lead the life of anchorites, do not greatly differ in character and style from the Brâhmanas, but like them are chiefly ritualistic, treating of special ceremonies not dealt with, or dealt with only imperfectly, in the latter works, to which they thus stand in the relation of supplements. The Upanishads, on the other hand, are of a purely speculative nature, and must be looked upon as the first attempts at a systematic treatment of metaphysical questions. The number of Upanishads hitherto known is very considerable (about 170); but, though they nearly all profess to belong to the Atharvaveda, they have to be assigned to very different periods of Sanskrit literature,—some of them being evidently quite modern productions. The oldest treatises of this kind are doubtless those which form part of Vedic Samhitâs, Brâhmanas, and Aranyakas, though not a few others which have no such special connexion have to be classed with the later products of the Vedic age.

As the sacred texts were not committed to writing till a much later period, but were handed down orally in the Brâhmanical schools, it was inevitable that local differences of reading should spring up, which in course of time gave rise to a number of independent versions, more or less differing from one another. Such different text-recensions, called *sâkhâ* (*i. e.*, branch), were at one time very numerous, but only a limited number of them have survived. As regards the Samhitâs, the poetical form of the hymns, as well as the concise style of the sacrificial formulas, would render these texts less liable to change, and the discrepancies of different versions would chiefly consist in various readings of single words or in the different arrangement of the textual matter. The diffuse ritualistic discussions and loosely connected legendary illustrations of the Brâhmanas, on the other hand, offered scope for very considerable modifications in the traditional matter, either through the ordinary processes of oral transmission or through the special influence of individual teachers.

An original Brâhmana, then, may be characterized as a series of theoretic discourses, composed by recognized authorities on ritualistic matters, such as might be delivered or referred to in connexion with practical instruction in the sacrificial art. The growing intricacy of the ceremonial, however, could not fail, in course of time, to create a demand for treatises of a more practical tendency, setting forth, in concise and methodical form, the duties of the several priests in the sacrificial performances. But, besides the purely ceremonial matter, the Brâhmanas also contained a considerable amount of matter bearing on the correct interpretation of the Vedic texts; and, indeed, the sacred obligation incumbent on the Brâhmans of handing down correctly the letter and sense of those texts necessarily involved a good deal of serious grammatical and etymological study in the Brâhmanical schools. These literary pursuits could not but result in the accumulation of much learned material, which it would become more and more desirable to throw into a systematic form, serving at the same time as a guide for future research. These practical requirements were met by a class of treatises, grouped under six different heads or subjects, called *Vedângas*, *i. e.*, members, or limbs, of the (body of the) Veda. None of the works, however, which have come down to us under this designation can lay any just claim to being considered as the original treatises on their several subjects; but they evidently represent a more or less advanced stage of scientific development. Though a few of them are composed in metrical form—especially in the ordinary epic couplet, the *anushtubh sloka*, consisting of two lines of sixteen syllables, or of two octosyllabic pâdas, each—the majority of them belong to a class of writings called *sûtra*, *i. e.*, "string," consisting as they do of strings of rules in the shape of tersely expressed aphorisms, intended to be committed to memory. The Sûtras form a connecting link between the Vedic and the classical periods of literature. But, although these treatises, so far as they deal with Vedic subjects, are included by the native authorities among the Vedic writings, and in point of language may, generally speaking, be considered as the latest products of the Vedic age, they have no share in the sacred title of *sruti* or revelation. They are of human, not of divine, origin. And yet, as the production of men of the highest standing, and profoundly versed in Vedic lore, the Sûtras are naturally regarded as works of great authority, second only to that of the revealed scriptures themselves; and their relation to the latter is expressed in the generic title of *Smriti*, or Tradition, usually applied to them. Sûtras.

The six branches of Vedic science, included under the term Vedânga, are as follows:—

(1) *Sikshâ*, or Phonetics. The privileged position of representing this subject is assigned to a small treatise ascribed to the great grammarian Pâṇini, viz., the *Pâṇiniyâ sikshâ*, extant in two different (Rik and Yajus) recensions. But neither this treatise nor any other of the numerous sikshâs which have recently come to light can lay claim to any very high age. Scholars, however, usually include under this head certain works, called *Prâtisâkhya*, *i. e.*, "belonging to a certain *sâkhâ* or recension," which deal minutely with the phonetic peculiarities of the several Samhitâs, and are of great importance for the textual criticism of the Vedic Samhitâs. Phonetic.

(2) *Chhandas*, or Metre. Tradition makes the *Chhandah-sûtra* of Pingala the starting point of prosody. The Vedic metres, however, occupy but a small part of this treatise, and they are evidently dealt with in a more original manner in the Nidâna-sûtra of the Sâmaveda, and in a chapter of the Rik-prâtisâkhya. For profane prosody, on the other hand, Pingala's treatise is rather valuable, no less than 160 metres being described by him. Metre.

(3) *Vyâkarana*, or Grammar. Pâṇini's famous grammar is said to be *the* Vedânga; but it marks the culminating point of grammatical research rather than the beginning, and besides treats chiefly of the post-Vedic language. Grammar.

(4) *Nirukta*, or Etymology. Yâska's *Nirukta* is the traditional representative of this subject, and this important work certainly deals entirely with Vedic etymology or explanation. It consists, in the first place, of strings of words in three chapters:—(1) synonymous words; (2) such as are purely or chiefly Vedic; and (3) names of deities. These lists are followed by Yâska's commentary, interspersed with numerous illustrations. Yâska, again, quotes several predecessors in the same branch of science; and it is probable that the original works on this subject consisted merely of lists of words similar to those handed down by him. Etymology.

(5) *Jyotisha*, or Astronomy. Although astronomical calculations are frequently referred to in older works in connexion with the performance of sacrifices, the metrical treatise which has come down to us in two different recensions under the title of Jyotisha, ascribed to one Lagadha, or Lagata, seems indeed to be the oldest existing systematic treatise on astronomical subjects. With the exception of some apparently spurious verses of one of the recensions, it betrays no sign of the Greek influence which shows itself in Hindu astronomical works from about the third century of our era, and its date may therefore be set down as probably not later than the early centuries after Christ. Astronomy.

(6) *Kalpa*, or Ceremonial. Tradition does not single out any special work as the Vedânga in this branch of Vedic science; but the sacrificial practice gave rise to a large number of systematic sûtra-manuals for the several

classes of priests. The most important of these works have come down to us, and they occupy by far the most prominent place among the literary productions of the sûtra-period. The Kalpa-sûtras, or rules of ceremonial, are of two kinds:—(1) the *Śrauta-sûtras*, which are based on the śruti, and teach the performance of the great sacrifices, requiring three sacrificial fires; and (2) the *Smârta-sûtras*, or rules based on the smriti or tradition. The latter class again includes two kinds of treatises:—(1) the *Gṛihya-sûtras*, or domestic rules, treating of ordinary family rites, such as marriage, birth, name-giving, &c., connected with simple offerings in the domestic fire; and (2) the *Sâmayâchârika-* (or *Dharma-*) *sûtras*, which treat of customs and temporal duties, and are supposed to have formed the chief sources of the later law-books. Besides, the Śrauta-sûtras of the Yajurveda have usually attached to them a set of so-called *Śulva-sûtras*, *i.e.*, "rules of the cord," which treat of the measurement by means of cords, and the construction, of different kinds of altars required for sacrifices. These treatises (the study of which has been successfully taken up by Prof. Thibaut of Benares) are of considerable interest as supplying important information regarding the earliest geometrical operations in India. Along with the Sûtras may be classed a large number of supplementary treatises, usually called *Pariśishta* (παραλιπόμενα), on various subjects connected with the sacred texts and Vedic religion generally.

After this brief characterization of the various branches of Vedic literature, we proceed to take a rapid survey of the several Vedic collections.

A. *Ṛigveda*.[1]—The *Ṛigveda-saṃhitâ* has come down to us in the recension of the Śâkala school. Mention is made of several other versions; and regarding one of them, that of the Bâshkalas, we have some further information, according to which it seems, however, to have differed but little from the Śâkala text. The latter consists of 1028 hymns, including eleven so-called *Vâlakhilyas*, which were probably introduced into the collection subsequently to its completion. The hymns are composed in a great variety of metres, and consist, on an average, of rather more than 10 verses each, or about 10,600 verses altogether. This body of sacred lyrics has been subdivided by ancient authorities in a twofold way, viz., either from a purely artificial point of view, into eight *ashṭakas* of about equal length, or, on a more natural principle, based on the origin of the hymns, and invariably adopted by European scholars, into ten books, or *maṇḍalas*, of unequal length. Tradition (not, however, always trustworthy in this respect) has handed down the names of the reputed authors, or rather inspired "seers" (*ṛishi*), of most hymns. These indications have enabled scholars to form some idea as to the probable way in which the Ṛik-saṃhitâ originated, though much still remains to be cleared up by future research.

In the first place, maṇḍalas ii.–vii. are evidently arranged on a uniform plan. Each of them is ascribed to a different family of ṛishis, whence they are usually called the six "family-books":—ii., the Gṛitsamadas; iii., the Viśvâmitras or Kuśikas; iv., the Vâmadevyas; v., the Atris; vi., the Bharadvâjas; and vii., the Vasishṭhas. Further, each of these books begins with the hymns addressed to Agni, the god of fire, which are followed by those to Indra, the Jupiter Pluvius, whereupon follow those addressed to minor deities—the Viśve Devâḥ ("all-gods"), the Maruts (storm-gods), &c. Again, the hymns addressed to each deity are arranged (as Prof. Delbrück has shown) in a descending order, according to the number of verses of which they consist.

The first maṇḍala, the longest in the whole Saṃhitâ, contains 191 hymns, ascribed, with the exception of a few isolated ones, to sixteen poets of different families. Here again the hymns of each author are arranged on precisely the same principle as the "family-books." The eighth and ninth books, on the other hand, have a special character of their own. To the Sâmaveda-saṃhitâ, which, as we shall see, consists almost entirely of verses chosen from the Ṛik for chanting purposes, these two maṇḍalas have contributed a much larger proportion of verses than any of the others. Now, the hymns of the eighth book are ascribed to a number of different ṛishis, mostly belonging to the Kânva family. The productions of each poet are usually, though not always, grouped together, but no other principle of arrangement has yet been discovered. The chief peculiarity of this maṇḍala, however, consists in its metres. Many of the hymns are composed in the form of stanzas, called *pragâtha* (from *gâ*, "to sing"), consisting of two verses in the *bṛihatî* and *satobṛihatî* metros; whence this book is usually known under the designation of Pragâthâḥ. The other metres met with in this book are likewise such as were evidently considered peculiarly adapted for singing, viz., the *gâyatrî* (from *gâ*, "to sing") and other chiefly octosyllabic metres. It is not yet clear how to account for these peculiarities; but further research may perhaps show that either the Kânvas were a family of udgâtars, or chanters, or that, before the establishment of a common system of worship for the Brâhmanical community, they were accustomed to carry on their liturgical service exclusively by means of chants, instead of using the later form of mixed recitation and chant. One of the ṛishis of this family is called Pragâtha Kânva; possibly this surname "pragâtha" may be an old, or local, synonym of udgâtar, or perhaps of the chief chanter, the so-called *Praśastar*, or precentor. The ninth maṇḍala, on the other hand, consists entirely of hymns (114) addressed to *Soma*, the deified juice of the so-called "moon-plant" (*Sarcostemma viminale*, or *Asclepias acida*), and ascribed to poets of different families. They are called *pavamânî*, "purificational," because they were to be recited by the hotar while the juice expressed from the soma plants was clarifying. The first sixty of these hymns are arranged strictly according to their length, ranging from ten down to four verses; but as to the remaining hymns no such principle of arrangement is observable, except perhaps in smaller groups of hymns. One might, therefore, feel inclined to look upon that first section as the body of soma hymns set apart, at the time of the first redaction of the Saṃhitâ, for the special purpose of being used as *pavamânyaḥ*,—the remaining hymns having been added at subsequent redactions. It would not, however, by any means follow that all, or even any, of the latter hymns were actually later productions, as they might previously have formed part of the family collections, or might have been overlooked when the hymns were first collected. Other maṇḍalas (viz., i., viii., and x.) still contain four entire hymns addressed to Soma, consisting together of 58 verses, of which only a single one (x. 25, 1) is found in the Sâmaveda-saṃhitâ, as also some 28 isolated verses to Soma, and four hymns addressed to Soma in conjunction with some other deity, which are entirely unrepresented in that collection.

The tenth maṇḍala contains the same number of hymns (191) as the first, which it nearly equals in actual length. The hymns are ascribed to many ṛishis, of various families, some of whom appear already in the preceding maṇḍalas. The traditional record is, however, less to be depended upon as regards this book, many names of gods and fictitious personages appearing in the list of its ṛishis. In the latter half of the book the hymns are clearly arranged according to the number of verses, in decreasing order,—occasional exceptions to this rule being easily adjusted by the removal of a few additional verses. A similar arrangement seems also to suggest itself in other portions of the book. This maṇḍala stands somewhat apart from the preceding books, both its language and the general character of many of its hymns betraying a comparatively modern origin. In this respect it stands about on a level with the Atharvaveda-saṃhitâ, with which it is otherwise closely connected. Of some 1350 Ṛik-verses found in the Atharvan, about 550, or rather more than 40 per cent., occur in the tenth maṇḍala. In the latter we meet with the same tendencies as in the Atharvan to metaphysical speculation and abstract conceptions of the deity on the one hand, and to superstitious practices on the other. But, although in its general appearance the tenth maṇḍala is decidedly more modern than the other books, it contains not a few hymns which are little, if at all, inferior, both in respect of age and poetic quality, to the generality of Vedic hymns.

It has become the custom, after Roth's example, to call the Ṛik-saṃhitâ (as well as the Atharvan) an historical collection, as compared with the Saṃhitâs put together for purely ritualistic purposes. And indeed, though the several family collections which make up the earlier maṇḍalas may originally have served ritual ends, as the hymnals of certain clans or tribal confederacies, and although the Saṃhitâ itself, in its oldest form, may have been intended as a common prayer-book, so to speak, for the whole of the Brâhmanical community, it is certain that in the stage in which it has been finally handed down it includes a certain portion of hymn material (and even some secular poetry) which could never have been used for purposes of religious service. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Ṛik-saṃhitâ contains all of the nature of popu-

[1] The Ṛigveda has been edited, together with the commentary of Sâyana (of the 14th century), by Max Müller, 6 vols., London, 1849–74. The same scholar has published an edition of the hymns, both in the connected (*saṃhitâ*) and the disjoined (*pada*) texts, 1873. An edition in Roman transliteration was published by Th. Aufrecht, Berlin, 1861–3 (2d ed. 1877). Part of an English translation (chiefly based on Sâyana's interpretation) was brought out by the late Prof. H. H. Wilson (vols. i.–iii., 1850–1857) and continued by Prof. E. B. Cowell (vol. iv., 1866, bringing up the work to maṇḍala viii. hymn 20). We have also the first volume of a translation, with a running commentary, by M. Müller, containing the hymns to the Maruts or storm-gods. Complete German translations have been published by H. Grassmann (1876–7) and A. Ludwig (1876).

lar lyrics that was accessible to the collectors, or seemed to them worthy of being preserved. The question as to the exact period when the hymns were collected cannot be answered with any approach to accuracy. For many reasons, however, which cannot be detailed here, scholars have come to fix on the year 1000 B.C. as an approximate date for the collection of the Vedic hymns. From that time every means that human ingenuity could suggest was adopted to secure the sacred texts against the risks connected with oral transmission. But, as there is abundant evidence to show that even then not only had the text of the hymns suffered corruption, but their language had become antiquated to a considerable extent, and was only partly understood, the period during which the great mass of the hymns were composed must have lain considerably further back, and may very likely have extended over the earlier half of the second millenary, or from about 2000 to 1500 B.C.

As regards the people which raised for itself this imposing monument, the hymns exhibit it as settled in the regions watered by the mighty Sindhu (Indus), with its eastern and western tributaries. The land of the five rivers forms the central home of the Vedic people; but, while its advanced guard has already debouched upon the plains of the upper Gangâ and Yamunâ, those who bring up the rear are still found loitering far behind in the narrow glens of the Kubhâ (Cabul) and Gomatî (Gomal). Scattered over this tract of land, in hamlets and villages, the Vedic Âryas are leading chiefly the life of herdsmen and husbandmen. The numerous clans and tribes, ruled over by chiefs and kings, have still constantly to vindicate their right to the land but lately wrung from an inferior race of darker hue; just as in these latter days their kinsmen in the Far West are ever on their guard against the fierce attacks of the dispossessed red-skin. Not unfrequently, too, the light-coloured Âryas rage internecine war with one another,—as when the Bharatas, with allied tribes of the Panjab, goaded on by the royal sage Viśvâmitra, invade the country of the Tritsu king Sudâs, to be defeated in the "ten kings' battle," through the inspired power of the priestly singer Vasishṭha. The priestly office has already become one of high social importance by the side of the political rulers, and to a large extent an hereditary profession; but it does not yet present the baneful features of an exclusive caste. The Aryan housewife shares with her husband the daily toil and joy, the privilege of worshipping the national gods, and even the triumphs of song-craft, some of the finest hymns being attributed to female seers.

The religious belief of the people consists in a system of natural symbolism, a worship of the elementary forces of nature, regarded as beings endowed with reason and power superior to those of man. In giving utterance to this simple belief, the priestly spokesman has, however, frequently worked into it his own speculative and mystic notions. Indra, the stout-hearted ruler of the cloud-region, receives by far the largest share of the devout attentions of the Vedic singer. His ever-renewed battle with the malicious demons of darkness and drought, for the recovery of the heavenly light and the rain-spending cows of the sky, forms an inexhaustible theme of spirited song. Next to him, in the affections of the people, stands Agni (ignis), the god of fire, invoked as the genial inmate of the Aryan household, and as the bearer of oblations, and mediator between gods and men. Indra and Agni are thus, as it were, the divine representatives of the king (or chief) and the priest of the Aryan community; and if, in the arrangement of the Saṃhitâ, the Brâhmanical collectors gave precedence to Agni, it was but one of many avowals of their own hierarchical pretensions. Hence also the hymns to Indra are mostly followed, in the family collections, by those addressed to the Viśve Devâḥ (the "all-gods") or to the Maruts (Mavors, Mars), the warlike storm-gods and faithful companions of Indra, as the divine impersonation of the Aryan freemen, the *viś* or clan. But, while Indra and Agni are undoubtedly the favourite figures of the Vedic pantheon, there is reason to believe that these gods had but lately supplanted another group of deities who play a less prominent part in the hymns, viz., Father Heaven (Dyaus Pitar, Ζεὺς πατήρ, Jupiter); Varuṇa (οὐρανός), the all-embracing firmament; Mitra (Zend. Mithra), the genial light of day; and Savitar (Saturnus) or Sûrya (ἥλιος), the vivifying sun.

Of the Brâhmanas that were handed down in the schools of the *Bahvṛichas* (*i.e.*, "possessed of many verses"), as the followers of the Rigveda are called, two have come down to us, viz., those of the Aitareyins and the Kaushitakins. The *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa*[1] and the *Kaushîtakî-* (or *Śâṅkhâyana-*) *brâhmaṇa* evidently have for their groundwork the same stock of traditional exegetic matter. They differ, however, considerably as regards both the arrangement of this matter and their stylistic handling of it, with the exception of the numerous legends common to both, in which the discrepancy is comparatively slight. There is also a certain amount of material peculiar to each of them. The Kaushîtaka is, upon the whole, far more concise in its style and more systematic in its arrangement—merits which would lead one to infer that it is probably the more modern work of the two. It consists of thirty chapters (*adhyâya*); while the Aitareya has forty, divided into eight books (or pentads, *panchakâ*, of five chapters each). The last ten adhyâyas of the latter work are, however, clearly a later addition,—though they must have already formed part of it at the time of Pâṇini (c. 400 B.C. ?), if, as seems probable, one of his grammatical sûtras, regulating the formation of the names of Brâhmanas, consisting of thirty and forty adhyâyas, refers to these two works. In this last portion occurs the well-known legend (also found in the Śâṅkhâyana-sûtra, but not in the Kaushîtakî-brâhmaṇa) of Śunaḥśepa, whom his father Ajîgarta sells and offers to slay, the recital of which formed part of the inauguration of kings. While the Aitareya deals almost exclusively with the Soma sacrifice, the Kaushîtaka, in its first six chapters, treats of the several kinds of *haviryajña*, or offerings of rice, milk, ghee, &c., whereupon follows the Soma sacrifice in this way, that chapters 7–10 contain the practical ceremonial and 11–30 the recitations (*śastra*) of the hotar. Sâyaṇa, in the introduction to his commentary on the work, ascribes the Aitareya to the sage Mahidâsa Aitareya (son of Itarâ), also mentioned elsewhere as a philosopher; and it seems likely enough that this person arranged the Brâhmaṇa and founded the school of the Aitareyins. Regarding the authorship of the sister work we have no information, except that the opinion of the sage Kaushîtaki is frequently referred to in it as authoritative, and generally in opposition to the Paiṅgya—the Paiṅgins.

Each of these two Brâhmanas is supplemented by a "forest-portion," or Âraṇyaka. The *Aitareyâraṇyaka*[2] is not a uniform production. It consists of five books (*âraṇyaka*), three of which, the first and the last two, are of a liturgical nature, treating of the ceremony called *mahâvrata* or great vow. The second and third books, on the other hand, are purely speculative, and are also styled the *Bahvṛicha-brâhmaṇa-upanishad*. Again, the last four chapters of the second book are usually singled out as *the Aitareyopanishad*,[3] ascribed, like its Brâhmaṇa (and the first book), to Mahidâsa Aitareya; and the third book is also referred to as the *Saṃhitâ-upanishad*. The fourth and fifth books are doubtless of later origin, being composed in sûtra-form. Even native authorities exclude them from the sacred canon, and ascribe them to Âśvalâyana and Śaunaka respectively, of whom more further on. As regards the *Kaushîtakî-âraṇyaka*, our MS. material is not yet sufficient to enable us to determine its exact extent and arrangement. It would, however, seem that there are two different recensions of this treatise, a shorter one, consisting of nine, and a longer one of fifteen, adhyâyas. Four of these, variously placed at the beginning or end, or after the second adhyâya, constitute the highly interesting *Kaushîtakî-* (*brâhmaṇa-*) *upanishad*,[4] of which we possess two different recensions. The remaining portions of the Âraṇyaka seem to correspond, to some extent, to the ceremonial sections of the Aitareya-âraṇyaka.

Of *Kalpa-sûtras*, or manuals of sacrificial ceremonial, composed for the use of the hotar priest, two different sets are in existence, the *Âśvalâyana-* and the *Śâṅkhâyana-sûtra*. Each of these works follows one of the two Brâhmanas of the Ṛik as its chief authority, viz., the Aitareya and Kaushîtaka respectively. Both consist of a *Śrauta-* and a *Gṛihya-sûtra*. Âśvalâyana seems to have lived about the same time as Pâṇini,—his own teacher, Śaunaka, who completed the Ṛik-prâtiśâkhya, being probably intermediate between the great grammarian and Yâska, the author of the Nirukta. Śaunaka himself is said to have been the author of a Śrauta-sûtra (which was, however, more of the nature of a Brâhmaṇa) and to have destroyed it on seeing his pupil's work. A Gṛihya-sûtra is still quoted under his name by later writers. The Âśvalâyana Śrauta-sûtra[5] consists of twelve, the Gṛihya[6] of four, adhyâyas.

Regarding Śâṅkhâyana still less is known; but he, too, was doubtless a comparatively modern writer, who, like Âśvalâyana, founded a new school of ritualists. Hence the Kaushîtaki-brâhmaṇa, adopted (and perhaps improved) by him, also goes under his name, just as the Aitareya is sometimes called Âśvalâyana-brâhmaṇa. The Śâṅkhâyana Śrauta-sûtra consists of eighteen adhyâyas. The last two chapters of the work are, however, a later addition,[6] while the two preceding chapters, on the contrary, present a comparatively archaic, brâhmaṇa-like appearance. The Gṛihya-sûtra[7] consists of six chapters, the last two of which are likewise later appendages. The *Sâmbavya Gṛihya-sûtra*, of which a single MS.

[1] Edited, with an English translation, by M. Haug, 2 vols., Bombay, 1863. An edition in Roman transliteration, with extracts from the commentary, has been published by Th. Aufrecht, Bonn, 1879.

[2] Edited, with Sâyaṇa's commentary, by Râjendralâla Mitra, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1875–76. The first three books have been translated by F. Max Müller in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i.

[3] Edited and translated by Dr Röer, in the *Bibl. Ind.* The last chapter of the second book, not being commented upon by Sâyaṇa, is probably a later addition.

[4] Text, commentary, and translation published by E. B. Cowell, in the *Bibl. Ind.* Also a translation by F. Max Müller in *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i.

[5] Both works have been published with the commentary of Gârgya Nârâyaṇa, by native scholars, in the *Bibl. Ind.* Also the text of the Gṛihya, with a German translation by A. Stenzler.

[6] See A. Weber's analysis, *Ind. Studien*, ii. p. 288 *sq.* This work, with its commentaries, is only accessible in manuscript.

[7] Edited, with a German translation, by H. Oldenberg (*Ind. Stud.*, vol. xv.), who also gives an account of the Sâmbavya Gṛihya.

is at present known, seems to be closely connected with the preceding work. Prof. Bühler also refers to the Rigveda the *Vâsishṭha-dharmaśâstra*,[1] composed of mixed sûtras and couplets.

A few works remain to be noticed, bearing chiefly on the textual form and traditionary records of the Ṛik-saṃhitâ. In our remarks on the Vedâṅgas, the Prâtiśâkhyas have already been referred to as the chief repositories of śikshâ or Vedic phonetics. Among these works the *Ṛik-prâtiśâkhya*[2] occupies the first place. The original composition of this important work is ascribed to the same *Śâkalya* from whom the vulgate recension of the (Śâkala) Saṃhitâ takes its name. He is also said to be the author of the existing *Pada-pâṭha* (*i.e.*, the text-form in which each word is given unconnected with those that precede and follow it),—which report may well be credited, since the pada-text was doubtless prepared with a view to an examination, such as is presented in the Prâtiśâkhya, of the phonetic modifications undergone by words in their syntactic combination. In the Prâtiśâkhya itself, Śâkalya's father (or Śâkalya the elder) is also several times referred to as an authority on phonetics, though the younger Śâkalya is evidently regarded as having improved on his father's theories. Thus both father and son probably had a share in the formulation of the rules of pronunciation and modification of Vedic sounds. The completion or final arrangement of the Ṛik-prâtiśâkhya, in its present form, is ascribed to Śaunaka, the reputed teacher of Âśvalâyana. Śaunaka, however, is merely a family name ("descendant of Śunaka"), which is given even to the ṛishi Gṛitsamada, to whom nearly the whole of the second maṇḍala of the Ṛik is attributed. How long after Śâkalya this particular Śaunaka lived we do not know; but some generations at all events would seem to lie between them, considering that in the meantime the Śâkalas, owing doubtless to minor differences on phonetic points in the Saṃhitâ text, had split into several branches, to one of which, the Śaiśira (or Śaiśirîya) school, Śaunaka belonged. While Śâkalya is referred to both by Yâska and Pâṇini, neither of these writers mentions Śaunaka. It seems nevertheless likely, for several reasons, that Pâṇini was acquainted with Śaunaka's work, though the point has by no means been definitively settled. The Ṛik-prâtiśâkhya is composed in mixed ślokas, or couplets of various metres, a form of composition for which Śaunaka seems to have had a special predilection. Besides the Prâtiśâkhya, and the Gṛihya-sûtra mentioned above, eight other works are ascribed to Śaunaka, viz., the *Bṛihaddevatâ*, an account, in epic ślokas, of the deities of the hymns, which supplies much valuable mythological information; the *Ṛig-vidhâna*, a treatise, likewise in epic metre, on the magic effects of Vedic hymns and verses; the *Pâda-vidhâna*, a similar treatise, apparently no longer in existence; and five different indexes or catalogues (*anukramaṇî*) of the ṛishis, metres, deities, sections (*anuvâka*), and hymns of the Rigveda. It is, however, doubtful whether the existing version of the Bṛihaddevatâ is the original one; and the Ṛigvidhâna would seem to be much more modern than Śaunaka's time. As regards the Anukramaṇîs, they seem all to have been composed in mixed ślokas; but, with the exception of the Anuvâkânukramaṇî, they are only known from quotations, having been superseded by the *Sarvânukramaṇî*, or complete index, of *Kâtyâyana*. Both these indexes have been commented upon by Shaḍguruśishya, towards the end of the 12th century of our era.

Sâma-veda-saṃhitâ.

B. *Sâma-veda.*—The term *sâman*, of uncertain derivation, denotes a solemn tune or melody to be sung or chanted to a *ṛich* or verse. The set chants (stotra) of the Soma sacrifice are as a rule performed in triplets, either actually consisting of three different verses, or of two verses which, by the repetition of certain parts, are made, as it were, to form three. The three verses are usually sung to the same tune; but in certain cases two verses sung to the same tune had a different sâman enclosed between them. One and the same sâman or tune may thus be sung to many different verses; but, as in teaching and practising the tunes the same verse was invariably used for a certain tune, the term "sâman," as well as the special technical names of sâmans, are not unfrequently applied to the verses themselves with which they were most commonly connected, just as one would quote the beginning of the text of an English hymn, when the tune usually sung to that hymn is meant. The Indian chant somewhat resembles the Gregorian or Plain Chant.[3] Each sâman is divided into five parts or phrases (*prastâva* or prelude, &c.), the first four of which are distributed between the several chanters, while the finale (*nidhana*) is sung in unison by all of them.

In accordance with the distinction between *ṛich* or text and *sâman* or tune, the sâman-hymnal consists of two parts, viz., the *Sâmaveda-saṃhitâ*, or collection of texts (ṛich) used for making up sâman-hymns, and the *Gâna*, or tune-books, song-books. The textual matter of the Saṃhitâ consists of somewhat under 1600 different verses, selected from the Ṛik-saṃhitâ, with the exception of some seventy-five verses, some of which have been taken from Khila hymns, whilst others which also occur in the Atharvan or Yajurveda, as well as such not otherwise found, may perhaps have formed part of some other recension of the Ṛik. The *Sâmaveda-saṃhitâ*[4] is divided into two chief parts, the *pûrva-* (first) and the *uttara-* (second) *ârchika*. The second part contains the texts of the sâman-hymns, arranged in the order in which they are actually required for the stotras or chants of the various Soma sacrifices. The first part, on the other hand, contains the body of tune-verses, or verses used for practising the several sâmans or tunes upon,—the tunes themselves being given in the *Grâma-geya-gâna* (*i.e.*, songs to be sung in the village), the tune-book specially belonging to the Pûrvârchika. Hence the latter includes all the first verses of those triplets of the second part which had special tunes peculiar to them, besides the texts of detached sâmans occasionally used outside the regular ceremonial, as well as such as were perhaps no longer required but had been so used at one time or other. The verses of the Pûrvârchika are arranged on much the same plan as the family-books of the Ṛik-saṃhitâ, viz., in three sections containing the verses addressed to Agni, Indra, and Soma (*pavamâna*) respectively,—each section (consisting of one, three, and one adhyâyas respectively) being again arranged according to the metres. Hence this part is also called *Chhandas-* (metre) *ârchika*. Over and above this natural arrangement of the two ârchikas, there is a purely formal division of the texts into six and nine prapâṭhakas respectively, each of which, in the first part, consists of ten decades (daśat) of verses. We have two recensions of the Saṃhitâ, belonging to the Râṇâyanîya and Kauthuma schools, and differing but slightly from each other. Besides the six prapâṭhakas (or five adhyâyas) of the Pûrvârchika, some schools have an additional "forest" chapter, called the *Âraṇyaka-saṃhitâ*, the tunes of which—along with others apparently intended for being chanted by anchorites—are contained in the *Araṇya-gâna*. Besides the two tune-books belonging to the Pûrvârchika, there are two others, the *Ûha-gâna* ("modification-songs") and *Uhya-gâna*, which follow the order of the Uttarârchika, giving the several sâman-hymns chanted at the Soma sacrifice, with the modifications the tunes undergo when applied to texts other than those for which they were originally composed. The Sâman hymnal, as it has come down to us, has evidently passed through a long course of development. The practice of chanting probably goes back to very early times; but the question whether any of the tunes, as given in the Gânas, and which of them, can lay claim to an exceptionally high antiquity will perhaps never receive a satisfactory answer.

Sâma-veda-brâhmaṇa.

The title of *Brâhmaṇa* is bestowed by the Chhandogas, or followers of the Sâmaveda, on a considerable number of treatises. In accordance with the statements of some later writers, their number was usually fixed at eight; but within the last few years one new Brahmana has been recovered, while at least two others which are found quoted may yet be brought to light in India. The majority of the Sâmaveda-brâhmaṇas present, however, none of the characteristic features of other works of that class; but they are rather of the nature of sûtras and kindred treatises, with which they probably belong to the same period of literature. Moreover, the contents of these works—as might indeed be expected from the nature of the duties of the priests for whom they were intended—are of an extremely arid and technical character, though they all are doubtless of some importance, either for the textual criticism of the Saṃhitâ or on account of the legendary and other information they supply. These works are as follows:—(1) the *Tâṇḍya-mahâ-* (or *Praudha-*) *brâhmaṇa*,[5] or "great" Brâhmana,—usually called *Panchaviṃśa-brâhmaṇa* from its "consisting of twenty-five" adhyâyas—which treats of the duties of the udgâtars generally, and especially of the various kinds of chants; (2) the *Shaḍviṃśa*, or "twenty-sixth," being a supplement to the preceding work,—its last chapter, which also bears the title of *Adbhuta-brâhmaṇa*,[6] or "book of marvels," is rather interesting, as it treats of all manner of portents and evil influences, which it teaches how to avert by certain rites and charms; (3) the *Sâmavidhâna*,[7] analogous to the Rigvidhâna, descanting on the magic effects of the various sâmans; (4) the *Arsheya-brâhmaṇa*, a mere catalogue of the technical names of the sâmans in the order of the Pûrvârchika, known in two different recensions; (5) the *Devatâdhyâya*, which treats of the deities of the sâmans; (6) the *Chhândogya-brâhmaṇa*, the last eight adhyâyas (3–10) of which constitute the important Chhândogyopanishad;[8] (7) the *Saṃhitopanishad-brâhmaṇa*, treating of various subjects connected with chants; (8)

[1] Text with Krishṇapandita's commentary, published at Benares; translation by G. Bühler in *Sacred Books*, vol. xiv.

[2] Edited, with a French translation, by A. Regnier, in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1856–8; also, with a German translation, by M. Müller, 1869.

[3] Burnell, *Arsheyabrahmana*, p. xii.

[4] Edited and translated by J. Stevenson, 1843; a critical edition, with German translation and glossary, was published by Th. Benfey, 1848; also an edition, with the Gânas and Sâyaṇa's commentary, by Satyavrata Sâmasramî, in the *Bibl. Ind.*, in 5 vols.

[5] Edited with Sâyaṇa's commentary, by Anandachandra Vedântavâgîsa, in the *Bibl. Ind.*, 1870–74.

[6] A. Weber, "Omina et Portenta," *Abhandlungen* of Berlin Royal Academy of Sciences, 1858.

[7] The works enumerated under 3, 4, 5, 7, 8 have been edited by A. Burnell; 8 also previously by A. Weber, *Ind. St.*, iv.

[8] Edited and translated by Dr Röer, *Bibl. Ind.*; also translated by M. Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, i.

the *Vaṁśa-brâhmaṇa*, a mere list of the Sâmaveda teachers. To these works has to be added the *Jaimâṇîya-* or *Talavakâra-brâhmaṇa*, discovered by the late Dr A. Burnell, but as yet only known by a few extracts. From Prof. Whitney's account of it,[1] the work stands much on a level with the Brâhmaṇas of the Ṛik and Yajurveda. A portion of it is the well-known *Kena-* or *Talavakâra-*) *upanishad*, on the nature of Brahman, as the supreme of deities.

If the Sâmaveda has thus its ample share of Brâhmaṇa-literature, though in part of a somewhat questionable character, it is not less richly supplied with sûtra-treatises, some of which probably belong to the oldest works of that class. There are three Śrauta-sûtras, which attach themselves more or less closely to the Pañchaviṁśa-brâhmaṇa:—Masaka's *Ârsheya-kalpa*, which gives the beginnings of the sâmans in their sacrificial order, thus supplementing the Ârsheya-brâhmaṇa, which enumerates their technical names; and the Śrauta-sûtras of *Lâṭyâyana*[2] and *Drâhyâyaṇa*, of the Kauthuma and Rânâyaṇîya schools respectively, which differ but little from each other, and form complete manuals of the duties of the udgâtars. Another sûtra, of an exegetic character, the *Anupada-sûtra*, likewise follows the Pañchaviṁśa, the difficult passages of which it explains. Besides these, there are a considerable number of sûtras and kindred technical treatises bearing on the prosody and phonetics of the sâma-texts. The more important of them are—the *Riktantra*, apparently intended to serve as a Prâtiśâkhya of the Sâmaveda; the *Nidâna-sûtra*,[3] a treatise on prosody; the *Pushpa-* or *Phulla-sûtra*, ascribed either to Gobhila or to Vararuchi, and treating of the phonetic modifications of the rich in the sâmans; and the *Sâmatantra*, a treatise on chants, of a very technical nature. Further, two *Grihya-sûtras*, belonging to the Sâmaveda, are hitherto known, viz., the *Drâhyâyaṇa-grihya*, ascribed to Khâdira, and that of Gobhila[4] (who is also said to have composed a śrauta-sûtra), with a supplement, entitled *Karmapradîpa*, by Kâtyâyana. To the Sâmaveda seems further to belong the *Gautama-dharmaśâstra*,[5] composed in sûtras, and apparently the oldest existing compendium of Hindu law.

C. *Yajur-veda*.—This, the sacrificial Veda of the Adhvaryu priests, divides itself into an older and a younger branch, or, as they are usually called, the Black (*krishṇa*) and the White (*śukla*) Yajurveda. Tradition ascribes the foundation of the Yajurveda to the sage Vaiśampâyana. Of his disciples three are specially named, viz., Katha, Kalâpin, and Yâska Paingi, the last of whom again is stated to have communicated the sacrificial science to Tittiri. How far this genealogy of teachers may be authentic cannot now be determined; but certain it is that in accordance therewith we have three old collections of Yajus-texts, viz., the *Kâṭhaka*, the *Kâlâpaka* or *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ*,[6] and the *Taittirîya-saṁhitâ*.[7] The Kâthaka and Kâlâpaka are frequently mentioned together; and the author of the "great commentary" on Pâṇini once remarks that these works were taught in every village. The Kathas and Kâlâpas are often referred to under the collective name of Charakas, which apparently means "wayfarers" or itinerant scholars; but according to a later writer (Hemachandra) Charaka is no other than Vaiśampâyana himself, after whom his followers would have been thus called. From the Kathas proper two schools seem early to have branched off, the Prâchya- (eastern) and Kapishthala-Kathas, the text-recension of the latter of whom has recently been discovered in the *Kapishṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitâ*. The Kâlâpas also soon became subdivided into numerous different schools. Thus from one of Kalâpin's immediate disciples, Haridru, the Hâridravîyas took their origin, whose text-recension, the *Hâridravîka*, is quoted together with the Kâthaka as early as in Yâska's Nirukta; but we do not know whether it differed much from the original Kâlâpa texts. As regards the Taittirîya-saṁhitâ, that collection, too, in course of time gave rise to a number of different schools, the text handed down being that of the Âpastambas; while the contents of another recension, that of the Âtreyas, are known from their Anukramaṇî, which has been preserved.

The four collections of old Yajus texts, so far known to us, while differing more or less considerably in arrangement and verbal points, have the main mass of their textual matter in common. This common matter consists of both sacrificial prayers (yajus) in verse and prose and exegetic or illustrative prose portions (brâhmaṇa). A prominent feature of the old Yajus texts, as compared with the other Vedas, is the constant intermixture of textual and exegetic portions. The Charakas and Taittirîyas thus do not recognize the distinction between Saṁhitâ and Brâhmaṇa in the sense of two separate collections of texts, but they have only a Saṁhitâ, or collection, which includes likewise the exegetic or Brâhmaṇa portions. The Taittirîyas seem at last to have been impressed with their want of a separate Brâhmaṇa and to have set about supplying the deficiency in rather an awkward fashion: instead of separating from each other the textual and exegetic portions of their Saṁhitâ, they merely added to the latter a supplement (in three books), which shows the same mixed condition, and applied to it the title of *Taittirîya-brâhmaṇa*.[8] But, though the main body of this work is manifestly of a supplementary nature, a portion of it may perhaps be old, and may once have formed part of the Saṁhitâ, considering that the latter consists of seven ashṭakas, instead of eight, as this term requires, and that certain essential parts of the ceremonial handled in the Brâhmaṇa are entirely wanting in the Saṁhitâ. Attached to this work is the *Taittirîya-âraṇyaka*,[9] in ten books, the first six of which are of a ritualistic nature, while of the remaining books the first three (7–9) form the *Taittirîyopanishad* (consisting of three parts, viz., the Sikshâvalli or Saṁhitopanishad, and the Ânandavalli and Bhṛiguvalli, also called together the Vâruṇî-upanishad), and the last book forms the Nârâyaṇîya- (or Yâjñikî-) upanishad.

The *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ*, the identity of which with the original Kâlâpaka has been proved pretty conclusively by Dr L. v. Schröder, who attributes the change of name of the Kâlâpa-Maitrâyaṇîyas to Buddhist influences, consists of four books, attached to which is the *Maitrî-* (or *Maitrâyaṇî*) *upanishad*.[9] The *Kâṭhaka*, on the other hand, consists of five parts, the last two of which, however, are perhaps later additions, containing merely the prayers of the hotar priest, and those used at the horse-sacrifice. There is, moreover, the beautiful *Kaṭha-* or *Kâṭhaka-upanishad*,[10] which is also ascribed to the Atharvaveda, and in which Dr Röer would detect allusions to the Sâṅkhya philosophy, and even to Buddhist doctrines.

The defective arrangement of the Yajus texts was at last remedied by a different school of Adhvaryus, the Vâjasaneyins, of the reputed originator of this school and its text-recension is Yajñavalkya Vâjasaneya (son of Vâjasani). The result of the rearrangement of the texts was a collection of sacrificial mantras, the *Vâjasaneyi-saṁhitâ*, and a Brâhmaṇa, the *Śatapatha*. On account of the greater lucidity of this arrangement, the Vâjasaneyins called their texts the White (or clear) Yajurveda,—the name of Black (or obscure) Yajus being for opposite reasons applied to the Charaka texts. Both the Saṁhitâ and Brâhmaṇa of the Vâjasaneyins have come down to us in two different recensions, viz., those of the *Mâdhyandina* and *Kâṇva* schools; and we find besides a considerable number of quotations from a Vâjasaneyaka, from which we cannot doubt that there must have been at least one other recension of the Satapatha-brâhmaṇa. The difference between the two extant recensions is, on the whole, but slight as regards the subject-matter; but in point of diction it is quite sufficient to make a comparison especially interesting from a philological point of view. Which of the two versions may be the more original cannot as yet be determined; but the phonetic and grammatical differences will probably have to be accounted for by a geographical separation of the two schools rather than by a difference of age. In several points of difference the Kâṇva recension agrees with the practice of the Rik-saṁhitâ, and there probably was some connexion between the Yajus school of Kâṇvas and the famous family of rishis of that name to which the eighth maṇḍala of the Ṛik is attributed.

The *Vâjasaneyi-saṁhitâ*[11] consists of forty adhyâyas, the first eighteen of which contain the formulas of the ordinary sacrifices. The last fifteen adhyâyas are doubtless a later addition,—as may also be the case as regards the preceding seven chapters. The last adhyâya is commonly known under the title of Vâjasaneyi-saṁhitâ- (or Îśâvâsya-) upanishad.[12] Its object seems to be to point out the fruitlessness of mere works, and to insist on the necessity of man's acquiring a knowledge of the supreme spirit. The sacrificial texts of the Adhvaryus consist, in about equal parts, of verses (ṛich) and prose formulas (yajus). The majority of the former occur likewise in the Rik-saṁhitâ, from which they were doubtless extracted. Not unfrequently, however, they show considerable discrepancies of reading, which may be explained partly from a difference of recension and partly as the result of the adaptation of these verses to their special sacrificial purpose. As regards the prose formulas, though only a few of them are actually referred to in the Ṛik, it is quite possible that many of them may be of high antiquity.

The *Śatapatha-brâhmaṇa*,[13] or Brâhmaṇa of a hundred paths, derives its name from the fact of its consisting of 100 lectures (adhyâya), which are divided by the Mâdhyandinas into fourteen, by

1 *Proceedings of Am. Or. Soc.*, May 1883.
2 Edited with Agnisvâmin's commentary, and the v. ll. of the Drâhyâyaṇa-sûtra, by Anandachandra Vedântavâgîśa, *Bibl. Ind.*, 1872.
3 Two chapters published by A. Weber, *Ind. St.*, viii.
4 Edited with a commentary, by Chandrakânta Tarkâlaṁkâra, *Bibl. Ind.*
5 Edited by A. Stenzler; translated by G. Bühler, *Sacred Books*, vol. ii.
6 In process of publication by L. v. Schroeder.
7 Partly published, with Sâyaṇa's commentary, by E. Röer, E. B. Cowell, &c., in *Bibl. Ind.*
8 Edited, with Sâyaṇa's commentary, by Râjendralâla Mitra, *Bibl. Ind.*
9 Text and translation published by E. B. Cowell, *Bibl. Ind.*
10 Text, commentary, and translation published by E. Röer, *Bibl. Ind.*
11 Edited, in the Mâdhyandina recension, with the commentary of Mahîdhara, and the v. ll. of the Kâṇva text, by A. Weber, 1849.
12 Translation by E. Röer, *Bibl. Ind.*; by F. M. Müller, *Sacred Books of the East*, i.
13 Edited by A. Weber, who also translated the first chapter into German. In *Sacred Books of the East*, a translation, by *J. Eggeling*, is being published, 2 vols., containing the first four books, having appeared.

the Kâṇvas into seventeen books (kâṇḍa). The first nine books of the former, corresponding to the first eleven of the Kâṇvas, and consisting of sixty adhyâyas, form a kind of running commentary on the first eighteen books of the Vâj.-Saṁhitâ; and it has been plausibly suggested by Prof. Weber that this portion of the Brâhmaṇa may be referred to in the Mahâbhâshya on Pâṇ. iv. 2, 60, where a Śatapatha and a Shashṭi-patha (*i.e.*, "consisting of 60 paths") are mentioned together as objects of study, and that consequently it may at one time have formed an independent work. This view is also supported by the circumstance that of the remaining five books (10–14) of the Mâdhyandinas the third is called the middle one (madhyama); while the Kâṇvas apply the same epithet to the middlemost of the five books (12–16) preceding their last one. This last book would thus seem to be treated by them as a second supplement, and not without reason, as it is of the Upanishad order, and bears the special title of *Bṛihad-* (great) *âraṇyaka*.[1] Except in books 6–10 (M.), which treat of the construction of fire-altars, and recognize the sage Sâṇḍilya as their chief authority, Yâjñavalkya's opinion is frequently referred to in the Śatapatha as authoritative. This is especially the case in the later books, part of the Bṛihad-âraṇyaka being even called Yâjñavalkîya-kâṇḍa. As regards the age of the Śatapatha, the probability is that the main body of the work is considerably older than the time of Pâṇini, but that some of its latter parts were considered by Pâṇini's critic Kâtyâyana to be of about the same age as, or not much older than, Pâṇini. Even those portions had probably been long in existence before they obtained recognition as part of the canon of the White Yajus.

The contemptuous manner in which the doctrines of the Charaka-adhvaryus are repeatedly animadverted upon in the Śatapatha betrays not a little of the *odium theologicum* on the part of the divines of the Vâjasaneyins towards their brethren of the older schools. Nor was their animosity confined to mere literary warfare, but they seem to have striven by every means to gain ascendency over their rivals. The consolidation of the Brâhmanical hierarchy and the institution of a common system of ritual worship, which called forth the liturgical Vedic collections, were doubtless consummated in the so-called Madhya-deśa, or "middle country," lying between the Sarasvatî and the confluence of the Yamunâ and Gangâ; and more especially in its western part, the Kuru-kshetra, or land of the Kurus, with the adjoining territory of the Panchâlas, between the Yamunâ and Gangâ. From thence the original schools of Vaidik ritualism gradually extended their sphere over the adjacent parts. The Charakas seem for a long time to have held sway in the western and north-western regions; while the Taittirîyas in a course of time spread over the whole of the peninsula south of the Narmadâ (Nerbudda), where their ritual has remained preeminently the object of study till comparatively recent times. The Vâjasaneyins, on the other hand, having first gained a footing in the lands on the lower Ganges, chiefly, it would seem, through the patronage of King Janaka of Videha, thence gradually worked their way westwards, and eventually succeeded in superseding the older schools north of the Vindhya, with the exception of some isolated places where even now families of Brâhmaṇas are met with which profess to follow the old Saṁhitâs.

In *Kalpa-sûtras* the Black Yajurveda is particularly rich; but, owing to the circumstances just indicated, they are almost entirely confined to the Taittirîya schools. The only Śrauta-sûtra of a Charaka school which has hitherto been recovered is that of the Mânavas, a subdivision of the Maitrâyaṇîyas. The *Mânava-śrauta-sûtra*[2] seems to consist of eleven books, the first nine of which treat of the sacrificial ritual, while the tenth contains the Śulva-sûtra; and the eleventh is made up of a number of supplements (*pariśishṭa*). The *Mânava-grihya-sûtra* is likewise in existence; but so far nothing is known, save one or two quotations, of a *Mânava-dharma-sûtra*, the discovery of which ought to solve some important questions regarding the development of Indian law. Of sûtra-works belonging to the Kathas, a single treatise, the *Kâṭhaka-gṛihya-sûtra*, is known; while Dr Jolly considers the *Vishṇu-smṛiti*,[3] a compendium of law, composed in mixed sûtras and ślokas, to be nothing but a Vaishṇava recast of the Kâṭhaka-dharma-sûtra, which seems no longer to exist. As regards the Taittirîyas, the Kalpa-sûtra most widely accepted among them was that of Âpastamba, to whose school, as we have seen, was also due our existing recension of the Taittirîya-saṁhitâ. The *Âpastamba-kalpa-sûtra* consists of thirty *praśna* (questions); the first twenty-five of these constitute the Śrauta-sûtra[4]; 26 and 27 the Gṛihya-sûtra; 28 and 29 the Dharma-sûtra[5]; and the last the Śulva-sûtra. Prof. Bühler has tried to fix the date of this work somewhere between the 5th and 3rd centuries B.C.; but it can hardly yet be considered as definitely settled. Considerably more ancient than this work are the *Baudhâyana-kalpa-sûtra*,[6] which consists of the same principal divisions, and the *Bhâradvâja-sûtra*, of which, however, only a few portions have as yet been discovered. The *Hiraṇyakeśi-sûtra*, which is more modern than that of Âpastamba, from which it differs but little, is likewise fragmentary; and several other Kalpa-sûtras, especially that of Laugâkshi, are found quoted. The recognized compendium of the White Yajus ritual is the *Śrauta-sûtra* of Kâtyâyana,[7] in twenty-six adhyâyas. This work is supplemented by a large number of secondary treatises, likewise attributed to Kâtyâyana, among which may be mentioned the *Charaṇa-vyûha*,[8] a statistical account of the Vedic schools, which unfortunately has come down to us in a very unsatisfactory state of preservation. A manual of domestic rites, closely connected with Kâtyâyana's work, is the *Kâtîya-gṛihya-sûtra*,[9] ascribed to Pâraskara. To Kâtyâyana we further owe the *Vâjasaneyi-prâtiśâkhya*,[10] and a catalogue (*anukramaṇî*) of the White Yajus texts. As regards the former work, it is still doubtful whether (with Weber) we have to consider it as older than Pâṇini, or whether (with Goldstücker and M. Müller) we are to identify its author with Pâṇini's critic. The only existing Prâtiśâkhya[11] of the Black Yajus belongs to the Taittirîyas. Its author is unknown, and it confines itself entirely to the Taittirîya-saṁhitâ, to the exclusion of the Brâhmaṇa and Âraṇyaka.

D. *Atharva-veda*.—The Atharvan was the latest of Vedic collections to be recognized as part of the sacred canon. That it is also the youngest Veda is proved by its language, which, both from a lexical and a grammatical point of view, marks an intermediate stage between the main body of the Ṛik and the Brâhmaṇa period. It is not less manifest from the spirit of its contents, which shows that the childlike trust of the early singer in the willingness of the divine agents to comply with the earnest request of their pious worshipper had passed away, and in its place had sprung up a superstitious fear of a host of malevolent powers, whose baleful wrath had to be deprecated or turned aside by incantations and magic contrivances. How far some lower form of worship, practised by the conquered race, may have helped to bring about this change of religious belief it would be idle to inquire; but it is far from improbable that the hymns of the Ṛik reflect chiefly the religious notions of the more intelligent and educated minority of the community, and that superstitious practices like those disclosed by the greater part of the Atharvan and a portion of the tenth book of the Ṛik had long obtained among the people, and became the more prevalent the more the spiritual leaders of the people gave themselves up to theosophic and metaphysical speculations. Hence also verses of the Atharvaveda are not unfrequently used in domestic (gṛihya) rites, but very seldom in the Śrauta ceremonial. But, even if these or such like spells and incantations had long been in popular use, there can be no doubt that by the time they were collected they must have adapted themselves to the modifications which the vernacular language itself had undergone in the mouths of the people.

This body of spells and hymns is traditionally connected with two old mythic priestly families, the Angiras and Atharvans, their names, in the plural, serving either singly or combined (Atharvâṅgirasas) as the oldest appellation of the collection. Instead of the Atharvans, another mythic family, the Bhṛigus, are similarly connected with the Angiras (Bhṛigvangirasas) as the depositaries of this mystic science. The current text of the *Atharva-saṁhitâ*[12]—apparently the recension of the Saunaka school—consists of some 750 different pieces, about five-sixths of which is in various metres, the remaining portion being in prose. The whole mass is divided into twenty books. The principle of distribution is for the most part a merely formal one, in books i.–xiii., pieces of the same or about the same number of verses being placed together in the same book. The next five books, xiv.–xvi. consists of prose formulas of conjuration; xvii. of a lengthy mystic hymn; and xviii. contains all that relates to death and funeral rites. Of the last two books no account is taken in the Atharva-prâtiśâkhya, and they indeed stand clearly in the relation of supplements to the original collection. The eighteenth book evidently was the result of a subsequent gleaning of pieces similar

1 The text, with Śaṅkara's commentary, and an English translation, published by E. Röer, *Bibl. Ind.*
2 See P. v. Bradke, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. xxxvi. A MS. of a portion of the Śrauta-sûtra, with the commentary of the famous Mîmâṁsist Kumârila, has been photo-lithographed by the India Office, under Goldstücker's supervision.
3 Edited and translated by J. Jolly.
4 In course of publication, by R. Garbe, in *Bibl. Ind.*
5 G. Bühler has published the text with extracts from Haradatta's commentary, also a translation in *Sacred Books of the East*.
6 The Śulva-sûtra has been published, with the commentary of Kapardisvâmin, and a translation by G. Thibaut, in the *Benares Pandit*, 1875. The Dharma-sûtra has been translated by G. Bühler, *Sacred Books*, xiv.
7 Edited by A. Weber.
8 Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iii.
9 Text and German translation by A. Stenzler.
10 Edited, with Uvaṭa's commentary, and a German translation, by A. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, iv.
11 The work has been published by W. D. Whitney, with a translation and a commentary by an unknown author, called Tribhâshyaratna, *i.e.*, "Jewel of the three commentaries," it being founded on three older commentaries by Vararuchi, (?Kâtyâyana), Mâhisheya, and Atreya.
12 Edited by Profs. Roth and Whitney, 1856. The second vol., which was to contain the *Varia Lectiones*, remains still unpublished. Prof. Whitney, however, has lately brought out an Index Verborum to the work. The first three books have been translated into German by Prof. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, vols. iv., xiii., xvii.

to those of the earlier books, which had probably escaped the collectors' attention; while the last book, consisting almost entirely of hymns to Indra, taken from the Rik-saṃhitâ, is nothing more than a liturgical manual of the recitations and chants required at the Soma sacrifice.

The Atharvan has come down to us in a much less satisfactory state of preservation than any of the other Saṃhitâs, and its interpretation, which offers considerable difficulties on account of numerous popular and out-of-the-way expressions, has so far received comparatively little aid from native sources. A commentary by the famous Vedic exegete Sâyaṇa, which has lately come to light in India, may, however, be expected to throw light on some obscure passages. Even more important is the discovery, some years ago, through the exertions of Sir William Muir, of an entirely different recension of the Atharva-saṃhitâ, preserved in Kashmir. This new recension,[1] supposed to be that of the Paippalâda school, consists likewise of twenty books (kâṇḍa), but both in textual matter and in its arrangement it differs very much from the current text. A considerable portion of the latter, including unfortunately the whole of the eighteenth book, is wanting; while the hymns of the nineteenth book are for the most part found also in this text, though not as a separate book, but scattered over the whole collection. Possibly, therefore, this recension may have formed one of the sources whence the nineteenth book was compiled. The twentieth book is wanting, with the exception of a few of the verses not taken from the Rik. As a set-off to these shortcomings the new version offers, however, a good deal of fresh matter, amounting to about one-sixth of the whole. From the Mahâbhâshya and other works quoting as the beginning of the Atharva-saṃhitâ a verse that coincides with the first verse of the sixth hymn of the current text, it has long been known that at least one other recension must have existed; but owing to the defective state of the Kashmir MS. it cannot be determined whether the new recension (as seems likely) corresponds to the one referred to in those works.

The only Brâhmaṇa of the Atharvan, the *Gopatha-brâhmaṇa*,[2] is probably one of the most modern works of its class. It consists of two parts, the first of which contains cosmogonic speculations, interspersed with legends, apparently taken from other Brâhmaṇas, and general instructions on religious duties and observances; while the second part treats, in a very desultory manner, of various points of the sacrificial ceremonial.

The Kalpa-sûtras belonging to this Veda comprise both a manual of śrauta rites, the *Vaitâna-sûtra*,[3] and a manual of domestic rites, the *Kauśika-sûtra*.[4] The latter treatise is not only the more interesting of the two, but also the more ancient, being actually quoted in the other. The teacher Kauśika is repeatedly referred to in the work on points of ceremonial doctrine. Connected with this Sûtra are upwards of seventy *Pariśishṭas*, or supplementary treatises, mostly in metrical form, on various subjects bearing on the performance of gṛihya rites. The last sûtra-work to be noticed in connexion with this Veda is the *Śaunakîyâ Chaturâdhyâyikâ*,[5] being a Prâtiśâkhya of the Atharva-saṃhitâ, so called from its consisting of four lectures (adhyâya). Although Śaunaka can hardly be credited with being the actual author of the work, considering that his opinion is rejected in the only rule where his name appears, there is no reason to doubt that it chiefly embodies the phonetic theories of that teacher, which were afterwards perfected by members of his school. Whether this Śaunaka is identical with the writer of that name to whom the final redaction of the Śâkala-prâtiśâkhya of the Rik is ascribed is not known; but it is worthy of note that on at least two points where Śâkalya is quoted by Pâṇini, the Chaturâdhyâyikâ seems to be referred to rather than the Rik-prâtiśâkhya. Śaunaka is quoted once in the Vâjasaneyi-prâtiśâkhya; and it is possible that Kâtyâyana had the Chaturâdhyâyikâ in view, though his reference does not quite tally with the respective rule of that work.

Another class of writings already alluded to as traditionally connected with the Atharvaveda are the numerous *Upanishads*[6] which do not specially attach themselves to one or other of the Saṃhitas or Brâhmaṇas of the other Vedas. The Atharvaṇa-upanishads, mostly composed in ślokas, may be roughly divided into two classes, viz., those of a purely speculative or general pantheistic character, treating chiefly of the nature of the supreme spirit, and the means of attaining to union therewith, and those of a sectarian tendency. Of the former category, a limited number —such as the Praśna, Muṇḍaka, and Mâṇḍûkya-upanishads—have probably to be assigned to the later period of Vedic literature; whilst the others presuppose more or less distinctly the existence of some fully developed system of philosophy, especially the Vedânta or the Yoga. The sectarian Upanishads, on the other hand—identifying the supreme spirit either with one of the forms of Vishṇu (such as the Nârâyaṇa, Nṛisiṃha-tâpanîya, Râma-tâpanîya, Gopâla-tâpanîya), or with Śiva (*e.g.* the Rudrôpanishad), or with some other deity—belong to post-Vedic times.

[1] It is in the hands of Prof. R. v. Roth, who has given an account of it in his academic dissertation, "Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir," 1875.

[2] Edited, in the *Bibl. Ind.*, by Râjendralâla Mitra.

[3] Text and a German translation published by R. Garbe.

[4] This difficult treatise is about to be published by Prof. Bloomfield. Two sections of it have been printed and translated by A. Weber "Omina et Portenta," 1859.

[5] Edited and translated by W. D. Whitney.

[6] For a full list of existing translations of and essays on the Upanishads, see Introd. to Max Müller's Upanishads, *Sacred Books*, i.

II. The Classical Period.

The classical literature of India is almost entirely a product of artificial growth, in the sense that its vehicle was not the language of the general body of the people, but of a small and educated class. It would scarcely be possible, even approximately, to fix the time when the literary idiom ceased to be understood by the common people. We only know that in the 3d century B.C. there existed several dialects in different parts of northern India which differed considerably from the Sanskrit; and Buddhist tradition, moreover, tells us that Gautama Śâkyamuni himself, in the 6th century B.C., made use of the local dialect of Magadha (Behar) for preaching his new doctrine. Not unlikely, indeed, popular dialects, differing perhaps but slightly from one another, may have existed as early as the time of the Vedic hymns, when the Indo-Aryans, divided into clans and tribes, occupied the Land of the Seven Rivers; but such dialects must, at any rate, have sprung up after the extension of the Aryan sway and language over the whole breadth of northern India. Such, however, has been the case in the history of all nations; and there is no reason why, even with the existence of local dialects, the literary language should not have kept in touch with the people in India, as elsewhere, but for the fact that from a certain time that language remained altogether stationary, allowing the vernacular dialects more and more to diverge from it. Although linguistic research had been successfully carried on in India for centuries, the actual grammatical fixation of Sanskrit seems to have taken place about contemporaneously with the first spread of Buddhism; and indeed that popular religious movement undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence on the linguistic development of India.

A. *Poetical Literature.*

The national epics.

1. *Epic Poems.*—The Hindus, like the Greeks, possess two great national epics, the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata*. The *Râmâyaṇa, i.e.*, poem "relating to Râma," is ascribed to the poet Vâlmîki; and, allowance being made for later additions here and there, the poem indeed presents the appearance of being the work of an individual genius. In its present form it consists of some 24,000 ślokas, or 48,000 lines of sixteen syllables, divided into seven books.

(I.) King Daśaratha of Kośala, reigning at Ayodhyâ (Oudh), has four sons born him by three wives, viz., Râma, Bharata, and the twins Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna. Râma, by being able to bend an enormous bow, formerly the dreaded weapon of the god Rudra, wins for a wife Sîtâ, daughter of Janaka, king of Videha (Tirhut). (II.) On his return to Ayodhyâ he is to be appointed heir-apparent (yuva-râja, *i.e.*, juvenis rex); but Bharata's mother persuades the king to banish his eldest son for fourteen years to the wilderness, and appoint her son instead. Separation from his favourite son soon breaks the king's heart; whereupon the ministers call on Bharata to assume the reins of government. He refuses, however, and, betaking himself to Râma's retreat on the Chitrakûṭa mountain (in Bundelkhund), implores him to return; but, unable to shake Râma's resolve to complete his term of exile, he consents to take charge of the kingdom in the meantime. (III.) After a ten years' residence in the forest, Râma attracts the attention of a female demon (Râkshasî); and, infuriated by the rejection of her advances, and by the wounds inflicted on her by Lakshmaṇa, who keeps Râma company, she inspires her brother Râvaṇa, demon-king of Ceylon, with love for Sîtâ, in consequence of which the latter is carried off by him to his capital Lankâ. While she resolutely rejects the Râkshasa's addresses, Râma sets out with his brother to her rescue. (IV.) After numerous adventures they

enter into an alliance with Sugrîva, king of the monkeys; and, with the assistance of the monkey-general Hanumân, and Râvaṇa's own brother Vibhîshaṇa, they prepare to assault Lankâ. (V.) The monkeys, tearing up rocks and trees, construct a passage across the straits—the so-called Adam's Bridge, still designated Râma's Bridge in India. (VI.) Having crossed over with his allies, Râma, after many hot encounters and miraculous deeds, slays the demon and captures the stronghold; whereupon he places Vibhîshaṇa on the throne of Lankâ. To allay Râma's misgivings as to any taint she might have incurred through contact with the demon, Sîtâ now undergoes an ordeal by fire; after which they return to Ayodhyâ, where, after a triumphal entry, Râma is installed. (VII.) In the last book—probably a later addition—Râma, seeing that the people are not yet satisfied of Sîtâ's purity, resolves to put her away; whereupon, in the forest, she falls in with Vâlmîki himself, and at his hermitage gives birth to two sons. While growing up there, they are taught by the sage the use of the bow, as well as the Vedas, and the Râmâyaṇa as far as the capture of Lankâ and the royal entry into Ayodhyâ. Ultimately Râma discovers and recognizes them by their wonderful deeds and their likeness to himself, and takes his wife and sons back with him.

The *Mahâbhârata*,[1] *i.e.*, "the great (poem or feud) of the Bhâratas," on the other hand, is not so much a uniform epic poem as a miscellaneous collection of epic poetry, consisting of a heterogeneous mass of legendary and didactic matter, worked into and round a central heroic narrative. The authorship of this work is aptly attributed to Vyâsa, "the arranger," the personification of Indian diaskeuasis. Only the bare outline of the leading story can here be given.

In the royal line of Hastinâpura (the ancient Delhi)—claiming descent from the moon, and hence called the Lunar race (somavaṃśa), and counting among its ancestors King Bharata, after whom India is called Bhârata-varsha (land of the Bhâratas)—the succession lay between two brothers, when Dhṛitarâshṭra, the elder, being blind, had to make way for his brother Pâṇḍu. After a time the latter retired to the forest to pass the remainder of his life in hunting; and Dhṛitarâshṭra assumed the government, assisted by his uncle Bhîshma, the Nestor of the poem. After some years Pâṇḍu died, leaving five sons, viz., Yudhishṭhira, Bhîma, and Arjuna by his chief wife Kuntî, and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva by Mâdrî. The latter having burnt herself along with her dead husband, Kuntî returned with the five princes to Hastinâpura, and was well received by the king, who offered to have his nephews brought up together with his own sons, of whom he had a hundred, Duryodhana being the eldest. From their great-grandfather Kuru both families are called *Kauravas*; but for distinction that name is more usually applied to the sons of Dhṛitarâshṭra, while their cousins, as the younger line, are named, after their father, *Pâṇḍavas*. The rivalry and varying fortunes of these two houses form the main plot of the great epopee. The Pâṇḍu princes soon proved themselves greatly superior to their cousins; and Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of them all, was to be appointed heir-apparent. But, by his son's advice, the king, good-natured but weak, induced his nephews for a time to retire from court and reside at a house where the unscrupulous Duryodhana meant to destroy them. They escaped, however, and passed some time in the forest with their mother. Here Draupadî, daughter of King Drupada, won by Arjuna in open contest, became the wife of the five brothers. On that occasion they also met their cousin, Kuntî's nephew, the famous Yâdava prince Krishṇa of Dvârakâ, who ever afterwards remained their faithful friend and confidential adviser. Dhṛitarâshṭra now resolved to divide the kingdom between the two houses; whereupon the Pâṇḍavas built for themselves the city of Indraprastha (on the site of the modern Delhi). After a time of great prosperity, Yudhishṭhira, in a game of dice, lost everything to Duryodhana, when it was settled that the Pâṇḍavas should retire to the forest for twelve years, but should afterwards be restored to their kingdom if they succeeded in passing an additional year in disguise, without being recognized by anyone. During their forest-life they met with many adventures, among which may be mentioned their encounter with King Jayadratha of Chedi, who had carried off Draupadî from their hermitage. After the twelfth year has expired they leave the forest, and, assuming various disguises, take service at the court of king Virâṭa of Matsya. Here all goes well for a time till the queen's brother Kichaka, a great warrior and commander of the royal forces, falls in love with Draupadî, and is slain by Bhîma. The Kauravas, profiting by Kichaka's death, now invade the Matsyan kingdom, when the Pâṇḍavas side with king Virâṭa, and there ensues, on the field of Kurukshetra, a series of fierce battles, ending in the annihilation of the Kauravas. Yudhishṭhira now at last becomes yuva-râja, and eventually king,—Dhṛitarâshṭra having resigned and retired with his wife and Kuntî to the forest, where they soon after perish in a conflagration. Learning also the death of Krishṇa, Yudhishṭhira himself at last becomes tired of life and resigns his crown; and the five princes, with their faithful wife, and a dog that joins them, set out for Mount Meru, to seek admission to Indra's heaven. On the way one by one drops off, till Yudhishṭhira alone, with the dog, reaches the gate of heaven; but, the dog being refused admittance, the king declines entering without him, when the dog turns out to be no other than the god of Justice himself, having assumed that form to test Yudhishṭhira's constancy. But, finding neither his wife nor his brothers in heaven, and being told that they are in the nether world to expiate their sins, the king insists on sharing their fate, when this, too, proves a trial, and they are all reunited to enjoy perpetual bliss.

Whether this story is partly based, as Lassen suggested, on historical events,—perhaps a destructive war between the neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and Pañchâlas,—or whether, as Dr A. Holtzmann thinks, its principal features go back to Indo-Germanic times, will probably never be decided. The complete work consists of upwards of 100,000 couplets,—its contents thus being nearly eight times the bulk of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined. It is divided into eighteen books, and a supplement, entitled Harivaṃśa, or genealogy of the god Hari (Krishṇa-Vishṇu). In the introduction, Vyâsa, being about to dictate the poem, is made to say (i. 81) that so far he and some of his disciples knew 8800 couplets; and further on (i. 101) he is said to have composed the collection relating to the Bhâratas (bhârata-saṃhitâ), and called the *Bhâratam*, which, not including the episodes, consisted of 24,000 ślokas. Now, as a matter of fact, the portion relating to the feud of the rival houses constitutes somewhere between a fourth and a fifth of the work; and it is highly probable that this portion once formed a separate poem, called the *Bhârata*. But, whether the former statement is to be understood as implying the existence, at a still earlier time, of a yet shorter version of about one-third of the present extent of the leading narrative cannot now be determined. While some of the episodes are so loosely connected with the story as to be readily severed from it, others are so closely interwoven with it that their removal would seriously injure the very texture of the work. This, however, only shows that the original poem must have undergone some kind of revision, or perhaps repeated revisions. That such has indeed taken place, at the hand of Brâhmans, for sectarian and caste purposes, cannot be doubted.

The earliest direct information regarding the existence of epic poetry in India is contained in a passage of Dion Chrysostom (*c.* 80 A.D.), according to which "even among the Indians, they say, Homer's poetry is sung, having been translated by them into their own dialect and tongue;" and "the Indians are well acquainted with the sufferings of Priam, the lamentations and wails of Andromache and Hecuba, and the prowess of Achilles and Hector." Now, although these allusions would suit either poem, they seem on the whole to correspond best to certain incidents in the *Mahâbhârata*, especially as no direct mention is made of a warlike expedition to a remote island for the rescue of an abducted woman, the resemblance of which to the Trojan expedition would naturally have struck a Greek becoming acquainted with the general outline of the *Râmâyaṇa*. Whence Dion derived his information is not known; but as many leading names of the Mahâbhârata and even the name of the poem itself[2] are already mentioned in Pâṇini's grammatical rules, it is

[1] There are several complete editions published in India, the handiest in 4 vols., Calcutta, 1834–9. Numerous episodes from it have been printed and translated by European scholars. There is a French translation, by H. Fauche, of about one half of the work; but it must be used with caution. An English translation is being brought out at Calcutta by Pratap Chundra Roy.

[2] Viz., as an adj., apparently with "war" or "poem" understood.