

profane literature as far as it is noticed in the epic itself, reserving, however, for the two following chapters the Rāmāyaṇa and the philosophical systems.

The Vedas.

Allusions to Vedic literature, veda, chandas, mantra, ṛuti, are naturally common in every part of the Mahābhārata, but except in the didactic or later epic these are usually of a general character. It may be assumed that the bulk of Ṛuti or revealed works, if not all of it, was composed before the epic began. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see which portions of this hereditary literature are especially mentioned, and particularly important to observe how the epic cites from older works. Even the fact that it does cite verbatim the words of the holy texts is of historical moment when it is remembered that in other places even women and slaves are exhorted to hear the recital of the epic.¹ We find indeed in the course of the epic narrative that a woman is taught Vedic mantras,² but the mantras are from the Atharva Veda, which, without being particularly slighted, is less regarded than the older Vedas, as is shown by this incident; for no woman would have been taught Rig Veda verses, for example.

The Vedas are all mentioned by name, though the Atharva Veda is not always recognized in the formal enumeration. The order of precedence is not fixed, though its peculiar holiness, vimāla, is not the reason why the Sāma Veda in the Gītā and Anuṣāsana heads the list.³ Usually the Rig Veda stands at the head and the Atharva, if mentioned, at the foot, though the order Ṛk, Yajus, Atharvan, Sāman, and even Atharvan, Sāman, Ṛk, Yajus is found; but the last order occurs only in the didactic or later epic. The four together comprise the vedaḥ caturmūrtiḥ, or fourfold Veda, which, in

¹ Compare i, 62, 22; 95, 87; iii, 85, 103; xii, 341, 116, etc.

² Tatas tām grāhayāṁśa sa dvijaḥ Mantragrāman . . . atharvaḥṛasi ṛutam (v. l. atharvāṅṛasi), iii, 305, 20.

³ For in v, 44, 28, it has this epithet, yet stands last in the list: "Not in R. V., nor in Y. V., nor in Atharvas, nor in the spotless Sāmans."

not opposed, as the maker is God (vedakartā vedāṅgo vedavāhanah, iii, 3, 19), who only emits the Vedas as he does all else when the new aeon begins. The more decided "make" is found of seers, however, in the Itirivaṅga, mantrabrāhmaṇakartārah, mantrakṛtāh,¹ seers and descendants of seers, just as there is a Mahābhāratakṛt and Itihāsasya kartā, or ποιητής ἐπῶν, though he too is divine.² The gods who are credited with the making of the Vedas³ are Fire and Sun, as All-God (above), or especially Brahman, and in the later epic Vishnu. It was Brahman who "first recited the Vedas," vedān jagāu, v, 108, 10. With a natural inversion, "Brahman created brahman" (whereas in reality brahman created Brahman), according to another passage, xii, 188, 1-2. Compare: ya ime brahmaṇā proktā mantrā vāi prokṣaṇe gavām ete pramāṇam bhavata utā 'ho na, v, 17, 9-10. The Self-existent, according to xii, 328, 50, created the Vedas to praise the gods, stutyartham iha devānāṁ vedāḥ sṛstāḥ svayambhuvā. Kṛṣṇa, who is kṛtāgama, in xiii 149, 97, takes the place of the more general term. Compare xii, 340, 105:

yadā vedaḥsṛtir naṣṭā mayā pratyākṛtā punaḥ
savadāḥ saḥsṛtikāḥ ca kṛtāḥ pūrvān kṛte yuge
(atikrāntāḥ purāṇeṣu ḥṛtās te yadi vā kvacit),

and nirmītā vedā yajñāḥ cāu 'sadbhibhiḥ sala, ib. 341, 66, with xiii, 145, 61, āgamā lokadharmānām māryādāḥ pūrvanirmītāḥ.⁴

¹ jāyanti 'ha punaḥ punaḥ Mantrabrāhmaṇakartārah dharme praṇiṭhito tathā, ii. 1, 7, 50.

² Kṛṣṇa Dvālpāyana, also called Kuruvāṇṇakara, xii, 317, 13; xiii, 18, 43-44. The recitation of the Vedas is a matter of scientific study. When they are "loudly recited in the proper way," saṅgikaya, they fill (other) winds with fear, and therefore should not be recited when a high wind is blowing, xii, 320, 23-50.

³ For the gods and especially for the part of Brahman in creating the Vedas and the transfer of his office to Vishnu in the epic, see Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxviii, p. 188, and Das Mahābhārata, iv, p. 6.

⁴ The v. l. sarva is wrong. The word āgama usually refers to Veda, but not always. Compare xiii, 104, 156, āgamānām hi sarveṣāṁ ācārah gṛeṣṭha ucyate; i, 2, 30, itihāsaḥ gṛeṣṭhaḥ sarvāgameṣv ayam; xii, 50, 130, āgamah purāṇānām. It means any received work, particularly the Vedas.

In late passages the two earliest forms of the text (the latest forms are unknown) together with the accents of the texts are especially mentioned.¹

In the important numerical analysis of xii, 343, 97-98, the Rig Veda is said to "have twenty-one thousand"; while the Sūma Veda has "one thousand branches"; and the ādhva-ryava or Yajus has "fifty-six and eight and thirty-seven (one hundred and one) branches." Probably "twenty-one branches" is the real meaning in the case of the Rig Veda. Here too are mentioned the gītis, songs or verses (a rather unusual word) found in the branches in their numerous divisions, ṣākhābhedaḥ, ṣākhāsu gītayah.²

It is evident from this statement that, as Weber says of the passage in the Mahābhāṣya, we are dealing with a period when the number of Yajur Veda schools is greater than that recognized in the Caranavyūha, which gives only eighty-six. Another verse of this book recognizes ten thousand ṛcas: "This ambrosia churned from the wealth of all the dharmā-khyānas, the satyākhyāna, and the ten thousand ṛcas," xii,

¹ ṛgvedaḥ padakramavibhūṣitaḥ, xiii, 85, 90; atharvavedapravarāḥ pūga-yajñīyasūmagāḥ saṁhitām irayanti sma padakramayutām tu te, i, 70, 40. Gūlava, Bābhravyagotra, Pāñcāla, the grammarian, through the especial grace of the deity and being instructed in the method of Vāmadeva, became a shining light as a krama specialist, xii, 343, 100 ff; lakṣaṇāni svarāstobhā niruktaṁ surapañktayah, xiii, 85, 91 (together with nigrāha and pragraha); svarākṣaravyaṅjanahetuyuktayā (girā), iii, 207, 20.

² The verse translated above is ekaviṅṣatisāhasram (ṛgvedam mām prakṣate). Twenty-one thousand what? Not stanzas, for the Rig Veda has only half so many (Müller, ASL. p. 220). On the other hand, the passage agrees closely with one in the Mahābhāṣya (IS. xiii, p. 430), where the corresponding words are "twenty-one fold," after vartma (school): ekaṣatam adhvaryuṣākhāḥ, sahasravartmā sāmavedaḥ, ekaviṅṣatidhā bāhvṛcyam (a word implied in Mbh. xv, 10, 11, "Sāmba the bahvṛcaḥ"), navadhā ātharvano vedaḥ. The epic text, closely corresponding, is: ekaviṅṣatisāhasram ṛgvedam . . . sahasraṣākhāṁ yat sāma . . . ṣaṭpañcāṣatam aṣṭāu ca sapta triṅṣatam ty uta yasmin ṣākhā yajurvede, so 'ham ādhvaryave smṛtaḥ, pañcakalpam tharvāṇaṁ kṛtyābhiḥ paribṛñhitam kalpayanti hi mām viprā atharvāṇa-īdas tathā. There can scarcely be a doubt that for the text above we should read ekaviṅṣatīṣākhāṁ yam, as the parallel suggests, for the text as it stands is unintelligible. I regret that Weber has not noticed the epic passage, so that I cannot cite his opinion.

247, 14, where the commentator says that this is a general number, implying a fraction over 10,580.¹

In the account of the later epic we have a parallel to that of the Vāyu Purāṇa, where the latter, lxi, 120 ff., is accounting for the successive editions of the Vedas :

āvartamānā ṛṣayo yugākhyāsu punaḥ punaḥ
kurvanti saṁhitā hy ete jāyamānāḥ parasparam
aṣṭācītisaḥasrāṇi ṛutarsīṇām smṛtāni vāi
 tā eva saṁhitā hy ete āvartante punaḥ punaḥ
*gritā dakṣiṇam panthānam ye śmaśānāni bhejire*²
 yuge yuge tu tāḥ cākhā vyaśyante tāḥ punaḥ punaḥ
 dvāpareṣv iha sarveṣu saṁhitāc ca ṛutarsībhiḥ
 teṣāṁ gotreṣv imāḥ cākhā bhavanti 'ha punaḥ punaḥ
 tāḥ cākhās tatra kartāro bhavanti 'ha yugakṣayāt

The eighty thousand Vedic seers here mentioned are those of the Harivaṅṣa (loc. cit.) : ye ṛūyante divam prāptā ṛṣayo hy ūrdhvaretasaḥ mantrabrāhmaṇapakartāro jāyante ha yugākṣaye. They are mentioned elsewhere in the Vāyu Purāṇa, viii, 184, and in the epic itself, ii, 11, 54, in the same words :

aṣṭācītisaḥasrāṇi ṛṣīṇām ūrdhvaretasām,

a verse found also in the Mahābhārata (IS. xiii, p. 483).

¹ Compare further the daça pañca (ca) yajūnsi, learned from Arka by the author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in xii, 319, 21. The word carapa, in the sense of school, occurs in xii, 171, 2, pṛṣṭaḥ ca gotracaraṇam svādhyāyam brahmacārikam; xiii, 63, 18, na pṛcched gotracaraṇam. The mantras of the special septs are referred to in the late hymn to the Sun (Mihira), iii, 3, 30: (tvām brāhmaṇāḥ) svaçākṣāvihitāir mantrāir arcanti. The commentator cited above gives as his authority for the number of stanzas in the Rig Veda a lame couplet of the Çākalaka: ṛcām daçasahasrāṇi ṛcām pañcaçatāni ca ṛcām açitiḥ pādaç cāl'tat pārayaṇam ucya, iti.

² They are referred to, but not as Veda-makers, in Yāj. iii, 180, and in Āp. Dh. S., ii, 9, 23, 3-5 (as being mentioned "in a Purāṇa"). Yājñavalkya calls them the aṣṭācītisaḥasrā munayaḥ punarāvartinaḥ . . . dharmaṇapravartakāḥ. The Purāṇa referred to by Āpastamba may be the one cited above, though in another form, since the words have a different application. There is here a praçamsā of the ūrdhvaretasas : aṣṭācītisaḥasrāṇi ye prajām iṣira ṛṣayaḥ dakṣiṇeṇā'ryamaṇaḥ panthānam te śmaśānāni bhejire, etc. Compare Praçna Up. i, 9, ta eva punarāvartante tasmād ete ṛṣaya prajākūmā dakṣiṇam pratipadyante.

Divisions of Veda.

Reference is seldom made to Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa, or Āraṇyaka. The "peruser of Saṁhitā," saṁhitādhyāyin, is alluded to in i, 167, 8, and xiii, 143, 56. The word is used also of the epic, Vyāsa's Saṁhitā, the fifth Veda. In xii, 201, 8, saṅgha may be used in the same sense of collection, but it probably means a quantity. I will give the passage, however, as it enumerates the usual (i, 170, 75, etc.) six Vedāṅgas, though in an order constrained by the metre (they and the Upāṅgas will be discussed below, under Upavedas):

ṛksāmasaṅgūṇḥ ca yajūṇṣi cā 'pi
 cchandāṇsi nakṣatragatīm niruktam
 adhītya ca vyākaraṇam sakalpaṁ
 ḡkṣāṁ ca, bhūtaprakṛtiṁ na vedmi,

"Although I have studied collections of hymns and chants and the sacrificial formulas, and also prosody, astrology, etymology, grammar, ritual, and phonetics, I do not know the First Cause of being."

Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in xii, 269, 33-34, as the source of sacrifice, and in iii, 217, 21, "the different Agnis named in the Brāhmaṇas," brāhmaṇeṣu. In xiii, 104, 137, "rites declared in the Veda by Brāhmaṇas," the word means priests. Possibly Gītā, 17, 23, brāhmaṇāḥ (and vedāḥ) may be works, as the epic is not particular in regard to the gender of these words (purāṇa, itihāsa, and mahābhūta are both masculine and neuter). Yājñavalkya's Ḣatapatha Brāhmaṇa alone is named, with all its latest additions (kṛtsnam sarahasyam sasamgraham sapariṇeṣam ca), xii, 319, 11, and 16. So ib. 24, 25, and 34: "I resolve in mind the Upanishad (BA.) and the Pariṇeṣa (the last part), observing also logic, the best science, ānvīkṣikī parā, and declare the fourth transcendental science or science of salvation, sāmparāyikā, based on the twenty-fifth (Yoga) principle."¹ Other Brāhmaṇas may be implied in the

¹ In the expression, loc. cit., ḡl. 10, vedāḥ sakḡhilaḥ so 'ttaraḥ, uttara refers to the Upanishads (not to the philosophy). The Khila Supplement is mentioned again in the Harivaṅṡa (Holtzmann).

list at xii, 337, 7 ff., Tāṇḍya, Kāṭha, Kaṇva, Tāittiri.¹ As "prose works," gadya, this class of works is perhaps recognized in iii, 26, 3, in the words: "The thrilling sound of yajūṇṣi, ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, and gadyāni" (as they were recited).

Whether pravacana, exposition, means Aṅgas or Brāhmaṇas or perhaps Sūtras, I do not know. The (Upanishad) word occurs in a verse found also in Manu, where the commentator explains it as Aṅga, to which the objection may be made that the Aṅgas have already been mentioned. But the passage is not without importance as showing how the didactic or later epic adds elements to the simpler statement of the earlier law-books. In xiii, 90, 36, the pāṅkteyas, or men who may be invited to sit in the row at a funeral feast, are not only the agryāḥ sarveṣu vedeṣu sarvapravacanēṣu ca of Manu iii, 184, and the list of iii, 185, triṇāṇketāḥ pañcāgnis trisuparnaḥ ṣaḍaṅgaḥ (v. l. brahmaḍeyānusanātānaḥ chandogo jyeṣṭhasāmagāḥ) in 90, 26, but, among others, the atharvaḥi-raso 'dhyetā, 29 (a rare word); "those who cause the Itihāsa to be read to the regenerate," 33; those who are "acquainted with commentaries," bhāṣyavidas (or know the Mahābhāṣya?),² and are "delighted with grammar," vyākaraṇe ratāḥ, 34; those who "study the Purāṇa and the Dharmaśāstras"; those who "bathe in holy pools," ye ca puṇyeṣu tīrtheṣu abhiṣe-kakṛtāgramāḥ, 30 (a practice not extolled by Manu, whose view seems to be that of Agastya, asti me kaḥcit tīrthebhyo dharmasamāṇaḥ! xiii, 25, 5). The bhārata vidvān, xiii, 76, 18, is naturally extolled in the epic, and yet even with this latitude we must see in the list above a distinct advance on the position held by the early law-makers, to whom it was not enough for a man to recite the epic (not to speak of grammar and bhāṣya-knowers as being ipso facto pāṅkteyas) to be deemed worthy of invitation. Even Vishnu's Smṛti is here exceeded, and Manu and the Sūtras have nothing in any degree parallel. Even if we say that the list is on a par with

¹ The Tāittiri dispute is referred to in xii, 319, 17 ff.

² But bhāṣya may mean any reasoned exposition, bhāṣyāṇi tarkayuktāni, ii, 11, 35.

Vishnu alone, although it really exceeds it in liberality, we thereby put this epic passage on a par with a law-book later than any that can be referred to the Sūtra period, later than Manu also and probably Yājñavalkya.¹

Almost as rare as the mention of Brāhmaṇas is that of Āraṇyakas. In the passage cited above, xii, 343, stanza 98 has as elsewhere the singular, gūyanty āraṇyake viprā madbha-ktāḥ. So ib. 340, 8: "Hari sings the four Vedas and the Āraṇyaka" (as forest, e. g., ib. 337, 11, āraṇyakapadodbhūtā bhāgūḥ); and in xii, 349, 29-31, the Krishna religion has "mysteries, abstracts, and Āraṇyaka." Compare also v, 175, 38, çūstre cā 'raṇyake guruḥ, "a man of weight in code and esoteric wisdom"; xii, 344, 13, āraṇyakam ca vedebhyaḥ (yathā), where the kathāmṛtam or essence of story of the expanded Bhārata, Bhāratākhyānavistara of 100,000 ślokas,² is compared to the Āraṇyaka as the essence of the Vedas (a simile repeated at i, 1, 265). The word is in fact generalized, like Upanishad. But as a literary class it is found in the plural in xii, 19, 17, vedavādān atikramya çāstrāṇy āraṇyakāni ca . . . sārām dadṛçire na te, "they ran over the words of the Vedas, the Çāstras, and the Āraṇyakas, without discovering their inner truth." Here Veda does not connote Āraṇyaka.

Upanishads.

The Upanishads are alluded to in the singular, collectively, or distributively in the plural. They are generally grouped with the Aṅgas and are called Upanishads, rahasyas, mysteries, Brāhma Veda, and Vedānta; while like the Āraṇyakas they are logically excluded from the Veda of which they are supposed in ordinary parlance to form part.³ The

¹ Vishnu, ch. 83; Manu, loc. cit.; Yāj. i, 219; Āp. ii, 17; Gāut. xv; Vas. xi. I doubt whether the "Atharvaçiras-reader" can imply the Çiras-vow, but even this is a comparatively late touch, Bāudh. ii, 14, 2, in this regard.

² Note that the number of verses show that the Harivaṅça already existed when this passage was written. Compare ib. 340, 28.

³ I mean that in the current phrase vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ or sapaniṣadāḥ the sa should differentiate as much as it does in the parallel phrase ṛgvedaḥ saya-

word *upanishad* has two distinct but current meanings in the epic. It means on the one hand mystery, secret wisdom, essential truth, essence, as in xiii, 78, 4, *gavām upaniṣadvidvān*, "wise in cow-mysteries," and in iii, 207, 67 = xii, 252, 11, *vedasyo 'paniṣat satyam, satyasyo 'paniṣad damah*, "truth is the secret wisdom (essence) of the Veda, patience the essence of truth." So in the common phrase, *vedāḥ ca sopaniṣadaḥ*, xiii, 85, 92, etc., the word may mean mysteries. This I think is the explanation of the employment of the word *mahopanishad* in vii, 143, 34-35, where Bhūriśravas devotes himself to *prāya* before death in battle. He is a muni here and desires to ascend to the world of Brahman, so he sits down in Yoga contemplation and meditates the "great *Upanishad*," *dhyāyan mahopanishadam yogayukto 'bhavan munih*. On comparing the scene where Droṇa is in the same situation, vii, 192, 52, we find that he says *om*, and this mystery of *om* is probably the meaning of *mahopanishad*, which cannot be a work here, as is *mahopanishadam* in xii, 340, 111. But in other cases *Upanishad* is clearly a literary work, even standing in antithesis to the mysteries with which it is sometimes identical, as it is in the form *upanishā* in the Pāli scriptures.¹

śravedaḥ, or in *yad etad ucyate cīstre se 'tihāse ca chandasi*, xiii, 111, 42. But it is very likely that the term was used to mean "including" (as part of the Veda). On the use of singular and plural referred to above, compare *sa rājā rūjadharmāṅ ca brahmopanishadam tathā avāptavān*, xv, 35, 2; *sāṅgo-paṇiṣadān vedān viprāḥ cā' dhiyate*, i, 64, 19, etc. For *Vedānta* and *Vedāntāḥ*, meaning *Upanishads*, compare iv, 51, 10, *vedāntāḥ ca purāṇāni itihāsam* (1) *purāṇanam*; xiii, 16, 43, (*Qiva*) *yam ca vedavido vedyaṁ vedānte ca pratiṣṭhitam . . . yaṁ viçanti japanti ca*; II, 3, 10, 67, *purāṇeṣu vedānte ca*. I may mention here also the works called *Nisads*, which are referred to (or invented) only, if I mistake not, in xii, 47, 26, *yaṁ vākeṣu anuvākeṣu niṣatōpauṣeṣu ca gṛhṇanti satyakarmāṇaṁ satyaṁ satyeṣu sāmānu*.

¹ Kern, SBE. xxi, p. 317. Compare for the use of the word, xii, 245, 15, where it is said that the *Upanishads* inculcate the four modes of life, *caturthaḥ cāu 'paniṣado dharmāḥ sūdhārāṇaḥ smṛtaḥ*; and xiii, 84, 5, where it is said that *Vedopanishadas* inculcate that earth, cows, or gold must be the sacrificial fee. As we find *vedāḥ sarahasyāḥ sasarṅgrahāḥ* and *vedavedāṅgabhāgyavit*, xii, 325, 22-23, so in viii, 87, 42, reference is made to "all the Vedas, with Tales as the fifth Veda, together with *Upavedas*, *Upanishads*, mysteries, and abstracts" (*samgraha*). Nārada is said to be *vedopanishadām vettā itihāsa-purāṇajñāḥ . . . śaḍaṅgavit* and *smṛtimān*, ii, 5, 2 ff. The use in iii, 251, 23,

Upavedas and Upāṅgas.

The Upavedas or subsidiary Vedas are three in number, Āyur Veda, Dhanur Veda, and Gāndharva Veda. To these is added in other works Sthāpatya Veda, but this term is not recognized in the epic, and the commentator on vii, 202, 75, recognizes only three, those just given, or Medicine, Archery, and Music; but the fourth, Architecture, is known (only in the epic introduction), as Vāstuvidyā.¹ Authors are assigned to these and other works in xii, 210, 20, Bṛhaspati being the originator of all the Vedāṅgas; Bhṛgu's son, of Nītiçāstra, law; Nārada, of music; Bharadvāja, of the science of arms (particularly archery); Gārgya, of tales of the doings of seers (devarsīcarita); and Kṛṣṇātreya, of medicine (cikitsita). They are all contrasted with other Nyūya-tantrūṇi, which like these were created at the beginning of the aeon as an aid in understanding Brahman (expounded by hetu, āgama, and sadācāra, or reason, faith, and common consent of good men, ib. 22). It is noteworthy that Nārada, not Bharata, is found in this connection, and that Kṛṣṇātreya takes the place elsewhere given to Bharadvāja.

Of the first of these subsidiary Vedas, the epic naturally gives little information, though burdened with much medicinal knowledge which may be referred to some uncited work on medicine. Native scholars imagine that the corresponding Upanishad passages imply the circulation of the blood, also thought to be recorded in xii, 185, 15, prasthitā hrdayāt . . . vahanti annarasān nāḍyaḥ: "The veins convey (all over

would suggest that Upanishad is a sort of Sūtra, for here a spirit is summoned by means of "mantras declared by Bṛhaspati and Uçanas; by those declared in the Atharva Veda; and by rites in the Upanishad," yāç co 'paniçadi kriyāḥ. I am not certain how to interpret paṭhyase stutibhiç cāi 'va vedopaniçadām gaṇāiḥ xii, 285, 126.

¹ Thus the architect, sūtradhāra, sthapati, is vāstuvidyāviçārada, i, 51, 15 (the sūtrakarmaviçārada of G. ii, 87, 1). Architectural Çāstras are mentioned in i, 134, 10-11. As a fourth to the three is elsewhere set the Arthaçāstra. These as a group are added to the other vidyās (see note below on the sixty-four arts and fourteen sciences). But in the epic, Arthaçāstra is not grouped with the Upavedas.

the body) the food-essences, starting from the *hṛdaya*" (heart or chest). But a direct citation is the allusion, under the cover of an "it is said," to the constituents *pitta*, *śleṣman*, *vāyu* (also *vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*), which make the threefold body, *tridhātu*, according to the *Āyurvedins*.¹ In the epic *Khila* and in the *Kaccit* and eleventh chapters of *Sabdhā*, both late additions to the epic,² the science of medicine is said to have eight branches (ii, 5, 90; 11, 25). Possibly in iii, 71, 27, *Çālihotra* may represent the veterinary science of iv, 12, 7.

The *Dhanur Veda*, literally *Veda* of the bow, is often joined with the regular *Vedas*, as is to be expected in epic poetry, ix, 44, 21-22, etc. It is called also *iṣvastra*, weapons, and is said to be fourfold and to have ten divisions. In the *Kaccit* chapter just referred to it is said to have a *Sūtra* like other *Vedas*, and at the time this was written it is very probable that such was the case, though, as I have shown elsewhere, the knight's study of *Dhanur Veda* consists in practice not in study of books. This *Bow-Veda*, archery, is opposed sometimes to the four *Vedas* alone, sometimes to the *Upanishads* and *Brāhma Veda*, while on the other hand it is associated with various *Sūtras*, arts, and *Nītiśāstras*. The priority of *Dhanur Veda* in the phrase *dhanurvedo ca vede ca*, found in both epics, is due partly to metrical convenience and partly to the greater importance of this *Veda* in the warrior's education:³ *na tasya vedādhyayane tatthā buddhir ajāyata yathā 'sya buddhir abhavad dhanurvedo*, "His intelligence was more developed in learning how to use a bow than in perusing holy texts," i, 130, 3; *dhanur-*

¹ xii, 343, 86-87: *pittam śleṣmā ca vāyuḥ ca eṣa saṃghāta ucyaṭe, cākṣiḥ ca dhāryate jantur etāṃ kṣipāṇi ca kṣiyate, āyurvedavidas tasmāt tridhātum mām pracakṣate*. Compare vi, 84, 41, cited in *PW.*, and also xiv, 12, 3, *çitoṣṇe cāi 'va vāyuḥ ca guṇāḥ . . . çarirajāḥ*, whose equality is health (*N. kaphapitte*). Some notes on epic anatomy will be given later.

² The lateness of the *Kaccit* chapter I have discussed elsewhere, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, vol. xix, p. 147 ff. A noteworthy statement on disease is that of xii, 16, 9, which attributes all mental disease to the body and all bodily disease to the mind, *mānasāj jāyate çārīraḥ (vyādhīḥ)*, "bodily ailment arises from mental (ailment)."

³ The same is partially true of *atharvavede vede ca*, xiii, 10, 37, etc.

vedaparatvāt, ib. 4.¹ It is the Kṣatra Veda or knightly science par excellence, R. i, 65, 23 (with Brahma Veda).

The science of music, Gāndharva Veda, consists according to iii, 91, 14, in the knowledge of singing, dancing, chanting, and playing on musical instruments, gītaṁ nr̥tyaṁ ca sāmā ca vādītraṁ ca, not including apparently the Nāṭasūtra or manual for actors mentioned by Pāṇini. The seven musical scales, vāṇī saptavidhā, ii, 11, 34, are a branch of study. The three notes of the drum are spoken of² and the names of the notes of the regular scale, gamut, are given. Further citations in this regard will be made hereafter.

These Upavedas are associated with the chief Vedas (vedāḥ and upavedāḥ, vii, 202, 75, etc.), much as are the Vedāṅgas, Upanishads, and Tales, and are distinguished as well from the Śāstras and Sūtras mentioned in the passage already noticed, ii, 11, 32-33, though Śāstra is a general term including Upaveda. The Aṅgas are the customary six mentioned above, and are generally referred to as in i, 104, 12, vedāṁ ṣaḍaṅgāṁ pratyadhīyata; or without number, as in i, 156, 5, brāhmaṇaṁ vedam adhīyānā vedāṅgāni ca sarvaṅaḥ, nītiśāstraṁ ca sarvajñāḥ.³ These again have their subsidiary branches, Upāṅgas, vedāḥ sāṅgopāṅgāḥ savistarāḥ, iii, 64, 17; Upanas' and Bhaspati's śāstra with Aṅgas and Upāṅgas, i, 100, 36-38. The similarity of phrase in iii, 99, 26 and elsewhere, vedāḥ sāṅgopaniṣadāḥ, might suggest that Upāṅgas were Upanishads, but they are more probably a species of Upavedas. The term is

¹ This Veda is constantly mentioned, e. g. i, 130, 21; 221, 72; iii, 37, 1; ix, 6, 14, daśaṅgāṁ yaç catuṣpādām iṣvastraṁ veda tattvataḥ, sāṅgāṁ tu caturo vedāṁ samyaç ākhyānapañcanāṁ. The phrase dhanurvede ca vede ca occurs, for example, in i, 109, 19. In R. v, 35, 14, Rāma is described as "trained in the Yajur Veda . . . and skilled in dhanurvede ca vede ca vedāṅgeṣu ca (the Yajur Veda only, to which Vālmiki belonged, is here mentioned). Elsewhere the science takes its proper place, as in M. iii, 277, 4, vedēṣu sarvaśāstreṣu dhanurvedeṣu pāragāḥ, where the plural is noteworthy.

² iii, 20, 10, triḥṣāṁḥ hanyatām eṣā dundubhiḥ. The vipā mādharālāpā, sweet-voiced lyre, is spoken of as gāndharvāṁ sādha mārchaṭi (marchayanti), iv, 17, 14. The gāndharvāṁ is the third note of the seven, xii, 181, 39 = xiv, 50, 53.

³ Compare brāhmaṇe vede ca pāragāḥ contrasted with astrāṅgāṁ ca dhanurvede, vii, 23, 39. So Brahma Veda, R. i, 65, 23 (above), not as AV.