

Introduction



FIG. 1. Śrī Sūryodaya, the 'Holy Sunrise'. From a sixteenth-century MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, Fig. 38.

The Dawn depicted is that of the day following Trisālā's announcement of her pregnancy dreams to Siddhārtha and is therefore that of the day of Mahāvīra's conception. Mahāvīra being, no less than the Buddha, the Solar Messiah, the Sunrise on the morning of his conception is virtually and, if we ignore the pseudo-historical presentation of the 'miraculous' elements in the Jina's life, is actually the Coming Forth of the Hidden Light in the Beginning.

The designation Śrī Sūryodaya appears as a legend in Nāgarī characters beside the illustration on the manuscript page. The text, §59, describes the rising of the Sun as follows: 'Early in the wane of night the Sun arose . . . intensely red. . . He, the thousand-rayed Day-maker, glowing in fiery-energy, awakened the clusters of lotuses . . . by the blows of his hands the darkness was dispelled.'

In the *R̥gveda*, the Five Aryan kindreds are spoken of as immigrants; they have come from another place across the waters, and have settled and tilled the lands on the hither shore. This process of land-taking has generally been interpreted as referring to an historical immigration of an Aryan speaking people who, fair in colour and sharply distinguished from the dusky pagan Dasyus, crossed the Sarasvatī in the Panjab and made their home in Bhāratavarṣa. That is an euhemeristic interpretation of a traditional literature which is strictly speaking devoid of any historical content whatever. We do not mean to say by this that there may not have taken place historical events analogous to those alluded to in the Vedic 'myths'; on the contrary, we assume that history is always enacted in the pattern of the ultimate reality enunciated in the metaphysical tradition, or in Biblical phraseology, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets' (*ṛsayah*). It may therefore be true that the metaphysical tradition itself can be a process of inversion be employed by the historian as source material, just as an icon may be used by the aesthete as a piece of bric-a-brac, or by the anthropologist for his own ends. In this sense, for example, we may be sure that the people who performed the Vedic ritual and chanted the *mantras* in their recorded form, actually possessed horses and chariots, had experience of the crossing of seas and rivers, and tilled the soil. It does not follow that the cosmic myth itself—'originale Geistesschöpfung allerersten Ranges'¹—had been unknown previous to that late stage of neolithic culture that is reflected in the symbolism of the *mantras* in which it is expressed. Certain of the symbols are by no means 'dated'; the Sun may have been referred to as a bird at any time, nor can it be doubted that a cult of the One Madonna existed already in the Paleolithic age. The symbols that imply a specific cultural niveau may, simultaneously with actual invention, have been developed from earlier prototypes; before the pillar, the tree; before the wheel, the swastika; before the plough, the planting-stick.² It is in this sense that the myth itself, apart from the manner of its formulation (and this will apply even to its late

¹Jeremias, *Der Kosmos von Sumer*, 1932, p. 20.

²Cf. Andrae, *Die Ionische Säule; Bauform oder symbol?* Berlin, 1933, pp. 65, 66: 'When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest. . . He who marvels that a formal symbol can remain alive not only for millennia, but that, as we shall yet learn, can spring to life again after an interval of thousands of years, should remind himself that the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is everlasting.' Cf. René Guénon, 'Du prétendu 'empirisme' des anciens', in *Le Voile d'Isis*, No. 175, 1934.

Introduction



FIG. 1. Śrī Sūryodaya, the 'Holy Sunrise'. From a sixteenth-century MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, Fig. 38.

The Dawn depicted is that of the day following Trisālā's announcement of her pregnancy dreams to Siddhārtha and is therefore that of the day of Mahāvīra's conception. Mahāvīra being, no less than the Buddha, the Solar Messiah, the Sunrise on the morning of his conception is virtually and, if we ignore the pseudo-historical presentation of the 'miraculous' elements in the Jina's life, is actually the Coming Forth of the Hidden Light in the Beginning.

The designation Śrī Sūryodaya appears as a legend in Nāgarī characters beside the illustration on the manuscript page. The text, §59, describes the rising of the Sun as follows: 'Early in the wane of night the Sun arose . . . intensely red . . . He, the thousand-rayed Day-maker, glowing in fiery-energy, awakened the clusters of lotuses . . . by the blows of his hands the darkness was dispelled.'

In the *Rgveda*, the Five Aryan kindreds are spoken of as immigrants; they have come from another place across the waters, and have settled and tilled the lands on the hither shore. This process of land-taking has generally been interpreted as referring to an historical immigration of an Aryan speaking people who, fair in colour and sharply distinguished from the dusky pagan Dasyus, crossed the Sarasvatī in the Panjab and made their home in Bhāratavarṣa. That is an euhemeristic interpretation of a traditional literature which is strictly speaking devoid of any historical content whatever. We do not mean to say by this that there may not have taken place historical events analogous to those alluded to in the Vedic 'myths'; on the contrary, we assume that history is always enacted in the pattern of the ultimate reality enunciated in the metaphysical tradition, or in Biblical phraseology, 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets' (*ṛsayah*). It may therefore be true that the metaphysical tradition itself can be a process of inversion be employed by the historian as source material, just as an icon may be used by the aesthete as a piece of bric-a-brac, or by the anthropologist for his own ends. In this sense, for example, we may be sure that the people who performed the Vedic ritual and chanted the *mantras* in their recorded form, actually possessed horses and chariots, had experience of the crossing of seas and rivers, and tilled the soil. It does not follow that the cosmic myth itself—'originale Geistesschöpfung allerersten Ranges'¹—had been unknown previous to that late stage of neolithic culture that is reflected in the symbolism of the *mantras* in which it is expressed. Certain of the symbols are by no means 'dated'; the Sun may have been referred to as a bird at any time, nor can it be doubted that a cult of the One Madonna existed already in the Paleolithic age. The symbols that imply a specific cultural niveau may, simultaneously with actual invention, have been developed from earlier prototypes; before the pillar, the tree; before the wheel, the swastika; before the plough, the planting-stick.² It is in this sense that the myth itself, apart from the manner of its formulation (and this will apply even to its late

¹Jeremias, *Der Kosmos von Sumer*, 1932, p. 20.

²Cf. Andrae, *Die Ionische Säule; Bauform oder symbol?* Berlin, 1933, pp. 65, 66: 'When we sound the archetype, the ultimate origin of the form, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest. . . . He who marvels that a formal symbol can remain alive not only for millennia, but that, as we shall yet learn, can spring to life again after an interval of thousands of years, should remind himself that the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is everlasting.' Cf. René Guénon, 'Du prétendu 'empirisme' des anciens', in *Le Voile d'Isis*, No. 175, 1934.

recension in the two great pseudo-historical epics), may not be properly regarded as an historical relation (*itihāsa*), nor as concerned with events in time, but as a metaphysical formulation in accordance with a logical order of thought. Other versions of the 'single and unanimous tradition', Genesis for example, are to be understood and have been understood in the same way. In like manner, the miraculous elements in the lives of the Messiahs are not to be regarded as later accretions imposed upon an historical nucleus, but much rather as parts of the essential theme to which an aspect of historicity has been superadded by way of accommodation (*upāya*).

To some students, these will seem to be self-evident theses, needing no demonstration. To others, merely a fantastic theory, with the latter in view it is proposed to discuss the matter in greater detail, by an analysis of the meanings and content of certain constantly recurring and characteristic terms, viz., *ārya*, *carṣani* and *kṛṣṭi*, *pañca jana*, *sarasvatī*, *setu*, *vāpa-maṅgala*, *viśa* and *viśpati*, *yajña*, and *Yama*. If the proper interpretation of some of these terms is still a matter of controversy, it may nevertheless appear that some further light can be shed on the problems by a choice of valid interpretations of such sort that all the terms can be understood consistently in relation to one another or in one and the same context.³

The *Rgveda* as Land-Nāma-Bók

ĀRYA, ARYA

Ārya, 'noble' or 'gentle' (as in 'gentleman') is from *ṛ*, to go, rise up, reach, obtain; cognate forms are *ariya*, *airya*, Irān, Erin, and Germ. Ehre; for the root, cf. Zend *ir*, Lith *ir-ti* (to row, cf. Skr. *aritra*, 'oar'), Greek *ór-nu-mi*, *aró-o*, etc., and Lat. *or-jor*, *or-iens*. Any connection with Lat. *ar*, to plough, may be doubted. The root meanings give the sense of going forward and taking possession. The root meaning of *ārya* is that of 'pioneer', in the American sense, where the first settlers are most highly honoured (one might almost speak of an 'ancestral cult' in this connection), and where it represents the height of social distinction to be descended from these first-comers from the other side. From this point of view there develops the secondary meaning of 'noble' and that of 'right', cf. *ṛta* 'law' and *ari* 'loyal'; the procedure of the first settlers being thought of as an establishment of law and order where savagery (*anṛta*) had previously prevailed.⁴ Thus he, Agni, who *pūrvam ārita*

"The Comprehensors (*vidvānsah*) . . . they of the Law (*ṛtavānah*, here the First Sacrificers) when they had bared to sight what-things-were-theirs-who-knew-no-Law (*anṛtā*) and were returned, they, the shaper-minstrels (*kaṇvayah*, Gk. ποιητοί went forth upon their glorious way', *RV*, II.24.6-7; 'The Patriarchs (*pitarah*), on whom as being Angels, the Angels have bestowed their Providence (*kratu*) . . . have overstridden the regions, laying out the ancient measureless abodes . . . pouring out their offspring variously', X.56.4-5; 'The generous (viz., *viśvedevāh*) have made the Sun to mount the sky, and scattered the Āryan ordinances (*āryā vratā*) o'er the world', X.65.11 (*Sāyana* glosses *ārya* as *śreṣṭhāni* and *kalyānāni*, 'best' and 'lovely'). *Per contra*, 'The Herdsman of the Law (*ṛtasya gopā*), the Comprehensor who surveys the several worlds (viz., the Sun), thrusts into the pit them that are unqualified (*ajusṭān*) and uninitiate (*avratān*). Men of vision (*dhīrah*, here the First Sacrificers) span the yarn of Law (*ṛtasya tantur vitatah*) upon the purifying sieve, Varuṇa's tongue-tip, by Magic (*māyayā*); but he that is not able thereunto (*aprabhuh*) falls down into the pit (*hartam aya padātī*), *RV*, IX.73.9; mark the contrast as between the latter and the 'Herdsman moving on the paths, who never falls' (*gopām anipadyamānam . . . pathibīś carantam*, I.164.31; X.177.3, *JUB*, III.37). The Herdsman of the Universe (*bhuvanasya gopāh*, I.164.21; II.27.4; VII. 70.2, *JUB*, I.1; III.12, etc.) is the 'Good shepherd' of Semitic tradition. Indra is typically designated *vratapā*, Fidei Defensor, which is his natural function as representing the temporal power (*ksatra*) in alliance with the spiritual-power (*brahma*) represented by Agni, who lays the bolt in Indra's hands, X.52.5, and appoints him to perform heroic feats, VIII.100.1-2.

³Abbreviations are employed as follows: *RV*, *Rgveda Samhitā*; *AV*, *Atharvaveda Samhitā*; *TS*, *Taittirīya Samhitā*; *VS*, *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*; *TB*, *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*; *PB*, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*; *AB*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; *JB*, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; *JUB*, *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; *AA*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; *BU*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; *CU*, *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; *Mai. U*, *Maitrī Upaniṣad*; *MU*, *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*; *SN*, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*; *J*, *Jātaka*.

(RV, IV.1.12) is not only *ṛtajā* and *ṛtāyus*, but also *ṛtavān* and *ṛtvij*, or in short and in every sense of the word, *ārya* or *arya*.⁵

It need hardly be pointed out that the term *ārya* is applied by the Aryans themselves to themselves in this laudatory sense, and by way of distinction from others whose descent and behaviour are relatively abominated, and of whose point of view we hear little.⁶

CARṢAṆI AND KRṢṬI

Carṣaṇi 'wanderer' a 'nomad' and *krṣṭi*, 'ploughman' and 'ploughing', or 'tilling' and 'tilth', are both secondarily 'folk' or 'people', as typically agricultural. In the same way Pāli *kassaka*, 'ploughman', and *kasi* or *kaśi*, 'ploughing', 'tilth', are secondarily 'farmer' and 'folk'. In many passages *pañca carṣaṇayāḥ* or *krṣṭayāḥ* replaces the more usual *pañca janāḥ*, for example RV, V.86.2, VII.15.2, and IX.101.9, the first of these references giving us 'Let us make oblation to Indrāgni for sake of the Five Kindreds' (*pañca carṣaṇir-abhi*). Agni or Indra is *rāja* or *pati krṣṭinām* or *carṣaṇinām*, IV.17.5, and V.39.4, etc.,⁷ and these expressions amount to the same things as *viśpati* elsewhere; Varuṇa is *rāja carṣaṇi-dhṛta*, king and supporter of the folk, IV.1.2; Agni takes his seat in homes as *grhapatī* 'for the sake of the Five Kindreds', *pañca carṣaṇir-abhi*, VII.15.2. Agni is himself *viśva-carṣaṇi*, V.23.4; the Buddha speaks of himself as *kassaka*, SN, text I, p. 172.

It has often been observed that no trace of a caste system can be recognized in the *Rgveda*. For example, the Creator *per artem* (Viśvakarmā, Tvaṣṭṛ) is what would now be called a *śūdra*; and although the four characteristic functions of priest, ruler, farmer, and craftsman are distinguished, one and all of these are 'ploughmen'. What this implies is a state of affairs in which the individual of a given type is still in full possession of all the possibilities of being in the mode of that type. A caste system on the other hand reflects a posterior condition in which the individual realizes in himself only a part of the potentialities that are proper to the type generically; 'priest', 'king', etc., are

⁵In RV, IV.1.7, where Agni is *arya*, Sāyaṇa's gloss is *svāmi vaiśyaḥ*, tantamount to '*viśpati*'.

⁶Cf., however, Namuci's reproaches addressed to Indra, 'Thou betrayer of a friend', TB, I.7.1.7-8. There is indeed plenty of evidence in the *Rgveda* that the act of taking possession of what was not originally theirs, but belonged to the dusky Asuras — as if to the 'Redskins' in our American analogy — was well understood to have been in some sort a sin requiring expiation and a symbolic restitution, e.g. RV, X.109; the *kilbiṣāni* are typically Indra's, while the Redeemer, *kilbiṣa-sṛṣṭi*, is typically Agni, RV, X.71.10; it may also be noted with respect to RV, I.164.32, where Agni is said to 'take on destruction' (*nirṛtim*), that if we accept Sāyaṇa's designation of Nirṛti as *pāpa-devatā*, this also implies an assumption of our guilt. We are not, however, at present concerned with this point of view, but only with that affirmative attitude which naturally prevails in the *karma kāṇḍa*.

⁷In RV, I.177.1, Indra, and in III.62.6, Brhaspati, is *vṛṣabha carṣaṇinām*.

now *specific* determinations, the names alluding to the one and only function which the individual can properly fulfil, and which is his 'vocation'. As the process of contraction and identification into variety proceeds, the capacities of the individual are more and more constricted; and this is outwardly reflected in our contemporary social order (an industrial order representing the notion of 'caste' in its fullest possible development), where none takes all knowledge for his province, and the workman is specifically conformed to the making of small parts of things and can make nothing whole. This excessive division of labour can result in the production only of goods that are useful, not of those that are beautiful; for integration, co-ordination, and lucidity are essential to beauty, and with these the labourer has nothing to do; he who makes only parts of things cannot be an artist (*artifex*) but only a cooly. Only those modern productions can be beautiful in which the products of the work of many men are united. If for example a bridge is beautiful, this is possible inasmuch as all those (engineer, and skilled and unskilled workers), who are collectively its maker, amount to one single proper man, one bridge-builder. Where a 'tradition' has survived (as in 'Campagnonage') it still remains within the power of the initiated individual to rise above the situation in which he finds himself, and by successive apperceptions to achieve a repossession of the lost powers; but this conception of the meaning of 'initiation into the mystery of a craft' has no longer any place in European consciousness. These considerations lie in part outside the natural limits of the present tract; but the fact that the *Rgveda* recognizes a state of affairs in which a division of labour is apparent only in act and not in the essence of the individual (the dual Indrāgni, for example, represents the union of spiritual and temporal powers in one person, of which traces have survived in human social order wherever the links of tradition have not been broken) shows that we are here dealing with a 'time' antecedent to 'history'.

NAU.

It will be seen below, (s.v. Sarasvatī) that the floor of the Chariot of Light (*jyoti-ratha* applied to Agni, Soma, Viśvedevāḥ, RV, I.140.1; IX.86.44; X.63.4), that is of intellectual substance (*manas-maya*, X. 85. 12) and drawn by steeds not born of horses (*anaśvo jāto*, IV.36.1) but intellectually fashioned (*tataksur manasā*, I.20.2), is itself a Ground (*budhna*, X.135.6) resting upon the Waters, and in this respect like any other Earth (*prthivī = dyāvā-prthivī = dyāvā*) or platform of being. According to another familiar image any Ground may be represented by the lotus, flower of leaf, and it is in this sense (TS, IV.1.4; IV.2.8; V.2.6.5; SB, VII. 4.1.7-11) that Agni is said to have been churned from the lotus (*puṣkarāt*, VI.16.13) and Vasīṣṭha, child of Mitrāvaruṇau and Urvaśī, is born in the lotus (*jātaḥ . . . puṣkare*, VII.33.11) where also the Viśvedevāḥ are revealed.

Any Ground thus supported in and by the primordial ocean of infinite possibility may in the same way be thought of as a ship or ark (*nau*) or swing

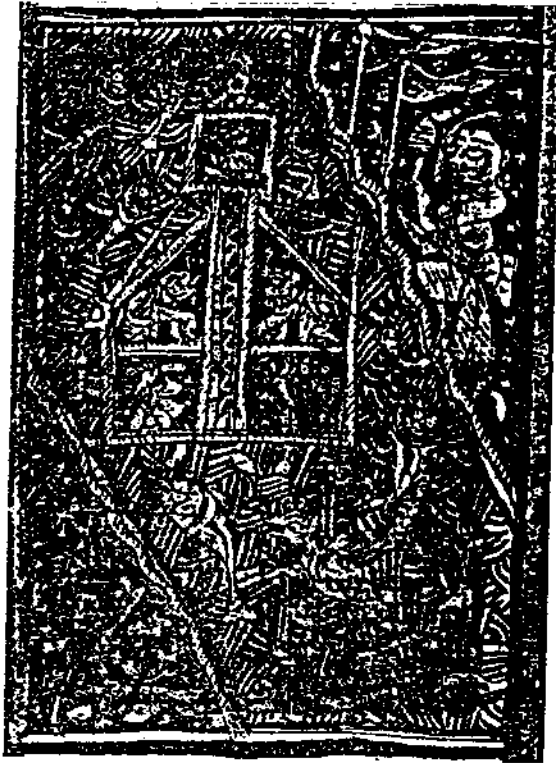


FIG. 2. THE SHIP OF LIFE, OR SUN-BOAT, AND RIVER OF LIFE WITH ITS TWO SHORES. FROM AN MS. OF THE *Kalpa Sūtra* BELONGING TO MR. N.M. HEERAMANECK, NEW YORK, SEE BROWN, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, FIG. 30.

The miniature illustrates one of the Fourteen Dreams of Trisālā, all of which dreams, prefiguring the advent of Mahāvira, are essentially the themes of the Creation as described in the *Rgveda*. 'Every mother (*māyā* = *mātṛ*) of a Tīrthaṅkara sees these Fourteen Dreams in that night in which the most glorious Arhat enters her Womb' (*Kalpa Sūtra*, §46b). For a description of the River or Sea of Life as here depicted see *Kalpa Sūtra*, text 43, or translation in *SBE*, XXII, pp. 236-7, where the significant designations *gaṅgāvarta*, *uccalat* and *praty-avanivṛtta*, *ḥṣira-sāgara*, and *salilam* are employed.

The 'lookout' at the top of the mast is the Sun as the surveyor of all things (*viśvam abhi caṣṭe*, *RV*, I.164.44, *abhicakṣana*, II.40.5, etc.), the mast his 'foot' as Aja Ekapad, and at the same time, the Axis of the Universe, as pointed out explicitly in the *Daśakumāracarita*, invocatory verse, cf. my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Note 139.

or rocking-boat (*prēnkha*) of life, cf. *ḥṣaunī-nau* in the invocatory stanzas of the *Daśakumāracarita*. So Vasiṣṭha, in *RV*, VII.88, when he feels himself estranged from Varuṇa—'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?'—looks back to the beginning with a fond yearning, as of Adam's for Paradise: 'Where I with Varuṇa embarked (*ā ruhāva*), drave out our ship (*nāvam irayāva*) into mid-ocean, rode on the crests of the waves, would that we yet swung there in the smooth-gliding swing (*prēnkha*) for gladness, where-aboard (*nāvi*) Varuṇa set Vasiṣṭha, in the clear-shing of the days, when Heaven and Earth, the Dawns and Dusks were warped' (*tatanan*). 'Wise King Varuṇa, indeed, made in Heaven this Golden Swing smooth-gliding for delight', VII.87.5; it is the Sun's reflection in the Sea, the 'sun-boat' of the manifold tradition.

The Ship of Life may equally as well be spoken of as launched and guided by all or any of the premier Angels; thus, X.63.10, 'Let us embark (*ā ruhema*) in the angelic vessel (*daivīm nāvam*) unto weal.' Again, 'The Ships of Truth (*satyasya nāvah*) have borne the goodly-made across (*sukṛtam apīparan*, IX.73.1); 'Bear us across the Sea as in a ship, thou Comprehensor' (*nāvā na sindhum atī paṣi vidvān*, IX.70.10, addressed to Soma; 'As in a ship convey us o'er the flood' (I.97.8, addressed to Agni, cf. I.99.1, 'through peril as in a boat across a river'); 'May we ascend the vessel of safe passage, whereby we may pass over manifold and grievous dangers' (VIII.42.3, addressed to the Angels collectively); 'Transport us safely o'er manifold perils, ye Charioteers of the Law, as it were in ships across the Waters' (VIII.83.3); and 'As in a ship o'er billows, so through divers states of being (*pradīśah pṛthivyāh*, X.56.7 lit., 'earthly regions', where as usual 'earth' is any ground or platform of being); o'er manifold and grievous perils hath the Mighty Laud (*brhaduktha*, i.e. Agni) set (*ā adadhāt*) his children (*prajām*), by these and farther shores' (*avarīsu, paṛesu*, X.56.7). In *JB*, I.125 (see *J.A.O.S.*, XXVIII.1, p. 84) the boat is a 'ship-city' (*nau-nagara*), viz., that of the three-headed Gandharva (the Sun, cf. IX.85.12) that swims in the midst of the Waters, or as we should say in modern parlance, a great liner.

Often enough, according to another formulation, it is the *Aśvins*⁸—twins diversely born (*RV*, I.181.4, and V.73.4), thus representing a principal duality essential to existence, and therefore naturally deliverers of things not yet in act, healers of all imperfect things⁹—who take up from the Waters into

⁸The origin of the *Aśvins* 'is to be sought in a pre-Vedic period . . . (they) may originally have been conceived as finding and restoring or rescuing the vanished light of the sun' (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 49, 51, cf. von Schröder, in *W.Z.K.M.*, IX. 131).

⁹*RV*, X.39.3: 'Ye are the gladness of her that groweth old at home (unwed), furtherers of him that hath no horse and lags behind, healers of the blind, the wasted and the broken.' Cf. *ŚB*, IV.1.5.16: 'The *Aśvins* are outwardly (*pratyakṣam*) these two, viz., Heaven and Earth, for it is these that have obtained possession of all things here. They are called the 'lotus-crowned'; Agni is verily the lotus of this earth, the Sun of yonder sky.' The ontological implications are evident; Heaven and Earth are healers of all things in that they provide the necessary basis of operation in one or other of the contrasted modes, terrestrial or celestial. The *Aśvins* inwardly (*parokṣeṇa*) are, no

their living ships those that are not good swimmers, but are struggling in the Sea that is 'without beginning or platform or any hold' (*anārambhane . . . anāsthāne agrabhane samudre*, I.116.5).¹⁰ The Aśvins are the healers in particular of the aged Cyavāna, who is or is in the likeness of Prajāpati, when overcome by old (see s.v. Sarasvatī), and the saviours of Bhujyu ('Man' as the seeker of 'enjoyment' or experience,¹¹ or possibly also as 'serpent', *ante principium*).

The rescue of Bhujyu or other Prophets by the Aśvins from mid-ocean, and their safe return to port is referred to in *RV*, I.116.3-5; I.182.5-7; I.160.3 and elsewhere. In the first of these passages we find 'Ye brought him back in living

doubt, the brothers, 'mortal and immortal', Mitrāvaruṇau, or Agni and Varuṇa, I.164.30, 38, and X.85.18.

From the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view release (*mokṣa*, root *muc*) is a setting free of potentialities unto operation (*RV*, I.112.8, the Aśvins release (*amuñcatam*) the swallowed quail; I.140.4, Agni's steeds are *mumukṣah*, as in X.111.9, the Rivers of Life are *mumukṣānāh*; V.81.12, the Sun as *kavi*, *viśvā rūpāni prati muñcate*, cf. I.42.1, where Pūṣan is *vimuco napāt*; VII.59.12, *bandhanāt mṛtyor mukṣīya mā amṛtāt*); but from the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view, a release from operation (the latter sense is naturally rare in *RV*, but cf. V.46.1, where *vimucam* and *āvṛttam punah* are contrasted). In Buddhism, the concept of the Tathāgata as the finder of a medicine for old and death (*jarā-maraṇa*) can only be regarded as an adaptation (*upāya*) to later mundane circumstances of the older concept of the Messiah as accomplishing with his awakening (Gautama, *buddha*=Agni, *usarbudh*) the Harrowing of Hell, cf. *J*, I.76, *cahāvāntareṣu . . . ekobhāsā ahesum . . . jaccandhā rūpāni passimsu, jātibhadirā saddam sunimsu, jātipiṭṭhasappi padasā gacchimsu, andubandhanādāni chinditvā patimsu*, 'There shone One Light throughout the voids-between-the-worlds (i.e. hells, in terms of space rather than of time), the naturally blind beheld the shapes of things, the naturally deaf heard sounds, the naturally halt went forth afoot, all bars and bonds were broken and fell away.'

¹⁰This Sea is the fathomless abyss, covered over by darkness, fluid and indeterminate, of *RV*, X.129. Cf. Augustine, *Confessionum*, XIII.5, 'the dark abyss, dark as regards the inconstant flux of its spiritual formlessness' (*informitas*), where the Waters, as in Genesis and *RV*, are undetermined substance, infinite but mere potentiality, *ante principium*; and *ibid.*, XIII.7, 'waters devoid of any standing ground' (*sine substantia*), where by a natural extension of meaning, and just as also typically in Buddhism, the abyss is the inconstant sea of life, with all its dangers, and its imperfections now (*post principium*) to be regarded as deformities, that is to say now as partial rather than as before a total privation of form and being. The Sea to be passed over is continuous and unsubstantial (as Augustine so well expresses it, *loc. cit.*, 'neque enim loca sunt, quibus mergimur et emergimus'); the end to be reached is that of a full and conscious possession of its own intrinsic form (*svarūpa*) by each and every individual potentiality that has been thought of as taking passage in the ship of life. The voyage once begun is not at an end when any given port is reached, but is onward by the *devayāna* to a port beyond our understanding, or by the *pitryāna* to and fro from port to port.

¹¹From the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view, the Ship of Life is built and oared for transport by the First Sacrifice (*RV*, X.101.2); but from that of the *jñāna kāṇḍa*, 'the sacrificial forms are unsafe boats', *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, I.2.7, and it is in the vessel of the spiritual-power (*brahma*) that the Comprehensor should pass over all the fearful rivers', *Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, II.8.

ships (*ātmanvan-naubhih*¹²), traversing mid-space (*antarikṣa*), above the waves . . . to the sea's strand (*samudrasya dhanvan*) . . . to his home (*astam*, cf. X.14.8, *punar astam eha*), alive (*ātasthiyānsam*, cf. from *sthā*, to be born, subsist, exist) on a ship' (*nāvam*). In I.160.3, the ship is called a ferry (*peru*) that is well equipped (*yukta*) and launched on the open sea (*madhye arṇaso dhāyi*); in I.182, the ships, here four, are *ātmanvat* and winged (that is 'angelic'), and there is also presented the alternative image of the Tree of Life (*vrkṣa*) standing (*niṣṭhita*) in mid-ocean (*madhya arṇaso*) and to which the suppliant Bhujyu clings.¹³

The last passages recall the sky-faring ship of *AV*, XIX.39.7-8, that is provided with a golden hawser (*bandhana*), and where for its passengers who 'see life' (*amṛta*¹⁴) there is no slipping back again;¹⁵ the tree of *RV*, I.182, suggests that tree to which the ark of Manu is tied in *ŚB*, I.8.1.6. In any case

¹²*Ātmanvat* is 'hypostasized', and 'conscious', cf. *sarvātmanvat*, *AV*, X.8.2; *ātmanvat yakṣa*, the human self or essence, *ibid.*, X.8.43; *ātmanvi* in *BU*, I.2.1.

¹³In accordance with another formulation, beings dwelling in the Light-world, although fledglings of one nest (*viśo . . . sanīlah*, *RV*, I.69.3) and due to be reunited there at last (*yatra viśvam bhavaty ekanīlam*, *VS*, XXXII, 8), are individually nested in the branches of the Tree of Life, cf. *PB*, XI.15.1, 'Nest (*kulāya*) is offspring, nest is cattle, nest is dwelling', and *RV*, III.54.5-6, *avamā sadānsi . . . sadanam yathā veh*.

¹⁴'Life', rather than 'immortality', cf. Hopkins in *J.A.O.S.*, XXVI, p. 37, 'long life without decrepitude prior to expected death'. The best rendering of *amṛta*, as attributed to *devas*, would be 'aeviternity', which is 'a mean between eternity and time', see St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 10, A. 5; angels are measured by time as regards their affections and intelligences, which are changeable; by aeviternity as regards their nature; and as regards the vision of glory possess a share of eternity.

¹⁵*Na avaprabhramāna*, where *avaprabhramāna*=*avasarpāna* in *ŚB*, I.8.1.7. Regarding the prefix *ava*, literally 'down' though rendered above by 'back again', observe that the coming forth hitherward is always expressed in terms of upward movement (verbal forms with prefix *ut* or *upa*), or what amounts to the same thing, forward (*arvāñc*) or eastward (*pūrvam*) movement. Coming into existence is an ascent, emergence, rising up (*āvohana*, as opposed to *pratyāñc* in *RV*, *passim*, *AV*, V.30.7; *JUB*, I.36) from potentiality to act. A backsliding (*avasarpāna*) into a state of non-being, the 'pit' out of which we were digged, is from the incarnate standpoint *summum malum*; nevertheless a return from existence to non-being when effected positively by way of integration (*samśarāna*) is from the intellectual or spiritual point of view the *summum bonum*. That backsliding and integration can both be spoken of as movements of descent or immersion must be understood in this sense, that whereas potentiality assumes the aspect of an evil when contrasted with act, all is 'good' in the Supreme Identity where there is no distinction of potentiality from act. In other words, we come forth as those who cannot swim (*asnāty*) and return as accomplished swimmers (*snāty*) at home in any waters. These conceptions underlie the Christian and other symbolisms of the Redeemer as Fish, and of the redeemed as little fishes, cf. Tertullian, *De Bapt.*, I, 'But we, little fishes (*pisciculi*) after the example of our ICQUS, Jesus Christ, are born in water, nor have we safety in any other way than by permanently abiding in the water'; baptism (and all the more when there is total immersion) prefiguring salvation; for those whom the inundation of the world at the close of an aeon (at the 'Judgment

it is clear that the pattern of the First Voyage is reflected in, and in principle identical with, that of the recurrent voyages of Manu, coincident with every minor *pralaya*; for here, too, though from a lesser distance, the generative principles destined to prolong their line in the ensuing *manvantara* are carried over from the past and brought to land. It is to be noted too that the waters of the Flood rise and again in due time subside (just as in *RV*, I.164.51, 'uniformly with the days¹⁶ this water rises up and falls away' (*uc ca ety ava ca*), and as to the subsidence, just as in III.33.10, the River 'bows down like a nursing mother, yields like a maiden to her lover'.

Now, so far as I know, it has never been propounded by any scholar, however historically minded, that the voyage of Manu, or for that matter, Noah's, represents the legendary memory of an historical migration.¹⁷ *A fortiori*, in the case of the first of all voyages, it is a grave defect in understanding, to find in the Ship of Life no more than the reminiscence of some prehistoric Mayflower. What then becomes of the captain, and the passengers, the passage and the landfall? Could any but the most naively profane (*pratyakṣa-priyā*) minds have seen here no more than the record of an ethnic Volkerwanderung, or map of a terrestrial geography?

PAÑCA JANĀH, CARṢANAYAḤ, OR KRṢṬAYAḤ

Indian sources are not absolutely unanimous as to the precise constitution of the Five Kindreds. It will suffice to cite the lists as given in *AB*, III.31, where we find *devāh*, *mānasyāh*, *gandharvāpsarasah*, *sarpāh*, *pitarah* (the Vaiśvadeva litany is proper to these Five), and *Bṛhad Devatā*, VII.68, where we have *mānasyāh*, *pitarah*, *devāh*, *gandharvāh*, *uraga-rākṣasah*, or alternatively, *gandharvāh*, *pitarah*, *devāh*, *asurāh*, *yakṣa-rākṣasah*.¹⁸ Without discussing the

Day') will not be liable to hurt are precisely those who are good swimmers. And in the same way Rūmī, 'I am a great fish, and desire the Ocean of Omān' (XVI, in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Tabriz*).

¹⁶Days' here somewhat as in Genesis, and possibly already in the sense of *aeons*. The notion of temporal hierarchies was no less familiar to the ancients than was that of special hierarchy, cf. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, pp. 295f. At the same time and inasmuch as all extension whether in time or space is in principle one and the same thing, the daily ebb and flow of oceanic tides, exposing and again submerging a strand (*dhanva*) is a reflection, analogy, or trace (*vestigium pedis* in the Scholastic sense, Skr. *pada*, see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Note 146) of the subsidence and welling up of the fountains of the earth at the beginning and end of every cosmic 'Day'.

¹⁷A stranding on the summit of Himālaya would ill accord with any theory of a migration across the Indus. A landing on the summit of Mt. Ararat can hardly have been an historical event.

¹⁸Cf. the similar list of those who are carried by the cosmic stallion (whose kin and place are the primordial ocean), *BU*, I.1.2; viz., *devāh*, *gandharvāh*, *asurāh*, which with addition of *pitarah* would complete a tale of Five Kindreds. Incidentally, there can be

definition of these classes in detail, it may be remarked that even in these lists *mānasya* by means necessarily means 'human' in a merely terrestrial sense, for many of the Angels, and particularly Agni and Indra, are often spoken of as manlike, that is to say as manifested and operating in the humane mode; Indra, for example, is *nṛtama*, *RV*, IV.6.4, and 'the Spiritus (*prāṇa*) shines upon this world in the shape of a Person' (*puruṣa-rūpeṇa*, *AA*, II.2.1).¹⁹ In any case the *R̥gveda* provides us with texts amply sufficient to prove that the Five Kindreds which participate in the First Sacrifice are classes or categories of divine beings or principles, ancestors indeed of humanity, but not yet merely human in a biological sense. In *RV*, X.53, the Five Kindreds, *pañca janāh*, 'who eat the Bread of Life' are summoned to cross *Aśmanvatī*, are also spoken of as a *daivya jana*, 'Heavenly Kin', and as *yajñiyāsaḥ* 'proper to be sacrificially worshipped', expressions that cannot have applied to living members of the genus *Homo sapiens*. In *AV*, X.7.21, the Kindreds (*janāh*, sc. *pañca janāh*) having a superior understanding are contrasted with 'those below' (*avare*) whose understanding is profane.²⁰ The Five Kindreds are furthermore synonymous with the ere-dwellers (*viśa*) and their rulers (*viśpati*); for 'The dear Five have in the dear Light ere-begotten made-their-home' (*sam avīśanta*, *RV*, X.55.2), and that is in Heaven (*divīva pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ*, X.60.4). All alike are prospered by the Sarasvatī (*RV*, VI.61.12).

recognized here the prototype of Avalokiteśvara as a saviour from shipwreck and patron of mariners, as for example in the *Valāhassa Jātaka*, cf. Goloubew, 'Le Cheval Balāha', *B.E.F.E.O.*, 1927, pp. 235f.

¹⁹Keith has observed that *AA*, II.2, 'shows that the names of the seers of the *R̥gveda* can be deduced from *prāṇa*'s actions'; in other words, the seers are not 'individuals' (but seven rays of Agni's Light, cf. *RV*, II.5.2, and X.62.5-6).

Indra's associates in the First Foray are constantly referred to as 'men' (e.g. *RV*, IV.1.15, *narah* . . . *uśijah*). The 'human' (*manuṣvaḥ*) Agni as eighth *Āditya* 'impels the whole angelic-operation' (*daivyam* . . . *viśvam tadinvati*, *RV*, II.5.2). Agni has 'man's intellect' (*nṛmanāh*, *RV*, X.45.1-2, that is effectively, 'human nature'), cf. Eckhart, I.236, citing 'philosophers' to the effect that 'human nature has nothing to do with time', and St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 8, A. 3, 'This flesh, these bones, and the accidental qualities distinguishing this particular matter, are not included in humanity . . . humanity and a man are not wholly identical; but humanity is taken to mean the formal part of man.' This *forma humanitatis nunquam perit* (Thierry of Chartres). Vedic *narya* is tantamount to *daivya* as distinct from *asurya*. The *devas* are man-kin by what is common to angels and men, viz., intellect (*manas*), but are not therefore 'men'. Whereas of the *asuras* (who are *devas* in *potentia*) we may say that their nature is informal, unkind (un-kin), and uncouth or uncanny, using the latter words in their basic sense of 'racially alien' and 'unknowable' (that which is informal being *ipso facto* unknowable). In any case the Vedic usage of man and manly, or human, in no way proves that the references are anywhere to *Homo sapiens* of the taxonomist.

²⁰The terms of the contrast suggest that the Kindreds are in possession of a wisdom handed down by initiatory transmission (*guru-paramparā*), which would be characteristic for 'Āryans'.

SARASVATĪ

In the *Rgveda*, the act of creation is referred to under no aspect more fundamental than that of the release of the Waters (*āpah*) that have been confined within the hollow-depths (*kha*) of the rock or Mountain (*asma; adri, budhna, himavat*) where *Vṛtra* holds them back. When the Waters are figuratively spoken of as Cows,²¹ then the Mountain is the stony fold in which they are imprisoned. The release of the Waters or the Cows is also the Finding of the Hidden Light.²² The Rock is likewise the birthplace of Agni (*RV, II.12.3*), and thence he gets his chthonic (*budhnya*) steeds and other treasures (*RV, VII.6.7*, and *X.8.3*). The Tree of Life is rooted in the same Ground (*budhna, RV, I.24.7*).²³ The inexhaustible Well (*utsa aksita, RV, VIII.17.16*, elsewhere simply *utsa*, and sometimes *avata*) whence pours forth the River of Life, Sarasvatī, with her seven sister streams, is also the seat of Varuṇa, whose abode is 'in the rivers' welling forth' (*sindhūnām upōdaye, RV, VIII.41.2*; there too is Agni's track (*utsasya madhye ... padam veḥ, X.5.1*, cf. 'the hidden treasure, as it were the Bird's germ in the Everlasting Rock', *asmany anante, I.130.3*). If need were to justify the designation of Sarasvatī, or sometimes *Aśmanvatī* (obviously an essential name of the stream that flows from the Rock, *asmano hy āpah prabhavanti, ŚB, IX.1.2.4 = śṛṇvantu āpah ... adreḥ, RV, V.41.12*), as the River of Life (or in the plural when the seven sister rivers are mentioned), there can be referred to such expressions as 'the Waters drenched (*sarayanta*) the waste-lands' (*dhanvāni*), *RV, IV.17.2*—the Grail motif—and more specifically 'In thee, Sarasvatī, angelic, inheres every angelic life, grant unto us progeny' (*tve viśvā sarasvatī śrītā āyūṃṣi devyām ... prajāṃ devī dididdhi naḥ, RV, II.41.17*); again, the quality of maternity is constantly attributed to all or any of the 'Rivers'.²⁴

²¹The ownership of cows is the effective possession or realization of the possibilities of one's being, and it is from this point of view that the 'eager men' who under Indra's leadership break through the stony barriers of the imprisoned kine are spoken of as 'cattle-minded', or 'cattle-bent' (*gavyanta, IV.17.16, gavyan grāmah, III.33.11, gavyatān manasā, IV.1.15*, cf. s.v. *Yajña*, the hundred that become a thousand when the whole course of the sacrifice has been fulfilled).

²²References for the statements summarized above are too numerous to be cited here in full. The following are typical: *RV, I.56.5, yan mada indra harsyāhan vṛtram nir apām aubho arjavam; I.62.3, Bṛhaspati bhīmad adriṃ vidad gāḥ; I.130.3, nihitam guhā nidhim verna garbham ... asmany anante; II.12.3, Indra asmanorantar agniṃ jajāna; II.15.3, Indra vajreṇa khāni atṛṇan nadinām; IV.3.11, ṛtena adriṃ vyasan bhīdanta ... anḡirasah; V.41.12, śṛṇvantu āpah ... adreḥ; X.89.4, āpah ... sagarasya budhnāt; X.113.4, Indra avṛṣcad adriṃava sasyadaḥ sṛjat.*

²³Inasmuch as the Tree of life is rooted in and the River or Rivers of Life originate in one and the same Ground or Mountain (cf. *Soma as giriya*), it follows that, as in other traditions, the source of the Rivers of Life is at the roots of the Tree of Life.

²⁴With Sarasvatī as a name of other-worldly significance, cf. the 'dogmatic' Boyne in Irish mythology, which takes its name from *Bōann*, wife of *Nechtan* (whom *Rhys* identifies with *Neptune*, and hence cognate with *Varuṇa*); this Boyne rises from 'the

The Waters, thought of as enclosed and hidden, that is as they are in themselves and motionless, represent (as in all other traditions, e.g. *Genesis*) the infinite sum of all the possibilities of manifestation or non-manifestation. 'This is the paradox, that when the Rivers flow (*caranti ... nadyah*), then are the Waters at a stand' (*tasthur āpah, RV, V.47.5*). The enigma is resolved when we take into account the meanings of root *sthā*, to be born, individualised, concrete, existent, or extant (*ex-stans*)²⁵; principal motion *there*, is birth, concrete existence, *here*.

It will be familiar that in the *Rgveda* the universe (*viśvam, bhuvanāni*, etc.) is thought of as expanded (root *pinv*, e.g. in *X.72.7*) from a middle point or centre, coincident with the centre of the world-wheel and the single source of Light, but thought of in our texts as a Ground, Rock, or Mountain (the Christian 'Rock of Ages') in the midst of the primordial Ocean, and which would be an island could we think of such an all-pervading Sea as having a plane surface; it is here that all the potentiality of the In-finite (*aditi*) is as it were focused, to flow in act for ever outward. This is the 'birthplace of Order' (*ṛtasya yoni*) and the common Nest (*eka nidā*) wherein all the Angels and all creatures have been fledged.

So far as the River of Life flows eddying outwards thence,²⁶ so far are the possibilities of being realized within with the cosmic orb, so far is the verdure of the 'waste-land' (*dhanva*) renewed, which 'waste-land' or 'desert' represents the latency of worlds not yet in being. 'Where the Sarasvatī is lost' (*sarasvatyā vinasane, PB, XXV.10.16*) will be the outermost limit of the universe, the felly

well of the green of the fortress' (evidently a name of the Fountain of Life); it is 'personified' as a queen, 'slowly she moves, and yet her speed exceeds the pace of the swiftest steed', for 'indeed, its waters traverse the whole world in seven years, which is more than the swiftest steed can do' (see *Henderson, Celtic Dragon Myth, 1911*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvi, and *Joyce, Old Celtic Romances, 2nd edn.*, p. 187).

²⁵For these meanings see my *New Approach to the Vedas*, Note 117 and cf. *Lañhāvātāra Sūtra*, Ch. VI, text p. 228, 'Appearance (*nimittam*) is characterized by local-position *samsthāna*', etc.

Cf. St. Thomas, in *Opusculum de Pulchro et Bono*, citing Richard of S. Victor, *dicitur enim existens quasi ex alio sistens*.

For the expressions *caranti ... nadyah* and 'Rivers of Life', cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 18, A. 1, 'Waters are called living that have a continuous current', and *Zohar* (*Aḥare Moth*) on *Genesis II.10*, 'that river ... is called Life, because life issues thence to the world'.

²⁶'Eddying', inasmuch as the River of Life is ever at once outpouring and inflowing, never flowing straight away, as explained in *JUB, I.2*. Cf. *Jeremias, Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1930*, p. 4, 'Der Abendländer denkt linienhaft in die Ferne, darum mechanisch, areligiös, faustisch (this may be seen in the concept of an absolute evolution or progress) ... Das Morgenland und die Bibel denken nicht linienhaft sondern zeitraumlich, spiralsch, kreislaufig. Das Weltgeschehen geht in Spiralen, die sich bis in die Vollendung fortsetzen.' Inasmuch as the tide of life thus at the same time flows and ebbs, the Rivers of Life are sometimes spoken of as two, e.g. *Vipās* and *Śutudrī* in *RV, III.33*, cf. *X.30.10, āvarvataḥ ... dvidhārā*, 'two eddying floods'.

of the world-wheel. There on the banks of the River of Life, or as it were on Island-continents (*dvīpa*) representing 'places where' the possibilities of being are severally realizable in indefinitely various modes, the Kindreds are 'settled down' (*avasita*).

The occupation of the Light-world by the Kindreds thus implies a crossing over (root *tr*) of the River or Sea of Life by the cattle-loving people to a landfall 'here'.²⁷ References to the First Crossing of the River of Life are plenty in the *Rgveda*. For example, 'Here flows *Āsmanvatī*, hold fast together, stand up (*ut tiṣṭhata*, 'proceed', that is, 'from potentiality to act'), my friends, and cross (*tarata*); let us abandon there the unkindly powers, let us cross over (*ut tarema*, 'disembark') to them that are propitious', *RV*, X.53.8, where the crossing is of the Eight *Ādityas* and the Five Kindreds, cf. III.33, where those that cross the 'most maternal river' (*sindhu*, *vīpās*) are the cattle-loving *Bharatas*. In both cases the First Crossing is accomplished in the heavenly chariot (the Biblical 'chariot of fire'), and in the latter the River, obedient to *Viśvāmitra*'s incantation, so bends herself and sinks that the current flows no deeper than the axle-tree, 'Your waves may touch the yoke-pins (*samyā*), but spare the traces' (III.33.13).²⁸ On making land, the pioneers take possession by the

²⁷In metaphysical formulation, a 'crossing of water' always implies a change of state and status, for example in the case of voyages to 'other worlds' (notably the Voyage of Bran, also in the Indian story of *Maḥbūb*, see my 'Khwājā Khadir . . . ' *Ars Islamica*, I, pp. 174-5, 1984), in the case of Charon and the Styx, and in the notions of 'crossing over Jordan', and 'one more river to cross'. The first Crossing is a going forth towards a home 'here'; the crossing back again, as of the River *Vijarā* ('ageless'), *Kausītaki Up.*, I.3, again effected by the intellect alone, and where now the traveller leaves behind him all the burden of his good or evil deeds (and all his memories), is the prodigal's return to the Father's home 'there'.

The formal aspects of the tradition as to 'crossing water' 'have been admirably dealt with by Brown, *The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water*, Chicago, 1928. *JB*, II.439, where the *Rasā* makes herself fordable for *Indra*'s envoy, *Saramā*, may be added to the references discussed.

²⁸This implies that the floor (*budhna*, 'ground', *RV*, X.135.6) is unwetted; that is, even whilst *en route*, the voyagers are safely supported by a platform resting, like every other 'earth', or the lotus-leaf that symbolizes 'earth', on the surface of the Sea. Cf. *prēnikha* in *RV*, VII.83.3, and *naunagara* ('ark') in *JB*, I.125.

In *RV*, VII.18, the River crossed is the in-finite (*aditī*) *Paruṣṇī* ('turbulent'), or *Yamunā* (*Griffiths* remarks naively 'it is not easy to see how the expedition reached so far'). Here again the waters grant an easy passage (*supārā*) to the *Aryan* party under *Indra*'s guidance. The parallel with *Exodus* is here especially close, inasmuch as the opposing party is overwhelmed by the returning flood, after the passage of the *Aryans*.

That *Exodus* is a creation myth, rather than an historical event, is of course the *Qabbalistic* point of view. Note that *Pharaoh* is described as 'the great dragon (*tanim*, *Babylonian tiamat*) that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which has said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself' (*Ezekiel*, XXIX.3); 'spoiling the *Egyptians*' corresponds to the *Devas* taking possession of the kine and other treasures of the *Asuras*, e.g. *RV*, II.24.6; and *Moses* to *Indra*, not only as leader of the chosen people,

erection of a fire-altar, and from the ploughing that is requisite for this and for their own subsistence are called 'ploughmen' or 'farmers';²⁹ 'he ferried o'er the folk that might not swim (*asnātrn apārayat*), and they having come ashore (*utsnāya*) attained to riches (*rayim* = Lat. *rem*), *RV*, II.15.5, cf. VII.60.7.

SETU

The means of passage that links the Light- and Dark-worlds may also be conceived, not as a ship or chariot, but as a bridge or dyke (*setu*), which may be either easy (*suṅvita*) or hard to cross (*durāvya*, *RV*, IX.41.2, the latter designation being the equivalent of 'Brig o' Dread' in Scottish border ballads and Arthurian tradition): the bridge is originally crossed by the 'Wise King', and is 'his own' (*rājā*. . . *apās ca vipras tarati svasetuḥ*, *RV*, X.61.16), being thus evidently a bridge of light, the pathway of the Sun. It is the Essence in its discriminative mode that separates the worlds (*BU*, IV.4.22 and *CU*, VIII.4.2).³⁰ From the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view the bridge is a way *on*, or what is the

but in that he smites the Rock and finds Water for them in the wilderness.

According to the *Zohar* (*Shelah Lecha* and *Vaethhanan*) 'Moses was the Sun . . . Moses indeed made a new beginning in the world . . . there was that in Moses which was not in any other man, since his perfection radiated to many thousands and myriads.'

²⁹See the sections on *Carṣani* and *Vāpa-maṅgala*.

³⁰As it may not be perfectly clear in what sense Essence (*ātman*) can be said to separate the worlds, it should be observed that *BU*, IV.4.22, is careful to specify the aspect of the Essence which so functions as *vijñāna-maya*, 'in the mode of discrimination', that is to say as the *mano-maya ātman*, or as the *Com.* glosses it, *jīvātman*. It is clear that the *ānanda-maya ātman*, or *paramātman*, could only be thought of as uniting the worlds.

The 'Bridge' is often referred to simply as the 'Path' (*panthāh*) e.g. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV.4.8, 'The strait ancient path outstretched . . . whereby the liberated Comprehensors of the Spiritual-power pass upward unto Paradise', and *Kaṭha Up.*, III.14, 'The sharpened edge of a razor, hard to be traversed, that the Seers call a difficult path', the latter passage corresponding also to *ibid.*, III.2, 'That bridge (*setuḥ*) for sacrificers, the imperishable and ultimate Spiritual-power, the Path (*param*) of them that would cross over to the place of No-fear, *Nāciketas!* it is that that we would master.'

In *RV*, X.67.4, where *Bṛhaspati* is said to drive forth 'the hidden kine standing on the bridge of chaos' (*amṛtasya setau*), the bridge is evidently so called with respect to its 'dark end', whence the procession of light is initiated; *amṛta* characterizing the unorderd, indiscriminate, potential, and dark world of the *Asuras*, *ṛta* the ordered and actual light world of the *Devas*. It is with respect to its 'light end', and as being the pathway of angelic procession (*devayāna*) that the bridge is *amṛtasya*, 'the bridge of aeviternity', as in *MU*, II.2.5. It will be understood, of course, that here as always, the ultimate station of the Comprehensor (*vidvān*) is 'in the middle place' (*madhye sthāne*, *CU*, III.11.1), the 'bridge', which is also the 'axis of the universe', and 'holds the worlds, apart 'having no longer any meaning or extension for him in whom the light and dark worlds are no longer divided.

same thing of *return* (in the positive sense), for example in *KU*, III.2, rather than of first coming forth; and this means that to walk upon it is the same thing as to continue in the ship of life on the angelic voyage (*devayāna*); hence it is called the 'bridge of aeviternity' (*amṛtasya . . . setuḥ*, *MU*, II.2.5), and it is said that neither day nor night, death nor sorrow, virtue nor vice can pass it, but only such as have the habit of the spiritual power (*brahmacārya*) can pass to and fro at will (*sarveṣu lokeṣu kāmācāro bhavati*, *CU*, VIII.4.3). This bridge is then the Wayfarer's pathway onwards to the Sun and through the Sun to the worlds of Varuṇa, the Fisher King; it corresponds to the vertical of the Cross, the Gnostic *sthauros*, the trunk of the Tree of Life (cf. Jack and the Beanstalk), to the Ray that in early Christian nativities links the Bombino with the Supernal-Sun, or in *Mai U*, VI.30, that one of the Sun's rays that rises aloft, piercing his disk, and extending to the Brahma-world.

It is just in this connection that we find in Grail tradition, viz., in Chretien's *Perceval* (section by Gautier) that the pathway by which Gawain reaches the Grail castle is a wave-washed causeway, which he crosses by night, guided rather by his horse than finding his own way; all of which is appropriate to his character of solar hero, the steed for example having been that of a slain knight who had been engaged upon the same quest, and properly the vehicle of the Sun, by which he proceeds. In Irish tradition it is the 'Bridge of the Cliff' by which Cuchullain passes over from the bright world to the misty *dūn* of Scathach, from whom he learns wisdom and upon whose daughter he begets a son (whom he afterwards meets on earth and slays unawares in single combat, as did Sohrāb Rustum); along a part of the way to the bridge Cuchullain is borne on lion-back, and for another part is guided by a wheel; at last the 'scholars of Scathach' point out the bridge, which is described as rising up and throwing back all who try to cross it; Cuchullain himself only succeeds at a fourth attempt (in connection with a solar hero this must mean at night), when he is 'transfigured' and performs his 'salmon-leap'—all details that can be readily understood, if we recall, for example, that the leap of a salmon is characteristically upstream, and especially against a fall of water, and is a return to its place of origin, and compare all this with the imagery of 'inverse thinking' (*pratīyah-cetanā*) as a going 'up-stream' (*pratīkūla*, *pratīpa*), cf. *Yoga Sūtra*, 1.29.³¹

Crossing, from the Wayfarer's point of view, is the passage from non-being to full being, hell to heaven, darkness to light, danger to safety; but because the place of safety considered only as the heaven of the manifested light is not the Comprehensor's final goal. Naciketās, in *KU*, II.11, is said to have 'wholly renounced' that heavenly goal to which the bridge extends; for his goal is the Supreme Identity, *tad eham* in *RV*, X.129.2, wherein, as being without otherness, there is no distinction of darkness from light, death from aeviternal life, and therefore no yawning gap to be bridged over by a passage way.

³¹Inasmuch as the 'Bridge' appears in tradition oftener as the means of crossing back to the other world than as the means of coming forth, we have not thought it needful to give further references in the text. But another mention of the causeway

VĀPA-MĀṄGALA

A ploughing festival, or more strictly speaking 'Feast of Seed-time', in which the king or headman plays the chief part, has been observed in India, and indeed throughout the world, as an indispensable agricultural ritual from time immemorial.³² For example, in *J*, I.57, 'The king observed the Feast of Seedtime. On that day they adorn the town like the abode of the angels. . . . At such time the king takes hold of a golden plough (*naṅgala*, cf. *lāṅgala*), the attendant ministers a hundred and seven silver ploughs, the farmers (*kassaka*) the other ploughs. Holding them, they plough this way and that way. The king goes from one side to the other and back again.' It is on this occasion that the miracle takes place of the staying of the sun above the Jambu tree under which the Bodhisattva has been laid by his father. This represents a 'solstice', or more strictly speaking the turning point of the Spring equinox, the beginning of the Year, and at the same time the relation of the Comprehensor to the Supernal-Sun, as in *CU*, III.10.4, where for one who has attained the state of Sādhya (= Muni), of Brahmā, the Sun 'rises in the zenith and sets in the nadir'—and thus, as in the case of the miracle of the Jambu tree, casts no moving shadow.³³ Again in *SN*, text I.172, the farmer (*kasi*, 'ploughman')

linking *deva* and *asura* worlds should be noted in 'Rāma's bridge', and though our conclusion is differently reached, we certainly agree with Charpentier (*Bull. Sch. Or. Studies*, VII. 682) that 'There is not the slightest reason for suggesting that it (the *Rāmāyana*) contains the story of the spread of Aryanism towards the South', and that 'the apes are certainly not Dravidians'. If Lānkā is in the 'South', it is as Nadir with respect to Zenith.

For the Cinvad Bridge, see *SBE*, IV.212, Note 3; and for other material, Scherman, *Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visions-literatur*, 1892, p. 105; and Hull, *Cuchullin Saga*, 1898, pp. 72-6, 291.

³²E.G. for China, see *Li Chi*, IV.1.1.13f., XXI.2.5-7, and XXI.4-5 (*SBE*, vols. XXVII, XXVIII), and also Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine ancienne*, pp. 328-32. In the Chinese rite it is significant (1) that the ploughing is undertaken specifically to provide the food required for offering in sacrifice, cf. VII.2.2.7, cited below, (2) that there is a cooperation of male and female principles, the Empress and her ladies making the silk robes to be worn at the sacrifice, (3) that the opening of the gound, like the taking of virginity, is thought of as dangerous, and that it is the Emperor *qua* priest who takes this task upon himself, and (4) that a corresponding ritual with reversed significance was observed at the Autumn equinox.

³³The Jambu tree prefigures and is virtually the Bodhi-tree; it is significant in this connection that here too there is an 'awakening'—the Bodhisattva has been laid down by his father upon a bed (*śayana*) surrounded by an enclosing curtain, i.e. he is not 'manifested', but he 'rises up' (*utthāya*, i.e. proceeding from potentiality to act) to take his seat in *jhāna*. Such a rising up takes place at least four times in the course of the Bodhisattva's life, viz., at birth (*tīthako . . . pathaviyam patitthaya*, *J*, 1.53), then on the present occasion of the first *jhāna*, then at the going-forth (*abhinikkhamana*, *ibid.*, I.61, *śayana vutthaya*), finally when from rest in the *sāla*-grove he proceeds (*ibid.*, I.70, *payasi = prayāti*) along a broadway to the Bodhi-tree. The use of root *sthā*, especially in

Bhāradvāja (= the Vedic *ṛṣi* of that name) observes the Feast of Seedtime, and it is upon this occasion that the Buddha also names himself as 'Ploughman' (*kassaka = karsaka*).³⁴

For the significance of the ploughing preparatory to the building of the fire-altar and the performance of the horse-sacrifice, cf. *RV*, X.101.3-6 and IV.57.8 which may be conveniently cited as arranged with additions in *TS*, IV.2.5 (Keith's version in *H.O.S.*, 19, p. 315), 'The sages yoke the ploughs; . . . here sow in the womb made ready the seed. . . . The plough, propitious . . . plougheth up a cow, a sheep, and a fat blooming maid, a chariot support with a platform. With prosperity may our ploughs plough the ground. . . . The furrow annointed with ghee . . . do thou, O furrow, turn toward us with milk.' The rite is more fully described in *ŚB*, VII.2.2.5, 'it is for the seed that the womb (*yonī*) the furrow (*sītā*) is made', and 7, where it is made very clear that the ploughing, like the whole *yajña* which occupies the 'year', is in imitation of what was done 'in the beginning': 'Ploughing means food (*annam vai kṣīretad-vā*). It was when the Angels set-about-to-reintegrate (*samkarīṣṭa*) Agni-Prajāpati', i.e. when he had been disintegrated by his act of generation (*sa prajāh sṛṣṭvā . . . vyaśramsata . . . vīryam udakrāmat . . . apadyata*), 'that they first put food into him (*purastād annam adadhuh*, where *purastād* is *agre*, in *principio*) and in like manner does this (Sacrificer) now when he sets about to accomplish his (Prajāpati's) reintegration, first put food into him.'³⁵ Sixteen furrows are ploughed, defining the special directions; the ploughing is sunwise, avoiding a movement towards the south.

As regards the furrow, *sītā*, it will be recalled that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,

connection with *śayana*, is technical, cf. Sāyaṇa on *RV*, V.19.1, *sthitam padārtha jātam*, and *BU*, II.3.1, where what is *sthita* is also *mūrta*, and in *RV*, I.36.13, *ūrdhva tīṣṭha*, I.84.3, *ā tīṣṭha*, III.38.4, *atiṣṭhat*, X.53.8, *uttīṣṭhata*, etc.

³⁴The language of the verses in this Sutta is strongly reminiscent of Vedic texts; cf. e.g. *paṃocanam* as 'unyoking' with *RV*, V.46.1, *vimucam*, III.53.20, *ā vimocanāt*, *mano yottam*, 'intellect the yoke', with I.51.10, *manoyujah*, II.40.3, *manasā yujyamānam*, V.81.1, *yuñjate mana*, and VII.69.2, *manasā yuktaḥ*; and note that the reward is 'aeviternity' (*amata-phala = amṛta-phala*).

³⁵*ŚB*, VII.1.2.1, and 2.2.7; cf. *PB*, 4.10.1, where the sacrifice is called a *mahā vrata*, and the food consists of what ripens in a year (*samvatsaram annam pacyate*), this restores (*adhinat*) him.

'Food' is the *sine qua non* of existence (root *sthā*, Lat. *existare*, as distinguished from *esse*); *annam ad*, 'to eat food', the Biblical 'to find pasture' is technically 'to exist', 'live'. Agni-Prajāpati, the principle and exemplar of all life, must be 'fed' in order that the human sacrificer may likewise eat and live. It is from the same point of view that the Bodhisattva, before the Great Awakening, abandons his fast and takes food, for otherwise there could have been no public manifestation of his person; it will be understood of course that all the life as Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, antecedent to the Great Awakening, belongs to the operation *ab intra*, while the subsequent life as Buddha, 'Awakened', and until the Parinirvāna, to the operation *ab extra*. The Son of Man comes 'eating and drinking'; Agni is the 'most greedy of eaters'. Cf. *BU*, I.2.5. 'He (Death) began to eat'.

Ch. LXVI, Janaka's daughter is not in the usual way begotten: 'As I was ploughing the mead, there arose a maid; and since I got her when hallowing the field, she has come to be known as the Furrow (*sītā*).' In this case the act of ploughing has itself a directly sexual significance, and in fact, the use of *kṣīti*, lit. 'that which is ploughed up' to mean 'man', parallels the motion of the sexual act as a ploughing, implied in the notion of woman as a 'field'.³⁶ Compare also *AV*, XI.5.12, 'Roaring on, thundering, the ruddy-white goer (presumably Agni-Rudra) has introduced into the earth a great virile member; the Vedic student pours seed upon the surface, on the earth; thereby the four quarters live', and also the setting up of the Hātakeśvara *liṅgam* in the bowels of the earth as related in the various versions of the Devadāruvana legend.³⁷

VIŚA, VIŚPATI

Texts have already been cited in which the first settler or ere-dwellers, and their leaders and rulers are referred to as *viśa* and *viśpati*; the most important of these, *RV*, X.55.2, having to do with the collective occupation (*sam-avasāna*) of the Light-world by the Five Kindreds. Such an occupation implies a procedure from darkness to light, interior to exterior operation, potentiality to act, *asuratva* (or *sarpatva*) to *devatva*. The ere-dwellers are immigrants, that have come forth in search of a home to dwell in, *iryur āviśam*, *RV*, II.24.6, cf. *AV*, VII.41 (42).1, where the Falcon (Agni³⁸) 'man-regarding' (i.e. for the sake of the Kindreds) 'cleaves his way o'er waste and water, crossing all the nether spaces, looking for a home' (*avasāna-darśah*). Agni is not only the forerunner (*pūrvam āta*, *RV*, IV.1.12, and 'path-finder', *passim*) in this expedition, but a chieftain (*viśpati*, *RV*, X.4.4 and X.92.1); or it may be Yama (who is in fact a particular aspect of Agni, cf. *RV*, I.164.46) who finds a home

³⁶Cf. Bagchi, P. C., *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in Indian*, 1929, pp. 10-15 (associates *liṅga* and *laṅgala* as having both the primitive meaning 'virile member'); Langdon, *Semitic Mythology*, p. 99, citing Ebbeling, *Keilinschripte aus Assur*, p. 319, 'O my lord, the ploughshare hast thou caused to impregnate the earth'; Jeremias, *Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, p. 59 ('In the Babylonian age . . . the planet Jupiter is designated 'Bull of the Sun', and his place in the heavens 'furrow of Heaven' . . . a plough is the attribute of Osiris . . . Nebuchadnezzar calls himself the husbandman (*ikharu*) of Babylon'); and Sophocles, *Antigone*, 569.

Still more striking is the Sumerian text, 'The astral Ploughman has yoked in the Plain (of Heaven) the seed-sowing Plough', cited by Frankfort in 'Gods and myths in Sargonid seals', *Iraq*, 1, 1934, p. 19, in connection with his Plate III, Fig. h. This seal affords good support to the proposition that Vedic texts could be admirably illustrated not only from the later traditional art of India, such as has been made use of in our illustrations, but also from Sumerian and Babylonian seals; cf. in the same Journal, Plate I, Fig. a, what may be said to represent at one and the same time the slaying of Tiamat, Herakles slaying the Hydra, and Indra slaying Vṛtra.

³⁷See my *Yaksas*, II, pp. 43-5, and references, *ibid.*, p. 43, Note 2.

³⁸See Bloomfield in *J.A.O.S.*, XVI, pp. 12-13.

for and unites the Kindreds, in the first place here in the worlds (RV, X.14.2, *yamo no gātum prathamam viveda, na eṣā gavayūtir apabhartavā u*, and 9, *ahobhir adbhīr aktubhir vyaktam yamo dadhāty avasānam asmai*, or again X.18.13, *yamaḥ sādānā te minotu*), and secondly there beyond.³⁹ So too in ŚB, VII.1.1.1 and 4, where it is clear that those are first settlers or ere-dwellers (*viśā*) who build a fire-altar on any land, the performance of this rite constituting the legal act of land-taking,⁴⁰ Yama is the ruler: 'One settles (*avasyati*) when he builds the *gārhapatya*, and whoever are builders of fire-altars are 'settled' (*avasitāh*). . . . The Patriarchs (*pitarah*) have made this world for him (*akran imam pitaro lokam asmā*)⁴¹; Yama is the temporal power (*kṣatra*), and the Patriarchs the settlers (*viśāh*.'

As regards the setting up of the *gārhapatya*, it may be noted that the actual site is determined by casting eastward or forward (and subject to this condition, evidently at random) a yoke—or yoke-pin (*samyā*), as prescribed in PB, XXV.10.4 and 13.2. There is an allusion to this practice in SN, text I, p. 76, where we find the expression *sammāpāsam*, 'peg-thrown site'.

YAJÑA

It is that there may be Light that the First Sacrifice is undertaken by the desirous Angels and Five Kindreds: 'when the Five sacrificed to Agni' (VS. XII.23) that was as if to say 'Come forth, for Man (*manu*) is angel-minded, fain to

³⁹See the section Yama as Viśpati.

⁴⁰Icelandic *land-nāma*, whence the title of the present essay, with reference to the Icelandic 'Book of the Taking of Land' by the ere-dwellers (*erbyggja*). The landfall of the Scandinavian immigrants in Iceland, like that of the first settlers in America, and that too of the Aryans in India (if we assume the existence of any such ethnic stock), all offer close analogies with the settlement of the worlds 'in the beginning'. This is a normal case of the correspondence of microcosm and macrocosm, cf. AB, VIII.2. *amūṣya lokasyāyam loko 'nuruṣaḥ*, and AA, III.1.2. In this sense every historical event is a 'repeat of history' and a 'recurrence'.

From the Indonesians' point of view the same myth becomes their own pre-history, the legend of their own immediate origins. Every people makes of its own land a holy land in the likeness of the place of their origin, and names its sites after the names of places in the first homeland; that is in our case, as if desiring to establish a 'kingdom of heaven on earth'. As for the earthly altars, to adapt by changing a single word what has been aptly said by Mus ('Le Buddha paré. . . ' B.E.F.E.O., 1928, pp. 252-3), 'On dut les considérer comme de petits foyers, gardant pour ainsi dire un éclat des grandes forces actives concentrées aux sanctuaires privilégiés d'antan'; cf. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, p. 58.

⁴¹Corresponding to RV, X.14.9, *asmā etam pitaro lokam akran*, both passages implying an establishment of worship *here* and that Yama is 'not a God of the dead but of the living'. Note that Vedic 'here' and 'this' refer to the Light-world generally, and not especially or exclusively to *our planet*.

Cf. RV, VIII.101.14, 'Three races digressed from the way, the others settled (*viviṣte*) round the Light (*arkam*) . . . in the worlds': II.1.1, citing this text, adds, 'those are settled down (*niviṣtā*) around the Light, that is around Agni . . . even as being yonder Sun', where the application of *viś* to settlement in the Light-world is specific.

sacrifice', etc. (RV, X.5.1). It was in fact 'by means of this Session (*sattra*) that Agni came into the state of setting all things in motion' (*sarvasya prāsravaṇam agucchat*), or alternatively, thereby that Prajāpati⁴² 'stupified by age (*jīryā mūra*), threw off his decrepitude (*jarām apāhata*) and came into the state of setting all things in motion', and so too 'by means of this Session that Mitrāvaram obtained these worlds' (PB, XXV.9.2; 10.10; 17.2-3). We must assume also that the 'Serpent-Session' (*sarpa-sattra*) formed an essential, and indeed a first stage in the performance of the whole rite, for it was 'thereby that the Serpents gained a firm support in these worlds (*eṣu lokeṣu pratyatiṣṭhan*), thereby that they vanquished Death (the state of mere potentiality, *ante principium*), changing their skins and creeping farther' (*hitvā jīrnān tvacam ati sarpante*), to be manifested in full act as the Ādityas, for the Ādityas are (a transformation of) the Serpents' (PB, XXV.15.2; 4).⁴³ The First Sacrifice has been referred to above in the singular, it will however be understood that this is in a collective sense, the sacrifice actually consisting of many parts and distinct celebrations. In any case, it is 'by means of this thousand years Session that the All-Emanators (*viśvasṛjāḥ*, i.e. all the powers participating in the act of creation) emanated all the Universe (*viśvam asṛjanta*), PB, XXV.18.1-2.

The occasion of the First Sacrifice—*janā yad agnim ayajanta pañca*, VS, XII.23—is *agre, in principio*, at the beginning of an aeon; the birthday of the Supernal-Sun, the Springtide of the Cosmic Year, when 'Dawn first shone for Man (*uṣāḥ uvāsa manave*, RV, X.11.3), when 'the doors of the worlds to come open for you with their months and years', and 'ancient are all these things' (RV, II.24.5). Its place is on that farther shore, which is also the rocky source of Sarasvatī-Āsmanvatī, from which the Argonauts go forth to find a home (*āviśam*); when once the cosmic beacon has been lit, 'they left behind the Fire that by their arms was made to flare upon the Rock' (*te bāhubhyām dhamitam agnim āsmāni . . . jahuh*, RV, II.24.7). When landfall is made, the settler's first concern is to establish the like ritual on 'earth', that is on the banks of the River of Life, 'where the Sarasvatī ends' (*sarasvatyā vinaśane*, i.e. where the

⁴²From the Brāhmaṇa point of view at least, Agni and Prajāpati, the Year, are one and the same Demiurge, *anusamdhātṛ*.

The same idea is expressed in Christianity when Christ is spoken of as 'mediate cause', as in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 45, A. 6, ad 2, 'the Son receives the power of creation from the Father . . . and of the Son it is said (John I.3) 'Through Him all things were made.'

⁴³That the Devas are Asuras and Serpents sacrificially transformed or 'turned about' (*parāvṛtta*, etc.) is the theme of a separate article, entitled 'Angel and Titan, an essay in Vedic ontology', to appear in the *J.A.O.S.* this year.

That the Serpents 'change their skins' is represented throughout the Indian tradition in the power attributed to 'Nāgas' of assuming a serpentine or 'human' form at will. 'Creeping farther' recalls *vi ca sarpata atas* in RV, X.14.9, which according to our understanding is said with reference to angelic procession, and the lengthening of days and prolongation of one's life, as in X.18.3 and 6: contrast *avasarpaṇa* in ŚB, I.8.1.7, cf. Note No. 15.

waters meet the shores of the habitable worlds, cf., *RV*, IV.17.2, *dhanvāni sarayanta āpah*); it is 'forty days' journey thence upstream on horseback' to the Source (*śaiśava*), which is in fact the Fountain of Life, and 'so far is Heaven from Earth', *PB*, XXV.10.1; 16.⁴⁴

It needs no argument to prove that the ritual on earth is performed in imitation of the First Sacrifice: 'the observance of the rule thereof is the same as at the creation' (*ŚB*, XIV.1.2.26, and *passim*), and 'in like manner does he,

⁴⁴The *plakṣa prāsraṇa* is also referred to as a 'pool', *hrada*. In the various accounts of the rejuvenation of Cyavāna (*RV*, I.116.10, *PB*, XXV.6.10, *ŚB*, IV.1.5, *JB*, III.120; 125, etc.) the pool in which his youth is renewed by the Aśvins is referred to either as such (*hrada*), or as Waters (*āpah*), or as the 'infancy' (*śaiśava*) of the Sarasvatī, and must be regarded as the same as the source (*prāsraṇa*) of the Sarasvatī referred to in *PB*, XXV.10.16, and *utsa akṣita* and *sindhūnām upodaya* of *RV*, VIII.17.16; VIII.41.8. It would also seem to follow that Cyavāna, 'in decline', should be regarded as a designation of Prajāpati, when 'stupefied by age', *jīrya mūra* (*PB*, XXV.17.3). Cf. *PB*, XXV.15.4, *hitvā jīrnān tvacam* (of which there is a reminiscence in *Bhagavad Gītā*, II.22, *vāsāmsi jīrnāni yathā vihāya*).

Agni, commonly (as in *ŚB*) and rightly identified with Prajāpati, is similarly subject to inveteration at the end of a world age, cf. *RV*, II.4.5, 'Being aged, He forthwith became a youth again' (*jujurovān yo muhur ā yuvā bhūt*), and *AA*, II.1.7, where the powers (*vibhūtayah*, sc. *devas*) of the *Puruṣa* are said to endure 'so long as the world of Fire and Earth does not grow old' (*na jīryate*). An ageing of the worlds, and of the manifested principle of life by which they are animated, is necessarily involved in the traditional doctrine of aeonic succession.

Cyavāna, then, may be taken to be an epithet of Agni-Prajāpati at the end of an aeon: cf. *RV*, V.74.5, 'Ye (Aśvins) took off from the inveterated Cyavāna (*jujuroṣo cyavānāt*) his skin as it were a robe (*vavrim atkam na muñcathah*), then when ye made him young again (*yuvā . . . punah*) he stirred the Bride's desire' (*ā kāmān ṛve vadhvah*). We may say, made him once more that potent *pati* for whom 'the desirous woman goes a seeking in the flood', *JUB*, I.56: and all this corresponds to *RV*, VII.101.3, 'Now is He impotent, and now becomes progenitive, He shapes his likeness as He will.' At the dawn of a new age, therefore, the former powers are said to 'fall away' (*cyu*), as in *RV*, X.124.4, *agnih somo varuṇas te cyavante*, or alternatively, as having fallen away (*cyavāna*), to change their skins, proceeding in renewed youth. Here then, and just as in other traditions, we recognize the concept of a Dying god and ever recurrent resurrection; One Principle, outwardly subject to an aeovital inveteration (*jarā*) but having at the same time in itself an unageing life (*āyuh ajaram*, X.51.7) and altogether independent of time (*ajuryam*, X.88.13); mortal and immortal, manifested and unshown, moving and unmoved. Sol Invictus: 'All else that moves comes to rest, only the Waters ever flow, the Sun for ever rises . . . Who with thy Light dispellest Darkness, and with thy Radiance settest all in motion' (*RV*, X.37.2; 4), 'He indeed never really rises nor sets, but only inverts himself' (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, III.44).

The *hrada* or *śaiśava* of the Sarasvatī, the Fountain of life cited above, is also the same as the *āvatta* of the Nerañjānā, the abode of Kāla Nāgarāja, to which the Buddha's *pātra* floats upstream (*paṭisotam*), a distance of 'eighty "hands" by measure with the speed of a swift horse'; the same as Kāliya's whirlpool of the Yamunā in the *Kṛṣṇa līlā*, and the same as the whirlpool in the Story of Prince Maḥbūb (Chilli, *Folk Tales of Hindustan*).

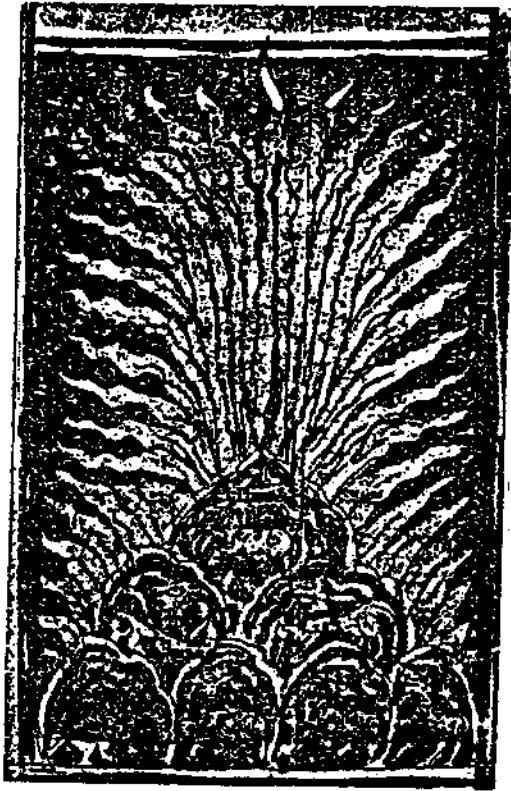


FIG. 3. THE KINDLED FIRE OF THE FIRST SACRIFICE: 'Fire that was made to flare upon the Rock', *RV*, II.24.7. From a MS. of the *Kalpa Sūtra* belonging to Mr. N.M. Heeramanek, New York, see Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, 1934, Fig. 33.

The miniature illustrates one of the Fourteen dreams of Trīśālā, see the description of our Fig. 2. For the description of this dream see the *Kalpa Sūtra*, text 46, in which the significant terms *ujjala* and *madhu-ghṛta* may be noted; and translation, *SBE*, XXII, p. 238.

the sacrificer, even now' (*ŚB*, VII.2.2.7).⁴⁵ The sacrifice, undertaken merely as *harma*, establishes the sacrificer securely where he is, it forms so to say his legal title to the taken land (*ŚB*, VII.1.1.1; 4), and this significance suffices for an exegesis of the *mantras* regarded strictly as *karma kāṇḍa*, the point of view with which we are here mainly concerned. But is clear also that for 'him who understands' (*ya evam vidvān*) there is implied not merely a taking possession of these worlds, but a symbolic fulfilment of the sacrificer's whole course, a symbolical journeying to the Fountain of Life upstream, 'to find there a full katharsis' (*avabhṛtham abhyavaid ya*),⁴⁶ *PB*, XXV.10.18. *Avabhṛta*, in ritual technique, is an 'expiatory bath concluding the ceremony'. In *CU*, III.17, where the whole course of life is interpreted in sacrificial terms, death as the concluding ceremony of the ritual is the *avabhṛtha*. In the same way, an ablution in the Fountain of Life is a death, man's last end; for *avabhṛtha* is also (and more literally) a 'sinking down', as of foam into water, a 'drowning', and in this profounder sense, the going down into the waters of the Fountain of Life is a descent 'into the depths, into the well-spring of the Godhead' (Eckhart). Otherwise expressed, the sacrifice is said to be concluded 'when the *grhapati* dies'; and where Agni is understood to be the *grhapati*, this will mean that the last end of life is attained when the flame of life is extinguished and despirated (*nirvāta*). That this last death of the soul is a passage out of our mortality into the pleroma (*hr̥sna, pūrṇa*) is implied by the apparently materialistic words of the text (*PB*, XXV.10.18) when it is said that 'there the sacrificer's hundred kine become a thousand' that is to say that once and for all he comes into effective repossession of all the potentialities of his being.

YAMA AS VIŚPATI

'Yama first found the way for us, this pasture never shall be taken from us' (*RV*, X.14.2). The greater part of the wording of the 'funeral hymns' of the *Rgveda*—considered apart from their actual application in funeral ceremonial, discussed below—has reference to Yama as pathfinder and gatherer together

⁴⁵This is the normal, rather than in any sense a peculiar point of view; cf. for example, 'The Christian Sacrifice (the Mass) . . . is an act of the divine and eternal order the reality and significance of which can only be seen when it is viewed in the context of eternity. It is not confined to, nor limited by, the conditions of time and space, yet since it concerns man who is a creature of time and space as well as an heir of eternity it is immersed in the moments of our time' (Bede Frost, *The Meaning of Mass*, Oxford, 1934, p. 63).

⁴⁶*Avabhṛtāṣana* must be understood here in the inverted, favourable, upstream sense, not as in *AV*, XIX.39.8.

For Alexander's analogous search for the Fountain of Life in the Land of Darkness, and other Persian analogies see the sources cited in my 'Khwājā Khadir and the Fountain of Life . . .' in *Arts Islamica*, Part 2, 1934; and for a Chinese parallel, the lost Vale of the Immortals and the Fountain at the River's Source, Hefter and Hall, 'The Chinese Idyll', *China Journal of Sciences and Arts*, XXV, May 1934, pp. 220ff. If the journey upstream be a 'myth', how can the journey downstream, which is presupposed, have been a 'fact'?

and ruler of 'men' here in the Light-world; his connection with the Patriarchs is as their guide and leader on the road that leads to the so much desired extension of their 'line', he is the patron of those travellers on the *pitr̥yāna*, that is to say of those individual potentialities, whose course is hitherward, and only later hence. In X.14.8, the comer-on is exhorted to 'Put away the curse, seek again thy home, and shining bright, assume a body' (*hitvāya avadyam pūnar astam ehi, sam gacchasva tanvā suvarcāh*), where a reincarnation, not in the later and more literal (Buddhist) sense, but of the progenitive principles at the dawn of a new creation is implied. Cf. X.58, surely not 'an address to recall the fleeting intellect (*manas*) of a man at the point of death' (Griffith), but to bring back an intellect at the appointed time for birth.⁴⁷

Yama's brindled 'Dogs' (no doubt the Sun and Moon, 'four-eyed' inasmuch as they behold the four Quarters) that ward the Path are 'man's' protectors against demoniac powers, the wolf (*vṛka*) and such; as 'man-regarding',⁴⁸ these 'Dogs' can be identified with the 'man-regarding spies' of *RV*, IX.73.5-6, who 'turn-back the blind and deaf (for indeed) they that are malformed do not pass over on the Pathway of the Law' (*ṛtasya panthām na taranti duṣkṛtah*). The deformed, unformed, are turned back not merely as such, but are repelled also for the sake of 'men', the principles of the Dark-world being necessarily, from the dualistic point of view of the *karma kāṇḍa*, thought of as hostile (*aśiva, śatru, āvāti*) to those of the Light-world; such indeed is the eternal opposition of Asura and Deva as it is envisaged from the mundane point of view.

What is the significance of this exclusion of the blind and deaf, or otherwise malformed? To be blind and deaf is the same as to be unawakened, unintelligent, and stupid (*abudhyamāna, acetasa, mūra*), devoid of any 'human intellect' (*nṛmanas*) such as Agni's is. This is the condition of *sarpatva*,⁴⁹ cf. Ahi-Vṛtra *abudhyam, susupānam, āśayānam*, *RV*, IV.19.3; and Agni's, as Ahi Budhnya, *ante principium*, cf. *apād aśiṛṣā guhamāno antā*, *RV*, IV.1.11, followed by *pra āta* in the next verse, and *AB*, III.36, where it is stated that Ahi Budhnya is metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*) what Agni Gārhapatyā is outwardly (*pratyakṣa*), cf. Ahi Budhnya as the 'old' and Aja Ekapād (the Sun) as the 'new' *gārhapatyā*, *PB*, I.4.11-12. With the injunction to the comer-on, *hitvāya avadyam . . . vi sarpata atas*, etc., in X.14.9, compare *PB*, XXV.15, where the Serpents, 'vanquishing Death (*mṛtyum ajayan*) casting their shrivelled skins (*hitvā jṛṇān tvacam*) and creeping farther (*ati sarpanti*) become Ādityas', and so in his case who imitates their rite, 'he too becomes a shining as of these Ādityas'.⁵⁰

⁴⁷In the same way X.56, has primarily to do with the procession of Agni and the Patriarchs, with a voyaging in the ship of life within the worlds, 'whether by these or farther shores' (*avarīṣu, pareṣu*).

⁴⁸'Man-regarding', *nṛcaṣa*, *RV*, X.14.11, elsewhere in *RV* said of Savitr, Agni, Soma, *viśvedevāh, pitarah*, etc., always in a favourable sense, cf. Sāyaṇa on X.158.8, *nṛcaṣa* = 'harmful to the foes of men'.

⁴⁹Cf. the popular (traditional) expressions 'blindworm' and 'deaf adder'.

⁵⁰*Viśarpana* and *atisarpana* implied in the cited passages are the opposite of *avasarpana* in *ŚB*, I.8.1.7 = *avaprabhramāna* in *AV*, XIX.39.8. Cf. the case of Apālā, on

'In the beginning . . . Death' (*mṛtyu*) not yet essentialized (*ātmanvī*, *BU*, I.2.1)—neither sees nor hears, for he has neither Intellect nor Word nor Eye nor Ear, he is 'incomplete' (*akṛtsna*, *BU*, I.4.17); the yonder Brahman, not subject to mortality (*amarta*), is not-in-any-likeness (*amūrta*), *BU*, I.2.1; II.3.

whom Indra bestowed a 'solar skin' (*sūrya-tvacam*) in place of the scaly skins that are removed when she is passed through holes in the celestial chariot, which represent the gateway of procession (*RV*, VIII. 91, with Sāyaṇa's gloss). Even more significant, in view of the known relationship between Ahi Budhnya, the Chthonic Serpent (cf. *RV*, VII. 34.16, *ahim abjāṃ budhne nadīnām rajahsu śīdan*) and Agni Gārhapatya, the Household fire (cf. *AB*, III. 36) is the finding of Agni 'on a lotus leaf where he had crept up out of the Waters' (*adbhya upōdāsṣṭam puṣkaraparṇe*, *ŚB*, VII.3.2.14); the use of *ṣṭp* here admirably illustrates the unfailing precision of the traditional texts.

Observe also that in Buddhism, the list of those disqualified from admission to the Saṅgha, the 'Aryan' community, includes eunuchs (in *RV*, the defeated and excluded powers of darkness are typically *vadhri*, *mūra*, and *starī*) and serpents; thus very evidently preserving the pattern of the original Vedic distinction of *ārya* from *anārya*.

It may be noted further in this connection that Buddhism similarly carries over from the *Rgveda* the notion of *arhatta*, 'fitness', 'qualification', or 'proficiency'. The designation *arhat* is applied to Agni in II.3.1; 3 and X.2.2, to Indrāgni in V.86.5, to Indra in X.99.7, to Rudra in II.33.10, to the Maruts in V.52.5, and to the First Sacrificers in V.7.2, while in X.63.4, it is 'by *arhaṇa*' that the Ādityas are said to 'obtain their aeviternity (*amṛtatvam ānasuh*), the trace of their earlier state remaining in the designation *ahi-māyā*, 'possessing the magic of the serpent'; *māyā* here, as generally, pertaining to the *asuratva* that remains in the *devas*, and by which they operate.

The parallel in Matthew, X.16, *estote ergo prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut columbae* represents more than a simple figure of speech.

Apropos of our three illustrations, derived from Jaina sources, it may be added that Jainism, no less than Buddhism, preserves the Vedic 'arhat', see the description of Fig. 2. And if the designation 'Maker of a ford' (*tīrthamkara*) does not occur as such in the *Rgveda*, the notion involved in any case corresponds to what is an essential function of the *viśpati* who conducts the kindreds across the flowing Waters to the promised lands; cf. also X.30.14, where the prayer is addressed to the Aśvins, 'Make ye a ford' (*kṛtām tīrtham*), and various other passages in which the word *tīrtha* appears. It may be noted, too, that just as Mahāvīra is conceived by one mother and nurtured by another, so in Buddhism, Siddhārtha is born of one who dies immediately, and is nurtured by her sister, these two bearing the significant names Māyā and Prajāpati, which represent in fact the names of the Madonna respectively in eternity, and in aeviternity or time, at 'night' and by 'day'. This dual birth immediately reflects that of the 'two-mothered *dvimātā*' Agni of the *Rgveda*, as for example in III.55.4, where 'One mother holds the Calf (Skr. *vatsa* = bambino, just as speaking in the vernacular we sometimes call a child a 'kid'), the other rests' (*kṣeti* = remains *ab intra*, as in III.55.7, and X.51.5); while in V.2.2, we see that of these two mothers, it is the Queen-mother (*mahiṣī*, corresponding to the Buddhist Māyā) that begets the Prince (*kumāra* = Agni), and the 'handmaid' (*peṣī*, corresponding to Prajāpati in the Buddhist legend) that is now holding him. An almost literal parallel to the events of Mahāvīra's nativity occurs in *RV*, I.113.1, where 'Night, as having conceived for Savitṛ's quickening (*prasūtā savitṛḥ savāya*) yields the womb to Dawn' (*yonim āraik*), cf. I.124.8, 'Sister to mightier sister yields the womb'.

In the same way it is said that 'He is impotent (*starīh*) on the one hand and virile (*sūtah*) on the other. He shapes his aspect as he wills', *RV*, VII.101.3. That is to say that he is 'impotent' in the dark night of time, in the 'house of darkness' (*tamasi harmye*), and hence the designation of this state as Privation (*aśanāyā*) and Death (*mṛtyu*), *BU*, I.2.1. This state of Privation is necessarily conceived from an empirical point of view (that of the human-animal, *paśu*, 'whose discrimination is merely by hunger and thirst', *aśanā-pīpāse eva abhivijñānam*, *AA*, II.3.2)⁵¹ as a condition of pain, as for example in *RV*, I.105, where Agni's sufferings as Trita Āptya 'in the Pit' (*kūpe*) are described.⁵²

Other correspondences between the Buddha and Agni are demonstrated in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, Cambridge, 1935. To materials assembled there it may be added that the *Buddhacarita*, I.16 and II.19-20, referring to the death of Māyā-devī after the birth of Siddhārtha, describes her as 'abandoning, as was befitting, her subtle form (*sūkṣmāṃ prakṛtim*) and manifesting her "double" (*svamūrtiḥ*), of the disposition with herself (*sama-prabhāvā*)'. In this less rationalized form, the story corresponds to the Vedic myth of Vivasvat (the Sun) and his wife Saranyū, whose son is Yama, and Saranyū's 'double' (*savarṇā*) whose son is Manu (Yama and Manu can both be identified with or assimilated to Agni). There can be no question that the legends of Mahāvīra and Buddha are adaptations, or rather, partial rationalizations, of the Vedic legend of Agni, in which the historical element is absent. It is accordingly that we can say that like the stories, the traditional illustrations of the nativities of Mahāvīra and Buddha are virtually illustrations of the nativity of Agni and representations of the Creation 'in the beginning' as described in the *Rgveda*.

It may be added, recalling at the same time that the name Viṣṇu is of frequent occurrence in the *Rgveda* as a designation of the Sun, that the legend of Kṛṣṇa's nativity once more repeats the essentials of the story as summarized above. Born of Vasudeva and Devakī in the realm of an Asura, Kṛṣṇa is conveyed to Gokula (the Brajamaṇḍala is not this Gokula, but called after it), where he is fostered by Yaśodā, who like Triśalā does not know that the child was not begotten in her own womb: the translation from interior to exterior operation is clearly marked by the miraculous crossing of the river Yamunā, which though in flood, becomes fordable at the touch of Kṛṣṇa's foot, the story thus repeating with only slight variation the Vedic legend of the First Crossing of the River of Life, 'leaving behind the unfriendly powers' (*RV*, X.53.8), and it will not be overlooked that the real mother 'remains' (Vedic *kṣeti*) within. The parallels could be developed at great length; most of Kṛṣṇa's heroic feats, for example, are the same as Indra's or Agni's.

⁵¹The 'estimative understanding' in scholastic definition; appetitive, pragmatic, experimental, scientific knowledge.

⁵²It has often been remarked that a doctrine of Hell is unknown to the *Rgveda*. In fact, however, the Rgvedic Hell is precisely that ante-natal tomb from which the life-desirous principles are thought of as escaping, or into which those who have fallen into metaphysical sin or are enemies of the Aryan Kindreds may be thrust back again. On the other hand, the intermediate state of latency (privation) is a *future* one only from the stand point of those already manifested in any aeon who, being progenitively inclined (*prajā-kāmya*) and occupied with works, have not yet as Comprehensors (*vidvān*) risen above the 'storm of the world-flow'. Wherever the evolution and

But now the Hidden Light is found and freed, there is a Harrowing of Hell, the incomplete are made whole: 'when thou hast made him viable (*śritam*), O Jātavedas,⁵³ then speed him to the Patriarchs forth (*pra hinutāt pitr̥bhyah*), bear him to the world of the well-made (*sukṛtām*, opposed to *duṣkṛtaḥ* in IX.73.6, cited above). . . . Agni, re-emanate him (*ava, sṛja punaḥ*) who now that thou has summoned him proceeds with his intrinsic-powers (*yas ta āhūtas carati svadhābhīḥ*); inducing life, let him proceed in *statu pupillarīs* (*śesah, Sāyana śiṣ-yamānah*); what wound soever the blackbird, the ant, the snake, or jackal has inflicted, do thou Agni, all-devourer, heal, and Soma too; who bideth with the Brahmins', *RV*, X.16.1-6.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the application of the texts in a reverse sense is perfectly legitimate, recurrent death being in its turn a passage to another world, another life though still within the worlds; in *RV*, X.58, Yama is evidently the ruler of the dead in this sense. And ambiguity of application is inevitable,⁵⁵ if only because an extroversion must imply (wherever the cosmic process is conceived of as cyclic, *kreislauf*), a corresponding and analogous introversion. It is in just the same way for example, that the revolution of the solar wheel, which form the *karma kāṇḍa* point of view is unto life in the worlds, becomes in *jñāna kāṇḍa* and in Buddhism a revolution unto death, the last death of the soul. There cannot be spiration without a corresponding

involution of worlds is thought of as an eternal cycle. 'Hell' or restraint is necessarily a past as well as a future state contrasted with that of the worlds themselves, in which the satisfaction of desires is freely pursued.

At the same time, it is only from the mundane (*laukika*) point of view that the state of privation can and must be thought of as one of defect; the privation is more strictly speaking an absence of any limiting condition, a liberty (*adititva*) that is not in any wise (*neti neti*), but potentially in all wise (*viśvatas*, etc.), for 'What is silent (*tūṣṇīm = maunam*) is unexpounded (*aniruktam*), and what is unexpounded is everything (*sarvam*)', *ŚB*, VII.2.2.14, cf. Eckhart, 'This impotence of the essence is its chief potentiality.'

⁵³This essential name of Agni, as he who *akhyat devānām . . . janimā*, *RV*, IV.2.18, and *viśvā veda janimā*, VI.15.13, is here especially appropriate.

⁵⁴The last reference is to the 'tortures of hell', in the senses aforesaid, cf. for example *RV*, IV.19.9 where the 'Maiden's Son' (Agni) is spoken of as 'blind and devoured by ants'. Of Agni as eighth Āditya, Mārtaṇḍa, Agni Vaiśvānara, Agni-Prajāpati, it may assuredly be said that 'he descends into Hell and rises again from the dead', *punaḥ punaḥ jāyamāna*.

⁵⁵An ambiguity that recurs in connection with every symbolic representation of the cosmic cycle. The Tree of Life, for example, is one to be fostered or felled according to our point of view, see texts cited in my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 11-12. And without multiplying Indian instances, it may be pointed out that just as in the case of the funeral hymns of the *Rgveda*, so in that of the funeral texts of the solar cult in ancient Egypt, it is very evident that these are worded originally with respect to the divine procession, and only secondarily adapted inversely. This becomes especially obvious when we find the Pharaoh (Teti) called upon to come to the rescue of 'the Sun (Atum) in darkness'—the Vedic *gūḥam sūryam*, V.40.6, etc.—'to kindle for him the light and to protect him', see J.H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, 1934, p. 87.

despiration (*nir-vāṇa*). Most of the texts with which we are concerned have primarily to do with the *pitryāna*, the 'Way of the Patriarchs'. It is only those whose voyaging is sooner or later on the *devayāna*, the 'Way of the Angels', that make land again there where the coming forth and going in are not alternate, but one and the same thing; it may be said only of the Comprehensor, as of Agni, that 'He proceedeth foremost, while yet abiding in his Ground' (*amu agrāṇ carati kṣeti budhmaḥ*, *RV*, III.55.7).

Though Yama's is the dreaded path of death (*RV*, I.38.5) and Agni is the very principle of life (*āyu, ekāyu, viśvāyu, passim*), the *Rgveda* either identifies Yama with Agni (I.164.46), or calls the latter Yama's darling friend (*kāmya*, X.21.5) or priest (*hotṛ*, X.52.3), and there is a significant aspect in which their functions coincide, viz., as 'gatherer together of the kindreds' (in I.59.1, Agni *janān . . . yayantha*, in X.14.1, Yama is *saṅgamanam janānām*, cf. *ekam bhū*, 'to become one', i.e. 'to die'. The contrasted functions are in fact united in the Golden Germ 'whose likeness is that of life, and likeness that of death' (X.121.2), in the Year 'that separates some beings and unifies others' (*ĀĀ*, III.2.3). How these two that are the same play into each other's hands can be seen in *RV*, I.163.2-3, where the sacrificial horse (given to Death by Agni as priest and sacrificial fire of the *Aśvamedha*) is given by Yama in turn to Trita, that is to Agni himself *ab intra*, is yoked by Trita, ridden by Indra, and identified with Yama, Varuṇa (*āditya*), and Trita. All these are One for the Comprehensor, absolutely unified (*ekadhā bhūtṛvā*, *BU*, V.5.12), that is, dead and buried in the Godhead. We may say then that it is as Yama that the dying man beholds Agni when he reaches the realm of the two kings, Yama and Varuṇa (X.14.17); and that for the Comprehensor (*vidvān*), and for any man that has done well, that one principle that some desire as life and others fear as death can be seen in either aspect as the Friend (*mītra*), the Meeting-place (*saṅgamana*), and Lord of the Settlers (*viśpati*); for him the paths of Agni and of Yama are one and the same *devayāna*.

CONCLUSION

It has been sought to show that the *Rgveda* is not concerned with events in time, but with the 'entering in of time from the halls of the outer heaven', that is *agre*, in the beginning, in *principio*. Nor can that entering in of time be thought of as itself an event in time; it is 'first' and a 'beginning' only in logical order of thought. Life is 'crossing over' all the time, 'out of the everywhere into here' and a motion forward to the 'last end' (*puruṣārtha, param padam*).⁵⁶ *Sicut erat in principio, est nunc, et semper erit, in saecula saeculorum*. These are, of

⁵⁶Needless to say that from the *jñāna kāṇḍa* point of view, so familiar in Buddhist formulation, the 'crossing over' to be accomplished by the Comprehensor, or for him by the Angel of his devotion and of whom he partakes (*bhakti = 'participation'*), is not as it was in the beginning hitherward, but hence; for as Eckhart expresses it, 'the last end is the same as the first beginning'.

course, Pūrva Mīmāṃsaka points of view; but here they have been independently developed.

Some have been impressed by the 'bewildering variety' of Indian mythology, ritual, and art: it would be nearer the truth to speak of its sameness or monotony,⁵⁷ for in fact it never departs from the fundamental theme of the Beginning of All Things (*jāta-vidyā*). And this is true in an even wider application, for this story of the first beginning, which also points the way to the last end, has been told in what is essentially one and the same way, although with abundant dialectic variation, throughout the world and from time immemorial, and survives even to-day not only in accepted scriptures, but also in fairy tale and nursery rhyme, and in folk art.

Notes on the *Kātha Upaniṣad*

⁵⁷Monotony of implication (*ekavṛttatva*) or sameness (*samatā*), not without variety of explication (*virvṛttatva*), but comparable to that of water flowing from a perennial source, or that of the recurrent seasons. If we are never wearied by the recital of what is always the same story, this is in the same sense that we are never wearied of the daily rising and setting of the sun: we often *demand* 'novelty' when our attention is distracted, but whenever we regard the realities of life, we recognize that what we really *need* is not a perpetually 'novel' but a constantly 'original' (*ex fonte*) experience.

Notes on the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*¹

FIRST VALLĪ

Arhaṇā bṛhad devāso amṛtatvam ānaśuh, RV, X.63.4

Ka etam ādityam arhati samayaitum? JUB, 1.6.1

Kas tam madāmadam devam mad-anyo jñātum arhati? KU, II.21

Several crucial passages of *KU*, appear to have been radically misunderstood even by Śaṅkara, and *a fortiori* by modern translators. We must in the first place understand the situation. Death (*mṛtyu, yama*) is throughout the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, as also in *RV*, one of the highest names of god. Identified with the Sun, all that is under the Sun is in his power, and all beyond the Sun immortal; He is the Breath of life, at whose departure living beings die (*ŚB, X.5.1.4, 2.1-4 and 13, 14, etc.*). Under the Sun he takes the form of 'repeated death' (*punar mṛtyu*); beyond the Sun he rules in Paradise. Death does not die. It is only by a conquest of the one and union with the other of his aspects that an immortality can be attained,—the comprehensor 'defeats repeated death, death gets him not, Death becomes his Spiritual essence (*ātman*), he becometh the One of the Devas' (*BU, 1.2.7*), 'he wins beyond the sun' (*CU, II.10.5*). The solar Orb itself, the disk of the Sun, is the gateway of Death's house, the mansion of Brahman, to which the Wayfarer seeks admission in our Upaniṣad and in so many of the related texts, e.g. *Īśa* 15-16. In our Upaniṣad Death himself is the Guru, and Naciketas the *śṛāvaka* and *śiṣya*. We proceed at once to a discussion of particular passages.

I.5: *bahūnām emi prathama . . . emi madhyamaḥ, kim . . . adya kariṣyati?* 'As one of many I go first, and I go midway, and now what will He (Death) do with me?' 'Now', i.e. now that my time has come, now that I have really died and left the body behind me. Three visits to Death are likewise implied by the 'three nights' of I.9 (not necessarily consecutive 'nights'); and these three correspond also to the three questions and three boons and three strides of the text. By *bahūnām* Naciketas recognizes the universality of his experience. His

¹See also my 'A study of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*', *IHQ*, XI, 1935, pp. 570-84. Frequent reference will be made to Rawson, *The Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, Oxford, 1934. The following abbreviations are employed: *RV, AV, TS, VS, MS*, respectively the *R̥gveda, Atharvaveda, Taittirīya, Vājasaneyi* and *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*; *ŚB, AB, JB, JUB, PB, TB*, respectively the *Satapatha, Aitareya, Jaiminīya, Jaiminīya Upaniṣad, Pañcavimśa* and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas*; *BU, CU, MU, Mund, Īśā, Tait. Up., KU*, the *Bṛhadāranyaka, Chāndogya, Maitrī, Muṇḍaka, Īśāvāsya, Taittirīya*, and *Kaṭha Upaniṣads*; *BG, Bhagavad Gītā; Sn., Sutta Nipāta; A, D, S*, the *Āṅguttara, Dīgha*, and *Sāmyutta Nikāyas*.

is not, indeed, a particular case: it is the rule that every man dies thrice and is thrice born,—first when he is begotten, second when he is initiated, and thirdly when he departs from this world (*JUB*, III.9). Having now for the third time and ‘really’ died, Naciketas stands upon the threshold of the new Life into which the sacrificer ‘is reborn of the Fire’.² This formulation of ‘three deaths’ makes intelligible what would otherwise be difficult to understand, the words of the ‘Voice’ in the *TB*, version, ‘Thou hast been told, “Betake thee to Death’s houses.”³ “Unto Death have I bound thee.”⁴ Go thou to him when he is not at home’ (*pravasantam*). It is in fact only on the third morning that Death appears in person. One does not meet Him face to face until the body has really been consumed.⁵ But Death has other ‘houses’ than that which lies beyond the golden disk, of which the dark night of the womb, often referred to as a ‘hell’, is one, the ‘night’ of initiation another, and ‘death’s dark night’ a third. Death ‘as he is yonder’ (*ŚB*, X.5.2.16-17) is not in the womb, nor does he show himself in person to the initiate, nor even at death; He is not ‘present’ there, but only ‘re-presented’ by the concept of ‘recurrent death’ (*punar mṛtyu*); and this, we understand, is what is meant by the saying ‘Go when he is not at home.’ The Voice, in other words, advises Naciketas to prepare himself by an understanding of what is meant by a crossing over of the recurrent deaths that are appointed to every man here and now.

I.8-9 (as represented in the *TB*, version): The matter of the food that Naciketas ‘eats’ on the three nights may also be considered. The nourishments are respectively Death’s ‘progeny’ (*prajāṁ*), ‘sacrificial animals’ (*paśūn*), and his ‘duties’ (*sādhukṛtyān*). These ‘foods’ should correspond to the three means by which one ‘lords it over death’ three times in the course of a normal life, as described in *JUB*, III.9f, ‘death’ being the same thing as ‘hunger’ (*āsanāyā*, privation). What are Death’s ‘progeny’ or ‘children’? In *ŚB*,

²We cannot see in what respect *AA*, II.5 is, as Keith insists, ‘fundamentally distinct’ from *JUB*. If in *AA*, it is three ‘births’ only that are specifically mentioned, it must not be overlooked that any birth implies a previous death, and that in any case this is explicit in the case of the third birth, since it is when the man departs (*praiti*) as a *kṛtakṛtyah*, that is ‘dies’, having fulfilled his tasks, that he ‘is born again’ (*punar jāyate*) and becomes immortal (*amṛtaḥ bhavati*). The texts are not identical, but nevertheless perfectly consistent.

Punar jāyate: ‘is regenerated’, born again for the last time, never to be born again as a mortal individual, but only with and as the Spirit, *āsarīraḥ śarīreṣu*, cf. *KU*, VI.4 *sargeṣu lokeṣu śarīratvāya kalpate* (sc. as a *Kāmacārin*). *Punar jāyate*: as in *BU*, III.9, 28, *jāta eva na jāyate, ko nvenam janayet punaḥ?* ‘He is born indeed, (and yet) he is not born (having become the ‘Unborn’, *ajah*); for who is there now to beget him again?’ (since he is no longer a member of any lineage, see *JUB*, III.14.1, and parallels, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian).

³Note the plural, ‘houses’.

⁴The ‘Voice’ substitutes for the Father’s *dadāmi, ādām*, which we take to be from *dā*, to bind or tie, as a sacrifice is ‘tied’ to the post. The concluding words are spoken by the Voice, not quoted as the Father’s.

⁵‘While the soul progresses, God remains unseen’ (Eckhart).

X.5.2.16 he is ‘one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children’; and clearly, these ‘children’ are the ‘breaths’ or ‘rays’ or ‘feet’ that reach the heart of every living thing, and with respect to which it is said that when they are withdrawn, the creature dies; just as the many rays of the Sun are its ‘sons’ (*JUB*, II.9.10),⁶ the Sun being the same as Death (*JUB*, III.10.10 and *passim*). The eating of Death’s ‘progeny’ is then the same thing as ‘coming into being in accordance with the breath; for it is inasmuch as the breath indwells the expended semen that he comes into being’ (*sa tato ‘nusambhavati prāṇam ca; yadā hy eva retaḥ siktam prāṇa āviśaty atha tat sambhavati, JUB*, III.10.5).⁷ Thus he overcomes the first death. Now as to the ‘sacrificial animals’: ‘Verily unborn is the man insofar as he does not sacrifice; it is through the sacrifice that he is born’ (*JUB*, III.14.8) with reference, of course to the sacrificial initiation which involves a temporary or symbolic death, and a rebirth, as is fully developed in the third book of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. And thus by this ‘birth from Agni’, he overcomes this second and initiatory death (*JUB*, III.16.6). Finally as to Death’s *sādhukṛtyāḥ*: these ‘things to be done aright’ are the ‘works to be done’ by the new man born of the initiation,⁸ ‘what they do right, that rises up as their eating of food’ (*yat sādhu kurvantī tad eṣāṁ annādyaṁ utsīdati, JUB*, III.14.6). It is by this ‘food’ that the dead man is sustained and

⁶Under the theory of procession by powers, souls are described as rays’ (Plotinus, *Enneads*, VI.4.3).

⁷‘He who dwelleth in the semen is yet other than the semen. . . . He is the Spirit, the Inner, Controller, the Immortal’ (*ātmantaryāmyamṛtaḥ, BU*, III.7.23); hence ‘Say not “From semen” that a mortal once departed is born again, but from what is alive (in the semen); just as a tree springs up from the seed, no sooner dead than come into being again’ (*BU*, III.9.28). This can only be fully understood in the light of *CU*, VI.11-12 where it is made clear that it is not the seed as such that is alive, but that ‘undimensioned (*animānam*, see discussion of *KU*, II.20, below) that is not to be seen’ within it, from which the great tree grows up. The same is implied in *AV*, XI.4.14 ‘When thou, the Breath, givest life, then is he born again’; cf. *Kaus. Up.*, III.3 ‘It is as the Breath (*prāṇa*) that the Provident Spirit (*prajñātman*) grasps and erects the flesh’. And this is also precisely the Christian doctrine, as enunciated by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III.32.1 ‘The power of the soul, which is in the semen, through the Spirit enclosed therein, fashions the body.’

The comparison *dhānāruha iva . . . pretya sambhavaḥ* of *BU*, III.9.28 is repeated in *KU*, I.6 *saryam ivājāyate punaḥ*. The point of all these comparisons and allusions is, that it is the Spirit, and not the individual so-and-so, that is perpetually and instantly reborn, although not subjected to the vicissitudes of birth. It is only the psycho-physical vehicles which are animated by the Spirit, and are in this sense incarnations of the Spirit, or more properly speaking manifestations of the Spirit, that are themselves casually determined, and mortal. He only, therefore, who ‘knows himself’ as the Spirit, and not as the psycho-physical vehicle, is free and immortal: and that ‘That art thou’ follows immediately upon the passage briefly quoted above from *CU*, VI.12.2. See further my ‘The coming to birth of the Spirit’, to appear shortly in *Indian Culture*.

⁸For initiation (*dīkṣā*) as a death and a rebirth see *TS*, V.2.4 and VI.1.3, *AB*, I.3 and VI.31, *JUB*, III.7-9, *ŚB*, III.1.2 and III.2.1, etc.

conveyed until he reaches the Sun and stands face to face with Death, the Angel with the Flaming Sword, the Sun, the Truth,—‘his breath first ascends’; it explains to the Devas, so much he did right (*iyad asya sādhu kṛtam*), so much evil: then along with the smoke (of the pyre) he ascends. . . . He approaches him who glows yonder (*JB*, I.18), viz., ‘the Sun, Death’ (*JUB*, III.10.10 and *passim*). In other words, it is by the ‘duty done’ or ‘what has been done right’ (*sādhukṛtam*) that the sacrificer is kept in being on the ‘night’ of the third death, and until he reaches the very gates of the solar Paradise wherein Death is always at home. Past these gates there is no carrying over by means of any ‘food’, since ‘the eating of food’ implies in some sort of a formal embodiment: what is beyond the Sun, who is Death, is immortal (*ŚB*, II.3.3.7): and no one becomes immortal with the body (*ŚB*, X.4.3.9; *JUB*, III.38.10). It is by knowledge alone, by such knowledge as Death himself imparts, that the final passage is made; which knowledge of the Brahman is the knowledge of oneself as the Self, as the Spirit (*ātman*). This, as all our texts imply (*JUB*, III.14.5, etc., with the closest possible parallels in the Hermetic, Christian, and Islamic traditions), is a total severance of the Spirit from its psycho-physical manifestation, a ceasing to know of oneself by any name or aspect (*nāma-rūpa*), or as anyone or anywhere: for there can be no return to the source except of like to like, and ‘That has not come from anywhere nor become anyone’ (*KU*, II.18). The question ‘Who knows where he is?’ (*KU*, II.25) will apply as much to the individual altogether liberated (*atimukta*, etc.) from his individuality as to the Spirit itself, which is only omnipresent precisely because it is not ‘anywhere’. As the Buddhist texts so often express it, ‘There beyond there is no further extension of thusness’ (*nāparam itthatāyati*, *S*, V.222, etc., etc.).⁹

The foregoing discussion of the problem of ‘foods’, ‘houses’ and ‘nights’, considered as one question, is strictly speaking pertinent only to the *TB* version of the story. In the Upaniṣad we are not told, but left to assume, that Death has been ‘away’; we are only told in both versions that the guest has ‘gone hungry’. And this is a matter of fact; one does not ‘eat’ either in the womb, or on the eve of a sacrifice, or on one’s death bed. On the ‘fast day’ (*upa-vasatha*) preceding a sacrifice (see *ŚB*, I.1.1.7-11), in one way or another one ‘does not eat’, and ‘should sleep that night in the house of the sacrificial fire or household fire (*āhavanīyāgāre vaiṭām rātriṃ śayīta gārhapatyāgāre vā*) for he who enters upon the operation approaches the Devas, and lies down amongst those very Devas whom he approaches’. It is such a ‘night’ as this, spent fasting in the ‘house of the Fire’ that is referred to by the second ‘night’ that is to be spent at Death’s house. The words of *ŚB*, I.1.1.9, ‘Let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten’ is singularly suggestive of the situation represented in the *TB* version of our story where, although Naciketas ‘does not eat’, he is able to tell what it is that he ‘has eaten’.¹⁰ In any

⁹Cf. *S*, I.119, where Māra seeks in vain for the departed *arhat*, Godhika.

¹⁰The story of Viśvāmitra and Indra in *AA*, II.2.3-4 is virtually identical with that of Naciketas and Death in *KU*, Indra speaks as the Sun; Viśvāmitra pays a triple visit to Indra’s ‘dear home’. On each occasion Viśvāmitra repeats a hymn, saying ‘This is

case we have been able to trace a connection between the three kinds of ‘food’ in the *TB* version, and the ‘three deaths’ that are implied by the ‘three nights’ of both texts. In the same way in *KU*, I.11 *rātriḥ śayitā*, the reference is not to just any night, but to the Father’s ‘rest’ in the nights of time, in the sense of ‘rested on the seventh day’. ‘Varuṇa is the night’ (*PB*, XXV.10.10); ‘the night, the darkness, death’ of *AB*, IV.5; the ‘night’ of *JUB*, III.1.9 *muhyanti diśo na vai tā rātriṃ prajñāyante*; i.e. the Brahman of *MU*, VI.17 *na hyasya . . . diśaḥ kalpante*. Thus in one sense or another all of the (four) ‘nights’ of our text are ‘deaths’ rather than ‘times’, nor is there anything strange in this, in a tradition where seasons, months, fortnights, and days and nights are so often states of being rather than times.

I.10 and 11: *tvat prasṛṣṭam* and *mat prasṛṣṭaḥ* ‘released by Thee’ (Naciketas) and ‘released by Me’ (Auddālaka Āruṇi, Gautama, father of Naciketas). These expressions can only be understood in the light of *RV*, X.16.4-5, ‘Bear him, O Agni (here the Devourer, Death), give him back again, unto the Patriarchs in the world of the Perfected; induing Life, let the Residue ascend, let him be aggregated in his own form’ (*vaha enam sukṛtmun lokam*,¹¹ *ava sṛja punar agne pitṛbhyah; āyur vasāna ūpa vetu śeṣaḥ*,¹² *saṃ gacchatām*¹³

‘food’, meaning evidently, ‘This has been my sustenance’. Indra grants a boon (not three: the whole story is condensed), Viśvāmitra choosing ‘to know thee, Indra’. Indra describes himself as the Sun, the breath, and this breath is what is really his own sustenance, and Viśvāmitra’s. The comprehensor of this becomes immortal. The ‘What I am, he is; what he is, I am’ of *AA*, corresponds to the answer of the postulant for passage through the Sun in *JUB*, III. 14.3-4. In *SĀ*, 1.6 the boons are three, but Viśvāmitra makes the same choice in each case, ‘to know thee, Indra’.

¹¹See the discussion of *KU*, III.1 *ṛtam pibantau sukṛtasya loke* Yama’s Paradise in *RV*, X.16 is more fully described in X.135. If., where it is also perhaps ‘Order’ that ‘Yama drinks of with the Devas’ (*devaiḥ saṃ pibate yamaḥ*).

¹²*Śeṣaḥ*: cf. *KU*, IV. 3 and V. 4 *kim atra pariśiṣyate* with *CU*, VIII.4-5 *atīsiṣyate . . . ātman*. We have shown elsewhere that it is by no means accidentally that Śeṣa and Ananta are designations both of the World Serpent and of the Brahman (see my ‘Angel and Titan’ in *JAOS*, 55, 1935 and ‘Janaka and Yājñavalkya’ in *IHQ*, XIII, 1937).

¹³In X.14. 8 *hitvāyāvadyam punar astam ehi, saṃ gacchasva tanvā suvarcāḥ* ‘Discarding woe-unspeakable, go home again, be aggregated in a form of light’. *Astam i* here, as this expression is regularly used of the setting Sun, as ‘going home’, i.e. to ‘Whence the sun arises and unto which he goeth home’ (*yatas codeti sūryo’s tam yatra ca gacchati*, *KU*, IV.9). This ‘Home’, which is man’s last end as it was his first beginning, is moreover one of the names of the Gale of the Spirit, ‘the one entire Godhood (Vāyu) . . . His very name is ‘Home’ (*sa haiṣo’s tam nāma*). ‘Home’ they call the ‘Seizures’ (*grahāḥ*) in the West’ (*JUB*, III.1.1-3). Cf. modern ‘go to one’s last home’, ‘go West’ = to die. The ‘West’ implies Varuṇa, who indeed is the Seizer of all things (*ŚB*, II.3.2.10 *yathemā varuṇaḥ prajā gṛhṇat*; similarly *MS*, I.10, 12; *TS*, V.2.1.3; *AB*, VII.15, etc.). The Gale is Varuṇa’s *ātmā te vāta . . . varuṇa* (*RV*, VII. 87. 2) or what comes to the same thing, the breath of Vāc = Aditi (*aham eva vāta iva pravāmi*, *RV*, X.125.8). Hence in the Requiem *RV*, X.16.3 *vātam ātmā . . . gacchatu*, and the common expression *vāyogataḥ* = deceased. For Varuṇa as one to be both feared and loved see *RV*, VII.86. This ‘Home’ is the Father’s house, from which the Prodigal son departs with his portion,

tanvā.¹⁴ No difficulty remains, if only we do not persuade ourselves that the story of Naciketas is the relation of any 'historical' event. What Naciketas asks is that he may be 'let pass' by Death, may be 'released' unto his father, to the Father whom Death has already and long since, i.e. at the close of a former Aeon, 'let pass' and 'released' unto his 'rest', a rest to be perfected by the son's return and welcome. This is, in other words, and as the name Āruni suggests, not a 'human' story¹⁵, but an ever recurrent *genealogia regni Dei*, in which the Father is always coming forth in the Son, and the Son ever returning to the Father: which coming forth and sending forth of the Son is always a giving of

and to which he returns after eating of the husks; Death is the Keeper of the gate.

Samgamana, 'Gatherer together, is one of the names of Yama, e.g. in *RV*, X.14.1. It is in this sense also that 'to be unified' (*eko bhū*) and 'to die' are regularly coincident expressions. In the same way Eckhart's separated and united beings', viz., those who are alive to themselves on the one hand, and the 'blessed dead, dead and buried in the Godhead' on the other. 'How often would I have gathered thy children together . . . and ye would not.' (*Math.*, XXIII.37).

¹⁴Cf. *RV*, X.56.1-2 *samveśane tanvās . . . parame janitre . . . divūva jyotiḥ svam. Tanū* is 'form' of such sort as is proper to the Ātman, cf. *KU*, II.23 *vivṛṇute tanūm svām. Tanvā* is as much as to say *svarūpeṇa*, 'in thine own proper, or intrinsic form', i.e. in a body of light. With *KU*, II.23 cf. *RV*, X.71.4 (*vāg*) *tvasmai tanvaṁ vi sasre*.

The assumption of this 'form' is a 'resurrection from ashes'. This is, in fact the Vedic doctrine of the 'resurrection of the body', more fully stated in *JUB*, III.3.5. 'Now whoever is a Comprehensor of this Spiritual-essence of the Logos (*ukthasyātmanam*, where *uktha* = *sāman*, identified with the Sun) comes into being in yonder world with limbs and body complete' (*sāngas satanus sarvas sambhavati*). This does not mean, of course, that the 'form' or 'body' of light, the 'intrinsic form' (*svarūpa*), which is built up by the sacrificer while still in the body, is itself a physical form or body. On the contrary it is a 'transformation' of the physical body, which no longer exists as a phenomenon (*rūpa*), but nevertheless subsists, with all that is proper to it, as an effect subsists in the cause to which it has been 'reduced', (i.e. 'led back'), more eminently. The regeneration (last *punaḥ sambhava*), in other words, is a rebirth of all that was real in that which died; all of which 'real' is even here and now 'light'.

We cannot now devote space to a comparison of the Indian and Christian doctrines of the resurrection of the body, except to remark that it is likewise Christian doctrine that all resurrection is from ashes, and that all the members of the body are resurrected; all, in fact, that really belongs to 'human nature', properly understood (see St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, Suppl., 78.2 c, 80.1 c, etc.).

¹⁵Rawson himself concludes that 'probably the names, which are all patronymics, are not meant to be historical' (p. 65). And even if we choose to think of them as 'historical' to the same extent that the sacrifice of Abraham can be thought of as historical, it remains that such sacrifices as those of Naciketas to Death, or dedications such as that of Rohita to Varuṇa, are 'types' of the Eternal Sacrifice of the Universal Man, whom others sacrifice at the same time that the sacrifices himself. If we think of the 'fathers' who appoint their sons to Death as 'cruel', let us not forget that no man can beget a son who does not at the same time hand him, who is also himself, over to Death, or rather, to the triple death referred to above (triple, because in such society as this, initiation is the rule). In this respect, what is true of the Son of God is true of Everyman, and what is true of Everyman is true of the Son of God.

the Son to a 'recurrent generation and death' in the sense of *RV*, X.72.9 *prajāyai mṛtyave tvat punaḥ* and *KU*, I.4 *mṛtyave*. The 'many' of *KU*, I.5 is with reference to 'many Agnis': and that Naciketas, the Kumāra, is himself 'an' Agni is further implied by the *vaiśvānara . . . atithiḥ* and the technical expression 'give him his quietus' (*sāntim kuruanti*) of I. 7. Naciketas is at once the Sacrifice and Sacrificial priest; if he needs to be instructed in his office by Death,¹⁶ this corresponds to *RV*, X.52.1 where Agni likewise asks to be instructed in his duties. Our hero's name is foreshadowed and perhaps intended in *RV*, X.51.4 *etam artham*¹⁷ *naciketāham agniḥ*, 'I Agni, have not recognized (*na ciketa*, Sāyaṇa "have not approved") that task', viz., that of the Priest (*hotrā aham varuṇa bibhyat*, *ibid.*) and cosmic Charioteer (*rathin*, *ibid.*, 6); while it is Yama that 'recognizes' Agni (*taṁ tvā yamo aciket*, *ibid.*, 3). In our text, indeed, the relation of Naciketas as 'questioner' to Yama as Guru is precisely that of 'one who does not know but seeks to know' (*acikivāms cikituṣaḥ*, *AV*, IX.9.7) to one who knows, and in this sense the name is fitting: cf. also in *RV*, X.79.4 'No knowledge of the God have I, a mortal' (*nāham devasya martyaściketa*). Although not all of these are equivalent contexts, it cannot be questioned but that Naciketas is so called as being 'One who does not know', or 'is unwilling'.¹⁸

In *RV*, X.135, we have again to do with a Kumāra, a 'Boy' deceased, whose body has been consumed on the funeral pyre, and who now speaks with Death, and learns from him the meaning of death. The Kumāra says, 'I have looked close on Him (Yama, Death) that careth for the Ancients (i.e. the foregone Patriarchs), on Him who goeth by the evil path,¹⁹ and after this (world) I long again': Yama replying 'Thou mountest (even now), my Child, a new and wheelless chariot, of which the single pole is pointed in all directions, which thyself has made by intellect (*manasākṛnoḥ*), although as yet thou seest it not.' This 'chariot' is not of course a 'physical' vehicle, but 'wheelless' and 'universally oriented' by distinction from the physical body of local motion that has been left behind; in other words, the 'chariot' is the same thing as the 'form' of light, the *tanū* = *svarūpa* of previously cited texts. Sāyaṇa rightly identifies the Kumāra of this Vedic requiem with the Naciketas of our Upaniṣad. The question is asked in the fourth verse, 'Who was the father of the child?'. In X.51.4, cited above, the Father is evidently Varuṇa:²⁰ in *ŚB*, VI.2.1.1.f. it is explicitly 'Father Prajāpati' who searches for the Kumāra,

¹⁶The applicability of *RV*, X.52.3. 'Who is this Priest? Is he Yama's?' to Naciketas may be remarked.

¹⁷The *bhūry . . . kartvam . . . artham* of *RV*, I.10.2.

¹⁸It would be impossible to discuss at adequate length here the 'hesitations' of the Messiahs, Agni, Buddha, and Christ, though all are of the same sort.

¹⁹'Evil' apparently only because the Kumāra is still *acikivān*, Naciketas, but in reality 'the broad way that Yama first found out for us, nor shall this pasture even be taken from us' of *RV*, X.14.2. Compare Chuang Tzu, 'How do I know that he who dreads to die is not as a child who has lost the way and cannot find his home?'

²⁰The 'Titan Father' (*asura-pity*) of *RV*, X.124.3, whom Agni leaves when he proceeds from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial function, from potentiality to act.

who evades him, entering into the sacrificial animals, man, horse, bull, ram, and goat: and When Prajāpati discovers these, he sacrifices them 'for his own sake' (*kāmāya*); just as Auddālaka sacrifices animals and finally his own son.

Once this universality and essential timelessness of the story of Naciketas has been realized, the attitude of the 'Father' becomes at once intelligible (or should at least be altogether comprehensible to a Christian, if not to a humanist).²¹ If the Father in the *TB* version 'regards' (*parītya*) the Son, as Sāyana adds 'as if in anger' (*krudhveva*) or 'speaks', as Śāṅkara comments in connection with *KU*, I.5 'with angry intent' (*krোধavaśāt*), this agrees with all that we know from the *Rgveda* of what seem to be the relations between the Father and the Son, the Father (or both Parents) being again and again referred to as 'unfriendly' (*amitra*, *asīva*) in relation to the Son, whichever of the 'twins' Indrāgni may be referred to in a given context.²² In innumerable texts, Agni is the 'Friend' (*mitra*) and Varuṇa 'Unfriend' (*amitra*) and no real distinction can be drawn between Varuṇa and Yama as 'avengers' ('Vengeance is mine, I will repay, said the Lord'). That this is nevertheless not the final truth of the matter is poignantly expressed in *RV*, X.124.3 where Agni, abandoning the Titan Father, usually thought of as 'unkind', confesses 'I, myself "unkind" am abandoning Him that is truly "kind"'. It is a matter of 'approach'; the Father is no longer 'deadly to be touched' by those who 'approach him, making him their friend' (*mītrakṛtyevopāsate*, *AB*, III.4), for 'as he is approached, such he becomes' (*yathopāsate tad eva bhavati*, *ŚB*, X.5.2.20, cf. *RV*, V.44.6).²³ If the Titan Father is a 'God of Wrath' to be avoided as such, what else but an At-one-ment is foretold in *KU*, I.10 'Glad shall be thy Father Auddālaka Āruṇi as when of old he was released by me, sweetly shall he rest by night, his wrath dispelled (*vitamanyuh*) when he seeth thee from Death's jaws freed' (*mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam*)?²⁴ *Manyu* we know well as the

²¹Hume's paraphrase of the Father's words by 'Oh! go to Hades' is bad enough, but far more shocking Rawson's 'His father, however, angered by the persistence of his priggish son, bursts forth with the equivalent of an angry Englishman's "Go to hell"'. With the 'angry Englishman' we are only too familiar: his introduction here is a profanity.

²²Similarly in the case of such other solar heroes as Rohita (*AB*, VII.15) appointed by their father's to be a sacrifice. Cf. the 'evil done by Varuṇa to Prajāpati', *ŚB*, XI.2.6.7.

²³*RV*, V.44.6 *yādṛg eva dadṛše tādṛg ucyate* corresponds to St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.13.1 and 3 *Pronomina vero demonstrative dicuntur de Deo, secundum quod faciunt demonstrationem ad id quod intelligitur*, with III.35.5 c. *Unde nihil prohibet plures tales relations eidem inesse . . . Omnis autem relatio quae ex tempore de Deo dicitur, non ponit in ipso Deo aeterno aliquid secundum rem, sed secundum rationem.*

²⁴*Mṛtyor mukhāt pramuktam* (cf. *KU*, III.15) = *mat-prasṛtam* in the previous verse: both signifying 'freed', not to return to earth (a sorry reward), but to cross the solar threshold and pass through the golden gate to enter into the Paradise of Yama and of Varuṇa; the 'jaws of Death' being an open door to Life for those who understand. *Mors janua vitae*. My rendering above dispenses with any necessity for emendation of the text.

The Father's welcome of the son may be imagined in the words of *JUB*, III.14.5,

'Wrath' of God, from *RV*, X.83, manifested as the 'bolt' (*vajra*),—'A great terror! An upraised bolt! Which those who comprehend become immortal' in *KU*, 2.²⁵ There are other scriptures in which the wrath of God must be appeased by the sacrifice of a lamb.

I.16 and II.3: *śṛṅkā*. This word, as everyone knows, does not occur elsewhere; but the rendering by 'chain' or 'garland' appears to be quite satisfactory. Some further discussion of the word may nevertheless prove helpful. Clues are provided by *śṛka*, arrow, and *śraja*, garland, derivatives of *śṛj*, and its modification *śraj*, in their senses of 'loose' or 'let fly', and 'turn, twist, or weave' as a garland. What is common to *śṛka* and *śṛṅkā* depends on what is the most usual meaning of *śṛj*, viz., 'to release'; the arrow being that which is released from the bow, and *śṛṅkā* being 'product' in the sense that *śṛjti* is the act of production.²⁶ At the same time, although the forms are superficially unlike, *śraja* is synonymous with *śṛṅkā*, and the semantics of both words can be easily understood in connection with the meanings of *śraj*, to 'twist' or 'wind', and similar but less usual values in *śṛj*. Indian necklaces were and still are, in fact, often made of woven gold wire. *Śraja* and *śṛṅkā*, accordingly, both imply a chain, which may be either a chain of gold or jewels, or a garland, of flowers (cf. our 'daisy-chain').

We are now in a position to ask whether the *aneharūpa śṛṅkā* of *KU*, I.16 and *vittamayī śṛṅkā* of II.3 are really one and the same 'chain'. Let us consider the latter first. There can be no doubt what sort of chain it is that Naciketas refuses. It manifestly represents the 'whatever desires in this mortal world are hard to come by' (1.3), which goods²⁷ Death offers to Naciketas, if only he will

'What thou art, I am, and what I am thou art, come in' with its exact equivalent in Rūmi, *Mathnawi*, I.3063, 'since thou art I, come in, O myself'.

²⁵*RV*, X.83 identifies *manyu* with Varuṇa as well as with the *vajra*, etc. The same is implied in X.73.10 'He (Agni) came forth from the Wrath' (*manyor iyāya*), and by *TS*, V.1.5.9 and 6.1 where 'agni when bound, as Varuṇa, attacks the sacrificer . . . he unloosens him . . . (and thus) distributes the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him. He pours water down; the waters are pacifications; verily by the waters appeased he calms his sharpness'. Compare the whole account of the origination of the 'fire-flash' from the 'darkness' in Behmen, *Three Principles*, XIV.69-75.

²⁶Observe that as 'product' nothing is implied as to whether a material or a spiritual, 'property' is intended. The 'product' may be either of phenomenal things, or an entertainment of ideas. *Śṛṅkā*, in other words, may stand either for an extrinsic or an intrinsic wealth'.

²⁷Just as *artha*, 'purpose' is also 'object' both as first and final cause, desire and things desired, so *kāma*, 'desire' is also the 'good' defined by Aristotle (*Ethic I*, cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.5.1 c) as 'Whatever men desire' *Kāmāh* can often be rendered better by 'goods' than by 'desires'. A distinction has then to be made between particular and ultimate goods, or false and true desires, as in *CU*, VIII.3.1-2 and correspondingly St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.11.23.7 c and 45.1 ad 1 (distinction of *bonum verum* from *bonum falsum* as of *satyāh kāmāh* from *satyāh kāmāh anṛtāpidhānāh*). In the last analysis, this is a distinction of all goods considered as particulars from the universal good in which all goods obtain and are obtained (*sarvāpti*, *Kaus. Up.*, III.3, etc.).

refrain from pressing his third boon.²⁸ *Vittamayī* means made of, or of the nature of, wealth, property, goods, possessions: this is the meaning that is so well brought out in *BU*, I.5.15, 'The Spiritual self (*ātman*) is the hub, goods (*vitta*) the felly (of the world wheel, or of any being).²⁹ That is why, if anyone is afflicted by a total loss (of property), but himself still lives, they only say 'He has come off with the loss of a felly'. *BU*, I.4.17 furthermore distinguishes a 'human wealth' (*mānuṣam vittam*, or V.1. *mānasam vittam*)³⁰ from a 'divine wealth' (*daivam vittam*) of the Spiritual-self (*ātman*), the former being what is 'obtained by the eye' (symbol of sense-perception), the latter what is 'heard by the ear' (symbol of intelligence,—*taḥ chr̥ṇoti*, 'what he hears' not without a reference to '*śruti*').³¹

²⁸The 'temptation' of Naciketas by Mṛtyu, Yama, in our text corresponds to the temptation of Māra in *J*, I.63 (offer of universal sovereignty) and *J*, I.78 (daughters of Māra), and to *Math.* IV.8.9, 'All these things will I give thee, if . . . ' and to the temptation by the 'Serpent' in Genesis. The Tempter (whether Love or Death, Satan or Serpent) is always one and the same Titan Father whom the preceding Agni farewells in *RV*, X. 12.3-4, and the Tempted always the solar 'Man'. When the Sun of Men and Light of the World says 'Get thee behind me, Satan', this 'behind me' (*mad-pāścā*) is a relegation of Varuṇa to his place in the West *AB*, V.2.3.1 'Yama holds the overlordship of the whole extent of earth; he who without asking from Yama a place of it . . . ' corresponds to Luke IV. 6 'for that is delivered unto me; and to whomsoever I will give it'. In the case of the first temptation of the Buddha by Māra (*J*, I.63), the Buddha's refusal of the Wheel Jewel (*cakka ratanam*), the recognized symbol of temporal power, is as much as to say 'My kingdom is not of this world'. It is in another sense that the Buddha, like Christ, is both king (*cakravartin*) and Prophet (*isitama*, *M*, I.386).

The virtually identical character of the three temptations, those of the Buddha, the Christ, and Naciketas lends further support to the view that *KU*, is the story, not so much of a specific 'human sacrifice' as of the dealings of the Universal Man with Death; or if we wish to avoid this conclusion, it is manifest at least that the dealing of Naciketas with Death is a 'type' of the conquest of Death by the Universal Man, in the same sense that the sacrifice of Abraham is 'typal' of the sacrifice of the Son of Man.

²⁹Cf. St. Bernard's distinction of *esse* from *proprium*.

³⁰*Mānasam vittam* would be 'rational knowledge' as distinguished from 'first principles'; cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.11.1.180.1 c 'The appetitive power (i.e. *kāma*) moves one to observe things either with the senses or the intellect sometimes for love of the things seen . . . sometimes for love of the very knowledge that one acquires by observation'. *KU*, I.27 provides an adequate comment: *na vittena tarpaṇīyo manuṣyo, laṅsyāmahe vittam adrākṣma cet tvā?* 'Man is not to be contented with goods; can we grasp after goods, who have seen Thee?' ('Not by bread alone',—nor even by 'facts').

³¹This is not a disparagement of the eye as such, but of sensational as distinguished from intellectual recognitions. Its bearing upon the modern tendency to substitute a 'visual' for a 'verbal' education is obvious. By 'visual education' there is meant, of course, a conveyance of factual information in terms of what things *look like*; and not at all the use of visual symbols or a presentation of traditional art where it is a matter not of appearances but of meanings.

In our Upaniṣad, Death is the *guru* and Naciketas the *śrāvaka*; the distinction of *vitta* from *vitta* in *BU* corresponds to that which we propose to recognize as between *śrīkā* and *śrīkā* in *KU*. There is, however, a distinction also of 'hearing' from 'hearing'. 'He is not to be apprehended by much hearing of scripture' (*na bahunā śrutena . . . labhyaḥ*, *KU*, II.23): 'One man hath ears, but hath not heard her (*Vāc*, as in *RV*, X.125.5; *Aditi*, as in *KU*, II.7; *Sophia*); but to another (sc. *ya evam veda*) she unveils herself' (*tanvām vi sasre*, *RV*, X.71.4, prototype of *KU*, II. 23 *viṛṇute tanvām svām*). Naciketas is precisely such 'another',—*tvādm̐ no bhūyāt naciketah praṣṭā*, *KU*, II.9.

More than this, there can be cited a Vedic text which affords a remarkable parallel to Naciketas' refusal of Death's *vittamayī śrīkā*: viz., that of *RV*, VIII.47.15, where 'the whole evil dream, whether it be necklace (*niṣka*) or chain of gold (*sraja*)' is consigned to Trita Āptya, who as an *ab intra* aspect of the Sun or Agni, cf. Ahir Budhnya, can easily be identified with Varuṇa (similarly made the recipient of inauspicious things) and with Death; in *RV*, I.163.3 the identification of the Solar Stallion with Trita and Yama is explicit, 'Yama art thou, O Stallion; Āditya thou; Trita art thou by interior operation'.

Our *vittamayī śrīkā* is then the chain or series of all 'goods', whether material or mental, considered objectively as something over against the Spiritual-self; all 'great possessions' such as those (amongst which may be remarked the moral virtues) for the sake of which the rich man turns away sorrowful,—*Math.* XIX.20f. and *Mark.* X.20f., 'and went away grieved; for he had great possessions . . . 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God (in our Upaniṣad, "Death's house", the Sun). . . . It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of the needle."³²

What then is the *anekarūpa śrīkā* of *KU*, I.16? Suspicion that this is another *śrīkā* is at once aroused by the fact that it is given, like a robe of honour, or insignia, as a free gift from Death to Naciketas, and that nothing whatever in the context suggests that the gift is made by way of bribe or temptation, nor is anything said about a refusal of this gift, nor can we see any reason why Naciketas should have refused this gift, even though that of a golden chain. If 'all is not gold that glitters', it does not follow that all that glitters is nothing but 'filthy lucre'. Gold is the recognized symbol of immortality throughout the Vedic and other traditions;³³ garlands are properly worn by the Devas, 'immortals',³⁴ we take it, indeed, that Death took the *śrīkā* from his own neck

³²We substitute 'the' for 'a' needle deliberately. The 'camel' is a type of the body and lower soul (*aisthesis* and *noesis*), the 'needle's eye' is the sun, cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawi*, I.3055-66 and *JUB*, III.14.1-5.

³³'There is no hope of eternal life by means of wealth' (*amṛtasya tu nāśāsti vittena*, *BU*, II.4.2). Almost all the 'cultural values' of modern civilization are 'great possessions'.

³⁴Explicit in *ŚB*, IX.4.4.8, 'golden means immortal' (with reference to *VS*, XVIII.5, 'Golden-winged bird'); and *TS*, V.1.10.3 'Now Agni is Death and gold is immortality'.

³⁵'There are necklaces (*niṣkāḥ*) in the sacrificer's world' (*AV*, VII.99.1).

That our interpretation of the *anekarūpa śrīkā* is the correct one is strongly supported by the wording of a Buddhist text discovered after the foregoing had been written. We find in *M*, I.387 'Just as one might weave a manifold garland (*vicitrām*

and put it upon that of Naciketā.³⁵ If we paraphrase *anekarūpa* by *viśvarūpa*, as is quite legitimate, we shall begin to understand what kind of chain this was; since 'omniform' is one of the most characteristic of the designations of the highest principle throughout the Vedic tradition. Omniformity is primarily Tvaṣṭr's or Vṛtra's, and secondarily, Indra's, Agni's, and Savitṛ's; it is their idiosyncrasy, their mode of being many whilst still remaining one, like Death in *ŚB*, X.5.2.16. The Spirit (*ātman*, the Sun in *RV*, I.115.1; Light of Lights) lends itself to all modalities of being, as water to vessels of all sizes and shapes, each taking what it can receive. In *RV*, II.33.9-10, Rudra, described in terms of the solar Indra (*vajrabāhu*, etc.), is multiform (*pururūpaḥ*) and 'radiant with shining golden-gear', and specific reference is made to the 'omniform, reverend necklace' (*niṣkaṃ yajataṃ viśvarūpaṃ*) that he, the Arhat (*arhan*)³⁶ wears. It can be truly said, that 'omniformity' is the best of the divine 'ornaments' seeing that it is only that all 'good' can be referred to God *per excellentiam*, who were he not both the many (*aneka*) and the one (*eka*) could be thought of as a one amongst the many. As integral multiplicity (*viśvam eham*, *RV*, III.54.8 he is the *imago imagivans* of each and every *imago imaginata*,— 'the single form that is the form of very different things' (Eckhart). This is the doctrine of exemplarism, Vedic as well as Christian, but into an exposition of which we cannot enter here,³⁷ except to note the allusions in our Upaniṣad, V. 9 and 10-13, *rūpaṃ rūpaṃ prātirūpo bābhūva, ekas tathā sarva-bhūtāntarātmā . . . eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān*, 'One and only Spiritual-essence of all beings, who cometh into being as the counterform of each

mūlām), even so in the Bhagavan (Buddha) there is full many a form (*aneka-varṇo*), yea, many many hundreds of forms (*anekasata-varṇo*). Who can refuse praise (*na vaṇṇam karissati*) where praise is due?' Cf. *anekavarṇam* in *BG*, XI.14.

It may be observed that *varṇo* (Skr. *varṇa*) has a variety of closely connected meanings, e.g. colour, aspect, splendour, beauty, caste, rank, ilk, kind, species, likeness, property (*in re*), quality, reason, cause, and praise, practically all of which meanings are present also in *rūpa*, at the same time that all correspond to 'form, idea, species, eternal reason, cause', etc., as these terms are employed in Scholastic exemplarism. The meaning 'praise' derives from the root meaning of *varṇ*, to 'describe'; and it can be readily understood that a 'description' of these countless 'attributes' is a 'laudation'. The 'innumerable forms' subsisting in a single 'form', or of 'innumerable beauties' in 'beauty' itself (cf. *CU*, IV.15 discussed in my *Source of and a parallel to Dionysius on the Beautiful*, in *Journ. Greater India Soc.*, vol. III, p. 38) are not so many 'possessions', but so many 'perfections'.

³⁵Perhaps with the pertinent words of *AV*, X.6.4 'May this gold-woven jewel (*hiranya-srag ayam maṇih*), imparting faith and sacrifice (*yajñam*, cf. *yajataṃ* in *RV*, II.33.10) and grandeur (*mahat*), abide in our house as a guest' (*grhe vasatu no tithih*, cf. *KU*, I.9 *avātsir grhe me . . . atithih*). As everyone knows, the Hindu to this day garlands his guest, not indeed with such a garland in effect, a 'crown', as Death can bestow upon his Saints, but in imitation (*anukarāṇa*) thereof, and because 'We should do what the Devas have done'.

³⁶*Arhanā bṛhad devāso amṛtattvam ānaśuḥ*, *RV*, X.63.4; cf. texts cited at the head of this article. Agni and Indra are pre-eminently the Arhats of *RV*.

³⁷See my Vedic exemplarism, *HJAS*, I.1936, pp. 44-64.

and every form . . . the One of the many,³⁸ who fulfils their desires'.³⁹ Death's gift of the *anekarūpa-sṛṅkā* is an assimilation of Naciketā to himself, an acceptance, and as much as to say, as in *JUB*, III.14.5 'Who I am, thou art: Come in'.

I.26: *tava nṛtya-gīte*, 'Thine be the dance and song' acquires an added force if referred to *JB*, II.69-70, where Prajāpati and Death are conducting opposing sacrifices, Prajāpati's 'party' consisting of the chanted lauds, recitative, and ritual acts (in a word, the sacerdotal art) and Death's of 'what was sung to the harp, or "danced", or done by way of vanity' (in a word, secular art). For a fuller discussion see my 'Nature of "folklore" and "Popular art"' in *QJ. Myth. Soc.*, Bangalore, XXVII.

We need hardly say that Prajāpati and Death are one and the same 'beyond the Falcon', but here considered *ab extra* under two different aspects: just as the Buddha and Māra are one, but considered in this world necessarily as contrasted and mutually conflicting principles. The Progenitor, the Wake, is the Son, or God, the principle of Life, as distinguished from Death, the Sleeper, the Father, or Godhead, the Ender: it is the Supreme Identity of both 'whose likeness is both of Life and Death' (*RV*, X.121.2), who 'unifies some and separates others' (*AA*, III.2.3) and can be referred to as saying 'I kill and I make alive' (Dent. XXII.39). Light and Darkness, Coolth and Heat (*chāyā-tapau*, III.1, see discussion below) are outwardly contrasted, as the sacerdotal and secular arts are contrasted in *JB*. But this does not mean that the sacerdotal and the secular art are without analogy, such an analogy for example as we shall presently recognize as subsisting between the *anekarūpa* and *vittamayī* 'chains': 'All music is an earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm of the ideal world' (Plotinus, *Enneads*, V.9.11). 'Thine be the dance and song' can have one meaning as spoken by Naciketā for whom in his 'simplicity', 'Death' is rather the event (*ṣunar mṛtyu*) than the person (*Mṛtyu*) 'who does not die' (*ŚB*) but another and *paramārthika* significance for the Comprehensor, *ya evaṃ veda*. For if the song and dance

³⁸Rather than 'one amid many' as rendered by Rawson. Cf. *AA*, II.3.8(4) 'In it in Unity all the Gods subsist'.

³⁹Or 'dispenses their "goods"',—whatever these may be. The Spirit lends itself indifferently to all modalities of being: 'The same am I in all beings; there is none hateful to me nor dear' (*BG*, IX.29). The participation of essence (*ātmanam vibhajya pūrāyati imāṅl lokān*, *MU*, VI. 26) gives to individual potentialities the opportunity to become what they have it in them to become and this 'creation' is a necessary part of the 'plan of redemption', because in the last analysis all pursuit of any good is the pursuit of universal good ('God is called 'good' as being that by which all things are', Dionysius, *De div. Nom.* IV.1; 'It is not for their own sake, but for the sake of the Spiritual-essence that all things are "dear"', i.e. are thought of as 'goods' (*BU*, II.45 and IV.5, followed almost verbatim by *S*, I.75 = *Udāna* 47). But if the divine essence gives to all things indiscriminately their being, the manner of their being depends upon themselves and is determined by the specific virtue that each thing 'milks' from the divine nature, *Natura naturans*, Creatrix, Virāja in *AV*, VIII.10.22f., or as it can be otherwise expressed, determined by mediate causes (*karma*) according to which 'fate lies in the created causes themselves' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.116.2).

are Death's in one way in this world, they are his in another way yonder, 'in Yama's seat, that "God-home" high, there flutes are blown for him, there is he adorned with songs'. To have renounced the secular art is to have obtained the sacerdotal, in which the secular exists more eminently;⁴⁰ just as to have renounced the *vittamayī* chain is also to have obtained the *anekarūpa*. In this sense *tava nṛtya-gīte* is not so much 'Thine be the dance and song' but 'Thine are the dance and song' essentially.

SECOND VALLĪ

At the close of the first Valli Naciketas has already made his choice and stated his position. It would be only logical to assume that the following verses, II.1-13, are spoken by Death; Naciketas then interposing with his 'Tell it' (*tad vada = brūhi nas tat* in I.29 = *brūhi m'etam* in *Sn*, 346); the remainder of the Vallī, from 15 onwards, consisting of Death's exposition of the Brahma doctrine, which he develops from the imperishable-syllable, Om. This interpretation will involve a reversal of the meaning usually attached to the words *atisrākṣiḥ* and *atyasrākṣiḥ* in II.3 and 11; this is discussed below. For the present we shall assume that *atisrākṣiḥ* in II.3 means, not 'thou hast renounced' but 'thou hast gotten', and shall discuss the application of this meaning in the context of the whole verse.

Observe the construction of the first two lines of each of vv.1-4. There is no question but that in vv.1, 2 and 4 we have to do with two 'very different' (*dūram viparīte viśūcā*) things; which are, in the first two verses *śreyas*⁴¹ and *preyas* (the 'more glorious' and the 'pleasant' or 'dear') and in the fourth *vidyā* and *avidyā* ('science'; and 'nescience'; i.e. empirical or estimative knowledge); *ca* in verses 2 and 4 is disjunctive and implies contrast. It would be far from unreasonable to expect a similar construction in the third verse. Let us see if it can be recognized there. *Abhidhyāyan*, 'intensely contemplating', corresponds to *samparītya*⁴² *vivinakti* in verse 2, which Rawson very properly renders by 'discriminates'. *Kāmān* is in any case the object both of *abhidhyāyan* and of *atisrākṣiḥ*. Suppose now that *ca* is here also disjunctive, and that here also there is a contrast drawn between two very different things, viz., *priyān kāmān* and *priya-rūpān*⁴³ *kāmān*, a distinction parallel to that of *satyāḥ kāmāḥ*

⁴⁰Cf. St. Bonaventura's *De reductione artium ad theologiam*, Op. 4 in *Opera Omnia*, Florence, 1891.

⁴¹With *śreyas* (as in *RV*, III.38.4 *śreyo vasānāś carati svarocīḥ*) here cf. *śrī* and *śremāna* in *AB*, VII.15, and *śrī* in *JUB*, I.20.8. Perhaps the fullest explanation of *śrī* (a typically solar and regal property) is that given in *ŚB*, XI.4.3.1.

⁴²It is interesting to compare *samparītya* here with *parīta* in the *TB* version of the Naciketas story, Rawson, p. 214 line 4 of the text. In both cases the literal sense is 'going round' or 'circumambulating' and the ultimate meaning, 'considering and understanding' (not excluding the literal meaning, however, in *TB*). Śaṅkara's *kruddha-iva* has been discussed above.

⁴³A like pejorative use of *piya-rūpa* may be noted in *A*, II.54 and *M*, II.42.

('true desires') from *satyāḥ kāmā anṛtāpidhānāḥ* ('true desires overlaid by what is false') in *CU*, VIII.3.1-2. where moreover it is said that all these 'true desires' or 'real goods' are to be gotten by going 'there'; where indeed one goes everyday, viz., to the Brahma world in deep sleep, but without finding the hidden treasure, just because of being 'held back by the falsity' (*anṛtena hi pratyūdhāḥ*),⁴⁴ while per contra 'One who goes hence having found already the Spirit (or his own Spiritual-essence) and those 'true desires' (or 'real goods'), becomes a 'Mover-at-will' in every world',⁴⁵ *CU*, VIII.1.6. Similarly, 'It is not for desire (*kāmāya*) of beings (as they are in) themselves that beings are dear, but for desire of the Spirit that beings are dear (*priyāni*)', *BU*, II. 4. 5.⁴⁶

⁴⁴And this 'from which one is debarred by falsity' (disorder, or irregularity or lack of form) is precisely the 'house of Death', 'Where Yama, Death, is king, the place of heaven's defence, or arrest' (*yatrāvarodhanam divaḥ*, *RV*, IX. 113.8, i.e. the Sun as in *CU*, VIII.6.5, *ādityam . . . lohadvāram viduṣām prapadanam nirodho 'viduṣām* the 'door' of *Math*, XXV.10 'and the door was shut', and the Egyptian 'sun-door'. It is precisely at this 'Death's door' (*mṛtyu-mukha*, *KU*, I.11), the *sauram dvāram . . . sūrya-maṇḍalam . . . tena yānti parām galim* of *MU*, VI, 30, the *hiraṇmayena pātrena satyasyāpīhitam mukham* of *Īśā*, 15 and *MU*, VI. 35, at this Porte or Kingsgate, or 'threshold', that Naciketas, not yet a Comprehensor (*viduḥ*, *vidvān*) has been waiting for three nights. The Keeper of this Gate is the solar angel with the Flaming Sword ('the opening is all covered over with rays', *JUB*, I.3.6), the Truth (*satyam haiśā devatā*, *JUB*, I.5.3), Death (*pūṣann ekarṣe yama sūrya prājāpatya*, *Īśā*, 16 and *MU*, VI.35); he stands on guard (*apasedhanti tiṣṭhātī*) but cannot repel one in whom there is the like Truth (*neśe yad enam apasedhet*, *JUB*, I.5.3). Nothing could better illustrate the consistency and universality of these formulae than the words of Nicolas of Cusa, *De Vis. Dei*, Ch. IX, 'It is the wall of the Paradise where Thou abidest, which none can enter if he has not overcome the Truth that guards its gate'.

The meaning of the 'three-nights' and of Death's 'absence' has been explained in a previous Note.

⁴⁵The description of the liberated as 'Mover-at-will' (*kāmācārin*), corresponding to 'shall go in and out, and find pasture' in John X.9, is of frequent occurrence in the Upaniṣads, and can be found also in *RV*, IX.113.9 *yatrānukāmam caraṇam*, 'where there is motion-at-will', or in other words, independence of local motion. Motion-at-will is a necessary consequence of deification (St. Paul, 'Whoever is joined unto the Lord is one spirit'; I Gal. VI.17; 'that art thou', *CU*, VI.8.9-11) if only because it is the Gale of the Spirit that 'moveth as it will' (*yathā vaśam carati*, *RV*, X.168.4). John III.8 'shall go in and out, and find pasture' corresponds to *TU*, III. 10.5 *imān lohān kāmān nī kāmārūpy anusamcaran*, 'goes hither or thither in these worlds eating what food he will and in what shape he will'. The most detailed description of this Motion-at-will, which depends upon an habitual *samādhi* occurs in *A*, I.254f. For the exact equivalent in Chinese doctrine see Chuang Tzu, Ch. XIX (Giles, 1889, p. 231).

⁴⁶St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.2.7 'But man is not to be loved for his own sake, but whatever is in man is to be loved for God's sake'; and 1.6.1 ad 1 and 2 'All things, by desiring their own perfection, desire God Himself' (in effect, *In omni bono, summum bonum, sc. Deus, desideratur*). *BU*, II.4.5 and IV.5 *na vā are lokānām kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanti, ātmanastu kāmāya lokāḥ priyā bhavanti* are echoed in *S*, I.75 (*Udāna* 47) where the *attakāmo* is approved, as one who finds in the world 'naught dearer than the Spiritual-essence' (*na . . . priyataram attanā kvaci*).

The texts are innumerable in which to be 'possesst of all desires' and to be 'without desire' are synonymous expressions;⁴⁷ no real meaning, indeed, can be attached to either expression alone, since it is only where *all* is already one's own that no *more* can even be thought of or desired (it is in this sense that *man* and *kam* are often interchangeable), and only where there is *nothing wanting* that one *cannot want*.

II.2: *yoga-kṣemāt*. Before proceeding to a discussion of II.11 we shall explain the sense of the second half of II.2. As in the first line of this half-verse the contemplative (*dhīrah*) is said to choose between two things, so in the second line we might expect that the sluggard (or 'fool') is said to choose between two things. Hume's version, based on the assumption that *yoga-kṣema* means *one* thing, is hardly grammatical English; Rawson makes the same assumption and produces a better version, in which 'prefers the pleasant' is understood to imply 'prefers the pleasant to the glorious'. But what is meant in our text is a choice between 'two very different' habits: it is as between *yoga* and *kṣema* that the sluggard makes his choice, deciding for the latter;⁴⁸ That this is the real intention will be immediately realized if we turn to *TS*, V.2.1.7: here a distinction has already been drawn between those who by means of the liturgy win this world, and those who, striding the Viṣṇu strides, win yonder world, and as the text continues, 'and so it is that the minds of some are set on *yoga* (*yoge' nyāsām prajānām manah*)⁴⁹ and the minds of others on comfort (*kṣeme' nyāsām*); and accordingly the Wanderer (*yāyāvarah = parivrājakah*) lords it over the man-of-ease (*kṣemyasya īse*), and so too that the Wanderer sits him

⁴⁷Equally in *RV*, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads, e.g. *RV*, IX.113.10-11, *ŚB*, X.5.4.15, *BU*, IV.3.21, and *CU*, VIII.12.6. With *RV*, IX.113.10-11 'Where are both desires and the consummation of desires, where the desires of him who desires are possess' (*yatra kāmā nikāmāḥ . . . kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmāḥ*) compare Traherne's 'Whose very wants are endless pleasures, His life in wants and joys is infinite. And both are felt as His Supreme Delight', Witelo *Lib. de intelligentis*, XX 'In quo . . . est unio, delectatio est continua, et vita secundum se delectabilis est in eo', and Dante, *Paradiso*, XXII.64-7. 'There perfect, whole, and ripe is each desire; in it alone is every part, there where it ever was, for it is not in space nor hath it poles'.

⁴⁸Just as in *Sn*, 220, *asamā ubho dūra-vihāra-vuttino, gihi dāraposi, amamo ca subbato*, 'Unlike and widely divergent are the habits of the wedded householder and the holy man without an "I" '.

It is quite ture that in the modern vernacular, *yogakṣema* is 'means of livelihood', 'way of life', or 'habit'. In Pāli, moreover, *khemā* is often 'peace' or 'rest' in a good sense (not that of sloth), e.g. *Sn*, 896, *khemābhīpassam avivāda-bhūmim*, and *yogakṣema* occurs with the same meaning, e.g. *Sn*, 79 *viriyam . . . yogakṣemādhivāhanam*, 'energy that bears me onward to peace'. But in our text, the older distinction of a contemplative (anagogically 'active') from an active (anagogically 'idle') life is evidently preserved; *yogakṣemāt + yogāc ca kṣemāc ca*.

⁴⁹The mind is verily for men the means either of bondage or release', *MU*, VI.34.

down upon (*adhyavasati*)⁵⁰ the man-of-ease' (*kṣemyam*). And so in our text the fool prefers the ease of the householder to the hard life of the yogi.⁵¹

II.11: *kāmasyāpti*, the 'attainment of desire'. Can one conceive of a *summum bonum* otherwise, or think of the Brahman as in any respect deficient or in want? Can one think of one who becomes the Brahman as suffering a privation in any sense whatever? So far from this, *kāmasyāpti* in our text is as much as to say *Ātman*, for 'In full possession of all acts, all desire (or good) . . . this is my Spirit, within the heart, this very Brahman; he who is assured (*addhā*)⁵² of this, that "When I go hence, I shall be altogether Him", for him there is no doubt' (*na vicikitsāsti CU*, III. 14.4⁵³). Similarly *CU*, VIII.1.6 'He who goes hence, having found here the Spirit and those true goods (*satyān kāmān*), becometh a mover-at-will in every world.' Our *kāmasyāpti* is assuredly a designation of the immortal *Ātman*, Brahman, 'beyond whom there is nothing more'. The expression *na vicikitsā-asti*, 'no doubt remains' is especially pertinent, in view of *KU*, I.20-1, 'This doubt (*vicikitsā*) there is about the man gone forth . . . even the Devas doubted in this respect of old'⁵⁴; it is

⁵⁰*Adhivāsa*, 'sitting before a person's house without taking food till he ceases to oppose or refuse a demand (commonly called 'sitting in *dharmā*)', *MW*. The homeless wanderer is the master of the master of the house; *kṣemya*, from *kṣi*, 'to dwell', being primarily 'one who has a home' and secondarily 'one who lives in comfort'. It is of great interest to notice that the contemplative life (so often thought of as one of inaction) is here the really active life, and that the life of the householder (usually termed the active life) is here the really idle life. This is one way of seeing 'action in inaction, and inaction in action' (*BC*, IV.18). But not the only way; for it need not be assumed that it is intended that the 'active' life is 'wrong' and the 'contemplative' life 'right' for every man. What is implied is the superiority of the 'contemplative' life *as such* to the 'active' life *as such*; a superiority that is also assumed in Christian doctrine, where it is implicit in the story of Martha and Mary, and explicit in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.11.179-80. It is because the Indian householder is still of this persuasion that he still treats the wandering *sādhu* or *yogin*, the *sannyāsin* or 'truly poor man', as his superior, and would rather serve even those who may be pretenders than run any risk of not serving those who are really what their cloth proclaims them.

It may be added that the relation of the Wanderer to the Householder is ultimately that of Mitra to Varuṇa, and Naciketas to Yama: Naciketas is precisely 'sitting unfed' at Death's door, and truly a *bhikṣu*.

⁵¹Closely related to the thought of our text is *AB*, VII.15, *pāpo nṛṣadvaro jana, indra ic-carataḥ sakhā, caraveti, caraveti . . . sūryasya paśya śremānam, yo na tandrāyate caramān, caraveti, caraveti*.

⁵²*Addhā*, 'certain', 'ascertained', as in *ŚB*, II.3.1.29 'Certain is the (audible) incantation, certain the Spirit'.

⁵³It is just inasmuch as there is still a doubt (*vicikitsā*) for him, that Naciketas is *na-cikiti-vān, na-ciketas*.

⁵⁴*KU*, I.20, 21 and 29 *yasmin idam vicikitsanti mṛtyo, yat sāmparāye mahati brūhi nas tat*, are closely paralleled and no doubt followed by *Sn*, 346 where the question addressed to the Buddha is framed as follows, *chindeva no vicikiccham, brūhi me'tam, parinibbutam vedaya*; and 354 *nibbāyi so? ādu sa-upādi-seso? yathā vimutto, ahu*.

A definite answer occurs in *S*, III.109 'It is an overstatement to say that when the

true that the matter in doubt is differently formulated in *KU* ('to be or not to be, after death'), but there is no essential difference, because 'to be or not to be' and 'to be or not to be in a state of privation' amount to the same thing. By way of further comment we can only add that 'We desire a thing while as yet we do not possess it. When we have it, we love it, desire then falling away' (Eckhart, I.82), and ask and answer with Rūmi 'What is love? Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me'⁵⁵ (*Mathnawī*, Bk. II, Introduction). There are no distinctions yonder of 'a within and a without' (*BU*, IV.3.21 and 5.13): no distinction, therefore, of what one desires from what one has, nor of what one knows from what one is.

II.11 continued: *stoma-mahad urugāyam* (sc. *padam*), 'The exceeding praised far-going (stride or step).'⁵⁶ With *stoma-mahat* compare II.15 *sarve vedā yat . . . āmananti*, 'that which all the Vedas glorify', viz., *yat padam . . . tat te bravīmi* 'that stride . . . of which I am about to tell thee', that is, of course, the third boon (*trīyam varam*) of I.19, the 'last passage' (*sāmparāya*) about which Naciketas asks when he says 'tell me that' (*brūhi nas tat*, I.29).⁵⁷ The student can hardly by this time have failed to realize that the 'three boons' correspond to the 'three strides' of Viṣṇu. With the third boon, then, Naciketas is given to understand the meaning of 'the end of the road, which is Viṣṇu's farthest stride' (*adhvanah pāram . . . tad viṣṇoh paramam padam*, III.9), 'the place of the farthest stride of the wide-stepping Viṣṇu, the far-striding Bull' (*urukramasya viṣṇoh . . . atra . . . urugāyasya viṣṇah paramam padam*, *RV*, I.154.6). This is

body of one who has destroyed the foul issues has been cut off, he himself is broken up and destroyed and is no more after death' (*na hoti pāram maraṇam*). It is only for what is *anattā*, that 'there is no hereafter' (*nāparam*, *S*, III.118).

A systematic collation of parallel passages from the Upaniṣads and the Piṭakas is much to be desired, both from the point of view of those whose interests are exegetical, and that of those whose primary interest is in literary history.

⁵⁵This is the answer to the question of 'Love' as posed in the Middle Ages, *Utrum homo anturaliter diligat Deum plus quam semetipsum?*

⁵⁶On the solar character of Viṣṇu in *RV*, see Hopkins in *JAOS*, XVI.147.

⁵⁷For the Buddhist parallel (a colloquy between Vangisa and the Buddha) see the citation from *Sn*, 346 in a previous Note.

As the Brahman is here the 'third boon' (*trīyam varam*), so in *Mund.*, II.2.12 the Brahman is 'most boon' (*varistham*).

Sāmparāya of *KU*, I.29 (= *parāyaṇam* in *Praśna Up.*, I.10) may be compared with *sāmparāya* and *pārāyaṇa* in *Sn*, where the former is used for 'future life' as that about which there may be a wishful thinking, and the latter for 'crossing over' or 'transition' to a true 'beyond' (*Sn*, 1130 *maggo so pāram gamanāya tasmā pārāyaṇam iti*). In *S*, V.217 *maccuparāyaṇo* is 'crossing over death'; the verse in which the term occurs has been misunderstood; in reality it presents an antithesis to the previous verse, and in saying 'He who lives a hundred years, he crosses over death' (*yo pi vassasatam jive so pi maccuparāyaṇo*), repeats the doctrine of *ŚB*, X.2.6.7 'whosoever lives a hundred years, he, indeed, obtains that immortality' (the assumption being that in the full term of life, all that had to be done will have been done, one becomes *kytakṛtyah*, or in the often repeated words of the Pāli texts *khīnā jāti, vusitam brahmacariyam, kataṃ karanīyam, nāparam, iṭhatōyāti*).

assuredly the 'last end' (*paramam gatim*) of VI.10, and certainly not what Naciketas can be thought of as refusing, but rather as that of which he would know; for as *ŚB*, I.9.3.10 and 20 expresses it, 'That is the goal, that the support (*etām gatim, etām pratiṣṭhām*), now he moves with (and no longer under) the Sun'.⁵⁸

II.11 continued: *abhayam pāram = abhayam titirṣatām pāram* in III.2, i.e. *svarge loke (yatra) na bhayam kiñcanāsti*, I.12, 'the place of no-fear, reached by those who cross over, in heaven-world (where) there is no fear whatever', and as the text continues 'not there art thou', i.e. Death as Naciketas at first conceives him, *punar mṛtyu*.⁵⁹ There can be no doubt about the meaning of 'no-fear'. To have passed beyond fear is to have passed beyond all otherness, to have found the *advaitam* for 'Assuredly it is only from another (than oneself) that fear arises' (*dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati*, *BU*, I.4.2); and 'When verily one finds the support 'no-fear' (*abhayam pratiṣṭhām*) in this unseen, despirated, inexplicable, placeless (*anilayane*⁶⁰) then is he one that has attained to 'no fear' (*TU*, II.7).⁶¹ If the separated Persons (Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Vāyu, and Death himself) perform their functions 'in fear of Him, of Brahman' (*KU*, II.3 and *TU*, II.8.1), this belongs to their separated Personality, and not their being in Him, in Whom, the Imperishable (*akṣara*) 'are all the

⁵⁸*Asyaivāvṛtam anuvartate*. This is the *raison d'être* of all 'sunwise turns' (*pradakṣiṇit, prasavalay-āvṛt*).

⁵⁹Naciketas, of course, as not yet a Comprehensor, conceives of Death, not 'as he is yonder' but 'as he is many in his children' (*ŚB*, X.5.2.16) and as the cause of natural death (*ŚB*, X.5.2.13). The distinction of *punar mṛtyu* from *mṛtyu* himself, of death the 'enemy' from Death the 'friend' is clearly drawn in *BU*, I.2.7 where the conquest of the one is union with the other: with that Death, viz, 'who does not die', 'the Person in yonder Sun' (*ŚB*, X.5.2.3) who, though Naciketas does not yet know it, is that very ultimate Person spoken of in III. 11 'beyond whom there is naught, that is the goal post and last end' (*puruṣān na param kiñcit, sā kṣāṭhā sā parā gatih*),—the Person of *Īśā*, 16, *asau puruṣaḥ so' ham asmi*, 'Yonder Person, I'.

The same distinction is finely drawn in *ŚB*, X.5.2.17 'Is Death near or far away? Both near and far away; for inasmuch as he is here on earth in the body he is near, and inasmuch as he is That One in yonder world, he is far away'. It is 'as he is here on earth in the body' (as an 'infection', cf. *JUB*, IV.9, etc.) that Naciketas rightly says of the Beyond that 'Thou art not there'.

⁶⁰On the placelessness of God, see the discussion of II. 25.

⁶¹Further, *AV*, X.8.44 *tam eva vidvān na bibhāya mṛtyor ātmānam dhīram ajaram yuvānam* ('He who knows that contemplative, incorruptible, ever-youthful spirit, has no fear of death'); *TU*, II.9 *ānandam brahmaṇo vidvān na bibheti kutaścana* ('He who knoweth beatitude in Brahman feareth nothing whatever', cf. 'Perfect love casteth out fear'); *Praśna Up.*, I.10 *etat amṛtam abhayam etat parāyaṇam, etasmān na punar āvartante* ('That sun is the immortal, that the crossing over to where there is 'no-fear', thence there is no coming back again'). The condition of 'no-fear', whether of death or anything whatever, is never referred, nor could it be referred, to any other or less state than that the *summum bonum* and Supreme Identity. The use of the term 'no-fear' in our verse is therefore the strongest possible argument for a reference of the whole to a 'last end' which if Naciketas had 'renounced', he would have been a 'simpleton' indeed.

Devas in one combined' (AA, II.3.8). Professor Rawson (p. 89) is perfectly right in identifying our *pratiṣṭhā* with that which is attained by Viṣṇu's third stride in ŚB, I.9.3.10 and 20.⁶² But what is thus attained is not a sub-solar Elysium, still in the power of Death, it is the beatitude of those who have made their final crossing (*sāmparāya*, KU, I.29) and have 'entered in by the door' (*per ostium*, John X.1 = *śūrya-dvāreṇa*, *Mund.*, I.2.11)⁶³ to the Father, the Immortal Person (John X.7 and 9 and XIV. 6 and *Mund.*, I.2.11). This 'heaven' into which one enters by the Sun-door is 'beyond the falcon' (*imam upariśyenam svargam lokam*, JB, III.270), is the Empyrean 'where no sun shines' (KU, V.15), the 'vault apart from sorrow' (*nākam viśokam*)⁶⁴ to which one attains, not by the twenty-one syllables⁶⁵ of the Sāman chant, but with a twenty-second (*dvā-vimśena paramād ādityāj jayati*, CU, II.10.5), only to be 'known' by 'one who is qualified to pass through the midst of this Sun' (*ha etām ādityam arhaṭi samayaitum? kas tad veda yat pareṇādityam?* JUB, I.6.1 and 4).⁶⁶ It is that 'state of glory' which, as St. Thomas says, 'is not under the sun' (*Sum. Theol.*, III Suppl., 91.1 ad 1, cf. I.103.5 ad 1). If, finally, our 'support' is the 'world's support' (*jagataḥ pratiṣṭhā*) what other support can this be than that of the Brahman, the Breath⁶⁷ 'in whom the whole world stirs and is withdrawn' (KU, IV.2) the ultimate Brahman, founded on which power the world-all shines resplendent' (*Mund.*, III, 2.1), or than 'the support that is the possession of the infinite-world that is set in the secret place' (KU, I.14)?

II.11 continued: *atyasrākṣiḥ*. It does not appear needful to demonstrate at any greater length that II.11 describes a *summum bonum* which Naciketas cannot possibly be thought of as having 'rejected'. It remains to be shown that *atyasrākṣiḥ* here and *atisrākṣiḥ* in II.3 do not mean 'Thou hast rejected'. *Ati* presents no difficulty; it is well known to be an intensive prefix, as in JUB, I. 3.5 *atimucyate* 'He is altogether freed'; *ati* has precisely the effect of Latin

⁶² Cf. MU, VI.35 *apāvrṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave*.

⁶³ Note *ostium* in John X.1 = *mukham* in *Īśā*, 15, MU, VI.30 and KU, I.11 and III.16; both as 'entrance', 'way in'. For *mukha* as 'entrance' of a city gate, approached by a bridge (*samkrama*) cf. *Arthasāstra*, II, Ch. 21. It is in this sense that 'the Mouth receives' (*mukha ādhatte*) the Comprehensor, JUB, III. 33.8 (misunderstood by Oertel, JAOS, XVI.193).

⁶⁴ Hermeneutically, *na-akam*, 'without lack of any desire' (cf. TS, V.3.7.1), *na hāsyā kaścana hāmo* 'nāpto bhavati ya evam veda', JUB, III. 33.8,—*kāmasyāpti* in our text, and cf. II.16 *akṣaram jñātvā, yo yad icchati tasya, tat*.

⁶⁵ Corresponding to the twenty-one worlds, or states of being, in the cosmos, viz., twelve months, four seasons, three worlds, and the Sun, AB, V.1.10.3. 'Now he who glows yonder (the sun) is doubtless Death (Mrtyu), those (of his) offspring that are here below are mortal (*mriyante*), but those beyond (him), the Devas, are therewith immortal', ŚB, II.3.3.7).

⁶⁶ *Kastam madāmadam devam madanyo jñāturarhati?* 'Who but I', KU, II. 21. All that Death teaches Naciketas, who as his disciple does not yet 'know', is an answer to the question 'What is Death?', and could be summarized thus, by 'Thou shalt know when thou becomest Me'.

⁶⁷ The Brahman, Akṣara, similarly represented by the 'Breath' in AA, II.3.8(5).

super, and does not change the essential value of the roots to which it is attached. *Ṣṛj* is to 'free', 'let go', or 'emanate', *passim*, and in the latter sense to 'make' (ŚB, III.2.4.6 *vīṇām . . . ṣṛjtvā* 'producing a harp', XI.1.6.9 *pāpmanam vā asṛkṣi* 'I have brought forth evil', BU, IV.3.10 *ṣṛjate, sa hi kartā*, 'He produces for himself, he is indeed the creator'), and so also to 'acquire' or 'obtain' (*Manu*, VIII.140, *vṛddhim ṣṛjet*, 'He may take as interest'), if *ṣṛj* is to 'release', this is not in the sense 'relinquish', but as one 'sets off' or 'sets agoing' what has been a latent property in or of the subject.⁶⁸ *Ṣṛjti*, often rendered by 'creation' (of the world) is in this sense, *passim*, precisely what St. Thomas describes as the 'emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God . . . the emanation of all being, from the non-being which is nothing'⁶⁹ (*Sum. Theol.*, I. 45.1.1). On the one hand, such an emanation does not deprive the subject of anything (AV, X.8.29; BU, V.1), on the contrary,

⁶⁸ It is in this sense that one 'releases' news, or that a film is 'released' by a Cinema company. The release is from potentiality to act, and always for the advantage of the subject. The acts of one who 'releases' (*ṣṛjati*) and that of one who 'discards' (*tyajati*) a thing are very different. A remarkable parallel to *ṣṛj* in this sense of 'give effect to' or 'reduce to act' can be cited in Witelo, De intelligentis, XVIII, *Exunione potentiae activae cum exemplari, ad quod est ordinata, relinquitur delectatio, in qua est vita cognitiva* the '*kāmasyāptim . . . atyasrākṣiḥ*, of our text corresponding exactly to Witelo's *relinquitur delectatio*, or as Death would have actually said *a te relicta est delectatio*.

⁶⁹ Despite St. Thomas' use of *emanatio* (loc. cit.) the objection has been made that *ṣṛjti* as 'emanation' implies the existence of a 'materiality' in God. We can only say, in the first place, that it is with the Spirit that the person fills these worlds, dividing himself (MU, VI.26), it is by his knowledge of himself that Brahma is this all (BU, I. 4.10); the emanation not of 'matter', but of 'children' (*prajāḥ, passim*), so that 'He is one as he is in himself, and many as he is in his children', (ŚB, X.5.2.16). In most contexts, indeed, it might well be preferable to render *ṣṛjti* by 'expression', rather than by 'emanation' ('creation' is in any case inappropriate): by 'expression', that is, as this term is employed by Bonaventura to denote what is at the same time a 'conception' and a 'luminous raying'. These are, in fact, images that recur again and again in our texts, where we meet again and again with the phrase *prajā asṛjata*, 'expressed offspring'; with the notion a production by *manas* as father out of *vāc* as mother, cf. also JUB, II.9, 10 where the 'rays' of the 'Sun' are called his 'sons'. Bonaventura's 'For all the eternal reasons are eternally conceived in the vestibule (in *vulva* = *yonau*) or womb (*utero* = *jathare*) of the eternal wisdom' (*In Hexaem*, coll. 20, n. 5) parallels many of the most characteristic ontological formulations of the Vedic tradition, and if occurring in an Indian context would be spoken of as 'Tantrik' (cf. my La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité divine' in *Études Traditionnelles*, XLII, 289-301, 1937). For Bonaventura's 'expressionism' see Bissen, *L'exemplarisme divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, p. 93.

The problem of a 'materiality' in God does not, in fact, arise. On the one hand, it is obvious that all things are, in some sense, in God, because of his infinity (*anantatva*): in this sense the eternal reasons of all 'material' things must be in him. On the other hand, Sanskrit has no word for 'matter' in the sense of 'concrete reality': for 'that which fills space in such a manner that it can be conceived of and/or sensed, Sanskrit has only *nāma-rūpa*, 'name' (idea, species, substantial form) and 'phenomenon' (perceptual aspect, accidental form), or in other words the 'intelligible' and the

the art remains in the artist and on the other, that which is thus emanated is for the use and advantage of the emanating subject for example, *PB*, VII.6.3 *vācam vyasrjata* = *BU*, VI.4.2 *striyam sasrje*, and *SB*, IV.6.9.24 where *vācam visrjeran* is simply the converse of *vācam yamaḥ* 'restraining the voice'.⁷⁰ The basic value of *sri* is thus to 'reduce from potentiality to act', to 'utter', 'express', 'realise' and 'make effective'. When it is really a question of abandonment, the form *utsri* is employed, e.g. *SB*, IX.5.1.12 *utsriya (anytam)*, *BU*, IV.3.35 *utsarjat (sariram)*, and *Nala*, X.29 *utsriya (bhāryām)*; but in *JB*, III.235 *udasrjata (paśūn)* is merely 'released'. There are not many occurrences of *atisri*: the most notable is in *BU*, I.4.6, *brahmaṇo 'tisrīṣṭiḥ, yac chreyaso devān asrjata* 'This was the Brahman's super-emanation, that he emanated the more glorious divinities', where the intensive force of *ati* is evident, and no other change in the value of *sri* is involved; in the corresponding text of *SB*, XI.2.3.3, where there is no '*śreyasaḥ*', *sri* alone is used, without prefix. The only other use of *atisri* that I know of is in *Kaus. Up.*, I.2, *tam atisrjate*, 'He (the Moon) lets him go freely', i.e. allows him to enter the Moon-door to heaven unhindered; just as we might speak of St. Peter admitting a soul to heaven, or of an examiner 'passing' a student; nobody renounces anything, unless, indeed, we think of the examiner as 'renouncing' his right to 'flunk' the student, which no more lies within his competence than it lies within the power of the Sun to hold back one who gives the right answer (*neśe yad enam apasedhet*, *JUB*, I.5.3). The doubly intensified *abhi-ati-sri* employed in *AV*, X.5.15 = XVI.1.5, is also 'to let pass', of *abhy-ati-mucyate* in *JUB*, I.30.4. It can be said, accordingly, that to make of *atisrākṣiḥ* and *atyasrākṣiḥ* in our Upaniṣad 'Thou hast renounced' is to force and distort the normal meanings of *sri*, whether with or without the intensive prefix *ati*. Nor shall we find anything in our text that compels us to force or distort the essential values of *sri* in this way. If Śaṅkara himself does so, it is for the same reasons that he altogether

'sensible'. 'As far as there are "name and phenomenon" so far this universe extends' (*SB*, XI.2.3.3); it is by means of these that the Brahman is manifested, and the world a theophany (*ibid.*, 5). It is true that Sanskrit *mātrā* (measure) and (*nir*) *māna* (measured out) are the etymological equivalents of matter and 'material', and that these terms denote whatever belongs to the realm of continuous quantity; but what is thus 'measured out' (by the Sun, cf. Blake's 'Ancient of Day') is not the physicist's matter', even in its most mental form, but the possibilities of manifestation that inhere in the Spirit,—'inhere', in the sense that time inheres in eternity, eloquence in silence, or measureable space in the space that cannot be traversed. *Mātrā* is much nearer to the Scholastic 'species' as characterized by 'number' than to *materia* thought of as mass. It may be added that the Platonic and Neo-Platonic concept of 'measure' (*metron*) accords with the Indian: the 'unmeasured' is that which has not yet been defined, or future; the 'measured' is the defined or finite content of the ordered cosmos; the 'immeasurable' is the infinite, which is the source alike of the indefinite and the finite, and remains unaffected by the definition of what of it is definable.

⁷⁰Even in *SB*, I.3.9.23 *atha vratam visrjate*, 'Then he ceases from the operation' (sacrifice), *visrjate* does not mean 'rejects', but only 'finishes with' in the same sense that a man 'finishes with' the Mass when the office has been completed.

changes the meaning of *KU*, VI. 4; concerned as he is only with Return (*nivṛtti*, *nibhava abhava*) Śaṅkara deliberately ignores the divine procession (*pravṛtti*, *prabhava*, *vibhava*),⁷¹ the *akṣara* is not merely for him the 'Unwasting' but rather the 'Unflowing', or 'Non-proceeding Pleroma', *pūrnam apravartin*, *CU*, III.12.9.⁷² It is from the same point of view that Eckhart says that 'In the birth of the Son all creatures went forth life and being, hence all things are lively imaged in the Son. Now when the soul returns again within, she loses the Son . . . the soul has got to die to all the activity connoted by the divine nature if she is to enter the divine essence where God is altogether idle' (I.275-6).⁷³ This is the 'last step' (*paramaṁ padam*), indeed in the sense that henceforth one must 'walk without feet', as Rūmī words it; but no more for the Vedānta than for Eckhart the whole story. To be unified with Death (which is the same thing as to have 'conquered recurrent death') is to participate in all of Death's activities as well as in his 'idleness'. Varuṇa's 'still waters' are not merely motionless, but also the Fountain of Life and ever-flowing source of the Rivers of Life (*sindhūnām upodaye*, *RV*, VIII.41.2); their 'stillness' or immutability consists in this, that in flowing forth, they are not diminished, 'This is the lovely paradox, O men, that while the rivers flow, the waters are at rest' (*caranti yannadyas tashur āpaḥ*, *RV*, V.47.5). The Self (*ātman*) 'apart from any glimmer of a distinctive "this" or "such" or thus' Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 112, cf. *S*, I.140 and *M*, II.39 *nāparam ithatāyāti* is also the quickening Self and Sun of all things (*RV*, I.115.1), into which it enters 'on wings of gladness and felicity' (*Taitt. Up.*, II.5, cf. my Two Vedāntic hymns, *BSOS*, VIII, p. 96, Note 3). If the Son returns to the Father, the Father is always becoming the Son.⁷⁴ The transcendence of suchness is not a privation, but an 'all-obtaining' (*sarvāpti*) the fulfilment of all desires and the realization of all potentialities, from which 'all' we cannot exclude those of formal manifestation. 'Whoever is joined unto God is one spirit', as St. Paul expresses it; and the Spirit bloweth as it will, *carati yathāvaśam* (*RV*, X. 168.4).

⁷¹*Vibhava* is wrongly understood by the translators of Pāli texts; *vibhū* is the same as *Vijan*, 'to be distributively born', as in *AV*, X.8.13 *Vibhava* is 'omnipresence', a universal as distinct from an individual 'becoming', or 'birth'.

⁷²Perhaps the best explanation of the well-known term *Akṣara* (= Brahman) is that to be found in *JUB*, I.43.8 'Whom do you revere?' The *Akṣara*. How do you mean, 'Akṣara'? It is 'Akṣara' inasmuch as though it flows (*ksarat*) is not exhausted (*na kṣiyate*). The Brahman is the inexhaustible Fons Vitae, the 'inexhaustible well' (*avatam* . . . *anupakṣitam*, *RV*, X.101.5), Plenum (*pūrnam*), of *AV*, X.8.29 and *BU*, I.5).

⁷³This in answer to the question, 'How can there be death in him who says of himself that he is the life?'. 'Idle' is *avṛata*, *appravartin*; it is as *vṛātya*, *cakra vartin*, *rathin* that he proceeds, and this is Eckhart's 'divine activity'. The point of the cited text is that to know Him as 'eternal rest, eternal work', one must have crossed over from the working to the rest: whoever's knowledge is of Mitra only knows not Varuṇa, but whoever returns to Varuṇa through Mitra possesses Mitṛavaruṇau both.

⁷⁴Hence the designation of Agni as *Tanūnapāt*, 'own grandson', and in analogous human custom, the transmission of names from grand-father to grandson.

It is with this will that the Comprehensor's will is one, when he says in *RV*, V. 46.1 'Like a knowing horse, I yoke myself to the pole (of the car and that I draw that ferries o'er and giveth aid, nor do I choose between a being loosed therefrom and a coming back again. May he, the waywise leader, guide me straight.' Śrī Kṛṣṇa says of himself, 'There is naught in the Three Worlds, O Pārtha, that remains for me to do (*kartavyam*)⁷⁵ nor aught ungotten that I yet might get, and yet I am in act' (*varta eva ca karmani*, *BG*, III. 22). It is neither by 'activity alone', nor yet by 'inactivity' that Kṛṣṇa can be imitated: 'He who seeth inaction in action, and action in inaction, is wholly in act' *kṛtsna-karma-kṛt*, *BG*, IV.18 = *kṛtakṛtyah*, *AA*, II.5 and *MU*, II.I; and *S*, I.140, *katamkarāṇīyam . . . abhāñāsi*). In the same way it can be said, and is in fact said by the *āptakāmam*, *ātmakāmam akāmam*, of *BU*, IV.3.21, that 'He whose desire, or love, is the Spirit, both hath his desire and is without desire, he findeth fulfilment of desire in not desiring.'

It has been sufficiently shown that the things that Naciketas is supposed to have abandoned are not those things which are abandoned by a Comprehensor. It is not, in fact, 'things' that one abandons, but only false appearances; just as one rejects the notion 'rope' when a snake has been diagnosed,⁷⁶ so one rejects any other appearance to which the mind has

⁷⁵More fully in *BG*, III.17-18, *kāryaṃ na vidyate*, and *nāsti kartavyam* because in him there is no potentiality (*kṛtyā*) that has not however been reduced to act (*kṛtam*): and *naiva tasya kṛtenārtho nākṛtena* because *sarva saṃsiddhārthah* and like Varuṇa in *RV*, I.25.11 *abhi paśyati, kṛtāni yā ca kartvā* = I.164.20 *anyo abhi cākaśīti*.

On the other hand, when the Deity is thought of *in principio*, and as proceeding, *akṛtārtha* as in *MU*, II.6, there are always 'those things which God must will of necessity' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.2 c), i.e. *per necessitatem infallibilitatis* (and not coercion is, cf. *BG*, III, 18b *na cāsyā sarva-bhūteṣu kaścidārtha-vyapāśrayah*). Hence in *RV*, I.165. 9 *yāni karisyā kṛnuhi*; IV.18.2 *bahūni me akṛt kartvāni*; VIII.102.8 *ābhuvat tvaṣṭā rūpeva taksyā* (i.e. from that 'world' from which the worlds are hewn, X.81.4), balanced by *S*, I.180 *na me vanasmin karāṇīyam, atithi*, spoken by the Buddha by whom all has been done that should be done. The Devayāna, in other words, is the way of procedure from potentiality to act, from action *per accidens* to action *per essentiam*.

⁷⁶It is worthy of note that the example of the rope and the snake is employed by Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrhonism*, I. 227, 228) precisely as in the Vedānta to illustrate the unreliability of all conceptions of reality based on sense-perception. At the same time (ibid., I.19) Sextus points out that the Sceptics, of whom it was said that 'they abolish phenomena' do nothing of the sort; they accept the actuality of phenomena, but 'we question whether the underlying object is such as it appears, and our doubt does not concern the appearance itself but the account given of that appearance'; this also appears to be the Vedāntic position, *māyāvāda*. This is certainly also the Christian position: Augustine, *De immo. animae*, c. 12. n. 19 'Things are true insofar as they have being'; St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.14.9 'Things we see around us have distinct being outside the (individual) seer'; but this *being* is not what we see, rather, ibid., I.13.12 and 2, 'Our intellect cannot comprehend simple subsisting forms, as they really are in themselves', and I.13.7 'Realities existing in nature are outside the order of sensible and intelligible existence'; Augustine, *Conf. XI*. 'Our knowledge compare with Thine is ignorance' (cf. *avidyā*). When Augustine also says (*Soliloq. lib. II. c. 5. n. 8*) 'What

attached itself,⁷⁷ and comes into a possession of a truer knowledge, and in the last analysis of Truth itself; one renounces the reflection⁷⁸ (*imago imaginata*) as soon as one perceives its source (*imago imaginans*).⁷⁹

II.14: Naciketas urges Death to proceed to the answering of his question, Naciketas himself describing That of which he would learn, in terms of the negative theology. In the first line, we agree with Rawson's 'Apart from duty and non-duty', though perhaps should prefer 'Apart from what is or is not "in order"'. It is precisely from the plane of 'conduct' that the liberated Comprehensor, the knower of Brahman, is enlarged: cf. *CU*, VIII.4.1 where neither the well-done nor ill-done (*na sukṛtam na duṣkṛtam*) can cross the Bridge of the Spirit that holds these worlds apart; *MU*, VI.18, *vidvān punya-pāpe vihāya*, 'The Comprehensor, putting away both merit and evil' (also in *Mund.*, III.1.3); *Kaus. Up.*, I.4, 'This one, separated from the well-done and separated from the ill-done, as a comprehensor of the Brahman, verily goes forth unto Brahman'; *BG*, V.15 'The Lord accepts neither the evil nor the well-done of anyone' (cf. *JUB*, I.5.1-2); *M*, I.135 'If you understand the parable of the raft, you must discard *dhamma*, and *a fortiori adhamma*'; John III. 9 'Whoever is born of God, cannot sin'; Galatians V.18 'If you are led by the Spirit, you are not under the law'; Eckhart, 'There neither vice nor virtue ever

seems to me to be true is that which is', he is not saying that any appearance is 'true' or that the senses of reason together can do any more than entertain opinion about the being of things as they are in themselves. 'Creation is the emanation of being', which 'being' is God (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.1); to know their being, or ultimate reality or truth would be then to know them as they are in God, to know God, for which, as the Upaniṣads so often insist, the senses and the mind are inadequate.

It may be that the Greek Sceptics did not believe in the possibility of a true knowledge 'science' as distinguished from 'opinion', be this as it may, the Sceptics' position as cited above is indistinguishable from that of the Upaniṣads. We are far from assuming an 'Indian influence' and in any case are not immediately interested in problems of literary history, but only in the truths expressed. It may, however, be observed in the present connection that what is said of relief in painting in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālamkāra*, XIII.17 and *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Nanjio's edn., p. 91, appears with almost verbal identity in Sextus (*Pyrrhonism*, I.120) and in Hermes (*Lib. XI.ii*, 17a).

⁷⁷And which is therefore a matter of 'fond belief', and to be distinguished from 'faith', the nature of which 'consists in knowledge alone' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II. 11.47.13 ad 2).

⁷⁸For production (*genesis, janma*) is the image of being in nature (*hūle*, the 'wood' of *RV*, X.31.7 and 81.4 = Brahman in *TB*, II.8.9.6; *prakṛti*), and the thing produced (*gignomenon, jātam*) is an imitation of what is' (*mimēmia tou notes ātmanah pratimā, ŚB*, I.6.13), Plutarch, *Moralia*, 372, F.

⁷⁹The converse position is admirably illustrated by Aesop's story of the Dog and the Shadow, where the dog, crossing a bridge, and having a piece of meat in its mouth, sees the reflection in water, and jumps in after it, thus losing the reality in pursuit of the appearance. Incidentally, we wish to recommend to those who interpret *RV*, 'naturalistically', Plutarch's remarks on the Greeks who fail to distinguish between 'Apollo and the sun', ibid., 400, D.

entered in.' In the second line *kṛtākṛtāt* state the same position, and may be compared with *Taitt. Up.*, II. 9 where the Comprehensor 'is not vexed by the thought "Why have I not done (*nākaravam*) the good? Why have I done (*akaravam*) the evil?"'. At the same time the metaphysical technicality of the formula must not be overlooked. The 'to be done' (*kṛtya*, *RV*, X.85.28; etc., *karīṣyam*, I.165.9, VII. 20.1, *karāṇīyam M*, II.39) which has 'not yet been done' (*akṛtam*) contrasts with that which 'has been done' (*kṛtam*)⁸⁰ or 'perfected' (*sukṛtam*) by the 'one who has done what there was to be done' (*kṛtakṛtyah*, *AA*, II.5, *MU*, II.1), 'who has done the whole task' (*kṛtsna-karma-kṛt BG*, IV.18), as potentiality (= not being as evil) with act (= being as good) Naciketas is asking to be told of That in which there is no distinction of potentiality from act, nature from essence. In connection with the third line, we cannot accept Professor Rawson's distinction of 'timeless' from 'eternal'. It is true that 'There are two forms of Brahman,⁸¹ Time (*kāla*) and the Timeless' (*akāla*). *MU*, VI.15, and that 'it is at the fiat of the Imperishable' (Brahman, *BU*, III. 8.9) that Sun and Moon, Heaven and Earth, and our times are separated. But this does not mean that any time of ours applies to him whose knowledge of all things is *sub-specie aeternitatis*; it is a principle from which our time proceeds that is in him; as Augustine so well says (*Conf.* XI.13) we cannot ask what God was doing 'before' he made the world, because time and the world are aspects of the same thing, and cannot be thought of apart.⁸² It is a part of our ignorance (*avidyā*, cf. Ulrich of Strasburg *ignorantia divisiva est errantium*) that past and future, cause and effect are apparently divided from one another; no finite being has ever experienced a 'now' otherwise than as 'a short period of time'; what Naciketas asks is about a now without duration, 'where every when is focused'.

II.13: *vivṛtam sadma naciketasaṁ manye*, literally 'I consider Naciketas an opened house', or as Rawson rightly renders 'An open house, I think, is Naciketas', except that this overlooks the nuance 'opened'. The meaning is that Naciketas has once and for all broken open the house of life, and will never again be shut up in a 'house', i.e. body-and-soul. Exactly the same is expressed in *Sn*, 19 *vivaṭa kuṭi*, 'opened hut', an expression which briefly summarizes what is stated at greater length in the well-known words of the

⁸⁰ *Kṛtam*, also the highest throw in dice, employed as a symbol of perfection, cf. *CU*, IV.1.6 *yathā kṛtāya samīyanti . . .*, *AB*, VII.15 *kṛtam . . . saṁpadyate*, cf. Jeremy Taylor's expression, 'the last throw for eternity'. *Kṛtam* is that perfection to which all *kṛti* tends, hence *AV*, V.9.8 *ut kṛtam, ut kṛtyam*, 'Up with thee, act. Up with thee, potentiality'; and *Īśā*, 16 *kṛtam smara*, 'Be reminded of perfection'.

⁸¹ In this connection what does professor Rawson (p. 135) mean by 'his' (Śaṅkara's) two forms of Brahman? Does he think that Śaṅkara *invented* the doctrine of a single essence and two natures? Not to mention that this doctrine recurs again and again in *RV*, one might ask whether Śaṅkara was the *author* of *BU*, II.3, whether this was not already for him, *śruti*?

⁸² *Non enim erat 'tunc', ubi non erat 'tempus'*. Cf. Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 201, 'space and time are derived from the subject. It is itself accordingly not in space and does not belong to time'.

Buddha 'Never again shalt thou, O builder of houses, make a house for me: broken are all thy beams, thy ridge-pole shattered (*J*, I.76)⁸³. For 'house' as 'body', cf. *Manu*, VI.76, 77.⁸⁴

II. 15: *padam*, 'step', With this word Death begins his exposition of the Brahman; it represents the 'third boon' of I.19 and looks forward to Viṣṇu's third step in III.9. The word is especially appropriate here, because it is precisely this 'end of the road, Viṣṇu's farthest stride' or 'highest abode', where there is a 'well of honey' (*RV*, I.154.4) that is reached when the threshold of Death's house, of the Sun-gate and World-door, is crossed, as can be seen by a collation of *MU*, VI. 39 'unto Viṣṇu' with *Īśā*, 15 and *BU*, VI.15 'unto vision'. A correlation of the 'three boons' with the 'three strides' of Viṣṇu is maintained throughout our text, and must always be borne in mind.

II. 23: The last two lines are admittedly difficult; we render literally 'By him whom He chooses, by him He may be grasped; this one's spiritual essence unveils its proper form' (*tanūm svām = svarūpam*). For the phrasing compare *RV*, X.71.4 *tasmai tanvam vi sasre*, 'to him unveils her form'. It hardly appears that any doctrine of 'Grace' is necessarily involved: compare *ŚB*, II.3.3.8, *sa yasya kāmāyate, tasya prāṇam ādāyodeti, sa mriyate*, 'He takes unto himself the Breath of whomsoever He desires and he dies', that whomsoever He loves, He takes unto himself'. The Spirit, indeed, moves always 'as it will' (*yathā vaśam*, *RV*, X.168.4, etc.); but this is in accordance with its own nature, and is a matter of 'infallible necessity', and belongs to 'those things which god must will of necessity' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.2 c). Whoever approaches Him as like, to like, He cannot repel, He cannot but 'choose'; as in *JUB*, I.5.3 *neśe yad enam apasedhet*.

II.20: *anor anīyān mahato mahīyān* 'less than infinitesimal, greater than great'; with numerous parallels elsewhere in the Upaniṣads (*CU*, VI.8.6, VI. 12.2; *Mund.*, II.2.2 etc). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.* IX.2-3, 'Now God is called

⁸³ Cf. *S*, I.8 (I.2.9 *taggha me kuṭika natthi, kacci natthi kulāvākā*, etc. In *SN*, 372, etc., *loke vivaṭacchaddo* may mean the same as *vivaṭa kuṭi* or may have particularly reference to the breaking open of the roof.

⁸⁴ The idea of an 'empty house' in *MU*, VI.10 'As there are none to touch fair women who enter into an empty house (*śūnyāgāre*), so the truly poor man (*sannyāsin*) does not touch the objects of the senses' is a different one, although not unrelated. *MU*, VI.10 corresponds to *S*, I.107 where the Buddha refers to himself as dwelling in an 'empty house' or 'bare cell' (*suññāgāra-gato mahā munī*).

Mund., III.2.4 *eṣa ātmā viśate brahma-dhāma*, 'This Spiritual essence enters into the Brahma-home' is not stated explicitly by *KU*, II.13, though it is the logical and immediate consequence of the breaking apart of all mundane habitation. It is in fact through the 'roof-plate' of the broken house (apex of the heart, foramen of the skull, sun-door of the cosmos) that one enters into the Brahma-home; what *Mund.*, III.2.4 implies that there is an open door, an 'open house' of another and supra-mundane order, 'open' to him whose psycho-physical habitation has once and for all been 'broken open'. There may be in *SN*, 372 *vivaṭacchaddo* as direct reference to this breaking out of the roof: for the sun-door is actually *raśmibhiḥ samchannam* (*JUB*, I.3.6), and Buddha is said to have 'opened the doors of immortality' (*S*, I.138, etc.).

Great in his peculiar Greatness which giveth of itself to all things that are great and is poured upon all magnitude from outside and stretches far beyond it . . . This Greatness is infinite, without quantity, and without number . . . and Smallness, or Rarity, is attributed to God's nature because he is outside all solidity and distance and penetrates all things without let or hindrance. . . . This Smallness is without quantity or quality, it is irrepressible, infinite, unlimited, and while comprehending all things, is itself incomprehensible.⁸⁵

II.25: 'Who knows truly where he is?' (*ka itthā yatra veda sah*): like *RV*, X. 168.3 *kuta ā babhūva*, 'Whence has He come to be?', with its answer in *KU*, II. 18 *na kutaścīt na babhūva kaścīt*, 'Neither hath He become from any "where", nor hath He become "anyone"'. Professor Rawson's suggestion of an 'agnostic interpolation' (!) is ridiculous, and indeed profane.⁸⁶ One might in the same way ask 'Who knows what He is?' and answer with Erivgena that 'God himself does not know "what" He is, because He is not any "what"'. In the same way God himself does not know 'where' He is, because He is not any 'where'. As Eckhart says, 'His only idiosyncrasy is being.' All this does not contradict the 'knowability of the Supreme Being implied in previous verses of *KU*, and elsewhere; all that it implies is that He cannot be known, but only known of, as thus or thus; whatever can be thought or said of Him, 'No, no' (*neti, neti*).

⁸⁵We take this opportunity to remark Dionysius, even more perhaps than Eckhart, represents for a European an almost indispensable preparation for any serious approach to the Upaniṣads.

⁸⁶In *TS*, V.4.3.4 is 'In what quarter is Rudra, or in what?' an 'agnostic interpolation'? Agnostic: yes, but only as Eckhart uses the word Agnosia, and in the sense of the Docta ignorantia of Nicholas of Cusa, and 'The Cloud of Unknowing'. The answer to *TS* would be as for Brahman in *MU*, VI.17. 'The quarters do not exist for him', or as for the Gale in *JUB*, III.1.9 'The quarters are confused; they are not discerned at night. . . . They enter into Him' (*muhyaṅti diśo na vai tā rātrīm prajñāyante . . . tā etam evāpiyanti*), in other words, as they are in Him, are *mūradevāh*. It is only 'by day' that He can be said to enter into *them*. Mitrāvaruṇa, as Mitra sees the 'infinite' by day, and as Varuṇa the 'infinite' by night (*RV*, V.62.8). 'Direction' has not meaning 'at night' in the same sense that 'infinite cannot be traversed'. The answer taken for granted by *KU*, II.25 d is then that 'No one knows', 'No one', that is, who still is 'anyone'. *Itthā*, again, is not so much 'truly' or 'surely' as it is 'thus', and therefore with the interrogative, 'how?' *Itthā* is probably to be taken, then, with *yatra*, the question being 'who knows what or where He is'; the answer being that 'He is neither in any wise nor anywhere', or as it is so often expressed in the Buddhist texts, *nāparam itthatāyāti*, 'There is no further extension of being in any wise', or in the words of Erivgena, 'God himself does not know "what" He is, because He is not any "what"', or Dante's 'It is not in space nor hath it poles' (*Paradiso*, XXII.67).

Professor Rawson's 'agnostic interpolation' recalls those scholars who used to see a satire in the 'Frog Hymn' of *RV*.

'Questions' such as those of our text form an integral part of the scriptural 'style', and are to be understood as if asked in *brahmodya*; the answers can usually be found elsewhere, or are in any case known to those to whom the question is supposed to be addressed: for example *KU*, IV.3 and 4 *kim atra pariśisyate?* with *CU*, VIII.1.4-5 *atiśisyate . . . ātman*.

From amongst the innumerable Christian formulations of the negative theology, space permits a citation here only of St. Thomas, 'Every relation which is predicated of God from time (or place) does not put something real in the eternal god, but only something according to our way of thinking. . . . Therefore if anyone in seeing God conceives something in his mind, this is not god, but one of God's effects' (*Sum. Theol.*, III. 35, 5 c and 92.1 ad 4), Eckhart 'To know God really you must know Him as the Unknown', and Nicolas of Cusa 'Deus cum non possit nisi negative, extra intellectualem regionem, attingi' (*De fil. Dei*, p. 121). One only can know Him, who as Rūmī says, 'cannot recognize himself', only one 'whose place is the Placeless, and trace the Traceless' (Ode XXXI in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Tabriz*). Very pertinent also is Rūmī's 'I play the tune of negation: Death will reveal the mystery' (*Mathnawī*, VI.722).

THIRD VALLĪ

III.1: *ṛta*, 'cosmic order, Greek *kosmos*, Latin *ordo*—As the Sun is Truth (*satyam*, *passim*), so the Universe is Order: *īyam vā ṛtam asau (āditya) satyam*, *TS*, V.1.5.9. *Ṛta* is the order of the universe, manifested under the Sun, and seen by whoever it may be that sees through and with the solar 'Eye', the 'Eye of Mitrāvaruṇa' (*RV*, V.51.1, VII.61.1 and 63.1). *JUB*, III. 36.5 identifies *ṛtam* with *brahman* (*om ity etad evākṣaram ṛtam*); whose self-intention is therefore the act of 'creation', as in *BU*, I.4.10 'In the beginning, this-cosmos was Brahman (*brahma vā idam agra āsīt*). That knew itself, and said "I am Brahman." Therewith that became the All.' What Mitrāvaruṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman, thus 'know' or 'see' is the 'World picture (*jagac-citram*) painted by the Spiritual-essence (*ātman*) on the canvas of itself, in which it takes a great delight' (Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 95): the 'speculum aeternum', eternal mirror, in which God sees himself and all things, and in which those Contemplatives⁸⁷ who also gaze perceive likewise all things more clearly than in any other way, and so also see 'themselves' more truly than 'as they are in themselves' (Augustine and Boneventura);⁸⁸ for as *BU*, I.4.10 continues, 'Whoever of the Devas is awakened (*pratyabodhyata*)⁸⁹ thereunto, he indeed has become it, and so too in the case of Prophets and that of men . . . Yea, here and now (*etar-hi*), whoever knows that "I am

⁸⁷*Kaścid dhīraḥ* of *KU*, IV.1, 'Whatever Contemplative', not 'a certain sage' as Rawson renders.

⁸⁸Speculum aeternum mentes se videntium ducit in cognitionem omnium creatorum, sicut dicit Augustinus (*De civ. Dei*, XII.29) quod rectius ibi cognoscunt quam alibi . . . Unde melius videbo me in Deo quam in me ipso' (St Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a. unic, q. 1, fund 3 and *In Hexaem.*, col. 12, n. 9, cited in Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme Divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, 1929, pp. 39, 44).

⁸⁹*KU*, VI.4 *iha ced aśakad boddhum*; *JUB*, IV.19.4 *pratibodha-viditam matam*, cf. 'Buddha'.

Brahman", enters into that "this", he becomes "This all" (*sa idam sarvam bhavati*), nor can any Deva hinder him from thus becoming.⁹⁰

With these conceptions of the 'world-picture' that the twain 'drink in' (*pibantau*, from *pā* in the sense 'feast upon with the eyes, ears, etc.', cited by MW from *Manu*) compare Genesis I. 31 'And God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good.' It is in 'Order' that this 'goodness' consists: what God beheld was 'the admirable beauty of the universe (which) is made up of all things. In which even what is called evil, well-ordered and in its place, is the eminent commendation of what is good' (Augustine, *Enchir.* 10.11), what God saw is 'the most beautiful Order given to things by God, in which the universe consists' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.25.6 ad 3); 'the universal form of this complex' Dante, *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 90).

Ṛtam . . . *parame parārdhe* in our verse corresponds to *ṛtasya pade* in *RV*, X. 177.2 d, 'That which the Winged-one conceives by intellect, that which the Gandharva utters in the womb, that flashing, luminous noumenon the Redesmen are intent upon' (*tām dyotamānām svaryām manīṣām ṛtasya pade kavayo ni pānti*). *Pānti* here, from *pā* 'to protect', is nearer in value to *pibantau* from *pā* 'to drink' than might at first appear; for 'to observe, notice, attend to, follow', cf. 'heed', are recognized meanings of this other *pā* (MW), and the interpretation in *JUB*, III.36.5, where the verse is discussed, is evidently correct,—'it is inasmuch as they "reflect upon" that they are said to "protect"' (*yad . . . mīmāṃsante . . . tad . . . nīpānti*); or as we might put it, *ṛta-dyumnam manīṣām nīpānti*, 'entertain the luminous idea of Order', which 'entertainment' is also a 'maintenance'.⁹¹ The distinction of *pānti*, 'they reflect upon' and *pibantau*, 'they imbibe', in the very usual sense of 'drink in mentally', is far from absolute.

A full discussion of *ṛta* would be impossible here. But we cannot too strongly emphasize that his word is only properly translatable by its etymological equivalent, 'Order.' As 'order', and therefore also 'right' and 'rite', *ṛtam* is distinguishable from the 'true' (*satyam*) as an application is distinguished from the principle in which it subsists more eminently. *Ṛta* is the 'right' (not only in a moral sense, but in the broader sense of 'correct'), *ṛtāvan* 'in order' and 'regular', *anṛta* whatever is 'inordinate' or 'irregular' or 'informal'. The coming into being of the Kosmos is the production of 'Order' out of 'Chaos' (*kha*,⁹² as in *RV*, II.28.5 *rdhyāma te varuṇa khām ṛtasya*), and this is specifically the Aryan operation (*vrata*) as distinguished from the

⁹⁰*JUB*, I.5.3 'The (solar Janus) is not able to drive him away; for he invokes the Truth'; *neṣe* in *JUB*, corresponding to *na . . . isate* in *BU*.

⁹¹In *RV*, I.2.8 cited below. *ṛta-sprśā*, has this value quite literally, *sprś* 'to touch, handle, take hold of' (MW) corresponding to 'maintain', literally 'hold in hand'.

With *ni pānti*, cf. *RV*, I.1.8. where Agni is *gopām ṛtasya*; and VIII.26.21 where Vāyu, the Gale of the Spirit, is *ṛta-pati*. In the latter context, Vāyu as Tvaṣṭr's 'son-in-law' = husband of Sūrya = Sūrya, *ātmā jagatas tasthuṣas ca*, *RV*, I.115.1.

⁹²For some of the connotations of *kha* see my 'Kha and other words denoting "Zero" in connection with the metaphysics of space' in *BSOS*, VII, 1934, pp. 487-97. Thence originate *sukha* and *duḥkha* (as remarked by Buddhaghosa, *VM*, 461).

inoperation of the Asuras,—'These Comprehensors, Men-of-order, Redesmen (*vidvāmsaḥ . . . ṛtāvānaḥ . . . kavayaḥ*) possess themselves of the Misers' ultimate treasure that was hidden in the case (*nidhīm pañinām guhā hitam*), and having taken note of the disorders *anṛta*, sc. of the 'miserly' Asuras), returned (from their foray), and took their stand upon the mighty Path' (*RV*, II.24.6-7), 'shaped all this dusty-world, measuring out the homes that erst had been unmeasured' (*RV*, X.56.5), 'Ye, Mitrāvaruṇau, Redesmen, fosterers of order, ye in whose hand is (= who maintain) order, have in 'order' realized your great design' *ṛtena mitrāvaruṇāv ṛtāvordhāv ṛtasprśā kratum⁹³ brhantam āsāthe kavī*, *RV*, I.2.8-9).⁹⁴

III.1 continued: On the other hand, it is most unlikely that *sukṛtasya loke* means 'in the righteous world'. *Mund.*, I.2.6-10 ridicules those who think that 'this that has been earned by their merit and what has been well-done (*punyah, sukṛtaḥ*) is the Brahma-world . . . the fools who delight in that (world won by merit) as their 'better'⁹⁵ (*śreyasaḥ*, cf. *KU*, II.2) . . . having come into

⁹³*Kratu*, 'design', 'purpose', or 'counsel' (as *OT*, *passim*, 'the counsel of the Lord', *consilium sine dubitatione*). In *KU*, II.11 *krator anantyam*. But in *KU*, II.20 *akratu*, 'purposeless', 'uncalculating', without an individual will, cf. *RV*, V.46.1 *na . . . vasmī*, 'not as I will, but as Thou wilt'.

⁹⁴*Concreato fu ordine e costrutto alle sustanzie*, Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX. 31 (the *sustanzie* being, as is clear from the following lines, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*).

⁹⁵The Empyrean Brahma world is more truly 'not made' (*akṛta*, 'uncreated') than 'well made' (*sukṛta*), unless we understand by 'well made', 'self-made' (*svakṛta*), in accordance with *Taitt. Up.*, II.7. Śaṅkara must have had this text in mind; but his further interpretation of *ṛta* as *karma-phala* is impossible in a context dealing with the *parama parārdha*, where there are certainly no 'rewards' and to which there is no admission by 'merit' (*punya*) but only by 'qualification' (*arhana*) *RV*, X.63.4.

Here may be noticed *KU*, II.24 and Rawson's annotations. Let us observe, in the first place that the Upaniṣads, the *jñāna kāṇḍa*, are gnostic treatises by hypothesis, and not ethical treatises; their concern is with the art of knowing God, or in other words with the contemplative life. We cannot expect to find any considerable part of these texts devoted to the exposition of prudence. The most that can be expected in these contexts is a full recognition of the indispensable dispositive value of 'means', and this is just what we find in *KU*, II.24 and the corresponding *Mund. Up.*, III.2.3 (which Rawson very properly cites, p. 115) cf. *BG*, II.44; it is very clear, however, that the ethical means, however indispensable, are not ends in themselves, but *means* to an end beyond themselves. This is also the Christian doctrine; prudence is essential to the active life, but accidental to the contemplative life (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.11.180. 2 'The moral virtues do not belong to the contemplative life essentially. . . . On the other hand, the moral virtues belong to the contemplative life dispositively'. ('Theirs is said to be the contemplative life who are chiefly intent on the contemplation of truth. . . . The contemplative life, as regards the essence of the action pertains to the intellect', and must be distinguished from the mere observation of things by the senses or the intellect and from the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, *ibid.*, 180.1,—the last observation showing very clearly that neither 'science' nor 'philosophy' in the modern senses of the words pertains to the contemplative life, but to the active life.) It is not, therefore, any defect in the Upaniṣads that they are not expositive of ethics;

being (*bhūtā*) at the summit of contingent being (*nākasya pṛsthe = bhavāgre*),⁹⁶ remain in this world or a worse.' Similarly *JUB*, I.3.1-3, where there is no admission to the Sun 'by what thou hast done ill or well' (*idam pāpam akar . . . yo vai punyakt syāt*); cf. *RV*, VIII.70.3 'None attaineth him by works or sacrifices' (*nahiṣtam karmāṇā naśat . . . na yajñair*), *BC*, V. 8 'By no means ought a harnessed man, a knower of the principle, consider that "I am the doer of anything"' (*naiva kiñcit karomiti yukto manyeta tattvavit*) and in accordance with this both *JUB*, I.3.3 'Thou (God) art the doer thereof' (*tvam vai tasya kartā'si*), and Tauler, *Following of Christ*, 16, 17 'By their works they cannot go in again. . . . If any man is to come to God, he must be empty of all works and let God work alone.'⁹⁷

III.1 continued: *parame parārdhe = parame vyoman*, 'in uttermost empyrean' (*RV*, X.129.7). Cf. *RV*, I.164.10 and *Praśna*, I.11 *pañcapādām pītarām . . . diva . . . pare ardhe pūriṣiṇam . . . anya u pare (ardhe) vicakṣaṇam* 'Five-footed Father in the farther half of heaven'⁹⁸ (beyond the Sun), the Far-seer (Sun) in the lower half', where again it is a question of two aspects of deity, *para* and *apara* Brahman, Varuṇa and Mitra, etc., of whom the one sees by means of the other as being his 'Eye' (*RV*, X.88.13 b; *AV*, X.7.33, Buddhist *cakkhum loke*, etc.); and of the distinction of an Empyrean from an Elysium. It is the former, the Empyrean, that is referred to in *KU*, V.15, 'There no sun shines, nor moon, nor any star', cf. *Apoc.* XXI.23 'And the city had no need of the sun.' It is, moreover, precisely to this 'farther half' that Brahman, after emanating

those 'who are especially intent on external actions' are expected to obey the laws of ritual and conduct (*karma* in both senses) which are laid down in the Dharmaśāstras, in which the first principles with which alone the Upaniṣads are concerned are applied to specific contingencies; which obedience is also and at the same time an indispensable preparation or qualification for the contemplative life, as asserted in our texts, *KU*, II.24 and *Mund.*, III.2.3., *BU*, IV.4.9.

⁹⁶*Nākasya pṛsthe* is not 'at the back of Heaven', in the sense of on the farther side of Heaven, 'but just on this side of Heaven'; in the same way that in *AV*, X.7.38 *krānta salilasya pṛsthe* is 'proceeding on the face of the waters'. The Heavens above and the Waters below are thought of as having their backs turned towards us.

In the same way the Nākasads or 'Vault-sitters' are on this side of yonder Sun, while the Pañcacūḍāḥ are on the other side of the Sun (*ŚB*, VIII.6.1.14, cf. *TS*, V.3.7); a clear distinction of the highest station of the cosmic Devas from the supra-cosmic Gandharvaloka, and thus of what is obtainable by sacrifice alone, and what by gnosis (with or without an actual performance of the rite), cf. the similar distinction of the mundane Devas from the supra-mundane Gandharvas in *ŚB*, III.2.4. The highest station of the mundane Devas is an Elysium, that of the Gandharvas the Empyrean. That in *TS*, V.3.7.2 the Pañcacūḍāḥ are called 'Apsarases' 'who wait upon the Sacrificer in yonder world' is consistent with the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī (*ŚB*, XI.5.1), his final reunion with Urvaśī in the Gandharva-loka being evidently 'in high heaven' (*brhad divā*, *RV*, V.41.19).

⁹⁷The works of a man who is led by the Holy Ghost, are the works of the Holy Ghost rather than his own' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II.1.93.6 ad. 1).

⁹⁸The image (*pratimā*) of the Year which men revere (*upāsate*) in Thee, O Night', *TS*, V.7.2.1: 'Mitra is the Day, Varuṇa the Night', *PB*, XXV. 10.10.

the lower and the higher cosmic deities, retires *atha brahmaiva parārdham agacchad*),—i.e. 'rested on the seventh day', and thence that he 'descended from heaven' or more literally 'went down again by means of name and aspect, or phenomenon' (*pratyavaid rūpeṇa caiva nāmnā ca*, whereby⁹⁹ the Devas, originally mortal, became immortal (*ŚB*, XI.2.3.1-6). In the citation of *RV*, I.164.10 above, we retained *pañcapādām* because this epithet of the 'Father' (cf. *RV*, X. 82.1 Viśvakarmā, 'Father of the Eye', i.e. of the Sun) lends itself to a further demonstration of the Father's nature; *pañcapādām pītarām* corresponding, for example, to the *akṣaram pañcavidham* of *ĀĀ*, II. 3. 8, and to the 'fivefold Prajāpati, Year and Gale' of *ŚB*, VI.1.2.17f. the five forms or selves being those of the seasons or quarters; with which Śaṅkara's gloss on *Praśna*, I.11 is in full agreement, the 'five feet' being explained as the 'five seasons', which are the 'feet' of the Annual-self of the Sun, by which feet (or rays) his procession is effected (*padair . . . āvartate*). Similarly in *MU*, II.6, where Prajāpati, 'dividing himself fivefold', proceeds accordingly; the whole context 'He, indeed, being of unaccomplished purpose because of his remaining within this heart of ours, considered, "Let me enjoy, or experience, objects" (*sa vāeso' smād hṛdantarād akṛtārtho manyatārthān aśnānīti*), wherefore breaking open these openings (the doorways of the sense perceptions), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses' (*ataḥ khānīmāni bhūtvoditāḥ pañcabhi rāsmibhir viṣayān attā*) throws a vivid light not merely on the present passage, but also upon *KU*, IV.1 and 6.

III.1. concluded: *chāyā-tapau*, 'shadow and glowing or light': 'so different', as Rawson says, although one and the same, are the immanent and transcendent 'selves', the taster and the looker on, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman. Cf. *KU*, VI. 5 where again the Brahman is to be seen 'in the Brahma world', in his highest aspect, as *chāyā-tapau*. Similarly Böhme, *Three Principles*, XIV.76 'And the deep of the darkness is as great as the habitation of the light; and they stand not one distant from the other, but together in one another, and neither of them hath beginning nor end.' 'Mitra is the day, Varuṇa the night' (*PB*, XXV.10.10); 'Mitra and Varuṇa are a conjoint pair' (*ŚB*, IX.5.1.54). Considered together, it can be said of the Supreme Identity that 'His shadow is life and his shadow death' (*RV*, X.121.2), for he is indeed the Year that 'separates (gives distinct being to) some and unifies (slays) others' (*ĀĀ*, III.2.3); 'I kill and I make alive' (*Deut.* XXXII.39). Considered apart Agni or the Sun are both 'shadow' as

⁹⁹In the *te brahmaṇāpūḥ amṛtam* of the text, the instrumental value of *brahmaṇā* is significant, and should be retained in translation. Needless to say that it is Agni or the Sun that the Brahman comes back into the cosmos, and that to say that the cosmic Devas 'obtain immortality by means of the Brahman' (manifested by name and aspect) is the same as to say with *RV*, I.31.7 'Thou, Agni (*vicarṣaṇe* in V.6 like *vicakṣaṇam* in I.164.10, *vipāśyati* in III.62.9, and Vipassi as former Buddha in *D*, II. 35) does appoint the mortal unto highest immortality', or with IV.53.2 'Thou, Savitṛ erst for the Devas, whom we worship, brought forth their immortality, highest of all participations; and furthermore by way of gift to men didst open up the sequence of thier lives'.

'likeness' (*RV*, V.44.6 and *GB*, I.3) and 'shadow' as 'shelter from the heat' (*RV*, VI. 16.38), 'for in his shadow is all this universe' (*ŚB*, VIII.7.3.13), cf. Isaiah XXV.4 and XXXII.2 and Lamentations IV.20. In other words it is the sheltering Light that is the 'shadow', and the Darkness that is the 'burning heat'. At the same time, from the point of view of the absolutely negative theology it can also be said that the Akṣara (Brahman) that it is 'without either shadow or darkness, without a within or without' (*BU*, III. 8.8); 'He is, by that alone is he apprehended' (*KU*, VI.12), like Damascene, *De fid. orth.* I, 'He who is the principal of all names applied to God.'¹⁰⁰

III.2: The symbol of the Bridge (*setu*) is of the highest significance in the Vedic as well as in other traditions; this is the Cinvat bridge of the Avesta and the 'Brig of Dread' in folklore. The theme demands a detailed exposition elsewhere. Here we shall remark (1) that the Bridge identified with Brahman in our text is elsewhere identified with the Ātman, e.g. *CU*, VIII.4.1 (*ya ātmā sa setuḥ*),¹⁰¹ *BU*, IV.4.22 (*aja ātmā . . . esa setuḥ*), *Mund.*, II.2.5 *tam evaikam jānatha ātmānam (amṛtasyaiṣa setuḥ)*, cf. *RV*, X.61.16 (Sun, or Soma) *vīpras . . . svasetuḥ*, and John XIV.6 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life', and (2) that the word *setu* itself, according to its derivation from *sī* to 'bind', as though with cords, is most significant, not only when it means a 'bond' or 'fetter', as in *RV*, IX.73.4, but also in its more usual sense of 'bridge'. For the Bridge of the Spirit is literally a 'tie' that links together Heaven and Earth, the sun to the heart; the solar Spirit is the Pontifex; the symbolism of the Bridge coincides with that of the 'Thread-spirit' (*sūtrātman*), and its peculiar aptitude must have been even more apparent when bridges were usually made of rope, and not as they are now solid constructions of stone or steel, than it is to-day. Whoever has seen a rope-bridge, extended like a spider's thread (which we say advisedly, because the related symbolism of the solar Spider is also involved) from shore to shore of a raging Himalayan torrent, can well appreciate the words of *KU*, III.14 b 'Strait as a razor's edge, hard to be passed over (*duratyayā*, cf. *RV*, VII.65.3 *setū duratyetū . . . mitrāvaruṇā*), a difficult path'!

III.3-4: The Chariot is here, as usual, the body, or rather body and all that we usually mean by 'soul'. Rawson, in a useful discussion (p. 216) scarcely brings out the consistency of the various 'parables'. We propose to consider only one point, in its bearing on the *Milindapañh* version. In *KU*, the Ātman, as Rawson rightly expresses it, is the 'lord of the chariot', i.e. the master who drives about in it, knowing and willing its course, though he delegates the actual operation of the vehicle to an assistant or coachman (the distinction of *rathin* from *sārathin* being that of passenger from driver), in *AA*, II.3.8 we have the very usual formulation according to which the Breath of Spirit 'takes up its stand upon' (*prāṇo dhitiṣṭhati*) its vehicle, which is accordingly its 'stand' (*adhiṣṭhānam*, *CU*, VIII.12.1), cf. *BG*, XV. 9 *adhiṣṭhāya*, cited in a Note

¹⁰⁰ For a fuller discussion see my *Chāyā*, in *JAOS*, 55, 1935.

¹⁰¹ Cf. *vīprā vīprasaya brhato vīpāścitāḥ (savituh)* in *RV*, V.81.1 and *tvam hyagne agnina vīpro . . . samādhyase* in VIII.43.14.

above; in *MU*, II.6 the Ātman is the 'instigator' (*pracodayitṛ*) who sets up the body in possession of conscious, and this is again the 'taking of a stand' (*avasthānam*) or hypostasis. In each case the distinction of the Ātman from the *buddhi*, *manas*, *indriyāni*, etc., is emphatic, and the same as that of the Knower of the field from the field itself in *BG*, XIII. If the steeds, the senses, are sometimes unruly (*KU*, III.5) we have the situation described in *BG*, VI.6, 'Then indeed the Ātman has to behave as an enemy, at war with what is Not-the-ātman' (*anātmanas tu śatruve vartetātmaiva śatruvat*), the Spirit wars with the flesh. The *Milindapañho* does not, with the word *anattā*, deny the Ātman, but merely asserts, in accordance with so many other of the Pāli texts, that *this* (chariot), *like this* (commonly called 'Nāgasena'), 'is not the Spirit', or 'is not my spirit', 'not ātman' (*na me so attā*, 'This is not my spirit', *passim*). The Buddha, as Mrs. Rhys Davids has recently remarked (*JRAS*, 1937, p. 259), took the existence of the Ātman for granted. We should add that in *KU*, III, 9, the correspondence of *vijñāna* with the *buddhi* of III.3 is to be noted; and furthermore, in the second line, the construction of the first is repeated, so that we have *manah pragrahavān narah*, where *manah-pragraha*-corresponds to *vijñānasārathih* and *-vān narah* to *yas tu* in the first line, and accordingly, 'the man who has mind as reins', not 'the man who has mind well-reined' if this means, as it seems to mean, 'who curbs his own mind', for that is the business, not of the *nara* but of the *buddhi*. The steeds will not be unruly, if controlled by *vijñāna* (*buddhi*) curbing the senses, not directly, but by means of the *manas*.¹⁰² It is the man without *vijñāna* (discrimination), the man whose *manas* (reason) has not been harnessed, whose steeds are unruly, who does not reach the goal, as stated in *KU*, III.7, of which III.9 states the converse. The man's fault in 7 consists in not having attached the reins to the bit, and given them into the hands of his coachman; his merit in 9, in having done just this. Whatever happens, the Ātman will not be affected; but when the vehicle is unmade at death, and the Spirit ascends, the 'man' So-and-so, he who thought in terms of 'I' and 'mine', will not be 'in it', will not have 'found himself', or 'known who he is'; there will be nothing left of him, of So-and-so, but his *karma*, or in other words tendencies, to be inherited by others. The

¹⁰² Verse 9 is very nearly a paraphrase of *RV*, V.81.1 *yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhīyaḥ vīprā vīprasaya brhato vīpāścitāḥ (savituh)* where *dhīyaḥ*, 'contemplations' (*dhyanāni*) corresponds to the *buddhi* and *vijñāna* of our text, and *yo yuñkte dhīyaḥ* to the *dhīrah*, 'contemplative' of *KU*, IV.1. We take this opportunity to remark that the customary renderings of *dhī* and *dhīrah* as 'thought' and 'wise' are most inadequate, it is not by 'thinking' that the vision of God is attained, but in 'contemplation'. 'Thinking, as the modern philosopher thinks, pertains to the active life, and is far from what is meant by *dhī*. Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 34. 1 and 2, "When the intellect attains to the form of truth (i.e. *svarūpaṃ sampadyate*, when there is *adequatio rei et intellectus*, in *samādhi*), it does not *think*, but perfectly *contemplates* the truth", and Richard of St. Victor, *De Contempl.* I.4, distinguishing between contemplation, meditation, and cogitation ("contemplation is the soul's clear and free dwelling upon the object of its gaze; meditation is the survey of the mind while occupied in searching for the truth; and cogitation is the mind's glance which is prone to wander").

point may seem to be a fine one, but it seems to us important to preserve, as in the text itself, the hierarchy of the powers, and not to confuse the 'man', of whom the senses are a part, with that one of his powers, of which it is the business to control the senses. Such a confusion would imply a participation of the senses themselves in their own government—a truly 'democratic', situation, and like all conceptions of 'self-government' in the sense of 'government of the people by the people', an impossible thing, since it is impossible for any power to function simultaneously in one and the same relation both actively and passively.

III.10-11: Most of Rawson's difficulties arise from his belief in an 'evolution' of Indian thought, and consequent preoccupation with literary history. He reaches nevertheless the right conclusion as regards *avyakta*, the 'Unmanifested', in the light of BG, VIII.18-21 (cf. II.25, 28 and VII.24), when he says, p. 139, that 'the *avyakta* is the supreme Person's own nature'. For the Supreme Identity is precisely the identity of a manifested *essence* and an unmanifested *nature*, 'being and non-being' (*sadasat*), and in this sense 'beyond' both: The Supreme Identity, in other words, is *vyaktāvyakta*, 'Shown and Unshown'; just as *Prajāpati* is repeatedly spoken of as *niruktānirukta*, and as in RV, X.129.2 the Supreme Identity is 'at once spirated and despirated' (*ānīd avātām svadhayā tad ekam*).¹⁰³ That the *avyakta* of our text is not the Sāṅkhyan *pradhāna* (primary matter, the 'lower *prakṛti*' of BG, VII.5, nature divided from essence) appears immediately from the treatment of the 'two *avyaktas*' in BG, II.28 and VIII.18-21; of which one (the Sāṅkhyan *avyakta* = *pradhāna*) is that from which, and the other that to which all beings proceed; just as there are two *amātrās*, one the not-yet-measured out (*nirmāta*) from which 'chaos' all things are measured out, and the other the immeasurable; the *vyakta* lying in between the two *avyaktas*, just as *mātrā* (etymologically 'matter', but more precisely, the realm of number) lies between the two *amātrās* . . . Nothing in the bearing of KU, III.11 would be changed if we substituted *vyaktaḥ param avyaktam*: what Rawson fails to realize is that the *ātmā mahān* is precisely that *vyakta* beyond which lies the *avyakta*, the Unshown, or better, Unshowable. Now this *ātman*, this *mahat*, is precisely the Lord of the Chariot, the *rathin* of KU, III.3: in other words, the Supernal-Sun, the solar *Ātman* of RV, I.115.1, correctly identified by Śaṅkara (and Deussen) with Hiraṇyagarbha;¹⁰⁴ that Sun, viz., whose disk is the gateway of Death's house the way into the Person who is 'beyond' both the Light of the Sun

(*vyakta*) and the Divine Darkness (*avyakta*) 'where no Sun shines' (KU, V.15), and 'beyond which there is nothing whatsoever; that is the pillar (*kāsthā*), that the last step' (KU, III.11 and IV.9, cf. BG, VII.7). *Ātmā mahān* is almost a cliché for the 'Sun', the manifested (*āvis*) God as distinguished from the unmanifested (*guhā*) Godhead, Mitra as distinguished from Varuṇa, *apara* from *para* Brahman. *Mahān aja ātmā* is the Sun in BU, IV.4.22, the Lord and Master of the All. And if, as will presently appear, in connection with KU, V.13 *eko vaśi*, this Sun is also Death himself, this too is in accordance with the designation of Death as *mahātmā* in I.16.¹⁰⁵ So too in KU, II.22 *mahāntam vibhum ātmānam* 'the great and omnipresent Self' in Rawson's version is in the same way none but the Sun, 'the Self of all that moves or is at rest' of RV, I.115.1. The whole logic of the enunciated hierarchy depends upon an intelligible sequence on the one hand of what is cosmic (*artha, manas, buddhi*) and on the other of *ātmā mahān, avyakta, puruṣa: ātmā mahān*, and *mahat* of the following verse are the sun, the 'manifested' (*vyakta*; what is beyond the Sun, 'unmanifested' (*avyakta*): and beyond the unmanifested', the Person, the Supreme Identity of *vyaktāvyakta, sadasat*, Mitrāvaruṇau, *apara* and *para* Brahman, 'That One both spirated and despirated' of RV, X.129.2. This priority of the Person to the Sun is stated more briefly already in RV, X.90.2-3 where the 'Lord of immortality, uprisen on food' is the Sun, and 'great as His greatness may be (*etāvān asya mahimā*), superior unto him is the Person' (*ato jyāyāms ca puruṣaḥ*).

III.11: *kāsthā*, 'post' or 'pillar', Rawson's 'end', and my 'goal-post', above.¹⁰⁶ The meaning of the word can be more fully developed, so as to show how it stands in the present context for 'last end'. *Kāsthā* occurred in a significant relation in JUB, I.20 where, as usual, Heaven and Earth are 'pillared apart (*viṣkabdhu*) by a third principle, which is variously designated, and here by the 'atmosphere' (*antarikṣa*), hermeneutically 'inter-axle' (*antary-akṣa*), and

¹⁰³In JUB, III.1-3 (= CU, IV.3 with some variations) the 'greatness' (*mahiman*) of the Spirit (*ātman*), the Spiritual-essence of Devas and of mortals (*ātmā devānām uta martyānām*, cf. RV, I.115.1), the Sun completely risen (i.e. the Sun that no more rises or sets, cf. CU, III.11, Sol, Invictus), the Shepherd of the Universe, and Seizer (*grahaḥ*) and Devourer (*babhasaḥ* in CU, preferable to *rapasaḥ* in JUB) of the four powers (Agni, Āditya, Candramas, Diśaḥ, considered as functional Persons who come forth and return) consists this, that 'not being eaten himself, he devours whatever eats' (*yad adantam*, in JUB, preferable to *yad anannam* in CU). It is just in this way that Death in KU, I.16 is *mahātmā*, and by the same token the Sun, as elsewhere, *passim*. The identity of Love and Death represented in the equation of Kāmadeva-Māra in Buddhist texts, goes back to the oldest sources.

¹⁰⁶*Kāsthā* here as 'goal', as in RV, VII.93.3 and IX.21.7 (Grassmann, Ziel der Rennbahn), cf. *kāsthā-bhṛt* in ŚB as 'leading to a mark or aim'. *Kāsthā* in the derivative sense of 'way', found several times in RV, (the 'post' giving its name to the 'course') is not impertinent to *kāsthā* as 'goal post' also, because the Axis of the Universe is, although the end of the way in any given world, is also the 'way up and down the world' considered in the plural, the trunk of the Tree, with its branches, in this sense, corresponding to 'Jacob's ladder' with its rungs.

¹⁰³Eckhart, 'Equallyspirated, despirated, where these two abysses hang, there is the Supreme Being' (*Dādiu zwei abgründe in einer glicheit sweben gegeistet un engegeistet da ist ein höher wesen*, Pfeiffer, p. 517).

¹⁰⁴Rawson's argument against the equation *ātmā mahān* = *hiraṇyagarbha* is so weak that he has to support it by at least two false assumptions, (1) that the doctrine of the two forms of Brahman is specifically Śaṅkara's, who therefore drags in the Hiraṇyagarbha to support 'his doctrine', and (2) that Śaṅkara understands by *ātmā mahān* the 'individual self' (it is, of course, the composite *ratha*, the *svajñāna kāya*, that is the individual self or 'I', the *rathin*, whose vehicle it is, being the Universal Self or Spirit).

thus 'as two wheels are propped apart by the axle-tree (*akṣeṇa*), or as two tree-plank (*palāśe*) by a post (*kāṣṭhena*)'.¹⁰⁷ The 'atmosphere' is 'ya evāyam pavata, i.e. the Gale of the Spirit, Vāyu: it is, in fact the Spirit (*ātman*) that both holds apart these worlds and connects them, as a bridge connects the banks of a river (*RV*, X.61.16, *BU*, IV.4.22, *CU*, VIII.4.4. etc), cf. *RV*, X.85.12, where the axle-tree of the cosmic chariot is the 'distributive breath' (*vyāna*). The two wheels of the cosmic chariot are Heaven and Earth, or Sun and Moon, the axle their mover (*RV*, I.30.19, V.29.4, X.85.18, X.89.4, etc.). A full discussion of the various aspects of the Axis of the Universe, *skambha* = Greek *stauros*, cannot be undertaken here; this 'axis' or 'pillar' is the 'end' because it passes through the navel or centre of all planes of being, towards which, therefore, all paths converge. The word *palāśe* rendered above by 'two tree-planks', i.e. two planes or platforms of *palāśa* wood, representing Heaven and Earth, may be noted, however, as of considerable interest, because in *RV*, X.135. 1 it is precisely 'in the fair *palāśa* tree' (*vr̥kṣe su-palāśe*) that Yama's Paradise is located; this 'Tree of Life' beyond the Sun being analogous to the 'Tree of Life', or rather 'of the knowledge of good and evil' of which the trunk connects the earthly and heavenly poles.

FOURTH VALLĪ

IV.1: *khāni vyatṛṇat* . . . *āvṛtta-caḥsur*, see above on III.1 and the discussion in *IHQ*, XI, 1935. *Khāni vyatṛṇat* is fully elucidated by *MU*, II.6 where Prajāpati, desiring to partake of his purposes (*arthān*),¹⁰⁸ 'breaks open these doorways

¹⁰⁷Better, perhaps 'as two *palāśas* (i.e. root and branches) are separated by the trunk'.

¹⁰⁸Cf. *KU*, III. 10 where the 'objects' (*arthāh*) are prior to the sense-powers themselves (*indriyebhyaḥ parah*). The word *artha* corresponds exactly to Late Latin *intentio*, of which the meaning is in the first place 'object' as 'purpose' foreseen, and in the second place 'object' as that which is actually seen (*intentio visibilis*). The 'object' as foreseen is evidently prior to the being in act of the organ by means of which it is actually or accidentally seen. But more than this is implied in our texts. Observe that what is being discussed here is not 'the eye's intrinsic faculty' according to which 'I' see by a physical light reflected from the 'object', but the manner in which God (*Svayambhū* in *KU*, IV.1 = *yo bhūtebhīr vyapaśyata* in *KU*, IV.6, Prajāpati in *MU*, II.6) sees in me. What my eye sees is a simple aspect of which I have no knowledge, but only a sensation; but what God sees in me is the idea of the object by which he both knows it and gives it being. Insofar as 'I' see an already existing object, its being does not depend on 'me'; but insofar as my vision coincides with His, *esse est percipi*. Insofar as I see empirically, what I see is accidental; insofar as I see with (*anupaś*) His ray (*raśmi*), for the sake of which the eye is really opened ('subtract the mind, and the eye is opened to no purpose', Eckhart) I see the thing as it is in Him, rather than as it is in itself.

Our texts, inasmuch as they are dealing with His manner of seeing, employ the traditional (Neo-Platonic as well as Indian, etc.) interpretation of perception as taking

(of perception), and now arisen, by means of his five rays eats of the objects of the senses' (*khānīmāni bhittvoditaḥ pañcabhir raśmibhir*¹⁰⁹ *viśayān atī*).¹¹⁰ It is God himself that 'opens the gates of the senses' (which senses are not themselves the gates, but make use of them) in order that He himself, who is the only knower and seer, may see out through them, coincidentally with ourselves who see out *with* them only, insofar as we observe only empirically, with the 'eye of flesh' (*māmsa-caḥsuṣā*). To the extent that we see intellectually, with the 'angelic eye' (*divya-caḥsuṣā*), we see what He sees. And to the extent that we see with an 'inverted eye' (*āvṛtta-caḥsuṣā*),¹¹¹ i.e. with the 'eye of gnosis'

place by means of a projected through the 'eye', in which light the 'object' itself inheres: the 'eye' in this case being as it were the lens of a projector, which sees what is projected upon the screen (the 'wall' of Plato's 'cave') by the image-bearing light that passes through it. We see, then, as God sees, to the extent that we see not with the 'eye of flesh' (*māmsa-caḥsus*), but with the 'angelic eye' (*divya-caḥsus*), 'which sees in the eternal mirror, where it sees both all things and itself better than anywhere else'. On the other hand, as is evident, to see God himself, and not merely some of those things which He sees the eye must be inverted (*āvṛtta-caḥsus*), so as not to look outward with the ray, but inward at its source, the *fons lucis*, and Light of lights (*jyotiśām jyotis*); and this inverted eye is the 'eye of gnosis' (*jñānacāḥsus*).

¹⁰⁹*Pañca raśmayah* here = *pañca jñānāni* in *KU*, VI.10, and *pañcendriyāni* or *pañca prānāh* commonly elsewhere.

Pañca jñānāni in *KU*, VI.10 recalls *BG*, XIV.11 'When the gnostic light arises from the doorways in the body, then may it be known that one is more in being' (*sarvadvāreṣu dehe'smīn prakāśa upajāyate, jñānam yadā, tadā vidyād vivyādham sattvam ity uta*, where *dvāra* = *kha*).

¹¹⁰'A parcel of myself, even the Lord, when he taketh up his stand on hearing, vision, etc., himself enjoys the objects of the senses' (*mamaivāmsō . . . īśvaraḥ . . . śrotṛaṁ caḥsuḥ adhiṣṭhāya . . . viśayān upasevate*, *BG*, XV.7-9).

The situation is paralleled in the rite of the 'opening of the eyes' of an image, wherewith the image is brought to life. Only when this analogous rite has been performed can one think of the Deity as looking out through the image, and of the image therefore as a connection made between the worshipper and the Deity whose image it is. It is significant that the Chinese expression for the 'opening of the eyes' of an image, *k'ai kuang*, often rendering by 'to light up the eyes' (and rather awkwardly by Taçacs as 'punsing the eyes', viz. painting the eyeballs') is literally 'to open a ray', or 'open up the pathway for a ray' *kuang* being the equivalent of Sanskrit *raśmi*, while *k'ai* can mean to 'cleave' or 'cut' in the sense of 'cutting a path', Latin *secare viam*, while *k'ai* in combination with the character for 'eye' means 'to open the eyes; to gain experience'. It is precisely an opening of the doorways of the senses in order that the immanent Spirit may look out of these opened windows that is meant by *khāni vyatṛṇat* in *KU*, IV. 1. It must also be borne in mind that in traditional optics, knowledge of an object is acquired, not by light reflected by the object seen (which produces only a reflex image in the retina, and not an understanding), but by the light of the intellect which is directed to the object through the eye; in just this way, for example, Eckhart distinguishes a seeing *with* the eye from a seeing *through* the eye.

¹¹¹Ruysbroeck's 'in-staring' (*instaernde*, *Book of Supreme Truth*, Ch. XIV)—'But those who turn outwards and find consolation in outward things, do not feel this, and if I should say much more of it, yet they would not understand'.

(*jñāna-caḥṣuṣā*), along the ray to its source, we see Him, and can truly say with Eckhart (Pfeiffer, XCVI) that 'that eye, with which I see God inwardly, is the same eye wherewith God sees in me;' which 'seeing in me' is just what is denoted by *KU*, IV.6 b, the whole verse reading 'him¹¹² born of old of the glowing, who erst was born of the waters, him stationed indwelling the cavern (of the heart), who looked about in beings,—this, verily is "That"¹¹³, without any emendation of the text.

One sees how utterly absurd are those modern, Indian or European, interpretations of IV. 1 which assume that it is meant that 'God injured the senses' (Rawson, p. 149, Note 1) and agree with Rawson that this is an unacceptable interpretation. We see, however, no reason to believe that this was what Śaṅkara meant by *vyatṛṇat* = *himsitavān hananam kṛtavān ity arthaḥ*, since it is not the sense-powers that are pierced (*kha* is never a power' but always a 'space' or 'opening', as in *AA*, II.3.3 *khāni sa ākāśah*) but the gates of the senses that are, as *MU*, II.6 expresses it, 'broken open'. With all the words meaning to 'pierce', or 'cleave', or 'break open', which are used with *khāni* in the various parallel passages may be compared Latin *secare* in the expression *secare viam*, 'to cut away', which certainly does not mean to injure that which is to use the way. It is through the open gateways of the senses that the Inner Being, God himself, looks forth; and this assuredly does not imply any disparagement of the 'world picture' that he thus 'depicts for himself and delights in' (Śaṅkara, *Svātmanirūpaṇa*, 96, cf. Genesis, I.31 'and saw that it was very good').

IV. 5: *na tato vijugupṣate*: without rejecting Rawson's various explanations, we suggest that the general sense is 'thereafter need not fear', and the more particular sense 'no longer needs to guard himself from evil doing' (*JUB*, IV. 25.4 *pāpāt karmono jugupṣeta*, but with a negative),—parallel, therefore, to I John III.9 'Whoever is born of God, cannot sin' and Gal., V.18 'If you are led by the Spirit you are not under the law'.

IV.7: Rawson introduces a great confusion by failing again to distinguish between the divine nature (*prakṛti*) that is one with essence from the

¹¹²We take the accusatives in IV. 6 to be in apposition to those of IV.5 which are governed by *ya . . . veda*.

¹¹³'That', as usual, Brahman and here specifically as the Svayambhū of IV. 'Who looked about in beings', or 'looked out through beings', cf. *AV*, XIII.2.9 'The son of Aditi beheld all beings' (*vyakhyad aditeḥ putro bhuvanāni viśvā*), *AA*, II.4.3 'The Spirit, born, thoroughly considered beings' (*sa jāta bhūtāni abhivyakṣat*), and *BU*, I.4.1 'Scrutinising, he beheld naught other than himself' (*so 'muvikṣya nānyadātmano' paśyat*). It is moreover, to this way of seeing that we should aspire,—it is the 'sameness of vision' that the unified spirit enjoys when it 'beholds itself stationed in all beings, and all beings in itself' (*sarvabhūtasitham ātmānam sarvabhūtāni cātmani iṣate*, *BG*, VI. 29). 'His sight for ours—what a goodly recompence' (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I.922).

It is of course as the Supernal-Sun and by means of his rays that the Self-existent sees all things; and we take it that it is precisely as the 'Seer' that Ikṣvāku (*RV*, X.60.4) denotes the solar Self-existent the ancestor of Rohita (*AB*, VII.15) Bhagīratha (*JUB*, IV.6.1), Brhadratha (*MU*) and of that other *ādiccabandhu*, the Buddha (*Sn*, 991).

separated nature (*prakṛti*) of the Sāṅkhya, i.e. the lower from the higher nature of *BG*, VII.5 (*aparā* and *parā prakṛti*, corresponding to *apara* and *para brahman*),¹¹⁴ by a failure to distinguish, in other words, Aditi as Magna Mater from Aditi as Mother Earth, or in Eckhart's terms, 'Mary ghostly' from 'Mary in the flesh'. The Essence (m.) and Nature (f.) of verses 6 and 7, both referred to as *guhām pravīṣya*, are the *kṛṣṇapṛthau . . . sakṣitā ubhā . . . mātarā* of *RV*, I. 140.3, *parikṣitā pitarā* of III.7.1 and the 'conjoint principle' of St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.27.2, whence the Son proceeds 'by way of generation and parturition'. The Aditi of verse 7 is, of course, the Vāc of *RV*, VIII.100.10-11 and X.125: *guhām pravīṣya tiṣṭhantīm*, corresponding to the question *kva svīd asyāḥ paramam jagāma* of VIII.100.10, *devatāmāyī*¹¹⁵ to *devīm*, *ibid.*, 11, *yā*

¹¹⁴*BG*, VII. 4 describes the Sāṅkhyian 'nature': VII.5-6 continues 'This is my lower (*aparā*) nature, therefrom distinguish (*atas . . . viddhi*) my transcendental nature (*prakṛtim . . . parām*), living-being whereby this moving world is kept in being *dhāryate jagat* possess of (*upādhārya* holding, bearing, etc.) and qualifying *aham*,—not as usually rendered, an imperative, cf. *Pāṇini*, III.1.38) this, the wombs (*etad yonīni*) of all beings I am the coming-forth (*prabhavaḥ*) and the dissolution of the whole moving-world. As the text implies, these two Natures *aparā* and *parā* are one Nature in the same sense that the *apara* and *para brahman* are one Brahman. It is just as in Christian formulation, where there is one essence and two natures; but nature and essence are one in Him.

Aditi: Natura naturans, creatrix, Deus. Merely to say that Varuṇa's *para* Brahman's 'world is the waters' to recognize that the 'nature' of the Godhead is one of universal possibility, is to speak of a maternity as well as a paternity in *divinis*, and we find, accordingly, that the Brahman is repeatedly referred to as a 'womb', e.g. *BG*, XIV.3 *mama yonir mahad brahma . . . sambhavaḥ sarvabhūtānām tato bhavati*; *Mund.*, I.1.6 and III.1.3 *akṣaram . . . bhūtatayonim . . . puruṣam brahmayonim*; *Brahma Sūtra*, I.4.7.27 *yonis ca hi gīyate*.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the 'two wombs' (*yonīni*, pl. for du.) of *BG*, VII.6 whether as 'two natures' (*prakṛti*, f.) or as essential and separated natures (*puruṣa*, m. and *prakṛti*, f.) correspond to Varuṇa's *kuṣī* in *AV*, IV.16.3, *samudrau . . . jāthare* in *TS*, III. 2. 2, *sarasvatyaḥ . . . kuṣyaḥ* in XIII.35, *hiraṇyamayaḥ . . . kuṣyaḥ* in *JUB*, I.56, *due yonī* *JUB*, IV.27, *JB*, I.17 and *GB*, I.33 (*due yonī ekam mithunam*) etc; and considered in their identity, to the single womb or belly in texts such as *RV*, III.29.1 where Agni is born *asurasya jātharūt*, and those in which Prajāpati is spoken of as *garbhīn*, 'pregnant'. A full collation of all the parallels would require far greater space than can be devoted to it here.

¹¹⁵Neither the *devatāmāyī* of *KU*, nor Śaṅkara's *sarva-devātmikā* can be translated by 'soul of the gods'. *Devatāmāyī* is simply 'divine', just as *dārumāyī* would be 'wooden'. *Sarva-devātmikā* is 'whose nature is to be all the gods',—just as in *AA*, II.3.8 'all the gods are unified in the *akṣara* (Brahman)', cf. Eckhart, I.469 'All the Persons being clapt into their nature vanish into the dim silence of their interior being'. *Sarva-devātmikā* merely restates *RV*, I.89.10 *viśve devā adītīḥ*. We can say that 'her's is' but scarcely that 'she is' *ātmā devānām*: it is her Breath (*prāṇa*), the Gale (*vāta*, *vāyu*), her Child (*garbha*), the Sun (*āditya*, *sūrya*) that is *ātmā devānām* *RV*, X.168.4, *JUB*, III.2.4 and I.4, etc. Hiraṇyagarbha therefore *ātmadā*, like Agni, *RV*, X.121.2, I.149.3. Aditi is the *viśve devāḥ*, but apart from her spirative procession by which she gives them life, and which is her motherhood, without distinction of spiration from generation in *divinis*,

prāṇena sambhavati to aham eva vāta iva pravāmi, in X.125.8, and *yā bhūtebhir vyajāyata to aditir jātam aditir janitvam* in I.89.10. As Edgerton has observed, 'Everything contained in at least the older Upaniṣads, with almost no exceptions is not new to the Upaniṣads, but can be found set forth, or at least very clearly foreshadowed, in the older Vedic texts'. (*JAOS*, 36, p. 197); cf. Bloomfield, 'mantra and brāhmaṇa are for the least part chronological distinctions. . . . Both forms existed together, for aught we know, from the earliest times'.

IV. 8: *dive dive*, 'daily': with reference to the 36000 daily *agnyarkāḥ* of ŚB, X. 5.3.3, viz. the 'contemplative fires' (*dhyeyā agnayah*, Śāyaṇa) that are to be kindled within you on everyday of the hundred years of a complete life.

IV.9: The 'home' (*astam*) has been discussed above in connection with I.10 and 11. The Sun, of course, 'never really rises nor sets' (*AB*, III.44) for the Comprehensor, it is rather Day and Night that rise and set (*pramlocantī, anumlocantī*, ŚB, VIII.6.1.18), 'Day and Night together are Death, they do not affect the divinity Āditya (Sol Invictus), for they are only the occasion whereby this divinity 'goes forth' and again 'goes home'' (*anv astam eti*, Vādhulasūtra, see *Acta Orientalia*, pp. 26-7). 'He indeed neither rises nor sets (*udeti na nimlocati*), and for the Comprehensor of this, it is evermore high noon' (*CU*, III.11.3).¹¹⁶

The first two and the fourth lines of *KU*, IV.9 are from *AV*, X.8.16 (not as Rawson has it, the first two only from *AV*, X.18.6). In *AV*, the third line reads 'that same I deem the best' (*jeṣṭham*, i.e. the Brahman of the first verse of the hymn, who is referred to as the Breath in *BU*, 1.5.23). The third line in *KU*, is identical in value with *AV*, X.7.38 *tasmin* (in the Brahman-Yakṣa) *chrayante ya u ke ca devāḥ*, and close in wording to *AV*, X.8.6 *tatra* (in Brahman) *sarvam idam arpitam*: and thus as in *RV*, I. 35. 6 *ānim na rathyam*, (Dante's *il punto dello stelo al cui la prima rota va dintorno*) *amṛtā adhi tasthuḥ* 'As' t were upon the axle-point of the chariot-of-light depend the immortal (Devas) 'Professor Rawson's remarks to the effect that the ancient Vedic gods are but shadows of themselves in the Upaniṣads, 'all their reality consisting in the One from whom they derive their being', are altogether without foundation in fact; the individual Devas are no more and no less 'shadows' in the Upaniṣads than they are in *RV*, *AV*, and Brāhmaṇas, where their dependence upon the 'One' is as plainly stated as it is in any later text.

IV.10: *iha*, contrasted with *amutra*, means as usual, 'here', 'in this world', 'now'; in the last two lines, the meaning is that though things appear to be

they have no independent being, but are all one in her unmanifested, *guhām praviśya ab intra*. as in *RV*, VIII.48.2. 'When thou (Somo) art entered in, thou becomest Aditi' (*antaś ca prāgā aditiḥ bhavāsi*).

See also my Angel and Titan, Note 38 in *JAOS*, 55, p. 405 and La doctrine tantrique de la 'Bi-Unité divine, in *Etudes Traditionnelles*, 42, 1938, 289-301.

¹¹⁶Rūmī *Mathnawī*, II.1107-8 'The rising-place of the sun is the pitch-coloured tower of heaven: my sun is beyond all rising places. His "rising-place" is only in relation to His motos; His essence neither rose nor set'.

diverse here (cf. verse 14), he who sees them in their unity, and does not run after them in their apparent difference, escapes recurrent death. The first two lines enunciate the well-known doctrine of the correspondence of all states of being: 'as above, so below'. It is only because of this analogy, taken for granted alike in Vedic, Neo-Platonic, and Christian doctrines of exemplarism,¹¹⁷ that an adequate symbolism is possible, so that a person 'by the mortal aspires to the immortal' (*AA*, II.3.2), and Death can say 'By contingent things I have obtained the eternal' (*KU*, II.10). By an 'adequate symbolism', we mean, of course a natural and inevitable as distinguished from a conventional symbolism: no better example can be cited than that of the sun, employed as an image of God in the Vedic and all other traditions, of which usage Dante remarks that 'No object of sense in the whole world is more worthy to be made a type of God than the sun' (*Convito*, III.12).¹¹⁸

IV.11: *manasaivedam āptavyam* is apparently in flat contradiction to *KU*, VI. 12, *na manasā prāptum* and many similar texts.¹¹⁹ Śaṅkara's explanation of the mind as a means, i.e. an *upāya* in the sense of *Mund.* III.2.3, covers at least a part of the ground. The same problem is presented, however, by *KU*, VI.9 *manasā abhikṣpto ya etad viduh*, and enhanced by the fact that it so often affirmed that it is not by the formation of mental concepts that the Brahman can be truly known, as for example in *Kena*, IV.4-5, where 'that which in the lighting flashes forth, and at which one can only gasp' is contrasted with 'that which comes to mind and by which one continually remembers,¹²⁰ viz., 'concept' (*samkalpa*).

¹¹⁷See my Vedic Exemplarism, in *HJAS*, I. 1936, pp. 44-64.

¹¹⁸Our modern exponents of what they call 'natural religions' and 'solar myths' are afflicted, of course, with that same myopia that Plutarch ridicules in the Greeks when he says that 'the (physical) sun has made all to be ignorant of Apollo by using the power of sense-perception (*aesthesis*) to turn aside the power of the intellect (*dianoia*) from the being to the phenomenon' (*Moralia*, 400 D).

¹¹⁹Cf. *Kena*, I.6 'That which thinks not with a mind (cf. *BU*, IV.3.28), but by which, they say, the mind is thought, know that as Brahman, not what men worship here' (*idam upāsate*). 'What men worship here' is of their own imagining, to which He lends himself, *yathopāsate, tad eva bhavati*, ŚB, X.5.2.20; which is not, of course, a denial of the value of such conceptual and iconolatrous 'worship' for the Wayfarer: on the contrary, 'In that one worships (*upāsate*) Him as one to be made a friend of, that is his form as the Friend', *AB*, III.4. The iconoclasm of *Kena*, I.6 simply affirms with Eckhart that 'To know God really you must know him as the Unknown', with St. Thomas that 'Every relation which is predicated of God does not put something real in the eternal God, but only something according to our way of thinking' (*Sum. Theol.*, III.35.5), with Augustine that 'God evades every form of our intellect' (*De vid. Dea*, Ep. cxlvii), and with Dionysius that 'Negations about God are true; but affirmations are vague' (*De coel. hier.* II).

¹²⁰Memory is, of course, a temporal, not an eternal virtue. As Plotinus asks, 'What subjects of remembrance can there be for souls whose lot is to remain unchanged? . . . In other words, they have seen God, and do not remember? Ah, no: it is that they see god still and always, and that as long as they see, they cannot tell themselves they have had the vision; such reminiscence is for souls that have lost it' (*Enneads*, IV.4.6).

As to this, it may be observed in the first place that *abhi* adds a force to *kṛp* of the sort that 'Super' might add to 'conceive', just as *abhi-jñāna* is 'supernatural knowledge' as distinguished from *jñāna* as 'knowledge' though *jñāna* alone, as 'gnosis' may have a like value. What is of all of more significance, however, is the question of what sort of mind it is by which he can be obtained; for as *Maitrī*, VI.34 makes evident, 'the mind is two-fold, clean and unclean: unclean when connected with desires, and clean when unconnected with desires'; and in the same way *KU*, II. 24 *nāsānta-mānaso . . . enam āpnuyāt*, 'One whose mind is not at rest cannot obtain Him' implies the converse 'One whose mind is at rest (*sānta-mānasaḥ*) may obtain Him'. 'At rest' means something more than simply peaceful; the sacrificial victim is 'at rest' when it 'has been given its quietus' (*samyate*); and let us also remember that it is always assumed that the victim is a willing victim. It is then for the mind to cleanse itself (by contemplative practices, for the most part), to put itself to death. 'The contemplative here and now attains the station (*padam*) of the "mind at rest" (*manah-sānti*) . . . having brought the mind to a standstill, when he proceeds to dematerialisation, (*amanī-bhāva*) that is the last step (*paramam padam*); the mind is to be arrested in the heart until its undoing is reached, this is gnosis,¹²¹ this liberation, and all else' (*Maitrī*, VI. 34). It is thus that one obtains Him 'by the mind'.

FIFTH VALLĪ

V.8: *tad u nātyeti kaścana*, 'beyond it none soever goes': cf. *M*, II.40 'the ultimate (*paramo*) beyond which there is no further leading (*pañāta-taram*), Eckhart, 'On reaching God, all progress ends', and Anselm, Et quidem credimus te esse aliquid quo nihil majus cogitari potest (*Prolog.* c. 2).

V.11: *ekas tathā sarvabhūtāntarātmā na līpyate loka-duḥkhena bāhyah* 'So the one immanent Spirit in all beings is untouched by the grief of the world, being outside it.' The same is often expressed in terms of the lotus, growing in water, but unwetted thereby (*CU*, IV.14.3 and *MU*, III.2). Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.*, II.10 (quoting S. Hioretheus), 'It is the Being that pervades all beings at once though not affected by them.'

V.12: *ekam rūpam bahudhā yaḥ karoti* 'Who maketh his one form to be manifold' Cf. Dionysius, *De div. nom.*, II.11 'that single Existence of his is said to become manifold through bringing forth many existences from itself while yet remaining One in the act of self-multiplication', and Plotinus, *Enneads*, IV.4. 1 'The unity of the Power is such as to allow of its being multiple to another principle, to which it is all things.'

Parallels throughout our texts are innumerable, for example *RV*, I.146.5 *purutrā . . . abhavat*, VI. 47.18 *pururūpa iyate*, VIII. 58.2 *ekam vā idam vi babhūva sarvām*; III.54.8 *viśvam ekam* (the 'integral Multiplicity' of Plotinus and 'Indivisible Plurality' of Dionysius). The *KU*, text recurs in *MU*, VI.26. The

¹²¹'This knowledge dements the mind' (Eckhart, I.370).

implications could only be fully developed by an extended treatment of the Exemplarist doctrine involved of that of the Divine procession as the radiation of a Light.¹²²

The complete statement implied by the *sarī ca vi ca eti* of *VS*, XXXII.8 is explicit in *S*, II.212 *eko pi bahudhā homi, bahudhā pi hutoā eko homi* in *A*, I.254 this power of being one and becoming many, and of being many and becoming one is connected with the possession of *samādhi* as an unbroken habit; it is one of many powers, amongst which are those of walking on the water, and of motion-at-will in various senses. The bearing of this upon the problem of the Divine unity in variety and variety in unity will be apparent if we recall that 'procession (considered as a local motion) implies duality' (*krama* = *dvaita*, *Taittirīya Prātisākhya*, XXI.16) and that 'there is no (such) procession in *samādhi*' (*kramo nāsti samāhite, Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, II.117).

Rawson's difficulty (p. 178, last paragraph) is unreal. Śāṅkara rightly says that the Ātman is 'unmodified' (*avikṛta*) whatever the forms it assumes and this is true, because these visible forms are not its 'modifications', but its 'possibilities of manifestation' reduced to act.

V.12: *eko vaśi* here and *sarvasya vaśi* in *BU*, IV.4.22 applies equally to the Sun and to Death, so constantly identified. *Sarvabhūtāntarātmā* 'the Spirit indwelling all beings', as in *KU*, V.11 and *RV*, I.115.1 *sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthusaḥ*, 'the Sun, the Spirit of all that moves or is at rest'. *Vaśa* denotes the sun in *RV*, VIII.46.33, X.171.4, etc. In *BU*, IV.4.22 *mahān aja ātmā . . . sarvasyēśānaḥ* are definitely solar terms, while *sarvasyādhipatiḥ* recalls *TS*, V.2.3 *yāvati vai pṛthivī tasya yama ādhipatyam pariyaḥya*. *Vaśi* recalls the Buddhist Māra Vasavati. For the general identification of the Sun with Death ŚB, II.3.3.7 and VI.2.2.5 'He who glows yonder is doubtless Death', and X.5.2.3 'Death is the Person in the orb' will suffice.

¹²²We have discussed Professor Rawson's Patripassianism elsewhere. Here we shall only add that to deny that there is (and affirm that there ought not to be) any principle apart from suffering is to deny the basic Christian doctrine (Hindu also and Buddhist) that 'man's last end is one of beatitude'. The problem is very clearly treated by Śāṅkara on *Brahma Sūtra*, II.3.45-7: the Supreme Self cannot be thought of as feeling the pain of individual selves, because this pain depends upon the Agnosia (*avidyā*) according to which the individual self literally sympathises with its own psycho-physical affections or with those of others, in this way identifying itself with what-is-not-the-self (*anātman*, Buddhist *anattā*). The Supreme Self does not suffer, because it does not thus ignorantly identify itself with any of the accidents to which its various psycho-physical vehicles are subject: It distinguishes itself from what is not itself. It is precisely this unsympathetic and un-sentimental nature of the Supreme Self that gives *value* to such dicta as 'That art thou'. The scriptural texts admit both a distinction and an absence of distinction (*bhedābheda*); but because we are already only too conscious of distinction (*bheda*) and misunderstand its nature (which is that of illumination from light, and not of illuminated things from light), the emphasis of the texts is laid upon the indoctrination of non-distinction (*abheda*),—'Their intention is to teach non-difference only, because it is by the realisation of self-identity with Brahman (*brahmātmatva-pratipattau*) that man's last end (*puruṣārtha*) is won'.

Rawson's remarks, pp. 181-2 are confused. The Brahman is not the 'inner soul of our individual souls'¹²³ but as Śāṅkara would express it, is our inner being; 'One as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children' as said of Death in *ŚB*, X. 5.2.16. Granted that what many modern scholars understand by the *Māyāvāda* is an 'illusion doctrine' implying the pure non-entity of the outer world, we can agree that this would 'make nonsense of the Vedas'. To put it as briefly as possible, *natura naturata* is not, however *māyā*, but *māyā-māyā*; and even if *māyā* be taken as *asat*, 'non-being', this 'non-being' is also the maternal possibility of being and the source of being (*asataḥ sad ajāyata*, *RV*, X.72.3 = *TU*, II.7), in the same way that in Christian doctrine the world *ex nihilo* fits without it following that the world *nihil est*.¹²⁴ How little Śāṅkara denies the reality of the external world (however unreal our knowledge of it may be, as illustrated by the parable of the rope and the snake) is sufficiently obvious from his endorsement of *Brahma Sūtra*, II.2.28 *nābhāva upalabdhe*, Thibaut's rendering of the commentary reading 'The "non-existence" of external things "cannot be maintained" because we are conscious of external things', etc. The *bhedābheda* relation of distinction without difference (Eckhart's 'used but not confused') is expressly accepted by Śāṅkara in the commentary on II.3.43 *amśo nānāryapadesād anyathā cāpi*, '(the individual spirit) is a part (of the Lord) inasmuch as it is not taught that they are different, and also the contrary': by which he understands that the individual and the Lord are related as sparks to fire (*jīva īśvarasyāmśo bhavitum arhati, yathāgnē visphulingah*), in which heat is the same (notwithstanding that the sparks are distinguishable from the fire), and he concludes that 'From these two doctrines of difference and non-difference (*bhedābhedāv-āgamābhyām*) the meaning of "participation" (*amśattva*) follows.' He explains, of course, that by 'part' is not meant a 'piece', but 'a part, as it were' (as in *BG*, XV.7). The

theme would admit of a long development, but all that need be pointed out here is that Śāṅkara by no means denies, but explicitly endorses, *bhedābheda* doctrine.

V.14: *kim u bhāti vibhāti vā*, 'Does it shine, or does it shine forth?' The question raises the whole problem of 'uncreated' and 'created' light, and could only be fully elucidated in the light of the whole doctrine of light, which is the common property of Indian, Islamic, and Christian theology. The question is asked in Brahmodya style and answered in the following verse. The question itself must first be understood. *Bhāti* presents no difficulty. *Vibhāti* is *bhāti* combined with *vi*, the particle having its usual distributive value; the forms are parallel to those of *bhū* and *vibhū*, 'to be', and 'to be distributively' or 'be forth', and so indeed are the meanings, since in this doctrine *lux et ens convertuntur*.¹²⁵ *Vibhāti* is not 'reflects', for which we should expect either *ābhāti*,¹²⁶ or the *anubhāti* of the following verse in which, however, there is a nuance suggesting a participation rather than a mechanical reflection.¹²⁷ The rather naive question of whether 'it' ('the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world', John I.9) is itself illuminated by some other source of light is not raised at all. What is propounded has to do with the distinction of light from illumination as this is drawn by Bonaventura, who 'distinguishes between the light (*lux*) and its raying (*lumen*, "*Lichtausstrahlung*")', without always maintaining a sharp distinction between the two notions.¹²⁸ What is asked, whether the Light of the Spirit (which shines when all other lights have gone out, *BU*, IV.3.6, like *KU*, V.15), whether the Light of lights (*jyotiṣām jyotir*, *RV*, I.113.1 and *BG*, XIII.17) is a

¹²⁵Our question is, then, virtually the same as that of *ŚB*, X.5.2.16 'Is Death one or many', with its answer 'One and many, one as he is yonder, and many as he is in his children', as also in *BG*, XIII.16 'Both undivided, and also divided in beings' (*avibhaktam ca bhūteṣu vibhaktam*, where *avibhaktam* corresponds to *bhāti* and *vibhaktam* to *vibhāti* in our text).

See also my 'Beauté, Lumière et Son' in *Études Traditionnelles*, Feb. 1937 and 'The source of, and a parallel to Rionysius on the Beautiful' in *Journ. Greater India Soc.*, III, 36-42, and 'Vedic Exemplarism', *HJAS*, I.1936, pp. 58-60.

¹²⁶Cf. my 'Ābhāsa' in *JAOS*, 52, 1932, pp. 208-12.

¹²⁷Cf. Witelo, *Lib de intelligentis*, VI 'Light (*lux = jyotis*) is the primordial substance; whence it follows that all other substances participate in the nature of light.'

¹²⁸Baeumker, *Witelo*, Münster, 1908, p. 396. Bonaventura, in fact, distinguishes three modalities of light: *Sicut lux potest tripliciter considerari, scilicet in se et in transparenti et in extremitate perspicui terminati: primo modo est lux, secundo modo lumen, tertio modo hypostasis coloris* (I *Sent.* d. 17, p. 1 a unic. q.1). In this division *lux* corresponds to *jyotis* or *bhāsa*, *lumen* to *raśmi* and *vibhāsa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *ābhāsa*; or in other words, *lux* to *svarūpa*, *lumen* to *viśvarūpa*, and *hypostasis coloris* to *pratirūpa* or *anurūpa*.

¹²⁹As 'hidden', of course, the Light of the Spirit does not 'shine forth', but is 'obscured': *KU*, III.12 *gūḍho tmā na prakāśate*. Hence the perpetual quest of the 'hidden sun' *gūḍham sūryam*, *RV*, *passim*. On the other hand, in proportion as it is 'found' or 'known' it reveals itself, and shines with its own Light (*svaprakāśa*), becoming more and more manifest (*āvistarām*), *tasya ya ātmānam āvistarām vedāśnute havir bhūyah*.

Cf. *KU*, VI.2-3 'A great fear (*mahad bhayam*)... Through fear of Him' are we to suppose that 'He' also fears? and if so, what? It is precisely the 'Welt-schmerz' of vol. II that is the 'great fear': *dukkham assa (lohasa) mahabbhayam*, *Sn*, 1033. The goal to which *Naciketas* is directed is an *abhayam pāram*.

¹²³Unless, of course, we properly distinguish 'inner soul' = spirit from 'our individual soul' = psyche. As Philo says, 'The word "soul" is used in two senses, with reference either to the soul as a whole or to its dominant (*hegemonikon = antaryāmin*) part, which latter is, properly speaking, the soul of the soul (*psyche psychês*)' (*Quis rerum divinarum Heres*, 55), this 'dominant' being the 'Spirit of God' (*pnêuma theion*), (*De specialibus legibus*, IV. 123). But like most Western scholars, Rawson renders *ātman* by 'soul' in a quite indiscriminate way.

¹²⁴As he is in himself, *ab intra*, God is *sadasat*, 'being and non-being' (*RV*, X.5.7, *Mund.*, II.2.1. *Prasna Up.*, II. 5-6). As also in St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I.45.1, *oportet considerare... emanationem (=sargam) totius entis a causa universalis, quae est Deus. Et hanc quidem emanationem designamus nomine creationis... ita creatio, quae est emanatio totius esse, est ex non ente, quod est nihil*. ('We must consider the emanation of all being from the universal cause, which is God. And this said emanation we call 'creation'. So that creation, which is the emanation of all being, is from the non-being, which is nothing'.)

simple and hidden or also an omniform and manifested light.¹²⁹ The answer of *KU*, V.15 is that there is no *light* that shines there (cf. *GB*, XV.6 and *Rev*, XXI.23, appropriately cited by Rawson), but only the uncreated (*akṛta* as in *CU*, VIII.13) Light of the Spirit (*BU*, IV.3.6:¹³⁰ 'Him-shining the world-all-after-shines (*tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvaṃ*)¹³¹ by his shining this all shines forth' *tasya bhāsā sarvaṃ idam vibhāti*¹³² (*bhāti ca vibhāti ca*);¹³³ i.e. 'shines' as He is yonder, in himself, in the darkness, and 'shines forth' here, as he is in us, as light.¹³⁴

SIXTH VALLĪ

VI. 9: *hṛdā manīṣā manasābhikṣiptāḥ*, 'super-conceived by the heart, by thought, by the mind', cf. *RV*, I.61.2 *hṛdā manasā manīṣā*, and X.177.1-2 *hṛdā paśyanti manasā . . . manīṣām . . . ni pānti*.

VI. 4: *tataḥ sarveṣu loheṣu śarīratvāya kalpate*, 'Then in the emanated worlds, he is fitted for embodiment' (the *sarveṣu kāleṣu* of one Ms. merely substitutes time for space); corresponding to *KU*, III.17 *anantyaḥ kalpate*, 'is fitted for infinity, or endlessness', and *Manu* I. 98 *brahmabhūyāya kalpate* 'is fitted for becoming Brahman'. We have discussed this passage at some length elsewhere in a wider context.¹³⁵ It is easy to see from what point of view Śaṅkara should have wished to evade the plain meaning of the words. We agree with Rawson that it would be 'better frankly to emend the text and supply a negative' than to twist its meaning. In fact, however, no emendation whatever is necessary. For what or who is it but the Brahman, Ātman, that is 'embodied in the emanated words'? What but the *śarīratman*, *āśarīrah śarīreṣu*? Who but the Ātman, who but Agni, is the rider in the chariot of which the wheels are

¹²⁹The 'Dark Ray' or 'Radiant Darkness' of Dionysius, . . . 'binding by excess of light'.

¹³⁰*Anubhāti*: for example *CU*, IV. 9.2 *brahmavidiva . . . bhāsi* ('Thou shinest as though a Knower of the Brahman' and *TU*, III.10.6 *suvarṇa-jyotiḥ ya evaṃ veda* ('Thereof the Comprehensor shines with golden light'). Cf. Witelo, *Lib. de intelligentis*. VIII.1 *Unumquodque quantum habet de luce, tantum retinet ease divini. Unaqueque substantia habens magis de luce quam alia dicitur nobilior ipsa* ('Insofar as anything has "light", to that extent it contains divine essence. Whatever substance has more light than another is therefore called "more noble".')

We little realize to what extent the technicalities of the traditional doctrine of light ('The perfection of all things in the cosmic order is light', Witelo, l.c.) survives in current speech. When we speak of a 'clear complexion' or 'sparkling wit' or of a 'bright lad' or a 'shining example', we are speaking superstitiously, i.e. without understanding the proper significance of these expressions.

¹³¹Note *bhāsā*, instrumental; like *brahmanā* in *S*, I.236 and *prānena* in *JUB*, IV.14.1.

Sarvaṃ idam, the subject of *vibhāti*, is '*sūryādī*', 'the sun, etc.' (Śāyana).

¹³²Dante's *splendore . . . risplendendo*, *Paradiso*, XXIX.14, 15.

¹³³Eckhart's 'Eye wherewith God sees in me'. *Sarvabhūtair vibhāti*, *Mund.*, III.1.4 = *bhūtebhir vyapaśyata*, *KU*, IV.6.

¹³⁴'The coming to birth of the Spirit', to appear in *Indian Culture*.

Heaven and Earth and the axle-tree the Axis of the Universe? If Śaṅkara balks, it is as Agni balks at the task of becoming the Devas' charioteer in *RV*, X.51, as the Buddha balks at the turning the Wheel, and as Christ says 'May this cup be taken from me'! He would become the Brahman, but only in one nature, not in the double nature predicated of the Brahman in *BU*, II.3 and as implied throughout *RV*; he would be the Ātman that shines but not the Ātman that shines forth (forgetting his own *bhāti ca vibhāti ca* cited above); of the Supreme Identity of Being and Non-being (*sadasat, passim*) he would be only *asat*. Śaṅkara's goal is that of a Pratyeka Buddha. In Christian terms, he would be united to the Father, through the Son, but not with the Supreme Identity of Father and Son. But as is explicit in our Upaniṣad, III.10-11, while one must have gone beyond the Manifested (Sun) to reach the Unmanifested (Darkness), the Person and last end lies beyond the Unmanifested; one has not reached the end of the road until one knows Him both as Manifested and Unmanifested (*vyaktāvryaktāḥ*). 'That One is equally spirated, despirated' (*ānīd avātām svadhayā tad ekam*, *RV*, X.129.2), not only despirated. That One is not only Infinite (*ananta*, in the sense 'without beginning or end') but also Indefinite (*ananta*, in the sense of *BU*, IV.1.5 'What is its endlessness? Just the quarters of heaven'). That One is both the silent and the vocal Brahman (*śabdāsabda*); *madāmada*, *śarīr uttvad sūtaḥ*,—not only indifferent but also exhilarated, not only impotent, but also progenitive. In a word, one essence and two natures.

Know that he on whom the worlds, the mind, and all the powers are woven is the One Ātman. . . . Where the vectors meet, like spokes in the hub of the wheel (i.e. in the centre, in the heart) therein he moves, multifariously born' (*tam eva ekam jānatha ātmānam . . . antas carate bahudhā jāyamānaḥ*, *Mund.*, II. 2.5-6).¹³⁶ We must not, however, misunderstand the nature of this 'motion' and 'birth'; it is as Unmoved Mover that he *carati bahudhā jāyamānaḥ*, as in *KU*, II.21 'Seated, he travels afar; recumbent, he goeth everywhere', and *Īśā*, 4 'Standing, he foregoeth them that run'. It is by means of his rays, or 'feet' as they are sometimes called, that he travels (*carati svarocīḥ RV*, III.38.4): the solar omnipresence is a vision, and not a local motion. . . . 'The Sun is the Eye . . . truth is the Eye; it is with the Eye that the Person ranges the dimensioned' (*caḥṣuṣā hy ayam mātrās carati*, *MU*, VI.6). The 'embodiment' for which the Wake is prepared, even here and now if he is Wake, is not an incarnation under the Sun as so-and-so, but such as the Universal Man, the Eternal Avatar takes part in, not by any necessity of ends to be gained, but because it is the nature of the Light not only to be the Hidden Light but also one that shines. All that our verse affirms, then, is that the Wake are fitted for a state of Universal Being, as distinct from that of the private being which is the mark of those who are still asleep. Whoever participates in the Being of

¹³⁶In the same way Prajāpati 'wanders in the (Golden) Germ, and whilst remaining within, unseen, is multifariously born abroad (*prajāpatīś carati garbha-antar-adṛṣyamāno bahudhā vi jāyate*, *AV*, X.8.13).

the Sun is a Mover-at-will in every world. We do not see why anyone should have wish to explain this away.¹³⁷

VI.11: *prabhavāpyayau*, also *Māṇḍ.*, 6 where 'He (Brahman, Ātman, in 'deep sleep') is the *prabhavāpyayau* of beings', and alternatively *miterapīti* in *Mund.*, 11. Deussen's 'schöpfung und vergang' and Hume's 'origin and end' are much nearer to the meaning than is Rawson's 'acquired and lost'.¹³⁸ Rawson's rejection of Hume's and Deussen's versions 'as involving much later ideas which are foreign to the *Kātha* introduces in any case a confusion of literary history with the history of ideas,—which have no history. In the present case, however, it is a question of ideas which are not merely implicit in 'older' texts, but explicit there.

As *prabhū*, literally to 'forth-become' or 'come forth' ('hervorragen', Grassman) and *prabhava*, 'forth-becoming', 'manifestation' ('sich hervorthuen',¹³⁹ Grassmann) are to be found in *RV*, and we know too that 'a fourth (*pādah*) of him is all beings, a fourth of him becomes (*abhavat*) here' (*X.90.3-4*)¹⁴⁰, no difficulty is presented by the rendering of *prabhava* as 'origin', or rather, 'origination'. This is further supported by the substitution of *miti* for *prabhava* in *Māṇḍ.* 11, since the act of being which we call 'creation' is described throughout *RV*, and later as one of 'measurement'.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷Cf. *Īśā*, 12-13 condemning equally the goals of 'coming to be' and 'not coming to be', the truth being that the Person is neither of these in the sense that he is not also the other. Śāṅkara's position can only be defended if we understand that his polemic, like Eckhart's, is directed not against the divine activity and immanence as such, but against the pantheistic view that the whole of the divine nature finds expression in this activity, leaving nothing over. This is probably his true position; but one that is not explicit in the present context. See also the discussion of *KU*, II.11, above.

¹³⁸The problem of an 'acquisition and loss' of Yoga is not raised by our text. 'The difficulty some have found' (Rawson, p. 199) in conceiving such an idea may nevertheless be noticed. 'Yogi' (like 'Šūfi') is strictly speaking the designation of one who has reached the end of the road, and for whom no fall or loss is possible (at this point also the notion of an 'acquisition' loses its meaning,—'When I enter there', as Rūmī says, 'no one will ask me whence I came'). On the other hand, those are also called Yogīs who are still on their way (just as some are called Šūfīs who are really only *mutašawwif*), and in this case, 'yoga' being considered as a method, or technique, one can speak, as in *BG*, VI.37, of a 'wandering from yoga and failure to attain perfection in yoga'. This is what is implied by the common expression 'to lose one's *dhyanā*'. How deeply these ideas are embedded in the racial experience can be judged from the use of the expression *dhyan karo* even in schools, when students are called to attend to their work.

¹³⁹To 'distinguish', 'signalise' (Flügel); cf. Eckhart, I.394, 'Creation is his love of clear discrimination'.

¹⁴⁰Related to this is *AA*, II.2.2 *eṣa vai padam eṣa hūmāni sarvāni bhūtāni pādi*.

¹⁴¹In *KU*, V. 8 also, *kāman kāman puruṣo nirmīnāṇah*, cf. *BU*, IV.3.9 *asya lokasya mātrām . . . svayam nirmāya*, and *Māṇḍ.*, 11 *minoti ha vā idam sarvam*, *BU*, IV.3.9 *vihatya . . . nirmāya* corresponds (in reversed order) to the *miti-apīti* of *Māṇḍ.*, 11 and *prabhavāpyaya* elsewhere; but it should not be overlooked that while the reference of *vihatya* ('striking off') and *apīti* ('coming into' sc. one's own, whence the hermeneia

Apy-aya, from *api-i*, to 'approach' or 'mingle with', 'come into', 'combine with' (whether sexually, as in *RV*, II.43.2, or otherwise), or 'flow into' (as rivers into the sea), and hence also to 'die' in the sense of 'die and go to heaven', as in *RV*, I.162.20 *apiyantam* 'as thou diest' and at the same time 'as thou interest' into immortality).¹⁴² The locus classicus for *apyaya* is *ŚB*, X.5.14 where we find a hermeneia (*nirukta*) of *svapna* 'sleep' as *svāpyaya* 'entering in of one's own', viz., the 'breaths that are 'one's' own (*svāh*)'.¹⁴³ These are, of course, 'the divine immortal breaths' of *BU*, I.5.17, where they are said to 'enter into him'¹⁴⁴ (*enam . . . āviśanti*), just as in *ŚB*, *enam . . . apiyanti*. Again in *CU*, VI.8.1. we find 'When a person here sleeps (*svapīti*), as it is called, then, my dear, he has attained (*sampanno bhavati*), he becomes "one who has come into his own" (*svam-apītaḥ*). So they say of one who sleeps that "He has come into his own." It is, then, more than sufficiently evident that the meanings that Rawson rejects as 'late' are already explicit in texts which he himself accepts as much older than the *Kātha*. We render accordingly, *tām paramām gatim yogam iti manyante sthīrām indriya-dhāraṇām . . . yogo hi prabhavāpyayau*, 'The which (last step), "Yoga" to wit, they understand to be the "firm hold of the senses" . . . Yoga is both the coming forth and the entering in.' The senses are the steeds: *yoga* is expert driving (cf. *BG*, II.50 'Yoga is skill in action'), start and finish of the race. Yoga is the true art alike of living and of dying; *contemplatio ars vivendi et moriendi*.

VI.13: "He is", thus only can be apprehended; when he is apprehended as "He is", his essential nature shines out clearly (*prasīdati*'), cf. Damascene,

svapīti, 'sleeps') is to one and the same act of being, the words themselves are not synonymous, but refer to the same act under different aspects. The same applies in the case of *prabhava* and *miti*: the act of 'coming forth' is an act of 'measurement'.

¹⁴²Similarly in *CU*, IV.3.1 'When Agni blows out (intransitive), he just enters into the Gale of the Spirit' (*yadā vā agnir udvāyati, vāyum evāpyeti*), and *JUB*, III.1.7 *sa etam (vāyum) evāpyeti*.

¹⁴³Eggeling renders *svāpyāya* by 'being taken possession of by one's own people', as if *apy-aya* had been *āpyāya*. The results of this too free translation is a false assimilation of the present text to that of XI.2.3.6, cited above, where the Devas, originally mortal 'take possession of immortality by means of the Brahman' ('by means of', because 'Himself the bridge', 'I am the Way'). The 'entering in' (*apyaya*) of the immortal principles is an activity on their part: the taking possession' (*āpyāya*) an activity on the recipient's part. These activities are coincident; unification is the 'coming into one's own' of the one and the other that are 'unified'; to find Him and to find oneself is the same, as is explicit in *JUB*, IV.14.1, where the Brahman says 'with the breath of my mouth *ye shall obtain (upāpnavātha)* yourselves, and shall obtain me'. Whichever way we look at it, it is a matter of 'coming into one's own': nevertheless, these 'ways of looking at it' should not be confused in a translation.

¹⁴⁴'Into him', viz., the Comprehensor (*evamvū*), when he has made the full-bequest (*sampratti* = *sampradānam*, *Kaus. Up.*, II.15), and as he departs from this world, enters into his son (*putram āviśati*) with mortal breaths, or powers, at the same time that the immortal breaths or powers into *him* (*enam . . . āviśanti*). The text is important, because of the clear distinction made as between metempsychosis and transmigration, and of both from 'reincarnation'.

De Fid. orthod. I, "He who is" is the principal of all names applied to God; for comprehending all in itself, it contains existence itself as an infinite and indeterminate sea of substance; and Eckhart, "God's only idiosyncrasy is being". Cf. also ŚB, II.3.2.1 "In him that exists". *Prasīdati* here recalls *prasādāt* in *KU*, II.20, "by the shewing forth of", or "by the clear light of", rather than "by the grace of".

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

The Darker Side of Dawn

INTRODUCTION

Students of theology and mythology are well aware that the concept of deity presents itself to us under a double aspect; on the one hand as gracious, on the other as awful. He evokes both love and fear. He is both a light and a darkness, a revelation and a mystery. In the latter and awful aspect, clouds and darkness are round about him. The Light is Life, the Darkness Death. The one corresponds to our concept of Good, the other to our concept of Evil, within the recognized definitions of good as 'that which all creatures desire', and of evil as 'that which all creatures would avoid'. A majority of religions in their esoteric formulation treat these contrasted aspects in outward operation as distinct and opposed forces, divine and satanic, celestial and is often so represented, upon the stage or in art. Yet the Solar hero and the Dragon, at war on the open stage, are blood brothers in the green room. From the Christian point of view, the fallen Angels¹ are 'fallen in grace, but not in nature'; and from the Islamic, Iblis is restored at the end of time; in other words Satan becomes again Lucifer. The same deity, Zeus for example in Greek mythology, may be worshipped and represented both in anthropomorphic and in snake forms. Serpent worship and its iconography, despite their outwardly 'primitive' appearance, have profound metaphysical foundations.

Metaphysical religion envisages a 'Supreme Identity' (in the *Rgveda*, *tad ekam*, 'that one') in which the outwardly opposing forces are one impartible principle; the lion and the lamb lying down together. The contrasted powers are separated only the very nature of reason, which sees things apart as subject and object, affirmation and negation, act and potentiality, Heaven and Earth. Contemplative practice alike in East and West seeks to approach divinity

¹The Angels (*devāḥ*) in *RV*, although from one point of view, that is to say throughout the duration of their aeviternity (*amṛtatva*), incorruptible (*ajara*, *ajurya*, *amṛta*, *amartya*), are subject nevertheless to inveteration at the end, and resurrection at the beginning, of every aeon (*yuga*); for example, Agni, the very principle of life (*āyus*, *visvāyus*, *RV*, *passim*) 'Being inveterated, is forthwith both youthful' (*jujurvān yo muhurā yuvā bhūt*, II.4.5) and with respect to the aeviternity of his manifestation is also said to be 'of unaging youth' (*yuvā ajaraḥ*, V.44.3), and called 'Life universal, deathless amongst them that die' (*visvāyur yo amṛto marṣu*, VI.4.2). Similarly in X.124.4 'Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline' (*cyavante*), in IV.19.2 the inveterated deities are re-emanated (*avāsrjanta jivrayo na devāḥ*), and in V.74.5 'From him that hath declined (*cyavanat*) ye (Aśvins) loosed the covering cloak, when ye made him young (*yuvā*) again and stirred the bride's desire'.

in both aspects, avoiding a one-sided vision of the Unity; willing to know Him both as being and non-being, life and death, God and Godhead. The contemplation in caligine, for example, is directed to the dark side of deity; and corresponds to the Indian cult of Śiva-Rudra, for the primordial Darkness remains in him as Rudra (X.129, and *Maitrī Up.*, V.2.).²

Evidence can be assembled from the *Rgveda* and other sources to show the deity in the darkness, unmanifested, in his ground, not proceeding, or as it is technically expressed, *ab intra*, is conceived of in forms that are not human-angelic, but theriomorphic; and typically in that of a brooding serpent of fiery dragon, inhabiting a cave or lying on a mountain, where he guards a treasure against all comers, and above all restrains the rivers of Life from flowing. The creative act involves a maiming, division, or transformation of the girdling serpent, often thought of as 'footless and headless', that is with its tail in its mouth. The contraction and identification of this primordial and impartite Unity is envisaged on the one hand as voluntary sacrifice, or on the other as affected by violence, exercised by life-desirous Powers of Light. The celebration of the conquest of the Serpent by the Powers of Light is a basic theme of the Vedic hymns; an aspect of the Great Battle between the Devas and Asuras ('Angels' and 'Titans') for the possession of the worlds of light. It is the battle between St. George and the Dragon. At the same time there can be no question that the Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness are the same and only Power. Devas and Asuras are alike Prajāpati's or Tvaṣṭr's children; the Serpents are the Suns. It is entirely a question of 'orientation'. At the end of an aeon the Powers of Darkness are in turn victorious.

The Powers of Darkness are also at home as Water-snakes (Indian *nāga*) or Merfolk in the Sea that represents the maternal possibility of being. The first assumption in the Godhead, Death, is being. Life and Death, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *apara* and *para* Brahman, are related from this point of view as a progenerative pair (Indian *mithuna*). The determinative, paternal principle accomplishes in conjunction with the passive maternal principle 'the act of foundation latent in eternity' (Eckhart). The generation of the Son 'is a vital operation from a conjoint principle . . . that by which the Father begets is the divine nature' (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, Q. 27, A. 2., and Q. 41, 1. 5). The Father is Intellect, the Mother Word, the child Life (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I.5.7). Just as the Father works through the Son, so the human artist works 'by a word conceived in his intellect' (St. Thomas, loc. cit., I, Q. 45, A. 6). In this way every ontological formulation affirms the duality of the Unity as well as the unity of the Duality. It will be evident that whatever holds for the masculine will hold also for the feminine aspect of the Unity; in the following essay it is primarily the Vedic concept of the *ab intra* form of the feminine principle that is discussed.

For many readers the ontological principles outlined above will be of interest and value, not so much by first intention as 'traces' of the Way, but rather and only as providing a logical explanation for certain typical forms of

²All references unspecified are to the *Rgveda Samhitā*.

the creation myth that is a common property of all cultures. Regarded, however, even from this purely 'scientific' point of view, the student of mythology, folklore, and fairy tale will find in these principles a valuable means of recognizing and correlating the varying forms that the world myth assumes. The story is not only of a time before history began, but was already told in a time before history was recorded. We may be sure that the pseudo-historical aspects that the story has assumed, for example in the Volsunga Saga, in Beowulf, or the *Mahābhārata*, are later developments and partial rationalizations. Fragments of the story will be recognized in the dogmatic life of every messiah; in the miracles, for example, attributed to Cuchullain, Buddha, Moses and Christ. Other fragments survive in fairy tales and even in nursery rhymes; in the story, for example of the human hero who crosses water or climbs a tree and thus returns to the magical other world, where he rescues or carries off the imprisoned daughter of a giant or magician; and in the stories of mermaids or Undines, who fall in love with a mortal, acquire a soul, and feet in place of their scaly tails.

The author trust that the foregoing remarks will serve to introduce, however, inadequately, the theme of the Darker Side of Dawn, the real sense of which may not be immediately apparent to the general reader. For the professed student of the *Rgveda* the actual evidences of the texts are assembled in the accustomed and more technical maner; the thesis, although it may have been expanded at much greater length, may be taken to be complete in itself.

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

In an article due to appear in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, but of which the publication has been delayed for lack of space, I have discussed the relation of the masculine Angels (*devāḥ*) on the one hand with the Titans (*asurāḥ*) and Serpents (*sarpāḥ*) on the other, showing the former are to be regarded as sacrificial conversions of transformations of the latter. By way of introduction to what follows, and for the sake of the parallel workings, the general nature of the evidence for the transformation of the Serpents in this sense may be indicated. The evidence is primarily Rgvedic, but is conveniently resumed in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.15.4, where the Serpents, by means of a sacrificial session, are enabled to cast their inveterated skins (*hitvā jīrṇān tvacam*) and to glide forward (*ati-sṛp*), changing their forms, and this 'the Serpents are the Ādityas' (*sarpyā vā ādityāḥ*); cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII.3.2.14, where Agni is found upon the lotus leaf, having 'crept up out of the Waters' (*adbhya upodāsrptam*). The evidence for the identification of Agni *ab extra* with Ahirbudhnya *ab intra* need not be presented in detail, but it may be noted that in IV.1.11, Agni, 'footless and headless, hiding both his ends' (*apādaśiṛṣā guhamāno antā*) is clearly thought of as a coiled snake, perhaps with its tail in its mouth; and that in the same way the Sun, is originally 'footless', but is given feet by Varuṇa that he may proceed (*apade pādā pratidhātave*, I.24.8); in other

passages, Indra, Agni, Soma and Varuṇa are similarly described as 'footed' (*padaviḥ*); cf. *padavi* (f.) as footprint, *vestigium pedi*,³ in I.72.2 and X.71.3 and similarly *pada*, *passim*. *Apad*, on the other hand, is a natural kenning for 'snake'; in III.30.8 the demons Kuṇāru and Vṛtra are handless and footless (*ahastam*, *apadam*), and Vṛtra similarly I.32.7. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I.6.3.9, in connection with the transformation of Soma, is explicit 'In that he was rolling, he became Vṛtra; in that he was footless, he became Ahi' (*yad apat samabhavat tasmād ahiḥ*). In the following shorter discussion, complete in itself, there is assembled a part of the corresponding evidence on the side of the feminine principles.

We now proceed to consider the case of Dawn (*uṣas*), whose lauds are so familiar to every student of the *Rgveda*. It is well known that Night and Day or Dawn (*naktoṣāsā* du. f.) are sisters, of like mind, who move successively upon a common path, Night 'when she hath conceived for Savitr's quickening yielding the womb to Dawn' (I.113.1-3). 'Sister to mightier sister yields the womb' (I.124.8; it is the younger sister that is victorious, the Devī replacing the Asuri, cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII.35.25, 'The Asuras are the elder brothers, the Devas indeed the younger'). 'Successively they nurse the Yearling Calf' (I.95.1), i.e. Agni, who has thus two mothers (*ubhe sa mātrorabhavat putra*, III.2.2 and *dvimātā*, *passim*); 'One mother holds the Calf, the other rests (*kṣetī*) . . . Ye, variant pair, have made yourselves twin beauties (*vapumṣi*), one that is black (*kṛṣṇam*) and one that shines' (III.55.4 and 11, cf. V.2.2). In the same way the Bambino, whether Sun⁴ or Fire, has two aspects corresponding to those of the sister Dawns⁵ (*uṣasā virūpe*, V.1.4). 'With one of whom is he

³For the significance of the *vestigium pedi* in Vedic, Zen, and Christian tradition see my *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, p. 16 and Note I46.

⁴These two forms of his are the same as the two forms (*dvē rūpe*) of Brahman, 'immortal, imageless' (*amṛta*, *amūrta*) and 'mortal in a likeness' (*martya*, *mūrta*) of *Bṛhadaranyaka Uṣ.*, II.3.1. cf. *Maitrī Uṣ.*, VI.3.15 and 22. The immortal form is that of Varuṇa, Death, the *para* and *nirguṇa* Brahman: the mortal that Mārtaṇḍa (=Vivasvan, Sūrya) whom 'Aditi bore hitherward unto repeated birth and death', *RV*, X.72.9; Pururavas 'When in altered aspect I kept with mortals', X.95.16; Puruṣa, whom the Angels sacrificed, X.9; Agni as the sacrifice, X.88.9; Bṛhaspati as the sacrifice, Yama 'who gave up his own dear body', X.13.4; Yama, 'the sole mortal', X.10.3; Vasīṣṭha of the 'only birth', VII.33.10; the 'only son' (*ekam putram*) of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, VIII.101.6; the *apara*- and *saguṇa*-Brahman of the Upaniṣads. 'Mitra is the Day and Varuṇa the Night', *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.10.10.

⁵The Vedic hymns to Dawn are primarily concerned with her first appearance at the beginning of the aeon, and analogically with her constant reappearance, cf. I.123.9, where Dawn, coming forth day after day, 'hath knowledge of the first day's name'. In the same way the 'Days' are primarily periods of supernal time, and only analogically human days, cf. I.164.51 'Day after day the sparkling of the Waters moves'. Another version of the hesitation before the battle occurs in the *Kulavika Jātaka*, No. 31, *Jātaka*, text I, pp. 202-3 where Indra (Śakra) corresponds to Arjuna and Mātali to Kṛṣṇa; Indra's words 'let me not for the sake of empire (*issaram* = *aisvaryam*) destroy life, rather would I for their sake sacrifice my own life to the Asuras', very closely parallel

glaucous (*hari*), with the other bright (*śukra*), and shining (*suvarca*'), I.95.1; as Pūṣan he is of two different aspects, like Day and Night, one bright, one dark (VI.58.1); like the Dawns, he 'goes back and forth', I.164.38 'now becometh sterile (*stari*), now begets (*sute*, tantamount to *savitā bhavati*, one becomes Savitr)', he shapes his aspect as he will', VII.101.3; cf. *Atharvaveda*, VI.72.1, 'he shapes his aspect as he will, by titan magic'; 'Immortal, uterine-brother (*sayoniḥ*) of the mortal, they move eternally conversely, men mark the one and fail to mark the other', I.164.38. When night and day (*uṣāsā*, the 'sister dawns') have carried him, Agni is born 'full strong and white, in the beginning of days' (V.1.4); 'the sue of *uṣāsā* (du. f.) here to mean Night and Day is paralleled by 'days of diverse hue' (*viśurūpe ahanī*, I.123.7 and VI.58.1) and 'black day and white day' (*ahaśca kṛṣṇam ahar arjunaṃ ca*,⁶ VI.9.1). These

those of Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, I.33-5 though the detail of the motivation is brought out in slightly different manner.

⁶The concatenation of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna here is by no means fortuitous, but corresponds to that of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*, where the Great Fight is nothing else but the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras. Kṛṣṇa, whose name is significant of his descent, comes over from the other side to aid the Aryan Pāṇḍavas, just as does Vibhīṣaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Ūśanas Kāvya, who is the priest of the Asuras but is won over to the side of the Devas, in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII.5.20 *Baudh.*, Śr. S., XVIII.46 and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.125-6; cf. Viśvarūpa, Vṛtra's brother, called 'priest of the Devas' in *Taittirīya Samhitā*, II.5.1 and Indra's *guru* in *Bhāgavata Purāna*, VI.7.13. It is because of the intimate relationship of the Devas and Asuras that Arjuna, in *Bhagavad Gītā*, I.28ff. shrinks from the slaughter of 'kinsmen and teachers'; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.1.4.8 where Mitra (= 'Arjuna') dislikes to take part in the slaying of Soma, while in the same way *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I.7.1.7-8 where Namuci reproaches Indra as the 'betrayal of a friend' (*mitra-druḥ*), and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XII.6.8 where Namuci reviles him as 'guilty hero-slayer of the guiltless' (*virahannadruho druḥa*), provide a literal prototype of *Bhagavad Gītā*, I.38, where Arjuna shrinks from the 'sin of the betrayal of a friend' (*doṣam mitra-droheḥ*). Arjuna, in fact, shrinks from taking upon himself what in *RV*, are Indra's typical *kilbisāni*. It is also very significant, though the implications are too many to be followed up here, that of the two original brothers of the lunar stock, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is blind, while Pāṇḍu means the 'son of a eunuch', the former corresponding to the form of deity *ab intra*, the latter to his generated aspect *ab extra*, as son of him that had been impotent *ab intra*; 'blindness' and 'impotence' being typical of the interior operation (*guhya vrata*) in *RV*, *passim*, as may be seen by an analysis of those verses in which are found the words *anha*, and *vadhri* or *stari* (it may be noted in this connection also that *srona*, 'halt', generally coupled with *andha*, 'blind' in the texts alluded to, corresponds to *apad* 'footless', as cited in the present article). Can we not indeed identify Pāṇḍu with the 'golden handed son' (the Sun) whom the Aśvins gave to her 'whose consort was unmanned' (I.117.24)? The victory of the Pāṇḍavas corresponds to *RV*, X.124.4, where Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline (*cyavante*) and the 'kingdom is reversed' (*parīṇvad rāṣṭram*). The Epic naturally concludes with the final return of the Pāṇḍavas to Heaven their disappearance *ab intra*, accompanied by Draupadī, whose alter nomen 'Kṛṣṇa' confesses her Asura origin, and who as the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers may be compared to Uṣas or Sūrya, successively the wife of Soma, Gandharva,

sister Dawns are not only thought of as mothers of the Sun or Agni, but are brides of the Sun, as in I.123.10 where Dawn is desired by the Sun to be his maiden (Yoṣā), IV.5.13 where the Dawns (pl.) are called the consorts of the immortal Sun, VII.75.5 where the generous Dawn (*maghoni uṣā*) is called the maiden of the Sun (*sūryasya yoṣā*), and in AV, VIII.9.12, the sister Dawns are called the Sun's consorts (*uṣasā . . . sūrya-patnī*). The Dawn is also a sister of Bhaga and kinswoman (*jāmi*) of Varuṇa (I.123.5); and is 'Heaven daughter', *passim*. In VII.69.4, she is the daughter of the Sun (*yoṣa . . . sūro duhitā*), involving the incest motif more familiar in connection with Prajāpati, cf. also VI.55.5, where Pūṣan is called the second husband of his mother and the seducer of his sister (*mātur didiṣum . . . svasur jārah*); 'incest' being inevitable because of the kinship of all the manifested principles, *ab intra*. Pūṣan is Sūrya's lover in VI.58.3. The identity of Dawn (*uṣas*) with Sūrya is thus evident, as is also that of the sister Dawns (*uṣas*) with Saranyu and her *savarna*. In *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, III. 10, Night (*rātri*), and Dawn (*uṣas*) or Day (*ahas*) are Indra's consorts (*indravatī*), Indra representing the Sun.⁷

That Uṣas may thus denote as well the Night as Dawn or Day renders intelligible certain neglected passages of *RV* in which the Dawn is referred to as a sinister power; sinister,⁸ that is, essentially, and not merely accidentally

Agni, and a 'mortal' (*sc.* Vivasvan, Purūravas, Yama), X.85.40, and elsewhere also referred to as the consort of the Aśvins; or may be compared with Vāc, as participated in by the Five Kindreds (*pañca jana*). The correspondences outlined above could be followed up in great detail.

⁷For some of these equivalents see Bloomfield in *Journ. Oriental Soc.*, XV.172ff. It should be added that the whole concept of the two wives and two mothers survives in the natiivities of Buddha, Mahāvira, and Kṛṣṇa. Apart from the more obvious parallel, it will be remarked that Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who does not survive, derives by her name itself from the Asura side, while the co-wife Prajāpati, called in the *Buddhacarita*, II.19 her *samaṣrabhava*, of the Asura Kaṁsa, in whose realm both parents are imprisoned, while the child is taken over water (the Yamunā, although in flood, becoming fordable for *hi*, like the Sarasvatī in *RV, passim*) to the human-angelic world where he is fostered by another mother. In the case of Mahāvira, the circumstances of whose nativity are so exactly paralleled in *RV*, I.113.2 and I.124.8 cited above, the choice of the Kṣatriya womb (and similarly in Buddhism, the opposition of Kṣatriya to Brāhmaṇa) by no means necessarily reflects a contemporary social conflict of values, but can be better understood in the light of the whole Vedic concept of the contrasted relations and functions of the spiritual (Brahma) and temporal (kṣatra) powers, the former being primarily those of Varuṇa = Brahman, the latter those of Indrāgni. Nor need we be confused by the fact that when the relation of Agni to Indra is considered *per se*, and *ab extra*, this is again that of the spiritual to the temporal power: for just as Agni delegates the temporal power to Indra (VIII.100.1-2. X.52.5 and 124.4, etc., cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V.4.4.15) though sometimes playing an active part, so the Buddha (who for the most part corresponds to temporal power and as an actual teacher plays the Brahman part, although in the conflicts with Māra (= mṛtyu = Vṛtra, etc.) and the 'Ahi-nāga' (*sic* in *Mahāvagga*, I.15.7) of the Jaṭila shrine, he takes that part which is played more often by Indra than by Agni or Bṛhaspati in person.

⁸'Sinister' also in a literal sense: for the act of creation and procession is an

in that the passing days shorten the span of life (I.92.11) whence Uṣas is called *jarayanti* (VII.75.4) from *jr*, 'to inveterate'. In IV.30.8-11, Indra is praised as having 'struck down Heaven's daughter, that ill-designing woman' (*striyam yad durhanāyuvam . . . duhitaram divah*), who is described as 'flowing away' (*sarat*) from her ruined chariot; viz., that chariot that she, the Daughter of Heaven, and Mistress of Universe, yokes afar (*parāvat*, i.e. *ab intra*) and straightway visits the Five Homes, to look upon the restless ways of the Kindreds' (VII.75.4). Similarly, in X.138.5, Uṣas is afraid of Indra's bolt, and goes her way (*akramat*), abandoning her lovely chariot, cf. II.15.6. Agni is commonly called 'ravisher' or 'spoiler' of Dawn (*uṣo na jārah*); this has usually been rendered as 'lover of Dawn', but *jāra*, from *jr* 'to inveterate', even when it means 'lover of Dawn' but always thought of as retiring and departing, to join the former Dawns, e.g. in I.113.10. In VII.6.5 Agni 'driving off the Nights (*nirudhyā nahuṣah*), makes the Dawns to be consorts of the Arya (*aryapatnir uṣasā cakāra*; Sāyana equate arya with sūrya). In I.123.1, Dakṣiṇā, synonymous with Uṣas in the same hymn, 'rises from the dark night as herself an Arya' (*kṛṣṇād ud asthād aryā*), where it is, of course, to be understood that she had been *anārya*; it may be noted that Dakṣiṇā is Indra's mother by Yajña in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI.1.3.6, and that Dakṣiṇā is Vāc, whose *asura* origin is notorious.

Dawn precedes the actual day, and must not delay, lest the Sun scorch her like a thief or enemy (V.76.9). It is not until the thirty parts of the whole twenty-four hours have elapsed that she becomes again an auspicious power, meanwhile as in VI.59.6b, 'moving headless, with babbling tongue, she descends thirty grades (*hitvī śiro jihwayā vāvadaccarat trimśat padānyakramit*; *hitvī śiro* combined with VI.59.6a, *apād*, cited below, giving us the analogy to

extroversion, as appears in innumerable texts, e.g. X.124.4 'the kingdom was reversed' (*parāvāvad rāstram*), IV.1.2 'O Agni, turn thy brother Varuṇa round about' (*bhrātaram varuṇam agne ā vavṛtsva*), cf. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, IV.5 where, the Angels and Titans being of equal heroism, 'there was a delay in turning back' (*na vyavartanta*) the latter; and this extroversion is a right hand or sunwise turn, as in III.19.2 = IV.6.3 'Agni, choosing rightwise the angelic office' (*pradakṣiṇid devatātimurāṇah*), or X.22.14, 'Thou (Indra) smotest Susna to the right (*pradakṣiṇit*) for Viśvānu' (i.e. Agni). Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III.2.1.13, and VII.5.37.

Remembering that Night and Dawn are two wives of Indra (*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, III.10 cited above) it is obvious that *RV*, X.145—in application a spell directed against a co-wife (*sapatnībādhanam*) is by first intention an imprecation launched by Indrāṇi herself, to whom the hymn is attributed, against her rival sister Night; while X.159, attributed to Śacī Paulomī (Indrāṇi) is her song of triumph (cf. X.125, attributed to Vāc), *Atharvaveda*, I.14, is apotropaic in the same sense as *RV*, X.145.

The application of these hymns illustrates very well the basic principle of magical incantation; the recital of what was done in the beginning is held to be effective in particular application here and now. In the same way, for example, *RV*, V.78, the immediate reference of which is to Agni's or the Sun's nativity is employed as a birth rune. The application is by analogy, and takes for granted the correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm.

Agni, *apādaśiṛṣā guhamāno antā* in IV.1.11); and similarly in I.123.8, where the sisters are said to 'traverse thirty leagues (*trīṃśataṃ yojanāni*), alternately'—to reappear in due course, *paritakmyayam*, for the 'ancient Dawn is born again and again (*punaḥ punar jāyamānā purāṇī*) decking herself with the self-same due' (*samānam varṇam abhi śumbhamānā*, I.92.10). Meanwhile the Sun, throughout the thirty stations of her decline, rules supreme (*trīṃśad dhāma vi rājati*, X.189.3).

What is then the status of the Dawn *ab intra*, in the Night, as Night, and especially at the end of the Night's course (*paritakmyayam*), as in V.30.14 where 'Night at the end of her course shines-fourth as Dawn (*aucchat*) at the coming of the Debt collector 'king of the Glittering-folk', and in VII.69.4, where 'at the end of her wandering, the Daughter of the sun chooses his glory (*irīya*)'? The procession of Uṣas is in fact described in terms exactly parallel to those of I.24.8 cited above with respect to the procession of the Sun: in I.152.3, 'The footless-maid proceeds as first of footed things' (*apād eti prathamā padvatīnām*), and this is nearly identical with VI.59.6 'This footless-maid came earliest forth to footed things' (*apādiyam pūrvāgāt padvatībhyah*, *apād* in both passengers representing *apādi*). That is much as to say that she, who had been a 'serpent, now assumed an angelic-human form. The same is implied when it is said that 'Our Lady puts off her dark robe' (*apa kṛṣṇām nirṇijam devyāvah*, I.113.14. cf. VIII.41.10 where it is Varuṇa that 'makes the black robes white', *svetān adhi nirṇijaś cakre kṛṣṇān*); for this is the same as putting off desuetude and impotence (I.140.8 *jarām pramuñcan*, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.17.3 *jṛṇān tvacam*, as in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV.15.4, that is taken off. It is similarly that Urvaśi and her sister, in X.95.8-9 'evade Purūravas like snakes' (*tarasanti na bhujyuh*). But when they yield 'display themselves as swans' (*ātayo na tanvāḥ śumbhata*), or 'with swan-skins', for *tanu* is often tantamount to 'sin'.

In I.185, where Day and Night (*ahanī*) are if not absolutely identified with, at least very closely assimilated to Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāprthivī*, or *rodasi*). It is said, in the second verse, that, 'The twain unspecified), though not proceeding (*acaranti*) and footless (*apadi*), yet support a mighty Germ (*garbha*—Agni) that proceeds and hath fee' (*carantam padvantam*). This is closely related to X.22.14 'thou smotest Śuṣṇa to the right of sake of Universal-Life (*viśvāyave*, i.e. for Agni), that Earth (*kṣāh*) had neither hands nor feet (*ahasta yad apadi*, cf. III.30.8 cited above) might wax' (*vardhata*), and III.55.14 where 'As having fee (*padya*) she standeth up erect (*ūrdhvā tasthau*), adorned with many beauties.

We can now compare all of the foregoing matter with a part of the account of the marriage of Sūrya in X.85.28-30. Here, immediately before her actual wedding, Sūrya is called Kṛtya, and it is only put off that she comes to her husband: 'Kṛtya that clingeth close is taken off (*vyajyate*) . . . this Kṛtya hath come to be with feet and consorts with her husband as a bride' (*kṛtyaiṣā padvatī bhūtvā jāyā viśate patim*). The text goes on to describe the inauspicious aspect of the Sun himself when united with this same Kṛtya, *ab intra*: 'inglorious (*asrīrā*) becomes his form when it glitters in (*ruśatī*) this evil

(*pāpāyāmuyā*, as in X.135.2) with reference to the evil way of Yama), what time the husband wraps his body in the garment of his wife', which is, of course, the 'robe of Night' of I.115.4. Analogous to this is the allusion in I.105.2 where it is a part of Trita's complaint that 'the wife holds fast her husband' (*ā jāyā yuvate patim*); it is in fact only 'when the parents that cohabit in the dark are separated that they pass over the Babe' (*kṛṣṇaprutau vevije asya sakṣitā ubhā tarete abhi mātarā śiṣum*, I.140.3); 'In the Angel's mansion were the First, from their diremption rose the others' (*kṛtatṛād eṣām uparā udāyan*, X.27.23); it is when the sacrificer makes his Soma offering that mighty Father Heaven breaks from the embrace I.71.6; and this separation of Heaven and Earth, effected by the sacrifice, is the essential act of creation, *RV*, *passim* in which the desirous principles are destined to find a home and prolong their line, as in a promised land.

If the husband is inglorious when he wears the woman's robe, that is in fact a snake-skin, she herself becomes glorious when she puts off the dark robe (I.113.4 cited above), and 'shines forth radiant in wakes, uncovers Heaven's ends and drives her sister far away . . . shines out in the bright eye of her seducer' (*jārasya cakṣasā vi bhātī*, I.92.11, cf. X.189.2 *antaś carati rocanā'sya*). That is indeed her marriage when she becomes a woman clothed with the Sun, when as in VII.81.2 'The rising Sun, refulgent Star, pours out his beams in company with hers' and then, O Dawn, may we partake together of thy shining and the Sun's; and her death, for when he suspires then she expires' (*asya prānād apānatī*, X.189.2) called the hymn of the 'Serpent Queen' (*Sārparājñī*).

Another version of the Dawn's procession can be recognized in the story of Apālā, whose name means, 'unprotected', i.e. husbandless and free woman. In VIII.91 where Indra represents the Sun and is described in terms appropriate to the Sun, the maider (*kanyā*), who is at enmity with her (former) husband (*patīdviṣah*) reflects, 'What if we go and wed with Indra?' She gives him Soma, that is, virtually performs a sacrifice to him, and asks him to raise up hair upon her father's (bald) head, his field, and upon her own body, 'here below the waist', that is, to restore the fertility of the universe; the reference to her own body indicating her extreme youth. Indra draws her through the three apertures (*kha*) of his (solar) chariot, and so cleansing (*pūtvā*) her makes for her as 'sunny skin' (*sūrya tvacam*). According to the quite intelligible legend cited by Śaṅkara, Apālā, daughter of Atri, had in fact suffered from a skin-disease, and the three skins that Indra removed from her became reptiles. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* version (I.221) we are told that Apālā desired to be rid of her 'evil colour' (*pāpam varṇam*); with the two first (*kṛkalāsa*), with the third cleansing she becomes *samśliṣṭikā* (evidently 'whitened'; the *Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa* version cited in Śaṅkara's comm. on *RV*, VIII.9.7 has *samśliṣṭikā*, beautiful of all 'forms'. In the nearly identical versions of *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, IX.2.14, the woman's name is *akūpāra* (in literal significance identical with 'Aditi', 'In-finite'), she is an Angirasi (thus of Agni's kin), and it is expressly stated that her 'skin was like a lizard's' (*godha*), that is reptilian and scaly. In X.85.34, Sūrya's cast off garment

(*samulyam*, to be connected rather with *samala*, 'foul', than any word implying 'woollen') is significantly described as 'rasping, coarse, prickly, poisonous, and inedible'; the curious expression 'inedible' (*na... attave*) corresponding to *Atharvaveda*, I.11.4 where the chorion or after-birth (*yardya*, a term applied to the slough of a snake in *ib*, I.27.1) is said to be 'for the dog to eat' (*śune... attave*). In any case, it is clear that the old skins are removed and a glorious skin revealed, making Apālā fit to be Indra's bride, i.e. Sūryā to be the Sun's. With *sūryatvacam* above cf. *Atharvaveda*, II.2.1 where the Gandharva Viśvāvasu (=Vena, the Sun, *ibid.*, II.1) is himself 'sun-skinned... (*sūrya tvak*); in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXIII.16.5 where the sacrificers "make a skin for themselves" (*tvacam eva kūrute*) a 'sun-skin' is to be understood; like that of those who are sun-skinned' in *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, X.4.

We have long suspected that Apālā becomes in the Buddha legend Sujātā, who in the *Jātaka* (I.69) is the daughter of a farmer, desires a husband, and brings an offering of milk to the Bodhisattva, seated beneath the Bodhi tree, on the eve of the Great Awakening. Sujātā, in fact, becomes the consort of Indra. The fullest account occurs in *Jātaka* No. 31, text I, p. 205. Here Sujātā is the fourth of Indra's handmaidens (*padaparicāṅkā*); three having died are reborn in the same status, according to their virtue, but Sujātā, 'because she had performed no deed of virtue' (*kusalakamassa akatatta*, cf. 'akrya' discussed in Note 13) is reborn as a crane. Indra seeks her, finds, and instructs her, and proves by a trial that she has experienced a change of heart. She is next reborn in the potter's family; Indra seeks her out, and makes her a gift in acknowledgement of her virtue. She is reborn a third time as the daughter of the Asura Vepacittiya (it will not be overlooked that the three births correspond to the three cleansings of Apālā), and because of her virtue is very beautiful (*abhirūpa*); her father (who corresponds to Tvaṣṭr in the Sūrya versions) arranges her for marriage, and summons an assembly of Asuras so that she may choose a husband for herself. Indra assumes the 'asura colour, or appearance' (*asuravannam = asūrya-varṇam*, and this corresponds to X.85.30 quoted above) and takes his place in the assembly (really a *svayamvara*) where Sujātā chooses him to be her husband, and he makes her his chief queen. Indra in this story represents a previous incarnation of the Buddha. In the last incarnation where the Bodhisattva is no longer identified with Indra (in the sense of Vedic dual Indrāgni) the requirement of the narrative makes it impossible for Sujātā to become the Buddha's wife, and she remains Indra's, though we may suspect that the Bodhisattva's actual wife Yaśodharā is really the alter ego of Sujātā.

Given other parallels, it is worth noting that Uṣas is more than once in *RV*, addressed as 'well born', or if we treat this as a name, as 'Sujātā' (I.123.3, *uṣo devi... sujāte*; VII.77.6 *divo duhitar... uṣaḥ sujāte*); this merely confirmatory evidence was remarked only after the identification had already been in mind for some years. Conversely, the designation of Uṣas as Maghoni in VII.75.5, is already suggestive of Maghavan, i.e. Indra. We are also inclined to identify the *kanyā* and Sujātā of our texts with the *sukanyā*, daughter of Śaryāta, who becomes the wife of Cyavana in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.1.5; but as this

involves a discussion of the identity of Cyavana, Atri, and others, the possibility must remain to be taken up on other occasion. It may, however, be pointed out that just as the Sun is inglorious when he wears the guise of Kṛtya, so in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.1.5.1, the inveterated (*jīṛṇaḥ*) Cyavana is 'of Kṛtya's aspect' (*kṛtyā-rūpaḥ*); that *jahe*, 'he was left behind' corresponds to X.124.4, 'I leave behind the Father' (*pitaram jahāmi*); and that the name Cyavana or Cyavana, 'fallen away', corresponds to X.124.4 where 'Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma fall away' (*cyavante*) cf. too the 'five fold offering' made by Sunṛta to Brahmanaspati in *RV*, I.40.3. *Atharvaveda*, I.27 offers unmistakably a condensed account Indrāṇī's procession and marriage. Verse 1 opens, 'On yonder shore (*amūh pāre*) are thrice seven adders (*prḍākvah*) that have cast their skins' (*nirjarāyavah*). All that the cast skins are good for is to blindfold the vicious beings that beset the paths, the highway men (*paripanthinaḥ*) who are inimical to the proceeding principles. Verses 2 and 3 are apotropaic in the same sense. Verse 4 continues in a language which is now readily comprehensible, 'Let the two feet go forward, let them visibly proceed; bear (her) to the homes of Pṛṇa (*vahatam pṛṇato gṛhān*); let Indrāṇī go forth foremost, unconquered, unrobbed, to the East'. Here *vahatam gṛhān* is a quite technical expression implying 'lead home the bride'. Pṛṇa is a designation either of the Sun, cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.7.2.1 where the 'world filling' (*lokam—pṛṇa*) brick represents the Sun, who 'fill the worlds' (*lokam pūrayati*); or of Indra as the Sun, cf. IV.19.7, where Indra 'fills the regions' (*ā rodasī aprṇat*, III.2.7, *pṛṇakṣi rodasī ubhe*, X.140.2, and *passim*).

In any case the evidence assembled above suffices to show that the procession of the 'Serpents' on the male side, who 'creep further' (*ati sarṇante*) and become Ādityas, as related in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV. 15 ample support for which can be cited from the *Rgveda*, is paralleled on the female side. Apart from their ontological interest, the general conclusion provides a sound basis for the interpretation of many peculiarities of the later Indian iconography'.