with rice, yava, animals, clarified butter, milk, potsherds, (in conjunction) with a wife, (and accompanied) by loud or muttered (Mantras), must be performed, and that (hence) a rule of conduct which is opposed to these (rites) is of no authority.

11. But by the term burial-ground (in the text above given) it is intended to ordain the last rites for those who have performed many sacrifices, (and not to mean that dead householders become demons and haunt burial-grounds.)

12. The revealed texts declare that after (the burial follows) a reward without end, which is designated by the term 'heavenly bliss.'

PRASNA II, PATALA 9, KHANDA 24.

1. Now the Veda declares also one's offspring to be immortality (in this verse): 'In thy offspring thou art born again, that, mortal, is thy immortality.'

2. Now it can also be perceived by the senses that the (father) has been reproduced separately (in the son); for the likeness (of a father and of a son) is even visible, only (their) bodies are different.

3. 'These (sons) who live, fulfilling the rites taught (in the Veda), increase the fame and heavenly bliss of their departed ancestors.'

4. 'In this manner each succeeding (generation increases the fame and heavenly bliss) of the preceding ones.'

11. The Sûtra is intended to remove the blame thrown on the order of householders by the verse quoted. Haradatta seems to have forgotten his former explanation of Smarânâni.

5. 'They (the ancestors) live in heaven until the (next) general destruction of created things.'

6. At the new creation (of, the world) they become the seed. That has been declared in the Bhavishyatpurâna.

7. Now Pragâpati also says,

8. 'Those dwell with us who fulfil the following (duties): the study of the three Vedas, the studentship, the procreation of children, faith, religious austerities, sacrifices, and the giving of gifts. He who praises other (duties), becomes dust and perishes.'

9. Those among these (sons) who commit sin, perish alone, just as the leaf of a tree (which has been attacked by worms falls without injuring its branch or tree). They do not hurt their ancestors.

10. (For) the (ancestor) has no connection with the acts committed (by his descendant) in this world, nor with their results in the next.

11. (The truth of) that may be known by the following (reason) :

12. This creation (is the work) of Pragâpati and of the sages.

13. The bodies of those (sages) who stay there (in heaven) on account of their merits appear visibly most excellent and brilliant (as, for instance, the constellation of the seven *Rîshis*).

14. But even though some (ascetic), whilst still

24. 6. 'They become the seed,' i.e. 'The Pragâpatis.'

8. 'Other (duties), i.e. the order of ascetics and the like.'—Haradatta.

13. As the *Rîshis* have not lost heaven through the sins of their sons, the dogma according to which ancestors lose heaven through the sins of their sons, must be false.

14. Âpastamba's own opinion is apparently against pure asceticism.

in the body, may gain heaven through a portion of (the merit acquired by his former) works or through austerities, and though he may accomplish (his objects) by his mere wish, still this is no reason to place one order before the other.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 25.

1. The general and special duties of all castes have been explained. But we will now declare those of a king in particular.

2. He shall cause to be built a town and a palace, the gates of both of which (must look) towards the south.

3. The palace (shall stand) in the heart of the town.

4. In front of that (there shall be) a hall. That is called the hall of invitation.

5. (At a little distance) from the town to the south, (he shall cause to be built) an assembly-house with doors on the south and on the north sides, so that one can see what passes inside and outside.

6. In all (these three places) fires shall burn constantly.

7. And oblations must be offered in these fires daily, just as at the daily sacrifice of a householder.

8. In the hall he shall put up his guests, at least those who are learned in the Vedas.

25. 3. 'In the heart of the town, i. e. in that town which is surrounded by all the walls.'—Haradatta. Compare *Manu* VII, 76.

6. According to Haradatta, the fires are to be common, not consecrated ones.

7. *Manu* VII, 78; *Yâgñ.* I, 313.

8. *Manu* VII, 82 seq.

9. Rooms, a couch, food and drink should be given to them according to their good qualities.

10. Let him not live better than his Gurus or ministers.

11. And in his realm no (Brâhmaṇa) should suffer hunger, sickness, cold, or heat, be it through want, or intentionally.

12. In the midst of the assembly-house, (the superintendent of the house) shall raise a play-table and sprinkle it with water, turning his hand downwards, and place on it dice in even numbers, made of Vibhitaka (wood), as many as are wanted.

13. Men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, may be allowed to play there.

14. Assaults of arms, dancing, singing, music, and the like (performances) shall be held only (in the houses) of the king's servants.

15. That king only takes care of the welfare of his subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves.

10. 'The Gurus are the father and other (venerable relations).—Haradatta.

11. Manu VII, 134. 'Or intentionally; with reference to that the following example may be given. If anybody is to be made to pay his debts or taxes, then he is to be exposed to cold or heat, or to be made to fast (until he pays). The king shall punish (every one) who acts thus.'—Haradatta.

13. 'Having played there, they shall give a fixed sum to the gambling-house keeper and go away. The latter shall, every day or every month or every year, give that gain to the king. And the king shall punish those who play elsewhere or quarrel in the assembly-house.'—Haradatta.

14. 'At festivals and the like occasions (these performances) take place also elsewhere, that is the custom.'—Haradatta.

15. Manu VII, 143, and passim; Yâgñ. I, 335.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 26.

1. A (king) who, without detriment to his servants, gives land and money to Brâhmanas according to their deserts gains endless worlds.

2. They say (that) a king, who is slain in attempting to recover the property of Brâhmanas, (performs) a sacrifice where his body takes the place of the sacrificial post, and at which an unlimited fee is given.

3. Hereby have been declared (the rewards of) other heroes, who fall fighting for a (worthy) cause.

4. He shall appoint men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, over villages and towns for the protection of the people.

5. Their servants shall possess the same qualities.

6. They must protect a town from thieves in every direction to the distance of one *yogana*.

7. (They must protect the country to the distance of) one *krosa* from each village.

8. They must be made to repay what is stolen within these (boundaries).

26. 1. *Manu* VII, 83, 84, 88; *Yâgñ.* I, 314.

2. According to Haradatta the king's body represents the post (*yûpa*), his soul the sacrificial animal, the recovered property the reward for the priests or fee.

3. *Manu* VII, 89; *Yâgñ.* I, 323, 324.

4. *Manu* VII, 115-124; *Yâgñ.* I, 321.

6. *Yâgñ.* II, 271-272. A *yogana* is a distance of 4 *krosa*, *kos*.

7. A *krosa*, *kos*, or *gâu*, literally 'the lowing of a cow,' is variously reckoned at $1\frac{1}{2}$ -4 miles.

8. *Yâgñ.* I, 272. This law is, with certain modifications, still in force. See *Bombay Regulations*, XII, 27 par.

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9. The (king) shall make them collect the lawful taxes (*sulka*).
 10. A learned *Brāhmaṇa* is free from taxes,
 11. And the women of all castes,
 12. And male children before the marks (of puberty appear),
 13. And those who live (with a teacher) in order to study,
 14. And those who perform austerities, being intent on fulfilling the sacred law,
 15. And a *Sūdra* who lives by washing the feet,
 16. Also blind, dumb, deaf, and diseased persons (as long as their infirmities last),
 17. And those to whom the acquisition of property is forbidden (as *Sannyāsins*).
 18. A young man who, decked with ornaments, enters unintentionally (a place where) a married woman or a (marriageable) damsel (sits), must be reprimanded.
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9. According to Haradatta, who quotes Gautama in his commentary, the *sulka* is the $\frac{1}{40}$ th part of a merchant's gains. On account of the *Sūtras* immediately following, it is, however, more probable that the term is here used as a synonym of 'kara,' and includes all taxes. 'Lawful' taxes are, of course, those sanctioned by custom and approved of by the *Smṛtis*.

10. *Manu* VII, 133.

11. Haradatta thinks that the rule applies to women of the *Anuloma*, the pure castes, only.

14. 'Why does he say "intent on fulfilling the holy law?" Those shall not be free from taxes who perform austerities in order to make their magic charms efficacious.'—Haradatta.

18. The ornaments would indicate that he was bent on mischief. Compare above, I, 11, 32, 6.

19. But if he does it intentionally with a bad purpose, he must be fined.

20. If he has actually committed adultery, his organ shall be cut off together with the testicles.

21. But (if he has had intercourse) with a (marriageable) girl, his property shall be confiscated and he shall be banished.

22. Afterwards the king must support (such women and damsels),

23. And protect them from defilement.

24. If they agree to undergo the (prescribed) penance, he shall make them over to their (lawful) guardians.

PRASNA II, PATALA 10, KHANDA 27.

1. If (adulteresses) have performed (the prescribed penance), they are to be treated as before (their fault). For the connection (of husband and wife) takes place through the law.

2. (A husband) shall not make over his (wife), who occupies the position of a 'gentilis,' to others (than to his 'gentiles'), in order to cause children to be begot for himself.

19. 'The punishment must be proportionate to his property and the greatness of his offence. The term "with a bad purpose" is added, because he who has been sent by his teacher (to such a place) should not be punished.'—Haradatta. *Manu* VIII, 354; *Yâgñ.* II, 284.

24. 'I.e. a married woman to her husband or father-in-law, an unmarried damsel to her father or to her brother.'—Haradatta.

27. 2. This Sûtra refers to the begetting of a Kshetrâga son, and gives the usual rule, that only the Sagotras in the order of the grade of relationship, a brother-in-law, a *Sapinda*, &c., shall be employed for this purpose.

3. For they declare, that a bride is given to the family (of her husband, and not to the husband alone).

4. That is (at present) forbidden on account of the weakness of (men's) senses.

5. The hand (of a gentilis is considered in law to be) that of a stranger, and so is (that of any other person except the husband).

6. If the (marriage vow) is transgressed, both (husband and wife) certainly go to hell.

7. The reward (in the next world) resulting from obeying the restrictions of the law is preferable to offspring obtained in this manner (by means of Niyoga).

8. A man of one of the first three castes (who commits adultery) with a woman of the Sûdra caste shall be banished.

9. A Sûdra (who commits adultery) with a woman of one of the first three castes shall suffer capital punishment.

10. And he shall emaciate a woman who has committed adultery with a (Sûdra, by making her undergo penances and fasts, in case she had no child).

11. They declare, that (a Brâhmana) who has

4. 'For now-a-days the senses of men are weak, and therefore the peculiar (law formerly) in force regarding gentiles is so no longer, lest husbands should be set aside under the pretended sanction of the Sâstras.'—Haradatta.

9. Manu VIII, 374; Yâgñ. II, 286. According to Haradatta, this refers to a Sûdra servant who seduces a woman committed to his charge. In other cases the punishment prescribed, II, 10, 26, 10, is to take effect. The same opinion is expressed by Gautama.

11. This refers to the wife of a Srotriya, as Haradatta states according to Gautama. The penance is three years' chastity.

once committed adultery with a married woman of equal class, shall perform one-fourth of the penance prescribed for an outcast.

12. In like manner for every repetition (of the crime), one-fourth of the penance (must be added).

13. (If the offence be committed) for the fourth time, the whole (penance of twelve years must be performed).

14. The tongue of a *Sûdra* who speaks evil of a virtuous person, belonging to one of the first three castes, shall be cut out.

15. A *Sûdra* who assumes a position equal (to that of a member of one of the first three castes), in conversation, on the road, on a couch, in sitting (and on similar occasions), shall be flogged.

16. In case (a *Sûdra*) commits homicide or theft, appropriates land (or commits similar heinous crimes), his property shall be confiscated and he himself shall suffer capital punishment.

17. But if these (offences be committed) by a *Brâhmana*, he shall be made blind (by tying a cloth over his eyes).

18. He shall keep in secret confinement him who violates the rules (of his caste or order), or any other sinner, until (he promises) amendment.

19. If he does not amend, he shall be banished.

20. A spiritual teacher, an officiating priest, a

15. In conversation, i.e. addressing *Âryas* familiarly, with *tvam*, 'thou,' &c.

17. *Haradatta* states expressly that the eyes of a *Brâhmana* must not be put out by any sharp instrument. He should be kept blindfold all his life.

20. 'The intercession is to take effect in this manner: that mutilation is commuted to a fine, a fine to a flogging, a flogging to a reprimand.'—*Haradatta*.

Snātaka, and a prince shall be able to protect (a criminal from punishment by their intercession), except in case of a capital offence.

PRASNA II, PATALA 11, KHANDA 28.

1. If a person who has taken (a lease of) land (for cultivation) does not exert himself, and hence (the land) bears no crop, he shall, if he is rich, be made to pay (to the owner of the land the value of the crop) that ought to have grown

2. A servant in tillage who abandons his work shall be flogged.

3. The same (punishment shall be awarded) to a herdsman (who leaves his work);

4. And the flock (entrusted) to him shall be taken away (and be given to some other herdsman).

5. If cattle, leaving their stable, eat (the crops of other persons, then the owner of the crops, or the king's servants), may make them lean (by impounding them); (but) he shall not exceed (in such punishment).

28. 1. This Sūtra shows that the system of leasing land against a certain share of the crops, which now prevails generally in Native States, and is not uncommon in private contracts on British territory, was in force in Āpastamba's times.

2. See Colebrooke, *Digest*, Book III, Text lxviii, for this Sūtra and the following two. Another commentator, quoted by Haradatta, connects this Sūtra with the preceding, and refers it to a poor lessee of land, who cannot pay the value of the crop which was lost through his negligence. A third explanation refers the Sūtra to a cultivator who neglects to till his land. Gagannātha's authorities, the *Kintāmaṇi* and *Ratnākara*, agree with Haradatta's first explanation.

5. *Manu* VIII, 240; *Yāgñ.* II, 159-161.

6. If (a herdsman) who has taken cattle under his care, allows them to perish, or loses (them by theft, through his negligence), he shall replace them (or pay their value) to the owners.

7. If (the king's forester) sees cattle that have been sent into the forest through negligence (without a herdsman), he shall lead them back to the village and make them over to the owners.

8. If the same negligence (occur) again, he shall once impound them (and afterwards give them back).

9. (If the same fault be committed again) after that (second time), he shall not take care (of them).

10. He who has taken unintentionally the property of another shall be reprimanded, in case (the property be) fuel, water, roots, flowers, fruits, perfumes, fodder, or vegetables.

11. (If he takes the above-mentioned kinds of property) intentionally, his garment shall be taken away.

12. He who takes intentionally food when he is in danger of his life shall not be punished.

13. If the king does not punish a punishable offence, the guilt falls upon him.

PRASNA II, PATALA 11, KHANDA 29.

1. He who instigates to, he who assists in, and he who commits (an act, these three) share its rewards in heaven and its punishments in hell.

2. He amongst these who contributes most to

6. *Manu* VIII, 232; *Yâgñ.* II, 164.

13. *Manu* VIII, 18, 308; *Yâgñ.* I, 336.

the accomplishment (of the act obtains) a greater share of the result.

3. Both the wife and the husband have power over (their) common property.

4. By their permission, others also may act for their good (in this and the next world, even by spending money).

5. Men of learning and pure descent, who are aged, clever in reasoning, and careful in fulfilling the duties (of their caste and order, shall be the judges) in lawsuits.

6. In doubtful cases (they shall give their decision) after having ascertained (the truth) by inference, ordeals, and the like (means).

7. A person who is possessed of good qualities (may be called as a witness, and) shall answer the questions put to him according to the truth on an auspicious day, in the morning, before a kindled fire, standing near (a jar full of) water, in the presence of the king, and with the consent of all (of both parties and of the assessors), after having been exhorted (by the judge) to be fair to both sides.

8. If (he is found out speaking) an untruth, the king shall punish him.

29. 3. 'Though this is so, still the wife cannot spend (money) without the permission of her husband, but the husband can do (so without the consent of his wife). That may be known by Sūtra II, 6, 14, 11, "They do not declare it to be a theft if the wife spends money for a good reason during the absence of her husband."'—Haradatta.

4. 'Others, i.e. the sons and the rest.'—Haradatta.

5. Yâgñ. II, 2.

6. 'And the like, i.e. by cross-examination, &c.'—Haradatta.

7. Manu VIII, 87 seq.; Yâgñ. II, 68-75.

8. Manu VIII, 119 seq.

9. Besides, in that case, after death, hell (will be his punishment).

10. If he speaks the truth, (his reward will be) heaven and the approbation of all created beings.

11. The knowledge which Sûdras and women possess is the completion (of all study).

12. They declare, that (this knowledge) is a supplement of the Atharva-veda.

13. It is difficult to learn the sacred law from (the letter of) the Vedas (only); but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.

14. The indications for these (doubtful cases are), 'He shall regulate his course of action according to the conduct which is unanimously recognised in all countries by men of the three twice-born castes, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are aged, of subdued senses, neither given to avarice, nor hypocrites. Acting thus he will gain both worlds.'

15. Some declare, that the remaining duties (which have not been taught here) must be learnt from women and men of all castes.

9. Manu VIII, 89 seq.

10. Manu VIII, 81 seq.

11. Manu II, 223. The meaning of the Sûtra is, that men ought not to study solely or at first such Sâstras as women or Sûdras also learn, but that at first they must study the Veda. See Manu II, 168. The knowledge which women and Sûdras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the Artharâstra.

14. See above, I, 7, 20, 8 and 9.

GAUTAMA,
INSTITUTES OF THE SACRED LAW.

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CHAPTER I.

1. THE Veda is the source of the sacred law,
2. And the tradition and practice of those who know the (Veda).
3. Transgression of the law and violence are observed (in the case) of (those) great (men); but both are without force (as precedents) on account of the weakness of the men of later ages.
4. If (authorities) of equal force are conflicting, (either may be followed at) pleasure.
5. The initiation of a Brâhmana (shall ordinarily take place) in his eighth year;

I. 1-2. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 1-2.

3. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 8-10. Instances of transgressions of the law are the adultery of Kataka and Bharadvâga, Vasishtha's marriage with the *Kândâlî* Akshamâlâ, Râma Gâmadagnya's murder of his mother. Haradatta explains the term 'avara,' translated by 'men of later ages,' to mean 'men like ourselves' (asmadâdi). In his comment on the parallel passage of Âpastamba he renders it by *idânîntana*, 'belonging to our times;' and in his notes on Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 4, he substitutes *arvâkîna kaliyugavartin*, 'men of modern times living in the Kaliyuga.' The last explanation seems to me the most accurate, if it is distinctly kept in mind that in the times of Gautama the Kaliyuga was not a definite period of calculated duration, but the Iron Age of sin as opposed to the happier times when justice still dwelt on earth.

6. (It may also be performed) in the ninth or fifth (years) for the fulfilment of (some particular) wish.

7. The number of years (is to be calculated) from conception.

8. That (initiation) is the second birth.

9. The (person) from whom he receives that (sacrament is called) the *Āçārya* (teacher).

10. And (the same title is also bestowed) in consequence of the teaching of the Veda.

11. (The initiation) of a Kshatriya (shall ordinarily take place) in the eleventh (year after conception), and that of a Vaisya in the twelfth.

12. Up to the sixteenth year the time for the *Sāvitrī* of a *Brāhmaṇa* has not passed,

13. Nor (for the initiation) of a Kshatriya up to the twentieth (year).

14. (And the limit for that) of a Vaisya (extends) two years beyond (the latter term).

15. The girdles (worn by students) shall be strings of *Muñga* grass, a bow-string, or a (wool) thread, according to the order (of the castes).

16. (Their upper garments shall be) skins of black-bucks, spotted deer, (or) he-goats.

6. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 20-21.

7. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 19. 8. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 17-18.

9. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 14. 10. *Manu* II, 140; *Yāgyavalkya* I, 34.

11. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 19.

12. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 27. *Sāvitrī*, literally the *Riç* sacred to *Savitrī*, is here used as an equivalent for *upanayana*, initiation, because one of the chief objects of the ceremony is to impart to the neophyte the *Mantra* sacred to *Savitrī*, *Rig-veda* III, 62, 10.

13-14. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 27.

15. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 33-36. 16. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 3-6.

17. Hempen or linen cloth, the (inner) bark (of trees), and woollen blankets (may be worn as lower garments by students) of all (castes),

18. And undyed cotton cloth.

19. Some (declare that it) even (may be dyed) red.

20. (In that case the garment) of a Brâhmaṇa (shall be dyed with a red dye) produced from a tree,

21. (And those of students) of the other two (castes shall be) dyed with madder or turmeric.

22. The staff (carried by a student) of the Brâhmaṇa (caste shall be) made of Bilva or Palâsa wood.

23. Staves made of Asvattha or Pîlu wood (are fit) for (students of) the remaining (two castes).

24. Or (a staff cut from a tree) that is fit to be used at a sacrifice (may be carried by students) of all (castes).

25. (The staves must be) unblemished, bent (at the top) like a sacrificial post, and covered by their bark.

26. They shall reach the crown of the head, the forehead, (or) the tip of the nose (according to the caste of the wearer).

17. Haradatta explains *ġira*, the inner bark of a tree, by 'made of Kusa grass and the like.' Regarding dresses made of Kusa grass, see the Petersburg Dict. s.v. *Kusaġira*. *Kġira* may also mean 'rags,' such as were worn by Sannyâsins (see below, III, 19) and Bauddha ascetics.

19-21. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 41—I, 1, 3, 2.

22. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 38.

24. 'Because the term "fit to be used at a sacrifice" is employed, the *Vibhġitaka* and the like (unclean trees) are excluded.'—Haradatta. Regarding the *Vibhġitaka*, see Report of Tour in Kasmġr, Journal Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. XXXIV A, p. 8.

25. *Manu* II, 47. 'Unblemished means uninjured by worms and the like.'—Haradatta.

26. *Manu* II, 46.

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27. (It is) optional (for students) to shave (their heads), to wear the hair tied in a braid, (or) to keep (merely) a lock on the crown of the head tied in a braid (shaving the other portions of the head).

28. If he becomes impure while holding things in his hands, he shall (purify himself) by sipping water without laying (them on the ground).

27. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 31-32. The above translation follows the reading of my MSS. *mundagañilasikhâgafâ vâ*, which seems more in accordance with the Sûtra style. It must, however, be understood that the arrangement of the hair is not regulated by the individual choice of the student, but by the custom of his family, school, or country. In the commentary, as given by one of my MSS., it is stated the custom of shaving the whole head prevailed among the *Khandogas*. Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 53; Weber, *Indische Studien*, X, 95.

28. The above translation agrees with Professor Stenzler's text and *Manu V, 143*. But according to Haradatta the meaning of the Sûtra is not so simple. His explanation is as follows: 'If while holding things in his hands he becomes impure, i. e. he is defiled by urine, fæces, leavings of food, and the like (impurities) which are causes for sipping water, then he shall sip water after placing those things on the ground. This refers to uncooked food, intended to be eaten. And thus *Vasishtha* (III, 4, 3, Benares edition) declares: "If he who is occupied with eatables touches any impure substance, then he shall place that thing on the ground, sip water, and afterwards again use it." But the following text of another *Smṛiti*, "A substance becomes pure by being sprinkled with water after having been placed on the ground," refers to cooked food, such as boiled rice and the like. Or (the above Sûtra may mean), "If he becomes impure while holding things in his hands, then he shall sip water without laying them on the ground." And thus *Manu (V, 143)* says: "He who carries in any manner anything in his hands and is touched by an impure substance shall cleanse himself by sipping water without laying his burden down." This rule refers to things not destined to be eaten, such as garments. And in the (above) Sûtra the words, "He who becomes impure shall sip water," must be taken as one sentence, and (the whole), "If while holding things in his hands he becomes impure,

29. (As regards) the purification of things, (objects) made of metal must be scoured, those made of clay should be thoroughly heated by fire, those made of wood must be planed, and (cloth) made of thread should be washed.

30. (Objects made of) stone, jewels, shells, (or) mother-of-pearl (must be treated) like those made of metal.

31. (Objects made of) bone and mud (must be treated) like wood.

he shall sip water without laying (them) down," must be taken as a second.'

Though it may be doubted if the *yogavibhāga*, or 'division of the construction,' proposed by Haradatta, is admissible, still it seems to me not improbable that Gautama intended his *Sūtra* to be taken in two different ways. For, if according to the ancient custom it is written without an *Avagraha* and without separating the words joined by *Sandhi*, *dravyahasta ukkḥishṭonidhāyâ-kâmet*, the latter group may either stand for *ukkḥishṭo nidhāya âkâmet* or for *ukkḥishṭo anidhāya âkâmet*. As the *Sūtra-kâras* aim before all things at brevity, the *Sūtra* may have to be read both ways. If that had to be done, the correct translation would be: 'If while holding things in his hands, he becomes impure, he shall (purify himself by) sipping water, either laying (his burden) down (or) not laying it down, (as the case may require).'

29. *Āpastamba* I, 5, 17, 10-12; *Manu* V, 115, 122.

30. *Manu* V, 111-112.

31. 'Bone, i.e. ivory and the like. Mud, i.e. (the mud floor of) a house and the like. The purification of these two is the same as that of wood, i.e. by scraping (or planing). How is it proper that, since the author has declared (*Sūtra* 29) that objects made of wood shall be purified by planing, the expression "like wood" should be substituted (in this *Sūtra*)? (The answer is that), as the author uses the expression "like wood," when he ought to have said "like objects made of wood," he indicates thereby that the manner of purification is the same for the material as for the object made thereof.'—Haradatta. The

32. And scattering (earth taken from a pure spot is another method of purifying defiled) earth.

33. Ropes, chips (of bamboo), and leather (must be treated) like garments.

34. Or (objects) that have been defiled very much may be thrown away.

35. Turning his face to the east or to the north, he shall purify himself from personal defilement.

36. Seated in a pure place, placing his right arm between his knees, arranging his dress (or his

Sûtra is, therefore, a so-called *Gñâpaka*, intended to reveal the existence of a general rule or *paribhâshâ* which has not been given explicitly.

32. 'Scattering over, i.e. heaping on (earth) after bringing it from another spot is an additional method of purifying earth. With regard to this matter *Vasishtha* (III, 57) says: "Earth is purified by these four (methods, viz.) by digging, burning, scraping, being trodden on by cows, and, fifthly, by being smeared with cowdung."'—Haradatta.

What Haradatta and probably Gautama mean, is that the mud floors of houses, verandahs, and spots of ground selected for sitting on, if defiled, should be scraped, and that afterwards fresh earth should be scattered over the spot thus cleansed. See, however, *Manu V*, 125, who recommends earth for the purification of other things also. The Sûtra may also be interpreted so as to agree with his rule.

33. 'Chips (*vidala*), i.e. something made of chips of ratan-cane or bamboo, or, according to others, something made of feathers.'—Haradatta.

34. 'The word "or" is used in order to exclude the alternative (i.e. the methods of purification described above).'—Haradatta. For the explanation of the expression 'very much' Haradatta refers to *Vasishtha* III, 58, with which *Manu V*, 123 may be compared.

35. 'The alternative (position) depends on the pleasure of the performer.'—Haradatta.

36. My MSS. more conveniently make five Sûtras of Professor Stenzler's one Sûtra. The divisions have been marked in the translation by semicolons.

a. 'How many times? Three times or four times; the alter-

sacrificial cord) in the manner required for a sacrifice to the gods, he shall, after washing his hands up to the wrist, three or four times, silently, sip water that reaches his heart; twice wipe (his lips); sprinkle his feet and (his head); touch the cavities in the head (severally) with (certain fingers of his) right hand; (and finally) place (all the fingers) on the crown of his head and (on the navel).

37. After sleeping, dining, and sneezing (he shall) again (sip water though he may have done so before).

38. (Remnants of food) adhering to the teeth (do not make the eater impure as little) as his teeth, except if he touches them with his tongue.

39. Some (declare, that such remnants do not defile) before they fall (from their place).

40. If they do become detached, he should know that he is purified by merely swallowing them, as (in the case of) saliva.

native depends upon the pleasure of the performer. Another (commentator says): When, according to a special rule of the Vedas the sipping must be accompanied by the recitation of sacred texts, then the act shall be repeated four times, else three times.—Haradatta.

b. The custom of touching the lips twice is noted as the opinion of some, by Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 4.

c. “Sprinkle his feet and.” On account of the word “and” he shall sprinkle his head also.—Haradatta.

d. “Touch the cavities,” &c. Here the word “and” indicates that each organ is to be touched separately.—Haradatta. Regarding the manner of touching, see Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 5 and 7 note.

e. “(And finally) place,” &c. Because the word “and” is used, he shall touch the navel and the head with all the fingers.—Haradatta. Regarding the whole Âkamanakalpa, see Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 1 seq.

37. Manu V, 145.

38. Manu V, 141.

39. Vasishtha III, 41.

40. ‘As the author ought to have said, “If they become de-

41. Drops (of saliva) falling from the mouth do not cause impurity, except if they fall on a limb of the body.

42. Purification (from defilement) by unclean substances (has been effected) when the stains and the (bad) smell have been removed.

43. That (should be done) by first (using) water and (afterwards) earth,

44. When urine, fæces, or semen fall on a (limb) and when (a limb) is stained (by food) during meals (water should be sipped).

45. And in case the Veda ordains (a particular manner of purification, it must be performed according to the precept).

46. Taking hold with (his right) hand of the left

tached, he is purified by merely swallowing them," the addition of the words "he should know" and "as in the case of saliva" is intended to indicate that in the case of saliva, too, he becomes pure by swallowing it, and that purification by sipping need not be considered necessary.—Haradatta. This Sûtra consists of the second half of a verse, quoted by Baudhâyana I, 5, 8, 25, and Vasishtha III, 41.

41. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 12.

42. In explanation of the term *amedhya*, 'unclean substances,' Haradatta quotes Manu V, 135.

43. Manu V, 134; see also Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 15.

44. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 14.

45. 'If the Veda ordains any particular manner of purification for any particular purpose, that alone must be adopted. Thus the sacrificial vessels called *ĥamasa*, which have been stained by remnants of offerings, must be washed with water on the heap of earth called *mârgâliya*.'—Haradatta.

46. This and the following rules refer chiefly to the teaching of the *Sâvitṛī*, which forms part of the initiation. According to Gobhila *Gr̥hya-sûtra* II, 10, 38, the complete sentence addressed to the teacher is, 'Venerable Sir, recite! May the worshipful one teach me the *Sâvitṛī*.'

hand (of his teacher), but leaving the thumb free, (the pupil) shall address his teacher, (saying): 'Venerable Sir, recite!'

47. He shall fix his eyes and his mind on the (teacher).

48. He shall touch with Kusa grass the (seat of the) vital airs.

49. He shall thrice restrain his breath for (the space of) fifteen moments;

50. And he shall seat himself on (blades of Kusa grass) the tops of which are turned toward the east.

51. The five Vyâhr̥tis must (each) be preceded by (the syllable) Om and end with Satya.

52. (Every) morning the feet of the teacher must be embraced (by the pupil),

53. And both at the beginning and at the end of a lesson in the Veda.

54. After having received permission, the pupil

47. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 23; I, 2, 6, 20; Manu II, 192.

48. 'The (seat of the) vital airs are the organs of sense located in the head. The pupil shall touch these, his own (organs of sense) located in the head, in the order prescribed for the Âkamana (see Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 7 note).—Haradatta. See also Manu II, 75.

49. 'Passing one's hand along the side of the knee, one will fill the space of one Truñkâ. That is one moment (mâtrâ).—Haradatta. Manu II, 75.

50. Manu II, 75.

51. 'In the Vyâhr̥ti-sâmans (see Burnell, Ârsheya-br., Index s.v.) five Vyâhr̥tis are mentioned, viz. Bhûh, Bhuvah, Svah, Satyam, Purushah. Each of these is to be preceded by the syllable Om. But they are to end with Purushah, which (in the above enumeration) occupies the fourth place.—Haradatta. See also Manu II, 75 seq.

52-53. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 18-20.

54. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 24; Manu II, 193. "Turning his face towards the east or towards the north." This alternative depends upon (the nature of) the business.—Haradatta.

shall sit down to the right (of his teacher), turning his face towards the east or towards the north,

55. And the *Sâvitrî* must be recited ;

56. (All these acts must be performed) at the beginning of the instruction in the *Veda*.

57. The syllable *Om* (must precede the recitation of) other (parts of the *Veda*) also.

58. If (any one) passes between (the teacher and the pupil) the worship (of the teacher must be performed) once more.

59. If a dog, an ichneumon, a snake, a frog, (or) a cat (pass between the teacher and the pupil) a three days' fast and a journey (are necessary).

55. *Manu* II, 77.

56. 'All those acts beginning with the touching of the organs of sense with *Kusa* grass and ending with the recitation of the *Sâvitrî*, which have been prescribed (*Sûtras* 48-57), must be performed before the pupil begins to study the *Veda* with his teacher, but should not be repeated daily. After the initiation follows the study of the *Sâvitrî*. The touching of the organs of sense and the other (acts mentioned) form part of this (study). But the rules prescribed in the three *Sûtras*, the first of which is *Sûtra* 52, and the rule to direct the eye and mind towards the teacher (*Sûtra* 47), must be constantly kept in mind. This decision is confirmed by the rules of other *Smritis* and of the *Gr̥hya-sûtras*.'—*Haradatta*.

57. *Âpastamba* I, 4, 13, 6-7.

58. 'The worship of the teacher (*upasadana*) consists in the performance of the acts prescribed in *Sûtras* 46-57, with the exception of the study of the *Sâvitrî* and the acts belonging to that. The meaning of the *Sûtra* is that, though the worship of the teacher may have already been performed in the morning of that day, it must, nevertheless, be repeated for the reason stated.'—*Haradatta*.

59. 'A journey (*vipravâsa*) means residence in some other place than the teacher's house.'—*Haradatta*. The commentator adds that the somewhat different rule, given by *Manu* IV, 126, may be reconciled with the above, by referring the former to the study for the sake of remembering texts recited by the teacher (*dhâranâdhya-yana*), and the latter to the first instruction in the sacred texts.

60. (In case the same event happens) with other (animals, the pupil) must thrice restrain his breath and eat clarified butter,

61. And (the same expiation must be performed), if (unwittingly) a lesson in the Veda has been given on the site of a burial-ground.

CHAPTER II.

1. Before initiation (a child) may follow its inclinations in behaviour, speech, and eating. (It shall) not partake of offerings. (It shall remain) chaste. It may void urine and fæces according to its convenience.

60. 'This penance must be performed by the pupil, not by the teacher. Others declare that both shall perform it.'—Haradatta.

61. See also Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 6-8. The last clauses of this and all succeeding chapters are repeated in order to indicate that the chapter is finished.

II. 1. In concluding the explanation of this Sûtra, Haradatta states that its last clause is intended to give an instance of the freedom of behaviour permitted to a child. In his opinion Gautama indicates thereby that a person who, before initiation, drinks spirituous liquor, commits murder or other mortal sins, becomes an outcast, and is liable to perform the penances prescribed for initiated sinners. In support of this view he quotes a passage, taken from an unnamed Smṛiti, according to which the parents or other relatives of children between five and eleven years are to perform penances vicariously for the latter, while children between eleven and fifteen years are declared to be liable to half the penances prescribed for initiated adults. Hence he infers that though the above text of Gautama speaks of uninitiated persons in general, its provisions really apply to children under five years of age only. Though it would seem that some of Gautama's rules refer to half-grown persons rather than to infants or very young boys, it is impossible to assume that Gautama meant to give full licence of behaviour, speech, and eating to Brâhmanas who were not

2. No rule of (purification by) sipping water is prescribed for it. But (the stains of impure substances) shall be removed by wiping, by washing, or by sprinkling water.

3. (Other persons) cannot be defiled by the touch of such (a child).

4. But one must not employ a (child) to perform oblations in the fire or Bali-offerings ;

5. Nor must one make it recite Vedic texts, except in pronouncing Svadhâ.

6. The restrictive rules, (which will be enumerated hereafter, must be obeyed) after initiation,

7. And (for a student the duty of) chastity, which has been prescribed (above for a child is likewise obligatory),

8. (Also) to offer (daily) sacred fuel in the fire, and to beg, to speak the truth, (and) to bathe (daily).

initiated before their sixteenth year, or to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas up to the age of twenty and twenty-two. It seems more likely that, as Haradatta thinks, his rules are meant in the first instance for infants and very young children only, and that he intended the special cases of half-grown or nearly grown up boys to be dealt with according to the custom of the family or of the country.

2. Haradatta points out that the Sûtra does not forbid uninitiated persons to sip water, but that it merely denies the applicability of the rules (kalpa) given above, I, 36. Uninitiated persons may, therefore, sip water in the manner practised by women and Sûdras.

4. Âpastamba II, 6, 15, 18 ; Manu XI, 36.

5. 'The expression "pronouncing Svadhâ" includes by implication the performance of all funeral rites.'—Haradatta.

7. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 26.

8. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 14-17 ; I, 1, 3, 25 ; I, 1, 2, 28-30 ; Manu II, 176.

9. Some (declare, that the duty) to bathe (exists) after (the performance of) the Godâna (only).

10. And the morning and evening devotions (Sandhyâ must be performed) outside (the village).

11. Silent he shall stand during the former, and sit during the latter, from (the time when one) light (is still visible) until (the other) light (appears).

12. He shall not look at the sun.

13. He shall avoid honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, sleep in the day-time, ointments, collyrium, a carriage, shoes, a parasol, love, anger, covetousness, perplexity, garrulity, playing musical instruments, bathing (for pleasure), cleaning the teeth, elation, dancing, singing, calumny, (and) terror,

14. (And) in the presence of his Gurus, covering his throat, crossing his legs, leaning (against a wall or the like, and) stretching out his feet,

15. (As well as) spitting, laughing, yawning, cracking the joints of the fingers,

9. Regarding the sacrament called Godâna, see Gobhila *Grihya-sûtra* I, 9, 26.

10. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 30, 8.

11. 'From (the time when one) light (is still visible,' &c.), i. e. in the morning from the time when the stars are still visible until the sun rises, and in the evening from the time when the sun still stands above the horizon until the stars appear. Haradatta observes that, as *Manu* II, 102 prescribes the recitation of the *Gâyatri* during the morning and evening devotions, either his or *Gautama's* rule may be followed. He adds that another commentator refers the injunction to keep silence to conversations on worldly matters only. He himself has adopted this view in his commentary on *Âpastamba* I, 11, 30, 8.

12. *Âpastamba* I, 11, 31, 18.

13. *Âpastamba* I, 1, 2, 23-28; I, 1, 3, 11-14, 20-24; I, 2, 7, 5.

14. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 6, 3, 14, 17-18. The term *Guru* includes, besides the teacher, the parents and other venerable persons.

15. *Âpastamba* I, 2, 7, 6-7; II, 2, 5, 9. Haradatta observes

16. To gaze at and to touch women, if there is danger of a breach of chastity,

17. Gambling, low service, to take things not offered, to injure animate beings,

18. To pronounce the names of the teacher, of the (teacher's) sons and wives, and of a person who has performed the *Dikshantiyeshā* of a Soma-sacrifice,

19. To make bitter speeches.

20. A *Brāhmaṇa* (shall) always (abstain from) spirituous liquor.

21. (A student) shall occupy a seat and a couch lower (than those of his teacher), shall rise before (him) and retire to rest after (him).

22. He shall keep his tongue, his arms, and his stomach in subjection.

23. (If it is absolutely necessary to pronounce)

that this *Sūtra* again contains a general rule, and does not merely refer to the presence of Gurus.

16. *Āpastamba* I, 2, 7, 3, 8-10.

17. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 12. "Low service," i.e. service by wiping off urine, fæces, and the like. . . . That is not even to be performed for the teacher. Or the expression may mean that he shall not serve a teacher deficient in learning and virtue. The same opinion is expressed by *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 11.—*Haradatta*.

18. *Manu* II, 199.

19. *Āpastamba* I, 2, 7, 24.

20. 'A *Brāhmaṇa* shall avoid it always, i.e. even as a householder; *Kshatriyas* and *Vaiśyas* need do it only as long as they are students. But in their case, too, they forbid the use of liquor distilled from bruised rice, under all circumstances.'—*Haradatta*.

21. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 2, 21; I, 1, 4, 22, 28.

22. *Āpastamba* I, 1, 3, 13. 'Keeping his arms in subjection means that he shall not (without a cause) break clods of earth and the like. Keeping his stomach in subjection, i.e. eating with moderation.'—*Haradatta*.

23. 'He shall indicate it by another synonymous word,

his teacher's name and family-name, he ought to indicate it by (using) a synonymous term.

24. (He must speak) in the same (respectful) manner of a man who is (generally) revered and of his betters.

25. (If the teacher speaks to him), he shall answer after having risen from his couch or seat (in case he was lying down or sitting).

26. At the command (of his teacher) he shall approach, though the (teacher) may not be visible.

27. And if he sees his teacher standing or sitting in a lower place or to the leeward or to the windward, he shall rise (and change his position).

28. If (his teacher) is walking, he shall walk after him, informing him of the work (which he is going to do and) telling (him what he has done).

29. He shall study after having been called (by the teacher, and not request the latter to begin the lesson).

e.g. instead of saying, "Haradatta (given by Hara)," he shall say, "the venerable Bhavarâta (given by Bhava)." —Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 5-7.

26. He must not think that, as the teacher cannot see him, he need not obey the summons.

27. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 15, 23.

28. 'Work (karma) means performance. The meaning is that the pupil shall announce to his teacher the performance of all he is going to do. But what is useful for the teacher, as fetching water and the like, he shall inform him of the performance of that, i.e. knowing himself (without being told) that such work is necessary at a particular time (and acting on this knowledge). Any other explanation of this Sûtra does not please me.'—Haradatta. See also Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 8. My MSS. divide this Sûtra into two, beginning the second with 'Informing' &c. Haradatta's final remark, quoted above, seems to indicate that the division was intended by him.

29. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 26.

30. He shall be intent on (doing) what is pleasing and serviceable (to the teacher) ;

31. And (he shall behave) towards (the teacher's) wives and sons just as (towards the teacher),

32. But not eat their leavings, attend them while bathing, assist them at their toilet, wash their feet, shampoo them nor embrace their feet.

33. On returning from a journey he shall embrace the feet of the wives of his teacher.

34. Some declare, that (a pupil) who has attained his majority is not (to act thus) towards young (wives of his teacher).

35. Alms may be accepted from men of all castes, excepting Abhisastas and outcasts.

36. (In begging) the word 'Lady' must be pronounced in the beginning, in the middle, or at the end (of the request), according to the order of the castes.

37. (He may beg in the houses) of the teacher, of blood relations, (or) of Gurus, and in his own, if he obtains no (alms) elsewhere.

30. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 23.

31. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 27, 30; Manu II, 207-212.

34. 'One who has attained his majority, i.e. one who has completed his sixteenth year and is (already) a youth.'—Haradatta.

35. Haradatta explains abhisasta by upapâtakin, 'one who has committed a minor offence,' apparently forgetting Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 7. See also Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 25.

36. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 28-30, where the formulas have been given in the notes. Haradatta remarks that the *Gaimini Gr̥hya-sûtra* forbids the lengthening or drawling pronunciation of the syllables *kshâm* and *hi* in begging. *Baudhâyana* I, 2, 3, 16 likewise forbids it. In the text read *varṇânupûrvyeṇa*.

37. Manu II, 184. It is just possible that the translation ought to be 'in the houses of his teacher's blood relations,' instead of 'in the houses of his teacher (and) of blood relations.'

38. Among these he shall avoid each preceding one (more carefully than those named later).

39. Having announced to the teacher (what he has received) and having received his permission, the (student) may eat (the collected food).

40. If (the teacher) is not present, (he shall seek the permission to eat) from his (teacher's) wives or sons, from fellow-students or virtuous (strangers).

41. Having placed water by his side, (he shall eat) in silence, contented, (and) without greed.

42. (As a rule) a pupil shall not be punished corporally.

43. If no (other course) is possible, (he may be corrected) with a thin rope or a thin cane.

44. If (the teacher) strikes him with any other (instrument), he shall be punished by the king.

45. He shall remain a student for twelve years in order (to study) one (recension of the Veda),

46. Or, if (he studies) all (the Vedas) twelve years for each,

47. Or during (as long a period as he requires for) learning (them).

48. On completion of the instruction the teacher must be offered a fee.

38. The meaning of the Sûtra is, that if a student does not obtain anything from strangers, he shall first go to his own family, next to the houses of Gurus, i.e. paternal and maternal uncles and other venerable relatives, then to his other blood relations, i.e. *Sapindas*, and in case of extreme necessity only apply to the teacher's wife.

39. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 31-32.

40. Âpastamba I, 1, 3, 33-34. 41. Manu II, 53-54.

42. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 29; Macnaghten, *Mitâksharâ* IV, 1, 9.

43. Manu VIII, 299. 45-47. Âpastamba I, 1, 2, 12-16.

48. Âpastamba I, 2, 7, 19.

49. After (the pupil) has paid (that) and has been dismissed, he may, at his pleasure, bathe (as is customary on completion of the studentship).

50. The teacher is chief among all Gurus.

51. Some (say) that the mother (holds that place).

CHAPTER III.

1. Some (declare, that) he (who has studied the Veda) may make his choice (which) among the orders (he is going to enter).

2. (The four orders are, that of) the student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the ascetic (bhikshu), (and that of) the hermit in the woods (vaikhâna).

49. Âpastamba I, 2, 8, 30.

50. Manu II, 225-237.

III. 1. Other Smṛitîkâras maintain that a Brâhmaṇa must pass through all the four orders. Compare Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 5; Manu VI, 34-38; and the long discussion on the comparative excellence of the orders of householders and of ascetics. Âpastamba II, 9, 23, 3-II, 9, 24, 14.

2. 'Though the order of studentship has already been described above, still in the following chapter the rules for a professed (naish/ika) student will be given (and it had therefore again to be mentioned). Bhikshu has generally been translated by ascetic (sannyâsin). Vaikhâna, literally, he who lives according to the rule promulgated by Vikhanas, means hermit. For that (sage) has chiefly taught that order. In all other Sâstras (the order of) hermits is the third, and (the order of) ascetics the fourth. Here a different arrangement is adopted. The reason of the displacement of the hermit is that the author considers the first-named three orders preferable. Hence if a man chooses to pass through all four, the sequence is that prescribed in other Sâstras.'—Haradatta. In making these statements the commentator has apparently forgotten that Âpastamba (II, 9, 21, 1) agrees exactly with Gautama. It is, however, very probable that Haradatta has given correctly the reason why the hermit is placed last by our author and by Âpastamba.

3. The householder is the source of these, because the others do not produce offspring.

4. Among them a (professed) student (must follow the rules) given (in the preceding chapters).

5. He shall remain obedient to his teacher until (his) end.

6. In (the time) remaining after (he has attended to) the business of his Guru, he shall recite (the Veda).

7. If the Guru dies, he shall serve his son,

8. (Or) if there is no (son of the teacher), an older fellow-student, or the fire.

9. He who lives thus, gains the heaven of Brahman, and (of him it is said that) he has subdued his organs (of sense and action).

10. And these (restrictions imposed on students must also be observed by men) of other (orders, provided they are) not opposed (to their particular duties).

11. An ascetic shall not possess (any) store.

12. (He must be) chaste,

13. He must not change his residence during the rainy season.

3. Manu VI, 87.

4. Âpastamba I, 1, 4, 29.

5. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 6.

6. According to Haradatta the term Guru here includes the father. But see the next Sûtra, where Guru can only mean the teacher.

10. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 3-4. My MSS. have *utareshâm*, 'of the later named,' instead of *itareshâm*, 'of the other' (orders), both in the Sûtra and in subsequent quotations of the same.

11. Âpastamba II, 9, 21, 8-10; Manu VI, 41-43; Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* II, 8, 7.

13. This rule shows that the Vasso of the Baudhdhas and Gainas is also derived from a Brahmanical source; see also *Baudhâyana* II, 6, 11, 20.

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14. He shall enter a village (only) in order to beg.
15. He shall beg late (after people have finished their meals), without returning (twice),
16. Abandoning (all) desire (for sweet food).
17. He shall restrain his speech, his eyes, (and) his actions.
18. He shall wear a cloth to cover his nakedness.
19. Some (declare, that he shall wear) an old rag, after having washed it.
20. He shall not take parts of plants and trees, except such as have become detached (spontaneously).
21. Out of season he shall not dwell a second night in (the same) village.
22. He may either shave or wear a lock on the crown of the head.
23. He shall avoid the destruction of seeds.
24. (He shall be) indifferent towards (all) creatures, (whether they do him) an injury or a kindness.
25. He shall not undertake (anything for his temporal or spiritual welfare).
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15. *Manu VI, 55-56.*

19. *Āpastamba II, 9, 21, 11.*

20. 'He shall not appropriate, i. e. take parts of these, i. e. fruits, leaves, and the like, which have not been detached, i. e. have not fallen off. But he may take what has become detached spontaneously.'—*Haradatta.*

21. Out of season, i. e. except in the rainy season, during which, according to *Sūtra 13*, an ascetic must not wander about.

23. 'He shall avoid, i. e. neither himself nor by the agency of others cause the destruction, i. e. the pounding by means of a pestle or the like, of seeds, i. e. raw rice and the like. Hence he shall accept as alms cooked food only, not rice and the like.'—*Haradatta.*

26. A hermit (shall live) in the forest subsisting on roots and fruits, practising austerities.

27. Kindling the fire according to the (rule of the) *Srâmanaka* (*Sûtra*, he shall offer oblations in the morning and evening).

28. He shall eat wild-growing (vegetables only).

29. He shall worship gods, manes, men, goblins, and *Rishis*.

30. He shall receive hospitably (men of) all (castes) except those (with whom intercourse is) forbidden.

31. He may even use the flesh of animals killed by carnivorous beasts.

32. He shall not step on ploughed (land),

33. And he shall not enter a village.

34. He shall wear (his hair in) braids, and dress in (garments made of) bark and skins.

35. He shall not eat anything that has been hoarded for more than a year.

26. *Âpastamba* II, 9, 21, 18—II, 9, 23, 2. 'Austerities (tapas) means emaciating his body.'—*Haradatta*.

27. 'He shall offer oblations in the morning and evening,' (these words), though not expressed, are understood.

29. I. e. he shall perform the five *Mahâyagñas*, just like a householder, only using wild-growing fruits, roots, &c., for the oblations.

31. 'They declare, that *baishka* means the flesh of an animal, slain by a tiger or the like. He may use even that. The word "even" implies blame. Hence this is a rule for times of distress, and it must be understood that such food is to be eaten only on failure of roots and fruits and the like.'—*Haradatta*. The commentator adds that the flesh of forbidden animals must be avoided.

34. According to *Haradatta* the lower garment shall be made of *Āira*, which he again explains as cloth made of *Kusa* grass and the like, and the upper of a skin.

35. *Haradatta* reads *atisāmvatsaram*, not *atisāmvatsaram*, as in

36. But the venerable teacher (prescribes) one order only, because the order of householders is explicitly prescribed (in the Vedas).

CHAPTER IV.

1. A householder shall take a wife (of) equal (caste), who has not belonged to another man and is younger (than himself).

2. A marriage (may be contracted) between persons who have not the same Pravaras,

3. (And) who are not related within six degrees on the father's side,

4. Or on the side of the begetter,

Professor Stenzler's edition, though he notices the latter reading. Manu VI. 15.

36. 'The duties of a householder, the Agnihotra, and the like, are frequently prescribed and praised in all Vedas, Dharmasāstras, and Itihāsas. As, therefore, the order of householders is explicitly prescribed, this alone is the order (obligatory on all men). But the other orders are prescribed only for those unfit for the (duties of a householder). That is the opinion of many teachers.'—Haradatta. Haradatta's explanation of *âkâryâh*, which he takes to mean 'many teachers,' seems to me inadmissible. Eke, 'some (teachers),' is used in that sense, and *âkâryâh* cannot possibly be a synonymous term. Further on (IV, 23) Haradatta himself admits that by *âkâryâh* one teacher is meant. It must be translated 'the venerable teacher,' because the Hindus are very fond of the use of the pluralis majestatis. I have no doubt that Gautama means his own teacher, whom, of course, etiquette forbids him to name. See also R. Garbe, Uebersetzung des Vaitâna-sûtra, I, 3.

IV. 1. Âpastamba II, 6, 13, 1; Manu III, 4, 12; Yâgñ. I, 52.

2. Regarding the Pravaras, see Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 386. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 15.

3. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 16; Manu III, 5; Yâgñ. I, 52.

4. This rule refers to the case where a husband has made over his wife to another man and the bridegroom stands in the relation of a son to the husband of his mother and to his natural father (dvipitâ). See Yâgñ. I, 68.

5. (Nor) within four degrees on the mother's side.

6. (If the father) gives (his daughter) dressed (in two garments) and decked with ornaments to a person possessing (sacred) learning, of virtuous conduct, who has relatives and a (good) disposition, (that is a) Brâhma (wedding).

7. At the Prâgâpatya (wedding) the marriage-formula is, 'Fulfil ye the law conjointly.'

8. At the Ârsha (wedding the bridegroom) shall present a cow and a bull to him who has (authority over) the maiden.

9. (If the bride) is given, decked with ornaments, to a priest at the altar, that is a Daiva wedding.

10. The spontaneous union with a willing (maiden is called) a Gândharva wedding.

11. If those who have (authority over) a female are propitiated by money, (that is) an Âsura wedding.

12. (If the bride) is taken by force, (that is) a Râkshasa wedding.

13. If (a man) embraces a female deprived of consciousness, (that is) a Paisâka wedding.

14. The first four (rites) are lawful ;

15. Some say, (the first) six.

5. Yâgñ. I, 53.

6. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 17. 'Virtuous conduct (*kâritra*), i.e. the performance of the acts prescribed (in the Vedas and *Smritis*), . . . good disposition (*śīla*), i.e. faith in the ordinances of the law.'—Haradatta.

7. Manu III, 30; Yâgñ. I, 60.

8. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 18.

9. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 19.

10. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 20.

11. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 1.

12. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 2.

13. Manu III, 34; Yâgñ. I, 61.

14. Manu III, 24, 39.

15. Manu III, 23.

16. (Children) born in the regular order of wives of the next, second or third lower castes (become) *Savarnas*, *Ambashthas*, *Ugras*, *Nishâdas*, *Daushyantas* or *Pârasavas*.

17. (Children born) in the inverted order (of wives of higher castes become) *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas*, *Âyogavas*, *Kshattris*, *Vaidehakas* or *Kandâlas*.

18. Some declare, that a woman of the *Brâhmana* caste has born successively to (husbands of) the (four) castes, sons (who are) *Brâhmanas*, *Sûtas*, *Mâgadhas* or *Kandâlas* ;

19. (And that) a woman of the *Kshatriya* caste (has born) to the same, *Mûrdhâvasiktas*, *Kshatriyas*, *Dhîvaras*, *Pulkasas* ;

20. Further, a woman of the *Vaisya* caste to the same, *Bhrigyakanthas*, *Mâhishyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Vaidehas* ;

21. (And) a woman of the *Sûdra* caste to the same, *Pârasavas*, *Yavanas*, *Karanas*, and *Sûdras*.

16. I. e. from a *Brâhmana* and a *Kshatriyâ* springs a *Savarna*, from a *Brâhmana* and a *Vaisyâ* a *Nishâda*, from a *Brâhmana* and a *Sûdrâ* a *Pârasava*, from a *Kshatriya* and a *Vaisyâ* an *Ambashtha*, and from a *Kshatriya* and a *Sûdrâ* a *Daushyanta*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Sûdrâ* an *Ugra*. Compare for this and the following five *Sûtras* *Manu* X, 6-18 ; *Yâgñ.* I, 91-95.

17. I. e. from a *Kshatriya* and a *Brâhmanî* springs a *Sûta*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Kshatriyâ* a *Mâgadha*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Vaisyâ* an *Âyogava*, from a *Vaisya* and a *Brâhmanî* a *Kshattri*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Kshatriyâ* a *Vaidehaka*, from a *Sûdra* and a *Brâhmanî* a *Kandâla*.

18. The words 'Some declare' stand only at the end of *Sûtra* 21. But *Haradatta* rightly declares that they refer to all the four *Sûtras*. The proof for the correctness of his interpretation lies in the use of the form *agîganat*, which refers to each of the *Sûtras*. The four *Sûtras* are, however, probably spurious, as *Sûtra* 28 refers back to *Sûtra* 17 by calling the *Kandâla* 'the last (named).'

22. In the seventh (generation men obtain) a change of caste, either being raised to a higher one or being degraded to a lower one.

23. The venerable teacher declares (that this happens) in the fifth (generation).

24. And (the same rule applies) to those born (from parents of different classes that are) intermediate between (two of the castes originally) created (by Brahman).

25. But those born in the inverse order (from fathers of a lower and mothers of a higher caste stand) outside (the pale of) the sacred law,

22. *Āpastamba* II, 5, 11, 10-11. 'That is as follows: If a *Savarnā* female, born of the *Kshatriya* wife of a *Brāhmana*, is married to a *Brāhmana*, and her female descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring which that seventh female descendant bears to her *Brāhmana* husband is equal in caste to a *Brāhmana*. In like manner, if a *Savarnā* male, the son of a *Brāhmana* and of his *Kshatriya* wife, again marries a *Kshatriya* wife and his male descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring of that seventh male descendant is equal in caste to a *Kshatriya*. The same principle must be applied to the offspring of *Kshatriyas* and wives of the *Vaiśya* caste as well as to *Vaiśyas* and wives of the *Sūdra* caste.'—*Haradatta*.

23. '(The venerable) teacher opines that the change of caste takes place in the fifth generation. They declare that the plural may be used to denote one teacher. This *Sūtra* refers to (cases of extraordinary merit acquired through) virtuous conduct and study of the *Veda*.'—*Haradatta*. It is clear that in this case *Haradatta*, too, has seen that the word *âkâryâh* has another force than the more common *eke*; see above, note to III, 36.

24. 'That is as follows: If the daughter of a *Savarnā*, born of a wife of the *Ambashīha* caste, is married again to a *Savarnā*, and her female descendants down to the seventh likewise, then the offspring of that seventh female descendant, begotten by a *Savarnā* husband, is equal in caste to a *Savarnā*.'—*Haradatta*. Regarding the birth of the four castes from Brahman, see *Rig-veda* X, 90, 12.

25. *Manu* X, 41, 67-68.

26. As well as (those born in the regular order) from a female of the Sûdra caste.

27. But he whom a Sûdra (begets) on a female of unequal caste shall be treated like an outcast.

28. The last (named, the *Kandâla*), is the foulest.

29. Virtuous sons (born of wives of equal caste) and wedded according to approved rites sanctify (their father's family).

30. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Ârsha rite (saves) three ancestors (from hell),

31. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Daiva rite ten,

32. (A son born of a wife married) according to the Prâgâpatya rite, also ten.

33. (But) the son of a wife married according to the Brâhma rite (saves) ten ancestors, ten descendants, and himself.

CHAPTER V.

1. (A householder) shall approach (his wife) in the proper season,

2. Or (he may do so) at any time except on the forbidden (days).

26. Manu X, 68.

27. "Shall be treated like an outcast," i.e. one must avoid to look at him, &c., just as in the case of an outcast.—Haradatta.

28. Manu X, 51-56.

30. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 59.

31. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 59.

32. Manu III, 38; Yâgñ. I, 60.

33. Manu III, 37; Yâgñ. I, 58.

V. 1. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 17.

2. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 18.

3. He shall worship gods, manes, men, goblins, (and) *Rishis*.

4. Every day he shall recite privately (a portion of the Veda),

5. And the (daily) libation of water to the manes (is obligatory on him).

6. Other (rites than these he may perform) according to his ability.

7. The (sacred) fire (must be kindled) on his marriage or on the division of the family estate.

8. The domestic (ceremonies must be performed) with (the aid of) that (fire).

9. (Also) the sacrifices to the gods, manes, (and) men, and the private recitation (and) the Bali-offerings.

3. *Āpastamba* I, 4, 12, 15; I, 4, 13, 1; *Manu* III, 69-72; IV, 29, 21; *Yâgñ.* I, 99, 102-104.

4. *Manu* III, 81; *Yâgñ.* I, 104.

5. *Manu* III, 82; *Yâgñ.* I, 104. 'The word "and" indicates that water must be offered to the gods and *Rishis* also.'—*Haradatta*.

6. '(Rites) other than those prescribed in *Sûtras* 3-5 he may perform according to his energy, i.e. according to his ability. But those he should zealously perform. As the oblations to the gods and the other (*Mahâyagñas*) are mentioned before the kindling of the domestic fire, they must be performed by a person who has not yet kindled the domestic fire with the aid of the common (kitchen)-fire.'—*Haradatta*.

7. As long as the family remains united, its head offers the oblations for all its members.

8. 'The domestic rites, i.e. the *Pumsavana* and the rest. . . . Now with the aid of which fire must a man, who has not yet kindled the domestic fire, perform the *Pumsavana*, &c.? Some answer that he shall use a common fire. But the opinion of the teacher (*Gautama*) is that he shall use the sacred fire which has been kindled on that occasion.'—*Haradatta*.

9. *Haradatta* states that the *Mahâyagñas* are again enumerated in order to show that a person who has kindled the sacred fire

10. The oblations (which are thrown) into the (sacred) fire (at the Vaisvadeva-sacrifice are offered) to Agni, to Dhanvantari, to all the gods, to Pragâpati, (and to Agni) Svishṭakṛit;

11. And (Bali-offerings must be given) to the deities presiding over the (eight) points of the horizon, in their respective places,

12. At the doors (of the house) to the Maruts,

13. To the deities of the dwelling inside (the house),

shall use this for them, not a common fire. He also states that a passage of Usanas, according to which some teachers prescribe the performance of the daily recitation near the sacred fire, shows that this rite too has a connection with the sacred fire.

10. Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 16, where, however, as in all other works, the order of the offerings differs. Haradatta adds that the word 'oblations' is used in the Sûtra in order to indicate that the word svâhâ must be pronounced at the end of each Mantra, and that the expression 'in the fire' indicates that the Bali-offerings described in the following Sûtra must be thrown on the ground.

11. Compare Âpastamba II, 2, 3, 20—II, 2, 4, 8; Manu III, 87—90, where, as elsewhere, the order of the offerings differs. According to Haradatta the deities intended are, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛiti, Varuṇa, Vâyu, Soma, and Îsâna. The first offering must be placed to the east, the next to the south-east, south, &c.

12. At all the doors, as many as there are, a Bali must be offered with the Mantra, 'To the Maruts, svâhâ.'—Haradatta.

13. 'As he says "inside" (pravisya, literally "entering") he must stand outside while offering the Balis at the doors. . . . At this occasion some require the following Mantra, "To the deities of the dwelling, svâhâ," because that is found in the Âsvalâyana (Grîhya-sûtra I, 2, 4). Others consider it necessary to mention the deities by name, and to present as many offerings as there are deities, while pronouncing the required words.'—Haradatta. The commentator then goes on to quote a passage from Usanas, which he considers applicable, because it contains the names of the Grîhadevatâs. I doubt, however, if the 'others' are right, and still more if, in case they should be right, it would be advisable to supply the names of the Grîhadevatâs from Usanas.

14. To Brahman in the centre (of the house),
15. To the Waters near the water-pot,
16. To the Ether in the air,
17. And to the Beings walking about at night in the evening.
18. A gift of food shall be preceded by a libation of water and (it shall be presented) after (the recipient) has been made to say, 'May welfare attend thee,'
19. And the same (rule applies) to all gifts presented for the sake of spiritual merit.
20. The reward of a gift (offered) to a person who is not a Brâhmana is equal (to the value of the gift), those (of presents given) to a Brâhmana twofold, to a Srotriya thousandfold, to one who knows the whole Veda (vedapârâga) endless.
21. Presents of money (must be given) outside the Veda to persons begging for their Gurus, (or) in order to defray the expenses of their wedding, (or

14. 'Because the word "and" occurs in Sûtra 11 after the word "to the deities presiding over the points of the horizon" a Bali-offering must be presented to the deities mentioned by the author in Sûtra 10, viz. to the earth, wind, Pragâpati, and to all the gods, after a Bali has been offered to Brahman.'—Haradatta.

16. 'The Bali presented to Âkâra, "the ether," must be thrown up into the air, as Manu says, III, 90.'—Haradatta.

17. 'Because of the word "and," he must, also, present Balis to the deities mentioned above.'—Haradatta. The commentator means to say that in the evening not only the 'Beings walking about at night' (naktamkara) are to receive a portion, but all the other deities too, and that the Balikarma must be offered twice a day.

18-19. Âpastamba II, 4, 9, 8.

20. According to Haradatta the term Srotriya here denotes one who has studied one Veda, (but see also Âpastamba II, 3, 6, 4; II, 4, 8, 5.) Vedapârâga is a man who has studied one Veda, together with the Ângas, Kalpa-sûtras, and Upanishads.

21. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 1-2. 'Now he promulgates a Sûtra

to procure) medicine for the sick, to those who are without means of subsistence, to those who are going to offer a sacrifice, to those engaged in study, to travellers, (and) to those who have performed the Visvagit-sacrifice.

22. Prepared food (must be given) to other beggars.

23. For an unlawful purpose he shall not give (anything), though he may have promised it.

24. An untruth spoken by people under the influence of anger, excessive joy, fear, pain (or) greed, by infants, very old men, persons labouring under a delusion, those being under the influence of drink (or) by mad men does not cause (the speaker) to fall.

25. Before (a householder eats) he shall feed his guests, the infants, the sick people, the pregnant women, the females under his protection, the very aged men, and those of low condition (who may be in his house).

which refers to those cases where one must necessarily make gifts, and where one incurs guilt by a refusal. . . . As the expression "outside the Vedi" is used, presents must be given to others also "inside the Vedi" (i.e. fees to priests, &c.)'—Haradatta.

22. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 14.

23. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 3; Colebrooke II, Digest IV, 47; Mayûkha IX, 5. 'As he says "for an unlawful purpose," what has been promised must in other cases necessarily be given.'—Haradatta.

24. Colebrooke II, Digest IV, 56. "'Does not cause (the speaker) to fall," i.e. produces no guilt. Hence such persons need not even give a promised present.'—Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 11-13; II, 4, 9, 10; Manu III, 116. 'Females under his protection (*suvâsinyah*), i.e. daughters and sisters . . . , those of low condition (*gaghanyâh*), i.e. servants, slaves, and the like. . . . The term "men of low condition" is made a separate word in the text in order to show that they come after the others.'—Haradatta.

26. But (when) his teacher, parents (or intimate) friends (visit his house), he shall proceed to the preparation of the dinner after asking them (for orders).

27. When an officiating priest, his teacher, his father-in-law, paternal or maternal uncles visit (him), a Madhuparka (or honey-mixture must be offered to them).

28. (If they have been once honoured in this manner, the ceremony need be) repeated (only) after a year.

29. (But) on (the occasion of) a sacrifice and of the wedding (a Madhuparka must be offered, though) less than a year (has passed since the last visit of the persons thus honoured).

30. And to a king who is a Srotriya (a Madhuparka must be offered as often as he comes),

31. (But to a king) who is not a Srotriya a seat and water.

32. But for a Srotriya he shall cause to be prepared a foot-bath, an Arghya, and food of a superior quality,

26. Manu III, 113.

27. Âpastamba II, 4, 8, 5-9.

30. 'And to a king a Madhuparka must be offered on his arrival. If he is a Srotriya (this must be done) on each visit.'—Haradatta.

31. 'A king who is not a Srotriya shall be honoured with a seat and water, not with a Madhuparka.'—Haradatta.

32. Âpastamba II, 3, 6, 7-10, 14-15. 'This Sûtra may be optionally taken as referring to a Brâhmana, because the word Srotriya is repeated. For a Srotriya who has come as a guest, a foot-bath, i. e. water for washing the feet, an Arghya, i. e. water mixed with Dûrvâ grass, flowers, &c., and food of a superior quality, i. e. milk and rice; cakes and the like shall be particularly prepared, if the host is able to afford it.'—Haradatta.

33. Or his usual food distinguished by a (particularly careful) preparation.

34. To a (Brâhmaṇa) who is not learned in the Vedas, (but) of good conduct, food of a middling (quality) shall be given,

35. To one who is the reverse (of virtuous) grass, water, and earth,

36. (Or) at least a welcome.

37. Honour (must be shown to a guest, and the host must) not dine better (than his guest).

38. A couch, a seat, (and) a lodging (of the same (quality as the host uses must be given) to (a guest) of equal condition and to one's betters; they must be accompanied (on departure) and respectfully attended to (during their stay).

39. (The host shall show similar) though less (attention) to (a guest) who is inferior (to himself).

33. 'But if (the host is) not able (to afford dainties), he shall prepare that same food which is daily used in his house, distinguished in the preparation, i. e. by adding pepper and the like condiments, by frying it, and so forth.'—Haradatta.

34. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 16; II, 3, 6, 12. Haradatta points out that in this case nothing but a simple dinner shall be given.

36. Âpastamba II, 2, 4, 14. 'On failure of grass and the rest, a welcome, i. e. (the host shall say), "Thou art tired, sit down here."'—Haradatta.

37. Manu III, 106–107. 'This Sûtra refers solely to such a guest, as is described below, Sûtra 40.'—Haradatta.

38. 'Accompanying, i. e. walking after him; respectfully attending to, i. e. sitting with him and so forth. As it is not possible that these two acts can be performed by the host in the same manner as for himself, the meaning of the Sûtra must be taken to be merely that they are to be performed.'—Haradatta.

39. Haradatta says that some explain this Sûtra to mean, '(The host shall show the same attention) even to a man who is a little inferior (to himself in learning, &c.)' but that he disapproves of their opinion.

40. He is called a guest who, belonging to a different village (and) intending to stay for one night only, arrives when the sun's beams pass over the trees.

41. According (to his caste a guest) must be asked about his well-being (*kusala*), about his being free from hurt (*anāmaya*), or about his health (*ârogya*).

42. The last (formula must also be used in addressing) a *Sûdra*.

43. A man of a lower caste (is) not (to be considered) a guest by a *Brâhmana*, except if he has approached on (the occasion of) a sacrifice.

44. But a *Kshatriya* must be fed after the *Brâhmana* (guests).

45. (Men of) other (castes he shall feed) with his servants for mercy's sake.

CHAPTER VI.

1. (To salute) every day on meeting (by) an embrace of the feet,

2. And (particularly) on return from a journey,

3. (Is prescribed in the case) of parents, of their blood relations, of elder (brothers), of persons venera-

40. *Âpastamba* II, 3, 6, 5. *Haradatta* states, that by 'the time when the sun's rays pass over the trees,' either the middle of the day or the late afternoon may be meant.

41. *Âpastamba* I, 4, 14, 26-29.

43. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 4, 18-19.

VI. 1. *Âpastamba* I, 4, 14, 7-9; I, 2, 5, 18; I, 2, 8, 17-18.

3. 'Their blood relations, i.e. paternal and maternal uncles and the rest; elders, i.e. elder brothers; persons venerable on account of their learning, i.e. the teacher who has initiated him (*âkârya*), the teacher who has instructed him (*upâdhyâya*), and the rest.'—*Haradatta*.

ble on account of their learning, and of the Gurus of the latter.

4. On meeting (several persons, to whom such a salutation is due), together, the most venerable (must be saluted first).

5. On meeting persons who understand (the rule of returning salutes) one shall salute (them) pronouncing one's name, and (saying), 'I N. N. (ho ! salute thee).'

6. Some (declare that) there is no restrictive rule for salutations between man and wife.

4. Âpastamba I, 2, 6, 29 ; I, 2, 8, 19. 'On meeting his mother and other persons whose feet must be embraced, he shall first embrace the highest, i. e. the most excellent, afterwards the others. Who the most excellent is has been declared above, II, 50-51.

5. Âpastamba I, 2, 5, 12-15. Professor Stenzler reads *agñasamavâye*, while my copies and their commentary show that *gñasamavâye* has to be read. Besides, it seems impossible to make any sense out of the former reading without assuming that the construction is strongly elliptical. 'On meeting, i. e. on coming together with him who knows the rule of returning a salute, he shall utter, i. e. loudly pronounce his name, i. e. the name which he has received on the tenth day (after his birth), and which is to be employed in saluting, and speak the word "I" as well as the word "this." They declare that instead of the word "this," which here is explicitly prescribed, the word "I am" must be used. Some salute thus, "I Haradatta by name;" others, "I Haradattasarman;" and the common usage is to say, "I Haradattasarman by name." Thus the salutation must be made. Salutation means saluting. The affix *añ* is added to causatives and the rest. With reference to this matter the rule for returning salutes has been described by Manu II, 126. . . . As (in the above Sûtra) the expression "on meeting persons knowing" is used, those who are unacquainted with the manner of returning a salute must not be saluted in this manner. How is it then to be done? It is described by Manu III, 123.'—Haradatta.

6. 'As Gautama says, "Some declare," the restrictive rule must, in his opinion, be followed.'—Haradatta.

7. (The feet of) other female (relations) than the mother, a paternal uncle's wife and (elder) sisters (need) not (be embraced, nor need they be saluted) except on return from a journey.

8. The feet of wives of brothers and of the mother-in-law (need) not be embraced (on any occasion).

9. But (on the arrival of an) officiating priest, a father-in-law, paternal and maternal uncles who are younger (than oneself), one must rise; they need not be saluted (as prescribed above, Sûtra 5).

10. In like manner (any) other aged fellow-citizen, even a Sûdra of eighty years and more, (must be honoured) by one young enough to be his son,

11. (And) an Ārya, though (he be) younger, by a Sûdra;

12. And he shall avoid (to pronounce) the name of that (person who is worthy of a salutation).

13. And an official who (is) not (able to) recite (the Veda shall avoid to pronounce the name) of the king.

7. Manu II, 132; Āpastamba I, 4, 14, 6, 9.

9. Āpastamba I, 4, 14, 11.

10. 'Old (pûrva), i. e. of greater age. . . . A Sûdra even, who answers this description, must be honoured by rising, not, however, be saluted by one young enough to be his son, i. e. by a Brâhmana who is very much younger. The Sûdra is mentioned as an instance of a man of inferior caste. Hence a Sûdra must (under these circumstances) be honoured by rising, not be saluted by men of the three higher castes, a Vaisya by those of the two higher castes, and a Kshatriya by a Brâhmana.'—Haradatta.

11. 'An Ārya, i. e. a man of the three twice-born castes, though he be inferior, i. e. younger, must be honoured by rising, not be saluted by a Sûdra. The Sûdra is mentioned in order to give an instance of (a man of) inferior caste.'—Haradatta.

12. 'An inferior shall avoid to take his name, i. e. that of a superior.'—Haradatta.

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14. A contemporary who is born on the same day (shall be addressed with the terms) *bhoḥ* or *bhavan* (your honour),
15. (Likewise) a fellow-citizen who is ten years older (than oneself),
16. (Also) an artist who is five years (older),
17. And a *Srotriya* belonging to one's own Vedic school who is three years older,
18. (Further), *Brâhmanas* destitute of learning and those who follow the occupations of *Kshatriyas* or *Vaisyas*,
19. And (a contemporary) who has performed the *Dikshantiyeshṭi* of a Soma-sacrifice before he buys (the Soma).
20. Wealth, relations, occupation, birth, learning, and age must be honoured ; (but) each later named

14. Haradatta says that *samânehani*, 'on the same day,' means 'in the same year.' He is probably right in thinking that the expression must not be interpreted too strictly. But his assertion that *ahaḥ* means also 'year' cannot be proved by his quotation from the *Nighantuka*, abde *samvatsaram ahargaram*.

15. 'A person aged by ten years, i. e. at least ten years older, who lives in the same town as oneself, is to be addressed as *bhoḥ*, *bhavan*, though he may be deficient in good qualities.'—Haradatta.

16. 'The words "years older" must be understood. He who lives by the fine arts (*kalâ*), i. e. the knowledge of music, painting, leaf-cutting, and the like, and is at least five years older than oneself, must be addressed as *bhoḥ* or *bhavan*.'—Haradatta.

17. Haradatta notes that *Âpastamba* I, 4, 14, 13 gives a somewhat different rule.

18. Haradatta adds that a person destitute of learning, be he ever so old, may still be treated as an equal, and addressed as *bhoḥ*, *bhavan*, by a more learned man.

20. *Manu* II, 136. 'As wealth and the rest cannot be directly honoured, the persons possessing them are to be honoured. . . . Respect (*mâna*) means honour shown by saluting and the like.'—Haradatta.

(quality) is more important (than the preceding ones).

21. But sacred learning is more important than all (other good qualities),

22. Because that is the root of the sacred law,

23. And because the Veda (expressly declares it).

24. Way must be made for a man seated in a carriage, for one who is in his tenth (decade), for one requiring consideration, for a woman, for a Snâtaka, and for a king.

25. But a king (must make way) for a Srotriya.

CHAPTER VII.

1. The rule for (times of) distress (is) that a Brâhmana may study under a teacher who is not a Brâhmana.

2. (A student is bound) to walk behind and to obey (his non-Brahmanical teacher).

3. (But) when (the course of study) has been finished, the Brâhmana (pupil is more) venerable (than his teacher).

4. (In times of distress it is permissible) to offer

21. *Manu* II, 154.

23. Haradatta says that a passage to this effect occurs in the *Khândogya-brâhmana*. He also refers to *Manu* II, 151.

24. *Âpastamba* II, 5, 11, 5, 7-9. 'A person requiring consideration, i. e. one afflicted by disease. A woman, i. e. a bride or a pregnant woman. A Snâtaka, i. e. a person who has bathed after completing his studies and after having kept the vow of studentship.'—Haradatta.

25. *Âpastamba* II, 5, 11, 6.

VII. 1. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 4, 25.

2. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 4, 26.

3. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 4, 27.

4. Haradatta quotes *Manu* X, 103 in support of the above explanation, and adds that another commentator interprets the

sacrifices for (men of) all (castes), to teach (them), and to accept (presents from them).

5. Each preceding (mode of living is) preferable (to those named later).

6. On failure of the (occupations lawful for a Brâhmaṇa) he may live by the occupations of a Kshatriya.

7. On failure of those, he may live by the occupations of a Vaisya.

8. (Goods) that may not be sold by a (Brâhmaṇa are),

9. Perfumes, substances (used for) flavouring (food), prepared food, sesamum, hempen and linen cloth, skins,

10. Garments dyed red or washed,

11. Milk and preparations from it,

12. Roots, fruits, flowers, medicines, honey, flesh, grass, water, poison,

Sûtra to mean, that in times of distress men of all castes may support themselves by sacrificing for others, teaching, and the acceptance of gifts, though in ordinary times these modes of living are reserved for Brâhmaṇas.

5. The use of the masculine in the text, 'pûrvaḥ pûrvo guruḥ,' may, I think, be explained by the fact that the compound in the preceding Sûtra ends with a noun of the masculine gender.

6. Manu X, 81; Yâgñ. III, 35. 7. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 11.

9. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 12-13. 'Substances used for flavouring (rasa), i. e. oil, sugar, clarified butter, salt, and the like.'—Haradatta. From Sûtra 19 it is clear that 'rasa' does not simply mean 'liquids.'

10. My MSS. read nirṇikte for nikte, and nirṇiktam is explained by 'washed by a washerman or the like person.' It is possible to translate Professor Stenzler's reading in accordance with Manu X, 87, 'pairs of (i. e. upper and lower) garments dyed red.'

11. 'Preparations from it, i. e. sour milk and the like.'—Haradatta.

13. Nor animals for slaughter,
14. Nor, under any circumstances, human beings, heifers, female calves, cows big with young.
15. Some (declare, that the traffic in) land, rice, barley, goats, sheep, horses, bulls, milch-cows, and draught-oxen (is) likewise (forbidden).
16. But (it is permissible) to barter,
17. One kind of substances used for flavouring others,
18. And animals (for animals).
19. Salt and prepared food (must) not (be bartered),
20. Nor sesamum.
21. But for present use an equal (quantity of) uncooked (food may be exchanged) for cooked (food).
22. But if no (other course is) possible (a Brâhmana) may support himself in any way except by (following the occupations) of a Sûdra.
23. Some (permit) even this in case his life is in danger.
24. But to mix with that (caste) and forbidden food must be avoided (even in times of distress).

14. 'Under any circumstances (nityam, literally "always") means even when they are not sold for slaughter. Another (commentator) says, that, as the expression "under any circumstances" is used here, the prohibition regarding the above-mentioned things, i.e. sesamum and the like, does not hold good under all circumstances, and that hence self-grown sesamum and other grain may be sold, see Manu X, 90.'—Haradatta.

15. Manu X, 88. Haradatta explains 'land' by 'houses.'

16-21. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 14-15.

19. 'The sale of salt and prepared food has been forbidden by Sûtra 9, but their barter has been permitted (by Sûtra 17).'—Haradatta.

22. Regarding the Sûdra's occupations, see below, X, 57-60.

24. 'Restriction (niyama), i. e. avoiding. That Brâhmana

25. If his life is threatened, even a Brâhmaṇa may use arms.

26. (In times of distress) a Kshatriya (may follow) the occupations of a Vaisya.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. A king and a Brâhmaṇa, deeply versed in the Vedas, these two, uphold the moral order in the world.

2. On them depends the existence of the fourfold human race, of internally conscious beings, of those which move on feet and on wings, and of those which creep,

even who lives the life of a Sûdra must not mix with that Sûdra caste, i.e. he must not sit among Sûdras and so forth.—Haradatta.

25. Âpastamba I, 10, 29, 7; Manu VIII, 348.

26. Haradatta adds, that in accordance with the principle exemplified by the rule of this Sûtra a Vaisya may follow in times of distress the occupations of a Sûdra.

VIII. 1. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa V, 4, 4, 5; Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 29. Haradatta explains vrata, 'moral order,' by karmâzi, 'the rites and occupations,' and loka, 'world,' by râshtra, 'kingdom.' Ultimately my translation and his explanation come to the same thing. He adds that the king upholds order by punishing, and a learned Brâhmaṇa by teaching. Regarding the excellence of these two, see also Manu IV, 135.

2. 'Internally conscious beings, i.e. trees and the like, which are immovable, but grow and decay. For such possess internal consciousness only, no corresponding external faculty of acting. . . . The existence of these, i.e. of men and the rest, depends upon, i.e. is subordinate to the king and to a Brâhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas. How is that? As regards the Brâhmaṇa, an offering which has been properly thrown into the fire reaches the sun; from the sun comes rain; from rain food is produced and thereon live the creatures. By this reasoning he is shown to

3. (As well as) the protection of offspring, the prevention of the confusion (of the castes and) the sacred law.
4. He is (called) deeply versed in the Vedas,
5. Who is acquainted with the (ways of the) world, the Vedas (and their) Aṅgas (auxiliary sciences),
6. Who is skilled in disputations (and), in (reciting) legends and the Purāna,
7. Who looks to these (alone), and lives according to these,
8. Who has been sanctified by the forty sacraments (*samskāra*),
9. Who is constantly engaged in the three occupations (prescribed for all twice-born men),
10. Or in the six (occupations prescribed specially for a Brāhmana),
11. (And) who is well versed in the duties of

be the cause of their existence. But the king is (also) the cause of their existence; for he punishes robbers and the like.—Haradatta.

3. Haradatta takes *prasūtirakṣanam*, 'the protection of their offspring,' as a copulative compound, and explains it by 'their prosperity (*abhivṛddhi*) and their protection.' But a *samāhāradvandva* is here out of place.

4. Macnaghten, *Mitāksharā* I, 2, 27. 'By the word *loka*, "the world," are intended the laws of countries and the like, which may be learnt from the practice of the world.'—Haradatta. Regarding the Aṅgas, see *Āpastamba* II, 4, 8, 10.

8. Regarding the forty sacraments, see below, *Sūtras* 14–20.

9. Regarding the three occupations, common to all twice-born men, see below, X, 1.

10. See below, X, 2.

11. The *Sāmayaśārika* or *Smārta* duties are those taught in the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Smṛitis*, see *Āpastamba* I, 1, 1, 1, and Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 101.

daily life settled by the agreement (of those who know the law).

12. (Such a Brâhmana) must be allowed by the king immunity from (the following) six (kinds of opprobrious treatment) :

13. (I. e.) he must not be subjected to corporal punishment, he must not be imprisoned, he must not be fined, he must not be exiled, he must not be reviled, nor be excluded.

14. The Garbhâdhâna (or ceremony to cause conception), the Pumsavana (or ceremony to cause the birth of a male child), the Sîmantonnayana (or arranging the parting of the pregnant wife's hair), the Gâtakarman (or ceremony on the birth of the child), the ceremony of naming the child, the first feeding, the Kaula (or tonsure of the head of the child), the initiation,

15. The four vows (undertaken) for the study of the Veda,

16. The bath (on completion of the studentship),

12. See Weber, Ind. Stud. X, 41, 60, 66; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ I, 2, 27.

14. Regarding the Samskâras mentioned in this Sûtra, see Âsvalâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 13-23; Sâñkhâyana Grîhya-sûtra I, 19-II, 5; Pâraskara Grîhya-sûtra I, 13-II, 2.

15. The four vows, as Haradatta states, are, according to Âsvalâyana, the Mahânâmnîvrata, the Mahâvrata, the Upanishad-vrata, and the Godâna; see Âsvalâyana Srauta-sûtra VIII, 14, where the first three are described in detail, and Grîhya-sûtra I, 22, 3, with the commentary thereon. Other Grîhya-sûtras give more and different names, see H. Oldenberg, Sâñkhâyana Grîhya-sûtra II, 11-12 (S. B. E., vol. xxix), and Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra III, 1, 28-III, 2, 62.

16. Haradatta explains snâna, 'the bath,' by samâvartana, 'the ceremony on completion of the studentship.' Regarding the five sacrifices, usually called the great sacrifices, see above, VII, 9 seq.

the taking of a help-mate for the fulfilment of the religious duties, the performance of the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, goblins, and Brahman,

17. And (the performance) of the following (sacrifices) :

18. The seven kinds of Pākayagñas (or small sacrifices), viz. the Ashṭakâ, the Pârvana (Sthâlipâka, offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, the Srâvani, the Âgrahâyani, the Kaitri, and the Âsvayugi ;

19. The seven kinds of Haviryagñas, viz. the Agnyâdheya, the Agnihotra, the Darsapaurṇamâsas, the Âgrayana, the Kâturmâsyas, the Nirûdhapasubandha, and the Sautrâmani ;

20. The seven kinds of Soma-sacrifices, viz. the Agnishṭoma, the Atyagnishṭoma, the Ukthya, the Shodasin, the Atirâtra, and the Aptoryâma ;

21. These are the forty sacraments.

22. Now (follow) the eight good qualities of the soul,

18. The various Pākayagñas, named here, are fully described by Âsvalâyana *Grihya-sûtra* II, 1, 1—II, 10, 8 ; Gobhila III, 10 seq. ; Pâraskara III, 3 seq. See also Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 203. The Ashṭakâs are sacrifices offered on the eighth day of the dark halves of the winter months, and of those of the dewy season, i.e. Kârtika, Mârgasiras, Pausha, and Mâgha. The Srâvani is offered on the full moon day of the month of Srâvana, the Âgrahâyani on the fourteenth, or on the full moon day of Mârgasiras, the Kaitri on the full moon day of the Kaitra, and the Âsvayugi on the full moon day of the month Âsvayuga or Âsvina.

19–20. The Haviryagñas and Soma-sacrifices are described in the Brâhmanas and Srauta-sûtras. Havis denotes any kind of food used for oblations, such as clarified butter, milk, rice, meat, &c.

22. Âpastamba I, 8, 23, 6.

23. (Viz.) compassion on all creatures, forbearance, freedom from anger, purity, quietism, auspiciousness, freedom from avarice, and freedom from covetousness.

24. He who is sanctified by these forty sacraments, but whose soul is destitute of the eight good qualities, will not be united with Brahman, nor does he reach his heaven.

25. But he, forsooth, who is sanctified by a few only of these forty sacraments, and whose soul is endowed with the eight excellent qualities, will be united with Brahman, and will dwell in his heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

1. Such (a man) shall bathe, after (having fulfilled) the law (regarding studentship), take unto him a wife, and, fulfilling the duties of a householder which have been declared above, in addition obey the following ordinances :

23. Haradatta explains maṅgalya, 'auspiciousness,' to mean 'always doing what is praised (by good men) and avoiding what is blamed by them.' Anâyâsa, 'quietism,' means, according to him, 'avoiding to undertake that which causes pain to oneself, even though it be a duty.'

IX. 1. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 1-4. Haradatta says that the expression sa, 'such (a man),' refers to the king and to the Brâhmana deeply versed in the Vedas, who have been described in the preceding chapter. My MSS. insert between this and the following one another Sûtra, which has been left out in Professor Stenzler's edition. It seems to me that it is absolutely required, and I therefore insert it here, together with Haradatta's comment, according to my best copy, P.

Gautama : '(And) a Snâtaka (i.e. a person who has completed his studentship, but has not yet taken a wife, shall act thus).' Haradatta : 'It must be understood that the word "and" has been left

2. (He shall be) always pure (and) sweet-smelling (and) bathe frequently.
3. If he possesses wealth, he shall not be dressed in old or dirty clothes ;
4. Nor shall he wear dyed or sumptuous garments, nor such as have been worn (before) by others,
5. Nor a garland and shoes (that have been worn by others).
6. (He may wear a cast-off garment) which has been washed, if he is unable (to afford a new one).
7. He shall not allow his beard to grow without a (sufficient) reason.

out. (The meaning is): "And a Snātaka shall obey the following ordinances." If this Sūtra were not given, those ordinances would have to be obeyed after marriage only ; and if the preceding Sūtra (1) had not been given, before marriage only, because the term Snātaka is usually employed in that (sense) only. For this reason both (Sūtras) have been given. Hence, though a man may not enter another order, he shall, after taking the bath (on completion of his studentship), obey these ordinances during his whole life. As here (Sūtra 1) the word sa, "such a man," is used, a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa only must necessarily obey the rules prescribed for a Snātaka and perform a penance for breaking them; and the penance for breaking the rules prescribed for a Snātaka is fasting. This is (the object of the insertion of the word sa, "such (a man).") But, if a Vaisya follows them, (his reward will be) prosperity; if he breaks them, he need not perform a penance. With respect to this matter another Smṛiti says : "The penance which is prescribed for a breach of the Snātaka laws, must be performed by a Kshatriya and a Brāhmaṇa alone, never by (men of) the other (caste)."

2. Manu IV, 35.

3-4. Āpastamba I, 11, 30, 10-13.

5. Manu IV, 66.

6. According to Haradatta the same rule applies to garlands and shoes.

7. Manu IV, 35. 'The expression "his beard" includes by implication the nails and the rest. . . . As he says "without a sufficient reason," he shall allow his beard to grow during the preg-

8. He shall not carry water and fire at the same time.

9. He shall not drink out of his joined hands.

10. He shall not sip water standing, nor (shall he sip) water drawn up (from a well),

11. Nor (water) that is offered by a Sûdra or an impure man, or that has been taken up with one hand.

12. Facing or within sight of wind, fire, Brâhmanas, the sun, water, (images of the) gods, and cows he shall not eject urine or fæces or other impurities.

13. He shall not stretch out his feet towards those divine beings.

14. He shall not remove urine or fæces with leaves, clods of earth, or stones.

15. He shall not stand upon ashes, hair, nail (parings), husks (of grain), pot-sherds, or impure substances.

16. He shall not converse with barbarians, impure or wicked men.

nancy of his wife and on other occasions. With respect to this matter they quote the following verse: "In the sixth year and in the sixteenth year, likewise in the year of his marriage and during the pregnancy of his wife, he shall avoid the use of a razor."—Haradatta.

8. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 9.

9. Manu IV, 63.

10. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 1.

11. Âpastamba I, 4, 21; I, 5, 15, 3.

12. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 18-20.

13. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 22.

14. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 21. Haradatta remarks that some explain *losh/ta*, 'a clod of earth,' by *kapâla*, 'a pot-sherd.'

15. Âpastamba II, 8, 20, 11-12. *Kapâla*, 'pot-sherds,' may also mean 'skull-bones.'

16. Manu IV, 57. Haradatta says that only a conversation,

17. If he has conversed (with such persons), he shall meditate on virtuous (men);
18. Or he may speak with a Brâhmaṇa.
19. He shall call (a cow that is) not a milch-cow, a cow that will become a milch-cow.
20. (An event) that is not lucky (he shall call) lucky.
21. (In speaking of) a skull (he shall use the word) bhagâla instead of kapâla,
22. (And in speaking of) a rainbow, maṇḍhanus (the jewelled bow) instead of indradhanus (Indra's bow).
23. Let him not announce it to others, if a cow suckles (her calf),
24. Nor let him prevent her (from doing it).
25. After conjugal intercourse he shall at once clean himself.
26. Let him not recite the daily portion of the Veda (lying) on that couch (on which he lies with his wife).

properly so called, is forbidden, not to ask barbarians &c. about the road and similar matters.

18. Compare the analogous case, mentioned Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 13.
19. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 11.
22. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 16.
23. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 10. Haradatta remarks that the prohibition does not extend to those cases where the Vedic ritual requires the fact to be pointed out. He is, of course, right in making this statement, as an express injunction of the Śruti always overrides the rules of the Smṛiti.
24. Haradatta adds that this and the preceding Sûtras include by implication the cases where a cow does damage in a field; see Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 9.
25. Âpastamba II, 1, 1, 21—II, 1, 2, 1.
26. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 3.

27. And when he has studied during the third watch of the night, he shall not again retire to rest.

28. Let him not have intercourse with his wife when she is ill,

29. Nor during her courses ;

30. Nor let him embrace her (during that period),

31. Nor an unmarried female.

32. He shall avoid to blow the fire with his mouth, to contend with words, to show himself covered with perfumed ointments or wearing garlands, to scratch himself with any impure (implement), to take his meals with his wife, to look at (a woman) who is anointing herself, to enter (his village) by a back-gate, to wash one foot with the other, to eat food deposited on a chair, to cross a river swimming, to ascend trees and dangerous (places), or to descend therefrom, and to imperil his life (in any other manner).

33. Let him not ascend a ship (of) doubtful (solidity).

34. He shall protect himself by all (possible) means.

35. In the day-time he shall not wrap up his head while walking about ;

36. But at night he shall cover it,

37. And while voiding urine and fæces.

27. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 15.

29-30. Manu IV, 40.

32. Âpastamba I, 5, 15, 20 ; I, 11, 32, 5 ; Manu IV, 43 ; Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 21 ; Manu IV, 74 ; Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 26 ; I, 11, 32, 25.

33. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 27.

35. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 14. Haradatta adds that he may wrap up his head while sitting down and in walking when the sun or rain annoys him.

38. (Let him) not (ease nature) without (first) covering the ground (with grass or the like),

39. Nor close to his dwelling,

40. Nor on ashes, on cow-dung, in a ploughed field, in the shade (of a tree), on a road, in beautiful (spots).

41. Let him eject both urine and fæces, facing the north in the day-time,

42. And in the twilight,

43. But at night, facing the south.

44. Let him avoid to use a seat, clogs, a stick for cleaning the teeth (and other implements) made of Palâsa-wood.

45. With shoes on (his feet), he shall not eat, sit down, salute, or worship (the gods).

46. Let him not pass idly (any part of the day, be it) morning, midday, or evening; (but) according to his ability (he shall make each useful) by the acquisition of spiritual merit or of wealth, and by taking his pleasure.

47. But among those (three aims of human life) he shall chiefly attend to the acquisition of spiritual merit.

38. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 15.

39. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 2.

40. Âpastamba I, 11, 30, 16-18.

41. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 1.

43. Âpastamba I, 11, 31, 3.

44. Âpastamba I, 11, 32, 9.

45. Âpastamba I, 4, 14, 22.

46. Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* II, 1, 22. 'He shall use the morning, according to his ability, for acts tending to the acquisition of spiritual merit, such as reciting the Vedas; the middle part of the day for the acquisition of wealth; and the evening for scenting himself, adorning himself with garlands and the like acts giving pleasure.'—Haradatta.

47. Âpastamba I, 7, 20, 1-4.

48. Let him not look at a naked woman wedded to another man.

49. Let him not draw a seat towards himself with his foot.

50. He shall keep his organ, his stomach, his hands, his feet, his tongue, and his eyes under due restraint.

51. Let him avoid to cut, to break, to scratch, and to crush (anything), or to make (his joints) crack, without a (sufficient) reason.

52. Let him not step over a rope (to which) a calf (is tied).

53. Let him not be a stay-at-home.

54. Let him not go to (perform) a sacrifice without being chosen (to officiate as priest).

55. But at his pleasure (he may go) to see it.

56. Let him not eat food (that he has placed) in his lap,

57. Nor what has been brought at night by a servant.

58. He shall not eat (substances) from which the fat has been extracted, such as milk from which the cream has separated, butter, oil-cake, buttermilk, and the like.

48. *Manu* IV, 53.

50. *Āpastamba* II, 2, 5, 19; *Manu* IV, 175, 177.

51. *Āpastamba* I, 11, 32, 28; II, 8, 20, 16.

52. *Āpastamba* I, 11, 31, 13. Haradatta remarks that the word 'calf' is used to designate any animal of the bovine species.

56. *Manu* IV, 63.

57. *Āpastamba* I, 5, 16, 32.

58. *Āpastamba* II, 8, 18, 1; II, 8, 20, 10. Haradatta adds that this rule has been inserted here instead of in the chapter on forbidden food in order to indicate that its breach must be expiated by the penance prescribed for a breach of the *Snātaka's* vow, not by that prescribed for eating forbidden food.

59. But he shall take his meals in the morning and in the evening, blessing his food, not grumbling at it.

60. He shall never sleep naked at night ;

61. Nor shall he bathe (naked) ;

62. And he shall perform whatever (else) aged (Brāhmanas), of subdued senses, who have been properly obedient (to their teachers), who are free from deceit, covetousness, and error, and who know the Vedas, declare (to be right).

63. In order to acquire wealth and for the sake of security he may go to a ruling (king),

64. (But) to no other (being) except the gods, his Gurus, and righteous (Brāhmanas).

65. He shall seek to dwell in a place where fire-wood, water, fodder, Kusa grass, (materials for making) garlands and roads exist in abundance, which is chiefly inhabited by Āryans, which is rich in industrious (men), and which is governed by a righteous (ruler).

66. He shall pass excellent (beings and things),

59. Āpastamba II, 1, 1, 2 ; II, 2, 3, 11.

60. Manu IV, 75.

61. Manu IV, 61.

62. Āpastamba I, 11, 32, 29 ; I, 7, 20, 8. Haradatta adds that the plural is used in the above Sūtra in order to indicate that many Brāhmanas must be unanimous regarding the practices to be followed.

63. Manu IV, 33 ; X, 113. 'For the sake of these objects he may go to a ruler, i.e. a king, without cringing, because the preposition adhi is used (in the text, and) adhi denotes mastership (Pāṇini I, 4, 97). The meaning that he shall go (as becomes) an independent man.'—Haradatta.

65. Āpastamba I, 5, 15, 22 ; I, 11, 32, 18. Āryans, i.e. Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

66. Manu IV, 39. 'A cow, a Brāhmaṇa, a well-known tree,

auspicious (objects), temples of the gods, cross-roads, and the like with his right turned towards them.

67. The rule for times of distress (is, that) he shall mentally perform all (that is required by the rule of) conduct.

68. He shall always speak the truth.

69. He shall conduct himself (as becomes) an Āryan.

70. He shall instruct virtuous (men only).

71. He shall follow the rules of purification taught (in the Sâstras).

72. He shall take pleasure in the (study of the) Veda.

73. He shall never hurt (any being), he shall be gentle, (yet) firm, ever restrain his senses, and be liberal.

74. A Snâtaka who conducts himself in this manner will liberate his parents, his ancestors, and descendants from evil, and never fall from Brahman's heaven.

and the like are called excellent (beings or things). An auspicious (object), i.e. a filled jar and the like.—Haradatta.

67. Haradatta observes that this rule refers to cases where, being in a hurry, one cannot show one's reverence in the manner described in the preceding Sûtra.

68. Manu IV, 138, 175, 236.

70. Manu IV, 80-81.

71. Purification is here again mentioned in order (to indicate that Snâtaka must pay) particular attention to it.

72. Manu IV, 147-149.

73. Manu IV, 2, 238, 246.

74. Manu II, 260.

CHAPTER X.

1. (The lawful occupations common) to (all) twice-born men are studying the (Veda), offering sacrifices (for their own sake), and giving (alms).

2. Teaching, performing sacrifices for others, and receiving alms (are) the additional (occupations) of a Brâhmaṇa.

3. But the former (three) are obligatory (on him).

4. Instruction in the Veda (may be given) without the above-mentioned (vows and ceremonies) in case a teacher, blood relations, friends or Gurus (receive it), and in case (the Veda) is exchanged for money or learning.

X. 1. Twice-born men, i. e. Brâhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. Haradatta says that some believe the term 'twice-born' to have been used in order to indicate that the three occupations may be lawfully followed after the second birth, i. e. the initiation only. But he declares that alms may be given even by an uninitiated Âryan, while studying the Veda and sacrificing are specially forbidden to him.

2. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 4.

3. Manu X, 76. 'The former, i. e. the three beginning with studying (Sûtra 1), must necessarily be followed. If he neglects them, he commits sin; if he follows them, he will be exalted. But the other occupations, teaching, &c., shall be followed if there is occasion for them. No sin is committed by neglecting them, nor any greatness gained by following them. They are merely means of livelihood.'—Haradatta.

4. Âpastamba I, 4, 13, 15-18. The expression 'above-mentioned' refers to the whole of the rules regarding a pupil's conduct given above, I, 52—II, 51. It is difficult to understand what is intended by 'the exchange of the Veda for wealth or money,' if it is not the *bhṛitakâdhyâpana* or teaching for money which Manu III, 156 blames so severely. It seems to me unlikely that Gautama means simply to sanction this practice. It is more probable that his rule refers to the case of Brâhmaṇs in distress, who avail themselves of the permission given above, VII, 4.

Q 2

5. Agriculture and trade (are) also (lawful for a Brâhmana) provided he does not do the work himself,
6. Likewise lending money at interest.
7. To protect all created beings is the additional (occupation) of a king,
8. And to inflict lawful punishments.
9. He shall support (those) Srotriyas, (who are) Brâhmanas,
10. And people unable to work, (even if they are) not Brâhmanas,
11. And those who are free from taxes,
12. And (needy) temporary students.
13. And (to take) measures for ensuring victory (is another duty of a king),
14. Especially when danger (from foes threatens the kingdom);

5-6. These rules which allow Brâhmanas to be gentlemen farmers and sleeping partners in mercantile or banking firms, managed by Vaisyas, do not occur in other Smritis. But they agree with the practice followed at present in many parts of India, and the praise bestowed in Vedic works on those who present land to Brâhmanas as well as the numerous ancient land grants show that from early times many Brâhmanas were holders of land, which, as a rule, was cultivated by Sûdras.

7-8. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 6; Manu VII, 27.

9. Âpastamba II, 10, 25, 11; Manu VII, 135.

11. Haradatta takes this Sûtra differently. He says: 'The immunity from taxes which has been granted to Brâhmanas and others by former kings he shall maintain in the same manner as formerly.' But I think that 'akara' must be taken as a Bahuvrîhi compound, and is used to designate widows, orphans, ascetics, &c.; see Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 10-17.

12. Haradatta observes that others explain upakurvâna, 'temporary students,' opposed to naishika, 'permanent students,' to mean 'men who benefit the people,' i.e. physicians and the like.

13. Manu VII, 103-110, 160-200; X, 119.

15. And (to learn) the management of chariots and the use of the bow (is a further duty of the king),

16. As well as to stand firm in battle and not to turn back.

17. No sin (is committed) by injuring or slaying (foes) in battle,

18. Excepting those who have lost their horses, charioteers, or arms, those who join their hands (in supplication), those who flee with flying hair, those who sit down with averted faces, those who have climbed (in flight) on eminences or trees, messengers, and those who declare themselves to be cows or Brâhmaṇas.

19. If another Kshatriya is supported by (the king), he shall follow the same occupations as his (master).

20. The victor shall receive the booty gained in battle.

21. But chariots and animals used for riding (belong) to the king,

22. And a preferential share, except when the booty has been gained in single combat.

23. But the king shall equitably divide (all) other (spoils).

24. Cultivators (must) pay to the king a tax

16. Manu VII, 87-89; X, 119; Yâgñavalkya I, 233.

17-18. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 11. Persons who declare themselves to be cows or Brâhmaṇas become inviolable on account of the sacred character of the beings they personate. Historical instances are narrated where conquered kings were forced to appear before their victors, holding grass in their mouths or dancing like peacocks in order to save their lives.

20. Manu VII, 96.

22-23. Manu VII, 97.

24. Manu VII, 130. The amount depends on the nature of the soil and the manner of cultivation.

(amounting to) one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-sixth (of the produce).

25. Some declare, that (there is a tax) also on cattle and gold, (viz.) one-fiftieth (of the stock).

26. In the case of merchandise one-twentieth (must be paid by the seller) as duty,

27. (And) of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood one-sixtieth.

28. For it is the duty (of the king) to protect the (tax-payers).

29. But to (the collection of) these (taxes) he shall always pay particular attention.

30. He shall live on the surplus.

31. Each artisan shall monthly do one (day's) work (for the king).

32. Hereby (the taxes payable by) those who

25. Manu VII, 130. The above translation follows Haradatta's explanation, while Sir W. Jones' rendering of Manu gives a different meaning to the identical words.

26. Manu VII, 127.

27. Manu X, 120.

28. Manu VII, 128.

29. Manu VII, 128, 139.

30. Haradatta takes this Sûtra differently. He says, 'Adhika, "additional," means the money which is paid on account of (the additional occupations) which have been explained above (Sûtra 7 seq.) "To protect all created beings," &c. Thereon shall he live, he himself, his servants, his elephants, horses, and his other (animals).' If this explanation is adopted, the Sûtra ought to be translated thus, 'He shall live on (the taxes paid for his) additional (occupations).' It seems, however, more probable that Gautama means to say that the king shall live on the surplus which remains after providing for the external and internal security of the kingdom, and that his object is to forbid the application of the whole revenue to the personal expenses of the ruler.

31. Manu VII, 131.

32. Haradatta says that wood-carriers, dancers, and the like are intended.

support themselves by personal labour have been explained,

33. And (those payable by) owners of ships and carts.

34. He must feed these (persons while they work for him).

35. The merchants shall (each) give (every month one) article of merchandise for less than the market value.

36. Those who find lost (property) the owner of which is not (known), shall announce it to the king.

37. The king shall cause it to be proclaimed (by the public crier), and (if the owner does not appear) hold it in his custody for a year.

38. Afterwards one-fourth (of the value goes) to the finder (and) the remainder to the king.

39. A (man becomes) owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure, or finding.

40. Acceptance is for a Brāhmana an additional (mode of acquisition);

41. Conquest for a Kshatriya;

42. Gain (by labour) for a Vaisya or Sūdra.

43. Treasure-trove is the property of the king,

36-38. Manu VIII, 30-36; Yâgñavalkya II, 33, 173; Macnaghten, Mitāksharâ V, 1, 6.

39. Manu X, 115; Mayūkha IV, 1, 2; Colebrooke, Mitāksharâ I, 1, 8; III, Digest IV, 22. 'Partition, i.e. the division (of the estate) between brothers and other (coparceners); seizure, i.e. the appropriation before (others) of forest trees and other things which have no owner; finding, i.e. the appropriation of lost property the owner of which is unknown, such as treasure-trove.'—Haradatta.

43. Manu VIII, 38; Yâgñavalkya II, 34; Macnaghten, Mitāksharâ V, 1, 10.

44. Excepting (such as is found) by a Brâhmaṇa who lives according to (the law).

45. Some declare, that a finder of a non-Brâhmanical caste even, who announces (his find to the king), shall obtain one-sixth (of the value).

46. Having recovered property stolen by thieves, he shall return it to the owner ;

47. Or (if the stolen property is not recovered) he shall pay (its value) out of his treasury.

48. The property of infants must be protected until they attain their majority or complete their studentship.

49. The additional (occupations) of a Vaisya are, agriculture, trade, tending cattle, and lending money at interest.

50. The Sûdra (belongs to) the fourth caste, which has one birth (only).

44. Manu VIII, 37 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 34 ; Macnaghten loc. cit.

46. Manu VIII, 40 ; Yâgñavalkya II, 36 ; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ V, 1, 14.

47. Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 8 ; Macnaghten loc. cit.

48. Manu VIII, 27.

49. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 7.

50. Âpastamba I, 1, 1, 6 ; Manu X, 4. Between this Sûtra and the next, my MSS. insert an additional one, not found in Professor Stenzler's edition, Sûdrasyâpi nishekapumsavanasîmantonnayanagâtakarmanâmakaraṇopanishkramanânnaprâsanaḥaulânyamantrakâṇi yathâkâlam upadishânîti, 'for the Sûdra also the Nisheka (or impregnation), the Pumsavana (or rite for securing male offspring), the Sîmantonnayana (or arranging the parting of a pregnant wife), the Gâtakarman (or ceremony on the birth of the child), the name-giving, the first walk in the open air, the first feeding, and the Kaula (or tonsure of the child's head) are prescribed to be performed at the proper periods, but without the recitation of sacred texts.' But I am inclined to consider it spurious : first, because there is no proper commentary ; secondly, because the enumeration of the Samskâras given here does not agree with

51. For him also (are prescribed) truthfulness, meekness, and purity.
52. Some (declare), that instead of sipping water, he shall wash his hands and feet.
53. (He shall also offer) the funeral oblations,
54. Maintain those depending upon him,
55. Live with his wife (only),
56. And serve the higher (castes).
57. From them he shall seek to obtain his livelihood.
58. (He shall use their) cast-off shoes, umbrellas, garments, and mats (for sitting on),
59. (And) eat the remnants of their food ;
60. And (he may) live by (practising) mechanical arts ;
61. And the *Ārya* under whose protection he places himself, must support him even if he (becomes) unable to work.
62. And a man of higher caste (who is his master and has fallen into distress must be maintained) by him.
63. His hoard shall serve this purpose.
64. If permission has been given to him, he

that given above, VIII, 14 ; and thirdly, because, according to the practice of Gautama, this *Sūtra* should begin with ' *tasyâpi* ' instead of with ' *Sūdrasyâpi* , ' and the ' *tasyâpi* ' in the next would become superfluous. The rule agrees however with Manu X, 63, 127.

51. Manu IX, 335.

53. Manu X, 127-128.

55. ' Another commentator explains the *Sūtra* to mean that he shall live with his wife only, and never enter another order (i.e. never become a student, hermit, or ascetic). '—Haradatta.

56. *Āpastamba*, I, 1, 1, 7-8 ; Manu X, 121-123.

57. Manu X, 124.

58-59. Manu X, 125.

60. Manu X, 99.

may use the exclamation *namaḥ* (adoration) as his Mantra.

65. Some (declare), that he himself may offer the Pākayagñas.

66. And all men must serve those who belong to higher castes.

67. If Āryans and non-Āryans interchange their occupations and conduct (the one taking that of the other, there is) equality (between them).

CHAPTER XI.

1. The king is master of all, with the exception of Brāhmanas.

2. (He shall be) holy in acts and speech,

3. Fully instructed in the threefold (sacred science) and in logic,

4. Pure, of subdued senses, surrounded by com-

65. Manu X, 127. Regarding the Pākayagñas, see above, VIII, 18.

67. 'There is equality between them, i.e. the one need not serve the other. A Śūdra need not serve even a Brāhmana, (much less) any other (twice-born man) who lives the life of a non-Āryan (Śūdra). A Śūdra, even, who conducts himself like an Āryan must not be despised by men of other castes, who follow the occupations of non-Āryans, on account of his inferior birth.'—Haradatta.

XI. 1. Macnaghten, *Mitāksharā* I, 1, 27; Manu IX, 313-322; Weber, *Ind. Stud.* X, 29, 60.

2. Manu VII, 26. 'Holy in acts,' i.e. constantly acting in conformity with the Śāstras; 'holy in speech,' i.e. when administering justice he shall not speak partially.

3. Manu VII, 43; Yāgñavalkya I, 310. Haradatta thinks that the term 'the threefold sacred science includes the fourth Veda also, because it consists chiefly of *Rikas* and Yagus formulas.'

4. Manu VII, 30-31; Yāgñavalkya I, 354; Āpastamba II, 11, 27, 18. 'Of subdued senses, i.e. free from the (seven) vices

panions possessing excellent qualities and by the means (for upholding his rule).

5. He shall be impartial towards his subjects ;

6. And he shall do (what is) good for them.

7. All, excepting Brâhmanas, shall worship him who is seated on a higher seat, (while they themselves sit on a) lower (one).

8. The (Brâhmanas), also, shall honour him.

9. He shall protect the castes and orders in accordance with justice ;

10. And those who leave (the path of) duty, he shall lead back (to it).

11. For it is declared (in the Veda) that he obtains a share of the spiritual merit (gained by his subjects).

12. And he shall select as his domestic priest (purohita) a Brâhmana who is learned (in the Vedas), of noble family, eloquent, handsome, of (a suitable) age, and of a virtuous disposition, who lives righteously and who is austere.

(common among kings), i. e. sensuality, gambling, hunting, drinking, &c.—Haradatta. The means (upâya) are those mentioned by Yâgñavalkya I, 345-346.

5. Manu VII, 80; Yâgñavalkya I, 333.

6. 'And he shall do what is good, i. e. dig tanks, build embankments and bridges &c. for them, i. e. his subjects.'—Haradatta.

7. '(On a) lower (one), i. e. on the ground only.'—Haradatta. This is still the custom in native courts, where, however, Brâhmanas, as a rule, must also sit on the floor.

8. 'Honour him,' i. e. worship him by invoking blessings on him and the like.

9. Manu VII, 35.

10. Yâgñavalkya I, 360.

11. Manu VIII, 304; Yâgñavalkya I, 334.

12. Manu VII, 78; Yâgñavalkya I, 312. Haradatta explains vâksampanna, 'eloquent,' by 'one who knows Sanskrit.' According to the same, 'the (suitable) age' is the prime of life, when men

13. With his assistance he shall fulfil his religious duties.

14. For it is declared (in the Veda): 'Kshatriyas, who are assisted by Brâhmanas, prosper and do not fall into distress.'

15. He shall, also, take heed of that which astrologers and interpreters of omens tell (him).

16. For some (declare), that the acquisition of wealth and security depend also upon that.

17. He shall perform in the fire of the hall the rites ensuring prosperity which are connected with expiations (sânti), festivals, a prosperous march, long life, and auspiciousness; as well as those that are intended to cause enmity, to subdue (enemies), to destroy (them) by incantations, and to cause their misfortune.

18. Officiating priests (shall perform) the other (sacrifices) according to the precepts (of the Veda).

are neither too young nor too old. 'Austere' is interpreted to mean 'not given to sensual enjoyments.'

13. *Manu VII, 78.* 14. *Satapatha-brâhmana IV, 1, 4, 4-6.*

17. *Âpastamba II, 10, 25, 4, 7.* Sântis, 'expiations,' are rites intended to avert an impending misfortune which is announced by an evil omen. 'Festivals' are, according to Haradatta, wedding-days and the like; 'rites connected with auspiciousness' are, according to the same, rites on entering a new dwelling and the like. Haradatta further remarks that, though, according to the text, the king must perform these rites, he is, in reality, only to give the necessary orders, and to furnish the means for their performance, while the Purohita is to officiate as priest. He adds, that another commentator asserts that 'the Purohita,' not 'the king,' must be taken as the subject of the sentence.

18. *Manu VII, 78-79; Yâgñavalkya I, 313.* Haradatta says that by the 'other' sacrifices, both *Gr̥hya* and *Srauta* rites are meant. I think that the latter are chiefly intended, as the *Samskâras* are included under the rites of festive days, mentioned in the preceding *Sûtra*.

19. His administration of justice (shall be regulated by) the Veda, the Institutes of the Sacred Law, the *Āngas*, and the *Purāna*.

20. The laws of countries, castes, and families, which are not opposed to the (sacred) records, (have) also authority.

21. Cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders, and artisans (have authority to lay down rules) for their respective classes.

22. Having learned the (state of) affairs from those who (in each class) have authority (to speak he shall give) the legal decision.

23. Reasoning is a means for arriving at the truth.

24. Coming to a conclusion through that, he shall decide properly.

25. If (the evidence) is conflicting, he shall learn (the truth) from (*Brāhmaṇas*) who are well versed in

19. The *Āngas*, i.e. the six auxiliary branches of learning mentioned above, VIII, 5. My best copy inserts 'the *Upavedas*' after the *Āngas*. But the words *upavedāḥ* and *dharmaśāstrāṇi*, 'the institutes of law,' are probably interpolations. For the latter are already included by the term *Ānga*, as part of the *Kalpa*.

20. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 15, 1; *Manu* VII, 203; VIII, 41, 46; *Yāgyavalkya* I, 342. 'The (sacred) records, i.e. the *Vedas* and the rest.'—*Haradatta*.

22. 'Having learned, i.e. having heard and considered, from them, i.e. from men of those classes, according to their authority, i.e. from those who in each class are authorised to give decisions, the (state of) affairs, i.e. the peculiar customs, the legal decision must be given in accordance with that which they declare to be the rule in their community.'—*Haradatta*.

23. *Manu* VIII, 44; XII, 105–106; *Macnaghten*, *Mitāksharā* II, 8, 8. *Haradatta* remarks, that this *Sūtra* refers to the case where the spokesmen of a guild may be suspected of partiality.

25. *Manu* XII, 108–113. According to *Haradatta* this *Sūtra* refers to particularly difficult cases.

the threefold sacred lore, and give his decision (accordingly).

26. For, (if he acts) thus, blessings will attend him (in this world and the next).

27. It has been declared in the Veda: 'Brâhmanas, united with Kshatriyas, uphold gods, manes, and men.'

28. They declare, that (the word) *danda* (rule or punishment) is derived from (the verb) *damayati* (he restrains); therefore he shall restrain those who do not restrain themselves.

29. (Men of) the (several) castes and orders who always live according to their duty enjoy after death the rewards of their works, and by virtue of a remnant of their (merit) they are born again in excellent countries, castes, and families, (endowed) with beauty, long life, learning in the Vedas, (virtuous) conduct, wealth, happiness, and wisdom.

30. Those who act in a contrary manner perish, being born again in various (evil conditions).

31. The advice of the spiritual teacher and the punishment (inflicted by the king) guard them.

32. Therefore a king and a spiritual teacher must not be reviled.

CHAPTER XII.

1. A Sûdra who intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse, or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends.

26. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 4. 29. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 10.

30. Âpastamba II, 5, 11, 11. 'Perish, i. e. fall from one misfortune into the other.'—Haradatta.

31. Âpastamba II, 5, 10, 12-16. 32. Manu VII, 8.

XII. 1. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 14; Manu VIII, 270, 279-283;

2. If he has criminal intercourse with an Âryan woman, his organ shall be cut off, and all his property be confiscated.

3. If (the woman had) a protector, he shall be executed after (having undergone the punishments prescribed above).

4. Now if he listens intentionally to (a recitation of) the Veda, his ears shall be filled with (molten) tin or lac.

5. If he recites (Vedic texts), his tongue shall be cut out.

6. If he remembers them, his body shall be split in twain.

7. If he assumes a position equal (to that of twice-born men) in sitting, in lying down, in conversation or on the road, he shall undergo (corporal) punishment.

8. A Kshatriya (shall be fined) one hundred (Kârshâpapas) if he abuses a Brâhmana,

9. In case of an assault, twice as much.

Yâgñavalkya II, 215. Haradatta adds that an abusive word or a blow given in jest must not be punished in the manner prescribed above, as the word 'pârushya' presupposes criminal intent.

2. Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 20; Mayûkha XIX, 7, where, however, ârya has been altered to âkârya. Haradatta adds that the two punishments are cumulative in the case of a Brâhmanî only. If the offence is committed with a Kshatriyâ, the offender is liable to the first only; if he sins with a Vaisiyâ, to the second.

3. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 9; Manu VIII, 359; Yâgñavalkya II, 286.

7. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 15; Manu VIII, 281.—The translation follows Haradatta, who is guided by the parallel passages. But for the latter, one would translate 'he shall be fined.'

8. Manu VIII, 267; Yâgñavalkya III, 204-207. Manu VIII, 136 states one Kârshâpapa or copper Pana contains 80 Raktikâs, which would correspond to 97.60 grammes of the metrical system.

10. A Vaisya (who abuses a Brâhmana, shall pay) one and a half (times as much as a Kshatriya).

11. But a Brâhmana (who abuses) a Kshatriya (shall pay) fifty (Kârshâpanas),

12. One half of that (amount if he abuses) a Vaisya,

13. (And if he abuses) a Sûdra, nothing.

14. A Kshatriya and a Vaisya (who abuse one another shall pay the same fines) as a Brâhmana and a Kshatriya.

15. (The value of) property which a Sûdra unrighteously acquires by theft, must be repaid eightfold.

16. For each of the other castes (the fines must be) doubled.

17. If a learned man offends, the punishment shall be very much increased.

18. If fruits, green corn, and vegetables are appropriated in small amounts, (the fine is) five *Krishnalas* (of copper).

10. Manu VIII, 267.

11. Manu VIII, 268.

12. Manu VIII, 268.

13. Manu VIII, 268. Haradatta adds that, as a Brâhmana is declared to pay nothing for abusing a Sûdra, a Kshatriya and a Vaisya are liable to be fined for that offence, and that according to Uśanas a Kshatriya shall pay twenty-four *Panas*, and a Vaisya thirty-six.

14. I.e. a Vaisya shall pay one hundred *Panas* for abusing a Kshatriya, and a Kshatriya fifty for abusing a Vaisya.

15. Manu VIII, 337.

16. Manu VIII, 337-338. I.e. a Vaisya is to pay sixteen times the value of the stolen property, a Kshatriya thirty-two times, and a Brâhmana sixty-four times.

17. Manu VIII, 338.

18. Manu VIII, 330. *Krishnala* is another name for *Raktikâ*,

19. If damage is done by cattle, the responsibility falls on the owner.

20. But if (the cattle) were attended by a herdsman, (it falls) on the latter.

21. (If the damage was done) in an unenclosed field near the road, (the responsibility falls) on the herdsman and on the owner of the field.

22. Five Mâshas (are the fine to be paid) for (damage done by) a cow,

23. Six for a camel or a donkey,

24. Ten for a horse or a buffalo,

25. Two for each goat or sheep.

26. If all is destroyed, (the value of) the whole crop (must be paid and a fine in addition).

27. If (a man) always neglects the prescribed (duties) and does that which is forbidden, his property beyond (the amount required for) raiment and food shall be taken from him (until he amends).

28. He may take, as his own, grass for a cow, and fuel for his fire, as well as the flowers of creepers and trees and their fruit, if they be unenclosed.

29. The legal interest for money lent (is at the rate of) five Mâshas a month for twenty (Kârshâpanas).

used also by Yâgñavalkya I, 362. It equals 0.122 grammes of the metrical system, Prinsep, Useful Tables, p. 97.

20-21. Manu VIII, 240; Yâgñavalkya II, 162.

22-26. Manu VIII, 241; Yâgñavalkya II, 159-161; Colebrooke III, Digest IV, 40. Haradatta, relying on Usanas everywhere, reckons twenty Mâshas to the Kârshâpana.

27. Âpastamba II, 11, 27, 18.

28. Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 3; Colebrooke III, Digest IV, 22.

29. Manu VIII, 140; Yâgñavalkya II, 37; Colebrooke I, Digest 25. Haradatta states that a Kârshâpana contains twenty

30. Some (declare, that this rate should not be paid) longer than a year.

31. If (the loan) remains outstanding for a long time, the principal may be doubled (after which interest ceases).

32. A loan secured by a pledge that is used (by the creditor) bears no interest ;

33. Nor money tendered, nor (a debt due by a debtor) who is forcibly prevented (from paying).

34. (Special forms of interest are) compound interest, periodical interest,

35. Stipulated interest, corporal, interest, daily interest, and the use of a pledge.

Mâshas. Thus the monthly interest for 400 Mâshas being five Mâshas, the rate is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for the month, or 15 per cent per annum.

30. Colebrooke I, Digest 40 ; Manu VIII, 153.

31. Manu VIII, 151 ; Colebrooke I, Digest 59.

32. Manu VIII, 143 ; Colebrooke I, Digest 79.

33. Colebrooke I, Digest 79. 'Likewise the debt of a debtor who, being desirous to pay, is imprisoned by the king or others in a prison or the like, and who is thus unable to pay, does not increase from that day.'—Haradatta.

34. For this and the next Sûtra, see also Colebrooke I, Digest 35-45, in the notes on which latter text the various explanations of these terms, found here, have been fully discussed. 'If a large or a small interest is taken on condition that the loan is to be repaid on a certain date, and that, in case of non-payment, it is to be trebled or quadrupled, that is called periodical interest.'—Haradatta.

35. 'Where the lender and the borrower, having regard to the country, the time, the object, and the condition (of the borrower), agree between themselves (on a certain rate), e. g. of ten per cent per mensem, that is called stipulated interest. Corporal interest is that which is payable by bodily labour. Thus Brihaspati says, "Corporal interest is that connected with work." But Vyâsa explains it thus, "Corporal interest is that which arises from the work (or use) of a (pledged female quadruped) to be

36. The interest on products of animals, on wool, on the produce of a field, and on beasts of burden (shall) not (increase) more than the fivefold (value of the object lent).

37. The property of (a person who is) neither an idiot nor a minor, having been used by strangers before his eyes for ten years, (belongs) to him who uses it,

38. (But) not (if it is used) by Srotriyas, ascetics, or royal officials.

39. Animals, land, and females are not lost (to the owner) by (another's) possession.

milked, or of (a male) to carry burdens." Kâtyâyana explains the daily interest (lit. the interest resembling the growth of the lock on the head), "That which is taken daily is called daily interest." . . . E.g. for a Prastha of grain lent a handful of grain is taken daily.'—Haradatta.

36. Colebrooke I, Digest 62. Haradatta mentions also another explanation of the Sûtra: 'Another (commentator) says, "If products of animals and the rest have been bought, and the price is not paid at once, that may increase fivefold by the addition of interest, but not to a greater sum."'

37. Manu VIII, 147-148; Yâgñavalkya II, 24.

38. Haradatta adds that in the case of a Srotriya and of an ascetic, the owner may allow the use of his property for a long time, desiring to acquire merit by doing so, and that fear may prevent him from opposing the king's servants. Hence prolonged possession by such persons does not necessitate the conclusion that the owner had given up his rights. As ascetics cannot possess any property, the Sûtra must refer to their occupying an empty house which has an owner.

39. Manu VIII, 149; Yâgñavalkya II, 25. The translation given above agrees with an explanation of the Sûtra which Haradatta mentions, but rejects. He himself prefers the following: 'Animals, i. e. quadrupeds; land, i. e. a field, a garden, and the like; females, i. e. female slaves and the like. No long possession of animals and the rest is necessary in order to acquire the rights of ownership over them. Even after a short period they become the

40. The heirs shall pay the debts (of a deceased person).

41. Money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee (due to the parents of the bride), debts contracted for spirituous liquor or in gambling, and a fine shall not involve the sons (of the debtor).

42. An (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, an object lent for use, an object bought (but not paid), and a pledge, being lost without the fault of the holder, (shall not involve) any blameless person.

43. A man who has stolen (gold) shall approach the king, with flying hair, holding a club in his hand, and proclaim his deed.

property of the possessor. For how (would it be possible that) a person, who himself wants buttermilk and the like, should allow a cow which he himself has bought, and which gives daily a *Drona* of milk, to be milked in the house of another person? &c. &c.

40. *Manu VIII, 162; Yâgñavalkya II, 51.*

41. *Mānu VIII, 159-160; Yâgñavalkya II, 47, 54; Colebrooke I, Digest 202.* Taking into account the parallel passages of *Manu* and *Yâgñavalkya*, *Haradatta* very properly restricts this rule to a bail for the personal appearance of an offender. In explanation of the expression 'a commercial debt' he gives the following instance: 'If a person has borrowed money from somebody on the condition that he is to repay the principal together with the gain thereon, and if he dies in a foreign country, while travelling in order to trade, then that money shall not be repaid by the son.' The instance explaining the term 'fee' (*sulka*) is as follows: 'If a person has promised a fee (to the parents of a woman) and dies after the wedding, then that fee does not involve his son, i.e. need not be paid by him.' The word *sulka* is, however, ambiguous, and may also mean 'a tax or toll.'

42. *Manu VIII, 189; Yâgñavalkya II, 59, 66; Colebrooke II, Digest I, 29.* *Haradatta* declares the meaning to be, that in case the bailee was guilty of no negligence and took the same care of the deposits &c. as of his own property, neither he nor his heirs need make good the value of those which were lost or destroyed.

43. *Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 4.*

44. Whether he be slain or be pardoned, he is purified (of his guilt).

45. If the king does not strike, the guilt falls on him.

46. Corporal punishment (must) not (be resorted to in the case) of a Brâhmana.

47. Preventing (a repetition of) the deed, publicly proclaiming his crime, banishment, and branding (are the punishments to which a Brâhmana may be subjected).

48. That (king) who does not do his duty (by inflicting punishment) becomes liable to perform a penance.

49. (A man who) knowingly (becomes) the servant (of a thief shall be treated) like a thief,

50. Likewise he who (knowingly) receives (goods) from (a thief or) an unrighteous man.

51. The award of the punishment (must be regulated) by a consideration (of the status) of the criminal, of his (bodily) strength, of (the nature of) the crime, and whether the offence has been repeated.

52. Or a pardon (may be given) in accordance with the opinion of an assemblage of persons learned in the Vedâs.

45. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 5.

46. Manu VIII, 124; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ III, 4, 9.

47. Manu IX, 239, 241; Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 8, 17-19; Macnaghten loc. cit. Karmaviyoga, 'preventing (a repetition of) the deed,' may also mean 'suspension from (his priestly) functions.'

48. Âpastamba II, 11, 28, 13.

49-50. Manu IX, 278; Yâgñavalkya II, 276.

51. Manu VII, 16; VIII, 126; Yâgñavalkya I, 367.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. In disputed cases the truth shall be established by means of witnesses.

2. The (latter) shall be many, faultless as regards the performance of their duties, worthy to be trusted by the king, and free from affection for, or hatred against either (party).

3. (They may be) *Sûdras* even.

4. But a *Brâhmana* must not be forced (to give evidence) at the word of a non-*Brâhmana*, except if he is mentioned (in the plaint).

5. (Witnesses) shall not speak singly or without being asked,

6. And if, (being asked,) they do not answer, they are guilty of a crime.

7. Heaven is their reward, if they speak the

XIII. 1. *Manu VIII, 45; Yâgñavalkya II, 22.*

2. *Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 7.* 'Many means at least three.'—*Haradatta.*

3. *Manu VIII, 63.* I.e. *Sûdras* endowed with the qualities mentioned above.

4. *Manu VIII, 65.* 'A *Brâhmana* means here a *Srotriya*. If a man other than a *Brâhmana* says: "This *Brâhmana* is a witness of this fact," then the (*Srotriya*) shall not be forced to become, i.e. not be taken as a witness, provided he has not been mentioned, i.e. he has not been entered in the written plaint (as one of the witnesses). But if he has been entered in the plaint, he certainly becomes a witness.'—*Haradatta.*

5. *Manu VIII, 79; Macnaghten, Mitâksharâ VI, 1, 21.* In the *Mitâksharâ* the *Sûtra* is read *nâsamavetâh prishâh prabrûyuh*, 'witnesses need not answer if they are examined singly.' *Mitramisra* in the *Vîramitrodaya* says that *Haradatta's* reading of the text is the same, and that his explanation does not agree with it.

6. *Manu VIII, 107; Yâgñavalkya II, 76-77.*

7. *Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 9-10.*

truth; in the contrary case hell (will be their portion).

8. (Persons) not mentioned (in the plaint), must also give evidence.

9. No objection (can be raised against witnesses) in a case of (criminal) hurt,

10. Nor if they have spoken inadvertently.

11. If the sacred law or the rules (referring to worldly matters) are violated, the guilt (falls) on the witnesses, the assessors, the king, and on the offender.

12. Some (declare, that the witnesses) shall be charged on oath to speak the truth.

13. In the case of others than Brâhmanas that (oath shall be sworn) in the presence of the gods, of the king, and of Brâhmanas.

14. By false evidence concerning small cattle a witness kills ten,

15. (By false evidence) regarding cows, horses, men, or land, in each succeeding case ten times as many (as in the one mentioned before),

9. Manu VIII, 72; Yâgyavalkya II, 72.

10. 'Negligence, i.e. inadvertence. If anything has been spoken at random by a witness in a conversation referring to something else (than the case), no blame must be thrown on him for that reason.'—Haradatta.

11. Manu VIII, 18. The translation follows Haradatta. Perhaps it would, however, be as well to take dharmatantra, 'the sacred law and the rules referring to worldly matters,' as a Tatpurusha, and to translate, 'If there is a miscarriage of justice, the guilt,' &c.

12-13. Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 7.

14-22. Manu VIII, 98-100. 'By speaking an untruth regarding them, the witness kills ten. Ten what? Even ten (of that kind) regarding which he has lied. His guilt is as great as if he actually killed ten of them, and the punishment (is the same). Equal penances must also be prescribed for both cases.'—Haradatta.

16. Or (by false evidence) regarding land the whole (human race).

17. Hell (is the punishment) for a theft of land.

18. (By false evidence) concerning water (he incurs) the same (guilt) as (for an untruth) about land,

19. Likewise (by false evidence) regarding (criminal) intercourse.

20. (By false evidence) regarding honey or clarified butter (he incurs) the same (guilt) as (by an untruth) about small cattle,

21. (By false evidence) about clothes, gold, grain, and the Veda, the same as (by an untruth) about kine,

22. (And by false evidence) regarding a carriage (or a beast of burden) the same as (by an untruth) about horses.

23. A witness must be reprimanded and punished for speaking an untruth.

24. No guilt is incurred by giving false evidence, in case the life (of a man) depends thereon.

25. But (this rule does) not (hold good) if the life of a very wicked (man depends on the evidence of a witness).

26. The king, or the judge, or a Brâhmana learned in the Sâstras (shall examine the witnesses).

27. (The litigant) shall humbly go to seek the judge.

23. *Manu VIII, 119-123; Yâgñavalkya II, 81.* 'Yâpyah' (literally "must be turned out") means "must be reprimanded" in the presence of the whole audience, lest anybody have intercourse with him.—Haradatta.

24-25. *Manu VIII, 104-105; Yâgñavalkya II, 83.*

26. *Manu VIII, 8-9, 79; Yâgñavalkya II, 1, 3, 73.*

27. *Manu VIII, 43.* The meaning of the Sûtra is that the

28. If (the defendant) is unable to answer (the plaintiff) at once, (the judge) may wait for a year.

29. But (in an action) concerning kine, draught-oxen, women, or the procreation (of offspring), the defendant (shall answer) immediately,

30. Likewise in a case that will suffer by delay.

31. To speak the truth before the judge is more important than all (other) duties.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. The *Sapindas* become impure by the death (of a relative) during ten (days and) nights, except those who officiate as priests, who have performed the *Dikshaniyeshṭi* (or initiatory ceremony of a *Srauta* sacrifice), and those who are students.

2. (The impurity) of a *Kshatriya* lasts for eleven (days and) nights,

3. (That) of a *Vaisya* twelve (days and) nights,

4. (Or), according to some, half a month,

5. (And that) of a *Sūdra* a whole month.

6. If during (a period of impurity) another (death) happens, the (relatives) shall be pure after (the lapse of) the remainder of that (first period).

judge shall not promote litigation, and incite people to institute suits. If litigants do not humbly appear before him, he is not to send for them.

28. See also *Nārada* I, 38, 41.

29. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 12. *Haradatta* explains *praganana*, 'the procreation (of offspring),' to mean 'marriage.'

XIV. 1. *Manu* V, 59, 83, 93; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 18, 28; see also *Āpastamba* I, 5, 16, 18. Regarding the meaning of the term *Sapinda*, see below, *Sūtra* 13. This *Sūtra* refers, of course, to *Brahmanas* only.

2-3. *Manu* V, 83; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 22.

5. *Manu* and *Yāgñavalkya* l. l. cit. 6. *Manu* V, 79.

7. (But) if one night (only of the period of impurity) remains (and another death happens, they shall become pure) after (the lapse of) two (days and nights).

8. (If the second death happens) on the morning (after the completion of the period of impurity, they shall be purified) after three (days and nights).

9. (The relatives) of those who are slain for the sake of cows and Brâhmanas (become pure) immediately after the burial,

10. And (those of men destroyed) by the anger of the king,

11. (Further, those of men killed) in battle,

12. Likewise (those) of men who voluntarily (die) by starving themselves to death, by weapons, fire, poison, or water, by hanging themselves, or by jumping (from a precipice).

13. Sapinda-relationship ceases with the fifth or the seventh (ancestor).

14. (The rules regarding impurity caused by the

9. Yâgñavalkya III, 27. The Sûtra may, however, also be translated 'the relatives of those who have been killed by a cow, or by a Brâhmana, &c.,' as the latter case, too, is mentioned by Yâgñavalkya III, 21. The word anvaksham, translated by 'immediately after burial,' is explained by Haradatta as follows: 'The corpse is seen, i.e. is visible, so long; the meaning is that they will be pure after having bathed at the end of the burial.'

10. Yâgñavalkya III, 21.

12. Manu V, 89; Yâgñavalkya III, 21.

13. Âpastamba II, 6, 15, 2. Haradatta states that the Sapinda-relationship extends to four degrees in the case of the son of an appointed daughter (see below, XXVIII, 18), while it includes the relatives within six degrees in the case of a legitimate son of the body. In either case the term refers to Sagotra-sapindas, or Sapindas who bear the same family name only. The case of the Bhinnagotra-sapindas will be discussed below, Sûtra 20.

14-16. Manu V, 62; Yâgñavalkya III, 18-19.

death of a relative apply) to the birth (of a child) also.

15. (In) that (case the impurity falls) on the parents,

16. Or on the mother (alone).

17. (The impurity) for a miscarriage (lasts for a number of days and) nights equal to (the number of) months from conception,

18. Or three days.

19. And if he hears (of the death of a *Sapinda*) after (the lapse of) ten (days and nights, the impurity lasts for) one night together with the preceding and following days,

20. Likewise when a relative who is not a *Sapinda*, a relative by marriage, or a fellow-student (has died).

21. For a man who studies the same recension of the Veda (the impurity lasts) one day,

17. Manu V, 66; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 20. 19. Manu V, 75-77.

20. Manu V, 81. Haradatta explains *asapinda*, 'a kinsman who is not a *Sapinda*,' by *Samânodaka*, i.e. 'a kinsman bearing the same family name, but more than six degrees removed,' and *yonisambandha*, 'a relative by marriage,' by 'the maternal grandfather, a maternal aunt's sons, and their sons, &c., the fathers of wives and the rest.' The latter term, for which 'a person related through a female' would be a more exact rendering than the one given above, includes, therefore, those persons who, according to the terminology of Manu and *Yâgñavalkya*, are called *Bhinnagotra-sapindas*, *Bândhavas*, or *Bandhus* (see Colebrooke, *Mitâksharâ* II, 53; II, 6). Gautama's terminology agrees in this respect with that of *Âpastamba*, see note on II, 5, 11, 16.

21. Haradatta explains *sabrahmakârin* by *suhrit*, 'a friend.' But the term which elsewhere means 'a fellow-student' cannot have that sense in our *Sûtra*, as the fellow-student (*sahâdhyâyin*) has been mentioned already. The translation given above is supported by the manner in which it is used in the ancient land-grants, where expressions like *bahvriksabrahmakârin* are of common occurrence.

22. Likewise for a Srotriya who dwells in the same house.

23. On touching (i.e. on carrying out) a corpse from an interested motive, the impurity lasts for ten days.

24. (The duration of the impurity) of a Vaisya and of a Sûdra (in the same case) has been declared (by Sûtras 3-5).

25. Or (it shall last for these two) as many nights as there are seasons (in the year);

26. And (the same rule may be made applicable) to the two higher (castes).

27. Or (the impurity lasts) three days.

28. And if the teacher, his son or wife, a person for whom (a Brâhmaṇa) sacrifices or a pupil (has been carried out, the duration of the impurity is) the same.

22. Manu V, 81.

23. 'The word upasparśana (literally touching) does not denote here simple touching. For below, Sûtra 30, bathing with the clothes on, will be prescribed for that. What does upasparśana then mean? It means carrying out a corpse. For that an impurity lasting ten days falls on the performer, provided that the carrying out be done for an object, i.e. with the intention of gaining a fee or the like, not for the sake of doing one's duty. The word impurity is here repeated in order to indicate that the impurity, here intended, differs from that described above. Hence the rules given below, Sûtra 37, which prescribe sleeping and sitting on the ground and so forth, do not apply. (The word impurity) indicates (here) merely that (the performer of the act) must not be touched, and has no right (to perform sacred ceremonies).—Haradatta.

25. Haradatta states that Gautama does not simply say 'six days,' because five seasons only are to be reckoned in the case of a Vaisya, and six in the case of a Sûdra.

28. Haradatta asserts that *mṛtīshu*, 'have died,' must be understood. But as both the preceding and the following Sûtras refer to

29. And if a man of lower caste carries out (the corpse of) one of higher caste, or a man of higher caste (carries out the body of) one of lower caste, (the duration of) the impurity in these (cases) is determined by (the caste of) the dead man.

30. On touching an outcast, a *Kandâla*, a woman impure on account of her confinement, a woman in her courses, or a corpse, and on touching persons who have touched them, he shall purify himself by bathing dressed in his clothes.

31. Likewise if he has followed a corpse (that was being carried out),

32. And (if he has come into contact) with a dog.

33. Some (declare), that (the limb) which (a dog) may touch (must be washed).

34. The *Sapindas* shall offer (libations of) water for (a deceased relative) whose *Kaula-karman* (or tonsure) has been performed,

35. As well as for the wives and daughters of such (a person).

36. Some (declare, that it must be done in the case) of married female relatives (also).

the carrying out of corpses, it is impossible to agree with him. It seems to me that Gautama's rule means, that, if a man has carried out the corpse of a teacher, &c., he becomes impure for ten, eleven, or twelve days, or for three days only. See also Manu V, 91, 103; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 15.

30. *Âpastamba* II, 2, 2, 8-9; Manu V, 85; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 30.

31. Manu V, 103; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 26.

32-33. *Âpastamba* I, 5, 15, 16-17.

34. *Âpastamba* II, 6, 15, 9; Manu V, 70. Haradatta observes that most *Grîhya-sûtras* prescribe the performance of the *Kaula-karman* in the third year.

36. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 4.

37. (During the period of impurity) all (the mourners) shall sleep and sit on the ground and remain chaste.

38. They shall not clean (themselves);

39. Nor shall they eat meat until (the funeral oblation) has been offered.

40. On the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth (days after the death) water (mixed with sesamum) must be offered.

41. And the garments (worn during that ceremony) must be changed,

42. But on the last (day they must be given) to men of the lowest castes.

43. The parents (shall offer water for a son who dies) after he has teethed.

44. If infants, (relatives) who live in a distant country, those who have renounced domestic life, and those who are not *Sapindas*, (die), the purification is instantaneous.

45. Kings (remain always pure), lest their business be impeded,

46. And a *Brâhmana*, lest his daily study of the *Veda* be interrupted.

37. *Manu* V, 73; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 16.

39. *Manu* V, 73.

43. *Manu* V, 70.

44. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 23. Haradatta remarks that the rule refers to those *Sapindas* residing in foreign countries only, of whose death one may hear a year after their decease, and to remoter relations of whose death one hears after the lapse of ten days; see *Manu* V, 75-76.

45. *Manu* V, 93-94; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 27. Haradatta adds that the plural 'kings' is used in order to include all rulers and governors, and such persons as the king wishes to be pure.

46. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 28.

CHAPTER XV.

1. Now (follow the rules regarding) funeral oblations (Śrāddha).

2. He shall offer (them) to the Manes on the day of the new moon,

3. Or in the dark half (of the month) after the fourth (lunar day),

4. Or on any day (of the dark half) according to (the results he may) desire ;

5. Or if (particularly appropriate) materials or (particularly holy) Brāhmaṇas are at hand, or (the sacrificer is) near a (particularly sacred) place, no restriction as to time (need be observed) :

6. Let him select as good food as he can afford, and have it prepared as well as possible.

7. He shall feed an uneven number (of Brāhmaṇas), at least nine,

8. Or as many as he is able (to entertain).

9. (Let him feed such as are) Srotriyas and

XV. 1. 'The word "now" indicates that a new topic begins.'—Haradatta. The rules now following refer in the first instance to the Pârvana or monthly Śrāddha, but most of them serve also as general rules for all the numerous varieties of funeral sacrifices.

2. Manu III, 122 ; Yâgñavalkya I, 217.

3. Âpastamba II, 7, 16, 6. 4. Âpastamba II, 7, 16, 6. 22.

5. Some of the most famous among the places where the performance of a Śrāddha is particularly efficacious and meritorious are Gayâ in Bihâr, Pushkara or Pokhar near Agmîr, the Kurukshetra near Dehli, Nâsika on the Godâvarî. Pilgrims or persons passing through such places may and must perform a Śrāddha on any day of the month.

7. Yâgñavalkya I, 227.

8. See also below, Sûtra 21.

9. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 4. Haradatta explains vâk, 'eloquence,' by 'ability to speak Sanskrit,' rūpa, 'beauty,' by 'the proper number of limbs,' and vayaḥsampanna, 'of (suitable) age,' by 'not too young.'

endowed with eloquence and beauty, of a (suitable) age, and of a virtuous disposition.

10. It is preferable to give (food at a Srâddha) to young (men in the prime of life).

11. Some (declare, that the age of the guests shall be) proportionate to (that of) the Manes.

12. And he shall not try to contract a friendship by an (invitation to a Srâddha).

13. On failure of sons (the deceased person's) Sapindas, the Sapindas of his mother, or his pupils shall offer (the funeral oblations),

14. On failure of these an officiating priest or the teacher.

15. The Manes are satisfied for a month by gifts of sesamum, Mâsha-beans, rice, barley, and water,

For (three) years by fish and the flesh of common deer, spotted deer, hares, turtles, boars, and sheep,

For twelve years by cow's milk and messes made of milk,

For a very long time by the flesh of (the crane called) Vârdhrîzasa, by *Ocymum sanctum* (sacred Basil), and by the flesh of goats, (especially) of a red (he-goat), and of a rhinoceros, (if these dishes are) mixed with honey.

16. Let him not feed a thief, a eunuch, an out-cast, an atheist, a person who lives like an atheist,

11. I.e. in honour of the father a young man is to be invited, in honour of the grandfather an old man, and in honour of the great-grandfather a very old man.

12. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 4, 8; Manu III, 140.

15. Âpastamba II, 7, 16, 23—II, 7, 17, 3; II, 8, 18, 13.

16. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 21. 'A destroyer of the sacred fire (vîrahan), i.e. one who extinguishes intentionally the (domestic) fire

the destroyer of the sacred fire, (the husband of) a younger sister married before the elder, the husband of an elder sister whose youngest sister was married first, a person who sacrifices for women or for a multitude of men, a man who tends goats, who has given up the fire-worship, who drinks spirituous liquor, whose conduct is blamable, who is a false witness, who lives as a door-keeper ;

17. Who lives with another man's wife, and the (husband) who allows that (must not be invited) ;

18. (Nor shall he feed) a man who eats the food of a person born from adulterous intercourse, a seller of Soma, an incendiary, a poisoner, a man who during studentship has broken the vow of chastity, who is the servant of a guild, who has intercourse with females who must not be touched, who delights in doing hurt, a younger brother married before the elder brother, an elder brother married after his younger brother, an elder brother whose

out of hatred against his wife, and for the like reasons.'—Haradatta. He also remarks that some read *agredidhishu* instead of *agredidhishû*, and he proposes to explain the former, on the authority of *Vyâghra* and of the *Naighantukas*, as 'a *Brâhmana* whose wife has been wedded before to another man.'

17. My MSS. make two *Sûtras* out of Professor Stenzler's one, and read *upatîh t.yasya ka sah*. The sense remains the same, but the latter version of the text is, I think, the correct one.

18. Haradatta says that *kundâsin* may also mean 'he who eats out of a vessel called *kunda*,' as the people have in some countries the habit of preparing their food and afterwards eating out of the *kunda*. Haradatta explains *tyaktâtman*, 'one who despairs of himself,' by 'one who has made an attempt on his own life, and has tried to hang himself, and the like.' He remarks that some explain *durvâla*, 'a bald man,' by *nirveshîtasepha*. He who neglects the recitation of the sacred texts, i.e. of those texts which, like the *Gâyatrî*, ought to be recited.

junior has kindled the sacred fire first, a younger brother who has done that, a person who despairs of himself, a bald man, a man who has deformed nails, or black teeth, who suffers from white leprosy, the son of a twice-married woman, a gambler, a man who neglects the recitation (of the sacred texts), a servant of the king, any one who uses false weights and measures, whose only wife is a Sûdra female, who neglects the daily study, who suffers from spotted leprosy, a usurer, a person who lives by trade or handicrafts, by the use of the bow, by playing musical instruments, or, by beating time, by dancing, and by singing ;

19. Nor, (sons) who have enforced a division of the family estate against the wish of their father.

20. Some (allow) pupils and kinsmen (to be invited).

21. Let him feed upwards of three (or) one (guest) endowed with (particularly) excellent qualities.

22. If he enters the bed of a Sûdra female immediately after partaking of a funeral repast, his ancestors will lie for a month in her ordure.

23. Therefore he shall remain chaste on that day.

19. Below, XXVIII, 2, it will be prescribed that the division of the family estate may take place during the lifetime of the father with his consent. From this Sûtra it would appear that sons could enforce a division of the ancestral estate against his will, as Yâgyavalkya also allows (see Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ I, 6, 5-11), and that this practice, though legal, was held to be contra bonos mores.

20. Âpastamba II, 7, 17, 5-6.

21. According to Haradatta, this Sûtra is intended as a modification of Sûtra 8.

22. Manu III, 250.

23. Manu III, 188.

24. If (a funeral offering) is looked at by dogs, *Kandâlas*, or outcasts, it is blemished.

25. Therefore he shall offer it in an enclosed (place),

26. Or he shall scatter grains of sesamum over it,

27. Or a man who sanctifies the company shall remove the blemish.

28. Persons who sanctify the company are, any one who knows the six *Ângas*, who sings the *Gyeshtha-sâmans*, who knows the three texts regarding the *Nâkiketa*-fire, who knows the text which contains thrice the word *Madhu*, who knows the text which thrice contains the word *Suparna*, who keeps five fires, a *Snâtaka*, any one who knows the *Mantras* and *Brâhmanas*, who knows the sacred law, and in whose family the study and teaching of the *Veda* are hereditary.

29. (The same rule applies) to sacrifices offered to gods and men.

30. Some (forbid the invitation of) bald men and the rest to a funeral repast only.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. The annual (term for studying the *Veda*) begins on the full moon of the month *Srâvâna* (July-August); or let him perform the *Upâkarman* on

24. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 17, 20. 28. *Âpastamba* II, 7, 17, 22.
29-30. *Manu* III, 132-137, 148-149.

XVI. 1. *Âpastamba* I, 3, 9, 1. The *Upâkarman* is the ceremony which is annually performed at the beginning of the course of study, and it is obligatory on householders also; see *Âpastamba* II, 2, 5, 1. *Khandâmsi*, 'the Vedic texts,' i.e. the *Mantras* and *Brâhmanas*. The *Ângas* may be studied out of term; see *Âpastamba* I, 3, 9, 3 note.

(the full moon of) Bhâdrapada (August–September) and study the Vedic texts,

2. During four months and a half, or during five months, or as long as the sun moves towards the south.

3. Let him remain chaste, let him not shave, nor eat flesh (during that period);

4. Or (this) restrictive rule may (be observed) during two months.

5. He shall not recite the Veda, if the wind whirls up the dust in the day-time,

6. Nor if it is audible at night,

7. Nor if the sound of a Vâna, of a large or a small drum, the noise of a chariot, and the wail of a person in pain (are heard),

8. Nor if the barking of many dogs and jackals, or the braying of many donkeys (is heard),

9. Nor if (the sky appears flaming) red, a rainbow (is seen), or hoar-frost (lies on the ground),

10. Nor if clouds rise out of season.

11. (Let him not study) when he feels the necessity to void urine or excrements,

12. Nor at midnight, in the twilight, and (while standing) in the water,

13. Nor while rain falls.

2. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 2-3.

3. This Sûtra and the following one refer to a teacher or to a householder who again goes through the Veda; see Âpastamba II, 2, 5, 15, 16.

5-6. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 8.

7-8. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 19. A Vâna is stated to be a kind of lute, or harp, with a hundred strings.

9. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 25, 31.

10. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 31.

11. Manu IV, 109.

12. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 15, 17; Manu IV, 109.

13. Manu IV, 103.

14. Some-(declare, that the recitation of the Veda must be interrupted only) when (the rain) is dripping from the edge of the roof.

15. (Nor shall he study) when the teachers (of the gods and Âsuras, i.e. the planets Jupiter and Venus) are surrounded by a halo,

16. Nor (when this happens) to the two (great) lights (the sun and the moon),

17. (Nor) while he is in fear, riding in a carriage or on beasts of burden, or lying down, nor while his feet are raised,

18. (Nor) in a burial-ground, at the extremity of a village, on a high-road, nor during impurity,

19. Nor while a foul smell (is perceptible), while a corpse or a *Kandâla* (is) in (the village), nor in the neighbourhood of a *Sûdra*,

20. Nor while (he suffers from) sour eructations.

21. The *Rig-veda* and the *Yagur-veda* (shall not be studied) while the sound of the *Sâmans* (is heard).

22. The fall of a thunderbolt, an earthquake, an eclipse, and (the fall of) meteors (are reasons for discontinuing the reading of the Veda) until the same time (next day),

23. Likewise when it thunders and rains and

15. 'Another (commentator says): "Pariveshana, being surrounded by a halo, means bringing food." . . . (The *Sûtra* means, therefore), He shall not study while his teacher eats.'—Haradatta.

16. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 31.

17. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 27; I, 3, 11, 12; Manu IV, 112; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 150.

18. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 4, 6; I, 3, 10, 2, 4; I, 3, 11, 9.

19. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 24; I, 3, 9, 6, 14-15.

20. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 25. 21. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 19.

22. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 30.

23. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 29; Manu IV, 29.

when lightning (flashes out of season) after the fires have become visible (in the twilight).

24. (If these phenomena appear) during the (rainy) season, (the reading must be interrupted) for a day (or a night),

25. And if lightning (is observed) during the night, (the recitation of the Veda shall be interrupted) until the third watch.

26. If (lightning) flashes during the third part of the day or later, (the Veda must not be read) during the entire (following night).

27. (According to the opinion) of some, a fiery meteor (has the same effect) as lightning,

28. Likewise thunder (which is heard) during the last part of the day,

29. (Or) also in the twilight.

24. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 22. The above translation follows the reading of my MSS., which differ very much from Professor Stenzler's edition. According to them the commentary on the latter part of Sûtra 23 and on Sûtra 24 runs as follows: . . . *pratyekam âkâlikâ anadhyâyahetavaḥ | apartâv idam | rîtvâv âha ||*

आह रित्वाव ॥ २४ ॥

Varshartâv ete yadi bhaveyuḥ sandhyâyâm tadaharmâtram anâdhyâyâḥ | prâtasket | sâyam tu râtrâv anadhyâya ityarthasiddhatvâd anuktam || . . . 'are each reasons for discontinuing the recitation until the same time next day. This (rule) refers to other times than the rainy season. He now declares (the rule) for the rainy season :

24. "During the (rainy) season for a day."

'If these (phenomena) happen in the twilight during the rainy season, the interruption of the study lasts for that day only, provided (they happen) in the morning. But if they happen in the evening, study is forbidden during the night. As this is clear from the context, it has not been declared specially.'—Haradatta. I suspect that Professor Stenzler's reading *apartau* is a correction, made by an ingenious Pandit, of an old *varia lectio* 'ahartau' for *aha rîtau*, which is found in one of my MSS. (C) also.

25. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 21.

30. (If thunder is heard) before midnight, (the study of the Veda must be interrupted) during the whole night.

31. (If it is heard) during the (early part of the) day, (the interruption must continue) as long as the sun shines,

32. Likewise if the king of the country has died.

33. If one (pupil) has gone on a journey (and) another (stays) with (the teacher, the study of the Veda shall be interrupted until the absentee returns).

34. When an attack (is made on the village), or a fire (breaks out), when one Veda has been completed, after (an attack of) vomiting, when he has partaken of a funeral repast or of a dinner on the occasion of a sacrifice offered to men, (the study of the Veda shall be interrupted) for a day and a night,

35. Likewise on the day of the new moon.

36. (On the latter occasion it may also be interrupted) for two days.

37. (The Veda shall not be studied for a day and a night) on the full moon days of the months Kârttika, Phâlguna, and Âshâdha.

30. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 23.

33. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 11. Haradatta adds that others enjoin a stoppage of the Veda-study from the hour of the departure until the same hour on the following day, while another commentator gives the following explanation: 'All, indeed, the teacher and the rest, shall, on that day, not even recite the Veda in order to remember it.'

34. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 25; I, 3, 10, 22, 28-30; I, 3, 11, 6, 30; Manu IV, 118. Haradatta is in doubt whether 'a sacrifice offered in honour of men' means a Samskâra, or a sacrifice to gods, like Kumâra, who formerly were men; see Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 3.

36. Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 28.

37. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 1.

38. On the three Ashvakâs (the Veda shall not be studied) for three (days and) nights.

39. Some (declare, that the rule applies) to the last Ashvakâ (only).

40. (On the occasion of) the annual (Upâkarman and Utsarga the reading shall be interrupted) on the day (of the ceremony) and those preceding and following it.

41. All (teachers declare, that the reading shall be interrupted for three days) when rain, thunder, and lightning (are observed) simultaneously,

42. When the rain is very heavy, (the reading shall be interrupted as long as it lasts).

43. On a festive day (the reading shall be stopped) after the (morning) meal,

44. And he who has begun to study (after the Upâkarman shall not read) at night for four Muhûrtas.

45. Some (declare, that the recitation of the Veda is) always (forbidden) in a town.

46. While he is impure (he shall) not even (recite the Veda) mentally.

38. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 2. Regarding the meaning of the word Ashvakâ, see above, VIII, 18 note.

40. Âpastamba I, 3, 10, 2.

41. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 27.

42. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 28.

43. Haradatta explains 'a festive day' to mean the day of the initiation and the like, but see Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 20.

44. Haradatta explains this Sûtra as equivalent to Âpastamba I, 3, 9, 1. He adds that another commentator reads prâdhîtasya ka as a separate Sûtra, interpreting it to mean, 'And a person who has performed the Upâkarman (shall not study after dinner),' and refers the words 'at night for four Muhûrtas' to the prohibition to read on the evening of the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month.

45. Manu IV, 116.

46. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 25.

47. (The study) of those who offer a funeral sacrifice (must be interrupted) until the same time next day,

48. Even if uncooked grain is offered at the funeral sacrifice.

49. And (those rules regarding the stoppage of the reading must be observed), which they teach in the several schools.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. A Brâhmana may eat the food given by twice-born men, who are praised for (the faithful performance of their) duties,

2. And he may accept (other gifts from them).

3. Fire-wood, water, grass, roots, fruits, honey, (a promise of) safety, food brought unsolicited, a couch, a seat, shelter, a carriage, milk, sour milk, (roasted) grain, small fish, millet, a garland, venison, and vegetables, (spontaneously offered by a man) of any (caste) must not be refused,

4. Nor anything else that may be required for providing for (the worship of the) Manes and gods, for Gurus and dependents.

5. If the means for sustaining life cannot (be procured) otherwise, (they may be accepted) from a Sûdra.

6. A herdsman, a husbandman, an acquaintance

47. Âpastamba ibidem. 49. Âpastamba I, 3, 11, 38.

XVII. 1. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 13.

3. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 1; I, 6, 19, 13; Manu IV, 247-250.

4. Manu IV, 251. Gurus, i.e. parents and other venerable persons.

5. Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 14.

6. Manu IV, 253; Yâgñavalkya I, 166.

of the family, a barber, and a servant are persons whose food may be eaten,

7. And a trader, who is not (at the same time) an artisan.

8. (A householder) shall not eat every day (the food of strangers).

9. Food into which a hair or an insect has fallen (must not be eaten),

10. (Nor) what has been touched by a woman during her courses, by a black bird, or with the foot,

11. (Nor) what has been looked at by the murderer of a learned Brâhmaṇa,

12. (Nor) what has been smelt at by a cow,

13. (Nor) what is naturally bad,

14. Nor (food) that (has turned) sour by itself, excepting sour milk,

15. (Nor) what has been cooked twice,

16. (Nor) what (has become) stale (by being

7. E.g. a man who sells pots, but does not make them.

8. Manu III, 104; Yâgñavalkya I, 112.

9. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 23, 26.

10. Âpastamba I, 5, 16, 27, 30. Haradatta explains 'a black bird' by 'a crow,' and no doubt the crow, as the *Kândâla* among birds, is intended in the first instance.

11. Manu IV, 208; Yâgñavalkya I, 167.

12. Manu IV, 209; Yâgñavalkya I, 168.

13. 'What has been given in a contemptuous manner by the host, or what is not pleasing to the eater, that is called *bhâvadhusha*, "naturally bad."—Haradatta. The second seems to be the right explanation, as food falling under the first is mentioned below, Sûtra 21.

14. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 18, 20.

15. Haradatta states that this rule does not refer to dishes the preparation of which requires a double cooking, but to those which ordinarily are cooked once only.

16. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 17. Haradatta says that food prepared

kept), except vegetables, food that requires mastication, fatty and oily substances, meat and honey.

17. (Food given) by a person who has been cast off (by his parents), by a woman of bad character, an Abhisasta, a hermaphrodite, a police-officer, a carpenter, a miser, a jailer, a surgeon, one who hunts without using the bow, a man who eats the leavings (of others), by a multitude (of men), and by an enemy (must not be eaten),

18. Nor what is given by such men who defile the company at a funeral dinner, as have been enumerated before bald men ;

19. (A dinner) which is prepared for no (holy) purpose or where (the guests) sip water or rise against the rule,

20. Or where (one's) equals are honoured in a different manner, and persons who are not (one's)

for the morning meal and kept until supper is also called paryushita, 'stale.'

17. For this and the following Sûtras, see Âpastamba I, 6, 18, 16—1, 6, 19, 1; Manu IV, 205—217; Yâgñavalkya I, 161—165. An Abhisasta is a person who is wrongly or falsely accused of a heinous crime, see Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 6—9. Haradatta adduces the explanation 'hermaphrodite' for *anapadesya* as the opinion of others. He himself thinks that it means 'a person not worthy to be described or named.' 'One who hunts without using the bow' is a poacher who snares animals. Snaring animals is a favourite occupation of the non-Aryan tribes, such as Vâghris, Bhils, and Kolis.

18. See above, XV, 15—18, where 'bald men' occupy the fourteenth place in Sûtra 18.

19. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 3; Manu IV, 212. That is called 'food (prepared) for no (sacred) purpose' which a man cooks only for himself, not for guests and the rest, see Âpastamba II, 4, 8, 4; Manu V, 7.

20. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 2.

equals are honoured in the same manner (as oneself, must not be eaten),

21. Nor (food that is given) in a disrespectful manner.

22. And the milk which a cow gives during the first ten days after calving (must not be drunk),

23. Nor (that) of goats and buffalo-cows (under the same conditions).

24. (The milk) of sheep, camels, and of one-hoofed animals must not be drunk under any circumstances,

25. Nor (that) of animals from whose udders the milk flows spontaneously, of those that bring forth twins, and of those giving milk while big with young,

26. Nor the milk of a cow whose calf is dead or separated from her.

27. And five-toed animals (must) not (be eaten) excepting the hedgehog, the hare, the porcupine, the iguana, the rhinoceros, and the tortoise,

28. Nor animals which have a double row of teeth, those which are covered with an excessive quantity of hair, those which have no hair, one-hoofed animals, sparrows, the (heron called) Plava, Brahmanî ducks, and swans,

21. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 4.

22-23. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 24.

24. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 23.

25. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 23.

26. Manu V, 8; Yâgñavalkya I, 170.

27. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 37.

28. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29, 33, 35. Haradatta gives as an example of 'animals covered with an excessive quantity of hair' the Yak or Bos grunniens, and of 'those that have no hair' snakes and the like.

29. (Nor) crows, herons, vultures, and falcons, (birds) born in the water, (birds) with red feet and beaks, tame cocks and pigs,
30. (Nor) milch-cows and draught-oxen,
31. Nor the flesh of animals whose milk-teeth have not fallen out, which are diseased, nor the meat of those (which have been killed) for no (sacred) purpose,
32. Nor young sprouts, mushrooms, garlic, and substances exuding (from trees),
33. Nor red (juices) which issue from incisions.
34. Woodpeckers, egrets, ibis, parrots, cormorants, peewits, and flying foxes, (as well as birds) flying at night, (ought not to be eaten).
35. Birds that feed striking with their beaks, or scratching with their feet, and are not web-footed may be eaten,
36. And fishes that are not misshapen,

29. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29, 32, 34, 35; Yâgñavalkya I, 173.

30. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 29-30.

31. Aitareya-brâhmana VII, 14. For the explanation of *vrithâ-mâmsa*, 'the flesh (of animals killed) for no (sacred) purpose,' Haradatta refers back to Sûtra 19, but see also the Petersburg Dict. s. v. *vrithâ*.

32. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 26, 28; Manu V, 5, 6, 19.

34. Manu V, 12; Yâgñavalkya I, 173. Haradatta explains *mândhâla* by *vâgvada*, which seems to be the same as the bird *vâgguda* (Manu XII, 64). *Mândhâla* is not found in our dictionaries, but it apparently is a vicarious form for *mânthâla*, which occurs in the *Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ*, and is said to be the name of a kind of mouse or rat. It seems to me that the large herbivorous bat, usually called the flying fox (in Gujarâtî *vâgud* or *vâgul*) is really meant, which, by an inaccurate observer, might be described both as a bird and as a kind of rat. See also *Vasishtha* XIV, 48.

35. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 32-33.

36. Âpastamba I, 5, 17, 38-39.

37. And (animals) that must be slain for (the fulfilment of) the sacred law.

38. Let him eat (the flesh of animals) killed by beasts of prey, after having washed it, if no blemish is visible, and if it is declared to be fit for use by the word (of a Brâhmaṇa).

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. A wife is not independent with respect to (the fulfilment of) the sacred law.

2. Let her not violate her duty towards her husband.

3. Let her restrain her tongue, eyes, and (organs of) action.

4. A woman whose husband is dead and who desires offspring (may bear a son) to her brother-in-law.

37. I.e. animals offered at Srâddhas and Srauta-sacrifices, though under other circumstances forbidden, may be eaten both by the priests and other Brâhmaṇas.

38. Haradatta takes vyâla, 'beasts of prey,' to mean sporting dogs, which no doubt are also intended.

XVIII. 1. Manu V, 155. This Sûtra refers in the first instance to the inability of wives to offer on their own account Srauta or Gr̥hya-sacrifices, or to perform vows and religious ceremonies prescribed in the Purâṇas, without the permission of their husbands. As the word strî means both wife and woman, its ulterior meaning is, that women in general are never independent; see Manu V, 148; IX, 3; Yâgñavalkya I, 85.

2. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 6; Manu IX, 102.

3. Manu V, 166; Yâgñavalkya I, 87.

4. Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 2-3; Manu IX, 59-60; Yâgñavalkya I, 68. Apati, 'she whose husband is dead,' means literally, 'she who has no husband.' But as the case of a woman whose husband has gone abroad, is discussed below, it follows that the former translation alone is admissible. It must, of course, be understood that the widow has no children.

5. Let her obtain the permission of her Gurus, and let her have intercourse during the proper season only.

6. (On failure of a brother-in-law she may obtain offspring) by (cohabiting with) a *Sapinda*, a *Sagotra*, a *Samānapravara*, or one who belongs to the same caste.

7. Some (declare, that she shall cohabit) with nobody but a brother-in-law.

8. (She shall) not (bear) more than two (sons).

9. The child belongs to him who begat it,

10. Except if an agreement (to the contrary has been made).

11. (And the child begotten at) a living husband's (request) on his wife (belongs to the husband).

12. (But if it was begotten) by a stranger (it belongs) to the latter,

13. Or to both (the natural father and the husband of the mother).

14. But being reared by the husband, (it belongs to him.)

5. The Gurus are here the husband's relatives, under whose protection the widow lives.

6. Regarding the term *Sapinda*, see above, XIV, 13; a *Sagotra* is a relative bearing the same family name (*laukika gotra*) removed seven to thirteen degrees, or still further. A *Samānapravara* is one who is descended from the same *Rishi* (*vaidika gotra*).

8. Colebrooke V, Digest 265. Haradatta explains *atidvītya*, 'not more than two (sons),' to mean 'not more than one son' (*prathamam apatyam atītya dvītyam na ganayed iti*). But see Manu IX, 61.

9. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 13, 6-7.

10. Manu IX, 52.

11. Manu IX, 145. Such a son is called *Kshetrāga*, see below, XXVIII, 32.

12. Manu IX, 144.

13. *Yāgyavalkya* II, 127. Such a son is called *dvīpitri* or *dvyāmushyāyāna*.

15. (A wife must) wait for six years, if her husband has disappeared. If he is heard of, she shall go to him.

16. But if (the husband) has renounced domestic life, (his wife must refrain) from intercourse (with other men).

17. (The wife) of a Bráhmāna (who has gone to a foreign country) for the purpose of studying (must wait) twelve years.

18. And in like manner if an elder brother (has gone to a foreign country) his younger brother (must wait twelve years) before he takes a wife or kindles the domestic fire.

19. Some (declare, that he shall wait) six years.

20. A (marriageable) maiden (who is not given in marriage) shall allow three monthly periods to pass, and afterwards unite herself, of her own will, to a blameless man, giving up the ornaments received from her father (or her family).

21. A girl should be given in marriage before (she attains the age of) puberty.

22. He who neglects it, commits sin.

15. Manu IX, 76. 'When the husband has disappeared, i.e. has gone to a foreign country, his wife, though childless, shall wait for six years. After (the lapse of) that (period) she may, if she desires it, produce a child (by cohabiting with a *Sapinda*), after having been authorised thereto by her Gurus. If the husband is heard of, i.e. that he dwells in such and such a country, she shall go to him.'—Haradatta. *Kshapana*, 'waiting,' is ambiguous, and may also mean being continent or emaciating herself.

17. I.e. before she goes to live with a *Sapinda*, or tries to follow her husband, in case his residence is known.

20. Manu IX, 90-92; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 64.

21. Manu IX, 88.

22. Manu IX, 4; *Yâgñavalkya* I, 64. 'He who,' i.e. the father or guardian.

23. Some (declare, that a girl shall be given in marriage) before she wears clothes.

24. In order to defray the expenses of a wedding, and when engaged in a rite (enjoined by) the sacred law, he may take money (by fraud or force) from a Sûdra.

25. Or from a man rich in small cattle, who neglects his religious duties, though he does not belong to the Sûdra caste,

26. Or from the owner of a hundred cows, who does not kindle the sacred fire,

27. Or from the owner of a thousand cows, who does not drink Soma.

28. And when he has not eaten (at the time of six meals he may take) at the time of the seventh meal (as much as will sustain life), not (such a quantity as will serve) to make a hoard,

29. Even from men who do not neglect their duties.

30. If he is examined by the king (regarding his deed), he shall confess (it and his condition).

31. For if he possesses sacred learning and a good character, he must be maintained by the (king).

24. Manu XI, 11, 13. Haradatta explains dharmatantra, 'a rite prescribed by the sacred law,' here, as well as Sûtra 32, by 'the means,' i.e. a sacrificial animal and the like required by one who is engaged in performing a sacred duty, i.e. a Parubandha-sacrifice and the like.

25. Manu XI, 12.

26-27. Manu XI, 14.

28. Manu XI, 16; Yâgñavalkya III, 43.

30. Manu XI, 17; Yâgñavalkya III, 43-44.

31. Manu XI, 21-22. Haradatta adds that a Brâhmana who acts thus, must, of course, not be punished.

32. If the sacred law is violated and the (king) does not do (his duty), he commits sin.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. The law of castes and of orders has been declared.

2. Now, indeed, man (in) this (world) is polluted by a vile action, such as sacrificing for men unworthy to offer a sacrifice, eating forbidden food, speaking what ought not to be spoken, neglecting what is prescribed, practising what is forbidden.

3. They are in doubt if he shall perform a penance for such (a deed) or if he shall not do it.

4. (Some) declare, that he shall not do it,

32. Haradatta refers this Sûtra to the case where a sacrificial animal or other requisites for a sacrifice are stolen from a Brâhmana. It seems, however, more probable that it refers to the duty of the king to prevent, by all means in his power, a violation of the sacred duty to perform *Srauta*-sacrifices, and that it is intended to prescribe that he is to assist a man who is engaged in them and too poor to finish them.

XIX. 1. Haradatta thinks that the object of this Sûtra is to assert that in the following chapter the laws given above for castes and orders must be kept in mind. Thus penances like offering a Punastoma are not intended for Sûdras, who have no business with Vedic rites, but other penances are. He also states that another commentator believes that the Sûtra is meant to indicate that the following rules refer not merely to those men who belong to castes and orders, but to the Pratilomas also, who have been declared to stand outside the pale of the sacred law. Haradatta's opinion appears to be preferable.

2. 'Ayam purushaḥ, "man (in) this (world)," indicates the universal soul which is dwelling in the body. Yâpya, "vile," i. e. despicable (kutsita).'—Haradatta.

3. 'They, i. e. the theologians (brahmavâdinaḥ).'—Haradatta.

5. Because the deed does not perish.
6. The most excellent (opinion is), that he shall perform (a penance).
7. For it is declared in the Veda, that he who has offered a Punastoma (may) again come to (partake of) the libations of Soma,
8. Likewise he who has offered a Vrâtyastoma.
9. (The Veda says) further: 'He who offers a horse-sacrifice, conquers all sin, he destroys the guilt of the murder of a Brâhmaṇa;
10. Moreover: 'He shall make an Abhisasta perform an Agnishṭut sacrifice.'
11. Reciting the Veda, austerity, a sacrifice, fasting, giving gifts are the means for expiating such a (blamable act).
12. The purificatory (texts are), the Upanishads, the Vedântas, the Samhitâ-text of all the Vedas, the (Anuvâkas called) Madhu, the (hymn of)

5. I.e. the guilt (adharma) contracted by the deed is not effaced before it has produced its result in the shape of punishment in hell and in other births, see also Manu XI, 45.

6. 'Apara, "most excellent," means that which nothing surpasses, i.e. the settled doctrine.'—Haradatta.

7. The Punastoma is one of the Srauta-sacrifices belonging to the class called Ekâha. Regarding its efficacy, see also Lâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra IX, 4, 5.

8. The Vrâtyastoma is another Ekâha-sacrifice. Regarding its efficacy, see Yâgyavalkya I, 38; Lâtyâyana Srauta-sûtra VIII, 6, 29.

9. Satapatha-brâhmaṇa XIII, 3, 1, 1.

10. The Agnishṭut is an Ekâha-sacrifice. Regarding its efficacy, see Manu XI, 75.

11. Manu XI, 46, 228; Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 12—I, 9, 27, 11.

12. 'Those parts of the Âranyakas which are not (Upanishads) are called Vedântas. In all the Vedas (*khandas*), i.e. in all Sâkhâs (pravaṅana), the Samhitâ-text, not the Pada-text, nor the Krama-text. Another commentator says, "One Samhitâ is to be made

Aghamarshana, the Atharvasiras, the (Anuvâkas called the) Rudras, the Purusha-hymn, the two Sâmans (called) Râgana and Rauhineya, the Brihat (Sâman) and the Rathantara, the Purushagati (Sâman), the Mahânâmnîs, the Mahâvairâga (Sâman), the Mahâdivâkirtya (Sâman), any of the Gyeshtha Sâmans, the Bahishpavamâna (Sâman), the Kûsh-mândas, the Pâvamânîs, and the Sâvitri.

13. To live on milk alone, to eat vegetables only, to eat fruits only, (to live on) barley-gruel prepared of a handful of grain, to eat gold, to eat clarified butter, and to drink Soma (are modes of living) which purify.

14. All mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of Rîshis, cow-pens, and temples of the gods (are) places (which destroy sin).

with all the metres, i. e. the Gâyatrî and the rest, and to be recited according to the manner of the Prâtaranuvâka."—Haradatta. According to the same authority, the Madhus are found Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 38, the hymn of Aghamarshana Rig-veda X, 190, the Rudras Taittirîya-samhitâ IV, 5, 1-11, and in the corresponding eleven chapters of all other Yagus-sâkhâs, the Purushasûkta Rig-veda X, 90, the Kûshmândas Taittirîya Âranyaka X, 3-5, the Pâvamânîs Rig-veda IX, while by Atharvasiras the Upanishad, known by that name, is meant. As regards the Sâmans mentioned in the Sûtra it suffices to refer to Professor Benfey's Index, Ind. Stud. III, 199, and to Dr. Burnell's Index of the Ârsheya-brâhmana.

13. According to Haradatta the word iti, which appears in the text at the end of the enumeration, is intended to include other similar kinds of food, as 'the five products of the cow.' Eating gold means eating small particles of gold which have been thrown into clarified butter and the like.

14. The word iti used in the text is, according to Haradatta, again to be taken in the sense of 'and so forth.' The translation of parishkanda, 'a temple,' not parishkandha, as Professor Stenzler

15. Contenance, speaking the truth, bathing morning, noon, and evening, standing in wet clothes, sleeping on the ground, and fasting (are the various kinds of) austerity.

16. Gold, a cow, a dress, a horse, land, sesamum, clarified butter, and food are the gifts (which destroy sin).

17. A year, six months, four (months), three (months), two (months), one (month), twenty-four days, twelve days, six days, three days, a day and a night are the periods (for penances).

18. These (acts) may be optionally performed when no (particular penance) has been prescribed,

19. (Viz.) for great sins difficult (penances), and for trivial faults easy ones.

20. The *Krikkhura* and the *Atikrikkhura*, (as well as) the *Kândrâyana*, are penances for all (offences).

CHAPTER XX.

1. Let him cast off a father who assassinates a king, who sacrifices for Sûdras, who sacrifices for

reads, is based on Haradatta's explanation. Etymologically it seems to mean 'a place for circumambulation,' and to denote the platform on which the temples usually stand, and which is used for the Pradakshina ceremony.

15. The word *iti* in the text is explained as in the preceding Sûtras.

18. These (acts), i.e. the recitation of the Veda and so forth, which have been enumerated above, Sûtras 11-16.

20. Regarding these penances, see chapters XXVI and XXVII. Haradatta again takes the word *iti*, which occurs in the text, to include other difficult penances.

XX. 1. Haradatta remarks that the father is mentioned here, in order to indicate that other less venerable relatives must certainly

his own sake (accepting) money from Sūdras, who divulges the Veda (to persons not authorised to study it), who kills a learned Brāhmana, who dwells with men of the lowest castes, or (cohabits) with a female of one of the lowest castes.

2. Having assembled the (sinner's) spiritual Gurus and the relatives by marriage, (the sons and other kinsmen) shall perform (for him) all the funeral rites, the first of which is the libation of water,

3. And (afterwards) they shall overturn his water-vessel (in the following manner) :

4. A slave or a hired servant shall fetch an impure vessel from a dust-heap, fill it (with water taken) from the pot of a female slave and, his face turned towards the south, upset it with his foot, pronouncing (the sinner's) name (and saying) : ' I deprive N. N. of water.'

5. All (the kinsmen) shall touch him (the slave) passing their sacrificial cords over the right shoulder and under the left arm, and untying the locks on their heads.

6. The spiritual Gurus and the relatives by marriage shall look on.

7. Having bathed, they (all shall) enter the village.

8. He who afterwards unintentionally speaks to

also be abandoned. He also states that *bhrūnahan*, 'he who slays a learned Brāhmana,' includes sinners who have committed other mortal sins (*mahâpâtaka*), see XXI, 1.

2. Manu XI, 183-185; Yâgñavalkya III, 295. The spiritual Gurus, i.e. the teacher who initiated him (*âkârya*) and those who instructed him in the Veda (*upâdhyâya*).

8. Manu XI, 185.

the (outcast sinner) shall stand, during one night, reciting the Sāvitrī.

9. If he intentionally (converses with the outcast, he must perform the same penance) for three nights.

10. But if an (outcast sinner) is purified by (performing) a penance, (his kinsmen) shall, after he has become pure, fill a golden vessel (with water) from a very holy lake or a river, and make him bathe in water (taken) from that (vessel).

11. Then they shall give him that vessel and he, after taking it, shall mutter (the following Mantras): 'Cleansed is the sky, cleansed is the earth, cleansed and auspicious is the middle sphere; I here take that which is brilliant.'

12. Let him offer clarified butter, (reciting) these Yagus formulas, the Pāvamānīs, the Taratsamandīs, and the Kūshmāndas.

13. Let him present gold or a cow to a Brāhmaṇa,

14. And to his teacher.

15. But he, whose penance lasts for his (whole) lifetime, will be purified after death.

16. Let (his kinsmen) perform for him all the funeral rites, the first of which is the libation of water.

17. This same (ceremony of bathing in) water

10. Manu XI, 187-188; Yāgñavalkya III, 296.

11. As appears from Gobhila *Gṛihya-sūtra* III, 4, 16, the noun to be understood is apām *aṅgalīh*, 'a handful of water.'

12. Haradatta refers the term Pāvamānīs here to Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa I, 4, 8. The Taratsamandīs are found Rig-veda IX, 58.

17. "Water (consecrated) for the sake of purification" means

consecrated for the sake of purification (must be performed) in the case of all minor offences (upapātakas).

CHAPTER XXI.

1. The murderer of a Brāhmaṇa, he who drinks spirituous liquor, the violator of a Guru's bed, he who has connection with the female relatives of his mother and of his father (within six degrees) or with sisters and their female offspring, he who steals (the gold of a Brāhmaṇa), an atheist, he who constantly repeats blamable acts, he who does not cast off persons guilty of a crime causing loss of caste, and he who forsakes blameless (relatives), become outcasts,

2. Likewise those who instigate others to acts causing loss of caste,

3. And he who for a (whole) year associates with outcasts.

4. To be an outcast means to be deprived of the right to follow the lawful occupations of twice-born men,

5. And to be deprived after death of the rewards of meritorious deeds.

water consecrated by the formulas, "Cleansed is the earth," &c.—Haradatta.

XXI. 1. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 7-9, 11; I, 9, 24, 6-9; Manu XI, 35; Yâgñavalkya III, 227. Guru, i. e. a father or spiritual teacher. The term yonisambandha, 'sisters and their female offspring,' seems to be used here in a sense different from that which it has III, 3; XIV, 20; and XIX, 20. It may possibly include also daughters-in-law.

2. Âpastamba II, 11, 29, 1.

3. Manu IX, 181; Yâgñavalkya III, 261.

6. Some call (this condition) hell.

7. Manu (declares, that) the first three (crimes, named above) cannot be expiated.

8. Some (declare, that a man) does not become an outcast (by having connection) with female (relatives), except (when he violates) a Guru's bed.

9. A woman becomes an outcast by procuring abortion, by connection with a (man of) lower (caste) and (the like heinous crimes).

10. Giving false evidence, calumnies which will reach (the ears of) the king, an untrue accusation brought against a Guru (are acts) equal to mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

11: (The guilt of a) minor offence (upapâtaka) rests on those who (have been declared to) defile the company (at a funeral dinner and have been named above) before the bald man, on killers of kine, those who forget the Veda, those who pronounce Vedic texts for the (last-mentioned sinners), students

7. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 24-25; I, 9, 25, 1-3; Manu XI, 90-92, 104-105. The 'penances' prescribed are equal to a sentence of death.

8. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 10.

9. Yâgñavalkya III, 298. 'On account of the word "and," by slaying a Brâhmana and similar crimes also. Another (commentator) says, "A woman who serves the slayer of a learned Brâhmana or a man of lower caste, i. e. becomes his wife, loses her caste. On account of the word 'and' the same happens in case she kills a Brâhmana or commits a similarly heinous crime. The slayer of a Brâhmana is mentioned in order to include (all) outcasts.'"—Haradatta.

10. Manu XI, 56-57; Yâgñavalkya III, 228-229.

11. Manu XI, 60-67; Yâgñavalkya III, 234-242; Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 12-17, 19. The persons who defile the company are enumerated above, XV, 16-18.

who break the vow of chastity, and those who allow the time for the initiation to pass.

12. An officiating priest must be forsaken, if he is ignorant (of the rules of the sacrifice), a teacher, if he does not impart instruction, and (both) if they commit crimes causing loss of caste.

13. He who forsakes (them) under any other circumstances, becomes an outcast.

14. Some declare, that he, also, who receives (a person who has unjustly forsaken his priest or teacher, becomes an outcast).

15. The mother and the father must not be treated improperly under any circumstances.

16. But (the sons) shall not take their property.

17. By accusing a Brâhmana of a crime (the accuser commits) a sin equal (to that of the accused).

18. If (the accused is) innocent, (the accuser's guilt is) twice (as great as that of the crime which he imputed to the other).

19. And he who, though able to rescue a weak man from injury, (does) not (do it, incurs as much guilt as he who injures the other).

20. He who in anger raises (his hand or a weapon)

12. Âpastamba I, 2, 4, 26; I, 2, 7, 26; I, 2, 8, 27. Haradatta asserts that, as the desertion of sinners has been prescribed above, XX, 1, the expression *patanîyasevâyâm* must here mean 'if they associate with outcasts.' The former rule refers, however, to blood relations only, and our Sûtra may be intended to extend it to spiritual relations.

15. Âpastamba I, 10, 28, 9-10. The meaning is that parents, though they have become outcasts, must be provided with the necessities of life.

16. Haradatta adds that their property goes to the king.

17. Âpastamba I, 7, 21, 20.

18. Yâgñavalkya III, 285-20-21. Manu XI, 207; Yâgñavalkya III, 293. According to

against a Brâhmaṇa, will be banished from heaven for a hundred years.

21. If he strikes, (he will lose heaven) for a thousand (years).

22. If blood flows, (he will lose heaven) for a number of years equal to (that of the particles of) dust which the spilt (blood) binds together.

CHAPTER XXII.

1. (Now follows the description of the) penances.

2. He who has (intentionally) slain a Brâhmaṇa shall emaciate himself, and thrice throw himself into a fire,

3. Or he may become in battle a target for armed men,

4. Or, remaining chaste, he may, during twelve years, enter the village (only) for the purpose of begging, carrying the foot of a bedstead and a skull in his hand and proclaiming his deed.

5. If he meets an Ārya, he shall step out of the road.

Haradatta the word *asvargyam*, 'will be banished from or lose heaven,' may either mean that a hundred years' residence in heaven will be deducted from the rewards for his meritorious deeds, or that he will reside in hell for the period specified.

22. *Manu XI, 208; Yâgñavalkya III, 293.*

XXII. 1. The text of the Sûtra consists of the single word 'penance' in the singular, which, being the *adhikâra* or heading, must be taken with each of the following Sûtras down to the end of chapter XXIII.

2. *Manu XI, 74.*

3. *Āpastamba I, 9, 25, 11.*

4. *Āpastamba I, 9, 24, 11-20.* Haradatta says, 'the foot of a bedstead' (*khaṭvâṅga*) is known in the case of the *Pâsupatas*, and indicates thereby that he interprets the term to mean 'a club shaped like the foot of a bedstead,' which the *Pâsupatas* wear.

5. *Āpastamba I, 9, 24, 13.*

6. Standing by day, sitting at night, and bathing in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, he may be purified (after twelve years),

7. Or by saving the life of a Brâhmana,

8. Or if he is, at least, thrice vanquished in (trying to recover) the property (of a Brâhmana) stolen (by robbers),

9. Or by bathing (with the priests) at (the end of) a horse-sacrifice,

10. Or at (the end of) any other (Vedic) sacrifice, provided that an Agnishut (sacrifice) forms part of it.

11. (The same penances must be performed) even if he has attempted the life of a Brâhmana, but failed to kill him,

12. Likewise if he has killed a female (of the Brâhmana caste) who had bathed after temporary uncleanness,

13. Also for (destroying) the embryo of a Brâhmana, though (its sex) may be not distinguishable.

14. For (intentionally) killing a Kshatriya the normal vow of continence (must be kept) for six

6. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 10.

7. Manu XI, 80; Yâgñavalkya III, 244-245.

8. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 21.

9. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 22.

10. Haradatta names the Pañkarâtra sacrifice as an instance of a Srâuta yagña, of which an Agnishut forms part. He adds that another commentator explains the Sûtra to mean, 'or at any other sacrifice, provided that an Agnishut sacrifice be its final ceremony.' Regarding the Agnishut sacrifice, see also above, XIX, 10.

11. Yâgñavalkya III, 252.

12. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 9; Manu XI, 88; Yâgñavalkya III, 251.

13. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 8; Manu, Yâgñavalkya, loc. cit.

14. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 1, 4. 'Prâkrîta (normal) means natural

years; and he shall give one thousand cows and one bull.

15. For (killing) a Vaisya (the same penance must be performed) during three years; and he shall give one hundred cows and one bull.

16. For (killing) a Sûdra (the same penance must be performed) during one year; and he shall give ten cows and one bull.

17. And the same (rule applies) if a female (has been killed) who was not in the condition (described in Sûtra 12).

18. (The penance for killing) a cow is the same as for (the murder of) a Vaisya,

19. And for injuring a frog, an ichneumon, a crow, a chameleon, a musk-rat, a mouse, and a dog,

20. And for killing one thousand (small animals) that have bones,

21. Also for (killing) an ox-load of (animals) that have no bones;

(svâbhâvika), i.e. not accompanied by the carrying of the foot of a bedstead and the rest.—Haradatta.

15. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 2, 4.

16. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 3, 4.

17. Âpastamba I, 9, 24, 5; Yâgñavalkya III, 269. Haradatta says that this rule refers to the expiation of the murder of a virtuous Brâhmanî.

18. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 1; Manu XI, 109-116; Yâgñavalkya III, 263. Haradatta thinks that the Sûtra refers to the cow of a virtuous Srotriya or of a poor Brâhmana who has many children.

19. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 13. Haradatta explains dahara to mean a small mouse, but gives the meaning assigned to it in the translation as the opinion of others. He states that all the animals named must have been intentionally injured and together.

20. Manu XI, 142; Yâgñavalkya III, 275.

21. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 2.

22. Or he may also give something for (the destruction of) each animal that has bones.
23. For (killing) a eunuch (he shall give) a load of straw and a māsha of lead ;
24. For (killing) a boar, a pot of clarified butter ;
25. For (killing) a snake, a bar of iron ;
26. For (killing) an unchaste woman, who is merely in name a Brāhmaṇī, a leather bag ;
27. (For killing a woman who subsists) by harlotry, nothing at all.
28. For preventing that (a Brāhmaṇa) obtains a wife, food, or money, (he must) in each case (remain chaste) during a year,
29. For adultery two years,
30. (For adultery with the wife) of a Srotriya three years.
31. And if he has received a present (from the woman), he shall throw it away,
32. Or restore it to the giver.
33. If he has employed Vedic texts for people (with whom such intercourse is) forbidden, (he shall remain chaste for a year), provided (the portion of the Veda thus employed) contained one thousand words.

22. Haradatta quotes a verse showing that 'something' means eight handfuls (mushā) of grain.

23. Manu XI, 134 ; Yāgñavalkya III, 273.

24. Manu XI, 135.

25. Manu XI, 34 ; Yāgñavalkya III, 273. Possibly *danda*, a bar, denotes here a particular measure, as a *danda* is said to be equal to four hastas or ninety-six āṅgulis.

26. Manu XI, 139.

29-30. Āpastamba II, 10, 27, 11.

33. Haradatta says that by the employment of Vedic texts, teaching or sacrificing is meant, but that others refer the Sūtra

34. And the same (penance must be performed) by him who extinguishes the (sacred) fires, who neglects the daily recitation of the Veda, or (who is guilty) of a minor offence (upapâtaka),

35. Also by a wife who violates her duty (to her husband): but, being guarded, she shall receive food.

36. For committing a bestial crime, excepting (the case of) a cow, (he shall offer) an oblation of clarified butter, (reciting) the Kûshmânda texts.

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. They shall pour hot spirituous liquor into the mouth of a Brâhmaṇa who has drunk such liquor; he will be purified after death.

2. If he has drunk it unintentionally, (he shall drink) for three days hot milk, clarified butter, and water, and (inhale hot) air. That (penance is called the Tapta-)krikkhra. Afterwards he shall be again initiated.

3. And (the same penance must be performed) for swallowing urine, excrements, or semen,

to the performance of these acts in the company of, not for unworthy people.

35. Manu XI, 189; Yâgñavalkya III, 297.

36. Manu XI, 174. Regarding the Kûshmândas, see XIX, 12.

XXIII. 1. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 3. Haradatta remarks that other twice-born men also must perform the same penance in case they drink liquor forbidden to them, see above, II, 20 note. He also states that the offence must have been committed intentionally and repeatedly in order to justify so severe an expiation. Regarding the effect of the purification after death, see above, XX, 16.

2-3. Manu XI, 151; Yâgñavalkya III, 255; see also Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 10.

4. And (for eating) any part of a carnivorous beast, of a camel or of an ass,
5. And of tame cocks or tame pigs.
6. If he smells the fume (exhaled) by a man who has drunk spirituous liquor, (he shall) thrice restrain his breath and eat clarified butter,
7. Also, if he has been bitten by (one of the animals mentioned) above (Sûtras 4-5).
8. He who has defiled the bed of his Guru shall extend himself on a heated iron bed,
9. Or he shall embrace the red-hot iron image of a woman.
10. Or he shall tear out his organ and testicles and, holding them in his hands, walk straight towards the south-west, until he falls down dead.
11. He will be purified after death.
12. (The guilt of him who has intercourse) with the wife of a friend, a sister, a female belonging to the same family, the wife of a pupil, a daughter-in-law, or with a cow, is as great as that of (him who violates his Guru's) bed.
13. Some (declare, that the guilt of such a sinner is equal to) that of a student who breaks the vow of chastity.
14. A woman who commits adultery with a man

4-5. Manu XI, 157.

6. Manu XI, 150.

7. Manu XI, 200; Yâgñavalkya III, 277.

8-10. Âpastamba I, 9, 25, 1-2. Haradatta asserts that Guru denotes here the father alone.

12. Manu XI, 171-172; Yâgñavalkya III, 232-233.

13. 'The penance also consists in the performance of the rites obligatory on an unchaste student (see Sûtras 17-19), and that for the violation of a Guru's bed need not be performed.'—Haradatta.

14. Manu VIII, 371.

of lower caste the king shall cause to be devoured by dogs in a public place.

15. He shall cause the adulterer to be killed (also).

16. (Or he shall punish him in the manner) which has been declared (above).

17. A student who has broken the vow of chastity shall offer an ass to Nirṛiti on a cross-road.

18. Putting on the skin of that (ass), with the hair turned outside, and holding a red (earthen) vessel in his hands, he shall beg in seven houses, proclaiming his deed.

19. He will be purified after a year.

20. For an involuntary discharge caused by fear or sickness, or happening during sleep, and if for seven days the fire-oblations and begging have been neglected, (a student) shall make an offering of clari-

15. Manu VIII, 372; Yâgñavalkya II, 286; Âpastamba II, 10, 27, 9. My best MSS. read ghâtayet, 'shall cause to be killed,' instead of Professor Stenzler's khâdayet, 'shall cause to be devoured.' C. has khâdayet, but its commentary, as well as that given in the other MSS., shows that ghâtayet is the correct reading. The text of the commentary runs as follows: Anantaro^{kt}vishaye gataḥ pumân râgñâ ghâtayitvyo [khâdayitavyo C.] vadhaprakâras^tânantaram eva vasish^thava^ttane darsitaḥ. The passages of Vasish^tha XXI, 1-3, which Haradatta has quoted in explanation of Sûtra 14, prescribe that the adulterer is to be burnt. Another objection to the reading khâdayet is that the word would be superfluous. If Gautama had intended to prescribe the same punishment for the adulterer as for the woman, he would simply have said pumâ^{ms}am.

16. Above, i. e. XII, 2, where the mutilation of the offender has been prescribed. See also Âpastamba II, 10, 26, 20.

17-19. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 8-9.

20. Manu II, 181, 187; Yâgñavalkya III, 278, 281. The Retasyâs are found Taittiriya Âra^{ny}aka I, 30.

fied butter or (place) two pieces of fuel (in the fire) reciting the two (verses called) Retasya.

21. Let him who was asleep when the sun rose remain standing during the day, continent and fasting, and him who was asleep when the sun set (remain in the same position) during the night, reciting the Gâyatri.

22. He who has looked at an impure (person), shall look at the sun and restrain his breath (once).

23. Let him who has eaten forbidden food [or swallowed impure substances], (fast until) his entrails are empty.

24. (In order to attain that), he must entirely abstain from food at least for three (days and) nights.

25. Or (he becomes pure) after eating during seven (days and) nights fruits that have become detached spontaneously, avoiding (all other food).

26. (If he has eaten forbidden food mentioned above) before five-toed animals, he must throw it up and eat clarified butter.

27. For abuse, speaking an untruth, and doing injury, (he shall practise) austerities for no longer period than three (days and) nights.

21. Âpastamba II, 5, 12, 22; Manu II, 220.

22. Manu V, 86. 'An impure person, i. e. a *K'ândâla* and the like. This rule refers to a student (who sees such a person) while he recites the Veda.'—Haradatta.

23-24. Âpastamba I, 9, 27, 3-4. My copies omit *amedhya-prâsane vâ*, or has swallowed impure substances, and the words are not required, as another penance has been prescribed for the case above, Sûtra 3. But see also *Sâmavidhâna* I, 5, 13.

26. Manu XI, 161. The Sûtras referred to are XVII, 9-26.

27. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 3. My copies read *trirâtraparamam* instead of *trirâtram paramam*. This reading, which seems pre-

28. If (the abuse) was merited, (he shall offer) burnt-oblations, reciting (the Mantras) addressed to Varuna and (the hymns) revealed by Manu.

29. Some (declare, that) an untruth (spoken) at the time of marriage, during dalliance, in jest or while (one suffers severe) pain is venial.

30. But (that is) certainly not (the case) when (the untruth) concerns a Guru.

31. For if he lies in his heart only to a Guru regarding small matters even, he destroys (himself), seven descendants, and seven ancestors.

32. For intercourse with a female (of one) of the lowest castes, he shall perform a *Krikkhra* penance during one year.

33. (For committing the same sin) undesignedly, (he shall perform the same penance) during twelve (days and) nights.

34. For connection with a woman during her courses, (he shall perform the same penance) for three (days and) nights.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. A secret penance (must be performed) by him whose sin is not publicly known.

ferable, is also confirmed by the commentary, where the words are explained, *trirâtraparatayâ pareṇa trirâtram*.

28. According to Haradatta the texts addressed to Varuna are *yatkim kedam*, *Taitt. Samh.* III, 4, 11, 6; *imam me varuna, tattvâ yâmi*, *Taitt. Samh.* II, 1, 11, 6; and *ava te heḷo*, *Taitt. Samh.* I, 5, 11, 3. The hymns seen by Manu are *Rig-veda* VIII, 27-31.

29. *Manu* VII, 112.

32. *Āpastamba* I, 10, 28, 10-11. Regarding the *Krikkhra* penance, see below, chapter XXVI.

34. *Manu* XI, 174; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 288.

XXIV. 1. *Manu* XI, 248; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 301.

2. He who desires to accept or has accepted (a gift) which ought not to be accepted, shall recite the four *R̥k*-verses (IX, 58, 1-4), (beginning) *Tarat sa mandī*, (standing) in water.

3. He who desires to eat forbidden food, shall scatter earth (on it).

4. Some (declare, that) he who has connection with a woman during her courses becomes pure by bathing.

5. Some (declare, that this rule holds good) in the case of (one's own) wives (only).

6. The (secret) penance for killing a learned *Brāhmaṇa* (is as follows): Living during ten days on milk (alone) or (on food fit for offerings), during a second (period of ten days) on clarified butter, and during a third (period of ten days) on water, par-

2. *Manu* XI, 254. 'He who has accepted or desires to accept, i.e. because no other course is possible, (a present) offered by a man that is blamable on account of the caste of the giver or on account of his deeds, or (a present) that in itself is blamable, e.g. the skin of a black-buck and the like . . . in water, i.e. according to some, standing in water that reaches to his navel; according to others, entirely immersed in water.'—*Haradatta*.

3. *Manu* loc. cit. 'Forbidden food has been described above, XVII, 8, 9. If, being unable to act otherwise, he desires to eat that, he shall throw earth, i.e. a piece of earth, (into it) and then eat it.'—*Haradatta*.

4. *Haradatta* adds that he shall bathe, dressed in his garments.

5. *Haradatta* adds that another commentator reads *ekestrīshu*, i.e. *eke astrīshu*, and explains the *Sūtra* to mean, 'Some (declare the above rule to refer also) to a bestial crime.'

6. *Yâgñavalkya* III, 303. According to *Haradatta* the complete *Mantras* are as follows: *Lomānyātmano mukhe mṛṣīyorāsyeguhome svāhā, nakhānyā. m. m. ā. guhomi svāhā, &c.* This secret penance is apparently a milder form of that prescribed *Āpastamba* I, 9, 25, 12.

taking of (such food) once only each day, in the morning, and keeping his garments constantly wet, he shall (daily) offer (eight) oblations, (representing) the hair, the nails, the skin, the flesh, the blood, the sinews, the bones, (and) the marrow. The end of each (Mantra) shall be, 'I offer in the mouth of the *Ātman* (the Self), in the jaws of Death.'

7. Now another (penance for the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa* will be described):

8. The rule (as to eating and so forth), which has been declared (above, *Sūtra* 6, must be observed),

9. (And) he shall offer clarified butter, reciting (the sacred text *Rig-veda* I, 189, 2), 'O fire, do thou ferry over,' the *Mahāvyaḥṛītis*, and the *Kūshmāndas*;

10. Or, for the murder of a *Brāhmaṇa*, for drinking spirituous liquor, for stealing (gold), and for the violation of a *Guru's* bed, he may perform that (same vow), tire himself by repeatedly stopping his breath, and recite (the hymn seen by) *Aghamarshana*. That is equal (in efficacy) to the final bath at a horse-sacrifice;

11. Or, repeating the *Gâyatrī* a thousand times, he, forsooth, purifies himself;

12. Or, thrice repeating (the hymn of) *Aghamarshana* while immersed in water, he is freed from all sins.

9. The *Mahāvyaḥṛītis* are, *bhūh*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*. Regarding the *Kūshmāndas*, see above, XIX, 12.

10. *Manu* XI, 260-261; *Yāgñavalkya* III, 302. The vow intended is that prescribed above, *Sūtras* 6, 8.

11. *Āpastamba* I, 9, 26, 14-I, 9, 27, 1. *Haradatta* remarks that the performer of the penance shall live on milk and stop his breath, repeatedly stopping his breath.

CHAPTER XXV.

1. Now they say: 'How many (gods) does a student enter who violates the vow of chastity?'

2. (And they answer): 'His vital spirits (go to) the Maruts (winds), his strength to Indra, his eminence in sacred learning to *Bṛihaspati*, all the remaining parts to *Agni*.'

3. He kindles the fire in the night of the new moon, and offers, by way of penance, two oblations of clarified butter,

4. (Reciting these two sacred texts), 'Defiled by lust am I, defiled am I, oh Lust; to Lust svâhâ; 'Injured by lust am I, injured am I, oh Lust; to Lust svâhâ.' (Next) he (silently) places one piece of sacred fuel (on the fire), sprinkles water round the fire, offers the *Yagñavâstu* (oblation), and approaching (the fire) worships it, thrice (reciting the text), 'May the waters sprinkle me.'

5. These worlds are three; in order to conquer

XXV. 1. For this and the following five Sûtras, see *Taittirîya Âranyaka* II, 18, 1 seq.

2. 'All the remaining parts, i.e. his sight and the other organs of sense, go to *Agni*. Thus a student who has broken the vow of chastity becomes short-lived, weak, destitute of eminence in sacred learning, and destitute of sight, and so forth. Therefore a penance must be performed.'—*Haradatta*. It must, of course, be understood that the penance prescribed here, is a 'secret penance.'

3. 'He, i.e. the unchaste student, shall kindle the fire in the night of the new moon, i.e. at midnight, in the manner declared in the *Grîhya-sûtra*.'—*Haradatta*.

4. *Haradatta* says that while sprinkling water the performer shall recite the texts 'Aditi, thou hast permitted,' see *Âpastamba* II, 2, 3, 17 note. The *Yagñavâstu* oblation, which follows after the *Svishṭakṛit* offering, is described *Gobhila Grîhya-sûtra* I, 8, 26-29.

these worlds, in order to gain mastership over these worlds, (this rite must be performed.)

6. According to some, the above (described) rite is a penance (for all hidden offences) in general, (and they say) regarding it, 'He who may be impure, as it were, shall offer burnt-oblations in this manner, and shall recite sacred texts in this manner; the fee (of the officiating priest shall be) whatever he may choose.'

7. He who has been guilty of cheating, of calumniating, of acting contrary to the rule of conduct, of eating or drinking things forbidden, of connection with a woman of the Śūdra caste, of an unnatural crime, and even of performing magic rites with intent (to harm his enemies), shall bathe and sprinkle himself with water, reciting the texts addressed to the Waters, or those addressed to Varuṇa, or other purificatory texts.

8. For offences committed by speaking or thinking of forbidden things, the five Vyâhr̥tis (must be recited).

9. Or for all (offences) he may sip water, (reciting) in the morning (the text), 'May the day and the sun purify me;' and in the evening, 'The night and Varuṇa.'

10. Or he may offer eight pieces of sacred fuel,

7. Âpastamba I, 9, 26, 7. The verses addressed to the Waters are, Rv. X, 9, 1-3 = Taitt. Samh. IV, 1, 5, 1, and Taitt. Samh. V, 6, 1. Regarding those addressed to Varuṇa, see above, XXIII, 28. As an instance of 'other purificatory texts' Haradatta quotes Taittirīya-brâhmana I, 4, 8, 1.

8. Regarding the five Vyâhr̥tis, see above, I, 51.

10. Haradatta gives the following four Mantras: Devakṛitasyainasovayaganam asi svâhâ, 'thou art the expiation for sin com-

(reciting the texts beginning) 'Devakritasya.' By merely offering them he becomes free from all sin.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. Now, therefore, we will describe three *Krikkhras* (or difficult penances).

2. (During three days) he shall eat at the morning-meal food fit for offerings, and fast in the evening.

3. Next, he shall eat (food fit for offerings), during another period of three days, in the evening (only).

4. Next, during another period of three days, he shall not ask anybody (for food).

5. Next, he shall fast during another period of three days.

6. He who desires (to be purified) quickly, shall stand during the day, and sit during the night.

mitted by the gods,' svâhâ pitrikritasyainaso . . . svâhâ, manushyakritasyainaso . . . svâhâ, asmatkritasyainaso . . . svâhâ. But see Vâgasaneyi-samhitâ VIII, 13, where eight Mantras are given, and below, XXVII, 7.

XXVI. 1. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 1; Âpastamba I, 9, 27, 7. Haradatta states that *atah*, 'therefore,' means 'because the *Krikkhras* cannot be performed if they have not been described,' while Sâyana, on the Sâmaavidhâna, asserts that it means 'because unpurified persons who are unable to offer sacrifices cannot gain heavenly bliss without performing austerities such as *Krikkhras*.' It is a remarkable fact that Haradatta does not seem to have been aware that the twenty-sixth chapter of Gautama is taken bodily from the Sâmaavidhâna.

2. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 2. 'Food fit for offerings, i.e. such as is not mixed with salt or pungent condiments.'

3-5. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 3.

6. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 4.

7. He shall speak the truth.
8. He shall not converse with anybody but Āryans.
9. He shall daily sing the two (Sāmans called) Raurava and Yaudhâgaya.
10. He shall bathe in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, reciting the three (verses which begin) 'For ye waters are,' and he shall dry himself reciting the eight purificatory (verses which begin) 'The golden-coloured.'
11. Next (he shall offer) libations of water.
12. Adoration to him who creates self-consciousness, who creates matter, who gives gifts, who destroys (sin), who performs penance, to Punarvasu, adoration.
- Adoration to him who is worthy of (offerings)

7-11. Sāmavidhâna I, 2, 5. Āryans, i.e. Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. Regarding the Sāmans and Mantras, see notes to Burnell's edition of the Sāmavidhâna, and above, XXV, 7. Haradatta remarks that in the Taitt. Samh. (V, 6, 1) the Mantras beginning 'The golden-coloured' are ten in number, and adds that 'if in some other Sâkhâ eight are found, those must be taken.'

12. Sāmavidhâna I, 2, 5, where, however, only four Mantras are given instead of our thirteen. The epithets given to the deity in the Sāmavidhâna can all be referred to the Sun, provided he is identified with the universal soul, while in the above Sûtra, Rudra and Indra have been introduced. It cannot be doubtful that the Sāmavidhâna gives an older and more authentic form of the prayer. My translation of the epithets, which are found in the Sāmavidhâna also, follows Sâyana's gloss. Haradatta does not explain them. About Sobhya in the twelfth Mantra, which possibly might mean, 'he who dwells in a mirage, i.e. the Samsâra,' I feel doubtful. My MSS. read *somya*, and the Sāmavidhâna has *saumya* in the second Mantra. But I am unwilling to alter the word, as Professor Stenzler's reading may have been derived from a South-Indian MS., where *bhya* and *mya* do not resemble each other so much as in the Devanâgarî characters.

consisting of Muñga grass, who is worthy of (offerings of) water, who conquers wealth, to him who conquers the universe, adoration.

Adoration to him who gives success, who gives full success, who gives great success, to him who carries (all undertakings) to a successful issue, adoration.

Adoration to Rudra, the lord of cattle, the great god, the triocular, solitary, supreme lord Hari, to dread Sarva, to Ísâna who carries the thunderbolt, to the fierce wearer of matted locks, adoration.

Adoration to the Sun, to Aditi's offspring, adoration.

Adoration to him whose neck is blue, to him whose throat is dark-blue, adoration.

Adoration to the black one, to the brown one, adoration.

Adoration to Indra, the first-born, the best, the ancient, to chaste Harikesa, adoration.

Adoration to the truthful purifier, to fire-coloured Kâma, who changes his form at pleasure, adoration.

Adoration to the brilliant one, to him whose form is brilliant, adoration.

Adoration to the fierce one, to him whose form is fierce, adoration.

Adoration to Sobhya, the beautiful, the great male, the middle male, the highest male, to the student of the Veda, adoration.

Adoration to him who wears the moon on his forehead, to him whose garment is a skin, adoration.

13. The worship of Âditya (the sun) must be performed with the same (texts).

14. Offerings of clarified butter (must be made with the help of) the same (texts).

15. At the end of the period of twelve days he shall boil rice and make offerings to the following deities,

16. (Viz.) to Agni svâhâ, to Soma svâhâ, to Agni and Soma (conjointly), to Indra and Agni (conjointly), to Indra, to all the gods, to Brahman, to Pragâpati, (and) to Agni Svishtakrîṭ.

17. Afterwards (he must feed) Brâhmanas.

18. By the above (rules) the Atikrikkhra (or exceedingly difficult) penance has been explained.

19. (But when he performs that), he shall eat (only) as much as he can take at one (mouthful).

20. The third (Krikkhra) is that where water is the (only) food, and it is called Krikkhrâti-krikkhra (or the most difficult penance).

21. He who has performed the first of these (three) becomes pure, sanctified, and worthy (to follow) the occupations (of his caste).

22. He who has performed the second is freed from all sins which he commits, excepting mortal sins (mahâpâtaka).

23. He who has performed the third, removes all guilt.

24. Now he who performs these three Krikkhras becomes perfect in all the Vedas, and known to all the gods;

25. Likewise he who knows this.

18. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 6.

19. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 7; Manu XI, 214; Yâgñavalkya III, 320.

20. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 8; Yâgñavalkya III, 321.

21-23. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 9.

24-25. Sâmaavidhâna I, 2, 10. Sarveshu vedeshu snâtaḥ, 'perfect

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. Now, therefore, the *Kândrâyana* (or lunar penance will be described).

2. The (general) rules prescribed for a *Krikkhra* (are applicable) to that.

3. (The hair must be) shaved, in case it (is performed as) a penance.

4. He shall fast on the day preceding the full moon.

5. And (he shall offer) libations (of water), oblations of clarified butter, consecrate the sacrificial viands, and worship the moon, reciting these (*rikas*), 'Increase' (Rig-veda I, 91, 17), 'May milk be joined with thee' (Rig-veda I, 91, 18, and) 'Ever new' (Rig-veda X, 85, 19).

6. He shall offer (clarified butter), reciting the four (*rikas* beginning) 'Yad devâ devahedanam,'

7. And at the end (of the offering of clarified

in all the Vedas,' means, literally, equal to a student who has bathed after completing the study of all the four Vedas.

XXVII. 2. The rules meant particularly are those given XXVI, 6-11.

3. 'He calls penance *vrata*.'—Haradatta.

5. 'The four religious acts, the first of which is the offering of libations, are to be performed with the help of the three sacred texts, the first of which begins "Increase." As the number (of the acts and of the verses) does not agree, the fire-oblations and the libations of water must be performed severally, each with one text, and the consecration (of the offerings) and the worship (of the moon must be performed with all of them) together.'—Haradatta.

6. 'He shall offer—as nothing is specified—clarified butter, with the first four *rikas* of the *Anuvâka* 'Yad devâ devahedanam.' Counting the three mentioned above (*Sûtra* 5), altogether seven oblations of clarified butter must be made.'—Haradatta.

7. 'On completion of the oblations of clarified butter, he

butter he shall offer) pieces of sacred fuel, reciting (the texts beginning) 'Devakṛitasya.'

8. Each mouthful of food must be consecrated by the mental recitations (of one) of the following (words): Om, bhûh, bhuvah, svah, austerity, truth, fame, prosperity, vigour, refreshment, strength, lustre, soul, law, Siva.

9. Or (he may consecrate) all (of them at once, saying), Adoration svâhâ.

10. The size of a mouthful (shall be such) as not to cause a distortion of the mouth (in swallowing it).

11. The sacrificial viands are, boiled rice, food obtained by begging, ground barley, grain separated from the husk, barley-gruel, vegetables, milk, sour

shall offer pieces of sacred fuel, reciting the eight sacred texts, which begin "Devakṛitasya," and have been mentioned above (XXV, 10). The word "completion" (anta) is merely a confirmation of something established, because (the place of the offering) is already fixed by the place of the rule. But others explain the word "ante" to mean "at the end of the Kândrâyana." The word "and" does not agree with their (opinion).—Haradatta.

8. Haradatta observes that on the days when the performer eats less than fifteen mouthfuls, the later mentioned texts must be left out, and that, while eating, the performer must employ the Prânâhuti Mantras (Āpastamba II, 1, 1, 2 note). He concludes by giving the following prayoga for the performance of the ceremony: 'He places all the food in his dish, and consecrates it by the texts "Increase," &c. Next he divides it into mouthfuls, and consecrates each successively with the word Om and the rest, and eats them, reciting the texts for the Prânâhutis.'

9. Haradatta states that either of the two words may be used in consecrating all the mouthfuls, but that others think, both should be used.

10. Yâgñavalkya III, 324.

11. The term 'sacrificial viands' denotes here, according to Haradatta, the food eaten by the performer, which, like that eaten by the performer of a *Krikkhra*, must be havishya, 'fit for an offering,'

milk, clarified butter, roots, fruits, and water ; (among these) each succeeding one is preferable (to those enumerated earlier).

12. He shall eat on the day of the full moon fifteen mouthfuls, and during the dark half (of the month) daily diminish his portion by one (mouthful).

13. He shall fast on the day of the new moon, and during the bright half (of the month) daily increase (his portion) by one (mouthful).

14. According to some (the order shall be) inverted.

15. That (is called) a month, occupied by the *Kândrâyana* penance.

16. He who has completed that, becomes free from sin and free from crime, and destroys all guilt.

17. He who has completed a second (month, living according to that rule), sanctifies himself, ten ancestors, and ten descendants, as well as (any) company (to which he may be invited) ;

18. And he who has lived for a year (according to that rule), dwells (after death) in the world of the moon.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. After the father's death let the sons divide his estate,

see above, XXVI, 2. Haradatta adds that, as a *Gr̥hastha* must not beg, the food obtained by begging must have been collected by his pupils, and that liquid food must be used for the expiation of the more serious offences.

12. Manu XI, 217-218 ; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 324-325.

14. I.e. the performer may begin with the fast on the day of the new moon.

18. Manu XI, 221 ; *Yâgñavalkya* III, 327.

XXVIII. 1. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga* II, 4 ; *Mitâksharâ* I, 2, 7 ;

2. Or, during his lifetime, when the mother is past child-bearing, if he desires it,
3. Or the whole (estate may go) to the first-born ; (and) he shall support (the rest) as a father.
4. But in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit.
5. (The additional share) of the eldest (son consists of) a twentieth part (of the estate), a male and a female (of animals with one row of front teeth, such as cows), a carriage yoked with animals that have two rows of front teeth, (and) a bull.
6. (The additional share) of the middlemost (consists of) the one-eyed, old, hornless, and tailless animals, if there are several.

V, Digest 20; *Mayūkha* IV, 4, 3. Haradatta remarks that, according to Gautama, the sons alone shall divide the estate, and that the mother is not to receive a share, as other teachers, e.g. *Yāgñavalkya* II, 123, prescribe. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 13, 2; *Manu* IX, 104; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 117.

2. Colebrooke and *Mayūkha* loc. cit. 'Or the sons may divide the estate even during the lifetime of the father; when he desires it, i.e. by his permission. The time for such a (division is) when the mother is past child-bearing.'—Haradatta. The correctness of this interpretation of our *Sūtra* is corroborated by the exclusion of sons who have divided the family estate against the father's will (XV, 19) from the *Srāddha* dinner. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 14, 1.

3. Colebrooke, *Dāyabhāga* III, 1, 15; *Manu* IX, 105.

4. Colebrooke, *Dāyabhāga* III, 1, 14; V, Digest 47. After division each brother has to perform the *Vaisvadeva* and the other domestic ceremonies separately, while in a united family they are performed by the eldest brother. Thus a division of the family estate causes an increase of spiritual merit; see also *Manu* XI, 111.

5. Colebrooke, *Dāyabhāga* II, 37; V, Digest 47; *Manu* IX, 112.

6. Colebrooke ll. cit. 'And that (additional share is given), if of the one-eyed and the rest there are several, i.e. if the others also get (some).'

7. (The additional share) of the youngest (consists of) the sheep, grain, the iron (utensils), a house, a cart yoked (with oxen), and one of each kind of (other) animals.

8. All the remaining (property shall be divided) equally.

9. Or let the eldest have two shares,

10. And the rest one each.

11. Or let them each take one kind of property, (selecting), according to seniority, what they desire,

12. Ten head of cattle.

13. (But) no (one brother shall) take (ten) one-hoofed beasts or (ten) slaves.

14. (If a man has several wives) the additional

7. Colebrooke ll. cit. 'Aviḥ (a sheep), i.e. an animal having a fleece. The singular number (is used to denote) the species, (and the explanation is), "As many sheep as there are." For (the possession of) one would follow already from the phrase, "And one of each kind of animals." Another (commentator says), "Though the father may possess one sheep only, still it belongs to the youngest, and the phrase 'one of each kind of animals' refers to the case when there are many." . . . This (additional share is that) belonging to the youngest. (If there are more than three sons) the others obtain the share of the middlemost.'—Haradatta.

8. Colebrooke ll. cit.

9. Colebrooke, *Dâyabhâga* II, 37 ; V, Digest 51. My best copy P. leaves out this *Sûtra* and the next. The others read *dvyamsi vâ pûivagah* (not *pûrvagasya*, as Professor Stenzler reads), and explain the former word as follows, 'dvâvamsau dvyamsam tadasyâstîti dvyamsi.' *Manu* IX, 117.

10. Colebrooke ll. cit.

11. Colebrooke V, Digest 68.

12. Colebrooke loc. cit. The meaning appears to be that no brother is to select more than ten head of cattle.

13. Colebrooke V, Digest 69. 'But, as has been declared above (*Sûtra* 11), one of each kind only. In the case of the v. l. *dvipa-dânâm*, the word *pada* (step) is used in the sense of the word *pâda* (foot).'—Haradatta.

14. Colebrooke V, Digest 58 ; *Manu* IX, 123.

share of the eldest son is one bull (in case he be born of a later-married wife) ;

15. (But the eldest son) being born of the first-married wife (shall have) fifteen cows and one bull ;

16. Or (let the eldest son) who is born of a later-married wife (share the estate) equally with his younger (brethren born of the first-married wife).

17. Or let the special shares (be adjusted) in each class (of sons) according to their mothers.

18. A father who has no (male) issue may appoint his daughter (to raise up a son for him), presenting burnt offerings to Agni (fire) and to Pragâpati (the lord of creatures), and addressing (the bridegroom with these words), ' For me be (thy male) offspring.'

19. Some declare, that (a daughter becomes) an appointed daughter solely by the intention (of the father).

20. Through fear of that (a man) should not marry a girl who has no brothers.

21. Sapindas (blood relations within six degrees), Sagotras (relations bearing a common family name), (or) those connected by descent from the same *Rishi*

15. Colebrooke loc. cit.; Manu IX, 124.

16. Colebrooke loc. cit.

17. Colebrooke V, Digest 59. ' After having divided the estate into as many portions as there are wives who possess sons, and having united as many shares as there are sons (of each mother), let the eldest in each class (of uterine brothers) receive the additional share of one-twentieth and so forth.'—Haradatta.

18-19. Colebrooke V, Digest 225; Manu IX, 130-140.

20. Manu III, 11; Yâgñavalkya I, 53.

21. Colebrooke, Dâyahâga XI, 6, 25; Mitâksharâ II, 1, 18; V, Digest 440. My copies as well as *Gîmûtavâhana* and *Vigñânesvara* read in the text *strî vâ*, ' or the wife,' instead of *strî ka*,

(vaidika gotra), and the wife shall share (the estate) of a person deceased without (male) issue (or an appointed daughter).

22. Or (the widow) may seek to raise up offspring (to her deceased husband).

23. (A son) begotten on a (widow) whose husband's brother lives, by another (relative), is excluded from inheritance.

24. A woman's separate property (goes) to her unmarried daughters, and (on failure of such) to poor (married daughters).

25. The sister's fee belongs to her uterine brothers, if her mother be dead.

26. Some (declare, that it belongs to them) even while the mother lives.

27. The heritage of not reunited (brothers) de-

'and the wife.' Still the latter seems to be the reading recognised by Haradatta, as he says, 'But the wife is joined together (*samukhīyate*) with all the Sagotras and the rest. When the Sagotras and the rest inherit, then the wife shall inherit one share with them,' &c. *Āpastamba* II, 6, 14, 2; *Manu* IX, 187; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 135-136.

22. Colebrooke, *Mitāksharā* II, 1, 8, where this *Sūtra* has, however, been combined with the preceding. See also above, XVIII, 4-8; *Manu* IX, 145-146, 190.

23. Colebrooke V, *Digest* 341; *Manu* IX, 144.

24. Colebrooke, *Dāyabhāga* IV, 2, 13; *Mitāksharā* I, 3, 11; II, 2, 4; V, *Digest* 490; *Mayūkha* IV, 8, 12. See also *Manu* IX, 192; *Yāgñavalkya* II, 145.

25. Colebrooke, *Dāyabhāga* IV, 3, 27; V, *Digest* 511; *Mayūkha* IV, 10, 32. 'The fee, i.e. the money which at an *Āsura*, or an *Ārsha* wedding, the father has taken for giving the sister away. That goes after his (the father's) death to the uterine brothers of that sister; and that (happens) after the mother's death. But if the mother is alive (it goes) to her.'—Haradatta.

26. Colebrooke V, *Digest* 511.

27. Colebrooke V, *Digest* 424. 'The word "eldest" is used

ceased (without male issue goes) to the eldest (brother).

28. If a reunited coparcener dies (without male issue) his reunited coparcener takes the heritage.

29. A son born after partition takes exclusively (the wealth) of his father.

30. What a learned (coparcener) has acquired by his own efforts, he may (at his pleasure) withhold from his unlearned (coparceners).

31. Unlearned (coparceners) shall divide (their acquisitions) equally.

32. A legitimate son, a son begotten on the wife (by a kinsman), an adopted son, a son made, a son born secretly, and a son abandoned (by his natural parents) inherit the estate (of their fathers).

33. The son of an unmarried damsel, the son of a pregnant bride, the son of a twice-married woman, the son of an appointed daughter, a son self-given, and a son bought belong to the family (of their fathers).

34. On failure of a legitimate son or (of the)

to give an example. (The property) goes to the brothers, not to the widow, nor to the parents. That is the opinion of the venerable teacher.—Haradatta. *Yâgñavalkya* II, 134.

28. *Mayûkha* IV, 9, 15; *Manu* IX, 212; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 138.

29. *Colebrooke*, *Dâyabhâga* VII, 3; *Manu* IX, 216.

30. *Colebrooke*, *Dâyabhâga* VI, 1, 17; V, *Digest* 355; *Mayûkha* IV, 7, 10; *Manu* IX, 206; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 119.

31. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 137; *Manu* IX, 205.

32-33. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 184; *Manu* IX, 166-178; *Yâgñavalkya* II, 128-132. My best copy P. inserts another *Sûtra* between this and the following one, *ete tu gotrabhâgah*, 'but these (latter six) belong to the family (only, and do not inherit).'

34. *Colebrooke* V, *Digest* 184. 'The residue of the estate

other (five heirs) they receive a fourth (of the estate).

35. The son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kshatriya wife, being the eldest and endowed with good qualities, shares equally (with a younger brother, born of a Brāhmaṇi);

36. (But he shall) not (obtain) the additional share of an eldest son.

37. If there are sons begotten (by a Brāhmaṇa) on wives of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes (the division of the estate between them takes place according to the same rules) as (between) the (son by a Kshatriya wife) and the son by a Brāhmaṇi.

38. And (the sons by a Kshatriya wife and by

goes to the Sapindas. If it is here stated that the son of an appointed daughter receives, even on failure of a legitimate son, a fourth part of the estate only, that refers to the son of an appointed daughter of lower caste, i.e. to a son who is born, when somebody makes the daughter of a wife of lower caste his appointed daughter, and does that by intent only.'—Haradatta.

35. Colebrooke V, Digest 158; Manu IX, 149-153; Yāgñavalkya II, 125. 'If the son of a Brāhmaṇa by a Kshatriya wife is endowed with good qualities and the eldest, then he shares equally with a younger son by a Brāhmaṇi. For the one possesses seniority by age and the other by caste.'—Haradatta.

36. Colebrooke loc. cit. 'What is exclusive of the additional share of the eldest, which has been declared above, Sūtra 5, (that) other (part) he shall obtain. The verb must be understood from the context. Regarding a son by a Kshatriya wife who is the eldest, but destitute of good qualities, the Mānava Dharmasāstra declares (IX, 152-153), "Or (if no deduction be made)," &c.'—Haradatta. The sense in which the Sūtra has been taken above, agrees with the explanation of the Ratnākara adduced in the Digest loc. cit., though the reading of the text followed there seems to be different.

37-38. Colebrooke V, Digest 159. In the Digest V, 160, an additional Sūtra regarding the partition between the sons of a

a Vaisya wife share in the same manner) if (they have been begotten) by a Kshatriya (father).

39. The son by a Sûdra wife even, if he be obedient like a pupil, receives a provision for maintenance (out of the estate) of a (Brâhmana) deceased without (other) male issue.

40. According to some, the son of a woman of equal caste even does not inherit, if he be living unrighteously.

41. Srotriyas shall divide the estate of a childless Brâhmana.

42. The king (shall take the property of men) of other (castes).

43. An idiot and a eunuch must be supported.

44. The (male) offspring of an idiot receives (his father's) share.

45. (Sons begotten) on women of higher castes (by men of lower castes shall be treated) like sons (begotten by a Brâhmana) on a Sûdra wife.

Vaisya by Vaisya and Sûdra wives is quoted, which, however, is not recognised by Haradatta.

39. Colebrooke V, Digest 169; Mayûkha IV, 4, 30. '(The word) of a Brâhmana must be understood (from Sûtra 35).—Haradatta.

40. Colebrooke V, Digest 316; Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 15.

41. Colebrooke, Mitâksharâ II, 7, 3; Mayûkha IV, 8, 25. 'The expression "of a childless (Brâhmana)" includes by implication (the absence) of Sapindas and other (heirs).—Haradatta. Srotriyas, i.e. Brâhmanas learned in the Vedas. See also Manu IX, 188.

42. Âpastamba II, 6, 14, 5.

43. Colebrooke V, Digest 335; Manu IX, 201-202; Yâgñavalkya II, 140.

44. Colebrooke loc. cit.; Manu IX, 203; Yâgñavalkya II, 141.

45. Colebrooke V, Digest 171, 335.

46. Water, (property destined for) pious uses or sacrifices, and prepared food shall not be divided ;

• 47. Nor (shall a partition be made) of women connected (with members of the family).

48. In cases for which no rule has been given, (that course) must be followed of which at least ten (Brāhmanas), who are well instructed, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness, approve.

49. They declare, that an assembly (parishad, shall consist) at least (of) the ten following (members, viz.) four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, (and) three men who know (three) different (institutes of) law.

50. But on failure of them the decision of one Srotriya, who knows the Veda and is properly instructed (in the duties, shall be followed) in doubtful cases.

51. For such a man is incapable of (unjustly) injuring or (unjustly) favouring created beings.

52. He who knows the sacred law obtains heavenly bliss, more than (other) righteous men, on account of his knowledge of, and his adherence to it.

53. Thus the sacred law (has been explained).

46. Manu IX, 219. For a fuller explanation of the terms yoga and kshema, (property destined for) pious uses and sacrifices, see Colebrooke, *Mitāksharâ* I, 4, 23.

47. Colebrooke, *Mitāksharâ* I, 4, 22 ; V, Digest 367 ; *Mayūkha* IV, 7, 19.

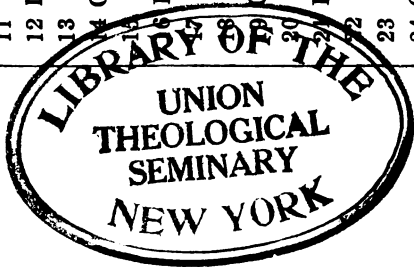
49-51. *Āpastamba* II, 11, 29, 13-14 ; *Manu* XII, 108-113. Three men belonging to the (three) orders enumerated first, i.e. a student, a householder, and an ascetic, see above, III, 2.

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| CONSONANTS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zand. | Pahlavi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | | k | kh | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Tenuis | k | | | क | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | k |
| 2 " aspirata | kh | | | ख | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | kh |
| 3 Media | g | | | ग | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ... |
| 4 " aspirata | gh | | | घ | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ... |
| 5 Gutturo-labialis | q | | | ङ | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | ... |
| 6 Nasalis | h (ng) | | | ण | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | ... |
| 7 Spiritus asper | h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | h, hs |
| 8 " lenis | 'h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ... |
| 9 " asper faucalis | 'h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ... |
| 10 " lenis faucalis | 'h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ... |
| 11 " asper fricatus | 'h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ... |
| 12 " lenis fricatus | 'h | | | ह | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | ... |
| Gutturales modificatæ (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 Tenuis | k | | | क | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | k |
| 14 " aspirata | kh | | | ख | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | kh |
| 15 Media | g | | | ग | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ... |
| 16 " aspirata | gh | | | घ | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ... |
| 17 " Nasalis | ñ | | | ण | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | ... |

| | CONSONANTS (continued). | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----|-------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|--|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 | Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬨 | ی | ي | י | י | y |
| 19 | Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | " lenis | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | " asper assibilatus | | s | | श | 𐬯 | ش | ش | | | |
| 22 | " lenis assibilatus | | z | | | ז | ز | ز | | | z |
| | Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬌 | ت | ت | | ת | t |
| 24 | " aspirata | th | | | थ | 𐬍 | ث | ث | | ת | th |
| 25 | " assibilata | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 | Media | d | | | द | 𐬎 | د | د | | | |
| 27 | " aspirata | dh | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | " assibilata | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 | Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬏 | ن | ن | | נ | n |
| 30 | Semivocalis | l | | | ल | 𐬐 | ل | ل | | ל | l |
| 31 | " mollis 1 | | l | | | | | | | | |
| 32 | " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | |
| 33 | Spiritus asper 1 | | | | स | 𐬑 | س | س | | ס | s |
| 34 | " asper 2 | | | s </td <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> | | | | | | | |
| 35 | " lenis | z | | | | | | | | | |
| 36 | " asperimus 1 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |
| 37 | " asperimus 2 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pahlevi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | o | | | | | | | | o |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | ë | | | | fin. | | | | ë |
| 3 " labialis | ö | | | | init. | | | | ö |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | (a) | अ | 𐬀 | 𐬀 | ا | ا | א | a |
| 5 " longa | ā | (ā) | आ | 𐬁 | 𐬁 | آ | آ | א | ā |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | (i) | इ | 𐬂 | 𐬂 | ی | ی | י | i |
| 7 " longa | ī | (ī) | ई | 𐬃 | 𐬃 | ی | ی | י | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | ɛ | | ए | 𐬄 | 𐬄 | | | | ɛ |
| 9 " longa | ē | | ऐ | 𐬅 | 𐬅 | | | | ē |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ɛ | | ऋ | 𐬆 | 𐬆 | | | | ɛ |
| 11 " longa | ā | | ॠ | 𐬇 | 𐬇 | | | | ā |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | उ | 𐬈 | 𐬈 | | | | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | (ū) | ऊ | 𐬉 | 𐬉 | | | | ū |
| 14 Gutturo-palatalis brevis | e | (e) | ऋ | 𐬊 | 𐬊 | | | | e |
| " longa | ē(ai) | (ē) | ॠ | 𐬋 | 𐬋 | | | | ē |
| Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | āi | (āi) | ऌ | 𐬌 | 𐬌 | | | | āi |
| " " " " | ei(ēi) | | ॡ | 𐬍 | 𐬍 | | | | ei, ēi |
| " " " " | oi(ōu) | | | | | | | | oi, ōi |
| Gutturo-labialis brevis | o | (o) | ओ | 𐬎 | 𐬎 | | | | o |
| " longa | ō(au) | (ō) | औ | 𐬏 | 𐬏 | | | | ō |
| Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | āu | (āu) | ऋ | 𐬐 | 𐬐 | | | | āu |
| " " " " | eu(ēu) | | ॠ | 𐬑 | 𐬑 | | | | eu, ēu |
| " " " " | ou(ōu) | | ऌ | 𐬒 | 𐬒 | | | | ou, ōu |
| " " " " | ä | | | | | | | | ä |
| 24 Gutturális fracta | ī | | | | | | | | ī |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ii | | | | | | | | ii |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ö | | | | | | | | ö |
| 27 Gutturo-labialis fracta | | | | | | | | | ü |



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THE
SACRED BOOKS OF CHINA

THE TEXTS OF CONFUCIANISM

TRANSLATED BY

JAMES LEGGE

PART I

THE SHÛ KING

THE RELIGIOUS PORTIONS OF THE SHIH KING

THE HSIÂO KING

Oxford

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P R E F A C E.

WHILE submitting here some prefatory observations on the version of the Shû King presented in this volume, I think it well to prefix also a brief account of what are regarded as the Sacred Books of the Religions of China. Those religions are three:—Confucianism, T'aoism, and Buddhism.

I. I begin with a few words about the last. To translate any of its books does not belong to my province, and more than a few words from me are unnecessary. It has been said that Buddhism was introduced into China in the third century B. C.; but it certainly did not obtain an authoritative recognition in the empire till the third quarter of our first century¹. Its Texts were translated into Chinese, one portion after another, as they were gradually obtained from India; but it was not till very long afterwards that the Chinese possessed, in their own language, a complete copy of the Buddhist canon². Translations from the Sanskrit constitute the principal part of the Buddhistic literature of China, though there are also many original works in Chinese belonging to it.

¹ I put the introduction of Buddhism into China before our Christian era thus uncertainly, because of what is said in the article on the history of Buddhism in China, in the Records of the Sui Dynasty (A. D. 589–618), the compilers of which say that before the Han dynasty (began B. C. 202) Buddhism was not heard of in China. They refer to contrary statements as what 'some say,' and proceed to relate circumstances inconsistent with them. It is acknowledged on all sides that Buddhist books were first brought to China between A. D. 60 and 70.

² Mr. Beal (Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese, pp. 1, 2) says that 'the first complete edition of the Buddhist Canon in China dates from the seventh century; that a second and much enlarged edition of it, called the Southern Collection, was prepared in A. D. 1410; that a third edition, called the Northern Collection, appeared about A. D. 1590; which again was renewed and enlarged in the year 1723.'

II. Confucianism is the religion of China par excellence, and is named from the great sage who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Confucius indeed did not originate the system, nor was he the first to inculcate its principles or enjoin its forms of worship. He said of himself (*Analects*, VII, i) that he was a transmitter and not a maker, one who believed in and loved the ancients; and hence it is said in the thirtieth chapter of the *Doctrine of the Mean*, ascribed to his grandson, that 'he handed down the doctrines of Yáo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed the regulations of Wǎn and Wù, taking them as his models.'

In fulfilling what he considered to be his mission, Confucius did little towards committing to writing the views of antiquity according to his own conception of them. He discoursed about them freely with the disciples of his school, from whom we have received a good deal of what he said; and it is possible that his accounts of the ancient views and practices took, unconsciously to himself, some colour from the peculiar character of his mind. But his favourite method was to direct the attention of his disciples to the ancient literature of the nation. He would neither affirm nor relate anything for which he could not adduce some document of acknowledged authority. He said on one occasion (*Analects*, III, ix) that he could describe the ceremonies of the dynasties of Hsiá (B. C. 2205-1767) and Yin (B. C. 1766-1123), but did not do so, because the records and scholars in the two states of K'áu, that had been assigned to the descendants of their sovereigns, could not sufficiently attest his words. It is an error even to suppose that he compiled the historical documents, poems, and other ancient books from various works existing in his time. Portions of the oldest works had already perished. His study of those that remained, and his exhortations to his disciples also to study them, contributed to their preservation. What he wrote or said about their meaning should be received by us with reverence; but if all the works which he handled had come down to us entire, we should have been, so far as it is possible for foreigners to be, in

the same position as he was for learning the ancient religion of his country. Our text-books would be the same as his. Unfortunately most of the ancient books suffered loss and injury after Confucius had passed from the stage of life. We have reason, however, to be thankful that we possess so many and so much of them. No other literature, comparable to them for antiquity, has come down to us in such a state of preservation.

But the reader must bear in mind that the ancient books of China do not profess to have been inspired, or to contain what we should call a Revelation. Historians, poets, and others wrote them as they were moved in their own minds. An old poem may occasionally contain what it says was spoken by God, but we can only understand that language as calling attention emphatically to the statements to which it is prefixed. We also read of Heaven's raising up the great ancient sovereigns and teachers, and variously assisting them to accomplish their undertakings; but all this need not be more than what a religious man of any country might affirm at the present day of direction, help, and guidance given to himself and others from above. But while the old Chinese books do not profess to contain any divine revelation, the references in them to religious views and practices are numerous; and it is from these that the student has to fashion for himself an outline of the early religion of the people. I will now state what the books are.

First, and of greatest importance, there is the Book of Historical Documents, called the *Shû* and, since the period of the Han dynasty (began B.C. 202), the *Shû King*. Its documents commence with the reign of *Yáo* in the twenty-fourth century B.C., and come down to that of king *Hsiang* of the *K'áu* dynasty, B.C. 651-619. The earliest chapters were not contemporaneous with the events which they describe, but the others begin to be so in the twenty-second century B.C. The reader will find a translation of the whole of this work without abridgment.

Second, and nearly as important as the *Shû*, there is the *Shih*, or the Book of Poetry. It contains in all 305

pieces, five of which are of the time of the Shang dynasty (called also the Yin), B.C. 1766–1123. The others belong to the dynasty of K'au, from the time of its founder, king W'án, born B.C. 1231, to the reign of king Ting, B.C. 606–586. The whole is divided into four Parts, the last of which is occupied with 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar.' Many pieces in the other Parts also partake of a religious character, but the greater number are simply descriptive of the manners, customs, and events of the times to which they belong, and have no claim to be included in the roll of Sacred Texts. In this volume will be found all the pieces that illustrate the religious views of their authors, and the religious practices of their times.

The third work is the Yi, commonly called the Book of Changes. Confucius himself set a high value on it, as being fitted to correct and perfect the character of the learner (Analects, VII, xvi); and it is often spoken of by foreigners as the most ancient of all the Chinese classics. But it is not so. As it existed in the time of the sage, and as it exists now, no portion of the text is older than the time of king W'án, mentioned above. There were and are, indeed, in it eight trigrams ascribed to Fû-hsî, who is generally considered as the founder of the Chinese nation, and whose place in chronology should, probably, be assigned in the thirty-fourth century B.C. The eight trigrams are again increased to sixty-four hexagrams. To form these figures, two lines, one of them whole (—) and the other divided (— —), are assumed as bases. Those lines are then placed, each over itself, and each over the other; and four binograms are formed. From these, by the same process with the base lines, are obtained eight figures,—the famous trigrams. Three other repetitions of the same process give us successively sixteen, thirty-two, and sixty-four figures. The lines in the figures thus increase in an arithmetical progression, whose common difference is one, and the number of the figures increases in a geometrical progression, whose common ratio is two. But what ideas Fû-hsî attached to his primary lines,—the whole and the divided; what significance he gave to his trigrams; what to the

sixty-four hexagrams,—if indeed he himself formed so many figures; and why the multiplication of the figures was stayed at sixty-four:—of none of these points have we any knowledge from him. There is some reason to believe that there were texts to the hexagrams under the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang, but none of them have been preserved. It may be that king Wăn and his equally famous son, the duke of K'âu, adopted much of what they found already existing, and incorporated it with their own interpretations of the figures; but they, and they alone, are accepted as the authors of the text of the Yî. King Wăn, we are told, at a time when he was imprisoned by the tyrannical sovereign with whom the dynasty of Shang or Yin ended, took in hand the ever-changing hexagrams, and appended to each a brief explanation of the meaning which the trigrams composing it suggested by their union to his mind; and in some cases the practical course in affairs to which that meaning should direct. His son did for the separate lines of each hexagram what Wăn had done for the whole figure. Confucius is said to have entered into their labours about 600 years afterwards. Several appendixes are ascribed to him, in which there is an attempt to explain the origin of the Fû-hsî figures, and many of the interpretations of Wăn and his son. The early linear figures; the notes of Wăn and the duke of K'âu; and the Confucian appendixes:—these constitute the Yî.

The work was from the first intimately connected with the practice of divination, which, we know from the Shû, entered largely into the religion of the ancient Chinese. This goes far to account for its obscure and enigmatical character; but at the same time there occur in it, though in a fragmentary manner, so many metaphysical, physical, moral, and religious utterances, that the student of it is gradually brought under a powerful fascination. In consequence, moreover, of its use in divination, it was exempted by the superstitious tyrant of K'hin from the flames to which he condemned all the other Confucian literature in B.C. 213. It has thus come down to us entire, and a translation of the whole of it will be given.

An additional interest belongs to the *Yî* as the fountain-head from which the comparatively modern philosophers of the Sung dynasty (began A. D. 960) professed to draw what has been called their 'atheo-political' system. As an appendix to the translation of the *Yî*, there will be given an outline of that system, and an attempt will be made to test the correctness of the interpretation of this classic by its authors.

The fourth of the great classics is the *Lî Kî*, or the Record of Rites; but it is only one of a class that we may denominate the Constitutional and Ritual Books of ancient China, especially under the *Kâu* dynasty. They are often mentioned together as 'the Three Rituals.' The first of them is called *Kâu Lî*, the Rites of *Kâu*, and also *Kâu Kwan*, the Officers of *Kâu*, which latter is the better name for it. It is the official book of the *Kâu* dynasty. The prevailing opinion is that it was the production of the duke of *Kâu*; and if it were not composed in its present form by him, it contains, no doubt, the substance of the regulations which he made for the administration of the government, after the dynasty of Shang had passed, through the achievements of his father and brother, into that of *Kâu*. Under the various departments in which that administration was arranged, it enumerates the principal and subordinate officers belonging to each, and describes their duties. After the fires of *Khin*, the work was recovered nearly complete in the first century B. C. A good translation of the whole work was published in 1851, at Paris, by M. Edouard Biot.

The second Ritual Collection bears the name of *Î Lî*, which has been translated 'the Decorum Ritual,' and 'the Rules of Demeanour.' It was recovered earlier than the former, and is as voluminous. It consists of the rules by which a scholar or officer should regulate his behaviour on social and state occasions. It has not yet, so far as I know, been translated into any European language.

The third Collection, more voluminous than either of the others, was made also under the Han dynasty. In the first century B. C., it was an immense compilation of 214 books arranged in five divisions. The 214 were reduced

to eighty-five by Tâi Teh, a scholar of the time, and his eighty-five again to forty-six by a cousin, called Tâi K'hang. Three other books were added to these towards the end of the Han period, forming forty-nine in all, which have come down to us under the title of Lî K'î, or 'the Record of Rites,' and have long constituted by imperial authority one of the five King. An abridgment of this work was translated by M. J. M. Callery, at Turin, in 1853, with the title,—'Lî K'î, ou Memorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois, et accompagné de notes, de commentaires, et du texte original.' Callery's work, however, contains only thirty-six of the forty-nine books of the Lî K'î, and most of those thirty-six in a condensed form. Whether it will be possible to give in these Sacred Books of the East translations of the whole of these Rituals; and if that be not possible, by what principles to be guided in the selection of portions of them:—these are questions to be determined after further deliberation. Many passages contain more of the mind of Confucius himself on the sacrificial worship of his country, and the ideas underlying it, than we find elsewhere.

But it must not be forgotten that these ritual books do not throw so valuable a light on the ancient religion of China as the older Shû and Shih. They belong to the period of the K'âu dynasty, and do not go back as contemporaneous records to the dynasties beyond it and the still remoter age of Yâo and Shun. The views of Confucius, moreover, as given in them, do not come to us at first hand. They were gathered up by the Han scholars five and six centuries after his death, nor can we be sure that these did not sometimes put ideas of their own into the mouth of the sage, and make additions to the writings which were supposed, correctly or incorrectly, to have come from his immediate disciples.

We owe the fifth and last of the Kings of China to Confucius himself. It is what he called *K'hun K'hiù*, or 'the Spring and Autumn,' a very brief chronicle compiled by him of the annals of his native state of Lû for 242 years, from B. C. 722 to 481. But there is not much to be

gleaned from it for the Sacred Texts; and if we were to launch out into the three supplements to it of 30 *Khiu*-ming, Kung-yang, and Kû-liang, the result would not repay the labour. A translation of the whole of 30's supplement, much the most important, is given in my work on the *Khun Khiu*, published at Hong Kong in 1872.

There is another short treatise attributed to Confucius,—the Hsiào King, or 'Classic of Filial Piety.' Though not like one of the five great works that have been described, it was the first to receive the denomination of a King,—and that from the lips of the sage himself,—if the account which we have received of the matter is to be relied on. This little work does not come to us, like the *Khun Khiu*, as directly from the pencil of Confucius, but in the shape of conversations between him and his disciple 3ǎng-ze, put on record in the first place, probably, by some members of 3ǎng's school. No portion of the ancient literature has more exercised the minds and engaged the attention of many of the emperors of successive dynasties. The Hsiào seems to me an attempt to construct a religion on the basis of the cardinal virtue of Filial Piety, and is open to criticism in many respects. A translation of it is given in the present volume.

The classical books are often spoken of as being 'the five King' and 'the four Shû.' The King have all been separately referred to above; the four Shû is an abbreviation for the Shû or Books of the four Philosophers. The first is the Lun Yü, or 'Discourses and Conversations,' occupied chiefly with sayings of Confucius and conversations between him and many of his disciples. The second is the Works of Mencius, perhaps the greatest thinker and writer of the Confucian school after the Master. I hope to be able to give both these works. The third of the Shû is the Tâ Hsio, or 'Great Learning,' ascribed, like the Hsiào, to 3ǎng-ze. The fourth is the Kung Yung, or 'Doctrine of the Mean,' the production of 3ze-sze, the sage's grandson. Both of these treatises, however, are taken from the *Lî Kî*. The whole of the Four Books were translated and published by me in 1861.

III. The third Religion in China is what is called Táoism. It was, like Confucianism, of native origin, and its acknowledged founder was Lî R, called also Lî Po-yang, and, after his death, Lî Tan. More commonly he is designated Láo-ze, translated by some 'the Old Philosopher,' and by others 'the Old Boy' from a fabulous story that his mother carried him in her womb for seventy-two years, so that when he was at length cut out of it, his hair was already white. His birth is referred to the year 604 B. C., so that he was between fifty and sixty years older than Confucius. There are accounts, hardly reliable, of interviews and discussions between the two men.

Láo-ze's system often goes with English writers by the name of Rationalism; but if that name be retained, the term must be taken in quite a peculiar sense. His doctrine was that of the Táo, but it is not easy to determine what English term will best express the meaning of the Chinese character. The only record which we have of Láo-ze's views is the Táo-teh King, or 'Classic of Táo and Virtue,' a treatise of no great length. It was published at Paris in 1842, with a translation in French, by the late Stanislas Julien, under the title of 'Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu.' Appealing to the views of Kwang-ze and other writers of the Táoist school, M. Julien says that 'Le Táo est dépourvu d'action, de pensée, de jugement, d'intelligence,' and adds that 'it appears impossible therefore to take it for the primordial reason, the Sublime Intelligence, which created and rules the world.'

A translation in English was published, in 1868, by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, under the title of 'the Speculations in Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality, of "the Old Philosopher."' Dr. Chalmers retains the term Táo in his English Text, and says, 'I have thought it better to leave the word Táo untranslated, both because it has given the name to the sect,—the Táoists,—and because no English word is its exact equivalent. Three terms suggest themselves,—the Way, Reason, and the Word; but they are all liable to objection. Were we guided by etymology, "the Way" would come nearest to the original, and in one

or two passages the idea of a Way seems to be in the term ; but this is too materialistic to serve the purpose of a translation. Reason again seems to be more like a quality or attribute of some conscious Being than Tào is. I would translate it by the Word in the sense of the Logos, but this would be like settling the question which I wish to leave open, viz. what amount of resemblance there is between the Logos of the New Testament and this Tào, which is its nearest representative in Chinese.'

Two other translations of the Tào-teh King have appeared, both in German:—'Lao-tsze's Tao Te King, aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übersetzt, eingeleitet, und commentirt, von Victor von Strauss (Leipzig, 1870),' and 'Lao-tse, Tao-te-king, "Der Weg zur Tugend," aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt und erklärt von Reinhold von Plänckner,' also published at Leipzig. Strauss closely follows Julien, while Plänckner allows himself great freedom in dealing with his original. Notwithstanding these four attempts to give the meaning of 'the Old Philosopher' in three European languages, there is room for a new version, which will be submitted to the reader in due course. It is only by an intense and long-continued study of the original that we can come to an agreement as to the meaning of the Tào. I propose not only to give a translation of the Tào-teh King, but also of the works of Kwang-*z*ze, the most remarkable of the early writers of the Tàoist school.

Whatever Láo-*z*ze intended by the Tào, Tàoism has, in the course of time, borrowed largely, both from Confucianism and Buddhism. It inculcates a morality of a high order in some respects, and has developed a system of grotesque beliefs and practices, ministering to superstition, and intended to refine and preserve the breath of life. Its practical teachings will be exhibited in the most popular of all the Tàoist writings,—the treatise on 'Actions and their Recompenses,' and perhaps in one or more, besides, of the characteristic productions of the system.

The version of the Shû that appears in this volume is substantially the same as that in the third volume of my

large edition of the Chinese Classics, and which was published in 1865. I wrote out the whole afresh, however, having before me not only my own version, but the earlier translations of P. Gaubil in French and Dr. Medhurst in English. Frequent reference was made likewise to a larger apparatus of native commentaries than I had formerly used. Going to the text anew, after more than twelve years devoted mainly to the continuous study of the Chinese classics, I yet hardly discovered any errors which it was necessary to correct. A few verbal alterations were made to make the meaning clearer. Only in one case will a reader, familiar with the former version, be struck with any alteration in this. The Chinese character 帝 (Tî), applied repeatedly to the ancient Yáo and Shun in the commencing books of the classic, and once in the 27th Book of the fifth Part, was there translated by 'emperor,' while it is left untranslated in the present volume, and its name transferred to the English text.

Before adopting this change, I had considered whether I ought to translate Tî in all other instances of its occurrence in the Shû (and invariably in the Shih), and its intensified form Shang Tî (上帝), by our term 'God.' Gaubil rendered Tî for the most part by 'le Seigneur,' and Shang Tî by 'le Souverain Maître,' adding sometimes to these names Tî and Shang Tî in brackets. Medhurst translated Tî by 'the Supreme,' and 'the Supreme Ruler,' and Shang Tî by 'the Supreme Ruler.' More than twenty-five years ago I came to the conclusion that Tî was the term corresponding in Chinese to our 'God,' and that Shang Tî was the same, with the addition of Shang, equal to 'Supreme.' In this view I have never wavered, and I have rendered both the names by 'God' in all the volumes of the Chinese Classics thus far translated and published.

What made me pause before doing so in the present volume, was the consideration that the object of 'the Sacred Texts of the Religions of the East,' as I understand it, is to give translations of those texts without any colouring in the first place from the views of the trans-

lators. Could it be that my own view of Tî, as meaning God, had grown up in the heat of our controversies in China as to the proper characters to be used for the words God and Spirit, in translating the Sacred Scriptures? A reader, confronted everywhere by the word God, might be led to think more highly of the primitive religion of China than he ought to think. Should I leave the names Tî and Shang Tî untranslated? Or should I give for them, instead of God, the terms Ruler and Supreme Ruler? I could not see my way to adopt either of these courses.

The term Heaven (天, pronounced Thien) is used everywhere in the Chinese Classics for the Supreme Power, ruling and governing all the affairs of men with an omnipotent and omniscient righteousness and goodness; and this vague term is constantly interchanged in the same paragraph, not to say the same sentence, with the personal names Tî and Shang Tî. Thien and Tî in their written forms are perfectly distinct. Both of them were among the earliest characters, and enter, though not largely, as the phonetical element into other characters of later formation. According to the oldest Chinese dictionary, the Shwo Wăn (A. D. 100), Thien is formed, 'by association of ideas,' from yî (一), 'one,' and tâ (大), 'great,' meaning—what is one and undivided, and great. Tâi Thung, of our thirteenth century, in his remarkable dictionary, the Liû Shû Kû, explains the top line of it as indicating 'what is above,' so that the significance of the character is 'what is above and great.' In both these dictionaries Tî (帝) is derived from 一 or 冫 (shang), 'above,' or 'what is above:' and they say that the whole character is of phonetical formation, in which I am not able to follow them¹;

¹ It is said in the Shwo Wăn that the phonetical element in Tî is 束; but this is pronounced ʒhze. Neither in form nor sound is there any similitude between it and Tî. An error, probably, has crept into the text. Dr. Chalmers, in his treatise on 'the Origin of the Chinese,' attempts (p. 12) to analyse the character into its constituent parts in the following way:—'The peculiar nature of the Chinese written language has done good service in stereotyping the primi-

but Tâi Thung gives the following account of its meaning:—‘Tî is the honourable designation of lordship and rule,’ adding, ‘Therefore Heaven is called Shang Tî; the five Elementary Powers are called the five Tî; and the Son of Heaven¹—that is, the Sovereign—is called Tî.’ Here then is the name Heaven, by which the idea of Supreme Power in the absolute is vaguely expressed; and when the Chinese would speak of it by a personal name, they use the terms Tî and Shang Tî;—saying, I believe, what our early fathers did, when they began to use the word God. Tî is the name which has been employed in China for this concept for fully 5000 years. Our word God fits naturally into every passage where the character occurs in the old Chinese Classics, save those to which I referred above on p. xxiii. It never became with the people a proper name like the Zeus of the Greeks. I can no more translate Tî or Shang Tî by any other word but God than I can translate *zăn* (人) by anything else but man.

The preceding is a brief abstract of the reasoning by which I was determined to retain the term God for Tî and Shang Tî in this volume, excepting in the cases that have called for these observations. But in the account of Tî which I have adduced from Tâi Thung, it is said that ‘the sovereign is also called Tî;’ and most of my readers know that Hwang Tî (皇帝) is the title of the emperor of China. How did this application of the name arise? Was it in the first place a designation of the ruler or emperor; and was it then given to the Supreme Power, when the vague Heaven failed to satisfy the thinker and worshipper,

tive belief in one Supreme Tî (帝), who is 大 “great,” over, and |, “ruling,” heaven (☉ = ☽) and earth (☷):’ This is ingenious, but not entirely satisfactory. The three last steps are so; but the finding 大 (great) in the top part of 帝 does not in the same way carry conviction to the mind.

¹ Thien 3ze, ‘the Son of Heaven,’ is a common designation of the sovereign of China. Originally 3ze performed in the expression the part of a verb, and Thien 3ze was equivalent to ‘he whom Heaven sons,’ that is, considers and treats as its son. See the second line of the ode, p. 318.

and he wished to express his recognition of a personal Being who was to himself his almighty ruler? If these questions be answered in the affirmative, Tî would be a name applied to the Supreme Being, just as we rise from the paternal relation among ourselves and call him Father. Or, on the other hand, was Tî the designation of the Supreme Lord and Ruler, corresponding to our God, and was it subsequently applied to the earthly ruler, thereby deifying him, just as the title *Divus* was given to a Roman emperor? I believe that it was in this latter way that Tî came to be used of the sovereigns of China; and therefore in again publishing a translation of the *Shû*, I resolved, that where the appellation is given in it to Yáo and Shun, and it is only to them that it is given, I would retain the Chinese term instead of rendering it, as formerly, by 'emperor.'

The following are the reasons which weighed with me in coming to this resolution:

First, the first really historical sovereign of China who used the title of Hwang Tî was the founder of the *K'in* dynasty; and he assumed it in B. C. 221, when he had subjugated all the sovereignties into which the feudal kingdom of *Káu* had become divided, and was instituting the despotic empire that has since subsisted.

The *Káu* dynasty had continued for 867 years, from B. C. 1122 to 256, and its rulers had been styled Wang or kings.

Káu superseded the dynasty of Shang or Yin, that had endured for 644 years, from B. C. 1766 to 1123; and its rulers had similarly been styled Wang or kings.

Shang superseded the dynasty of Hsiá, which had lasted for 439 years, from B. C. 2205 to 1767, and its rulers had been styled Wang, or kings, and Háu, or sovereigns.

Thus, from the great Yü, B. C. 2205 to B. C. 221, that is, for nearly 2000 years, there was no Tî or emperor in China. During all that time the people had on the whole been increasing in numbers, and the nation growing in territory;—how did it come to pass, that the higher title, if it had previously existed, gave place to an inferior one?

Prior to the dynasty of Hsiâ, with the exception of the period of Yâo and Shun, the accounts which we have of the history of China have been, and ought to be, pronounced 'fabulous' and 'legendary.' The oldest documents that purport to be historical are the books in the Shû about Yâo and Shun, and even they do not profess to be contemporaneous with those personages. The earlier accounts open with a Phan-kû, in whose time 'heaven and earth were first separated.' To him succeeded the period of the San Hwang, or Three August Lines, consisting of twelve Celestial, eleven Terrestrial, and nine Human Sovereigns, who ruled together about 50,000 years. After them come a host of different Lines, till we arrive at the Wû Tî, or Five Emperors. The first of these is commonly said to be Fû-hsî, while he and two others are sometimes put down as the San Hwang, in order to bring in Yâo and Shun as the last two of the Tîs.

I have entered into these details because of the account which we have of the king of *K'in*'s assuming the title of Hwang Tî. We are told:—'As soon as the king had brought the whole country into subjection, thinking that he united in himself the virtues of the three Hwangs, and that his merits exceeded those of the five Tîs, he changed his title into Hwang Tî.' The three Hwangs are entirely fabulous, and the five Tîs are, to say the least, legendary. That there were either Hwangs or Tîs ruling in China before the age of the Hsiâ dynasty cannot be admitted.

Second, it has been stated above, and is shown in the Introduction to the Shû, pp. 13-19, that the books in the Shû, previous to the Hsiâ dynasty, are not historical in the sense of their being contemporaneous documents of the times about which they speak. They profess to be compilations merely from older documents; and when they speak of Yâo and Shun as Tîs, the title Tî precedes the name or designation, instead of following it, as it ought to do, according to Chinese usage, if Tî is to be taken in the sense of emperor. Yâo Tî would be 'the emperor Yâo,' but we have Tî Yâo, where Tî performs the part of an adjective. King Wân, the founder of the *K'au* dynasty, is

invariably mentioned as Wǎn Wang, 'Wǎn the king.' To say Wang Wǎn would be felt at once by every Chinese scholar to be inadmissible; and not less so is Tì Yáo for 'the emperor Yáo.' It was the perception of this violation of usage in Chinese composition, five years ago, that first showed me the error of translating Tì Yáo and Tì Shun by 'the emperor Yáo' and 'the emperor Shun.' It is true that in the early books of the Shû, we have Tì used alone, without the adjunct of Yáo or Shun, and referring to those personages. In those cases it does perform the part of a substantive, but its meaning depends on that which belonged to it as an adjective in the phrases Tì Yáo and Tì Shun. If it be ascertained that in these it means 'the Deified,' then when used singly as a noun, it will mean Divus, or the Divine One.

Third, the sovereigns of the Hsiâ, the Shang, and the K'áu dynasties, it has been seen, were styled Wang and not Tì. Confucius speaks repeatedly in the Analects of Yáo and Shun, but he never calls either of them by the title of Tì. Mencius, however, uses it both of the one and the other, when he is quoting in substance from the accounts of them in the Shû. This confirms the view that the early books of the Shû were current after the middle of the K'áu dynasty, very much in the form in which we now have them; and the question arises whether we can show how the application of the title Tì as given in them to Yáo and Shun arose. We can.

The fourth Book of the Lî K'î is called Yüeh Ling, 'the Monthly Record of the Proceedings of Government.' In it certain sacrificial observances paid to the five Tìs are distributed through the four seasons. The Tìs are Fù-hsi, Shǎn-nǎng, Yü-hsiung or Hsien-yüan, Kin-thien, and K'áo-yang, who are styled Thái Háo (the Greatly Resplendent), Yen Tì (the Blazing Tì), Hwang Tì (the Yellow Tì), Sháo Háo (the Less Resplendent), and Kwan Hsü (the Solely Correct); with each Tì there is associated in the ceremony a personage of inferior rank, who is styled Shǎn (神 = a Spirit). The language descriptive of the ceremony is the same in all the cases, with the exception of the names and

months. Thus the first entry is:—‘In the first month of spring, on such and such days, the Tî is Thâi Hào, and the Shân is Kâu-mang.’ Now this Kâu-mang was a son of Shâo Hào, several hundreds of years later than Thâi Hào, so that the associating them together in this ceremony could only have arisen in later times.

However we explain the ceremony thus curtly described; whether we see in it the growing prevalence of nature-worship, or an illustration of the practice of worshipping ancient heroes and worthies:—Tî appears in the account of it plainly used in the sense of God. In each of the five instances, we have a Tî and a Shân, not an emperor and a spirit, but a God and a Spirit,—a Spirit standing in the same relation to the God, that *Khăn* (𠄎 = a subject or minister) stands in to a ruler. Thus it was that, by a process of deification, the title of Tî came to be given, in the time of the Kâu dynasty, to the great names, fabulous and legendary, of antiquity; and thus it was that it was applied to the heroes Yáo and Shun. It may well be that the title Hwang Tî, used by a Chinese of the present emperor or of any emperor of the past, does not call up to his mind any other idea than that of a human sovereign; but being satisfied as to the proper signification of Tî as God, and as to the process by which the title came to be applied to the ancient Yáo and Shun, I could no longer render it, when used of them in the Shû, by emperor, and elected to leave it untranslated in the present volume.

To any unimportant changes of translation it is unnecessary to refer. The dates B. C. in the introductions and notes are all one year more than in the translations formerly published. They are thus brought into accordance with those of P. Gaubil and the useful Chinese Chronological Tables of the late Mr. Mayers.

The changes in the transliteration of Chinese names are very considerable. As foreigners are now resident in Peking, it seemed proper to adopt the pronunciation of the

capital as given by Sir T. F. Wade in his *H sin Ching Lu* and *Tzū Erh Chî*. At the same time, in order to secure as near an approach as possible to uniformity in all the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East, the letters employed were made to conform to those in Professor Max Müller's Scheme for the Transliteration of Oriental Alphabets. It was not easy at first to do this, for Chinese, having no alphabet, reluctated against being made to appear as if it had; but use has more than reconciled me to the method now employed. It was not possible to introduce into the table all the diphthongs in which Chinese speech is rich. The reader has to be informed that *i* before another vowel or a diphthong approximates to the sound of *y*, so that the whole utterance is still monosyllabic. The powers of *r* and *ze* must be heard before they can be appreciated.

To call the attention of the reader to passages in the *Shû*, embodying, more or less distinctly, religious ideas, an asterisk (*) will be found appended to them.

J. L.

OXFORD,
18th April, 1879.

THE SHŪ KING
OR
BOOK OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

THE SHŪ KING

OR

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF THE SHŪ.

1. The Shū is the most ancient of the Chinese classical books, and contains historical documents of various kinds, relating to the period from about B. C. 2357-627. The character Shū shows us by its composition that it denotes 'the pencil speaking,' and hence it is often used as a designation of the written characters of the language. This, indeed, was the earliest meaning of it, but from this the transition was easy to its employment in the sense of writings or books, applicable to any consecutive compositions; and we find it further specially employed by Confucius and others to designate the historical remains of antiquity, in distinction from the poems, the accounts of rites, and other monuments of former times. Not that those other monuments might not also be called by the general name of Shū. The peculiar significance of the term, however, was well established, and is retained to the present day.

Meaning of
the name
Shū King.

The book has come down to us in a mutilated condition; but even as it is said to have existed in the time of Confucius, it did not profess to contain a history of China, and much less, to give the annals of that history. It was simply a collection of historical memorials, extending over a space of about 1700 years, but on no connected method, and with frequent and great gaps between them.

The name King (now in Pekinese *King*) was not added to Shû till the time of the Han dynasty (began B. C. 202). If Confucius applied it to any of the classical works, it was to the classic of Filial Piety, as will be seen in the Introduction to the translation of that work. The Han scholars, however, when engaged in collecting and digesting the ancient literary monuments of their country, found it convenient to distinguish the most valuable of them, that had been acknowledged by Confucius, as King, meaning what was canonical and of unchallengeable authority.

2. In the Confucian Analects, the sage and one of his disciples quote from the Shû by the simple formula—
 ‘The Shû says.’ In the Great Learning, four different books or chapters of the classic, all in it as we have it now, are mentioned, each by its proper name. Mencius sometimes uses the same formula as Confucius, and at other times designates particular books. It is most natural for us to suppose that Confucius, when he spoke of the Shû, had in his mind’s eye a collection of documents bearing that title.

The Shû was
 an existing
 collection of
 documents
 before
 Confucius.

One passage in Mencius seems to put it beyond a doubt that the Shû existed as such a collection in his time. Having said that ‘it would be better to be without the Shû than to give entire credit to it,’ he makes immediate reference to one of the books of our classic by name, and adds, ‘In the Completion of the War I select two or three passages only, and believe them¹.’ In Mo-ze, Hsün-ze, and other writers of the last two centuries of the K’au dynasty, the Shû is quoted in the same way, and also frequently with the specification of its parts or larger divisions,—‘The Books of Yü,’ ‘of Hsiâ,’ ‘of Shang,’ ‘of K’au.’ And, in fine, in many of the narratives of 30 K’iü-ming’s commentary on the Spring and Autumn, the Shû is quoted in the same way, even when the narratives are about men and events long anterior to the sage². All these consi-

¹ Mencius, VII, ii, ch. 3.

² The first quotation of the Shû in 30 is under the sixth year of duke Yin, B. C. 717.

derations establish the thesis of this paragraph, that the Shû was an existing collection of historical documents before Confucius.

3. From the above paragraph it follows that Confucius did not compile the collection of documents that form the

Confucius did not compile the Shû. The number of documents in it in his time. The Preface ascribed to him.

Shû. The earliest assertion that he did so we have from Khung An-kwo, his descendant in the eleventh generation, in the second century, B. C. Recounting the labours of his ancestor, An-kwo says, in the Preface to his edition of the Shû, that 'he examined and arranged the old literary monuments and records, deciding

to commence with Yáo and Shun, and to come down to the times of K'áu. Of those deserving to be handed down to other ages and to supply permanent lessons, he made in all one hundred books, consisting of canons, counsels, instructions, announcements, speeches, and charges.' The same thing is stated by Sze-mâ K'ien in his Historical Records, completed about B. C. 100, but K'ien's information was derived from An-kwo. Such a compilation would have been in harmony with the character which Confucius gave of himself, as 'a transmitter and not a maker, believing and loving the ancients¹,' and with what his grandson says of him in the Doctrine of the Mean, that 'he handed down (the lessons of) Yáo and Shun, as if they had been his ancestors, and elegantly displayed those of Wăn and Wû, whom he took for his model².'

We have seen, however, that the collection existed in his time and before it. Did it then, as An-kwo says, consist of a hundred books? His authority for saying so was a Preface, which was found along with the old tablets of the Shû that were discovered in his time and deciphered by him, as will be related farther on. He does not say, however, that it was the work of Confucius, though K'ien does. It still exists,—a list of eighty-one documents in a hundred books. The prevailing opinion of scholars in China is now, that it was not written by the sage. I entirely

¹ Analects, VII, i.

² The Doctrine of the Mean, XXX, 1.

agree myself with the judgment of *Shâi K'han*, the disciple of *K'û Hsi*, whose Collected Comments, first published A. D. 1210, are now the standard of orthodoxy in the interpretation of the Shû. He says of the document: 'It sheds light on nothing, and there are things in it at variance with the text of the classic. On the books that are lost it is specially servile and brief, affording us not the slightest help. That it is not the work of Confucius is exceedingly plain.'

The eighty-one documents mentioned in it, and more, may have been in the Shû of the time of Confucius. I think, however, that several of them must have been lost subsequently, before the rise of the tyrant of *K'in*, who doomed the whole collection to the flames. Mencius complains that in his days the feudal princes destroyed many of the records of antiquity that they might the better perpetrate their own usurpations and innovations¹. Other considerations, on the exhibition of which I need not enter, confirm me in this conclusion.

4. It will be well here to devote a paragraph to the sources of the Shû. Have we sufficient proofs of the composition in ancient times of such documents as it contains, and of their preservation, so that they could be collected in a sort of historical canon?

We have. Under the dynasty of *K'âu* (B. C. 1122-256), at the royal court, and at the courts of the feudal princes on a smaller scale, there were officers styled *Sze*, which has been translated 'Recorders,' 'Annalists,' 'Historiographers,' and simply 'Clerks.' There were the Grand Recorder, the Assistant Recorder, the Recorder of the Interior, the Recorder of the Exterior, and the Recorder in Attendance on the Sovereign. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following:—'In case of any charge given by the king to the prince of a state, or to any other dignitary, he writes it on tablets;' 'In case of any memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the kingdom, he reads them (to the king);' 'It is his business

¹ Mencius, V, ii, ch. 2.

to write all charges of the king, and to do so in duplicate.' Of the duties of the Recorder of the Exterior it is said:— 'He has charge of the histories of the states in all parts of the kingdom;' 'He has charge of the most ancient books;' 'It is his business to publish in all parts of the kingdom the books and the characters in them¹.'

These entries show that under the *K'âu* dynasty there was provision made for the recording and preservation of royal charges and ordinances, of the operations of the general government, and of the histories of the different states; and, moreover, for the preservation and interpretation of documents come down from more ancient times. Confucius himself tells us that in his early days a recorder would leave a blank in his text, rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence². Mencius also mentions three works, the *Shǎng* of *K'in*, the *Thâu-wû* of *K'êû*, and the *K'hun K'hiû* of *Lû*, which must have come from the recorders of those states.

Of the existence of a similar class of officers under the previous dynasties of Shang or Yin (B. C. 1766–1123) and Hsiâ (B. C. 2205–1765), we have not such abundant evidence. Chapter 2 in the 10th Book of the 5th Part of our classic, however, seems to speak of them in the time of the former. *Wû-ting* (B. C. 1324–1264), the twentieth sovereign of it, is described as communicating, in writing, a dream which he had had, to his ministers³; and fully four hundred years earlier, *Î Yin*, the chief minister, remonstrates, in writing, with his young and careless sovereign *Thái K'ia*⁴. Going back to the dynasty of Hsiâ, we find the prince of Yin, during the reign of *Kung Khang* (B. C. 2159–2145), in addressing his troops, quotes the Statutes of Government in a manner which makes us conceive of him as referring to a well-known written compilation⁵. The grandsons of the great *Yü*, its founder (B. C. 2205–2196), likewise, make mention, in the Songs of the Five Sons, of his Lessons, in a style that suggests to us the formula that Mencius was

¹ See for all these statements the Ritual or Official Book of *K'âu*, XXXI, 35–42.

² Analects, XV, xxv.

³ Part IV, viii, section 1.

⁴ Part IV, v, section 1.

⁵ Part III, iv.

went to employ when referring to the documents acknowledged to be of authority in his day¹.

Mâ Twan-lin, the encyclopedist, in his General Examination of Records and Scholars, first published A. D. 1321, says that 'the pencil of the recorders was busy from the time of Hwang Tî (B. C. 2697).' The compilers of the records of the Sui dynasty (A. D. 589-617) say that 'historical documents began immediately with the invention of written characters.' That invention I must place myself at an earlier date than the time assigned to Hwang Tî. When once the characters were invented, they would come in time to be employed in the writing of history. The early dates alleged for many of the documents in the Shû are no valid reason for rejecting them without further examination. We may rather be surprised that, when the compilation was made, it did not contain many more than a hundred documents.

5. The dynasty of K'âu came to an end in B. C. 256, and after an anarchic interval of thirty-five years, the king of K'hin succeeded in uniting all the feudal states under his own sway, and proclaimed himself emperor.

Destruction of the classical literature by the emperor of K'hin. Up to this time the Shû had sustained no other damage than all human works are liable to in the course of time; but now it narrowly escaped an entire destruction. An edict went forth from the tyrant in B. C. 213, commanding that all the old classical books should be consigned to the flames, excepting those belonging to the great scholars in the service of the court, and the Yi. His rage was hottest against the Shû and the Shih (the Book of Poetry). Death was the doom of scholars who should be known to meet together and speak of these works, and all who should be discovered having copies of them in their possession, when thirty days had elapsed after the publication of the edict, were to be branded, and sent to labour for four years on the Great Wall, which was then building.

This is not the place to explain the reasons that led to

¹ Part III, iii.

this insane attempt to extinguish, with the exception of one work, the ancient literary monuments of China. The edict was ruthlessly enforced, and hundreds of scholars who refused obedience to the imperial command were buried alive. The Shû had nearly perished from off the earth.

6. The tyrant, however, died in B. C. 210, within four years from the issuing of his edict. The dynasty which he had sought to establish passed away in B. C. 206. That of Han dates from the year B. C. 202, and in 191 the edict against the ancient books was formally repealed. They had been

Recovery of
the Shû. under the ban for less than a quarter of a century. There would probably have been no difficulty in recovering copies of them, but for the sack of the capital in B. C. 206 by the most formidable opponent of the founder of the House of Han. Then the fires blazed, we are told, for three months among the palaces and public buildings, and proved as destructive to the copies that might have been preserved about the court as the edict of *K'ên* had been to those among the people.

Among the scholars of *K'ên*, however, there had been one, of the surname Fû, who, when the edict was issued, hid his tablets of the Shû in a wall. Returning for them, after the rule of Han was established, he found that many were perished or gone. He recovered only twenty-nine of the documents, containing, according to the division of them that has long been followed, thirty-five books in all. About one of them there is some difficulty, on the discussion of which I need not enter. Fû commenced teaching them, and from all parts scholars resorted to him, and sat at his feet. The emperor Wăn (B. C. 179-155) heard of him, and sent one of the recorders of the court to visit him, and bring the recovered tablets themselves, or a copy of them, to the capital. They were in the form of the character that was prevalent at that time, different from that which had been used in previous centuries, and are known as 'the Shû of the modern text.' The Catalogue of the Imperial Library, prepared by Liû Hin for the emperor Âi (B. C. 6-1), contains an entry of 'the text of the Shû in twenty-nine portions,'—the same, no doubt, which was

received from Fû. Fû himself commented on his Shû. The text was engraved on the stone tablets of the emperor Ling (A. D. 168-189). Very many scholars of the Han times laboured on this text, taught it to their disciples, and published their views on it. Not one of their writings, however, survived, in a complete form, the troubles which desolated the empire during the reign of the emperor Hwâi (A. D. 307-312) of the western dynasty of *K'in*.

In the reign of the Han emperor Wû (B. C. 140-85) a discovery was made in the wall of the house of the Khung or Confucian family of the tablets of the Shû, the Spring and Autumn, the classic of Filial Piety, and the Lun-yü or Confucian Analects. How long they had lain there we do not know. It is commonly said that they had been hidden by some one of the Khung family to save them from the fires of *K'in*. But they were in a form of the character that had long gone into disuse, and which hardly any one could decipher, and must have been deposited towards the beginning of the fifth century B. C. They were committed to the care of Khung An-kwo, who was then one of the 'great scholars' of the empire, and the chief of the Khung family. By means of the current text of Fû and other resources he made out all the tablets of the Shû that were in good preservation, and in addition to Fû's twenty-nine documents several others. He found also that Fû had in three cases incorporated two different documents under one name, and taken no note of the division of one other into three books or sections. Altogether there were now forty-six documents or different portions of the old Shû brought anew to light. They appear in Liû Hin's Catalogue as 'the text of the Shû in old characters in forty-six portions.'

When An-kwo had made out the tablets, he presented them to the emperor in B. C. 97, with a transcript of them in the current characters of the time, keeping a second transcript of them for himself; and he received an order to make a commentary on the whole. He did so, but when he was about to lay the result of his labours before the court, troubles had arisen which prevented for several years the paying attention to literary matters. It was

owing to these that his commentary was neglected for a time, and the enlarged text which he had deciphered was not officially put in charge of the Board of 'Great Scholars,' to which the care of the five King, so far as they had been recovered, had been committed in B. C. 136.

An-kwo's commentary, however, was not lost; but before speaking of it, I must refer to a third recovery of a large portion of the Shû early in our first century. A scholar and officer, named Tû Lin, had been a fugitive, having many wonderful escapes, during the usurpation of Mang (A. D. 9-22). During his wanderings he discovered a portion of the Shû on 'lacquered' tablets, or perhaps on lacquered cloth, which he thenceforth guarded as his richest treasure, and kept near his person. When the empire was again settled by the first emperor of the eastern Han, he communicated his text to other scholars. Wei Hung published a commentary on it, and subsequently K'ia Khwei, Mâ Yung, and K'äng Khang-*khäng* (all, great names in Chinese literature) did the same. Tû Lin's 'lacquered' books were the same in number as An-kwo's, but they contained five documents in thirteen books, which were not in the text of the other, and wanted nine documents, also in thirteen books, which An-kwo's text had. The commentary of K'äng Khang-*khäng* continued till the Sui dynasty, after which we lose sight of it.

I return to the commentary of An-kwo, which, of course, contained his text. Its transmission from hand to hand down to the close of the western Han dynasty is clearly traced. Less distinctly, but surely, we can discover evidence of its preservation, till we come to the commencement of the eastern dynasty of Kin, when Mei 3eh, a recorder of the Interior, having come into possession of a copy, presented it to the emperor Yüan (A. D. 317-322). The Canon of Shun was wanting in it, and was supplied from the commentary of Mâ Yung, based on the text of Tû Lin. From this time the text and commentary of An-kwo had their place assigned them in the Imperial College. They are mentioned in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library of Sui. The second emperor of the Thang dynasty gave orders

for a grand edition of the Shŭ, under the superintendence of Khung Ying-tâ, assisted by others. They adopted the commentary of An-kwo, and enriched it with profuse annotations. In A. D. 654 their work was ordered to be printed, and happily remains to the present day. The text of the Shŭ, that is, of all of it that had been recovered by An-kwo, was still further secured, being engraved with that of all the other classics on the Thang tablets of stone which were completed in the year 837, and are still preserved at K'ang-an, in Shen-hsi.

It is not necessary to trace the history of the Shŭ further on. The titles of more than 500 works, on the whole of it or on portions, from the dynasty of Thang to the present day, could easily be adduced. Under the Sung dynasty, indeed, there began the sceptical criticism, which, setting comparatively little store on external evidence, decides on the genuineness of documents principally from their style. The results of such criticism always vary according to the knowledge and the subjective character of the mind of its author. Many maintain that the commentary said to be that of An-kwo was not really from him, but was made by Mei Jeh, and palmed on the world under the name of the great Han scholar. Even if it were so, the work would remain, produced nearly 1600 years ago. And to the annotations of the Thang scholars upon it we are indebted for most of what we know of the earlier views of Mâ Yung, K'ang Khang-kh'ang, and other writers of the Han period. Whether its author were the true Khung or a false Khung, its value cannot be over-estimated. But I do not believe that it was a forgery. That An-kwo did write a commentary on his 'Shŭ in the ancient characters' is admitted by all. When did it perish? There is no evidence that it ever did so. On the contrary, its existence rises as a fact, here and there, at no great intervals of time, on the surface of the literary history of the empire, till we arrive at Mei Jeh, who received it, as Khung Ying-tâ proves, from a scholar named Jang Jhâo.

Then as to the text of the Shŭ, there is no controversy about the documents which were recovered in the first

place by Fû ; but the additional ones found by Khung An-kwo are so much more easily understood, that I do not wonder that the charge of not being genuine has been raised against them. But even they are not easy. They only appear to be so, when we come to one of them, after toiling through some of the more contorted portions common to both texts. And, moreover, the style of the different books differs according to their subjects. The 'Announcements' are the hardest to understand of all. The 'Charges,' 'Speeches,' and 'Instructions' are much simpler in their construction ; and the portions which we owe to An-kwo consist principally of these. In making out his obsolete characters he had, in the first place, to make use of the Books of Fû. That he did not servilely follow his text we conclude from the readings of Fû's followers, different from his in many passages which the industry of critics has gathered up. When he came, however, to new books, which were not in Fû's copy, he had to make out his tablets as he best could. His most valuable aid had ceased. We can conceive that, when he had managed to read the greater portion of a paragraph, and yet there were some stubborn characters that defied him, he completed it according to his understanding of the sense with characters of his own. That he was faithful and successful in the main we find by the many passages of his peculiar books that are found quoted in writings of the K'âu dynasty. This is a fact worthy of the most attentive consideration. I do not think there is an important statement in his chapters that is not thus vouched for. The characteristics of his books which have exposed them to suspicion are not sufficient to overthrow their claims to be regarded as genuine transcripts of the tablets discovered in the wall of the house of the Khung family.

The conclusion to which I come, at the close of this chapter, is, that there is nothing seriously to shake our confidence in the portions of the Shû that we now possess, as being substantially the same as those which were in the collection of the K'âu dynasty both before and after Confucius.

CHAPTER II.

THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHŪ.

1. Accepting the conclusion which I have stated immediately above, I now go on to enquire whether the documents in the Shū can be relied on as genuine narratives of the transactions which they profess to relate. And it may be said at once, in reference to the greater number of them, that there is no reasonable ground to call their credibility in question. Allowance must be made, indeed, for the colouring with which the founders of one dynasty set forth the misdeeds of the closing reigns of that which they were superseding, and for the way in which the failures of a favourite hero may be glossed over. But the documents of the Shū are quite as much entitled to credit as the memorials and edicts which are published at the present day in the Peking Gazette.

Whether the records in the Shū are reliable or not.

The more recent the documents are, the more, of course, are they to be relied on. And provision was made, we have seen, by the statutes of *Kâu*, for the preservation of the records of previous dynasties. But it was not to be expected that many of those should not perish in the lapse of time, and others suffer mutilations and corruptions. And this, we find, was the case. Of the eighty-one documents that the Shū at one time contained, only one belonged to the period of *Yáo*; seven to the period of *Shun*; four to the dynasty of *Hsiâ*, much the larger one of which narrates what was done in the time of *Yáo*; thirty-one to the dynasty of *Shang*; and thirty-eight to the first 500 years of that of *Kâu*. All this seems to bear on the surface of it the stamp of verisimilitude.

2. The Books of *Kâu* were contemporaneous with the events which they describe, and became public property not long after their composition.

The Books of *Kâu*.

They are to be received without hesitation.

Nor are those of the previous dynasty of Shang open to suspicion. We ascend by means of them to Thang the Successful, its founder, with a confident step. The beginning of his rule is placed chronologically in B. C. 1766.

Of the still earlier dynasty of Hsiâ, there are only four documents, and we have no evidence that there were any more when the collection of the Shû was made in the times of K'âu. The first and longest of the four, though occupied with the great achievement of Yü, the founder of Hsiâ, whose chronological place is B. C. 2205-2196, really belongs to the reign of Yáo, and is out of place among the records of Hsiâ. The other three documents bring us down only to the reign of Kung Khang (B. C. 2159-2145), and I see no grounds for doubting their genuineness. In the last of them a celestial phenomenon is mentioned, which has always been understood to have been an eclipse of the sun in Fang, a space of about $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ from π to σ of Scorpio, on the first day of the last month of autumn. P. Gaubil thought he had determined by calculation that such an eclipse really took place in the fifth year of Kung Khang, B. C. 2155. Doubts, however, have been cast, as will be seen in the next chapter, on the accuracy of his calculation, and therefore I do not avail myself of it here as a confirmation of the truth of the document.

3. We come to the earlier records,—those of the reigns of Yáo and Shun, with which must be classed the Tribute of Yü, the first of the documents of Hsiâ; and it must be admitted that there is not the same evidence that they existed originally in their present form.

i. The Canon of Yáo and three of the four still existing books of the time of Yü, all commence with the words, 'Examining into antiquity, we find.' They are therefore, on their own showing, the compilations of a later age. The writer separates himself from the date of the events which he narrates, and while professing to draw from the records

of 'antiquity,' yet writes himself from a modern standpoint. The *Yi* and *Ki*, the last of the documents of the Shun period, formed one book with the preceding in the *Shū* of *Fû*, and came under the opening words of that, as being a result of 'the examination of antiquity.' I will draw separate attention farther on to the Tribute of *Yü*.

ii. Much of what is related in the Canons of *Yáo* and Shun, as well as in the other documents, has more the air of legend than of history. When *Yáo* has ^{They are legendary.} been on the throne for seventy years, he proposes to resign in favour of his principal minister, who is styled the Four Mountains. That worthy declares himself unequal to the office. *Yáo* then asks him whom he can recommend for it; be the worthiest individual a noble or a poor man, he will appoint him to the dignity. This brings Shun upon the stage. All the officers about the court can recommend him,—Shun of *Yü*¹, an unmarried man among the lower people. His father, a blind man, was obstinately unprincipled; his mother, or stepmother, was insincere; his brother was arrogant; and yet Shun had been able by his filial piety to live harmoniously with them, and to bring them to a considerable measure of self-government and good conduct. *Yáo* is delighted. He had himself heard something of Shun. He resolved to give him a preliminary trial. And a strange trial it was. He gave him his own two daughters in marriage, and declared that he would test his fitness for the throne by seeing his behaviour with his two wives.

Shun must have stood the test. *Yáo* continued to employ him as General Regulator for three years, and then called him to ascend the throne. Shun refused to do so, but discharged the royal duties till the death of *Yáo* in 2257, becoming himself sole ruler in B. C. 2255. These

¹ 虞舜—*Yü* is the dynastic designation of Shun. It is to be distinguished from *Yü* (禹), the name of Shun's successor, the founder of the dynasty of *Hsiâ*. Bunsen confounded the two appellations (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, III, p. 399).

and other marvellous notices of Yáo and Shun are largely added to by Mencius and Sze-má *Khien*, but their accounts are of the same extraordinary character. I must believe that the oldest portions of the Shû do not give us the history of Yáo and Shun, but legendary tales about them.

At the same time it must be allowed that the compiler of these books in their present form had in his possession some documents as old as the time of Yáo. To my mind three things render this admission necessary. First, the titles of the high officers of Yáo and Shun are different from those of the corresponding dignitaries at a later age. The principal personage was called the Four Mountains; next to him was the General Regulator; and the Minister of Religion was the Arranger of the Ancestral Temple. It is more probable that the compiler received these and other peculiar designations from old documents than that he invented them himself. Second, the style of these early books is distinguished in several particulars from the style of those of Hsiâ, Shang, and *K'áu*. I need only specify the exclamations, 'Alas!' 'Ah!' and 'Oh!' which are expressed by characters that we do not elsewhere find used in the same way. Third, the directions of Yáo to his astronomers, telling them how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, by means of the stars culminating at dusk in those seasons, could not be the inventions of a later age. The reader will find this subject discussed in the next chapter, where it is shown how those culminating stars may be employed to ascertain the era of Yáo. No compiler, ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, which was not known in China till about the middle of our fourth century, could have framed Yáo's directions with such an adjustment to the time assigned to him in chronology.

When the Books of Thang and Yü received their present form, we cannot tell. Probably it was in the early period of the *K'áu* dynasty, though I am not without a suspicion that some verbal changes were made in them under the short-lived dynasty of *K'hin*, which intervened between

Their compiler
had ancient
documents on
which to
base his
representations.

the dynasties of K'âu and Han, and possibly some also when they were recovered under the latter.

4. It remains for us to consider the case of the Tribute of Yü, the first, as the books are now arranged, of those of Hsiá, but belonging, as has been already said, to the period of Yáo, or at least to the period when Yáo and Shun were together on the throne. It thus appears out of its chronological order, and must share in the general uncertainty which attaches to the documents of the first two parts of our classic.

Yáo, in what year of his reign we are not told, appears suddenly startled by the ravages of a terrible inundation. The waters were overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens in their surging fury. The people everywhere were groaning and murmuring. Was there a capable man to whom he could assign the correction of the calamity? All the nobles recommend one Khwăn, to whom Yáo, against his own better judgment, delegates the difficult task, on which Khwăn labours without success for nine years. His son Yü then entered on the work. From beyond the western bounds of the present China proper he is represented as tracking the great rivers, here burning the woods, hewing the rocks, and cutting through the mountains that obstructed their progress, and there deepening their channels until their waters flow peacefully into the eastern sea. He forms lakes, and raises mighty embankments, till at length 'the grounds along the rivers were everywhere made habitable; the hills cleared of their superfluous wood; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. A great order was effected in the six magazines (of material wealth); the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified according to the three characters of the soil, and the revenues of the Middle Kingdom were established.' Of the devotion with which Yü pursued his work, he says himself in the Yî and K'î:—'I mounted my four conveyances,'—carriages on the land, boats on the water, sledges in icy places, and

shoes with spikes in them in ascending the hills,—‘and all along the hills hewed down the woods, at the same time, along with Yî, showing the people how to get flesh to eat,’—that is, by capturing fish and birds and beasts. ‘I opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time, along with Kî, sowing grain, and showing the people how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.’ And again:—‘When I married in Tû-shan, I remained with my wife only four days.’ Mencius says that while engaged on his task, he thrice passed the door of his house; but did not enter it. His own words are:—‘When K’hi (my son) was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land.’

Along with his operations to assuage the wide-spread inundation, Yü thus carried on other most important labours proper to an incipient civilization. We gather from the Shû that it did not take him many years to accomplish his mighty undertaking. It was successfully finished before the death of Yáo. All this is incredible. The younger Biot, in an article on the Tribute of Yü, published in the *Journal Asiatique*, in 1842, says:—‘If we are to believe the commentators, Yü will become a supernatural being, who could lead the immense rivers of China as if he had been engaged in regulating the course of feeble streamlets.’ There is no occasion to say, ‘If we are to believe the commentators;’—if we are to believe the Shû, this is the judgment that we must form about Yü.

The general conclusion to which Biot came about the document under our notice was that we are to find in it only the progress of a great colony. Yü was the first explorer of the Chinese world. He established posts of colonists or planters in different parts of the territory. He caused the wood around those posts to be cut down,

and commenced the cultivation of the soil. After Yü, the labours of draining the country and clearing the forests continued during some ages, and the result of all was attributed by Chinese tradition to the first chief. I have no doubt there is an inkling of the truth in this view of the French sinologue, but the idea of Yü's being the leader of a Chinese colony had better be abandoned. We recognise the primitive seat of the Chinese people, in the southern parts of the present Shan-hsi, with the Ho on the west and south of it. His son fought a battle with the Chief of Hû at a place in the present department of Hsi-an, in Shen-hsi, across the Ho, and his grandson was kept a sort of prisoner at large in the present province of Ho-nan, south of the river. The people or tribe extended itself westward, eastward, and southward, and still later northward, as it increased in numbers, and was able to subdue the earth.

The flood of Yáo was probably an inundation of the Ho, similar to many in subsequent times which have procured for that river the name of 'China's Sorrow,' and Yü distinguished himself in the assuaging of it, and the regulation of its course to the sea. The extent of the country came to be ascertained under the dynasties of Hsiá and Shang, and its different parts were gradually occupied by the increasing numbers of the people, and contributed their various proportions of revenue to the central government. There were memorials of the toils which Yü had undergone, and of allotments of territory which he had made to the most distinguished among his followers. It occurred to some historiographer to form a theory as to the way in which the whole country might have been brought to order by the founder of the Hsiá dynasty, and he proceeded to glorify Yü by ascribing so grand an achievement to him. About the same time, probably, the popular stories of Yü's self-denial had found their expression in the Yî and Kî, prompting at once the conception of the Tribute of Yü, and obtaining for it a favourable reception. Yü entered well into association with Yáo and Shun, and formed a triad with them

at the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. Their wisdom and benevolence appeared in him, combined with a practical devotion to the duties of his position, in which all sovereigns would have a model, to win them from indolence and self-indulgence, and stimulate them to a painstaking discharge of their responsibilities.

In the nineteenth of the Books of Part V, the duke of *Kâu* counsels his young sovereign, king *Khǎng* (B. C. 1115-1077), to have his armies in a good state of preparation, so that he might go forth 'beyond the footsteps of Yü,' and travel over all beneath the sky, everywhere meeting with submission. The duke's reference to 'the footsteps of Yü' does not prove that Yü really travelled and toiled as the Tribute of Yü reports, but only that such was the current belief at the commencement of the *Kâu* dynasty, while it affords at the same time a presumption that our document was then among the archives of the kingdom. It may have been compiled before the end of the *Hsiá* dynasty, or under that of *Shang*. From *Shang* it passed to *Kâu*, and came under the care of the recorders of the Exterior. Then subsequently it was very properly incorporated in the collection of the *Shû*.

5. While we are thus unable to receive the six earliest documents in our classic as contemporaneous in their present form with the events which they relate, it is not meant to throw doubt on the existence of Yáo, Shun, and Yü as historical personages. More especially does Yü stand forth as the first sovereign of the dynasty of *Hsiá*, the man who laid the foundation of the hereditary monarchy in China, its feudal sovereign who 'conferred surnames and lands.' The documents which follow the Tribute of Yü, commencing with the Speech at Kan, delivered in B. C. 2197 by Yü's son and successor, may all be received as veritable monuments of antiquity.

Yáo, Shun,
and Yü are
all historical
personages.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF CHINA, AND THE PRINCIPAL ERAS IN THE SHÛ.

1. I do not enter here on the subject of the chronology of China further than is necessary to show that there is no chronological difficulty in the way of our accepting the documents of the Shû, which I have just specified, as being possessed of the antiquity ascribed to them.

The Shû itself does not supply the means of laying down any scheme of chronology for the long period of time which it covers. We learn from it that the dynasty of Kâu succeeded to that of Shang (another name for which was Yin), and the dynasty of Shang to that of Hsiâ, and that prior to Yü, the founder of the Hsiâ, there were the reigns of Shun and Yáo. As P. Gaubil has observed, 'If we had only the Shû King, we should have but confused ideas of the time comprised in the different parts of the book.' There is nothing in this to awaken our surprise. The chronology of a nation comes to be cultivated as a science only when a necessity is felt to arrange the events of its history in regular series on the course of time.

2. It was under the Han dynasty that it was first attempted to construct a chronological scheme of the history of the nation. For this purpose its scholars employed the well-known cycle of sixty years, in the fifteenth year of the seventy-sixth revolution of which I am now writing. It was assumed that this cycle was first devised by Tá-não, an officer of Hwang Tí, in B. C. 2637, which is the first year of the first cycle. But all scholars in China, whether they call in question this origin of the cycle or not, now agree in saying that the use of the cyclic characters to chronicle years was not the ancient method, and did not begin earlier than the time of the usurper Mang (A. D. 9-22).

In the Shû itself the current cycle is used to chronicle

days, and days only. Years are specified according to their order in the reign of the sovereign to whom they are referred. Such specification of years in it, however, is rare.

Before the Han dynasty a list of sovereigns, and of the length of their several reigns, was the only method which the Chinese had of determining the duration of their national history. And it would still be a satisfactory method, if we had a list of sovereigns, and of the years that each reigned, that was complete and reliable. But we do not have this. Even in the early part of the Han dynasty, Sze-mâ *K'hien's* father and himself, in their Historical Records, completed about B. C. 100, were obliged to content themselves with giving simply the names and order of most of the rulers of Shang and Hsiâ. It is right to state also that in A. D. 279, when the grave of king Hsiang of Wei (died in B. C. 295) was opened, there were found a number of bamboo tablets in it, written in the ancient seal characters, among which the most valuable portion was a book of annals, beginning with the reign of Hwang Tî, and coming down to the sixteenth year of the last king of K'âu, B. C. 299. This work is still current under the name of the Annals of the Bamboo Books. The chronology derived from it is shorter than the received system by rather more than 200 years.

If in any of the 'classical books of the K'âu dynasty we had a statement of the length of the national history from any given era to the time of the writer, the notice would be exceedingly valuable; or, if the length of the reigns of the sovereigns of Shang and Hsiâ, cursorily mentioned in it, were correctly given, we should be in a position to make an approximate computation for ourselves. But there are only two passages in all those books which are helpful to us in this point. The former of them is in a narrative in 30 *K'hiu-ming's* supplement to the Spring and Autumn, under the third year of duke Hsüan, where it is said that the dynasty of Shang possessed the throne for 600 years. The other passage is the last chapter of the works of Mencius, where that philosopher says that 'from Yáo and Shun to Thang'—a period including all the dynasty of Hsiâ—

'there were 500 years and more; from Thang to king Wǎn'—the period of the Shang dynasty—'500 years and more; and from king Wǎn to Confucius, 500 years and more.' We know that Confucius was born in B. C. 551. Adding 551 to the 1500 years 'and more,' given by Mencius, we have the era of Yáo and Shun at 2100 years 'and more' before our Christian era. And the received chronology places Yü's accession to the throne, as the successor of Shun, in B. C. 2205. Vague as the language of Mencius is, I do not think that with the most painstaking research, apart from conclusions based on astronomical considerations, we can determine anything more precise and definite concerning the length of Chinese history than it conveys.

3. The Charge to the Marquis Wǎn, which now forms the 28th Book of the 5th Part of the Shŭ, is understood to have been delivered by king Phing, the thirteenth of his line. His place in historical time is well ascertained. Confucius' chronicle of the Spring and Autumn commences in B. C. 722. The first of the thirty-six solar eclipses mentioned in it took place three years after, on the 14th February (N. S.) 719, and it is recorded that in the month after king Phing died. Here therefore is a point of time about which there can be no dispute. An earlier date in the Káu dynasty is known with the same certainty. The Book of Poetry mentions an eclipse of the sun which took place on the 29th August, B. C. 776, in the sixth year of king Yü, who preceded Phing. Yü reigned eleven years, and his predecessor, Hsüan, forty-six, whose reign consequently commenced B. C. 827. Up to this date Chinese chronologers agree. To the ten reigns before king Hsüan, the received chronology assigns 295 years, making the dynasty begin in B. C. 1122, which cannot be far from the truth.

4. In the period of the Shang dynasty we cannot fix a single reign by means of astronomical facts. The received chronology assigns to it twenty-eight reigns, extending over 644 years, so that its commencement was in B. C. 1766. The scheme

derived from the bamboo books makes the sovereigns to be thirty, but the aggregate of their reigns is only 508. Mencius says that between Thang, the founder of the dynasty, and Wû-ting, the twentieth sovereign (in the common scheme), 'there had been six or seven worthy and sage rulers¹,'—leading to the conclusion that the number of twenty-eight sovereigns in all is not beyond the truth. In the fifteenth of the Books of *Kâu* the names of three of the Shang rulers are given, and the duration of their reigns,—to show how Heaven is likely to crown a good king with length of sway. They are *Thâi Mâu*, who reigned seventy-five years; *Wû-ting*, who reigned fifty-nine; and *Û-kia*, who reigned thirty-three. The two schemes agree in the length of those reigns and of five others. From the statement in the *Û-kwan*, to which I have referred above, that the Shang dynasty possessed the throne for 600 years, and Mencius' language that it lasted 'for 500 years and more,' we may believe that the 644 years of the common scheme are more likely to be correct than the 508 of the shorter.

5. The dynasty of *Hsiâ* lasted, according to the received chronology, 439 years, and according to the bamboo books, The period of Hsiâ. 431; so that the difference here between the two schemes is small. The former estimate carries us up to B.C. 2205, as the first year of *Yü's* reign.

I referred on page 13 to an eclipse of the sun, mentioned in the fourth of the Books of *Hsiâ*, as having occurred in the reign of *Kung Khang*, a grandson of *Yü*, and stated that *P. Gaubil* had found by calculation that on the day and month stated in the document, and in the quarter of the heavens given, an eclipse did occur in the fifth year of *Kung Khang*, that is, in B.C. 2156, and was visible at his capital at 6^h 49', A.M. In 1840, *J. B. Biot* submitted a copy of *Gaubil's* calculations to the younger *Largeteau*, a member, like himself, of the Institute of France, who went over them with the lunar tables of *Damoiseau* and the solar tables of *Delambre*, and brought out the result that

¹ Mencius, II, i, ch. 1.

there was indeed an eclipse on the day stated, but before the rising of the sun at the then capital of China¹. My friend, the Rev. Dr. Chalmers of Canton, not knowing anything of the examination made by Largeteau, undertook to verify the eclipse in 1861, and found that while the year, the month, and the day, as given by Gaubil, were correct, the eclipse had taken place during the night, and could not have been seen by the Chinese astronomers. The eclipse mentioned in the document of the Shŭ cannot therefore be used at present to confirm the received chronology of China; but I am unwilling to give it up entirely. M. Biot says that, 'Notwithstanding the failure of the attempt of Largeteau to verify the eclipse, the hope of yet finding it in some one of the years of the twenty-second century before our era is not entirely lost. We ought to wait till the further perfecting of the lunar tables brings us new lights, by means of which we can form a surer judgment.'

6. We come to the earliest period of Chinese history of which the Shŭ makes more than a cursory mention,—that

The period
of Yáo
and Shun.

of Yáo and Shun. It says that Shun was thirty years on the throne with Yáo, and that, fifty years after, he died and went on high.

We learn from it also that it was in the seventieth year of his reign that Yáo sought for another to relieve him of the toils of government. The period covered by the two therefore is 150 years, which both the schemes of chronology accept. Adding two years of mourning between Shun's death and Yü's accession to the throne, we have B. C. 2357 as the first year of Yáo.

In the Canon of Yáo, when that personage is giving directions to his astronomers how to determine the equinoxes and solstices, he tells them that at the vernal equinox they would find the star in Niáo, and at the autumnal in Hsü; at the summer solstice, the star in Hwo, and at the winter in Mão. It has always been assumed by Chinese scholars that when Yáo said, 'The star of mid-spring is in

¹ Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et sur l'Astronomie Chinoise, pp. 376-382.

Niào,' he meant the star culminating at dusk at that season, at the point of observation. And so of the other stars and seasons. A Chinese astronomer at the present day would similarly express himself.

Further, the most common, and what was the earliest division of the ecliptic in China, is that of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, forming what we may call the Chinese zodiac. These mansions are grouped together in four classes of seven each, assigned to the four quarters of the heavens¹. Of the celestial spaces which Yáo specified, Niào is the general name for the seven mansions or constellations belonging to the southern quarter; Hwo is an old name of what is now called Fang, the central constellation of the eastern quarter; Hsü and Mão are the central constellations of the northern and southern quarters respectively. What Yáo meant therefore was, that his astronomers could determine the solstices and the autumnal equinox by the culmination of the stars in the mansions which he specified for those seasons. And we may assume that he directed them, for the star of the vernal equinox, to Hsing, the central mansion in the southern space Niào. Now, Hsing corresponds to α (Alphard) Hydræ, and small stars near it, in our stellar nomenclature; Hwo, to β , δ in Scorpio; Hsü, to β Aquarii; and Mão, to Pleiades. When we wish to make the directions of Yáo available for the purpose of chronological enquiry, the question that arises is this:—When did the above-named stars culminate at dusk in China at the equinoctial and solstitial seasons?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yáo at B. C. 2163, and that Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty of 3°, leaving a margin of 210

¹ In the Official Book of Káu, a work of the twelfth century before our era, Book XXVI, par. 25, in the enumeration of the duties of the astronomer royal of that day, there is mentioned the determination of 'the places of the twenty-eight stars,' meaning 'the principal stars in the twenty-eight lunar mansions.' The names of the stars and their mansions are not mentioned;—surely a sufficient indication that they were even then well known. See Biot's *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne*, &c., pp. 112, 113.

years¹. On the other hand, J. B. Biot found in the directions a sufficient confirmation of the received date for Yáo's accession,—B. C. 2357². Appended to this Introduction is a chart of the stars as they were visible in China in B. C. 2300, which the Rev. C. Pritchard, Savilian Professor of Astronomy in the University of Oxford, kindly prepared for me. An inspection of it, in the manner directed by him, will show that the phenomena indicated by Yáo to his astronomers were all apparent at that date. This fact must be accepted as a strong proof of the approximate correctness of the chronology, which places Yáo in the twenty-fourth century B. C. The precession of the equinoxes, it has already been observed, was not known in China till more than 2500 years after the time assigned to Yáo, so that the culminating stars at the equinoxes and solstices of his remote period could not have been computed back scientifically in the time of the K'áu dynasty, during which the collection of the Shŭ existed. The form in which the directions are given, and other things in the Canon, savour, indeed, of legend, and I have not claimed for it that in its present form it be received as a document contemporaneous with the reign of Yáo. I have argued, however, that the compiler of it had before him ancient documents, and one of them must have contained the facts about the culminating of the stars, which I have now endeavoured to set in a clear light.

The mention of these culminating stars does seem to fix Yáo's place in chronology in the twenty-fourth century B. C., and to show that at that remote era it was the custom to make and to record astronomical observations of the heavenly bodies. Having respect to these things, my claim to have the documents of the Shŭ from the Speech at Kan, nearly two centuries later than Yáo, downwards, regarded as contemporaneous with the events which they describe, cannot be considered extravagant.

7. In the 27th Book of the 5th Part, the Marquis of

¹ Egypt's Place in Universal History, III, pp. 400, 401.

² Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne, &c., pp. 361-366.

Lü on Punishments, there is a historical reference which would carry us back four centuries beyond the time of Yáo. It is said that, 'According to the teachings of antiquity, *K'ih Yü* was the first to create disorder.' There is no intimation, however, of the time when this rebel disturbed the happy order and innocence which had previously prevailed; and the very same sentence brings the review of antiquity down to the time of Shun. But the chronologers place him in the reign of Hwang Tì, towards the end of the twenty-seventh century B.C. Other writers describe the struggle between him and Hwang Tì, in which dragons, mists, and the invention of the compass play conspicuous parts. It is to the credit of the Shù, and an evidence of its being a genuine collection of historical memorials, that this cursory reference to *K'ih Yü* is the only mention in it of any name older than that of Yáo.

THE USE OF THE CHART.

This chart is intended to represent approximately the aspect of the principal zodiacal stars as seen above the horizon of any place in central China, at any hour of any day, about the year B. C. 2300.

In order to apply the chart to a practical purpose, the reader is advised to cut out a sheet of paper (cardboard is preferable) with its upper edge exactly fitting the curved line A B O C D, and to draw, near to the bottom of the paper, a line coinciding with 'the hour-line' on the chart.

This being done, if it be asked what will be the aspect of the heavens when the Sun sets at the Vernal Equinox, the reader is to move the line at the bottom of the cardboard along the horizontal 'hour-line' of the chart until the place of the Sun in the Ecliptic at the Vernal Equinox O just touches the curved top of the paper; then all the stars not covered over are above the horizon at the time of that sunset, viz. in this case Aldebaran, Sirius, Spica, &c.; the Pleiades are just setting, Regulus and α Hydræ are very near the meridian, β Centauri is on the point of rising, and α Serpentis is well up above the horizon. This exactly corresponds with that state of the heavens which Yáo, (alleged in the Chinese records to have flourished about B. C. 2300,) indicated to his astronomers (Hsi and Ho) would be the case, viz. that he would find the star (or the

stellar division) Shun Hwo (corresponding, it is said, to α Hydræ) culminating at the time of sunset at the Vernal Equinox¹.

Again, if it be required to find what constellation is culminating at the time of sunset at the Summer Solstice, the cardboard must be moved, as before, towards the right hand until the position of the Sun at the Summer Solstice, viz. G, just touches the horizon curve, when it will be seen that α Serpentis and Antares are then culminating, Regulus and β Centauri are just setting, while the constellations of Aquila and Aquarius are rising; Vega is a conspicuous object above the eastern horizon. This again corresponds to the indications given by Yâo to his astronomers, viz. that they would find the constellation Scorpio culminating at the time.

Thirdly, to find what constellation is culminating at sunset at the Winter Solstice, the cardboard horizon is to be moved, as before, until the Sun at F falls upon it, when the constellations Aries and Taurus with the Pleiades will be seen near to their culmination. This is a third correspondence with the indications of the astronomical sovereign.

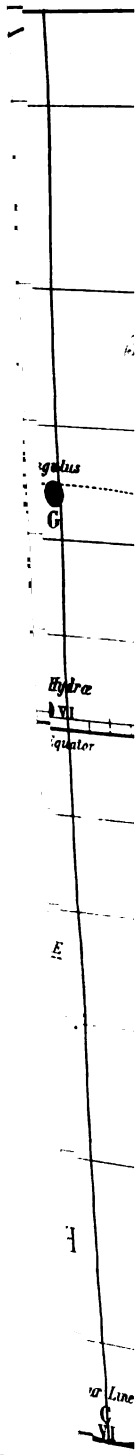
Lastly, at sunset of the Autumnal Equinox the movable horizon is to be shifted to the left until the point A falls upon it, where it will be seen in this position that the stars in Aquarius are culminating at the time. It is scarcely possible that all these indications of the positions of the stars at these several times of the year could be simultaneously correct at any other epoch than somewhere about B. C. 2300 or a very small number of centuries before or after.

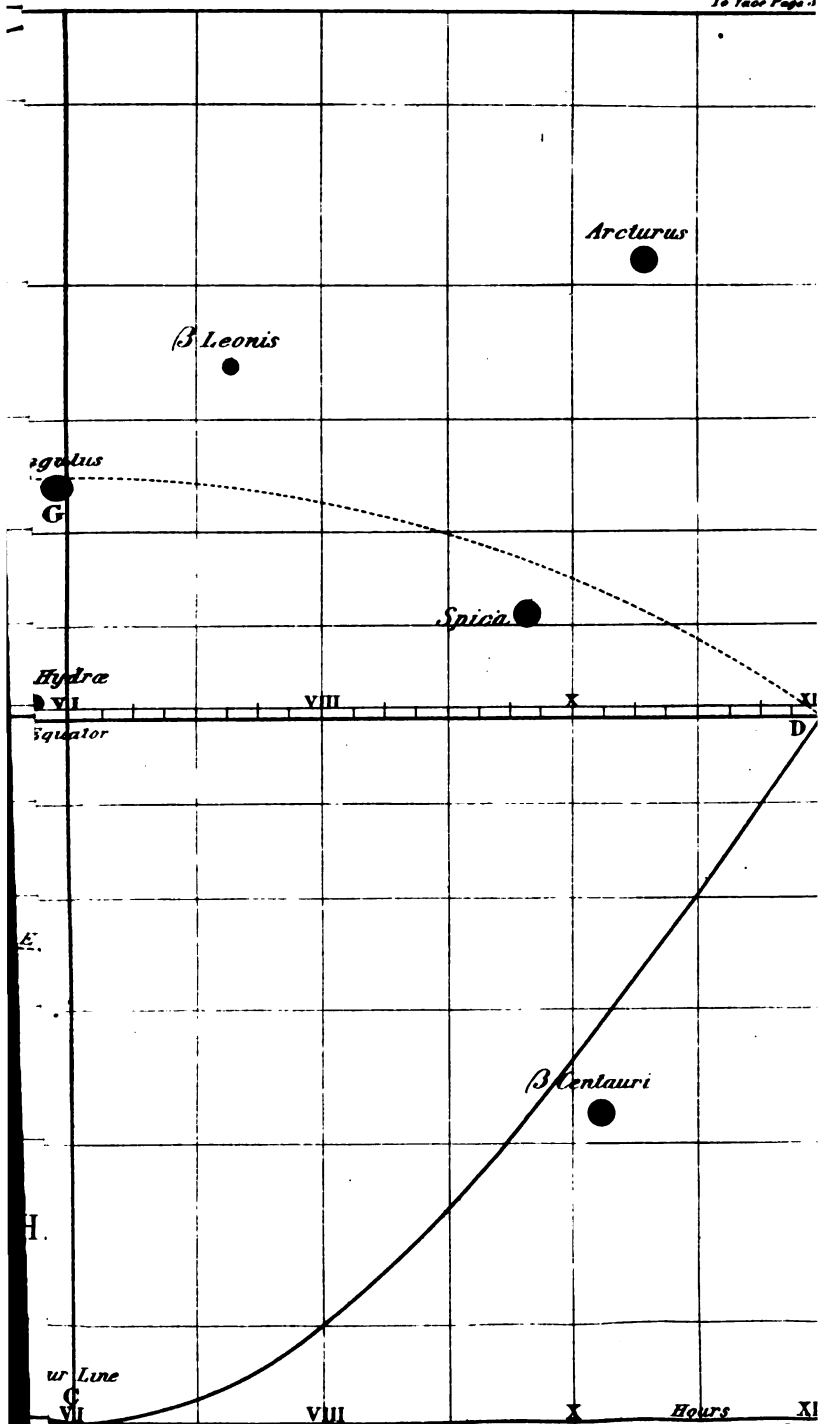
The reader may easily make for himself many other interesting applications of the chart. A general notion of the effects of precession on the positions of the stars may be seen at once by observing the three positions of the Pleiades, at the three epochs B. C. 2300, A. D. 1, and A. D. 1878, marked in the chart by the letters K, L, M; and as the approximate effect of precession is to cause all stars to move parallel to the Ecliptic and through the same arc, if the reader will imagine every star to be shifted parallel to the Ecliptic through spaces equal respectively to K L, L M, he will get the aspect of the heavens at the epochs A. D. 1 and A. D. 1878.

The following table has been calculated for the apparent positions of the principal stars in the years B. C. 2300, B. C. 1500, A. D. 1, and A. D. 1000; except in one instance it will be found to confirm a similar calculation made by Biot for the earliest of these dates.

¹ See an excellent memoir by Mr. Williams, the late Assistant Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, on Chinese Comets, procurable at the apartments of the Royal Astronomical Society, Burlington House, London.

| Name of Star. | For the year B.C. 2300. | | For the year B.C. 1500. | | For the year A.D. 1. | | For the year A.D. 1000. | | For the year A.D. 1874. | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|----------------------------|----------|
| | R.A. | N.P.D. | R.A. | N.P.D. | R.A. | N.P.D. | R.A. | N.P.D. | R.A. | N.P.D. |
| <i>a</i> Andromedæ | h. m. s. | ° ' " | h. m. s. | ° ' " | h. m. s. | ° ' " | h. m. s. | ° ' " | h. m. s. | ° ' " |
| 7 Pegasi | 20 33 18 | 82 1.7 | 21 13 18 | 79 1.3 | 22 27 33 | 71 49.4 | 23 18 4 | 66 28.4 | 0 2 5 | 61 35.0 |
| <i>β</i> Ceti | 20 28 50 | 96 | 21 12 0 | 92 58.9 | 22 30 26 | 85 45.9 | 23 23 7 | 80 23.8 | 0 6 57 | 75 29.7 |
| <i>a</i> Arctis | 20 40 23 | 120 55.3 | 21 32 5 | 126 40.1 | 22 59 27 | 119 2.8 | 23 53 7 | 113 33.4 | 0 37 28 | 108 30.4 |
| 7 Tauri | 22 18 8 | 89 27.4 | 22 59 59 | 85 16.6 | 0 18 20 | 76 57.2 | 1 12 25 | 71 36.3 | 2 0 18 | 67 6.9 |
| Aldebaran | 23 49 0 | 86 8.3 | 0 31 15 | 81 42.1 | 1 52 20 | 73 52.4 | 2 49 17 | 69 31.6 | 3 40 14 | 66 16.4 |
| Capella | 0 40 10 | 90 54.6 | 1 22 25 | 86 38.2 | 2 43 20 | 79 37.0 | 3 39 17 | 76 7.5 | 4 28 55 | 73 44.2 |
| Rigel | 0 43 7 | 60 13.1 | 1 22 14 | 55 56.4 | 2 55 15 | 49 3.0 | 4 4 9 | 45 54.0 | 5 7 41 | 44 44.2 |
| <i>a</i> Orionis | 1 47 31 | 111 43.8 | 2 26 12 | 107 58.3 | 3 38 7 | 102 21.2 | 4 26 41 | 99 52.2 | 5 8 40 | 98 20.7 |
| Sirtius | 2 5 7 | 93 37.4 | 2 46 56 | 90 4.8 | 4 6 40 | 85 9.1 | 5 1 10 | 83 22.1 | 5 48 34 | 81 37.1 |
| Castor | 3 16 27 | 112 9.0 | 4 2 2 | 108 57.4 | 5 14 27 | 106 24.3 | 6 0 31 | 106 6.5 | 6 39 46 | 106 33.0 |
| Procyon | 2 54 18 | 62 4.9 | 3 44 10 | 59 14.8 | 5 22 33 | 56 27.0 | 6 29 36 | 56 35.9 | 7 26 49 | 57 50.7 |
| <i>a</i> Hydræ | 3 44 27 | 85 4.8 | 4 28 20 | 83 50.0 | 5 50 36 | 82 18.3 | 6 45 52 | 82 59.1 | 7 32 55 | 84 27.8 |
| Regulus | 5 45 32 | 88 32.7 | 6 28 6 | 88 43.5 | 7 46 41 | 91 25.9 | 8 38 14 | 94 39.4 | 9 21 35 | 98 7.8 |
| <i>β</i> Leonis | 5 55 10 | 65 46.6 | 6 45 15 | 66 6.8 | 8 16 11 | 69 36.6 | 9 14 2 | 74 25.8 | 10 1 52 | 77 26.2 |
| Spica | 7 39 12 | 55 54.2 | 8 31 25 | 58 6.5 | 10 1 9 | 64 43.8 | 10 56 54 | 69 54.5 | 11 42 50 | 74 44.8 |
| <i>β</i> Centauri | 9 37 49 | 78 15.6 | 10 37 29 | 82 7.8 | 11 40 35 | 90 1.5 | 12 33 13 | 95 45.2 | 13 18 46 | 100 31.4 |
| Arcturus | 10 16 8 | 127 25.1 | 10 46 42 | 131 31.7 | 12 1 16 | 139 48.1 | 12 59 23 | 145 11.8 | 13 55 14 | 149 47.0 |
| <i>a</i> Serpentis | 10 36 18 | 47 58.2 | 11 22 12 | 52 16.1 | 12 39 47 | 60 40.3 | 13 28 52 | 65 48.7 | 14 10 6 | 70 10.9 |
| Antares | 12 10 58 | 63 47.2 | 12 51 58 | 68 11.0 | 14 6 6 | 75 46.5 | 14 55 30 | 79 58.8 | 15 38 16 | 83 11.4 |
| <i>a</i> Lyræ | 12 24 0 | 98 16.5 | 13 6 50 | 102 37.4 | 14 30 11 | 109 53.9 | 15 29 8 | 113 36.6 | 16 21 56 | 116 9.6 |
| <i>a</i> Aquilæ | 16 8 29 | 48 3.6 | 16 36 28 | 49 51.2 | 17 36 24 | 51 38.0 | 18 3 18 | 51 43.1 | 18 32 41 | 51 19.7 |
| <i>a</i> Aquarii | 16 17 0 | 82 12.2 | 16 37 6 | 83 44.0 | 18 12 14 | 84 21.1 | 19 1 19 | 83 12.7 | 19 44 50 | 81 27.2 |
| Fomalhaut | 18 19 16 | 103 8.6 | 18 55 26 | 102 27.8 | 20 59 51 | 98 45.1 | 21 14 2 | 94 53.9 | 21 59 31 | 90 54.7 |
| <i>a</i> Pegasi | 18 16 30 | 134 54.0 | 19 15 43 | 133 87.3 | 20 18 47 | 129 17.4 | 22 1 5 | 124 46.9 | 22 50 54 | 120 16.1 |
| | 19 24 1 | 92 34.4 | 20 6 35 | 90 33.5 | 21 24 14 | 84 49.4 | 22 15 19 | 80 2.6 | 22 58 41 | 75 27.0 |





THE SHŪ KING.

PART I. THE BOOK OF THANG.

THE CANON OF YÁO.

SHŪ KING, the name of the whole work, has been sufficiently explained in the Introduction. The name of this Part, the first of the five into which the whole is divided, is the Book of Thang, Thang being taken as the dynastic designation of Yáo, who before his elevation to the throne had been marquis of the 'small state of Thang, the name of which is supposed to be still retained in Thang, one of the districts of the department Páo-ting, in K'ih-lí. It is said that after his elevation he established his capital in Phing-yang, lat. $36^{\circ} 06'$, long. $111^{\circ} 33'$, in Shan-hsí. But all this is very uncertain. See on Part III, Book iii, ch. 2. The one Book, forming this Part, is called the Canon of Yáo. The character which we translate 'Canon' means a document of the most exalted nature, the contents of which are entitled to the greatest regard. The name is given expressly only to one other Book in the Shū. The Canons are the first of the six classes of documents which the Shū contains.

Yáo is the subject of the Book:—In ch. 1, in his personal character and the general results of his government; in ch. 2, in his special care for the regulation of the calendar and the labours of agriculture; in ch. 3, in his anxiety to find one who could cope with the ravages of a terrible inundation, and take his place on the throne. The third chapter introduces to our notice Shun, the successor of Yáo.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tí Yáo¹ was styled Fang-hsün². He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of (all) complaisance. The bright (influence of these qualities) was felt through the four quarters (of the land), and reached to (heaven) above and (earth) beneath.

He made the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of (all in) the nine classes of his kindred, who (thus) became harmonious. He (also) regulated and polished the people (of his domain), who all became brightly intelligent. (Finally), he united and harmonized the myriad states; and so the black-haired people were transformed. The result was (universal) concord.

2. He commanded the Hsís and Hos³, in reverent accordance with (their observation of) the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate (the movements and appearances of) the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces, and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to be observed by the people.

¹ Yáo is to us now the name of the ancient ruler so denominated. The character means 'high,' 'lofty and grand.' It may originally have been an epithet, 'the Exalted One.' On the meaning of Tí in Tí Yáo, see what has been said in the Preface.

² The Han scholars held that Fang-hsün was the name of Yáo. Those of Sung, taking the characters as an epithet, make them signify 'the Highly Meritorious.'

³ The Hsís and Hos seem to have been brothers of two families, on whom devolved the care of the calendar, principally with a view to regulate the seasons of agriculture. See Parts III, iv, and V, xxvii. On Yáo's directions to them, see the Introduction, pp. 24-28.

He separately commanded the second brother Hsi to reside at Yü-í¹, in what was called the Bright Valley, and (there) respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. 'The day,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Niáo;—you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people are dispersed (in the fields), and birds and beasts breed and copulate.'

He further commanded the third brother Hsi to reside at Nan-kiáo², (in what was called the Brilliant Capital), to adjust and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the exact limit (of the shadow). 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its longest, and the star is in Hwo;—you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats.'

He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and (there) respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. 'The night,' (said he), 'is of the medium length, and the star is in Hsü;—you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people feel at ease, and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition.'

He further commanded the third brother Ho to

¹ Yü-í is by some identified with Täng-káu, in Shan-tung, lat. 37° 48', long. 121° 4'; by others, it is sought in Corea.

² Nan-kiáo was south, it is said, on the border of An-nan or Cochinchina. The characters for 'in what was called the Brilliant Capital' are supposed to have dropt out of the text.

reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and (there) to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. 'The day,' (said he), 'is at its shortest, and the star is in Mão;—you may thus exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep in their houses, and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.'

The Tî said, 'Ah! you, Hsîs and Hos, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. Do you, by means of the intercalary month, fix the four seasons, and complete (the period of) the year. (Thereafter), the various officers being regulated in accordance with this, all the works (of the year) will be fully performed.'

3. The Tî said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man according to the times, whom I can raise and employ?' Fang-*khi* said, '(Your) heir-son *Kû*¹ is highly intelligent.' The Tî said, 'Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome:—can he do?'

The Tî said, 'Who will search out (for me) a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?' Hwan-tâu² said, 'Oh! the merits of the Minister of Works have just been displayed on a wide scale.' The Tî said, 'Alas! when all is quiet, he talks; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful (only) in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens!'

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four

¹ In Part II, iv, 2, Yü speaks of this son of Yáo as 'the haughty *Kû* of Tan,' Tan probably being the name of a state, over which, according to tradition, he had been appointed.

² Hwan-tâu and the Minister of Works, whom he recommends, appear in the next Book as great criminals.

Mountains¹, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the hills and overtop the great heights, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the lower people groan and murmur! Is there a capable man to whom I can assign the correction (of this calamity)?' All (in the court) said, 'Ah! is there not Khwăn²?' The Tí said, 'Alas! how perverse is he! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers.' (The President of) the Mountains said, 'Well but— Try if he can (accomplish the work).' (Khwăn) was employed accordingly. The Tí said (to him), 'Go; and be reverent!' For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

The Tí said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, I have been on the throne seventy years. You can carry out my commands;—I will resign my place to you.' The Chief said, 'I have not the virtue;—I should disgrace your place.' (The Tí) said, 'Show me some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean.' All (then) said to the Tí, 'There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yü³.' The Tí

¹ (President of) the Four Mountains, or simply Four Mountains, appears to have been the title of the chief minister of Yáo. The four mountains were—mount Thái in the east; Hwá in the west, in Shan-hsí; Hăng in the south, in Hû-nan; and Hăng in the north, in Kih-lí. These, probably, were the limits of the country, so far as known, and all within these points were the care of the chief minister.

² Khwăn is believed to have been the father of Yü, who afterwards coped successfully with the inundation. We are told that he was earl of K'hung, corresponding to the present district of Hû, in Shen-hsí.

³ See on the title of next Book.

said, 'Yes, I have heard of him. What have you to say about him?' The Chief said, 'He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his (step-)mother was insincere; his (half-)brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able, (however), by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they (no longer) proceed to great wickedness.' The Tí said, 'I will try him; I will wive him, and thereby see his behaviour with my two daughters.' (Accordingly) he arranged and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei¹, to be wives in (the family of) Yü. The Tí said to them, 'Be reverent!'

¹ The Kwei is a small stream in Shan-hsü, which flows into the Ho.

PART II. THE BOOKS OF YÜ.

BOOK I. THE CANON OF SHUN.

THE Books of Yü is the name of this Part of the Shû, Yü being the dynastic designation of Shun, as Thang was that of Yáo. It does not appear so clearly, however, how it came to be so. Yü must be the name of a state, and is commonly identified with the present district of An-yü, in Kieh Kâu, Shan-hsí. Some think that Yáo, after marrying his two daughters to Shun, appointed him lord of this state; but in the first mention of him to Yáo in the last Book, he is called Shun of Yü. It is generally said that Shun's ancestors had been lords of the principality of Yü up to the time of his father, who lost his patrimony and was reduced to the rank of a private man. But after what has been said, in the Introduction, on the Books in the first two Parts of the Shû, it will not be thought surprising that much in the accounts about Yáo and Shun should be open to suspicion. According to Mencius, IV, Part ii, ch. 1, Shun was from the country of the wild tribes on the east. Sze-má K'ien makes him to have been descended from Hwang-Tü, in which case he and his wives, the daughters of Yáo, would have had the same ancestor. Nothing more injurious to the fame of Yáo and Shun, according to Chinese notions of propriety, could be alleged against them.

Shun is the subject of this Canon, as Yáo was of the former. As it now stands, we may divide it into six chapters:—the first, describing Shun's virtues and gradual advancement; the second, Yáo's satisfaction with his administration of affairs, and associating of Shun with himself on the throne; the third, the acts of Shun in that position; the fourth, the demise of Yáo, and Shun's accession as sole monarch; the fifth, his choice of ministers and complete organization of his government; and the sixth, his death.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Tî Shun¹ was styled *K/ung-hwâ*². His character was entirely conformed to (that of) the (former) Tî; he was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and courteous, and truly sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to office.

2. (Shun) carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties, and they came to be (universally) observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of every (official) department were arranged in their proper seasons. (Being charged) to receive (the princes) from the four quarters of the land, they were all docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, notwithstanding the tempests of wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

The Tî said, 'Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on (all) affairs, and examined your words, and found that they can be carried into practice;—(now) for three years. Do you ascend the seat of the Tî.' Shun wished to decline in favour of some one more virtuous, and not to consent to be (Yáo's) successor. On the first day of the first month, (however), he received (Yáo's) retirement (from his duties) in the temple of the Accomplished Ancestor³.*

3. He examined the pearl-adorned turning sphere,

¹ If Shun be taken as an epithet, it will mean 'the Benevolent and Sage.'

² *K/ung-hwâ*, the name of Shun according to the Han scholars, may mean 'the Glorious (Yáo) repeated.'

³ The Accomplished Ancestor would be, probably, the individual in some distant time to whom Yáo traced his possession of the throne.

with its transverse tube of jade, and reduced to a harmonious system (the movements of) the Seven Directors¹.

Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits².*

He called in (all) the five jade-symbols of rank; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to (the President of) the Four Mountains, and all the Pastors³, (finally) returning their symbols to the various princes.

In the second month of the year he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Thâi-jung⁴, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers.* Thereafter he gave audience to the princes of the east. He set in accord their seasons and months, and regulated the days; he made uniform the standard-tubes, with the measures of length and of capacity, and the steel-yards; he regulated the five (classes of) ceremonies, with (the various) articles of introduction,—the five

¹ Probably the seven stars of the Great Bear.

² Who the Six Honoured Ones were cannot be determined with certainty. An-kwo thought they were, 'the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought,' that is, certain spirits, supposed to rule over these phenomena and things, and residing probably in different stars. The whole paragraph describes Shun's exercise of the prerogative of the sovereign, so far as religious worship was concerned.

³ The princes of the various states, whose official chief was the President of the Four Mountains, all 'shepherds of men.'

⁴ Thâi-jung is mount Thâi, in Shan-tung. See note on the President of the Four Mountains, p. 35.

symbols of jade, the three kinds of silk, the two living (animals) and the one dead one. As to the five instruments of rank, when all was over, he returned them. In the fifth month he made a similar tour southwards, as far as the mountain of the south¹, where he observed the same ceremonies as at Thâi. In the eighth month he made a tour westwards, as far as the mountain of the west¹, where he did as before. In the eleventh month he made a tour northwards, as far as the mountain of the north¹, where he observed the same ceremonies as in the west. He (then) returned (to the capital), went to (the temple of) the Cultivated Ancestor², and sacrificed a single bull.*

In five years there was one tour of inspection, and there were four appearances of the princes at court. They gave a report (of their government) in words, which was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their merits.

He instituted the division (of the land) into twelve provinces³, raising altars upon twelve hills in them.* He (also) deepened the rivers.

He exhibited (to the people) the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five (great) inflictions⁴; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be

¹ See note on the President of the Four Mountains, p. 35.

² Probably the same as the Accomplished Ancestor on p. 38.

³ As Yü, according to Part III, i, divided the land into nine provinces, this division of it into twelve must have been subsequent to the completion of Yü's work. See on the Tribute of Yü.

⁴ Those five great inflictions were—branding on the forehead; cutting off the nose; cutting off the feet; castration; and death, inflicted in various ways.

employed in schools¹, and money to be received for redeemable offences. Inadvertent offences and those which could be ascribed to misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who transgressed presumptuously and repeatedly were to be punished with death. 'Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent!' (he said to himself.) 'Let compassion rule in punishment!'

He banished the Minister of Works to Yü island; confined Hwan-tâu on mount *Khung*; drove (the chief of) San-miào (and his people) into San-wei, and kept them there; and held Khwän a prisoner till death on mount Yü. These four criminals being thus dealt with, all under heaven acknowledged the justice (of Shun's administration)².

24. After twenty-eight years the Tí deceased, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed. On the first day of the first month (of the) next year, Shun went to (the temple of) the Accomplished Ancestor.*

¹ This punishment was for officers in training; not for boys at school.

² The Minister of Works, Hwan-tâu, and Khwän are mentioned in the former Canon. Yü island, or Yü *Kâu*, was in the extreme north of the present district of Mí-yun, department Shun-thien, *Kih-lí*.

Mount *Khung* was in the district of Yung-ting, *Lí Kâu*, *Hü-nan*. San-miào was the name of a territory, embracing the present departments of *Wü-khang* in *Hü-pei*, *Yo-kâu* in *Hü-nan*, and *Kü-kiang* in *Kiang-hsü*. San-wei was a tract of country round a mountain of the same name in the present department of *An-hsi*, *Kan-sü*. Mount Yü was in the present district of *Than-khang*, *Shan-tung*.

5. He deliberated with (the President of) the Four Mountains how to throw open the doors (of communication between himself and the) four (quarters of the land), and how he could see with the eyes, and hear with the ears of all.

He consulted with the twelve Pastors¹, and said to them, 'The food!—it depends on observing the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful;—so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission.'

Shun said, 'Ho! (President of) the Four Mountains, is there any one who can with vigorous service attend to all the affairs of the Tí, whom I may appoint to be General Regulator, to assist me in (all) affairs, managing each department according to its nature?' All (in the court) replied, 'There is Po-yü², the Minister of Works.' The Tí said, 'Yes. Ho! Yü, you have regulated the water and the land. In this (new office) exert yourself.' Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the Minister of Agriculture, or Hsieh, or Káo-yáo. The Tí said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties).'

The Tí said, 'K'hi³, the black-haired people are (still) suffering from famine. Do you, O prince, as

¹ These were the twelve princes holding the chief sway and superintendence in his twelve provinces.

² Po-yü is the great Yü, the founder of the Hsiá dynasty. Po denotes, probably, his order as the eldest among his brothers.

³ K'hi was the name of the Minister of Agriculture, better known in the Shih and other books as Hâu-k'hi, the progenitor of the kings of Káu. See the legend about him in the Shih, Part III, ii, Ode 1.

Minister of Agriculture, (continue to) sow (for them) the various kinds of grain.'

The Tî said, 'Hsieh¹, the people are (still) wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely observe the five orders of relationship. It is yours, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness.'

The Tî said, 'Kâo-yâo², the barbarous tribes trouble our great land. There are (also) robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the Minister of Crime, to use the five punishments to deal with their offences. For the infliction of these there are the three appointed places. There are the five cases in which banishment in the appropriate places is to be resorted to, to which places, though five, three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere (submission).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend my works, as they severally require?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Zui³?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Zui, you must be Minister of Works.' Zui did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Shû, K'hiang, or Po-yü. The

¹ Hsieh was honoured by the kings of the Shang dynasty as their progenitor. See the Shih, Part IV, iii, Odes 3 and 4.

² See the preliminary note to Book iii.

³ Zui was not claimed by any great family as its progenitor, but he was handed down by tradition as a great artificer. See a reference to him in Part V, xxii, 2. Shû and K'hiang must have been named from their skill in making halberds and axes. The Yü (quite different from the name of the great Yü) in Po-yü gives us no indication of the skill of that individual.

Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Effect a harmony (in all the departments).'

The Tî said, 'Who can superintend, as the nature of the charge requires, the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts on my hills and in my marshes?' All (in the court) replied, 'Is there not Yî¹?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Yî, do you be my Forester.' Yî did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Kû, Hû, Hsiung, or Pî¹. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). You must manage them harmoniously.'

The Tî said, 'Ho! (President of the) Four Mountains, is there any one able to direct my three (religious) ceremonies²?' All (in the court) answered, 'Is there not Po-î³?' The Tî said, 'Yes. Ho! Po, you must be the Arranger in the Ancestral Temple. Morning and night be reverent. Be upright, be pure.' Po did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Khwei or Lung. The Tî said, 'Yes, but do you go (and undertake the duties). Be reverential!'^{*}

The Tî said, 'Khwei⁴, I appoint you to be Director of Music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward shall yet be mild; the gentle, dignified; the strong, not tyrannical; and the impetuous,

¹ For Yî, see the preliminary note to Book iv. He wishes here to decline his appointment in favour of Kû ('The Cedar'), Hû ('The Tiger'), Hsiung ('The Bear'), or Pî ('The Grisly Bear').

² The three ceremonies were the observances in the worship of the Spirits of Heaven, the Spirits of Earth, and the Spirits of Men.

³ Po-î was the progenitor of the great family of Kîang, members of which ruled in Kîhî and other states.

⁴ Of Khwei we know nothing more than what is here told us. The character denotes a monstrous animal, 'a dragon with one leg.'

not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the standard-tubes. (In this way) the eight different kinds of musical instruments can be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another; and spirits and men are brought into harmony.' Khwei said, 'I smite the (sounding-) stone, I gently strike it, and the various animals lead on one another to dance.'

The Tí said, 'Lung¹, I abominate slanderous speakers and destroyers of the (right) ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the Minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that everything is true.'

The Tí said, 'Ho! you, twenty and two men, be reverent; so shall you be helpful to the business (entrusted to me by) Heaven.'*

Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving advanced. (By this arrangement) the duties of all the departments were fully discharged; the (people of) San-miáo (also) were discriminated and separated.

6. In the thirtieth year of his age, Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne (with Yáo). Fifty years afterwards he went on high and died².*

¹ We are in ignorance of Lung, as we are of Khwei. The character denotes 'the dragon.'

² The Chinese text is here difficult to construe. K'ü Hsí says that the term 'went on high' is appropriate to the death of the Son of Heaven; and that the meaning is that Shun went to heaven.

BOOK II. THE COUNSELS OF THE GREAT YÜ.

OF the six classes of documents in the Shū, 'Counsels' are the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government.

This Book may be divided into three chapters:—the first, containing counsels of Yü and Yî on principles and methods of government; the second, occupied with Shun's resignation of the administration to Yü, and containing also many sage observations and maxims; and the third, describing Yü's operations against the people of Miào, and counsels addressed to him by Yî. The style differs from that of the Canons; being more sententious, and falling occasionally into rhyme.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) the Great Yü¹ was styled Wän-ming². Having arranged and divided (the land), all to the four seas, in reverent response to the Tî, he said, 'If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignty, and the minister the difficulty of his ministry, the government will be well ordered, and the black-haired people will sedulously seek to be virtuous.'

The Tî said, 'Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be left neglected, away from court, and the myriad states will all enjoy repose. (But) to obtain the views of all; to give up one's opinion and follow that of others; to keep from oppressing the helpless, and not to neglect the

¹ The name Yü, taken as an epithet, would mean 'the Unconstrained.' As an epithet after death, it has the meaning of 'Receiving the Resignation and Perfecting the Merit;' but this is evidently based on the commonly received history of Yü.

² Wän-ming may be translated, 'the Accomplished and the Issuer of Commands.'

strained and poor ;—it was only the (former) Tí who could attain to this.'

Yí said, 'Oh! your virtue, O Tí, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spirit-like, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favour, and bestowed on you its appointment. Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all under heaven.*'

Yü said, 'Accordance with the right leads to good fortune ; following what is opposed to it, to bad ;—the shadow and the echo.' Yí said, 'Alas! be cautious ! Admonish yourself to caution, when there seems to be no occasion for anxiety. Do not fail to observe the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in idleness. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not carry out plans, of (the wisdom of) which you have doubts. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right, to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people's (wishes), to follow your own desires. (Attend to these things) without idleness or omission, and the barbarous tribes all around will come and acknowledge your sovereignty.'

Yü said, 'Oh! think (of these things), O Tí. The virtue (of the ruler) is seen in (his) good government, and that government in the nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, the earth, and grain,—these must be duly regulated ; there are the rectification of (the people's) virtue, (the tools and other things) that supply the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation,—these must be harmoniously

attended to. When the nine services (thus indicated) have been orderly accomplished, that accomplishment will be hailed by (the people's) songs. Caution them with gentle (words), correct them with the majesty (of law), stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects,—in order that (your success) may not suffer diminution.' The Tî said, 'The earth has been reduced to order, and the (influences of) heaven produce their complete effect; those six magazines and three departments of (governmental) action are all truly regulated, and may be depended on for a myriad generations :—this is your merit.'

2. The Tî said, 'Come, you Yü. I have occupied my place for thirty and three years. I am between ninety and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do you, eschewing all indolence, take the leading of my people.' Yü replied, 'My virtue is not equal (to the position), and the people will not repose in me. (But there is) Kâo-yâo with vigorous activity sowing abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O Tî, think of him! When I think of him, (my mind) rests on him (as the man fit for this place); when I would put him out of my thoughts, (my mind still) rests on him; when I name and speak of him, (my mind) rests on him (for this); the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O Tî, think of his merits.'

The Tî said, 'Kâo-yâo, that of these my ministers and all (my people) hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owing to your being Minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby

assisting (the inculcation of) the five cardinal duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with (the path of) the Mean. (Continue to) be strenuous,' Káo-yáo replied, 'Your virtue, O Tí, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a kindly ease; you preside over the multitudes with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to (the criminal's) heirs, while rewards reach to (succeeding) generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers.' The Tí said, 'That I am able to follow and obtain what I desire in my government, the people responding everywhere as if moved by the wind,—this is your excellence.'

The Tí said, 'Come Yü. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you accomplished truly (all that you had represented), and completed your service;—thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the country, and sparing in your expenditure on your family, and this without being full of yourself and elated,—you (again) show your superiority to other men. You are without any prideful assumption, but no one under heaven can contest with you the palm of ability; you make no boasting, but no

one under heaven can contest with you the palm of merit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend (the throne) of the great sovereign.* The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words; do not follow plans about which you have not sought counsel. Of all who are to be loved, is not the ruler the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were without their sovereign Head, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverential! Carefully maintain the throne which you are to occupy, cultivating (the virtues) that are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and raises up war. I will not alter my words.'

Yü said, 'Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination¹, and let the favouring indication be followed.' The Tí replied, '(According to the rules for) the regulation of divination, one should first make up his mind, and afterwards refer (his judgment) to the great tortoise-shell. My mind (in this matter) was determined in the first place; I consulted and deliberated with all (my

¹ On Divination, see Part V, iv.

ministers and people), and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, and the tortoise-shell and divining stalks concurred. Divination, when fortunate, should not be repeated.* Yü did obeisance with his head to the ground, and firmly declined (the place). The Tî said, 'You must not do so. It is you who can suitably (occupy my place).' On the first morning of the first month, (Yü) received the appointment in the temple (dedicated by Shun) to the spirits of his ancestors¹, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done by the Tî at the commencement (of his government).*

3. The Tî said, 'Alas! O Yü, there is only the lord of Miáo² who refuses obedience; do you go and correct him.' Yü on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, 'Ye multitudes here arrayed, listen all of you to my orders. Stupid is this lord of Miáo, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys (all the obligations of) virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill (all) the offices. The people reject him and will not protect him. Heaven

¹ Many contend that this was the ancestral temple of Yáo. But we learn from Confucius, in the seventeenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that Shun had established such a temple for his own ancestors, which must be that intended here.

² The lord of Miáo against whom Yü proceeded would not be the one whom Shun banished to San-wei, as related in the former Book, but some chieftain of the whole or a portion of the people, who had been left in their native seat. That Yáo, Shun, and Yü were all obliged to take active measures against the people of Miáo, shows the difficulty with which the Chinese sway was established over the country.

is sending down calamities upon him.* I therefore, along with you, my multitude of gallant men, bear the instructions (of the Tî) to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success.'

At the end of three decades, the people of Miào continued rebellious against the commands (issued to them), when Yî came to the help of Yü, saying, 'It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase;—this is the way of Heaven.* In the early time of the Tî, when he was living by mount Lî¹, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself all guilt, and charging himself with (their) wickedness.* (At the same time) with respectful service he appeared before Kû-sâu, looking grave and awe-struck, till Kû also became transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings,—how much more will it move this lord of Miào!''* Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' (Thereupon) he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The Tî set about diffusing on a grand scale the virtuous influences of peace;—with shields and feathers they danced between the two staircases (in his courtyard). In seventy days, the lord of Miào came (and made his submission).

¹ Mount Lî is found in a hill near Phû Kâu, department of Phing-yang, Shan-hsi. It is difficult to reconcile what Yî says here of Shun 'in his early life' and his father Kû-sâu with the account of it as happening when Shun was fifty years old; see Mencius V, Part i, ch. 5. The whole is legendary, and there were, no doubt, more forms of the legend than one.

BOOK III. THE COUNSELS OF KÂO-YÂO.

KÂO-YÂO was Minister of Crime to Shun, and is still celebrated in China as the model for all administrators of justice. There are few or no reliable details of his history. Sze-mâ *Khien* says that Yü, on his accession to the throne, made Kâo-yâo his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but that the design was frustrated by Kâo-yâo's death. But if there had been such a tradition in the time of Mencius, he would probably have mentioned it, when defending Yü from the charge of being inferior to Yâo and Shun, who resigned the throne to the worthiest, whereas he transmitted it to his son. Kâo-yâo's surname was Yen, but an end was made of his representatives, when the principality belonging to them was extinguished in the dynasty of *Kâu* by the ambitious state of *Khû*. There is still a family in China with the surname Kâo, claiming to be descended from this ancient worthy; but Kâo and Yâo are to be taken together in the *Shû* as his name.

The 'Counsels' in the Book do not appear as addressed directly to Shun, but are found in a conversation between Yü and Kâo-yâo, the latter being the chief speaker. The whole may be divided into four chapters:—the first, enunciating the principle that in government the great thing is for the ruler to pursue the course of his virtue, which will be seen in his knowledge and choice of men for office, thereby securing the repose of the people; the second, illustrating how men may be known; the third, treating of the repose of the people; in the fourth, the speaker asserts the reasonableness of his sentiments, and humbly expresses his own desire to be helpful to the sovereign.

1. Examining into antiquity, (we find that) Kâo-yâo said, 'If (the sovereign) sincerely pursues the course of his virtue, the counsels (offered to him) will be intelligent, and the aids (of admonition that he receives) will be harmonious.' Yü said, 'Yes, but explain yourself.' Kâo-yâo said, 'Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and thus he will

produce a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine branches of his kindred. All the intelligent (also) will exert themselves in his service; and in this way from what is near he will reach to what is distant.' Yü did homage to the excellent words, and said, 'Yes.' Kâo-yâo continued, 'Oh! it lies in knowing men, and giving repose to the people.' Yü said, 'Alas! to attain to both these things might well be a difficulty even to the Tî. When (the sovereign) knows men, he is wise, and can put every one into the office for which he is fit. When he gives repose to the people, his kindness is felt, and the black-haired race cherish him in their hearts. When he can be (thus) wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tâu? what to be removing a lord of Miào? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?'

2. Kâo-yâo said, 'Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct, and when we say that a man possesses (any) virtue, that is as much as to say he does such and such things.' Yü asked, 'What (are the nine virtues)?' Kâo-yâo replied, 'Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverent caution; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; an easy negligence combined with discrimination; boldness combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. (When these qualities are) displayed, and that continuously, have we not the good (officer)? When there is a daily

display of three (of these) virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and brighten the clan (of which he was made chief). When there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six of them, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the state (with which he was invested). When (such men) are all received and advanced, the possessors of those nine virtues will be employed in (the public) service. The men of a thousand and men of a hundred will be in their offices; the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five seasons (as the several elements predominate in them),—and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished. Let not (the Son of Heaven) set to the holders of states the example of indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, (remembering that) in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have his various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!*

3. 'From Heaven are the (social) relationships with their several duties; we are charged with (the enforcement of) those five duties;—and lo! we have the five courses of honourable conduct¹. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us come the observances of those five ceremonies;—and lo! they appear in

¹ The five duties are those belonging to the five relationships, which are the constituents of society;—those between husband and wife, father and son, ruler and subject, elder brother and younger, friend and friend.

regular practice¹. When (sovereign and ministers show) a common reverence and united respect for these, lo! the moral nature (of the people) is made harmonious. Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them²? Heaven punishes the guilty;—are there not the five punishments, to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government!—ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it?*

‘Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe;—such connexion is there between the upper and lower (worlds). How reverent ought the masters of territories to be!’*

4. Kâo-yâo said, ‘My words are in accordance with reason, and may be put in practice.’ Yü said, ‘Yes, your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success.’ Kâo-yâo added, ‘(As to that) I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May (the government) be perfected!’

BOOK IV. THE YÏ AND KÏ.

YÏ and KÏ, the names of Shun’s Forester and Minister of Agriculture, both of whom receive their appointments in Book i, occur near the commencement of this Book, and occasion is thence taken to give its title to the whole. But without good reason; for these worthies do not appear at all as interlocutors

¹ The five ceremonies are here those belonging to the distinctions of rank in connexion with the five constituent relations of society.

² See in next Book, ch. 1.

in it. Yü is the principal speaker; the Book belongs to the class of 'Counsels.'

To Yï there is, of course, assigned an ancient and illustrious descent; what is of more importance, is that the lords of *K'in*, who finally superseded the kings of *K'au*, traced their lineage to him. *K'hî* was the name of *K'ï*, the character for the latter term meaning 'Millet,' and *K'hi* was so styled from his labours in teaching the people to sow and reap, so that *K'ï* became equivalent to 'Minister of Agriculture.'

The contents of the Book have been divided into three chapters. The first gives a conversation between Shun and Yü. Yü relates his own diligence and achievements as a model to Shun, and gives him various admonitions, while Shun insists on what his ministers should be, and wherein he wished them to help him. In the second chapter, Khwei, the Minister of Music, makes his appearance; it has no apparent connexion with the former. In the third, Shun and K'áo-yáo sing to each other on the mutual relation of the sovereign and his ministers.

I. The Tï said, 'Come Yü, you also must have excellent words (to bring before me).' Yü did obeisance, and said, 'Oh! what can I say, O Tï, (after K'áo-yáo)? I can (only) think of maintaining a daily assiduity.' K'áo-yáo said, 'Alas! will you describe it?' Yü replied, 'The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the hills and overtopped the great mounds, so that the people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances¹, and all along the hills hewed down the trees, at the same time, along with Yï, showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I (also) opened passages for the streams (throughout the) nine (provinces), and conducted them to the four seas. I deepened (more-over) the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, sowing (grain), at the same time,

¹ See the Introduction, pp. 16, 17.

along with *Kt*, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil, (in addition to) the flesh meat. I urged them (further) to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. (In this way) all the people got grain to eat, and the myriad regions began to come under good rule.' *Kào-yáo* said, 'Yes, we ought to model ourselves after your excellent words.'

Yü said, 'Oh! carefully maintain, O *Tt*, the throne which you occupy.' The *Tt* replied, 'Yes;' and *Yü* went on, 'Find your repose in your (proper) resting-point. Attend to the springs of things; study stability; and let your assistants be the upright:—then shall your movements be grandly responded to, (as if the people only) waited for your will. Thus you will brightly receive (the favour of) God;—will not Heaven renew its appointment of you, and give you blessing?' *

The *Tt* said, 'Alas! what are ministers?—are they not (my) associates? What are associates?—are they not (my) ministers?' *Yü* replied, 'Yes;' and the *Tt* went on, 'My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people;—you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence (of my government) through the four quarters;—you act as my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients,—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragons, and the flowery fowl (= the pheasant), which are depicted (on the upper garment); the temple cups, the pondweed, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered (on the lower garment),—(I wish to see all these) fully displayed

in the five colours, so as to form the (ceremonial) robes;—it is yours to see them clearly (for me). I wish to hear the six pitch-tubes, the five notes (determined by them), and the eight kinds of musical instruments (regulated again by these), examining thereby the virtues and defects of government, according as (the odes that) go forth (from the court, set to music), and come in (from the people), are ordered by those five notes;—it is yours to hear them (for me). When I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me;—do not follow me to my face, and, when you have retired, have other remarks to make. Be reverent, ye associates, who are before and behind and on each side of me! As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are found not to be doing what is right, are there not—the target to exhibit (their true character)¹, the scourge to make them recollect, and the book of remembrance²? Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters (of music) to receive their compositions, (set them to music), and continually publish them (as corrected by themselves). If they become reformed they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors (of punishment) overtake them.'

¹ Archery was anciently made much of in China, and supposed to be a test of character. Unworthy men would not be found hitting frequently, and observing the various rules of the exercise. Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue; see *Analects*, III, xvi.

² In the *Official Book of Káu*, the heads of districts are required to keep a register of the characters of the people. *Shun's Book of Remembrance* would be a record on wood or cloth. The reference implies the use of writing.

Yü said, 'So far good! But let your light shine, O Tt, all under heaven, even to every grassy corner of the sea-shore, and throughout the myriad regions the most worthy of the people will all (wish) to be your ministers. Then, O Tt, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them according to their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare not to cultivate a humble virtue? who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O Tt, do not act thus, all (your ministers) together will daily proceed to a meritless character.'

'Be not haughty like *Kû* of Tan¹, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppressive course. Day and night without ceasing he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the prosperity of his house to an end. I took warning from his course. When I married in Thû-shan², (I remained with my wife only the days) *hsin*, *zăn*, *kwei*, and *kiâ*. When (my son) *Khî* was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. (Then) I assisted in completing the five Tenures³, extending over 5000 *li*⁴; (in appointing) in the provinces twelve Tutors, and in establishing

¹ This was the son of Yáo. He must have been made lord of some principality, called Tan.

² Yü married the daughter of the lord of Thû-shan, a principality in the present department of Fäng-yung, An-hui.

³ See in the Tribute of Yü, Part II.

⁴ The *li* is what is called the Chinese mile, generally reckoned to be 360 paces.

in the regions beyond, reaching to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path, and are meritorious; but there are still (the people of) Mião, who obstinately refuse to render their service. Think of this, O Tï.' The Tï said, 'That my virtue is followed is the result of your meritorious services so orderly displayed. And now Kâo-yáo, entering respectfully into your arrangements, is on every hand displaying the (various) punishments, as represented, with entire intelligence.'

2. Khwei said, 'When the sounding-stone is tapped or struck with force, and the lutes are strongly swept or gently touched, to accompany the singing, the progenitors (of the Tï) come (to the service),* the guest of Yü¹ is in his place, and all the princes show their virtue in giving place to one another. (In the court) below (the hall) there are the flutes and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at that of the stopper, when the organ and bells take their place. (This makes) birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Tï, have all been performed, the male and female phoenix come with their measured gambolings (into the court).'

Khwei said, 'Oh! when I smite the (sounding-) stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead on one another to dance², and all the chiefs of the official departments become truly harmonious.'

¹ Kû of Tan.

² These last words of Khwei have already appeared in Book i, ch. 5. They are more in place here, though this second chapter has no apparent connexion with what precedes. 'The stone' is the sonorous stone formed, often in the shape of a carpenter's square, into a musical instrument, still seen everywhere in China.

3. The Tí on this made a song, saying, 'We must deal cautiously with the favouring appointment of Heaven, at every moment and in the smallest particular.' * He then sang,

'When the members (work) joyfully,
The head rises (grandly);
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged!'

Kào-yâo did obeisance with his head to his hands and then to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, 'Think (O Tí). It is yours to lead on and originate things. Pay careful attention to your laws (in doing so). Be reverential! and often examine what has been accomplished (by your officers). Be reverential!' With this he continued the song,

'When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all affairs will be happily performed!'

Again he continued the song,

'When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!'

The Tí said, 'Yes, go and be reverently (attentive to your duties).'

PART III. THE BOOKS OF HSIÂ.

BOOK I. THE TRIBUTE OF YÜ.

Hsiâ is the dynastic designation under which Yü and his descendants held the throne for 439 years (B. C. 2205-1767). On the conclusion of his labours, according to what was the universally accepted tradition in the *Kâu* period, Yü was appointed by Yâo to be earl of Hsiâ, a small principality in Ho-nan, identified with the present Yü-tâu, department Khâi-fâng, which thus still retains the name of Yü.

It has been repeatedly said in the Introduction that the Tribute of Yü describes what was done before the death of Yâo. The reason why it got its place as the first of the Books of Hsiâ was, no doubt, because the merit set forth in it was the ground of Yü's advancement to the throne.

Altogether the Books of Hsiâ are properly no more than three;— a fact which shows that in so early a period the duty of the recorder was little exercised, or that the destruction of its monuments in the course of time was nearly complete. We may assume that it was in consequence of both of these things that, when the collection of the *Shû* was made, only three documents of Hsiâ were found, to go into it.

The word 'Tribute' in the name of this first Book is not to be understood only in the sense of a contribution paid by one nation to another in acknowledgment of subjection, but also as the contribution of revenue paid by subjects to their proper ruler. The term, moreover, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents, which describe generally the labours of Yü in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation with which he had to cope, and how he then defined the boundaries of the different provinces, made other important territorial divisions, and determined the quality of the soil in each province, and the proportion of revenue it should pay, with other particulars. The Book, if we could fully credit it, would be a sort of domesday book of China in the twenty-third century

b.c., in the compass of a few pages. In the classification of the Books of the Shū, according to their subject-matter, this is rightly considered as a Canon. The first section of it is divided into one short introductory chapter, and nine others, each containing the account of one province.

Section 1.

1. Yü divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he cut down the trees. He determined the highest hills and largest rivers (in the several regions).

2. With respect to *Kî Kâu*¹, he did his work at *Hû-khâu*, and took effective measures at (the mountains) *Liang* and *K'it*. Having repaired the works on *Thâi-yüan*, he proceeded on to the south of (mount) *Yo*. He was successful with his labours on *Tan-hwâi*, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of *Kang*.

The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the highest of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

¹ *Kî Kâu* embraced the present provinces of *Shan-hsî*, *Kîh-lî*, the three most northern departments of *Ho-nan*, and the western portion of *Liáo-tung*. It had the *Ho*—what we call the Yellow river—on three sides of it. On the west was all that part of the *Ho* which forms the dividing line between *Shen-hsî* and *Shan-hsî*. At the south-western corner of *Shan-hsî*, the *Ho* turns to the east: and in *Yü's* time it flowed eastwards to about the place where *Kîh-lî*, *Shan-tung*, and *Ho-nan* all touch, forming the southern boundary of *Kî Kâu*. Thence it ran north and east, till its waters entered the present gulph of *Kîh-lî*, forming, so far, the eastern boundary of the province. The northern boundary must be left undefined.

It would be foreign to the object of the present publication of the Shū, and take too much space, to give notes on the details of *Yü's* operations in *Kî Kâu* and the other provinces.

The (waters of the) Hăng and Wei were brought to their proper channels, and Tâ-lü was made capable of cultivation.

The wild people of the islands (brought) dresses of skins (i. e. fur dresses); keeping close on the right to the rocks of *Kieh*, they entered the Ho.

3. Between the *Kî* and the Ho was Yen *Kâu*¹.

The nine branches of the Ho were made to keep their proper channels. *Lêi-hsiâ* was made a marsh, in which (the waters of) the Yung and the *Û* were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then (the people) came down from the heights, and occupied the grounds (below).

The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it was luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its contribution of revenue was fixed at what would just be deemed the correct amount; but it was not required from it, as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk, and, in baskets, woven ornamental fabrics.

They floated along the *Kî* and *Thâ*, and so reached the Ho.

4. The sea and (mount) *Tâi* were the boundaries of *Khing Kâu*².

¹ Yen *Kâu* was a small province, having the Ho on the north, the *Kî* on the south, the gulph of *Kih-lî* on the east, and *Yü Kâu*, *Yü's* seventh province, on the west. It embraced the department of *Tâ-ming*, with portions of those of *Ho-kien* and *Thien-king*, in *Kih-lî*, and the department of *Tung-khang*, with portions of those of *Kî-nan* and *Yen-kâu*, in *Shan-tung*.

² *Khing Kâu*, having mount *Tâi* and *Hsü Kâu* (the next province) on the west and south, Yen *Kâu* and the sea on the north-west and the north, and the sea on the east and south,

(The territory of) Yü-t was defined ; and the Wei and 3ze were made to keep their (old) channels.

Its soil was whitish and rich. Along the shore of the sea were wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class, and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second. Its articles of tribute were salt, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, productions of the sea of various kinds ; with silk, hemp, lead, pine trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of Tâi. The wild people of Lâi were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry tree.

They floated along the Wăn, and so reached the Kî.

5. The sea, mount Tâi, and the Hwâi were (the boundaries of) Hsü Kâu¹.

The Hwâi and the Î (rivers) were regulated. The (hills) Măng and Yü were made fit for cultivation. (The waters of) Tâ-yeh were confined (so as to form

would be still smaller than Yen Kâu, and contain the three departments of K'ing-kâu, Lâi-kâu, and Têng-kâu, with the western portion of that of Kî-nan, in Shan-tung. From the text we should never suppose that it passed across the sea which washes the north and east of Shan-tung, and extended indefinitely into Lião-tung and Corla. This, however, is the view of many Chinese geographers.

¹ The western boundary of Hsü Kâu, which is not given in the text, was Yü Kâu, and part of K'ing Kâu. It embraced the present department of Hsü-kâu, the six districts—Thão-yüan, K'ing-ho, An-tung, Hsü-k'ien, Sui-ning, and Kan-yü, department of Hwâi-an, with Phei Kâu and Hâi Kâu,—all in Kiang-sü ; the whole of Yen-kâu department, Tung-phing Kâu and the south of Phing-yin district in the department of Thâi-an, the department of Î-kâu, and portions of those of Kî-nan and K'ing-kâu,—all in Shan-tung ; with the four districts Hwâi-yüan, Wû-ho, Hung, and Ling-pî, department of Făng-yang, with Sze Kâu and Hsü Kâu,—all in An-hui.

a marsh); and (the tract of) Tung-yüan was successfully brought under management.

The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. Its grass and trees grew more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the second. Its articles of tribute were—earth of five different colours, variegated pheasants from the valleys of mount Yü, the solitary dryandra from the south of mount Yt, and the sounding-stones that (seemed to) float on the (banks of the) Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwâi brought oyster-pearls and fish, and their baskets full of deep azure and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white.

They floated along the Hwâi and the Sze, and so reached the Ho.

6. The Hwâi and the sea formed (the boundaries of) Yang Kâu¹.

The (lake of) Phǎng-lt was confined to its proper limits, and the sun-birds (= the wild geese) had places

¹ The Hwâi was the boundary of Yang Kâu on the north, and we naturally suppose that the other boundary mentioned, the sea, should be referred to the south of the province. If it were really so, Yang Kâu must have extended along the coast as far as Cochin-China, and not a few Chinese scholars argue that it did so. But that no southern boundary of the province is mentioned may rather be taken as proving that when this Book was compiled, the country south of the Kiang—the present Yang-ze—was unknown.

Along the greater part of its course, the province was continuous on the west with King Kâu, and in the north-west with Yü Kâu. We may safely assign to it the greater portion of An-hui, and a part of the department of Hwang-kâu, in Hû-pei. All this would be the northern portion of the province. How far it extended southwards into Kê-kiang and Kiang-hsî, it is impossible to say.

to settle on. The three *Kiang* were led to enter the sea, and it became possible to still the marsh of *Kăn*. The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew thin and long, and the trees rose high; the soil was miry.

The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above. Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; *yâo* and *khwăn* stones; bamboos, small and large; (elephants') teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell-patterns in their baskets. Their bundles contained small oranges and pummeloës,—rendered when specially required.

They followed the course of the *Kiang* and the sea, and so reached the *Hwâi* and the *Sze*.

7. (Mount) *King* and the south of (mount) *Hăng* formed (the boundaries of) *King Kâu*¹.

The *Kiang* and the *Han* pursued their (common) course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court. The nine *Kiang* were brought into complete order. The *Tho* and *Khien* (streams) were conducted by

¹ Mount *King*, which bounded *King Kâu* on the north, is in the department of *Hsiang-yang*, *Hû-pei*, and is called the southern *King*, to distinguish it from another mountain of the same name farther north in *Yung Kâu*. Mount *Hăng*, its southern boundary, is 'the southern mountain' of the Canon of *Shun* in *Hăng-kâu* department, *Hû-nan*. *Yang Kâu* was on the east, and the country on the west was almost unknown. *King Kâu* contained the greater portion of the present provinces of *Hû-pei* and *Hû-nan*, and parts also of *Kwei-kâu* and *Sze-khuan*. Some geographers also extend it on the south into *Kwang-tung* and *Kwang-hsî*, which is very unlikely.

their proper channels. The land in (the marsh of) Yün (became visible), and (the marsh of) Mǎng was made capable of cultivation.

The soil of this province was miry. Its fields were the average of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class. Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, (elephants') teeth, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; *k/hun* trees, wood for bows, cedars, and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and cinnabar; and the *k/hün* and *lû* bamboos, with the *hû* tree, (all good for making arrows)—of which the Three Regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was sent in bundles, put into cases. The baskets were filled with silken fabrics, azure and deep purple, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the (country of the) nine *Kiang*, the great tortoise was presented when specially required (and found).

They floated down the *Kiang*, the *Tho*, the *K/hien*, and the *Han*, and crossed (the country) to the *Lo*, whence they reached the most southern part of the *Ho*.

8. The *King* (mountain) and the *Ho* were (the boundaries of) *Yü K'âu*¹.

The *Î*, the *Lo*, the *Khan*, and the *Kien* were conducted to the *Ho*. The (marsh of) *Yung-po* was

¹ *Yü K'âu* was the central one of *Yü's* nine divisions of the country, and was conterminous, for a greater or less distance, with all of them, excepting *K'ing K'âu*, which lay off in the east by itself. It embraced most of the present *Ho-nan*, stretching also into the east and south, so as to comprehend parts of *Shan-tung* and *Hû-pei*.

confined within its proper limits. The (waters of that of) Ko were led to (the marsh of) Mǎng-k'ô.

The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was (in some places) rich, and (in others) dark and thin. Its fields were the highest of the middle class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest. Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, fine cloth of dolichos fibre, and the bæhmerea. The baskets were full of chequered silks, and of fine floss silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered when required.

They floated along the Lo, and so reached the Ho.

9. The south of (mount) Hwâ and the Black-water were (the boundaries of) Liang K'âu¹.

The (hills) Min and Po were made capable of cultivation. The Tho and K'ien streams were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to (the hills) Zhâi and Mǎng on the regulation (of the country about them).* (The country of) the wild tribes about the Ho was successfully operated on.

¹ Liang K'âu was an extensive province, and it is a remarkable fact that neither the dominions of the Shang nor the K'âu dynasty, which followed Hsiâ, included it. Portions of it were embraced in the Yü and Yung provinces of K'âu, but the greater part was considered as wild, savage territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom. It is difficult to believe that the great Yü operated upon it, as this chapter would seem to indicate. The Hwâ at its north-eastern corner is the western mountain of Shun. The Black-water, or 'the K'iang of the Golden Sands,' is identified with the present Lû. The province extended over most of the present Sze-k'üan, with parts of Shen-hsi and Kan-sû. I can hardly believe, as many do, that it extended far into Yün-nan and Kwei-k'âu.

The soil of this province was greenish and light. Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; and its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below. Its articles of tribute were—the best gold, iron, silver, steel, flint stones to make arrow-heads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, foxes, and jackals, and (nets) woven of their hair.

From (the hill of) *Hst-khing* they came by the course of the *Hwan*; floated along the *Khien*, and then crossed (the country) to the *Mien*; passed to the *Wei*, and (finally) ferried across the *Ho*.

10. The Black-water and western *Ho* were (the boundaries of) *Yung Kâu*¹.

The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The *King* was led to mingle its waters with those of the *Wei*. The *Kht* and the *Khü* were next led in a similar way (to the *Wei*), and the waters of the *Fêng* found the same receptacle.

(The mountains) *King* and *Kht* were sacrificed to.* (Those of) *Kung-nan* and *Khun-wü* (were also regulated), and (all the way) on to *Niáo-shü*. Successful measures could now be taken with the plains and swamps, even to (the marsh of) *Kü-yeh*. (The country of) *San-wei* was made habitable, and the (affairs of the) people of *San-miáo* were greatly arranged.

¹ The Black-water, which was the western boundary of *Yung Kâu*, was a different river from that which, with the same name, ran along the south of *Liang Kâu*. *Yung Kâu* was probably the largest of *Yü's* provinces, embracing nearly all the present provinces of *Shen-hsi* and *Kan-sü*, and extending indefinitely northwards to the Desert.

The soil of the province was yellow and mellow. Its fields were the highest of the highest class, and its contribution of revenue the lowest of the second. Its articles of tribute were the *khiu* jade and the lin, and (the stones called) lang-kan.

Past *Ki-shih* they floated on to Lung-măn on the western Ho. They then met on the north of the Wei (with the tribute-bearers from other quarters).

Hair-cloth and skins (were brought from) Khwăn-lun, Hsi-kih, and *Kkü-sâu*;—the wild tribes of the west (all) coming to (submit to Yü's) arrangements.

Section 2.

The division of the Book into two sections is a convenient arrangement, but modern, and not always followed. The former section gives a view of Yü's labours in each particular province. This gives a general view of the mountain ranges of the country, and of the principal streams; going on to other labours, subsequently, as was seen in the Introduction, ascribed to Yü,—his conferring lands and surnames, and dividing the whole territory into five domains. The contents are divided into five chapters:—the first, describing the mountains; the second, describing the rivers; the third, containing a summary of all the labours of Yü thus far mentioned; the fourth, relating his other labours; and the fifth, celebrating Yü's fame, and the completion of his work.

1. (Yü) surveyed and described (the hills), beginning with *Khien* and *Khi* and proceeding to mount *King*; then, crossing the Ho, *Hû-khâu*, and *Lêi-shâu*, going on to *Thái-yo*. (After these came) *Ti-kû* and *Hsi-khăng*, from which he went on to *Wang-wû*; (then there were) *Thái-hang* and mount *Hăng*, from which he proceeded to the rocks of *Kieh*, where he reached the sea.

(South of the Ho, he surveyed) *Hsi-khing*, *Kû-yü*,

and Nião-shû, going on to Thâi-hwâ; (then) Hsiung-r, Wâi-fang, and Thung-pâi, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

He surveyed and described Po-*khung*, going on to (the other) mount *King*; and Nêi-fang, from which he went on to Tâ-pieh.

(He did the same with) the south of mount Min, and went on to mount Hăng. Then crossing the nine *Kiang*, he proceeded to the plain of Fû-*khien*.

2. He traced the Weak-water as far as the Ho-lí (mountains), from which its superfluous waters went away among the moving sands.

He traced the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it (went away to) enter the southern sea.

He traced the Ho from *Kí-shih* as far as Lung-măn; and thence, southwards, to the north of (mount) Hwâ; eastward then to Tí-*khû*; eastward (again) to the ford of Măng; eastward (still) to the junction of the Lo; and then on to Tâ-pei. (From this the course was) northwards, past the *Kiang*-water, on to Tâ-lü; north from which the river was divided, and became the nine Ho, which united again, and formed the Meeting Ho, when they entered the sea.

From Po-*khung* he traced the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east it became the water of 3hang-lang; and after passing the three Dykes, it went on to Tâ-pieh, southwards from which it entered the *Kiang*. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of Phăng-lí; and from that its eastern flow was the northern *Kiang*, as which it entered the sea.

From mount Min he traced the *Kiang*, which, branching off to the east, formed the Tho; eastward again, it reached the Lí, passed the nine *Kiang*, and

went on to Tung-ling; then flowing east, and winding to the north, it joined (the Han) with its eddying movements. From that its eastern flow was the middle *Kiang*, as which it entered the sea.

He traced the Yen water, which, flowing eastward, became the *Ki*, and entered the Ho. (Thereafter) it flowed out, and became the Yung (marsh). Eastward, it issued forth on the north of *Thào-khiù*, and flowed farther east to (the marsh of) Ko; then it went north-east, and united with the Wán; thence it went north, and (finally) entered the sea on the east.

He traced the Hwái from the hill of Thung-pái. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the *Í*, and (still) with an eastward course entered the sea.

He traced the Wei from (the hill) *Niào-shù-thung-shüeh*. Flowing eastward, it united with the *Fêng*, and eastwards again with the *King*. Farther east still, it passed the *Khi* and the *Khü*, and entered the Ho.

He traced the Lo from (the hill) *Hsiung-r*. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the *Kien* and the *Khan*, and eastwards still with the *Í*. Then on the north-east it entered the Ho.

3. (Thus), throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected:—the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to;* the sources of the rivers were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

The six magazines (of material wealth) were fully attended to; the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that con-

tribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. (The fields) were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Region were established.

4. He conferred lands and surnames. (He said), 'Let me set the example of a reverent attention to my virtue, and none will act contrary to my conduct.'

Five hundred *li* formed the Domain of the Sovereign. From the first hundred they brought as revenue the whole plant of the grain; from the second, the ears, with a portion of the stalk; from the third, the straw, but the people had to perform various services; from the fourth, the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.

Five hundred *li* (beyond) constituted the Domain of the Nobles. The first hundred *li* was occupied by the cities and lands of the (sovereign's) high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the barons; and the (other) three hundred, by the various other princes.

Five hundred *li* (still beyond) formed the Peace-securing Domain. In the first three hundred, they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other two, they showed the energies of war and defence.

Five hundred *li* (remoter still) formed the Domain of Restraint. The (first) three hundred were occupied by the tribes of the *Í*; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

Five hundred *li* (the most remote) constituted the Wild Domain. The (first) three hundred were

occupied by the tribes of the Man; the (other) two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

5. On the east, reaching to the sea; on the west, extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south:—his fame and influence filled up (all within) the four seas. Yü presented the dark-coloured symbol of his rank, and announced the completion of his work.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT KAN.

WITH this Book there commence the documents of the Shū that may be regarded, as I have said in the Introduction, as contemporaneous with the events which they describe. It is the first of the 'Speeches,' which form one class of the documents of the classic.

The text does not say who the king mentioned in it was, but the prevalent tradition has always been that he was *K'hi*, the son and successor of Yü. Its place between the Tribute of Yü and the next Book belonging to the reign of Thâi Khang, *K'hi*'s son, corroborates this view.

Kan is taken as the name of a place in the southern border of the principality of Hû, with the lord of which *K'hi* fought. The name of Hû itself still remains in the district so called of the department Hsi-an, in Shen-hsi.

The king, about to engage in battle with a rebellious vassal, assembles his generals and troops, and addresses them. He declares obscurely the grounds of the expedition which he had undertaken, and concludes by stimulating the soldiers to the display of courage and observance of order by promises of reward and threats of punishment.

There was a great battle at Kan. (Previous to it), the king called together the six nobles, (the leaders of his six hosts), and said, 'Ah! all ye who

are engaged in my six hosts, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

‘The lord of Hû wildly wastes and despises the five elements (that regulate the seasons), and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year¹. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end his appointment (to Hû); and I am now reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.*

‘If you, (the archers) on the left², do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, (the spearmen) on the right², do not do your work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers², do not observe the rules for the management of your horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders, shall be rewarded before (the spirits of) my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders, shall be put to death before the altar of the spirits of the land, and I will also put to death your children.’*

¹ The crimes of the lord of Hû are here very obscurely stated. With regard to the second of them, we know that Hsiâ commenced its year with the first month of spring, Shang a month earlier, and Kâu about mid-winter. It was understood that every dynasty should fix a new month for the beginning of the year, and the dynasty of K’in actually carried its first month back into our November. If the lord of Hû claimed to begin the year with another month than that which Yü had fixed, he was refusing submission to the new dynasty. No doubt, the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival.

² The chariots were the principal part of an ancient Chinese army; it is long before we read of cavalry. A war-chariot generally carried three. The driver was in the centre; on his left was an archer, and a spearman occupied the place on his right. They all wore mail.

BOOK III. THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS.

This Book ranks in that class of the documents of the Shū which goes by the name of 'Instructions.' Though the form of it be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the Lessons left by Yü for the guidance of his posterity.

Thái Khang succeeded to his father in B.C. 2188, and his reign continues in chronology to 2160. His character is given here in the introductory chapter. *Khiung*, the principality of Í who took the field against him, is identified with the sub-department of Tê-Kâu, department *Kî-nan*, Shan-tung. There is a tradition that Í, at an early period of his life, was lord of a state in the present Ho-nan. This would make his movement against Thái Khang, 'south of the Ho,' more easy for him. The name of Thái Khang remains in the district so called of the department *Khân-kâu*, Ho-nan. There, it is said, he died, having never been able to recross the Ho.

In his song the king's first brother deplores how he had lost the affections of the people; the second speaks of his dissolute extravagance; the third mourns his loss of the throne; the fourth deplores his departure from the principles of Yü, and its disastrous consequences; and the fifth is a wail over the miserable condition of them all.

1. Thái Khang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead¹. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all wavered in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any

¹ The character that here as a verb governs the character signifying 'throne' means properly 'a corpse,' and is often used for the personator of the dead, in the sacrificial services to the dead which formed a large part of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Chinese. A common definition of it is 'the semblance of the spirit,'=the image into which the spirit entered. Thái Khang was but a personator on the throne, no better than a sham sovereign.

self-restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lo, and a hundred days elapsed without his returning. (On this) Î, the prince of *K'ziung*, taking advantage of the discontent of the people, resisted (his return) on (the south of) the Ho. The (king's) five brothers had attended their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the north of the Lo; and (when they heard of Î's movement), all full of dissatisfaction, they related the Cautions of the great Yü in the form of songs.

2. The first said,

'It was the lesson of our great ancestor :—
 The people should be cherished,
 And not looked down upon.
 The people are the root of a country ;
 The root firm, the country is tranquil.
 When I look at all under heaven,
 Of the simple men and simple women,
 Any one may surpass me.
 If the One man err repeatedly¹,
 Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears ?
 Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
 In my dealing with the millions of the people,
 I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving
 six horses with rotten reins.
 The ruler of men—
 How should he be but reverent (of his duties) ?'

The second said,

'It is in the Lessons :—
 When the palace is a wild of lust,
 And the country is a wild for hunting ;

¹ Any king, in the person of Yü, may be understood to be the speaker.

When spirits are liked, and music is the delight ;
 When there are lofty roofs and carved walls ;—
 The existence of any one of these things
 Has never been but the prelude to ruin.'

The third said,

' There was the lord of Tháo and Thang ¹,
 Who possessed this region of Kí.
 Now we have fallen from his ways,
 And thrown into confusion his rules and laws ;—
 The consequence is extinction and ruin.'

The fourth said,

Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
 Sovereign of the myriad regions.
 He had canons, he had patterns,
 Which he transmitted to his posterity.
 The standard stone and the equalizing quarter
 Were in the royal treasury.
 Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
 Overturning our temple, and extinguishing our
 sacrifices.' *

The fifth said,

' Oh ! whither shall we turn ?
 The thoughts in my breast make me sad.
 All the people are hostile to us ;
 On whom can we rely ?
 Anxieties crowd together in our hearts ;
 Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
 We have not been careful of our virtue ;
 And though we repent, we cannot overtake the
 past.'

¹ The lord of Tháo and Thang is Yáo, who was lord of the principalities of Tháo and Thang, but of which first and which last is uncertain, before his accession to the throne. Kí is the Kí Káu of the Tribute of Yü.

BOOK IV. THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.

THIS Book is another of the 'Speeches' of the Shû, belonging to the reign of Kung Khang, a brother of Thái Khang, the fourth of the kings of Shang (B. C. 2159-2147).

Hsî and Ho, the principal ministers of the Board of Astronomy, descended from those of the same name in the time of Yáo, had given themselves over to licentious indulgence in their private cities, and grossly neglected their duties. Especially had they been unobservant of an eclipse of the sun in autumn. The king considered them worthy of death, and commissioned the marquis of Yin to execute on them the sentence of his justice. Where Yin was is not now known.

The principal part of the Book consists of the speech made by the marquis to his troops.

1. When Kung Khang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the marquis of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the (king's) six hosts. (At this time) the Hsî and Ho had neglected the duties of their office, and were abandoned to drink in their (private) cities; and the marquis of Yin received the king's charge to go and punish them.

2. He made an announcement to his hosts, saying, 'Ah! ye, all my men, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage (founder of our dynasty), clearly verified in their power to give stability and security:—"The former kings were carefully attentive to the warnings of Heaven¹,* and their ministers observed the regular laws (of their offices). All the officers (moreover) watchfully did their duty to

¹ That is, here, such warnings as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses and other unusual celestial phenomena.

assist (the government), and their sovereign became entirely intelligent." Every year, in the first month of spring, the herald, with his wooden-tongued bell, goes along the roads¹, (proclaiming), "Ye officers able to instruct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the subjects of your employments. If any of you do not attend with respect (to this requirement), the country has regular punishments for you."

' Now here are the Hst and Ho. They have allowed their virtue to be subverted, and are besotted by drink. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to let the regulating of the heavenly (bodies) get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang². The blind musicians beat their drums; the inferior officers galloped, and the common people (employed about the public offices) ran about³. The Hst and the Ho, however, as if they were (mere) personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing;—so stupidly went they astray (from their duties) in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendered themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, "When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when (their

¹ A similar practice existed in the *K'au* dynasty.

² See the Introduction, p. 13.

³ Similar observances are still practised on occasion of an eclipse of the sun. See Biot's *Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise*, pp. 357-360.

reckoning) is behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy."

'Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the royal House. Give me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the Son of Heaven.

'When the fire blazes over the ridge of Khwăn¹, gems and stones are burned together; but if a minister of Heaven exceed in doing his duty, the consequences will be fiercer than blazing fire. While I destroy, (therefore), the chief criminals, I will not punish those who have been forced to follow them; and those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves.

'Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and take warning, (and obey my orders)!

¹ Khwăn is perhaps a part of the Khwăn-lun mountain in the west of the Ko-ko-nor, where the Ho has its sources. The speaker evidently thought of it as volcanic.

PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK I. THE SPEECH OF THANG.

SHANG was the name under which the dynasty that superseded Hsiâ (B. C. 1766) held the kingdom for fully 300 years. Yin then began to be used as well as Shang, and the dynasty was called indifferently Shang or Yin, and sometimes Yin-Shang by a combination of the two names. The ruling House traced its origin into the remote times of antiquity, through Hsieh, whose appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction is related in the Canon of Shun. For his services Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the present small department of the same name in Shen-hsî. From Hsieh to Thang, the founder of the dynasty, there are reckoned fourteen generations, and we find Thang, when he first becomes prominent in history, a long way from the ancestral fief, in 'the southern Po,' corresponding to the present district of Shang-khiu, department Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang.

There were in the Shû, when the collection was formed, thirty-one documents of Shang in forty Books, of which only eleven remain in seventeen Books, two of them containing each three parts or sections. The Speech of Thang, that is now the first Book in the Part, was originally only the sixth. Thang was the designation of the hero, whose surname, dating from Hsieh, was 3ze, and name Lî. Thang may be translated, 'the Glorious One.' His common style in history is as K'hang Thang, 'Thang the Completer,' or 'Thang the Successful.'

He had summoned his people to take the field with him against K'ieh, the cruel and doomed sovereign of Hsiâ, and finding them backward to the enterprise, he sets forth in this Book his reasons for attacking the tyrant, argues against their reluctance, using in the end both promises and threats to induce them to obey his orders.

The king said, 'Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child¹, who dare to undertake a rebellious enterprise; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hsiâ, Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.*

'Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, "Our prince does not compassionate us, but (is calling us) away from our husbandry to attack and punish Hsiâ." I have indeed heard (these) words of you all; (but) the sovereign of Hsiâ is guilty, and, as I fear God, I dare not but punish him.*

'Now you are saying, "What are the crimes of Hsiâ to us?" The king of Hsiâ in every way exhausts the strength of his people, and exercises oppression in the cities of Hsiâ. His multitudes are become entirely indifferent (to his service), and feel no bond of union (to him). They are saying, "When wilt thou, O sun, expire? We will all perish with thee²." Such is the course of (the sovereign) of Hsiâ, and now I must go (and punish him).

'Assist, I pray you, me, the One man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me;— I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have thus spoken to you, I will put

¹ 'The little child' is a designation used humbly of themselves by the kings of Shang and Kâu. It is given also to them and others by such great ministers as Î Yin and the duke of Kâu.

² Kieh, it is said, had on one occasion, when told of the danger he was incurring by his cruelties, pointed to the sun, and said that as surely as the sun was in the heavens, so firm was he on the throne.

your children to death with you ;—you shall find no forgiveness.’

BOOK II. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KUNG-HUI.

THIS Book is the first of the ‘Announcements,’ which form a large class of the documents in the Shū. They are distinguished from the Speeches, as being made in a general assembly, or published, for the information of all, whereas the Speeches were made to an army.

Kung-hui, of an old family, whose surname was Zǎn, with its seat in the territory of Hsieh, corresponding to the present district of Thang, department Yen-káu, Shan-tung, was a minister of Thang. Thang has been successful against Kieh, and dethroned him, but is haunted by some feeling of remorse, and afraid that what he has done may be appealed to in future ages as an apology for rebellion. This gives occasion to the Announcement, in which Kung-hui vindicates the proceeding of the king, showing, first, that he had only obeyed the guidance of Heaven, and, then, that men consented with Heaven in the matter. He concludes with various counsels addressed to the king.

1. When Thang the Successful was keeping Kieh in banishment in Nan-kháo¹, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, ‘I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me, (as an apology for their rebellious proceedings.)’

2. On this Kung-hui made the following announcement: ‘Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with (such) desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven again gives birth

¹ Nan-kháo is identified with the present district of Kháo, department Lô-káu, An-hui.

to the man of intelligence to regulate them.* The sovereign of Hsiâ had his virtue all-obscurd, and the people were (as if they had fallen) amid mire and (burning) charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted (our) king with valour and prudence, to serve as a sign and director to the myriad regions, and to continue the old ways of Yü. You are now (only) following the proper course, honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Hsiâ was an offender, falsely and calumniously alleging the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused our Shang to receive his appointment, and employed (you) to enlighten the multitudes (of the people).’ *

3. ‘Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful,—many such followers he had indeed; (but) from the first our country was to the sovereign of Hsiâ like weeds among the springing corn, and blasted grains among the good. (Our people), great and small; were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our (prince’s) virtues became a theme (eagerly) listened to! Our king did not approach to (dissolute) music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and wealth. To great virtue he gave great offices, and to great merit great rewards. He employed others as if (their excellences) were his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display (of such virtue), confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.

'When the earl of Ko¹ showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Ko. When it went on in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured:—they said, "Why does he make us alone the last?" To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their families, saying, "We have waited for our prince; our prince is come, and we revive." The people's honouring our Shang is a thing of long existence.'

4. 'Show favour to the able and right-principled (among the princes), and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. When you (thus) accelerate the end of what is (of itself) ready to perish, and strengthen what is itself strong to live, how will the states all flourish! When (a sovereign's) virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad regions; when his mind is full (only) of himself, he is abandoned by the nine branches of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your virtue (still more) illustrious, and set up (the standard of) the Mean before the people. Order your affairs

¹ Ko was a principality corresponding to the present district of Ning-ling, department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. It was thus near the southern Po, which belonged to Thang. Mencius tells us (III, ii, ch. 3) that Thang sent a multitude of his people to assist the farmers of Ko, about the poor produce of which their chief had lamented to him. That chief, however, instead of showing any gratitude, surprised and robbed those who were carrying provisions from Po to the labourers in the field, and committed various atrocities upon them. This aroused Thang's indignation, and he made him the first object of his punitive justice.

by righteousness; order your heart by propriety;— so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying, “ He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to put questions, becomes enlarged; he who uses only his own views, becomes smaller (than he was).” Oh! he who would take care for the end must be attentive to the beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the path prescribed by Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring appointment of Heaven.’ *

BOOK III. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THANG.

THANG had made an end of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and returned to Po, when he issued this Announcement, which may be considered as a solemn inauguration of the new dynasty. He shows how he had taken possession of the throne in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, what appreciation he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them. In the end he calls on the princes and the people to sympathize and co-operate with him.

1. When the king returned from vanquishing Hsiâ and came to Po, he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.

2. The king said, ‘ Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions, listen clearly to the announcement of me, the One man ¹. The great God has conferred

¹ ‘ The One man ’ has occurred before, in the Songs of the Five Sons, as a designation of the sovereign. It continues to be so to the present day.

(even) on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right.* To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.

'The king of Hsiâ extinguished his virtue, and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the worm-wood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth.* The way of Heaven is to bless the good, and make the bad miserable. It sent down calamities on (the House of) Hsiâ, to make manifest its guilt. Therefore I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive (the criminal). I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim-bull, and, making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens¹, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hsiâ as a criminal.* Then I sought for the great Sage², with whom I might unite my strength, to request the favour (of Heaven) for you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. What Heaven appoints is without error;—brilliantly (now), like the blossoming of plants and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.*

3. 'It is given to me, the One man, to secure the

¹ For 'the Spiritual Sovereign in the high heavens,' we have in the Confucian Analects, XX, 1, professing to quote this passage, 'the most great and Sovereign God.'

² 'The great Sage' must be Î Yin, Thang's chief adviser and minister, who appears prominently in the next Book.

harmony and tranquillity of your states and clans ; and now I know not whether I may not offend against (the Powers) above and below.* I am fearful and trembling, as if I were in danger of falling into a deep abyss. Throughout all the regions that enter on a new life under me, do not, (ye princes), follow lawless ways ; make no approach to insolence and dissoluteness ; let every one be careful to keep his statutes ;—that so we may receive the favour of Heaven.* The good in you I will not dare to keep concealed ; and for the evil in me I will not dare to forgive myself. I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God.* When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, let it rest on me, the One man¹. When guilt is found in me, the One man, it shall not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

‘Oh ! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a (happy) consummation.’

¹ There was a tradition in the *K'au* dynasty, given with variations by Hsün-ze, Sze-mâ *K'ien*, and others, which may be quoted to illustrate these noble sentiments of Thang. For seven years after his accession to the throne, B. C. 1766–1760, there was a great drought and famine. It was suggested at last that some human being should be offered in sacrifice to Heaven, and prayer made for rain. Thang said, ‘If a man must be the victim, I will be he.’ He fasted, cut off his hair and nails, and in a plain carriage, drawn by white horses, clad in rushes, in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a forest of mulberry trees, and there prayed, asking to what error or crime of his the calamity was owing. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell.

BOOK IV. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF Î.

THANG died in B.C. 1754 or 1753, and was succeeded, so far as the evidence of the Shū goes, by his grandson, known as Thái Kiá. The chief minister of Thang had been Î Yin, who delivers these Instructions to his young sovereign soon after his accession. Î was a great and wise man, 'a great sage,' as Thang calls him in the last Book, and is classed by Mencius among other celebrated ministers as 'the one most inclined to take office.' He reasons thus:—'Heaven's plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are later in doing so.' He thought he was one of the former class, and a fire burned within him, impelling him to seek for office with a view to benefit the ignorant and erring. There were many legends about him in the times of Káu. He was surnamed Î, from having been born near the river of that name, an affluent of the Ho. His name is said to have been Kih, and also Â-hăng (see the beginning of next Book). Yin was his designation. Thang had, probably, entrusted to him the guardianship of his grandson, and so he now went over the history of the kingdom from Yü, till it was transferred from the line of Hsiá to that of Shang, celebrated the virtues of Thang and his government, and warned the young king of the fate that he must incur, if he neglected the instructions given to him.

1. In the twelfth month of the first year, on (the day) Yt-kháu, Î Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir-king reverently before (the shrine of) his grandfather.* All the princes from the domain of the nobles and the royal domain were present; all the officers (also), each continuing to discharge his particular duties, were there to receive the orders of the chief minister. Î Yin then clearly described the complete virtue of the Meritorious Ancestor for the instruction of the (young) king.

2. He said, 'Oh! of old the former kings of Hsiâ cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity; and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all enjoyed their existence according to their nature.* But their descendant did not follow (their example), and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our (ruler) who was in possession of its favouring appointment.* The attack (on Hsiâ) may be traced to (the orgies in) Ming-thiâu¹, but our (rise) began in Po. Our king of Shang brilliantly displayed his sagely prowess; for oppression he substituted his generous gentleness; and the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue;—all depends on (how) you commence your reign. To set up love, it is for you to love (your relations); to set up respect, it is for you to respect (your elders). The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in (all within) the four seas.'

3. 'Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together. He listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to (the wisdom of) the ancients; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed (the good qualities of) the men (whom he employed), and did

¹ Ming-thiâu was a place not far from the capital of K'ieh (in the present district of An-yî, Hâi K'âu, Shan-hsi). He had a palace there, where the vilest orgies were celebrated that alienated the minds of the people from him,

not seek that they should have every talent ; in the government of himself, he seemed to think that he could never (sufficiently) attain. It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions.—How painstaking was he in these things !

‘ He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you, his descendant and heir. He laid down the punishments for officers, and warned those who were in authority, saying, “ If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers,—that is called the fashion of sorcerers ; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to the chase,—that is called the fashion of extravagance ; if you dare to despise sage words, to resist the loyal and upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to seek the company of procacious youths,—that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these three fashions with their ten evil ways¹, his family will surely come to ruin ; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his state will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not (try to) correct (such vices in the sovereign) shall be punished with branding.” These rules were minutely inculcated (also) on the sons of officers and nobles in their lessons.’

4. ‘ Oh ! do you, who now succeed to the throne, revere (these warnings) in your person. Think of

¹ The ‘ ten evil ways ’ are those mentioned in connexion with the three evil fashions ;—two under the sorcerers’ fashion, and four under each of the other two fashions.

them!—sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly set forth! (The ways) of God are not invariable:—on the good-doer he sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer he sends down all miseries.* Do you but be virtuous, be it in small things (or in large), and the myriad regions will have cause for rejoicing. If you be not virtuous, be it in large things (or in small), it will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple.'

BOOK V. THE THÂI KIÁ.

THIS Book also belongs to the class of 'Lessons or Instructions,' and is called 'the Thâi Kiá,' because the Instructions were addressed to the young monarch so named. It is divided into three sections or parts. Î Yin finds the young sovereign disobedient to his counsels, and proceeds to a high-handed measure. He removes him from his palace and companions, and keeps him in a sort of easy confinement, near the grave of his grandfather, all the period of mourning; and Thâi Kiá becomes sincerely penitent and virtuous. This is related in the first section. In the second, Î Yin brings the king back with honour to Po, to undertake the duties of the government, and congratulates him on his reformation. The king responds suitably, and asks the minister to continue to afford him his counsels, which the other at once proceeds to do. The third section is all occupied with further and important counsels.

Section 1.

1. The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow (the advice of) Â-hăng¹. (Â-hăng or) Î Yin

¹ Â-hăng, it is said by Sze-mâ K'ien, was the name of Î. Others make it the title of the chief minister under the dynasty of Shang, = 'the Support and Steelyard,' 'the Buttress and Director.'

then made the following writing¹:—‘The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple;—all with a sincere reverence.* Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions.* I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people; and thus it is that you, O heir-king, have received the great inheritance. I have seen it myself in Hsiâ with its western capital², that when its rulers went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same, and afterwards, when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. If you do not play the sovereign, as the name requires, you will disgrace your grandfather.’

2. The king would not think (of these words), nor listen to them. On this Î Yin said, ‘The former king, before it was light, sought to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the dawn (to carry them into practice). He (also) sought on every side for men of ability and virtue, to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge (to me), and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive after the virtue

¹ This is the first direct statement in the Shŭ of a communication made in writing.

² An-yî, the capital of Hsiâ, might be described as ‘western,’ from the standpoint of Po.

of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go; reverently determine your aim, and follow the ways of your grandfather. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to show to all ages that I have discharged my trust.'

3. The king was not yet able to change (his course). Î Yin said (to himself), 'This is (real) unrighteousness, and is becoming by practice (a second) nature. I cannot bear to be near (so) disobedient (a person). I will build (a place) in the palace at Thung¹, where he can be in silence near (the grave of) the former king. This will be a lesson which will keep him from going astray all his life.' The king went (accordingly) to the palace at Thung, and dwelt during the period of mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

Section 2.

1. On the first day of the twelfth month of his third year, Î Yin escorted the young king in the royal cap and robes back to Po. (At the same time) he made the following writing:—

'Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to (the comfort of) their lives; without the people, the sovereign would have no sway over the four quarters (of the kingdom).

¹ Thung was the place where Thang's tomb was; probably in the present district of Yung-ho, department of Phû-kâu, Shan-hsi. The site or supposed site of the grave there was washed away in an overflow of the Fân river under the Yüan dynasty, and a stone coffin was removed to another position, near which a royal tomb has been built.

Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous.* This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations.'

2. The king did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head to the ground, saying, 'I, the little child, was without understanding of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules of conduct, and violating by my self-indulgence all rules of propriety, and the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's self there is no escape.* Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my tutor and guardian;—my beginning has been marked by incompetency. Let me still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good!'

3. Í Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands and his head on the ground, and said, 'To cultivate his person, and by being sincerely virtuous, bring (all) below to harmonious concord with him;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his children, and the people submitted to his commands,—all with sincere delight. Even in the states of the neighbouring princes, (the people) said, "We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments (that we now do)."

'O king, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard (the example of) your meritorious grandfather. At no time allow yourself in pleasure and idleness. In

worshipping your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety ;* in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful ; in looking to what is distant, try to get clear views ; have your ears ever open to lessons of virtue ;—then shall I acknowledge (and respond to) the excellence of your majesty with an untiring (devotion to your service).

Section 3.

1. Í Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, ‘Oh! Heaven has no (partial) affection ;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection.* The people are not constant to those whom they cherish ;—they cherish (only) him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them ;—they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere.* A place of difficulty is the Heaven-(conferred) seat. When there are (those) virtues, good government is realized ; when they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity ; to pursue the courses of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign. The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God¹.* Now, O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line ;—fix your inspection on him.’

2. ‘(Your course must be) as when in ascending

¹ This phrase is used, as here, with reference to the virtue of a sovereign, making him as it were the mate of God, ruling on earth as He rules above ; and with reference to the honours paid to a departed sovereign, when he is associated with God in the great sacrificial services.

high you begin from where it is low, and when in travelling far you begin from where it is near. Do not slight the occupations of the people;—think of their difficulties. Do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne;—think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When you hear words that are distasteful to your mind, you must enquire whether they be not right; when you hear words that accord with your own views, you must enquire whether they be not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without earnest effort? Let the One man be greatly good, and the myriad regions will be rectified by him.'

3. 'When the sovereign does not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister does not, for favour and gain, continue in an office whose work is done,—then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness.'

BOOK VI.

THE COMMON POSSESSION OF PURE VIRTUE.

THIS is the last of the 'Instructions' of Î Yin;—addressed, like those of the last two Books, to Thâi Kiâ, but at a later period when the great minister wished to retire from the toils of administration. He now disappears from the stage of history, though according to Sze-mâ K'ien, and a notice in the Preface to the Shū, he lived on to B. C. 1713, the eighth year of Thâi Kiâ's son and successor.

In this Book, his subject is 'Pure or Single-eyed Virtue,' and the importance of it to the ruler of the kingdom. He dwells on the fall of K'ieh through his want of this virtue, and the elevation of Thang through his possession of it; treats generally on its nature and results; and urges the cultivation of it on Thâi Kiâ.

1. Î Yin, having returned the government into

the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

2. He said, 'Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven ;—its appointments are not constant.* (But if the sovereign see to it that) his virtue be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not constant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Hsiá could not maintain the virtue (of his ancestors) unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no (longer) extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who should receive its favouring appointment, fondly seeking (a possessor of) pure virtue, whom it might make lord of all the spirits.* Then there were I, Yin, and Thang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received (in consequence) the bright favour of Heaven, so as to become possessor of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and proceeded to change Hsiá's commencement of the year. It was not that Heaven had any private partiality for the lord of Shang ;—it simply gave its favour to pure virtue.* It was not that Shang sought (the allegiance of) the lower people ;—the people simply turned to pure virtue. Where (the sovereign's) virtue is pure, his enterprizes are all fortunate ; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprizes are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.' *

3. ' Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your (great) appointment,—you should be seeking to

make new your virtue. At last, as at first, have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to (his sovereign) above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to the (people) beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be (to find the proper man)! what careful attention must be required! (Thereafter) there must be harmony (cultivated with him), and a oneness (of confidence placed in him).

'There is no invariable model of virtue;—a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. There is no invariable characteristic of what is good that is to be supremely regarded;—it is found where there is a conformity to the uniform consciousness (in regard to what is good). (Such virtue) will make the people with their myriad surnames all say, "How great are the words of the king!" and also, "How single and pure is the king's heart!" It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the rich possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the (happy) life of the multitudes of the people.'

4. 'Oh! (to retain a place) in the seven-shrined temple¹ of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue.* To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient evidence of one's government.

¹ It is beyond a doubt that the ancestral temple of the kings of *K'âu* contained seven shrines or seven small temples, for the occupancy of which, by the spirit-tablets of such and such kings, there were definite rules, as the line of sovereigns increased. It would appear from the text that a similar practice prevailed in the time of the Shang dynasty.

The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not think yourself so large as to deem others small. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their ability, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit.'

BOOK VII. THE PAN-KĀNG.

PAN-KĀNG was the seventeenth sovereign in the line of Thang. From Thâi Kîá to him, therefore, there was a space of 321 years, which are a gap in the history of the Shang dynasty, so far as the existing documents of the Shû are concerned. When the collection was complete, there were seven other documents between 'the Common Possession of Pure Virtue' and 'the Pan-kāng,' but the latest of them belonged to the reign of 3û-yí, B. C. 1525-1507.

The reign of Pan-kāng extended from B. C. 1401 to 1374, and is remarkable as that in which the dynasty began to be called Yin, instead of Shang. The Book belongs to the class of 'Announcements,' and is divided into three sections.

The contents centre round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The king saw that the removal was necessary, but had to contend with the unwillingness of the people to adopt such a step, and the opposition of the great families. The first section relates how he endeavoured to vindicate the measure, and contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places, respectively, designed to secure their cordial co-operation. The second section brings before us the removal in progress, but there continue to be dissatisfactions, which the king endeavours to remove by a long and earnest defence of his course. The third section opens with the removal accomplished. The new city has been founded, and the plan of it laid out. The king makes a fresh appeal to the people and chiefs, to forget all their heart-burnings, and join with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.

Section 1.

1. Pan-kǎng wished to remove (the capital) to Yin¹, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations. 'Our king, (ʒû-yî), came, and fixed on this (Kǎng for his capital). He did so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would have them all die, where they cannot (now) help one another to preserve their lives. I have consulted the tortoise-shell, and obtained the reply—"This is no place for us." When the former kings had any (important) business, they gave reverent heed to the commands of Heaven.* In a case like this especially they did not indulge (the wish for) constant repose,—they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time (the capital has been) in five regions². If we do not follow (the example) of these old times, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty (here);—how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city;—the great inheritance of the former kings will be continued and renewed, and tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters (of the kingdom).'*

¹ The removal was probably necessitated by an inundation of the Ho. Kǎng had been fixed on by ʒû-yî for his capital. The Yin to which Pan-kǎng removed was in the present district of Yen-sze, department Ho-nan, Ho-nan.

² This fact—the frequent change of capital—does not give us a great idea of the stability and resources of the Shang dynasty.

2. Pan-käng, in making the people aware of his views, began with those who were in (high) places, and took the constantly-recurring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law and measure (for the present emergency), saying, 'Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poor people.' The king commanded all to come to him in the courtyard (of his palace).

The king spoke to this effect :—'Come, all of you ; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your (selfish) thoughts. Do not with haughty (disregard of me) follow after your own ease. Of old, our former kings planned like me how to employ the men of old families to share in (the labours of) government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, these did not conceal the royal views ; and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth (in their communications with the people), and on this account the people became greatly changed (in their views). Now, (however), you keep clamouring, and get the confidence (of the people) by alarming and shallow speeches ;— I do not know what you are wrangling about. (In this movement) I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, and do not stand in awe of me, the One man. I see you as clearly as one sees a fire ; but I, likewise, by my undecided plans, have produced your error.

'When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion ; and when the husbandman labours upon his fields, and reaps with all his might, there is the (abundant) harvest. If you can put away your

(selfish) thoughts, and bestow real good upon the people, reaching (also) to your own relatives and friends, you may boldly venture to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated merit. But you do not fear the great evils which (through our not removing) are extending far and near; (you are like) idle husbandmen, who yield themselves to ease, and are not strong to toil and labour on their acres, so that they cannot get their crop of millets. You do not speak in a spirit of harmony and goodness to the people, and are only giving birth to bitter evils for yourselves. You play the part of destroyers and authors of calamity, of villains and traitors, to bring down misery on your own persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart;—what will it avail you (then) to repent? Look at the poor people;—they are still able to look to one another and give expression to their remonstrances, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk;—how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report (their words) to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the flames so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? So, it will not be I who will be to blame, that you all cause dispeace in this way, (and must suffer the consequences.)

‘*K’ih Z’an*¹ has said, “In men we seek those of old families; in vessels, we do not seek old ones,

¹ Who *K’ih Z’an* was is not known. The general opinion is, that he was an ancient historiographer. A *K’âu Z’an* is introduced in a similar way in the Confucian Analects, XVI, 1.

but new." Of old, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers shared together the ease and labours (of the government);—how should I dare to lay undeserved afflictions on you? For generations the toils of your (fathers) have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them.* (They all observe) the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

'I have announced to you the difficulties (of the intended movement), being bent on it, like an archer (whose only thought is to hit). Do not you despise the old and experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek every one long continuance in this (new city), which is to be your abode; exert yourselves and put out your strength (in furthering the removal), and listen to the plans of me, the One man. I will make no distinction between men as being more distantly or more nearly related to me;—the criminal (in this matter) shall die the death, and the good-doer shall have his virtue distinguished. The prosperity of the country (ought to) come from you all. If it fail of prosperity, that must arise from me, the One man, erring in the application of punishment. Be sure, all of you, to make known this announcement. From this time forward, attend respectfully to your business; have (the duties of) your offices regularly adjusted; bring your tongues under the rule of law:—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be of no avail.'

Section 2.

1. Pan-kǎng arose, and (was about to) cross the Ho with the people, moving (to the new capital). Accordingly, he addressed himself to those of them who were (still) dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere acquiescence (in the measure). They all attended, and (being charged) to take no liberties in the royal courtyard, he called them near, and said, 'Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

'Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished, every one and above every other thing, a respectful care of the people, who (again) upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any (calamitous) time sent by Heaven. When great calamities came down on Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What they did was with a view to the people's advantage, and therefore they moved (their capitals). Why do you not reflect that I, according to what I have heard of the ancient sovereigns, in my care of you and acting towards you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a common repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that (this movement) should be like a punishment. If I call upon you to cherish this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the country. You, (however), have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great

reserve in declaring your minds, (when you might) respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the One man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat ;—if you do not cross the stream (at the proper time), you will destroy all the cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You, notwithstanding, will not examine the matter ;—though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring ?

‘ You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befall you (from not removing). You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you will not have the future ;—what prolongation of life can you look for from above ? My measures are forecast to prolong your (lease of) life from Heaven ;—do I force you by the terrors of my power ? My object is to support and nourish you all. I think of my ancestors, (who are now) the spiritual sovereigns,* when they made your forefathers toil (on similar occasions it was only for their good), and I would be enabled in the same way greatly to nourish you and cherish you.’

2. ‘ Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my high sovereign, (the founder of our dynasty), would send down on me great punishment for my crime, and say, “ Why do you oppress my people ? ”* If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the One man, in my plans, the former kings will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, “ Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but go on to forfeit

your virtue?" When they punish you from above, you will have no way of escape.* Of old, my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers toil (only for their good). You are equally the people whom I (wish to) cherish. But your conduct is injurious;—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal predecessors made your ancestors and fathers happy, they, your ancestors and fathers, will (now) cut you off and abandon you, and not save you from death.* Here are those ministers of my government, who share with me in the offices (of the kingdom);—and yet they (only think of hoarding up) cowries and gems. Their ancestors and fathers earnestly represent (their course) to my high sovereign, saying, "Execute great punishments on our descendants." So do they advise my high sovereign to send down great calamities (on those men).'*

3. 'Oh! I have now told you my unchangeable purpose;—do you perpetually respect (my) great anxiety; let us not get alienated and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts, and think (only) of following me; let every one of you set up the true rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful (to my orders), and taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them. I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate their seed in this new city.

'Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you (to the new capital), and (there) establish your families for ever.'

Section 3.

1. Pan-käng having completed the removal, and settled the places of residence, proceeded to adjust the several positions (of all classes at an assembly); and then he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, 'Do not play nor be idle, but exert yourselves to build (here) a great destiny (for us).

'Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as offenders; and do not you (any more) help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the One man.

'Of old, my royal predecessor, (Thang), that his merit might exceed that of those who were before him, proceeded to the hill-site¹. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country. Now you, my people, were by (your position) dissipated and separated, so that you had no abiding place. (And yet) you asked why I was troubling your myriads and requiring you to remove. But God, being about to renew the virtuous service of my high ancestor, and secure the good order of our kingdom, I, with the sincere and respectful (of my ministers), felt a reverent care for the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in (this) new city.*

'I, a youth, did not neglect your counsels;— I (only) used the best of them. Nor did any of

¹ It is supposed that this 'hill-site' of Thang was the same as that which Pan-käng had fixed on, but this does not clearly appear in the text.

you presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise-shell;—so we are here to enlarge our great inheritance.’*

2. ‘Oh! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye had a sympathy (with my people)! I will exert myself in the choice and guiding of you;—do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those who are fond of enriching themselves; but will use and revere those who are vigorously, yet reverently, labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them and planning for their enduring settlement.

‘I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind, whom I approve and whom I disallow;—let none of you but reverence (my will). Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious things, but in fostering the life of the people, seek to find your merit. Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever maintain this one purpose in your hearts.’

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YÜEH.

AFTER Pan-käng came the reigns of Hsião-hsin and Hsião-yí, of which we have no accounts in the Shû. Hsião-yí was followed by Wû-ting (B. C. 1324–1264), to the commencement of whose reign this Book, in three sections, belongs. His name is not in it, but that he is the king intended appears from the prefatory notice, and the Confucian Analects, XIV, xliii. The Book is the first of the ‘Charges’ of the Shû. They relate the designation by the king of some officer to a particular charge or to some fief, with the address delivered by him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yüeh, in the first section, on his appointment to be

chief minister. In the other two sections Yüeh is the principal speaker, and not the king. They partake more of the nature of the 'Counsels.' Yüeh had been a recluse, living in obscurity. The king's attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Fû-yen, or amidst 'the Crag of Fû,' from which he was afterwards called Fû Yüeh, as if Fû had been his surname.

The first section tells us how the king met with Yüeh, and appointed him to be his chief minister, and how Yüeh responded to the charge that he received. In the second section, Yüeh counsels the king on a variety of points, and the king responds admiringly. In the third, the king introduces himself as a pupil at the feet of Yüeh, and is lectured on the subject of enlarging his knowledge. In the end the king says that he looks to Yüeh as another Î Yin, to make him another Thang.

Section 1.

1. The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years¹, and when the period of mourning was over, he (still) did not speak (to give any commands). All the ministers remonstrated with him, saying, 'Oh! him who is (the first) to apprehend we pronounce intelligent, and the intelligent man is the model for others. The Son of Heaven rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers look up to and reverence him. They are the king's words which form the commands (for them). If he do not speak, the ministers have no way to receive their orders.' On this the king made a writing, for their information, to the following effect:—'As it is mine to serve as the

¹ A young king, mourning for his father, had to 'afflict' himself in various ways for twenty-five months, nominally for three years. Among other privations, he had to exchange the comforts of a palace for a rough shed in one of the courtyards. During the time of mourning, the direction of affairs was left to the chief minister.

director for the four quarters (of the kingdom), I have been afraid that my virtue is not equal to (that of my predecessors), and therefore have not spoken. (But) while I was reverently and silently thinking of the (right) way, I dreamt that God gave me a good assistant who should speak for me.* He then minutely recalled the appearance (of the person whom he had seen), and caused search to be made for him everywhere by means of a picture. Yüeh, a builder in the wild country of Fû-yen, was found like to it.

2. On this the king raised and made (Yüeh) his prime minister, keeping him (also) at his side.

He charged him, saying, 'Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel;—I will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream;—I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year of great drought;—I will use you as a copious rain. Open your mind, and enrich my mind. (Be you) like medicine, which must distress the patient, in order to cure his sickness. (Think of me) as one walking barefoot, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do not see the ground.

'Do you and your companions all cherish the same mind to assist your sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and tread in the steps of my high ancestor, to give repose to the millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine;—so shall you bring your work to a (good) end.'

3. Yüeh replied to the king, saying, 'Wood by the use of the line is made straight, and the sovereign who follows reproof is made sage. When the sovereign can (thus) make himself sage, his ministers,

without being specially commanded, anticipate his orders;—who would dare not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your Majesty?’

Section 2.

1. Yüeh having received his charge, and taken the presidency of all the officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, ‘Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of states and the setting up of capitals, the appointing of sovereign kings, of dukes and other nobles, with their great officers and heads of departments, were not designed to minister to the idleness and pleasures (of one), but for the good government of the people. It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing;—let the sage (king) take it as his pattern.* Then his ministers will reverently accord with him, and the people consequently will be well governed.

‘It is the mouth that gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet that give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments (for reward should not be lightly taken from) their chests; before spear and shield are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in regard to these things, and, believing this about them, attain to the intelligent use of them, (your government) will in everything be excellent. Good government and bad depend on the various officers. Offices should not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities should not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

‘Anxious thought about what will be best should precede your movements, which also should be taken at the time proper for them. Indulging the consciousness of being good is the way to lose that goodness; being vain of one’s ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

‘For all affairs let there be adequate preparation;—with preparation there will be no calamitous issue. Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and (go on to) make them crimes. Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure. Officiousness in sacrificing is called irreverence;* and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder. To serve the spirits acceptably (in this way) is difficult.’*

2. The king said, ‘Excellent! your words, O Yüeh, should indeed be put in practice (by me). If you were not so good in counsel, I should not have heard these rules for my conduct.’ Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, ‘It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. (But) since your Majesty truly knows this, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to our first king. Wherein I, Yüeh, refrain from speaking (what I ought to speak), the blame will rest with me.’

Section 3.

1. The king said, ‘Come, O Yüeh. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pan¹. Afterwards I lived

¹ From Part V, xvi, 2, we learn that Kan Pan was a great minister of Wû-ting. It is supposed that he had been minister to Wû-ting’s father, and died during the king’s period of mourning.

concealed among the rude countrymen, and then I went to (the country) inside the Ho, and lived there¹. From the Ho I went to Po;—and the result has been that I am unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits, as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Use various methods to cultivate me; do not cast me away;—so shall I attain to practise your instructions.'

Yüeh said, 'O king, a ruler should seek to learn much (from his ministers), with a view to establish his affairs; but to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

'In learning there should be a humble mind and the maintenance of a constant earnestness;—in such a case (the learner's) improvement will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these things will find all truth accumulating in his person. Teaching is the half of learning; when a man's thoughts from first to last are constantly fixed on learning, his virtuous cultivation comes unperceived.

'Survey the perfect pattern of our first king;—so shall you for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices.'

2. The king said, 'Oh! Yüeh, that all within the four

¹ We do not know the events of Wû-ting's early life sufficiently to explain his language here. His living concealed among the rude people of the country, and then crossing to the north of the Ho, was owing probably to troubles in the kingdom.

seas look up to my virtue is owing to you. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage (king). Formerly, there was the first premier of our dynasty, Páo-hǎng¹, who raised up and formed its royal founder. He said, "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yáo or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market-place." If any common man did not get (all he should desire), he said, "It is my fault." (Thus) he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to great Heaven.* Do you give your intelligent and preserving aid to me, and let not Â-hǎng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

'The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy officers. The worthy officer should accept his support from none but the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your sovereign a (true) successor of the founder of his line, and in securing the lasting happiness of the people!'

Yüeh did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, 'I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge.'

BOOK IX. THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY SACRIFICE TO KÂO 3UNG.

KÂO 3UNG was the title given to Wû-ting, after his death, in the ancestral temple. A supplementary sacrifice was offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service. What special idea was connected with it, it would be difficult to say;

¹ Styled Â-hǎng in the beginning of 'the Thâi-kiâ.' Páo-hǎng = 'the Protector and Steelyard.'

but at the close of it, the representatives or personators of the dead in the sacrifice of the preceding day were all feasted.

The title of this short Book leaves it uncertain whether the sacrifice was offered to Wû-ting or by him. The prefatory notice proceeds on the former view. Many critics of great intelligence decide for the latter, which a renewed consideration of the text has induced me to adopt. The king then is 3û-käng, Wû-ting's son. Something irregular or excessive in his sacrificing to his father was the thing which his monitor 3û Kî wished to censure, taking occasion to do so from the incident mentioned in the first sentence.

On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kâo 3ung, there appeared a crowing pheasant¹. 3û Kî said, 'To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected.' He delivered accordingly a lesson to the king, saying, 'In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness, and it bestows on them (accordingly) length of years or the contrary.* It is not Heaven that cuts short men's lives; they bring them to an end themselves. Some men who have not complied with virtue will yet not acknowledge their offences, and when Heaven has by evident tokens charged them to correct their conduct, they still say, "What are these things to us?"'

'Oh! your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And all (your ancestors) were the heirs of (the kingdom by the gift of) Heaven;—in attending to the sacrifices (to them), be not so excessive in those to your father.*'

¹ Sze-mâ K'ien, after the prefatory notice, says that the pheasant sat on the ear—one of the handles—of a tripod.

BOOK X.

THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LÎ.

THE reigns of seven more kings of Yin or Shang have passed, and this Book brings us to the time of Kâu-hsin or Shâu, its last sovereign, B. C. 1154-1123. The House of Kâu begins to come to the front, for 'the Chief of the West' was one of the acknowledged founders of the Kâu dynasty;—whether K'hang, known as king Wän, or his son Fâ, known as king Wû, is uncertain. K'hang's father, the duke of Kâu in the present department of Fäng-hsiang, Shen-hsf, had been appointed Chief of the West, that is, of all the western portion of the kingdom, embracing Yü's provinces of Yung, Liang, and King. The same jurisdiction descended to his son and grandson. The state of Lî, the conquest of which is mentioned, was in the present department of Lû-an, Shan-hsf, within the royal domain, so that the Chief of the West was no longer confining himself to the west, but threatening the king himself.

3û Î, a loyal officer, hears of the conquest of Lî, and hurries away to inform the king and warn him of the danger threatening the dynasty through his evil conduct. The king gives no heed to his remonstrances, and 3û Î retires, sighing over the ruin, which he sees is not to be averted.

The Book is classed, it would be hard to tell why, among the 'Announcements.'

The Chief of the West having subdued Lî, 3û Î was afraid, and hastened to report it to the king.

He said, 'Son of Heaven, Heaven is bringing to an end the dynasty of Yin; * the wisest men and the shell of the great tortoise do not presume to know anything fortunate for it.* It is not that the former kings do not aid us, the men of this later time; * but by your dissoluteness and sport you are bringing on the end yourself. On this account Heaven has cast us off, and there are no good harvests to supply us with food.* Men have no regard to their

heavenly nature, and pay no obedience to the statutes (of the kingdom). (Yea), our people now all wish (the dynasty) to perish, saying, "Why does not Heaven send down its indignation? Why does not (some one with) its great appointment make his appearance? What has the present king to do with us?"'

The king said, 'Oh! was not my birth in accordance with the appointment of Heaven (in favour of my House)?' (On this) 卅 1 returned (to his own city), and said, 'Your crimes, which are many, are registered above, and can you still appeal to the appointment of Heaven in your favour? Yin will perish very shortly. As to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?'

BOOK XI. THE COUNT OF WEI.

THE conversation recorded here—called, like the last Book, and with as little reason, an 'Announcement'—is referred to B. C. 1123, the year in which the dynasty of Shang perished.

Wei was a principality in the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Lû-*k*hâng, department Lû-an, Shan-hsi, the lords of which were counts. The count who appears here was, most probably, an elder brother of the king, and by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when the count was born, but raised to be queen before the birth of Kâu-hsin. Saddened with the thought of the impending ruin of the dynasty, the count seeks the counsel of two other high nobles, and asks them to tell him what was to be done. One of them replies to him in still stronger language about the condition and prospects of the kingdom, and concludes by advising the count to make his escape, and declaring that he himself would remain at his post, and share in the unavoidable ruin.

1. The Count of Wei spoke to the following effect:—‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master¹, (the House of) Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters (of the kingdom). The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our maddened indulgence in spirits, we have destroyed (the effects of) his virtue in these after-times. (The people of) Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies, and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws, and there is no certainty that criminals will be apprehended. The smaller people (consequently) rise up, and commit violent outrages on one another. Yin is now sinking in ruin;—its condition is like that of one crossing a stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!’

He added, ‘Grand-Master and Junior-Master, we are manifesting insanity. The most venerable members of our families are withdrawn to the wilds; and you indicate no course (to be taken), but (only) tell me of the impending ruin;—what is to be done?’

2. The Grand-Master made about the following reply:—‘O son of our (former) king, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin.* Hence has arisen that mad indulgence in spirits. (The king) has no reverence

¹ For high ministers with these titles under the *Kâu* dynasty, see next Part, Book xx. The individuals whom the count of Wei consulted were probably the count of *Ki* and *Pi-kan*, who are classed with him in the Confucian Analects, XVIII, 1.

for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the venerable aged, the men who have long been in office. The people of Yin will now steal even the pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth ; * and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat the victims, they suffer no punishment. (On the other hand), when I look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods by which they are governed are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred ;—and this without ceasing. Such crimes equally belong to all in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity ;—I will arise and share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the servant (of another House). (But) I tell you, O king's son, to go away, as being the course (for you). Formerly I injured you by what I said ; if you do not (now) go away, our (sacrifices) will entirely perish. Let us rest quietly (in our several parts), and each present himself to the former kings¹ (as having done so).* I do not think of making my escape.'

¹ It is understood that the former king, the father of both *K'hi* and *K'au-hsin*, had wished to leave the throne to *K'hi*, and that the Grand-Master had advocated such a measure ;—thereby injuring *K'hi* when it did not take effect, through making *K'au-hsin* jealous of him.

PART V. THE BOOKS OF K'AU.

BOOK I. THE GREAT DECLARATION.

K'AU is the dynastic designation under which king Wû and his descendants possessed the throne from B. C. 1122 to 256, a period of 867 years. They traced their lineage up to K'hi, who was Minister of Agriculture under Shun. He was invested with the principality of Thâi, the present district of Fû-fang, department of Fäng-hsiang, Shen-hsi. Long afterwards Than-fû, claiming to be one of his descendants, appears in B. C. 1326, founding the state of K'au, near mount K'hi, in the same department of Fäng-hsiang. This Than-fû was the great-grandfather of king Wû. The family surname was K'i.

When the collection of the Shû was complete, it contained thirty-eight different documents of the K'au dynasty, of which twenty-eight remain, twenty of them being of undisputed genuineness.

This first Book, 'the Great Declaration,' is one of the contested portions; and there is another form of it, that takes the place of this in some editions. It has appeared in the Introduction that the received text of the Shû was formed with care, and that everything of importance in the challenged Books is to be found in quotations from them, while the collection was complete, that have been gathered up by the industry of scholars.

King Wû, having at last taken the field against K'au-hsin, the tyrant of Shang, made three speeches to his officers and men, setting forth the reasons for his enterprise, and urging them to exert themselves with him in the cause of humanity and Heaven. They are brought together, and constitute 'the Great Declaration.'

'In the first Part,' says a Chinese critic, 'king Wû addresses himself to the princes and nobles of inferior rank; in the second, to their hosts; and in the third, to his officers. The ruling idea in the first is the duty of the sovereign,—what he ought to be

and to do; with this it begins and ends. There is not the same continuity of thought in the second, but the will and purpose of Heaven is the principal thing insisted on. The last Part shows the difference between the good sovereign and the bad, and touches on the consent that there is between Heaven and men. There is throughout an unsparing exhibition of the wickedness of *K'au-hsin*.

Section 1.

In the spring of the thirteenth year¹ there was a great assembly at *Mâng-king*². The king said, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states, and all ye my officers, managers of my affairs, hearken clearly to my declaration.

'Heaven and earth is the parent of all creatures; and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed.* The sincerely intelligent (among men) becomes the great sovereign; and the great sovereign is the parent of the people. But now, *Shâu*, the king of Shang, does not reverence Heaven above, and inflicts calamities on the people below.* Abandoned to drunkenness and reckless in lust, he has dared to exercise cruel oppression. He has extended the punishment of offenders to all their relatives. He has put men into offices on the hereditary principle. He has made it his pursuit to have palaces, towers, pavilions, embankments, ponds, and all other extravagances, to the most painful injury of you, the myriads of the people. He has burned and roasted the loyal and good. He has ripped up pregnant

¹ The thirteenth year is reckoned from king *Wu*'s succeeding to his father as 'the Chief of the West.'

² *Mâng-king*, or 'the Ford of *Mâng*,' is still the name of a district in the department of *Ho-nan*, *Ho-nan*.

women. Great Heaven was moved with indignation, and charged my deceased father Wăn to display its terrors; but (he died) before the work was completed.*

‘On this account, I, Fâ, the little child, have by means of you, the hereditary rulers of my friendly states, contemplated the government of Shang; but Shâu has no repentant heart. He sits squatting on his heels, not serving God nor the spirits of heaven and earth, neglecting also the temple of his ancestors, and not sacrificing in it.* The victims and the vessels of millet all become the prey of wicked robbers, and still he says, “The people are mine; the (heavenly) appointment is mine,” never trying to correct his contemptuous mind.*

‘Heaven, for the help of the inferior people, made for them rulers, and made for them instructors, that they might be able to be aiding to God, and secure the tranquillity of the four quarters (of the kingdom). In regard to who are criminals and who are not, how dare I give any allowance to my own wishes?*

“Where the strength is the same, measure the virtue of the parties; where the virtue is the same, measure their righteousness.” Shâu has hundreds of thousands and myriads of officers, but they have hundreds of thousands and myriads of minds; I have (but) three thousand officers, but they have one mind. The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to destroy it. If I did not obey Heaven, my iniquity would be as great.*

‘I, the little child, early and late am filled with apprehensions. I have received the command of my deceased father Wăn; I have offered special sacrifice to God; I have performed the due ser-

vices to the great earth; and I lead the multitude of you to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven.* Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to.* Do you aid me, the One man, to cleanse for ever (all within) the four seas. Now is the time!—It should not be lost.'

Section 2.

On (the day) Wû-wû¹, the king halted on the north of the Ho. When all the princes with their hosts were assembled, the king reviewed the hosts, and made the following declaration:—'Oh! ye multitudes of the west, hearken all to my words.

'I have heard that the good man, doing good, finds the day insufficient; and that the evil man, doing evil, also finds the day insufficient. Now Shâu, the king of Shang, with strength pursues his lawless way. He has driven away the time-worn sires, and cultivates intimacies with wicked men. Dissolute, intemperate, reckless, oppressive, his ministers have become assimilated to him; and they form combinations and contract animosities, and depend on their power to exterminate one another. The innocent cry to Heaven. The odour of such a state is felt on high.*

'Heaven loves the people, and the sovereign should reverently carry out (this mind of) Heaven. Kieh, the sovereign of Hsiâ, would not follow the

¹ In Book iii we are told that Wû commenced his march to attack Kâu-hsin, on Kwei-*ki*, the 2nd day of the moon. Calculating on to the day Wû-wû, we find that it was the 28th day of the same moon.

example of Heaven, but sent forth his poisonous injuries through the states of the kingdom:—Heaven therefore gave its aid to Thang the Successful, and charged him to make an end of the appointment of Hsiá.* But the crimes of Shâu exceed those of Kieh. He has degraded from office the greatly good man¹; he has behaved with cruel tyranny to his reprover and helper². He says that with him is the appointment of Heaven; he says that a reverent care of his conduct is not worth observing; he says that sacrifice is of no use; he says that tyranny is no harm.* The beacon for him to look to was not far off;—it was that king of Hsiá. It would seem that Heaven is going by means of me to rule the people. My dreams coincide with my divinations; the auspicious omen is double.* My attack on Shang must succeed.

‘Shâu has hundreds of thousands and millions of ordinary men, divided in heart and divided in practice;—I have of ministers, able to govern, ten men³, one in heart and one in practice. Though he has his nearest relatives with him, they are not like my virtuous men. Heaven sees as my people see; Heaven hears as my people hear.* The people are blaming me, the One man, for my delay;—I must now go forward. My military prowess is displayed, and I enter his territories to take the wicked tyrant. My punishment (of evil) will be great, and more glorious than that executed by Thang. Rouse ye,

¹ The count of Wei.

² Pi-kan.

³ Confucius tells us, in the Analects, VIII, xx, that one of these ten was a woman; but whether the lady was Wû's wife or mother is disputed.

my heroes! Do not think that he is not to be feared;—better think that he cannot be withstood. (His) people stand in trembling awe of him, as if the horns were falling from their heads. Oh! unite your energies, unite your hearts;—so shall you forthwith surely accomplish the work, to last for all ages!’

Section 3.

The time was on the morrow, when the king went round his six hosts in state, and made a clear declaration to all his officers. He said, ‘Oh! my valiant men of the west, from Heaven are the illustrious courses of duty, of which the (several) requirements are quite plain. And now Shâu, the king of Shang, treats with contemptuous slight the five regular (virtues), and abandons himself to wild idleness and irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven, and brought enmity between himself and the people.*

‘He cut through the leg-bones of those who were wading in the morning¹; he cut out the heart of the worthy man². By the use of his power, killing and murdering, he has poisoned and sickened all within the four seas. His honours and confidence are given to the villainous and bad. He has driven from him his instructors and guardians. He has thrown to the winds the statutes and penal laws. He has imprisoned and enslaved the upright officer³. He neglects the sacrifices to heaven and earth. He

¹ This was in winter. Observing some people then wading through a stream, Kâu-hsin caused their legs to be cut through at the shank-bone, that he might see their marrow.

² Pí-kan.

³ The count of K’hi; see Book iv.

has discontinued the offerings in the ancestral temple. He makes contrivances of wonderful device and extraordinary cunning to please his wife¹.—God will no longer indulge him, but with a curse is sending down on him this ruin.* Do ye with untiring zeal support me, the One man, reverently to execute the punishment appointed by Heaven. The ancients have said, "He who soothes us is our sovereign; he who oppresses us is our enemy." This solitary fellow Shâu, having exercised great tyranny, is your perpetual enemy. (It is said again), "In planting (a man's) virtue, strive to make it great; in putting away (a man's) wickedness, strive to do it from the roots." Here I, the little child, by the powerful help of you, all my officers, will utterly exterminate your enemy. Do you, all my officers, march forward with determined boldness to sustain your prince. Where there is much merit, there shall be large reward; where you do not so advance, there shall be conspicuous disgrace.

'Oh! (the virtue of) my deceased father Wăn was like the shining of the sun and moon. His brightness extended over the four quarters of the land, and shone signally in the western region. Hence it is that our Kâu has received (the allegiance of) many states. If I subdue Shâu, it will not be from my prowess, but from the faultless (virtue of) my deceased father Wăn. If Shâu subdue me, it will not be from any fault of my deceased father Wăn, but because I, the little child, am not good.'

¹ The notorious Tâ-*kî*, the accounts of whose shameless wickedness and atrocious cruelties almost exceed belief.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT MŪ.

It is the morning of the day of battle, for which the king has prepared his host by the three speeches of the last Book. Once more he addresses his confederate princes, his officers, and his men. He sets forth more briefly the intolerable wickedness of Shâu, and instructs and warns his troops how they are to behave in the fight.

Mû was in the south of the present district of *Khî*, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan, a tract of open country stretching into the district of *Kî*, and at no great distance from the capital of Shâu.

I. The time was the grey dawn of the day *Kiâ-ze*. On that morning the king came to the open country of Mû, in the borders of Shang, and addressed his army. In his left hand he carried a battle-axe, yellow with gold, and in his right he held a white ensign, which he waved, saying, 'Far are ye come, ye men of the western regions!' He added, 'Ah! ye hereditary rulers of my friendly states; ye managers of affairs,—the Ministers of Instruction, of War, and of Works; the great officers subordinate to these, and the many other officers; the master of my body-guards; the captains of thousands and captains of hundreds; and ye, O men of Yung, Shû, Kiang, Mào, Wei, Lû, Phang, and Pho¹, lift up your lances, join your shields, raise your spears:— I have a speech to make.'

¹ These are the names of eight different tribes or confederations of tribes of the south and west. We are to look for their sites in Sze-khüan, Yün-nan, and Hû-pei. They were, no doubt, an important portion of Wû's army, but only as auxiliaries. It is too much to ascribe, as some have done, the overthrow of Shang to an irruption of barbarous people from the west.

2. The king (then) said, 'The ancients have said, "The hen does not announce the morning. The crowing of a hen in the morning (indicates) the subversion of the family." Now Shâu, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response (for the favours that he has received);* he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only the vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannize over the people, and exercise their villainies in the cities of Shang.

'Now, I, Fâ, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven.* In to-day's business do not advance more than six or seven steps, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Do not exceed four blows, five blows, six blows, or seven blows, and then stop and adjust your ranks;—my brave men, be energetic! Display a martial bearing. Be like tigers and panthers, like bears and grisly bears,—(here) in the borders of Shang. Do not rush on those who fly (to us in submission), but receive them to serve our western land;—my brave men, be energetic! If you be not energetic (in all these matters), you will bring destruction on yourselves.'

BOOK III.

THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE WAR.

I HAVE divided this Book into three chapters:—one, consisting of brief historical notes of the commencement and close of Wû's expedition; a second, giving the address (or a part of it) delivered by Wû to his nobles and officers on occasion, we may suppose, of their recognition of him as king, and his confirming some of them in their old states or appointments, and giving new ones to others; the third again historical, and relating several incidents of the battle between Wû and Shâu, and going on to subsequent events and important governmental measures of the new dynasty.

Most Chinese critics hold that portions of the Book are lost, and that the paragraphs of it are, besides, erroneously arranged. In what division of the documents of the Shû it should be classified, it is not easy to say. It is more like a 'Canon' than anything else.

1. In the first month, the day *Zăn-khăn* immediately followed the end of the moon's waning. The next day was *Kwei-kî*, when the king, in the morning, marched from *Kâu*¹ to attack and punish Shang. In the fourth month, at the first appearance of the moon, the king came from Shang to *Făng*², when he hushed all the movements of war, and proceeded to cultivate the arts of peace. He sent back his horses to the south of mount *Hwâ*,

¹ *Kâu* is, probably, Wû's capital, called *Háo*, about ten miles south of the present district city of *Khang-an*, and not quite so far from his father's capital of *Făng*. The river *Făng* ran between them.

² In *Făng* there was the ancestral temple of the lords of *Kâu*, and thither from the capital of Shang, Wû now repaired for the purpose of sacrificing.

and let loose his oxen in the open country of Tháo-lin¹, showing to all under heaven that he would not use them (again).

On the day Ting-wei, he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of K'âu, when (the princes) of the royal domain, and of the Tien, Hâu, and Wei domains, all hurried about, carrying the dishes.* The third day after was K'ang-hsü, when he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and worshipped towards the hills and rivers, solemnly announcing the successful completion of the war.*

After the moon began to wane, the hereditary princes of the various states, and all the officers, received their appointments from K'âu².

2. The king spoke to the following effect :—'Oh ! ye host of princes, the first of our kings³ founded his state, and commenced (the enlargement of) its territory. Kung Liú⁴ was able to consolidate the services of his predecessor. But it was the king Thâi who laid the foundations of the royal inheritance. The king K'î was diligent for the royal House ; and my deceased father, king Wăn, completed his merit, and grandly received the appoint-

¹ The country about the hill of Mû-niú or Khwâ-fû, in the south-east of the present department of Thung-k'âu. Tháo-lin may be translated 'Peach-forest.'

² The new dynasty of K'âu was now fully inaugurated.

³ By 'the first of our kings,' we must understand K'î, Shun's Minister of Agriculture ; and his state was that of Thâi.

⁴ Kung Liú, perhaps 'duke Liú,' appears in Pin, the present Pin K'âu of Shen-hsí, about the beginning of the eighteenth century B. C., reviving the fallen fortunes of the House of K'î. History is then silent about the family for more than four centuries, when we find Than-fû, called here 'king Thâi,' founding the state of K'âu.

ment of Heaven, to soothe the regions of our great land.* The great states feared his strength ; the small states thought fondly of his virtue. In nine years, however, the whole kingdom was not united under his rule, and it fell to me, the little child, to carry out his will.

‘ Detesting the crimes of Shang, I announced to great Heaven and the sovereign Earth, to the famous hill¹ and the great river¹ by which I passed, saying, “I, Fâ, the principled, king of Kâu by a long descent, am about to administer a great correction to Shang. Shâu, the present king of Shang, is without principle, cruel and destructive to the creatures of Heaven, injurious and tyrannical to the multitudes of the people, lord of all the vagabonds under heaven, who collect about him as fish in the deep, and beasts in the prairie. I, the little child, having obtained (the help of) virtuous men, presume reverently to comply with (the will of) God, and make an end of his disorderly ways.* Our flowery and great land, and the tribes of the south and north, equally follow and consent with me. Reverently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my punitive work to the east, to give tranquillity to its men and women. They meet me with their baskets full of dark-coloured and yellow silks, thereby showing (the virtues) of us, the kings of Kâu. Heaven’s favours stir them up, so that they come with their allegiance to our great state of Kâu. And now, ye spirits, grant me your aid, that I may relieve the millions of the people, and nothing turn out to your shame.”’ *

¹ Probably mount Hwâ and the Ho.

3. On the day Wû-wû, the army crossed the ford of Máng, and on Kwei-hái it was drawn up in array in the borders of Shang, waiting for the gracious decision of Heaven. On *Kiá-ze*, at early dawn, Sháu led forward his troops, (looking) like a forest, and assembled them in the wild of Mû. But they offered no opposition to our army. Those in the front inverted their spears, and attacked those behind them, till they fled; and the blood flowed till it floated the pestles of the mortars. Thus did (king Wû) once don his armour, and the kingdom was grandly settled. He overturned the (existing) rule of Shang, and made government resume its old course. He delivered the count of *Khi* from prison, and raised a mound over the grave of Pi-kan. He bowed forward to the cross-bar of his carriage at the gate of Shang Yung's village¹. He dispersed the treasures of the Stag Tower², and distributed the grain of *Kü-khiáo*³, thus conferring great gifts on all within the four seas, so that the people joyfully submitted to him.

He arranged the nobles in five orders⁴, assigning the territories to them according to a threefold

¹ Shang Yung must have been some worthy in disgrace with Sháu, and living in the retirement of his village.

² The Stag Tower was the name of a place in the present department of Wei-hui, Ho-nan, where Sháu had accumulated great treasures. He fled to it after his defeat, and burned himself to death; but it would appear he had not succeeded in consuming at the same time all his wealth.

³ *Kü-khiáo* was in the present district of *Khi-kâu*, department Kwang-phing, *Kih-lí*, where Sháu had collected great stores of grain.

⁴ Dukes, marquises, earls, counts, and barons.

scale¹. He gave offices only to the worthy, and employments only to the able. He attached great importance to the people's being taught the duties of the five relations of society, and to measures for ensuring a sufficient supply of food, attention to the rites of mourning, and to sacrifices.* He showed the reality of his truthfulness, and proved clearly his righteousness. He honoured virtue, and rewarded merit. Then he had only to let his robes fall down, and fold his hands, and the kingdom was orderly ruled.

BOOK IV. THE GREAT PLAN.

THE Great Plan, ordinarily classed among the 'Counsels' or among the 'Instructions' of the Shû, might as well have a place among the 'Canons.' It is a remarkable production, and though it appears among the documents of the Kâu dynasty, there is claimed for the substance of it a much greater antiquity. According to the introductory sentences, king Wû, the founder of Kâu, obtained it from the count of K'hi in the same year, the thirteenth of his dignity as Chief of the West, that he took the field against the tyrant of Shang. The count of K'hi, it is understood, was the Grand-Master at the court of Shang, who appears in the concluding Book of the last Part. He says there, that, when ruin overtook the House of Shang, he would not be the servant of another dynasty. Accordingly, he refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of king Wû, who had delivered him from the prison in which he had been confined by Kâu-hsin, and fled—or purposed perhaps to flee—to Corea. Wû respected and admired his fidelity to the fallen dynasty, and invested him with that territory. He then, it is said, felt constrained to appear at the court of Kâu, when the king consulted

¹ Dukes and marquises had the same amount of territory assigned to them, and counts and barons also.

him on the principles of government; and the result was that he communicated to him this Great Plan, with its nine divisions. When we read the Book, we see that it belonged originally to the time of Hsiâ, and that the larger portion of it should be ascribed to the Great Yü, and was as old, indeed, as the reign of Yáo. How it had come into the possession of the count of *K'hi* we cannot tell. Nor does it appear how far the language of it should be ascribed to him. That the larger portion of it had come down from the times of Hsiâ is not improbable. The use of the number nine and other numbers, and the naming of the various divisions of the Plan, are in harmony with Yü's style and practice in his Counsels in the second Part of our Classic, and in the second Part also of the Tribute of Yü. We are told in the introductory sentences, that Heaven or God gave the Plan with its divisions to Yü. To explain the way in which the gift was made, there is a tradition about a mysterious tortoise that appeared in the waters of the Lo, bearing well-defined marks on its back from one to nine, and that thereupon Yü determined the meaning of those marks and of their numbers, and completed the nine divisions of the Plan. Of this legend, however, it is not necessary to speak in connexion with the Shū, which does not mention it; it will come up in connexion with the translation of the Yî King.

The Great Plan means the great model for the government of the nation,—the method by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, through the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government.

P. Gaubil says that the Book is a treatise at once of physics, astrology, divination, morals, politics, and religion, and that it has a sufficiently close resemblance to the work of Ocellus the Lucanian. There is a shadowy resemblance between the Great Plan and the curious specimen of Pythagorean doctrine which we have in the treatise on the Universe; but the dissimilarities are still greater and more numerous. More especially are the differences between the Greek mind, speculative, and the Chinese mind, practical, apparent in the two works. Where the Chinese writer loses himself in the sheerest follies of his imagining, he yet gropes about for a rule to be of use in the conduct of human affairs.

The whole of the treatise is divided into three chapters. The first is introductory, and relates how the Great Plan with its

nine divisions was at first made known to Yü, and came at this time to be communicated to king Wü; the second contains the names of the nine divisions of the Plan; and in the third we have a description of the several divisions. 'The whole,' says a Chinese writer, 'exhibits the great model for the government of the nation.' The fifth or middle division on royal perfection is the central one of the whole, about which the Book revolves. The four divisions that precede it show how this royal perfection is to be accomplished, and the four that follow show how it is to be maintained.

1. In the thirteenth year¹, the king went to enquire of the count of *Khî*, and said to him, 'Oh! count of *Khî*, Heaven, (working) unseen, secures the tranquillity of the lower people, aiding them to be in harmony with their condition². I do not know how the unvarying principles (of its method in doing so) should be set forth in due order.'

The count of *Khî* thereupon replied, 'I have heard that in old time Khwăn dammed up the inundating waters, and thereby threw into disorder the arrangement of the five elements. God was consequently roused to anger, and did not give him the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and thus the unvarying principles (of Heaven's method) were allowed to go to ruin.* Khwăn was therefore

¹ See the commencement of Book i.

² Khung Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty says on this:—'The people have been produced by supreme Heaven, and both body and soul are Heaven's gift. Men have thus the material body and the knowing mind, and Heaven further assists them, helping them to harmonize their lives. The right and the wrong of their language, the correctness and errors of their conduct, their enjoyment of clothing and food, the rightness of their various movements;—all these things are to be harmonized by what they are endowed with by Heaven.'

kept a prisoner till his death, and his son Yü rose up (and entered on the same undertaking). To him Heaven gave the Great Plan with its nine divisions, and the unvarying principles (of its method) were set forth in their due order.*

2. '(Of those divisions) the first is called "the five elements;" the second, "reverent attention to the five (personal) matters;" the third, "earnest devotion to the eight (objects of) government;" the fourth, "the harmonious use of the five dividers of time;" the fifth, "the establishment and use of royal perfection;" the sixth, "the discriminating use of the three virtues;" the seventh, "the intelligent use of (the means for) the examination of doubts;" the eighth, "the thoughtful use of the various verifications;" the ninth, "the hortatory use of the five (sources of) happiness, and the awing use of the six (occasions of) suffering."'

3. i. 'First, of the five elements¹.—The first is

¹ Gaubil gives here 'les cinq hing,' without translating the Chinese term. English sinologists have got into the habit of rendering it by 'elements,' but it hardly seems possible to determine what the Chinese mean by it. We intend by 'elements' 'the first principles or ingredients of which all things are composed.' The Pythagoreans, by their four elements of earth, water, air, and fire, did not intend so much the nature or essence of material substances, as the forms under which matter is actually presented to us. The character *hsing*, meaning 'to move,' 'to be in action,' shows that the original conception of the Chinese is of a different nature; and it is said in the *Khang-hsi Dictionary*, 'The five *hsing* move and revolve between heaven and earth, without ever ceasing, and hence they are named.' The editors of the latest imperial edition of the *Shū* say, 'Distributed through the four seasons, they make "the five dividers of time;" exhibited in prognostications, they give rise to divination by the tortoise-shell and the reeds; having lodgment in the human body, they produce "the five personal matters;" moved by good fortune and bad, they

water; the second is fire; the third, wood; the fourth, metal; and the fifth, earth. (The nature of) water is to soak and descend; of fire, to blaze and ascend; of wood, to be crooked and straight; of metal, to yield and change; while (that of) earth is seen in seed-sowing and in-gathering. That which soaks and descends becomes salt; that which blazes and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and changes becomes acrid; and from seed-sowing and in-gathering comes sweetness.'

ii. 'Second, of the five (personal) matters ¹.—The first is the bodily demeanour; the second, speech; the third, seeing; the fourth, hearing; the fifth, thinking. (The virtue of) the bodily appearance is respectfulness; of speech, accordance (with reason); of seeing, clearness; of hearing, distinctness; of thinking, perspicaciousness. The respectfulness becomes manifest in gravity; accordance (with reason), in orderliness; the clearness, in wisdom; the distinctness, in deliberation; and the perspicaciousness, in sageness.'

iii. 'Third, of the eight (objects of) government ².—

produce "the various verifications;" communicated to organisms, they produce the different natures, hard and soft, good and evil; working out their results in the changes of those organisms, they necessitate—here benevolence and there meanness, here longevity and there early death:—all these things are from the operation of the five hsing. But if we speak of them in their simplest and most important character, they are what man's life depends on, what the people cannot do without.' After all this, I should still be sorry to be required to say what the five hsing are.

¹ These five 'matters' are represented as being in the human person what the five hsing are in nature. Demeanour is the human correspondency of water, speech that of fire, &c.

² Medhurst calls the eight (objects of) government 'the eight

The first is food ; the second, wealth and articles of convenience ; the third, sacrifices ; the fourth, (the business of) the Minister of Works ; the fifth, (that of) the Minister of Instruction ; the sixth, (that of) the Minister of Crime ; the seventh, the observances to be paid to guests ; the eighth, the army.'

iv. 'Fourth, of the five dividers of time¹.—The first is the year (or the planet Jupiter) ; the second, the moon ; the third, the sun ; the fourth, the stars and planets, and the zodiacal spaces ; and the fifth, the calendaric calculations.'

v. 'Fifth, of royal perfection².—The sovereign, having established (in himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence, concentrates in his own person the five (sources of) happiness, and proceeds to diffuse them, and give them to the multitudes of the people. Then they, on their part, embodying your perfection, will give it (back) to you, and secure the preservation of it. Among all the multitudes of the people there will be no unlawful confederacies, and among men (in office) there will be no bad and selfish combinations ;—let the sovereign

regulators,' and Gaubil calls them 'les huit règles du gouvernement.' The phrase means the eight things to be attended to in government,—its objects and departments.

¹ 'The five dividers of time' are with Medhurst 'the five arrangers,' and with Gaubil 'les cinq périodes.' This division of the Great Plan is substantially the same as Yáo's instructions to his astronomers.

² By 'royal perfection' we are to understand the sovereign when he is, or has made himself, all that he ought to be. 'Perfection' is 'the utmost point,' the extreme of excellence, realized in the person of the sovereign, guiding his administrative measures, and serving as an example and attractive influence to all below, both ministers and people.

establish in (himself) the highest degree and pattern of excellence.

‘Among all the multitudes of the people there will be those who have ability to plan and to act, and who keep themselves (from evil):—do you keep such in mind; and there will be those who, not coming up to the highest point of excellence, yet do not involve themselves in evil:—let the sovereign receive such. And when a placid satisfaction appears in their countenances, and they say, “Our love is fixed on virtue,” do you then confer favours on them;—those men will in this way advance to the perfection of the sovereign. Do not let him oppress the friendless and childless, nor let him fear the high and distinguished. When men (in office) have ability and administrative power, let them be made still more to cultivate their conduct; and the prosperity of the country will be promoted. All (such) right men, having a competency, will go on in goodness. If you cannot cause them to have what they love in their families, they will forthwith proceed to be guilty of crime. As to those who have not the love of virtue, although you confer favours (and emoluments) on them, they will (only) involve you in the guilt of employing the evil.

‘Without deflection, without unevenness,
Pursue the royal righteousness.
Without selfish likings,
Pursue the royal way.
Without selfish dislikings,
Pursue the royal path.
Avoid deflection, avoid partiality;—
Broad and long is the royal way.

Avoid partiality, avoid deflection ;—
 Level and easy is the royal way.
 Avoid perversity, avoid one-sidedness ;—
 Correct and straight is the royal way.
 (Ever) seek for this perfect excellence,
 (Ever) turn to this perfect excellence.'

He went on to say, 'This amplification of the royal perfection contains the unchanging (rule), and is the (great) lesson ;—yea, it is the lesson of God.* All the multitudes of the people, instructed in this amplification of the perfect excellence, and carrying it into practice, will thereby approximate to the glory of the Son of Heaven, and say, "The Son of Heaven is the parent of the people, and so becomes the sovereign of all under the sky."'

vi. 'Sixth, of the three virtues¹.—The first is correctness and straightforwardness ; the second, strong rule ; and the third, mild rule. In peace and tranquillity, correctness and straightforwardness (must sway) ; in violence and disorder, strong rule ; in harmony and order, mild rule. For the reserved and retiring there should be (the stimulus of) the strong rule ; for the high(-minded) and distinguished, (the restraint of) the mild rule.

'It belongs only to the sovereign to confer dignities and rewards, to display the terrors of majesty, and to receive the revenues (of the kingdom). There should be no such thing as a minister's conferring dignities or rewards, displaying the terrors of majesty, or receiving the revenues. Such

¹ 'The three virtues' are not personal attributes of the sovereign, but characteristics of his rule, the varied manifestations of the perfection described in the preceding division.

a thing is injurious to the clans, and fatal to the states (of the kingdom); smaller affairs are thereby managed in a one-sided and perverse manner, and the people fall into assumptions and excesses.'

vii. 'Seventh, of the (means for the) examination of doubts¹.—Officers having been chosen and appointed for divining by the tortoise-shell and the

¹ The practice of divination for the satisfaction of doubts was thus used in China from the earliest times. In the Counsels of Yü, p. 50, that sage proposes to Shun to submit the question of who should be his successor on the throne to divination, and Shun replies that he had already done so. Gaubil says that according to the Great Plan divination was only used in doubtful cases; but if such was the practice of the sages, diviners and soothsayers must have formed, as they do now, a considerable and influential class in society. The old methods of divination have fallen into disuse, and we do not know how far other methods are employed and sanctioned by the government. Those old methods were by means of the tortoise-shell, and the stalks of the *K'hi* plant. 'The tortoise,' says K'ü Hsi, 'after great length of years becomes intelligent; and the *K'hi* plant will yield, when a hundred years old, a hundred stalks from one root, and is also a spiritual and intelligent thing. The two divinations were in reality a questioning of spiritual beings, the plant and the shell being employed, because of their mysterious intelligence, to indicate their intimations. The way of divination by the shell was by the application of fire to scorch it till the indications appeared on it; and that by the stalks of the plant was to manipulate in a prescribed way forty-nine of them, eighteen different times, till the diagrams were formed.'

The outer shell of the tortoise was removed, leaving the inner portion on which were the marks of the lines of the muscles of the creature. This was smeared with a black pigment, and, fire being applied beneath, the pigment was examined, and according as it had been variously dried by the heat, presented the indications mentioned in the text. The *K'hi* plant was probably the *Achillea millefolium*. It is cultivated largely on the mound over the grave of Confucius. I brought from that two bundles of the dried stalks in 1873.

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stalks of the Achillea, they are to be charged (on occasion) to execute their duties. (In doing this), they will find (the appearances of) rain, of clearing up, of cloudiness, of want of connexion, and of crossing; and the inner and outer diagrams. In all (the indications) are seven;—five given by the shell, and two by the stalks; and (by means) of these any errors (in the mind) may be traced out. These officers having been appointed, when the divination is proceeded with, three men are to interpret the indications, and the (consenting) words of two of them are to be followed.*

‘When you have doubts about any great matter, consult with your own mind; consult with your high ministers and officers; consult with the common people; consult the tortoise-shell and divining stalks. If you, the shell, the stalks, the ministers and officers, and the common people, all agree about a course, this is what is called a great concord, and the result will be the welfare of your person and good fortune to your descendants. If you, the shell, and the stalks agree, while the ministers, and officers, and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the ministers and officers, with the shell and stalks, agree, while you and the common people oppose, the result will be fortunate. If the common people, the shell, and the stalks agree, while you, with the ministers and officers, oppose, the result will be fortunate. If you and the shell agree, while the stalks, with the ministers and officers, and the common people, oppose, internal operations will be fortunate, and external undertakings unlucky. When the shell and stalks are both opposed to the views of men, there will be

good fortune in being still, and active operations will be unlucky.*

viii. 'Eighth, of the various verifications¹.—They are rain, sunshine, heat, cold, wind, and seasonableness. When the five come, all complete, and each in its proper order, (even) the various plants will be richly luxuriant. Should any one of them be either excessively abundant or excessively deficient, there will be evil.*

'There are the favourable verifications²:—namely,

¹ P. Gaubil renders by 'les apparences' the characters which I have translated 'the various verifications,' observing that he could not find any word which would cover the whole extent of the meaning. He says, 'In the present case, the character signifies meteors, phenomena, appearances, but in such sort that these have relation to some other things with which they are connected;—the meteor or phenomenon indicates some good or some evil. It is a kind of correspondency which is supposed, it appears, to exist between the ordinary events of the life of men and the constitution of the air, according to the different seasons;—what is here said supposes—I know not what physical speculation of those times. It is needless to bring to bear on the text the interpretation of the later Chinese, for they are full of false ideas on the subject of physics. It may be also that the count of *K'hi* wanted to play the physicist on points which he did not know.' There seems to underlie the words of the count that feeling of the harmony between the natural and spiritual worlds, which occurs at times to most men, and strongly affects minds under deep religious thought or on the wings of poetic rapture, but the way in which he endeavours to give the subject a practical application can only be characterised as grotesque.

² Compare with this what is said above on the second division of the Plan, 'the five (personal) matters.' It is observed here by *Shâi K'ân*, the disciple of *K'ü Hsi*, and whose commentary on the *Shü* has, of all others, the greatest authority:—'To say that on occasion of such and such a personal matter being realized, there will be the favourable verification corresponding to it, or that, on occasion of the failure of such realization, there will be the corresponding

of gravity, which is emblemed by seasonable rain ; of orderliness, emblemed by seasonable sunshine ; of wisdom, emblemed by seasonable heat ; of deliberation, emblemed by seasonable cold ; and of sageness, emblemed by seasonable wind. There are (also) the unfavourable verifications :—namely, of recklessness, emblemed by constant rain ; of assumption, emblemed by constant sunshine ; of indolence, emblemed by constant heat ; of hastiness, emblemed by constant cold ; and of stupidity, emblemed by constant wind.' *

He went on to say, 'The king should examine the (character of the whole) year ; the high ministers and officers (that of) the month ; and the inferior officers (that of) the day. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, there be an unchanging seasonableness, all the grains will be matured ; the measures of government will be wise ; heroic men will stand forth distinguished ; and in the families (of the people) there will be peace and prosperity. If, throughout the year, the month, the day, the seasonableness be interrupted, the various kinds of grain will not be matured ; the measures of government will be dark and unwise ; heroic men will be kept in

unfavourable verification, would betray a pertinacious obtuseness, and show that the speaker was not a man to be talked with on the mysterious operations of nature. It is not easy to describe the reciprocal meeting of Heaven and men. The hidden springs touched by failure and success, and the minute influences that respond to them :—who can know these but the man that has apprehended all truth?' This is in effect admitting that the statements in the text can be of no practical use. And the same thing is admitted by the latest imperial editors of the Shū on the use which the text goes on to make of the thoughtful use of the verifications by the king and others.

obscurity; and in the families (of the people) there will be an absence of repose.

‘By the common people the stars should be examined. Some stars love wind, and some love rain. The courses of the sun and moon give winter and summer. The way in which the moon follows the stars gives wind and rain.’

ix. ‘Ninth, of the five (sources of) happiness¹.—The first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will (of Heaven).* Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life; the second, sickness; the third, distress of mind; the fourth, poverty; the fifth, wickedness; the sixth, weakness².’

BOOK V. THE HOUNDS OF LÜ.

Lü was the name of one of the rude tribes of the west, lying beyond the provinces of Kâu. Its situation cannot be more exactly defined. Its people, in compliment to king Wû, and impressed by a sense of his growing power, sent to him some of their hounds, and he having received them, or intimated that he would do so, the Grand-Guardian remonstrated with him, showing that to receive such animals would be contrary to precedent, dangerous to the virtue of the sovereign, and was not the way to deal with outlying tribes and nations. The Grand-Guardian, it is supposed, was the duke of Shão, author of the Announcement which forms the twelfth Book of this Part. The Book is one of the ‘Instructions’ of the Shû.

¹ It is hardly possible to see how this division enters into the scheme of the Great Plan.

² ‘Wickedness’ is, probably, boldness in what is evil, and ‘weakness,’ feebleness of will in what is good.

1. After the conquest of Shang, the way being open to the nine tribes of the Î¹ and the eight of the Man¹, the western tribe of Lü sent as tribute some of its hounds, on which the Grand-Guardian made 'the Hounds of Lü,' by way of instruction to the king.

2. He said, 'Oh ! the intelligent kings paid careful attention to their virtue, and the wild tribes on every side acknowledged subjection to them. The nearer and the more remote all presented the productions of their countries,—in robes, food, and vessels for use. The kings then displayed the things thus drawn forth by their virtue, (distributing them) to the (princes of the) states of different surnames from their own, (to encourage them) not to neglect their duties. The (more) precious things and pieces of jade they distributed among their uncles in charge of states, thereby increasing their attachment (to the throne). The recipients did not despise the things, but saw in them the power of virtue.

'Complete virtue allows no contemptuous familiarity. When (a ruler) treats superior men with such familiarity, he cannot get them to give him all their hearts ; when he so treats inferior men, he cannot get them to put forth for him all their strength. Let him keep from being in bondage to his ears and eyes, and strive to be correct in all his measures. By trifling intercourse with men, he ruins his virtue ; by finding his amusement in things (of mere pleasure),

¹ By 'the nine Î and eight Man' we are to understand generally the barbarous tribes lying round the China of K'âu. Those tribes are variously enumerated in the ancient books. Generally the Î are assigned to the east, the Zung to the west, the Tî to the north, and the Man to the south.

he ruins his aims. His aims should repose in what is right; he should listen to words (also) in their relation to what is right.

'When he does not do what is unprofitable to the injury of what is profitable, his merit can be completed. When he does not value strange things to the contemning things that are useful, his people will be able to supply (all that he needs). (Even) dogs and horses that are not native to his country he will not keep. Fine birds and strange animals he will not nourish in his state. When he does not look on foreign things as precious, foreigners will come to him; when it is real worth that is precious to him, (his own) people near at hand will be in a state of repose.

'Oh! early and late never be but earnest. If you do not attend jealously to your small actions, the result will be to affect your virtue in great matters; —in raising a mound of nine fathoms, the work may be unfinished for want of one basket (of earth). If you really pursue this course (which I indicate), the people will preserve their possessions, and the throne will descend from generation to generation.'

BOOK VI. THE METAL-BOUND COFFER.

A CERTAIN chest or coffer, that was fastened with bands of metal, and in which important state documents were deposited, plays an important part among the incidents of the Book, which is therefore called 'the Metal-bound Coffe.' To what class among the documents of the Shû it should be assigned is doubtful.

King Wû is very ill, and his death seems imminent. His brother, the duke of Kâu, apprehensive of the disasters which such an

event would occasion to their infant dynasty, conceives the idea of dying in his stead, and prays to 'the three kings,' their immediate progenitors, that he might be taken and king Wû left. Having done so, and divined that he was heard, he deposits the prayer in the metal-bound coffer. The king gets well, and the duke is also spared; but five years later, Wû does die, and is succeeded by his son, a boy only thirteen years old. Rumours are spread abroad that the duke has designs on the throne, and he withdraws for a time from the court. At length, in the third year of the young king, Heaven interposes. He has occasion to open the coffer, and the prayer of the duke is found. His devotion to his brother and to the interests of their family is brought to light. The boy-monarch weeps because of the unjust suspicions he had harboured, and welcomes the duke back to court, amid unmistakeable demonstrations of the approval of Heaven.

The whole narrative is a very pleasing episode in the history of the times. It divides itself naturally into two chapters:—the first, ending with the placing the prayer in the coffer; and the second, detailing how it was brought to light, and the consequences of the discovery.

It is in this Book that we first meet in the Shū with the duke of Kâu, a name in Chinese history only second to that of Confucius. He was the legislator and consolidator of the dynasty of Kâu, equally mighty in words and in deeds,—a man of counsel and of action. Confucius regarded his memory with reverence, and spoke of it as a sign of his own failing powers, that the duke of Kâu no longer appeared to him in his dreams. He was the fourth son of king Wăn; his name was Tan, and he had for his appanage the territory of Kâu, where Than-fû, canonized by him as king Thâi, first placed the seat of his family in B. C. 1327, and hence he is commonly called 'the duke of Kâu.'

1. Two years after the conquest of Shang¹, the king fell ill, and was quite disconsolate. The two (other great) dukes² said, 'Let us reverently consult

¹ B. C. 1121.

² These were the duke of Shâo, to whom the preceding Book is ascribed, and Thâi-kung, who became the first of the lords of K'hi.

the tortoise-shell about the king;' but the duke of *Kâu* said, 'You must not so distress our former kings¹.' He then took the business on himself, and reared three altars of earth on the same cleared space; and having made another altar on the south of these, and facing the north, he took there his own position. Having put a round symbol of jade (on each of the three altars), and holding in his hands the lengthened symbol (of his own rank), he addressed the kings *Thái*, *Ki*, and *Wăn*.*

The (grand) historiographer had written on tablets his prayer, which was to this effect:—'A. B., your great descendant, is suffering from a severe and violent disease;—if you three kings have in heaven the charge of (watching over) him, (Heaven's) great son, let me Tan be a substitute for his person². I was lovingly obedient to my father; I am possessed of many abilities and arts, which fit me to serve spiritual beings. Your great descendant, on the other hand, has not so many abilities and arts as I, and is not so capable of serving spiritual beings. And moreover he was appointed in the hall of God to extend his aid all over the kingdom, so that he might establish your descendants in this lower earth. The people of the four quarters all stand in reverent

¹ He negatives their proposal, having determined to take the whole thing on himself.

² Two things are here plain:—first, that the duke of *Kâu* offered himself to die in the room of his brother; and second, that he thought that his offer might somehow be accepted through the intervention of the great kings, their progenitors. He proceeds to give his reasons for making such an offer, which are sufficiently interesting. It was hardly necessary for Chinese scholars to take the pains they have done to free the duke from the charge of boasting in them.

awe of him. Oh! do not let that precious Heaven-conferred appointment fall to the ground, and (all the long line of) our former kings will also have one in whom they can ever rest at our sacrifices.* I will now seek for your determination (in this matter) from the great tortoise-shell. If you grant me (my request), I will take these symbols and this mace, and return and wait for your orders. If you do not grant it, I will put them by¹.*

The duke then divined with the three tortoise-shells, and all were favourable. He opened with a key the place where the (oracular) responses were kept, and looked at them, and they also were favourable. He said, 'According to the form (of the prognostic) the king will take no injury. I, the little child, have got the renewal of his appointment from the three kings, by whom a long futurity has been consulted for. I have now to wait for the issue. They can provide for our One man.'^{*}

When the duke returned, he placed the tablets (of the prayer) in a metal-bound coffer², and next day the king got better.

2. (Afterwards), upon the death of king Wû, (the duke's) elder brother, he of Kwan, and his younger brothers, spread a baseless report through the king-

¹ I suppose that the divination took place before the altars, and that a different shell was used to ascertain the mind of each king. The oracular responses would be a few lines, kept apart by themselves, and consulted, on occasion, according to certain rules which have not come down to the present day.

² Many scholars think that it was this coffer which contained the oracles of divination mentioned above. It may have been so; but I rather suppose it to have been different, and a special chest in which important archives of the dynasty, to be referred to on great emergencies, were kept.

dom, to the effect that the duke would do no good to the (king's) young son. On this the duke said to the two (other great) dukes, 'If I do not take the law (to these men), I shall not be able to make my report to the former kings¹.' *

He resided (accordingly) in the east for two years², when the criminals were taken (and brought to justice). Afterwards he made a poem to present to the king, and called it 'the Owl³.' The king on his part did not dare to blame the duke.

In the autumn, when the grain was abundant and ripe, but before it was reaped, Heaven sent a great storm of thunder and lightning, along with wind, by which the grain was all broken down, and great trees torn up. The people were greatly terrified; and the king and great officers, all in their caps of state, proceeded to open the metal-bound coffer and examine the writings in it, where they found the words of the duke when he took on himself the business of being a substitute for king Wû. The two (great) dukes and the king asked the historiographer and all the other officers (acquainted with the transaction) about the thing, and they replied, 'It was really thus; but ah! the duke charged us that we

¹ Wû died in B. C. 1116, and was succeeded by his son Sung, who is known in history as king K'ang, or 'the Completer.' He was at the time only thirteen years old, and his uncle, the duke of K'au, acted as regent. The jealousy of his elder brother Hsien, 'lord of Kwan,' and two younger brothers, was excited, and they spread the rumour which is referred to, and entered into a conspiracy with the son of the tyrant of Shang, to overthrow the new dynasty.

² These two years were spent in military operations against the revolters.

³ See the Book of Poetry, Part I, xv, Ode 2.

should not presume to speak about it.' The king held the writing in his hand, and wept, saying, 'We need not (now) go on reverently to divine. Formerly the duke was thus earnest for the royal House, but I, being a child, did not know it. Now Heaven has moved its terrors to display his virtue. That I, the little child, (now) go with my new views and feelings to meet him, is what the rules of propriety of our kingdom require.'*

The king then went out to the borders (to meet the duke), when Heaven sent down rain, and, by virtue of a contrary wind, the grain all rose up. The two (great) dukes gave orders to the people to take up the trees that had fallen and replace them. The year then turned out very fruitful.*

BOOK VII. THE GREAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

THIS 'Great Announcement' was called forth by the emergency referred to in the second chapter of the last Book. The prefatory notice says, 'When king Wû had deceased, the three overseers and the wild tribes of the Hwâi rebelled. The duke of Kâu acted as minister for king K'hang, and having purposed to make an end of the House of Yin (or Shang), he made 'the Great Announcement.' Such was the occasion on which the Book was composed. The young king speaks in it the words and sentiments of the duke of Kâu; and hence the style in which it commences, 'The king speaks to the following effect.'

The young sovereign speaks of the responsibility lying on him to maintain the kingdom gained by the virtues and prowess of his father, and of the senseless movements of the House of Shang to regain its supremacy. He complains of the reluctance of many of the princes and high officers to second him in putting down revolt, and proclaims with painful reiteration the support and assurances of success which he has received from the divining shell. His traitorous uncles, who were confederate with the son of the tyrant of Shang, are only alluded to.

1. The king speaks to the following effect :—‘ Ho ! I make a great announcement to you, (the princes of) the many states, and to you, the managers of my affairs.—We are unpitied, and Heaven sends down calamities on our House, without the least intermission¹.* It greatly occupies my thoughts that I, so very young, have inherited this illimitable patrimony with its destinies and domains. I cannot display wisdom and lead the people to prosperity ; and how much less should I be able to reach the knowledge of the decree of Heaven !* Yes, I who am but a little child am in the position of one who has to go through a deep water ;—I must go and seek where I can cross over. I must diffuse the elegant institutions of my predecessor and display the appointment which he received (from Heaven) ;—so shall I not be forgetful of his great work. Nor shall I dare to restrain the majesty of Heaven in sending down its inflictions (on the criminals)².’ *

2. ‘The Tranquillizing king³ left to me the great precious tortoise-shell, to bring into connexion with me the intelligence of Heaven. I divined by it, and it told me that there would be great trouble in the region of the west⁴, and that the western people would not be still⁴.* Accordingly we have these senseless movements. Small and reduced as Yin

¹ With reference, probably, to the early death of his father, and the revolt that followed quickly upon it.

² The duke had made up his mind that he would deal stern justice even on his own brothers.

³ King Wû.

⁴ The troubles arose in the east, and not in the west. We do not know the facts in the state of the kingdom sufficiently to explain every difficulty in these Books. Perhaps the oracular response had been purposely ambiguous.

now is, (its prince) greatly dares to take in hand its (broken) line. Though Heaven sent down its terrors (on his House), yet knowing of the evils in our kingdom, and that the people are not tranquil, he says, "I will recover (my patrimony);" and so (he wishes to) make our *Kâu* a border territory again.

'One day there was a senseless movement, and the day after, ten men of worth appeared among the people, to help me to go forward to restore tranquillity and perpetuate the plans (of my father)¹. The great business I am engaging in will (thus) have a successful issue. I have divined (also) by the tortoise-shell, and always got a favourable response.* Therefore I tell you, the princes of my friendly states, and you, the directors of departments, my officers, and the managers of my affairs,—I have obtained a favourable reply to my divinations. I will go forward with you from all the states, and punish those vagabond and transported ministers of Yin.'

3. '(But) you the princes of the various states, and you the various officers and managers of my affairs, all retort on me, saying, "The hardships will be great, and that the people are not quiet has its source really in the king's palace and in the mansions of the princes in that (rebellious) state². We little ones, and the old and reverend men as well, think the expedition ill-advised;—why does your Majesty not go contrary to the divinations?" I, in my youth, (also) think continually of these hardships, and say,

¹ Who these 'ten men of worth' were, we do not know, nor the circumstances in which they came forward to help the government.

² Here is an allusion, as plain as the duke could permit himself to make, to the complicity of his brothers in the existing troubles.

Alas! these senseless movements will deplorably afflict the wifeless men and widows! But I am the servant of Heaven, which has assigned me this great task, and laid the hard duty on my person.* I therefore, the young one, do not pity myself; and it would be right in you, the many officers, the directors of departments, and the managers of my affairs, to comfort me, saying, "Do not be distressed with sorrow. We shall surely complete the plans of your Tranquillizing father."

'Yes, I, the little child, dare not disregard the charge of God¹.* Heaven, favourable to the Tranquillizing king, gave such prosperity to our small country of *K'áu*. The Tranquillizing king divined and acted accordingly, and so he calmly received his (great) appointment. Now when Heaven is (evidently) aiding the people, how much more should we follow the indications of the shell! Oh! the clearly intimated will of Heaven is to be feared:—it is to help my great inheritance!'

4. The king says, 'You, who are the old ministers, are fully able to remember the past; you know how great was the toil of the Tranquillizing king. Where Heaven (now) shuts up (our path) and distresses us, is the place where I must accomplish my work;—I dare not but do my utmost to complete the plans of the Tranquillizing king. It is on this account that I use such efforts to remove the doubts and carry forward the inclinations of the princes of my friendly states. And Heaven assists me with sincere expressions (of sympathy), which I have ascertained among

¹ Probably the charge understood to be conveyed by the result of the divinations spoken of above.

the people ;—how dare I but aim at the completion of the work formerly begun by the Tranquillizer ? Heaven, moreover, is thus toiling and distressing the people ;—it is as if they were suffering from disease ; how dare I allow (the appointment) which my predecessor, the Tranquillizer, received, to be without its happy fulfilment ?' *

The king says, ' Formerly, at the initiation of this expedition, I spoke of its difficulties, and thought of them daily. But when a deceased father, (wishing) to build a house, had laid out the plan, if his son be unwilling to raise up the hall, how much less will he be willing to complete the roof ! Or if the father had broken up the ground, and his son be unwilling to sow the seed, how much less will he be willing to reap the crop ! In such a case could the father, (who had himself) been so reverently attentive (to his objects), have been willing to say, " I have a son who will not abandon his patrimony ?"—How dare I therefore but use all my powers to give a happy settlement to the great charge entrusted to the Tranquillizing king ? If among the friends of an elder brother or a deceased father there be those who attack his son, will the elders of the people encourage (the attack), and not (come to the) rescue ?'

5. The king says, ' Oh ! take heart, ye princes of the various states, and ye managers of my affairs. The enlightening of the country was from the wise, even from the ten men¹ who obeyed and knew the

¹ 'The ten men' here can hardly be the 'ten men of worth' above in the second chapter. We must find them rather in the 'ten virtuous men, one in heart and one in practice, capable of good,' mentioned by king Wû, in the second Part of the Great Declaration.

charge of God,* and the real assistance given by Heaven. At that time none of you presumed to change the rules (prescribed by the Tranquillizing king). And now when Heaven is sending down calamity on the country of K'âu, and the authors of these great distresses (make it appear on a grand scale as if) the inmates of a house were mutually to attack one another, you are without any knowledge that the decree of Heaven is not to be changed!*

'I ever think and say, Heaven in destroying Yin was doing husbandman's work¹;—how dare I but complete the work on my fields? Heaven will thereby show its favour to my predecessor, the Tranquillizer. How should I be all for the oracle of divination, and presume not to follow (your advice)?* I am following the Tranquillizer, whose purpose embraced all within the limits of the land. How much more must I proceed, when the divinations are all favourable! It is on these accounts that I make this expedition in force to the east. There is no mistake about the decree of Heaven. The indications given by the tortoise-shell are all to the same effect.'*

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO THE COUNT OF WEI.

THE count of Wei was the principal character in the eleventh Book of the last Part, from which it appeared that he was a brother of the tyrant K'âu-hsin. We saw how his friends advised him to withdraw from the court of Shang, and save

¹ That is, thorough work,—clearing the ground of weeds, and not letting their roots remain.

himself from the destruction that was impending over their House. He had done so, and king Wû had probably continued him in the possession of his appanage of Wei, while Wû-kǎng, the son of the tyrant, had been spared, and entrusted with the duty of continuing the sacrifices to the great Thang and the other sovereigns of the House of Shang. Now that Wû-kǎng has been punished with death for his rebellion, the duke of K'âu summons the count of Wei to court, and in the name of king K'hang invests him with the dukedom of Sung, corresponding to the present department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan, there to be the representative of the line of the departed kings of Shang.

The king speaks to the following effect:—‘ Ho ! eldest son of the king of Yin, examining into antiquity, (I find) that the honouring of the virtuous (belongs to their descendants) who resemble them in worth, and (I appoint) you to continue the line of the kings your ancestors, observing their ceremonies and taking care of their various relics. Come (also) as a guest to our royal House¹, and enjoy the prosperity of our kingdom, for ever and ever without end.

‘ Oh ! your ancestor, Thang the Successful, was reverent and sage, (with a virtue) vast and deep. The favour and help of great Heaven lighted upon him, and he grandly received its appointment, to soothe the people by his gentleness, and remove the wicked oppressions from which they were suffering.* His achievements affected his age, and his virtue was transmitted to his posterity. And you are the one who pursue and cultivate his plans ;—this praise

¹ Under the dynasty of K'âu, the representatives of the two previous dynasties of Shang and Hsiâ were distinguished above the other princes of the kingdom, and denominated ‘ guests ’ of the sovereign, coming to his court and assisting in the services in his ancestral temple, nearly on a footing of equality with him.

has belonged to you for long. Reverently and carefully have you discharged your filial duties ; gravely and respectfully you behave to spirits and to men.* I admire your virtue, and pronounce it great and not to be forgotten. God will always enjoy your offerings ; the people will be reverently harmonious (under your sway).* I raise you therefore to the rank of high duke, to rule this eastern part of our great land¹.

‘ Be reverent. Go and diffuse abroad your instructions. Be carefully observant of your robes and (other accompaniments of) your appointment²; follow and observe the proper statutes ;—so as to prove a bulwark to the royal House. Enlarge (the fame of) your meritorious ancestor ; be a law to your people ;—so as for ever to preserve your dignity. (So also) shall you be a help to me, the One man ; future ages will enjoy (the benefit of) your virtue ; all the states will take you for a pattern ;—and thus you will make our dynasty of *Kâu* never weary of you.

‘ Oh ! go, and be prosperous. Do not disregard my charge.’

¹ Sung lay east from Fǎng and Hào, the capitals of Wǎn and Wú, which were in the present department of Hsí-an, Shen-hsí.

² Meaning probably that he was to bear in mind that, however illustrious his descent, he was still a subject of the king of *Kâu*.

BOOK IX.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PRINCE OF KHANG.

Of the ten sons of king Wăn, the ninth was called Fāng, and is generally spoken of as Khang Shŭ, or 'the uncle, (the prince of) Khang.' We must conclude that Khang was the name of Fāng's appanage, somewhere in the royal domain. This Book contains the charge given to him on his appointment to be marquis of Wei (the Chinese name is quite different from that of the appanage of the count of Wei), the chief city of which was K'ao-ko, that had been the capital of K'au-hsin. It extended westward from the present Khâi K'au, department Tâ-ming, Kih-lî, to the borders of the departments of Wei-hui and Hwâi-k'ing, Ho-nan.

The Book is called an 'Announcement,' whereas it properly belongs to the class of 'Charges.' Whether the king who speaks in it, and gives the charge be Wû, or his son king K'hang, is a point on which there is much difference of opinion among Chinese critics. The older view that the appointment of Fāng to be marquis of Wei, and ruler of that part of the people who might be expected to cling most tenaciously to the memory of the Shang dynasty, took place after the death of Wû-k'ang, the son of the tyrant, and was made by the duke of K'au, in the name of king K'hang, is on the whole attended with the fewer difficulties.

The first paragraph, which appears within brackets, does not really belong to this Book, but to the thirteenth, where it will be found again. How it got removed from its proper place, and prefixed to the charge to the prince of Khang, is a question on which it is not necessary to enter. The key-note of the whole charge is in what is said, at the commencement of the first of the five chapters into which I have divided it, about king Wăn, that 'he was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments.' The first chapter celebrates the exhibition of these two things given by Wăn, whereby he laid the foundations of the great destiny of his House, and set an example to his descendants. The second inculcates on Fāng how he should illustrate his virtue, as the basis of his good government of the people entrusted to him. The third inculcates on him how he should be careful in the use of

punishments, and sets forth the happy effects of his being so. The fourth insists on the influence of virtue, as being superior in government to that of punishment, and how punishments should all be regulated by the ruler's virtue. The last chapter winds the subject up with a reference to the uncertainty of the appointments of Heaven, and their dependance for permanence on the discharge of the duties connected with them by those on whom they have lighted.

[On the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of *Kâu* commenced the foundations, and proceeded to build the new great city of Lo, of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the *Hâu*, *Tien*, *Nan*, *Shâi*, and *Wei* domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business there was to be done for *Kâu*. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works).]

1. The king speaks to this effect:—‘Head of the princes¹, and my younger brother², little one², *Făng*, it was your greatly distinguished father, the king *Wăn*, who was able to illustrate his virtue and be careful in the use of punishments. He did not dare to treat with contempt (even) wifeless men and widows. He employed the employable, and revered the reverend; he was terrible to those who needed to be awed:—so getting distinction among the people. It was thus he laid the foundations of (the sway of) our small portion of the kingdom³, and the one

¹ *Făng* had, no doubt, been made chief or leader of all the feudal lords in one of the *Kâu* or provinces of the kingdom.

² The duke of *Kâu*, though speaking in the name of king *Khâng*, yet addresses *Făng* from the standpoint of his own relation to him.

³ Referring to the original principality of *Kâu*.

or two (neighbouring) regions were brought under his improving influence, until throughout our western land all placed in him their reliance. The fame of him ascended up to the high God, and God approved. Heaven accordingly gave a grand charge to king Wăn, to exterminate the great (dynasty of) Yin, and grandly receive its appointment, so that the various countries belonging to it and their peoples were brought to an orderly condition.* Then your unworthy elder brother¹ exerted himself; and thus it is that you Făng, the little one, are here in this eastern region.'

2. The king says, 'Oh! Făng, bear these things in mind. Now (your success in the management of) the people will depend on your reverently following your father Wăn;—do you carry out his virtuous words which you have heard, and clothe yourself with them. (Moreover), where you go, seek out among (the traces of) the former wise kings of Yin what you may use in protecting and regulating their people. (Again), you must in the remote distance study the (ways of) the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart, and know how to instruct (the people). (Further still), you must search out besides what is to be learned of the wise kings of antiquity, and employ it in tranquilizing and protecting the people. (Finally), enlarge (your thoughts) to (the comprehension of all) heavenly (principles), and virtue will be richly displayed in your person, so that you will not render nugatory the king's charge.'

¹ Is it strange that the duke should thus speak of king Wû? Should we not think the better of him for it?

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, the little one, be respectfully careful, as if you were suffering from a disease. Awful though Heaven be, it yet helps the sincere.* The feelings of the people can for the most part be discerned; but it is difficult to preserve (the attachment of) the lower classes. Where you go, employ all your heart. Do not seek repose, nor be fond of ease and pleasure. I have read the saying,—“Dissatisfaction is caused not so much by great things, or by small things, as by (a ruler's) observance of principle or the reverse, and by his energy of conduct or the reverse.” Yes, it is yours, O little one,—it is your business to enlarge the royal (influence), and to protect the people of Yin in harmony with their feelings. Thus also shall you assist the king, consolidating the appointment of Heaven, and renovating the people.’*

3. The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, deal reverently and intelligently in your infliction of punishments. When men commit small crimes, which are not mischances, but purposed, they of themselves doing what is contrary to the laws intentionally, though their crimes be but small, you may not but put them to death. But in the case of great crimes, which were not purposed, but from mischance and misfortune, accidental, if the transgressors confess their guilt without reserve, you must not put them to death.'

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, there must be the orderly regulation (of this matter). When you show a great discrimination, subduing (men's hearts), the people will admonish one another, and strive to be obedient. (Deal firmly yet tenderly with evil), as if it were a disease in your own person, and the people

will entirely put away their faults. (Deal with them) as if you were protecting your own infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly. It is not you, O Fǎng, who (can presume to) inflict a (severe) punishment or death upon a man;—do not, to please yourself, so punish a man or put him to death.' Moreover, he says, 'It is not you, O Fǎng, who (can presume to inflict a lighter punishment), cutting off a man's nose or ears;—do not, to please yourself, cause a man's nose or ears to be cut off.'

The king says, 'In things beyond (your immediate supervision), have laws set forth which the officers may observe, and these should be the penal laws of Yin which were rightly ordered.' He also says, 'In examining the evidence in (criminal) cases, reflect upon it for five or six days, yea, for ten days or three months. You may then boldly come to a decision in such cases¹.'

The king says, 'In setting forth the business of the laws, the punishments will be determined by (what were) the regular laws of Yin. But you must see that those punishments, and (especially) the penalty of death, be righteous. And you must not let them be warped to agree with your own inclinations, O Fǎng. Then shall they be entirely accordant with right, and you may say, "They are properly ordered;" yet you must say (at the same time), "Perhaps they are not yet entirely accordant with right." Yes, though you are the little one, who has a heart like you, O Fǎng? My heart and my virtue are also known to you.

¹ This is supposed to refer to a case where guilt would involve death, so that there could be no remedying a wrong decision.

‘All who of themselves commit crimes, robbing, stealing, practising villainy and treachery, and who kill men or violently assault them to take their property, being reckless and fearless of death;—these are abhorred by all.’

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, such great criminals are greatly abhorred, and how much more (detestable) are the unfilial and unbrotherly!—as the son who does not reverently discharge his duty to his father, but greatly wounds his father’s heart, and the father who can (no longer) love his son, but hates him; as the younger brother who does not think of the manifest will of Heaven, and refuses to respect his elder brother, and the elder brother who does not think of the toil of their parents in bringing up their children, and is very unfriendly to his junior. If we who are charged with government do not treat parties who proceed to such wickedness as offenders, the laws (of our nature) given by Heaven to our people will be thrown into great disorder and destroyed. You must resolve to deal speedily with such according to the penal laws of king Wǎn, punishing them severely and not pardoning.’

‘Those who are disobedient (to natural principles) are to be thus subjected to the laws;—how much more the officers employed in your state as the instructors of the youth, the heads of the official departments, and the smaller officers charged with their several commissions, when they propagate other lessons, seeking the praise of the people, not thinking (of their duty), nor using (the rules for their offices), but distressing their ruler! These lead on (the people) to wickedness, and are an abomination to me. Shall they be let alone? Do you

speedily, according to what is right, put them to death.

‘And you will be yourself ruler and president;—if you cannot manage your own household, with your smaller officers, and the heads of departments in the state, but use only terror and violence, you will greatly set aside the royal charge, and be trying to regulate your state contrary to virtue. You must in everything reverence the statutes, and proceed by them to the happy rule of the people. There were the reverence of king Wǎn and his caution;—in proceeding by them to the happy rule of the people, say, “If I could only attain to them—.” So will you make me, the One man, to rejoice.’

4. The king says, ‘O Fǎng, when I think clearly of the people, I see that they should be led (by example) to happiness and tranquillity. I think of the virtue of the former wise kings of Yin, whereby they tranquillized and regulated the people, and rouse myself to make it my own. Moreover, the people now are sure to follow a leader. If one do not lead them, he cannot be said to exercise a government in their state.’

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, I cannot dispense with the inspection (of the ancients), and I make this declaration to you about virtue in the use of punishments. Now the people are not quiet; they have not yet stilled their minds; notwithstanding my leading of them, they have not come to accord (with my government). I clearly consider that severe as are the inflictions of Heaven on me, I dare not murmur. The crimes (of the people), though they were not great or many, (would all be chargeable on me), and how much more shall this be said

when the report of them goes up so manifestly to heaven!

The king says, 'Oh! Fǎng, be reverent! Do not what will cause murmurings; and do not use bad counsels and uncommon ways. With the determination of sincerity, give yourself to imitate the active virtue (of the ancients). Hereby give repose to your mind, examine your virtue, send far forward your plans; and thus by your generous forbearance you will make the people repose in what is good, and I shall not have to blame you or cast you off.'

5. The king says, 'Oh! you, Fǎng, the little one, (Heaven's) appointments are not unchanging.* Think of this, and do not make me deprive you of your dignity. Make illustrious the charge which you have received; exalt (the instructions) which you have heard, and tranquillize and regulate the people accordingly.'

The king speaks to this effect: 'Go, Fǎng. Do not disregard the statutes you should reverence; hearken to what I have told you;—so shall you among the people of Yin enjoy (your dignity), and hand it down to your posterity.'

BOOK X.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT DRUNKENNESS.

THIS Announcement was, like the last, made to Fǎng, the prince of Khang, about the time when he was invested with the principality of Wei. Mention has often been made in previous documents of the Shû of the drunken debauchery of Kieh as the chief cause of the downfall of the dynasty of Hsiâ, and of the same vice in K'au-hsin, the last of the kings of

Shang. The people of Shang had followed the example of their sovereign, and drunkenness, with its attendant immoralities, characterised both the highest and lowest classes of society. One of Fāng's most difficult tasks in his administration would be, to correct this evil habit, and he is called in this Book to the undertaking. He is instructed in the proper use and the allowable uses of spirits; the disastrous consequences of drunkenness are set forth; and he is summoned to roll back the flood of its desolation from his officers and people.

I have divided the Book into two chapters:—the one preliminary, showing the original use and the permissible uses of ardent spirits; the other, showing how drunkenness had proved the ruin of the Shang dynasty, and how they of K'âu, and particularly Fāng in Wei, should turn the lesson to account.

The title might be translated—'The Announcement about Spirits,' but the cursory reader would most readily suppose that the discourse was about Spiritual Beings. The Chinese term *K'îu*, that is here employed, is often translated by wine, but it denotes, it seems to me, ardent spirits. As Gaubil says, 'We have here to do with *le vin du riz*, the art of which was discovered, according to most writers, in the time of Yü, the founder of the first dynasty. The grape was not introduced to China till that of the first Han.'

[Since the above sentences were in manuscript, the Rev. Dr. Edkins of Pekin has stated at a meeting of the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in a letter to myself (April 24th), that he has lately investigated the question whether the *K'îu* of the ancient Chinese was spirits or not, and found that distillation was first known in China in the Mongol or Yüan dynasty (A. D. 1280-1367), so that the Arabs must have the credit of the invention; that the process in making *K'îu* was brewing, or nearly so, but, as the term beer is inadmissible in a translation of the classics, he would prefer to use the term wine; and that *K'îu* with *Sh'áo* ('fired,' 'ardent') before it, means spirits, but without *Sh'áo*, it means wine.

If the whole process of Dr. Edkins' investigation were before me, I should be glad to consider it, and not hesitate to alter my own view, if I saw reason to do so. Meanwhile, what he says makes me glad that I adopted 'the Announcement about Drunkenness' as the title of this chapter. It is drunkenness, by whatever liquor occasioned, that the king of K'âu condemns and denounces.

What we commonly understand by wine is never intended by *Kiû* in the Chinese classics, and therefore I cannot use that term. After searching as extensively as I could do in this country, since I received Dr. Edkins' letter, I have found nothing to make me think that the Chinese term is not properly translated by 'spirits.'

Dr. Williams, in his Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language (Shanghai, 1874), gives this account of *Kiû* :—'Liquor; it includes spirits, wine, beer, and other drinks. The Chinese make no wine, and chiefly distil their liquors, and say that *Tû Khang*, a woman of the *Tî* tribes, first made it.' This account is to a considerable extent correct. The Chinese distil their liquors. I never saw beer or porter of native production among them, though according to Dr. Edkins they had been brewing 'or nearly so' for more than 3000 years. Among his examples of the use of *Kiû*, Williams gives the combinations of 'red *Kiû*' for claret, 'white *Kiû*' for sherry, and 'pf (simply phonetical) *Kiû*' for beer, adding that they 'are all terms of foreign origin.' What he says about the traditional account of the first maker of *Kiû* is not correct. It is said certainly that this was *Tû Khang*, but who he was, or when he lived, I have never been able to discover. Some identify him with *Î-tî*, said by Williams to have been 'a woman of the *Tî* tribes.' The attributing of the invention to *Î-tî* is probably an independent tradition. We find it in the 'Plans of the Warring States' (ch. xiv, art. 10), a work covering about four centuries from the death of Confucius:—'Anciently, the daughter of the *Tî* ordered *Î-tî* to make *Kiû*. She admired it, and presented some to *Yü*, who drank it, and found it pleasant. He then discarded *Î-tî*, and denounced the use of such generous *Kiû*, saying, "In future ages there are sure to be those who by *Kiû* will lose their states." According to this tradition intoxicating *Kiû* was known in the time of *Yü*—in the twenty-third century B. C. The daughter of the *Tî* would be *Yü*'s wife, and *Î-tî* would probably be their cook. It does not appear as the name of a woman, or one from the wild *Tî* tribes.

With regard to the phrase *Shâo Kiû*, said to be the proper term for ardent spirits, and unknown in China till the *Yüan* dynasty, a reference to the *Khang-hsi* Tonic Thesaurus of the language will show instances of its use as early at least as the *Thang* dynasty (A. D. 618-906).]

1. The king speaks to the following effect :—'Do

you clearly make known my great commands in the country of Mei¹.

‘When your reverent father, the king Wăn, laid the foundations of our kingdom in the western region, he delivered announcements and cautions to (the princes of) the various regions, and to all his (high) officers, with their assistants, and the managers of affairs, saying, morning and evening, “At sacrifices spirits should be employed.”* When Heaven was sending down its favouring decree, and laying the foundations of (the eminence of) our people, (spirits) were used only at the great sacrifices. When Heaven sends down its terrors, and our people are thereby greatly disorganized and lose their virtue, this may be traced invariably to their indulgence in spirits; yea, the ruin of states, small and great, (by these terrors), has been caused invariably by their guilt in the use of spirits².

¹ There is a place called ‘the village of Mei,’ in the north of the present district of *K’hi*, department Wei-hui, Ho-nan;—a relic of the ancient name of the whole territory. The royal domain of Shang, north from the capital, was all called Mei. Fäng’s principality of Wei must have embraced most of it.

² Kû Hsi says upon the meaning of the expressions ‘Heaven was sending down its favouring decree’ (its order to make *Kiû*, as he understood the language), and ‘when Heaven sends down its terrors,’ in this paragraph:—‘K’ang Nan-hsien has brought out the meaning of these two statements much better than any of the critics who went before him, to the following effect:—*Kiû* is a thing intended to be used in offering sacrifices and in entertaining guests;—such employment of it is what Heaven has prescribed. But men by their abuse of *Kiû* come to lose their virtue, and destroy their persons;—such employment of it is what Heaven has annexed its terrors to. The Buddhists, hating the use of things where Heaven sends down its terrors, put away as well the use of them which Heaven has prescribed. It is not so with us of the learned (i. e. the Confucian or orthodox) school;—we only put

‘ King Wăn admonished and instructed the young nobles, who were charged with office or in any employment, that they should not ordinarily use spirits; and throughout all the states, he required that such should drink spirits only on occasion of sacrifices, and that then virtue should preside so that there might be no drunkenness¹.’

He said, ‘ Let my people teach their young men that they are to love only the productions of the soil, for so will their hearts be good. Let the young also hearken wisely to the constant instructions of their fathers; and let them look at all virtuous actions, whether great or small, in the same light (with watchful heed).

‘ (Ye people of) the land of Mei, if you can employ your limbs, largely cultivating your millets, and hastening about in the service of your fathers and elders; and if, with your carts and oxen, you traffic diligently to a distance, that you may thereby filially minister to your parents; then, when your parents are happy, you may set forth your spirits clear and strong, and use them².

‘ Hearken constantly to my instructions, all ye my (high) officers and ye heads of departments, all ye, my noble chiefs;—when ye have largely done your

away the use of things to which Heaven has annexed its terrors, and the use of them, of which it approves, remains as a matter of course.’

¹ In sacrificing, the fragrant odour of spirits was supposed to be acceptable to the Beings worshipped. Here the use of spirits seems to be permitted in moderation to the worshippers after the sacrifices. Observe how king Wăn wished to guard the young from acquiring the habit of drinking spirits.

² Here is another permissible use of spirits;—at family feasts, with a view especially to the comfort of the aged.

duty in ministering to your aged, and serving your ruler, ye may eat and drink freely and to satiety. And to speak of greater things:—when you can maintain a constant, watchful examination of yourselves, and your conduct is in accordance with correct virtue, then may you present the offerings of sacrifice,* and at the same time indulge yourselves in festivity. In such case you will indeed be ministers doing right service to your king, and Heaven likewise will approve your great virtue, so that you shall never be forgotten in the royal House.’*

2. The king says, ‘O Fǎng, in our western region, the princes of states, and the young (nobles), sons of the managers of affairs, who in former days assisted king Wǎn, were all able to obey his lessons, and abstain from excess in the use of spirits; and so it is that I have now received the appointment which belonged to Yin.’

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, I have heard it said, that formerly the first wise king of Yin manifested a reverential awe of the bright principles of Heaven and of the lower people, acting accordingly, steadfast in his virtue, and holding fast his wisdom.* From him, Thang the Successful, down to Tt-yí¹, all completed their royal virtue and revered their chief ministers, so that their managers of affairs respectfully discharged their helping duties, and dared not to allow themselves in idleness and pleasure;—how much less would they dare to indulge themselves in drinking! Moreover, in the exterior domains, (the princes of) the Hâu, Tien,

¹ Tt-yí was the father of Kâu-hsin, the twenty-seventh Shang sovereign. The sovereigns between Thang and him had not all been good, but the duke of Kâu chooses here to say so.

Nan, and Wei (states)¹, with their presiding chiefs ; and in the interior domain, all the various officers, the directors of the several departments, the inferior officers and employés, the heads of great houses, and the men of distinguished name living in retirement, all eschewed indulgence in spirits. Not only did they not dare to indulge in them, but they had not leisure to do so, being occupied with helping to complete the sovereign's virtue and make it more illustrious, and helping the directors of affairs reverently to attend to his service.

'I have heard it said likewise, that the last successor of those kings was addicted to drink, so that no charges came from him brightly before the people, and he was (as if) reverently and unchangingly bent on doing and cherishing what provoked resentment. Greatly abandoned to extraordinary lewdness and dissipation, for pleasure's sake he sacrificed all his majesty. The people were all sorely grieved and wounded in heart ; but he gave himself wildly up to drink, not thinking of restraining himself, but continuing his excess, till his mind was frenzied, and he had no fear of death. His crimes (accumulated) in the capital of Shang ; and though the extinction of the dynasty (was imminent), this gave him no concern, and he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to Heaven.* The rank odour of the people's resentments, and the drunkenness of his herd of creatures, went loudly up on high, so that Heaven sent down ruin on Yin,

¹ These were the first, second, third, and fifth domains or territorial divisions of the land under K'âu, counting back from the royal domain. It appears here that an arrangement akin to that of K'âu had been made in the time of Shang.

and showed no love for it,—because of such excesses. There is not any cruel oppression of Heaven; people themselves accelerate their guilt, (and its punishment.)’*

The king says, ‘O Fǎng, I make you this long announcement, not (for the pleasure of doing so); but the ancients have said, “Let not men look into water; let them look into the glass of other people.” Now that Yin has lost its appointment, ought we not to look much to it as our glass, (and learn) how to secure the repose of our time? I say to you,—Strenuously warn the worthy ministers of Yin, and (the princes) in the Hâu, the Tien, the Nan, and the Wei domains; and still more your friends, the great Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior, and all your worthy ministers, the heads of great Houses; and still more those whom you serve, with whom you calmly discuss matters, and who carry out your measures; and still more those who are, as it were, your mates,—your Minister of War who deals with the rebellious, your Minister of Instruction who is like a protector to the people, and your Minister of Works who settles the boundaries; and above all, do you strictly keep yourself from drink.

‘If you are informed that there are companies that drink together, do not fail to apprehend them all, and send them here to K’âu, where I may put them to death. As to the ministers and officers of Yin who were led to it and became addicted to drink, it is not necessary to put them to death (at once);—let them be taught for a time. If they follow these (lessons of mine), I will give them bright distinction. If they disregard my lessons, then I, the One man, will show them no pity. As

they cannot change their way, they shall be classed with those who are to be put to death.'

The king says, 'O Fǎng, give constant heed to my admonitions. If you do not rightly manage the officers, the people will continue lost in drunkenness.'

BOOK XI. THE TIMBER OF THE ROTTLERA.

'THE wood of the *βze* tree'—the *Rottlera Japonica*, according to Dr. Williams—is mentioned in the Book, and was adopted as the name for it. The *βze* was esteemed a very valuable tree for making articles of furniture and for the carver's art. The title perhaps intimates that the administrator of government ought to go about his duties carefully and skilfully, as the cabinet-maker and carver deal with their materials.

The Book is wanting in unity. Divided into two chapters, the first may be taken as a charge to 'the prince of Khang.' He is admonished of his duty to promote a good understanding between the different classes in his state, and between them all and the sovereign; and that, in order to this, his rule must be gentle, eschewing the use of punishments. The second chapter is of a different character, containing not the charges of a sovereign, but the admonitions or counsels of a minister, loyally cautioning him, and praying for the prosperity of his reign. We might suppose them the response of Fǎng to the previous charge, but the text does not indicate the introduction of a new speaker.

1. The king says, 'O Fǎng, to secure a good understanding between the multitudes of his people and his ministers (on the one hand), and the great families (on the other); and (again) to secure the same between all the subjects under his charge, and the sovereign:—is the part of the ruler of a state.

'If you regularly, in giving out your orders, say, "My instructors whom I am to follow, my Minister of Instruction, my Minister of War, and my Minister

of Works; my heads of departments, and all ye, my officers, I will on no account put any to death oppressively¹— Let the ruler also set the example of respecting and encouraging (the people), and these will (also) proceed to respect and encourage them. Then let him go on, in dealing with villainy and treachery, with murderers and harbourers of criminals, to exercise clemency (where it can be done), and these will likewise do the same with those who have assaulted others and injured their property. When sovereigns appointed overseers (of states), they did so in order to the government of the people, and said to them, “Do not give way to violence or oppression, but go on to show reverent regard for the friendless, and find helping connexions for (destitute) women².” Deal with all according to this method, and cherish them. And when sovereigns gave their injunctions to the rulers of states, and their managers of affairs, what was their charge? It was that they should lead (the people) to the enjoyment of plenty and peace. Such was the way of the kings from of old. An overseer is to eschew the use of punishments.’

(The king) says, ‘As in the management of a field, when the soil has been all laboriously turned up, they have to proceed by orderly arrangements to make its boundaries and water-courses; as in building a house, after all the toil on its walls, they have to plaster and thatch it; as in working with the wood of the rottlera, when the toil of the coarser and finer operations has been completed, they have

¹ The sentence here is incomplete. Many of the critics confess that the text is unintelligible to them.

² It is difficult to say what the exact meaning here is.

to apply the paint of red and other colours;—(so do you finish for me the work which I have begun in the state of Wei.)’

2. Now let your majesty say, ‘The former kings diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing (of the princes), that from all the states they brought offerings, and came with brotherly affection from all quarters, and likewise showed their virtue illustrious. Do you, O sovereign, use their methods to attach (the princes), and all the states will largely come with offerings. Great Heaven having given this Middle Kingdom with its people and territories to the former kings, do you, our present sovereign, display your virtue, effecting a gentle harmony among the deluded people, leading and urging them on;—so (also) will you comfort the former kings, who received the appointment (from Heaven).*’

‘Yes, make these things your study. I say so simply from my wish that (your dynasty) may continue for myriads of years, and your descendants always be the protectors of the people.’

BOOK XII.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DUKE OF SHÂO.

SHÂO was the name of a territory within the royal domain, corresponding to the present district of Hwan-*khi*, Kiang Kâu, Shan-hsi. It was the appanage of Shih, one of the ablest of the men who lent their aid to the establishment of the dynasty of Kâu. He appears in this Book as the Grand-Guardian at the court of king Kiang, and we have met with him before in

the Hounds of Lü and the Metal-bound Coffers. He is introduced here in connexion with one of the most important enterprises of the duke of Kâu, the building of the city of Lo, not very far from the present city of Lo-yang, in Ho-nan, as a new and central capital of the kingdom. King Wû had conceived the idea of such a city; but it was not carried into effect till the reign of his son, and is commonly assigned to K'hang's seventh year, in B. C. 1109.

Shih belonged to the royal House, and of course had the surname Kî. He is styled the duke of Shào, as being one of the 'three dukes,' or three highest officers of the court, and also the chief of Shào, all the country west of Shen being under him, as all the east of it was under the duke of Kâu. He was invested by Wû with the principality of 'the Northern Yen,' corresponding to the present department of Shun-thien, Kih-li, which was held by his descendants fully nine hundred years. It was in Lo—while the building of it was proceeding—that he composed this Book, and sent it by the hands of the duke of Kâu to their young sovereign.

The whole may be divided into three chapters. The first contains various information about the arrangements for the building of Lo, first by the duke of Shào, and then by the duke of Kâu; and about the particular occasion when the former recited the counsels which he had composed, that they might be made known to the king. These form the second chapter. First, it sets forth the uncertainty of the favour of Heaven, and urges the king to cultivate the 'virtue of reverence,' in order to secure its permanence, and that he should not neglect his aged and experienced ministers. It speaks next of the importance and difficulty of the royal duties, and enforces the same virtue of reverence by reference to the rise and fall of the previous dynasties. Lastly, it sets forth the importance, at this early period of his reign, of the king's at once setting about the reverence which was thus described. There is a concluding chapter, where the duke gives expression to his loyal and personal feelings for the king, and the purpose to be served by the offerings, which he was then sending to the court.

The burden of the Announcement is 'the virtue of reverence.' Let the king only feel how much depended on his attending reverently to his duties, and all would be well. The people would love and support the dynasty of Kâu, and Heaven would smile upon and sustain it.

1. In the second month, on the day Yt-wei, six days after full moon, the king proceeded in the morning from Kâu to Fǎng¹. (Thence) the Grand-Guardian went before the duke of Kâu to survey the locality (of the new capital); and in the third month, on the day Wû-shǎn, the third day after the first appearance of the moon on Ping-wû, he came in the morning to Lo. He divined by the tortoise-shell about the (several) localities, and having obtained favourable indications, he set about laying out the plan (of the city).* On Kǎng-hsü, the third day after, he led the people of Yin to prepare the various sites on the north of the Lo; and this work was completed on K'ia-yin, the fifth day after.

On Yt-máo, the day following, the duke of Kâu came in the morning to Lo, and thoroughly inspected the plan of the new city. On Ting-sze, the third day after, he offered two bulls as victims in the (northern and southern) suburbs²; and on the morrow, Wû-wû, at the altar to the spirit of the land in the new city, he sacrificed a bull, a ram, and a boar.* After seven days, on K'ia-ze, in the morning, from his written (specifications) he gave their several orders to the people of Yin, and to the presiding chiefs of the princes from the Hâu, Tien, and Nan domains. When the people of Yin had thus received their orders, they arose and entered with vigour on their work.

(When the work was drawing to a completion),

¹ That is, from Wû's capital of Háo to king Wán's at Fǎng.

² By the addition to the text here of 'northern and southern,' I intimate my opinion that the duke of Kâu offered two sacrifices, one to Heaven at the altar in the southern suburb, and one to Earth in the northern suburb.

the Grand-Guardian went out with the hereditary princes of the various states to bring their offerings (for the king)¹; and when he entered again, he gave them to the duke of K'âu, saying, 'With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, I present these to his Majesty and your Grace². Announcements for the information of the multitudes of Yin must come from you, with whom is the management of affairs.'

2. 'Oh! God (dwelling in) the great heavens has changed his decree respecting his great son and the great dynasty of Yin. Our king has received that decree. Unbounded is the happiness connected with it, and unbounded is the anxiety:—Oh! how can he be other than reverent?*

'When Heaven rejected and made an end of the decree in favour of the great dynasty of Yin, there were many of its former wise kings in heaven.* The king, however, who had succeeded to them, the last of his race, from the time of his entering into their appointment, proceeded in such a way as at last to keep the wise in obscurity and the vicious in office. The poor people in such a case, carrying their children and leading their wives, made their moan to Heaven. They even fled away, but were apprehended again. Oh! Heaven had compassion on the people of the four quarters; its favouring

¹ These 'offerings' were the 'presents of introduction,' which the feudal princes brought with them to court, when they were to have audience of the king. This has led many critics to think that the king was now in Lo, which was not the case.

² The original text here is difficult and remarkable;—intended probably to indicate that the king's majesty was revered in the person of the duke of K'âu, who was regent.

decree lighted on our earnest (founders). Let the king sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence.*

‘Examining the men of antiquity, there was the (founder of the) Hsiá dynasty. Heaven guided (his mind), allowed his descendants (to succeed him), and protected them.* He acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it. But in process of time the decree in his favour fell to the ground.* So also is it now when we examine the case of Yin. There was the same guiding (of its founder), who corrected (the errors of Hsiá), and (whose descendants) enjoyed the protection (of Heaven). He (also) acquainted himself with Heaven, and was obedient to it.* But now the decree in favour of him has fallen to the ground. Our king has now come to the throne in his youth;—let him not slight the aged and experienced, for it may be said of them that they have studied the virtuous conduct of the ancients, and have matured their counsels in the sight of Heaven.

‘Oh! although the king is young, yet he is the great son (of God).* Let him effect a great harmony with the lower people, and that will be the blessing of the present time. Let not the king presume to be remiss in this, but continually regard and stand in awe of the perilous (uncertainty) of the people’s (attachment).

‘Let the king come here as the vice-gerent of God, and undertake (the duties of government) in this centre of the land.* Tan¹ said, “Now that this great city has been built, from henceforth he may

¹ Tan was the name of the duke of K’áu, and his brother duke here refers to him by it, in accordance with the rule that ‘ministers

be the mate of great Heaven, and reverently sacrifice to (the spirits) above and beneath; from henceforth he may from this central spot administer successful government." Thus shall the king enjoy the favouring regard (of Heaven) all-complete, and the government of the people will now be prosperous.*

'Let the king first subdue to himself those who were the managers of affairs under Yin, associating them with the managers of affairs for our *Kâu*. This will regulate their (perverse) natures, and they will make daily advancement. Let the king make reverence the resting-place (of his mind);—he must maintain the virtue of reverence.

'We should by all means survey the dynasties of *Hsiâ* and Yin. I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of *Hsiâ* was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour prematurely fell to the ground. (Similarly), I do not presume to know and say, "The dynasty of Yin was to enjoy the favouring decree of Heaven just for (so many) years," nor do I presume to know and say, "It could not continue longer."* The fact simply was, that, for want of the virtue of reverence, the decree in its favour fell prematurely to the ground. The king has now inherited the decree,—the same decree, I consider, which belonged to those two dynasties. Let him seek to inherit (the virtues

should be called by their names in the presence of the sovereign.' King *Khâng*, indeed, was not now really present in Lo, but he was represented by his uncle, the regent.

of) their meritorious (sovereigns);—(let him do this especially) at this commencement of his duties.

‘Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on (the training of) his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom (to the king); it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a (long) course of years;—we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all-devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favour. *

‘In the position of king, let him not, because of the excesses of the people in violation of the laws, presume also to rule by the violent infliction of death;—when the people are regulated gently, the merit (of government) is seen. It is for him who is in the position of king to overtop all with his virtue. In this case the people will imitate him throughout the kingdom, and he will become still more illustrious.

‘Let the king and his ministers labour with a mutual sympathy, saying, “We have received the decree of Heaven, and it shall be great as the long-continued years of Hsiâ;—yea, it shall not fail of the long-continued years of Yin.” I wish the king, through (the attachment of) the lower people, to receive the long-abiding decree of Heaven.’*

3. (The duke of Shâo) then did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, and said, ‘I, a small minister, presume, with the king’s (heretofore) hostile people and all their officers,

and with his (loyal) friendly people, to maintain and receive his majesty's dread command and brilliant virtue. That the king should finally obtain the decree all-complete, and that he should become illustrious,—this I do not presume to labour for. I only bring respectfully these offerings to present to his majesty, to be used in his prayers to Heaven for its long-abiding decree.' *

BOOK XIII. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING LO.

THE matters recorded in this Book are all connected, more or less nearly, with Lo, the new capital, the arrangements for the building of which are related at the commencement of the last Book. According to the summary of the contents given by the commentator ㄆhái K'án, 'The arrangements for the building having been made, the duke of K'áu sent a messenger to inform the king of the result of his divinations. The historiographer recorded this as the Announcement about Lo, and at the same time related a dialogue between the king and his minister, and how the king charged the duke to remain at Lo, and conduct the government of it.' Passing over the commencing paragraph, which I have repeated here from the ninth Book, ㄆhái divides all the rest into seven chapters. Ch. 1 contains the duke's message concerning his divinations; and the next gives the king's reply. Ch. 3 is occupied with instructions to the king about the measures which he should pursue on taking up his residence at Lo. In ch. 4, the king charges the duke to remain at Lo, and undertake its government. In ch. 5, the duke responds, and accepts the charge, dwelling on the duties which the king and himself would have to perform. Ch. 6 relates the action of the duke in reference to a message and gift from the king intended for his special honour. In ch. 7, the historiographer writes of sacrifices offered by the king in Lo, and a proclamation that he issued, and tells how long the duke continued in his government;—showing how the duke began the city and completed it, and how king K'áng, after offering the sacrifices and inaugurating the government, returned to Hào, and did not, after all, make his capital at Lo.

Many critics make much to do about the want of historical order in the Book, and suppose that portions have been lost, and other portions transposed; but the Book may be explained without resorting to so violent a supposition.

[In the third month, when the moon began to wane, the duke of *K'âu* commenced the foundations and proceeded to build the new great city of *Lo* of the eastern states. The people from every quarter assembled in great harmony. From the *Hâu*, *Tien*, *Nan*, *Shâi*, and *Wei* domains, the various officers stimulated this harmony of the people, and introduced them to the business that was to be done for *K'âu*. The duke encouraged all to diligence, and made a great announcement about the performance (of the works)¹.]

1. The duke of *K'âu* did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground², saying, 'Herewith I report (the execution of my commission) to my son, my intelligent sovereign. The king appeared as if he would not presume to be present at Heaven's founding here the appointment (of our dynasty), and fixing it, whereupon I followed the (Grand-)Guardian, and made a great survey of this eastern region, hoping to found the place where he should become the intelligent sovereign of the people. On the day *Yt-mào*, I came in the morning to this capital of *Lo*. I (first) divined by the shell concerning (the ground about) the *Lt*-water on the north of the *Ho*. I then divined concerning the east of the *K'ien*-water, and the west of the *K'han*, when the (ground near the) *Lo* was indicated. Again I

¹ See the introductory note to Book ix.

² In sending his message to the king, the duke does obeisance as if he were in the presence of his majesty. The king responds with a similar ceremony.

divined concerning the east of the *Khan*-water, when the (ground near the) *Lo* was also indicated. I (now) send a messenger with a map, and to present the (result of the) divinations.*

2. The king did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'The duke did not presume not to acknowledge reverently the favour of Heaven, and has surveyed the locality where our *Kâu* may respond to that favour. Having settled the locality, he has sent his messenger to show me the divinations, favourable and always auspicious. We two must together sustain the responsibility. He has made provision for me (and my successors), for myriads and tens of myriads of years, there reverently to acknowledge the favour of Heaven.* With my hands to my head and my head to the ground, (I receive) his instructive words.'

3. The duke of *Kâu* said¹, 'Let the king at first employ the ceremonies of Yin, and sacrifice in the new city,* doing everything in an orderly way, but without display. I will marshal all the officers to attend you from *Kâu*, merely saying that probably there will be business to be done (in sacrificing). Let the king instantly issue an order to the effect that the most meritorious (ministers) shall have the first place in the sacrifices; and let him also say in an order, "You, in whose behalf the above order is issued, must give me your assistance with sincere earnestness." Truly display the record of merits, for

¹ We must suppose that the duke of *Kâu*, after receiving the reply to his message, had himself returned to *Hào*, to urge upon the king the importance of his repairing in person to *Lo*, and solemnly inaugurating the new city as the capital of the kingdom.

it is you who must in everything teach the officers. My young son, can you indulge partiality? Eschew it, my young son. (If you do not), the consequence hereafter will be like a fire, which, a spark at first, blazes up, and by and by cannot be extinguished. Let your observance of the constant rules of right, and your soothing measures be like mine. Take only the officers that are in *K'âu* with you to the new city, and make them there join their (old) associates, with intelligent vigour establishing their merit, and with a generous largeness (of soul) completing (the public manners);—so shall you obtain an endless fame.'

The duke said, 'Yes, young as you are, be it yours to complete (the work of your predecessors). Cultivate (the spirit of) reverence, and you will know who among the princes (sincerely) present their offerings to you, and who do not. In connexion with those offerings there are many observances. If the observances are not equal to the articles, it must be held that there is no offering. When there is no service of the will in the offerings (of the princes), all the people will then say, "We need not (be troubled about) our offerings," and affairs will be disturbed by errors and usurpations.

'Do you, my young son, manifest everywhere my unwearied diligence, and listen to my instructions to you how to help the people to observe the constant rules of right. If you do not bestir yourself in these things, you will not be of long continuance. If you sincerely and fully carry out the course of your Directing father, and follow exactly my example, there will be no venturing to disregard your orders. Go, and be reverent. Henceforth I will study

husbandry¹. There do you generously rule our people, and there is no distance from which they will not come to you.'

4. The king spoke to this effect², 'O duke, you are the enlightener and sustainer of my youth. You have set forth the great and illustrious virtues, that I, notwithstanding my youth, may display a brilliant merit like that of Wăn and Wû, reverently responding to the favouring decree of Heaven; and harmonize and long preserve the people of all the regions, settling the multitudes (in Lo); and that I may give due honour to the great ceremony (of recording) the most distinguished (for their merits), regulating the order for the first places at the sacrifices, and doing everything in an orderly manner without display.

'But your virtue, O duke, shines brightly above and beneath, and is displayed actively throughout the four quarters. On every hand appears the deep reverence (of your virtue) in securing the establishment of order, so that you fail in nothing of the earnest lessons of Wăn and Wû. It is for me, the youth, (only) to attend reverently, early and late, to the sacrifices.'*

The king said, 'Great, O duke, has been your merit in helping and guiding me;—let it ever continue so.'

¹ By this expression the duke indicates his wish and intention now to retire from public life, and leave the government and especially the affairs of Lo in the king's hands.

² From the words of the king in this chapter, we receive the impression that they were spoken in Lo. He must have gone there with the duke from Hào. He deprecates the duke's intention to retire into private life; intimates his own resolution to return to Hào; and wishes the duke to remain in Lo, accomplishing all that was still necessary to the establishment of their dynasty.

The king said, 'O duke, let me, the little child, return to my sovereignty in *Kâu*, and I charge you, O duke, to remain behind (here). Order has been initiated throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, but the ceremonies to be honoured (by general observance) have not yet been settled, and I cannot look on your service as completed. Commence on a great scale what is to be done by your remaining here, setting an example to my officers and greatly preserving the people whom *Wán* and *Wû* received;—by your good government you will be a help to the whole kingdom.'

The king said, 'Remain, O duke. I will certainly go. Your services are devoutly acknowledged and reverently rejoiced in. Do not, O duke, occasion me this difficulty. I on my part will not be weary in seeking the tranquillity (of the people);—do not let the example which you have afforded me be intermitted. So shall the kingdom enjoy for generations (the benefit of your virtue).'

5. The duke of *Kâu* did obeisance with his hands to his head and his head to the ground, saying, 'You have charged me, O king, to come here. I undertake (the charge), and will protect the people whom your accomplished grandfather, and your glorious and meritorious father, king *Wû*, received by the decree (of Heaven). I will enlarge the reverence which I cherish for you. (But), my son, come (frequently), and inspect this settlement. Pay great honour to (old) statutes, and to the good and wise men of *Yin*. Good government (here) will make you (indeed) the new sovereign of the kingdom, and an example of (royal) respectfulness to all your successors of *Kâu*.'

(The duke) proceeded to say, 'From this time, by the government administered in this central spot, all the states will be conducted to repose; and this will be the completion of your merit, O king.

'I, Tan, with the numerous officers and managers of affairs, will consolidate the achievements of our predecessors, in response to (the hopes of) the people. I will afford an example of sincerity to (future ministers of) *Kâu*, seeking to render complete the pattern intended for the enlightenment of you, my son, and thus to carry fully out the virtue of your accomplished grandfather.'

6. (Afterwards, on the arrival of a message and gifts from the king, the duke said¹), '(The king) has sent messengers to admonish (the people of) Yin, and with a soothing charge to me, along with two flagons of the black-millet herb-flavoured spirits, saying, "Here is a pure sacrificial gift, which with my hands to my head and my head to the ground I offer for you to enjoy its excellence!"* I dare not keep this by me, but offer it in sacrifice to king *Wăn* and king *Wû*.' (In doing so, he prayed), 'May he be obedient to, and observant of your course! Let him not bring on himself any evil or illness! Let him satisfy his descendants for myriads of years with your virtue! Let (the people of) Yin enjoy prolonged (prosperity)!'* (He also said to the messengers), 'The king has sent you to Yin,

¹ We must suppose that the king had returned to *Hão*, and now sends a message to the duke with an extraordinary gift, doing honour to him as if he were a departed spirit, continuing in heaven the guardianship of the dynasty which he had so long efficiently discharged on earth. This gives occasion for the duke to exhibit anew his humility, piety, and loyalty.

and we have received his well-ordered charges, (sufficient to direct us) for myriads of years, but let (the people) ever (be able to) observe the virtue cherished by my son.'

7. On the day *Wû-khăn*, the king, being in the new city¹, performed the annual winter sacrifice, offering (moreover) one red bull to king *Wăn* and another to king *Wû*.^{*} He then ordered a declaration to be prepared, which was done by *Yi*² in the form of a prayer, and it simply announced the remaining behind of the duke of *Kâu*. The king's guests³, on occasion of the killing of the victims and offering the sacrifice, were all present. The king entered the grand apartment, and poured out the libation.* He gave a charge to the duke of *Kâu* to remain, and *Yi*, the preparer of the document, made the announcement;—in the twelfth month. (Thus) the duke of *Kâu* grandly sustained the decree which *Wăn* and *Wû* had received through the space of seven years⁴.

¹ The duke had asked the king to come frequently to the new city; he is there now accordingly.

² *Yi* was the name of the Recorder who officiated on the occasion.

³ All the princes present and assisting at the sacrifices, and especially the representatives of the previous dynasties.

⁴ These seven years are to be calculated from the seventh year of king *Khăng*, after the duke had served as administrator of the government seven years from the death of king *Wû*. Many think, however, that the 'seven years' are only those of the duke's regency.

BOOK XIV. THE NUMEROUS OFFICERS.

WE have in this Book another 'Announcement,' addressed to the people of Yin or Shang, and especially to the higher classes among them,—'the numerous officers,'—to reconcile them to their lot as subjects of the new dynasty. From the preceding two Books it appears that many of the people of Yin had been removed to the country about the Lo, before the dukes of Shāo and Kâu commenced the building of the new city. Now that the city was completed, another and larger migration of them, we may suppose, was ordered, and the duke of Kâu took occasion to issue the announcement that is here preserved.

I have divided it into four chapters. The first vindicates the kings of Kâu for superseding the line of Shang, not from ambition, but in obedience to the will of God. The second unfolds the causes why the dynasty of Yin or Shang had been set aside. The third shows how it had been necessary to remove them to Lo, and with what good intention the new capital had been built. The fourth tells how comfort and prosperity were open to their attainment at Lo, while by perseverance in disaffection they would only bring misery and ruin upon themselves.

1. In the third month, at the commencement (of the government) of the duke of Kâu in the new city of Lo, he announced (the royal will) to the officers of the Shang dynasty, saying, 'The king speaks to this effect:—"Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Kâu, received its favouring decree.* We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments which kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished (the work of) God.* Now, ye numerous officers, it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. But Heaven was not with (Yin), for indeed it would not

strengthen its misrule. It (therefore) helped us;— did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? God was not for (Yin), as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven.”* * *

2. ‘ I have heard the saying, “ God leads men to tranquil security,”* but the sovereign of Hsiâ would not move to such security, whereupon God sent down corrections, indicating his mind to him. (K'ieh), however, would not be warned by God, but proceeded to greater dissoluteness and sloth and excuses for himself. Then Heaven no longer regarded nor heard him, but disallowed his great appointment, and inflicted extreme punishment. Then it charged your founder, Thang the Successful, to set Hsiâ aside, and by means of able men to rule the kingdom. From Thang the Successful down to Tt-yi, every sovereign sought to make his virtue illustrious, and duly attended to the sacrifices.* And thus it was that, while Heaven exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose (the favour of) God, and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven.* But in these times, their successor showed himself greatly ignorant of (the ways of) Heaven, and much less could it be expected of him that he would be regardful of the earnest labours of his fathers for the country. Greatly abandoned to dissolute idleness, he gave no thought to the bright principles of Heaven, and the awfulness of the people.* On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he

did not make his virtue illustrious.* (Indeed), with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.'

'The king speaks to this effect:—"Ye numerous officers of Yin, the case now is this, that the kings of our *K'âu*, from their great goodness, were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them, 'Cut off Yin.' (They proceeded to perform it), and announced the execution of their service to God. In our affairs we have followed no double aims;—ye of the royal House (of Yin) must (now simply) follow us."'*

3. "May I not say that you have been very lawless? I did not (want to) remove you. The thing came from your own city¹. When I consider also how Heaven has drawn near to Yin with so great tribulations, it must be that there was (there) what was not right."

'The king says, "Ho! I declare to you, ye numerous officers, it is simply on account of these things that I have removed you and settled you here in the west²;—it was not that I, the One man, considered it a part of my virtue to interfere with your tranquillity. The thing was from Heaven; do not offer resistance; I shall not presume to have any subsequent (charge concerning you); do not murmur against me. Ye know that your fathers of the Yin dynasty had their archives and statutes, (showing

¹ That is, your conduct in your own city.

² Lo is often called 'the eastern capital,' as being east from Hào, the capital of king Wû; but it was west from *K'âu-ko*, the capital of Yin.

how) Yin superseded the appointment of Hsiâ. Now, indeed, ye say further, '(The officers of) Hsiâ were chosen and employed in the royal court (of Shang), and had their duties among the mass of its officers.' (But) I, the One man, listen only to the virtuous, and employ them; and it was with this view that I ventured to seek you in your capital of Shang (once sanctioned by) Heaven, (and removed you here to Lo.) I thereby follow (the ancient example), and have pity on you. (Your present non-employment) is no fault of mine;—it is by the decree of Heaven."*

'The king says, "Ye numerous officers, formerly, when I came from Yen¹, I greatly mitigated the penalty and spared the lives of the people of your four states². At the same time I made evident the punishment appointed by Heaven, and removed you to this distant abode, that you might be near the ministers who had served in our honoured (capital)³, and (learn) their much obedience."

'The king says, "I declare to you, ye numerous officers of Yin, now I have not put you to death, and therefore I reiterate the declaration of my charge⁴. I have now built this great city here in

¹ Yen was the name of a territory, corresponding to the present district of *K'ü-fâu*, in Shan-tung. The wild tribe inhabiting it, had joined with *Wû-k'ang* and the king's uncles a few years before; and the crushing of the Yen had been the last act in the suppression of their rebellion.

² The royal domain of Yin, which had been allotted to *Wû-k'ang* and the king's three uncles.

³ *Hào*. There were, no doubt, at this time many ministers and officers from *Hào* in Lo; but the duke had intended that they should in the mass remove from the old to the new capital.

⁴ The charge which had been delivered on the first removal of many of them to the neighbourhood of Lo.

Lo, considering that there was no (central) place in which to receive my guests from the four quarters, and also that you, ye numerous officers, might here with zealous activity perform the part of ministers to us, with the entire obedience (ye would learn). Ye have still here, I may say, your grounds, and may still rest in your duties and dwellings. If you can reverently obey, Heaven will favour and compassionate you. If you do not reverently obey, you shall not only not have your lands, but I will also carry to the utmost Heaven's inflictions on your persons. Now you may here dwell in your villages, and perpetuate your families; you may pursue your occupations and enjoy your years in this Lo; your children also will prosper;—(all) from your being removed here."

'The king says—¹; and again he says, "Whatever I may now have spoken is on account of (my anxiety about) your residence here."'

BOOK XV. AGAINST LUXURIOUS EASE.

THE name of this Book is taken from two characters in the first sentence of it, which are the key-note of the whole. It is classified among the 'Instructions' of the Shū, and was addressed to king *K'hang* by the duke of *K'au* soon after he had resigned the administration of the government into his hands.

There are six pauses in the course of the address, which is resumed always with 'The duke of *K'au* said, "Oh."' This suggests a division into seven chapters.

In the first, the duke suggests to the king to find a rule for himself in the laborious toils that devolve on the husbandman. In the second, he refers to the long reigns of three of the Yin sovereigns,

¹ There are probably some sentences lost here.

and the short reigns of others, as illustrating how the blessing of Heaven rests on the diligent monarch. In the third, the example of their own kings, Thái, Kĩ, and Wãn, is adduced with the same object. In the fourth, the duke addresses the king directly, and exhorts him to follow the pattern of king Wãn, and flee from that of Kâu-hsin. In the fifth, he stimulates him, by reference to ancient precedents, to adopt his counsels, and shows the evil effects that will follow if he refuse to do so. In the sixth, he shows him, by the cases of the good kings of Yin and of king Wãn, how he should have regard to the opinions of the common people, and gird himself to diligence. The seventh chapter is a single admonition that the king should lay what had been said to heart.

1. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! the superior man rests in this,—that he will indulge in no luxurious ease. He first understands how the painful toil of sowing and reaping conducts to ease, and thus he understands how the lower people depend on this toil (for their support). I have observed among the lower people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons (often) do not understand this painful toil, but abandon themselves to ease, and to village slang, and become quite disorderly. Or where they do not do so, they (still) throw contempt on their parents, saying, "Those old people have heard nothing and know nothing."'

2. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! I have heard that aforesime Kung Jung, one of the kings of Yin¹, was grave, humble, reverential, and timorously cautious. He measured himself with reference to the decree of Heaven, and cherished a reverent apprehension in governing the people, not daring

¹ Kung Jung was the sacrificial title of Thái-wũ, the seventh of the kings of Shang or Yin, who reigned B. C. 1637-1563.

to indulge in useless ease.* It was thus that he enjoyed the throne seventy and five years. If we come to the time of Kâo Jung¹, he toiled at first away from the court, and was among the lower people². When he came to the throne, and occupied the mourning shed, it may be said that he did not speak for three years. (Afterwards) he was (still inclined) not to speak; but when he did speak, his words were full of harmonious (wisdom). He did not dare to indulge in useless ease, but admirably and tranquilly presided over the regions of Yin, till throughout them all, small and great, there was not a single murmur. It was thus that he enjoyed the throne fifty and nine years. In the case of 3û-kiâ³, he refused to be king unrighteously, and was at first one of the lower people. When he came to the throne, he knew on what they must depend (for their support), and was able to exercise a protecting kindness towards their masses, and did not dare to treat with contempt the wifeless men and widows. Thus it was that he enjoyed the throne thirty and three years. The kings that arose after these, from their birth enjoyed ease. Enjoying ease from their birth, they did not know the painful toil of sowing and reaping, and had not heard of the hard labours of the lower people. They sought for nothing but excessive pleasure; and so not one of them had long life. They (reigned) for ten years,

¹ Kâo Jung was the sacrificial title of Wû-ting, the nineteenth sovereign of the Yin line, who reigned B. C. 1324-1266. He has already appeared in the 8th and 9th Books of Part IV.

² Compare Part IV, viii, sect. 3, ch. 1.

³ 3û-kiâ was the twenty-first of the Yin sovereigns, and reigned B. C. 1258-1226.

for seven or eight, for five or six, or perhaps (only) for three or four.'

3. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! there likewise were king *Thái* and king *Ki* of our own *Kâu*, who were humble and reverentially cautious. King *Wăn* dressed meanly, and gave himself to the work of tranquillization and to that of husbandry. Admirably mild and beautifully humble, he cherished and protected the inferior people, and showed a fostering kindness to the wifeless men and widows. From morning to mid-day, and from mid-day to sun-down, he did not allow himself leisure to eat;—thus seeking to secure the happy harmony of the myriads of the people. King *Wăn* did not dare to go to excess in his excursions or his hunting, and from the various states he would receive only the correct amount of contribution. The appointment (of Heaven) came to him in the middle of his life¹, and he enjoyed the throne for fifty years.'*

4. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! from this time forward, do you who have succeeded to the throne imitate *Wăn*'s avoiding of excess in his sight-seeing, his indulgence in ease, his excursions, his hunting; and from the myriads of the people receive only the correct amount of contribution. Do not allow yourself the leisure to say, "To-day I will indulge in pleasure." This would not be holding out a lesson to the people, nor the way to secure the favour of Heaven. Men will on the contrary be prompt to imitate you and practise evil. Become not like

¹ This can only be understood of *Wăn*'s succeeding to his father as duke of *Kâu* and chief of the West in B.C. 1185. He died in 1135, leaving it to his son *Wû* to overthrow the dynasty of *Shang*.

Shâu the king of Yin, who went quite astray, and became abandoned to drunkenness.'

5. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! I have heard it said that, in the case of the ancients, (their ministers) warned and admonished them, protected and loved them, taught and instructed them; and among the people there was hardly one who would impose on them by extravagant language or deceiving tricks. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), your ministers will imitate you, and so the correct laws of the former kings, both small and great, will be changed and disordered. The people, blaming you, will disobey and rebel in their hearts;—yea, they will curse you with their mouths.'

6. The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! those kings of Yin,—Kung Jung, Kâu Jung, and 30-kiâ, with king Wăn of our Kâu,—these four men carried their knowledge into practice. If it was told them, "The lower people murmur against you and revile you," then they paid great and reverent attention to their conduct; and with reference to the faults imputed to them they said, "Our faults are really so," thus not simply shrinking from the cherishing of anger. If you will not listen to this (and profit by it), when men with extravagant language and deceptive tricks say to you, "The lower people are murmuring against you and reviling you," you will believe them. Doing this, you will not be always thinking of your princely duties, and will not cultivate a large and generous heart. You will confusedly punish the guiltless, and put the innocent to death. There will be a general murmuring, which will be concentrated upon your person.'

7. The duke of *Kâu* said, 'Oh! let the king, who has succeeded to the throne, make a study of these things.'

BOOK XVI. THE PRINCE SHIH.

THE words 'Prince Shih' occur at the commencement of the Book, and are taken as its title. Shih was the name of the duke of *Shão*, the author of Book xii. To him the address or announcement here preserved was delivered, and his name is not an inappropriate title for it.

The common view of Chinese critics is that the duke of *Shão* had announced his purpose to withdraw from office on account of his age, when the duke of *Kâu* persuaded him to remain at his post, and that the reasons which he set before him were recorded in this Book. It may have been so, but the language is far from clearly indicating it. A few expressions, indeed, may be taken as intimating a wish that Shih should continue at court, but some violence has to be put upon them.

I have divided the whole into four chapters, but the two principal ideas in the address are these:—that the favour of Heaven can be permanently secured for a dynasty only by the virtue of its sovereigns; and that that virtue is secured mainly by the counsels and help of virtuous ministers. The ablest sovereigns of Shang are mentioned, and the ministers by whose aid it was, in a great measure, that they became what they were. The cases of *Wăn* and *Wû* of their own dynasty, similarly aided by able men, are adduced in the same way; and the speaker adverts to the services which they—the two dukes—had already rendered to their sovereign, and insists that they must go on to the end, and accomplish still greater things.

1. The duke of *Kâu* spoke to the following effect:—'Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment (to the throne), which our House of *Kâu* has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew

it, "The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity,"—¹* Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, "The end will issue in our misfortunes." Oh! you have said, O prince, "It depends on ourselves." I also do not dare to rest in the favour of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people;*—(the issue) is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence (Heaven) above and (the people) below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in (the retirement of) our families be ignorant of it? The favour of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favouring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers.* Now I, Tan, the little child, am not able to make (the king) correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that.' He also said, 'Heaven is not to be trusted. Our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favouring decree which king Wăn received.'*

2. The duke said, 'Prince Shih, I have heard that aforetime, when Thang the Successful had received the appointment (to the throne), he had with him Í Yin, making (his virtue) like that of great Heaven;* that Thâi K'ia had (the same

¹ The text is here defective; or perhaps the speaker purposely left his meaning only half expressed.

Î Yin), the Páo-hǎng¹; that Thâi-wú² had Î Kih² and K'ǎn Hú³, through whom (his virtue) was made to affect God,* and Wû Hsien³ who regulated the royal House; that 3û-yí³ had Wû Hsien's son; and that Wû-ting had Kan Phan⁴. (These ministers) carried out (their principles), and displayed (their merit), preserving and regulating the dynasty of Yin, so that, while its ceremonies lasted, (those sovereigns), when deceased, were assessors to Heaven⁵,* and its duration extended over many years. Heaven thus determinately maintained its favouring appointment, and Shang was replenished with men. The various heads of great surnames and members of the royal House, holding employments, all held fast their virtue, and showed an anxious solicitude (for the kingdom). The smaller ministers, and the guardian princes in the Hâu and Tien domains, hurried about on their services. Thus did they all exert their virtue and aid their sovereign, so that whatever affairs he, the One man, had in hand, throughout the land, an entire faith was reposed in their justice as in the indications of the shell or the divining stalks.'*

The duke said, 'Prince Shih, Heaven gives length of days to the just and the intelligent; (it was thus

¹ See Part IV, v, sect. 1, ch. 1, where Î Yin is called Â-hǎng, nearly = Páo-hǎng.

² Thâi-wú is the Kung 3ung of last Book. Î Kih would be a son or grandson of Î Yin. Of K'ǎn Hú we know only what is stated here.

³ 3û-yí was the eleventh Yin sovereign, reigning B. C. 1525-1507. We know of Wû Hsien only that he was 3û-yí's minister.

⁴ See Part IV, viii, sect. 3, ch. 1.

⁵ That is, they were associated with Heaven in the sacrifices to it.

that those ministers) maintained and regulated the dynasty of Yin.* He who came last to the throne granted by Heaven was extinguished by its terrors. Do you think of the distant future, and we shall have the decree (in favour of *K'âu*) made sure, and its good government will be brilliantly exhibited in our newly-founded state.'

3. The duke said, 'Prince Shih, aforesaid when God was inflicting calamity (on Yin), he encouraged anew the virtue of the Tranquillizing king, till at last the great favouring decree was concentrated in his person. (But) that king *Wăn* was able to conciliate and unite the portion of the great kingdom which we came to possess, was owing to his having (such ministers) as his brother of *Kwo*, *Hung Yâo*, *San Í-shăng*, *Thái Tien*, and *Nan-kung Kwo*.'

He said further, 'But for the ability of those men to go and come in his affairs, developing his constant lessons, there would have been no benefits descending from king *Wăn* on the people. And it also was from the determinate favour of Heaven that there were these men of firm virtue; and acting according to their knowledge of the dread majesty of Heaven, to give themselves to enlighten king *Wăn*, and lead him forward to his high distinction and universal rule, till his fame reached the ears of God, and he received the appointment that had been Yin's.* There were still four of those men who led on king *Wû* to the possession of the revenues of the kingdom, and afterwards, along with him, in great reverence of the majesty of Heaven, slew all his enemies.* These four men, moreover, made king *Wû* so illustrious that his glory overspread the kingdom, and (the people) universally and greatly proclaimed his

virtue. Now with me Tan, the little child, it is as if I were floating on a great stream;—with you, O Shih, let me from this time endeavour to cross it. Our young sovereign is (powerless), as if he had not yet ascended the throne. You must by no means lay the whole burden on me; and if you draw yourself up without an effort to supply my deficiencies, no good will flow to the people from our age and experience. We shall not hear the voices of the phœnixes¹, and how much less can it be thought that we shall be able to make (the king's virtue) equal (to Heaven)! *

The duke said, 'Oh! consider well these things, O prince. We have received the appointment to which belongs an unlimited amount of blessing, but having great difficulties attached to it. What I announce to you are counsels of a generous largeness.—I cannot allow the successor of our kings to go astray.'

4. The duke said, 'The former king laid bare his heart, and gave full charge to you, constituting you one of the guides and patterns for the people, saying, "Do you with intelligence and energy second and help the king; do you with sincerity support and convey forward the great decree. Think of the virtue of king Wăn, and enter greatly into his boundless anxieties."'

The duke said, 'What I tell you, O prince, are my sincere thoughts. O Shih, the Grand-Protector, if you can but reverently survey with me the decay and great disorders of Yin, and thence consider the

¹ As a token of the goodness of the government and the general prosperity. See Part II, iv, ch. 3.

dread majesty of Heaven (which warns) us!—Am I not to be believed that I must reiterate my words? I simply say, “The establishment (of our dynasty) rests with us two.” Do you agree with me? Then you (also) will say, “It rests with us two.” And the favour of Heaven has come to us so largely:—it should be ours to feel as if we could not sufficiently respond to it. If you can but reverently cultivate your virtue (now), and bring to light our men of eminent ability, then when you resign (your position) to some successor in a time of established security, (I will interpose no objection.)

‘Oh! it is by the earnest service of us two that we have come to the prosperity of the present day. We must both go on, abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of king Wăn, till it has grandly overspread the kingdom, and from the corners of the sea, and the sunrising, there shall not be one who is disobedient to the rule (of *Kâu*).’

The duke said, ‘O prince, have I not spoken in accordance with reason in these many declarations? I am only influenced by anxiety about (the appointment of) Heaven, and about the people.’

The duke said, ‘Oh! you know, O prince, the ways of the people, how at the beginning they can be (all we could desire); but it is the end (that is to be thought of). Act in careful accordance with this fact. Go and reverently exercise the duties of your office.’

BOOK XVII. THE CHARGE TO KUNG OF SHÀI.

SHÀI was the name of the small state or territory, which had been conferred on Tû, the next younger brother of the duke of Kâu. The name still remains in the district of Shang-ghai, department Zû-ning, Ho-nan. Tû was deprived of his state because of his complicity in the rebellion of Wû-kang; but it was subsequently restored to his son Hû by this charge. Hû is here called Kung, that term simply denoting his place in the roll of his brothers or cousins. King K'ang and Hû were cousins,—‘brothers’ according to Chinese usage of terms, and Hû being the younger of the two, was called Shài Kung, ‘the second or younger brother,—of Shài.’

The Book consists of two chapters. The former is of the nature of a preface, giving the details necessary to explain the appointment of Hû. The second contains the king's charge, delivered in his name by the duke of Kâu, directing Hû how to conduct himself, so that he might blot out the memory of his father's misdeeds, and win the praise of the king.

1. When the duke of Kâu was in the place of prime minister and directed all the officers, the (king's) uncles spread abroad an (evil) report, in consequence of which (the duke) put to death the prince of Kwan in Shang¹; confined the prince of Shài in Kwo-lin², with an attendance of seven chariots; and reduced the prince of Hwo³ to be a private man, causing his name to be erased from the registers for three years. The son of the prince

¹ The prince of Kwan—corresponding to the present K'ang Kâu, department Khai-fang, Ho-nan—was the third of the sons of king Wän, and older than the duke of Kâu. The Shang where he was put to death was probably what had been the capital of the Shang kings.

² We do not know where Kwo-lin was.

³ The name of Hwo remains in Hwo Kâu, department Phing-yang, Shan-hsi. The prince of Hwo was the eighth of Wän's sons.

of ʒhâi having displayed a reverent virtue, the duke of Kâu made him a high minister, and when his father died, requested a decree from the king, investing him with the country of ʒhâi.

2. 'The king speaks to this effect:—"My little child, Hû, you follow the virtue (of our ancestors), and have changed from the conduct (of your father); you are able to take heed to your ways;—I therefore appoint you to be a marquis in the east. Go to your fief, and be reverent!

"In order that you may cover the faults of your father, be loyal, be filial¹. Urge on your steps in your own way, diligent and never idle, and so shall you hand down an example to your descendants. Follow the constant lessons of your grandfather king Wăn, and be not, like your father, disobedient to the royal orders.

"Great Heaven has no partial affections;—it helps only the virtuous.* The people's hearts have no unchanging attachment;—they cherish only the kind. Acts of goodness are different, but they contribute in common to good order. Acts of evil are different, but they contribute in common to disorder. Be cautious!

"In giving heed to the beginning think of the end;—the end will then be without distress. If you do not think of the end, it will be full of distress, even of the greatest.

"Exert yourself to achieve your proper merit. Seek to be in harmony with all your neighbours.

¹ Hû's father had not been filial. When he is told to be filial, there underlies the words the idea of the solidarity of the family. His copying the example of his grandfather would be the best service he could render to his father.

Be a fence to the royal House. Live in amity with your brethren. Tranquillize and help the lower people.

“ Follow the course of the Mean, and do not by aiming to be intelligent throw old statutes into confusion. Watch over what you see and hear, and do not for one-sided words deviate from the right rule. Then I, the One man, will praise you.”

‘ The king says, “ Oh! my little child, Hû, go, and do not idly throw away my charge.” ’

BOOK XVIII. THE NUMEROUS REGIONS.

THE king has returned to his capital in triumph, having put down rebellion in the east, and specially extinguished the state or tribe of Yen. The third chapter of Book xiv contained a reference to an expedition against Yen. Critics are divided on the point of whether the expedition mentioned in this Book was the same as that, or another; and our sources of information are not sufficient to enable us to pronounce positively in the case. If we may credit what Mencius says, the Records of the Shû do not tell us a tithe of the wars carried on by the duke of Kâu to establish the new dynasty:—‘ He smote Yen, and after three years put its ruler to death. He drove Fei-lien to a corner by the sea, and slew him. The states which he extinguished amounted to fifty ’ (Mencius, III, ii, ch. 9).

However this point be settled, on the occasion when the announcement in this Book was delivered, a great assembly of princes and nobles—the old officers of Yin or Shang, and chiefs from many regions—was met together. They are all supposed to have been secretly, if not openly, in sympathy with the rebellion which has been trampled out, and to grudge to yield submission to the rule of Kâu. The king, by the duke of Kâu, reasons and expostulates with them. He insists on the leniency with which they had been treated in the past; and whereas they might be saying that Kâu’s overthrow of the Yin dynasty was a usurpation, he shows that it was from the will of Heaven.

The history of the nation is then reviewed, and it is made to appear that king Wû had displaced the kings of Yin or Shang, just as Thang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, had displaced those of Hsiâ. It was their duty therefore to submit to Kâu. If they did not avail themselves of its leniency, they should be dealt with in another way.

Having thus spoken, the duke turns, in the fourth of the five chapters into which I have divided the Book, and addresses the many officers of the states, and especially those of Yin, who had been removed to Lo, speaking to them, as 'the Numerous Officers,' after the style of Book xiv. Finally, he admonishes them all that it is time to begin a new course. If they do well, it will be well with them; if they continue perverse, they will have to blame themselves for the consequences.

1. In the fifth month, on the day Ting-hâi, the king arrived from Yen, and came to (Hâo), the honoured (capital of) Kâu. The duke of Kâu said, 'The king speaks to the following effect: "Ho! I make an announcement to you of the four states, and the numerous (other) regions. Ye who were the officers and people of the prince of Yin, I have dealt very leniently as regards your lives, as ye all know. You kept reckoning greatly on (some) decree of Heaven, and did not keep with perpetual awe before your thoughts (the preservation of) your sacrifices¹.*

"God sent down correction on Hsiâ, but the sovereign (only) increased his luxury and sloth, and would not speak kindly to the people. He showed himself dissolute and dark, and would not yield for a single day to the leadings of God:—this is what you have heard.* He kept reckoning on the

¹ The extinction of the sacrifices of a state was its utter overthrow. None were left—or if some might be left, none of them were permitted—to continue the sacrifices to its founder and his descendants.

decree of God (in his favour), and did not cultivate the means for the people's support.* By great inflictions of punishment also he increased the disorder of the states of Hsiâ. The first cause (of his evil course) was the internal misrule¹, which made him unfit to deal well with the multitudes. Nor did he endeavour to find and employ men whom he could respect, and who might display a generous kindness to the people; but where any of the people of Hsiâ were covetous and fierce, he daily honoured them, and they practised cruel tortures in the cities. Heaven on this sought a (true) lord for the people, and made its distinguished and favouring decree light on Thang the Successful, who punished and destroyed the sovereign of Hsiâ.* Heaven's refusal of its favour (to Hsiâ) was decided. The righteous men of your numerous regions were not permitted to continue long in their posts of enjoyment, and the many officers whom Hsiâ's (last sovereign) honoured were unable intelligently to maintain the people in the enjoyment (of their lives), but, on the contrary, aided one another in oppressing them, till of the hundred ways of securing (prosperity) they could not promote (one).

“In the case indeed of Thang the Successful, it was because he was the choice of your numerous regions that he superseded Hsiâ, and became the lord of the people. He paid careful attention to the essential virtue (of a sovereign)², in order to stimulate the people, and they on their part imitated him

¹ The vile debaucheries of which Kieh was guilty through his connexion with the notorious Mei-hsf.

² That is, to benevolence or the love of the people.

and were stimulated. From him down to Tt-yi, the sovereigns all made their virtue illustrious, and were cautious in the use of punishments;—thus also exercising a stimulating influence (over the people). When they, having examined the evidence in criminal cases, put to death those chargeable with many crimes, they exercised the same influence; and they did so also when they liberated those who were not purposely guilty. But when the throne came to your (last) sovereign, he could not with (the good will of) your numerous regions continue in the enjoyment of the favouring decree of Heaven.”*

2. ‘Oh! the king speaks to the following effect:—
“I announce and declare to you of the numerous regions, that Heaven had no set purpose to do away with the sovereign of Hsiâ or with the sovereign of Yin. But it was the case that your (last) ruler, being in possession of your numerous regions, abandoned himself to great excess, and reckoned on the favouring decree of Heaven, making trifling excuses for his conduct. And so in the case of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ; his plans of government were not of a tendency to secure his enjoyment (of the kingdom), and Heaven sent down ruin on him, and the chief of the territory (of Shang) put an end (to the line of Hsiâ). In truth, the last sovereign of your Shang was luxurious to the extreme of luxury, while his plans of government showed neither purity nor progress, and thus Heaven sent down such ruin on him¹.*

¹ There must have been something remarkable in the closing period of Kâu-hsin's history, to which the duke alludes in the subsequent specification of five years. We do not know the events of the times sufficiently to say what it was.

“ The wise, through not thinking, become foolish, and the foolish, by thinking, become wise. . Heaven for five years waited kindly, and forbore with the descendant (of Thang), to see if he would indeed prove himself the ruler of the people ; but there was nothing in him deserving to be regarded. Heaven then sought among your numerous regions, making a great impression by its terrors to stir up some one who would look (reverently) to it, but in all your regions there was not one deserving of its favouring regard. But there were the kings of our *Kâu*, who treated well the multitudes of the people, and were able to sustain the burden of virtuous (government). They could preside over (all services to) spirits and to Heaven.* Heaven thereupon instructed us, and increased our excellence, made choice of us, and gave us the decree of Yin, to rule over your numerous regions.” *

3. “ Why do I now presume to make (these) many declarations ? I have dealt very leniently as regards the lives of you, the people of these four states. Why do you not show a sincere and generous obedience in your numerous regions ? Why do you not aid and co-operate with the kings of our *Kâu*, to secure the enjoyment of Heaven’s favouring decree ? You now still dwell in your dwellings, and cultivate your fields ;—why do you not obey our kings, and consolidate the decree of Heaven ? The paths which you tread are continually those of disquietude ;—have you in your hearts no love for yourselves ? do you refuse so greatly to acquiesce in the ordinance of Heaven ? do you triflingly reject that decree ? do you of yourselves pursue unlawful courses, scheming (by your alleged reasons) for the

approval of upright men? I simply instructed you, and published my announcement¹; with trembling awe I secured and confined (the chief criminals):— I have done so twice and for three times. But if you do not take advantage of the leniency with which I have spared your lives, I will proceed to severe punishments, and put you to death. It is not that we, the sovereigns of *Kâu*, hold it virtuous to make you untroubled, but it is you yourselves who accelerate your crimes (and sufferings).”

4. ‘The king says, “Oh! ho! I tell you, ye many officers of the various regions, and you, ye many officers of Yin, now have ye been hurrying about, doing service to my overseers for five years. There are among you the inferior assistants, the chiefs, and the numerous directors, small and great;—see that ye all attain to the discharge of your duties. Want of harmony (in the life) rises from (the want of it in) one’s (inner) self;—strive to be harmonious. Want of concord in your families (arises from the want of it in your conduct);—strive to be harmonious. When intelligence rules in your cities, then will you be proved to be attentive to your duties. Do not be afraid, I pray you, of the evil ways (of the people); and moreover, by occupying your offices with a reverent harmony, you will find it possible to select from your cities individuals on whose assistance you can calculate. You may thus long continue in this city of Lo², cultivating your fields. Heaven will favour and compassionate you, and we,

¹ Referring probably to ‘the Great Announcement’ in Book vii.

² It would almost seem from this that the announcement was made in Lo; and some critics have argued that Lo was ‘the honoured capital’ in the first sentence.

the sovereigns of *Kâu*, will greatly help you, and confer rewards, selecting you to stand in our royal court. Only be attentive to your duties, and you may rank among our great officers."

'The king says, "Oh! ye numerous officers, if you cannot exhort one another to pay a sincere regard to my charges, it will further show that you are unable to honour your sovereign; and all the people will (also) say, 'We will not honour him.' Thus will ye be proved slothful and perverse, greatly disobedient to the royal charges. Throughout your numerous regions you will bring on yourselves the terrors of Heaven, and I will then inflict on you its punishments, removing you far from your country.'"

5. 'The king says, "I do not (wish to) make these many declarations, but it is in a spirit of awe that I lay my commands before you." He further says, "You may now make a (new) beginning. If you cannot reverently realize the harmony (which I enjoin), do not (hereafter) murmur against me.'"

BOOK XIX. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

THE phrase, 'the Establishment of Government,' occurs several times in the course of the Book, and is thence taken to denominate it,—appropriately enough. The subject treated of throughout, is how good government may be established.

Some Chinese critics maintain that the text as it stands is very confused, 'head and tail in disorder, and without connexion,' and various re-arrangements of it have been proposed, for which, however, there is no manuscript authority. Keeping to the received text, and dividing it into six chapters, we may adopt a summary of its contents approved by the editors of the *Shû*, which was published in the *Yung-k'ang* reign of the

present dynasty.—In government there is nothing more important than the employment of proper men; and when such men are being sought, the first care should be for those to occupy the three highest positions. When these are properly filled, all the other offices will get their right men, and royal government will be established. The appointment of the officers of business, of pastoral oversight, and of the law, is the great theme of the whole Book, and the concluding words of chapter 1 are its pulse,—may be felt throbbing everywhere in all the sentiments. Chapters 2 and 3 illustrate the subject from the history of the dynasties of Hsiâ and Shang; and in chapter 4 it is shown how kings Wân and Wû selected their officers, and initiated the happy state which was still continuing. In chapter 5 there is set forth the duty of the king to put away from him men of artful tongues; to employ the good, distinguished by their habits of virtue; to be always well prepared for war; and to be very careful of his conduct in the matter of litigations. Chapter 6 seems to have hardly any connexion with the rest of the Book, and is probably a fragment of one of the lost Books of the Shû, that has got tacked on to this.

The Book belongs to the class of 'Instructions,' and was made, I suppose, after the duke of Kâu had retired from his regency.

I. The duke of Kâu spoke to the following effect:—'With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, we make our declarations to the Son of Heaven, the king who has inherited the throne.' In such manner accordingly all (the other ministers) cautioned the king, saying, 'In close attendance on your majesty there are the regular presidents¹, the regular ministers², and the officers of justice;—the keepers of the robes (also), and the guards.' The duke of Kâu said, 'Oh! admirable are these (officers). Few, however, know to be sufficiently anxious about them.'

¹ We must understand by these the chiefs or presidents who had a certain jurisdiction over several states and their princes.

² The high ministers of Instruction, War, Works, &c.

2. 'Among the ancients who exemplified (this anxiety) there was the founder of the Hsiâ dynasty. When his House was in its greatest strength, he sought for able men who should honour God (in the discharge of their duties).* (His advisers), when they knew of men thoroughly proved and trustworthy in the practice of the nine virtues¹, would then presume to inform and instruct their sovereign, saying, "With our hands to our heads and our heads to the ground, O sovereign, we would say, Let (such an one) occupy one of your high offices: Let (such an one) be one of your pastors: Let (such an one) be one of your officers of justice. By such appointments you will fulfil your duty as sovereign. If you judge by the face only, and therefrom deem men well schooled in virtue, and appoint them, then those three positions will all be occupied by unrighteous individuals." The way of Kieh, however, was not to observe this precedent. Those whom he employed were cruel men;—and he left no successor.'

3. 'After this there was Thang the Successful, who, rising to the throne, grandly administered the bright ordinances of God.* He employed, to fill the three (high) positions, those who were equal to them; and those who were called possessors of the three kinds of ability² would display that ability.

¹ See chapter 2 of 'the Counsels of Kâo-yâo' in Part II.

² Some suppose that men are intended here who possessed 'the three virtues' of 'the Great Plan.' I think rather that men are intended who had talents and virtue which would make them eligible to the three highest positions. Thang had his notice fixed on such men, and was prepared to call them to office at the proper time.

He then studied them severely, and greatly imitated them, making the utmost of them in their three positions and with their three kinds of ability. The people in the cities of Shang¹ were thereby all brought to harmony, and those in the four quarters of the kingdom were brought greatly under the influence of the virtue thus displayed. Oh! when the throne came to Shâu, his character was all violence. He preferred men of severity, and who deemed cruelty a virtue, to share with him in the government of his states; and at the same time, the host of his associates, men who counted idleness a virtue, shared the offices of his court. God then sovereignly punished him, and caused us to possess the great land, enjoy the favouring decree which Shâu had (afore) received, and govern all the people in their myriad realms.' *

4. 'Then subsequently there were king Wăn and king Wû, who knew well the minds of those whom they put in the three positions, and saw clearly the minds of those who had the three grades of ability. Thus they could employ them to serve God with reverence, and appointed them as presidents and chiefs of the people. In establishing their government, the three things which principally concerned them were to find the men for (high) offices, the officers of justice, and the pastors. (They had also) the guards; the keepers of the robes; their equeries; their heads of small departments; their personal attendants; their various overseers; and their treasurers. They had their governors of the larger and smaller cities assigned in the royal domain to the

¹ That is, within the royal domain.

nobles; their men of arts¹; their overseers whose offices were beyond the court; their grand historiographers; and their heads of departments;—all good men of constant virtue.

‘(In the external states) there were the Minister of Instruction, the Minister of War, and the Minister of Works, with the many officers subordinate to them. Among the wild tribes, such as the Wei, the Lû, and the *Khăng*², in the three Po, and at the dangerous passes, they had wardens.

‘King Wăn was able to make the minds of those in the (three high) positions his own, and so it was that he established those regular officers and superintending pastors, so that they were men of ability and virtue. He would not appear himself in the various notifications, in litigations, and in precautionary measures. There were the officers and pastors (to attend to them), whom he (simply) taught to be obedient (to his wishes), and not to be disobedient. (Yea), as to litigations and precautionary measures, he (would seem as if he) did not presume to know about them. He was followed by king Wû, who carried out his work of settlement, and did not presume to supersede his righteous and virtuous men, but entered into his plans, and employed, as before, those men. Thus it was that they unitedly received this vast inheritance.’

¹ All who employed their arts in the service of the government;—officers of prayer, clerks, archers, charioteers, doctors, diviners, and the practisers of the various mechanical arts, &c.

² Compare what is said in ‘the Speech at Mû,’ ch. 1. The *Khăng* are not mentioned there. It would seem to be the name of a wild tribe. The three Po had all been capitals of the Shang kings, and their people required the special attention of the sovereigns of *Kâu*.

5. 'Oh! young son, the king, from this time forth be it ours to establish the government, appointing the (high) officers, the officers of the laws, and the pastors;—be it ours clearly to know what courses are natural to these men, and then fully to employ them in the government, that they may aid us in the management of the people whom we have received, and harmoniously conduct all litigations and precautionary measures. And let us never allow others to come between us and them. (Yea), in our every word and speech, let us be thinking of (these) officers of complete virtue, to regulate the people that we have received.

'Oh! I, Tan, have received these excellent words of others¹, and tell them all to you, young son, the king. From this time forth, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), do not err in regard to the litigations and precautionary measures;—let the proper officers manage them. From of old to the founder of Shang, and downwards to king Wăn of our *Kâu*, in establishing government, when they appointed (high) officers, pastors, and officers of the laws, they settled them in their positions, and allowed them to unfold their talents;—thus giving the regulation of affairs into their hands. In the kingdom, never has there been the establishment of government by the employment of artful-tongued men; (with such men), unlessoned in virtue, never can a government be distinguished in the world. From this time forth, in establishing government, make no use of artful-tongued men,

¹ Probably all the other officers or ministers referred to in ch. 1. They are there prepared to speak their views, when the duke of *Kâu* takes all the discoursing on himself.

but (seek for) good officers, and get them to use all their powers in aiding the government of our country. Now, O accomplished son (of Wû), accomplished grandson (of Wăn), young son, the king, do not err in the matter of litigations;—there are the officers and pastors (to attend to them).

‘Have well arranged (also) your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yü, and traverse all under the sky, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission:—so shall you display the bright glory of king Wăn, and render more illustrious the great achievements of king Wû¹.

‘Oh! from this time forth, may (our) future kings, in establishing the government, be able to employ men of constant virtue!’

6. The duke of *Kâu* spoke to the following effect:—‘O grand historiographer, the duke of *Sû*, the Minister of Crime, dealt reverently with all the criminal matters that came before him, and thereby perpetuated the fortunes of our kingdom. Here was an example of anxious solicitude (for future ministers), whereby they may rank with him in the ordering of the appropriate punishments².’

¹ At the close of his address to prince Shih, Book xvi, the duke of *Kâu* breaks all at once into a warlike mood, as he does here.

² I have said in the introductory note that this chapter does not seem to have any connexion with the rest of the Book. From a passage in the *30 Kwan*, under the eleventh year of duke *Khâng*, we learn that a *Sû Făn-shăng*, or *Făn-shăng* of *Sû*, was Minister of Crime to king Wû. It is probably to him that the duke here alludes.

BOOK XX. THE OFFICERS OF KĀU.

'THE Officers of KĀu' contains a general outline of the official system of the KĀu dynasty, detailing the names and functions of the principal ministers about the court and others, to whom, moreover, various counsels are addressed by the king who speaks in it,—no doubt, king K'äng. Chinese critics class it with the 'Instructions' of the Shŭ, but it belongs rather to the 'Announcements.'

There is no mention in it of the duke of KĀu; and its date must therefore be in some year after he had retired from the regency, and resigned the government into the king's own hands.

The Book has a beginning, middle, and end, more distinctly marked than they are in many of the documents in the Shŭ. The whole is divided into five chapters. The first is introductory, and describes the condition of the kingdom, when the arrangements of the official system were announced. In the second, the king refers to the arrangements of former dynasties. In the third, he sets forth the principal offices of state, the ministers of which had their residence at court, and goes on to the arrangements for the administration of the provinces. The two other chapters contain many excellent advices to the ministers and officers to discharge their duties so that the fortunes of the dynasty might be consolidated, and no dissatisfaction arise among the myriad states.

1. The king of KĀu brought the myriad regions (of the kingdom) to tranquillity; he made a tour of inspection through the Hâu and Tien tenures; he punished on all sides the chiefs who had refused to appear at court; thus securing the repose of the millions of the people, and all the (princes in the) six tenures acknowledging his virtue. He then returned to the honoured capital of KĀu, and strictly regulated the officers of the administration.

2. The king said, 'It was the grand method of former times to regulate the government while there

was no confusion, and to secure the country while there was no danger.' He said, 'Yáo and Shun, having studied antiquity¹, established a hundred officers. At court, there were the General Regulator and (the President of) the Four Mountains; abroad, there were the pastors of the provinces and the princes of states. Thus the various departments of government went on harmoniously, and the myriad states all enjoyed repose. Under the dynasties of Hsiá and Shang, the number of officers was doubled, and they were able still to secure good government. (Those early) intelligent kings, in establishing their government, cared not so much about the number of the offices as about the men (to occupy them). Now I, the little child, cultivate with reverence my virtue, concerned day and night about my deficiencies; I look up to (those) former dynasties, and seek to conform to them, while I instruct and direct you, my officers.'

3. 'I appoint the Grand-Master, the Grand-Assistant, and the Grand-Guardian. These are the three Kung². They discourse about the principles

¹ It is the same phrase here, which occurs at the beginning of the Canons of Yáo and Shun, and of some other Books. It may be inferred, as P. Gaubil says, that Yáo and Shun had certain sources of knowledge, that is to say, some history of the times anterior to their own.

² That is, 'the three dukes;' but the term is here a name of office, more than of nobility, as is evident from the name of the three K'au, who were next to them. K'au was not used as a term expressing any order of nobility. It would seem to indicate that, while the men holding the office were assistant to the Kung, they yet had a distinct standing of their own. The offices of Grand-Master &c. had existed under the Shang dynasty; see Book xi, Part IV.

of reason¹ and adjust the states, harmonizing (also) and regulating the operations (in nature) of heaven and earth². These offices need not (always) be filled; there must (first) be the men for them.

‘(I appoint) the Junior Master, the Junior Assistant, and the Junior Guardian. These are called the three Kû³. They assist the Kung to diffuse widely the transforming influences, and display brightly with reverence (the powers of) heaven and earth,—assisting me, the One man.

‘(I appoint) the Prime Minister, who presides over the ruling of the (various) regions, has the general management of all the other officers, and secures uniformity within the four seas; the Minister of Instruction, who presides over the education in the states, diffuses a knowledge of the duties belonging to the five relations of society, and trains the millions of the people to obedience; the Minister of Religion, who presides over the (sacred) ceremonies of the country, regulates the services rendered to the spirits and manes, and makes a harmony between high and low⁴;* the Minister of War, who presides over the (military) administration of the

¹ Meaning, I suppose, the courses or ways, which it was right for the king, according to reason, to pursue.

² That is, probably, securing the material prosperity of the kingdom, in good seasons, &c.

³ See note 2 on the preceding page.

⁴ The name here for ‘the Minister of Religion’ is the same as that in the Canon of Shun. ‘The spirits and manes’ are ‘the spirits of heaven, earth, and deceased men.’ All festive, funeral, and other ceremonies, as well as those of sacrifices, came under the department of the Minister of Religion, who had therefore to define the order of rank and precedence. This seems to be what is meant by his ‘making a harmony between high and low.’

country, commands the six hosts, and secures the tranquillity of all the regions; the Minister of Crime, who presides over the prohibitions of the country, searches out the villainous and secretly wicked, and punishes oppressors and disturbers of the peace; and the Minister of Works, who presides over the land of the country, settles the four classes of the people, and secures at the proper seasons the produce of the ground¹.

'These six ministers with their different duties lead on their several subordinates, and set an example to the nine pastors of the provinces, enriching and perfecting the condition of the millions of the people. In six years (the lords of) the five tenures appear once at the royal court; and after a second six years, the king makes a tour of inspection in the four seasons, and examines the (various) regulations and measures at the four mountains. The princes appear before him each at the mountain of his quarter; and promotions and degradations are awarded with great intelligence.'

4. The king said, 'Oh! all ye men of virtue, my occupiers of office, pay reverent attention to your charges. Be careful in the commands you issue; for, once issued, they must be carried into effect, and cannot be retracted. Extinguish all selfish aims by your public feeling, and the people will have confidence in you, and be gladly obedient. Study antiquity as a preparation for entering on

¹ Out of these six ministers and their departments have grown the Six Boards of the Chinese Government of the present day:—the Board of Civil Office; the Board of Revenue; the Board of Rites; the Board of War; the Board of Punishment; and the Board of Works.

your offices. In deliberating on affairs, form your determinations by help (of such study), and your measures will be free from error. Make the regular statutes of (our own) dynasty your rule, and do not with artful speeches introduce disorder into your offices. To accumulate doubts is the way to ruin your plans; to be idle and indifferent is the way to ruin your government. Without study, you stand facing a wall, and your management of affairs will be full of trouble.

‘I warn you, my high ministers and officers, that exalted merit depends on the high aim, and a patrimony is enlarged only by diligence; it is by means of bold decision that future difficulties are avoided. Pride comes, along with rank, unperceived, and extravagance in the same way with emolument. Let reverence and economy be (real) virtues with you, unaccompanied with hypocritical display. Practise them as virtues, and your minds will be at ease, and you will daily become more admirable. Practise them in hypocrisy, and your minds will be toiled, and you will daily become more stupid. In the enjoyment of favour think of peril, and never be without a cautious apprehension;—he who is without such apprehension finds himself amidst what is really to be feared. Push forward the worthy, and show deference to the able; and harmony will prevail among all your officers. When they are not harmonious, the government becomes a mass of confusion. If those whom you advance be able for their offices, the ability is yours; if you advance improper men, you are not equal to your position.’

5. The king said, ‘Oh! ye (charged) with the

threefold business (of government)¹, and ye great officers, reverently attend to your departments, and conduct well the affairs under your government, so as to assist your sovereign, and secure the lasting happiness of the millions of the people;—so shall there be no dissatisfaction throughout the myriad states.'

BOOK XXI. THE KÜN-KHĀN.

KÜN-KHĀN was the successor in 'the eastern capital' of the duke of Kâu, who has now passed off the stage of the Shû, which he occupied so long. Between 'the Officers of Kâu' and this Book, there were, when the Shû was complete, two others, which are both lost. We must greatly deplore the loss of the second of them, for it contained an account of the death of the duke of Kâu, and an announcement made by king K'hang by his bier.

Who Kün-khân, the charge to whom on entering on his important government is here preserved, really was, we are not informed. Some have supposed that he was a son of the duke of Kâu; but we may be sure, from the analogy of other charges, that if he had been so, the fact would have been alluded to in the text. Kün-khân might be translated 'the prince Khân,' like Kün Shih in the title of Book xvi, but we know nothing of any territory with which he was invested.

The following summary of the contents is given by a Chinese critic:—'The whole Book may be divided into three chapters. The first relates Kün-khân's appointment to the government of the eastern capital. The concluding words, "Be reverent,"

¹ 'The threefold business of government' is the appointment of the men of office, the officers of law, and the pastors, 'the three concerns of those in the three highest positions,' as described in the last Book, ch. 4. The king, probably, intends the Kung, the Kû, and the six ministers, whose duties he has spoken of. The 'great officers' will be all the officers inferior to these in their several departments.

are emphatic, and give the key-note to all that follows. The second chapter enjoins on him to exert himself to illustrate the lessons of the duke of *Kâu*, and thereby transform the people of Yin. The third requires him to give full development to those lessons, and instances various particulars in which his doing so would appear;—all illustrative of the command at the commencement, that he should be reverent.'

1. The king spake to the following effect:—
'*Kün-khăn*, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial and respectful. Being filial, and friendly with your brethren, you can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border. Be reverent.'

2. 'Formerly, the duke of *Kâu* acted as teacher and guardian of the myriads of the people, who cherish (the remembrance of) his virtue. Go and with sedulous care enter upon his charge; act in accordance with his regular ways, and exert yourself to illustrate his lessons;—so shall the people be regulated. I have heard that he said, "Perfect government has a piercing fragrance, and influences the spiritual intelligences.* It is not the millet which has the piercing fragrance; it is bright virtue." Do you make this lesson of the duke of *Kâu* your rule, being diligent from day to day, and not presuming to indulge in luxurious ease. Ordinary men, while they have not yet seen a sage, (are full of desire) as if they should never get a sight of him; and after they have seen him, they are still unable to follow him. Be cautioned by this! You are the wind; the inferior people are the grass. In revolving the plans of your government, never hesitate to acknowledge the difficulty of the subject. Some things have to be abolished, and some new things to be enacted;—

going out and coming in, seek the judgment of your people about them, and, when there is a general agreement, exert your own powers of reflection. When you have any good plans or counsels, enter and lay them before your sovereign in the palace. Thereafter, when you are acting abroad in accordance with them, say, "This plan or this view is all due to our sovereign." Oh! if all ministers were to act thus, how excellent would they be, and how distinguished!

3. The king said, 'Kün-khān, do you give their full development to the great lessons of the duke of Kāu. Do not make use of your power to exercise oppression; do not make use of the laws to practise extortion. Be gentle, but with strictness of rule. Promote harmony by the display of an easy forbearance.

'When any of the people of Yin are amenable to punishment, if I say "Punish," do not you therefore punish; and if I say "Spare," do not you therefore spare. Seek the due middle course. Those who are disobedient to your government, and uninfluenced by your instructions, you will punish, remembering that the end of punishment is to make an end of punishing. Those who are inured to villainy and treachery, those who violate the regular duties of society, and those who introduce disorder into the public manners:—those three classes you will not spare, though their particular offences be but small.

'Do not cherish anger against the obstinate, and dislike them. Seek not every quality in one individual. You must have patience, and you will be successful; have forbearance, and your virtue will

be great. Mark those who discharge their duties well, and also mark those who do not do so, (and distinguish them from one another.) Advance the good, to induce those who may not be so to follow (their example).

'The people are born good, and are changed by (external) things,* so that they resist what their superiors command, and follow what they (themselves) love. Do you but reverently observe the statutes, and they will be found in (the way of) virtue; they will thus all be changed, and truly advance to a great degree of excellence. Then shall I, the One man, receive much happiness, and your excellent services will be famous through long ages!'

BOOK XXII. THE TESTAMENTARY CHARGE.

THIS Book brings us to the closing act of the life of king *K'hang*, whose reign, according to the current chronology, lasted thirty-seven years, ending in B. C. 1079. From the appointment of *Kün-khán* to his death, the king's history is almost a blank. The only events chronicled by *Sze-má K'hien* are a coinage of round money with a square hole in the centre,—the prototype of the present cash; and an enactment about the width and length in which pieces of silk and cloth were to be manufactured.

King *K'hang*, feeling that his end is near, calls his principal ministers and other officers around his bed, and commits his son *K'áo* to their care and guidance. The record of all these things and the dying charge form a chapter that ends with the statement of the king's death. The rest of the Book forms a second chapter, in which we have a detailed account of the ceremonies connected with the publication of the charge, and the accession of *K'áo* to the throne. It is an interesting account of the ways of that distant time on such occasions.

1. In the fourth month, when the moon began to wane, the king was indisposed. On the day *K'ia-*

ze, he washed his hands and face; his attendants put on him his cap and robes¹; (and he sat up), leaning on a gem-adorned bench². He then called together the Grand-Guardian Shih, the earls of Zui and Thung, the duke of Pí, the marquis of Wei, the duke of Mão, the master of the warders, the master of the guards, the heads of the various departments, and the superintendents of affairs³.

The king said, 'Oh! my illness has greatly increased, and it will soon be over with me. The malady comes on daily with more violence, and maintains its hold. I am afraid I may not find (another opportunity) to declare my wishes about my successor, and therefore I (now) lay my charge upon you with special instructions. The former rulers, our kings Wăn and Wû, displayed in succession their equal glory, making sure provision for the support of the people, and setting forth their

¹ The king's caps or crowns and robes were many, and for each there was the appropriate occasion. His attendants, no doubt, now dressed king *K'häng* as the rules of court fashions required.

² In those days they sat on the ground upon mats; and for the old or infirm benches or stools were placed, in front of them, to lean forward on. The king had five kinds of stools variously adorned. That with gems was the most honourable.

³ The Grand-Guardian Shih, or the duke of Shão, and the other five dignitaries were, no doubt, the six ministers of the 20th Book. Zui is referred to the present district of *K'áo-yî*, department Hsî-an; and Thung to *Hwá K'âu*, department Thung-k'âu;—both in Shen-hsî. The earl of Zui, it is supposed, was Minister of Instruction, and he of Thung Minister of Religion. Pí corresponded to the present district of *K'hang-an*, department Hsî-an. The duke of Pí was Minister of War, called Duke or Kung, as Grand-Master. It is not known where Mão was. The lord of it was Minister of Works, and Grand-Assistant. The marquis of Wei,—see on Book ix. He was now, it is supposed, Minister of Crime.

instructions. (The people) accorded a practical submission, without any opposition, and the influence (of their example and instructions) extended to Yin, and the great appointment (of Heaven) was secured*. After them, I, the stupid one, received with reverence the dread (decree) of Heaven, and continued to keep the great instructions of Wăn and Wú, not daring blindly to transgress them.*

‘Now Heaven has laid affliction on me, and it seems as if I should not again rise or be myself. Do you take clear note of these my words, and in accordance with them watch reverently over my eldest son Kào, and greatly assist him in the difficulties of his position. Be kind to those who are far off, and help those who are near. Promote the tranquillity of the states, small and great, and encourage them (to well-doing). I think how a man has to govern himself in dignity and with decorum;—do not you allow Kào to proceed heedlessly on the impulse of improper motives.’ Immediately on receiving this charge, (the ministers and others) withdrew. The tent¹ was then carried out into

¹ The tent had been prepared when the king sent for his ministers and officers to give them his last charge, and set up outside his chamber in the hall where he was accustomed to hold ‘the audience of government.’ He had walked or been carried to it, and then returned to his apartment when he had expressed his last wishes, while the tent—the curtains and canopy—was carried out into the courtyard.

The palace was much more long or deep than wide, consisting of five series of buildings continued one after another, so that, if all the gates were thrown open, one could walk in a direct line from the first gate to the last. The different parts of it were separated by courts that embraced a large space of ground, and were partly open overhead. The gates leading to the different parts had their particular names, and were all fronting

the court; and on the next day, (being) *Yi-khâu*, the king died.

2. The Grand-Guardian then ordered *Kung Hwan*¹ and *Nan-Kung Mão*¹ to instruct *Lü Kí*, the marquis of *Khí*², with two shield-and-spearmen, and a hundred guards, to meet the prince *Káo* outside the south gate³, and conduct him to (one of) the side-apartments (near to that where the king lay), there to be as chief mourner⁴.

On the day *Ting-máo*, (two days after the king's death), he ordered (the charge) to be recorded on

the south. Outside the second was held 'the outer levee,' where the king received the princes and officers generally. Outside the fifth was held 'the audience of government,' when he met his ministers to consult with them on the business of the state. Inside this gate were the buildings which formed the private apartments, in the hall leading to which was held 'the inner audience,' and where the sovereign feasted those whom he designed specially to honour. Such is the general idea of the ancient palace given by *Kü Hsí*. The gateways included a large space, covered by a roof, supported on pillars.

¹ We know nothing more of these officers but what is here related.

² The marquis of *Khí* was the son of *Thái-kung*, a friend and minister of king *Wán*, who had been enfeoffed by king *Wú* with the state of *Khí*, embracing the present department of *Khing-káu*, in *Shan-tung*, and other territory. His place at court was that of master of the guards.

³ All the gates might be called 'south gates.' It is not certain whether that intended here was the outer gate of all, or the last, immediately in front of the hall, where the king had given his charge. Whichever it was, the meeting *Káo* in the way described was a public declaration that he had been appointed successor to the throne.

⁴ 'The mourning shed,' spoken of in Part IV, viii, ch. 1, had not yet been set up, and the apartment here indicated—on the east of the hall of audience—was the proper one for the prince to occupy in the mean time.

tablets, and the forms (to be observed in publishing it). Seven days after, on Kwei-yü, as chief (of the west) and premier, he ordered the (proper) officers to prepare the wood (for all the requirements of the funeral) ¹.

The salvage men ² set out the screens ³, ornamented with figures of axes, and the tents. Between the window (and the door), facing the south, they placed the (three)fold mat of fine bamboo splints, with its striped border of white and black silk, and the usual bench adorned with different-coloured gems. In the side-space on the west, which faced the east, they placed the threefold rush mat, with its variegated border, and the usual bench adorned with beautiful shells. In the side-space on the east, which faced the west, they placed the threefold mat of fine grass, with its border of painted silk, and the usual bench carved, and adorned with gems. Before the western side-chamber, and facing the south, they placed the threefold mat of fine bamboo, with its dark mixed border, and the usual lacquered bench ⁴.

¹ On the seventh day after his death the king had been shrouded and put into his coffin. But there were still the shell or outer coffin, &c., to be provided.

² These 'salvage men' were, I suppose, natives of the wild Tí tribes, employed to perform the more servile offices about the court. Some of them, we know, were enrolled among the guards.

³ The screens were ornamented with figures of axe-heads, and placed behind the king, under the canopy that overshadowed him.

⁴ All these arrangements seem to have been made in the hall where king K'äng had delivered his charge. He had been accustomed to receive his guests at all the places where the tents, screens, and mats were now set. It was presumed he would be present in spirit at the ceremony of proclaiming his son, and

(They set forth) also the five pairs of gems (or jade), and the precious things of display. There were the red knife, the great lessons, the large round-and-convex symbol of jade, and the rounded and pointed maces,—all in the side-space on the west; the large piece of jade, the pieces contributed by the wild tribes of the east, the heavenly sounding-stone, and the river-Plan,—all in the side-space on the east; the dancing habits of Yin, the large tortoise-shell, and the large drum,—all in the western apartment; the spear of Tûi, the bow of Ho, and the bamboo arrows of *Khui*,—all in the eastern apartment¹.

The grand carriage was by the guests' steps, facing (the south); the next was by the eastern (or host's) steps, facing (the south). The front carriage was placed before the left lobby, and the one that followed it before the right lobby².

making known to him his dying charge; and as they could not tell at what particular spot the spirit would be, they made all the places ready for it.

¹ The western and eastern apartments were two rooms, east and west of the hall, forming part of the private apartments, behind the side rooms, and of large dimensions. The various articles enumerated were precious relics, and had been favourites with king *Khâng*. They were now displayed to keep up the illusion of the king's still being present in spirit. 'They were set forth,' it is said, 'at the ancestral sacrifices to show that the king could preserve them, and at the ceremony of announcing a testamentary charge to show that he could transmit them.' About the articles themselves it is not necessary to append particular notes. They perished thousands of years ago, and the accounts of them by the best scholars are little more than conjectural.

² The royal carriages were of five kinds, and four of them at least were now set forth inside the last gate, that everything might again be done, as when the king was alive. On the west side of the hall were the guests' steps (or staircase), by which visitors

Two men in brownish leather caps, and holding three-cornered halberds, stood inside the gate leading to the private apartments. Four men in caps of spotted deer-skin, holding spears with blades upturned from the base of the point, stood, one on each side of the steps east and west, and near to the platform of the hall. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the east (end). One man in a great officer's cap, and holding an axe of a different pattern, stood in the hall, (near the steps) at the west end. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance, stood at the front and east of the hall, close by the steps. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a lance of a different pattern, stood in the corresponding place on the west. One man in a great officer's cap, and holding a pointed weapon, stood by the steps on the north side of the hall.

The king, in a linen cap and the variously figured skirt, ascended by the guests' steps, followed by the high ministers, (great) officers, and princes of states, in linen caps and dark-coloured skirts¹. Arrived in the hall, they all took their (proper) places. The Grand-Guardian, the Grand-Historiographer, and the Minister of Religion were all in

ascended, and on the east were those used by the host himself. If one of the royal carriages was absent on this occasion, it must have been that used in war, as not being appropriate at such a time.

¹ All was now ready for the grand ceremony, and the performers, in their appropriate mourning and sacrificial array, take their places in the hall. *K'áo* is here for the first time styled 'king;' but still he goes up by the guests' steps, not presuming to ascend by the others, while his father's corpse was in the hall.

linen caps and red skirts. The Grand-Guardian bore the great mace. The Minister of Religion bore the cup and the mace-cover. These two ascended by the steps on the east¹. The Grand-Historiographer bore the testamentary charge. He ascended by the guests' steps (on the west), and advanced to the king with the tablets containing the charge, and said, 'Our royal sovereign, leaning on the gem-adorned bench, declared his last charge, and commanded you to continue (the observance of) the lessons, and to take the rule of the kingdom of *Káu*, complying with the great laws, and securing the harmony of all under the sky, so as to respond to and display the bright instructions of *Wán* and *Wú*.'

The king twice bowed (low), and then arose, and replied, 'I am utterly insignificant and but a child, how should I be able to govern the four quarters (of the kingdom) with a corresponding reverent awe of the dread majesty of Heaven!' * He then received the cup and the mace-cover. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced with a cup of spirits (to the east of the coffin); thrice he sacrificed (to the spirit of his father); * and thrice he put the cup down. The Minister of Religion said, 'It is accepted².' *

¹ The Grand-Guardian and the Minister of Religion ascended by the eastern steps, because the authority of king *K'áng* was in their persons, to be conveyed by the present ceremony to his son. 'The great mace' was one of the emblems of the royal sovereignty, and 'the cup' also must have been one that only the king could use. 'The mace-cover' was an instrument by which the genuineness of the symbols of their rank conferred on the different princes was tested.

² According to *Khung Ying-tá*, when the king received the record of the charge, he was standing at the top of the eastern steps, a little eastwards, with his face to the north. The Historiographer stood by king *K'áng*'s coffin, on the south-west of it, with his face

The Grand-Guardian received the cup, descended the steps, and washed his hands¹. He then took another cup, (placed it on) a half-mace which he carried, and repeated the sacrifice².* He then gave the cup to one of the attendants of the Minister of Religion, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian took a cup again, and poured out the spirits in sacrifice.* He then just tasted the spirits, returned to his place, gave the cup to the attendant, and did obeisance. The king returned the obeisance. The Grand-Guardian descended from the hall, after which the various (sacrificial) articles were removed, and the princes all went out at the temple gate³ and waited.

to the east. There he read the charge, after which the king bowed twice, and the Minister of Religion, on the south-west of the king, presented the cup and mace-cover. The king took them, and, having given the cover in charge to an attendant, advanced with the cup to the place between the pillars where the sacrificial spirits were placed. Having filled a cup, he advanced to the east of the coffin, and stood with his face to the west; then going to the spot where his father's spirit was supposed to be, he sacrificed, pouring out the spirits on the ground, and then he put the cup on the bench appropriated for it. This he repeated three times. At the conclusion the Minister of Religion conveyed to him a message from the spirit of his father, that his offering was accepted.

¹ Preparatory, that is, to his offering a sacrifice.

² That is, probably, repeated the sacrifice to the spirit of king *Khâng*, as if to inform him that his charge had been communicated to his son. The half-mace was used as a handle for the sacrificial cup. This ceremony appears to have been gone through twice. The Grand-Guardian's bowing was to the spirit of king *Khâng*, and the new king returned the obeisance for his father.

³ Meaning the fifth or last gate of the palace. The private apartments had for the time, through the presence of the coffin and by the sacrifices, been converted into a sort of ancestral temple.

BOOK XXIII.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KING KHANG.

KHANG was the honorary sacrificial title conferred on *K'áo*, the son and successor of king *K'háng*. His reign lasted from B.C. 1078 to 1053. *Khang*, as an honorary title, has various meanings. In the text it probably denotes—'Who caused the people to be tranquil and happy.'

Immediately on his accession to the throne, as described in the last Book, king *Khang* made the Announcement which is here recorded. Indeed the two Books would almost seem to form only one, and as such they appeared in the *Shû* of *Fû*, as related in the Introduction.

The princes, with whose departure from the inner hall of the palace the last Book concludes, are introduced again to the king in the court between the fourth and fifth gates, and do homage to him after their fashion, cautioning also and advising him about the discharge of his high duties. He responds with the declaration which has given name to the Book, referring to his predecessors, and asking the assistance of all his hearers, that his reign may be a not unworthy sequel of theirs. With this the proceedings terminate, and the king resumes his mourning dress which he had put off for the occasion. The whole thus falls into three chapters.

1. The king came forth and stood (in the space) within the fourth gate of the palace, when the Grand-Guardian led in the princes of the western regions by the left (half) of the gate, and the duke of *Pi* those of the eastern regions by the right (half)¹. They then all caused their teams of light bay horses, with their manes and tails dyed red, to be exhibited;—and, (as the king's) guests, lifted up their rank-symbols, and (the other) presents (they had brought)²,

¹ See note on these ministers, p. 235.

² These presents were in addition to the teams of horses exhibited in the courtyard;—silks and lighter productions of their various territories.

saying, 'We your servants, defenders (of the throne), venture to bring the productions of our territories, and lay them here.' (With these words) they all did obeisance twice, laying their heads on the ground. The king, as the righteous successor to the virtue of those who had gone before him, returned their obeisance.

The Grand-Guardian and the earl of Zui, with all the rest, then advanced and bowed to each other, after which they did obeisance twice, with their heads to the ground, and said, 'O Son of Heaven, we venture respectfully to declare our sentiments. Great Heaven altered its decree which the great House of Yin had received, and Wăn and Wû of our Kâu grandly received the same, and carried it out, manifesting their kindly government in the western regions. His recently ascended majesty,* rewarding and punishing exactly in accordance with what was right, fully established their achievements, and transmitted this happy state to his successors. Do you, O king, now be reverent. Maintain your armies in great order, and do not allow the rarely equalled appointment of our high ancestors to come to harm.'*

2. The king spoke to the following effect:—'Ye princes of the various states, chiefs of the Hâu, Tien, Nan, and Wei domains, I, K'ao, the One man, make an announcement in return (for your advice). The former rulers, Wăn and Wû, were greatly just and enriched (the people). They did not occupy themselves to find out people's crimes. Pushing to the utmost and maintaining an entire impartiality and sincerity, they became gloriously illustrious all under heaven. Then they had officers brave as bears and

grisly bears, and ministers of no double heart, who (helped them) to maintain and regulate the royal House. Thus (did they receive) the true favouring decree from God, and thus did great Heaven approve of their ways, and give them the four quarters (of the land).* Then they appointed and set up principalities, and established bulwarks (to the throne), for the sake of us, their successors. Now do ye, my uncles¹, I pray you, consider with one another, and carry out the service which the dukes, your predecessors, rendered to my predecessors. Though your persons be distant, let your hearts be in the royal House. Enter thus into my anxieties, and act in accordance with them, so that I, the little child, may not be put to shame.'

3. The dukes and all the others, having heard this charge, bowed to one another, and hastily withdrew. The king put off his cap, and assumed again his mourning dress.

BOOK XXIV. THE CHARGE TO THE DUKE OF PÍ.

THE king who delivers the charge in this Book was Khang, and the only events of his reign of twenty-six years of which we have any account in the Shû and in Sze-mâ *Khien* are it and the preceding announcement.

Book xxi relates the appointment of *Kün-khán*, by king *Kháng*, to the charge which was now, on his death, entrusted to the duke of Pí, who is mentioned at the commencement of 'the Testamentary Charge.' By the labours of the duke of *Káu* and *Kün-khán* a considerable change had been effected in the character of the people of Yin, who had been transferred to the new capital and its neighbourhood; and king Khang now

¹ Meaning the various princes, and especially those bearing the same surname as himself.

appoints the duke of Pî to enter into and complete their work.

After an introductory paragraph, the charge, in three chapters, occupies all the rest of the Book. The first of them speaks of what had been accomplished, and the admirable qualities of the duke which fitted him to accomplish what remained to be done. The second speaks of the special measures which were called for by the original character and the altered character of the people. The third dwells on the importance of the charge, and stimulates the duke, by various considerations, to address himself to fulfil it effectually.

1. In the sixth month of his twelfth year, the day of the new moon's appearance was Kǎng-wû, and on Zǎn-shǎn, the third day after, the king walked in the morning from the honoured capital of Kâu to Fǎng¹, and there, with reference to the multitudes of Kǎng-kâu², gave charge to the duke of Pî³ to protect and regulate the eastern border.

2. The king spoke to the following effect:— 'Oh! Grand-Master, it was when Wǎn and Wû had diffused their great virtue all under heaven, that they therefore received the appointment which Yin had enjoyed.* The duke of Kâu acted as assistant to my royal predecessors, and tranquillized and established their kingdom. Cautiously did he deal with the refractory people of Yin, and removed them to the city of Lo, that they might be quietly near the royal House, and be transformed by its

¹ That is, he went from Hào, founded by king Wû, to Fǎng the capital of Wǎn. The king wished to give his charge in the temple of king Wǎn, because the duke of Pî had been one of his ministers.

² Kǎng-kâu was a name of the new or 'lower' capital of Lo, perhaps as giving 'completion,' or full establishment to the dynasty.

³ The duke of Pî had succeeded the duke of Kâu, in the office of Grand-Master, under king Kǎng.

lessons. Six and thirty years have elapsed¹; the generation has been changed; and manners have altered. Through the four quarters of the land there is no occasion for anxiety, and I, the One man, enjoy repose.

'The prevailing ways now tend to advancement and now to degeneracy, and measures of government must be varied according to the manners (of the time). If you (now) do not manifest your approval of what is good, the people will not be led to stimulate themselves in it. But your virtue, O duke, is strenuous, and you are cautiously attentive to the smallest things. You have been helpful to and brightened four reigns²; with deportment all correct leading on the inferior officers, so that there is not one who does not reverently take your words as a law. Your admirable merits were many (and great) in the times of my predecessors; I, the little child, have but to let my robes hang down, and fold my hands, while I look up for the complete effect (of your measures).'

3. The king said, 'Oh! Grand-Master, I now reverently charge you with the duties of the duke of *K'áu*. Go! Signalize the good, separating the bad from them; give tokens of your approbation in their neighbourhoods³, making it ill for the evil by such distinction of the good, and thus establishing the influence and reputation (of their virtue). When the people will not obey your lessons and statutes,

¹ Probably, from the death of the duke of *K'áu*.

² Those of *Wán*, *Wú*, *K'äng*, and the existing reign of *Khang*.

³ Setting up, that is, some conspicuous monument, with an inscription testifying his approbation. All over China, at the present day, such testimonials are met with.

mark off the boundaries of their hamlets, making them fear (to do evil), and desire (to do good). Define anew the borders and frontiers, and be careful to strengthen the guard-posts through the territory, in order to secure tranquillity (within) the four seas. In measures of government to be consistent and constant, and in proclamations a combination of completeness and brevity, are valuable. There should not be the love of what is extraordinary. Among the customs of Shang was the flattery of superiors; sharp-tonguedness was the sign of worth. The remains of these manners are not yet obliterated. Do you, O duke, bear this in mind. I have heard the saying, "Families which have for generations enjoyed places of emolument seldom observe the rules of propriety. They become dissolute, and do violence to virtue, setting themselves in positive opposition to the way of Heaven. They ruin the formative principles of good; encourage extravagance and display; and tend to carry all (future ages) on the same stream with them." Now the officers of Yin had long relied on the favour which they enjoyed. In the confidence of their prideful extravagance they extinguished their (sense of) righteousness. They displayed before men the beauty of their robes, proud, licentious, arrogant, and boastful;—the natural issue was that they should end in being thoroughly bad. Although their lost minds have (in a measure) been recovered, it is difficult to keep them under proper restraint. If with their property and wealth they can be brought under the influence of instruction, they may enjoy lengthened years, virtue, and righteousness!—these are the great lessons. If you do not follow

in dealing with them these lessons of antiquity, wherein will you instruct them?’

4. The king said, ‘Oh! Grand-Master, the security or the danger of the kingdom depends on those officers of Yin. If you are not (too) stern with them nor (too) mild, their virtue will be truly cultivated. The duke of *Kâu* exercised the necessary caution at the beginning (of the undertaking); *Kün-khân* displayed the harmony proper to the middle of it; and you, O duke, can bring it at last to a successful issue. You three princes will have been one in aim, and will have equally pursued the proper way. The penetrating power of your principles, and the good character of your measures of government, will exert an enriching influence on the character of the people, so that the wild tribes, with their coats buttoning on the left¹, will all find their proper support in them, and I, the little child, will long enjoy much happiness. Thus, O duke, there in *Khâng-kâu* will you establish for ever the power (of *Kâu*), and you will have an inexhaustible fame. Your descendants will follow your perfect pattern, governing accordingly.

‘Oh! do not say, “I am unequal to this;” but exert your mind to the utmost. Do not say, “The people are few;” but attend carefully to your business. Reverently follow the accomplished achievements of the former kings, and complete the excellence of the government of your predecessors.’

¹ Confucius once praised Kwan Kung, a great minister of *Khî*, in the seventh century B.C., for his services against the wild tribes of his time, saying, that but for him they in China would be wearing their hair dishevelled, and buttoning the lappets of their coats on the left side. See *Analects*, XIV, xviii. The long robes and jackets of the Chinese generally stretch over on the right side of the chest, and are there buttoned.

BOOK XXV. THE KÜN-YÂ.

ACCORDING to the note in the Preface to the Shŭ, the charge delivered in this Book to Kün-yâ, or possibly 'the prince Yâ,' was by king Mû; and its dictum is not challenged by any Chinese critic. The reign of king K'ho, who succeeded to Khang, is thus passed over in the documents of the Shŭ. Mû was the son and successor of K'ho, and reigned from B.C. 1001 to 947.

Kün-yâ's surname is not known. He is here appointed to be Minister of Instruction, and as it is intimated that his father and grandfather had been in the same office, it is conjectured that he was the grandson of the earl of Zui, who was Minister of Instruction at the beginning of the reign of king Khang.

The Book is short, speaking of the duties of the office, and stimulating Yâ to the discharge of them by considerations drawn from the merits of his forefathers, and the services which he would render to the dynasty and his sovereign.

1. The king spoke to the following effect:—
 'Oh! Kün-yâ, your grandfather and your father, one after the other, with a true loyalty and honesty, laboured in the service of the royal House, accomplishing a merit that was recorded on the grand banner¹. I, the little child, have become charged by inheritance with the line of government transmitted from Wăn and Wû, from K'ho and Khang; I also keep thinking of their ministers who aided them in the good government of the kingdom; the trembling anxiety of my mind makes me feel as if I were treading on a tiger's tail, or walking upon spring ice. I now give you charge to assist me;

¹ The grand banner was borne aloft when the king went to sacrifice. There were figures of the sun and moon on it, and dragons lying along its breadth, one over the other, head above tail. The names of meritorious ministers were inscribed on it during their lifetime, preparatory to their sharing in the sacrifices of the ancestral temple after their death.

be as my limbs to me, as my heart and backbone. Continue their old service, and do not disgrace your grandfather and father.

'Diffuse widely (the knowledge of) the five invariable relations (of society), and reverently seek to produce a harmonious observance of the duties belonging to them among the people. If you are correct in your own person, none will dare to be but correct. The minds of the people cannot attain to the right mean (of duty);—they must be guided by your attaining to it. In the heat and rains of summer, the inferior people may be described as murmuring and sighing. And so it is with them in the great cold of winter. How great are their hardships! Think of their hardships in order to seek to promote their ease; and the people will be tranquil. Oh! how great and splendid were the plans of king Wăn! How greatly were they carried out by the energy of king Wû! All in principle correct, and deficient in nothing, they are for the help and guidance of us their descendants. Do you with reverence and wisdom carry out your instructions, enabling me to honour and follow the example of my (immediate) predecessors, and to respond to and display the bright decree conferred on Wăn and Wû;—so shall you be the mate of your by-gone fathers.'

2. The king spoke to the following effect:—
'Kün-yâ, do you take for your rule the lessons afforded by the courses of your excellent fathers. The good or the bad order of the people depends on this. You will thus follow the practice of your grandfather and father, and make the good government of your sovereign illustrious.'

BOOK XXVI. THE CHARGE TO *KHIUNG*.

THE charge recorded here, like that in the last Book, is assigned to king Mû. It was delivered on the appointment of a *Khiung* or *Po-Khiung* (that is, the eldest *Khiung*, the eldest brother in his family) to be High Chamberlain. Of this *Khiung* we know nothing more than we learn from the Shû. He was no high dignitary of state. That the charge to him found a place in the Shû, we are told, shows how important it was thought that men in the lowest positions, yet coming into contact with the sovereign, should possess correct principles and an earnest desire for his progress in intelligence and virtue.

King Mû represents himself as conscious of his own incompetencies, and impressed with a sense of the high duties devolving on him. His predecessors, much superior to himself, were yet greatly indebted to the aid of the officers about them;—how much more must this be the case with him!

He proceeds to appoint *Khiung* to be the High Chamberlain, telling him how he should guide correctly all the other servants about the royal person, so that none but good influences should be near to act upon the king;—telling him also the manner of men whom he should employ, and the care he should exercise in the selection of them.

The king spoke to the following effect:—‘*Po-khiung*, I come short in virtue, and have succeeded to the former kings, to occupy the great throne. I am fearful, and conscious of the peril (of my position). I rise at midnight, and think how I can avoid falling into errors. Formerly Wăn and Wû were endowed with all intelligence, august and sage, while their ministers, small and great, all cherished loyalty and goodness. Their servants, charioteers, chamberlains, and followers were all men of correctness; morning and evening waiting on their sovereign’s wishes, or supplying his deficiencies. (Those kings), going out and coming in, rising up and sitting

down, were thus made reverent. Their every warning or command was good. The people yielded a reverent obedience, and the myriad regions were all happy. But I, the One man, am destitute of goodness, and really depend on the officers who have places about me to help my deficiencies, applying the line to my faults, and exhibiting my errors, thus correcting my bad heart, and enabling me to be the successor of my meritorious predecessors.

‘Now I appoint you to be High Chamberlain, to see that all the officers in your department and my personal attendants are upright and correct, that they strive to promote the virtue of their sovereign, and together supply my deficiencies. Be careful in selecting your officers. Do not employ men of artful speech and insinuating looks, men whose likes and dislikes are ruled by mine, one-sided men and flatterers; but employ good men. When these household officers are correct, the sovereign will be correct; when they are flatterers, the sovereign will consider himself a sage. His virtue or his want of it equally depends on them. Cultivate no intimacy with flatterers, nor get them to do duty for me as my ears and eyes;—they will lead their sovereign to disregard the statutes of the former kings. If you choose the men not for their personal goodness, but for the sake of their bribes, their offices will be made of no effect, your great want of reverence for your sovereign will be apparent, and I will hold you guilty.’

The king said, ‘Oh! be reverent! Ever help your sovereign to follow the regular laws of duty (which he should exemplify).’

BOOK XXVII.

THE MARQUIS OF LÜ ON PUNISHMENTS.

THE charge or charges recorded in this Book were given in the hundredth year of the king's age. The king, it is again understood, was Mû; and the hundredth year of his age would be B. C. 952. The title of the Book in Chinese is simply 'Lü's Punishments,' and I conclude that Lü, or the marquis of Lü, was a high minister who prepared, by the king's orders, a code of punishments for the regulation of the kingdom, in connexion with the undertaking, or the completion, of which the king delivered to his princes and judges the sentiments that are here preserved.

The common view is that Lü is the name of a principality, the marquis of which was Mû's Minister of Crime. Where it was is not well known, and as the Book is quoted in the *Lí Kí* several times under the title of 'Fû on Punishments,' it is supposed that Lü and Fû (a small marquisate in the present Ho-nan) were the same.

The whole Book is divided into seven chapters. The first is merely a brief introduction, the historiographer's account of the circumstances in which king Mû delivered his lessons. Each of the other chapters begins with the words, 'The king said.' The first two of them are an historical resumé of the lessons of antiquity on the subject of punishments, and an inculcation on the princes and officers of justice to give heed to them, and learn from them. The next two tell the princes of the diligence and carefulness to be employed in the use of punishments, and how they can make punishments a blessing. The fourth chapter treats principally of the commutation or redemption of punishments, and has been very strongly condemned by critics and moralists. They express their surprise that such a document should be in the Shû, and, holding that the collection was made by Confucius, venture to ask what the sage meant by admitting it. There is, in fact, no evidence that the redemption of punishments on the scale here laid down, existed in China before Mû's time. It has entered, however, into the penal code of every subsequent dynasty. Great official corruption and depravation of the general morality would seem to be inseparable from such a system. The fifth chapter returns again to the

reverence with which punishments should be employed; and the sixth and last is addressed to future generations, and directs them to the ancient models, in order that punishments may never be but a blessing to the kingdom.

A Chinese critic says that throughout the Book 'virtue' and 'exact adaptation' are the terms that carry the weight of the meaning. Virtue must underlie the use of punishments, of which their exact adaptation will be the manifestation.

1. In reference to the charge to (the marquis of) Lü:—When the king had occupied the throne till he reached the age of a hundred years, he gave great consideration to the appointment of punishments, in order to deal with (the people of) the four quarters.

2. The king said, 'According to the teachings of ancient times, *K'ih Yü* was the first to produce disorder, which spread among the quiet, orderly people, till all became robbers and murderers, owl-like and yet self-complacent in their conduct, traitors and villains, snatching and filching, dissemblers and oppressors¹.

'Among the people of Miáo, they did not use the power of goodness, but the restraint of punishments. They made the five punishments engines of oppression², calling them the laws. They

¹ *K'ih Yü*, as has been observed in the Introduction, p. 27, is the most ancient name mentioned in the *Shü*, and carries us back, according to the Chinese chronologists, nearly to the beginning of the twenty-seventh century B. C. P. Gaubil translates the characters which appear in the English text here as 'According to the teachings of ancient times' by 'Selon les anciens documents,' which is more than the Chinese text says.—It is remarkable that at the commencement of Chinese history, Chinese tradition placed a period of innocence, a season when order and virtue ruled in men's affairs.

² I do not think it is intended to say here that 'the five punishments' were invented by the chiefs of the Miáo; but only that

slaughtered the innocent, and were the first also to go to excess in cutting off the nose, cutting off the ears, castration, and branding. All who became liable to those punishments were dealt with without distinction, no difference being made in favour of those who could offer some excuse. The people were gradually affected by this state of things, and became dark and disorderly. Their hearts were no more set on good faith, but they violated their oaths and covenants. The multitudes who suffered from the oppressive terrors, and were (in danger of) being murdered, declared their innocence to Heaven. God surveyed the people, and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their (cruel) punishments.*

'The great Tî¹ compassionated the innocent multitudes that were (in danger of) being murdered, and made the oppressors feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and (finally) extinguished the people of Miáo, so that they should not con-

these used them excessively and barbarously. From two passages in the Canon of Shun, we conclude that that monarch was acquainted with 'the five great inflictions or punishments,' and gave instructions to his minister Káo-yáo as to their use.

¹ Here is the name—Hwang Tî—by which the sovereigns of China have been styled from B.C. 221, since the emperor of K'in, on his extinction of the feudal states, enacted that it should be borne by himself and his descendants. I have spoken of the meaning of Tî and of the title Hwang Tî in the note on the translation of the Shū appended to the Preface. There can be no doubt that it was Shun whom king Mû intended by the name. A few sentences further on, the mention of Po-î and Yü leads us to the time subsequent to Yáo, and there does not appear to be any change of subject in the paragraph. We get from this Book a higher idea of the power of the Miáo than from the Books of Part II.

tinue to future generations. Then he commissioned *Khung* and *Lî*¹ to make an end of the communications between earth and heaven; and the descents (of spirits) ceased¹. From the princes down to the

¹ *Khung* and *Lî* are nowhere met with in the previous parts of the *Shû*, nor in any other reliable documents of history, as officers of *Shun*. *Zhâi K'ân* and others would identify them with the *Hsi* and *Ho* of the Canon of *Yáo*, and hold those to have been descended from a *Khung* and a *Lî*, supposed to belong to the time of *Shào Hào* in the twenty-sixth century B.C.

Whoever they were, the duty with which they were charged was remarkable. In the *Narratives of the States* (a book of the *K'au* dynasty), we find a conversation on it, during the lifetime of *Confucius*, between king *K'áo* of *K'û* (B.C. 515-489) and one of his ministers, called *Kwan Yi-fû*. 'What is meant,' asked the king, 'by what is said in one of the Books of *K'au* about *Khung* and *Lî*, that they really brought it about that there was no intercourse between heaven and earth? If they had not done so, would people have been able to 'ascend to heaven?' The minister replied that that was not the meaning at all, and gave his own view of it at great length, to the following effect.—Anciently, the people attended to the discharge of their duties to one another, and left the worship of spiritual beings—the seeking intercourse with them, and invoking and effecting their descent on earth—to the officers who were appointed for that purpose. In this way things proceeded with great regularity. The people minded their own affairs, and the spirits minded theirs. Tranquillity and prosperity were the consequence. But in the time of *Shào Hào*, through the lawlessness of *K'û-lî*, a change took place. The people intruded into the functions of the regulators of the spirits and their worship. They abandoned their duties to their fellow men, and tried to bring down spirits from above. The spirits themselves, no longer kept in check and subjected to rule, made their appearance irregularly and disastrously. All was confusion and calamity, when *Kwan Hsü* (B.C. 2510-2433) took the case in hand. He appointed *Khung*, the Minister of the South, to the superintendency of heavenly things, to prescribe the laws for the spirits, and *Lî*, the Minister of Fire, to the superintendency of earthly things, to prescribe the rules for the people. In this way both spirits and people were

inferior officers, all helped with clear intelligence (the spread of) the regular principles of duty, and the solitary and widows were no longer overlooked. The great Tí with an unprejudiced mind carried his enquiries low down among the people, and the solitary and widows laid before him their complaints against the Miáo. He awed the people by the majesty of his virtue, and enlightened them by its brightness. He thereupon charged the three princely (ministers)¹ to labour with compassionate anxiety in the people's behalf. Po-f delivered his statutes to prevent the people from rendering themselves obnoxious to punishment; Yü reduced to order the water and the land, and presided over the naming of the hills and rivers; Kí spread abroad a knowledge of agriculture, and (the people) extensively cultivated the admirable grains. When the three princes had accomplished their work, it was abundantly well with the people. The Minister of Crime² exercised among them the restraint of

brought back to their former regular courses, and there was no unhallowed interference of the one with the other. This was the work described in the text. But subsequently the chief of San-miáo showed himself a Kíu-lí redivivus, till Yáo called forth the descendants of K'ung and Lí, who had not forgotten the virtue and functions of their fathers, and made them take the case in hand again.

According to Yí-fú's statements K'ung's functions were those of the Minister of Religion, and Lí's those of the Minister of Instruction; but Hsí and Ho were simply Ministers of Astronomy and the Calendar, and their descendants continue to appear as such in the Shū to the reign of Kung Khang, long after we know that men of other families were appointed to the important ministries of K'ung and Lí.

¹ Those immediately mentioned,—Po-f, Yü, and Kí. See the Canon of Shun and other Books of Part II.

² Káo-yáo.

punishment in exact adaptation to each offence, and taught them to reverence virtue. The greatest gravity and harmony in the sovereign, and the greatest intelligence in those below him, thus shining forth to all quarters (of the land), all were rendered diligent in cultivating their virtue. Hence, (if anything more were wanted), the clear adjudication of punishments effected the regulation of the people, and helped them to observe the regular duties of life. The officers who presided over criminal cases executed the law (fearlessly) against the powerful, and (faithfully) against the wealthy. They were reverent and cautious. They had no occasion to make choice of words to vindicate their conduct. The virtue of Heaven was attained to by them ; from them was the determination of so great a matter as the lives (of men). In their low sphere they yet corresponded (to Heaven) and enjoyed (its favour).’ *

3. The king said, ‘ Ah ! you who direct the government and preside over criminal cases through all the land, are you not constituted the shepherds of Heaven ? * To whom ought you now to look as your pattern ? Is it not to Po-ti, spreading among the people his lessons to avert punishments ? And from whom ought you now to take warning ? Is it not from the people of Miáo, who would not examine into the circumstances of criminal cases, and did not make choice of good officers that should see to the right apportioning of the five punishments, but chose the violent and bribe-snatchers, who determined and administered them, so as to oppress the innocent, until God would no longer hold them guiltless, and sent down calamity on

Miào, when the people had no plea to allege in mitigation of their punishment, and their name was cut off from the world?'*

4. The king said, 'Oh! lay it to heart. My uncles, and all ye, my brethren and cousins, my sons and my grandsons¹, listen all of you to my words, in which, it may be, you will receive a most important charge. You will only tread the path of satisfaction by being daily diligent;—do not have occasion to beware of the want of diligence. Heaven, in its wish to regulate the people, allows us for a day to make use of punishments.* Whether crimes have been premeditated, or are unpremeditated, depends on the parties concerned;—do you (deal with them so as to) accord with the mind of Heaven, and thus serve me, the One man. Though I would put them to death, do not you therefore put them to death; though I would spare them, do not you therefore spare them. Reverently apportion the five punishments, so as fully to exhibit the three virtues². Then shall I, the One man, enjoy felicity; the people will look to you as their sure dependance; the repose of such a state will be perpetual.'

5. The king said, 'Ho! come, ye rulers of states and territories³, I will tell you how to make punishments a blessing. It is yours now to give repose to the people;—what should you be most concerned

¹ Meaning all the princes of the same surname as himself. As he was a hundred years old, there might well be among them those who were really his sons and grandsons.

² 'The three virtues' are those of the Great Plan; those of 'correctness and straightforwardness,' of 'strong government,' and of 'mild government.'

³ Meaning all the princes;—of the king's own and other surnames.

about the choosing of? Should it not be the proper men? What should you deal with the most reverently? Should it not be punishments? What should you calculate the most carefully? Should it not be to whom these will reach?

'When both parties are present, (with their documents and witnesses) all complete, let the judges listen to the fivefold statements that may be made¹. When they have examined and fully made up their minds on those, let them adjust the case to one of the five punishments. If the five punishments do not meet it, let them adjust it to one of the five redemption-fines; and if these, again, are not sufficient for it, let them reckon it among the five cases of error².

'In (settling) the five cases of error there are evils (to be guarded against);—being warped by the influence of power, or by private grudge, or by female solicitation, or by bribes, or by applications. Any one of these things should be held equal to the crime (before the judges). Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to (every difficulty).

'When there are doubts as to the infliction of any of the five punishments, that infliction should be forborne. When there are doubts as to the

¹ That is, the statements, with the evidence on both sides, whether incriminating or exculpating. They are called fivefold, as the case might have to be dealt with by one or other of 'the five punishments.'

² That is, the offences of inadvertence. What should ensue on the adjudication of any case to be so ranked does not appear. It would be very leniently dealt with, and perhaps pardoned. In 'the Counsels of Yü,' Kào-yáo says to Shun, 'You pardon inadvertent offences however great.'

infliction of any of the five fines, it should be forborne. Do you carefully examine, and prove yourselves equal to overcome (every difficulty). When you have examined and many things are clear, yet form a judgment from studying the appearance of the parties. If you find nothing out on examination, do not listen (to the case any more). In everything stand in awe of the dread majesty of Heaven.*

'When, in a doubtful case, the punishment of branding is forborne, the fine to be laid on instead is 600 ounces (of copper); but you must first have satisfied yourselves as to the crime. When the case would require the cutting off the nose, the fine must be double this;—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be the cutting off the feet, the fine must be 3000 ounces;—with the same careful determination of the crime. When the punishment would be castration¹, the fine must be 3600 ounces;—with the same determination. When the punishment would be death, the fine must be 6000 ounces;—with the same determination. Of crimes that may be redeemed by the fine in lieu of branding there are 1000; and the same number of those that would otherwise incur cutting off the nose. The fine in lieu of cutting off the feet extends to 500 cases; that in lieu of castration, to 300; and that in lieu of death, to 200. Altogether, set against the five punishments, there are 3000 crimes. (In the case of others not exactly defined), you must class them with the (next) higher or (next) lower offences, not

¹ Or solitary confinement in the case of a female.

admitting assumptive and disorderly pleadings, and not using obsolete laws. Examine and act lawfully, judging carefully, and proving yourselves equal (to every difficulty).

‘Where the crime should incur one of the higher punishments, but there are mitigating circumstances, apply to it the next lower. Where it should incur one of the lower punishments, but there are aggravating circumstances, apply to it the next higher. The light and heavy fines are to be apportioned (in the same way) by the balance of circumstances. Punishments and fines should (also) be light in one age, and heavy in another. To secure uniformity in this (seeming) irregularity, there are certain relations of things (to be considered), and the essential principle (to be observed).

‘The chastisement of fines is short of death, yet it will produce extreme distress. They are not (therefore) persons of artful tongues who should determine criminal cases, but really good persons, whose awards will hit the right mean. Examine carefully where there are any discrepancies in the statements; the view which you were resolved not to follow, you may see occasion to follow; with compassion and reverence settle the cases; examine carefully the penal code, and deliberate with all about it, that your decisions may be likely to hit the proper mean and be correct;—whether it be the infliction of a punishment or a fine, examining carefully and mastering every difficulty. When the case is thus concluded, all parties will acknowledge the justice of the sentence; and when it is reported, the sovereign will do the same. In sending up reports of cases, they must be full and complete.

If a man have been tried on two counts, his two punishments (must be recorded).'

6. The king said, 'Oh! let there be a feeling of reverence. Ye judges and princes, of the same surname with me, and of other surnames, (know all) that I speak in much fear. I think with reverence of the subject of punishment, for the end of it is to promote virtue. Now Heaven, wishing to help the people, has made us its representatives here below.* Be intelligent and pure in hearing (each) side of a case. The right ordering of the people depends on the impartial hearing of the pleas on both sides;—do not seek for private advantage to yourselves by means of those pleas. Gain (so) got by the decision of cases is no precious acquisition; it is an accumulation of guilt, and will be recompensed with many judgments:—you should ever stand in awe of the punishment of Heaven.* It is not Heaven that does not deal impartially with men, but men ruin themselves. If the punishment of Heaven were not so extreme, nowhere under the sky would the people have good government.'

7. The king said, 'Oh! ye who shall hereafter inherit (the dignities and offices of) the present time, to whom are ye to look for your models? Must it not be to those who promoted the virtue belonging to the unbiassed nature of the people? I pray you give attention to my words. The wise men (of antiquity) by their use of punishments obtained boundless fame. Everything relating to the five punishments exactly hit with them the due mean, and hence came their excellence. Receiving from your sovereigns the good multitudes, behold in the case of those men punishments made felicitous!'

BOOK XXVIII.

THE CHARGE TO THE MARQUIS WÂN.

THE king to whom this charge is ascribed was Phing (B. C. 770-719).

Between him and Mû there was thus a period of fully two centuries, of which no documents are, or ever were, in the collection of the Shû. The time was occupied by seven reigns, the last of which was that of Nieh, known as king Yû, a worthless ruler, and besotted in his attachment to a female favourite, called Pâo-sze. For her sake he degraded his queen, and sent their son, Î-khiû, to the court of the lord of Shăn, her father, 'to learn good manners.' The lord of Shăn called in the assistance of some barbarian tribes, by which the capital was sacked, and the king slain; and with him ended the sway of 'the Western Kâu.' Several of the feudal princes went to the assistance of the royal House, drove away the barbarians, brought back Î-khiû from Shăn, and hailed him as king. He is known as king Phing, 'the Tranquillizer.' His first measure was to transfer the capital from the ruins of Hào to Lo, thus fulfilling at length, but under disastrous circumstances, the wishes of the duke of Kâu; and from this time (B. C. 770) dates the history of 'the Eastern Kâu.'

Among king Phing's early measures was the rewarding the feudal lords to whom he owed his throne. The marquis of K'in was one of them. His name was K'hiû, and that of Î-ho, by which he is called in the text, is taken as his 'style,' or designation assumed by him on his marriage. Wân, 'the Accomplished,' was his sacrificial title. The lords of K'in were descended from king Wû's son, Yû, who was appointed marquis of Thang, corresponding to the present department of Thâi-yüan, in Shan-hsi. The name of Thang was afterwards changed into K'in. The state became in course of time one of the largest and most powerful in the kingdom.

The charge in this Book is understood to be in connexion with Wân's appointment to be president or chief of several of the other princes. The king begins by celebrating the virtues and happy times of kings Wân and Wû, and the services rendered by the worthy ministers of subsequent reigns. He contrasts with this the misery and distraction of his own times, deploring his want of wise counsellors and helpers, and praising the

marquis for the services which he had rendered. He then concludes with the special charge by which he would reward the prince's merit in the past, and stimulate him to greater exertions in the future.

1. The king spoke to the following effect:—
 'Uncle Í-ho, how illustrious were Wăn and Wû! Carefully did they make their virtue brilliant, till it rose brightly on high, and the fame of it was widely diffused here below. Therefore God caused his favouring decree to light upon king Wăn.* There were ministers also (thereafter), who aided and illustriously served their sovereigns, following and carrying out their plans, great and small, so that my fathers sat tranquilly on the throne.

'Oh! an object of pity am I, who am (but as) a little child. Just as I have succeeded to the throne, Heaven has severely chastised me.* Through the interruption of the (royal) bounties that ceased to descend to the inferior people, the invading barbarous tribes of the west have greatly (injured) our kingdom. Moreover, among the managers of my affairs there are none of age and experience and distinguished ability in their offices. I am (thus) unequal (to the difficulties of my position), and say to myself, "My grand-uncles and uncles, you ought to compassionate my case." Oh! if there were those who could establish their merit in behalf of me, the One man, I might long enjoy repose upon the throne.

'Uncle Í-ho, you render still more glorious your illustrious ancestor. You were the first to imitate the example of Wăn and Wû, collecting (the scattered powers), and continuing (the all but broken line of) your sovereign. Your filial piety goes back

to your accomplished ancestor, (and is equal to his.) You have done much to repair my (losses), and defend me in my difficulties, and of you, being such, I am full of admiration.'

2. The king said, 'Uncle Í-ho, return home, survey your multitudes, and tranquillize your state. I reward you with a jar of spirits, distilled from the black millet, and flavoured with odoriferous herbs¹, with a red bow, and a hundred red arrows²; with a black bow, and a hundred black arrows; and with four horses. Go, my uncle. Show kindness to those that are far off, and help those who are near at hand; cherish and secure the repose of the inferior people; do not idly seek your ease; exercise an inspection and (benign) compassion in your capital (and all your borders);—thus completing your illustrious virtue.'

BOOK XXIX. THE SPEECH AT PĪ.

THE Speech at PĪ carries us back from the time of Phing to that of king *Kháng*. In the Preface to the *Shû* it is attributed to *Po-khín*, the son of the duke of *Káu*; and there is a general acquiescence of tradition and critics in this view. We may account for its position out of the chronological order from

¹ Compare king *Kháng's* gift to the duke of *Káu*, in the Announcement concerning *Lo*, ch. 6.

² The conferring on a prince of a bow and arrows, invested him with the power of punishing throughout the states within his jurisdiction all who were disobedient to the royal commands, but not of taking life without first reporting to the court. The gift was also a tribute to the merit of the receiver. See the Book of Poetry, II, iii, ode 1.

the Book's being the record not of any royal doings, but of the words of the ruler of a state.

The speech has reference to some military operations against the wild tribes on the Hwâi river and in other parts of the province of Hsü; and we have seen that they were in insurrection many times during the reign of *Khâng*. We thus cannot tell exactly the year in which the speech was delivered. *Po-khin* presided over his state of *Lû* for the long period of fifty-three years, and died B. C. 1063.

The name of *Pi* is retained in the district still so called of the department of *Í-káu*. At first it was an independent territory, but attached to *Lû*, and under the jurisdiction of its marquises, by one of whom it had been incorporated with *Lû* before the time of Confucius.

Po-khin appears at the head of his host, approaching the scene of active operations. Having commanded silence, he issues his orders, first, that the soldiers shall have their weapons in good order; next, that the people of the country shall take care of the oxen and horses of the army; further, that the troops on no account leave their ranks or go astray; and finally, he names the day when he will commence operations against the enemy, and commands all the requisite preparations to be made.

The duke said, 'Ah! ye men, make no noise, but listen to my commands. We are going (to punish) those wild tribes of the Hwâi and of Hsü, which have risen up together.

'Have in good repair your buff coats and helmets; have the laces of your shields well secured;—presume not to have any of them but in perfect order. Prepare your bows and arrows; temper your lances and spears; sharpen your pointed and edged weapons;—presume not to have any of them but in good condition.

'We must now largely let the oxen and horses loose, and not keep them in enclosures;—(ye people), do you close your traps and fill up your pitfalls, and do not presume to injure any of the animals (so let loose). If any of them be injured,

you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘When the horses or cattle are seeking one another, or when your followers, male or female, abscond, presume not to leave the ranks to pursue them. But let them be carefully returned. I will reward you (among the people) who return them according to their value. But if you leave your places to pursue them, or if you who find them do not restore them, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘And let none of you presume to commit any robbery or detain any creature that comes in your way, to jump over enclosures and walls to steal (people’s) horses or oxen, or to decoy away their servants or female attendants. If you do so, you shall be dealt with according to the regular punishments.

‘On the day *Kiá-hsü* I will take action against the hordes of *Hsü*;—prepare the roasted grain and other provisions, and presume not to have any deficiency. If you have, you shall suffer the severest punishment. Ye men of *Lû*, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond¹,

¹ Outside the capital city was an environing territory called the *Kiáo*, and beyond the *Kiáo* was the *Sui*. The *Kiáo* of the royal domain was divided again into six *Hsiang*, which furnished the six royal hosts, while the *Sui* beyond furnished subsidiary hosts. The *Kiáo* and *Sui* of a large state furnished three hosts, and if need were, subsidiary battalions. The language of the text is equivalent, I conceive, simply to ‘ye men of the army of *Lû*;’ but, as P. Gaubil observes, it is difficult at the present day to get correct ideas of what is meant by the designations, and to account for the mention of three *Kiáo* and three *Sui*.

be ready with your posts and planks. On *Kiâ-hsü* I will commence my intrenchments;—dare not but be provided with a supply of these. (If you be not so provided), you shall be subjected to various punishments, short only of death. Ye men of *Lû*, from the three environing territories and the three tracts beyond, be ready with the forage, and do not dare to let it be other than abundant. (If you do), you shall suffer the severest punishment.'

BOOK XXX.

THE SPEECH OF (THE MARQUIS OF) *KHIN*.

THE state of *Khin*, at the time to which this speech belongs, was one of the most powerful in the kingdom, and already giving promise of what it would grow to. Ultimately, one of its princes overthrew the dynasty of *Kâu*, and brought feudal China to an end. Its earliest capital was in the present district of *Khâng-shui*, *Khin Kâu*, *Kan-sû*.

Khin and *Kim* were engaged together in B. C. 631 in besieging the capital of *Khâng*, and threatened to extinguish that state. The marquis of *Khin*, however, was suddenly induced to withdraw his troops, leaving three of his officers in friendly relations with the court of *Khâng*, and under engagement to defend the state from aggression. These men played the part of spies in the interest of *Khin*, and in B. C. 629, one of them, called *Khi-jze*, sent word that he was in charge of one of the gates, and if an army were sent to surprise the capital, *Khâng* might be added to the territories of *Khin*. The marquis—known in history as duke *Mû*—laid the matter before his counsellors. The most experienced of them—*Pâi-lî Hsî* and *Khien-shû*—were against taking advantage of the proposed treachery; but the marquis listened rather to the promptings of ambition; and the next year he sent a large force, under his three ablest commanders, hoping to find *Khâng* unprepared for any resistance. The attempt, however, failed; and the army, on its way back to

Khin, was attacked by the forces of *Kin*, and sustained a terrible defeat. It was nearly annihilated, and the three commanders were taken prisoners.

The marquis of *Kin* was intending to put these captives to death, but finally sent them to *Khin*, that duke *Mû* might himself sacrifice them to his anger for their want of success. *Mû*, however, did no such thing. He went from his capital to meet the disgraced generals, and comforted them, saying that the blame of their defeat was due to himself, who had refused to listen to the advice of his wise counsellors. Then also, it is said, he made the speech here preserved for the benefit of all his ministers, describing the good and bad minister, and the different issues of listening to them, and deploring how he had himself foolishly rejected the advice of his aged counsellors, and followed that of new men ;—a thing which he would never do again.

The duke¹ said, 'Ah! my officers, listen to me without noise. I solemnly announce to you the most important of all sayings. (It is this which) the ancients have said, "Thus it is with all people,—they mostly love their ease. In reproving others there is no difficulty, but to receive reproof, and allow it to have free course,—this is difficult." The sorrow of my heart is, that the days and months have passed away, and it is not likely they will come again, (so that I might pursue a different course.)

'There were my old counsellors².—I said, "They will not accommodate themselves to me," and I hated them. There were my new counsellors, and I would for the time give my confidence to them³. So indeed it was with me; but hereafter I will

¹ The prince of *Khin* was only a marquis; but the historiographers or recorders of a state always gave their ruler the higher title. This shows that this speech is taken from the chronicles of *Khin*.

² *Pai-lî Hsi* and *Khien-shû*.

³ *Khi-jze* and others.

take advice from the men of yellow hair, and then I shall be free from error. That good old officer!—his strength is exhausted, but I would rather have him (as my counsellor). That dashing brave officer!—his shooting and charioteering are faultless, but I would rather not wish to have him. As to men of quibbles, skilful at cunning words, and able to make the good man change his purposes, what have I to do to make much use of them?

‘I have deeply thought and concluded.—Let me have but one resolute minister, plain and sincere, without other ability, but having a straightforward mind, and possessed of generosity, regarding the talents of others as if he himself possessed them; and when he finds accomplished and sage men, loving them in his heart more than his mouth expresses, really showing himself able to bear them:—such a minister would be able to preserve my descendants and people, and would indeed be a giver of benefits.

‘But if (the minister), when he finds men of ability, be jealous and hates them; if, when he finds accomplished and sage men, he oppose them and does not allow their advancement, showing himself really not able to bear them:—such a man will not be able to protect my descendants and people; and will he not be a dangerous man?

‘The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from the goodness of one man.’

THE SHIH KING

OR

BOOK OF POETRY:

ALL THE PIECES AND STANZAS IN IT ILLUSTRATING
THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF
THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

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THE SHIH KING

OR

BOOK OF POETRY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NAME AND CONTENTS OF THE CLASSIC.

1. Among the Chinese classical books next after the Shû in point of antiquity comes the Shih or Book of Poetry.

The character Shû¹, as formed by the combination of two others, one of which signified 'a pencil,' and the other 'to speak,' supplied, we saw, in its structure, an indication of its primary significance, and furnished a clue to its different applications. The character Shih² was made on a different principle,—that of phonetical formation, in the peculiar sense of these words when applied to a large class of Chinese terms. The significative portion of it is the character for 'speech,' but the other half is merely phonetical, enabling us to approximate to its pronunciation or name. The meaning of the compound has to be learned from its usage. Its most common significations are 'poetry,' 'a poem, or poems,' and 'a collection of poems.' This last is its meaning when we speak of the Shih or the Shih King.

The earliest Chinese utterance that we have on the subject of poetry is that in the Shû by the ancient Shun, when he said to his Minister of Music, 'Poetry is the expression of earnest thought, and singing is the prolonged

¹書

²詩

utterance of that expression.' To the same effect is the language of a Preface to the Shih, sometimes ascribed to Confucius, and certainly older than our Christian era:— 'Poetry is the product of earnest thought. Thought cherished in the mind becomes earnest; then expressed in words, it becomes poetry. The feelings move inwardly, and are embodied in words. When words are insufficient for them, recourse is had to sighs and exclamations. When sighs and exclamations are insufficient for them, recourse is had to the prolonged utterance of song. When this again is insufficient, unconsciously the hands begin to move and the feet to dance. . . . To set forth correctly the successes and failures (of government), to affect Heaven and Earth, and to move spiritual beings, there is no readier instrument than poetry.'

Rhyme, it may be added here, is a necessary accompaniment of poetry in the estimation of the Chinese. Only in a very few pieces of the Shih is it neglected.

2. The Shih King contains 305 pieces and the titles of The contents of the Shih. six others. The most recent of them are assigned to the reign of king Ting of the Kâu dynasty, B. C. 606 to 586, and the oldest, forming a group of only five, to the period of the Shang dynasty which preceded that of Kâu, B. C. 1766 to 1123. Of those five, the latest piece should be referred to the twelfth century B. C., and the most ancient may have been composed five centuries earlier. All the other pieces in the Shih have to be distributed over the time between Ting and king Wăn, the founder of the line of Kâu. The distribution, however, is not equal nor continuous. There were some reigns of which we do not have a single poetical fragment.

The whole collection is divided into four parts, called the Kwo Făng, the Hsiáo Yâ, the Tâ Yâ, and the Sung.

The Kwo Făng, in fifteen Books, contains 160 pieces, nearly all of them short, and descriptive of manners and events in several of the feudal states of Kâu. The title has been translated by The Manners of the Different States, 'Les Mœurs des Royaumes,' and, which I prefer, by Lessons from the States.

The Hsiáo Yâ, or Lesser Yâ, in eight Books, contains seventy-four pieces and the titles of six others, sung at gatherings of the feudal princes, and their appearances at the royal court. They were produced in the royal territory, and are descriptive of the manners and ways of the government in successive reigns. It is difficult to find an English word that shall fitly represent the Chinese Yâ as here used. In his Latin translation of the Shih, P. Lacharme translated Hsiáo Yâ by 'Quod rectum est, sed inferiore ordine,' adding in a note:—'Siáo Yâ, latine Parvum Rectum, quia in hac Parte mores describuntur, recti illi quidem, qui tamen nonnihil a recto deflectunt.' But the manners described are not less correct or incorrect, as the case may be, than those of the states in the former Part or of the kingdom in the next. I prefer to call this Part 'Minor Odes of the Kingdom,' without attempting to translate the term Yâ.

The Tâ Yâ or Greater Yâ, in three Books, contains thirty-one pieces, sung on great occasions at the royal court and in the presence of the king. P. Lacharme called it 'Magnum Rectum (Quod rectum est superiore ordine).' But there is the same objection here to the use of the word 'correct' as in the case of the pieces of the previous Part. I use the name 'Major Odes of the Kingdom.' The greater length and dignity of most of the pieces justify the distinction of the two Parts into Minor and Major.

The Sung, also in three Books, contains forty pieces, thirty-one of which belong to the sacrificial services at the royal court of Kâu; four, to those of the marquises of Lû; and five to the corresponding sacrifices of the kings of Shang. P. Lacharme denominated them correctly 'Parentales Cantus.' In the Preface to the Shih, to which I have made reference above, it is said, 'The Sung are pieces in admiration of the embodied manifestation of complete virtue, announcing to the spiritual Intelligences their achievement thereof.' K'ü Hsi's account of the Sung was—'Songs for the Music of the Ancestral Temple;' and that of K'iang Yung of the present dynasty—'Songs for the Music at Sacrifices.' I have united these two definitions, and call the Part—'Odes of the Temple and the Altar.' There is

a difference between the pieces of Lû and the other two collections in this Part, to which I will call attention in giving the translation of them.

From the above account of the contents of the Shih, it will be seen that only the pieces in the last of its four Parts are professedly of a religious character. Many of those, however, in the other Parts, especially the second and third, describe religious services, and give expression to religious ideas in the minds of their authors.

3. Some of the pieces in the Shih are ballads, some are songs, some are hymns, and of others the nature can hardly be indicated by any English denomination. They have often been spoken of by the general name of odes, understanding by that term lyric poems that were set to music.

My reason for touching here on this point is the earliest account of the Shih, as a collection either already formed or in the process of formation, that we find in Chinese literature. In the Official Book of Kâu, generally supposed to be a work of the twelfth or eleventh century B. C., among the duties of the Grand Music-Master there is 'the teaching,' (that is, to the musical performers,) 'the six classes of poems:—the Fäng; the Fû; the Pî; the Hsing; the Yâ; and the Sung.' That the collection of the Shih, as it now is, existed so early as the date assigned to the Official Book could not be; but we find the same account of it given in the so-called Confucian Preface. The Fäng, the Yâ, and the Sung are the four Parts of the classic described in the preceding paragraph, the Yâ embracing both the Minor and Major Odes of the Kingdom. But what were the Fû, the Pî, and the Hsing? We might suppose that they were the names of three other distinct Parts or Books. But they were not so. Pieces so discriminated are found in all the four Parts, though there are more of them in the first two than in the others.

The Fû may be described as Narrative pieces, in which the writers tell what they have to say in a simple, straightforward manner, without any hidden meaning reserved in

the mind. The metaphor and other figures of speech enter into their composition as freely as in descriptive poems in any other language.

The Pi are Metaphorical pieces, in which the poet has under his language a different meaning from what it expresses,—a meaning which there should be nothing in that language to indicate. Such a piece may be compared to the Æsopic fable; but, while it is the object of the fable to inculcate the virtues of morality and prudence, an historical interpretation has to be sought for the metaphorical pieces of the Shih. Generally, moreover, the moral of the fable is subjoined to it, which is never done in the case of these pieces.

The Hsing have been called Allusive pieces. They are very remarkable, and more numerous than the metaphorical. They often commence with a couple of lines which are repeated without change, or with slight rhythmical changes, in all the stanzas. In other pieces different stanzas have allusive lines peculiar to themselves. Those lines are descriptive, for the most part, of some object or circumstance in the animal or vegetable world, and after them the poet proceeds to his proper subject. Generally, the allusive lines convey a meaning harmonizing with those which follow, where an English poet would begin the verses with Like or As. They are really metaphorical, but the difference between an allusive and a metaphorical piece is this,—that in the former the writer proceeds to state the theme which his mind is occupied with, while no such intimation is given in the latter. Occasionally, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to discover the metaphorical idea in the allusive lines, and then we can only deal with them as a sort of refrain.

In leaving this subject, it is only necessary to say further that the allusive, the metaphorical, and the narrative elements sometimes all occur in the same piece.

CHAPTER II.

THE SHIH BEFORE CONFUCIUS, AND WHAT, IF ANY,
WERE HIS LABOURS UPON IT.

1. Sze-mâ *Khien*, in his memoir of Confucius, says:—
‘The old poems amounted to more than 3000. Confucius removed those which were only repetitions of others, and selected those which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness. Ascending as high as Hsieh and Hâu-kî, and descending through the prosperous eras of Yin and Kâu to the times of decadence under kings Yû and Lî, he selected in all 305 pieces, which he sang over to his lute, to bring them into accordance with the musical style of the Sháo, the Wû, the Yâ, and the Fäng.’

In the History of the Classical Books in the Records of the Sui Dynasty (A. D. 589 to 618), it is said:—‘When royal benign rule ceased, and poems were no more collected, Kih, the Grand Music-Master of Lû, arranged in order those that were existing, and made a copy of them. Then Confucius expurgated them; and going up to the Shang dynasty, and coming down to the state of Lû, he compiled altogether 300 pieces.’

Kû Hsi, whose own standard work on the Shih appeared in A. D. 1178, declined to express himself positively on the expurgation of the odes, but summed up his view of what Confucius did for them in the following words:—

‘Royal methods had ceased, and poems were no more collected. Those which were extant were full of errors, and wanting in arrangement. When Confucius returned from Wei to Lû, he brought with him the odes that he had gotten in other states, and digested them, along with those that were to be found in Lû, into a collection of 300 pieces.’

I have not been able to find evidence sustaining these

representations, and must adopt the view that, before the birth of Confucius, the Book of Poetry existed, substantially the same as it was at his death, and that while he may have somewhat altered the arrangement of its Books and pieces, the service which he rendered to it was not that of compilation, but the impulse to study it which he communicated to his disciples.

2. If we place *K'hien's* composition of the memoir of Confucius in B. C. 100, nearly four hundred years will have elapsed between the death of the sage and any statement to the effect that he expurgated previously existing poems, or compiled the collection that we now have; and no writer in the interval affirmed or implied any such things. The further statement in the Sui Records about the Music-Master of Lû is also without any earlier confirmation. But independently of these considerations, there is ample evidence to prove, first, that the poems current before Confucius were not by any means so numerous as *K'hien* says, and, secondly, that the collection of 300 pieces or thereabouts, digested under the same divisions as in the present classic, existed before the sage's time.

3. i. It would not be surprising, if, floating about and current among the people of China in the sixth century before our era, there had been more than 3000 pieces of poetry. The marvel is that such was not the case. But in the Narratives of the States, a work of the *K'âu* dynasty, and ascribed by many to 30 *K'hiû-ming*, there occur quotations from thirty-one poems, made by statesmen and others, all anterior to Confucius; and of those poems there are not more than two which are not in the present classic. Even of those two, one is an ode of it quoted under another name. Further, in the 30 *Kwan*, certainly the work of *K'hiû-ming*, we have quotations from not fewer than 219 poems, of which only thirteen are not found in the classic. Thus of 250 poems current in China before the supposed compilation of the *Shih*, 236 are found in it, and only fourteen are absent. To use the words of *K'áo Yî*, a scholar of the present dynasty, 'If the poems existing in

Confucius' time had been more than 3000, the quotations of poems now lost in these two works should have been ten times as numerous as the quotations from the 305 pieces said to have been preserved by him, whereas they are only between a twenty-first and twenty-second part of the existing pieces. This is sufficient to show that *K'ien's* statement is not worthy of credit.'

ii. Of the existence of the Book of Poetry before Confucius, digested in four Parts, and much in the same order as at present, there may be advanced the following proofs:—

First. There is the passage in the Official Book of *K'âu*, quoted and discussed in the last paragraph of the preceding chapter. We have in it a distinct reference to poems, many centuries before the sage, arranged and classified in the same way as those of the existing *Shih*. Our *Shih*, no doubt, was then in the process of formation.

Second. In the ninth piece of the sixth decade of the *Shih*, Part II, an ode assigned to the time of king *Yü*, B. C. 781 to 771, we have the words,

'They sing the *Yâ* and the *Nan*,
Dancing to their flutes without error.'

So early, therefore, as the eighth century B. C. there was a collection of poems, of which some bore the name of the *Nan*, which there is much reason to suppose were the *K'âu Nan* and the *Shâo Nan*, forming the first two Books of the first Part of the present *Shih*; and of which others bore the name of the *Yâ*, being, probably, the earlier pieces that now compose a large portion of the second and third Parts.

Third. In the narratives of 30 *K'hiu-ming*, under the twenty-ninth year of duke *Hsiang*, B. C. 544, when Confucius was only seven or eight years old, we have an account of a visit to the court of *Lü* by an envoy from *Wü*, an eminent statesman of the time, and a man of great learning. We are told that as he wished to hear the music of *K'âu*, which he could do better in *Lü* than in any other state, they sang to him the odes of the *K'âu Nan* and the *Shâo Nan*; those of *Phei*, *Yung*, and *Wei*; of the Royal Domain; of *Käng*; of *K'hi*; of *Pin*; of *K'in*; of *Wei*; of

Thang; of *K'án*; of *Kwei*; and of *Shào*. They sang to him also the odes of the Minor *Yá* and the Greater *Yá*; and they sang finally the pieces of the *Sung*. We have thus, existing in the boyhood of Confucius, what we may call the present Book of Poetry, with its *Fǎng*, its *Yá*, and its *Sung*. The only difference discernible is slight,—in the order in which the Books of the *Fǎng* followed one another.

Fourth. We may appeal in this matter to the words of Confucius himself. Twice in the *Analects* he speaks of the *Shih* as a collection consisting of 300 pieces¹. That work not being made on any principle of chronological order, we cannot positively assign those sayings to any particular years of Confucius' life; but it is, I may say, the unanimous opinion of Chinese critics that they were spoken before the time to which *K'ien* and *K'ü Hsi* refer his special labour on the Book of Poetry.

To my own mind the evidence that has been adduced is decisive on the points which I specified. The *Shih*, arranged very much as we now have it, was current in China before the time of Confucius, and its pieces were in the mouths of statesmen and scholars, constantly quoted by them on festive and other occasions. Poems not included in it there doubtless were, but they were comparatively few. Confucius may have made a copy for the use of himself and his disciples; but it does not appear that he rejected any pieces which had been previously received into the collection, or admitted any which had not previously found a place in it.

4. The question now arises of what Confucius did for the *Shih*, if, indeed, he did anything at all. The only thing from which we can hazard an opinion on the point we have from himself. In the *Analects*, IX, xiv, he tells us:—‘I returned from Wei to *Lü*, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in

What Confucius
did for the
Shih.

¹ In stating that the odes were 300, Confucius probably preferred to use the round number. There are, as I said in the former chapter, altogether 305 pieces, which is the number given by *Sze-má K'ien*. There are also the titles of six others. It is contended by *K'ü Hsi* and many other scholars that these titles were only the names of tunes. More likely is the view that the text of the pieces so styled was lost after Confucius' death.

the Yâ and the Sung received their proper places.' The return from Wei to Lû took place only five years before the sage's death. He ceased from that time to take an active part in political affairs, and solaced himself with music, the study of the ancient literature of his nation, the writing of 'the Spring and Autumn,' and familiar intercourse with those of his disciples who still kept around him. He reformed the music,—that to which the pieces of the Shih were sung; but wherein the reformation consisted we cannot tell. And he gave to the pieces of the Yâ and the Sung their proper places. The present order of the Books in the Făng, slightly differing from what was common in his boyhood, may have now been determined by him. More than this we cannot say.

While we cannot discover, therefore, any peculiar and important labours of Confucius on the Shih, and we have it now, as will be shown in the next chapter, substantially as he found it already compiled to his hand, the subsequent preservation of it may reasonably be attributed to the admiration which he expressed for it, and the enthusiasm for it with which he sought to inspire his disciples. It was one of the themes on which he delighted to converse with them¹. He taught that it is from the poems that the mind receives its best stimulus². A man ignorant of them was, in his opinion, like one who stands with his face towards a wall, limited in his view, and unable to advance³. Of the two things that his son could specify as enjoined on him by the sage, the first was that he should learn the odes⁴. In this way Confucius, probably, contributed largely to the subsequent preservation of the Shih,—the preservation of the tablets on which the odes were inscribed, and the preservation of it in the memory of all who venerated his authority, and looked up to him as their master.

¹ Analects, VII, xvii.

² Analects, XVII, x.

³ Analects, VIII, viii, XVII, ix.

⁴ Analects, XVI, xiii.

CHAPTER III.

THE SHIH FROM THE TIME OF CONFUCIUS TILL
THE GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE
PRESENT TEXT.

1. Of the attention paid to the study of the Shih from the death of Confucius to the rise of the *K'hin* dynasty, we have abundant evidence in the writings of his grandson 3ze-sze, of Mencius, and of Hsün *K'ing*. One of the acknowledged distinctions of Mencius is his acquaintance with the odes, his quotations from which are very numerous; and Hsün *K'ing* survived the extinction of the *K'au* dynasty, and lived on into the times of *K'hin*.

From Confucius to the rise of the *K'hin* dynasty.

2. The Shih shared in the calamity which all the other classical works, excepting the *Yi*, suffered, when the tyrant of *K'hin* issued his edict for their destruction. But I have shown, in the Introduction to the *Shû*, p. 7, that that edict was in force for less than a quarter of a century. The odes were all, or very nearly all¹, recovered; and the reason assigned for this is, that their preservation depended on the memory of scholars more than on their inscription on tablets of bamboo and on silk.

The Shih was all recovered after the fires of *K'hin*.

3. Three different texts of the Shih made their appearance early in the Han dynasty, known as the Shih of *Lû*, of *K'hi*, and of Han; that is, the Book of Poetry was recovered from three different quarters. *Liû Hin's* Catalogue of the Books in the Imperial Library of Han (B. C. 6 to 1) commences, on the Shih King, with a collection of the three texts, in twenty-eight chapters.

Three different texts.

¹ All, in fact, unless we except the six pieces of Part II, of which we have only the titles. It is contended by *Kû Hsi* and others that the text of these had been lost before the time of Confucius. It may have been lost, however, after the sage's death; see note on p. 283.

i. Immediately after the mention of the general collection in the Catalogue come the titles of two works of commentary on the text of Lû. The former of them was by a Shǎn Phei of whom we have some account in the Literary Biographies of Han. He was a native of Lû, and had received his own knowledge of the odes from a scholar of *Khî*, called Fâu *Khiû-po*. He was resorted to by many disciples, whom he taught to repeat the odes. When the first emperor of the Han dynasty was passing through Lû, Shǎn followed him to the capital of that state, and had an interview with him. Subsequently the emperor Wû (B. C. 140 to 87), in the beginning of his reign, sent for him to court when he was more than eighty years old; and he appears to have survived a considerable number of years beyond that advanced age. The names of ten of his disciples are given, all of them men of eminence, and among them Khung An-kwo. Rather later, the most noted adherent of the school of Lû was Wei Hsien, who arrived at the dignity of prime minister (from B. C. 71 to 67), and published the Shih of Lû in Stanzas and Lines. Up and down in the Books of Han and Wei are to be found quotations of the odes, that must have been taken from the professors of the Lû recension; but neither the text nor the writings on it long survived. They are said to have perished during the *Kin* dynasty (A. D. 265 to 419). When the Catalogue of the Sui Library was made, none of them were existing.

ii. The Han Catalogue mentions five different works on the Shih of *Khî*. This text was from a Yüan Kû, a native of *Khî*, about whom we learn, from the same collection of Literary Biographies, that he was one of the great scholars of the court in the time of the emperor King (B. C. 156 to 141),—a favourite with him, and specially distinguished for his knowledge of the odes and his advocacy of orthodox Confucian doctrine. He died in the succeeding reign of Wû, more than ninety years old; and we are told that all the scholars of *Khî* who got a name in those days for their acquaintance with the Shih sprang from his school. Among his disciples was the well-

known name of Hsiâ-hâu Shih-*khang*, who communicated his acquisitions to Hâu *Shang*, a native of the present Shan-tung province, and author of two of the works in the Han Catalogue. Hâu had three disciples of note, and by them the Shih of *K'hi* was transmitted to others, whose names, with quotations from their writings, are scattered through the Books of Han. Neither text nor commentaries, however, had a better fate than the Shih of Lû. There is no mention of them in the Catalogue of Sui. They are said to have perished even before the rise of the *Kin* dynasty.

iii. The text of Han was somewhat more fortunate. Hin's Catalogue contains the names of four works, all by Han Ying, whose surname is thus perpetuated in the text of the Shih that emanated from him. He was a native, we are told, of Yen, and a great scholar in the time of the emperor Wăn (B. C. 179 to 155), and on into the reigns of *King* and Wû. 'He laboured,' it is said, 'to unfold the meaning of the odes, and published an Explanation of the Text, and Illustrations of the Poems, containing several myriads of characters. His text was somewhat different from the texts of Lû and *K'hi*, but substantially of the same meaning.' Of course, Han founded a school; but while almost all the writings of his followers soon perished, both the works just mentioned continued on through the various dynasties to the time of Sung. The Sui Catalogue contains the titles of his Text and two works on it; the Thang, those of his Text and his Illustrations; but when we come to the Catalogue of Sung, published under the Yüan dynasty, we find only the Illustrations, in ten books or chapters; and Âu-yang Hsiû (A. D. 1017 to 1072) tells us that in his time this was all of Han that remained. It continues entire, or nearly so, to the present day.

4. But while those three different recensions of the Shih all disappeared, with the exception of a single treatise of Han Ying, their unhappy fate was owing not more to the convulsions by which the empire was often rent, and the consequent destruction of literary monuments such as we

have witnessed in China in our own day, than to the

A fourth text; appearance of a fourth text, which displaced that of Máo. them by its superior correctness, and the ability with which it was advocated and commented on. This was what is called the Text of Máo. It came into the field rather later than the others; but the Han Catalogue contains the Shih of Máo, in twenty-nine chapters, and a Commentary on it in thirty-nine. According to Kǎng Hsüan, the author of this was a native of Lû, known as Máo Hǎng or 'the Greater Máo,' who had been a disciple, we are told by Lü Teh-ming, of Hsün K'ing. The work is lost. He had communicated his knowledge of the Shih, however, to another Máo,—Máo Kang, 'the Lesser Mao,' who was a great scholar, at the court of king Hsien of Ho-kiên, a son of the emperor King. King Hsien was one of the most diligent labourers in the recovery of the ancient books, and presented the text and work of Hǎng at the court of his father,—probably in B.C. 129. Máo Kang published Explanations of the Shih, in twenty-nine chapters,—a work which we still possess; but it was not till the reign of Phing (A. D. 1 to 5) that Máo's recension was received into the Imperial College, and took its place along with those of Lû, K'hi, and Han Ying.

The Chinese critics have carefully traced the line of scholars who had charge of Máo's Text and Explanations down to the reign of Phing. The names of the men and their works are all given. By the end of the first quarter of our first century we find the most famous scholars addicting themselves to Máo's text. The well-known Kiá Khwei (A. D. 30 to 101) published a work on the Meaning and Difficulties of Máo's Shih, having previously compiled a digest of the differences between its text and those of the other three recensions, at the command of the emperor Ming (A. D. 58 to 75). The equally celebrated Mã Yung (A. D. 79 to 166) followed with another commentary;—and we arrive at Kǎng Hsüan or Kǎng Khang-khǎng (A. D. 127 to 200), who wrote a Supplementary Commentary to the Shih of Máo, and a Chronological Introduction to the Shih. The former of these two works complete, and

portions of the latter, are still extant. After the time of *K'ang* the other three texts were little heard of, while the name of the commentators on *Máo's* text speedily becomes legion. It was inscribed, moreover, on the stone tablets of the emperor *Ling* (A. D. 168 to 189). The grave of *Máo K'ang* is still shown near the village of *Jun-fû*, in the departmental district of *Ho-kien*, *Kih-li*.

5. Returning now to what I said in the second paragraph, it will be granted that the appearance of three different and independent texts, soon after the rise of the Han dynasty, affords the most satisfactory evidence of the recovery of the Book of Poetry as it had continued from the time of Confucius. Unfortunately, only fragments of those texts remain now; but they were, while they were current, diligently compared with one another, and with the fourth text of *Máo*, which subsequently got the field to itself. When a collection is made of their peculiar readings, so far as it can now be done, it is clear that their variations from one another and from *Máo's* text arose from the alleged fact that the preservation of the odes was owing to their being transmitted by recitation. The rhyme helped the memory to retain them, and while wood, bamboo, and silk had all been consumed by the flames of *K'in*, when the time of repression ceased, scholars would be eager to rehearse their stores. It was inevitable, and more so in China than in a country possessing an alphabet, that the same sounds when taken down by different writers should be represented by different characters.

On the whole, the evidence given above is as full as could be desired in such a case, and leaves no reason for us to hesitate in accepting the present received text of the *Shih* as a very close approximation to that which was current in the time of Confucius.

The different texts guarantee the genuineness of the recovered *Shih*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION OF THE SHIH;
HOW IT CAME TO BE SO SMALL AND INCOMPLETE;
THE INTERPRETATION AND AUTHORS OF THE PIECES;
ONE POINT OF TIME CERTAINLY INDICATED IN IT;
AND THE CONFUCIAN PREFACE.

1. It has been shown above, in the second chapter, that the Shih existed as a collection of poetical pieces before the time of Confucius¹. In order to complete this Introduction to it, it is desirable to give some account of the various subjects indicated in the heading of the present chapter.

How were the odes collected in the first place? In his Account of a Conversation concerning 'a Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind' (Edinburgh, 1704), p. 10, Sir Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, tells us the opinion of 'a very wise man,' that 'if a man were permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he need not care who should make its laws.' A writer in the Spectator, no. 502, refers to a similar opinion as having been entertained in England earlier than the time of Fletcher. 'I have heard,' he says, 'that a minister of state in the reign of Elizabeth had all manner of books and ballads brought to him, of what kind soever, and took great notice how they took with the people; upon which he would, and certainly might, very well judge of their present dispositions, and of the most proper way of applying them according to his own purposes².'

¹ As in the case of the Shû, Confucius generally speaks of 'the Shih,' never using the name of 'the Shih King.' In the Analects, IX, xiv, however, he mentions also the Yâ and the Sung; and in XVII, x, he specifies the Kâu Nan and the Shâo Nan, the first two books of the Kwo Fâng. Mencius similarly speaks of 'the Shih;' and in III, i, ch. 4, he specifies 'the Sung of Lû,' Book ii of Part IV. In VI, ii, ch. 3, he gives his views of the Hsiâo Phan, the third ode of decade 5, Part II, and of the Khâi Fung, the seventh ode of Book iii of Part I.

² This passage from the Spectator is adduced by Sir John Davis in his treatise on the Poetry of the Chinese, p. 35.

In harmony with the views thus expressed is the theory of the Chinese scholars, that it was the duty of the ancient kings to make themselves acquainted with all the poems current in the different states, and to judge from them of the rule exercised by the several princes, so that they might minister praise or blame, reward or punishment accordingly.

The theory of the Chinese scholars about a collection of poems for governmental purposes.

The rudiments of this theory may be found in the Shû, in the Canon of Shun; but the one classical passage which is appealed to in support of it is in the Record of Rites, III, ii, parr. 13, 14:—'Every fifth year, the Son of Heaven made a progress through the kingdom, when the Grand Music-Master was commanded to lay before him the poems of the different states, as an exhibition of the manners and government of the people.' Unfortunately, this Book of the Lî Kî, the Royal Ordinances, was compiled only in the reign of the emperor Wăn of the Han dynasty (B. C. 179 to 155). The scholars entrusted with the work did their best, we may suppose, with the materials at their command. They made much use, it is evident, of Mencius, and of the Í Lî. The Kâu Lî, or the Official Book of Kâu, had not then been recovered. But neither in Mencius nor in the Í Lî do we meet with any authority for the statement before us. The Shû mentions that Shun every fifth year made a tour of inspection; but there were then no odes for him to examine, for to him and his minister Kâo-yáo is attributed the first rudimentary attempt at the poetic art. Of the progresses of the Hsiâ and Yin sovereigns we have no information; and those of the kings of Kâu were made, we know, only once in twelve years. The statement in the Royal Ordinances, therefore, was probably based only on tradition.

Notwithstanding the difficulties that beset this passage of the Lî Kî, I am not disposed to reject it altogether. It derives a certain amount of confirmation from the passage quoted from the Official Book of Kâu on p. 278, showing that in the Kâu dynasty there was a collection of poems, under the divisions of the Fǎng, the Yá, and the Sung,

which it was the business of the Grand Music-Master to teach the musicians of the court. It may be accepted then, that the duke of *Kâu*, in legislating for his dynasty, enacted that the poems produced in the different feudal states should be collected on occasion of the royal progresses, and lodged thereafter among the archives of the bureau of music at the royal court. The same thing, we may presume *à fortiori*, would be done, at certain other stated times, with those produced within the royal domain itself.

But the feudal states were modelled after the pattern of the royal state. They also had their music-masters, their

The music-master of the king would get the odes of each state from its music-master.

musicians, and their historiographers. The kings in their progresses did not visit each particular state, so that the Grand Music-Master could have the opportunity to collect the odes in it for himself. They met, at well-

known points, the marquises, earls, barons, &c., of the different quarters of the kingdom; there gave audience to them; adjudicated on their merits, and issued to them their orders. We are obliged to suppose that the princes were attended to the places of rendezvous by their music-masters, carrying with them the poetical compositions gathered in their several regions, to present them to their superior of the royal court. We can understand how, by means of the above arrangement, the poems of the whole kingdom were accumulated and arranged among the archives of the capital. Was there any provision for dis-

How the collected poems were disseminated throughout the states.

seminating thence the poems of one state among all the others? There is sufficient evidence that such dissemination was effected in some way. Throughout the Narratives of

the States, and the details of *30 K'hiù-ming* on the history of the Spring and Autumn, the officers of the states generally are presented to us as familiar not only with the odes of their particular states, but with those of other states as well. They appear equally well acquainted with all the Parts and Books of our present *Shih*; and we saw how the whole of it was sung over to *K'í K'á* of *Wú*, when he visited the court of *Lá* in the boyhood of Confucius. There was,

probably, a regular communication from the royal court to the courts of the various states of the poetical pieces that for one reason or another were thought worthy of preservation. This is nowhere expressly stated, but it may be contended for by analogy from the accounts which I have given, in the Introduction to the Shû, pp. 4, 5, of the duties of the royal historiographers or recorders.

2. But if the poems produced in the different states were thus collected in the capital, and thence again disseminated throughout the kingdom, we might conclude that the collection would have been far more extensive and complete than

How the Shih
is so small and
incomplete.

we have it now. The smallness of it is to be accounted for by the disorder into which the kingdom fell after the lapse of a few reigns from king Wû. Royal progresses ceased when royal government fell into decay, and then the odes were no more collected¹. We have no account of any progress of the kings during the *Khun K'hiu* period. But before that period there is a long gap of nearly 150 years between kings *Kh'ang* and *Î*, covering the reigns of *Khang*, *K'ao*, *Mû*, and *Kung*, if we except two doubtful pieces among the Sacrificial Odes of *K'au*. The reign of *Hsiao*, who succeeded to *Î*, is similarly uncommemorated; and the latest odes are of the time of *Ting*, when 100 years of the *Khun K'hiu* period had still to run their course. Many odes must have been made and collected during the 140 and more years after king *Kh'ang*. The probability is that they perished during the feeble reigns of *Î* and the three monarchs who followed him. Then came the long and vigorous reign of *Hsüan* (B. C. 827 to 782), when we may suppose that the ancient custom of collecting the poems was revived. After him all was in the main decadence and confusion. It was probably in the latter part of his reign that *K'ang-kh'ao*, an ancestor of Confucius, obtained from the Grand Music-Master at the court of *K'au* twelve of the sacrificial odes of the previous dynasty, as will be related under the Sacrificial Odes of *Shang*, with which he returned to *Sung*,

¹ See Mencius, IV, ii, ch. 21.

which was held by representatives of the line of Shang. They were used there in sacrificing to the old Shang kings; yet seven of the twelve were lost before the time of the sage.

The general conclusion to which we come is, that the existing Shih is the fragment of various collections made during the early reigns of the kings of *K'au*, and added to at intervals, especially on the occurrence of a prosperous rule, in accordance with the regulation that has been preserved in the *Lî K'î*. How it is that we have in Part I odes of comparatively few of the states into which the kingdom was divided, and that the odes of those states extend only over a short period of their history:—for these things we cannot account further than by saying that such were the ravages of time and the results of disorder. We can only accept the collection as it is, and be thankful for it. How long before Confucius the collection was closed we cannot tell.

3. The conclusions which I have thus sought to establish concerning the formation of the Shih as a collection have an important bearing on the interpretation of many of the pieces. The remark of Sze-mâ *K'zien* that 'Confucius selected those pieces which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness' is as erroneous as the other, that he selected 305 pieces out of more than 3000. The sage merely studied and taught the pieces which he found existing, and the collection necessarily contained odes illustrative of bad government as well as of good, of licentiousness as well as of a pure morality. Nothing has been such a stumbling-block in the way of the reception of *K'û Hsi's* interpretation of the pieces as the readiness with which he attributes a licentious meaning to many of those in the seventh Book of Part I. But the reason why the kings had the odes of the different states collected and presented to them was, 'that they might judge from them of the manners of the people,' and so come to a decision regarding the government and morals of their rulers. A student and translator of the odes has simply to allow them

Bearing of these views on the interpretation of particular pieces.

selected those pieces which would be serviceable for the inculcation of propriety and righteousness' is as erroneous as the other, that he selected 305 pieces out of more than

to speak for themselves, and has no more reason to be surprised by references to vice in some of them than by the language of virtue in many others. Confucius said, indeed, in his own enigmatical way, that the single sentence, 'Thought without depravity,' covered the whole 300 pieces¹; and it may very well be allowed that they were collected and preserved for the promotion of good government and virtuous manners. The merit attaching to them is that they give us faithful pictures of what was good and what was bad in the political state of the country, and in the social, moral, and religious habits of the people.

The pieces were of course made by individuals who possessed the gift, or thought that they possessed the gift, of poetical composition. Who they were we could tell only on the authority of the pieces themselves, or of credible historical accounts, contemporaneous with them or nearly so. It is not worth our while to question the opinion of the Chinese critics who attribute very many of them to the duke of Kâu, to whom we owe so much of the fifth Part of the Shû. There is, however, independent testimony only to his composition of a single ode,—the second of the fifteenth Book in Part I². Some of the other pieces in that Part, of which the historical interpretation may be considered as sufficiently fixed, are written in the first person; but the author may be personating his subject.

In Part II, the seventh ode of decade 2 was made by a Kiâ-fû, a noble of the royal court, but we know nothing more about him; the sixth of decade 6, by a eunuch styled Mǎng-je; and the sixth of decade 7, from a concurrence of external testimonies, should be ascribed to duke Wû of Wei, B. C. 812 to 758.

In the third decade of Part III, the second piece was composed by the same duke Wû; the third by an earl of Zui in the royal domain; the fourth must have been made by one of king Hsüan's ministers, to express the king's

¹ Analects, II, ii.

² See the Shû, V, vi, par. 2.

feelings under the drought that was exhausting the kingdom; and the fifth and sixth claim to be the work of Yin K'i-fû, one of Hsüan's principal officers.

4. The ninth ode of the fourth Book, Part II, gives us a note of time that enables us to fix the year of its composition in a manner entirely satisfactory, and proves also the correctness, back to that date, of the ordinary Chinese chronology. The piece is one of a group which their contents lead us to refer to the reign of king Yü, the son of Hsüan, B. C. 781 to 771. When we examine the chronology of his period, it is said that in his sixth year, B. C. 776, there was an eclipse of the sun. Now the ode commences:—

'At the conjunction (of the sun and moon) in the tenth month, on the first day of the moon, which was Hsin-máo, the sun was eclipsed.'

This eclipse is verified by calculation as having taken place in B. C. 776, on August 29th, the very day and month assigned to it in the poem.

5. In the Preface which appeared along with Máo's text of the Shih, the occasion and authorship of many of the odes are given; but I do not allow much weight to its testimony. It is now divided into the Great Preface and the Little Preface; but Máo himself made no such distinction between its parts. It will be sufficient for me to give a condensed account of the views of K'ü Hsi on the subject:—

'Opinions of scholars are much divided as to the authorship of the Preface. Some ascribe it to Confucius; some to (his disciple) 3ze-hsiâ; and some to the historiographers of the states. In the absence of clear testimony it is impossible to decide the point, but the notice about Wei Hung (first century) in the Literary Biographies of Han¹ would seem to make it clear that the Preface was

¹ The account is this: 'Hung became the disciple of Hsieh Man-ming, who was famous for his knowledge of Máo's Shih; and he afterwards made the Preface to it, remarkable for the accuracy with which it gives the meaning of the pieces in the Fāng and the Yâ, and which is now current in the world.'

his work. We must take into account, however, on the other hand, the statement of *Kǎng Khang - khang*, that the Preface existed as a separate document when Máo appeared with his text, and that he broke it up, prefixing to each ode the portion belonging to it. The natural conclusion is, that the Preface had come down from a remote period, and that Hung merely added to it, and rounded it off. In accordance with this, scholars generally hold that the first sentences in the introductory notices formed the original Preface, which Máo distributed, and that the following portions were subsequently added.

‘This view may appear reasonable; but when we examine those first sentences themselves, we find that some of them do not agree with the obvious meaning of the odes to which they are prefixed, and give only rash and baseless expositions. Evidently, from the first, the Preface was made up of private speculations and conjectures on the subject-matter of the odes, and constituted a document by itself, separately appended to the text. Then on its first appearance there were current the explanations of the odes that were given in connexion with the texts of *Lû*, *K’i*, and *Han Ying*, so that readers could know that it was the work of later hands, and not give entire credit to it. But when Máo no longer published the Preface as a separate document, but each ode appeared with the introductory notice as a portion of the text, this seemed to give it the authority of the text itself. Then after the other texts disappeared and Máo’s had the field to itself, this means of testing the accuracy of its prefatory notices no longer existed. They appeared as if they were the production of the poets themselves, and the odes seemed to be made from them as so many themes. Scholars handed down a faith in them from one to another, and no one ventured to express a doubt of their authority. The text was twisted and chiseled to bring it into accordance with them, and no one would undertake to say plainly that they were the work of the scholars of the Han dynasty.’

There is no western sinologist, I apprehend, who will

not cordially concur with me in the principle of *K'ü Hsi* that we must find the meaning of the poems in the poems themselves, instead of accepting the interpretation of them given by we know not whom, and to follow which would reduce many of them to absurd enigmas.

THE SHIH KING.

ODES OF THE TEMPLE AND THE ALTAR.

It was stated in the Introduction, p. 278, that the poems in the fourth Part of the Shih are the only ones that are professedly religious; and there are some even of them, it will be seen, which have little claim on internal grounds to be so considered. I commence with them my selections from the Shih for the Sacred Books of the Religions of the East. I will give them all, excepting the first two of the Praise Odes of Lû, the reason for omitting which will be found, when I come to that division of the Part.

The Odes of the Temple and the Altar are, most of them, connected with the ancestral worship of the sovereigns of the Shang and K'âu dynasties, and of the marquises of Lû. Of the ancestral worship of the common people we have almost no information in the Shih. It was binding, however, on all, and two utterances of Confucius may be given in illustration of this. In the eighteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, telling how the duke of K'âu, the legislator of the dynasty so called, had 'completed the virtuous course of Wăn and Wû, carrying up the title of king to Wăn's father and grandfather, and sacrificing to the dukes before them with the royal ceremonies,' he adds, 'And this rule he extended to the feudal princes, the great officers, the other officers, and the common people. In the mourning and other duties rendered to a deceased father or mother, he allowed no difference between the noble and the mean.' Again, his summary in the tenth chapter of the Hsiâo King, of the duties

of filial piety, is the following :—‘A filial son, in serving his parents, in his ordinary intercourse with them, should show the utmost respect; in supplying them with food, the greatest delight; when they are ill, the utmost solicitude; when mourning for their death, the deepest grief; and when sacrificing to them, the profoundest solemnity. When these things are all complete, he is able to serve his parents.’

Of the ceremonies in the royal worship of ancestors, and perhaps on some other occasions, we have much information in the pieces of this Part, and in many others in the second and third Parts. They were preceded by fasting and various purifications

The royal
worship of
ancestors.

on the part of the king and the parties who were to assist in the performance of them. There was a great concourse of the feudal princes, and much importance was attached to the presence among them of the representatives of former dynasties; but the duties of the occasion devolved mainly on the princes of the same surname as the royal House. Libations of fragrant spirits were made, especially in the *Kâu* period, to attract the Spirits, and their presence was invoked by a functionary who took his place inside the principal gate. The principal victim, a red bull in the temple of *Kâu*, was killed by the king himself, using for the purpose a knife to the handle of which small bells were attached. With this he laid bare the hair, to show that the animal was of the required colour, inflicted the wound of death, and cut away the fat, which was burned along with southernwood to increase the incense and fragrance. Other victims were numerous, and the fifth ode of the second decade, Part II, describes all engaged in the service as greatly exhausted with what they had to do, flaying the carcasses, boiling the flesh, roasting it, broiling it, arranging it on trays and stands, and setting it forth. Ladies from the palace are present to give their assistance; music peals; the cup goes round. The description is that of a feast as much as of a sacrifice; and in fact, those great seasonal occasions were what we might call grand family reunions, where the dead and the living met, eating and drinking together, where the living worshipped the dead, and the dead blessed the living.

This characteristic of these ceremonies appeared most strikingly in the custom which required that the departed ancestors should be represented by living relatives of the same surname, chosen according to certain rules that are not mentioned in the *Shih*. These took for the time the place of the dead, received the

honours which were due to them, and were supposed to be possessed by their spirits. They ate and drank as those whom they personated would have done; accepted for them the homage rendered by their descendants; communicated their will to the principal in the service, and pronounced on him and on his line their benediction, being assisted in this point by a mediating priest, as we may call him for want of a more exact term. On the next day, after a summary repetition of the ceremonies of the sacrifice, those personators of the dead were specially feasted, and, as it is expressed in the second decade of Part III, ode 4, 'their happiness and dignity were made complete.' We have an allusion to this strange custom in Mencius (VI, i, ch. 5), showing how a junior member of a family, when chosen to represent one of his ancestors, was for the time exalted above his elders, and received the demonstrations of reverence due to the ancestor.

When the sacrifice to ancestors was finished, the king feasted his uncles and younger brothers or cousins, that is, all the princes and nobles of the same surname with himself, in another apartment. The musicians who had discoursed with instrument and voice during the worship and entertainment of the ancestors, followed the convivial party 'to give their soothing aid at the second blessing.' The viands that had been provided, we have seen, in great abundance, were brought in from the temple, and set forth anew. The guests ate to the full and drank to the full, and at the conclusion they all did obeisance, while one of them declared the satisfaction of the Spirits, and assured the king of their favour to him and his posterity, so long as they did not neglect those observances. During the feast the king showed particular respect to those among his relatives who were aged, filled their cups again and again, and desired 'that their old age might be blessed, and their bright happiness ever increased.'

The above sketch of the seasonal sacrifices to ancestors shows that they were intimately related to the duty of filial piety, and were designed mainly to maintain the unity of the family connexion. There was implied in them a belief in the continued existence of the spirits of the departed; and by means of them the ancestors of the kings were raised to the position of the Tutelary spirits of the dynasty; and the ancestors of each family became its Tutelary spirits. Several of the pieces in Part IV are appropriate, it will be observed, to sacrifices offered to some

one monarch. They would be used on particular occasions connected with his achievements in the past, or when it was supposed that his help would be valuable in contemplated enterprises. With regard to all the ceremonies of the ancestral temple, Confucius gives the following account of the purposes which they were intended to serve, hardly adverting to their religious significance, in the nineteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean :—‘ By means of them they distinguished the royal kindred according to their order of descent. By arranging those present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the apportioning of duties at them, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do. At the (concluding) feast places were given according to the hair, and thus was marked the distinction of years.’

The Shih does not speak of the worship which was paid to God, unless it be incidentally. There were two grand occasions on which it was rendered by the sovereign,—the summer and winter solstices. These two sacrifices were offered on different altars, that in winter being often described as offered to Heaven, and that in summer to Earth; but we have the testimony of Confucius, in the nineteenth chapter of the Doctrine of the Mean, that the object of them both was to serve Shang-Tî. Of the ceremonies on these two occasions, however, I do not speak here, as there is nothing said about them in the Shih. But there were other sacrifices to God, at stated periods in the course of the year, of at least two of which we have some intimation in the pieces of this fourth Part. The last in the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of Kâu is addressed to Hâu Kî as having proved himself the correlate of Heaven, in teaching men to cultivate the grain which God had appointed for the nourishment of all. This was appropriate to a sacrifice in spring, offered to God to seek His blessing on the agricultural labours of the year, Hâu Kî, as the ancestor of the House of Kâu, being associated with Him in it. The seventh piece of the same decade again was appropriate to a sacrifice to God in autumn, in the Hall of Light, at a great audience to the feudal princes, when king Wăn was associated with Him as being the founder of the dynasty of Kâu.

With these preliminary observations to assist the reader in understanding the pieces in this Part, I proceed to give—

I. THE SACRIFICIAL ODES OF SHANG.

THESE odes of Shang constitute the last Book in the ordinary editions of the Shih. I put them here in the first place, because they are the oldest pieces in the collection. There are only five of them.

The sovereigns of the dynasty of Shang occupied the throne from B. C. 1766 to 1123. They traced their lineage to Hsieh, who appears in the Shû as Minister of Instruction to Shun. By Yâo or by Shun, Hsieh was invested with the principality of Shang, corresponding to the small department which is so named in Shen-hsî. Fourteenth in descent from him came Thien-yî, better known as *K'ang* Thang, or Thang the Successful, who dethroned the last descendant of the line of Hsiâ, and became the founder of a new dynasty. We meet with him first at a considerable distance from the ancestral fief (which, however, gave name to the dynasty), having as his capital the southern Po, which seems correctly referred to the present district of Shang-*khîu*, in the department of Kwei-teh, Ho-nan. Among the twenty-seven sovereigns who followed Thang, there were three especially distinguished:—Thái K'ia, his grandson and successor (B. C. 1753 to 1721), who received the title of Thái *Çung*; Thái Mâu (B. C. 1637 to 1563), canonized as *Kung Çung*; and Wû-ting (B. C. 1324 to 1266), known as K'ao *Çung*. The shrines of these three sovereigns and that of Thang retained their places in the ancestral temple ever after they were first set up, and if all the sacrificial odes of the dynasty had been preserved, most of them would have been in praise of one or other of the four. But it so happened that at least all the odes of which Thái *Çung* was the subject were lost; and of the others we have only the small portion that has been mentioned above.

Of how it is that we have even these, we have the following account in the Narratives of the States, compiled, probably, by a contemporary of Confucius. The count of Wei was made duke of Sung by king Wû of K'âu, as related in the Shû, V, viii, there to continue the sacrifices of the House of Shang; but the government of Sung fell subsequently into disorder, and the memorials of the dynasty were lost. In the time of duke T'ai (B. C. 799 to 766), one of his ministers, *K'ang-khâu*, an ancestor of Confucius, received from the Grand Music-Master at the court of K'âu twelve

of the sacrificial odes of Shang with which he returned to Sung, where they were used in sacrificing to the old Shang kings. It is supposed that seven of these were lost subsequently, before the collection of the Shih was formed.

ODE 1. THE NÁ¹.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO THANG, THE FOUNDER OF THE SHANG DYNASTY, DWELLING ESPECIALLY ON THE MUSIC AND THE REVERENCE WITH WHICH THE SACRIFICE WAS PERFORMED.

We cannot tell by which of the kings of Shang the sacrifice here referred to was first performed. He is simply spoken of as 'a descendant of Thang.' The ode seems to have been composed by some one, probably a member of the royal House, who had taken part in the service.

How admirable! how complete! Here are set our hand-drums and drums. The drums resound harmonious and loud, To delight our meritorious ancestor².

The descendant of Thang invites him with this music, That he may soothe us with the realization of our thoughts³. Deep is the sound of our hand-

¹ The piece is called the Ná, because a character so named is an important part of the first line. So generally the pieces in the Shih receive their names from a character or phrase occurring in them. This point will not be again touched on.

² The 'meritorious ancestor' is Thang. The sacrifices of the Shang dynasty commenced with music; those of the Káu with libations of fragrant spirits;—in both cases with the same object, to attract the spirit, or spirits, sacrificed to, and secure their presence at the service. *Khân Hào* (Ming dynasty) says, 'The departed spirits hover between heaven and earth, and sound goes forth, filling the region of the air. Hence in sacrificing, the people of Yin began with a performance of music.'

³ The *Lí Kî*, XXIV, i, parr. 2, 3, tells us, that the sacrificer, as preliminary to the service, had to fast for some days, and to think of the person of his ancestor,—where he had stood and sat, how he had smiled and spoken, what had been his cherished aims,

drums and drums; Shrilly sound the flutes; All harmonious and blending together, According to the notes of the sonorous gem. Oh! majestic is the descendant of Thang; Very admirable is his music.

The large bells and drums fill the ear; The various dances are grandly performed¹. We have the admirable visitors², Who are pleased and delighted.

From of old, before our time, The former men set us the example;—How to be mild and humble from morning to night, And to be reverent in discharging the service.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn³, (Thus) offered by the descendant of Thang!

ODE 2. THE LIEH 30.

PROBABLY LIKE THE LAST ODE, APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO THANG, DWELLING ON THE SPIRITS, THE SOUP, AND THE GRAVITY OF THE SERVICE, AND ON THE ASSISTING PRINCES.

Neither can we tell by which of the kings of Shang this ode was first used. *Kû Hsi* says that the object of the sacrifice was Thang. The Preface assigns it to *Thâi Mâu*, the *Kung Jung*, or second of the three 'honoured ones.' But there is not a

pleasures, and delights; and on the third day he would have a complete image of him in his mind's eye. Then on the day of sacrifice, when he entered the temple, he would seem to see him in his shrine, and to hear him, as he went about in the discharge of the service. This line seems to indicate the realization of all this.

¹ Dancing thus entered into the service as an accompaniment of the music. Two terms are employed; one denoting the movements appropriate to a dance of war, the other those appropriate to a dance of peace.

² The visitors would be the representatives of the lines of *Hsiâ*, *Shun*, and *Yâo*.

³ Two of the seasonal sacrifices are thus specified, by synecdoche, for all the four.

word in praise of *Kung Jung*, and the 'meritorious ancestor' of the first line is not to be got over. Still more clearly than in the case of the former ode does this appear to have been made by some one who had taken part in the service, for in line 4 he addresses the sacrificing king as 'you.'

Ah! ah! our meritorious ancestor! Permanent are the blessings coming from him, Repeatedly conferred without end;—They have come to you in this place.

The clear spirits are in our vessels, And there is granted to us the realization of our thoughts. There are also the well-tempered soups, Prepared beforehand, with the ingredients rightly proportioned. By these offerings we invite his presence, without a word, Without (unseemly) contention (among the worshippers). He will bless us with the eyebrows of longevity, With the grey hair and wrinkled face in unlimited degree.

With the naves of their wheels bound with leather, and their ornamented yokes, With the eight bells at their horses' bits all tinkling, (The princes) come to assist at the offerings¹. We have received the appointment in all its greatness, And from Heaven is our prosperity sent down, Fruitful years of great abundance. (Our ancestor) will come and enjoy (our offerings), And confer on us happiness without limit.

May he regard our sacrifices of winter and autumn, (Thus) offered by the descendant of Thang!

¹ These lines are descriptive of the feudal princes, who were present and assisted at the sacrificial service. The chariot of each was drawn by four horses yoked abreast, two insides and two outsides, on each side of the bits of which small bells were attached.

ODE 3. THE HSÜAN NIÃO.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE OF SHANG;—
INTENDED SPECIALLY TO DO HONOUR TO THE KING WÛ-TING.

If this ode were not intended to do honour to WÛ-ting, the Kâo Jung of Shang, we cannot account for the repeated mention of him in it. Kû Hsf, however, in his note on it, says nothing about WÛ-ting, but simply that the piece belonged to the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, tracing back the line of the kings of Shang to its origin, and to its attaining the sovereignty of the kingdom. Not at all unlikely is the view of K'ang Hsüan, that the sacrifice was in the third year after the death of WÛ-ting, and offered to him in the temple of Hsieh, the ancestor of the Shang dynasty.

Heaven commissioned the swallow, To descend
and give birth to (the father of our) Shang¹. (His
descendants) dwelt in the land of Yin, and became
great. (Then) long ago God appointed the martial
Thang, To regulate the boundaries throughout the
four quarters (of the kingdom).

(In those) quarters he appointed the princes,
And grandly possessed the nine regions². The

¹ The father of Shang is Hsieh, who has already been mentioned. The mother of Hsieh was a daughter of the House of the ancient state of Sung, and a concubine of the ancient ruler Khû (B. C. 2435). According to Mâo, she accompanied Khû, at the time of the vernal equinox, when the swallow made its appearance, to sacrifice and pray to the first match-maker, and the result was the birth of Hsieh. Sze-mâ K'ien and K'ang make Hsieh's birth more marvellous:—The lady was bathing in some open place, when a swallow made its appearance, and dropt an egg, which she took and swallowed; and from this came Hsieh. The editors of the imperial edition of the Shih, of the present dynasty, say we need not believe the legends;—the important point is to believe that the birth of Hsieh was specially ordered by Heaven.

² 'The nine regions' are the nine provinces into which Yü divided the kingdom.

first sovereign of Shang¹ Received the appointment without any element of instability in it, And it is (now) held by the descendant of Wû-ting².

The descendant of Wû-ting Is a martial sovereign, equal to every emergency. Ten princes, (who came) with their dragon-emblazoned banners, Bear the large dishes of millet.

The royal domain of a thousand li Is where the people rest; But the boundaries that reach to the four seas commence there.

From the four seas³ they come (to our sacrifices); They come in multitudes. King has the Ho for its outer border⁴. That Yin⁵ should have received the appointment (of Heaven) was entirely right;—(Its sovereign) sustains all its dignities.

ODE 4. THE KHANG FÀ.

CELEBRATING HSHIEH, THE ANCESTOR OF THE HOUSE OF SHANG; HSIANG-THÛ, HIS GRANDSON; THANG, THE FOUNDER OF THE DYNASTY; AND I-YIN, THANG'S CHIEF MINISTER AND ADVISER.

It does not appear on occasion of what sacrifice this piece was made. The most probable view is that of Mào, that it was the

¹ That is, Thang.

² If this ode were used, as K'ang supposes, in the third year after Wû-ting's death, this 'descendant' would be his son 卨-k'ang, B. C. 1265 to 1259.

³ This expression, which occurs also in the Shû, indicates that the early Chinese believed that their country extended to the sea, east, west, north, and south.

⁴ K'ü Hsî says he did not understand this line; but there is ground in the 30 Kwan for our believing that King was the name of a hill in the region where the capital of Shang was.

⁵ We saw in the Shû that the name Shang gave place to Yin after the time of Pan-k'ang, B. C. 1401 to 1374. Wû-ting's reign was subsequent to that of Pan-k'ang.

'great Tî sacrifice,' when the principal object of honour would be the ancient Khû, the father of Hsieh, with Hsieh as his correlate, and all the kings of the dynasty, with the earlier lords of Shang, and their famous ministers and advisers, would have their places at the service. I think this is the oldest of the odes of Shang.

Profoundly wise were (the lords of) Shang, And long had there appeared the omens (of their dignity).

When the waters of the deluge spread vast abroad, Yü arranged and divided the regions of the land, And assigned to the exterior great states their boundaries, With their borders extending all over (the kingdom). (Even) then the chief of Sung was beginning to be great, And God raised up the son (of his daughter), and founded (the line of) Shang¹.

The dark king exercised an effective sway². Charged with a small state, he commanded success; Charged with a large state, he commanded success³. He followed his rules of conduct without error; Wherever he inspected (the people), they responded (to his instructions)⁴. (Then came) Hsiang-thû all ardent⁵, And all within the four seas, beyond (the middle regions), acknowledged his restraints.

¹ This line refers to the birth of Hsieh, as described in the previous ode, and his being made lord of Shang.

² It would be hard to say why Hsieh is here called 'the dark king.' There may be an allusion to the legend about the connexion of the swallow,—'the dark bird,'—with his birth. He never was 'a king;' but his descendants here represented him as such.

³ All that is meant here is, that the territory of Shang was enlarged under Hsieh.

⁴ There is a reference here to Hsieh's appointment by Shun to be Minister of Instruction.

⁵ Hsiang-thû appears in the genealogical lists as grandson of Hsieh. We know nothing of him but what is related here.

The favour of God did not leave (Shang), And in Thang was found the fit object for its display. Thang was not born too late, And his wisdom and reverence daily advanced:—Brilliant was the influence of his character (on Heaven) for long. God he revered, And God appointed him to be the model for the nine regions.

He received the rank-tokens of the states, small and large, Which depended on him like the pendants of a banner:—So did he receive the blessing of Heaven. He was neither violent nor remiss, Neither hard nor soft. Gently he spread his instructions abroad, And all dignities and riches were concentrated in him.

He received the tribute of the states, small and large, And he supported them as a strong steed (does its burden):—So did he receive the favour of Heaven. He displayed everywhere his valour, Unshaken, unmoved, Unterrified, unscared:—All dignities were united in him.

The martial king displayed his banner, And with reverence grasped his axe. It was like (the case of) a blazing fire which no one can repress. The root, with its three shoots, Could make no progress, no growth¹. The nine regions were effectually secured by Thang. Having smitten (the princes of) Wei and Kû, He dealt with (him of) K'ün-wû and with K'ieh of Hsiâ.

Formerly, in the middle of the period (before

¹ By 'the root' we are to understand Thang's chief opponent, K'ieh, the last king of Hsiâ. K'ieh's three great helpers were 'the three shoots,'—the princes of Wei, Kû, and K'ün-wû; but the exact sites of their principalities cannot be made out.

Thang), There was a time of shaking and peril¹.
 But truly did Heaven (then) deal with him as a son,
 And sent him down a high minister, Namely,
 Â-hǎng², Who gave his assistance to the king of
 Shang.

ODE 5. THE YIN WŪ.

CELEBRATING THE WAR OF WŪ-TING AGAINST KING-KHŪ, ITS SUCCESS,
 AND THE GENERAL HAPPINESS AND VIRTUE OF HIS REIGN;—MADE,
 PROBABLY, WHEN A SPECIAL AND PERMANENT TEMPLE WAS BUILT
 FOR HIM AS THE 'HIGH AND HONOURED' KING OF SHANG.

The concluding lines indicate that the temple was made on the occasion which I thus assign to it. After WŪ-ting's death, his spirit-tablet would be shrined in the ancestral temple, and he would have his share in the seasonal sacrifices; but several reigns would elapse before there was any necessity to make any other arrangement, so that his tablet should not be removed, and his share in the sacrifices not be discontinued. Hence the composition of the piece has been referred to the time of Tî-yí, the last but one of the kings of Shang.

Rapid was the warlike energy of (our king of)
 Yin, And vigorously did he attack K'ing-Khū³.

¹ We do not know anything of this time of decadence in the fortunes of Shang between Hsieh and Thang.

² Â-hǎng is Î Yin, who plays so remarkable a part in the Shū, IV, Books iv, v, and vi.

³ K'ing, or Khū, or K'ing-Khū, as the two names are combined here, was a large and powerful half-savage state, having its capital in the present WŪ-pei. So far as evidence goes, we should say, but for this ode, that the name of Khū was not in use till long after the Shang dynasty. The name K'ing appears several times in 'the Spring and Autumn' in the annals of duke Kwang (B.C. 693 to 662), and then it gives place to the name Khū in the first year of duke Hsî (B.C. 659), and subsequently disappears itself altogether. In consequence of this some critics make this piece out to have been composed under the K'au dynasty. The point cannot be fully cleared up; but on the whole I accept the words of the ode as sufficient proof against the silence of other documents.

Boldly he entered its dangerous passes, And brought the multitudes of *King* together, Till the country was reduced under complete restraint:—Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Thang!

‘Ye people,’ (he said), ‘of *King-Khû*, Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom. Formerly, in the time of Thang the Successful, Even from the *Kiang* of *Ti*¹, They dared not but come with their offerings; (Their chiefs) dared not but come to seek acknowledgment²:—Such is the regular rule of Shang.’

Heaven had given their appointments (to the princes), But where their capitals had been assigned within the sphere of the labours of *Yü*, For the business of every year they appeared before our king³, (Saying), ‘Do not punish nor reprove us; We have not been remiss in our husbandry.’

When Heaven by its will is inspecting (the kingdom), The lower people are to be feared. (Our king) showed no partiality (in rewarding), no excess (in punishing); He dared not to allow himself in indolence:—So was his appointment (established)

¹ The *Ti Kiang*, or *Kiang* of *Ti*, still existed in the time of the Han dynasty, occupying portions of the present Kan-sû.

² The chiefs of the wild tribes, lying beyond the nine provinces of the kingdom, were required to present themselves once in their lifetime at the royal court. The rule, in normal periods, was for each chief to appear immediately after he had succeeded to the headship of his tribe.

³ The feudal lords had to appear at court every year. They did so, we may suppose, at the court of *Wû-ting*, the more so because of his subjugation of *King-Khû*.

over the states, And he made his happiness grandly secure.

The capital of Shang was full of order, The model for all parts of the kingdom. Glorious was (the king's) fame; Brilliant his energy. Long lived he and enjoyed tranquillity, And so he preserves us, his descendants.

We ascended the hill of *K'ing*¹, Where the pines and cypresses grew symmetrical. We cut them down and conveyed them here; We reverently hewed them square. Long are the projecting beams of pine; Large are the many pillars. The temple was completed,—the tranquil abode (of the martial king of Yin).

II. THE SACRIFICIAL ODES OF K'ÂU.

IN this division we have thirty-one sacrificial odes of K'âu, arranged in three decades, the third of which, however, contains eleven pieces. They belong mostly to the time of king Wăn, the founder of the K'âu dynasty, and to the reigns of his son and grandson, kings Wû and K'häng. The decades are named from the name of the first piece in each.

The First Decade, or that of *K'hing Miào*.

ODE 1. THE *KHING MIÃO*.

CELEBRATING THE REVERENTIAL MANNER IN WHICH A SACRIFICE TO KING WĂN WAS PERFORMED, AND FURTHER PRAISING HIM.

Chinese critics agree in assigning this piece to the sacrifice mentioned in the *Shû*, in the end of the thirteenth Book of Part V, when, the building of Lo being finished, king K'häng came to

¹ See on the last line but two of ode 3.

the new city, and offered a red bull to Wăn, and the same to Wû. It seems to me to have been sung in honour of Wăn, after the service was completed. This determination of the occasion of the piece being accepted, we should refer it to B. C. 1108.

Oh! solemn is the ancestral temple in its pure stillness. Reverent and harmonious were the distinguished assistants¹; Great was the number of the officers²:—(All) assiduous followers of the virtue of (king Wăn). In response to him in heaven, Grandly they hurried about in the temple. Distinguished is he and honoured, And will never be wearied of among men.

ODE 2. THE WEI THIEN KIH MING.

CELEBRATING THE VIRTUE OF KING WĂN AS COMPARABLE TO THAT OF HEAVEN, AND LOOKING TO HIM FOR BLESSING IN THE FUTURE.

According to the Preface, there is an announcement here of the realization of complete peace throughout the kingdom, and some of the old critics refer the ode to a sacrifice to king Wăn by the duke of Kâu, when he had completed the statutes for the new dynasty. But there is nothing to authorize a more definite argument of the contents than I have given.

The ordinances of Heaven,—How deep are they and unintermitting! And oh! how illustrious Was the singleness of the virtue of king Wăn³!

How does he (now) show his kindness? We will receive it, Striving to be in accord with him, our

¹ These would be the princes who were assembled on the occasion, and assisted the king in the service.

² That is, the officers who took part in the libations, prayers, and other parts of the sacrifice.

³ See what 3ze-sze says on these four lines in the Doctrine of the Mean, XXVI, par. 10.

king Wăn; And may his remotest descendant be abundantly the same!

ODE 3. THE WEI KHING.

APPROPRIATE AT SOME SACRIFICE TO KING WĂN, AND CELEBRATING HIS STATUTES.

Nothing more can, with any likelihood of truth, be said of this short piece, which moreover has the appearance of being a fragment.

Clear and to be preserved bright, Are the statutes of king Wăn. From the first sacrifice (to him), Till now when they have issued in our complete state, They have been the happy omen of (the fortunes of) K'au.

ODE 4. THE LIEH WĂN.

A SONG IN PRAISE OF THE PRINCES WHO HAVE ASSISTED AT A SACRIFICE, AND ADMONISHING THEM.

The Preface says that this piece was made on the occasion of king K'hang's accession to the government, when he thus addressed the princes who had assisted him in the ancestral temple. K'ü Hsi considers that it was a piece for general use in the ancestral temple, to be sung when the king presented a cup to his assisting guests, after they had thrice presented the cup to the representatives of the dead. There is really nothing in it to enable us to decide in favour of either view.

Ye, brilliant and accomplished princes, Have conferred on me this happiness. Your favours to me are without limit, And my descendants will preserve (the fruits of) them.

Be not mercenary nor extravagant in your states, And the king will honour you. Thinking of this

great service, He will enlarge the dignity of your successors.

What is most powerful is the being the man:—
Its influence will be felt throughout your states.
What is most distinguished is the being virtuous:—
It will secure the imitation of all the princes. Ah!
the former kings cannot be forgotten!

ODE 5. THE THIEN 30.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING THÂI.

We cannot tell what the sacrifice was; and the Preface, indeed, says that the piece was used in the seasonal sacrifices to all the former kings and dukes of the House of *Kâu*. King *Thái* was the grandfather of king *Wăn*, and, before he received that title, was known as 'the ancient duke *Than-fû*.' In B. C. 1327, he moved with his followers from *Pin*, an earlier seat of his House, and settled in the plain of *Khî*, about fifty *lî* to the north-east of the present district city of *Khî-shan*, in *Shen-hsi*.

Heaven made the lofty hill¹, And king *Thái*
brought (the country about) it under cultivation.
He made the commencement with it, And king
Wăn tranquilly (carried on the work), (Till) that
rugged (mount) *Khî* Had level roads leading to it.
May their descendants ever preserve it!

ODE 6. THE HÂO THIEN YÜ KHĂNG MING.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING KHĂNG.

Khăng was the honorary title of *Sung*, the son and successor of king *Wû*, B. C. 1115 to 1079.

Heaven made its determinate appointment, Which
our two sovereigns received². King *Khăng* did not
dare to rest idly in it, But night and day enlarged

¹ Meaning mount *Khî*.

² *Wăn* and *Wû*.

its foundations by his deep and silent virtue. How did he continue and glorify (his heritage), Exerting all his heart, And so securing its tranquillity!

ODE 7. THE WO K'ANG.

APPROPRIATE TO A SACRIFICE TO KING W'AN, ASSOCIATED WITH HEAVEN,
IN THE HALL OF AUDIENCE.

There is, happily, an agreement among the critics as to the occasion to which this piece is referred. It took place in the last month of autumn, in the Hall of Audience, called also 'the Brilliant Hall,' and 'the Hall of Light.' We must suppose that the princes are all assembled at court, and that the king receives them in this hall. A sacrifice is then presented to God, and with him is associated king W'án, the two being the fountain from which, and the channel through which, the sovereignty had come to K'au.

I have brought my offerings, A ram and a bull.
May Heaven accept them¹!

I imitate and follow and observe the statutes of king W'án, Seeking daily to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom. King W'án, the Blessor, has descended on the right, and accepted (the offerings).

Do I not, night and day, Revere the majesty of Heaven, Thus to preserve (its favour)?

ODE 8. THE SHIH M'AI.

APPROPRIATE TO KING WÚ'S SACRIFICING TO HEAVEN, AND TO THE SPIRITS OF THE HILLS AND RIVERS, ON A PROGRESS THROUGH THE KINGDOM, AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE SHANG DYNASTY.

Here again there is an agreement among the critics. We find from the *Bo Kwan* and 'the Narratives of the States,' that the

¹ This is a prayer. The worshipper, it is said, in view of the majesty of Heaven, shrank from assuming that God would certainly accept his sacrifice. He assumes, below, that king W'án does so.

piece was, when those compilations were made, considered to be the work of the duke of K'âu; and, no doubt, it was made by him soon after the accession of Wû to the kingdom, and when he was making a royal progress in assertion of his being appointed by Heaven to succeed to the rulers of Shang. The 'I' in the fourteenth line is, most probably, to be taken of the duke of K'âu, who may have recited the piece on occasion of the sacrifices, in the hearing of the assembled princes and lords.

Now is he making a progress through his states ;
May Heaven deal with him as its son !

Truly are the honour and succession come from
it to the House of K'âu. To his movements All
respond with tremulous awe. He has attracted
and given rest to all spiritual beings¹, Even to
(the spirits of) the Ho and the highest hills.
Truly is the king our sovereign lord.

Brilliant and illustrious is the House of K'âu.
He has regulated the positions of the princes ;
He has called in shields and spears ; He has re-
turned to their cases bows and arrows². I will
cultivate admirable virtue, And display it through-
out these great regions. Truly will the king pre-
serve the appointment.

¹ 'All spiritual beings' is, literally, 'the hundred spirits,' meaning the spirits presiding, under Heaven, over all nature, and especially the spirits of the rivers and hills throughout the kingdom. Those of the Ho and the lofty mountains are mentioned, because if their spirits were satisfied with Wû, those of all other mountains and hills, no doubt, were so.

² Compare with these lines the last chapter of 'the Completion of the War' in the Shû.

ODE 9. THE KIH KING.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE IN SACRIFICING TO THE KINGS WŪ, KHĀNG, AND KHANG.

The Chinese critics differ in the interpretation of this ode, the Preface and older scholars restricting it to a sacrifice to king WŪ, while K'ū Hsī and others find reference in it, as to me also seems most natural, to K'hāng and Khang, who succeeded him.

The arm of king WŪ was full of strength; Irresistible was his ardour. Greatly illustrious were K'hāng and Khang¹, Kinged by God.

When we consider how K'hāng and Khang Grandly held all within the four quarters (of the kingdom), How penetrating was their intelligence!

The bells and drums sound in harmony; The sounding-stones and flutes blend their notes; Abundant blessing is sent down.

Blessing is sent down in large measure. Careful and exact is all our deportment; We have drunk, and we have eaten, to the full; Our happiness and dignity will be prolonged.

ODE 10. THE SZE WĀN.

APPROPRIATE TO ONE OF THE BORDER SACRIFICES, WHEN HĀU-K'Ī WAS WORSHIPPED AS THE CORRELATE OF GOD, AND CELEBRATING HIM.

Hāu-k'ī was the same as K'k'ī, who appears in Part II of the Shū, as Minister of Agriculture to Yāo and Shun, and co-operating with

¹ If the whole piece be understood only of a sacrifice to WŪ, this line will have to be translated—'How illustrious was he, who completed (his great work), and secured its tranquillity.' We must deal similarly with the next line. This construction is very forced; nor is the text clear on the view of K'ū Hsī.

Yü in his labours on the flooded land. The name Hâu belongs to him as lord of Thâi; that of Kî, as Minister of Agriculture. However the combination arose, Hâu-kî became historically the name of Kî of the time of Yáo and Shun, the ancestor to whom the kings of Kâu traced their lineage. He was to the people the Father of Husbandry, who first taught men to plough and sow and reap. Hence, when the kings offered sacrifice and prayer to God at the commencement of spring for his blessing on the labours of the year, they associated Hâu-kî with him at the service.

O accomplished Hâu-kî, Thou didst prove thyself the correlate of Heaven. Thou didst give grain-food to our multitudes:—The immense gift of thy goodness. Thou didst confer on us the wheat and the barley, Which God appointed for the nourishment of all. And without distinction of territory or boundary, The rules of social duty were diffused throughout these great regions.

The Second Decade, or that of *Khân Kung*.

ODE 1. THE *KHÂN KUNG*.

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE OFFICERS OF HUSBANDRY.

The place of this piece among the sacrificial odes makes us assign it to the conclusion of some sacrifice; but what the sacrifice was we cannot tell. The Preface says that it was addressed, at the conclusion of the spring sacrifice to ancestors, to the princes who had been present and taken part in the service. Kû Hsî says nothing but what I have stated in the above argument of the piece.

Ah! ah! ministers and officers, Reverently attend to your public duties. The king has given you perfect rules;—Consult about them, and consider them.

Ah! ah! ye assistants, It is now the end of

spring¹; And what have ye to seek for? (Only) how to manage the new fields and those of the third year. How beautiful are the wheat and the barley! The bright and glorious God Will in them give us a good year. Order all our men To be provided with their spuds and hoes:—Anon we shall see the sickles at work.

ODE 2. THE Î HSI.

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS TO THE OFFICERS OF HUSBANDRY.

Again there is a difficulty in determining to what sacrifice this piece should be referred. The Preface says it was sung on the occasions of sacrifice by the king to God, in spring and summer, for a good year. But the note on the first two lines will show that this view cannot be accepted without modification.

Oh! yes, king *Khǎng*² Brightly brought himself near². Lead your husbandmen To sow their various kinds of grain, Going vigorously to work

¹ It is this line which makes it difficult to determine after what sacrifice we are to suppose these instructions to have been delivered. The year, during the Hsiâ dynasty, began with the first month of spring, as it now does in China, in consequence of Confucius having said that that was the proper time. Under the Shang dynasty, it commenced a month earlier; and during the Kâu period, it ought always to have begun with the new moon preceding the winter solstice,—between our November 22 and December 22. But in the writings of the Kâu period we find statements of time continually referred to the calendar of Hsiâ,—as here.

² These first two lines are all but unmanageable. The old critics held that there was no mention of king *Khǎng* in them; but the text is definite on this point. We must suppose that a special service had been performed at his shrine, asking him to intimate the day when the sacrifice after which the instructions were given should be performed; and that a directing oracle had been received.

on your private fields¹, All over the thirty lî².
Attend to your ploughing, With your ten thousand
men all in pairs.

ODE 3. THE KÂU LÛ.

CELEBRATING THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FORMER DYNASTIES, WHO
HAD COME TO COURT TO ASSIST AT A SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL
TEMPLE.

This piece may have been used when the king was dismissing his
distinguished guests in the ancestral temple. See the intro-
ductory note to this Part, pp. 300, 301.

A flock of egrets is flying, About the marsh
there in the west³. My visitors came, With an
(elegant) carriage like those birds.

There, (in their states), not disliked, Here, (in
Kâu), never tired of;—They are sure, day and
night, To perpetuate their fame.

¹ The mention of 'the private fields' implies that there were also 'the public fields,' cultivated by the husbandmen in common, in behalf of the government. As the people are elsewhere introduced, wishing that the rain might first fall on 'the public fields,' to show their loyalty, so the king here mentions only 'the private fields,' to show his sympathy and consideration for the people.

² For the cultivation of the ground, the allotments of single families were separated by a small ditch; ten allotments, by a larger; a hundred, by what we may call a brook; a thousand, by a small stream; and ten thousand, by a river. The space occupied by 10,000 families formed a square of a little more than thirty-two lî. We may suppose that this space was intended by the round number of thirty lî in the text. So at least K'ang Khang-k'ang explained it.

³ These two lines make the piece allusive. See the Introduction, p. 279.

ODE 4. THE FĀNG NIEN.

AN ODE OF THANKSGIVING FOR A PLENTIFUL YEAR.

The Preface says the piece was used at sacrifices in autumn and winter. Kū Hsī calls it an ode of thanksgiving for a good year,—without any specification of time. He supposes, however, that the thanks were given to the ancient Shān-nǎng, 'the father of Agriculture,' Hâu-kí, 'the first Husbandman,' and the spirits presiding over the four quarters of the heavens. To this the imperial editors rightly demur, saying that the blessings which the piece speaks of could come only from God.

Abundant is the year with much millet and much rice; And we have our high granaries, With myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions (of measures in them); For spirits and sweet spirits, To present to our forefathers, male and female, And to supply all our ceremonies. The blessings sent down on us are of every kind.

ODE 5. THE YŪ KŪ.

THE BLIND MUSICIANS OF THE COURT OF KĀU; THE INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC; AND THEIR HARMONY.

The critics agree in holding that this piece was made on occasion of the duke of Kāu's completing his instruments of music for the ancestral temple, and announcing the fact at a grand performance in the temple of king Wǎn. It can hardly be regarded as a sacrificial ode.

There are the blind musicians; there are the blind musicians; In the court of (the temple of) Kāu¹.

¹ The blind musicians at the court of Kāu were numerous. The blindness of the eyes was supposed to make the ears more acute in hearing, and to be favourable to the powers of the voice. In the Official Book of Kāu, III, i, par. 22, the enumeration of

There are (the music-frames with their) face-boards and posts, The high toothed-edge (of the former), and the feathers stuck (in the latter); With the drums, large and small, suspended from them; And the hand-drums and sounding-stones, the instrument to give the signal for commencing, and the stopper. These being all complete, the music is struck up. The pan-pipe and the double flute begin at the same time ¹.

Harmoniously blend their sounds; In solemn unison they give forth their notes. Our ancestors will give ear. Our visitors will be there;—Long to witness the complete performance.

ODE 6. THE *KHIEN*.

SUNG IN THE LAST MONTH OF WINTER, AND IN SPRING, WHEN THE KING PRESENTED A FISH IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE.

Such is the argument of this piece given in the Preface, and in which the critics generally concur. In the *Lî Kî*, IV, vi, 49, it is recorded that the king, in the third month of winter, gave orders to his chief fisher to commence his duties, and went himself to see his operations. He partook of the fish first captured, but previously presented some as an offering in the back apartment of the ancestral temple. In the third month of spring, again, when the sturgeons began to make their appearance (*Lî Kî*, IV, i, 25), the king presented one in the same place. On

these blind musicians gives 2 directors of the first rank, and 4 of the second; 40 performers of the first grade, 100 of the second, and 160 of the third; with 300 assistants who were possessed of vision. But it is difficult not to be somewhat incredulous as to this great collection of blind musicians about the court of *Kâu*.

¹ All the instruments here enumerated were performed on in the open court below the hall. Nothing is said of the stringed instruments which were used in the hall itself; nor is the enumeration of the instruments in the courtyard complete.

these passages, the prefatory notice was, no doubt, constructed. Choice specimens of the earliest-caught fish were presented by the sovereign to his ancestors, as an act of duty, and an acknowledgment that it was to their favour that he and the people were indebted for the supplies of food, which they received from the waters.

Oh! in the *K'hi* and the *K'ü*, There are many fish in the warrens;—Sturgeons, large and snouted, Thryssas, yellow-jaws, mud-fish, and carp;—For offerings, for sacrifice, That our bright happiness may be increased.

ODE 7. THE YUNG.

APPROPRIATE, PROBABLY, AT A SACRIFICE BY KING WÛ TO HIS FATHER W'ÂN.

From a reference in the *Analects*, III, ii, to an abuse of this ode in the time of Confucius, we learn that it was sung when the sacrificial vessels and their contents were being removed.

They come full of harmony; They are here in all gravity;—The princes assisting, While the Son of Heaven looks profound.

(He says), 'While I present (this) noble bull, And they assist me in setting forth the sacrifice, O great and august Father, Comfort me, your filial son.

'With penetrating wisdom thou didst play the man, A sovereign with the gifts both of peace and war, Giving rest even to great Heaven¹, And ensuring prosperity to thy descendants.

¹ To explain this line one commentator refers to the seventh stanza of the first piece in the *Major Odes of the Kingdom*, where it is said, 'God surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom, seeking for some one to give settlement and rest to the people;' and adds, 'Thus what Heaven has at heart is the settlement of the people. When they have rest given to them, then Heaven is at rest.'

'Thou comfortest me with the eyebrows of longevity; Thou makest me great with manifold blessings, I offer this sacrifice to my meritorious father, And to my accomplished mother¹.'

ODE 8. THE 3ÂI HSIEN.

APPROPRIATE TO AN OCCASION WHEN THE FEUDAL PRINCES HAD BEEN ASSISTING KING KHĀNG AT A SACRIFICE TO HIS FATHER.

They appeared before their sovereign king, To seek from him the rules (they were to observe). With their dragon-emblazoned banners, flying bright, The bells on them and their front-boards tinkling, And with the rings on the ends of the reins glittering, Admirable was their majesty and splendour.

He led them to appear before his father shined on the left², Where he discharged his filial duty, and presented his offerings;—That he might have granted to him long life, And ever preserve (his dignity). Great and many are his blessings. They are the brilliant and accomplished princes, Who cheer him with his many sources of happiness,

¹ At sacrifices to ancestors, the spirit tablets of wives were placed along with those of their husbands in their shrines, so that both shared in the honours of the service. So it is now in the imperial ancestral temple in Peking. The 'accomplished mother' here would be Thâi Sze, celebrated often in the pieces of the first Book of Part I, and elsewhere.

² Among the uses of the services of the ancestral temple, specified by Confucius and quoted on p. 302, was the distinguishing the order of descent in the royal House. According to the rules for that purpose, the characters here used enable us to determine the subject of this line as king Wû, in opposition to his father Wăn.

Enabling him to perpetuate them in their brightness as pure blessing.

ODE 9. THE YÛ KHO.

CELEBRATING THE DUKE OF SUNG ON ONE OF HIS APPEARANCES AT THE CAPITAL TO ASSIST AT THE SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE OF KÂU;—SHOWING HOW HE WAS ESTEEMED AND CHERISHED BY THE KING.

The mention of the white horses here in the chariot of the visitor sufficiently substantiates the account in the Preface that he was the famous count of Wei, mentioned in the Shu, IV, xi, and whose subsequent investiture with the duchy of Sung, as the representative of the line of the Shang kings, is also related in the Shû, V, viii. With the dynasty of Shang white had been the esteemed and sacred colour, as red was with Kâu, and hence the duke had his carriage drawn by white horses. 'The language,' says one critic, 'is all in praise of the visitor, but it was sung in the temple, and is rightly placed therefore among the Sung.' There is, in the last line, an indication of the temple in it.

The noble visitor! The noble visitor! Drawn,
like his ancestors, by white horses! The reverent
and dignified, Polished members of his suite!

The noble guest will stay (but) a night or two!
The noble guest will stay (but) two nights or four!
Give him ropes, To bind his horses¹.

I will convoy him (with a parting feast); I will
comfort him in every possible way. Adorned with
such great dignity, It is very natural that he should
be blessed.

¹ These four lines simply express the wish of the king to detain his visitor, from the delight that his presence gave him. Compare the similar language in the second ode of the fourth decade of Part II.

ODE 10. THE WŪ.

SUNG IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE TO THE MUSIC REGULATING THE DANCE IN HONOUR OF THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF KING WŪ.

This account of the piece, given in the Preface, is variously corroborated, and has not been called in question by any critic. Perhaps this brief ode was sung as a prelude to the dance, or it may be that the seven lines are only a fragment. This, indeed, is most likely, as we have several odes in the next decade, all said to have been used at the same occasion.

Oh! great wast thou, O king WŪ, Displaying the utmost strength in thy work. Truly accomplished was king Wǎn, Opening the path for his successors. Thou didst receive the inheritance from him. Thou didst vanquish Yin, and put a stop to its cruelties;—Effecting the firm establishment of thy merit.

The Third Decade, or that of Min Yü Hsiáo 3ze.

ODE 1. THE MIN YÜ.

APPROPRIATE TO THE YOUNG KING KHĀNG, DECLARING HIS SENTIMENTS IN THE TEMPLE OF HIS FATHER.

The speaker in this piece is, by common consent, king *Khāng*. The only question is as to the date of its composition, whether it was made for him, in his minority, on his repairing to the temple when the mourning for his father was completed, or after the expiration of the regency of the duke of *Kāu*. The words 'little child,' according to their usage, are expressive of humility and not of age. They do not enable us to determine the above point.

Alas for me, who am a little child, On whom has devolved the unsettled state! Solitary am I and full of distress. Oh! my great Father, All thy life long, thou wast filial.

Thou didst think of my great grandfather, (Seeing

him, as it were) ascending and descending in the court, I, the little child, Day and night will be as reverent.

Oh! ye great kings, As your successor, I will strive not to forget you.

ODE 2. THE FANG LO.

THE YOUNG KING TELLS OF HIS DIFFICULTIES AND INCOMPETENCIES; ASKS FOR COUNSEL TO KEEP HIM TO COPY THE EXAMPLE OF HIS FATHER; STATES HOW HE MEANT TO DO SO; AND CONCLUDES WITH AN APPEAL OR PRAYER TO HIS FATHER.

This seems to be a sequel to the former ode. We can hardly say anything about it so definite as the statement in the Preface, that it relates to a council held by K'äng and his ministers in the ancestral temple.

I take counsel at the beginning of my (rule),
How I can follow (the example of) my shrined father. Ah! far-reaching (were his plans), And I am not yet able to carry them out. However I endeavour to reach to them, My continuation of them will still be all-deflected. I am a little child, Unequal to the many difficulties of the state. Having taken his place, (I will look for him) to go up and come down in the court, To ascend and descend in the house. Admirable art thou, O great Father, (Condescend) to preserve and enlighten me.

ODE 3. THE KING K'IH.

KING K'HÄNG SHOWS HIS SENSE OF WHAT WAS REQUIRED OF HIM TO PRESERVE THE FAVOUR OF HEAVEN, A CONSTANT JUDGE; INTIMATES HIS GOOD PURPOSES; AND ASKS THE HELP OF HIS MINISTERS TO BE ENABLED TO PERFORM THEM.

Let me be reverent! Let me be reverent! (The way of) Heaven is evident, And its appointment

is not easily preserved¹. Let me not say that it is high aloft above me. It ascends and descends about our doings; It daily inspects us wherever we are.

I am a little child, Without intelligence to be reverently (attentive to my duties); But by daily progress and monthly advance, I will learn to hold fast the gleams (of knowledge), till I arrive at bright intelligence. Assist me to bear the burden (of my position), And show me how to display a virtuous conduct.

ODE 4. THE HSIÄO PÏ.

KING KHÄNG ACKNOWLEDGES THAT HE HAD ERRED, AND STATES HIS PURPOSE TO BE CAREFUL IN THE FUTURE; HE WILL GUARD AGAINST THE SLIGHT BEGINNINGS OF EVIL; AND IS PENETRATED WITH A SENSE OF HIS OWN INCOMPETENCIES.

This piece has been considered by some critics as the conclusion of the council in the ancestral temple, with which the previous two also are thought to be connected. The Preface says that the king asks in it for the assistance of his ministers, but no such request is expressed. I seem myself to see in it, with Sû *K'ieh* and others, a reference to the suspicions which *K'häng* at one time, we know, entertained of the fidelity of the duke of *K'âu*, when he was inclined to believe the rumours spread against him by his other uncles, who joined in rebellion with the son of the last king of Shang.

I condemn myself (for the past), And will be on my guard against future calamity. I will have nothing to do with a wasp, To seek for myself its painful sting. At first indeed it seemed to be

¹ The meaning is this: 'The way of Heaven is very clear, to bless the good, namely, and punish the bad. But its favour is thus dependent on men themselves, and hard to preserve.'

(but) a wren¹, But it took wing, and became a large bird. I am unequal to the many difficulties of the kingdom, And am placed in the midst of bitter experiences.

ODE 5. THE 3AI SHŪ.

THE CULTIVATION OF THE GROUND FROM THE FIRST BREAKING OF IT UP, TILL IT YIELDS ABUNDANT HARVESTS;—AVAILABLE SPECIALLY FOR SACRIFICES AND FESTIVE OCCASIONS. WHETHER INTENDED TO BE USED ON OCCASIONS OF THANKSGIVING, OR IN SPRING WHEN PRAYING FOR A GOOD YEAR, CANNOT BE DETERMINED.

The Preface says that this ode was used in spring, when the king in person turned up some furrows in the field set apart for that purpose, and prayed at the altars of the spirits of the land and the grain, for an abundant year. K'ü Hsî says he does not know on what occasion it was intended to be used; but comparing it with the fourth ode of the second decade, he is inclined to rank it with that as an ode of thanksgiving. There is nothing in the piece itself to determine us in favour of either view. It brings before us a series of pleasing pictures of the husbandry of those early times. The editors of the imperial edition say that its place in the Sung makes it clear that it was an accompaniment of some royal sacrifice. We need not controvert this; but the poet evidently singled out some large estate, and describes the labour on it, from the first bringing it under cultivation to the state in which it was before his eyes, and concludes by saying that the picture which he gives of it had long been applicable to the whole country.

They clear away the grass and the bushes; And the ground is laid open by their ploughs.

In thousands of pairs they remove the roots, Some in the low wet land, some along the dykes.

¹ The Chinese characters here mean, literally, 'peach-tree insect,' or, as Dr. Williams has it, 'peach-bug.' Another name for the bird is 'the clever wife,' from the artistic character of its nest, which would point it out as the small 'tailor bird.' But the name is applied to various small birds.

There are the master and his eldest son; His younger sons, and all their children; Their strong helpers, and their hired servants. How the noise of their eating the viands brought to them resounds! (The husbands) think lovingly of their wives; (The wives) keep close to their husbands. (Then) with their sharp ploughshares They set to work on the south-lying acres.

They sow their various kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life.

In unbroken lines rises the blade, And, well nourished, the stalks grow long.

Luxuriant looks the young grain, And the weed-ers go among it in multitudes.

Then comè the reapers in crowds, And the grain is piled up in the fields, Myriads, and hundreds of thousands, and millions (of stacks); For spirits and for sweet spirits, To offer to our ancestors, male and female, And to provide for all ceremonies.

Fragrant is their aroma, Enhancing the glory of the state. Like pepper is their smell, To give comfort to the aged.

It is not here only that there is this (abundance); It is not now only that there is such a time:— From of old it has been thus.

ODE 6. THE LIANG SZE.

PRESUMABLY, AN ODE OF THANKSGIVING IN THE AUTUMN TO THE SPIRITS OF THE LAND AND GRAIN.

Very sharp are the excellent shares, With which they set to work on the south-lying acres.

They sow their various kinds of grain, Each seed containing in it a germ of life.

There are those who come to see them, With
their baskets round and square, Containing the
provisions of millet.

With their light splint hats on their heads, They
ply their hoes on the ground, Clearing away the
smartweed on the dry land and wet.

The weeds being decayed, The millets grow
luxuriantly.

They fall rustling before the reapers. The
gathered crop is piled up solidly, High as a wall,
United together like the teeth of a comb; And
the hundred houses are opened (to receive the
grain)¹.

Those hundred houses being full, The wives and
children have a feeling of repose.

(Now) we kill this black-muzzled tawny bull²,
with his crooked horns, To imitate and hand down,
To hand down (the observances of) our ancestors.

ODE 7. THE SZE Î.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE TO THE PREPARATIONS AND PROGRESS OF A
FEAST AFTER A SACRIFICE.

The Preface and the editors of the *Yung-kh'ang Shih* say that the
piece has reference to the entertainment given, the day after a

¹ 'The hundred houses,' or chambers in a hundred family
residences, are those of the hundred families, cultivating the space
which was bounded by a brook;—see note on the second ode of
the preceding decade. They formed a society, whose members
helped one another in their field work, so that their harvest might
be said to be carried home at the same time. Then would come
the threshing or treading, and winnowing, after which the grain
would be brought into the houses.

² It has been observed that under the *K'âu* dynasty, red was the

sacrifice, in the ancestral temple, to the personators of the dead, described on p. 301. *Kû Hsi* denies this, and holds simply that it belongs to the feast after a sacrifice, without further specifying what sacrifice. The old view is probably the more correct.

In his silken robes, clean and bright, With his cap on his head, looking so respectful, From the hall he goes to the foot of the stairs, And (then) from the sheep to the oxen¹. (He inspects) the tripods, large and small, And the curved goblet of rhinoceros horn². The good spirits are mild, (But) there is no noise, no insolence:—An auspice (this) of great longevity.

ODE 8. THE *KO*.

AN ODE IN PRAISE OF KING *Wû*, AND RECOGNISING THE DUTY TO FOLLOW HIS COURSE.

This was sung, according to the Preface, at the conclusion of the dance in honour of king *Wû*;—see on the last piece of the second decade.

Oh! powerful was the king's army, But he nursed it, in obedience to circumstances, while the

colour of the sacrificial victims. So it was for the ancestral temple; but in sacrificing to the spirits of the land and grain, the victim was a 'yellow' bull with black lips.

¹ The subject of these lines must be an ordinary officer, for to such the silk robes and a purple cap were proper, when he was assisting at the sacrifices of the king or of a feudal prince. There were two buildings outside the principal gate leading to the ancestral temple, and two corresponding inside, in which the personators of the departed ancestors were feasted. We must suppose the officer in question descending from the upper hall to the vestibule of the gate, to inspect the dishes, arranged for the feast, and then proceeding to see the animals, and the tripods for boiling the flesh, &c.

² The goblet of rhinoceros horn was to be drained, as a penalty, by any one offending at the feast against the rules of propriety; but here there was no occasion for it.

time was yet dark. When the time was clearly bright, He thereupon donned his grand armour. We have been favoured to receive What the martial king accomplished. To deal aright with what we have inherited, We have to be sincere imitators of thy course, (O king).

ODE 9. THE HWAN.

CELEBRATING THE MERIT AND SUCCESS OF KING WÛ.

According to a statement in the *So Kwan*, this piece also was sung in connexion with the dance of WÛ. The Preface says it was used in declarations of war, and in sacrificing to God and the Father of War. Perhaps it came to be used on such occasions; but we must refer it in the first place to the reign of king K'äng.

There is peace throughout our myriad regions. There has been a succession of plentiful years:— Heaven does not weary in its favour. The martial king WÛ Maintained (the confidence of) his officers, And employed them all over the kingdom, So securing the establishment of his family. Oh! glorious was he in the sight of Heaven, Which kinged him in the room (of Shang).

ODE 10. THE LÂI.

CELEBRATING THE PRAISE OF KING WÂN.

This is the only account of the piece that can be given from itself. The *So Kwan*, however, refers it to the dance of king WÛ; and the Preface says it contains the words with which WÛ accompanied his grant of fiefs and appanages in the ancestral temple to his principal followers.

King Wân laboured earnestly:—Right is it we should have received (the kingdom). We will diffuse (his virtue), ever cherishing the thought of

him; Henceforth we will seek only the settlement (of the kingdom). It was he through whom came the appointment of *K'âu*. Oh! let us ever cherish the thought of him.

ODE 11. THE PAN.

CELEBRATING THE GREATNESS OF *K'ÂU*, AND ITS FIRM POSSESSION OF THE KINGDOM, AS SEEN IN THE PROGRESSES OF ITS REIGNING SOVEREIGN.

In the eighth piece of the first decade we have an ode akin to this, relating a tentative progress of king *Wû*, to test the acceptance of his sovereignty. This is of a later date, and should be referred, probably, to the reign of king *K'hăng*, when the dynasty was fully acknowledged. Some critics, however, make it, like the three preceding, a portion of what was sung at the *Wû* dance.

Oh! great now is *K'âu*. We ascend the high hills, Both those that are long and narrow, and the lofty mountains. Yes, and (we travel) along the regulated Ho, All under the sky, Assembling those who now respond to me. Thus it is that the appointment belongs to *K'âu*.

III. THE PRAISE ODES OF *LÛ*.

It is not according to the truth of things to class the Sung of *Lû* among the sacrificial odes, and I do not call them such. *K'û Hsî* says:—'King *K'hăng*, because of the great services rendered by the duke of *K'âu*, granted to *Po-k'in*, (the duke's eldest son, and first marquis of *Lû*), the privilege of using the royal ceremonies and music, in consequence of which *Lû* had its Sung, which were sung to the music in its ancestral temple. Afterwards, they made in *Lû* other odes in praise of their rulers,

which they also called Sung.' In this way it is endeavoured to account for there being such pieces in this part of the Shih as the four in this division of it. Confucius, it is thought, found them in Lŭ, bearing the name of Sung, and so he classed them with the true sacrificial odes, bearing that designation. If we were to admit, contrary to the evidence in the case, that the Shih was compiled by Confucius, this explanation of the place of the Sung of Lŭ in this Part would not be complimentary to his discrimination.

Whether such a privilege as *K'ü* states was really granted to the first marquis of Lŭ, is a point very much controverted. Many contend that the royal ceremonies were usurped in the state, in the time of duke Hsi (B.C. 659 to 627). But if this should be conceded, it would not affect the application to the odes in this division of the name of Sung. They are totally unlike the Sung of Shang and of *K'âu*. It has often been asked why there are no Fāng of Lŭ in the first Part of the Shih. The pieces here are really the Fāng of Lŭ, and may be compared especially with the Fāng of Pin.

Lŭ was one of the states in the east, having its capital in *K'ü-fâu*, which is still the name of a district in the department of Yen-k'âu, Shan-tung. According to *K'ü*, king *K'häng* invested the duke of *K'âu*'s eldest son with the territory. According to *Sze-mâ K'ien*, the duke of *K'âu* was himself appointed marquis of Lŭ; but being unable to go there in consequence of his duties at the royal court, he sent his son instead. After the expiration of his regency, the territory was largely augmented, but he still remained in *K'âu*.

I pass over the first two odes, which have no claim to a place among 'sacred texts.' And only in one stanza of the third is there the expression of a religious sentiment. I give it entire, however.

ODE 3. THE PHAN SHUI.

IN PRAISE OF SOME MARQUIS OF LŪ, CELEBRATING HIS INTEREST IN THE STATE COLLEGE, WHICH HE HAD, PROBABLY, REPAIRED, TESTIFYING HIS VIRTUES, AND AUSPICING FOR HIM A COMPLETE TRIUMPH OVER THE TRIBES OF THE HWÂI, WHICH WOULD BE CELEBRATED IN THE COLLEGE.

The marquis here celebrated was, probably, Shăn, or 'duke Hsi,' mentioned above. The immediate occasion of its composition

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must have been some opening or inauguration service in connexion with the repair of the college.

1. Pleasant is the semicircular water¹, And we gather the cress about it. The marquis of Lû is coming to it, And we see his dragon-figured banner. His banner waves in the wind, And the bells of his horses tinkle harmoniously. Small and great, All follow the prince in his progress to it.

2. Pleasant is the semicircular water, And we gather the pondweed in it. The marquis of Lû has come to it, With his horses so stately. His horses are grand; His fame is brilliant. Blandly he looks and smiles; Without any impatience he delivers his instructions.

3. Pleasant is the semicircular water, And we gather the mallows about it. The marquis of Lû has come to it, And in the college he is drinking. He is drinking the good spirits. May there be

¹ It is said in the tenth ode of the first decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom, that king Wû in his capital of Hào built 'his hall with its cirlet of water.' That was the royal college built in the middle of a circle of water; each state had its grand college with a semicircular pool in front of it, such as may now be seen in front of the temples of Confucius in the metropolitan cities of the provinces. It is not easy to describe all the purposes which the building served. In this piece the marquis of Lû appears feasting in it, delivering instructions, taking counsel with his ministers, and receiving the spoils and prisoners of war. The *Lî Kî*, VIII, ii, 7, refers to sacrifices to Hân-kî in connexion with the college of Lû. There the officers of the state in autumn learned ceremonies; in winter, literary studies; in spring and summer, the use of arms; and in autumn and winter, dancing. There were celebrated trials of archery; there the aged were feasted; there the princes held council with their ministers. The college was in the western suburb of each capital.

given to him such old age as is seldom enjoyed!
 May he accord with the grand ways, So subduing
 to himself all the people!

4. Very admirable is the marquis of LÛ, Reverently displaying his virtue, And reverently watching over his deportment, The pattern of the people. With great qualities, both civil and martial, Brilliantly he affects his meritorious ancestors¹. In everything entirely filial, He seeks the blessing that is sure to follow.

5. Very intelligent is the marquis of LÛ, Making his virtue illustrious. He has made this college with its semicircle of water, And the tribes of the Hwâi will submit to him². His martial-looking tiger-leaders Will here present the left ears (of their foes)³. His examiners, wise as Kâo-yâo⁴, Will here present the prisoners.

6. His numerous officers, Men who have enlarged their virtuous minds, With martial energy conducting their expedition, Will drive far away those tribes of the east and south. Vigorous and

¹ The meaning is that the fine qualities of the marquis 'reached to' and affected his ancestors in their spirit-state, and would draw down their protecting favour. Their blessing, seen in his prosperity, was the natural result of his filial piety.

² The Hwâi rises in the department of Nan-yang, Ho-nan, and flows eastward to the sea. South of it, down to the time of this ode, were many rude and wild tribes that gave frequent occupation to the kings of Kâu.

³ When prisoners refused to submit, their left ears were cut off, and shown as trophies.

⁴ The ancient Shun's Minister of Crime. The 'examiners' were officers who questioned the prisoners, especially the more important of them, to elicit information, and decide as to the amount of their guilt and punishment.

grand, Without noise or display, Without appeal to the judges¹, They will here present (the proofs of) their merit.

7. How they draw their bows adorned with bone! How their arrows whiz forth! Their war chariots are very large! Their footmen and charioteers never weary! They have subdued the tribes of Hwâi, And brought them to an unrebelling submission. Only lay your plans securely, And all the tribes of the Hwâi will be won².

8. They come flying on the wing, those owls, And settle on the trees about the college; They eat the fruit of our mulberry trees, And salute us with fine notes³. So awakened shall be those tribes of the Hwâi. They will come presenting their precious things, Their large tortoises, and their elephants' teeth, And great contributions of the southern metals⁴.

¹ The 'judges' decided all questions of dispute in the army, and on the merits of different men who had distinguished themselves.

² In this stanza the poet describes a battle with the wild tribes, as if it were going on before his eyes.

³ An owl is a bird with a disagreeable scream, instead of a beautiful note; but the mulberries grown about the college would make them sing delightfully. And so would the influence of Lû, going forth from the college, transform the nature of the tribes about the Hwâi.

⁴ That is, according to 'the Tribute of Yü,' in the Shû, from *King-kâu* and *Yang-kâu*.

ODE 4. THE PÏ KUNG.

IN PRAISE OF DUKE HSI, AND AUSPICING FOR HIM A MAGNIFICENT CAREER OF SUCCESS, WHICH WOULD MAKE LÛ ALL THAT IT HAD EVER BEEN:—WRITTEN, PROBABLY, ON AN OCCASION WHEN HSI HAD REPAIRED THE TEMPLES OF THE STATE, OF WHICH PIOUS ACT HIS SUCCESS WOULD BE THE REWARD.

There is no doubt that duke Hsi is the hero of this piece. He is mentioned in the third stanza as 'the son of duke K'wang,' and the Hsi-sze referred to in the last stanza as the architect under whose superintendence the temples had been repaired was his brother, whom we meet with elsewhere as 'duke's son, Yü.' The descriptions of various sacrifices prove that the lords of Lû, whether permitted to use royal ceremonies or not, did really do so. The writer was evidently in a poetic rapture as to what his ruler was, and would do. The piece is a genuine bardic effusion.

The poet traces the lords of Lû to K'iang Yüan and her son Hâu-ki. He then comes to the establishment of the K'âu dynasty, and under it of the marquissate of Lû; and finally to duke Hsi, dilating on his sacrificial services, the military power of Lû, and the achievements which he might be expected to accomplish in subjugating all the territory lying to the east, and a long way south, of Lû.

1. How pure and still are the solemn temples,
In their strong solidity and minute completeness!
Highly distinguished was K'iang Yüan¹, Of virtue undeflected.
God regarded her with favour, And without injury or hurt,
Immediately, when her months were completed, She gave birth to Hâu-ki!
On him were conferred all blessings,—(To know) how the (ordinary) millet ripened early, and the sacrificial millet late; How first to sow pulse

¹ About K'iang Yüan and her conception and birth of Hâu-ki, see the first piece in the third decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom. There also Hâu-ki's teaching of husbandry is more fully described.

and then wheat. Anon he was invested with an inferior state, And taught the people how to sow and to reap, The (ordinary) millet and the sacrificial, Rice and the black millet; Ere long over the whole country :— (Thus) continuing the work of Yü.

2. Among the descendants of Hâu-k'i, There was king Thâi¹, Dwelling on the south of (mount) K'hi, Where the clipping of Shang began. In process of time Wăn and Wû Continued the work of king Thâi, And (the purpose of) Heaven was carried out in its time, In the plain of Mû². 'Have no doubts, no anxieties,' (it was said), 'God is with you³.' Wû disposed of the troops of Shang; He and his men equally shared in the achievement. (Then) king (K'häng) said, 'My uncle⁴, I will set up your eldest son, And make him marquis of Lû. I will greatly enlarge your territory there, To be a help and support to the House of K'âu.'

3. Accordingly he appointed (our first) duke of Lû, And made him marquis in the east, Giving him the hills and rivers, The lands and fields, and the attached states⁵. The (present) descendant of the duke of K'âu, The son of duke K'wang, With dragon-emblazoned banner, attends the sacrifices, (Grasping) his six reins soft and pliant. In spring

¹ See on the Sacrificial Odes of K'âu, decade i, ode 5.

² See the Shû, V, iii.

³ Shang-fû, one of Wû's principal leaders, encouraged him at the battle of Mû with these words.

⁴ That is, the duke of K'âu.

⁵ That is, small territories, held by chiefs of other surnames, but acknowledging the jurisdiction of the lords of Lû, and dependent on them for introduction to the royal court.

and autumn he is not remiss; His offerings are all without error¹. To the great and sovereign God, And to his great ancestor Hâu-k'i, He offers the victims, red and pure². They enjoy, they approve, And bestow blessings in large number. The duke of K'âu, and (your other) great ancestors, Also bless you.

4. In autumn comes the sacrifice of the season³, But the bulls for it have had their horns capped in summer⁴; They are the white bull and the red one⁵. (There are) the bull-figured goblet in its dignity⁶; Roast pig, minced meat, and soups; The dishes of bamboo and wood, and the large stands⁷, And the dancers all complete. The filial descendant

¹ These lines refer to the seasonal sacrifices in the temple of ancestors, two seasons being mentioned for all the four, as in some of the odes of Shang.

² From the seasonal sacrifices the poet passes to the sacrifice to God at the border altar in the spring,—no doubt the same which is referred to in the last ode of the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of K'âu.

³ The subject of the seasonal sacrifices is resumed.

⁴ A piece of wood was fixed across the horns of the victim-bulls, to prevent their injuring them by pushing or rubbing against any hard substance. An animal injured in any way was not fit to be used in sacrifice.

⁵ In sacrificing to the duke of K'âu, a white bull was used by way of distinction. His great services to the dynasty had obtained for him the privilege of being sacrificed to with royal ceremonies. A white bull, such as had been offered to the kings of Shang, was therefore devoted to him; while for Po-k'in, and the other marquises (or dukes as spoken of by their own subjects), a victim of the orthodox K'âu colour was employed.

⁶ This goblet, fashioned in the shape of a bull, or with a bull pictured on it, must have been well known in connexion with these services.

⁷ 'The large stand' was of a size to support half the roasted body of a victim.

will be blessed. (Your ancestors) will make you gloriously prosperous, They will make you long-lived and good, To preserve this eastern region, Long possessing the state of Lû, Unwaning, un-fallen, Unshaken, undisturbed! They will make your friendship with your three aged (ministers)¹ Like the hills, like the mountains.

5. Our prince's chariots are a thousand, And (in each) are (the two spears with their) vermilion tassels, and (the two bows with their) green bands. His footmen are thirty thousand, With shells on vermilion strings adorning their helmets². So numerous are his ardent followers, To deal with the tribes of the west and north, And to punish those of *King* and *Shû*³, So that none of them will dare to withstand us. (The spirits of your ancestors) shall make you grandly prosperous; They

¹ Referring, probably, to the three principal ministers of the state.

² These lines describe Hsi's resources for war. A thousand chariots was the regular force which a great state could at the utmost bring into the field. Each chariot contained three mailed men;—the charioteer in the middle, a spearman on the right, and an archer on the left. Two spears rose aloft with vermilion tassels, and there were two bows, bound with green bands to frames in their cases. Attached to every chariot were seventy-two foot-soldiers and twenty-five followers, making with the three men in it, 100 in all; so that the whole force would amount to 100,000 men. But in actual service the force of a great state was restricted to three 'armies' or 375 chariots, attended by 37,500 men, of whom 27,500 were foot-soldiers, put down here in round numbers as 30,000.

³ *King* is the *King-khû* of the last of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang, and the name *Shû* was applied to several half-civilized states to the east of it, which it brought, during the *Khun Khû* period, one after another under its jurisdiction.

shall make you long-lived and wealthy. The hoary hair and wrinkled back, Marking the aged men, shall always be in your service. They shall grant you old age, ever vigorous, For myriads and thousands of years, With the eyebrows of longevity, and ever unharmed.

6. The mountain of Thái is lofty, Looked up to by the state of Lû¹. We grandly possess also Kwei and Măng²; And we shall extend to the limits of the east, Even the states along the sea. The tribes of the Hwâi will seek our alliance; All will proffer their allegiance:—Such shall be the achievements of the marquis of Lû.

7. He shall maintain the possession of Hû and Yi³, And extend his sway to the regions of Hsü⁴, Even to the states along the sea. The tribes of the Hwâi, the Man, and the Mo⁵, And those tribes (still more) to the south, All will proffer their allegiance;—Not one will dare not to answer to his call, Thus showing their obedience to the marquis of Lû.

8. Heaven will give great blessing to our prince, So that with the eyebrows of longevity he shall

¹ Mount Thái is well known, the eastern of the four great mountains of China in the time of Shun. It is in the department of Thái-an, Shan-tung.

² These were two smaller hills in Lû.

³ These were two hills of Lû, in the present district of 3âu.

⁴ Hsü was the name of one of Yü's nine provinces, embracing portions of the present Shan-tung, Kiang-sü, and An-hui.

⁵ Mo was properly the name of certain wild tribes in the north, as Man was that of the tribes of the south. But we cannot suppose any tribes to be meant here but such as lay south of Lû.

maintain Lû. He shall possess *Kang* and *Hsü*¹,
 And recover all the territory of the duke of *Kâu*.
 Then shall the marquis of Lû feast and be glad,
 With his admirable wife and aged mother; With
 his excellent ministers and all his (other) officers².
 Our region and state shall he hold, Thus receiving
 many blessings, To hoary hair, and with teeth ever
 renewed like a child's.

9. The pines of *Û-lâi*³, And the cypresses of
*Hsin-fû*³, Were cut down and measured, With
 the cubit line and the eight cubits' line. The pro-
 jecting beams of pine were made very large; The
 grand inner apartments rose vast. Splendid look
 the new temples, The work of *Hsi-sze*, Very
 wide and large, Answering to the expectations of
 all the people.

¹ *Kang* was a city with some adjacent territory, in the present district of *Thăng*, that had been taken from Lû by *Khi*. *Hsü*, called in the Spring and Autumn 'the fields of *Hsü*,' was west from Lû, and had been granted to it as a convenient place for its princes to stop at on their way to the royal court; but it had been sold or parted with to *Käng* in the first year of duke *Hwan* (B.C. 711). The poet desires that *Hsi* should recover these and all other territory which had at any time belonged to Lû.

² He would feast with the ladies in the inner apartment of the palace, suitable for such a purpose; with his ministers in the outer banqueting-room.

³ These were two hills, in the present department of *Thâi-an*.

THE MINOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM.

PIECES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

The First Decade, or that of Lû-ming.

ODE 5, STANZA 1. THE FÂ MŪ.

THE FÂ MŪ IS A FESTAL ODE, WHICH WAS SUNG AT THE ENTERTAINMENT OF FRIENDS;—INTENDED TO CELEBRATE THE DUTY AND VALUE OF FRIENDSHIP, EVEN TO THE HIGHEST.

On the trees go the blows kǎng-kǎng; And
the birds cry out ying-ying. One issues from the
dark valley, And removes to the lofty tree. Ying
goes its cry, Seeking with its voice its companion.
Look at the bird, Bird as it is, seeking with its
voice its companion; And shall a man Not seek
to have his friends? Spiritual beings will then
hearken to him¹; He shall have harmony and
peace.

ODE 6. THE THIEN PÂO.

A FESTAL ODE, RESPONSIVE TO ANY OF THE FIVE THAT PRECEDE IT. THE KING'S OFFICERS AND GUESTS, HAVING BEEN FEASTED BY HIM, CELEBRATE HIS PRAISES, AND DESIRE FOR HIM THE BLESSING OF HEAVEN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

Ascribed, like the former, to the duke of Kâu.

Heaven protects and establishes thee, With the
greatest security; Makes thee entirely virtuous.

¹ This line and the following show the power and value of the cultivation of friendship in affecting spiritual beings. That designation is understood in the widest sense.

That thou mayest enjoy every happiness; Grants thee much increase, So that thou hast all in abundance.

Heaven protects and establishes thee. It grants thee all excellence, So that thine every matter is right, And thou receivest every Heavenly favour. It sends down to thee long-during happiness, Which the days are not sufficient to enjoy.

Heaven protects and establishes thee, So that in everything thou dost prosper. Like the high hills and the mountain masses, Like the topmost ridges and the greatest bulks, Like the stream ever coming on, Such is thine increase.

With happy auspices and purifications thou bringest the offerings, And dost filially present them, In spring, summer, autumn, and winter, To the dukes and former kings¹; And they say, 'We give to thee myriads of years, duration unlimited².'

The spirits come³, And confer on thee many blessings. The people are simple and honest, Daily enjoying their meat and drink. All the black-haired race, in all their surnames, Universally practise thy virtue.

Like the moon advancing to the full, Like the sun ascending the heavens, Like the everlasting southern hills, Never waning, never falling, Like

¹ These dukes and former kings are all the ancestors of the royal House of *K'âu*, sacrificed to at the four seasons of the year.

² Here we have the response of the dukes and kings communicated to the sacrificing king by the individuals chosen to represent them at the service.

³ The spirits here are, of course, those of the former dukes and kings.

the luxuriance of the fir and the cypress ;— May such be thy succeeding line !

ODE 9, STANZA 4. THE TÍ TŪ.

THE TÍ TŪ IS AN ODE OF CONGRATULATION, INTENDED FOR THE MEN WHO HAVE RETURNED FROM MILITARY DUTY AND SERVICE ON THE FRONTIERS.

The congratulation is given in a description of the anxiety and longing of the soldiers' wives for their return. We must suppose one of the wives to be the speaker throughout. The fourth stanza shows how she had resorted to divination to allay her fears about her husband.

They have not packed up, they do not come.
My sorrowing heart is greatly distressed. The
time is past, and he is not here, To the multipli-
cation of my sorrows. Both by the tortoise-shell
and the reeds have I divined, And they unite in
saying he is near. My warrior is at hand.

The Fourth Decade, or that of *K'hi fū*.

ODE 5, STANZAS 5 TO 9. THE SZE KAN.

THE SZE KAN WAS PROBABLY MADE FOR A FESTIVAL ON THE COMPLETION OF A PALACE; CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF IT, AND PROCEEDING TO GOOD WISHES FOR THE BUILDER AND HIS POSTERITY. THE STANZAS HERE GIVEN SHOW HOW DIVINATION WAS RESORTED TO FOR THE INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS.

The piece is referred to the time of king Hsüan (B.C. 827 to 782).

Level and smooth is the courtyard, And lofty
are the pillars around it. Pleasant is the exposure
of the chamber to the light, And deep and wide
are its recesses. Here will our noble lord repose.

On the rush-mat below and that of fine bamboos
above it, May he repose in slumber ! May he sleep

and awake, (Saying), 'Divine for me my dreams¹. What dreams are lucky? They have been of bears and grisly bears; They have been of cobras and (other) snakes.'

The chief diviner will divine them. 'The bears and grisly bears Are the auspicious intimations of sons; The cobras and (other) snakes Are the auspicious intimations of daughters².'

Sons shall be born to him :—They will be put to sleep on couches; They will be clothed in robes; They will have sceptres to play with; Their cry will be loud. They will be (hereafter) resplendent with red knee-covers, The (future) king, the princes of the land.

Daughters shall be born to him :—They will be put to sleep on the ground; They will be clothed with wrappers; They will have tiles to play with³. It will be theirs neither to do wrong nor to do good⁴. Only about the spirits and the food will

¹ In the Official Book of K'âu, ch. 24, mention is made of the Diviner of Dreams and his duties :—He had to consider the season of the year when a dream occurred, the day of the cycle, and the then predominant influence of the two powers of nature. By the positions of the sun, moon, and planets in the zodiacal spaces he could determine whether any one of the six classes of dreams was lucky or unlucky. Those six classes were ordinary and regular dreams, terrible dreams, dreams of thought, dreams in waking, dreams of joy, and dreams of fear.

² The boy would have a sceptre, a symbol of dignity, to play with; the girl, a tile, the symbol of woman's work, as, sitting with a tile on her knee, she twists the threads of hemp.

³ That is, the red apron of a king and of the prince of a state.

⁴ The woman has only to be obedient. That is her whole duty. The line does not mean, as it has been said, that 'she is incapable of good or evil;' but it is not her part to take the initiative even in what is good.

they have to think, And to cause no sorrow to their parents.

ODE 6, STANZA 4. THE WŪ YANG.

THE WŪ YANG IS SUPPOSED TO CELEBRATE THE LARGENESS AND EXCELLENT CONDITION OF KING HSŪAN'S FLOCKS AND HERDS. THE CONCLUDING STANZA HAS REFERENCE TO THE DIVINATION OF THE DREAMS OF HIS HERDSMEN.

Your herdsmen shall dream, Of multitudes and then of fishes, Of the tortoise-and-serpent, and then of the falcon, banners¹. The chief diviner will divine the dreams;—How the multitudes, dissolving into fishes, Betoken plentiful years; How the tortoise-and-serpent, dissolving into the falcon, banners, Betoken the increasing population of the kingdom.

ODE 7. THE KIEH NAN SHAN.

A LAMENTATION OVER THE UNSETTLED STATE OF THE KINGDOM; DENOUNCING THE INJUSTICE AND NEGLECT OF THE CHIEF MINISTER, BLAMING ALSO THE CONDUCT OF THE KING, WITH APPEALS TO HEAVEN, AND SEEMINGLY CHARGING IT WITH CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE.

This piece is referred to the time of king Yŭ (B. C. 781 to 771), the unworthy son of king Hsŭan. The 'Grand-Master' Yin must have been one of the 'three Kung,' the highest ministers at the court of K'au, and was, probably, the chief of the three, and administrator of the government under Yŭ.

Lofty is that southern hill², With its masses of rocks! Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master

¹ The tortoise-and-serpent banner marked the presence in a host of its leader on a military expedition. On its field were the figures of tortoises, with snakes coiled round them. The falcon banners belonged to the commanders of the divisions of the host. They bore the figures of falcons on them.

² 'The southern hill' was also called the *Kung-nan*, and rose right to the south of the western capital of K'au.

Yin, And the people all look to you! A fire burns in their grieving hearts; They do not dare to speak of you even in jest. The kingdom is verging to extinction;—How is it that you do not consider the state of things?

Lofty is that southern hill, And vigorously grows the vegetation on it! Awe-inspiring are you, O (Grand-)Master Yin, But how is it that you are so unjust? Heaven is continually redoubling its inflictions; Deaths and disorder increase and multiply; No words of satisfaction come from the people; And yet you do not correct nor bemoan yourself.

The Grand-Master Yin Is the foundation of our *K'áu*, And the balance of the kingdom is in his hands. He should be keeping its four quarters together; He should be aiding the Son of Heaven, So as to preserve the people from going astray. O unpitying great Heaven, It is not right he should reduce us all to such misery!

He does nothing himself personally, And the people have no confidence in him. Making no enquiry about them, and no trial of their services, He should not deal deceitfully with superior men. If he dismissed them on the requirement of justice, Mean men would not be endangering (the commonweal); And his mean relatives Would not be in offices of importance.

Great Heaven, unjust, Is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven, unkind, Is sending down these great miseries. Let superior men come (into office), And that would bring rest to the people's hearts. Let superior men execute

their justice, And the animosities and angers would disappear¹.

O un pitying great Heaven, There is no end to the disorder! With every month it continues to grow, So that the people have no repose. I am as if intoxicated with the grief of my heart. Who holds the ordering of the kingdom? He attends not himself to the government, And the result is toil and pain to the people.

I yoke my four steeds, My four steeds, long-necked. I look to the four quarters (of the kingdom); Distress is everywhere; there is no place I can drive to.

Now your evil is rampant², And I can see your spears. Anon you are pacified and friendly as if you were pledging one another.

From great Heaven is the injustice, And our king has no repose. (Yet) he will not correct his heart, And goes on to resent endeavours to rectify him.

I, K'îâ-fû, have made this poem, To lay bare the king's disorders. If you would but change your heart, Then would the myriad regions be nourished.

¹ In this stanza, as in the next and the last but one, the writer complains of Heaven, and charges it foolishly. He does so by way of appeal, however, and indicates the true causes of the misery of the kingdom,—the reckless conduct, namely, of the king and his minister.

² The parties spoken of here are the followers of the minister, 'mean men,' however high in place and great in power, now friendly, now hostile to one another.

ODE 8, STANZAS 4, 5, AND 7. THE KĀNG YÜEH.

THE KĀNG YÜEH IS, LIKE THE PRECEDING ODE, A LAMENTATION OVER THE MISERIES OF THE KINGDOM, AND THE RUIN COMING ON IT; WITH A SIMILAR, BUT MORE HOPEFULLY EXPRESSED, APPEAL TO HEAVEN, 'THE GREAT GOD.'

Look into the middle of the forest; There are (only) large faggots and small branches in it¹. The people now amidst their perils Look to Heaven, all dark; But let its determination be fixed, And there is no one whom it will not overcome. There is the great God,—Does he hate any one?

If one say of a hill that it is low, There are its ridges and its large masses. The false calumnies of the people,—How is it that you do not repress them²? You call those experienced ancients, You consult the diviner of dreams. They all say, 'We are very wise, But who can distinguish the male and female crow³?'

Look at the rugged and stony field;—Luxuriantly rises in it the springing grain. (But) Heaven moves and shakes me, As if it could not overcome me⁴.

¹ By introducing the word 'only,' I have followed the view of the older interpreters, who consider the forest, with merely some faggots and twigs left in it, to be emblematic of the ravages of oppressive government in the court and kingdom. *K'ü Hsi* takes a different view of them:—'In a forest you can easily distinguish the large faggots from the small branches, while Heaven appears unable to distinguish between the good and bad.'

² The calumnies that were abroad were as absurd as the assertion in line 1, and yet the king could not, or would not, see through them and repress them.

³ This reference to the diviners of dreams is in derision of their pretensions.

⁴ That is, the productive energy of nature manifests itself in the most unlikely places; how was it that 'the great God, who hates no one,' was contending so with the writer?

They sought me (at first) to be a pattern (to them),
 (Eagerly) as if they could not get me; (Now) they
 regard me with great animosity, And will not use
 my strength.

ODE 9. THE SHIH YÜEH KIH K'IAO.

THE LAMENTATION OF AN OFFICER OVER THE PRODIGES CELESTIAL
 AND TERRESTRIAL, ESPECIALLY AN ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, THAT
 WERE BETOKENING THE RUIN OF K'AU. HE SETS FORTH WHAT HE
 CONSIDERED TO BE THE TRUE CAUSES OF THE PREVAILING MISERY,
 WHICH WAS BY NO MEANS TO BE CHARGED ON HEAVEN.

Attention is called in the Introduction, p. 296, to the date of the
 solar eclipse mentioned in this piece.

At the conjunction (of the sun and moon) in the
 tenth month, On the first day of the moon, which
 was *hsin-mão*, The sun was eclipsed, A thing
 of very evil omen. Before, the moon became small,
 And now the sun became small. Henceforth the
 lower people Will be in a very deplorable case.

The sun and moon announce evil, Not keeping
 to their proper paths. Throughout the kingdom
 there is no (proper) government, Because the good
 are not employed. For the moon to be eclipsed
 Is but an ordinary matter. Now that the sun has
 been eclipsed,—How bad it is!

Grandly flashes the lightning of the thunder.
 There is a want of rest, a want of good. The
 streams all bubble up and overflow. The crags on
 the hill-tops fall down. High banks become valleys;
 Deep valleys become hills. Alas for the men of
 this time! How does (the king) not stop these
 things?

Hwang-fû is the President; Fan is the Minister

of Instruction; *K'ia-po* is the (chief) Administrator; *Kung-yün* is the chief Cook; *ÿâu* is the Recorder of the Interior; *Khwei* is Master of the Horse; *Yü* is Captain of the Guards; And the beautiful wife blazes, now in possession of her place ¹.

This *Hwang-fû* Will not acknowledge that he is acting out of season. But why does he call us to move, Without coming and consulting with us? He has removed our walls and roofs; And our fields are all either a marsh or a moor. He says, 'I am not injuring you; The laws require that thus it should be.'

Hwang-fû is very wise; He has built a great city for himself in *Hsiang*. He chose three men as his ministers, All of them possessed of great wealth. He could not bring himself to leave a single minister, Who might guard our king. He (also) selected those who had chariots and horses, To go and reside in *Hsiang* ².

¹ We do not know anything from history of the ministers of *Yü* mentioned in this stanza. *Hwang-fû* appears to have been the leading minister of the government at the time when the ode was written, and, as appears from the next two stanzas, was very crafty, oppressive, and selfishly ambitious. The mention of 'the chief Cook' among the high ministers appears strange; but we shall find that functionary mentioned in another ode; and from history it appears that 'the Cook,' at the royal and feudal courts, sometimes played an important part during the times of *K'âu*. 'The beautiful wife,' no doubt, was the well-known *Sze* of *P'ao*, raised by king *Yü* from her position as one of his concubines to be his queen, and whose insane folly and ambition led to her husband's death, and great and disastrous changes in the kingdom.

² *Hsiang* was a district of the royal domain, in the present district of *M'ang*, department of *Hw'ai-k'ing*, *Ho-nan*. It had been assigned to *Hwang-fû*, and he was establishing himself there, without any loyal regard to the king. As a noble in the royal domain,

I have exerted myself to discharge my service,
 And do not dare to make a report of my toils.
 Without crime or offence of any kind, Slanderous
 mouths are loud against me. (But) the calamities
 of the lower people Do not come down from
 Heaven. A multitude of (fair) words, and hatred
 behind the back;—The earnest, strong pursuit of
 this is from men.

Distant far is my village, And my dissatisfaction
 is great. In other quarters there is ease, And
 I dwell here, alone and sorrowful. Everybody is
 going into retirement, And I alone dare not seek
 rest. The ordinances of Heaven are inexplicable,
 But I will not dare to follow my friends, and leave
 my post.

ODE 10, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE YÜ WÜ K'ANG.

THE WRITER OF THIS PIECE MOURNS OVER THE MISERABLE STATE
 OF THE KINGDOM, THE INCORRIGIBLE COURSE OF THE KING, AND
 OTHER EVILS, APPEALING ALSO TO HEAVEN, AND SURPRISED THAT
 IT ALLOWED SUCH THINGS TO BE.

Great and wide Heaven, How is it you have
 contracted your kindness, Sending down death
 and famine, Destroying all through the kingdom?
 Compassionate Heaven, arrayed in terrors, How
 is it you exercise no forethought, no care? Let
 alone the criminals:—They have suffered for their
 guilt. But those who have no crime Are indis-
 criminate involved in ruin.

he was entitled only to two ministers, but he had appointed three
 as in one of the feudal states, encouraging, moreover, the resort to
 himself of the wealthy and powerful, while the court was left weak
 and unprotected.

How is it, O great Heaven, That the king will not hearken to the justest words? He is like a man going (astray), Who knows not where he will proceed to. All ye officers, Let each of you attend to his duties. How do ye not stand in awe of one another? Ye do not stand in awe of Heaven.

The Fifth Decade, or that of Hsião Min.

ODE 1, STANZAS 1, 2, AND 3. THE HSIÃO MIN.

A LAMENTATION OVER THE RECKLESSNESS AND INCAPACITY OF THE KING AND HIS COUNSELLORS. DIVINATION HAS BECOME OF NO AVAIL, AND HEAVEN IS DESPAIRINGLY APPEALED TO.

This is referred, like several of the pieces in the fourth decade, to the time of king Yü.

The angry terrors of compassionate Heaven Extend through this lower world. (The king's) counsels and plans are crooked and bad; When will he stop (in his course)? Counsels that are good he will not follow, And those that are not good he employs. When I look at his counsels and plans, I am greatly pained.

Now they agree, and now they defame one another;—The case is greatly to be deplored. If a counsel be good, They are all found opposing it. If a counsel be bad, They are all found according with it. When I look at such counsels and plans, What will they come to?

Our tortoise-shells are wearied out, And will not tell us anything about the plans. The counsellors are very many, But on that account nothing is accomplished. The speakers fill the court, But

who dares to take any responsibility on himself?
 We are as if we consulted (about a journey) without
 taking a step in advance, And therefore did not
 get on on the road.

ODE 2, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE HSIÃO YÜAN.

SOME OFFICER IN A TIME OF DISORDER AND MISGOVERNMENT URGES
 ON HIS BROTHERS THE DUTY OF MAINTAINING THEIR OWN VIRTUE,
 AND OF OBSERVING THE GREATEST CAUTION.

Small is the cooing dove, But it flies aloft to
 heaven. My heart is wounded with sorrow, And
 I think of our forefathers. When the dawn is
 breaking, and I cannot sleep, The thoughts in my
 breast are of our parents.

Men who are grave and wise, Though they
 drink, are mild and masters of themselves; But
 those who are benighted and ignorant Become
 devoted to drink, and more so daily. Be careful,
 each of you, of your deportment; What Heaven
 confers, (when once lost), is not regained¹.

The greenbeaks come and go, Picking up grain
 about the stackyard. Alas for the distressed and
 the solitary, Deemed fit inmates for the prisons!
 With a handful of grain I go out and divine², How
 I may be able to become good.

¹ 'What Heaven confers' is, probably, the good human nature, which by vice, and especially by drunkenness, may be irretrievably ruined.

² A religious act is here referred to, on which we have not sufficient information to be able to throw much light. It was the practice to spread some finely ground rice on the ground, in connexion with divination, as an offering to the spirits. The poet represents himself here as using a handful of grain for the purpose,—probably on account of his poverty.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE HSIÃO PAN.

THE ELDEST SON AND HEIR-APPARENT OF KING YŪ BEWAILS HIS DEGRADATION, APPEALING TO HEAVEN AS TO HIS INNOCENCE, AND COMPLAINING OF ITS CASTING HIS LOT IN SUCH A TIME.

It is allowed that this piece is clearly the composition of a banished son, and there is no necessity to call in question the tradition preserved in the Preface which prefers it to Í-*khiú*, the eldest son of king YŪ. His mother was a princess of the House of Shǎn; but when YŪ became enamoured of Sze of Páo, the queen was degraded, and the son banished to Shǎn.

With flapping wings the crows Come back, flying
all in a flock¹. Other people are happy, And I
only am full of misery. What is my offence against
Heaven? What is my crime? My heart is sad;—
What is to be done?

Even the mulberry trees and the rottleras Must
be regarded with reverence²; But no one is to be
looked up to like a father, No one is to be de-
pended on as a mother. Have I not a connexion
with the hairs (of my father)? Did I not dwell
in the womb (of my mother)? O Heaven, who
gave me birth! How was it at so inauspicious
a time?

¹ The sight of the crows, all together, suggests to the prince his own condition, solitary and driven from court.

² The mulberry tree and the rottlera were both planted about the farmsteadings, and are therefore mentioned here. They carried the thoughts back to the father or grandfather, or the more remote ancestor, who first planted them, and so a feeling of reverence attached to themselves.

ODE 4, STANZA 1. THE *KHIÀO YEN*.

SOME ONE, SUFFERING FROM THE KING THROUGH SLANDER, APPEALS TO HEAVEN, AND GOES ON TO DWELL ON THE NATURE AND EVIL OF SLANDER.

This piece has been referred to the time of king Lî, B. C. 878 to 828.

O vast and distant Heaven, Who art called our parent, That, without crime or offence, I should suffer from disorders thus great! The terrors of great Heaven are excessive, But indeed I have committed no crime. (The terrors of) great Heaven are very excessive, But indeed I have committed no offence.

ODE 6, STANZAS 5 AND 6. THE *HSIANG PO*.

A EUNUCH, HIMSELF THE VICTIM OF SLANDER, COMPLAINS OF HIS FATE, AND WARNS AND DENOUNCES HIS ENEMIES; APPEALING AGAINST THEM, AS HIS LAST RESORT, TO HEAVEN.

The proud are delighted, And the troubled are in sorrow. O azure Heaven! O azure Heaven! Look on those proud men, Pity those who are troubled.

Those slanderers! Who devised their schemes for them? I would take those slanderers, And throw them to wolves and tigers. If these refused to devour them, I would cast them into the north¹. If the north refused to receive them, I would throw them into the hands of great (Heaven)².

¹ 'The north,' i.e. the region where there are the rigours of winter and the barrenness of the desert.

² 'Great Heaven;' 'Heaven' has to be supplied here, but there

ODE 9. THE TÀ TUNG.

AN OFFICER OF ONE OF THE STATES OF THE EAST DEPLORES THE EXACTIONS MADE FROM THEM BY THE GOVERNMENT, COMPLAINS OF THE FAVOUR SHOWN TO THE WEST, CONTRASTS THE MISERY OF THE PRESENT WITH THE HAPPINESS OF THE PAST, AND APPEALS TO THE STARS OF HEAVEN IDLY BEHOLDING THEIR CONDITION.

I give the whole of this piece, because it is an interesting instance of Sabian views. The writer, despairing of help from men, appeals to Heaven; but he distributes the Power that could help him among many heavenly bodies, supposing that there are spiritual beings in them, taking account of human affairs.

Well loaded with millet were the dishes, And long and curved were the spoons of thorn-wood. The way to *Kâu* was like a whetstone, And straight as an arrow. (So) the officers trod it, And the common people looked on it. When I look back and think of it, My tears run down in streams.

In the states of the east, large and small, The looms are empty. Then shoes of dolichos fibre Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost. Slight and elegant gentlemen¹ Walk along that road to *Kâu*. Their going and coming makes my heart sad.

Ye cold waters, issuing variously from the spring, Do not soak the firewood I have cut. Sorrowful I awake and sigh;—Alas for us toiled people! The firewood has been cut;—Would that it were

is no doubt as to the propriety of doing so; and, moreover, the peculiar phraseology of the line shows that the poet did not rest in the thought of the material heavens.

¹ That is, 'slight-looking,' unfit for toil; and yet they are obliged to make their journey on foot.

conveyed home! Alas for us the toiled people!
Would that we could have rest¹!

The sons of the east Are summoned only (to service), without encouragement; While the sons of the west Shine in splendid dresses. The sons of boatmen Have furs of the bear and grisly bear. The sons of the poorest families Form the officers in public employment.

If we present them with spirits, They regard them as not fit to be called liquor. If we give them long girdle pendants with their stones, They do not think them long enough.

There is the Milky Way in heaven², Which looks down on us in light; And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters³, Passing in a day through seven stages (of the sky).

Although they go through their seven stages, They complete no bright work for us. Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen⁴, But they do not serve to draw our carts. In the east there is Lucifer⁵; In the west there is Hesperus⁵; Long and curved

¹ This stanza describes, directly or by symbol, the exactions from which the people of the east were suffering.

² 'The Milky Way' is here called simply the Han, = in the sky what the Han river is in China.

³ 'The Weaving Sisters, or Ladies,' are three stars in Lyra, that form a triangle. To explain what is said of their passing through seven spaces, it is said: 'The stars seem to go round the circumference of the heavens, divided into twelve spaces, in a day and night. They would accomplish six of them in a day; but as their motion is rather in advance of that of the sun, they have entered into the seventh space by the time it is up with them again.'

⁴ 'The Draught Oxen' is the name of some stars in the neck of Aquila.

⁵ Liù Í (Sung dynasty) says: 'The metal star (Venus) is in the

is the Rabbit Net of the sky¹;—But they only occupy their places.

In the south is the Sieve², But it is of no use to sift. In the north is the Ladle³, But it lades out no liquor. In the south is the Sieve, Idly showing its mouth. In the north is the Ladle, Raising its handle in the west.

The Sixth Decade, or that of Pei Shan.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1, 4, AND 5. THE HSIÃO MING.

AN OFFICER, KEPT LONG ABROAD ON DISTANT SERVICE, APPEALS TO HEAVEN, DEPLORING THE HARDSHIPS OF HIS LOT, AND TENDERS GOOD ADVICE TO HIS MORE FORTUNATE FRIENDS AT COURT.

O bright and high Heaven, Who enlightenest and rulest this lower world! I marched on this expedition to the west, As far as this wilderness of *K'hiû*. From the first day of the second month, I have passed through the cold and the heat. My heart is sad; The poison (of my lot) is too bitter. I think of those (at court) in their offices, And my tears flow down like rain. Do I not wish to return? But I fear the net for crime.

Ah! ye gentlemen, Do not reckon on your rest

east in the morning, thus "opening the brightness of the day;" and it is in the west in the evening, thus "prolonging the day." The author of the piece, however, evidently took Lucifer and Hesperus to be two stars.

¹ 'The Rabbit Net' is the Hyades.

² 'The Sieve' is the name of one of the twenty-eight constellations of the zodiac,—part of Sagittarius.

³ 'The Ladle' is the constellation next to 'the Sieve,'—also part of Sagittarius.

being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Associating with the correct and upright; So shall the spirits hearken to you, And give you good.

Ah! ye gentlemen, Do not reckon on your repose being permanent. Quietly fulfil the duties of your offices, Loving the correct and upright; So shall the spirits hearken to you, And give you large measures of bright happiness.

ODE 5. THE *KHŪ* 3HZE.

SACRIFICIAL AND FESTAL SERVICES IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE; AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH ATTENTION TO HUSBANDRY.

See the remarks on the Services of the Ancestral Temple, pp. 300, 301.

Thick grew the tribulus (on the ground), But they cleared away its thorny bushes. Why did they this of old? That we might plant our millet and sacrificial millet; That our millet might be abundant, And our sacrificial millet luxuriant. When our barns are full, And our stacks can be counted by tens of myriads, We proceed to make spirits and prepared grain, For offerings and sacrifice. We seat the representatives of the dead, and urge them to eat¹:—Thus seeking to increase our bright happiness.

¹ The poet hurries on to describe the sacrifices in progress. The persons selected to personate the departed were necessarily inferior in rank to the principal sacrificer, yet for the time they were superior to him. This circumstance, it was supposed, would make them feel uncomfortable; and therefore, as soon as they appeared in the temple, the director of the ceremonies instructed the sacrificer to ask them to be seated, and to place them at ease; after which they were urged to take some refreshment.

With correct and reverent deportment, The bulls and rams all pure, We proceed to the winter and autumnal sacrifices. Some flay (the victims); some cook (their flesh); Some arrange (the meat); some adjust (the pieces of it). The officer of prayer sacrifices inside the temple gate¹, And all the sacrificial service is complete and brilliant. Grandly come our progenitors; Their spirits happily enjoy the offerings; Their filial descendant receives blessing:—They will reward him with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end.

They attend to the furnaces with reverence; They prepare the trays, which are very large;—Some for the roast meat, some for the broiled. Wives presiding are still and reverent², Preparing the numerous (smaller) dishes. The guests and visitors³ Present the cup all round⁴. Every form is according to rule; Every smile and word are as they should be. The spirits quietly come, And respond

¹ The *K'ü*, who is mentioned here, was evidently an officer, 'one who makes or recites prayers.' The sacrifice he is said to offer was, probably, a libation, the pouring out fragrant spirits, as a part of the general service, and likely to attract the hovering spirits of the departed, on their approach to the temple. Hence his act was performed just inside the gate.

² 'Wives presiding,' i. e. the wife of the sacrificer, the principal in the service, and other ladies of the harem. The dishes under their care, the smaller dishes, would be those containing sauces, cakes, condiments, &c.

³ 'The guests and visitors' would be nobles and officers of different surnames from the sacrificer, chosen by divination to take part in the sacrificial service.

⁴ 'Present the cup all round' describes the ceremonies of drinking, which took place between the guests and visitors, the representatives of the dead, and the sacrificer.

with great blessings,—Myriads of years as the (fitting) reward.

We are very much exhausted, And have performed every ceremony without error. The able officer of prayer announces (the will of the spirits)¹, And goes to the filial descendant to convey it¹:— ‘Fragrant has been your filial sacrifice, And the spirits have enjoyed your spirits and viands. They confer on you a hundred blessings; Each as it is desired, Each as sure as law. You have been exact and expeditious; You have been correct and careful; They will ever confer on you the choicest favours, In myriads and tens of myriads.’

The ceremonies having thus been completed, And the bells and drums having given their warning², The filial descendant goes to his place³, And the able officer of prayer makes his announcement, ‘The spirits have drunk to the full.’ The great representatives of the dead then rise, And the bells and drums escort their withdrawal, (On which) the spirits tranquilly return (to whence they came)⁴. All the servants, and the presiding wives, Remove (the trays and dishes) without delay. The

¹ The officer of prayer had in the first place obtained, or professed to have obtained, this answer of the progenitors from their personators.

² The music now announced that the sacrificial service in the temple was ended.

³ The sacrificer, or principal in the service, now left the place which he had occupied, descended from the hall, and took his position at the foot of the steps on the east,—the place appropriate to him in dismissing his guests.

⁴ Where did they return to? According to *Kâng Hsüan*, ‘To heaven.’

(sacrificer's) uncles and cousins All repair to the private feast ¹.

The musicians all go in to perform, And give their soothing aid at the second blessing ². Your ³ viands are set forth; There is no dissatisfaction, but all feel happy. They drink to the full, and eat to the full; Great and small, they bow their heads, (saying), 'The spirits enjoyed your spirits and viands, And will cause you to live long. Your sacrifices, all in their seasons, Are completely discharged by you. May your sons and your grandsons Never fail to perpetuate these services!'

ODE 6. THE HSIN NAN SHAN.

HUSBANDRY TRACED TO ITS FIRST AUTHOR; DETAILS ABOUT IT, GOING ON TO THE SUBJECT OF SACRIFICES TO ANCESTORS.

The Preface refers this piece to the reign of king Yû; but there is nothing in it to suggest the idea of its having been made in a time of disorder and misgovernment. 'The distant descendant' in the first stanza is evidently the principal in the sacrifice of the last two stanzas:—according to Kû, a noble or great landholder in the royal domain; according to others, some one of the kings of Kâu. I incline myself to this latter view. The three pieces,

¹ These uncles and cousins were all present at the sacrifice, and of the same surname as the principal. The feast to them was to show his peculiar affection for his relatives.

² The feast was given in the apartment of the temple behind the hall where the sacrifice had been performed, so that the musicians are represented as going in to continue at the feast the music they had discoursed at the sacrifice.

³ The transition to the second person here is a difficulty. We can hardly make the speech, made by some one of the guests on behalf of all the others, commence here. We must come to the conclusion that the ode was written, in compliment to the sacrificer, by one of the relatives who shared in the feast; and so here he addresses him directly.

of which this is the middle one, seem all to be royal odes. The mention of 'the southern hill' strongly confirms this view.

Yes, (all about) that southern hill Was made manageable by Yü¹. Its plains and marshes being opened up, It was made into fields by the distant descendant. We define their boundaries, We form their smaller divisions, And make the acres lie, here to the south, there to the east.

The heavens overhead are one arch of clouds, Snowing in multitudinous flakes; There is super-added the drizzling rain. When (the land) has received the moistening, Soaking influence abundantly, It produces all our kinds of grain.

The boundaries and smaller divisions are nicely adjusted, And the millets yield abundant crops, The harvest of the distant descendant. We proceed to make therewith spirits and food, To supply our representatives of the departed, and our guests;—To obtain long life, extending over myriads of years.

In the midst of the fields are the huts², And

¹ There is here a recognition of the work of the great Yü, as the real founder of the kingdom of China, extending the territory of former elective chiefs, and opening up the country. 'The southern hill' bounded the prospect to the south from the capital of K'âu, and hence the writer makes mention of it. He does not mean to confine the work of Yü to that part of the country; but, on the other hand, there is nothing in his language to afford a confirmation to the account given in the third Part of the Shû of that hero's achievements.

² In every K'ing, or space of 900 Chinese acres or m'âu, assigned to eight families, there were in the centre 100 m'âu of 'public fields,' belonging to the government, and cultivated by the husbandmen in common. In this space of 100 m'âu, two m'âu and a half were again assigned to each family, and on them were

along the bounding divisions are gourds. The fruit is sliced and pickled, To be presented to our great ancestors, That their distant descendant may have long life, And receive the blessing of Heaven ¹.

We sacrifice (first) with clear spirits, And then follow with a red bull; Offering them to our ancestors, (Our lord) holds the knife with tinkling bells, To lay open the hair of the victim, And takes the blood and fat ².

Then we present, then we offer; All round the fragrance is diffused. Complete and brilliant is the sacrificial service; Grandly come our ancestors. They will reward (their descendant) with great blessing, Long life, years without end.

ODE 7. THE PHŪ THIEN.

PICTURES OF HUSBANDRY, AND SACRIFICES CONNECTED WITH IT. HAPPY UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR SUPERIORS.

It is difficult to say who the 'I' in the piece is, but evidently he and the 'distant descendant' are different persons. I suppose he may have been an officer, who had charge of the farms, as we may call them, in the royal domain.

Bright are those extensive fields, A tenth of whose produce is annually levied ³. I take the old

erected the huts in which they lived, while they were actively engaged in their agricultural labours.

¹ Here, as in so many other places, the sovereign Power, ruling in the lots of men, is referred to as Heaven.

² The fat was taken from the victim, and then burnt along with fragrant herbs, so as to form a cloud of incense. On the taking of the 'blood,' it is only said, that it was done to enable the sacrificer to announce that a proper victim had been slain.

³ This line, literally, is, 'Yearly are taken ten (and a) thousand;' meaning the produce of ten acres in every hundred, and of a thousand in every ten thousand.

stores, And with them feed the husbandmen. From of old we have had good years ; And now I go to the south-lying acres, Where some are weeding, and some gather the earth about the roots. The millets look luxuriant ; And in a spacious resting-place, I collect and encourage the men of greater promise ¹.

With my vessels full of bright millet, And my pure victim-rams, We sacrificed at the altar of the spirits of the land, and at (the altars of those of the four) quarters ². That my fields are in such good condition Is matter of joy to the husbandmen. With lutes, and with drums beating, We will invoke the Father of Husbandry ³, And pray for sweet rain, To increase the produce of our millets, And to bless my men and their wives.

The distant descendant comes, When their wives and children Are bringing food to those (at work) in the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields (also) comes and is glad. He takes (of the food) on the left and the right, And tastes whether

¹ The general rule was that the sons of husbandmen should continue husbandmen ; but their superior might select those among them in whom he saw promising abilities, and facilitate their advancement to the higher grade of officers.

² The sacrifices here mentioned were of thanksgiving at the end of the harvest of the preceding year. The one was to 'sovereign Earth,' supposed to be the supreme Power in correlation with Heaven, or, possibly, to the spirits supposed to preside over the productive energies of the land ; the other to the spirits presiding over the four quarters of the sky, and ruling all atmospheric influences.

³ This was the sacrifice that had been, or was about to be, offered in spring to 'the Father of Husbandry,'—probably the ancient mythical Tî, Shǎn Nǎng.

it be good or not. The grain is well cultivated, all the acres over; Good will it be and abundant. The distant descendant has no displacency; The husbandmen are encouraged to diligence.

The crops of the distant descendant Look (thick) as thatch, and (swelling) like a carriage-cover. His stacks will stand like islands and mounds. He will seek for thousands of granaries; He will seek for tens of thousands of carts. The millets, the paddy, and the maize Will awake the joy of the husbandmen; (And they will say), 'May he be rewarded with great happiness, With myriads of years, life without end!'

ODE 8. THE TÀ THIEN.

FURTHER PICTURES OF HUSBANDRY, AND SACRIFICES CONNECTED WITH IT.

Large are the fields, and various is the work to be done. Having selected the seed, and looked after the implements, So that all preparations have been made for our labour, We take our sharp plough-shares, And commence on the south-lying acres. We sow all the kinds of grain; Which grow up straight and large, So that the wish of the distant descendant is satisfied.

It ears and the fruit lies soft in its sheath; It hardens and is of good quality; There is no wolf's-tail grass nor danel. We remove the insects that eat the heart and the leaf, And those that eat the roots and the joints, So that they shall not hurt the young plants of our fields. May the spirit, the Father of Husbandry¹, Lay hold of them, and put them in the blazing fire!

¹ The ancient Shān Nāng, as in the preceding ode.

The clouds form in dense masses, And the rain comes down slowly. May it first rain on our public fields¹, And then come to our private¹! Yonder shall be young grain unreaped, And here some bundles ungathered; Yonder shall be handfuls left on the ground, And here ears untouched:—For the benefit of the widow².

The distant descendant will come, When their wives and children Are bringing food to those (at work) on the south-lying acres. The surveyor of the fields (also) will come and be glad. They will come and offer pure sacrifices to (the spirits of the four) quarters, With their victims red and black³, With their preparations of millet:—Thus offering, thus sacrificing, Thus increasing our bright happiness.

The Seventh Decade, or that of Sang Hû.

ODE 1, STANZA 1. THE SANG HÛ.

THE KING, ENTERTAINING THE CHIEF AMONG THE FEUDAL PRINCES, EXPRESSES HIS ADMIRATION OF THEM, AND GOOD WISHES FOR THEM.

They flit about, the greenbeaks⁴, With their

¹ These are two famous lines, continually quoted as showing the loyal attachment of the people to their superiors in those ancient times.

² Compare the legislation of Moses, in connexion with the harvest, for the benefit of the poor, in Deuteronomy xxiv. 19–22.

³ They would not sacrifice to these spirits all at once, or all in one place, but in the several quarters as they went along on their progress through the domain. For each quarter the colour of the victim was different. A red victim was offered to the spirit of the south, and a black to that of the north.

⁴ The greenbeaks appeared in the second ode of the fifth decade. The bird had many names, and a beautiful plumage,

variegated wings. To be rejoiced in are these princes! May they receive the blessing of Heaven!¹

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE PIN KIH KHÛ YEN.

AGAINST DRUNKENNESS. DRINKING ACCORDING TO RULE AT ARCHERY CONTESTS AND THE SEASONAL SACRIFICES, AND DRINKING TO EXCESS.

There are good grounds for referring the authorship of this piece to duke Wû of Wei (B. C. 812 to 758), who played an important part in the kingdom, during the affairs which terminated in the death of king Yû, and the removal of the capital from Hào to Lo. The piece, we may suppose, is descriptive of things as they were at the court of king Yû.

When the guests first approach the mats², They take their places on the left and the right in an orderly manner. The dishes of bamboo and wood are arranged in rows, With the sauces and kernels displayed in them. The spirits are mild and good, And they drink, all equally reverent. The bells and drums are properly arranged³, And they raise their pledge-cups with order and ease⁴. (Then) the great

made use of here to compliment the princes on the elegance of their manners, and perhaps also the splendour of their equipages. The bird is here called the 'mulberry Hû,' because it appeared when the mulberry tree was coming into leaf.

¹ This line is to be understood, with Kû Hsî, as a prayer of the king to Heaven for his lords.

² The mats were spread on the floor, and also the viands of the feast. Chairs and tables were not used in that early time.

³ The archery took place in the open court, beneath the hall or raised apartment, where the entertainment was given. Near the steps leading up to the hall was the regular place for the bells and drums, but it was necessary now to remove them more on one side, to leave the ground clear for the archers.

⁴ The host first presented a cup to the guest, which the latter drank, and then he returned a cup to the host. After this pre-

target is set up; The bows and arrows are made ready for the shooting. The archers are arranged in classes; 'Show your skill in shooting,' (it is said by one). 'I shall hit that mark' (is the response), 'And pray you to drink the cup'¹.

The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum, While all the instruments perform in harmony. All this is done to please the meritorious ancestors, Along with the observance of all ceremonies. When all the ceremonies have been fully performed, Grandly and fully, (The personators of the dead say), 'We confer on you great blessings, And may your descendants also be happy!' These are happy and delighted, And each of them exerts his ability. A guest² draws the spirits; An attendant enters again with a cup, And fills it,—the cup of rest². Thus are performed your seasonal ceremonies³.

liminary ceremony, the company all drank to one another,—'took up their cups,' as it is here expressed.

¹ Each defeated archer was obliged to drink a large cup of spirits as a penalty.

² This guest was, it is supposed, the eldest of all the scions of the royal House present on the occasion. At this point, he presented a cup to the chief among the personators of the ancestors, and received one in return. He then proceeded to draw more spirits from one of the vases of supply, and an attendant came in and filled other cups,—we may suppose for all the other personators. This was called 'the cup of repose or comfort;' and the sacrifice was thus concluded,—in all sobriety and decency.

³ The three stanzas that follow this, graphically descriptive of the drunken revel, are said to belong to the feast of the royal relatives that followed the conclusion of the sacrificial service, and is called 'the second blessing' in the sixth ode of the preceding decade. This opinion probably is correct; but as the piece does not itself say so, and because of the absence from the text of religious sentiments, I have not given the stanzas here.

The Eighth Decade, or that of Po Hwá.

ODE 5, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE PO HWÁ.

THE QUEEN OF KING YŪ COMPLAINS OF BEING DEGRADED AND FORSAKEN.

The fibres from the white-flowered rush Are bound with the white grass¹. This man's sending me away makes me dwell solitary.

The light and brilliant clouds Bedew the rush and the grass². The way of Heaven is hard and difficult³;—This man does not conform (to good principle).

¹ The stalks of the rush were tied with the grass in bundles, in order to be steeped;—an operation which ladies in those days might be supposed to be familiar with. The two lines suggest the idea of the close connexion between the two plants, and the necessity of the one to the other;—as it should be between husband and wife.

² The clouds bestowed their dewy influence on the plants, while her husband neglected the speaker.

³ 'The way of Heaven' is equivalent to our 'The course of Providence.' The lady's words are, literally, 'The steps of Heaven.' She makes but a feeble wail; but in Chinese opinion discharges thereby, all the better, the duty of a wife.

THE MAJOR ODES OF THE KINGDOM.

PIECES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

The First Decade, or that of Wǎn Wang.

ODE 1. THE WǎN WǎNG.

CELEBRATING KING WǎN, DEAD AND ALIVE, AS THE FOUNDER OF THE
DYNASTY OF KĀU, SHOWING HOW HIS VIRTUES DREW TO HIM THE
FAVOURING REGARD OF HEAVEN OR GOD, AND MADE HIM A BRIGHT
PATTERN TO HIS DESCENDANTS AND THEIR MINISTERS.

The composition of this and the other pieces of this decade is attributed to the duke of KĀu, king Wǎn's son, and was intended by him for the benefit of his nephew, the young king KĀNG. Wǎn, it must be borne in mind, was never actually king of China. He laid the foundations of the kingly power, which was established by his son king WŪ, and consolidated by the duke of KĀu. The title of king was given to him and to others by the duke, according to the view of filial piety, that has been referred to on p. 299.

King Wǎn is on high. Oh! bright is he in
heaven. Although KĀU was an old country, The
(favouring) appointment lighted on it recently¹.
Illustrious was the House of KĀU, And the

¹ The family of KĀU, according to its traditions, was very ancient, but it did not occupy the territory of KĀU, from which it subsequently took its name, till B. C. 1326; and it was not till the time of Wǎn (B. C. 1231 to 1135) that the divine purpose concerning its supremacy in the kingdom was fully manifested.

appointment of God came at the proper season. King Wăn ascends and descends On the left and the right of God¹.

Full of earnest activity was king Wăn, And his fame is without end. The gifts (of God) to Kâu Extend to the descendants of king Wăn, In the direct line and the collateral branches for a hundred generations². All the officers of Kâu Shall (also) be illustrious from age to age.

They shall be illustrious from age to age, Zealously and reverently pursuing their plans. Admirable are the many officers, Born in this royal kingdom. The royal kingdom is able to produce them, The supporters of (the House of) Kâu. Numerous is the array of officers, And by them king Wăn enjoys his repose.

Profound was king Wăn; Oh! continuous and bright was his feeling of reverence. Great is the appointment of Heaven! There were the descendants of (the sovereigns of) Shang³—The descendants of the sovereigns of Shang Were in number more

¹ According to Kû Hsi, the first and last two lines of this stanza are to be taken of the spirit of Wăn in heaven. Attempts have been made to explain them otherwise, or rather to explain them away. But language could not more expressly intimate the existence of a supreme personal God, and the continued existence of the human spirit.

² The text, literally, is, 'The root and the branches:' the root (and stem) denoting the eldest sons, by the recognised queen, succeeding to the throne; and the branches, the other sons by the queen and concubines. The former would grow up directly from the root; and the latter, the chief nobles of the kingdom, would constitute the branches of the great Kâu tree.

³ The Shang or Yin dynasty of kings superseded by Kâu.

than hundreds of thousands. But when God gave the command, They became subject to *Kâu*.

They became subject to *Kâu*, (For) the appointment of Heaven is not unchangeable. The officers of Yin, admirable and alert, Assist at the libations in our capital¹. They assist at those libations, Always wearing the hatchet-figures on their lower garments and their peculiar cap². O ye loyal ministers of the king, Ever think of your ancestor!

Ever think of your ancestor, Cultivating your virtue, Always seeking to accord with the will (of Heaven):—So shall you be seeking for much happiness, Before Yin lost the multitudes, (Its kings) were the correlates of God³. Look to Yin as a beacon; The great appointment is not easily preserved:

The appointment is not easily (preserved):—Do not cause your own extinction. Display and make bright your righteousness and fame, And look at (the fate of) Yin in the light of Heaven. The doings of high Heaven Have neither sound nor

¹ These officers of Yin would be the descendants of the Yin kings and of their principal nobles, scions likewise of the Yin stock. They would assist, at the court of *Kâu*, at the services in the ancestral temple, which began with a libation of fragrant spirits to bring down the spirits of the departed.

² These, differing from the dress worn by the representatives of the ruling House, were still worn by the officers of Yin or Shang, by way of honour, and also by way of warning.

³ There was God in heaven hating none, desiring the good of all the people; there were the sovereigns on earth, God's vicegerents, maintained by him so long as they carried out in their government his purpose of good.

smell¹. Take your pattern from king Wăn, And
the myriad regions will repose confidence in you.

ODE 2. THE TÂ MING.

HOW THE APPOINTMENT OF HEAVEN OR GOD CAME FROM HIS FATHER
TO KING WĂN, AND DESCENDED TO HIS SON, KING WŪ, WHO OVER-
THREW THE DYNASTY OF SHANG BY HIS VICTORY AT MŪ; CELE-
BRATING ALSO THE MOTHER AND WIFE OF KING WĂN.

The illustration of illustrious (virtue) is required
below, And the dread majesty is on high². Heaven
is not readily to be relied on; It is not easy to be
king. Yin's rightful heir to the heavenly seat Was
not permitted to possess the kingdom.

Zăn, the second of the princesses of Kih³, From
(the domain of) Yin-shang, Came to be married
to (the prince of) Kâu, And became his wife in his

¹ These two lines are quoted in the last paragraph of the Doctrine of the Mean, as representing the ideal of perfect virtue. They are indicative of Power, operating silently, and not to be perceived by the senses, but resistless in its operations.

² 'The first two lines,' says the commentator Yen Shan, 'contain a general sentiment, expressing the principle that governs the relation between Heaven and men. According to line 1, the good or evil of a ruler cannot be concealed; according to 2, Heaven, in giving its favour or taking it away, acts with strict decision. When below there is the illustrious illustration (of virtue), that reaches up on high. When above there is the awful majesty, that exercises a survey below. The relation between Heaven and men ought to excite our awe.'

³ The state of Kih must have been somewhere in the royal domain of Yin. Its lords had the surname of Zăn, and the second daughter of the House became the wife of Kî of Kâu. She is called in the eighth line Thâi-zăn, by which name she is still famous in China. 'She commenced,' it is said, 'the instruction of her child when he was still in her womb, looking on no improper sight, listening to no licentious sound, uttering no word of pride.'

capital. Both she and king *Ki* Were entirely virtuous. (Then) *Thâi-zăn* became pregnant, And gave birth to our king *Wăn*.

This king *Wăn*, Watchfully and reverently, With entire intelligence served God, And so secured the great blessing. His virtue was without deflection; And in consequence he received (the allegiance of) the states from all quarters.

Heaven surveyed this lower world; And its appointment lighted (on king *Wăn*). In his early years, It made for him a mate¹;—On the north of the *Hsiâ*, On the banks of the *Wei*. When king *Wăn* would marry, There was the lady in a large state².

In a large state was the lady, Like a fair denizen of heaven. The ceremonies determined the auspiciousness (of the union)³, And in person he met her on the *Wei*. Over it he made a bridge of boats; The glory (of the occasion) was illustrious.

The favouring appointment was from Heaven, Giving the throne to our king *Wăn*, In the capital of *Kâu*. The lady-successor was from *Hsin*, Its eldest daughter, who came to marry him. She was blessed to give birth to king *Wû*, Who was preserved, and helped, and received (also) the appoint-

¹ Heaven is here represented as arranging for the fulfilment of its purposes beforehand.

² The name of the state was *Hsin*, and it must have been near the *Hsiâ* and the *Wei*, somewhere in the south-east of the present *Shen-hsî*.

³ 'The ceremonies' would be various; first of all, divination by means of the tortoise-shell.

ment, And in accordance with it smote the great Shang.

The troops of Yin-shang Were collected like a forest, And marshalled in the wilderness of Mû. We rose (to the crisis); 'God is with you,' (said Shang-fû to the king), 'Have no doubts in your heart ¹.'

The wilderness of Mû spread out extensive; Bright shone the chariots of sandal; The teams of bays, black-maned and white-bellied, galloped along; The Grand-Master Shang-fû Was like an eagle on the wing, Assisting king Wû, Who at one onset smote the great Shang. That morning's encounter was followed by a clear, bright (day).

ODE 3. THE MIEN.

SMALL BEGINNINGS AND SUBSEQUENT GROWTH OF THE HOUSE OF KÂU IN KÂU. ITS REMOVAL FROM PIN UNDER THAN-FÛ, WITH ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN KÂU, WITH THE PLACE THEN GIVEN TO THE BUILDING OF THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE, AND THE ALTAR TO THE SPIRITS OF THE LAND. CONSOLIDATION OF ITS FORTUNES BY KING WĂN.

'The ancient duke Than-fû' was the grandfather of king Wăn, and was canonized by the duke of Kâu as 'king Thâi.' As mentioned in a note on p. 316, he was the first of his family to settle in Kâu, removing there from Pin, the site of their earlier settlement, 'the country about the Kzü and the Kñi.'

In long trains ever increasing grow the gourds ². When (our) people first sprang, From the country about the Kzü and the Kñi ³, The ancient duke

¹ See the account of the battle of Mû in the third Book of the fifth Part of the Shû. Shang-fû was one of Wû's principal leaders and counsellors, his 'Grand-Master Shang-fû' in the next stanza.

² As a gourd grows and extends, with a vast development of its tendrils and leaves, so had the House of Kâu increased.

³ These were two rivers in the territory of Pin, which name still

Than-fû Made for them kiln-like huts and caves,
Ere they had yet any houses ¹.

The ancient duke Than-fû Came in the morning,
galloping his horses, Along the banks of the western
rivers, To the foot of mount *K'hi*²; And there he
and the lady *Kiang*³ Came and together looked
out for a site.

The plain of *K'âu* looked beautiful and rich,
With its violets, and sowthistles (sweet) as dump-
lings. There he began by consulting (with his
followers); There he singed the tortoise-shell, (and
divined). The responses were there to stay and
then; And they proceeded there to build ⁴.

He encouraged the people, and settled them;
Here on the left, there on the right. He divided
the ground, and subdivided it; He dug the ditches;
he defined the acres. From the east to the west,
There was nothing which he did not take in hand ⁵.

remains in the small department of Pin *K'âu*, in Shen-hsi. The
K'hi flows into the Lo, and the *K'hi* into the Wei.

¹ According to this ode then, up to the time of Than-fû, the
K'âu people had only had the dwellings here described; but this
is not easily reconciled with other accounts, or even with other
stanzas of this piece.

² See a graphic account of the circumstances in which this
migration took place, in the fifteenth chapter of the second Part
of the first Book of Mencius, very much to the honour of the
ancient duke.

³ This lady is known as *Thâi-kiang*, the worthy predecessor of
Thâi-sân.

⁴ This stanza has reference to the choice—by council and
divination—of a site for what should be the chief town of the
new settlement.

⁵ This stanza describes the general arrangements for the
occupancy and cultivation of the plain of *K'âu*, and the distribution
of the people over it.

He called his Superintendent of Works; He called his Minister of Instruction; And charged them with the rearing of the houses. With the line they made everything straight; They bound the frame-boards tight, so that they should rise regularly: Uprose the ancestral temple in its solemn grandeur¹.

Crowds brought the earth in baskets; They threw it with shouts into the frames; They beat it with responsive blows. They pared the walls repeatedly, till they sounded strong. Five thousand cubits of them arose together, So that the roll of the great drums did not overpower (the noise of the builders)².

They reared the outer gate (of the palace), Which rose in lofty state. They set up the gate of audience, Which rose severe and exact. They reared the great altar to the spirits of the land, From which all great movements should proceed³.

¹ This stanza describes the preparations and processes for erecting the buildings of the new city. The whole took place under the direction of two officers, in whom we have the germ probably of the Six Heads of the Boards or Departments, whose functions are described in the *Shû* and the *Official Book of K'âu*. The materials of the buildings were earth and lime pounded together in frames, as is still to be seen in many parts of the country. The first great building taken in hand was the ancestral temple. *Than-fû* would make a home for the spirits of his fathers, before he made one for himself. However imperfectly directed, the religious feeling asserted the supremacy which it ought to possess.

² The bustle and order of the building all over the city is here graphically set forth.

³ *Than-fû* was now at leisure to build the palace for himself, which appears to have been not a very large building, though the Chinese names of its gates are those belonging to the two which

Thus though he could not prevent the rage of his foes¹, He did not let fall his own fame. The oaks and the buckthorns were (gradually) thinned, And roads for travellers were opened. The hordes of the Khwăn disappeared, Startled and panting.

(The chiefs of) Yü and Zui² were brought to an agreement By king Wăn's stimulating their natural virtue. Then, I may say, some came to him, previously not knowing him; Some, drawn the last by the first; Some, drawn by his rapid successes; And some by his defence (of the weak) from insult.

were peculiar to the palaces of the kings of Kâu in the subsequent times of the dynasty. Outside the palace were the altars appropriate to the spirits of the four quarters of the land, the 'great' or royal altar being peculiar to the kings, though the one built by Than-fû is here so named. All great undertakings, and such as required the co-operation of all the people, were preceded by a solemn sacrifice at this altar.

¹ Referring to Than-fû's relations with the wild hordes, described by Mencius, and which obliged him to leave Pin. As the new settlement in Kâu grew, they did not dare to trouble it.

² The poet passes on here to the time of king Wăn. The story of the chiefs of Yü and Zui (two states on the east of the Ho) is this:— They had a quarrel about a strip of territory, to which each of them laid claim. Going to lay their dispute before the lord of Kâu, as soon as they entered his territory, they saw the ploughers readily yielding the furrow, and travellers yielding the path, while men and women avoided one another on the road, and old people had no burdens to carry. At his court, they beheld the officers of each inferior grade giving place to those above them. They became ashamed of their own quarrel, agreed to let the disputed ground be an open territory, and withdrew without presuming to appear before Wăn. When this affair was noised abroad, more than forty states, it is said, tendered their submission to Kâu.

ODE 4, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE YÏ PHO.

IN PRAISE OF KING WĀN, CELEBRATING HIS INFLUENCE, DIGNITY IN THE
TEMPLE SERVICES, ACTIVITY, AND CAPACITY TO RULE.

Abundant is the growth of the buckthorn and
shrubby trees, Supplying firewood; yea, stores of
it¹. Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On the left and the right they hastened to him.

Elegant and dignified was our prince and king;
On his left and his right they bore their half-
mace (libation-cups)²:—They bore them with solemn
gravity, As beseemed such eminent officers.

ODE 5. THE HAN LÛ.

IN PRAISE OF THE VIRTUE OF KING WĀN, BLESSED BY HIS ANCESTORS,
AND RAISED TO THE HIGHEST DIGNITY WITHOUT SEEKING OF HIS
OWN.

Look at the foot of the Han³, How abundantly
grow the hazel and arrow-thorn⁴. Easy and self-
possessed was our prince, In his pursuit of dignity
(still) easy and self-possessed.

Massive is that libation-cup of jade, With the

¹ It is difficult to trace the connexion between these allusive lines and the rest of the piece.

² Here we have the lord of Kâu in his ancestral temple, assisted by his ministers or great officers in pouring out the libations to the spirits of the departed. The libation-cup was fitted with a handle of jade, that used by the king having a complete kwei, the obelisk-like symbol of rank, while the cups used by a minister had for a handle only half a kwei.

³ Where mount Han was cannot now be determined.

⁴ As the foot of the hill was favourable to vegetable growth, so were king Wān's natural qualities to his distinction and advancement.

yellow liquid sparkling in it¹. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, The fit recipient of blessing and dignity.

The hawk flies up to heaven, The fishes leap in the deep². Easy and self-possessed was our prince :—Did he not exert an influence on men ?

His clear spirits were in the vessels ; His red bull was ready³;—To offer, to sacrifice, To increase his bright happiness.

Thick grow the oaks and the buckthorn, Which the people use for fuel⁴. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Cheered and encouraged by the spirits⁴.

Luxuriant are the dolichos and other creepers, Clinging to the branches and stems. Easy and self-possessed was our prince, Seeking for happiness by no crooked ways.

ODE 6. THE SZÉ KĀI.

THE VIRTUE OF WĀN, WITH HIS FILIAL PIETY AND CONSTANT REVERENCE, AND THEIR WONDERFUL EFFECTS. THE EXCELLENT CHARACTER OF HIS MOTHER AND WIFE.

Pure and reverent was Thâi Zăn⁵, The mother of king Wăn. Loving was she to Kâu Kiang⁶;—

¹ As a cup of such quality was the proper receptacle for the yellow, herb-flavoured spirits, so was the character of Wăn such that all blessing must accrue to him.

² It is the nature of the hawk to fly and of fishes to swim, and so there went out an influence from Wăn unconsciously to himself.

³ Red, we have seen, was the proper colour for victims in the ancestral temple of Kâu.

⁴ As it was natural for the people to take the wood and use it, so it was natural for the spirits of his ancestors, and spiritual beings generally, to bless king Wăn.

⁵ Thâi Zăn is celebrated, above, in the second ode.

⁶ Kâu Kiang is 'the lady Kiang' of ode 3, the wife of Than-fû or

A wife becoming the House of Kâu. Thái Sze¹ inherited her excellent fame, And from her came a hundred sons².

He conformed to the example of his ancestors, And their spirits had no occasion for complaint. Their spirits had no occasion for dissatisfaction; And his example acted on his wife, Extended to his brethren, And was felt by all the clans and states.

Full of harmony was he in his palace; Full of reverence in the ancestral temple. Unseen (by men), he still felt that he was under inspection³: Unweariedly he maintained his virtue.

Though he could not prevent (some) great calamities, His brightness and magnanimity were without stain. Without previous instruction he did what was right; Without admonition he went on (in the path of goodness).

So, grown up men became virtuous (through him), And young men made (constant) attainments. (Our) ancient prince never felt weariness, And from him were the fame and eminence of his officers.

king Thái, who came with him from Pin. She is here called Kâu, as having married the lord of Kâu.

¹ Thái Sze, the wife of Wăn, we are told in ode 2, was from the state of Hsin. The surname Sze shows that its lords must have been descended from the Great Yü.

² We are not to suppose that Thái Sze had herself a hundred sons. She had ten, and her freedom from jealousy so encouraged the fruitfulness of the harem, that all the sons born in it are ascribed to her.

³ Where there was no human eye to observe him, Wăn still felt that he was open to the observation of spiritual beings.

ODE 7. THE HWANG Í.

SHOWING THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF K'ÂU TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE KINGDOM THROUGH THE FAVOUR OF GOD. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF KINGS THÂI AND K'Í, AND ESPECIALLY OF KING WÂN.

Great is God, Beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters (of the kingdom), Seeking for some one to give establishment to the people. Those two earlier dynasties¹ Had failed to satisfy him with their government; So, throughout the various states, He sought and considered For one on whom he might confer the rule. Hating all the great states, He turned his kind regards on the west, And there gave a settlement (to king Thâi).

(King Thâi) raised up and removed The dead trunks and the fallen trees. He dressed and regulated The bushy clumps and the (tangled) rows. He opened up and cleared The tamarisk trees and the stave trees. He hewed and thinned The mountain mulberry trees. God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler, The Kwan hordes fled away². Heaven had raised up a helpmeet for him, And the appointment he had received was made sure.

God surveyed the hills, Where the oaks and the buckthorn were thinned, And paths made through the firs and cypresses. God, who had raised the

¹ Those of Hsiâ and Shang.

² The same as 'the hordes of the Khwân' in ode 3. Mr. T. W. Kingsmill says that 'Kwan' here should be 'Chun,' and charges the transliteration Kwan with error (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April, 1878). He had not consulted his dictionary for the proper pronunciation of the Chinese character.

state, raised up a proper ruler¹ for it,—From the time of Thâi-po and king Kî (this was done)¹. Now this king Kî In his heart was full of brotherly duty. Full of duty to his elder brother, He gave himself the more to promote the prosperity (of the country), And secured to him the glory (of his act)². He accepted his dignity and did not lose it, And (ere long his family) possessed the whole kingdom.

This king Kî Was gifted by God with the power of judgment, So that the fame of his virtue silently grew. His virtue was highly intelligent,—Highly intelligent, and of rare discrimination; Able to lead, able to rule, To rule over this great country; Rendering a cordial submission, effecting a cordial union³. When (the sway) came to king Wăn, His

¹ King Wăn is 'the proper ruler' intended here, and the next line intimates that this was determined before there was any likelihood of his becoming the ruler even of the territory of Kâu;—another instance of the foreseeing providence ascribed to God. Thâi-po was the eldest son of king Thâi, and king Kî was, perhaps, only the third. The succession ought to have come to Thâi-po; but he, seeing the sage virtues of K'hang (afterwards king Wăn), the son of Kî, and seeing also that king Thâi was anxious that this boy should ultimately become ruler of Kâu, voluntarily withdrew from Kâu altogether, and left the state to Kî and his son. See the remark of Confucius on Thâi-po's conduct, in the Analects, VIII, i.

² The lines from six to ten speak of king Kî in his relation to his elder brother. He accepted Thâi-po's act without any failure of his own duty to him, and by his own improvement of it, made his brother more glorious through it. His feeling of brotherly duty was simply the natural instinct of his heart. Having accepted the act, it only made him the more anxious to promote the good of the state, and thus he made his brother more glorious by showing what advantages accrued from his resignation and withdrawal from Kâu.

³ This line refers to Kî's maintenance of his own loyal duty

virtue left nothing to be dissatisfied with, He received the blessing of God, And it was extended to his descendants.

God said to king Wăn¹, 'Be not like those who reject this and cling to that; Be not like those who are ruled by their likings and desires;' So he grandly ascended before others to the height (of virtue). The people of Mî² were disobedient, Daring to oppose our great country, And invaded Yüan, marching to Kung³. The king rose, majestic in his wrath; He marshalled his troops, To stop the invading foes; To consolidate the prosperity of Kâu; To meet the expectations of all under heaven.

He remained quietly in the capital, But (his troops) went on from the borders of Yüan. They ascended our lofty ridges, And (the enemy) arrayed no forces on our hills, On our hills, small or large, Nor drank at our springs, Our springs or our pools. He then determined the finest of the plains, And settled on the south of K'ü⁴, On the banks of

to the dynasty of Shang, and his making all the states under his presidency loyal also.

¹ The statement that 'God spake to king Wăn,' repeated in stanza 7, vexes the Chinese critics, and they find in it simply an intimation that Wăn's conduct was 'in accordance with the will of Heaven.' I am not prepared to object to that view of the meaning; but it is plain that the writer, in giving such a form to his meaning, must have conceived of God as a personal Being, knowing men's hearts, and able to influence them.

² Mî or Mî-hsü was a state in the present King-ning Kâu, of Phing-liang department, Kan-sü.

³ Yüan was a state adjacent to Mî,—the present King Kâu, and Kung must have been a place or district in it.

⁴ Wăn, it appears, made now a small change in the site of his capital, but did not move to Fäng, where he finally settled.

the Wei, The centre of all the states, The resort of the lower people.

God said to king Wăn, 'I am pleased with your intelligent virtue, Not loudly proclaimed nor portrayed, Without extravagance or changeableness, Without consciousness of effort on your part, In accordance with the pattern of God.' God said to king Wăn, 'Take measures against the country of your foes. Along with your brethren, Get ready your scaling ladders, And your engines of onfall and assault, To attack the walls of *Khung*¹.'

The engines of onfall and assault were (at first) gently plied, Against the walls of *Khung* high and and great; Captives for the question were brought in, one after another; The left ears (of the slain) were taken leisurely². He had sacrificed to God and to the Father of War³, Thus seeking to induce

¹ *Khung* was a state, in the present district of Hŭ, department Hsf-an, Shen-hsf. His conquest of *Khung* was an important event in the history of king Wăn. He moved his capital to it, advancing so much farther towards the east, nearer to the domain of Shang. According to Sze-mâ *Khien* the marquis of *Khung* had slandered the lord of *Kâu*, who was president of the states of the west, to *Kâu-hsin*, the king of Shang, and our hero was put in prison. His friends succeeded in effecting his deliverance by means of various gifts to the tyrant, and he was reinstated in the west with more than his former power. Three years afterwards he attacked the marquis of *Khung*.

² So far the siege was prosecuted slowly and, so to say, tenderly, Wăn hoping that the enemy would be induced to surrender without great sacrifice of life.

³ The sacrifice to God had been offered in *Kâu*, at the commencement of the expedition; that to the Father of War, on the army's arriving at the borders of *Khung*. We can hardly tell who is intended by the Father of War. *Kû* Hsf and others would require the plural 'Fathers,' saying the sacrifice was to Hwang Tî and *K'ih* Yû, who are found engaged in hostilities far back in the

submission, And throughout the region none had dared to insult him. The engines of onfall and assault were (then) vigorously plied, Against the walls of *Khung* very strong. He attacked it, and let loose all his forces; He extinguished (its sacrifices)¹, and made an end of its existence; And throughout the kingdom none dared to oppose him.

ODE 9. THE HSIÁ WŪ.

IN PRAISE OF KING WŪ, WALKING IN THE WAYS OF HIS FOREFATHERS,
AND BY HIS FILIAL PIETY SECURING THE THRONE TO HIMSELF AND
HIS POSTERITY.

Successors tread in the steps (of their predecessors) in our *Kâu*. For generations there had been wise kings; The three sovereigns were in heaven²; And king (WŪ) was their worthy successor in his capital³.

King (WŪ) was their worthy successor in his capital, Rousing himself to seek for the hereditary virtue, Always striving to be in accordance with the

mythical period of Chinese history. But *K'ih Yü* appears as a rebel, or opposed to the One man in all the country who was then fit to rule. It is difficult to imagine how they could be associated, and sacrificed to together.

¹ The extinction of its sacrifices was the final act in the extinction of a state. Any members of its ruling House who might survive could no longer sacrifice to their ancestors as having been men of princely dignity. The family was reduced to the ranks of the people.

² 'The three sovereigns,' or 'wise kings,' are to be understood of the three celebrated in ode 7,—*Thái*, *K'í*, and *Wán*. We are thus obliged, with all Chinese scholars, to understand this ode of king WŪ. The statement that 'the three kings were in heaven' is very express.

³ The capital here is *Háo*, to which WŪ removed in B. C. 1134, the year after his father's death. It was on the east of the river *Fäng*, and only about eight miles from *Wán's* capital of *Fäng*.

will (of Heaven); And thus he secured the confidence due to a king.

He secured the confidence due to a king, And became the pattern of all below him. Ever thinking how to be filial, His filial mind was the model (which he supplied).

Men loved him, the One man, And responded (to his example) with a docile virtue. Ever thinking how to be filial, He brilliantly continued the doings (of his fathers).

Brilliantly! and his posterity, Continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers, For myriads of years, Will receive the blessing of Heaven.

They will receive the blessing of Heaven, And from the four quarters (of the kingdom) will felicitations come to them. For myriads of years Will there not be their helpers?

ODE 10. THE WĀN WANG YŪ SHĀNG.

THE PRAISE OF KINGS WĀN AND WŪ:—HOW THE FORMER DISPLAYED HIS MILITARY PROWESS ONLY TO SECURE THE TRANQUILLITY OF THE PEOPLE; AND HOW THE LATTER, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESULTS OF DIVINATION, ENTERED IN HIS NEW CAPITAL OF HĀO, INTO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE KINGDOM WITH THE SINCERE GOOD WILL OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

King Wăn is famous; Yea, he is very famous. What he sought was the repose (of the people); What he saw was the completion (of his work). A sovereign true was king Wăn!

King Wăn received the appointment (from Heaven), And achieved his martial success. Having overthrown *Khung*¹ He fixed his (capital) city in Făng². A sovereign true was king Wăn!

¹ As related in ode 7.

² Făng had, probably, been the capital of *Khung*, and Wăn

He repaired the walls along the (old) moat. His establishing himself in Fǎng was according to (the pattern of his forefathers), It was not that he was in haste to gratify his wishes ;—It was to show the filial duty that had come down to him. A sovereign true was the royal prince !

His royal merit was brightly displayed By those walls of Fǎng. There were collected (the sympathies of the people of) the four quarters, Who regarded the royal prince as their protector. A sovereign true was the royal prince !

The Fǎng-water flowed on to the east (of the city), Through the meritorious labour of Yü. There were collected (the sympathies of the people of) the four quarters, Who would have the great king as their ruler. A sovereign true was the great king¹ !

In the capital of Háo he built his hall with its circlet of water². From the west to the east, From the south to the north, There was not a thought but did him homage. A sovereign true was the great king !

He examined and divined, did the king, About settling in the capital of Háo. The tortoise-shell decided the site³, And king Wû completed the city. A sovereign true was king Wû !

removed to it, simply making the necessary repairs and alterations. This explains how we find nothing about the divinations which should have preceded so important a step as the founding of a new capital.

¹ The writer has passed on to Wû, who did actually become king.

² See on the third of the Praise Odes of Lû in Part IV.

³ Háo was built by Wû, and hence we have the account of his divining about the site and the undertaking.

By the Fǎng-water grows the white millet¹;—
Did not king Wû show wisdom in his employ-
ment of officers? He would leave his plans to his
descendants, And secure comfort and support to
his son. A sovereign true was king Wû!

The Second Decade, or that of Shǎng Min.

ODE 1. THE SHǎNG MIN.

THE LEGEND OF HĀU-KĪ:—HIS CONCEPTION; HIS BIRTH; THE PERILS
OF HIS INFANCY; HIS BOYISH HABITS OF AGRICULTURE; HIS SUBSE-
QUENT METHODS AND TEACHING OF AGRICULTURE; HIS FOUNDING
OF CERTAIN SACRIFICES; AND THE HONOURS OF SACRIFICE PAID TO
HIM BY THE HOUSE OF KĀU.

Of Hāu-kī there is some notice on the tenth ode of the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of Kāu. To him the kings of Kāu traced their lineage. Of Kiang Yūan, his mother, our knowledge is very scanty. It is said that she was a daughter of the House of Thái, which traced its lineage up to Shǎn-ning in præhistoric times. From the first stanza of this piece it appears that she was married, and had been so for some time without having any child. But who her husband was it is impossible to say with certainty. As the Kāu surname was Kī, he must have been one of the descendants of Hwang Tī.

The first birth of (our) people² Was from Kiang
Yūan. How did she give birth to (our) people?
She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed³,

¹ 'The white millet,' a valuable species, grown near the Fǎng, suggests to the writer the idea of all the men of ability whom Wû collected around him.

² Our 'people' is of course the people of Kāu. The whole piece is about the individual from whom the House of Kāu sprang, of which were the kings of the dynasty so called.

³ To whom Kiang Yūan sacrificed and prayed we are not told, but I receive the impression that it was to God,—see the next stanza,—and that she did so all alone with the special object which is mentioned.

That her childlessness might be taken away. She then trod on a toe-print made by God, and was moved¹, In the large place where she rested. She became pregnant; she dwelt retired; She gave birth to, and nourished (a son), Who was Hâu-kí.

When she had fulfilled her months, Her first-born son (came forth) like a lamb. There was no bursting, nor rending, No injury, no hurt; Showing how wonderful he would be. Did not God give her the comfort? Had he not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice, So that thus easily she brought forth her son?

He was placed in a narrow lane, But the sheep and oxen protected him with loving care². He was placed in a wide forest, Where he was met with by the wood-cutters. He was placed on the cold ice, And a bird screened and supported him with its wings. When the bird went away, Hâu-kí began to wail. His cry was long and loud, So that his voice filled the whole way².

¹ The 'toe-print made by God' has occasioned much speculation of the critics. We may simply draw the conclusion that the poet meant to have his readers believe with him that the conception of his hero was supernatural. We saw in the third of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang that there was also a legend assigning a præternatural birth to the father of the House of Shang.

² It does not appear from the ode who exposed the infant to these various perils; nor did Chinese tradition ever fashion any story on the subject. Máo makes the exposure to have been made by Kiang Yüan's husband, dissatisfied with what had taken place; Käng, by the mother herself, to show the more the wonderful character of her child. Readers will compare the accounts with the Roman legends about Romulus and Remus, their mother and her father; but the two legends differ according to the different characters of the Chinese and Roman peoples.

When he was able to crawl, He looked majestic and intelligent. When he was able to feed himself, He fell to planting beans. The beans grew luxuriantly; His rows of paddy shot up beautifully; His hemp and wheat grew strong and close; His gourds yielded abundantly.

The husbandry of Hâu-*ki* Proceeded on the plan of helping (the growth). Having cleared away the thick grass, He sowed the ground with the yellow cereals. He managed the living grain, till it was ready to burst; Then he used it as seed, and it sprang up; It grew and came into ear; It became strong and good; It hung down, every grain complete; And thus he was appointed lord of Thái¹.

He gave (his people) the beautiful grains;—The black millet and the double-kernelled, The tall red and the white. They planted extensively the black and the double-kernelled, Which were reaped and stacked on the ground. They planted extensively the tall red and the white, Which were carried on their shoulders and backs, Home for the sacrifices which he founded².

And how as to our sacrifices (continued from him)?

¹ Hâu-*ki*'s mother, we have seen, was a princess of Thái, in the present district of Wû-kung, K'ien Kâu, Shen-hsí. This may have led to his appointment to that principality, and the transference of the lordship from Kiangs to K'is. Evidently he was appointed to that dignity for his services in the promotion of agriculture. Still he has not displaced the older Shän-nung, with whom on his father's side he had a connexion, as 'the Father of Husbandry.'

² This is not to be understood of sacrifice in general, as if there had been no such thing before Hâu-*ki*; but of the sacrifices of the House of Kâu,—those in the ancestral temple and others,—which began with him as its great ancestor.

Some hull (the grain); some take it from the mortar; Some sift it; some tread it. It is rattling in the dishes; It is distilled, and the steam floats about. We consult¹; we observe the rites of purification; We take southernwood and offer it with the fat; We sacrifice a ram to the spirit of the path²; We offer roast flesh and broiled:—And thus introduce the coming year³.

We load the stands with the offerings, The stands both of wood and of earthenware. As soon as the fragrance ascends, God, well pleased, smells the sweet savour. Fragrant it is, and in its due season⁴. Hâu-*ki* founded our sacrifices, And no one, we presume, has given occasion for blame or regret in regard to them, Down to the present day.

ODE 2. THE HSIN WEI.

A FESTAL ODE, CELEBRATING SOME ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN BY THE KING TO HIS RELATIVES, WITH THE TRIAL OF ARCHERY AFTER THE FEAST; CELEBRATING ESPECIALLY THE HONOUR DONE ON SUCH OCCASIONS TO THE AGED.

This ode is given here, because it is commonly taken as a prelude to the next. *K'ü Hsü* interprets it of the feast, given by the

¹ That is, we divine about the day, and choose the officers to take part in the service.

² A sacrifice was offered to the spirit of the road on commencing a journey, and we see here that it was offered also in connexion with the king's going to the ancestral temple or the border altar.

³ It does not appear clearly what sacrifices the poet had in view here. I think they must be all those in which the kings of *K'âu* appeared as the principals or sacrificers. The concluding line is understood to intimate that the kings were not to forget that a prosperous agriculture was the foundation of their prosperity.

⁴ In this stanza we have the peculiar honour paid to Hâu-*ki* by his descendants at one of the great border sacrifices to God,—the same to which the last ode in the first decade of the Sacrificial Odes of *K'âu* belongs.

king, at the close of the sacrifice in the ancestral temple, to the princes of his own surname. There are difficulties in the interpretation of the piece on this view, which, however, is to be preferred to any other.

In thick patches are those rushes, Springing by the way-side:—Let not the cattle and sheep trample them. Anon they will grow up; anon they will be completely formed, With their leaves soft and glossy¹. Closely related are brethren; Let none be absent, let all be near. For some there are mats spread; For some there are given stools².

The mats are spread, and a second one above; The stools are given, and there are plenty of servants. (The guests) are pledged, and they pledge (the host) in return; He rinses the cups (and refills them, but the guests) put them down, Sauces and pickles are brought in, With roasted meat and broiled. Excellent provisions there are of tripe and palates; With singing to lutes, and with drums.

The ornamented bows are strong, And the four arrows are all balanced. They discharge the arrows, and all hit, And the guests are arranged according to their skill. The ornamented bows are drawn to the full, And the arrows are grasped in the hand. They go straight to the mark as if planted

¹ In the rushes growing up densely from a common root we have an emblem of brothers all sprung from the same ancestor; and in the plants developing so finely, when preserved from injury, an emblem of the happy fellowships of consanguinity, when nothing is allowed to interfere with mutual confidence and good feeling.

² In a previous note I have said that chairs and tables had not come into use in those early times. Guests sat and feasts were spread on mats on the floor; for the aged, however, stools were placed on which they could lean forward.

in it, And the guests are arranged according to the humble propriety of their behaviour.

The distant descendant presides over the feast ; His sweet spirits are strong. He fills their cups from a large vase, And prays for the hoary old (among his guests) :— That with hoary age and wrinkled back, They may lead on one another (to virtue), and support one another (in it) ; That so their old age may be blessed, And their bright happiness ever increased.

ODE 3. THE *KĪ* 3UL.

RESPONSIVE TO THE LAST :—THE UNCLÉS AND BRETHREN OF THE KING EXPRESS THEIR SENSE OF HIS KINDNESS, AND THEIR WISHES FOR HIS HAPPINESS, MOSTLY IN THE WORDS IN WHICH THE PERSONATORS OF THE DEPARTED ANCESTORS HAD CONVEYED THEIR SATISFACTION WITH THE SACRIFICE OFFERED TO THEM, AND PROMISED TO HIM THEIR BLESSING.

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits ; You have satiated us with your kindness. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years ! May your bright happiness (ever) be increased !

You have made us drink to the full of your spirits ; Your viands were set out before us. May you enjoy, O our lord, myriads of years ! May your bright intelligence ever be increased !

May your bright intelligence become perfect, High and brilliant, leading to a good end ! That good end has (now) its beginning :—The personators of your ancestors announced it in their blessing.

What was their announcement ? ‘ (The offerings) in your dishes of bamboo and wood are clean and

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fine. Your friends¹, assisting in the service, Have done their part with reverent demeanour.

‘Your reverent demeanour was altogether what the occasion required; And also that of your filial son². For such filial piety, continued without ceasing, There will ever be conferred blessings upon you.’

What will the blessings be? ‘That along the passages of your palace, You shall move for ten thousand years, And there will be granted to you for ever dignity and posterity.’

How as to your posterity? ‘Heaven invests you with your dignity; Yea, for ten thousand years, The bright appointment is attached (to your line).’

How is it attached? ‘There is given you a heroic wife. There is given you a heroic wife, And from her shall come the (line of) descendants.’

ODE 4. THE HŪ Í.

AN ODE APPROPRIATE TO THE FEAST GIVEN TO THE PERSONATORS OF THE DEPARTED, ON THE DAY AFTER THE SACRIFICE IN THE ANCESTRAL TEMPLE.

This supplementary sacrifice on the day after the principal service in the temple appeared in the ninth Book of the fourth Part of the Shū; and of the feast after it to the personators of the dead I have spoken on p. 301.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the *King*³;

¹ That is, the guests, visitors, and officers of the court.

² Towards the end of the sacrificial service, the eldest son of the king joined in pledging the representatives of their ancestors.

³ The *King* is an affluent of the Wei, not far from Wú's capital of Háo. The birds, feeling at home in its waters, on its sands, &c., serve to introduce the parties feasted, in a situation where they might relax from the gravity of the preceding day, and be happy.

The personators of your ancestors feast and are happy. Your spirits are clear; Your viands are fragrant. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Their happiness and dignity are made complete.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the sand; The personators of the dead enjoy the feast, their appropriate tribute. Your spirits are abundant; Your viands are good. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Happiness and dignity lend them their aids.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are on the islets; The personators of your ancestors feast and enjoy themselves. Your spirits are strained; Your viands are in slices. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Happiness and dignity descend on them.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are where the waters meet; The personators of your ancestors feast and are honoured. The feast is spread in the ancestral temple, The place where happiness and dignity descend. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—Their happiness and dignity are at the highest point.

The wild-ducks and widgeons are in the gorge; The personators of your ancestors rest, full of complacency. The fine spirits are delicious; Your meat, roast and broiled, is fragrant. The personators of your ancestors feast and drink;—No troubles will be theirs after this.

ODE 5, STANZA 1. THE KIÁ LO.

IN PRAISE OF SOME KING, WHOSE VIRTUE SECURED TO HIM THE
FAVOUR OF HEAVEN.

Perhaps the response of the feasted personators of the ancestors.

Of our admirable, amiable sovereign Most illustrious is the excellent virtue. He orders rightly the people, orders rightly the officers, And receives his dignity from Heaven, Which protects and helps him, and (confirms) his appointment, By repeated acts of renewal from heaven.

ODE 8. THE KHÜAN Â.

ADDRESSED, PROBABLY, BY THE DUKE OF SHÁO TO KING KHĀNG, DESIRING FOR HIM LONG PROSPERITY, AND CONGRATULATING HIM, IN ORDER TO ADMONISH HIM, ON THE HAPPINESS OF HIS PEOPLE, THE NUMBER OF HIS ADMIRABLE OFFICERS, AND THE AUSPICIOUS OMEN ARISING FROM THE APPEARANCE OF THE PHENIX.

The duke of Sháo was the famous Shih, who appears in the fifth and other Books of the fifth Part of the Shû, the colleague of the duke of Kâu in the early days of the Kâu dynasty. This piece may have been composed by him, but there is no evidence in it that it was so. The assigning it to him rests entirely on the authority of the preface. The language, however, is that in which an old statesman of that time might express his complacency in his young sovereign.

Into the recesses of the large mound Came the wind, whirling from the south. There was (our) happy, courteous sovereign, Rambling and singing; And I took occasion to give forth my notes.

' Full of spirits you ramble ; Full of satisfaction you rest. O happy and courteous sovereign, May you fulfil your years, And end them like your ancestors !

' Your territory is great and glorious, And per-

fectly secure. O happy and courteous sovereign,
 May you fulfil your years, As the host of all the
 spirits¹!

‘You have received the appointment long acknow-
 ledged, With peace around your happiness and
 dignity. O happy and courteous sovereign, May
 you fulfil your years, With pure happiness your
 constant possession!

‘You have helpers and supporters, Men of filial
 piety and of virtue, To lead you on, and act as
 wings to you, (So that), O happy and courteous
 sovereign, You are a pattern to the four quarters
 (of the kingdom).

‘Full of dignity and majesty (are they), Like a

¹ ‘Host of the hundred—i.e., of all—the spirits’ is one of the titles of the sovereign of China. It was and is his prerogative to offer the great ‘border sacrifices’ to Heaven and Earth, or, as Confucius explains them, to God, and to the spirits of his ancestors in his ancestral temple; and in his progresses (now neglected), among the states, to the spirits of the hills and rivers throughout the kingdom. Every feudal prince could only sacrifice to the hills and streams within his own territory. Under the changed conditions of the government of China, the sacrificial ritual of the emperor still retains the substance of whatever belonged to the sovereigns in this respect from the earliest dynasties. On the text here, Khung Ying-tâ of the Thang dynasty said, ‘He who possesses all under the sky, sacrifices to all the spirits, and thus he is the host of them all.’ K’ü Hsi said on it, ‘And always be the host of (the spirits of) Heaven and Earth, of the hills and rivers, and of the departed.’ The term ‘host’ does not imply any superiority of rank on the part of the entertainer. In the greatest sacrifices the emperor acknowledges himself as ‘the servant or subject of Heaven.’ See the prayer of the first of the present Manchâu line of emperors, in announcing that he had ascended the throne, at the altar of Heaven and Earth, in 1644, as translated by the Rev. Dr. Edkins in the chapter on Imperial Worship, in the recent edition of his ‘Religion in China.’

jade-mace (in its purity), The subject of praise, the contemplation of hope. O happy and courteous sovereign, (Through them) the four quarters (of the kingdom) are guided by you.

'The male and female phœnix fly about¹, Their wings rustling, While they settle in their proper resting-place. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Ready to be employed by you, Loving you, the Son of Heaven.

'The male and female phœnix fly about, Their wings rustling, As they soar up to heaven. Many are your admirable officers, O king, Waiting for your commands, And loving the multitudes of the people.

'The male and female phœnix give out their notes, On that lofty ridge. The dryandras grow, On those eastern slopes. They grow luxuriantly; And harmoniously the notes resound.

¹ The phœnix (so the creature has been named) is a fabulous bird, 'the chief of the 360 classes of the winged tribes.' It is mentioned in the fourth Book of the second Part of the Shû, as appearing in the courtyard of Shun; and the appearance of a pair of them has always been understood to denote a sage on the throne and prosperity in the country. Even Confucius (Analects, IX, viii) could not express his hopelessness about his own times more strongly than by saying that 'the phœnix did not make its appearance.' He was himself also called 'a phœnix,' in derision, by one of the recluses of his time (Analects, XVIII, v). The type of the bird was, perhaps, the Argus pheasant, but the descriptions of it are of a monstrous creature, having 'a fowl's head, a swallow's chin, a serpent's neck, a fish's tail,' &c. It only lights on the dryandra cordifolia, of which tree also many marvellous stories are related. The poet is not to be understood as saying that the phœnix actually appeared; but that the king was sage and his government prosperous, as if it had appeared.

'Your chariots, O sovereign, Are numerous,
many. Your horses, O sovereign, Are well trained
and fleet. I have made my few verses, In pro-
longation of your song.'

ODE 9, STANZA 1. THE MIN LÂO.

IN A TIME OF DISORDER AND SUFFERING, SOME OFFICER OF DISTINC-
TION CALLS ON HIS FELLOWS TO JOIN WITH HIM TO EFFECT A
REFORMATION IN THE CAPITAL, AND PUT AWAY THE PARTIES WHO
WERE THE CAUSE OF THE PREVAILING MISERY.

With the *K'üan Â*, what are called the 'correct' odes of Part III, or those belonging to a period of good government, and the composition of which is ascribed mainly to the duke of *Kâu*, come to an end; and those that follow are the 'changed' Major Odes of the Kingdom, or those belonging to a degenerate period, commencing with this. Some among them, however, are equal to any of the former class. The *Min Lâo* has been assigned to duke *Mû* of *Shâu*, a descendant of duke *Khang*, the *Shih* of the *Shû*, the reputed author of the *K'üan Â*, and was directed against king *Lî*, B. C. 878 to 828.

The people indeed are heavily burdened, But
perhaps a little relief may be got for them. Let
us cherish this centre of the kingdom, To secure
the repose of the four quarters of it. Let us give
no indulgence to the wily and obsequious, In order
to make the unconscientious careful, And to repress
robbers and oppressors, Who have no fear of the
clear will (of Heaven)¹. Then let us show kindness
to those who are distant, And help those who are
near,—Thus establishing (the throne of) our king.

¹ 'The clear will,' according to *K'ü Hsi*, is 'the clear appointment of Heaven;' according to *K'ü Kung-kiên*, 'correct principle.' They both mean the law of human duty, as gathered from the nature of man's moral constitution conferred by Heaven.

ODE 10. THE PAN.

AN OFFICER OF EXPERIENCE MOURNS OVER THE PREVAILING MISERY; COMPLAINS OF THE WANT OF SYMPATHY WITH HIM SHOWN BY OTHER OFFICERS; ADMONISHES THEM, AND SETS FORTH THE DUTY REQUIRED OF THEM, ESPECIALLY IN THE ANGRY MOOD IN WHICH IT MIGHT SEEM THAT HEAVEN WAS.

This piece, like the last, is assigned to the time of king Lî.

God has reversed (his usual course of procedure)¹,
And the lower people are full of distress. The
words which you utter are not right; The plans
which you form are not far-reaching. As there are
not sages, you think you have no guidance;—You
have no real sincerity. (Thus) your plans do not
reach far, And I therefore strongly admonish you.

Heaven is now sending down calamities;—Do not
be so complacent. Heaven is now producing such
movements;—Do not be so indifferent. If your
words were harmonious, The people would become
united. If your words were gentle and kind, The
people would be settled.

Though my duties are different from yours, I am
your fellow-servant. I come to advise with you,
And you hear me with contemptuous indifference.
My words are about the (present urgent) affairs;—
Do not think them matter for laughter. The ancients
had a saying:—‘Consult the gatherers of grass
and firewood².’

¹ The proof of God's having reversed his usual course of procedure was to be found in the universal misery of the people, whose good He was understood to desire, and for the securing of which government by righteous kings was maintained by him.

² If ancient worthies thought that persons in such mean employments were to be consulted, surely the advice of the writer deserved to be taken into account by his comrades.

Heaven is now exercising oppression ;—Do not in such a way make a mock of things. An old man, (I speak) with entire sincerity; But you, my juniors, are full of pride. It is not that my words are those of age, But you make a joke of what is sad. But the troubles will multiply like flames, Till they are beyond help or remedy.

Heaven is now displaying its anger ;—Do not be either boastful or flattering, Utterly departing from all propriety of demeanour, Till good men are reduced to personators of the dead¹. The people now sigh and groan, And we dare not examine (into the causes of their trouble). The ruin and disorder are exhausting all their means of living, And we show no kindness to our multitudes.

Heaven enlightens the people², As the bamboo flute responds to the earthen whistle; As two half-maces form a whole one; As you take a thing, and bring it away in your hand, Bringing it away, without any more ado. The enlightenment of the people is very easy. They have (now) many perversities ;—Do not you set up your perversity before them.

Good men are a fence ; The multitudes of the people are a wall ; Great states are screens ; Great families are buttresses ; The cherishing of virtue

¹ During all the time of the sacrifice, the personators of the dead said not a word, but only ate and drank. To the semblance of them good men were now reduced.

² The meaning is, that Heaven has so attuned the mind to virtue, that, if good example were set before the people, they would certainly and readily follow it. This is illustrated by various instances of things, in which the one succeeded the other freely and as if necessarily ; so that government by virtue was really very easy.

secures repose ; The circle of (the king's) relatives is a fortified wall. We must not let the fortified wall get destroyed ; We must not let (the king) be solitary and consumed with terrors.

Revere the anger of Heaven, And presume not to make sport or be idle. Revere the changing moods of Heaven, And presume not to drive about (at your pleasure). Great Heaven is intelligent, And is with you in all your goings. Great Heaven is clear-seeing, And is with you in your wanderings and indulgences.

The Third Decade, or that of Tang.

ODE 1. THE TANG.

WARNINGS, SUPPOSED TO BE ADDRESSED TO KING LÎ, ON THE ISSUES OF THE COURSE WHICH HE WAS PURSUING, SHOWING THAT THE MISERIES OF THE TIME AND THE IMMINENT DANGER OF RUIN WERE TO BE ATTRIBUTED, NOT TO HEAVEN, BUT TO HIMSELF AND HIS MINISTERS.

This ode, like the ninth of the second decade, is attributed to duke Mû of Shâo. The structure of the piece is peculiar, for, after the first stanza, we have king Wăn introduced delivering a series of warnings to Kâu-hsin, the last king of the Shang dynasty. They are put into Wăn's mouth, in the hope that Lî, if, indeed, he was the monarch whom the writer had in view, would transfer the figure of Kâu-hsin to himself, and alter his course so as to avoid a similar ruin.

How vast is God, The ruler of men below ! How arrayed in terrors is God, With many things irregular in his ordinations. Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of the people, But the nature it confers is not to be depended on. All are (good)

at first, But few prove themselves to be so at the last¹.

King Wǎn said, 'Alas! Alas! you sovereign of Shang, That you should have such violently oppressive ministers, That you should have such extortionate exactors, That you should have them in offices, That you should have them in the conduct of affairs! "Heaven made them with their insolent dispositions;" But it is you who employ them, and give them strength.'

King Wǎn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, You ought to employ such as are good, But (you employ instead) violent oppressors, who cause many dissatisfactions. They respond to you with baseless stories, And (thus) robbers and thieves are in your court. Hence come oaths and curses, Without limit, without end.'

King Wǎn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, You show a strong fierce will in the centre of the kingdom, And consider the contracting of enmities a proof of virtue. All-unintelligent are you of your (proper) virtue, And so you have no (good) men behind you, nor by your side. Without any intelligence of your (proper) virtue, You have no (good) intimate adviser or minister.'

King Wǎn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, It is not Heaven that flushes your face with spirits, So that you follow what is evil and imitate it. You go wrong in all your conduct; You make no distinction between the light and the

¹ The meaning seems to be that, whatever miseries might prevail, and be ignorantly ascribed to God, they were in reality owing to men's neglect of the law of Heaven inscribed on their hearts.

darkness; But amid clamour and shouting, You turn the day into night¹.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, (All round you) is like the noise of cicadas, Or like the bubbling of boiling soup. Affairs, great and small, are approaching to ruin, And still you (and your creatures) go on in this course. Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle Kingdom, And extends to the demon regions².'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Yin-shang, It is not God that has caused this evil time, But it arises from Yin's not using the old (ways). Although you have not old experienced men, There are still the ancient statutes and laws. But you will not listen to them, And so your great appointment is being overthrown.'

King Wăn said, 'Alas! Alas! you (sovereign of) Shang, People have a saying, "When a tree falls utterly, While its branches and leaves are yet uninjured, It must first have been uprooted." The beacon of Yin is not far distant;—It is in the age of the (last) sovereign of Hsiâ.'

¹ We speak of 'turning night into day.' The tyrant of Shang turned day into night. Excesses, generally committed in darkness, were by him done openly.

² These 'demon regions' are understood to mean the seat of the Turkic tribes to the north of China, known from the earliest times by various names—'The hill Zung,' 'the northern Lî,' 'the Hsien-yun,' &c. Towards the beginning of our era, they were called Hsiung-nô, from which, perhaps, came the name Huns; and some centuries later, Thû-kûeh (Thuh-kûeh), from which came Turk. We are told in the Yî, under the diagram Kî-M, that Káo Jung (B.C. 1324-1266) conducted an expedition against the demon regions, and in three years subdued them.

ODE 2. THE YÌ.

CONTAINING VARIOUS COUNSELS WHICH DUKE WŪ OF WEI MADE TO ADMONISH HIMSELF, WHEN HE WAS OVER HIS NINETIETH YEAR; ESPECIALLY ON THE DUTY OF A RULER TO BE CAREFUL OF HIS OUTWARD DEMEANOUR, FEELING THAT HE IS EVER UNDER THE INSPECTION OF SPIRITUAL BEINGS, AND TO RECEIVE WITH DOCILITY INSTRUCTIONS DELIVERED TO HIM.

The sixth ode in the seventh decade of the Minor Odes of the Kingdom is attributed to the same duke of Wei as this; and the two bear traces of having proceeded from the same writer. The external authorities for assigning this piece to duke WŪ are the statement of the preface and an article in the 'Narratives of the States,' a work already referred to as belonging to the period of the Kâu dynasty. That article relates how WŪ, at the age of ninety-five, insisted on all his ministers and officers being instant, in season and out of season, to admonish him on his conduct, and that 'he made the warnings in the Î to admonish himself.' The Î is understood to be only another name for this Yì. Thus the speaker throughout the piece is WŪ, and 'the young son,' whom he sometimes addresses, is himself also. The conception of the writer in taking such a method to admonish himself, and give forth the lessons of his long life, is very remarkable; and the execution of it is successful.

Outward demeanour, cautious and grave, Is an indication of the (inward) virtue. People have the saying, 'There is no wise man who is not (also) stupid.' The stupidity of the ordinary man Is determined by his (natural) defects. The stupidity of the wise man Is from his doing violence (to his proper character).

What is most powerful is the being the man¹;—

¹ WŪ writes as the marquis of Wei, the ruler of a state; but what he says is susceptible of universal application. In every smaller sphere, and in the largest, 'being the man,' displaying, that is, the proper qualities of humanity, will be appreciated and felt.

In all quarters (of the state) men are influenced by it. To an upright virtuous conduct All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage. With great counsels and determinate orders, With far-reaching plans and timely announcements, And with reverent care of his outward demeanour, One will become the pattern of the people.

As for the circumstances of the present time, You are bent on error and confusion in your government. Your virtue is subverted; You are besotted by drink¹. Although you thus pursue nothing but pleasure, How is it you do not think of your relation to the past, And do not widely study the former kings, That you might hold fast their wise laws?

Shall not those whom great Heaven does not approve of, Surely as the waters flow from a spring, Sink down together in ruin? Rise early and go to bed late, Sprinkle and sweep your courtyard;— So as to be a pattern to the people². Have in good order your chariots and horses, Your bows and arrows, and (other) weapons of war;—To be prepared for warlike action, To keep at a distance (the hordes of) the south.

Perfect what concerns your officers and people;

¹ Han Ying (who has been mentioned in the Introduction) says that Wû made the sixth ode of the seventh decade of the former Part against drunkenness, when he was repenting of his own giving way to that vice. His mention of the habit here, at the age of ninety-five, must be understood as a warning to other rulers.

² Line 3 describes things important to the cultivation of one's self; and line 4, things important to the regulation of one's family. They may seem unimportant, it is said, as compared with the defence of the state, spoken of in the last four lines of the stanza; but the ruler ought not to neglect them.

Be careful of your duties as a prince (of the kingdom). To be prepared for unforeseen dangers, Be cautious of what you say; Be reverentially careful of your outward behaviour; In all things be mild and correct. A flaw in a mace of white jade May be ground away; But for a flaw in speech Nothing can be done.

Do not speak lightly; your words are your own¹. Do not say, 'This is of little importance; No one can hold my tongue for me.' Words are not to be cast away. Every word finds its answer; Every good deed has its recompense. If you are gracious among your friends, And to the people, as if they were your children, Your descendants will continue in unbroken line, And all the people will surely be obedient to you.

Looked at in friendly intercourse with superior men, You make your countenance harmonious and mild; Anxious not to do anything wrong. Looked at in your chamber, You ought to be equally free from shame before the light which shines in. Do not say, 'This place is not public; No one can see me here.' The approaches of spiritual beings Cannot be calculated beforehand; But the more should they not be slighted².

¹ And therefore every one is himself responsible for his words.

² *K'ü Hsi* says that from the fourth line this stanza only speaks of the constant care there should be in watching over one's thoughts; but in saying so, he overlooks the consideration by which such watchful care is enforced. Compare what is said of king *Wán* in the third stanza of the sixth ode of the first decade. King *Wán* and duke *Wú* were both influenced by the consideration that their inmost thoughts, even when 'unseen by men,' were open to the inspection of spiritual beings.

O prince, let your practice of virtue Be entirely good and admirable. Watch well over your behaviour, And allow nothing wrong in your demeanour. Committing no excess, doing nothing injurious, There are few who will not in such a case take you for their pattern. When one throws to me a peach, I return to him a plum¹. To look for horns on a young ram Will only weary you, my son².

The tough and elastic wood Can be fitted with the silken string³. The mild and respectful man Possesses the foundation of virtue. There is a wise man;—I tell him good words, And he yields to them the practice of docile virtue. There is a stupid man;—He says on the contrary that my words are not true:—So different are people's minds.

Oh! my son, When you did not know what was good, and what was not good, Not only did I lead you by the hand, But I showed the difference between them by appealing to instances. Not (only) did I charge you face to face, But I held you by the ear⁴. And still perhaps you do not know, Although you have held a son in your arms. If people be not self-sufficient, Who comes to a late maturity after early instruction?

Great Heaven is very intelligent, And I pass

¹ That is, every deed, in fact, meets with its recompense.

² See the conclusion of duke Wü's ode against drunkenness. Horns grow as the young ram grows. Effects must not be expected where there have not been the conditions from which they naturally spring.

³ Such wood is the proper material for a bow:

⁴ That is, to secure your attention.

my life without pleasure. When I see you so dark and stupid, My heart is full of pain. I taught you with assiduous repetition, And you listened to me with contempt. You would not consider me as your teacher, But regarded me as troublesome. Still perhaps you do not know;—But you are very old.

Oh! my son, I have told you the old ways. Hear and follow my counsels:—Then shall you have no cause for great regret. Heaven is now inflicting calamities, And is destroying the state. My illustrations are not taken from things remote:—Great Heaven makes no mistakes. If you go on to deteriorate in your virtue, You will bring the people to great distress.

ODE 3, STANZAS 1, 2, 3, 4, AND 7. THE SANG ZÂU.

THE WRITER MOURNS OVER THE MISERY AND DISORDER OF THE TIMES, WITH A VIEW TO REPREHEND THE MISGOVERNMENT OF KING LÍ, APPEALING ALSO TO HEAVEN TO HAVE COMPASSION.

King Lí is not mentioned by name in the piece, but the second line of stanza 7 can only be explained of him. He was driven from the throne, in consequence of his misgovernment, in B. C. 842, and only saved his life by flying to Kih, a place in the present Ho K'âu, department Phing-yang, Shan-hsf, where he remained till his death in B. C. 828. The government in the meantime was carried on by the dukes of Sháo and K'âu, whose administration, called the period of 'Mutual Harmony,' forms an important chronological era in Chinese history. On the authority of a reference in the 30 Kwan, the piece is ascribed to an earl of Zui.

Luxuriant is that young mulberry tree, And beneath it wide is the shade; But they will pluck its leaves till it is quite destroyed¹. The distress

¹ These three lines are metaphorical of the once flourishing kingdom, which was now brought to the verge of ruin.

inflicted on these (multitudes of the) people, Is an unceasing sorrow to my heart; My commiseration fills (my breast). O thou bright and great Heaven, Shouldst thou not have compassion on us?

The four steeds (gallop about), eager and strong¹; The tortoise-and-serpent and the falcon banners fly about. Disorder grows, and no peace can be secured. Every state is being ruined; There are no black heads among the people². Everything is reduced to ashes by calamity. Oh! alas! The doom of the kingdom hurries on.

There is nothing to arrest the doom of the kingdom; Heaven does not nourish us. There is no place in which to stop securely; There is no place to which to go. Superior men are the bonds (of the social state)³, Allowing no love of strife in their hearts. Who reared the steps of the dissatisfaction⁴, Which has reached the present distress?

The grief of my heart is extreme, And I dwell on (the condition of) our land. I was born at an unhappy time, To meet with the severe anger of Heaven. From the west to the east, There is no quiet place of abiding. Many are the distresses I meet with; Very urgent is the trouble on our borders.

Heaven is sending down death and disorder, And

¹ That is, the war-chariots, each drawn by its team of four horses.

² The young and able-bodied of the people were slain or absent on distant expeditions, and only old and gray-headed men were to be seen.

³ Intimating that no such men were now to be found in office.

⁴ Meaning the king by his misgovernment and employment of bad men.

has put an end to our king. It is (now) sending down those devourers of the grain, So that the husbandry is all in evil case. Alas for our middle states¹! All is in peril and going to ruin. I have no strength (to do anything), And think of (the Power in) the azure vault.

ODE 4. THE YUN HAN.

KING HSÜAN, ON OCCASION OF A GREAT DROUGHT, EXPOSTULATES WITH GOD AND ALL THE SPIRITS, WHO MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO HELP HIM AND HIS PEOPLE; ASKS THEM WHEREFORE THEY WERE CONTENDING WITH HIM; AND DETAILS THE MEASURES HE HAD TAKEN, AND WAS STILL TAKING, FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CALAMITY.

King Hsüan does not occur by name in the ode, though the remarkable prayer which it relates is ascribed to a king in stanza 1. All critics have admitted the statement of the Preface that the piece was made, in admiration of king Hsüan, by Zǎng Shù, a great officer, we may presume, of the court. The standard chronology places the commencement of the drought in B.C. 822, the sixth year of Hsüan's reign. How long it continued we cannot tell.

Bright was the milky way, Shining and revolving in the sky. The king said, 'Oh! What crime is chargeable on us now, That Heaven (thus) sends down death and disorder? Famine comes again and again. There is no spirit I have not sacrificed to²; There is no victim I have gruded; Our

¹ We must translate here in the plural, 'the middle states' meaning all the states subject to the sovereign of K'âu.

² In the Official Book of K'âu, among the duties of the Minister of Instruction, or, as Biot translates the title, 'the Director of the Multitudes,' it is stated that one of the things he has to do, on occurrences of famine, is 'to seek out the spirits,' that is, as explained by the commentators, to see that sacrifices are offered to all the spirits, even such as may have been discontinued. This rule had, no doubt, been acted on during the drought which this ode describes.

jade symbols, oblong and round, are exhausted¹;—
How is it that I am not heard?

‘The drought is excessive; Its fervours become more and more tormenting. I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices; From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple². To the (Powers) above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them³;—There is no spirit whom I have not honoured. Hâu-*hi* is not equal to the occasion; God does not come to us. This wasting and ruin of our country,—Would that it fell (only) on me!

‘The drought is excessive, And I may not try to excuse myself. I am full of terror, and feel the peril, Like the clap of thunder or the roll. Of the remnant of *Kâu*, among the black-haired people, There will not be half a man left; Nor will God from his great heaven exempt (even) me. Shall

¹ We have, in the sixth Book of the fifth Part of the *Shû*, an instance of the use of the symbols here mentioned in sacrificing to the spirits of departed kings. The Official Book, among the duties of the Minister of Religion, mentions the use of these and other symbols—in all six, of different shapes and colours—at the different sacrifices.

² By ‘the border altars’ we are to understand the altars in the suburbs of the capital, where Heaven and Earth were sacrificed to;—the great services at the solstices, and any other seasons. The mention of Hâu-*hi* in the seventh line makes us think especially of the service in the spring, to pray for a good year, when Hâu-*hi* was associated with God.

³ ‘The (Powers) above and below’ are Heaven and Earth. The offerings, during the progress of the service, were placed on the ground, or on the altars, and buried in the earth at the close of it. This explains what the king says in the first stanza about the offerings of jade being exhausted.

we not mingle our fears together? (The sacrifices to) my ancestors will be extinguished¹.

'The drought is excessive, And it cannot be stopped. More fierce and fiery, It is leaving me no place. My end is near;—I have none to look up, none to look round, to. The many dukes and their ministers of the past² Give me no help. O ye parents and (nearer) ancestors³, How can ye bear to see me thus?

'The drought is excessive;—Parched are the hills, and the streams are dried. The demon of drought exercises his oppression, As if scattering flames and fire⁴ My heart is terrified with the heat;—My sorrowing heart is as if on fire. The

¹ Equivalent to the extinction of the dynasty.

² The king had sacrificed to all the early lords of K'âu. 'The many dukes' may comprehend kings Thâi and K'î. He had also sacrificed to their ministers. Compare what Pan-k'ang says in the Shû, p. 109, about his predecessors and their ministers. Some take 'the many dukes, and the ministers,' of all princes of states who had signalled themselves by services to the people and kingdom.

³ The king could hardly hope that his father, the oppressive Lî, would in his spirit-state give him any aid; but we need only find in his words the expression of natural feeling. Probably it was the consideration of the character of Lî which has made some critics understand by 'parents' and 'ancestors' the same individuals, namely, kings W'ân and W'û, 'the ancestors' of Hs'uan, and who had truly been 'the parents' of the people.

⁴ Khung Ying-tâ, from 'the Book of Spirits and Marvels,' gives the following account of 'the demon of drought':—'In the southern regions there is a man, two or three cubits in height, with the upper part of his body bare, and his eyes in the top of his head. He runs with the speed of the wind, and is named Po. In whatever state he appears, there ensues a great drought.' The Book of Spirits and Marvels, however, as it now exists, cannot be older than our fourth or fifth century.

many dukes and their ministers of the past Do not hear me. O God, from thy great heaven, Grant me the liberty to withdraw (into retirement¹).

'The drought is excessive ;—I struggle and fear to go away. How is it that I am afflicted with this drought? I cannot ascertain the cause of it. In praying for a good year I was abundantly early². I was not late (in sacrificing) to (the spirits of) the four quarters and of the land³. God in great heaven Does not consider me. Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their anger.

'The drought is excessive ;—All is dispersion, and the bonds of government are relaxed. Reduced to extremities are the heads of departments ; Full of distress are my chief ministers, The Master of the Horse, the Commander of the Guards, The chief Cook⁴, and my attendants. There is no one who has not (tried to) help (the people) ; They have not refrained on the ground of being unable. I look up to the great heaven ;—Why am I plunged in this sorrow ?

'I look up to the great heaven, But its stars sparkle bright. My great officers and excellent men, Ye have reverently drawn near (to Heaven) with all

¹ That is, to withdraw and give place to a more worthy sovereign.

² This was the border sacrifice to God, when Hâu-ki was associated with him. Some critics add a sacrifice in the first month of winter, for a blessing on the ensuing year, offered to 'the honoured ones of heaven,'—the sun, moon, and zodiacal constellations.

³ See note 2 on p. 371.

⁴ See note 1 on p. 356.

your powers. Death is approaching, But do not cast away what you have done. You are seeking not for me only, But to give rest to all our departments. I look up to the great heaven;—When shall I be favoured with repose ?'

ODE 5, STANZAS 1, 2, AND 4. THE SUNG KĀO.

CELEBRATING THE APPOINTMENT BY KING HSŪAN OF A RELATIVE TO BE THE MARQUIS OF SHĀN, AND DEFENDER OF THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF THE KINGDOM, WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR HIS ENTERING ON HIS CHARGE.

That the king who appears in this piece was king Hsŭan is sufficiently established. He appears in it commissioning 'his great uncle,' an elder brother, that is, of his mother, to go and rule, as marquis of ShĀn, and chief or president of the states in the south of the kingdom, to defend the borders against the encroaching hordes of the south, headed by the princes of KĀU, whose lords had been rebellious against the middle states even in the time of the Shang dynasty;—see the last of the Sacrificial Odes of Shang.

Grandly lofty are the mountains, With their large masses reaching to the heavens. From those mountains was sent down a spirit, Who produced the birth of (the princes of) FŪ and ShĀn¹. FŪ and

¹ ShĀn was a small marquisate, a part of what is the present department of Nan-yang, Ho-nan. FŪ, which was also called LŪ, was another small territory, not far from ShĀn. The princes of both were KĀNGS, descended from the chief minister of YĀO, called in the first Book of the ShŪ, 'the Four Mountains.' Other states were ruled by his descendants, particularly the great state of KĀI. When it is said here that a spirit was sent down from the great mountains, and produced the birth of (the princes of) FŪ and ShĀn, we have, probably, a legendary tradition concerning the birth of Yao's minister, which was current among all his descendants; and with which we may compare the legends that have come under our notice about the supernatural births of the ancestors of the founders of the Houses of Shang and KĀU. The character for

Shăn Are the support of *Kâu*, Screens to all the states, Diffusing (their influence) over the four quarters of the kingdom.

Full of activity is the chief of Shăn, And the king would employ him to continue the services (of his fathers), With his capital in Hsieh¹, Where he should be a pattern to the states of the south. The king gave charge to the earl of Sháo, To arrange all about the residence of the chief of Shăn, Where he should do what was necessary for the regions of the south, And where his posterity might maintain his merit.

Of the services of the chief of Shăn The foundation was laid by the earl of Sháo, Who first built the walls (of his city), And then completed his ancestral temple². When the temple was completed, wide and grand, The king conferred on the chief of Sháo Four noble steeds, With the hooks for the trappings of the breast-bands, glittering bright³.

'mountains' in lines 1 and 3 is the same that occurs in the title of Yáo's minister. On the statement about the mountains sending down a spirit, Hwang Hsün, a critic of the Sung dynasty, says that 'it is merely a personification of the poet, to show how high Heaven had a mind to revive the fortunes of *Kâu*, and that we need not trouble ourselves about whether there was such a spirit or not.'

¹ Hsieh was in the present Fäng *Kâu* of the department of Nan-yang.

² Compare with this the account given, in ode 3 of the first decade, of the settling of 'the ancient duke Than-fü' in the plain of *Kâu*. Here, as there, the great religious edifice, the ancestral temple, takes precedence of all other buildings in the new city.

³ The steeds with their equipments were tokens of the royal favour, usually granted on occasions of investiture. The conferring of them was followed immediately by the departure of the newly-invested prince to his charge.

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 7. THE *K'ANG* MIN.

CELEBRATING THE VIRTUES OF *K'UNG SHAN-FŪ*, WHO APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL MINISTERS OF KING *HSŪAN*, AND HIS DESPATCH TO THE EAST, TO FORTIFY THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF *KHŪ*.

Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people, To every faculty and relationship annexed its law. The people possess this normal nature, And they (consequently) love its normal virtue¹. Heaven beheld the ruler of *K'âu*, Brilliantly affecting it by his conduct below, And to maintain him, its Son, Gave birth to *Kung Shan-fŭ*².

Kung Shan-fŭ went forth, having sacrificed to the spirit of the road³. His four steeds were strong;

¹ We get an idea of the meaning which has been attached to these four lines from a very early time by Mencius' quotation of them (VI, i, ch. 6) in support of his doctrine of the goodness of human nature, and the remark on the piece which he attributes to Confucius, that 'the maker of it knew indeed the constitution (of our nature).' Every faculty, bodily or mental, has its function to fulfil, and every relationship its duty to be discharged. The function and the duty are the things which the human being has to observe:—the seeing clearly, for instance, with the eyes, and hearing distinctly with the ears; the maintenance of righteousness between ruler and minister, and of affection between parent and child. This is the 'normal nature,' and the 'normal virtue' is the nature fulfilling the various laws of its constitution.

² The connexion between these four lines and those that precede is this:—that while Heaven produces all men with the good nature there described, on occasions it produces others with virtue and powers in a super-eminent degree. Such an occasion was presented by the case of king *Hsŭan*, and therefore, to mark its appreciation of him, and for his help, it now produced *Kung Shan-fŭ*.

³ This was a special sacrifice at the commencement of a journey, or of an expedition. See note 2 on p. 399.

His men were alert, He was always anxious lest
 he should not be equal to his commission; His
 steeds went on without stopping, To the tinkling
 of their eight bells. The king had given charge
 to *Kung Shan-fû*, To fortify the city there in
 the east.

ODE 7, STANZAS 1 AND PART OF 3. THE HAN YI.

CELEBRATING THE MARQUIS OF HAN:—HIS INVESTITURE, AND THE KING'S
 CHARGE TO HIM; THE GIFTS HE RECEIVED, AND THE PARTING FEAST
 AT THE COURT; HIS MARRIAGE; THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS TERRI-
 TORY; AND HIS SWAY OVER THE REGIONS OF THE NORTH.

Only one line—the first of stanza 3—in this interesting piece
 serves to illustrate the religious practices of the time, and needs
 no further note than what has been given on the first line of
 stanza 7 in the preceding ode. The name of the marquissate
 of Han remains in the district of Han-*h*hâng, department of
 Hsî-an, Shen-hsî, in which also is mount Liang.

Very grand is the mountain of Liang, Which was
 made cultivable by Yü. Bright is the way from it,
 (Along which came) the marquis of Han to receive
 investiture. The king in person gave the charge:—
 'Continue the services of your ancestors; Let not
 my charge to you come to nought. Be diligent early
 and late, And reverently discharge your duties:—
 So shall my appointment of you not change. Be a
 support against those princes who do not come to
 court, Thus assisting your sovereign.'

When the marquis of Han left the court, he
 sacrificed to the spirit of the road. He went forth,
 and lodged for the night in Tû.

ODE 8, STANZAS 4 AND 5. THE KIANG HAN.

CELEBRATING AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SOUTHERN TRIBES OF THE HWÂI, AND THE WORK DONE FOR THE KING IN THEIR COUNTRY, BY HÛ, THE EARL OF SHÂO, WITH THE MANNER IN WHICH THE KING REWARDED HIM, AND HE RESPONDED TO THE ROYAL FAVOUR.

Hû was probably the same earl of Shâo, who is mentioned in ode 5, as building his capital of Hsieh for the new marquis of Shăn. The lords of Shâo had been distinguished in the service of Kâu ever since the rise of the dynasty.

The king gave charge to Hû of Shâo:—' You have everywhere made known (and carried out my orders). When (the kings) Wăn and Wû received their appointment, The duke of Shâo was their strong support. You not (only) have a regard to me the little child, But you try to resemble that duke of Shâo. You have commenced and earnestly displayed your merit; And I will make you happy.

' I give you a large libation-cup of jade ¹, And a jar of herb-flavoured spirits from the black millet ². I have made announcement to the Accomplished one ³, And confer on you hills, lands, and fields. In (*Khî*-)kâu shall you receive investiture, According as your ancestor received his.' Hû bowed with

¹ See note 2 on p. 386.

² The cup and the spirits would be used by the earl when sacrificing in his ancestral temple. Compare the similar gift from king K'ang to the duke of Kâu, in the Shû, p. 194. More substantial gifts are immediately specified.

³ 'The Accomplished one' is understood to be king Wăn (= 'the Accomplished king'). He was the founder of the Kâu dynasty. To him the kingdom had first come by the appointment and gift of Heaven. It was the duty therefore of his successors, in making grants of territory to meritorious officers, to announce them to him in *Khî-kâu*, the old territory of the family, and obtain, as it were, his leave for what they were doing.

his head to the ground (and said), 'May the Son of Heaven live for ever!'

ODE 10, STANZAS 1, 5, 6, AND 7. THE *KAN ZANG*.

THE WRITER DEPLORES, WITH AN APPEALING WAIL TO HEAVEN, THE MISERY AND OPPRESSION THAT PREVAILED, AND INTIMATES THAT THEY WERE CAUSED BY THE INTERFERENCE OF WOMEN AND EUNUCHS IN THE GOVERNMENT.

The king addressed in this piece was most probably Yü. It suits his character and reign.

I look up to great Heaven, But it shows us no kindness. Very long have we been disquieted, And these great calamities are sent down (upon us). There is nothing settled in the country; Officers and people are in distress. Through the insects from without and from within, There is no peace or limit (to our misery). The net of crime is not taken up¹, And there is no peace nor cure (for our state).

Why is it that Heaven is (thus) reproving (you)? Why is it that Heaven is not blessing (you)? You neglect your great barbarian (foes), And regard me with hatred. You are regardless of the evil omens (that abound²), And your demeanour is all unseemly. (Good) men are going away, And the country is sure to go to ruin.

Heaven is letting down its net, And many (are the calamities in it). (Good) men are going away, And my heart is sorrowful. Heaven is letting down

¹ By 'the net of crime' we are to understand the multitude of penal laws, to whose doom people were exposed. In stanza 6, Heaven is represented as letting it down.

² Compare ode 9 of the fourth decade in the former Part.

its net, And soon (all will be caught in it). (Good) men are going away, And my heart is sad.

Right from the spring comes the water bubbling, Revealing its depth. The sorrow of my heart,—Is it (only) of to-day? Why were these things not before me? Or why were they not after me? But mysteriously great Heaven Is able to strengthen anything. Do not disgrace your great ancestors :— This will save your posterity ¹.

ODE 11, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE SHÃO MIN.

THE WRITER APPEALS TO HEAVEN, BEMOANING THE MISERY AND RUIN WHICH WERE GOING ON, AND SHOWING HOW THEY WERE DUE TO THE KING'S EMPLOYMENT OF MEAN AND WORTHLESS CREATURES.

Compassionate Heaven is arrayed in angry terrors. Heaven is indeed sending down ruin, Afflicting us with famine, So that the people are all wandering fugitives. In the settled regions, and on the borders, all is desolation.

Heaven sends down its net of crime ;— Devouring insects, who weary and confuse men's minds, Ignorant, oppressive, negligent, Breeders of confusion, utterly perverse :— These are the men employed.

¹ The writer in these concluding lines ventures to summon the king to repentance, and to hold out a hope that there might come a change in their state. He does this, believing that all things are possible with Heaven.

LESSONS FROM THE STATES.

ODES AND STANZAS ILLUSTRATING THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE WRITERS AND THEIR TIMES.

It has been stated in the Introduction, p. 276, that the first Part of the Shih, called the Kwo Fǎng, or 'Lessons from the States,' consists of 160 pieces, descriptive of manners and events in several of the feudal states into which the kingdom of K'áu was divided. Nearly all of them are short; and the passages illustrating the religious views and practices of their times are comparatively few. What passages there are, however, of this nature will all be found below. The pieces are not arranged in decades, as in the Odes of the Kingdom, but in Books, under the names of the states in which they were produced.

Although the Kwo Fǎng form, as usually published, the first Part of the Shih, nearly all of them are more recent in their origin than the pieces of the other Parts. They bring us face to face with the states of the kingdom, and the ways of their officers and people for several centuries of the dynasty of K'áu.

BOOK II. THE ODES OF SHÁO AND THE SOUTH.

THE SHŪ and previous portions of the Shih have made us familiar with Sháo, the name of the appanage of Shih, one of the principal ministers at the court of K'áu in the first two reigns of the dynasty. The site of the city of Sháo was in the present department of Fǎng-*khiang*, Shen-hsî. The first possessor of it, along with the still more famous duke of K'áu, remained at court, to watch over the fortunes of the new dynasty. They were known as 'the highest dukes' and 'the two great chiefs,' the duke of K'áu having charge of the eastern portions of the kingdom, and the other of the western. The pieces in this Book are supposed to have been produced in Sháo, and the principalities south of it within his jurisdiction, by the duke.

ODE 2. THE *ZHAI FAN*.

CELEBRATING THE INDUSTRY AND REVERENCE OF A PRINCE'S WIFE,
ASSISTING HIM IN SACRIFICING.

We must suppose the ladies of a harem, in one of the states of the south, admiring and praising in these simple stanzas the way in which their mistress discharged her duties. A view of the ode maintained by many is that the lady gathered the southernwood, not to use it in sacrificing, but in the nurture of the silkworms under her care; but the evidence of the characters in the text is, on the whole, in favour of the more common view. Constant reference is made to the piece by Chinese moralists, to show that the most trivial things are accepted in sacrifice, when there are reverence and sincerity in the presenting of them.

One critic asked *K'ü Hsü* whether it was conceivable that the wife of a prince did herself what is here related, and he replied that the poet said so. Another has observed that if the lady ordered and employed others, it was still her own doing. But that the lady did it herself is not incredible, when we consider the simplicity of those early times, in the twelfth century B. C.

She gathers the white southernwood, By the
ponds, on the islets. She employs it, In the
business of our prince.

She gathers the white southernwood, Along
the streams in the valleys. She employs it, In
the temple¹ of our prince.

¹ If the character here translated 'temple' had no other signification but that, there would be an end of the dispute about the meaning of the piece. But while we find it often used of the ancestral temple, it may also mean any building, especially one of a large and public character, such as a palace or mansion; and hence some contend that it should be interpreted here of 'the silkworm house.' We are to conceive of the lady, after having gathered the materials for sacrificial use, then preparing them according to rule, and while it is yet dark on the morning of the sacrificial day, going with them into the temple, and setting them forth in their proper vessels and places.

With head-dress reverently rising aloft, Early,
while yet it is night, she is in the prince's (temple).
In her head-dress, slowly retiring, She returns (to
her own apartments).

ODE 4. THE ZHAI PIN.

CELEBRATING THE DILIGENCE AND REVERENCE OF THE YOUNG WIFE OF
AN OFFICER, DOING HER PART IN SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

She gathers the large duckweed, By the banks
of the stream in the southern valley. She gathers
the pondweed, In those pools left by the floods.

She deposits what she gathers, In her square
baskets and round ones. She boils it, In her tripods
and pans.

She sets forth her preparations, Under the window
in the ancestral chamber¹. Who superintends the
business? It is (this) reverent young lady.

¹ 'The ancestral chamber' was a room behind the temple of the family, dedicated specially to the ancestor of the officer whose wife is the subject of the piece. The princes of states were succeeded, as a rule, by the eldest son of the wife proper. Their sons by other wives were called 'other sons.' The eldest son by the wife proper of one of them became the 'great ancestor' of the clan descended from him, and 'the ancestral chamber' was an apartment dedicated to him. Mâu and other interpreters, going on certain statements as to the training of daughters in the business of sacrificing in this apartment for three months previous to their marriage, contend that the lady spoken of here was not yet married, but was only undergoing this preparatory education. It is not necessary, however, to adopt this interpretation. The lady appears doing the same duties as the wife in the former piece.

BOOK III. THE ODES OF PHEI.

WHEN king Wú overthrew the dynasty of Shang, the domain of its kings was divided into three portions, the northern portion being called Phei, the southern Yung, and the eastern Wei, the rulers of which last in course of time absorbed the other two. It is impossible to say why the old names were retained in the arrangement of the odes in this Part of the Shih, for it is acknowledged on all hands that the pieces in Books iii and iv, as well as those of Book v, are all odes of Wei.

ODE 4. THE ZĀH YÜEH.

SUPPOSED TO BE THE COMPLAINT AND APPEAL OF KWANG KIANG, A MARCHIONESS OF WEI, AGAINST THE BAD TREATMENT SHE RECEIVED FROM HER HUSBAND.

All the Chinese critics give this interpretation of the piece. *Kwang Kiang* was a daughter of the house of *K'hi*, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., and was married to the marquis Yang, known in history as 'duke *Kwang*,' of Wei. She was a lady of admirable character, and beautiful; but her husband proved faithless and unkind. In this ode she makes her subdued moan, appealing to the sun and moon, as if they could take cognizance of the way in which she was treated. Possibly, however, the addressing those bodies may simply be an instance of *proso-poeia*.

O sun, O moon, Which enlighten this lower earth! Here is this man, Who treats me not according to the ancient rule. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not regard me?

O sun, O moon, Which overshadow this lower earth! Here is this man, Who will not be friendly with me. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then not respond to me?

O sun, O moon, Which come forth from the east! Here is this man, With virtuous words, but really not good. How can he get his mind settled? Would he then allow me to be forgotten?

[1]

F f

O sun, O moon, From the east that come forth!
 O father, O mother, There is no sequel to your
 nourishing of me. How can he get his mind settled?
 Would he then respond to me contrary to all reason?

ODE 15, STANZA 1. THE PEI MĀN.

AN OFFICER OF WEI SETS FORTH HIS HARD LOT, THROUGH DISTRESSES
 AND THE BURDENS LAID UPON HIM, AND HIS SILENCE UNDER IT IN
 SUBMISSION TO HEAVEN.

I go out at the north gate, With my heart full
 of sorrow. Straited am I and poor, And no one
 takes knowledge of my distress. So it is! Heaven
 has done it¹;—What then shall I say?

BOOK IV. THE ODES OF YUNG.

See the preliminary note on p. 433.

ODE 1. THE PAI KĀU.

PROTEST OF A WIDOW AGAINST BEING URGED TO MARRY AGAIN, AND
 HER APPEAL TO HER MOTHER AND TO HEAVEN.

THIS piece, it is said, was made by Kung Kiang, the widow of
 Kung-po, son of the marquis Hsi of Wei (B.C. 855-814). Kung-
 po having died an early death, her parents (who must have been
 the marquis of KĀi and his wife or one of the ladies of his harem)
 wanted to force her to a second marriage, against which she
 protests. The ode was preserved, no doubt, as an example of

¹ The 'Complete Digest of Comments on the Shih' warns its
 readers not to take 'Heaven' here as synonymous with Ming,
 'what is decreed or commanded.' The writer does not go on
 to define the precise idea which he understood the character to
 convey. This appears to be what we often mean by 'Providence,'
 when we speak of anything permitted, rather than appointed, by
 the supreme ruling Power.

what the Chinese have always considered a great virtue,—the refusal of a widow to marry again.

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There in the middle of the Ho¹. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead², He was my mate; And I swear that till death I will have no other. O mother, O Heaven³, Why will you not understand me?

It floats about, that boat of cypress wood, There by the side of the Ho. With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, He was my only one; And I swear that till death I will not do the evil thing. O mother, O Heaven, Why will you not understand me?

ODE 3, STANZA 2. THE KÜN-SZE KIEH LÂO.

CONTRAST BETWEEN THE BEAUTY AND SPLENDOUR OF HSÜAN KIANG AND HER VICIOUSNESS.

Hstian Kiang was a princess of *Khî*, who, towards the close of the seventh century B.C., became wife to the marquis of Wei, known as duke Hstian. She was beautiful and unfortunate, but various things are related of her indicative of the grossest immoralities prevailing in the court of Wei.

How rich and splendid Is her pheasant-figured

¹ These allusive lines, probably, indicate the speaker's widowhood, which left her like 'a boat floating about on the water.'

² Such was the mode in which the hair was kept, while a boy or young man's parents were alive, parted into two tufts from the pia mater, and brought down as low as the eyebrows on either side of the forehead.

³ Mâo thought that the lady intended her father by 'Heaven'; while *Kû* held that her father may have been dead, and that the mother is called Heaven, with reference to the kindness and protection that she ought to show. There seems rather to be in the term a wild, and not very intelligent, appeal to the supreme Power in heaven.

robe¹! Her black hair in masses like clouds, No false locks does she descend to. There are her ear-plugs of jade, Her comb-pin of ivory, And her high forehead, so white. She appears like a visitant from heaven! She appears like a goddess².

ODE 6, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE TING KIH FANG KUNG.

CELEBRATING THE PRAISE OF DUKE WÂN;—HIS DILIGENCE, FORESIGHT, USE OF DIVINATION, AND OTHER QUALITIES.

The state of Wei was reduced to extremity by an irruption of some northern hordes in B. C. 660, and had nearly disappeared from among the states of Kâu. Under the marquis Wei, known in history as duke Wân, its fortunes revived, and he became a sort of second founder of the state.

When Ting culminated (at night-fall)³, He began to build the palace at K'û⁴, Determining

¹ The lady is introduced arrayed in the gorgeous robes worn by the princess of a state in the ancestral temple.

² P. Lacharme translated these two concluding lines by 'Tu primo aspectu coelos (pulchritudine), et imperatorem (majestate) adaequas,' without any sanction of the Chinese critics; and moreover there was no Tî (帝) in the sense of emperor then in China. The sovereigns of Kâu were wang or kings. K'û Hsf expands the lines thus:—'Such is the beauty of her robes and appearance, that beholders are struck with awe, as if she were a spiritual being.' Hsü K'ien (Yüan dynasty) deals with them thus:—'With such splendour of beauty and dress, how is it that she is here? She has come down from heaven! She is a spiritual being!'

³ Ting is the name of a small space in the heavens, embracing α Markab and another star of Pegasus. Its culminating at night-fall was the signal that the labours of husbandry were over for the year, and that building operations should be taken in hand. Great as was the urgency for the building of his new capital, duke Wân would not take it in hand till the proper time for such a labour was arrived.

⁴ K'û, or K'û-k'û, was the new capital of Wei, in the present district of K'iang-wû, department 3hào-kâu, Shan-tung.

its aspects by means of the sun. He built the palace at *Khû*. He planted about it hazel and chesnut trees, The *Î*, the *T hung*, the *Ûze*, and the varnish tree. Which, when cut down, might afford materials for lutes.

He ascended those old walls, And thence surveyed (the site of) *Khû*. He surveyed *Khû* and *Thang*¹, With the lofty hills and high elevations about. He descended and examined the mulberry trees. He then divined by the tortoise-shell, and got a favourable response²; And thus the issue has been truly good.

BOOK V. THE ODES OF WEI.

It has been said on the title of Book iii, that Wei at first was the eastern portion of the old domain of the kings of Shang. With this a brother of king *Wû*, called *Khang-shû*, was invested. The principality was afterwards increased by the absorption of *Phei* and *Yung*. It came to embrace portions of the present provinces of *Kih-lí*, *Shan-tung*, and *Ho-nan*. It outlasted the dynasty of *Kâu* itself, the last prince of *Wei* being reduced to the ranks of the people only during the dynasty of *K'in*.

ODE 4, STANZAS 1 AND 2. THE MĂNG.

AN UNFORTUNATE WOMAN, WHO HAD BEEN SEDUCED INTO AN IMPROPER CONNEXION, NOW CAST OFF, RELATES AND BEMOANS HER SAD CASE.

An extract is given from the pathetic history here related, because it shows how divination was used among the common people, and entered generally into the ordinary affairs of life.

A simple-looking lad you were, Carrying cloth

¹ *Thang* was the name of a town, evidently not far from *Khû*.

² We have seen before how divination was resorted to on occasion of new undertakings, especially in proceeding to rear a city.

to exchange it for silk. (But) you came not so to purchase silk;—You came to make proposals to me. I convoyed you through the *Khî*¹, As far as Tun-*khiû*², 'It is not I,' (I said), 'who would protract the time; But you have had no good go-between. I pray you be not angry, And let autumn be the time.'

I ascended that ruinous wall, To look towards Fû-kwan³; And when I saw (you) not (coming from) it, My tears flowed in streams. When I did see (you coming from) Fû-kwan, I laughed and I spoke. You had consulted, (you said), the tortoise-shell and the divining stalks, And there was nothing unfavourable in their response⁴. 'Then come,' (I said), 'with your carriage, And I will remove with my goods.'

BOOK VI. THE ODES OF THE ROYAL DOMAIN.

KING WÂN, it has been seen, had for his capital the city of Fǎng, from which his son, king Wû, moved the seat of government to Hào. In the time of king *Khǎng*, a city was built by the duke

¹ The *Khî* was a famous river of Wei.

² Tun-*khiû* was a well-known place—'the mound or height of Tun'—south of the Wei.

³ Fû-kwan must have been the place where the man lived, according to *Kû*. Rather, it must have been a pass (Fû-kwan may mean 'the gate or pass of Fû'), through which he would come, and was visible from near the residence of the woman.

⁴ Ying-tâ observes that the man had never divined about the matter, and said that he had done so only to complete the process of seduction. The critics dwell on the inconsistency of divination being resorted to in such a case:—'Divination is proper only if used in reference to what is right and moral.'

of *Kâu*, near the present Lo-yang, and called 'the eastern capital.' Meetings of the princes of the states assembled there; but the court continued to be held at *Háo* till the accession of king *Phing* in B. C. 770. From that time, the kings of *Kâu* sank nearly to the level of the princes of the states, and the poems collected in their domain were classed among the 'Lessons of Manners from the States,' though still distinguished by the epithet 'royal' prefixed to them.

ODE 1, STANZA 1. THE SHŪ LÍ.

AN OFFICER DESCRIBES HIS MELANCHOLY AND REFLECTIONS ON SEEING THE DESOLATION OF THE OLD CAPITAL OF *KÂU*, MAKING HIS MOAN TO HEAVEN BECAUSE OF IT.

There is no specific mention of the old capital of *Kâu* in the piece, but the schools of *Máo* and *K'ü* are agreed in this interpretation, which is much more likely than any of the others that have been proposed.

There was the millet with its drooping heads;
 There was the sacrificial millet coming into blade¹.
 Slowly I moved about, In my heart all-agitated.
 Those who knew me Said I was sad at heart.
 Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking
 for something. O thou distant and azure Heaven²!
 By what man was this (brought about)³?

¹ That is, there where the ancestral temple and other grand buildings of *Háo* had once stood.

² 'He cried out to Heaven,' says Yen *Shan*, 'and told (his distress), but he calls it distant in its azure brightness, lamenting that his complaint was not heard.' This is, probably, the correct explanation of the language. The speaker would by it express his grief that the dynasty of *Kâu* and its people were abandoned and uncared for by Heaven.

³ Referring to king *Yü*, whose reckless course had led to the destruction of *Háo* by the *Zung*, and in a minor degree to his son, king *Phing*, who had subsequently removed to the eastern capital.

ODE 9, STANZAS 1 AND 3. THE TÂ KÜ.

A LADY EXCUSES HERSELF FOR NOT FLYING TO HER LOVER BY HER FEAR OF A SEVERE AND VIRTUOUS MAGISTRATE, AND SWEARS TO HIM THAT SHE IS SINCERE IN HER ATTACHMENT TO HIM.

His great carriage rolls along, And his robes of rank glitter like the young sedge. Do I not think of you? But I am afraid of this officer, and dare not (fly to you).

While living we may have to occupy different apartments; But, when dead, we shall share the same grave. If you say that I am not sincere, By the bright sun I swear that I am ¹.

BOOK X. THE ODES OF THANG.

THE odes of Thang were really the odes of 3in, the greatest of the fiefs of Kâu until the rise of K'hin. King K'hang, in B. C. 1107, invested his younger brother, called Shû-yü, with the territory where Yáo was supposed to have ruled anciently as the marquis of Thang, in the present department of Thâi-yüan, Shan-hsi, the fief retaining that ancient name. Subsequently the name of the state was changed to 3in, from the river 3in in the southern part of it.

ODE 8, STANZA 1. THE PÂO YÜ.

THE MEN OF 3IN, CALLED OUT TO WARFARE BY THE KING'S ORDER, MOURN OVER THE CONSEQUENT SUFFERING OF THEIR PARENTS, AND LONG FOR THEIR RETURN TO THEIR ORDINARY AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, MAKING THEIR APPEAL TO HEAVEN.

Sû-sû go the feathers of the wild geese, As

¹ In the 'Complete Digest' this oath is expanded in the following way:—'These words are from my heart. If you think that they are not sincere, there is (a Power) above, like the bright sun, observing me;—how should my words not be sincere?'

they settle on the bushy oaks¹. The king's affairs must not be slackly discharged, And (so) we cannot plant our millets;—What will our parents have to rely on? O thou distant and azure Heaven²! When shall we be in our places again?

ODE 11. THE KO SHĀNG.

A WIFE MOURNS THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND, REFUSING TO BE COMFORTED, AND DECLARES THAT SHE WILL CHERISH HIS MEMORY TILL HER OWN DEATH.

It is supposed that the husband whose death is bewailed in this piece had died in one of the military expeditions of which duke Hsien (B.C. 676–651) was fond. It may have been so, but there is nothing in the piece to make us think of duke Hsien. I give it a place in the volume, not because of the religious sentiment in it, but because of the absence of that sentiment, where we might expect it. The lady shows the grand virtue of a Chinese widow, in that she will never marry again. And her grief would not be assuaged. The days would all seem long summer days, and the nights all long winter nights; so that a hundred long years would seem to drag their slow course. But there is not any hope expressed of a re-union with her husband in another state. The 'abode' and the 'chamber' of which she speaks are to be understood of his grave; and her thoughts do not appear to go beyond it.

The dolichos grows, covering the thorn trees;
The convolvulus spreads all over the waste³. The

¹ Trees are not the proper place for geese to rest on; and the attempt to do so is productive of much noise and trouble to the birds. The lines would seem to allude to the hardships of the soldiers' lot, called from their homes to go on a distant expedition.

² See note 2 on ode 1 of Book vi, where Heaven is appealed to in the same language.

³ These two lines are taken as allusive, the speaker being led by the sight of the weak plants supported by the trees, shrubs, and tombs, to think of her own desolate, unsupported condition. But they may also be taken as narrative, and descriptive of the battleground, where her husband had met his death.

man of my admiration is no more here ;—With whom can I dwell ? I abide alone.

The dolichos grows, covering the jujube trees ;
The convolvulus spreads all over the tombs. The man of my admiration is no more here ;—With whom can I dwell ? I rest alone.

How beautiful was the pillow of horn ! How splendid was the embroidered coverlet¹ ! The man of my admiration is no more here ;—With whom can I dwell ? Alone (I wait for) the morning.

Through the (long) days of summer, Through the (long) nights of winter (shall I be alone), Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his abode.

Through the (long) nights of winter, Through the (long) days of summer (shall I be alone), Till the lapse of a hundred years, When I shall go home to his chamber.

BOOK XI. THE ODES OF *KHIN*.

THE state of *Khin* took its name from its earliest principal city, in the present district of *Khing-shui*, in *Khin Kâu*, Kan-sû. Its chiefs claimed to be descended from *Yî*, who appears in the *Shû* as the forester of *Shun*, and the assistant of the great *Yü* in his labours on the flood of *Yáo*. The history of his descendants is very imperfectly related till we come to a *Fei-ze*, who had charge of the herds of horses belonging to king *Hsiáo* (B.C. 909–895), and in consequence of his good services was invested with

¹ These things had been ornaments of the bridal chamber ; and as the widow thinks of them, her grief becomes more intense.

the small territory of *K'hin*, as an attached state. A descendant of his, known as duke Hsiang, in consequence of his loyal services, when the capital was moved to the east in B.C. 770, was raised to the dignity of an earl, and took his place among the great feudal princes of the kingdom, receiving also a large portion of territory, which included the ancient capital of the House of *K'âu*. In course of time *K'hin*, as is well known, superseded the dynasty of *K'âu*, having gradually moved its capital more and more to the east. The people of *K'hin* were, no doubt, mainly composed of the wild tribes of the west.

ODE 6, STANZA 1. THE HWANG NIÃO.

LAMENT FOR THREE WORTHIES OF *K'hin*, WHO WERE BURIED IN THE SAME GRAVE WITH DUKE MŪ.

There is no difficulty or difference in the interpretation of this piece; and it brings us down to B.C. 621. Then died duke MŪ, after playing an important part in the north-west of China for thirty-nine years. The 30 *Kwan*, under the sixth year of duke Wān, makes mention of MŪ's requiring that the three brothers here celebrated should be buried with him, and of the composition of this piece in consequence. *Sze-mâ K'ien* says that this barbarous practice began with MŪ's predecessor, with whom sixty-six persons were buried alive, and that one hundred and seventy-seven in all were buried with MŪ. The death of the last distinguished man of the House of *K'hin*, the emperor I, was subsequently celebrated by the entombment with him of all the inmates of his harem.

They flit about, the yellow birds, And rest upon the jujube trees¹. Who followed duke MŪ in the grave? 3ze-kü Yen-hsi. And this Yen-hsi Was a man above a hundred. When he came to the

¹ It is difficult to see the relation between these two allusive lines and the rest of the stanza. Some say that it is this,—that the people loved the three victims as they liked the birds; others that the birds among the trees were in their proper place,—very different from the brothers in the grave of duke MŪ.

grave, He looked terrified and trembled. Thou azure Heaven there! Could he have been redeemed, We would have given a hundred (ordinary) men for him ¹.

BOOK XV. THE ODES OF PIN.

DUKE LIÜ, an ancestor of the *Kâu* family, made a settlement, according to its traditions, in B. C. 1797, in Pin, the site of which is pointed out, 90 li to the west of the present district city of San-shui, in Pin *Kâu*, Shen-hsi, where the tribe remained till the movement eastwards of Than-fü, celebrated in the first decade of the Major Odes of the Kingdom, ode 3. The duke of *Kâu*, during the minority of king *Khäng*, made, it is supposed, the first of the pieces in this Book, describing for the instruction of the young monarch, the ancient ways of their fathers in Pin; and subsequently some one compiled other odes made by the duke, and others also about him, and brought them together under the common name of 'the Odes of Pin.'

ODE 1, STANZA 8. THE *KHÏ YÜEH*.

DESCRIBING LIFE IN PIN IN THE OLDEN TIME; THE PROVIDENT ARRANGEMENTS THERE TO SECURE THE CONSTANT SUPPLY OF FOOD AND RAIMENT,—WHATEVER WAS NECESSARY FOR THE SUPPORT AND COMFORT OF THE PEOPLE.

If the piece was made, as the Chinese critics all suppose, by the duke of *Kâu*, we must still suppose that he writes in the person of an old farmer or yeoman of Pin. The picture which it gives of the manners of the Chinese people, their thrifty, provident ways, their agriculture and weaving, nearly 3,700 years ago, is

¹ This appeal to Heaven is like what we met with in the first of the Odes of the Royal Domain, and the eighth of those of Thang.

full of interest ; but it is not till we come to the concluding stanza that we find anything bearing on their religious practices.

In the days of (our) second month, they hew out the ice with harmonious blows ¹; And in those of (our) third month, they convey it to the ice-houses, (Which they open) in those of (our) fourth, early in the morning A lamb having been offered in sacrifice with scallions ². In the ninth month, it is cold, with frost. In the tenth month, they sweep clean their stack-sites. (Taking) the two bottles of spirits to be offered to their ruler, And having killed their lambs and sheep, They go to his hall, And raising

¹ They went for the ice to the deep recesses of the hills, and wherever it was to be found in the best condition.

² It is said in the last chapter of 'the Great Learning,' that 'the family which keeps its stores of ice does not rear cattle or sheep,' meaning that the possessor of an ice-house must be supposed to be very wealthy, and above the necessity of increasing his means in the way described. Probably, the having ice-houses by high ministers and heads of clans was an innovation on the earlier custom, according to which such a distinction was proper only to the king, or the princes of states, on whom it devolved as 'the fathers of the people,' to impart from their stores in the hot season as might be necessary. The third and fourth lines of this stanza are to be understood of what was done by the orders of the ruler of the tribe of Kâu in Pin. In the Official Book of Kâu, Part I, ch. 5, we have a description of the duties of 'the Providers of Ice,' and the same subject is treated in the sixth Book of 'the Record of Rites,' sections 2 and 6. The ice having been collected and stored in winter, the ice-houses were solemnly opened in the spring. A sacrifice was offered to 'the Ruler of Cold, the Spirit of the Ice,' and of the first ice brought forth an offering was set out in the apartment behind the principal hall of the ancestral temple. A sacrifice to the same Ruler of Cold, it is said, had also been offered when the ice began to be collected. The ceremony may be taken as an illustration of the manner in which religious services entered into the life of the ancient Chinese.

the cup of rhinoceros horn, Wish him long life,—
that he may live for ever¹.

¹ The custom described in the five concluding lines is mentioned to show the good and loyal feeling of the people of Pin towards their chief. Having finished all the agricultural labours of the year, and being now prepared to enjoy the results of their industry, the first thing they do is to hasten to the hall of their ruler, and ask him to share in their joy, and express their loyal wishes for his happiness.

THE HSIÄO KING
OR
CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY.

THE HSIÃO KING

OR

CLASSIC OF FILIAL PIETY.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE NAME OF THE CLASSIC; ITS EXISTENCE BEFORE THE HAN DYNASTY; ITS CONTENTS, AND BY WHOM IT WAS WRITTEN.

1. The Chinese character pronounced Hsiào, which we translate by 'Filial Piety,' and which may also perform the part of an adjective, 'filial,' of a verb, 'to be filial,' or of an adverb, 'filially,' is one of the composite characters whose meaning is suggested by the meanings of their constituent parts combined together. It is made up of two others,—one signifying 'an old man' or 'old age,' and beneath it the character signifying 'a son.' It thus, according to the Shwo Wăn, the oldest Chinese dictionary (A. D. 100), presents to the eye 'a son bearing up an old man,' that is, a child supporting his parent. Hsiào also enters as their phonetical element into at least twenty other characters, so that it must be put down as of very early formation. The character King has been explained in the Introduction to the Shû King, p. 2; and the title, Hsiào King, means 'the Classic of Filial Piety.'

2. Many Chinese critics contend that this brief treatise was thus designated by Confucius himself, and that it received the distinction of being styled a King before

any of the older and more important classics. For the preservation of the text as we now have it, we are indebted to Hsüan Tsung (A. D. 713-755), one of the emperors of the Tang dynasty.

Was the treatise called the Hsião King by Confucius?

In the preface to his commentary on it there occurs this sentence:—‘The Master said, “My aim is seen in the *Khun K’hiü*; my (rule of) conduct is in the Hsião King.”’ The imperial author quotes the saying, as if it were universally acknowledged to have come from the sage. It is found at a much earlier date in the preface of Ho Hsiü (A. D. 129-182) to his commentary on the *Khun K’hiü* as transmitted and annotated by Kung-yang. The industry of scholars has traced it still farther back, and in a more extended form, to a work called Hsião King *Kü-ming K’üeh*,—a production, probably, of the first century of our era, or of the century before it. It was one of a class of writings on the classical books, full of mysterious and useless speculations, that never took rank among the acknowledged expositions. Most of them soon disappeared, but this subsisted down to the Sui dynasty (A. D. 581-618), for there was a copy of it then in the Imperial Library. It is now lost, but a few passages of it have been collected from quotations in the Han writers. Among them is this:—‘Confucius said, “If you wish to see my aim in dispensing praise or blame to the feudal lords, it is to be found in the *Khun K’hiü*; the courses by which I would exalt the social relations are in the Hsião King.”’ The words thus ascribed to Confucius were condensed, it is supposed, into the form in which we have them,—first from Ho Hsiü, and afterwards from the emperor Hsüan Tsung. Whether they were really used by the sage or not, they were attributed to him as early as the beginning of our Christian era, and it was then believed that he had given to our classic the honourable name of a King.

3. But the existence of the Hsião King can be traced several hundred years farther back;—to within less than a century after the death of Confucius. Sze-má *K’hiên*, in his history of the House of Wei, one of the three marquisates into which the

The Hsião King existed before the Han dynasty.

great state of *K'in* was broken up in the fifth century B. C., tells us that the marquis *Wăn* received, in B. C. 407, the classical books from *Pû 3ze-hsiâ*, and mentions the names of two other disciples of Confucius, with whom he was on intimate terms of friendship. There remains the title of a commentary on the *Hsiào King* by this marquis *Wăn*; and the book was existing in the time of *3hâi Yung* (A. D. 133-192), who gives a short extract from it in one of his treatises.

4. The recovery of our classic after the fires of *K'in* will be related in the next chapter. Assuming here that it was recovered, we look into it, and find a conversation, or memoranda, perhaps, of several conversations, between Confucius and his disciple *3äng-3ze*. The latter, however, is little more than a listener, to whom the sage delivers his views on Filial Piety in its various relations. There are two recensions of the text;—one in eighteen chapters, and the other in twenty-two. As edited in eighteen chapters, each of them has a very brief descriptive heading. I have given this in the subjoined translation, but the headings cannot be traced back beyond the commentary of the emperor *Hsüan*.

The saying attributed by *Ho Hsiû* and others to Confucius would seem to indicate that he had himself composed the work, but the reader of it sees at once that it could not have proceeded from him. Nor do the style and method of the treatise suggest a view which has had many advocates,—that it was written by *3äng-3ze*, under the direction of the master. There is no reason, however, why we should not accept the still more common account,—that the *Hsiào* came from the school of *3äng-3ze*. To use the words of *Hû Yin*, an author of the first half of our twelfth century:—‘The Classic of Filial Piety was not made by *3äng-3ze* himself. When he retired from his conversation (or conversations) with *Kung-ni* on the subject of Filial Piety, he repeated to the disciples of his own school what (the master) had said, and they classified the sayings, and formed the treatise.’

CHAPTER II.

THE RECOVERY OF THE HSIÁO KING UNDER THE HAN DYNASTY, AND ITS PRESERVATION DOWN TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE COMMENTARY OF THE THANG EMPEROR HSÜAN 3UNG.

1. The Hsiáo King suffered, like all the other Confucian books except the Yi, from the fires of *K'in*. Its subsequent recovery was very like that of the Shû, described on pp. 7, 8. We have in each case a shorter and a longer copy, a modern text and an ancient text.

In the Catalogue of the Imperial Library, prepared by Liû Hin immediately before the commencement of our Recovery of the Christian era, there are two copies of the Hsiáo King. Hsiáo :—‘the old text of the Khung family,’ which was in twenty-two chapters, according to a note by Pan Kû (died A. D. 92), the compiler of the documents in the records of the western Han ; and another copy, which was, according to the same authority, in eighteen chapters, and was subsequently styled ‘the modern text.’ Immediately following the entry of these two copies, we find ‘Expositions of the Hsiáo by four scholars,’—whose surnames were Kang-sun, Kiang, Yi, and Hâu. ‘They all,’ says Pan Kû, ‘had laboured on the shorter text.’

The copy in eighteen chapters therefore, we must presume, had been the first recovered ; but of The shorter or modern text. how this came about we have no account till we come to the records of the Sui dynasty. There it is said that, when the *K'in* edict for the destruction of the books was issued, his copy of the Hsiáo was hidden by a scholar called Yen Kih, a member, doubtless, of the Yen family to which Confucius’ favourite disciple Yen Hui had belonged. When the edict was abrogated in a few years, Kăn, a son of Kih, brought the copy from its hiding-place. This must have been in the second century B. C., and the copy, transcribed, probably by Kăn, in the form of the characters then used, would pass into the charge of the board of ‘great scholars’ appointed to preserve the

ancient books, in the reigns of the emperors Wăn and King, B. C. 179-141.

The copy in the ancient text was derived from the tablets found in the wall of the Confucian house in the time of the emperor Wû (B. C. 140-87), and ^{The old or longer text.} is commonly said to have been deciphered, as in the case of the tablets of the Shû, by Khung An-kwo. An-kwo wrote a commentary himself on the Hsiào, which does not appear in Hin's Catalogue, just as no mention is made there of his commentary on the Shû. We find it entered, however, among the books in the Sui Library with the following note:—'The work of An-kwo disappeared during the troubles of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502-556), and continued unknown till the time of Sui, when a copy was found in the capital, and came into the possession of a scholar called Liû Hsüan.' Hsüan made his treasure public, and ere long it was acknowledged by the court, while many scholars contended that it was a forgery of his own, and ascribed by him to An-kwo. Whatever opinion we may form on this matter, the discovery of the old text, and the production of a commentary on it by Khung An-kwo, can hardly be called in question.

It might be argued, indeed, that another copy in the old text was found in the first century B. C. In a memorial addressed about the Shwo Wăn dictionary to the emperor An, in A. D. 121, by Hsü Kung, a son of the author, he says ^{Was another copy in the old text discovered?} that the Hsiào King which his father used was a copy of that presented, by 'a very old man of Lû,' to the emperor Kào (B. C. 86-74)¹. Many Chinese critics, and especially Wang Ying-lin

¹ The language of the memorial is:—'The Hsiào King' (used by my father in the composition of his dictionary) 'was what San liao of Lû presented in the time of the emperor Kào.' The San liao most readily suggests to the reader the idea of 'three old men;' but the characters may also mean, in harmony with Chinese idiom, 'the three classes of old men,' or 'an individual from those three classes.' The classical passage to explain the phrase is par. 18 in the first section of the sixth Book in the *Lî Kî*, where it is said that king Wăn feasted the San liao and Wû kang, 'the three classes of old men and five classes of men of experience,' in his royal college. The three classes of old men were such as were over 80, 90, and 100 years respectively. It was from a man of one of these classes that the emperor received the Hsiào in the old

(better known as Wang Po-hâu, A. D. 1223-1296), say that this is a different account of the recovery of the old text from that with which the name of Khung An-kwo is connected. It is difficult to reconcile the two statements, as will be seen on a reference to the note below¹; and yet it

text. According to the account given in the next note this man was Khung 3ze-hui; and in the Books of Sui that is given as the name of the individual of the Khung family, who had hidden the tablets on the appearance of the *Khin* edict for the destruction of all the old books.

¹ The Catalogue Raisonné of the Imperial Libraries commences its account of the copies of the Hsiáo with a description of 'the Old Text of the Hsiáo with the Commentary of Khung An-kwo,' obtained from Japan; but the editors give good reasons for doubting its genuineness. There is a copy of this work in the Chinese portion of the British Museum, an edition printed in Japan in 1732, which I have carefully examined, with the help of Professor R. K. Douglas and Mr. A. Wylie. It contains not only the commentary of Khung An-kwo, but what purports to be the original preface of that scholar. There it is said that the bamboo tablets of the copy in 'tadpole characters,' found in the wall of Confucius' old 'lecture hall, in a stone case,' were presented to the emperor by Khung 3ze-hui, 'a very old man of Lú.' The emperor, it is added, caused two copies to be made in the current characters of the time by 'the great scholars,' one of which was given to 3ze-hui, and the other to General Ho Kwang, a minister of war and favourite, who greatly valued it, and placed it among the archives of the empire, where it was jealously guarded.

This account makes the meaning of the phrase 'the San Iáo of Lú' quite clear; but there are difficulties in the way of our believing that it proceeded from Khung An-kwo. No mention is made of him in it, whereas, according to the current narrations, the tablets with the tadpole characters were first deciphered by him; nor is the name of the emperor to whom Khung 3ze-hui presented the tablets given. No doubt, however, this emperor was Káo, with whom Ho Kwang was a favourite. 'If the preface were genuine, of course An-kwo was alive after 3ze-hui went to court with the tablets. Now, the tablets were discovered in the period Thien-han, B. C. 100-97, and Káo reigned from B. C. 86 to 74. An-kwo died at the age of sixty, but in what year we are not told. He had studied the Shih under Shán Kung, whose death can hardly be placed later than in B. C. 135. If An-kwo were born in B. C. 150, he would have been more than sixty years old—the age assigned to him at his death—at the accession of Káo. I cannot believe, therefore, that the preface in the Japanese Hsiáo was written by him; and if we reject the preface, we must also reject the commentary before which it stands.

The text of the Hsiáo in the work is nearly identical with that of Sze-má Kwang, mentioned below on p. 458; but to the chapters there are prefixed the headings (which Kwang did not adopt), that cannot be traced farther back than the Thang dynasty. This might be got over, but the commentary throws no new light on the text. 'It is shallow and poor,' say the editors of the Catalogue Raisonné, 'and not in the style of the Han scholars.' I must think with them that Khung An-kwo's commentary, purporting to have been preserved in Japan is a forgery.

is possible that the difficulty would disappear, if the details of the discovery and the subsequent dealing with the tablets had come down to us complete.

Certainly, in the first century B. C. there were two copies of the Hsiào King in the Imperial Library of Han. If those copies, catalogued by Liû Hin, were the actual text, presented by Yen K'ăn, and a faithful transcript in the current Han characters of the ancient text discovered in the wall of Confucius' old lecture hall, we should be able to say that

Can we rely
fully on the
copies cata-
logued by Liû
Hin ?

the evidence for the recovery of the Hsiào, as it had existed during the K'âu dynasty, was as satisfactory as we could desire ; but there are some considerations that are in the way

of our doing so.

According to the records of Sui, after the old text came into the possession of the court, and the differences between it and the text earlier recovered were observed, Liû Hsiang (B.C. 80-9), the father of Hin, was charged by the emperor (K'h'ăng, B.C. 32-7) to compare the two. The result of his examination of them was that 'he removed from the modern text what was excessive and erroneous, and fixed the number of the chapters at eighteen.' It does not appear that previously there was any division of K'ăn's copy into chapters. What Hsiang did in the case of the old text we are not told. A note by Yen Sze-kû of the Thang dynasty, appended to Hin's Catalogue, quotes from him that 'one chapter of the modern text was divided into two in the old, another into three, and that the old had one chapter which did not appear in the other.' This missing chapter, it is understood, was the one beginning, 'Inside the smaller doors leading to the inner apartments,' which I have appended, from the current old text, to my translation of the classic as published by Hsüan Jung ; and yet the Sui account says that that chapter was in the Hsiào of K'ang-sun, one of the four early commentators on the modern text.

The copies catalogued by Hin were made after the examination and revision of the two texts by his father. There are suspicious resemblances between the style and method of the present classic and those of the original works of

Hsiang that have come down to us. It is impossible to say, from the want of information, what liberties he took with the documents put into his charge. The differences between the two texts as we now have them are trivial. I believe that the changes made in them by Hsiang were not important; but having them as they came from his revision, we have them at second hand, and this has afforded ground for the dealing with them by K'ü Hsi and others in the manner which will be described in the next chapter.

2. I have said above (p. 450) that for the text of the classic,—the modern text, that is,—as we now have it, we are indebted to the labours of the emperor Hsüan 3ung of the Thang dynasty. K'ü Í-tsun, of the K'ien-lung period (1736-1795), in his work on the classics and the writings

From Khung
An-kwo to
the emperor
Hsüan 3ung.

on them, has adduced the titles of eighty-six different works on our classic, that appeared between Khung An-kwo and Hsüan 3ung. Not a single one of all these now survives; but the enumeration of them shows that the most distinguished scholars during the intervening centuries exercised their powers on the treatise, and would keep a watch on one another in the preservation of the text. Moreover, several of the works continued through the Thang dynasty, and on into that of Sung. The Catalogue of the Sui Library contains the titles of nineteen in its list.

The emperor Hsüan says, in his preface, that in the making of his commentary he had freely used the commentaries of six earlier writers, whom he names. They were, Wei K'áo, Wang Sû, Yü Fan, and Liú Sháo, all of our second and third centuries; Liú Hsüan, of our sixth century, who laboured on the commentary of Khung An-kwo, which, as I have already stated, is said to have been discovered in his time and presented to him; and Lú K'hang, rather earlier than Liú, who dealt critically with the commentary attributed to K'äng Khang-kh'äng. 'But,' says the imperial author, 'if a comment be right in reason, why need we enquire from whom it came? We have therefore taken those six writers, considered wherein

they agreed and differed, and decided between their interpretations by reference to the general scope of the five (great) King. In compendious style, but with extensive examination of the subject, we have made the meaning of the classic clear.'

The emperor says nothing himself about the differences between the ancient and modern texts, though we know that that subject was vehemently agitated among the scholars of his court. The text as commented on by him is in eighteen chapters, which do not include the chapter to which I have referred on p. 455 as having been in the copy of *Kang-sun* in the first century B.C. It is said, and on sufficient authority, that this chapter was excluded through the influence of the scholar and minister *Sze-má K'án*. To each of his chapters the emperor prefixed a brief heading or argument, which I have retained in the translation. These headings, probably, were selected by him from a variety proposed by the scholars about the court.

The text employed in this imperial commentary might now be considered as sufficiently secured. It was engraved, in less than a century after, on the stone tablets of *Thang*, which were completed in the year 837, and set up in *Hsi-an*, the *Thang* capital, where they remain, very little damaged, to this day¹. And not only so. The emperor was so pleased with the commentary which he had made, that he caused the whole of it to be engraved on four large tablets or pillars of stone in 745. They are still to be seen at *Hsi-an*, in front of the Confucian College.

¹ These tablets are commonly said to contain the thirteen classics (*Shih-san King*). They contained, however, only twelve different works,—the *Yi*, the *Shù*, the *Shih*, the *K'áu Li*, the *Í Li*, the *Lí K'í*, and the amplifications of the *K'ün K'ü*,—by *So K'ü-ming*, by *Kung-yang*, and by *Kü-liang*. These form 'the nine King.' In addition to these there were the *Lun Yü*, the *Hsiáo King*, and the *R Yá*. According to *Kü Yen-wá* (1613-1682), the characters on the tablets were in all 650,252. Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, p. 19) estimates that our English Bible contains between 900,000 and 950,000 words. The first Psalm, in what is called the Delegates' version, very good and concise, contains 100 Chinese characters, and in our English version 130 words. The classics of the *Thang* tablets, if the translator were a master of both languages, might be rendered in English so as to form a volume not quite so large as our Bible.

It is hardly necessary to say more on the preservation of the Hsião King. In A. D. 996 the second emperor of the Sung dynasty gave orders for an annotated edition of it to be prepared. This was finally completed in 1001, under the superintendence of Hsing Ping (932-1010), with a large critical apparatus, and a lengthened exposition, both of the text and of Hsüan Jung's explanation. This work has ever since been current in China.

CHAPTER III.

CRITICISM OF THE HSIÃO SINCE THE THANG DYNASTY.

I. Notwithstanding the difficulty about one chapter which has been pointed out on p. 455, Hsüan Jung's text was generally accepted as the representative of that in modern characters, recovered in the second century B. C. There were still those, however, who continued to advocate the claims of 'the old text.' Sze-má Kwang, a distinguished minister and scholar of the Sung dynasty (1009-1086), presented to the court in 1054 his 'Explanations of the Hsião King according to the Old Text,' arguing, in his preface and in various memorials, for the correctness of that text, as recovered by Liü Hsüan in the sixth century. Fan 3ü-yü (1041-1098), a scholar of the same century, and in other things a collaborateur of Kwang, produced, towards the end of his life, an 'Exposition of the Hsião King according to the Old Text.' He says in his preface:— 'Though the agreement between the ancient and modern texts is great, and the difference small, yet the ancient deserves to be preferred, and my labour upon it may not be without some little value¹.'

¹ In the Hsião King, as now frequently published in China, either separately by itself, or bound up with Kú Hsi's Hsião Hsio, 'the Teaching for the Young,' we find the old text, without distinction of chapters. The commentaries of Hsüan Jung and Sze-má Kwang, and the exposition of Fan 3ü-yü, however, follow one another at the end of the several clauses and paragraphs.

2. But our classic had still to pass the ordeal of the sceptical criticism that set in during the Sung dynasty. The most notable result of this was 'the Hsiào King Expurgated,' published by K'ü Hsi in 1186. He tells us that when he first saw a statement by Hû Hung (a minister in the reign of K'ao Jung, 1127-1162), that the quotations from the Book of Poetry in the Hsiào were probably of later introduction into the text, he was terror-struck. Prolonged examination, however, satisfied him that there were good grounds for Hû's statement, and that other portions of the text were also open to suspicion. He found, moreover, that another earlier writer, Wang Ying-*khän*, in the reign of Hsiào Jung (1163-1189), had come to the conclusion that much of the Hsiào had been fabricated or interpolated in the Han dynasty. The way was open for him to give expression to his convictions, without incurring the charge of being the first to impugn the accepted text.

The fact was, as pointed out by the editors of the Catalogue Raisonné of the Imperial Library of the present dynasty, that K'ü had long entertained the views which he indicated in his expurgated edition of the Hsiào, and his references to Hû and Wang were simply to shield his own boldness. He divided the treatise into one chapter of classical text, and fourteen chapters of illustration and commentary. But both parts were freely expurgated. His classical text embraces the first six chapters in my translation, and is supposed by him to form one continuous discourse by Confucius. The rest of the treatise should not be attributed to the sage at all. The bulk of it may have come from *ÿäng-ÿze*, or from members of his school, but large interpolations were made by the Han scholars. Adopting the old text, K'ü discarded from it altogether 223 characters.

Attention will be called, under the several chapters, to

Some portions also are in a different order from the arrangement of Hsüan Jung and Hsing Ping, which I have followed in my translation. As has been already said, the difference between its text and that of the Thang emperor is slight,—hardly greater than the variations in the different recensions of our Gospels and the other books of the New Testament.

some of the passages which he suppressed, and to the reasons, generally satisfactory, which he advanced for his procedure. Evidently he was influenced considerably by the way in which *K'häng Í* (1033-1107), whom he called 'his master,' had dealt with the old text of 'the Great Learning;' but he made his innovations with a bolder pencil and on a more extensive plan, not merely altering the arrangement of paragraphs, and supplementing what was plainly defective, but challenging the genuineness of large portions of the treatise, and removing them without scruple.

Under the Yüan dynasty, *Wú K'häng* (1249-1333), the greatest of its scholars, followed in the wake of *K'häng Í*, yet with the independence characteristic of himself. As *K'hang* had preferred the old text, *Wú* decided—and, I believe, more correctly—in favour of the modern, arguing that the copy of *Khung An-kwo's* text and commentary, said to have been recovered and published in the sixth century by *Liú Hsüan*, was a fabrication. He adopted, therefore, *Hsüan Jung's* text as the basis of his revision, which appeared with the title of 'the Hsiáo King, in paragraphs and sentences¹.' He adopted *K'hang's* division of the treatise into classical text and commentary. The chapter of classical text is the same as *K'hang's*; the chapters of commentary are only twelve. He discarded, of course, the chapter peculiar to the old text, which has been referred to more than once, united *Hsüan Jung's* eleventh chapter with another, and arranged the other chapters differently from *K'hang*. His revision altogether had 246 characters fewer than the old text.

3. *K'hang Í-tsun* gives the titles of nearly 120 works on our classic that appeared after the volume of *Wú K'häng*, bringing its literary history down to the end of the Ming dynasty. The scholars of the present dynasty have not been less abundant in their labours on it than their predecessors. Among the col-

¹ The title of this work in the Catalogue of the Imperial Libraries is 'Settlement of the Text of the Hsiáo King.'

lected works of Máo *K'hi*-ling (1623-1713) is one called 'Questions about the Hsiáo King,' in which, with his usual ability, and, it must be added, his usual acrimony, he defends the received text. He asserts—and in this he is correct—that there is no difference of any importance between the ancient and modern texts; when he asserts further that there never was any such difference, what he affirms is incapable of proof. He pours scorn on *K'ü* Hsi and *Wú* *K'hǎng*; but he is not so successful in defending the integrity of the Hsiáo as I have allowed him to be in vindicating the portions of the *Shû* that we owe to *Khung* An-kwo.

The Hsiáo King has always been a favourite with the emperors of China. Before *Hsüan* *Sung* took it in hand, the first and eighth emperors of the eastern *K'in* dynasty (317-419), the first and third of the *Liang* (502-556), and the ninth of the northern *Wei* (386-534) had published their labours upon it. The *Mancháu* rulers of the present dynasty have signalled themselves in this department. In 1656 the first emperor produced in one chapter his 'Imperial Commentary on the Hsiáo King,' and in 1728 the third published a 'Collection of Comments' on it. Between them was the long reign known to us as the *Khang-hsí* period (1662-1722), during which there appeared under the direction of the second emperor, the most distinguished of his line, his 'Extensive Explanation of the Hsiáo King,' in 100 chapters. The only portion of the text which it gives in full is *K'ü* Hsi's chapter of Confucian text; but most of the topics touched on in *K'ü*'s supplementary chapters, added, as he supposed, by some later hand, are dealt with in the course of the work, the whole of which will amply repay a careful study.

4. It will have been seen that the two great scholars, *K'ü* Hsi and *Wú* *K'hǎng*, who have taken the greatest liberties with the text of our classic, allow that there is a Confucian element in it, and that more than a fifth part of the whole, containing, even as expurgated by *K'ü*, about 400 characters, may be correctly ascribed to the sage. I agree with them

Conclusion
regarding the
genuineness
and integrity
of the Hsiáo.

in this. All the rest of the treatise, to whomsoever it may be ascribed, from Ǟǎng-ǝze, the immediate disciple of Confucius, down to Liû Hsiang (B. C. 80-9), took its present form in the first century before our Christian era. The reader will fail to see in it a close connexion between the different chapters, and think that the author or authors try to make more of Filial Piety than can be made of it. The whole, however, is a valuable monument of antiquity, and an exhibition of the virtue which Chinese moralists and rulers, from the most ancient times, have delighted to celebrate as the fundamental principle of human virtue, the great source of social happiness, and the bond of national strength and stability.

NOTE ON THE TRANSLATION.

In preparing the translation of the Hsião King for the present work, I have made frequent reference to four earlier translations.

Two of them were made by myself;—the one about thirty years ago, simply as an exercise for my own improvement in Chinese; the other four years ago, when I was anxious to understand fully the Confucian teaching on the subject of Filial Piety, but without reference to my earlier version.

The third is a translation in the fourth volume of the Chinese Repository, pp. 345-353 (1835), for the accuracy of which much cannot be said. Very few notes are appended to it. The fourth is in the 'Mémoires concernant les Chinois' (Paris, 1779), being part of a long treatise on the 'Ancient and Modern Doctrine of the Chinese about Filial Piety,' by P. Cibot. In a preliminary notice to his version of our classic, he says:—'P. Noël formerly translated the Hsião King into Latin. Our translation will necessarily be different from his. He laboured on the old text, and we on the new, which the scholars of the Imperial College have adopted. Besides this, he has

launched out into paraphrase, and we have made it our business to present the text in French such as it is in Chinese.' I have not been able to refer to P. Noël's translation in preparing that now given to the public ; but I had his work before me when writing out my earliest version. The difference between the old and modern texts is too slight to affect the character of translations of them, but P. Noël's version is decidedly periphrastic. The title of his work is : — 'SINENSIS IMPERII LIBRI CLASSICI SEX, nimirum Adulorum Schola, Immutabile Medium, Liber sententiarum, Mencius, Filialis Observantia, Parvulorum Schola, e Sinico idiomate in Latinum traducti à P. Fr. Noël, S. J. (Prague, 1711).' The present version, I believe, gives the text in English, such as it is in Chinese, more accurately and closely than P. Cibot's does in French.

THE HSIÄO KING.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOPE AND MEANING OF THE TREATISE.

(ONCE), when *Kung-nî*¹ was unoccupied, and his disciple *Žäng*² was sitting by in attendance on him, the Master said, 'Shän, the ancient kings had a perfect virtue and all-embracing rule of conduct, through which they were in accord with all under heaven. By the practice of it the people were brought to live in peace and harmony, and there was no ill-will between superiors and inferiors. Do you know what it was³?' *Žäng* rose from his mat, and said, 'How

¹ *Kung-nî* was the designation or marriage-name of Confucius. We find it twice in the Doctrine of the Mean (chh. 2 and 30), applied to the sage by *Žze-sze*, his grandson, the reputed author of that treatise. By his designation, it is said, a grandson might speak of his grandfather, and therefore some scholars contend that the Classic of Filial Piety should also be ascribed to *Žze-sze*; but such a canon cannot be considered as sufficiently established. On the authorship of the Classic, see the Introduction, p. 451.

² *Žäng-žze*, named *Shän*, and styled *Žze-yü*, was one of the most distinguished of the disciples of Confucius. He was a favourite with the sage, and himself a voluminous writer. Many incidents and sayings are related, illustrative of his filial piety, so that it was natural for the master to enter with him on the discussion of that virtue. He shares in the honour and worship still paid to Confucius, and is one of his 'Four Assessors' in his temples.

³ Both the translator in the Chinese Repository and P. Cibot have rendered this opening address of Confucius very imperfectly.

should I, Shǎn, who am so devoid of intelligence, be able to know this?' The Master said, '(It was filial piety). Now filial piety is the root of (all) virtue¹, and (the stem) out of which grows (all moral) teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents; and we must not presume to injure or wound them:—this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the (filial) course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents:—this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service

The former has:—'Do you understand how the ancient kings, who possessed the greatest virtue and the best moral principles, rendered the whole empire so obedient that the people lived in peace and harmony, and no ill-will existed between superiors and inferiors?' The other:—'Do you know what was the pre-eminent virtue and the essential doctrine which our ancient monarchs taught to all the empire, to maintain concord among their subjects, and banish all dissatisfaction between superiors and inferiors?' P. Cibot comes the nearer to the meaning of the text, but he has neglected the characters corresponding to 'through which they were in accord with all under heaven,' that are expounded clearly enough by Hsüan Jung. The sentiment of the sage is, as he has tersely expressed it in the Doctrine of the Mean (ch. 13), that the ancient kings 'governed men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them.'

1 'All virtue' means the five virtuous principles, the constituents of humanity, 'benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and fidelity.' Of these, benevolence is the chief and fundamental, so that Mencius says (VII, ii, ch. 16), 'Benevolence is man.' In man's nature, therefore, benevolence is the root of filial piety; while in practice filial piety is the root of benevolence. Such is the way in which K'ü Hsü and other critical scholars reconcile the statements of the text here and elsewhere with their theory as to the constituents of humanity.

of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character.

‘It is said in the Major Odes of the Kingdom,
“Ever think of your ancestor,
Cultivating your virtue¹.”’

CHAPTER II.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE SON OF HEAVEN.

He who loves his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being hated by any man, and he who reveres his parents will not dare (to incur the risk of) being contemned by any man². When the love and reverence (of the Son of Heaven) are thus carried to the utmost in the service of his parents, the lessons of his virtue affect all the people, and he becomes

¹ See the Shih King, III, i, ode 2, stanza 4. *K'ü Hsü* commences his expurgation of our classic with casting out this concluding paragraph; and rightly so. Such quotations of the odes and other passages in the ancient classics are not after the manner of Confucius. The application made of them, moreover, is often far-fetched, and away from their proper meaning.

² The thing thus generally stated must be understood specially of the sovereign, and only he who stands related to all other men can give its full manifestation. Previous translators have missed the peculiarity of the construction in each of the clauses. Thus P. Cibot gives:—‘He who loves his parents will not dare to hate any one,’ &c. But in the second member we have a well-known form in Chinese to give the force of the passive voice. Attention is called to this in the Extensive Explanation of the Hsiáo (see p. 461):—‘*Wú yü zǎn* does not mean merely to hate men; it indicates an anxious apprehension lest the hatred of men should light on me, and my parents thereby be involved in it.’

a pattern to (all within) the four seas¹:—this is the filial piety of the Son of Heaven².

It is said in (the Marquis of) Fû on Punishments³,
 ‘The One man will have felicity, and the millions of the people will depend on (what ensures his happiness).’

CHAPTER III.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE PRINCES OF STATES.

Above others, and yet free from pride, they dwell on high, without peril; adhering to economy, and carefully observant of the rules and laws, they are full, without overflowing. To dwell on high without peril is the way long to preserve nobility; to be full without overflowing is the way long to preserve riches. When their riches and nobility do not leave their persons, then they are able to preserve the altars of their land and grain, and to secure the harmony of their people and men in office⁴:—this is the filial piety of the princes of states.

¹ Chinese scholars make ‘the people’ to be the subjects of the king, and ‘all within the four seas’ to be the barbarous tribes outside the four borders of the kingdom, between them and the seas or oceans within which the habitable earth was contained—according to the earliest geographical conceptions. All we have to find in the language is the unbounded, the universal, influence of ‘the Son of Heaven.’

² The appellation ‘Son of Heaven’ for the sovereign was unknown in the earliest times of the Chinese nation. It cannot be traced beyond the Shang dynasty.

³ See the Shû, V, xxvii, 4, and the note on the name of that Book, p. 254.

⁴ In the Chinese Repository we have for this:—‘They will be able to protect their ancestral possessions with the produce of their lands;’ ‘They will make sure the supreme rank to their

It is said in the Book of Poetry¹,
 'Be apprehensive, be cautious,
 As if on the brink of a deep abyss,
 As if treading on thin ice.'

CHAPTER IV. FILIAL PIETY IN HIGH MINISTERS AND GREAT OFFICERS.

They do not presume to wear robes other than those appointed by the laws of the ancient kings²; nor to speak words other than those sanctioned by their speech; nor to exhibit conduct other than that exemplified by their virtuous ways. Thus none of their words being contrary to those sanctions, and none of their actions contrary to the (right) way,

families.' But it is better to retain the style of the original. The king had a great altar to the spirit (or spirits) presiding over the land. The colour of the earth in the centre of it was yellow; that on each of its four sides differed according to the colours assigned to the four quarters of the sky. A portion of this earth was cut away, and formed the nucleus of a corresponding altar in each feudal state, according to their position relative to the capital. The prince of the state had the prerogative of sacrificing there. A similar rule prevailed for the altars to the spirits presiding over the grain. So long as a family ruled in a state, so long its chief offered those sacrifices; and the extinction of the sacrifices was an emphatic way of describing the ruin and extinction of the ruling House.

¹ See the Shih, II, v, ode 1, stanza 6.

² The articles of dress, to be worn by individuals according to their rank, from the sovereign downwards, in their ordinary attire, and on special occasions, were the subject of attention and enactment in China from the earliest times. We find references to them in the earliest books of the Shû (Part II, Books iii, iv). The words to be spoken, and conduct to be exhibited, on every varying occasion, could not be so particularly described; but the example of the ancient kings would suffice for these, as their enactments for the dress.

from their mouths there comes no exceptionable speech, and in their conduct there are found no exceptionable actions. Their words may fill all under heaven, and no error of speech will be found in them. Their actions may fill all under heaven, and no dissatisfaction or dislike will be awakened by them. When these three things—(their robes, their words, and their conduct)—are all complete as they should be, they can then preserve their ancestral temples¹:—this is the filial piety of high ministers and great officers.

It is said in the Book of Poetry²,

‘He is never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One man.’

CHAPTER V. FILIAL PIETY IN INFERIOR OFFICERS.

As they serve their fathers, so they serve their mothers, and they love them equally. As they serve their fathers, so they serve their rulers, and they reverence them equally. Hence love is what is chiefly rendered to the mother, and reverence is what is chiefly rendered to the ruler, while both of these things are given to the father. Therefore when they serve their ruler with filial piety they are loyal; when they serve their superiors with reverence they are obedient. Not failing in this loyalty

¹ Their ancestral temples were to the ministers and grand officers what the altars of their land and grain were to the feudal lords. Every great officer had three temples or shrines, in which he sacrificed to the first chief of his family or clan; to his grandfather, and to his father. While these remained, the family remained, and its honours were perpetuated.

² See the Shih, III, iii, ode 6, stanza 4.

and obedience in serving those above them, they are then able to preserve their emoluments and positions, and to maintain their sacrifices¹:—this is the filial piety of inferior officers².

It is said in the Book of Poetry³,

‘Rising early and going to sleep late,
Do not disgrace those who gave you birth.’

CHAPTER VI.

FILIAL PIETY IN THE COMMON PEOPLE.

They follow the course of heaven (in the revolving seasons); they distinguish the advantages

¹ These officers had their ‘positions’ or places, and their pay. They had also their sacrifices, but such as were private or personal to themselves, so that we have not much information about them.

² The Chinese Repository has here, ‘Such is the influence of filial duty when performed by scholars;’ and P. Cibot, ‘Voilà sommairement ce qui caractérise la Piété Filiale du Lettré.’ But to use the term ‘scholar’ here is to translate from the standpoint of modern China, and not from that of the time of Confucius. The Shih of feudal China were the younger sons of the higher classes, and men that by their ability were rising out of the lower, and who were all in inferior situations, and looking forward to offices of trust in the service of the royal court, or of their several states. Below the ‘great officers’ of ch. 4, three classes of Shih—the highest, middle, lowest—were recognised, all intended in this chapter. When the feudal system had passed away, the class of ‘scholars’ gradually took their place. Shih (士) is one of the oldest characters in Chinese, but the idea expressed in its formation is not known. Confucius is quoted in the Shwo Wăn as making it to be from the characters for one (一) and ten (十). A very old definition of it is—‘The denomination of one entrusted with affairs.’

³ See the Shih, II, iii, ode 2, stanza 6.

afforded by (different) soils¹; they are careful of their conduct and economical in their expenditure;—in order to nourish their parents:—this is the filial piety of the common people.

Therefore from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, there never has been one whose filial piety was without its beginning and end on whom calamity did not come.

CHAPTER VII.

FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE THREE POWERS².

The disciple ǰǎng said, 'Immense indeed is the greatness of filial piety!' The Master replied³,

¹ These two sentences describe the attention of the people to the various processes of agriculture, as conditioned by the seasons and the qualities of different soils.

With this chapter there ends what K'û Hsf regarded as the only portion of the Hsiáo in which we can rest as having come from Confucius. So far, it is with him a continuous discourse that proceeded from the sage. And there is, in this portion, especially when we admit K'û's expurgations, a certain sequence and progress, without logical connexion, in the exhibition of the subject which we fail to find in the chapters that follow.

² 'The Three Powers' is a phrase which is first found in two of the Appendixes to the Yì King, denoting Heaven, Earth, and Man, as the three great agents or agencies in nature, or the circle of being.

³ The whole of the reply of Confucius here, down to 'the advantages afforded by earth,' is found in a narrative in the ǰo Kwan, under the twenty-fifth year of duke K'áo (B. C. 517), with the important difference that the discourse is there about 'ceremonies,' and not about filial piety. Plainly, it is an interpolation in the Hsiáo, and is rightly thrown out by K'û and Wû K'ǎng. To my own mind it was a relief to find that the passage was not genuine, and had not come from Confucius. The discourse in the ǰo Kwan, which is quite lengthy, these sentences being only the com-

‘ Yes, filial piety is the constant (method) of Heaven, the righteousness of Earth, and the practical duty of Man¹. Heaven and earth invariably pursue the course (that may be thus described), and the people take it as their pattern. (The ancient kings) imitated the brilliant luminaries of heaven, and acted in accordance with the (varying) advantages afforded by earth, so that they were in accord with all under heaven; and in consequence their teachings, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigorous, secured perfect order.

mencement of it, is more than sufficiently fanciful; but it is conceivable that what is here predicated of filial piety might be spoken of ceremonies, while I never could see what it could have to do with filial piety, or filial piety with it. After the long discourse in the *So Kwan* one of the interlocutors in it exclaims, ‘ Immense, indeed, is the greatness of ceremonies!’—the same terms with which *Šang-ze* is made to commence this chapter, saving that we have ‘ceremonies’ instead of ‘filial piety.’ There can be no doubt that the passage is interpolated; and yet the first part of it is quoted by Pan Kû (in our first century), in a note to Liû Hin’s Catalogue, and also in the Amplification of the First Precept of the *Khang-hsf* Sacred Edict (in our eighteenth century). Pan Kû may not have been sufficiently acquainted with the *So Kwan* to detect the forgery; that Chinese scholars should still quote the description as applicable to filial piety shows how liable they are to be carried away by fine-sounding terms and mysterious utterances.

P. Cibot gives a correct translation of the first part in a note, but adds that it carries the sense of the text much too high, and would bring it into collision with the prejudices of the west, and he has preferred to hold to the more common explanation:—‘*Ce qu’est la régularité des monuments des astres pour le firmament, la fertilité des campagnes pour la terre, la Piété Filiale l’est constamment pour les peuples!*’

¹ An amusing translation of this sentence is found in Samuel Johnson’s ‘*Oriental Religions, China*,’ p. 208, beginning, ‘*Filial Piety is the Book of Heaven!*’ Mr. Johnson does not say where he got this version.

'The ancient kings, seeing how their teachings¹ could transform the people, set before them therefore an example of the most extended love, and none of the people neglected their parents; they set forth to them (the nature of) virtue and righteousness, and the people roused themselves to the practice of them; they went before them with reverence and yielding courtesy, and the people had no contentions; they led them on by the rules of propriety and by music, and the people were harmonious and benignant; they showed them what they loved and what they disliked, and the people understood their prohibitions.

'It is said in the Book of Poetry²,
 "Awe-inspiring are you, O Grand-Master Yin,
 And the people all look up to you."'

CHAPTER VIII. FILIAL PIETY IN GOVERNMENT.

The Master said, 'Anciently, when the intelligent kings by means of filial piety ruled all under heaven, they did not dare to receive with disrespect the ministers of small states;—how much less would they do so to the dukes, marquises, counts, and barons!' Thus it was that they got (the princes of) the myriad states with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the (sacrificial) services to their royal predecessors³.

¹ Sze-mâ Kwang changes the character for 'teachings' here into that for 'filial piety.' There is no external evidence for such a reading; and the texture of the whole treatise is so loose that we cannot insist on internal evidence.

² See the Shih, II, iv, ode 7, stanza 1.

³ Under the Kâu dynasty there were five orders of nobility, and the states belonging to their rulers varied proportionally in size.

‘ The rulers of states did not dare to slight wifeless men and widows ;—how much less would they slight their officers and the people ! Thus it was that they got all their people with joyful hearts (to assist them) in serving the rulers, their predecessors ¹.

‘ The heads of clans did not dare to slight their servants and concubines ;—how much less would they slight their wives and sons ! Thus it was that they got their men with joyful hearts (to assist them) in the service of their parents.

‘ In such a state of things, while alive, parents reposed in (the glory of) their sons ; and, when sacrificed to, their disembodied spirits enjoyed their offerings². Therefore all under heaven peace and harmony prevailed ; disasters and calamities did not occur ; misfortunes and rebellions did not arise.

‘ It is said in the Book of Poetry ³,

“ To an upright, virtuous conduct

All in the four quarters of the state render obedient homage.” ’

There were besides many smaller states attached to these. The feudal lords at stated times appeared at the royal court, and one important duty which then devolved on them was to take part in the sacrificial services of the sovereign in the ancestral temple.

¹ These services were also the sacrifices in the ancestral temples of the rulers of the states and of the chiefs of clans,—the feudal princes and the ministers and great officers of chapters 3 and 4.

² In the Chinese Repository we read here :—‘ Parents enjoyed tranquillity while they lived, and after their decease sacrifices were offered to their disembodied spirits.’ To the same effect P. Cibot :—‘ Les pères et mères étoient heureux pendant la vie, et après leur mort leurs âmes étoient consolées par des Tsî (sacrifices).’ I believe that I have caught the meaning more exactly.

³ See the Shih, III, iii, ode 2, stanza 2.

CHAPTER IX. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SAGES¹.

The disciple ǰǎng said, 'I venture to ask whether in the virtue of the sages there was not something greater than filial piety.' The Master replied, 'Of all (creatures with their different) natures produced by Heaven and Earth, man is the noblest. Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven². The duke of K'âu was the man who (first) did this³.

¹ 'The sages' here must mean the sage sovereigns of antiquity, who had at once the highest wisdom and the highest place.

² See a note on p. 99 on the meaning of the phrase 'the fellow of God,' which is the same as that in this chapter, translated 'the correlate of God.' P. Cibot goes at length into a discussion of the idea conveyed by the Chinese character P'ei, but without coming to any definite conclusion; and indeed T'ai Thung, author of the dictionary Liû Shû Kû, says that 'its original significance has baffled investigation, while its classical usage is in the sense of "mate," "fellow."' The meaning here is the second assigned to it on p. 99. In the Chinese Repository we find:—'As a mark of reverence there is nothing more important than to place the father on an equality with heaven;' which is by no means the idea, while the author further distorts the meaning by the following note:—'T'ien, "Heaven," and Shang T'î, the "Supreme Ruler," seem to be perfectly synonymous; and whatever ideas the Chinese attach to them, it is evident that the noble lord of K'âu regarded his ancestors, immediate and remote, as their equals, and paid to the one the same homage as the other. In thus elevating mortals to an equality with the Supreme Ruler, he is upheld and approved by Confucius, and has been imitated by myriads of every generation of his countrymen down to the present day.'

³ It is difficult to say in what the innovation of the duke of K'âu

‘Formerly the duke of *Kâu* at the border altar sacrificed to *Hâu-kî* as the correlate of Heaven, and in the Brilliant Hall he honoured king *Wăn*, and sacrificed to him as the correlate of God¹. The

consisted. The editors of the *Extensive Explanation* of the *Hsiáo* say:—‘According to commentators on our classic, Shun thinking only of the virtue of his ancestor did not sacrifice to him at the border altar. The sovereigns of *Hsiâ* and *Yin* were the first to sacrifice there to their ancestors; but they had not the ceremony of sacrificing to their fathers as the correlates of Heaven. This began with the duke of *Kâu*.’ To this explanation of the text the editors demur, and consider that the noun ‘father’ in the previous sentence should be taken, in the case of the duke of *Kâu*, both of *Hâu-kî* and king *Wăn*.

¹ The reader of the translations from the *Shih* must be familiar with *Hâu-kî*, as the ancestor to whom the kings of *Kâu* traced their lineage, and with king *Wăn*, as the acknowledged founder of their dynasty in connexion with his son, king *Wû*. Was any greater honour done to *Hâu-kî* in making him the correlate of Heaven than to king *Wăn* in making him the correlate of God? We must say, No. As is said in the *Extensive Explanation*, ‘The words Heaven and God are different, but their meaning is one and the same.’ The question is susceptible of easy determination. Let me refer the reader to the translations from the *Shih* on pp. 317 and 329. The tenth piece on the latter was sung, at the border sacrifice to Heaven, in honour of *Hâu-kî*; and the first four lines of it are to the effect—

‘O thou, accomplished, great *Hâu-kî*!
To thee alone ’twas given
To be, by what we trace to thee,
The correlate of Heaven;’

while the fifth and sixth lines are—

‘God had the wheat and barley meant
To nourish all mankind.
None would have fathomed His intent,
But for thy guiding mind.’

The seventh piece on the former page was used at the sacrifice, in the Brilliant Hall, to king *Wăn*, as ‘the correlate of God.’ The first three lines have been versified by—

consequence was that from (all the states) within the four seas, every (prince) came in the discharge of his duty to (assist in those) sacrifices. In the virtue of the sages what besides was there greater than filial piety?

'Now the feeling of affection grows up at the parents' knees, and as (the duty of) nourishing those parents is exercised, the affection daily merges in awe. The sages proceeded from the (feeling of) awe to teach (the duties of) reverence, and from (that of) affection to teach (those of) love. The teachings of the sages, without being severe, were successful, and their government, without being rigo-

' My offerings here are given,
A ram, a bull.
Accept them, mighty Heaven,
All-bountiful;'

and the sixth and seventh lines by—

'From Wán comes blessing rich;
Now on the right
He owns those gifts to which
Him I invite.'

Since 'Heaven' and 'God' have the same reference, why are they used here as if there were some opposition between them? The nearest approach to an answer to this is found also in the *Extensive Explanation*, derived mainly from *K'ân Hsiang-táo*, of the Sung dynasty, and to the following effect:—'Heaven (Tien) just is God (Tî). Heaven is a term specially expressive of honour, and Hâu-*kî* was made the correlate of Heaven, because he was remote, far distant from the worshipper. God is a term expressive of affection, and king Wán was made the correlate of God, because he was nearer to, the father of, the duke of K'âu.' Hsiang-táo concludes by saying that the sacrifice at the border altar was an old institution, while that in the Brilliant Hall was first appointed by the duke of K'âu. According to this view, Heaven would approximate to the name for Deity in the absolute,—Jehovah, as explained in Exodus xv. 14; while Tî is God, 'our Father in heaven.'

rous, was effective. What they proceeded from was the root (of filial piety implanted by Heaven).

'The relation and duties between father and son, (thus belonging to) the Heaven-conferred nature, (contain in them the principle of) righteousness between ruler and subject¹. The son derives his life from his parents, and no greater gift could possibly be transmitted; his ruler and parent (in one), his father deals with him accordingly, and no generosity could be greater than this. Hence, he who does not love his parents, but loves other men, is called a rebel against virtue; and he who does not revere his parents, but reveres other men, is called a rebel against propriety. When (the ruler) himself thus acts contrary to (the principles) which should place him in accord (with all men), he presents nothing for the people to imitate. He has nothing to do with what is good, but entirely and only with what is injurious to virtue. Though he may get (his will, and be above others), the superior man does not give him his approval.

¹ We find for this in the Chinese Repository:—'The feelings which ought to characterise the intercourse between father and son are of a heavenly nature, resembling the bonds which exist between a prince and his ministers.' P. Cibot gives:—'Les rapports immuable de père et de fils découlent de l'essence même du Tien, et offrent la première idée de prince et de sujet;' adding on the former clause this note:—'Les commentateurs ne disent que des mots sur ces paroles; mais comment pourroient ils les bien expliquer, puisqu'ils ne sauroient en entrevoir le sens supreme et ineffable? Quelques-uns ont pris le parti de citer le texte de Táo-teh King (ch. 42), "Le Táo est vie et unité; le premier a engendré le second; les deux ont produit le troisième; le trois ont fait toutes choses;" c'est-à-dire, qu'ils ont tâché d'expliquer un texte qui les passe, par un autre où ils ne comprennent rien.' But there is neither difficulty in the construction of the text here, nor mystery in its meaning.

‘It is not so with the superior man. He speaks, having thought whether the words should be spoken; he acts, having thought whether his actions are sure to give pleasure. His virtue and righteousness are such as will be honoured; what he initiates and does is fit to be imitated; his deportment is worthy of contemplation; his movements in advancing or retiring are all according to the proper rule. In this way does he present himself to the people, who both revere and love him, imitate and become like him. Thus he is able to make his teaching of virtue successful, and his government and orders to be carried into effect ¹.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry ²,

“The virtuous man, the princely one,
Has nothing wrong in his deportment.”

CHAPTER X. AN ORDERLY DESCRIPTION OF THE ACTS OF FILIAL PIETY.

The Master said, ‘The service which a filial son does to his parents is as follows:—In his general conduct to them, he manifests the utmost reverence; in his nourishing of them, his endeavour is to give them the utmost pleasure; when they are ill, he feels the greatest anxiety; in mourning for them (dead), he exhibits every demonstration of grief; in sacrificing to them, he displays the utmost solemnity. When a son is complete in these five things (he may be pronounced) able to serve his parents.

¹ This paragraph may be called a mosaic, formed by piecing together passages from the *30 Kwan*.

² See the *Shih*, I, xiv, ode 3, stanza 3.

'He who (thus) serves his parents, in a high situation, will be free from pride; in a low situation, will be free from insubordination; and among his equals, will not be quarrelsome. In a high situation pride leads to ruin; in a low situation insubordination leads to punishment; among equals quarrelsomeness leads to the wielding of weapons.

'If those three things be not put away, though a son every day contribute beef, mutton, and pork¹ to nourish his parents, he is not filial.'

CHAPTER XI. FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO THE FIVE PUNISHMENTS.

The Master said, 'There are three thousand offences against which the five punishments are directed², and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial.

'When constraint is put upon a ruler, that is the disowning of his superiority; when the authority of the sages is disallowed, that is the disowning of (all) law; when filial piety is put aside, that is the disowning of the principle of affection. These (three things) pave the way to anarchy.'

CHAPTER XII. AMPLIFICATION OF 'THE ALL-EMBRACING RULE OF CONDUCT' IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, 'For teaching the people to be affectionate and loving there is nothing better than Filial Piety; for teaching them (the observance of) propriety and submissiveness there is nothing better than Fraternal Duty; for changing their manners

¹ Compare with this the Confucian Analects, II, vii.

² See the Shû, p. 43, and especially pp. 255, 256.

and altering their customs there is nothing better than Music; for securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people there is nothing better than the Rules of Propriety.

'The Rules of Propriety are simply (the development of) the principle of Reverence. Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes (all) sons pleased; the reverence paid to an elder brother makes (all) younger brothers pleased; the reverence paid to a ruler makes (all) subjects pleased¹. The reverence paid to one man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many;—this is what is meant by an "All-embracing Rule of Conduct."'

CHAPTER XIII. AMPLIFICATION OF 'THE PERFECT VIRTUE' IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, 'The teaching of filial piety by the superior man² does not require that he should go to family after family, and daily see the members of each. His teaching of filial piety is a tribute of reverence to all the fathers under heaven; his teaching of fraternal submission is a tribute of reverence to all the elder brothers under heaven; his teaching of the duty of a subject is a tribute of reverence to all the rulers under heaven.'

¹ We must understand that the 'reverence' here is to be understood as paid by the sovereign. In reverencing his father (or an uncle may also in Chinese usage be so styled), he reverences the idea of fatherhood, and being 'in accord with the minds of all under heaven,' his example is universally powerful. And we may reason similarly of the other two cases of reverence specified.

² The *K'un-ze*, or 'superior man,' here must be taken of the sovereign. P. Cibot translates it by 'un prince.'

' It is said in the Book of Poetry¹,
 " The happy and courteous sovereign
 Is the parent of the people."

' If it were not a perfect virtue, how could it be recognised as in accordance with their nature by the people so extensively as this ?'

CHAPTER XIV. AMPLIFICATION OF 'MAKING OUR NAME FAMOUS' IN CHAPTER I.

The Master said, ' The filial piety with which the superior man serves his parents may be transferred as loyalty to the ruler ; the fraternal duty with which he serves his elder brother may be transferred as submissive deference to elders ; his regulation of his family may be transferred as good government in any official position. Therefore, when his conduct is thus successful in his inner (private) circle, his name will be established (and transmitted) to future generations.'

CHAPTER XV. FILIAL PIETY IN RELATION TO REPROOF AND REMONSTRANCE.

The disciple Ǟǻng said, ' I have heard your instructions on the affection of love, on respect and reverence, on giving repose to (the minds of) our parents, and on making our name famous ;—I would venture to ask if (simple) obedience to the orders of one's father can be pronounced filial piety.' The Master replied, ' What words are these ! what words are these ! Anciently, if the Son of Heaven had seven ministers who would remonstrate with him,

¹ See the Shih, III, ii, ode 7, stanza 1. The two lines of the Shih here are, possibly, not an interpolation.

although he had not right methods of government, he would not lose his possession of the kingdom ; if the prince of a state had five such ministers, though his measures might be equally wrong, he would not lose his state ; if a great officer had three, he would not, in a similar case, lose (the headship of) his clan ; if an inferior officer had a friend who would remonstrate with him, a good name would not cease to be connected with his character ; and the father who had a son that would remonstrate with him would not sink into the gulf of unrighteous deeds¹. Therefore when a case of unrighteous conduct is concerned, a son must by no means keep from remonstrating with his father, nor a minister from remonstrating with his ruler. Hence, since remonstrance is required in the case of unrighteous conduct, how can (simple) obedience to the orders of a father be accounted filial piety² ?'

CHAPTER XVI. THE INFLUENCE OF FILIAL PIETY AND THE RESPONSE TO IT.

The Master said, 'Anciently, the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence ; they served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination³. They pursued

¹ The numbers 7, 5, 3, 1 cannot be illustrated by examples, nor should they be insisted on. The higher the dignity, the greater would be the risk, and the stronger must be the support that was needed.

² Compare the Analects, IV, xviii, and the *Lî K'î*, X, i, 15.

³ This chapter is as difficult to grasp as the seventh, which treated of Filial Piety in Relation to 'the Three Powers.' It is indeed a sequel to that. Heaven and Earth appear as two Powers, or as

the right course with reference to their (own) seniors and juniors, and therefore they secured the regulation of the relations between superiors and inferiors (throughout the kingdom).

'When Heaven and Earth were served with intelligence and discrimination, the spiritual intelligences displayed (their retributive power¹).

'Therefore even the Son of Heaven must have some whom he honours; that is, he has his uncles of his surname. He must have some to whom he concedes the precedence; that is, he has his cousins, who bear the same surname, and are older than himself. In the ancestral temple he manifests the utmost reverence, showing that he does not forget his parents; he cultivates his person and is careful of his conduct, fearing lest he should disgrace his predecessors.

'When in the ancestral temple he exhibits the

a dual Power, taking the place of Heaven or God. We can in a degree follow the treatise in transferring the reverence paid by a son to his father to loyalty shown by him to his ruler; but it is more difficult to understand the development of filial piety into religion that is here assumed and described. Was it not the pressing of this virtue too far, the making more of it than can be made, that tended to deprave religion during the *K'au* dynasty, and to mingle with the earlier monotheism a form of nature-worship?

Hsing Ping, in his 'Correct Meaning,' makes the 'discrimination' here to be 'an ability to distinguish the advantages of the earth;'—showing how he had the sixth and seventh chapters in his mind.

¹ 'The Spiritual Intelligences' here are Heaven and Earth conceived of as Spiritual Beings. They responded to the sincere service of the intelligent kings, as Hsing Ping says, with 'the harmony of the active and passive principles of nature, seasonable winds and rain, the absence of epidemic sickness and plague, and the repose of all under heaven.' Compare with this what is said in 'the Great Plan' of the *Shû*, pp. 147, 148.

utmost reverence, the spirits of the departed manifest themselves¹. Perfect filial piety and fraternal duty reach to (and move) the spiritual intelligences, and diffuse their light on all within the four seas;—they penetrate everywhere.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry²,
 “From the west to the east,
 From the south to the north,
 There was not a thought but did him homage.”’

CHAPTER XVII. THE SERVICE OF THE RULER.

The Master said, ‘The superior man³ serves his ruler in such a way, that when at court in his presence his thought is how to discharge his loyal duty to the utmost; and when he retires from it, his thought is how to amend his errors. He carries out with deference the measures springing from his excellent qualities, and rectifies him (only) to save him from what are evil. Hence, as the superior and inferior, they are able to have an affection for each other.

‘It is said in the Book of Poetry⁴,
 “In my heart I love him;
 And why should I not say so?
 In the core of my heart I keep him,
 And never will forget him.”’

¹ The reader will have noticed many instances of this, or what were intended to be instances of it, in the translations from the Shih, pp. 365-368, &c.

² See the Shih, III, i, ode 10, stanza 6.

³ ‘The superior man’ here can only be the good and intelligent officer in the royal domain or at a feudal court.

⁴ See the Shih, II, viii, ode 4, stanza 4.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FILIAL PIETY IN MOURNING FOR PARENTS.

The Master said, 'When a filial son is mourning for a parent, he wails, but not with a prolonged sobbing; in the movements of ceremony he pays no attention to his appearance; his words are without elegance of phrase; he cannot bear to wear fine clothes; when he hears music, he feels no delight; when he eats a delicacy, he is not conscious of its flavour:—such is the nature of grief and sorrow.

'After three days he may partake of food; for thus the people are taught that the living should not be injured on account of the dead, and that emaciation must not be carried to the extinction of life:—such is the rule of the sages. The period of mourning does not go beyond three years, to show the people that it must have an end.

'An inner and outer coffin are made; the grave-clothes also are put on, and the shroud; and (the body) is lifted (into the coffin). The sacrificial vessels, round and square, are (regularly) set forth, and (the sight of them) fills (the mourners) with (fresh) distress¹. The women beat their breasts, and the men stamp with their feet, wailing and weeping, while they sorrowfully escort the coffin to the grave. They consult the tortoise-shell to determine the grave and the ground about it, and

¹ These vessels were arranged every day by the coffin, while it continued in the house, after the corpse was put into it. The practice was a serving of the dead as the living had been served. It is not thought necessary to give any details as to the other different rites of mourning which are mentioned. They will be found, with others, in the translations from the *Lǐ Kǐ*.

there they lay the body in peace. They prepare the ancestral temple (to receive the tablet of the departed), and there present offerings to the disembodied spirit. In spring and autumn they offer sacrifices, thinking of the deceased as the seasons come round.

'The services of love and reverence to parents when alive, and those of grief and sorrow to them when dead:—these completely discharge the fundamental duty of living men. The righteous claims of life and death are all satisfied, and the filial son's service of his parents is completed.'

The above is the Classic of Filial Piety, as published by the emperor Hsüan in A.D. 722, with the headings then prefixed to the eighteen chapters. Subsequently, in the eleventh century, Sze-mâ Kwang (A.D. 1009-1086), a famous statesman and historian, published what he thought was the more ancient text of the Classic in twenty-two chapters, with 'Explanations' by himself, without indicating, however, the different chapters, and of course without headings to them. This work is commonly published along with an 'Exposition' of his views, by Fan 3ü-yü, one of his contemporaries and friends. The differences between his text and that of the Thang emperor are insignificant. He gives, however, one additional chapter, which would be the nineteenth of his arrangement. It is as follows:—'Inside the smaller doors leading to the inner apartments are to be found all the rules (of government). There is awe for the father, and also for the elder brother. Wife and children, servants and concubines are like the common people, serfs, and underlings.'

TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENTAL ALPHABETS ADOPTED FOR THE TRANSLATIONS
OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST.

| | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. | |
|--|----------------------------|-----------|------------|----------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| | CONSONANTS. | | | VOWELS. | | | | | | | | | | |
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | | |
| Gutturales. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Tenuis | k | | क | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ك | | 𐤒 | | k |
| 2 | " aspirata | kh | | | | | | 𐬕 | | ك | | 𐤒 | | kh |
| 3 | Media | g | | | | ग | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 4 | " aspirata | gh | | | | | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 5 | Gutturo-labialis | q | | | | ق | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 6 | Nasalis | ñ (ng) | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 7 | Spiritus asper | h | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | h, hs |
| 8 | " lenis | ' | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 9 | " asper faucalis | 'h | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 10 | " lenis faucalis | 'h | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 11 | " asper fricatus | 'k | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 12 | " lenis fricatus | 'k | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| Gutturales modificatae (palatales, &c.) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | Tenuis | k | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | k |
| 14 | " aspirata | kh | | | | | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | kh |
| 15 | Media | g | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 16 | " aspirata | gh | | | | | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |
| 17 | " Nasalis | ñ | | | | 𐬕 | | 𐬕 | | ق | | 𐤒 | | |

[r]

κ k

| CONSONANTS (pronounced) | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pahlavi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|----------------------|----------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| 18 Semivocalis | y | | | य | 𐬨 𐬩 𐬪 init. | و | ي | ي | י | γ |
| 19 Spiritus asper | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 20 " lenis | | (y) | | | | | | | | |
| 21 " asper assibilatus | | s | | स | 𐬰 | س | ش | ش | | |
| 22 " lenis assibilatus | | z | | z | 𐬱 | ز | ز | ز | | z |
| Dentales. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 Tenuis | t | | | त | 𐬔 | ت | ت | ت | ת | t |
| 24 " aspirata | th | | | थ | 𐬕 | | | | ת | th |
| 25 " assibilata | | | TH | | | | | | | |
| 26 Media | d | | | द | 𐬆 | د | د | د | ד | |
| 27 " aspirata | dh | | | ध | 𐬇 | | | | | |
| 28 " assibilata | | | DH | | | | | | | |
| 29 Nasalis | n | | | न | 𐬈 | ن | ن | ن | נ | n |
| 30 Semivocalis | l | | | ल | 𐬉 | ل | ل | ل | ל | l |
| 31 " mollis 1 | | l | | ळ | 𐬊 | ا | | | | |
| 32 " mollis 2 | | | L | | | | | | | |
| 33 Spiritus asper 1 | s | | | स | 𐬋 | س | س | س | ש | s |
| 34 " asper 2 | | | S | | | | | | | |
| 35 " lenis | z | | | z | 𐬌 | ز | ز | ز | ז | z |
| 36 " asperimus 1 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |
| 37 " asperimus 2 | | | z (z) | | | | | | | |

| VOWELS. | MISSIONARY ALPHABET. | | | Sanskrit. | Zend. | Pehlvi. | Persian. | Arabic. | Hebrew. | Chinese. |
|--|----------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| | I Class. | II Class. | III Class. | | | | | | | |
| | 0 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 Neutralis | ø | | | | | | | | 一 | ø |
| 2 Laryngo-palatalis | æ | | | | | ا | | | א | æ |
| 3 " labialis | œ | | | | | ا | | | א | œ |
| 4 Gutturalis brevis | a | | | अ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | a |
| 5 " longa | ā | (a) | | आ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ā |
| 6 Palatalis brevis | i | | | इ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | i |
| 7 " longa | ī | (i) | | ई | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ī |
| 8 Dentalis brevis | z | | | उ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | z |
| 9 " longa | z̄ | | | ऊ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | z̄ |
| 10 Lingualis brevis | ri | | | र | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ri |
| 11 " longa | rī | | | ऋ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | rī |
| 12 Labialis brevis | u | | (u) | उ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | u |
| 13 " longa | ū | | | ऊ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ū |
| 14 Gutturō-palatalis brevis | e | | (e) | ए | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | e |
| 15 " longa | é | (ai) | | ऐ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | é |
| 16 Diphthongus gutturo-palatalis | ái | (ai) | | आ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ái |
| 17 " " | ei | (éi) | | इ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ei |
| 18 " " | oi | (ou) | | उ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | oi |
| 19 Gutturō-labialis brevis | o | | (o) | ओ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | o |
| 20 " longa | ó | (au) | | आ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ó |
| 21 Diphthongus gutturo-labialis | áu | (au) | | आ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | áu |
| 22 " " | eu | (eu) | | इ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | eu |
| 23 " " | ou | (ou) | | उ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ou |
| 24 Gutturō-labialis fracta | ä | | | अ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ä |
| 25 Palatalis fracta | ī | | | इ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ī |
| 26 Labialis fracta | ü | | | उ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ü |
| 27 Gutturō-labialis fracta | ö | | | ओ | ا | ا | ا | ا | א | ö |

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