

J. A. B. van Buitenen

THE MAITRĀYANĪYA
UPANISAD

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THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA UPANIṢAD

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THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA
UPANIṢAD

A CRITICAL ESSAY, WITH TEXT,
TRANSLATION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN

MOUTON & CO . 1962 . 'S-GRAVENHAGE

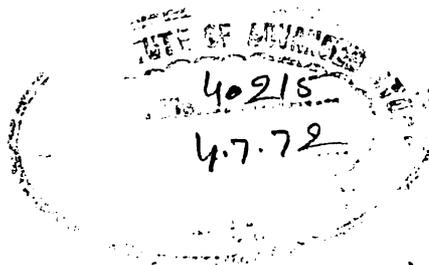
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PREFACE

Among the sources for the study of the development of late-upaniṣadic speculation, and of the gradual emergence of systematic thought in the history of Indian philosophy, few have been studied so little and so incidentally as that collection of disparate texts known vaguely as the “minor Upaniṣads.” Until recently even the materials for sound study were lacking; but in the years following F. Otto Schrader’s edition of some minor Upaniṣads, the Adyar Library has been editing a goodly number of these brief texts and fairly reliable textual materials have become available to lend firm philological support to further studies.

With a notion to explore the problems offered by a study of “minor” upaniṣads, I chose the text variously known as Maitri, Maitreya, Maitrāyaṇa, Maitrāyaṇī and Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad. It is neither a “principal” or “classical”, nor yet entirely a “minor” upaniṣad, but falls somewhere between these uncertain and arbitrary categories. The uncertainty of the place of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad is the reason that the text has received different treatment at different hands. Max Müller, followed by Schroeder, thought it belonged “to an early rather than a late period”,¹ but this opinion is now given up. Macdonell² concludes that its late date is undoubted: “It is in fact a summing up of the old upaniṣadic doctrines with an admixture of ideas derived from the Sāṃkhya system and Buddhism.” For Oldenberg,³ too, it is “ein überaus buntscheckiges und verwirrtes Durcheinander von alten Opfervorstellungen, ritueller Symbolik, und von verhältnismässig jungen Philosophemen”. Deussen⁴ agrees, but with a difference: “Wie Plotin den Platonismus erneuert unter Beimischung aristotelischer und stoischer Elemente, so erneuert die Maitrāyaṇa-Upanishad die alte Upanishadlehre unter Beimischung von Elementen der Sāṃkhyalehre und des Buddhismus.”

For most scholars, however, its possible interest is obscured by its

¹ Max Müller, *The Upaniṣads* (vol. 2), *SBE*, XV (Oxford, 1884), p. L.

² A. A. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature* (New York, 1900), p. 250.

³ H. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus* (Göttingen, 1915), p. 206.

⁴ Paul Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (Leipzig, 1905⁵), p. 313.

lack of clear and consistent doctrine. Probably for the same reason it is not included among the upaniṣads commented upon by Śaṅkara, but a similar uncertainty about whether the upaniṣad is worthwhile was felt by Indian scholarship, for while it is excluded from Śaṅkara's ten, it is included among Vidyāraṇya's twelve. Sāṃkhya quotes from it, but Vedānta passes it by until Rāmatīrtha in the seventeenth century commented on a by then rather deteriorated text. Likewise Max Müller, Hume and Radhakrishnan call it a principal Upaniṣad, while Renou in his *Bibliographie védique* expresses a more general feeling by listing it under the minor upaniṣads. Equally uncertain is its place in the Veda tradition. The Muktikā Upaniṣad assigns it to the Sāmaveda, for reasons beyond surmise, while the editor Mahādeva Śāstrī includes it among the sāmānya-vedānta-upaniṣads. Rāmatīrtha, Vidyāraṇya, Deussen and Hauer⁵ accept it, however, as a text of the Maitrāyaṇiyaśākhā of the black Yajurveda.

Its lack of uniformity has caused most scholars to make only a passing and random use of it in their versions of upaniṣadic thought; but Maryla Falk has accorded it an important place in the history of the ātman doctrine. She rejects, however, quite a few parts of it as "le aggiunte del redattore ortodosso, che cerca di combiare il senso molto evidente della dottrina esposta nella nostra Upaniṣad ... La completa stonatura di questi aggiunte è troppo manifesta per soffermarcisi oltre."⁶ In effect she would like the text to end at chapter six, section 30, as also Deussen wants to assume: "Dass die Upanishad mit Prapāṭhaka 6.30 ursprünglich abschloss ist sehr wahrscheinlich."⁷ This is again disputed by Hauer: "Sie enthält einmal uralte Opferspekulationen brahmanischen Stils, die bis an die vedische Zeit heranreichen. Dass ihre Alttertümlichkeiten gewollte Archaismen seien, wie Deussen meint, ist eine völlig unbewiesene Behauptung." On the other hand, he too feels that "der Grundstock der Upanishad wird wohl in die Buddhistische Zeit gehören."⁸

One cannot escape the feeling that a number of the opinions that have been expressed by scholars concerning our text are open to further substantiation by a thorough study of it. For example, much too much emphasis is traditionally laid on the "Buddhism" of the text; but this is merely a matter of tone in Bṛhadratha's plaint in the first chapter (which

⁵ J. W. Hauer, *Der Yoga* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 99 f.

⁶ Maryla Falk, *Il Mito psicologico dell' India antica* (Memoria, Lincean Academy, ser. vi, vol. viii, fasc. v, Rome, 1929), p. 225 f.

⁷ *O.c.*, p. 313.

⁸ *O.c.*, p. 100.

leads him to the unbuddhistic request to receive instruction about the ātman), and of a line or two in the obviously very late appendix of the last chapter. More remarkably, the existence of different versions has been ignored, though they have been known since Cowell's description of his manuscripts in 1870, with the publication of the summary by Vidyāraṇya, and no longer to be ignored after Mahadeva Śāstri's edition of the southern Maitrāyaṇi in 1921.

It seems to me that clarity can be found in its "buntscheckigen und verwirrten Durcheinander" by approaching the text as a critical problem; that with the aid of lower and higher criticism the various components that went into the making of the present text can be identified and the doctrines laid down there can be recognized and described. If we do so, it becomes clear that the larger text is a composite of several brief texts which envelop an ancient prose upaniṣad which has suffered much, but is essentially still intact. External evidence makes it possible to expose the agile hand of an editor who attempted to interpret the composite text which he found as one single context of inherent consistency and who did not hesitate to interpolate consistency where the text must fail him. Separately extant versions of part of it enable us to identify, and tentatively to isolate, independent contexts incorporated in it, and to suggest how the present text has grown to its present size and hybridity.

The editorial organisation of the larger text, the Vulgate, which was begun by the original editor, was completed by Rāmatīrtha, who perpetuated, by his ingenious interpretations, a great number of evident corruptions which found their way into the translations of Cowell, Deussen, Hume and Radhakrishnan, on whom his influence has been profound.

It is not necessary to point out the difficulties that must remain in such a complete analysis and reconstruction as I have here attempted. Therefore this study cannot be described as more than an essay. With all the space necessarily devoted to the dissection of the components, it is clear that our main business remains with the *textus receptus*. Consequently this study is split into two parts, one dealing with a study of the separate texts of the Vulgate, esp. the original Maitrāyaṇiya, the second containing the complete text with a new translation of the Vulgate. Repetition was unavoidable, but I hope it will serve to clarify what otherwise might easily become confusing.

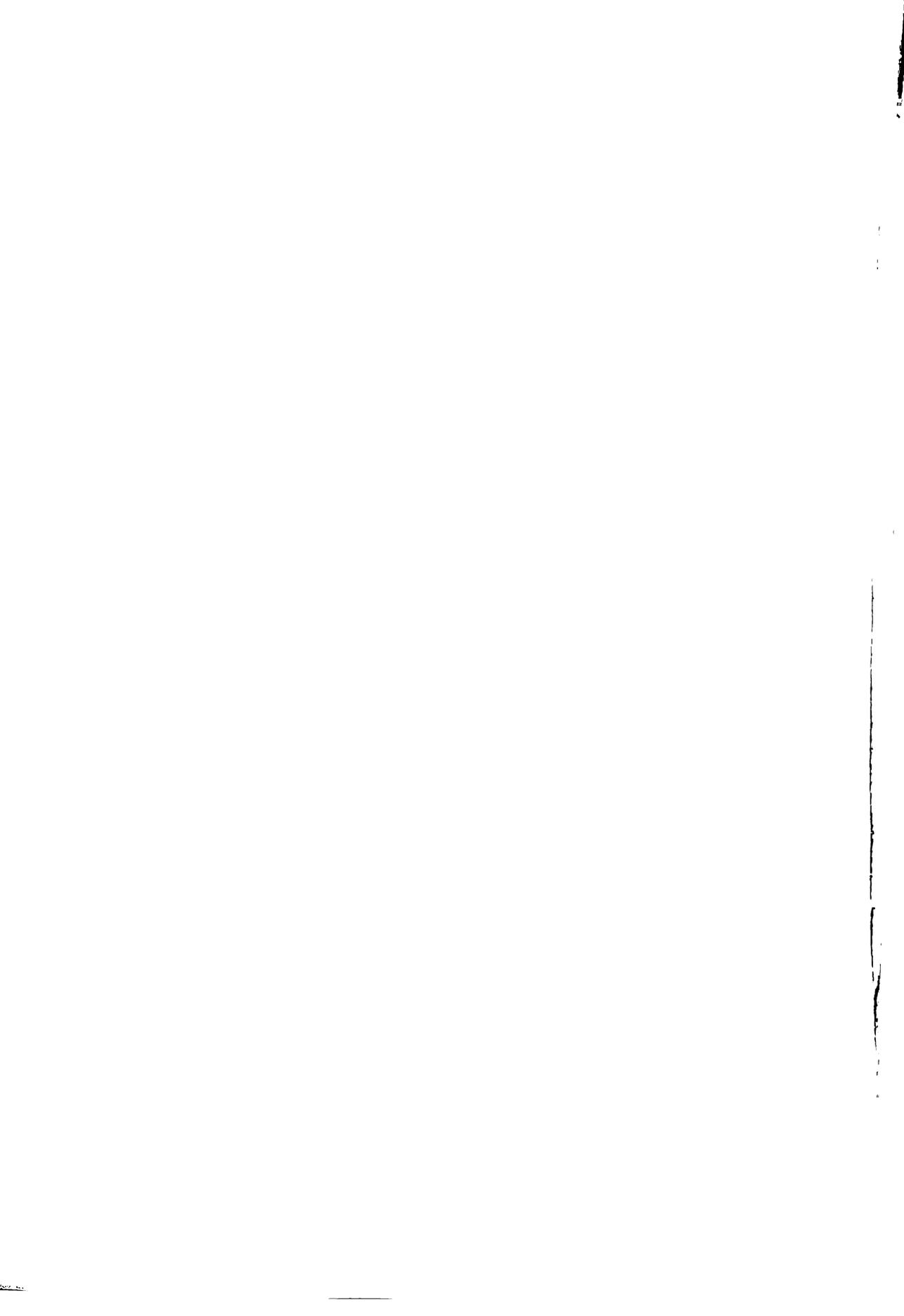


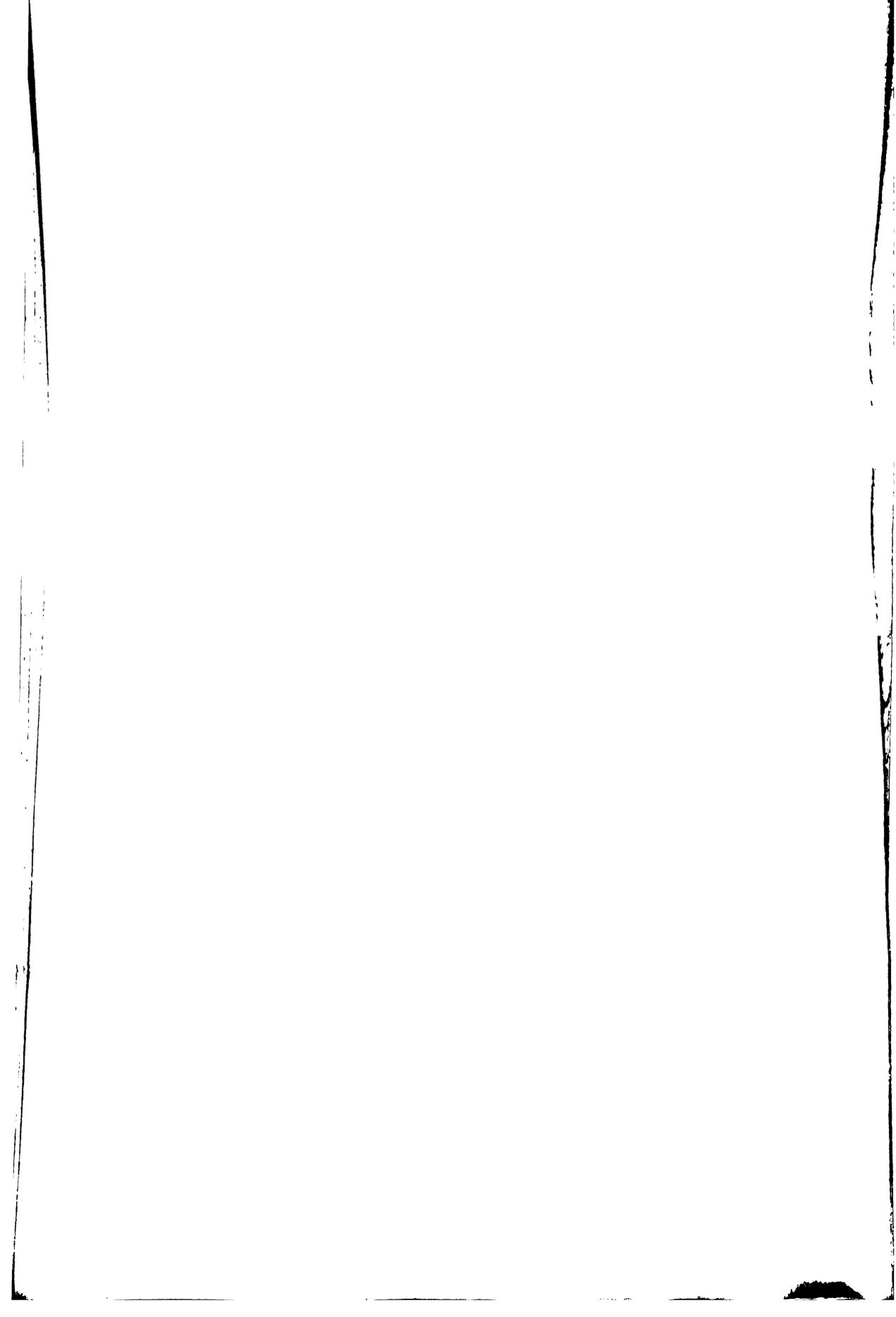
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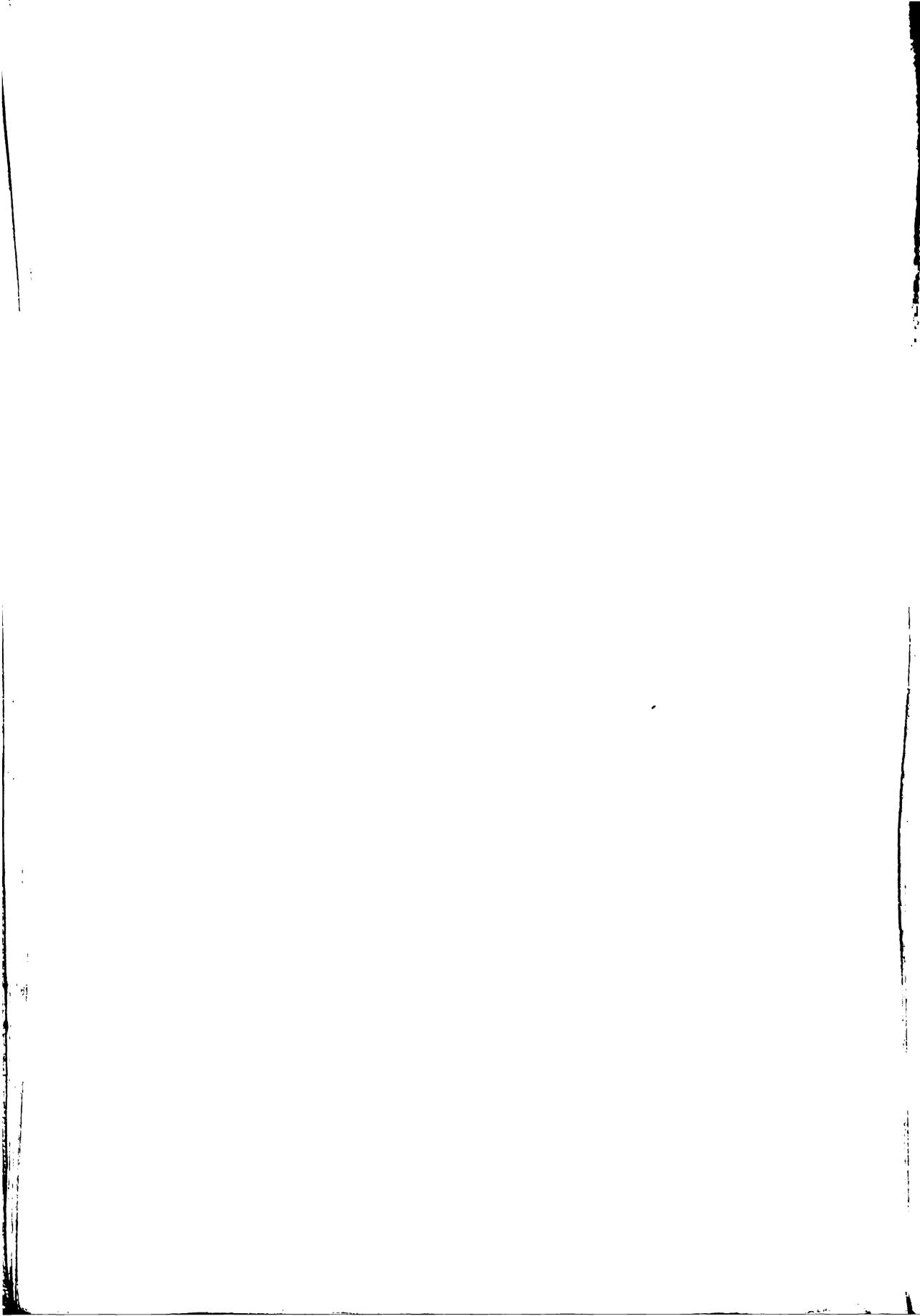
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PART ONE



THE VULGATE OF THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA UPANIṢAD AND
THE SOUTHERN MAITRĀYAṆĪ VERSION

§ 1. At the beginning of his comments on the sixth chapter of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, the commentator Rāmatīrtha¹ makes an interesting remark. He notes: *asya ca prapāṭhakasya khilatvān nātīvātra saṃgatayo 'pekṣyante | tathāpi yathāmati saṃhatim ūhamānā akṣarāṇi vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* – “since this chapter is an appendix, not too much coherence should be expected in it; even so we shall explain the text literally, while guessing at the connection in so far as we understand it.”

This forthright remark has been repeated by modern scholars. After the first five chapters, which on the whole seem to present a more uniform character, the sixth and seventh prapāṭhakas appear to be full of inconsistencies and desultory portions, which have been described as appendices, accretions, and, in part at least, interpolations. They are riddled with quotations from other upaniṣadic as well as unidentified sources, digressing into extraneous discussions without much contextual relevancy; and their connections with the preceding chapters seem very tenuous indeed.

Although this text has received more attention than most other “minor” upaniṣads, yet no serious attempt has been made to disentangle the relations between these apparently different portions of the same text, by applying to it, for example, the methods of critical analysis. The materials for textual criticism are not lacking, in fact they are surprisingly abundant. The present study is an attempt to make sense of the evidence that is available.

§ 2. We may start with the first curiosity of that version of our text which we shall call the Vulgate (V). This is the most generally known version of the upaniṣad, commented upon by Rāmatīrtha,² edited and translated by Cowell, and retranslated by Deussen and Hume and Rādhākṛishnan. This version is known under different names, Maitri (Maitrī), Maitrāyaṇa, and Maitrāyaṇīya.

V begins as follows: *brahmayajño vā yat pūrveṣāṃ cayanam | tasmād*

¹ Likely to be identical with the seventeenth-century commentator on Śaṅkara's *Upadeśasāhasrī*.

² See Bibliography.

yajamānaś citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet | sa pūrṇaḥ khalu vā addhāvikalaha sampadyate yajñaha. Leaving the correct translation aside for the moment, we want to point out that here explicitly the *abhidhyāna* of the fires, or of the ritual of the laying of the fires, is announced as the theme, but that not a single reference to this theme is found before V 6.33, that is far into the so-called appendix. Only there do we find the continuation of the esoteric instructions announced in V 1.1: the *agnicayana* or *agnyādhāna*,³ the *tanūhavirīṣṭi*, and the *agnihotra*. The text itself takes cognizance of this fact by introducing the entire long portion intervening after V 1.1 as an *upākhyāna*, an illustrative instruction. Specifically the *upākhyāna* is adduced to illustrate the equation *ātman = prāṇa*, which follows in V 1.1 after the lines just quoted: *kaḥ so 'bhidhyeyo 'yaṃ yaḥ prāṇākhyah | tasyopākhyānam.*

The *upākhyāna* begins in V 1.2 with the story of King Bṛhadratha, who is in quest for the redeeming knowledge; the instruction he receives is concluded in V 6.30, when he attains release. Thus the very manner in which the text is presented points up the fact that V 1.1 is directly connected with V 6.33, a fact clear enough without reminder. This should immediately dispose of one question: V 6.33 ff. cannot be merely an appendix, though V 6.1–32 might be one. If we wish to raise the question which of the text portions is secondary, it is more likely to be the portion V 1.2–6.32 which the text presents as an intervening narrative. That this narrative exceeds in length the portion to which it is added may be confusing, but it is strictly irrelevant.

§3. Is the *upākhyāna* secondary? Ordinarily this question should not be raised before a detailed study of the supposedly different text portions had revealed discrepancies sufficiently serious to render their unity doubtful. But of such matters of higher criticism the demands of lower textual criticism take precedence.

There exists a version of our upaniṣad, entitled Maitrāyaṇī, which, *inter alia*, omits precisely one of the text portions which we *a priori* distinguished, namely V 1.1 and V chs. 6–7. It is a southern version and we shall call it the Southern Maitrāyaṇī (SM). It was summarized by Vidyāraṇya⁴ and has been edited with a late commentary by Mahādeva Śāstrī.⁵

³ Speculations which apparently derive from the *agnicayana* complex are here applied to the *agnyādhāna*.

⁴ *Sarvopaniṣadarthānubhūtiprakāśa*, ch. 10, appended to Cowell's edition.

⁵ Pt. A. Mahādeva Śāstrī, *Sāmānya Vedānta Upaniṣads*, see Bibliography; this is the version already noted by Cowell, *o.c.*, p. vi-vii.

Apart from this principal omission, there are several major differences between V and SM, and on investigation it becomes clear that all these major differences are correlated with the principal omission. For the rest the two versions remain surprisingly close, without disagreeing much more than two somewhat remote manuscripts of the same text are apt to do. It is important to note this, for SM cannot now be regarded as simply a poor version of V.

There are several possibilities. Either SM derives from (an archetype of) V, in which case SM can have no bearing on the authenticity of the *upākhyāna*. Or SM does not derive from V at all, but was originally a separate text which also happened to be incorporated in V. Or, finally, SM both does, and does not derive from V, in the sense that SM originally was a separate text also incorporated in V, but was subsequently through conflation strongly influenced by V. Since the last possibility presupposes the second, we can leave it aside until SM's relation with V has been cleared up.

§ 4. The major differences between V and SM are those of omission. The following table shows the concordance between the two versions.

V	1.1	1.2-4	2.1-6	2.7	3.1-4	4.1	4.2-3	4.4-6	...	5.1-2	6 & 7
SM	...	1.1-7	2.1-6	2.7-11	3.1-4	...	4.1-2	4.3	4.4-5

Apart from minor variations in the division and numbering of sections, the principal deviation is that SM omits V 1.1; 4.1; 4.4-6; chs. 6 and 7. SM contains the additional section 4.3, but that is only in appearance; for that section contains a group of ślokas which are found in V ch. 6. We shall for the moment disregard SM's omission of V 4.1, which is found in some MSS of SM, and concentrate on the other differences.

a. *The text V 1.1 and chs 6 and 7.* We have noted the continuity between V 1.1 and V 6.33 ff. which bear upon the esoteric doctrine of the *agnyādhāna*. SM omits all references to these ritual speculations.

b. *The sections V 4.4-6.* These sections prelude in V to chapters 6 and 7, which SM omits, so that the omission of V 4.4-6 is consistent with the omission of V chs. 6 and 7.

c. *The section SM 4.3.* SM contains in 4.3 a group of eleven ślokas which in V are to be found in 6.34, in the middle of a text on the *tanūhaviṛiṣṭi*. It is completely clear that their position in SM, which would correspond to V 4.4 is the more correct one. These yogic ślokas follow naturally and appropriately after the two ślokas of SM 4.1-2 =

V 4.2–3, whereas in V their link with the context is tenuous in the extreme and transparent interpolations had to be added to force a connection. We shall revert to this presently.⁶

d. *The variants of V 5.2 = SM 4.5.* This common section presents highly significant variant readings between the two versions, variants correlated both with SM's omissions noted under a, and that noted under b. To elucidate this point, we must briefly consider the contents of the preceding text portions. The *upākhyāna* adduced to V 1.1 describes King Bṛhadratha's quest for the redeeming knowledge and the exposition of this knowledge by the sage Śākāyana. The Bṛhadratha Story in turn becomes the cadre for the Vālakhilya Story, in which the Vālakhilyas ask their begetter Prajāpati⁷ about that principle which underlies and activates the transitory body. Prajāpati's reply takes the form of a Sāṃkhyan exposition on *puruṣa* and *kṣetrajñā*. Thereupon in V 4.1, which is omitted in the majority of SM MSS, the Vālakhilyas ask a further question: how can the *bhūtātman* be countered? Again, in V 4.5, omitted by all SM MSS, the Vālakhilyas ask still another question: "Some people meditate on this form, others on that form, among *agni*, *vāyu*, *āditya*, *kāla*, *prāṇa*, *anna*, Brahma, Rudra and Viṣṇu. Which one is the best?" Answer: "Anyone will do, because they are all brahman's chief bodies (*agryās tanavaḥ*)."

Now, although some of these entities occur elsewhere in sections common to both V and SM, there can be no doubt that this question in V preludes to V 6.1 ff., where all of these entities, but not the trinity of Brahmā etc., are described as aspects or forms of brahman. The trinity, however, occurs in one section shared by V (5.2) and SM (4.5), with characteristic variants. SM reads here: *tasya prajāpateḥ proktā agryās tanavo brahmā rudro viṣṇur iti*; but V has: *asya prāg uktā etās tanavaḥ*, omitting *brahmā rudro viṣṇur iti*. In other words, V has two additional sections concerning a number of entities and deities which occur connectedly only in V ch. 6, which SM omits. In order to describe these entities and deities, V employs the expression *agryās tanavaḥ*. This expression is found in another section of SM where it describes the relationship between Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu, and the supreme being called Prajāpati. For SM the three deities sum up the *agryās tanavaḥ*, but V, for reasons of its own, has a longer series extracted from V ch. 6, and cannot therefore identify these bodies with the three deities alone.

⁶ See below p. 72ff.

⁷ Kratu Prajāpati (so V.; SM has just Prajāpati) is known as the father of the Vālakhilyas.

Finally since reference had already twice been made by V to these same chief bodies in V 4.6, V has *prāg uktāḥ*, where SM has *proktāḥ*, while we also note that the qualification *agryāḥ* which SM has there is placed by V in V 4.5. Thus V is consistent with its additions, but SM is entirely consistent with its omissions.

§ 5. We now have sufficient evidence to determine the relationship between V and SM. Either SM derives from V, or it does not. If SM derives from V, the differences between the two are due either to accidental changes in the manuscript tradition of SM, or to deliberate alterations, and in either case the changes may have started from an archetype of V, which was different from our present Vulgate version.

Now it is out of the question that SM is the product of accidental changes starting from (an archetype of) V. We should have to believe that (a series of) manuscripts, while in other readings remaining remarkably close to their archetype, nevertheless dropped consistently all such sections in advance which related to later chapters also to be accidentally omitted. Yet having accidentally dropped V chapters 6 and 7, they retained a stray collection of eleven ślokas from a section of the original where they made preciously little sense, and inserted them bodily at a much more appropriate place. This, of course, is incredible. Even if we entertain the possibility that their V archetype had the ślokas in their proper place, the other coincidences are altogether too consistent to be coincidences at all.

Then, were these changes made deliberately by someone? But why should he arbitrarily distort a śruti text and suppress about half of it? Why would he have eliminated the conclusion of the Bṛhadratha Story, the king's enlightenment and ascension to heaven? And how could he have resisted the temptation of adding to his text, instead of eliminating only, and eliminating with admirable editorial precision? I can find no motivation for a scribe to behave so eccentrically, to check carefully all references and make sure no pointer remained to sections which he, inexplicably, had decided to suppress. There is no reason to assume his existence.

If it is, therefore, out of the question that SM derives from V, we are left to conclude that SM existed as a separate text, which is separately preserved as the so-called Southern version of V, and that this separate text, in essence containing the Bṛhadratha and the Vālakhilya Stories, at one point was incorporated in another text to form the composite Vulgate. This conclusion is unavoidable, and my further conclusions will be predicated upon it.

§ 6. The admission that V is a composite text raises a number of important questions. First, as all the sections which are now found inserted into the SM portion of V but are not found in the separately preserved text of SM must be interpolations, the question rises why they were inserted.

We have seen that V 4.5–6, which is such an insertion, refers forward to V 6.1 ff., outside the SM context. The purpose of these two inserted sections is to assert that all the entities mentioned in V 6.1 ff. are forms of brahman. It is clear that the interpolator wanted to connect the two texts, SM and that text into which SM was incorporated.

The method he followed is instructive. He made use of the structure of the Vāḷakhilya Story, which has the form of a dialogue, by adding another question and answer. Not only that, he also made use of authentic terms and phrases from the two texts he sought to combine, *agryās tanavaḥ* of SM, and *kṛtsnakṣaya*⁸ and *ekatvam eti* of V 6.17. Such artifices of editorial supplementation are quite effective and it will be useful to keep them in mind.

Another interpolation, V 4.4, which precedes the one just discussed, adds to our knowledge of the man's methods. The passage reads: *asti brahmeti brahnavidyāvid abravīt | brahmadvāram idam ity evaitad āha yas tapasāpahatapāpmā | OM brahmaṇo mahimety evaitad āha suyukto 'jasraṃ cintayati | tasmād vidyayā tapasā cintayā copalabhyate brahma | sa brahmaṇo para etā bhavaty adhidaivatam devebhyas cety akṣayyam aparimitam anāmayaṃ sukham aśnute ya evaṃ vidvān anena trikeṇa brahmopāste | atha yaiḥ paripūrṇo 'bhībhūto 'yaṃ rathitas ca tair vaiva muktas tv ātmann eva sāyujyam upaiti*. Translated: "He who knows the Vedic lore says, Brahman exists. (But) he who has been purified of all impurities through *tapas* says, That it is only the portal to the (higher) Brahman. (He who,) being well-trained in yoga, meditates constantly says, *OM* is the greatness of Brahman. Therefore Brahman is attained to by means of knowledge, *tapas* and meditation. Beyond Brahmā and the gods he shall come to overlordship of the gods, he shall partake of indestructible, boundless, faultless bliss, who, knowing this, seeks to know Brahman with these three means. Thus, being freed from the objects by which he was entirely filled, overwhelmed, and driven like a chariot,⁹ he attains to complete union in the ātman alone."

⁸ I doubt however the authenticity of *kṛtsnakṣaye* in a section belonging to the original Maitrāyaṇīya.

⁹ *paripūrṇo 'bhībhūto 'yaṃ rathitas*, expressions taken from V (SM) 3.4; SM 3.1–2; and V 2.6 (SM 2.10) respectively.

This passage is important for several reasons. First we do well to note the awkward style. Its significance however lies mainly in the fact that it seeks to make a transition from the preceding sections of SM to the interpolation V 4.5–6, which in turn preludes to V 6.1ff. Thus the passage in effect marks the transition from the incorporated SM text as a whole to the speculations which are to follow in the original sections of V.

To establish a transition, the interpolator had to reinterpret the preceding section SM 4.2 = V 4.3, which tells how the *bhūtātman* can be countered: *ayaṃ vāva khalv asya pratividhir bhūtātmano yad vedavidyādhigamaḥ svadharmasyānucaraṇaṃ svāśrameṣv evānukramaṇaṃ svadharmā eva sarvaṃ dhatte stambaśākhevetarāṇy anenordhvabhāg bhavati | āśrameṣv evāvasthitas tapasvī cety ucyate | etad apy uktam – nātapaskasyātmajñāne 'dhigamaḥ karmaśuddhiś ceti | evaṃ hy āha –*

*tapasā prāpyate sattvaṃ sattvāt saṃprāpyate manaḥ |
manasā prāpyate hy ātmā yam āptvā na nivartate ||*

Translation: “This then is the instruction on how to counter the *bhūtātman*. To learn the Vedic lore, to observe one’s own dharma, to pursue one’s appropriate stages of life. One puts everything into one’s own dharma...¹⁰ thus one comes to partake of the high, he who remains in the stages of life and he who is an ascetic, so it is said. It is also said: without *tapas* one cannot learn the knowledge of the ātman or be purified of *karman*. For thus he says: ‘Through *tapas* the *sattva* is reached, through *sattva* the *manas* is reached, through the *manas* the ātman is reached, having reached which one does not return.’ ”

Into these lines the interpolator has read a three-stepped succession. The first stage is the *vedavidyādhigamaḥ*, i.e. the Vedic lore of the *brahman*, viz. the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. *asti brahma* is quoted from TaittUp. 2.6.1. This knowledge of the lower *brahman* is the portal to the higher knowledge: *brahmadvāram*, a knowledge acquired only through *tapas*. This the interpolator concludes from *nātapaskasyātmajñāne 'dhigamaḥ* etc. Through *tapas* one reaches purity (*sattva*) and purification from *karman* (*karmaśuddhiḥ*), hence one is *tapasāpahatapāpmā*. At this stage one is eligible for the knowledge of the higher *brahman*, which is indicated by *OM*, or *akṣara*,¹¹ a term which is elsewhere also found opposed to the lower *brahman*, i.e. the Vedic lore. Here we surely have

¹⁰ *stambaśākhevetarāṇi* must be corrupt; cf. below note 31, p. 129.

¹¹ On the meaning of the “syllable”, see my “Akṣara” (*JAOS*, 1959).

to understand such passages as MuṇḍUp. 1.4–5, *dve vidye veditavye*, that is to say, two *brahmavidyās*, a lower one, which is described as Vedas and Vedāṅgas, and a higher one through which one knows the *akṣara* (*atha parā yayā tad akṣaram adhiḡamyate*); cf. also ib. 1.2.13 *yenākṣaram puruṣam veda satyaṃ provāca tām tattvato brahmavidyām*: “that through which one knows the *akṣara*, the *puruṣa*, the *satya*, the which is properly called the *brahman*-knowledge.” The “imperishable bliss”, which is the reward of one’s concentration, may be connected with V 4.3 *ātmā yam āptvā na nivartate*; but since this comment in effect replaces the 11 displaced ślokas originally found here, we might even prefer to connect it with the fourth śloka *sukham avyayam aśnute*.

It is clear what has happened here. Starting from the original yogic sections of V. 4.2–3, which were still part of the inserted SM text, the interpolator has tried to assign to these sections a specific significance, as though they described three successive stages of preparation for enlightenment: 1. the *vedavidyā*; 2. *tapas*, or yoga training, as a propedeusis to 3. the meditation on the higher *brahman*. Thus the door is opened to further instructions on the subject of this meditation. And at this precise moment follows the interpolated question about the several “forms” of *brahman*, which links SM up with the following chapters 6 and 7 of the Vulgate.

We now discern our interpolator’s technique in greater detail. In order to connect a certain, in its entirety inserted, sub-text of V with the following portions of V, which present a teaching conspicuously different in content and tone, he makes an adroit use of an episode in this sub-text, the Vālakhilya Story, to introduce an additional question and answer in the cadre of the preceding dialogue. This additional piece of dialogue is itself introduced by an extra section, which interprets the preceding, authentic SM sections in such a way that the transition to a new subject is facilitated. In doing so he uses, as far as feasible, words and phrases from the original texts, and he corroborates his additions with explicit and implicit śruti references. We must note that he is systematic. These interpolations are by no means jotted-down glosses which happened to intrude upon the text; they are well-considered doctrinal and structural modifications of the text. At this point we must cease calling him an interpolator and treat him as an editor.

§ 7. What motivated this editor? Before attempting an answer, we should consider a prior question: was this editor also responsible for the insertion of the sub-text SM? Though no certainty can be had, I am inclined to doubt this. The nucleus of the non-SM text of V was related

to the *agnicayana*; it seems unlikely that anyone, inserting a new text for reasons of his own (among which the most important must have been to shed light on the *agniciti* subject), would remove from his composite text the main component and delegate it to a sort of appendix.¹² Rather I would presume that SM and the rest of V had already coalesced to some extent. We can point at many cases of coalescences (the Mahābhārata is a monument to it), in fact, by a curious coincidence, it has happened another time to the SM version of our upaniṣad.¹³

Whether the two texts were deliberately or accidentally combined, the main fact is that an original text was fused with SM in one manuscript tradition, and two causes can be adduced to explain this.

First the title. The titles must have resembled each other strongly. The Vulgate has two names in its manuscripts, and Cowell was well-advised to keep them both: *Maitri* and *Maitrāyaṇa*/*Maitrāyaṇīya*. It can be argued that in these two names the original titles of the two component texts survive. Not only the external evidence of one title, also some internal evidence of sandhi formations and ritual references, go to show that the original V text was an upaniṣad of the Maitrāyaṇīya branch of the Black Yajurveda. That the *śākhā* transmission was interrupted early and the text henceforth transmitted in manuscript (with all inherent occasions for corruption), is shown by the confusion about its Vedic association, which made the Muktikā Upaniṣad assign the Vulgate to the Sāmaveda.¹⁴ However, SM apparently goes under one name, and that a misnomer: *Maitrāyaṇī*. It is a text without apparent Vedic relationships which, had it been in śloka, might have turned up as part of the Mokṣadharmā. The name *Maitri* must derive from the sage Maitri, a sage whom V presents as the teacher who transmitted the dialogue of Prajāpati and the Vālakhilyas to Śākāyanya, who now transmits it to Bṛhadratha. The same sage is called Maitreya by SM. There are grounds to accept that Maitreya was his original name. First, SM's testimony on the text it has in common with V is better than V's. Secondly, the Muktikā Up. mentions a *Maitreyī Up.* but no *Maitri Up.*¹⁵ Thirdly, the Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya names several times a *Maitreya Up.*, and quotes once from a section which V and SM have in common,¹⁶

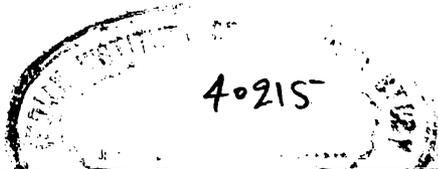
¹² Viz. after 6.30 when Bṛhadratha finds release.

¹³ The Maitreya Upaniṣad, see below p. 72ff.

¹⁴ Muktikā Up. 1.2.4.

¹⁵ Muktikā Up. 1.1.32; 1.2.4.

¹⁶ *Sāṃkhyapravacanabhāṣya* 1.36; 1.61.



and the probabilities are that the author knew the text to which this section belongs as *Maitreya*.

Fourthly, there exists another composite text, related to SM, which is called the *Maitreya Upaniṣad*.¹⁷ The first chapter corresponds partly with SM and contains in essence the Bṛhadratha Instruction. We shall discuss the relation between this *Maitreya Up.* and SM later, but we point out here already that the sage Maitri/Maitreya is associated only with the Vāikhilya Instruction, which the *Maitreya Upaniṣad* does not include; the *Maitreya Upaniṣad* therefore does not mention the sage Maitreya. Still, it is obvious that this first chapter of the *Maitreya Upaniṣad* was combined with the second chapter¹⁸ (where another Maitreya plays a role) only because the name *Maitreya* was attached to the first chapter too; and this name it must have carried either in its own right (despite the conspicuous absence of any Maitreya) or by borrowing from SM with which it is identical in its contents; in either case *Maitreya Upaniṣad* was a name known to be descriptive of a text which is represented both by *Maitreya* ch. 1 and SM.

If we then may assume that SM has also gone under the name *Maitreya/Maitreyī Upaniṣad*, it is not too bold a step to assume that its name was changed to *Maitrāyaṇī* under the influence of the Vulgate called *Maitrāyaṇīya*, whose first five chapters are identical.

But the same SM text very probably also had beside *Maitreya/Maitreyī* a variant name *Maitrī*. One of our witnesses to SM, the author Vidyāraṇya who abbreviated and described not V but SM, calls the eponymous sage not *Maitreya* but *Maitra*. We must therefore conclude that there were two manuscript traditions of SM, one of which called our sage *Maitreya*, the other *Maitra*; from the latter could be derived the text title *Maitrī*.

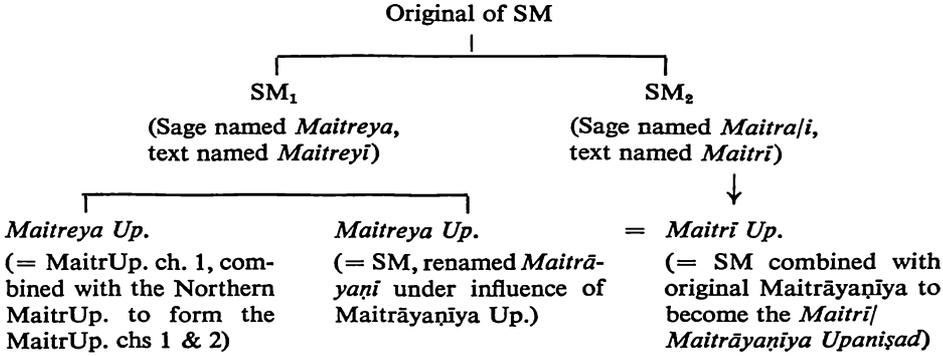
It is evident that from a *Maitrī/Maitreyī Upaniṣad* to *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* the step is particularly easy, since Maitra could be considered the eponym of the Maitrāyaṇīśākhā. Vidyāraṇya, who knows SM as *Maitrāyaṇīya*, calls his sage Maitra the (Maitrāyaṇīya-) *śākhāpravartaka*.¹⁹ The designation of *Maitreya/Maitreyī Upaniṣad* must have been dropped gradually to avoid confusion with other texts known as *Maitreya/Maitreyī*. The name *Maitrāyaṇī* was adopted because SM and V (which was always called *Maitrāyaṇīya* etc.) are largely identical.

¹⁷ Edited by Schrader, see Bibliography.

¹⁸ Which Schrader takes to be the "original" part: in Northern mss. this second chapter constitutes the entire Maitreya Up.

¹⁹ O.c., 10.55: *śākhāpravartako Maitro mahyam āha na cāparaḥ*; and 10.150.

We may order the different names in this presumptive stemma:



We may assume that two upaniṣads with confusingly similar titles were coupled together in manuscript traditions of Upaniṣad collections: already the Muktikā Up. sums them up together as *Maitrāyaṇī–Maitreyī*.²⁰ A scribe, or a user, under the misapprehension that the texts derived from the same *śākhā* or the same sage and at any rate belonged together intimately, may have had reason to add one text to the other as an *upākhyāna* at the first possible occasion, viz. after the first paragraph. This combination is only a matter of putting the loose leaves of one text between the loose leaves of another text; the principal reason that Sanskrit literature knows so many examples of inserted texts is that the Indians unfortunately did neither bind nor sew their manuscripts.

The combination of the two texts, the Maitrī Upaniṣad and the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad, could the more easily be justified – if justification were needed – as superficially the themes of both offered points of similarity. Even if we assume that the line of V 1.2 *kaḥ so 'bhidhyeyaḥ / ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇākhyāḥ* is spurious, immediately thereafter the original text went on to say that the brahman-fire has two ātmans, *prāṇa* and sun.²¹ The gist of Śākāyanya's teaching to Bṛhadratha is the identity of ātman and *marut/prāṇa*. Likewise the Vālakhilya instruction starts off with a creation account in which Prajāpati as the *prāṇa* enters his creation by dividing himself into the five *prāṇas*. The scope of the original Maitrāyaṇīya was wider; still the relationship mistakenly deduced from the titles was to a certain extent confirmed by the contents.

Our editor, then, either found the two texts already partially combined

²⁰ Muktikā Up. 1.2.4.

²¹ V 6.1, part of the original Maitrāyaṇīya, see below.

in the manner suggested above, or else the two texts were so inseparably coupled in the manuscript tradition of his region that one might speak of a double-text, just as the Maitreya Upaniṣad is a double-text. In any case he set himself to the task of clarifying the two disparate texts as one continuous discourse. This discourse included all of SM and part of the original text up to 6.33, if we may take the conclusion of the Bṛhadratha story, which is spurious, as our criterion. He virtually tripled the size of those portions of the original V, which he included while adding a large number of additional sections and reinterpreting the original text in the light of his own comprehension and yogic interests. He extended his editorial activities also to the sections 6.33 ff., though in a lesser degree. The final result of his efforts is the present Vulgate.

§ 8. Were it not for the happy survival of SM the reconstitution of the original text would be nearly hopeless. The original Maitrāyaṇīya has become mixed up completely with the editor's "commentary", which frequently misinterprets it. Though the reconstitution of the old text must of necessity remain uncertain, the task is no longer hopeless. Much can be gained by studying the *modus operandi* of the editor.

We have shown how the editor employs the data of his two texts to forge links that do not exist. He adopted the cadre of SM, borrowed phrases and terms occurring before or afterward, and added cross-references between different points of the two texts in a way characteristic of commentators.

Generally he adds to his text, but in one conspicuous case he (or chance) has changed the order of the text by displacing eleven ślokas. His quite distinctive technique helps us to explain three matters which conceivably, against our critical evidence, might be quoted as conflicting with our conclusion that SM and the Maitrāyaṇīya are two different texts altogether.

a. *The phrases athānyatrāpy uktam and evaṃ hy āha.* The Vulgate is notorious for its quotations. There are a great number of sections which are introduced by *athānyatrāpy uktam* "elsewhere it has also been said . . .," and parts of sections introduced by *iti | evaṃ hy āha* "likewise someone, or some text, says." These sections and lines are additional not only in form but also in content, since they often contain identifiable quotations from different sources.²²

These additions are very numerous in V 6, but they also occur in SM (3.3-5; 4.2). We cannot assume that this unusual practice had been

²² See below, chapter V.

followed by both texts independently before they were combined, and of course there is a connection. On our critical evidence SM existed separately, and since SM contains a few of such additional portions, the practice must have been original with SM. It is not unreasonable to admit that the same editor, who elsewhere makes a point of using elements from one text to convey its continuity with the other, also availed himself of the almost made-to-order artifice, sanctioned by SM, of inserting illustrative passages, and carried this practice over from SM, where it was sparingly followed, to V where it proliferated characteristically, just as he carried over the framework of the Vāḷakhilya Story to introduce a new dialogue, in order to facilitate the transition of SM to the second text. Nevertheless, we may not rule out the possibility that SM acquired these additional passages from an already heavily interpolated Vulgate by a process of partial conflation. Several MSS of SM have V 4.1, and the omission in the other MSS could be explained away as an accidental omission; still it is much more probable that the omission is original, and that some MSS acquired the section through conflation. Considering the technique of our editor I would prefer the first explanation, while keeping in mind that just here one may presume that numerous later hands have added to his first additions.

b. *The conclusion of the Bṛhadratha Story.* The second fact that might be quoted is that SM itself does not contain the conclusion of the Bṛhadratha Story, whereas V does; and that therefore SM must be secondary to V. But the *śravaṇaphala* is not at all an invariable feature of upaniṣadic instructions. Nor is the original shape of the Bṛhadratha Story entirely clear, though we shall later remark on it. In SM, separate or incorporated in V, the Bṛhadratha Story is a minor episode, a spring-board for the Vāḷakhilya Story, which also V does, and SM does not, “conclude”. The matter must be disposed of by internal evidence.

The conclusion of both the Bṛhadratha and the Vāḷakhilya Stories in V 6 betrays a style very similar to that which we met in other passages that are quite clearly interpolated, and its awkward phrasing contrasts with the simpler and more straightforward style of SM as a whole. There is a conspicuous effort to repeat terms from the relevant chapters of SM, from which it is now separated by several entire chapters. After no less than ten additional sections with *athānyatrāpy uktam*, V 6.29 finally reads: *evam uktvāntarhṛdayaḥ Śākāyanas tasmai namaskṛtvānayaḥ brahmavidyayā rājan brahmaṇaḥ panthānam ārūḍhāḥ putrāḥ prajāpater iti | samtoṣaṃ dvandvatitikṣaṃ śāntatvaṃ yogābhyāsād avāpnoti*: “after Ś, (who was the One) within (the king’s) heart, had thus spoken and after he

(Ś. or the king?) had bowed to the other, he (Ś) continued: ‘By means of this *brahmavidyā*, O King, the sons of Prajāpati (i.e. the Vālakhilyas) ascended along the path of Brahman.’²³ One attains to contentment, forbearance of the pairs of opposites, (and) tranquillity by the practice of yoga.’ This *brahmavidyā* refers back to V/SM 2.3 where the sage Maitri/Maitreya transmits the Vālakhilya story as a *brahmavidyā*. Then follows a longish digression on yoga techniques, and finally the conclusion of the Bṛhadratha Story itself. 6.30 reads: *evam ukṭvāntarhṛdayaḥ Śākāyanyas tasmai namaskṛtvā yathāvad upacāri kṛtakṛtyo Marud uttarāyaṇaṃ gataḥ | na hy atrodvartmanā gatir eṣo ’tra brahmapathaḥ | sauraṃ dvāraṃ bhittvordhvena vinirgataḥ*: “after Ś, (who was the One) within (the king’s) heart, had thus spoken and he (the king) had bowed to him, (the King also known as) Marut, having been properly attentive, having now achieved his desire, went off by the northern course. For there is no going here by a byway: this is here the *brahman*-path. Having pierced the solar portal he escaped upward.” *kṛtakṛtya* is repeated from SM 2.1; so is Marut. *sauraṃ dvāraṃ*, i.e. the sun as portal to the brahman beyond refers onward to 6.38. The stylistic differences coupled with forced repetitions impress one as being of a kind with the other interpolations.

c. *antarātman and bahirātman*. The third problem is found in the very last line of SM. There we find the expressions *antarātman* and *bahirātman*, which promptly recur in the next section, not found in SM, namely V 6.1. If anything, this would suggest that the text simply runs on. But here it can quite clearly be shown that the use of the same expressions in V 6.1 is utterly uncalled for, is in fact contradictory, and that if we want to consider V one continuous discourse we would have to interpret these terms in wholly different meanings a few lines apart from each other.

The last section of SM explains that the supreme being, which is one, manifests itself as the three (here the *trimūrti*), the eight (the eight *prakṛtis*), the eleven (the senses), the twelve (months or *ādityas*?), and as an infinite number of creations. The text goes on to say: *udbhūtatvād bhūtam | bhūteṣu carati pratiṣṭhā sarvabhūtānām adhipatir babhūveti | asāv ātmāntar bahiḥ ca*: “a thing is called *bhūta*, because it has originated.²⁴ He (i.e. the ātman become *bhūtātman*) operates on the beings (*bhūtas*) to which it furnishes a basis (*pratiṣṭhā*). He has become the overlord of the

²³ *brahmapatha* is quoted from ChUp. 4.15.6.

²⁴ An attempt to explain *bhūtātman*; in the Vālakhilya instruction the term is explained: *abhibhūta ātman*.

bhūtas. He is at once the inner ātman and the outer ātman.” This outer ātman, that is clear, is nothing but the *bhūtātman*, or the *jīvātman*, while the *antarātman* is the ātman itself.

V 6.1 gives a different picture. It reads *dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānaṃ bibharti | ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇaḥ yaś cāsā ādityaḥ | atha dvau vā etā asya panthānā antar bahiś ca | ahorātrenaitau vyāvartete | asau vā ādityo bahirātmāntarātmā prāṇaḥ*. While in SM *bahir* and *antarātmā* relate as body and soul, the opposition presented to us in 6.1 is a very different one: *āditya* and *prāṇa* are homologues, they are ātmans, “manifestations”, of the supreme. The total parallelism of macrocosmos and microcosmos is quite clear, here and in the following sections. To describe these two as respectively inner and outer, in the way these qualifications are understood in the preceding SM section, makes no sense: the sun is by no means a *bhūtātman* to an *antarātman* “prāṇa”. I think we must conclude that here we have another intervention of the editor. We noted his concern to reinterpret the *agryās tanavaḥ* in this same last SM section in terms of his own interpolation of V 4.6, so as to forge a link between SM and V. It is hardly surprising to find him once more attempting to link up the two texts, by interpreting the two ātmans, *āditya* and *prāṇa*, as the ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ ātman of the final sentence of SM. The use of such forms in V 6.1 as *antarātmakī* and *bahirātmakī* is by itself sufficient to raise suspicions.

§ 9. To summarize. The existence of a portion of V as a separate text in the Southern tradition forces us to accept that chapters 1.2–5.2 of the Vulgate are an insertion into this text. An examination of the variations of the separate SM, and the corresponding text in V, shows unmistakably that attempts have been made in V to forge the inserted text into some sort of union with the receiving text. This is done by adding several sections, which in effect reinterpret the original sense of the inserted text, and by alterations in this inserted text, which by way of cross-references are made to bear out this reinterpretation. The final chapter of SM shows such an alteration in the reading *prāg uktāḥ* for *proktāḥ*, which has to refer back to a section previously interpolated in SM. Likewise the first lines of the section immediately following the final chapter of SM have been interpolated to refer back to this preceding SM section. Further a group of eleven ślokas has been taken from its proper context, where it was displaced by interpolations, and inserted in V 6.34. The additional sections replacing them have been given the general structure of the SM text by incorporating them formally in the Vālakhilya instruction. Thereupon, in the middle of chapter 6, just before the text

enters upon explicit ritual detail, the conclusion of the Bṛhadratha and Vāikhilya Stories is inserted.

In sum, there are two main points: 1. the separate existence of SM which cannot be explained as a derivate from V; 2. the existence of an editor, who, faced with a double-text he presumed to be one, tried to make one text out of them.

II

THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYA UPANIṢAD: AN ATTEMPT AT RECONSTITUTION

§ 1. So far our argument was sufficiently supported by external evidence to meet critical objections with confidence. However, once it is established that SM, and the chapters in V corresponding to SM, constitute a separate text inserted into another text, the problem becomes at once more difficult. What is the primary text into which SM was inserted to form, henceforth, the composite Vulgate? Can this text be recognized and reconstituted?

This primary text, i.e. the Vulgate minus SM and some appendices, I shall designate Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad (MU); for I think it can be shown adequately that it essentially contains an original upaniṣad of the Maitrāyaṇīyas, and relates to the Maitrāyaṇīya tradition in very much the same way as the Taittirīya Upaniṣad relates to the Taittirīya tradition.

§ 2. We have noted that V 1.1 naturally connects with 6.33–38 and 7.1–7. This text portion is relatively easy to salvage. Interpolations occur no doubt, but they are easily recognizable. When we eliminate them tentatively, we find ourselves left with a, relatively brief, text which is so evidently upaniṣadic in style and content that in my opinion doubt about its authenticity is unreasonable.

As an example we will discuss one section in some detail. It is 6.33, which, on investigation, proves not only to be interesting in connection with the Agnicitibrāhmaṇa but also to shed a significant light on a celebrated text of the Taittirīyas, the one dealing with the five ātmans in the Brahmānandavallī of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad.

The section begins as follows: *pañceṣṭako vā eṣo 'gniḥ saṃvatsarah | tasyemā iṣṭakā yo vasanto grīṣmo varṣāḥ śarad dhemantaḥ | sa śiraḥ-pakṣasiprṣṭhapucchavān | eṣo 'gniḥ | puruṣavidah seyaṃ prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ*. Now it is clear that we here have a speculation about the *agnicayana*, which is here applied to the three domestic fires; they are the fires which the yajamāna is exhorted (1.1) to meditate upon as ātman.

The text is clean, except for one repeated corruption, the emendation of which is both minor and essential. The word *puruṣavidah* “of him who knows the puruṣa” does not make sense. Deussen renders: “Dieses Feuer des, der den Puruṣa kennt, ist diese (Erde) hier, und als die erste

Schichtung zu Prajāpati hin... etc.," thus punctuating *eṣo 'gniḥ puruṣavidah seyam | prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ*... Hume has: "In the case of one who knows this Person this sacrificial fire is the earth, Prajāpati's first sacrificial pile." Obviously *seyam* is predicative of *citiḥ*: "This first brick-laying of Prajāpati is this earth." To this *puruṣavidah* must then be drawn, either as an adjective to Prajāpati, or more loosely as "for one who knows this person, this first brick-laying etc.". In both cases the proposition *eṣo 'gniḥ* hangs in the air.

Leaving aside this problem for the moment, we note that this kind of speculation is based on the representation of the great fire at the *agnī-cayana* as either a man or a bird. We have a neat parallel in the Agniciti-brāhmaṇa of the Maitrāyaṇīyas, MS 3.4.13(8): *prajāpatir vā etam agre 'gnim acinuta ṛtubhiḥ saṃvatsaram vasantena purastād acinuta grīṣmena dakṣiṇam pakṣam varṣābhir uttaram śaradā pucchaṃ hemantena madhyam*. Compare also ŚatBr. 10.4.5.2: *saṃvatsara evāgnis tasya vasantaḥ śiro grīṣmo dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣo varṣā uttaraḥ śarad ṛtur madhyam ātmā hemantaśīsirāv ṛtū pucchaṃ pratiṣṭhā*. In such descriptions the representations of bird and man are oddly mixed: to the bird apply the wings (*pakṣa*) and the tail (*puccha*), but they are equally applied to the man: then *pakṣa* is reinterpreted (or we might better say: translated by us) as though it meant "side", while *puccha* is qualified by an added *pratiṣṭhā*.¹ The same qualifying *pucchaṃ pratiṣṭhā* is still found in TaittUp. 2.2: *sa vā eṣa puruṣavidha eva | tasya puruṣavidhatām anv ayaṃ puruṣavidhaḥ | tasya prāṇa eva śiraḥ | vyāno dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣaḥ | apāna uttaraḥ pakṣaḥ | ākāśa ātmā | pṛthivī pucchaṃ pratiṣṭhā*.

This TaittUp. text now at once suggests the correction of the problematic *puruṣavidah* of MaitrUp. 6.33: the fire that is provided with limbs, viz. the seasons etc., and later on, as in TaittUp. 2.2, the *prāṇas*, is *puruṣavidhaḥ*. With this minor correction the text reads:

pañceṣṭako vā eṣo 'gniḥ saṃvatsaraḥ | tasyemā iṣṭakā yo vasanto grīṣmo varṣāḥ śarad dhemantaḥ | sa śiraḥpakṣasīprṣṭhapucchavān | eṣo 'gniḥ puruṣavidhaḥ | seyam prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ | karair yajamānam antarikṣam utkṣiptvā vāyave prāyacchat | prāṇo vai vāyuḥ | prāṇo 'gniḥ |

¹ Eggeling translates it thus that *hemanta* corresponds with *puccha*, *śīsirā* with *pratiṣṭhā*; it is preferable to take both seasons here as one item in the series, so as not to upset the pentadic structure; they are equated with *puccha*, which is itself explained by *pratiṣṭhā*. A comparable case is offered by *śarad ṛtur madhyam ātmā*, where one item is explained by two more or less synonymous words, *madhyam* (occurring alone MS 3.4.13) and *ātman* (alone TaittUp. 2); on the other hand *pucchaṃ pratiṣṭhā* refer to one item in TaittUp. 2. In the description of *ahorātrāṇi* as *rajatasuvarṇāni patrāṇi* in the sequel of ŚatBr. 10.4.5.2 the bird aspect again predominates.

*tasyemā iṣṭakā yaḥ prāṇo vyāno 'pānaḥ samāna udānaḥ | sa śiraḥpakṣa-
sīprṣṭhapucchavān | eṣo 'gniḥ puruṣavidhaḥ | tad idam antarikṣaṃ prajāpater
dvitīyā citiḥ | karair yajamānaṃ divam utkṣiptvendrāya prāyacchat | asau
vā āditya indraḥ | saiṣo 'gniḥ | tasyemā iṣṭakā yad ṛg yajuḥ sāmāthar-
vāṅgirasā itihāsapurāṇam | sa śiraḥpakṣasīprṣṭhapucchavān | eṣo 'gniḥ
puruṣavidhaḥ | saiṣa dyauḥ prajāpatis tṛtīyā citiḥ | karair yajamāna-
syātmavide 'vadānaṃ karoti | athātmavid utkṣipyā brahmaṇe prāyacchat |
tatrānandī modī bhavati.*

What makes this brief text so particularly interesting is that it occupies a middle position between notions already voiced in the later portions of the Brāhmaṇas and the more advanced views of the quoted Taittiriya text. First it is evident that the MaitrUp. and the TaittUp. contexts run entirely parallel. To the *annamaya ātman* etc., that is *anna* viewed as *ātman*, then *prāṇa*, then *manas*, then *viñāna*, then *ānanda*, each of which *ātman*s or persons, being *puruṣavidha*, has a head, two sides, a trunk (*ātman*) and a tail/base, correspond in the MaitrUp. first the three *puruṣavidha* fires (which, according to 1.1 the yajamāna must represent as his *ātman*), which are earth, *prāṇa*, and sun with their respective limbs,² and, second, the two higher stages, the *ātmavid* and the *brahman* in which the *yajamāna* becomes *ānandī* and *modī*. But these five stages were already anticipated in ŚatBr. 10.5.4.3 where Celaka Śāṅḍilyāyana maintained two more *citis* beyond those of the three worlds: *ima eva lokās tisraḥ svayam ātṛṇṇavatyaś citayo yajamānaś caturthī sarve kāmāḥ pañcamī | imāś ca lokānt saṃskurva ātmānaḥ ca sarvāś ca kāmān ity eva vidyād iti.*

That the earth/year of the MaitrUp. is a stage parallel to the *anna* of TaittUp. needs no further adstruction; it is on earth through the year that food is grown, and all three occur in the closest association throughout the older Upaniṣads. The second stage of *Prāṇa* is identical. The third stage seems to present a problem. The MaitrUp. series of *āditya|indra|vedas* is itself a contamination of two series: *āditya|indra* on the one hand, and *vāg|vedas* on the other. In a similar context the latter series is, for instance, found in ŚatBr. 10.5.1.1f.: *tasya vā etasyāgner vāg evopaniṣat | vācā hi cīyate ṛcā yajuṣā sāmneti | ... sāvā eṣā vāk tredhāvihitā ṛco yajūṃsi sāmāni | tenāgnis tredhāvihitaḥ | etena hi trayeṇa cīyate.*

Thus, in the two series of the members of the body, the series in the TaittUp. and that in the MaitrUp., we see that this triad of *ṛc*, *yajus* and *sāman* is extended to a pentad: these three, *ādeśāḥ* and *atharvāṅgirasāḥ*

² Cf. ChUp. 2.24; 4.11-13; 4.17.3-5.

in the first; these three, *atharvāṅgirasāḥ* and *itihāsapurāṇam* in the second. But this pentad, as a pentad, derives from brāhmaṇa speculations concerning the quintuple bird/man represented in the great altar of the *agnicayana*. We get therefore in both Upaniṣads two patterns of pentads: one, so to say, horizontal, each laying of a fire or cosmic layer being fivefold; and one vertical, there being five layers in the universe. Both patterns antedate the Upaniṣads.

Although the name given to the exponent of the third layer is different in TaittUp. (*manas*) and MaitrUp. (*āditya/indra*), it is clear from the members that we have the same notion. With the gradual obsolescence of *vāc* as a high principle, this principle, which naturally headed the series of Vedas, was replaced in the TaittUp. by *manas*, from another complex where *manas* and *prāṇa* were linked together; while the MaitrUp., more archaically, substituted the *āditya* which regularly belongs in such triads as earth/*prāṇa*/sun; earth/wind/sun; and earth/atmosphere/sun. The sun's association with *ākāśa*, itself frequently coupled with *vāc* or *akṣara*, and the occasional role of *indra* in that complex³ provide as authentic a background to the MaitrUp. notion as one could wish for.

Of special interest is the fourth layer, which the MaitrUp. calls *ātmavid*, while the TaittUp. has *viññānamaya ātman*. We note that the latter text is more systematized in that it continues to describe this principle as fivefold (*śraddhā, ṛta, satya, yoga, mahas*), whereas the MaitrUp. account, not yet emancipated from original brāhmaṇaic connections with the fivefold fire, does not. It is also evident that the accompanying pentad in the TaittUp. text, like the one accompanying the *ānandamaya ātman* (*priyaṃ, moda, pramoda, ānanda, brahman*), is of a very different kind from the preceding three, and clearly invented *pour besoin de la cause*.

The precise significance of the *viññānamaya ātman* is not clear. On the one hand it is accompanied by such disparate principles as *śraddhā, ṛta, satya, yoga* and *mahas*; on the other hand it is also identified with brahman in the śloka quoted about it in 2.5. Perhaps the real sense is to be had from the second śloka, where emphasis is laid on the function of the knowledge that brahman is *viññāna* in shedding all evil and obtaining all objects of desire: *viññānaṃ brahma ced veda tasmāc cen na pramādyati | śarīre pāpmāno hitvā sarvān kāmān samaśnute*. Comparably the MaitrUp. speaks of a principle which “knows itself, or the ātman”. It is tempting to connect this knowing with that of BĀUp. 1.4.1: *ātmaivedam agra āsīt puruṣavidhaḥ | so 'nuvikṣya nānyad ātmano 'paśyat | so 'ham asmīty agre*

³ Cf. e.g. JaimUpBr. 1.4.3.8-10.

vyāharat | which continues (5): *so 'vet – ahaṃ vāva sṛṣṭir asmy ahaṃ hīdaṃ sarvam asṛkṣīti | tataḥ sṛṣṭir abhavat*. More concisely BĀUp. 1.4.10: *brahma vā idam agra āsīt | tad ātmānaṃ avet – ahaṃ brahmāsmīti | tasmāt tat sarvam abhavat*. These are inchoate ideas,⁴ from which in “Sāṃkhyan” circles the notion of *mahat*, or *mahān* (sc. *ātman*), which is also *buddhi*, will be developed. It is the idea of the self-recognition of the hitherto completely undistinguished (*avyākṛta*, *avyakta*) creator-to-be, a self-recognition which makes him a self, an *ātman*, a person, an ego. In the TaittUp. *viñāna* is ambivalent: it is equivalent to brahman, yet it is subordinated to the brahman which is *ānanda*.

The last level, that of the brahman in which the *yajamāna* finds *ānanda* and *moda*, is completely parallel to the *ānandamaya*, whose head is *priyam*, whose right side *moda*, whose left side *pramoda*, whose trunk *ānanda*, and whose tail and basis is brahman.

I think it must be evident that the Maitrāyaṇīya passage is not a late archaeizing scribble that somehow got attached to another text. It is archaic; it represents a stage which is prior to the TaittUp. account of the five *ātman*s and later than the corresponding doctrines in the MS or the doctrine of Celaka Śāṅḍilyāyana in the *agnirahasya* of the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa. It very evidently connects with the very first section of the Vulgate; and in between these connected, upaniṣadic and archaic sections intervenes a large text, of obviously more recent date, introduced as an *upākhyāna* to the first section, and, on external evidence, demonstrably secondary.

§ 3. The sections following 6.33 continue the associations with ancient upaniṣadic and brāhmaṇaic notions. For example, 6.34 contains the contemplative stanza *hiranyavarṇaḥ śakuno hr̥dy āditye pratiṣṭitaḥ | madgur haṃsas tejo vṛṣā so'sminn agnau yajāmahe*. The Golden Bird is surely the solar *puruṣa*, the *Ātman*. The second half of the stanza has been completely misunderstood by the translators. Rāmatīrtha misread *tejo-vṛṣā* (*tejasā śreṣṭhas tejo-bahula ity arthaḥ*), followed by Cowell (“of mighty lustre”), Deussen (“glutregnend”, as though *vṛṣā* represented *varṣan!*) and Hume (“surpassing bright”). What it does mean becomes clear only when we read ChUp. 4.5 ff., where Satyakāma, on the advice of the Three Fires, seeks instruction from a Bull, Fire, a Duck (*haṃsa*) and a Diver-bird (*madgu*). Each of these four representations must symbolize (an aspect of) the *brahman-jyotis*.

Again, immediately thereafter a stotra is found which is also known

⁴ For a discussion, see my “Studies in Sāṃkhya 2: Ahaṃkāra”, *JAOS*, 1957.

from KāthS. 5 (aśvamedha), 1.1, and TaittS. 7.5.24.1 (both Yajurveda), and in a different form but related context in ChUp. 2.24.5. Then we find the stanza *hiraṇmayeṇa pātreṇa* etc., also known from VājS. 40.17a; BĀUp. 5.15.1; and ĪSUp. (Kāṇva) 15 (all Yajurveda), and we find it in an entirely appropriate context. Is there any reason to doubt that these connected speculations on the Fire and the three fires is an original text, coherent and ancient, which was split up by the insertion of the *upākhyāna* SM, and that we may accept it as the primary text?

§ 4. A reconstituted text must, in the end, justify itself by its inner logic; and in the notes to my projected text, which follows in this chapter, I shall explain this inner logic in the terms of the ancient upaniṣads of whose *universum discursus* it forms part. At this point I take for granted that at least V 1.1, and V 6.33 ff. and V 7.1 ff. are part of the primary text, and revert to a discussion of the originality of the sections 6.1 ff.

This text portion, which covers no less than 32 sections, is, as we have seen, not found in SM. It seems to me that there are three possibilities: this portion is a series of agglutinated sections appended to the inserted text SM; or it is an independent text, apart from both SM and MU; or it is a part of MU.

We have already found that parts of this text portion are indeed accretions, namely 6.29–30, which contain the spurious conclusion to the Bṛhadratha and Vāḷakhilya Instructions of SM. To this conclusion 6.31–32 are plainly accreted. The problem lies in the preceding sections 6.1–28.

One of the more curious facts, commented upon by all who have dealt with the text, is that a prolific use is made in this portion of sections and sentences introduced with *athānyatrāpy uktam* and *iti | evaṃ hy āha...* I take it that these words mean exactly what they say: that the sections and sentences thus introduced are indeed quotations adduced from other sources outside the text as it was found by whoever adduced them.⁵ This

⁵ Otherwise Maryla Falk, *o.c.*; although she accepts the additional character of the sections with *anyatrāpy uktam* (p. 213, n. 3), she does not accept it for those portions (often containing identifiable quotations) which are introduced with *iti | evaṃ hy āha* (p. 219, n. 2): “L’“ity evaṃ hy āha” usato a proposito e a sproposito, quasi come un ritornello, non sempre e non necessariamente introduce citazioni: se tali fossero, l’Up. quasi per intera sarebbe composta di citazioni. Le citazioni vere e proprio sono introdotte dall’ espressione *athānyatrāpyuktam*, la quale probabilmente equivale a un “così infatti disse” (il beato Maitri, il cui discorso è ripetuto da Śākāyanya).” The last remark must be a slip of the pen, since *così infatti disse* translates *evaṃ hy āha*. But not only are the admittedly additional sections usually far less marginal and always more voluminous than the *evaṃ hy āha* portions, also does the elimination of them not reduce the text to zero. No doubt it shrinks appreciably, but there are still shorter upaniṣads.

proves to be true in a number of cases where we can identify these sources. The quoted sources may not always be quoted verbatim, and personal speculations inspired by the text might easily be thus introduced. Less transparent are the sentences and stanzas introduced with *iti / evaṃ hy āha...* Though in a number of instances they contain identifiable quotations, it is not excluded that the subject of *āha* is occasionally the original text itself.

If this entire collection of sections, 6.1–28, were an appendix of quotations, one wonders why only certain sections are singled out by an introductory sentence alerting the reader to their additional character (“Elsewhere it has also been said”), whereas other sections are not. A matter of accident? This is not credible. For when we tentatively eliminate those sections which are marked as additional, we have left a fair number of sections which show a remarkable consistency and order. Moreover, in a number of cases it is quite clear that further comments have been added to these sections, comments which misinterpret them. Those comments are in the same train of thought as the commentarial sections introduced with *athānyatrāpy uktam*. These facts cannot be explained on the assumption that the entire text portion 6.1–28 is of the same character. There apparently existed a text nucleus to which other sections and further comments have agglutinated. That this nucleus itself was an earlier layer of incidental accretions is made improbable by the fact that the sections not only are coherent among themselves, but also display a consistency of sequence: there is a development of views which we can follow by following the sequence. This forces us to accept that among the sections 6.1–28 there is a nuclear text made up of those sections which are not introduced with *athānyatrāpy uktam* and (in one case) *athāparaṃ veditavyam*.

§ 5. We can now distinguish the following texts: V.1.1 connected with 6.33 ff., interrupted by SM (the *upākhyāna* to 1.1) and the nucleus of 6.1–28. The question now rises whether the nucleus of the first part of the sixth chapter forms a unity with the text 6.33, and whether we not have simply one text, now composed of 1.1; the nucleus of 6.1–28; and 6.33 ff., 7.1 ff.: one text, interrupted by one other text, the *upākhyāna* SM. It quickly appears that the nucleus is indeed to be connected with 6.33 ff. The theme of 6.33 ff. is the *agnihotra* and connected rites, and the theme of 6.1 ff. is essentially the same. The same triple homology of Sun, Prāṇa/Heart/Eye, and Fire, which is the basis of 6.33 ff. appears in the earlier nuclear context of the same chapter. Three of its sections deal with esoteric speculations on *OM*, the three *vyāhṛtis*, and the *gāyatrī*,

speculations which in 6.33 ff. are taken for granted. On the whole one could say that 6.1 ff. form the speculative preamble to the more concrete ritual applications of 6.33 ff. There is thus excellent reason to regard 6.1 ff. as forming one text with 6.33 ff., while there is no reason to consider them yet another text.

§ 6. When we have identified what is part of the primary text and what not (an identification curiously facilitated by the helpful way in which the text itself informs us about what sections are additional), the hardest part of our task is still ahead. Must we leave the text at this, identifiable but not more than barely recognizable in its contents, or are we justified in probing any further? If we do, we must turn the direct evidence of the text, such as it is, into conjecture of varying degrees of probability. Not all comments and interpolations are neatly separated into additional sections; many have been put into the original sections themselves. Frequently they can be recognized at once, as when after a typically upaniṣadic description that Brahman is infinite to the East etc. and to zenith and nadir, the glossator hastens to warn us that we should not imagine that Brahman really has any directions at all. Another interesting case is the following. In a section dealing with Prajāpati who creates the world by articulating *bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ* the text continues: *svar ity asyāḥ* (sc. Prajāpati's world-body) *śiro nābhir bhuvo bhūḥ pādā ādityaś cakṣuḥ | cakṣurāyattā hi puruṣasya mahatī mātrā | cakṣusā hy ayaṃ mātrāś carati | satyaṃ vai cakṣuḥ | akṣiṇy avasthito hi puruṣaḥ sarvārtheṣu carati*. In this context the three *vyāhrtis*: *bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ* are identified with the three *mātrās* of *OM3*. But there is also a "great *mātrā*" of *OM*, which is elsewhere known as *mahas*.⁶ This "great *mātrā*" is the subtle principle of *OM* or *Akṣara*. The sun is the abode of this supreme principle, but so is the eye, which is the microcosmic counterpart of the sun. Thus it is said that "in the eye reposes the great *mātrā*", whose manifest three *mātrās* of *OM3* = the three *vyāhrtis* equal the three worlds. This ancient train of thought, which is well-known, is twice interrupted. The statement that the "great *mātrā* of the puruṣa rests in the eye," is "explained": "for he (the person) explores the *mātrās* with his eye". Here *mātrā* "mora" is taken in the more modern (though possibly derivative) meaning of *tanmātra*, which is certainly not intended in the previous line, where the eye is much more than the locus of the visual sense. After this "explanation" the text goes on, naturally: *satyaṃ*

⁶ TaittUp. 1.5.1: *bhūr bhuvah svar ity vā etās tisro vyāhrtayaḥ | tāsām u ha smaitāṃ caturthīm mahācamasya pravedayate | maha iti | tad brahma sa ātmā | ... maha ity ādityaḥ* etc.

vai cakṣuh, for the eye represents the supreme principle. But this occasions a new comment: why is the eye called true? “For the *puruṣa*, situated in the eye, operates on all sense objects (through the eye).”

There are many instances of such “explanations”, but not in all cases are the inserted bits so conspicuous. It seems to me we have the choice either to leave the text alone, that is, refer it to limbo; or at least make an attempt, however unsuccessful, to get at its original meaning, and thus perhaps make the text useful in understanding the background of related notions and speculations in other *upaniṣads* as well as the basis of the interpolations to which this text, more than any other, has been subjected. I have chosen the second alternative, hoping that the results will warrant the choice. I have made my argument as explicit as seemed necessary, and, when feasible, followed up the associations which the text suggests. Some of the reconstruction had to be drastic, because here and there the text is entirely out of order. Hereunder I give first the text, then the translation, and finally annotations both to the suggested emendations and to the ideas of the *upaniṣad*. Spurious portions are bracketed, doubtful ones italicized; the “bare” text follows at the end of the chapter.

V 1.1.

brahmajājñō vā eṣa yat pūrveṣāṃ cayanam / tasmād yajamānaś
citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet / sa pūrṇaḥ khalu vā addhāvikalāḥ
sāmpadyate yajñāḥ /

kaḥ so 'bhidhyeyaḥ | ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇākhyāḥ |

[*tasyopākhyānam*]

“The fire-laying of the ancient was a brahman-rite. Therefore the sacrificer, having laid these fires, must think upon the self. (Thus) the rite becomes truly full and complete in all respects.

“Which (self) must be thought upon? The one called *Prāṇa*.

[“The story on this (is as follows)”]

The *cayana* is, as the context in 6.33 ff. and the plural *agnīn etān* here show, not the great *agnicayana* ritual, but the *agnyādhāna*, to which much of the *agnicayana* symbolism is transferred. *brahmajājña* is a rite which is more than the literal observance of its ritual detail, and is accompanied by the esoteric knowledge of the macrocosmic and microcosmic connections implied. *abhi-dhyai* is “thinking (something) onto something, representing something as something else”,⁷ parallel to *abhi-man*, which

⁷ Cf. also the older *upa – ās*.

was soon taken *in malam partem*. The description of the ātman as prāṇa, though of somewhat doubtful authenticity, is substantially quite apposite, for the intention of the text is the prāṇāgnihoṭra.

V 6.1.

dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānaṃ bibharti / ayam yaḥ prāṇa yaś cāsā ādityaḥ /
 atha dvau vā etā panthānā [antar bahiś ca] / ahorātreṇaitau vyāvartete /
 [asau vā ādityo bahirātmāntarātmā prāṇaḥ / ato bahirātmakṛyā
 gatyāntarātmāno 'numiyate gatir ity evaṃ hy āha – atha yaḥ kaścid vidvān
 apahatapāpmākṣādhyaḥṣo 'vadātamanās tanniṣṭhā āvṛttacakṣuḥ saḥ . . . /
 antarātmakṛyā gatyā bahirātmāno 'numiyate gatir ity evaṃ hy āha – atha
 ya eṣo 'ntar āditye hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣo yaḥ paśyatīmāṃ hiraṇyavasthāt . . .
 {sa eṣo 'ntare hr̥tṣuṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti} //

“He carries his self in two ways, the self which is the Prāṇa, and the self which is the Sun. These are his two paths. They separate according to day and night.”

The subject is the Fire, which is the Supreme whose embodiments or *ātman*s are Sun and Prāṇa. *vyā-vṛt* “to bifurcate” as said of roads; on this meaning cf. MBh. (cr. ed.) 3.281.107 (Sāvitrī) *palāśaṣaṇḍe caitasmin panthā vyāvartate dvidhā*, out of the meaning “to roll on separately”;⁸ understood are connotations of “to unroll, manifest progressively” which predominate later. On the insertion *antar bahiś ca*, see above I, § 8. The contrast here between macrocosmic and microcosmic manifestations has been misunderstood as that between *ātman* and *bhūtātman*, *antarātman* and *bahirātman*, which is wrong here. The following comments start from an interpretation “these paths take their separate but parallel courses”, hence that the path of the one (*panthā~gatiḥ*) is measured according to that of the other. The quotations which are supposed to illustrate these interpretations are characteristically arbitrary; the first one does not even attempt to explain the parallelism suggested; it is clearly incomplete. The second quotation is also incomplete; it is made up of a partial ChUp. 1.6.6 quotation, and another quotation, corrupt and because of its brevity beyond emendation: *hiraṇyavasthāt* for *hiraṇāvasthāt*, for *hiraṇyāvasthāyāḥ* as R. (followed by C, D) suggest, is very unlikely. The incomplete quotations are “completed” with a borrowal from the next section.

⁸ Cf. ChUp. 5.3.2: *vettha pathor devayānasya pitryānasya ca vyāvartanam*.

The original meaning of the section becomes clear from the sequel.

6.2.

atha ya eṣo 'ntare hr̥tṣuṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti sa eṣo 'gnir divi
śritaḥ sauraḥ kālākhyo 'dṛśyaḥ sarvabhūtāny annam atti /

[iti / kaḥ puṣkaraḥ kimmayo veti /]

idaṃ vāva tat puṣkaraṃ yo 'yaṃ ākāśaḥ / asyemāś catasro diśāś
catasra upadiśo dalasaṃsthāḥ / āsam arvāg vicarata etau prāṇādityau /
etā upāsitom ity etad akṣareṇa vyāhṛtibhiḥ sāvitryā ca //

“This (self called Prāṇa), which, reposing in the heartlotus, eats food is the same as the fire which, reposing in heaven, *the solar fire called Time, the Invisible*, eats all beings as its food.

“This lotus is indeed the *ākāśa*. The four cardinal points, the four intermediate points form its leaves. Down the stalk these two, Prāṇa and Sun, go their separate ways. One must think upon these two with the *OM* syllable, the *vyāhṛtis* and the *sāvitri*.”

The bracketed portion is clearly a commentatorial insertion; note that even the gender of *puṣkara* is faulty. – After the preceding section had asserted that the Supreme (as Fire) takes on two embodiments or manifestations (*ātman*s), the text now emphasizes the equivalence of the two: there is a complete homology between *prāṇa* in the heart and sun in the *ākāśa*. Both are represented as the lotus, which is the abode of the Supreme; but the image of the *ākāśa* lotus preponderates, and it becomes the image of the original abode of the Supreme from which the *ātman* manifestations, set forth in 6.1, take their start. Thus *ākāśa* resumes its old significance as the highest order from which creation starts. *vicarataḥ* is entirely parallel to *vyāvartete* in 6.1. There is no reason to change *āsam* into *āsan*, as R. does (followed by C, D etc.); after the mention of a lotus and its leaves, a word for stalk creates no surprise. *arvāg* “downward” in the sense of “hitherward, on this side of creation”, cf. *arvāk* in RV. 10.129.6. The theme of the *agnyādhāna* – *agnihotra* is obvious in the *upāsanās* enjoined. The entire formula runs: *OM bhūḥ bhuvāḥ svaḥ tat savitur varenyam* etc. The explanation of these three *upāsanās* comprises the next three sections. *Om ity etad akṣareṇa* must be a corruption of *OM ity etena akṣareṇa*; it is improbable that we should have to punctuate *etā upāsita* | *OM ity etad* | *akṣareṇa* etc.

6.3.

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṃ cāmūrtaṃ ca / atha yan mūrtaṃ
 tad asatyam / yad amūrtaṃ tat satyam tad brahma taj jyotiḥ / yaj jyotiḥ
 sa ādityaḥ / sa vā eṣa OM iti / etad ātmābhavat / sa tredhātmānaṃ
 vyakuruta / OM iti tisro mātṛāḥ / etābhiḥ sarvam idam otaṃ protaṃ
 caivāsmin /

[iti / evaṃ hy āha – etad vā āditya OM ity evaṃ dhyāyaṃs tathātmānaṃ
 yuñjiteti //]

“Brahman has two forms, an embodied form and a disembodied one. The embodied form is the non-*satya*; the disembodied form is the *satya*, the Brahman, the Light. This Light is the Sun. The Sun is *OM*. That (Brahman) became a self. This (self) separated himself into three. *OM* has three *mātṛās*. Through these three *mātṛās* all this is woven on Brahman, warp and woof.

[“Thus he says: One must yoke the ātman while meditating in this way that the sun is *OM*”].

Starting-point of the above speculation is the important *sat-tya* doctrine of the older upaniṣads.⁹ The exposition of this doctrine here is related both to TaittUp. 2.6–7 and BĀUp. 3.2.1, but it is not a matter of simple borrowings. The BĀUp. account, starting from the analysis *satyam*=*sat-tyam*, identifies *sat* with the *mūrta*, *mṛta*; *tya* with the *amūrta*, *amṛta*. This simple couple, which continues the older couple of *sat* and *asat*, is already complicated by the introduction of a third factor, the solar puruṣa beyond the *sat-tya* pair, who is therefore the *sat-tyasya satyam*. The TaittUp. account makes out of this pair *sat-tya* the contrast *satyam* – *anṛtam*, which is explicit in our present account as well. But the TaittUp., by quoting śloka 2.7.1, shows that the old *sat-asat* pair was still remembered, if only by quotation, though there is an evident confusion about the exact meaning of *asat*. The misunderstanding of *asat* as *asatya*, not yet evident in BĀUp. 3.2.1, but clear in TaittUp. 2.6–7, will eventually lead to the only-*sat* doctrine of ChUp. 6.1–2. In MU we have a re-interpretation of (the doctrine also reflected in) BĀUp. 3.2 in very much the same terms as TaittUp. 2.6 ... *sac ca tyac cābhavat ... satyaṃ cānṛtaṃ ca / sat-tyam abhavat / yad idaṃ kiṃ ca / tat sat-tyam ācakṣate*. But here, almost predictably, *sat* (= *mūrtaṃ mṛtam*) equals *asatyam*, while *tyam*

⁹ For some remarks, cf. my “Vācārambhaṇam Reconsidered”, *Indo-Ir. Journ.*, 1958

(= *amūrtam amṛtam*) equals *satyam*. But the “solar puruṣa”, which in BĀUp. 3.2 is above the *sat-tyam* complex (*satyasya satyam*), is in our text still the higher form, the *amūrta*, which is not yet identified, as in BĀUp., with *prāṇa*, *vāyu*, *antarikṣa*. On the relationship between *brahmajyotis*, *OM* and the “solar puruṣa”, see my “Akṣara”. The akṣara speculation here is the same as in BĀUp. 3.6; but it has not yet reached the level of abstraction to which Yājñavalkya will lift it.

This section is followed by two additional sections, the first a corrupt jumble of subinterpolated quotations, the second precluding to, and presupposing MU 6.6 which joins immediately on to 6.3. The manifestation process implicit in the doctrine of *OM* on whose three *mātrās* everything is arranged is now made explicit in a creation account that embroiders the “three-way separation” of 6.3.

6.6.

athāvyaḥṛtaṃ vā idam āsīt / sa satyaṃ prajāpatis tapas taptvānu-
vyāharad – bhūr bhuvaḥ svar iti / eṣaivāsya prajāpateḥ sthaviṣṭhā tanūḥ
[yā lokavati] / svar ity asya śiro nābhīr bhuvo bhūḥ pādā ādityaś cakṣuḥ /
cakṣurāyattā hi puruṣasya mahatī mātrā / [cakṣusā hy ayaṃ mātrās
carati /] satyaṃ vai cakṣuḥ / [akṣiny avasthito hi puruṣaḥ sarvārtheṣu
carati /] etasmād bhūr bhuvaḥ svar ity upāsita //

[anena hi prajāpatir viśvātmā viśvacakṣur upāsito bhavatīty evaṃ hy
āha – eṣa vai prajāpater viśvabhṛt tanūḥ / etasyām idam sarvam antar-
hitam asmimś ca sarvasmīn eṣāntarhiteti / tasmād *etām upāsita] //

“This world was then as yet unuttered. He, the *satyam*, Prajāpati, having performed *tapas*, uttered one after another *bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ*. This is Prajāpati’s very solid body. *Svar* became his head, *bhuvah* his navel, *bhūḥ* his feet; the Sun is his Eye: for the puruṣa’s great *mātrā* resides in the eye. [For with the eye he operates on the elements.] The Eye is the *Satyam*. [For the puruṣa, who resides in the eye, operates on all the objects.]

[“With it Prajāpati, who is the soul of all, the all-seeing, becomes meditated upon: for thus he says: This indeed is Prajāpati’s all-carrying body; in it everything is contained, it is contained in all this. Therefore one must meditate on it.”]

yā lokavati is either inserted, on the pattern of *svanavati*, *liṅgavati* etc. in the additional chapter 6.5, or it is original and inspired those descriptions

in 6.5. On the evidently spurious character of the lines *cakṣusā hi...* and *akṣiṇy avasthito hi...*, see *supra* II, §6. The lines *anena hi* etc. again provide an explanation; apparently the interpolator had SM 2.5 in mind here: *prajāpatir viśvākṣaḥ*. This SM section is followed by the account of Prajāpati's creation (2.6 f.) which lent itself naturally to comparison and collation. The line *eṣā vai prajāpater viśvabhṛt tanūḥ* may be part of the original text, since *evam hy āha* may also introduce the original author's own words (one likely example *infra* 6.11). In 6.13 identical terms are used: *viśvabhṛd vai nāmaisā tanūr bhagavato Viṣṇor yad idam annam*. The text reads at the end *tasmād eṣā upāsita*, for which *..*etām..* seems the obvious emendation.

The idea of the unuttered original being is an ancient one. Creation frequently takes the form of the Creator's self-formulation (also projected as *Vāc* etc.), or his formulation of first creative principles. The previous section stated that the original or supreme being, who is the *mahatī mātrā* of *OM*, manifests himself as a triad (*sa tredhātmānaṃ vyakuruta*), and that this triad is (summed up in) *OM*. This section consequently explains this triad further: it is the triad of the worlds. In the sacred formula the *vyāhṛtis* (*bhūḥ bhuvāḥ svaḥ*) follow the enunciation of *OM*, and the three worlds they represent are thus contained in the three *mātrās* of *OM*. These three worlds constitute the creator's body, while he himself is represented in the eye, which is thus the *satyam*. The *mahatī mātrā* can be understood as that part of the Creator that remains unuttered and unformed (of *Vāc* in RV. 1.164.5; of Puruṣa in RV. 10.90.3; likewise BĀUp. 5.14; ChUp. 3.12). The closest parallel is TaittUp. 1.5.1 *bhūr bhuvāḥ svar iti vā etās tisro vyāhṛtayaḥ | tāsām u ha smaitāṃ caturthiṃ māhācamasya pravedayate – maha iti | tad brahma | sa ātmā*.

6.7.

*atha tat savitur vareṇyam iti / asau vā ādityaḥ savitā / sa vā evaṃ pravaṇya ātmakāmenety āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha bhargo devasya dhīmahīti / savitā vai devaḥ / tato yo 'sya bhargākhyas taṃ cintayāmiti āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti / buddhayaḥ vai dhiyaḥ / tā yo 'smākaṃ pracodayād ity *āhur brahmavādinaḥ //

atha bhargā iti / yo ha vā amusminn āditye nihitas tārako 'kṣiṇi *vā eṣa bhargākhyāḥ / bhābhir gatir hīti bhargaḥ / bharjayati vaiṣa bhargā ity āhur brahmavādinaḥ //

“*Tat savitur vareṇyam.*” Savitā is the Sun. He is to be elected by him who desires the ātman: thus say the exegetes.

“*Bhargo devasya dhīmahi.*” Deva is Savitā. The One who is its *bhargas*, on Him I think: thus say the exegetes.

“*Dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt.*” *Dhiyaḥ* is “spirits”. He who must impel these spirits of ours: thus say the exegetes.

“*Bhargas.*” He who resides in yonder sun, the lightspot in the eye, he is called *Bhargas*. He is called *Bhargas* because he travels by rays, or he is *Bhargas* because he threatens: thus say the exegetes.

The formula *OM bhūr bhuvāḥ svaḥ* is followed by the *sāvitrī*; and the supreme being is identified with the mysterious *bhargas*. There are several corruptions. Textual symmetry requires us to supply **atha tat savitur*. In the third line the text has †*rudro* for **āhur*; *rudraḥ* must have been a marginal or interlineal gloss, explaining *bharjayati*, which replaced the certainly original *āhur*. For *vā eṣa* the text reads *vaiṣa*, either a double sandhi, or inspired by *vaiṣa* in the next line. I am not at all sure of the authenticity of the “etymologies” of *bhargas*. The section is followed by more miscellaneous etymologies and quotations which undoubtedly are secondary.

Noteworthy is the masculine gender attributed to *bhargas*, which may however be more appearance than reality. In itself the identification of a personal being with an impersonal “power” like *bhargas* is not surprising; once this identification was made a later scribe may have made *bhargas* itself masculine: *bhargas-ākhyā-* becomes in Maitrāyaṇiya sandhi *bhargāākhyā-*, which facilitated an emendation *bhargākhyāḥ*.

The being called *Bhargas* is now identified under several names.

6.8.

eṣa hi khalu ātmeśānaḥ śambhur bhavo rudraḥ prajāpatir viśvasṛg
ghiraṇyagarbhaḥ satyaṃ prāṇa haṃsaḥ śāstā viṣṇur nārāyaṇo 'rkaḥ
savitā dhātā vidhātā samrāḍ indra indur iti / ya eṣa tapaty agnir ivāgninā
pihitaḥ saharākṣeṇa hiraṇmayenāṇḍenaiṣa vai jijñāsitavyo 'nveṣṭavyaḥ //
[sarvabhūtebhyo 'bhayaṃ dattvāraṇyaṃ gatvā bahiḥ kṛtvendriyārthān
svāc charirād upalabhetainam iti /

He indeed is the lord of the soul, the auspicious One, the becoming One, Rudra, Prajāpati, Hiraṇyagarbha, the creator of all, the true One, the Prāṇa, the Swan, the Preceptor, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Arka, Savitṛ, the

Creator and Disposer, the Sovereign, Indra, Indu. He, the One who shines, like fire hidden beneath fire, concealed within the Golden Egg with a thousand orifices, He is to be looked for, to be sought after.

Though it is highly probable that other names have been added on to this series, to eliminate them would be pure guess-work.¹⁰ But certainly secondary is the yogic application that follows: "having granted freedom from fear to all beings, having retired to the forest, having externalized the sense-objects, one must take the (*prāṇa*) out of one's body." This is followed by a quotation from PrUp. 1.8, inspired, it seems, by the *sahasrākṣa aṇḍa* (*sahasraraśmiḥ ... prāṇaḥ prajānām udayaty eṣa sūryaḥ*).

6.9.

tasmād vā ubhayātmā / evaṃvid ātmann evābhidyāyaty ātmann eva
yajati //
[iti / dhyānaṃ prayogastham...]

Thus He is embodied in both. He who knows this thinks upon the ātman alone, worships in the ātman alone.

This "section" is clearly a continuation of the previous one ... *eṣa vai jñāsitavyo 'nveṣṭavyaḥ*. The opening statement of 6.1 *dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānaṃ bibharti* has now been explained, and is now summarized in terms immediately connecting with V 1.1 *brahmayajño vā eṣa yat pūrveṣāṃ cayanam / tasmād yajamānaś citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet*. The "double self" of the supreme has been demonstrated by the following steps: 1. he manifests himself in two ways, *prāṇa* and *āditya* (6.1); 2. these two, represented as fires, are homologous (6.2); 3. both are homologized in the esoteric knowledge of the *OM bhūḥ bhuvāḥ svaḥ* formula and the *sāvitrī*, which together introduce the *agnihotra*. When one has this knowledge of this homology, the actual offering is indeed an *ātmayajña*. The *dhyāna* is secondary. Another additional section follows in 6.10 (*aparaṃ vedītyam*) which is a paraphrasis of 6.11.

6.11.

paraṃ vā etad ātmano rūpaṃ yad annam / annamayo hy ayaṃ prāṇaḥ /

¹⁰ The same series has been borrowed in 7.7.

atha na yady aśnāty amantāśrotāsprāṣṭādraṣṭāvaktāghrātārasayitā bhavati
prāṇāṃś cotsrjati /

[iti / evaṃ hy āha –]

atha yadi khalv aśnāti prāṇasamṛddho bhūtvā mantā bhavati śrotā
bhavati sprāṣṭā bhavati draṣṭā bhavati vaktā bhavati rasayitā bhavati
ghrātā bhavati /

[iti / evaṃ hy āha –

annād vai prajāḥ prajāyante yāḥ kāścit pṛthivīśritāḥ /

ato 'nenaiva jīvanty athaitad apiyanty antataḥ //]

The higher form of a person is food; for the *prāṇa* consists of food. If he does not eat, he will be without will, hearing, touch, sight, speech, smell and taste, and give up his vital airs.

[For thus the author says:]

If he eats, then, having become thriving in his vital airs, he will be willing, hearing, touching, seeing, speaking, tasting, and smelling.

[For thus the author says:

Out of food the creatures are born which reside upon the earth; through it thereupon they live, and to it thereupon they return in the end.]

In effect the preceding sections have explained that the “personal ātman” and the “cosmic ātman” are identical and that this identity can be grasped through the *akṣara*, *vyāhṛtis* and *sāvitrī* meditations. These two “ātman” have yet another correspondent in the sacrificial fire, which receives the oblation. The idea of a progressive creation, which underlies this entire body of speculation, emerges quite clearly in this and following sections. The *agnihotra* and accompanying ceremonies symbolize a simultaneous reproduction on three levels of creation: through it the sun, which is the “person” of the creator, is regenerated, the *yajamāna*, which is the creator in microcosm, is nourished, and the sacrificial fire, providing the ritual basis of the reproduction, is fed. Hence that at this point the aspect of (re-)creation as a *completion* is brought up. Hence too that the same completion is stated for the cosmic person in the section immediately following.

Here we have one case where we must accept that *evaṃ hy āha* refers to the original text. Sections 6.12–14 proclaim themselves as additional.

6.15.

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe kālaś cākālaś ca / atha yaḥ prāg ādityāt so

'kālo 'kalaḥ / atha ya ādityādyāḥ sa kālaḥ sakalaḥ / sakalasya vā etad
 rūpaṃ yat saṃvatsaraḥ / saṃvatsarāt khalv evemāḥ prajāḥ prajāyante /
 saṃvatsareṇeha vai jātā vivardhante / saṃvatsare pratyastaṃ yanti /
 tasmāt saṃvatsaro vai prajāpatiḥ kālaḥ / annaṃ brahmaṇīdam ātmā ca /
 [iti / evaṃ hy āha -
 kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni sarvāṅy eva mahātmani /
 yasmimś tu pacyate kālo yas taṃ veda sa vedavit //]

The Brahman has two forms, time and non-time. That which is before the sun is non-time, which is incomplete. That which begins with the sun is time, which is complete. Of the complete (Brahman as Time) the form is the Year. Out of the Year these creatures are born; through the Year they grow when they have been born; in the Year they perish. Therefore the Year is Prajāpati as Time; it is Food, the nest of the Brahman, the Person.

Two closely related speculations are condensed here: the Sun as the person or body of the Creator, and the Year as the Creator's person. As in the older Year speculations, the creator's self-creation, his becoming the Year, is considered his completion. The final stage of the creator's creation is the production of food. The annual cycle begins with sun/summer, progresses through the rains to the harvest that produces food. Hence the uncreated creator before the Sun is indeed non-time and non-complete, while the created creator, who begins with the Sun, completes himself in the Year. The phrase *saṃvatsarāt ... pratyastaṃ yanti* is at once reminiscent of e.g. such parallel passages in TaittUp. 2.2 *annād bhūtāni jāyante...* etc. There is little priority between one or the other, since the Year is thought of as the personified (= *ātman*) creator, or the reified (= *annam, prāṇaḥ*) creator; but it seems clear that *ātman* is to be understood as somewhat more archaic than later usages suggest. It is really the *created* creator, Prajāpati, who is annually regenerated to work the yearly cycle which terminates in the harvest. *Brahmaṇīdam* is not entirely clear, but suggests creation hatched from an egg (though it is of course possible to assume a corruption *brahmaṇīdam ātmā ca* "in brahman are this world as well as the ātman"); the ātman as the personalization is instantly clear.

The stanza is an evident addition, and the next section is a commentarial effort to explain the identifications time = sun = brahman. The next original section is a summing up of the totality of the complete brahman.

6.17.

brahma ha vā idam agra āsīd ekaḥ / anantaḥ prāḡ ananto dakṣiṇato
 'nantaḥ prācya ananta udīcy ananta ūrdhvaṃ cāvāṅ ca sarvato 'nantaḥ /
 [na hy asya prācyādidiśaḥ kalpante / atha tiryag vāvāṅ vordhvaṃ
 vānūhya eṣa paramātmāparimito 'jo 'tarkyo 'cintyaḥ /] eṣa ākāśātmaiva
 / [eṣa kṛtsnakṣaye eko jāgarti / iti /] etasmād ākāśād eṣa khalv idam
 [cetāmātram] bodhayati / anena cedaṃ *jāyate 'smimś ca pratyastaṃ
 yāti / asyaitad bhāsvaraṃ rūpaṃ yad amusminn āditye tapaty agnau
 cādhūmake <hṛdaye ca> / [udarastho 'tha vā yaḥ pacaty annam ity
 evaṃ hy āha -] yaś caiṣo 'gnau yaś cāyaṃ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa
 eṣa ekā iti / ekasya haikatvam eti ya evaṃ veda /

“The Brahman was here alone at first, infinite to the East, infinite to the South, infinite to the West, infinite to the North, infinite upward and downward, in all directions infinite.

[For it must not be supposed that Brahman has directions like East etc. He who cannot be guessed at horizontally, or downward, or upward, is the Supreme Ātman, boundless, unborn, inconceivable, unimaginal.]

He is the *ākāśātman*. [When all is destroyed, he awakes, alone.] Out of this *ākāśa* he awakens this (world) [which is pure spirit.] And through *ākāśa* this (world) is born, and in it it goes down again. The luminous form of it is the light that glows in yonder sun, and in smokeless fire, <and in the heart,> [viz. (the fire) which is in the belly, or that which cooks the food; for thus the author says:] This fire here (in the fireplace), this fire here in the heart, and yonder fire in the sun is one. To the oneness of the one comes he who knows this.”

There are several conspicuous interpolations. After the evocation of the infinite brahman, which recalls such passages as ChUp. 7.15 and TaittUp. 2.1.1 *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma*, the interpolator hastens to say that it really has no directions at all, and proceeds to identify the *brahman-ākāśātman* with the Paramātman, a definitely later conception.

The section as a whole resumes the beginning where the supreme was seen as embodied in the *ākāśa* lotus from which his “ātman” Sun and Prāṇa derive. A new speculation now joins the creation complex: creation out of *ākāśa*, which is an awakening. Thus in BĀUp. 1.4.10 *brahma vā idam agra āsīt | tad ātmānam avet | ahaṃ brahmāsmīti | tasmāt tat sarvam abhavat | tad yo yo devānāṃ pratyabudhyata sa eva tad abhavat* etc. The line *eṣa kṛtsnakṣaya eko jāgarti* strikes me as an interpolation; not only does the use of *iti* indicate its additional character,

the notion of a periodical annihilation implied in *krtsnakṣaya* comes forward definitely at a later time and the line interrupts the expected sequence *eṣa ākāśātmaiva / etasmād ākāśād eṣa...*; *ceṭāmātram* is glossed on *idam*, which is simply “this world”; the expression is borrowed from SM 2.5,¹¹ and apparently inspired by *bodhayati*. *dhyāyate* of the text is of course a corruption of *jāyate*. After *agnau cādihūmake* there is a hiatus, brought about by the intrusive gloss *udarastho* etc.; the gloss, as well as the next sentence shows that the hiatus contained a reference to the light or fire in the heart, which the interpolator explained, with reason, as the digestive fire.

With 6.17 one “chapter” of the original MU comes to a close. It is followed in 18 by *tatra prayogakalpaḥ*, while 19–28 are all additional. Sections 29–30 contain the conclusions of Vālakhilya and Bṛhadratha Instructions, to which several miscellaneous chapters are in turn appended.

After the general theory of the esoteric *agnihotra*, namely the identity of the three “fiery” entities involved therein, the rising sun, the sacrificial fire and the *prāṇa-vaiśvānara*, the ritual practice is now set forth in concrete terms.

6.33.

pañceṣṭako vā eṣo 'gniḥ saṃvatsaraḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yo vasanto
grīṣmo varsāḥ śarad dhemantaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān eṣo
'gniḥ *puruṣavidhaḥ / seyaṃ prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ / karair yajamānam
antarikṣam utkṣiptvā vāyave prāyacchat /

prāṇo vai vāyuḥ / prāṇo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yaḥ prāṇo vyāno 'pānaḥ
samāna udānaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān / eṣo 'gniḥ *puru-
ṣavidhaḥ / tad idam antarikṣam prajāpater dvitīyā citiḥ / karair yaja-
mānam divam utkṣiptvendrāya prāyacchat /

asau vā āditya indraḥ / saiṣo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yad ṛg yajuḥ
sāmātharvāṅgirasā itihāsapurānam / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān /
eṣo 'gniḥ *puruṣavidhaḥ / saiṣa dyauḥ prajāpates tṛtīyā citiḥ / karair
yajamānasyātmavide 'vadānaṃ karoti / athātmavid utkṣipyā brahmaṇe
prāyacchat / tatrānandī modī bhavati /

“This fire, made of five bricks, is the Year. Its bricks are spring, summer, rains, autumn, winter. It has a head, two wings, a back and a

¹¹ But typically with the strange orthography of V: *yaś ceṭāmātraḥ*, while SM has *ceṭanamātraḥ*.

tail: (thus) this fire is like a man. This earth is Prajāpati's first laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proffered him to Wind.

Wind equals Prāṇa. This fire is Prāṇa. Its bricks are prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. The atmosphere is Prajāpati's second laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proffered him to Indra.

Indra is yonder sun. The fire is the sun. Its bricks are Ṛc, Yajus, Sāman, the Atharvāṅgirasas, the Itihāsapurāṇa. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. This sky is Prajāpati's third laying. With its hands it makes an offering of the yajamāna to the ātman-knower. The ātman-knower, having thrown him upward, proffers him to Brahman. There he becomes blissful, joyful."

A full discussion of this section will be found supra p. 29 ff.

6.34.

ṛthivī gārhapatyah / antarikṣam dakṣiṇāgniḥ / dyaur āhavanīyah /
*ta eva pavamānapāvakaśucayah / *haviṣkṛtam *etenāsye 'nnam /

[yataḥ pavamānapāvakaśucisaṃghāto hi jāṭharaḥ /] tasmād agnir
yaṣṭavyaś cetavyaḥ stotavyo 'bhidhyātavyaḥ /

[yajamāno havir gṛhītvā devatābhidhyānam icchati -]

hiraṇyavarṇaḥ śakuno hṛdy āditye pratiṣṭhitaḥ /

madgur haṃsas tejo vṛṣā so 'sminn agnau yajāmahe //

[iti cāpi mantrārthaṃ vicinoti /]

tat savitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo 'syābhidhyeyaṃ [yo *buddhyantaḥsthaḥ
dyāyīha manaḥśāntipadam *anusmaraty ātmany eva dhatte /]

[atreṃ ślokā bhavanti -

yathā nirindhano vahniḥ etc.

ato 'nagnihotryanagnicid- *anagnyabhidhyāyināṃ brahmaṇaḥ pada-
vyomānusmaraṇaṃ viruddham / tasmād agnir yaṣṭavyaś cetavyaḥ
stotavyo 'bhidhyātavyaḥ //]

"The *gārhapatya* fire is the Earth; the *dakṣiṇa* fire is the Atmosphere; the *āhavanīya* fire is the Sky. They are the Pavamāna, Pāvaka and Śuci. He makes an offering of food in his mouth. [For the intestinal fire is the combination of the Pavamāna, Pāvaka and Śuci.] Therefore the fire is to be worshipped, laid, praised and meditated upon.

[The yajamāna, having taken the oblation, desires to meditate upon the deity (of the fire), thus:]

The goldenhued Bird abides in the heart as well as in the sun, He who is the Diver, the Duck, the Glow and the Bull, He is in the fire. We worship Him.

[And he must think upon the meaning of this mantra.]

That covetable gift of Savitṛ, on that he must meditate, [he who is within the spirit.] [While meditating, he contemplates the state of serenity of the mind, puts (the mind) in the ātman itself.]

[On this there are the following ślokas:

Like a fire without fuel... etc.

Therefore the contemplation of the heavenly abode which is the (highest) state of Brahman is outside the scope of those who fail to offer the agnihotra, to think upon the fire, and to meditate upon the fire: therefore the fire must be worshipped, "thought upon", praised and meditated upon.]

This section has badly suffered from corruptions and interpolated interpretations. The mystical equivalencies of the three fires are here resumed and connected with the three appellations with which the *tanūhaviṃsi* are offered. R's emendation *ta eva* for *tata eva* is doubtless correct; *tataḥ* may have been inspired secondarily by *yataḥ* in the next but one sentence. Then follows *āviṣkṛtam etenāsya yajñam*, which is thoroughly corrupt. *āviṣkṛtam* is easily corrected into *haviṣkṛtam*. *yajñam* cannot be correct; the word is always masculine. Considering the context, *annam* seems the best correction; but *etenāsyaṅnam* can hardly produce *etenāsya yajñam*. I believe we must assume here either *etenāsmā annam* (*etena asmaḥ annam*) or *etenāsye 'nnam* (*etena āsye annam*). The latter is more likely: *etenāsyeṅnam* could have been copied as *etenāsya yajñam*, which in turn could have been understood as a haplography for *etenāsya yajñam*. The next line, spurious or not, requires this emendation, since there the three fires are identified with what is clearly the yajamāna's *jāṭhara*. I doubt the authenticity of this explanation, because it is so plainly explicative and because the editor has interfered considerably in this section. It is difficult to make out that he was correct in understanding that the *havis* is offered in the yajamāna's *jāṭhara*, though considering the previous sections I am inclined to agree. The next line is surely authentic, and I believe that the editor has misunderstood it: *cetavyaḥ* is more likely to come from *ci* "to lay a fire" than from *ci* "to think"; the laying of the fire is a basic theme, and the text prefers forms of *abhi-dhyai* for "to think upon". The sentence *yajamānaḥ ... icchati* is another explanation; note the commentatorial *icchati*; but it also shows that the

commentator still knew that the *havis* was being discussed and thus bears out our emendation of *āviṣkṛtam*. For the interpretation of the third *pāda* of the stanza see above p. 33. The fourth *pāda* looks irregular; *yajāmahe* here may perhaps be regarded as a sacrificial ejaculation like *svāhā* – it reminds one of the cry *ye3 yajā3mahe* of the *yājyās*. In order to explain *cetavyaḥ* the editor inserts the commentatorial line *iti cāpi mantrārthaṃ vicinoti*. The authenticity of the reference to the *sāvitrī* seems certain, but the line *yo buddhyantaḥstho* (for *-antastho*) is surely the editor's contribution built on the exegesis supra 6.7 *dhiyo vai buddhayaḥ*. Punctuate after *buddhyantaḥsthaḥ*. *anusarati* must be restored to *anusmarati*, parallel to *brahmaṇaḥ padavyomānusmaraṇam*. The idea is drawn from the seventh of the eleven misplaced ślokaḥ ...*yadā yāty amanobhāvaṃ tadā tat paramaṃ padam*.

Read *anagnyabhidhyāyinām* for the corrupt *ajñānabhidhyāyinām*. The editor finally repeats *tasmād...* from the text to sum up the various ways in which the author (in his opinion) understood his injunction to worship, “think” and meditate.

6.35.

namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite *lokaṣṛte / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /
 namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite *lokaṣṛte / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /
 nama ādityāya divikṣite *lokaṣṛte / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /
 namo brahmaṇe sarvakṣite *sarvaṣṛte / sarvam asmai yajamānāya
 dhehi //

hiraṇmayena pātreṇa *satyasyāpihitam mukham /
 tat tvaṃ pūṣann apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave //

yo 'sā āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sā aham iti //

eṣa ha vai satyadharmāḥ / yad ādityasyādityatvaṃ tac chuklaṃ
 *rūpam [aliṅgam] / [nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'mśamātram] etad yad
 ādityasya madhya ivākṣiṇy agnau caitad brahmaitad amṛtam etad
 bhargā etat satyadharmāḥ / [nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'mśamātram]
 etad yad ādityasya madhye 'mṛtam / yasya hi somaḥ prāṇā vāpy aṅkurā
 etad brahmaitad amṛtam etat bharga etat satyadharmāḥ / [nabhaso
 'ntargatasya tejaso 'mśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhye yajur
 dīpyati – OM āpo jyoti raso 'mṛtam brahma bhūr bhuvaḥ svar OM //

aṣṭapādaṃ śuciṃ haṃsaṃ trisūtram aṇum avyayam /
 *dvidharmāṇaṃ *tejaseddham sarvaṃ paśyan *sa paśyati //

[nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'mśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhya
 UD *ity eva mayukhe bhavata etat savit satyadharmā etad yajur etat

tapa etad agnir etad vāyur etad prāṇa etad āpa etac candramā etac
chukram etad amṛtam etad brahma [viṣayam] etad bhānur arṇavaḥ /
tasminn eva yajamānāḥ saindhava iva vliyante / eṣā vai brahmaikatātra
hi sarve kāmāḥ samāhitā iti / atrodāharanti –

amśadhāraya ivāṇuvātaritaḥ saṃsphuraty antargaḥ surāṇām / yo
haivamvit sa savit sa dvaitavit saikadhāmetaḥ syāt tadātmakaś ca /
ye bindava ivābhyuccaranty ajasram
vidyud ivābhrārciṣaḥ parame vyoman /
te 'rciṣo vai yaśasaḥ āśrayavaśāj
jaṭābhirūpā iva kṛṣṇavartmanaḥ //

“Homage to the Fire, dweller on Earth, bestower of his world: bestow
the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to the Wind, dweller in the Atmosphere, bestower of his
world: bestow the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to the Sun, dweller in the Sky, bestower of his world: bestow
the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to the Brahman, dweller in all, bestower of all; bestow all on
the sacrificer.”

I restore *lokasprte* (*sarvasprte*) for *-smṛte*, as already proposed by Roth,
pw s.v. *lokasmṛt*, followed by Keith *ad* TS. 7.5.14.1; the correction is
graphically minimal. Same laud KāṭhS. 5 (*aśvamedha*) 1.1; TS. 7.5.14.1;
the line devoted to the brahman is peculiar to MU. Parallel ChUp. 2.24
where the context is important. Here the teaching concerns the savana:
*purā prātaranuvākasyopākaraṇaṁ jaghanena gārhapatyasyodaṇmukha
upaviśya sa vāsavaṁ sāmābhigāyati || 3 || lo3kadvāram apāvṛṇū 233
paśyema tvā vyaṁ rā 33333 huṁ 3 ā 33 jā 3 yo 3 ā 1245 iti || 4 || atha
juhōti – namo 'gnaye pṛthivīkṣite lokakṣite lokaṁ me yajamānāya vindaiṣa
yajamānasya loka etāsmi || 5 || ... namo vāyave 'ntarikṣekṣite lokakṣite
lokaṁ me yajamānāya vindaiṣa vai yajamānasya loka etāsmi || 9 || ... nama
ādityebhyaś ca viśvebhyaś ca devebhyo divikṣidbhyo lokakṣidbhyo lokam
me yajamānasya vindaya || 14 || eṣa vai yajamānasya loka etāsmi atra
yajamānaḥ purastād āyuṣaḥ svāhāpahata pariḥam ity uktvottiṣṭhati.
Significant is here the opening of the worlds (*lokadvāram apāvṛṇū
paśyema tvā vyaṁ jayāya*, 1st time, *virājyāya*, 2nd time, *sāmrajyāya*,
3rd time), and the prayer for purification (*apahata pariḥam*); both
features return in the MU.*

“The face of the True is covered by a golden vessel: open it, thou
Pūṣan, on Him whose order is True, on Viṣṇu.

The person in the sun, that is I.”

The obvious correspondence with BĀUp. 5.15.1 = ĪśUp. (Kāṇva) 15 force the acceptance of the v. l. *apīhitam* for the improbable *abhihitam*. The restoration of *dr̥ṣṭaye* for *viṣṇave* is rather less certain: Viṣṇu has highly significant connections with the puruṣa in the sun, and I have kept the name. The line *yo 'sā āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sā aham* is interesting: this identification frequently follows this and comparable meditations. BĀUp. continues *pūṣann ekarṣe yamasūryaprajāpatya vyūha raśmīn samūha tejo yat te rūpaṃ kalyāṇatamam tat te rūpaṃ paśyāmi | yo 'sāv asau puruṣaḥ so 'ham asmi*; ĪśUp. *kāṇva* follows BĀUp.; the *mādhyandina* version has here *yo 'sāv āditye puruṣaḥ so 'ham asmi*. The words *yo 'sāv asau* in BĀUp. seem to be based on *yo 'sāv āditye*; the repetition of *asau* here is meaningless. Compare also ChUp. 4.11–13 (related generally to the present MU speculations) *ya eṣa āditye candramasī vidyuti puruṣo dṛṣyate so 'ham asmi sa evāham asmiti*. The comparison with ChUp. 2.24 (see above) and the relation between the stotra and the “opening” of the supreme which the stanza suggests show that this stanza is not an occasional quotation from the BĀUp. but an integral part of the entire speculation, of which we have several fragmentary accounts left in different upaniṣads.

“He is in truth the One whose order is the True. That which makes the sun *sun* is its white color. [But that is only a particle of the One who dwells in the Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun, as it were, and in the eye, and in the fire, that is the Brahman, the immortal, the bhargas, the One whose order is the True. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the One who dwells in the Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun is the immortal; of which moon and vital airs are the offshoots, that is the brahman, the immortal, the bhargas, the One whose order is the True. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the One who dwells in the Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun... the yajus glows: *OM āpo jyoti raso brahmāmṛtaṃ bhūḥ bhuvah svar OM*.”

The passage has suffered badly. The absurd *tac chuklaṃ puruṣam aliṅgam* must be restored to *tac chuklaṃ rūpam*. *rūpam* was misread as *puruṣam* (*rūpam* and *rūṣam* being easily confused) and on the resulting *puruṣam*, neuter, the note “*aliṅgam*” crept in. Convincing parallels in ChUp. 3.1.2 (following immediately after the section 2.24 quoted above: there is obviously a continuity), in the so-called *madhuvidyā*: *tad vā etad yad etad ādityasya śuklaṃ rūpam*. This *vidyā* acknowledges 5 colors

(red, white, black, ultra-black, that which throbs in the middle), a pentadic extension of the well-known color triad. In our text this pentad is condensed to the “white” and “that which is in the middle”. A similar condensation ChUp. 1.6.7 *atha yad evaitad ādityasya śuklaṃ bhāḥ saiva sā | atha yan nīlaṃ paraḥkr̥ṣṇaṃ tad āmaḥ | tat sāma | atha ya eṣo 'ntar āditye hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣaḥ dr̥śyate* etc.: thus white and blue(black)/ultra-black sum up the colors, *antar āditye* is the fifth “color”; correspondingly our text has “white” and “that which is in the middle”.

The greatest problem is the recurrent phrase *nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'mśamātram*. The construction is faulty but it can only mean: “A particle of the glow of him who resides in the *nabhas*.” In the context this makes no sense: clearly that which is in the middle is not a particle of the light, it is the Supreme Light itself. The construction of the sentences shows that the element *nabhaso ... aṃśamātram* is alien to it: *etad yad* clearly begins the sentence, to which *nabhaso ... aṃśamātram* precedes as a very loose apposition. This part-sentence is obviously related to 7.11 *etad vāva tatsvarūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntarbhūtasya yat paraṃ tejas*; the sequel of that section shows that it is a displaced doublet of 6.37: 7.11 continues: *tredhābhihitam agnā āditye prāṇe | etad vāva tatsvarūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntarbhūtasya yad OM ity etad akṣaram*, while 6.37 has *tasmād OM ity anenaitad upāsītāparimitaṃ tejaḥ | tredhābhihitam agnāv āditye prāṇa*. Anticipating our reconstruction of 6.37 we observe here that it probably read *etad vāva rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya* (or *-bhūtasya*) *yat paraṃ tejaḥ*. This *paraṃ tejaḥ* continues one of the two “forms (colors) of light” distinguished in 6.36 (*dve vāva khalv ete brahmajyotiṣo rūpake | śāntam ekaṃ samṛddhaṃ caikam*). These two forms in turn continue the two colors of our present passage. But here someone (probably our Editor) has started rearranging things. Taking the *śāntaṃ jyotiḥ*, whose foundation is *kham* (6.36) to be the only true light of the text, he interpreted the various descriptions of the Being-in-the-Sun of our present section as being mere *parts* of that light and availed himself of the phrase *etad vāva rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntarbhūtasya yat paraṃ tejaḥ* to make his point confusingly clear. In passing *khe* dropped out, upsetting the construction. This explanation seems the only possible one for the recurring *nabhaso – aṃśamātram* which militates against the doctrinal as well as the syntactical patterns of the passage.

The sentence *etad yad ādityasya madhya ivākṣiṇy agnau ca* is surely related to ChUp. 3.5.4 (madhuvidyā) *tad vā etad yad etad ādityasya madhye kṣobhata iva*. In keeping with the basic theme of MU this idea is extended to eye and fire. *vāpy ankurāḥ* is R.'s emendation of text

vāpyayaṅkurāḥ. *Soma* is here “moon”. Comparison with ChUp. 4.11–13 is instructive: there we find a three-fire speculation in which the āhavanīya, dakṣiṇāgni and gārhapatya are each represented as a puruṣa (cf. our *puruṣavidha* supra 6.33) in sun, moon and lightning. These three puruṣas are each equated with a series: *pṛthivy agnir annam ādityaḥ*; *āpo diśo nakṣatrāṇi candramāḥ*; and *prāṇa ākāśo dyaur vidyut*. The series are evidently mixed up: though the first one is supposed to be the highest (sun/āhavanīya), *pṛthivī*, *agni* and *anna* belong in the lowest (cf. e.g. above 6.33). Still it is clear that here too we have an order *āditya* – moon – *prāṇa* (*vidyut*), corresponding to āhavanīya, dakṣiṇāgni and gārhapatya. In our MU text this moon and the *prāṇas* are considered lower, but derivative, manifestations of the supreme light. The *yajuḥ* is apparently to be understood as the *śiras* formula *OM āpo jyotī raso ’mṛtam*, which is coupled with the *gāyatrī* and the *vyāhṛtis* in the *saṃdhyā* formulae. *brahma* has perhaps been added because of the pairing of *brahman* and *amṛtam* above.

“The eight-footed, the Pure, the Duck, the thrice-corded, the minute, the imperishable, the One of two orders, kindled in glow – seeing him one sees all.”

This stanza has been restored with the aid of basically the same stanza quoted Cūlikā Up. 1, which has *maṇim* for *aṇum*, *divartamānam* for *dvidharmo’ndham*, *tejaseddham* for *tejasendham*, and *sarvaḥ paśyan na paśyati*. *dvidharmānam* seems the best solution for *dvidharmo’ndham/dvivotamānam*; *dvidharmondham* may be explained as attracted by *tejasendham*, itself surely standing for *tejaseddham*. The last pāda is less certain; text has *paśyan paśyati*, but one MS has *paśyan na paśyati* like CūlikāUp.; the conjecture remains unsatisfactory.

The stanza, though intentionally cryptic, is not beyond comprehension. *śuci* is a name of the fire, *tejaseddham* is another reference to the fiery aspect of the puruṣa. I take *aṣṭapādam* and *dvidharmānam* as correlates. *catuspād* “four-footed” denotes the completeness of one who has four parts; *dvidharman* “who has a double order”, namely the macrocosmic and the microcosmic. The “twice four-footed” refers to this same double order. Compare e.g. ChUp. 3.18.2 *tad etac catuspād brahma vāk pādaḥ prāṇaḥ pādaś cakṣuḥ pādaḥ śrotraṃ pāda ity adhyātmam | athādhidaivatam – agniḥ pādo vāyuḥ pāda ādityaḥ pādo diśo pāda ity ubhayam evādiṣṭam bhavaty adhyātmam caivādhidaivatam ca*. In the latter series we have the familiar (*ākāśa*) – sun – *prāṇa* – fire. This kind of speculation of course

embroiders the notion of the four-footed Vāc/Puruṣa (cf. also ChUp. context 3.12 on the four-footed Gāyatrī). The four-footed stage is the completely manifest one, as already AthV. 10.8.21 *apād āgre sām abhavat sō āgre svār ā bharat | cātuṣpād bhūtvā bhōgyaḥ sārvaṃ ā datta bhōjanam*.

The ancient *haṃsa* speculations are still relevant. AthV. 10.8.17 *yē arvāñ mādhye utā vā purāṇāṃ vēdaṃ vidvāṃsam abhīto vādanti | ādityām evā té pāri vadanti sārve agnīm dvitīyaṃ trivṛtaṃ ca haṃsam*. *haṃsa* here stands for the “triple” *puruṣa*, so clearly associated with Sun and Fire. But the TaittĀr. 2.15.8 introduces this AthV. stanza as follows: *tasmāt svādhyāyo ’dhyetavyaḥ | yaṃ yaṃ kratum adhīte tena tenāsyēṣṭaṃ bhavati | agner vāyor ādityasya sāyujyaṃ gacchati | tad eṣābhuyktā:...*; this may suggest that the author of the TaittĀr. considered *haṃsam* of the AthV. stanza to equal wind. But in fact the *haṃsa* is triple, and represents the totality of the world comprising the three levels of fire/earth/food, wind (*prāṇa*)/atmosphere/rains, and sun/sky/summer. For the point of the *haṃsa*, as it is of the *madgu*, is that this bird is equally at home on earth, in water and in the sky, to which the three spatial levels correspond. Cf. also BĀUp. 4.3.11 *hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣa ekahaṃsaḥ*; KāṭhUp. 5.2 *haṃsaḥ śuciṣad* “the *haṃsa* in the *śuci*”; ŚvetUp. 1.6; 3.18; 6.15.

“That which is in the middle of the sun is the *UD*. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the one within the ether]. Two rays appear (?) – it is the *savit*, the One whose order is the True, the *yajus*, the *tapas*, the fire, the wind, the *prāṇa*, the waters, the moon, the bright, the immortal, the Brahman, the oceanic light: *in it the sacrificers sink as in a sea. This is the oneness with brahman; for in it all objects of desire are contained*. On this they cite: like a lamp that is moved by a tiny wind, he flickers, entered among the gods. He who knows this is the *savit*, he knows duality, he will come to unity and consist in it. Like drops that spring up continually, like lightning, the lights that play on the clouds in the high heaven – these lights are the powers of fame, because of their substratum, resplendent with the flame-crests of the fire.”

On the interpolation *nabhaso ... aṃśamātram* see above. On *UD*, cf. ChUp. 1.6.6–7 *atha ya eṣo ’ntar āditye hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣo dṛśyate ... tasya UD iti nāma*. Several notions have contributed to this *ādeśa*. First the identification of *OM* and *udgītha*. In its three syllables *ud-gī-tha* sums up the universe; *UD* represents the highest level (ChUp. 1.3.6), and particularly the sun (1.3.1–2); the equivalence of *OM* and the *puruṣa* is given throughout. Another speculation may have given rise to this *UD*

symbolism. RV 1.50.10 reads *úd vayám támasas pári jyótis páśyanta uttarám | devám devatrā sūryam aganma jyótir uttamám*: “looking high up beyond darkness at the higher light we have gone to the sun, god among gods, the highest light.” ChUp. 3.17.7 quotes this stanza with a brief explanatory note (*uttaram* sc. *svaḥ*, sc. *uttaram devam devatrā*), but without further commentary; the quotation precedes 3.18 on *catuṣpād brahma*, with its light symbolism. But AitĀr. 3.2.4 quotes the same ṛk in a context with the identity of the *prajñātman* (= *vijñānātman* ~ *prāṇa*) and the sun: *sa yaś cāsāv āditya ekam etad ity avocāma* ... Keith considers the reference irrelevant, but there is clearly more to it. MS. 4.4.6 quotes the same ṛk in the agniciti-brāhmaṇa: *úd vayám támasas páriṭi pāpmānam eva támo ’pahatya svargám lokám abhyárohati*: “having beaten off the darkness with *úd vayám* etc., the darkness that is evil, he climbs up to the world of heaven.” Precisely this idea is behind ChUp. 1.6.7 *tasya UD iti nāma | sa eva sarvebhyaḥ pāpmabhyaḥ uditāḥ | udeti ha vai sarvebhyaḥ pāpmabhya ya evaṃ veda*, and ChUp. 8.1.5, where the same *puruṣa* is called *apahatapāpmā*. It is clear that the name *UD* is not just derived from the first syllable of *udgītha*, but also from a mystical interpretation of RV. 1.50.10.

This presumes on a restoration of *uditvā* into *UD ity eva*. Another restoration is possible: *uditvā* into *udityā*, which would make somewhat better sense of *mayukha bhavataḥ*: “with the rising (of the sun) two rays appear”; these two rays could be understood as referring to the light of the sun as well as the light (eye/fire etc.) of the person. The passage remains doubtful, however, and I suspect a hiatus.

The same reasoning which was behind the interpolation *nabhaso ... aṃśamātram*, is behind the conspicuous interpolation *etad brahmaviśayam*, as though all this really concerned the lower world, not the supreme itself; likewise one suspects the unlikely *sa dvaitavit*. The expression *bhānur arṇavaḥ* seems to have been taken from RV. 3.22.2, which in TS 4.2.4 is employed at the *agnicayana*.

atra hi sarva kāmāḥ samāhitāḥ is found ChUp. 8.1.5; is it an interpolated quotation? The last sentences remain uncertain; *tadātmakāḥ* has a commentatorial ring, and so has *āśrayavaśāt* (“the souls are lights by virtue of their substratum, which is light.”)

6.36.

dve vāva khalv ete brahmajyotiṣo rūpake | śāntam ekaṃ samṛddham ekam | atha yac chāntam tasyādhāram kham | yat samṛddham idaṃ

tasyānnam / tasmān mantrauṣadhājyāmiṣapuroḍāśasthālīpākādībhir
yaṣṭavyam antarvedyām *āsyā'gnyavaśiṣṭair annapānaiś ca, [āsyam
āhavanīyam iti matvā] / tejasah samṛddhyai puṇyalokavijityarthāyām-
ṛtatvāya ca /

atrodāharanti – agnihotraṃ juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ / yamarājyam
agniṣṭomenābhijayati somarājyam ukthyena sūryarājyam ṣoḍāśinā
svārājyam atirātreṇa prājāpatyam āsahasrasamvatsarāntakratuṇeti /

[varttyādhārasnehayogād yathā dipasya samsthitiḥ /
antaryāṇḍopayogād imau sthitāv ātmasūci tathā //]

“This brahman-light has two forms. One is the pure form; the other is the thriving form. Ether is the seat of the pure form; food that of the thriving form. Therefore one should sacrifice with formulae, herbs, butter, meat, cakes, cooked rice and such in the fire-hearth, and in the mouth with the eatables and drinkables left over by the fire, [thinking that the mouth is the āhavanīya hearth] for the thriving of the light-power, the winning of auspicious worlds, and for immortality.

On this they cite: “He who desires heaven must offer the *agnihotra*. With the *agniṣṭoma* one conquers the world of Yama, with the *ukthya* the realm of the Moon, with the *ṣoḍāśin* the realm of the Sun, with the *atirātra* the realm of Indra, with a sacrifice of a thousand years the realm of Prajāpati.”

[“Just as a lamp exists by virtue of the combination of wick, container, and oil, so do the *ātman* and the *sūci* stand by virtue of the combination with the inner egg.”]

The section continues the ideas of e.g. 6.15, distinguishing an uncreated and a created form of the supreme. *brahmajyotis* is a *karmadhāraya*, *jyotis* here being equated with *brahman*. This light has a transcendent, *śānta*, form, and an embodied, “thriving”, *samṛddha*, form. This thriving form is identified with food, in the same train of thought as the “completed” brahman was identified with the Year, i.e. the full, harvest-producing year.

The next line is corrupt: text *āsnyavaśiṣṭair* (v.l. *āsnyavasṛṣṭair*). It is clear, however, that parallel with the fire-offering there is a *prāṇa*-offering, a *prāṇāgnihotra*. I suggest for *āsnyava- āsyē'gnyava-*. That something like this must have been original is still shown by the evidently commentatorial *āsyam āhavanīyam iti matvā*,¹² which presupposes an *āsyā* where we have suggested it.

¹² Quoted from ChUp. 5.18.2: *āsyam eva āhavanīyaḥ*.

The udāharaṇa seems to be original; it belongs in a context with BĀUp. 5.15.1. There the stanza *hiraṇmayena pātreṇa* (cf. supra 6.35) is explained, and the *pūṣan* of this stanza is called *yama*, *sūrya* and *prajāpatya*; our present text suggests the ritual background of the esoteric BĀUp. speculation. Jacob's emendation (Concordance, s.v. *uktha*) of *ukthyena* for *ukthena* is certainly correct. The terminal śloka, though not as usual introduced is most likely to be additional. *antaryāṇḍena* is highly suspect.

6.37.

etad vāva [tatsva-] rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yat paraṃ tejaḥ /
 etad vāva [tatsva-] rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yad OM ity etad
 akṣaram / tat tredhābhihitam agnā āditye prāṇe / anenaiva tad udbu-
 dhnyaty udayaty ucchvasayaty ajasram / tasmād OM ity anenaitad
 upāsītāparimitaṃ tejas / athaiṣā nāḍī – *anābhū iti / eṣāgnau hutam
 ādityaṃ gamayati / ato yo raso 'sravat sa udgīthaṃ varṣati / teneme
 prāṇāḥ / prāṇebhyaḥ prajā iti /

atrodāharanti – yad dhavir agnau hūyate tad ādityaṃ gamayati / tat
 sūryo raśmibhir varṣati / tenānnaṃ bhavati / [asmād bhūtānām utpattir
 iti / evaṃ hy āha –

agnau prāstāhutiḥ saṃyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate /
 ādityāḥ jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annaṃ tataḥ prajāḥ //]

“The form of that which abides in the heart is the supreme light. The form of the ether which abides in the heart is the syllable OM. It is uttered thrice: for the fire, for the sun, for the prāṇa: through it, fire breaks forth, sun rises, breath breathes. Therefore one should meditate upon the boundless light with OM.

Now the channel: *anābhū*. It conducts the oblation to the sun. The sap which flows from it rains down the *udgītha*. Through it live the vital airs, through the airs the creatures.

On this they cite: The oblation which is poured into the fire it conducts to the sun. The sun rains it down with its rays; through that food is born.

[Out of food takes place the origination of the beings: thus the text says: the oblation thrown in the fire goes entirely to the sun. Out of the sun rains come forth. Out of rain food; therefrom the creatures.]

This section requires the most drastic reconstruction so far. We have had to piece it together from V 6.37 and 7.11. The latter section is the last section of the Vulgate and the editor's hand is discernible. Without

recognizing that a precise ritual context corresponds to the above speculation, he has made the supreme light a reference to a more or less yogic goal. After 6.36, with its discussion of the two *rūpas* of the brahman-light, a discussion of the supreme light follows more naturally than in 7.11 as the tail of a clearly appended and fairly late condemnation of heresies. The place of *tat tredhābhihitam* etc. is uncertain. In 7.11 it is certainly displaced; *abhihitam* means “uttered” and ought to go with *OM*, not with *paraṃ tejas*. In 6.37 the same line follows *tasmād OM ity anenopāsītāparimitaṃ tejaḥ* which 7.11 places elsewhere. It should precede *anenaiva tad udbudhnyati* etc. since the verbs have the three entities fire, sun, and breath as subjects.

The supreme light, the boundless light, the *sānta* form of the brahman-jyotis, is equated with *OM*, itself the hypostasis of the verbalized universe and equivalent to the person in the sun. The present section refers most concretely to the actual rite of the *agnihotra*, and therefore I should prefer to see in text *annabahum* a reference to the *Anābhū*, who at this point is invoked by the Maitrāyaṇīyas who follow the ritual of the *Mānavaśrautasūtra*.¹³ *Annabahum* then is either a corruption of *Anābhū*, or a reinterpretation “The one of much food”, to which the rare name may quite conceivably have led in esoteric thinking.

If our understanding of the passage is correct, we should read *rūpam* for *tatsvarūpam*. This *tatsvarūpam*, of course, refers back to the interpolated clauses *nabhaso 'ntarbhūtasya tejaso 'ṃśamātram* in 6.35. After there, in the editor's incorrect opinion, mere “portions” of the light had been described, he now, persuaded by such helpful hints as *paraṃ tejas*, *aparimitaṃ tejas*, interprets our section as descriptive of the *real* nature (*tatsvarūpam*) of the light.

On the relations *OM/udgītha* with sun and *prāṇa*, cf. ChUp. 1 passim, where *OM* is sun *adhidevatam*, and *prāṇa* *adhyātmam*. On the sap, cf. e.g. ChUp. 1.1.3 (*sa eṣa rasānāṃ rasatamaḥ ... yad udgīthaḥ*, and *udgītha* is *OM*, ib. 1.1.1); *akṣara* has been represented as *rasa* since RV 1.164., to which its name with “flowing” in it inspired. On this, as well as on the ritual reality of the equation *OM* is *udgītha*, cf. my “Akṣara”, *JAOS* 1959.

6.38.

agnihotraṃ juhvāno lobhajālaṃ bhinatti / [ataḥ saṃmohaṃ chittvā na krodhān stunvānaḥ kāmaṃ abhidhyāyamānaḥ ... /] atas tat caturjālaṃ

¹³ *Mynavaśrautasūtra* 1.6.1.41b.

brahmakośaṃ bhinatti / [atra hi saurasaumyāgneyasāttvikāni maṇḍalāni /]
 ataḥ param ākāśaṃ bhittvā [tataḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam
 acyutaṃ dhruvaṃ viṣṇusaṃjñitaṃ sarvāparaṃ dhāma satyakāmasatya-
 saṃkalpasarvajñatvasaṃyuktaṃ svatantraṃ caitanyaṃ sve mahimni
 tiṣṭhamānaṃ] paśyati /

atrodāharanti –

ravimadhye sthitaḥ somaḥ somamadhye sthitaṃ tejaḥ /

tejomadhye sthitaṃ sattvaṃ sattvamadhye sthito 'cyutaḥ //

[śarīraprādeśāṅgusthamātraṃ aṅor apy anvyam dhyātvātaḥ paramatāṃ
 gacchati / atra hi sarve kāmāḥ samāhitāḥ iti / atrodāharanti – aṅgustha-
 prādeśaśarīramātraṃ pradīpapratāpavat /]

dvis tredhā hi tad brahmābhiṣṭūyamānaṃ mahas / devo bhuvanāny
 āviveśa / OM namaḥ / brahmaṇe namaḥ //

“He who offers the agnihotra pierces the net of greed. [Thereupon having severed ignorance, not lauding the wraths, (not?) meditating upon desire...] Thereupon he pierces the four whorls of the brahman calyx. [For therein there are four circles, solar, lunar, fiery and sattvic.] Then having pierced the space beyond (these whorls) he beholds [the supreme Light, present within the sattva, unmoving, undying, unfalling, stable, called Viṣṇu, possessed of trueness of desires, trueness of will, and omniscience, the autonomous consciousness, which abides in its own greatness.]

On this they cite:

Within the sun is the moon, within the moon the fire, within the fire the sattva, within the sattva the Unfallen. [Having meditated upon this one, whose body is the mere size of a thumb, more minute than the minute, he thereupon attains to supreme vastness. For therein all desires are collected. On this they cite: whose body has the mere size of a thumb ... like the relation between lamp and light...]

Twice, indeed thrice this Brahman is lauded: mahas! The god has entered the worlds. Homage to OM. Homage to Brahman.”

This section winds up the sixth chapter and is, expectedly, interpolated. My only criterion in marking portions off is the conspicuous way in which they break up the syntactic continuity of the sentences; it is uncertain what the object of paśyati among the wide choice of attributes has been: *dhāma*, *acyutaṃ*, as in the stanza? This stanza explains *caturjālaṃ brahmakośam*, on which there is the interpolation *atra hi saura-* etc., which is quite obviously inspired by the stanza. *sve mahimni tiṣṭhamānaṃ* from

SM (2.4)? Here too the quotation introduced by *atrodāharanti* is likely to be authentic. On the range of *sattva* here, cf. my Studies in Sāṃkhya 3, *Sattva* (JAOS 77, 1957).

Follows a collection of partial and complete quotations (the thumbsized *puruṣa* (Sāvitri 5.17), *atra hi* (ChUp. 8.1.5) and again an *atrodāharanti* which can hardly be authentic and must have been repeated as *evaṃ hy āha* originally was. The final lines seem original. *dvis tredhā hi* as I have translated? *mahas* should be read as a formula, not as an adjective to *deva* (so R., C., D., H.), cf. TaittUp. 1.

7.1.

agnir gāyatram trivṛd rathantaram vasantaḥ prāṇo nakṣatrāṇi vasavaḥ purastād udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / [acintyo 'mūrto gabhīro gupto 'navadyo ghano gahano nirguṇaḥ śiddho bhāsvaro guṇabhug bhayo 'nirṛttir yogīśvaraḥ sarvajño magho 'prameyo 'nādyantaḥ śrīmān ajo dhīmān anirdeśyaḥ sarvasṛk sarvasyātmā sarvabhuk sarveśānaḥ sarvasyāntarāntaraḥ //]

7.2.

indras triṣṭup pañcadaśo bṛhad grīṣmo vyānaḥ somo rudrā dakṣiṇata udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / [anādyanto 'parimito 'paricchinnō 'paraprayojyaḥ svatanthro 'liṅgo 'mūrto 'nantaśaktir dhātā bhāskaraḥ //]

7.3.

maruto jagatī saptadaśo vairūpyaṃ varṣā apānaḥ śukra ādityāḥ paścād udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / [tac chāntam aśabdāṃ abhayam aśokam ānandaṃ tṛptaṃ sthiram acalam amṛtam acyutaṃ dhruvaṃ viṣṇusaṃjñītaṃ sarvāparaṃ dhāma //]

7.4.

viśve devā anuṣṭub ekaviṃśo vairājaḥ śarat samāno varuṇaḥ sādhyā uttarata udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / [antaḥ śuddhaḥ pūtaḥ śūnyaḥ śānto 'prāṇo nirātmānantaḥ //]

7.5.

mitrāvaruṇau pañktis triṇavatrayastrīṃśau śākvararivate hemanta-śiśirā udāno 'ṅgirasāś candramā ūrdhvodyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / [praṇavākhyāṃ praṇetāraṃ bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ vijaraṃ vimṛtyuṃ viśokam //]

7.6.

*śanirāhuketūragarakṣoyakṣanaravihagaśarabhebhādayo 'dhastād ud-
yanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti / yaḥ
prājño vidhāraṇaḥ sarvāntaro 'kṣaraḥ śuddhaḥ pūto bhāntaḥ kṣāntaḥ
śāntaḥ //

7.7.

eṣa hi khalv ātmāntar hṛdaye 'nīyān iddho 'gnir iva viśvarūpaḥ /
asyaivānnaṁ idaṁ sarvam / asminn otā imāḥ prajāḥ / eṣa ātmāpahata-
pāpmā vijaro vimṛtyur akṣutpipāsaḥ satyasamkalpaḥ satyakāmaḥ / eṣa
parameśvaraḥ / eṣa bhūtādhipatiḥ / eṣa bhūtapālaḥ / eṣa setur vidhā-
raṇaḥ / eṣa hi khalv ātmeśānaḥ śambhur bhavo rudraḥ prajāpatir
viśvasṛg ghirāṇyagarbhaḥ satyaṁ prāṇo haṁsaḥ śāstācyuto viṣṇur
nārāyaṇaḥ / yaś caiṣo 'gnau yaś cāyaṁ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa eṣa
ekaḥ / tasmai te viśvarūpāya satye nabhasi hitāya namaḥ //

This section seems to have been a third, loosely appended chapter of MU. The Vedic ritual connections are, of course, quite evident here. There are eight Vedic pentads (7.1–5) of which it is said that they in the four cardinal points and the zenith “rise, heat, rain, praise, re-enter, and through a hole look out,” which must describe the daily rhythm of day and night here related to these entities; when they have “re-entered” and night has fallen, “they look out” like stars. The eight pentads are certain gods, including the almost singular groups of *viśve devāḥ* and *mitrāvaruṇau*, the metres, the stomas, the sāmans, the seasons, the prāṇas, celestial luminaries, and well-known groups of gods and godlings. The sixth group is quite strikingly secondary, though prior, it would seem to the editorial additions which somehow must relate these disparate entities to the Supreme; descriptions of this Supreme are largely quoted from various parts of the Vulgate and from ChUp. Entirely uncertain is the authenticity of the last section, in which we also find references to previous descriptions in our text.

THE ORIGINAL MAITRĀYAṆĪYA UPANIṢAD

I

brahmayajño vā eṣa yat pūrveśāṁ cayanam / tasmād yajamānaś
citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet / sa pūrṇaḥ khalu vā addhāvikaḥ
sāmpadyate yajñaḥ //

dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānaṃ bibharti / ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇo yaś cāsā ādityaḥ /
atha dvau vā etā panthānā ahorātreṇaitau vyāvartete //

atha ya eṣo 'ntare ḥṛtṣuṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti sa eṣo 'gnir divi
śritaḥ sarvabhūtāny annam atti //

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṃ cāmūrtaṃ ca / atha yan mūrtaṃ tad
asatyam / yad amūrtaṃ tat satyaṃ tad brahma taj jyotiḥ / yaj jyotiḥ sa
ādityaḥ sa vā eṣa OM iti / etad ātmābhavat / sa tredhātmānaṃ vyakuruta /
OM iti tisro mātṛāḥ / etābhiḥ sarvam idam otaṃ protaṃ caivāsmin /

athāvyāhṛtaṃ vā idam āsīt / sa satyaṃ prajāpatis tapas taptvānu-
vyāharad bhūr bhuvaḥ svar iti / eṣaivāsya prajāpateḥ sthaviṣṭhā tanūḥ /
svar ity asya śiro nābhīr bhuvo bhūḥ pādā ādityaś cakṣuḥ / cakṣur
āyattā hi puruṣasya mahatī mātṛā / satyaṃ vai cakṣuḥ / etasmād bhūr
bhuvaḥ svar ity upāsita //

atha tat savitur vareṇyam iti / asau vā ādityaḥ savitā / sa vā evaṃ
pravaraṇiya ātmakāmenety āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha bhargo devasya dhīmahīti / savitā vai devaḥ / tato yo 'sya
bhargākhyas taṃ cintayāmīty āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti / buddhayo vai dhiyoḥ / tā yo
'smākaṃ pracodayād ity āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha bhargā iti / yo ha vā amusminn āditye nihitas tāraḥ 'kṣiṇi vā
eṣa bhargākhyāḥ / ity āhur brahmavādinaḥ //

eṣa hi khalu ātmeśānaḥ śambhur bhavo rudraḥ prajāpatir viśvasṛg
ghiraṇyagarbhaḥ satyaṃ prāṇo haṃsaḥ śāstā viṣṇur nārāyaṇo 'rkaḥ
savitā dhātā vidhātā samṛdḥ indra indur iti / ya eṣa tapaty agnir ivāgninā-
pihitaḥ sahasrākṣeṇa hiraṇmayenāṇḍenaīṣa vai jijñāsitavyo 'nveṣṭavyaḥ //

tasmād vā ubhayātmā / evaṃvid ātmann evābhidhyāty ātmann eva
yajati //

paraṃ vā etad ātmano rūpaṃ yad annam / annamayo hy ayaṃ
prāṇaḥ / atha na yady aśnāty amantāśrotāspaṣṭādraṣṭāvaktāghrātāra-
sayitā bhavati prāṇāṃś cotsṛjati / atha yadi khalv aśnāti prāṇasamṛddho
bhūtvā mantā bhavati śrotā bhavati spaṣṭā bhavati draṣṭā bhavati vaktā
bhavati rasayitā bhavati ghrātā bhavati //

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe kālāś cākālāś ca / atha yaḥ prāg ādityāt so
'kālo 'kalaḥ / atha ya ādityādyāḥ sa kālaḥ sakalaḥ / sakalasya vā etad
rūpaṃ yat saṃvatsaraḥ / saṃvatsarāt khalv evemāḥ prajāḥ prajāyante /
saṃvatsareṇa vai jātā vivardhante / saṃvatsare pratyastaṃ yanti /
tasmāt saṃvatsaro vai prajāpatiḥ kālaḥ / annaṃ brahmaniḍam ātmā ca //

brahma ha vā idam agra āsīt ekaḥ / anantaḥ prāg ananto dakṣiṇato
'nantaḥ praticy ananta udicy ananta ūrdhvaṃ cāvān ca sarvato 'nantaḥ /
eṣa ākāśātmaiva / etasmād ākāśād eṣa khalv idam bodhayati / anena

cedaṃ jāyate 'smiṃś ca pratyastaṃ yāti / asyaitad bhāsvaraṃ rūpaṃ yad
amusminn āditye tapaty agnau cādhūmake hṛdaye ca / yaś caiṣo 'gnau
yaś cāyaṃ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa eṣa ekā iti / ekasya haikatvam eti ya
evaṃ veda /

II

pañceṣṭako vā eṣo 'gniḥ samvatsaraḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yo vasanto
grīṣmo varṣāḥ śarad dhemantaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān eṣo
'gniḥ puruṣavidhaḥ / seyaṃ prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ / karair yaja-
mānam antarikṣam utkṣiptvā vāyave prāyacchat /

prāṇo vai vāyuḥ / prāṇo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yaḥ prāṇo vyāno
'pānaḥ samāna udānaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān / eṣo 'gniḥ
puruṣavidhaḥ / tad idam antarikṣam prajāpater dvitīyā citiḥ / karair
yajamānaṃ divam utkṣiptvendrāya prāyacchat /

asau vā āditya indraḥ / saiṣo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yad ṛg yajuḥ
sāmātharvāṅgirasā itihāsapurāṇam / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān /
eṣo 'gniḥ puruṣavidhaḥ / saiṣa dyauḥ prajāpates tṛtīyā citiḥ / karair yaja-
mānasyātmavide 'vadānaṃ karoti / athātmaivid utkṣipyā brahmaṇe
prāyacchat / tatrānandī modī bhavati //

pṛthivī gārhapatyaḥ / antarikṣam dakṣiṇāgniḥ / dyaur āhavanīyaḥ / ta
eva pāvakaḥ pāvamaṇāśucayaḥ / haviṣkṛtam etenāsye 'nnam / tasmād
agnir yaṣṭavyaś cetavyaḥ stotavyo 'bhidyātavyaḥ //

hiraṇyavarnaḥ śakuno hṛdy āditye pratiṣṭhitaḥ /

madgur haṃsas tejo vṛṣā so 'sminn agnau yajāmahe //

tat savitur varenyaṃ bhargo 'syābhidyeyam //

namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite lokasṛte / lokam asmaḥ yajamānāya dhehi /
namo 'vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite lokasṛte / lokam asmaḥ yajamānāya
dhehi /

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasṛte / lokam asmaḥ yajamānāya dhehi /
namo brahmaṇe sarvakṣite sarvasṛte / sarvam asmaḥ yajamānāya
dhehi //

hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam mukham /

tat tvaṃ pūṣann apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave //

yo 'sā āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sā aham iti //

eṣa ha vai satyadharmāḥ / yad ādityasyāditvatvaṃ tac chuklaṃ rūpaṃ /
etad yad ādityasya madhya evākṣiṇy agnau caitad brahmaitad amṛtam
etad bhargā etat satyadharmāḥ / etad yad ādityasya madhye 'mṛtam
yasya hi somaḥ prāṇā vāpy aṅkurā etad brahmaitad amṛtam etad
bhargā etat satyadharmāḥ / etad yad ādityasya madhye yajur dīpyati –

OM āpo jyotī raso 'mṛtaṃ brahma / bhūr bhuvah svar OM //
 aṣṭapādaṃ śuciṃ haṃsaṃ trisūtraṃ aṇum avyayam /
 dvidharmānaṃ tejaseddhaṃ sarvaṃ paśyan sa paśyati //

etad yad ādityasya madhya UD ity eva mayukhe bhavata etat savit
 satyadharmā etad yajur etat tapa etad agnir etad vāyur etat prāṇa etad
 āpa etac candramā etac chukram etad amṛtam etad brahmaitad bhānur
 arṇavaḥ / tasminn eva yajamānāḥ saindhava iva vliyante / eṣā vai
 brahmaikatā / atra hi sarve kāmā samāhitā iti /

atrodāharanti – aṃśadhārāya ivāṇuvāteritaḥ saṃsphuraty antargaḥ
 surāṇām / yo haivaṃvit sa savit sa dvaitavit saikadhāmetaḥ syāt
 tadātmakaś ca /

ye bindava ivābhyuccaranty ajasram
 vidyud ivābhrārciṣaḥ parame vyoman /

te 'rciṣo vai yaśasaḥ āśrayavaśāj
 jaṭābhirūpā iva kṛṣṇavartmanaḥ //

dve vāva khalv ete brahmajyotiṣo rūpake / śāntam ekaṃ samṛddham
 ekaṃ / yac chāntaṃ tasyādhāraṃ kham / yat samṛddham idaṃ tasyān-
 nam / tasmān mantraśadhājyāmiṣapuroḍāśasthālipākādibhir yaṣṭavyam
 antarvedyām āsye 'gnyavaśiṣṭair annapānaiś ca tejasah samṛddhyai
 puṇyalokavijityarthāyāmṛtatvāya ca /

atrodāharanti – agnihotraṃ juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ / yamarājyam
 agniṣṭomenābhijayati somarājyam ukthyena sūryarājyaṃ ṣoḍāśinā
 svārājyam atirātreṇa prājāpatyaṃ āsahasrasaṃvatsarāntakratuneti //

etad vāva rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yat paraṃ tejaḥ / etad
 vāva rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yad OM ity etad akṣaram / tat
 tredhābhihitam agnā āditye prāṇe / anenaiva tad udbudhnyaty udayaty
 ucchvasayaty ajasram / tasmād OM ity anenaitad upāsītāparimitaṃ
 tejaḥ / athaiśā nāḍi – anābhūr iti / eṣāgnau hutam ādityaṃ gamayati / ato
 yo raso 'sravat sa udgīthaṃ varṣati / teneme prāṇāḥ / prāṇebhyaḥ prajā
 iti /

atrodāharanti – yad dhavir agnau hūyate tad ādityaṃ gamayati / tat
 sūryo raśmibhir varṣati / tenānnaṃ bhavati //

agnihotraṃ juhvāno lobhajālaṃ bhinatti / atas tac caturjālaṃ brahma-
 koṣaṃ bhinatti / ataḥ param ākāśaṃ bhittvācyutaṃ paśyati /

atrodāharanti –

ravimadhye sthitaḥ somaḥ somamadhye sthitaṃ tejaḥ /

tejomadhye sthitaṃ sattvaṃ sattvamadhye sthito 'cyutaḥ //

dvis tredhā hi tad brahmābhiṣṭūyamānaṃ mahas / devo bhuvanāny
 āviveśa / OM namaḥ / brahmaṇe namaḥ //

III

agnir gāyatraṃ trivṛd rathantaraṃ vasantaḥ prāṇo nakṣatrāṇi vasavaḥ
purastād udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇek-
ṣanti //

indras triṣṭup pañcadaśo bṛhad grīṣmo vyānaḥ somo rudrā dakṣiṇata
udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti //

maruto jagatī saptadaśo vairūpyaṃ varṣā apānaḥ śukra ādityāḥ paścād
udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti //

viśve devā anuṣṭub ekaviṃśo vairājaḥ śarat samāno varuṇaḥ sādhyā
uttarata udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇek-
ṣanti //

mitrāvaruṇau paṅktis triṇavatrayaśtriṃśau śākvararaivate hemanta-
śiśirā udāno 'ṅgirasāś candramā ūrdhvodyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti
punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti //

eṣa hi khalv ātmāntarhṛdaye 'nīyān iddho 'gnir iva viśvarūpaḥ /
asyaivānnam idaṃ sarvam / asminn otā imāḥ prajāḥ / yaś caiṣo 'gnau yaś
cāyaṃ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa eṣa ekaḥ / tasmai te viśvarūpāya satye
nabhasi hitāya namaḥ //

EVALUATION OF THE ORIGINAL
MAITRĀYAṆĪYA UPANIṢAD

§ 1. It is not necessary to repeat that the above reconstruction of the original Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad does not pretend to be more than an attempt. But, however drastic some of my restorations had to be, the fact remains that the text essentially already emerges as soon as we accept the consequences of the relation between V and SM and eliminate those sections and parts of sections which proclaim themselves as being additional. The text as it then appears is not an arbitrary collection of left-over sections, but a context with an unmistakable consistency, marred only by interpolations which are, with different degrees of certainty, recognizable as such.

§ 2. A brief paraphrasis of the bare text may be found useful. At the agnyādhāna the laying of the fire becomes a *brahmayajña*, when the sacrificer thinks upon the domestic fires as his ātman. So the rite becomes fully complete. The supreme being carries the ātman in two ways, separately existing and evolving, as the prāṇa, and as the sun. But these two are homologous: the prāṇa fire in the heart lotus is the sun fire in the ether lotus. The ether is a lotus: the directions are its leaves; and from this original principle, the ether-ātman, evolve both prāṇa and sun. The original being, manifest in prāṇa and sun, is to be meditated upon in the formulae *OM, bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ, tat savitur vareṇyam bhargas* etc. *OM* is the higher disembodied, true form of this Brahman. Brahman, creating himself, made himself triple: thus *OM* is triple; on its three *mātrās* is woven the entire world. Likewise *bhūḥ bhuvah svaḥ* were the formulae with which Prajāpati called the world, his body, into being, *bhūḥ* becoming his feet, *bhuvah* his navel, *svaḥ* his head; but the Great *Mātrā*, which is his eye or the sun, transcends this world: it is the *satyam*. In *tat savitur* etc. we meditate upon the *bhargas*, the Boon, which resides in sun, eye and fire. He is the highest God, the Creator known under many names. His abode is fire – of sun, of man; hence the brahman-fire has two ātmans: when sacrificing into the fire one who knows this meditates on the ātman, sacrifices in the ātman.

Indeed one sacrifices: food is consumed. Food is the ātman's form,

for the personal ātman, which is the prāṇa, consists in food. Without it the sensory functions of the ātman cannot operate; with it they thrive. Of Brahman's two forms, non-time and time, the time form, too, is a completion of Brahman. This is the Year, through which food grows and the creatures originate, live and return. Year is Prajāpati who is Time – food is the nest of Brahman, its self. But originally Brahman was alone, and infinite everywhere, as the ether-ātman, out of which he awakened this world. As this ether-ātman, its form is luminous, as it is in its triple presence in sun, heart and fire. This being in sun, heart and fire is one and the same: he who knows this finds union with Brahman.

How does this union come about? The year is one fire-hearth, built of the seasons, which are the limbs to his body as a person. It is the earth, Prajāpati's lowest layer. It lifts the sacrificer up to the next level, Wind. Wind, which is prāṇa, is a fire-hearth built of the five prāṇas, the limbs to its body as a person. It is the atmosphere, Prajāpati's second layer. It lifts the sacrificer up to the third level, Indra. He is the sun, a fire-hearth built of the sacred texts, limbs to its body as a person. It is the sky, Prajāpati's third layer. It offers the sacrificer to the Ātmavid, who lifts him up to Brahman in which he finds bliss and joy.

The three domestic fires – earth, atmosphere and sky – are the Pāvaka, Pāvamāna and Śuci, under which names the *tanūhavis* is offered to the fire. The sacrificer then offers the *havis* in his mouth. Thus the fire must be offered to, piled, lauded and represented; as with such meditations as the Golden Bird – the brahman-fire – in heart and sun, which is known as the Diver, Swan, Glow, Bull: he is in the sacrificial fire: *yajāmahe!* "Savitṛ's covetable Boon" must be represented by him. And praise be offered to the fire which is on earth that it give the yajamāna his world, to the wind in the atmosphere, that it give him his world, to the sun in the sky, that it give him his world, and to Brahman in everything, that it give him everything. It, the True, is hidden in the golden sun: let Pūṣan open it, so that he of the true order may be seen. For I am the person in the sun. This person is the Satyadharma.

The bright aspect of the sun is the sun itself. But that which throbs in the center of it – as well as in the eye and in the fire – that is Brahman, the Immortal, the Boon, the Satyadharma. It is the Immortal from which moon and prāṇas sprout. It is that which is expressed in the *yajus*: *āpo jyotī raso 'mṛtam*, i.e. Brahman. He who sees the twice four-footed, the Pure, the Swan, the minute and indestructible being of two orders, blazing with light, he sees all. That which is in the center of the sun, is the mystic *Ud*, from which two rays spring. It is Savit, Satyadharma,

Tapas, Fire, Wind, Prāṇa, Waters, Moon, Glow, Brahman, the oceanic Light. In it the sacrificers drown as in a sea, into union with Brahman: for in it all desires are contained.

Two forms has this brahman-light, a pure one, which is the ether-light; and a thriving one, which is food. Hence one should offer food ritually in the fire hearth, but also, whatever remains from the fire, into the mouth, to make one's own light thriving, to conquer the worlds of merit, to become immortal. The pure form of the brahman-light, which is in the orifice of ether, is the supreme light. It is the syllable *OM*, which must be pronounced thrice, for the fire, the sun, the prāṇa. For through it fire blazes forth, sun rises up, prāṇa breathes. *OM* is the supreme light, therefore one must think upon *OM* as the boundless light. Then *Anābhū*, which is the channel that conducts the oblation to the sun. The sap flows off and rains the *udgītha*, through which the prāṇas live, and through the prāṇas the creatures. If one thus offers the *agnihotra*, one breaks through greed and then through the four whorls that sheath Brahman in the ether-lotus; and in the inner space one breaks through to the contemplation of Brahman. Twice, thrice is Brahman praised with *mahas*. The God enters the worlds: homage to *OM*, to Brahman.

Gods, metres, stomas, sāmans, seasons, prāṇas, luminaries, and groups of deities by the virtue of this being rise, glow, rain, praise, reenter and look out from within. This supreme being is the ātman, in the heart, very minute, of all forms, like a blazing fire. All this world is this brahman-fire's food. It is the same one in fire, in this heart, in yonder sun. To him, the many-formed, who rests in the true ether, be homage.

§ 3. Fundamental to the doctrine as it emerges is the explicit homology of macro- and microcosm, an homology made significant and acted upon in an act of sacrifice. This sacrifice is the *agnihotra*, which gives the act a daily reality that the larger rituals, dear to the hearts of the great priests of the Brāhmaṇas, must miss. The fire in its three hearths is a symbol of that order which pervades and structures the universe; the daily sacrificing into this fire is the daily affirmation of this order.

The Maitrāyaṇīya represents a stage where this homology is made more clearly conscious, that means also, less taken for granted than before. In his entire psychophysical constitution man constitutes a little world which limb for limb and level for level parallels the great world. But there is no longer a strict identity: the identification must repeatedly and consciously be made as a matter of meditation. A process of micro-

cosmification has set in that will gain momentum and in certain schools win out, while the very cosmologies that had raised and answered the oldest questions man asked about himself vanish but for a purāṇic half-life that holds little significance.

That such more advanced thought, advancing without giving up its old ritual frame of reference, was expressed in the context of the *agnihotra* and related rites seems particularly appropriate. There is a privacy and immediacy here, and also a frequency, that is unmatched by the larger ritual spectacles of the great of the land. It is a simple rite for which ordinary household utensils suffice. It is also a rite which in its daily recurrence, at daybreak and nightfall, gives structure to life. At the *agnihotra* the cow is milked for the first time, and the last. Simultaneously man and sun set out on their daily course, and simultaneously they complete it. There is an obvious parallelism between man and sun, with the fire as their bond, which during the ritual itself is expressed in several ways. The fire that has been smoldering under the ashes during the night is made to blaze and the oblations are poured into it to light the sun and feed it as it embarks on its course. And the two offerings brought to the sun in the fire are paralleled by the two times that the performer feeds himself on what is left of the offering.

It is this fundamental parallelism with which our Upaniṣad is pre-occupied. Some of the speculations it offers have the appearance of great antiquity and the associations in other texts that we can follow point to the existence of a large body of speculations centered round the domestic fires and a domestic rite. It is difficult to "date" it, because the most tangible criterion of dating, its style, cannot be employed in a text that has gone through so many different hands. But it is quite clearly older than the SM context as a whole, and it can only be described as a Vedic upaniṣad, more "Vedic" than the early metrical upaniṣads. Judging by its contents one should put it not too much later than the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, while some portions, like 6.33 are definitely older. On the other hand the last "chapter" shows that it is already a long way from the Brāhmaṇas: one tries to retain the magnitudes which the Brāhmaṇas ordered in pentads, but in mere enumeration, more as a courtesy to tradition than because it conveyed anything to the users.

Most interesting the text is on account of its undecided dualism between the primacy of the "higher" and of the "lower" aspect of Brahman. The higher aspect is indeed high, and true, and disembodied, but the lower aspect makes the higher complete, makes it thrive, makes it live. But this is only to be expected in a text which deals with the unity

of the world that is meditated upon and realized through an act that should regenerate and sustain the world. Still, the regularity with which this dualism is emphasized shows that it was more of a problem than could be solved in the terms of ritualism.

IV

THE COMPOSITION OF SM

i. THE BṚHADRATHA INSTRUCTION AND MAITREYA UP. CH. I

§ 1. So far we have taken the unity of SM for granted, for it was as one entire text that SM was inserted into MU. We shall now consider the composition of SM. Four different texts can be distinguished, the Bṛhadratha Instruction, the Vāḷakhilya Instruction, the Kautsāyani Stuti, and a section on the three guṇas. The latter two texts are obviously accretions, appended to SM as a separate chapter. More attention deserves the relationship between the Bṛhadratha and Vāḷakhilya instructions.

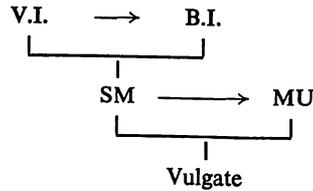
§ 2. A king, Bṛhadratha by name, who has turned hermit, deplures the filthiness of the human body and the impermanence of the world. After a period of austerities he is approached by the sage Śākāyanya. The king asks the sage for instruction and Śākāyanya identifies the ātman with Marut, which is a name of Bṛhadratha. When the king requests further instruction, the sage declares that he will tell the king the *brahmavidyā* which has been related by the sage Maitri/Maitreya. This *brahmavidyā* is in fact the Vāḷakhilya Instruction.

From the point of view of style and composition the Vāḷakhilya Story constitutes a separate and independent text. It is *prima facie* evident that whenever two instructions by different persons in different circumstances are found together in one text, at least one of them, and probably both, existed independently before it, or they, were combined; we cannot assume that SM had one author who wrote up the entire text as an original composition.

§ 3. The *prima facie* assumption that one or both of the component instructions had a prior existence as a separate text is further corroborated by the separate existence of a version of SM, which essentially contains only the Bṛhadratha Instruction (B.I.) plus additional ślokas from SM 3. This text is Maitreya Up., ch. 1, edited by F. Otto Schrader. If we may accept that the Vāḷakhilya Instruction (V.I.) was inserted in B.I.,¹ we

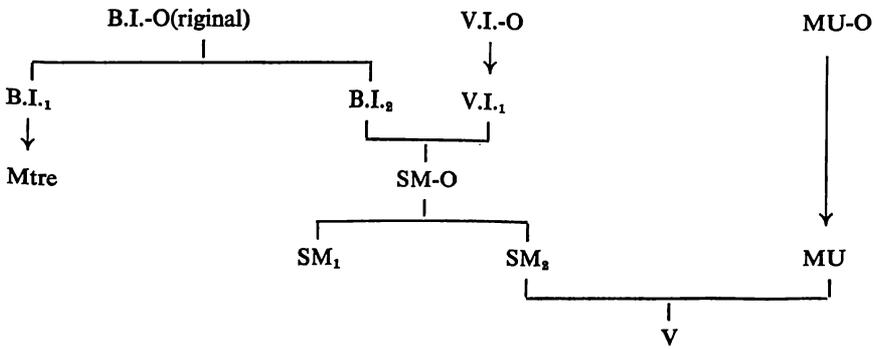
¹ Already Max Müller, *o.c.*, p. xlvi, wondered if the Maitreyī (= Maitreya) Upaniṣad were not the original framework of the entire text of V.

have a repetition of what happened to SM as a whole: B.I. was interrupted by V.I. to form (most of) the composite SM; the composite SM was inserted in MU to form the composite Vulgate. We might then represent the historical growth of the Vulgate as follows:



This *prima facie* plausible relationship is proved for V by the separate existence of SM. The question is whether the existence of the Maitreya (*Mtre*) proves the same for SM.

If it be true that the shorter version of SM in *Mtre* does represent, however poorly, the original form of B.I., the relationship between the three extant texts *Mtre*, SM, and V can be stated in this stemma:



§ 4. It is not possible to come to any certain conclusions on the basis of the evidence of the Maitreya Upaniṣad. We have already noticed the fact that the first chapter of this text, which we shall designate *Mtre*, corresponds partly with SM. The authority of this version in Schrader's edition is severely limited by its fragmentary state. Nonetheless it sheds an interesting light on the Bṛhadratha Instruction.

The correspondences between *Mtre* and SM are as follows:

Mtre	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.4, śloka 1	śl. 2	śil. 3-7
SM	1.1	3.4	1.7	2.1	4.1, śloka	4.2 śl.	4.3.1-5

There are two possibilities: either Mtre is a very fragmentary version of SM, or the original of Mtre has been used to form SM. There is one important argument against the former alternative: the curious place of SM 3.4 in Mtre where it is 1.2.

In SM the section 3.4 is included among a number of additional sections, introduced by *athānyatrāpy uktam*, and therefore not integrated in the text; in Mtre it is part of Bṛhadratha's speech, and there it makes excellent sense. In SM 3.4 it reads: *athānyatrāpy uktam – śarīram idaṃ maithunād evodbhūtaṃ saṃvidvyapetaṃ niraya eva mūtradvāreṇa niṣkrāntam asthibhiś citaṃ māṃsenānuliptaṃ carmaṇāvabaddhaṃ viṣṃmūtravātapittakaphamajjāmedovasābhir anyaiś ca malair bahubhiḥ paripūrṇaṃ kośa ivāvasanneti*. We note at once that the section ends with a corruption. Mtre has the vocative *bhagavan* instead of *athānyatrāpy uktam*, and ends as follows: ... *paripūrṇam | etādṛśe śarīre vartamānasya bhagavaṃs tvam no gatir iti*.

The corruption in SM is so intriguing because it is clearly at the basis of the reading of V: while SM has ... *paripūrṇaṃ kośa ivāvasannā*, V reads *paripūrṇaṃ kośa iva vasunā*. Now it is highly unlikely that a "body stuffed with other kinds of filth" will be likened to a "treasure-chest full of treasure"; we must regard V's reading as a correction of some reading like the one SM has retained. And SM reading must have been a corruption of the reading surviving in Mtre:

Mtre ... *paripūrṇam *etādṛśośarīrevartamānasya ...*

SM ... *paripūrṇam kośaivāvas.annā ...*

V ... *paripūrṇam kośaivavas.unā ...*

Noteworthy is that the two versions must reflect an original scribal error *etādṛśo* for *etādṛśe*.

The reading of Mtre has the clear ring of truth. Several sections in Bṛhadratha's speech have similar phrases: SM 1.2 and 3: *asmīñ śarīre kiṃ kāmopabhogañ*; 1.7: *etadvidhe saṃsāre kāmopabhogañ*. But if SM 3.4 belonged to Bṛhadratha's speech, why was it displaced to 3.4? It is possible to answer this question. This section happens to be displaced in all Mtre MSS. While it should go before 1.3 (=SM 1.7) all MSS have it after 1.3; but one MS retains the original number: though placing it third, it numbers the section 1.2.²

We may reconstruct the process of its dislocation in this way. The *Vorlage* common to Mtre, SM and V, omitted the section in the written text of Bṛhadratha's speech; thereupon these lines were entered in the

² Schrader prints the sections in this order on the authority of the number in one ms.

text, probably on the top of the next leaf. As long as B.I. held its original brevity, no occasion for confusion could arise: the lines were clearly part of Bṛhadratha's speech. But when the leaves of the Vālahilya text were bodily inserted between those of the Bṛhadratha text, the lines became widely separated from the speech to which they belonged.

The fact that its position in Mtre thus indicates that SM 3.4 originally belonged to B.I., does not imply that it was an original part of B.I. Although it is possible to conjecture that due to its close resemblance to SM 1.2 the section was dropped through haplography, it is more likely that the section was a doublet of 1.2, a more elaborate version penned on to the top of the next leaf. One would not expect the B.I. text to have originally two very similar sections.

However that may be, the scribbled addition ended with *vartamānasya* (sc. *kiṃ kāmopabhogaiḥ*), to which Mtre supplied *bhagavaṃs tvaṃ no gatir* from Mtre 1.3 (SM 1.7), which in its text precedes. In another copy, where the section was dislocated because of the insertion of the V.I. text, this **etādṛśo śarīre vartamānasya*, making no sense, deteriorated into corruptions, while the entire section was entered as quoted from elsewhere.

If my argument is correct, this would indicate that, for that section to be so displaced, there must have been a text inserted between it and the leaf to which it belonged. If SM 3.4 really belongs in SM 1 the V.I. text must have terminated before 3.4. And when we find in this apparently more original version of B.I. in Mtre that the ślokas of SM 4.1–3 form part of it, the likelihood that the original Bṛhadratha text, which was used to make up the SM text, consisted of the Bṛhadratha Instruction with a number of yogic ślokas at the end increases.

Nevertheless, it cannot be argued that the stemma which has been drawn up above is completely pure. According to it, readings which SM and Mtre have in common should be more authentic than solitary readings of V. But this is not true in one signal instance: in 1.7 V has a reading *vraścanaṃ vātarajjūnām* which must be correct; both SM and Mtre here have the meaningless *sthānaṃ vā tarūṇām*. It is therefore necessary to assume conflation, either of Mtre with a copy of SM which had this corruption, or conflation of a copy of V, which had *sthānaṃ vā tarūṇām* from SM, with a copy of a descendant of the original Maitreya which still had the correct *vraścanaṃ vātarajjūnām*.

Although it is therefore impossible to reach definite conclusions about the relation between Mtre and SM, and the original shape of the Bṛhadratha Instruction, the probabilities are that SM is a composite text

constituted by a Bṛhadratha text with a number of yogic ślokas appended surviving in Mtre, and the Vālakhilya text.

ii. THE VĀLAKHILYA INSTRUCTION

The version of Mtre suggests that the Bṛhadratha Instruction immediately after Śākāyanya's first answer to Bṛhadratha continued with a group of ślokas now found in SM chapter 4, and that the Vālakhilya Instruction was inserted before the ślokas. If this is true we are prepared to find transitions from one part to the other, transitions of a recognizably additional character. And such transitions we do indeed find. At the joint of the Bṛhadratha Instruction and the Vālakhilya Instruction we find two quotations, one from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, which are outside the context of both instructions; and at the joint between the Vālakhilya Instruction and the ślokas we find a series of additional sections introduced with *athānyatrāpy uktam*. The two transitions bracket the Vālakhilya Instruction.

The introduction to the V.I. proper poses an interesting problem to which we have already alluded. Śākāyanya is represented as quoting a certain *bhagavān*, to whom V gives the name of *Maitri*, and after this quotation and the following quotation from ChUp. follows a line stating that the *bhagavān Maitreya* (SM), or *Maitri* (V) has told (to Śākāyanya presumably) a certain *brahmavidyā* or *sarvopaniṣadvidyā*, which Śākāyanya now prepares to transmit to Bṛhadratha. It is noteworthy that *Maitri/Maitreya* is therefore more closely associated with the Vālakhilya Instruction than with the Bṛhadratha Instruction itself. Mtre, which omits the Vālakhilya Instruction has no *Maitreya* at all, though the text itself is named after a *Maitreya*; but so is SM, the Southern *Maitrāyaṇī* called after the *Maitrāyaṇīya* with whom it has no original connection. Names are poor guides; it is possible, as we have seen, to argue that Mtre acquired its name from SM, which itself acquired its name from V, while in V's title itself the *Maitri* (*Maitreya*) of SM survives. The first sections of Mtre are identical with the first sections of SM and the title of the one could be transferred to the other. Ever since the two lists of the *Muktikā* Upaniṣad the titles of the upaniṣads were fixed; a Mtre text, which was not at all a *Maitreya* Upaniṣad, could because of its partial identity with another *Maitreya* Upaniṣad (SM) be considered a version of SM and derive its name from it, thus conforming to the title list of the *Muktikā*; and it remains possible that the only text which had a

legitimate claim to the name of Maitreya was the Vāḷakhilya Instruction whose transmission was associated with a sage Maitreya.

The Bṛhadratha Instruction is an odd text from every point of view. It must have existed separately from the Vāḷakhilya, yet neither in the form which it has in Mtre, nor in the form which it has when we isolate the clearly independent Vāḷakhilya Instruction, can it be considered complete. It starts off with a plaint of world-weariness so obviously Buddhistic in tone and terminology as to be unmistakable, which continues with a list of epical kings, among whom obscure ones, and concludes with a picture of cosmic dissolution which is purāṇic, while the only instruction responding to this plaint consists of a far-fetched pun on the king's name; then other texts take over, the Vāḷakhilya Instruction, or a group of ślokas. The only sequel awarded it is the makeshift conclusion by the late editor of the Vulgate, which does no justice to the pathos of its beginning.

Though the Bṛhadratha Instruction is a truncated text, the Vāḷakhilya Instruction appears to be complete, indeed overcomplete. It is in parts heavily interpolated and has acquired a formidable appendix of additional sections which shade into the Mtre ślokas.

The core of V.I. is an instruction which takes the form of four questions and answers. Down to the beginning of the third answer (sections 2.3–2.6) the text is unadulterated. Incidentally we notice throughout the superiority of SM readings to those of V, which has also an extra gloss (which happens to be misplaced). In 2.6 the interpolations start. It is said that Prajāpati, in order to instil life in his creatures, makes himself "like the wind". The text continues: *sa eko nāviśat | sa pañcadhātmanaṃ paribhajya... ucyate – yaḥ prāṇo 'pānaḥ samāna udāno vyāna iti.* 2.7 describes the function and location of the five prāṇas, to which description the first part of 2.8 is a (sub-)interpolation, and the second part additional, with *athānyatrāpy uktam.* Clearly the entire portion from *ucyate* onward is not original, for in 2.9 the text resumes with, again, *sa vā eṣa pañcadhātmanaṃ paribhajya,* whereupon again an interpolation of two upaniṣad quotations is added. This interpolation apparently intruded into the place of the remaining sentence, for the twice-repeated line *sa ... paribhajya* never gets completed and we have to supply e.g. *abhyantaraṃ prāviśat.* The text goes on to say that the ensouling spirit (Prajāpati) "pierces the five orifices and eats the objects with the five rays (*raśmi*)."³ This occasions another interpolation (the body as chariot) apparently inspired by *raśmi* "ray" but also "rein".

The sections 2.10 f. and 3.1 are clean, but 3.2 is again disruptively

interpolated by an *upavyākhyāna* of a few lines. This section contains the fourth question, which asks for the difference between the “pure ātman” of 2.10 f. and the “transmigrating ātman.” The line *tān hovāca*, with which the answer should start, has dropped out, but is easily restored. After a phrase parallel to that of the question in 3.1, the answer clearly went on to describe this “transmigrating ātman” as the “*bhūtātman*” which seems here to have been understood as *abhībhūta ātman*. But the beginning of this description has been replaced by the *upavyākhyāna*, which nevertheless presupposes a line like “this (transmigrating) ātman is the ātman in the body, the *bhūtātman*” for the *upavyākhyāna* reads: *pañca tanmātrāṇi bhūtaśabdenocyante | pañca mahābhūtāni bhūtaśabdenocyante | atha teṣāṃ yat samudayas tat śarīram ity uktam | atha yo ha khalu vāva śarīre ity uktam | sa bhūtātmā ity uktam*. We are justified in accepting the line *atha yo ha khalu vāva śarīre sa bhūtātmā* as the original reading replaced by, and incorporated in, the commentary, with (perhaps) a small lacuna after *śarīre*. After these interruptions the text is clean; it runs neatly parallel, as we have come to expect of our text, to 2.10 f. and describes the *bhūtātman* with the opposites of the qualifications of the “pure ātman.”

V then once more betrays its derivative character. In its *Vorlage*, like SM's, the line *tān hovāca*, which introduced the answer 3.2 to the question 3.1, had dropped out. But though 3.2 is unmistakably the answer to 3.1, a new hand, most likely that of the editor of V, added at the end of this answer the line *katama eṣa (iti) | tān hovāca*, as though 3.2 were still part of the question 3.1. SM naturally lacks this absurd line, and naturally, too, the question that V suggests never gets answered: the following sections 3.3–5 (from among which 3.4 has already been accounted for) are introduced with *athānyatrāpyuktam* and cannot be regarded as the content of a response to a question 3.1–2.

In fact, we must conclude that V.I. ended with 3.2. The text of V and only two manuscripts of SM have in chapter 4 a section omitted rightly by the Adyar edition of SM, where another question is introduced whose answer improbably consists of an additional section with *athānyatrāpy uktam* and ending with Mre śloka one, and a next section ending with Mre śloka two. Whether one accepts my Mre argument or not, it is obvious enough that after 3.2 we have only accretions to the Vālakṣhilya Instruction, which in V, and, probably through conflation, in two sources of SM, have been restructured as part of the Vālakṣhilya Instruction. We have seen above that, while in SM the ślokas here follow which in V got displaced in 6.34, the tireless editor of V has replaced these ślokas by a

second spurious question and answer which must forge the link with V chapter six.

Hereunder follows the bare text of V.I. without its explanations, interpolations and appendices. It is a neat and tight little text on the difference between the *ātman* and the *bhūtātman*. The doctrine is of proto-Sāṃkhyan provenance and quite interesting. The old upaniṣadic idea of the creator who enters his creation is still alive: there is one Ātman. But one notices that a change is taking place. It is not the whole world of creation that is so to say the body of the creator, but the human bodies embody *particles* of this one Ātman: *atha yo ha khalu vāvaitasya so 'mśo 'yaṃ yaś cetanamātraḥ prati puruṣaṃ kṣetrajñāḥ saṃkalpādhyavasāyābhimānaliṅgaḥ prajāpatir viśvākhyāḥ*. Soon this plurality of embodied particles of the one ātman will be understood as a plurality of embodied pure ātmans, the doctrine of the classical, i.e. *late*, Sāṃkhya. Incidentally an explanation of the well-known term *liṅga-śarīra* is here suggested: could it be an abbreviation of *saṃkalpādhyavasāyābhimānaliṅgaśarīra*, “that body which is characterized by buddhi, ahaṃkāra and manas”? The traditional explanation “mergent body” <lim-ga (while we would then expect *layaṃ-ga*) is wholly unsatisfactory. I intend to elaborate this point elsewhere.

2.3

athāpahatapāpmānas tigmatejasa ūrdhvaretaso Vālakhilya iti śrūyante /
atha te Prajāpatim abruvan –

bhagaṇi śakatam ivācetanam idaṃ śarīram / kasyaiṣa khalv idṛṣo
mahimātindriyabhūtasya yenaitadvidham idaṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam
pracodayitāsyā kaḥ / bhagavann etad asmākaṃ brūhīti //

tān hovāca –

2.4

yo ha khalu vāvopariṣṭhaḥ śrūyate sa vā eṣa śuddhaḥ pūtaḥ sūnyaḥ
śānto 'prāṇo nirātmānanto 'kṣayaḥ sthiraḥ śāśvato 'jaḥ svatantraḥ sve
mahimni tiṣṭhati / anedaṃ śarīram cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam praco-
dayitā caiṣo 'syeti //

te hocur –

bhagavan katham anedṛṣenāniṣṭhenaitadvidham idaṃ cetanavat
pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā caiṣo 'syeti //

tān hovāca –

2.5

sa vā eṣa sūkṣmo 'grāhyo 'dṛśyaḥ puruṣasaṃjñako 'buddhipūrvam

ihāvartate 'm̄sena suṣuptasya ivābuddhipūrvam vibodhayati / atha yo ha khalu vāvaitasya so 'm̄so 'yam yaś cetanamātraḥ prati puruṣam kṣetrajñāḥ saṃkalpādhyavasāyābhimānaliṅgaḥ Prajāpatir viśvākhyāḥ / tena cetanenedaṃ śarīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā caīṣo 'syeti //

te hocur –

bhagavann idṛśasya katham aṃśena vartanam iti //

tān hovāca –

2.6

prajāpatir vā eko 'gre 'tiṣṭhat / sa nāramataikaḥ / so 'tmānam abhyadhyāyat / bahviḥ prajā asṛjata / tā aśmevāprabuddhā aprāñāḥ sthāṇur iva tiṣṭhamānā apaśyat / sa nāramata / so 'manyata – eteṣāṃ pratibodhanāyābhyantaram praviśānīti / atha sa vāyum ivātmānam kṛtvābhyantaram praviśat / sa eko nāviśat / sa pañcadhātmānam paribhajya

2.9

<abhyantaram praviśat> / sa vā eṣo 'smād dhṛdantarād akṛtārtho 'manyata – arthān aśnānīti / ataḥ *khānimāni bhittvoditaḥ pañcabhī raśmibhir viṣayān atti / anena khalv iritam paribhramatīdam śarīraṃ cakram iva mṛtpacena / <evam anena> idaṃ śarīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā caīṣo 'syeti /

2.10

ātmeti hośanti / vaśam nīta iva sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair abhibhūyamāna iva prati śarīreṣu carati / avyaktatvāt sūkṣmatvād adṛśyatvān nirmamātvāc cānavastho 'kartā

2.11

kartevāvasthitaḥ / sa vā eṣa śuddhaḥ sthīro 'calaś cālepyo 'vyagro niḥspṛhaḥ prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ / svasthaś cartabhug guṇamayena paṭenātmānam antardhāyāvasthita iti //

3.1

te hocur –

bhagavan yady evam asyātmano mahimānam sūcayasy anyo vā paraḥ ko 'yam ātmākhyo yo 'yam sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ sadasadyonim āpadyata / avācīm vordhvām

3.2

<vā> gatim dvandvair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramatīti //

<tān hovāca –>

asti khalv anyo 'paro bhūtātmākhyo yo 'yam sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ sadasadyonim āpadyata / avācīm vordhvām <vā> gatim dvandvair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramati / <atha yo ha khalu vāva śarīre sa bhūtātmā> / athāsti tasyātmābbindur iva puṣkare / sa vā

eṣo 'bhibhūtaḥ prākṛtair guṇaiḥ / ato 'bhibhūtatvāt saṃmūḍhatvaṃ
 prayāti / saṃmūḍhatvād ātmasthaṃ prabhuṃ bhagavantaṃ kārayitāraṃ
 nāpaśyat / guṇaughair ṭṛpyamānaḥ kaluṣikṛtaś cāsthiraś cañcalo lolupya-
 mānaḥ saspr̥ho vyagraś cābhimānitvaṃ prayātaḥ / ahaṃ so mamedam
 ity evaṃ manyamānaḥ nibadhnāty ātmanātmānaṃ jāleneva khacaram /
 kṛtasyānuphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramatiti //

iii. THE APPENDICES 4.1–4 AND 4.5

The combined Bṛhadratha and Vāḷakhilya Instructions are followed by two appendices which together make up SM chapter 4. The first of these is a stuti of four stanzas which is attributed to Kutsāyana. It is an indifferent text, in no discernible way connected with the preceding context. It may have agglutinated to B.I. before this text was combined with V.I.

More interesting is the second appendix, the prose section 4.5. It presupposes both V.I. and the stuti 4.1–4, and must therefore have been added after SM, including 4.1–4, had come into being. There is a wide divergence between readings of V and SM, some of which are due to corruptions in SM, and some to the editor who in this last section of the inserted SM text made changes to ease the transition to chapter 6 of V.

The first lines read in SM as follows: *tamo vā idam agra āsa | tat paścāt
 tat pareṇeritaṃ viśamatvaṃ prayāti | etad vai rajaso rūpaṃ | tad rajaḥ
 khalv īritaṃ viśamatvaṃ prayāti | etad vai tamaso rūpaṃ | tat tamaḥ
 khalv īritam | tamasaḥ saṃprāsravat | etad vai sattvasya rūpaṃ | tat
 sattvāt saṃprāsravat.*

V has here: *tamo vā idam agra āsid ekam | tat pare syāt | tat pareṇeritaṃ
 viśamatvaṃ prayāti | etad rūpaṃ vai rajaḥ | tad rajaḥ khalv īritaṃ
 viśamatvaṃ prayāti | etad vai sattvasya rūpaṃ | tat sattvam everitam |
 rasaḥ saṃprāsravat.*

V clearly has the more logical text, but is not free from corruptions itself: *tat pare* (v.l. *paro*) *syāt* is not impossible, but not probable;³ *etad rūpaṃ vai rajaḥ* is doubtless corrupt.⁴ The lines in SM on the second *tamas* must be due to a dittography. Interesting is the use of *rasaḥ* in V, which must be correct.

In the sequel V has the significant alteration of *proktā agryās tanavo*

³ Max Müller, *o.c.*, p. 303, conjectures *tat pare 'sthāt*.

⁴ Max Müller's ms. has, like SM, *etad vai rajaso rūpaṃ* (*o.c.*, p. 304).

brahmā rudro viṣṇur iti (SM) into *prāg uktā etās tanavaḥ*; here the reading of SM is, without the slightest doubt, the correct one,⁵ since precisely these three deities of the *trimūrti* are identified with the particle of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* respectively in Prajāpati as Kṣetrajña. In these identifications the text of SM is marred by a haplography.⁶

After the gods of the *trimūrti* have been identified with the particles in the Creator-Soul of the three guṇas, it is said that this creator becomes triple, eightfold, elevenfold, twelvefold, and infinitefold, and in these forms “originates” (*udbhūta*). This occasions an etymological explanation: *udbhūtatvād bhūtam*, which is followed by: *bhūteṣu carati pratiṣṭhā* (SM) or *praviṣṭaḥ* (V). The reading *pratiṣṭhā* of SM is preferable in view of the other references which this agglutinated section includes to the preceding V.I. text, particularly the literally copied phrase *yo ’ṛṣo yo yaṃ yaś cetanamātraḥ prati puruṣaṃ kṣetrajñaḥ saṅkalpādhyavasāyābhīmānalingaḥ prajāpatir (viśvākhyah)*⁷ of 2.5 which is there the *pratiṣṭhā* of the body. Hence that 4.5 goes on to say: *sarvabhūtānāṃ adhipatir babhūveti*. But since this creator made himself triple, eightfold etc., and hence created himself as the *material* creation, it is stated at the end that he is both the inner soul, the *antarātman*, and the outer soul, i.e. the *bhūtātman*, a contrast which the editor in V 6.1 misinterpreted as equivalent to the contrast between sun and *prāṇa*!

⁵ It survives in Max Müller’s ms., see above.

⁶ As is shown by Max Müller’s ms. the original sequence was *rajas – brahmā, tamas – rudra, sattva – viṣṇu*, in which series the expected order *tamas – rajas – sattva* is sacrificed to the sequence *brahmā – rudra – viṣṇu*.

⁷ SM probably had *viśvākhyā* or *viśvākṣa* here as is shown by V where a *viśveti* survives.

THE COMPOSITE TEXT OF V 6.1–32

We have seen above that an editor must be held responsible for a number of additional passages and alterations which imposed a spurious unity on the combined texts of MU and SM. The existence of at least one editor is proved by a critical comparison of V and SM: one person must be responsible for the additional sections 4.4–6, for the removal of SM 4.3, the insertions of V 6, sections 29 and 30, which comprise the conclusions of both the Bṛhadratha and Vāḷakhilya instructions, probably of the alterations in SM 4.5/V 5.2, and further alterations in V chapters 6 and 7. We have assumed that the same editor is also responsible for, if not the composition, at least the insertion, of those numerous passages inserted in V 6.1–32 with *athānyatrāpy uktam* and *iti | evaṃ hy āha*, a procédé that itself was carried over from SM. This assumption is hard to prove, but reasonable to make; we find in these additional sections numerous references to both the preceding SM portions and the succeeding portions of MU. This does not however mean that only one person was the author of all the interpolations, as we presently shall see.

The insertions and additions are generally of an explanatory character. For example, 6.3, which states the equivalence of Sun and OM, is followed in *6.4 by essentially explicative quotations from elsewhere. Thereupon *6.5 introduces 6.6 with a large number of applications of the triadic division exemplified in 6.6 with the three *mātrās* of OM. The derivative character of *6.5 is quite clear from its terms, which, though the section actually precedes, presuppose the terms of 6.6. The original MU text reads: *athāvyāhṛtaṃ vā idam āsīt | sa satyaṃ prajāpatis tapas taptvānuvyāharad bhūr bhuvah svar iti | eṣaivāsya prajāpateḥ sthaviṣṭhā tanuḥ [yā lokavati]*. When *6.5 adds *athānyatrāpy uktam – svanavaty eṣāsya* (sc. *prajāpates*) *tanuḥ yom iti | strīpūṃnapuṃsaketi liṅgavaty eṣā* (sc. *asya tanuḥ*), etc., it clearly presupposes the *prajāpateḥ* which is really furnished by the later section. Vice-versa the numerous “bodies” provided in *6.5, may have occasioned the addition of *yā lokavati* in 6.6.

Of a similarly explicative character is the second part of 6.7, viz. *6.7a, which adds more exegesis and etymology to that already given. Likewise *6.9–10 contain additional material, additional not to a preceding, but

to a succeeding section, viz. 6.11, which is followed by two more sections developing the same theme, *6.12–13. Similarly *6.14 precludes to 6.15, on *kāla* and *akāla*, with several thoughts on time and its divisions, which *6.16 continues.

Section 6.17 concludes for the time being the original MU. The large series of additional sections, which can be treated as an appendix, *6.18–21, contain miscellaneous discussions on yogic practices, and continue the scattered comments found at the end of 6.3 and 6.8, where the editor had shown that the text, in the Sāṃkhyan manner he explains it, referred to yogic practices by implication. Sections *6.22–24 resume the speculations on *OM*, while *6.26–27 return to the *prāṇāgnihotra* and food speculations that had occupied the editor already considerably in *6.9–10 and *6.12–13 à propos of 6.11.

Finally in *6.29 Śākāyanya of the Bṛhadratha Instruction is re-introduced in order to conclude both the Bṛhadratha and the Vālakhilya episodes. To this conclusion *6.31–32 are further accretions.

Conveniently we may divide the additional sections in two parts, those scattered among the 11 authentic sections of MU, and those following MU and preceding the conclusion of SM in 6.29–30. If we include among the first group the section-sized additions in *6.7a, which refers back to 6.7, and of 6.9a which refers forward to 6.11, we have a total of 9 additional sections: *6.4–5; 6.7; 6.9–10; 6.12–14; 6.16. These interpolated sections tend to cluster: of the eleven authentic MU sections no less than six have excited no further interest (except for the usual conclusion with an extra śloka), while two sections, 6.11 and 6.15 have been enlarged upon in six additional sections. We can represent it as follows:

6.1–2
 6.3 (:*6.4–5:)6.6
 6.7 (*6.7)
 6.8–9
 (*6.9a–10:) 6.11 (:*6.12–13)
 (*6.14:) 6.15 (:6.16)
 6.17

Our editor not only copied the artifice of insertion with *athānyatrāpy uktam* from SM chs. 3 and 4, but also standardized a peculiarity in which SM had indulged twice, namely to end a prose section with a śloka. In the case of SM it seems that the ślokas are primary, the prose enlargements

secondary, if our Mtre argument was right.¹ In 4.1 SM uses *iti / athoktam*, in 4.2 *iti / evaṃ hy āha*.

The phrase *iti / evaṃ hy āha* is, with a few exceptions, used throughout the text. The only sections not thus increased are 6.2; 6.8 (where the phrase may have dropped out); 6.9; 6.10; and 6.13. In 6.30; 35; 36, and 38 we meet *atrodāharanti*, which is probably authentic. The other phrase returns in 6.37; 7.8 and 7.9.

No certainty can be had about how many hands collaborated in adding to the text. Once the habit had started, and a few additional sections and stanzas had been provided, the text lay open to its scribes. That several hands have been active is shown by subinterpolations in *6.4; 6.19 and 6.21.

The first section provides an interesting case. We read: *atha khalu ya udgīthaḥ sa praṇavaḥ | yaḥ praṇavaḥ sa udgītha iti | asau vā āditya udgītha eṣa praṇava iti | evaṃ hy āha – udgīthaṃ praṇavākhyam praṇetāram bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ vijaraṃ vimṛtyum tripadaṃ tryakṣaram punaḥ pañcadhā jñeyam nihitaṃ guhāyām iti | evaṃ hy āha – ūrdhvamūlam tripād brahma śākhā ākāśavāyagnyudakabhūmyādaya eko 'śvatthanāmaitad brahmaitasya tat tejo yad āsā ādityaḥ | OM ity etad akṣarasya caitad tasmād OM ity anenaitad upāsītājasram iti | eko 'sya sambodhayitā.*

The section is a study in scribal confusion. It also gives an idea how these interpolations were built up. On the clean quotation from ChUp. 1.5.1 followed the line: *udgīthaṃ praṇavākhyam praṇetāram bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ vijaraṃ vimṛtyum*, which we find quoted infra 6.25; 7.5. But *udgītha* is not only identified with *OM*, it also represents in its three syllables the entire universe: *udgītha iti tryakṣaram* ChUp. 2.10.3; 1.3.6–7. This *tripadaṃ tryakṣaram* was glossed *tripād brahma*, suggested perhaps by ChUp. 3.12, but also *punaḥ pañcadhā jñeyam ākāśavāyagnyudakabhūmyādayaḥ*. It is not clear where *nihitaṃ guhāyām* (TaittUp. 2.1.1) came in. The various glosses disrupted a quotation from KaṭhUp. 6.1: *ūrdhvamūlam ... śākhā ... eko 'śvatthanāmaitad brahma* surely represents *ūrdhvamūlam avāṅśākhā eṣo 'śvatthaḥ sanātanaḥ ... tad brahma*. The line *etasya tat tejo yad āsā ādityaḥ | OM ity etad akṣarasya caitat | tasmād OM ity anenaitad upāsītājasram* strongly suggests an original MU passage now hopelessly overgrown, while *eko 'sya sambodhayitā* puts one in mind of SM 2.5–6 and V 6.17.

This is no doubt the worst section, but it illustrates how quotation

¹ In that case the śloka were given a prose introduction afterward.

could be piled upon quotation by means of scribbled glosses that exploited the *iti | evaṃ hy āha* procédé.

Less complex tangles of subinterpolations are furnished by 6.19 and 6.28. The former reads: *yadā vai bahir vidvān mano niyamyendriyārthāṃś ca prāṇe niveśayitvā tatas tiṣṭhet...* (*aprāṇād iha yasmāt saṃbhūtaḥ prāṇasaṃjñako jīvas tasmāt prāṇo vai*)... *turyākhye dhārayet prāṇam iti*; the parenthetical sentence is glossed on *prāṇa*. The latter section reads: *bhūtendriyārthān atikramya tataḥ pravrajyājyaṃ dhṛtidanḍaṃ dhanur grhītvānabhimānamayena caiveṣunā taṃ brahmaḍvārapuraṃ nihatyādyam ... (saṃmohamaulī tṛṣṇerṣyākuṇḍalī tandrīghavetry abhimānādhyakṣaḥ krodhajyaṃ pralobhadanḍaṃ grhīvecchāmayena caiveṣunemāni khalu bhūtāni hanti) ... taṃ hatvoṃkārāplavenāntarhṛdayākāśasya pāraṃ tīrtvāvīrbhūte 'ntarākāśe śanakair avaṭa ivāvaṭakṛd dhātukāmaḥ saṃviśaty evaṃ brahmaśālāṃ viśet.*

It should be clear that at least some of the different sections could have come from different hands and that not too much consistency should be expected in them. Their contents can only be discussed in the context to which they were joined, and we shall postpone the discussion till our translation and notes on the Vulgate as a whole.

THE APPENDIX 7.8 FF.

On the appendix in chapter 7 little needs here to be said. Sections 7.8–10 as a whole constitute an appendix to MU 7.1–7; it is prior to the editor, whose hand is again discernible in the final section of the work, 7.11.

Section 7.8 gives under the guise of an enumeration of “obstacles to knowledge” a summary condemnation of all who are not orthodox Hindus. The text, clear enough for the rest, is at the beginning disfigured by a curious corruption. It reads: *mohajālasyaiṣa vai yonir yad asvargyaiḥ saha svargyasyaiṣa vāṭye purastād ukte 'pi adhaḥstambenāśliṣyante*. In spite of Rāmatīrtha's valiant attempts at explanation, in which he is somewhat uncritically followed by Cowell, Max Müller, Deussen and Hume, this sentence cannot be correct. First, we should have to assume the omission of a word like *saṃsargaḥ* after *saha*, which in itself would point at a corruption; second, *eṣa* would remain in the air, unless one assumes with R. an understood *eṣa mohajālasya yonir yad*, which is too circumstantial; third, *vāṭya* is both unheard of and hard to understand: R. *vaṭīm arhatīti vāṭyo mahāśākhāmrāpanasādīḥ*, C. “tree with wide spreading branches”, D. “eine Nyagrodhalaube”, M.M. and H. “grove”; and four, *adhaḥstamba*, though not improbable in spite of the tautological *adhaḥ*, is unattested. I think it is preferable to do away with all these incongruities by assuming the following simple corruption: *mohajālasyaiṣa vai yonir yad asvargyaiḥ saha svargya-syaiṣa vāṭye*, where *-syaiṣa vāṭye* started from a simple dittography of *(-jāla-)syaiṣa vai yo-*. This dittography was recognized after *yo-* and the text continued *āśliṣyante*. A user noted the dittography and made a note e.g. *purastād ukte'py adhaḥstham eva* “to what is said follows below...” This remark intruded and sense was somehow made with *vāṭye* and *stamba*. On this showing the text must have read, simply and smoothly: *mohajālasyaiṣa vai yonir yad asvargyaiḥ saha svargyā āśliṣyante*, “the origin of the net of confusion is that godly people consort with ungodly people.”

Section 7.9 brings Bṛhaspati who has the (late) reputation of being a false teacher, on account of the materialist *smṛti* ascribed to Bṛhaspati. Here he invents the false knowledge of the unorthodox. 7.10 is a more

enlarged-upon doublet of 7.9, but here the false knowledge is authored by Brahmā.

The continuity of the appended sections has been served by the pretension that 7.8 was revealed to king Bṛhadratha, as well as by the ubiquitous *iti / evaṃ hy āha*.

Section 7.11 must in part be a final effort of our editor, who made use here of V 6.36 to detail on the syllable *OM* and its uses in yoga. If it is to be attributed to the editor this would place his date after the somewhat recent date of the sections 7.8–10.



PART TWO

NOTE ON TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The following text edition of the Vulgate is *not* critical, in the sense that it is not based on an independent study of the available manuscripts. It is based upon the available critical editions and incidental textual informations gathered from the commentaries of Rāmatīrtha and Brahmayogin. It takes into account only those variant readings to either V as such or SM as such which contribute to establishing the present text.

This text presumes on the largely equal authority of SM and V in those sections – comprising about half of the entire text – which are common to both recensions. SM has a slight edge over V, because on our showing it has been less interfered with. The readings adopted have been chosen on their merits; where there was little or nothing to choose, SM has been given the benefit of the doubt. The procedure followed in this edition is far from ideal; in a really definitive critical edition which starts from the recognition of the existence of different versions, a special regard should be shown to conflated manuscripts as well as the multitudinous uncritical Indian editions which are in fact printed local manuscripts, frequently conflated. The editors of V and SM, failing to recognize the different versions, have not taken the problem of conflation into account as a critical problem.

By and large, however, since after all the two versions remain so exceedingly close that only the major omissions really matter, the materials provided by existing critical editions were sufficient to present a text whose principal object was to show the components that went into the making of the upaniṣads which Rāmatīrtha found and commented upon, and which has been translated several times as one of the more or less principal upaniṣads. Several devices have been used to mark the degree of priority of the component portions. Be it repeated that this priority contains no judgment as to the chronology of the contexts themselves: that e.g. the Vāḷakhilya Instruction appears to be secondary to the Bṛhadratha context does not prove anything concerning the real chronological order of these two texts. The various stages have been indicated as follows:

1. Original Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad sections are unmarked;
2. Stages in the formation of the inserted SM text are indicated by asterisks: the first by one, the second by two, insertions and accretions by three;
3. editorial interpolations, both in SM and in the original Maitrāyaṇīya, are isolated by square brackets;
4. accretions to the Vulgate in ch. 7 likewise by square brackets;
5. my own incidental insertions where lacunae show up are indicated by pointed brackets.

In order not to add to the markings of the text, I have refrained from indicating in the texts either emendations or remaining corruptions; they are sufficiently identified in the “critical” apparatus.

The numbering of V has been followed throughout, that of SM, if any, following in parenthesis. Certain transpositions are clearly identified as such. To avoid repetitiousness, where certain sections and the problems they raise have already been discussed, reference to the corresponding chapters has been made to suffice. Anomalies have been preserved wherever there was good evidence for them. The most striking are the peculiar sandhi formations which Schroeder in his edition of MS has shown to be typical of the Maitrāyaṇīya tradition. Max Müller wanted to find in the survival of these formations in V a clear indication of the antiquity of our text: “What imparts to this Upanishad, according to our opinion, an exceptionally genuine and ancient character, is the preservation in it of that peculiar Sandhi.”¹ He notes that “these phonetic peculiarities run through all seven chapters of our Upanishad”.² However, the best that can be said of this evidence is that it is inconclusive; for it does not take more than one scribe belonging to the Maitrāyaṇīyaśākhā, or acquainted with its sandhis, to fill in these sandhis without any prejudice to the actual antiquity of the text he is transcribing. Also it should be pointed out that these sandhis are far from being filled in consistently.

By and large the Maitrāyaṇīya sandhis in V amount to the following: *-as* before vowels becomes *-ā*; *-e* (not *pragrhya*³) before vowels becomes *-ā*; *-au* before vowels becomes *-ā*. Most consistently these rules are

¹ Max Müller, *o.c.*, p. xlvii–xlvi.

² *L.c.*

³ Max Müller, *o.c.*, xlix, interprets *etā upāsita* in 6.23 as *ete upāsita*, on the authority of Rāmātīrtha’s paraphrasis: *ete uktalakṣaṇe brahmaṇi*; it is however preferable to make it refer not to the *brahmaṇi* of 6.22, but to *śabdaś cāśabdaś ca*, and to explain *etā* more regularly as *< etāv*.

applied to *-as/-e* before *iti*, but 4.6 *anuṣakta iti*, 6.25 *yoga iti*, 6.30 *āditya iti*, 3.2 *śārīra (<-e?) iti*. Further exceptions are: 1.2 *tapa āsthāya; udikṣamāna ūrdhva°*; 2.6 *samāna udānaḥ; antaryāma upāṁśuṁ ca; satyasamkalpa ākāsātmeti*; 3.5 *paripūrṇa etair*; 4.2 *madironmatta iva; grhīta iva; daṣṭa iva; naṭa iva*; 6.1 *āditya OM iti*; 6.4 *bhūmādaya eko*; 6.5 *ata OM*; 6.7 *pravaraṇīya ātma°*; 6.8 *indra indur*; 6.26 *asāv aprāṇākhyah*; 6.27 *bhūmāv ayaṣpiṇḍam*; 6.30 *asāv āditya iti*; 6.31 *katama ātmā*.

One curious peculiarity pointed out by Schroeder and Max Müller must still be considered doubtful, viz. the treatment of final *-t* as *-ñ* before *ś-*, in 6.8 *svāñ śārīrād* and 6.27 *yañ śārīrasyauṣṇyam*. Rāmatīrtha, who makes a point of noticing strange sandhis and whom we may therefore expect to remark on these curious forms, passes them in complete silence; and we may assume that his text did not have them: the first he simply resumes as *svāc charīrād*, the second as *yac charīrasyauṣṇyam*. It is therefore at least dubious that these *-ñ ś-* formations were original and not just erroneous contaminations due to a scribe who mixed up the sandhis *-t ś>-c ch-*, and *-n ś>-ñ ś-/-ñ ch-*. It is also uncertain that, as Max Müller seems to assume, certain double sandhis are characteristically Maitrāyaṇīya: *devauṣṇyam* (2.6) <*deva auṣṇyam* (but probably corrupt for **caivaṣṇyam*); *vanaspatayodbhūta* <*vanaspataya udbhūta* (1.4); *janītetī* <*janīta iti* <*janīte iti* (6.7); *bhargākhyah* <*bhargā-ākhyah* (6.7), *avaṭaiva* <*avaṭa iva* (which is not quite a double sandhi) in 6.28, and *atamāviṣṭam* <*atamā-āviṣṭam* in 6.24. Other peculiarities, such as the elision of initial *-ā* (analogic to the elision of *-a*) after *-as>-o* (6.7 *āpo '(ā)pyayanāt*;⁴ *ātmano '(ā)tmā*; 2.6 *so '(ā)tmānam*), are not Maitrāyaṇīya. The form *amanībhāvam* (V 6.34.7) is probably to be read *amanobhāvam* (R: *-aḥ: ātmano manāüpādhipraveśakṛtavīṣeṣapṛityāgah*; no comment on *-ī-*), but on the other hand *vidvadbhiṣṭutam* <**vidvadbhi stutam* <*vidvadbhiḥ stutam* seems to be original.

On the whole it is best to assume that only the typical *-ā* for *-as*, *-e* and *-au* before initial vowel are authentic, while the other peculiarities are surviving mistakes and corruptions that have been granted a spurious authenticity by the “Vedic”, and hence incorrigible, character of the text. These peculiarities do not occur in the SM version, and we may therefore assume that they never occurred there and that they were filled in in the corresponding chapters of V after the V version had come into being. The “regularization” in V (with all the exceptions) must have started

⁴ Max Müller, *o.c.*, 1, conjectures *āpo 'py ayanāt*, which is highly unlikely because then the entire etymology disappears.

from authentic Maitrāyaṇīya sandhis original to MU. I have therefore not reproduced these sandhis in those portions where SM's evidence makes their authenticity doubtful, but preserved them elsewhere on the authority of V.

The translation does not seek to restore a spurious unity in the text. Frequently, esp. in the editorial or glossatorial additions and interpolations, we meet with poor syntax and repeated anacolutha, which previous translators, heavily relying on Rāmatīrtha's generously provided supplementations and grammatical connections, have usually glossed over, in a manner not at all untypical of the usual over-translation of upaniṣadic texts. Here, I believe, literalness of translation is required first of all, and if occasionally the sense is poor, so indeed is the sense. The annotations have been kept brief; for a number of them I am indebted to my predecessors.

TEXT OF THE VULGATE

1.1 (SM –)

brahmajajño vā eṣa yat pūrveṣāṃ cayanam / tasmād yajamānaś
citvaitān agnīn ātmānam abhidhyāyet / sa pūrṇaḥ khalu vā addhāvikaḷaḥ
sāmpadyate yajñāḥ /

*kaḥ so 'bhidyeyaḥ / ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇākhyāḥ / tasyopākhyānam //

1.2 (SM 1.1)

*Bṛhadratho vai nāma rājā rāje jyeṣṭhaṃ putraṃ¹ nidhāpayitvedam
aśāsvataṃ manyamānaḥ śarīraṃ vairāgyam upeto 'raṇyaṃ nirjagāma /
sa tatra paramaṃ tapa āsthāyādityam iṅṣamāna² ūrdhvabāhus tiṣṭhati /
ante sahasrasya muner³ antikam ājagāmāgnir ivādhūmakas tejasā
nirdahann ivātmavid bhagavāñ Chākāyanyaḥ / uttiṣṭhottīṣṭha varam
vṛṇiṣveti rājānam abravīt / sa tasmai namaskṛtya⁴ uvāca – bhagavan
nāham ātmavit tvaṃ tattvavic chṛṇūmaḥ⁵ sa tvaṃ no brūhīti / etad
vṛtaṃ⁶ purastād duḥśakyam⁷ / mā pṛccha⁸ praśnam aikṣvākānyān
kāmān vṛṇiṣveti / Śākāyanyasya śirasā⁹ caraṇāv abhimṛśamāno rājemāṃ
gāthām jagāda //

1. V *virāje putraṃ*. – 2. V *udikṣamāna*. – 3. V *sahasrāhasya*, om. *muner*; but R *ad loc.*
had *sahasrasya* (*samvatsarānām iti śeṣaḥ*). SM *munir*, Mtre *mune*. – 4. V *namaskṛtvā*. –
5. V *chuśrumaḥ*. – 6. SM, V *vṛtaṃ*. – 7. SM *aśakyam*. – 8. V om. *mā pṛccha*, reads
etat instead. I assume *vṛtam* = *varam*, and construe *etat... duḥśakyam*; V makes no
sense; C, D construe V *etat vṛtaṃ purastāt | duḥśakyam etat praśnam*, thus taking
praśnam with R (*liṅgavyatyayena*) as a neuter; *mā pṛccha*, though possibly a *lectio*
facilior makes more sense. – 9. doubtful: SM *iti śākāyanyasya caraṇāv iti śākāyanyaḥ*
śirasā; V *iti śākāyanyaḥ śirasāsyā*; probably partial dittography in prototype of SM,
V, preserved in SM and wrongly corrected in V.

1.3a (V 3.4, SM 3.4)

*śarīram idaṃ maithunād evodbhūtaṃ saṃvidvyapetaṃ niraya eva¹
mūtradvāreṇa niṣkrāntam asthibhiś citaṃ māmsenābhiliptaṃ carma-
ṇāvabaddhaṃ² viṃmūtravāta-³ pittakaphamajjāmedovasābhir anyaiś ca
malair⁴ bahubhiḥ paripūrṇam / etādṛṣe śarīre vartamānasya⁵ < kiṃ
kāmapabhogaiḥ >⁶ //

Section displaced in SM, V, Mtre; for a discussion of its original place, *vide supra*, p. 74f.
SM, V introduce section with *anyatrāpy uktam*. – 1. SM. – 2. SM *-baddham*. – 3. V,

SM om. *vāta*, but found in SM A, A₁, K, and accepted in same series of 1.3b by SM editor. – 4. V *cāmayair* for *ca malair*. – 5. SM *koṣa ivāvasannā iti*, V *koṣa iva vasunā*, Mtre *etādrśe śarīre vartamānasya*. – 6. SM, V om.; Mtre *bhagavaṃs tvam no gatir iti*.

1.3b (V 1.3, SM 1.2)

*bhagavann asthicarmasnāyumajjā¹-śukraśonitaśleṣmāśrudūśikāviṇm-
ūtravāta²-pittakaphasaṃghate durgandhe niḥsare 'smiñ śarīre kiṃ
kāmapabhogaḥ //

1. SM *majja*. – 2. V om. *vāta*.

1.3c (V 1.3, SM 1.3)

*kāmakrodhalobhamohabhayaṃviśādersyeṣṭaviyogāniṣṭasaṃprayoga-
kṣutpipāsājarāmṛtyurogaśokādyair abhigate 'smiñ charīre kiṃ kāmo-
pabhogaḥ //

1.4 (SM 1.4)

*sarvaṃ cedam kṣayiṣṇu paśyāmo yatheme daṃsamaśakādayas
tṛṇavanaspatayodbhūtapradhvamsinaḥ¹ //

1. SM *tṛṇavan naśyatayodbhūta*^o; *lectio fac.* (“because of their being perishable like straw”) to avoid irregular sandhi *°pataya + ud*^o → *°patayod*^o.

1.4 (SM 1.5)

*kim etair vā / pare'nye mahādhanurdharās cakravartinaḥ kecit
sudyumnabhūridyumnendradyumnakavalayāśvayauvanāśvavadhryaśva¹-
aśvapatiḥ śaśabindur hariścandro 'mbariṣananaktu²-saryātir yayātir³
anāraṇyokṣasenādayo 'tha⁴ maruttabharataprabhṛtayo rājāno miṣato
bandhuvargasya mahatiṃ śriyaṃ tyaktvāsmāl lokād amuṃ lokam
prayānti⁵ //

1. SM *vadhriyāśvā*-. – 2. SM 'mbariṣo'nanūktaḥ. – 3. SM *svayātir yayāty*-. – 4. SM *-kṣasenotthamarutta*^o < *°kṣaseno'tha*, but SM A, A₁ have *°kṣasenādayo'tha* like V. – 5. V *prayānti* iti.

1.4 (SM 1.6)

*atha kim etair vā / pare'nye gandharvāsuraṃkṣarākṣasabhūtagaṇa-
piśācoragagrahādīnāṃ nirodhanam¹ paśyāmaḥ //

1. V *nirodham*.

1.4 (SM 1.7)

*atha kim etair vā / anyānāṃ śoṣaṇam mahārṇavānāṃ śikhariṇāṃ
prapatanaṃ dhruvasya pracalanaṃ vraścanaṃ vātarajjūnāṃ¹ nimajjanaṃ

pr̥thivyāḥ sthānād apasaraṇam surāṇām² iti / etadvidhe saṃsāre kiṃ
kāmopabhogaḥ / yair evāśritasya³ asaḅḅd ihāvartanaṃ dṛśyata iti /
uddhartum arhasi⁴ / andhodapānastho⁵ bheka ivāham asmin saṃsāre /
bhagavaṃs tvam no gatis tvam no gatiḥ //

1. SM *sthānaṃ vā tarūṇāṃ* for *vraścanaṃ vātarajjūnām*. – 2. SM adds *so'ham*. –
3. V *evāśritasya*. – 4. SM adds *iti*. – 5. SM *andhūdapānastho*.

2.1 (SM 2.1)

**atha bhagavañ Chākāyanyaḥ suprito 'bravid¹ rājānam – mahārāja*
Bṛhadratheksvākuvamśadhvaja śighram ātmajñāḥ² kṛtakṛtyas tvam
marunnāmneti³viśruto 'siti / ayam vāva khalv ātmā te / ayam⁴ katamo
bhagavā iti⁵ / taṃ hovāca //

1. V *supritas tv abravid*. – 2. SM *-dhvajaśirśātmañāḥ*. – 3. SM *Marunnāmno*. – 4. SM
om. *ayam*. – 5. SM *bhagavān varṇya iti*.

2.2 (SM 2.2)

***atha ya eṣocchvāsāvaṣṭambhanenordhvam¹ utkrānto vyathamāno*
'vyathamānas² tamaḥ praṇudaty eṣa ātmety āha bhagavān³ / atha ya
eṣa saṃprasādo 'smāc charirāt samutthāya param jyotir upasampadya
svena rūpeṇābhiniṣpadyata⁴ eṣa ātmeti hovāca / etad amṛtam abhayam
etad brahmeti //

1. SM *bāhyāvaṣṭambhaneno-*, V *-āviṣṭhambhaneno-*. – 2. V *vyayamāno 'vyayamānas*. –
3. V adds *Maitriḥ*. – 4. V adds *ity evaṃ hy āha*.

2.3 (SM 2.3)

***atha khalu iyaṃ brahmavidyā sarvopaniṣadvidyā vā rājann asmākaṃ*
bhagavatā Maitreyaṇā¹ vyākhyātā² / ahaṃ te kathayiṣyāmīti /
athāpahatapāpmānas tigmatejasa ūrdhvaretaso Vālakhilyā iti śrūyante /
atha te³ Prajāpatim abruvan – bhagavañ śakaṭam ivācetanam idaṃ
śarīram / kasyaiṣa khalv idṛśo mahimātindriyabhūtasya yenaitadvidham
idaṃ⁴ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam / pracodayitāsyā ko⁵ bhagavann etad⁶
asmākaṃ brūhīti / tān hovāca //

1. V *Maitriṇā*. – 2. V *ākhyātā*. – 3. V *kratum*. – 4. V *etac*. – 5. V *pracodayitā vā asya yad*,
om. *ko*. – 6. V *vetsi tad* for *etad*.

2.4 (SM 2.4)

***yo ha khalu vāvopariṣṭhaḥ¹ śrūyate² sa vā eṣa śuddhaḥ pūtaḥ sūnyaḥ*
śānto 'prāṇo 'nīśātmā³ ananto 'kṣayyaḥ sthiraḥ śāśvato 'jaḥ svatantraḥ
sve mahimni tiṣṭhati / anedamaṃ śarīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam
pracodayitā caiso 'sya⁴ iti / te hocur – bhagavan katham anedṛṣena⁵

aniṣṭhena⁶ etadvidham idaṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ pracodayitā caiṣo
'sya⁷ iti / tān hovāca //

1. SM *vācopariṣṭhaḥ*. – 2. V adds after *śrūyate*: *guṇeṣv ivordhvaretasaḥ*, which is a gloss on *ūrdhvaretasaḥ* that should have been inserted after *śrūyante* of 2.3. – 3. V *nirātmā*. – 4. V *pracodayitā vaiṣo 'py asya*. – 5. C misprints *idrṣyena*. – 6. R notes v.l. *aniṣṭhena*, which is apparently also at basis of SM *anicchena*. – 7. V *pracodayitā vaiṣo 'sya*.

2.5 (SM 2.5)

**sa vā eṣa sūkṣmo 'grāhyo 'dṛśyaḥ puruṣasaṃjñako 'buddhipūrvam¹
ihāvartate 'mśena² suṣuptasya³ ivābuddhipūrvam⁴ vibodhayati⁵ / atha yo
ha khalu vāvaitasya so 'mśo 'yaṃ yaś cetanamātraḥ⁶ pratipuruṣam⁷
kṣetrajñāḥ saṃkalpādhyavasāyābhimānalingaḥ Prajāpatir viśvākṣas⁸
tena⁹ cetanenedaṃ śārīraṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ pracodayitā caiṣo
'sya¹⁰ iti / te hocur – bhagavann idrṣasya katham aṃśena vartanam iti¹¹ /
tān hovāca //

1. SM *buddhipūrvam*. – 2. V. adds *iti*. – 3. So M; SM *nibodhayati*, V *suptasya*. – 4. SM *iva buddhipūrvam*. – 5. V *vibodhā evaiti*. – 6. V *cetāmātraḥ*. – 7. V, SM U, U₂ *pratipuruṣaḥ*. – 8. V *viśvākhyas*. – 9. V. om. *tena*. – 10. V *pracodayitā caiṣo 'py asya*. – 11. V with partial dittography of 2.4: *bhagavan yady anenedrṣenāniṣṭhena itadvidham idaṃ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ pracodayitā vaiṣo 'sya katham iti*.

2.6 (SM 2.6)

**Prajāpatir vā eko¹ 'gre 'tiṣṭhat / sa nāramataikaḥ / so 'tmānam²
abhyadhāyat³ / bahviḥ prajā asṛjata⁴ / tā aśmeva⁵ aprabuddhā aprāñāḥ⁶
sthānur iva tiṣṭhamānā apaśyat / sa nāramata / so 'manyata – etāsāṃ
pratibodhanāyābhyantaram praviśāniti⁷ / atha⁸ sa vāyur⁹ ivātmānam
kṛtvābhyantaram praviśat / sa eko nāviśat¹⁰ / sa pañcadhātmanāṃ
paribhajya...¹¹

***ucyate – yaḥ prāṇo 'pānaḥ samāna udāno vyāna iti //

1. SM *eṣo*. – 2. SM *sa ātmānam*. – 3. SM *abhyadhāyat*, V *abhidhyātā*. – 4. SM *asṛjat*. – 5. SM *asmai vā*. – 6. SM misprints *aprāñā*. – 7. V *viśāni*, om. *iti*. – 8. V om. *atha*. – 9. V *vāyur*. – 10. V *nāśakat*. – 11. V *vibhajya*.

2.6 (SM 2.7)

***atha yo 'yam¹ ūrdhvam utkrāmaty² eṣa vāva sa prāṇaḥ / atha yo 'yam
avān³ saṃkrāmaty eṣa vāva so 'pānaḥ / atha yo 'yaṃ sthaviṣṭham
annadhātum apāne sthāpayaty aṣṭham cāṅge 'ṅge samānayaty⁴ eṣa
vāva sa samānaḥ⁵ / atha⁶ yo 'yaṃ pitāsitam udgirati nigirati⁷ caiṣa vāva
sa udānaḥ / atha yenaitāḥ sirā anuvyāptā eṣa vāva sa vyānaḥ⁸ //

1. V *athāyaṃ yaḥ*. – 2. SM *utkrāmatīty*. – 3. SM *avāñcam*. – 4. V misplaces here first the description of *vyāna*, in this form *atha yena vā etā anugrhitā ity eṣa vāva sa vyānaḥ*;

then continues: *atha yo 'yam sthaviṣṭho dhātur annasyāpāne prāpayaty aṅiṣṭho vāṅge 'ṅge samānayati*; SM *samaṅ nayati* for *samānayati*. – 5. V *samānasamjñah*. – 6. V adds gloss on *vyāna* and *udāna*: *uttaraṅ vyānasya rūpaṅ caiteṣāṃ antarā prasūtir evodānasya*. – 7. SM, V *nigiratīti*. – 8. V's variants under 4.

2.6 (SM 2.8)

****athopāṃśur antaryāmam¹ abhibhavati / antaryāma² upāṃśuṃ ca / etayor antarāle cauṣṇyam³ prāsuvat⁴ / yad auṣṇyam sa puruṣaḥ / atha sa puruṣaḥ so 'gnir vaiśvānaraḥ⁵ /*

*****anyatrāpy uktam – ayam agnir vaiśvānaro yo 'yam antaḥpuruṣe yenedam annaṃ pacyate yad idam adyate tasyaiṣa ghoṣo bhavati yam etat karṇāv apidhāya śṛṇoti sa yadotkramiṣyan bhavati nainaṃ ghoṣaṃ śṛṇoti //*

1. SM *antaryāmy*. – 2. SM *antaryāmam*. – 3. V. *antarāle devauṣṇyam* <*caivaṣṇyam?* – 4. SM *prāsravat*. – 5. SM adds *api*. This section probably subinterpolated; V's gloss (2.7, n. 6) evidently preludes to it; it more aptly should precede the present section, cf. translation and commentary.

2.6 (SM 2.9)

***sa vā eṣa pañcadhātmanaṃ paribhajya¹...*

****nihito guhāyām / manomayaḥ prāṇaśarīro bhārūpaḥ² satyasamkalpa ākāśātmeti³ /*

**... <*e.g. abhyantaram prāviśat*> / *sa vā eṣo 'sya hṛdantare⁴ akṛtārtho 'manyata – arthān aśnānīti⁵ / ataḥ khānimāni bhittvoditaḥ pañcabhī raśmibhir viṣayān attīti /*

****buddhindriyāni khānimāni⁶ / etāny asya raśmayaḥ / karmendriyāṅy asya hayāḥ / rathaṃ śarīram / mano niyantā / prakṛtimayo 'sya pratodaḥ⁷ /*

***anena khalv iritaṃ⁸ paribhramatidaṃ śarīram cakram iva mṛtpacena⁹ idam śarīram cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ pracodayitā caiṣo¹⁰ 'py asyeti //*

1. V *vibhajya*. – 2. SM *bahurūpaḥ*, but SM A, A₁ *bhā°*. – 3. SM *ātmeti*. – *e.g.*: lacuna tentatively restored. – 4. V *eṣo 'smād dhṛdantarād*. – 5. SM *aśnāni*, om *iti*, but SM A, A₁ *aśnānīti*. – 6. SM, V have *yāni*; I conjecture *khāni*, since this sentence doubtless explains *khānimāni* of the previous line. – 7. SM *'sya pratodanena* <*pratodo'nena*. – 8. V *iritaḥ*. – 9. SM *mṛtpacena*; C misread *mṛtyavena*. – 10. SM, V *vaiṣo*.

2.7 (SM 2.10)

***ātmeti hośanti / vaśaṃ nīta iva¹ sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair abhibhūyamāna² iva pratiśarireṣu carati / avyaktatvāt sūkṣmatvād³ adṛśyatvān nirmamatvāc cānavastho 'kartā kartevāvasthitaḥ⁴ //*

1. V *ātmehośanti kavayaḥ*; SM *ātmety ado vaśaṃ nīta eva*; SM A, A₁ *ātmeti hośanni vaśaṃ nīta iva*. – 2. V *anabhibhūta iva*. – 3. V *saukṣmyād*. – 4. V *cānavastho 'sati kartākartaivāvasthitaḥ*.

2.7 (SM 2.11)

****sa vā eṣa śuddhaḥ sthiro 'calaś cālepyo 'vyagro niḥspṛhaḥ prekṣaka-
vad avasthitaḥ / svasthaś cartabhug¹ guṇamayena paṭenātmānam antar-
dhāyāvasthita ity avasthita iti //**

1. SM *svasya caritabhug*.

3.1 (SM 3.1)

****te hocur – bhagavan yady evam asyātmano mahimānaṃ sūcayasīty
anyo vā paraḥ ko 'yam ātmākhyo yo'yam sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair
abhibhūyamānaḥ sadasadyonim āpadyata iti / avācīm vordhvām gatim¹
dvandvair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramati //**

1. V *avañcy ordhvā vā gatir*.

3.2 (SM 3.2)

****asti khalv anyo'paro bhūtātmākhyo yo 'yam sitāsitaīḥ karmaphalair
abhibhūyamānaḥ sadasadyonim āpadyata iti / avācīm vordhvām gatim
dvandvair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramatīti /**

*****asyopavyākhyānam – pañca tanmātrāṇi¹ bhūtaśabdenocyante /
atha² pañcamahābhūtāni bhūtaśabdenocyante / atha teṣāṃ yad samudayas
tac charīram³ ity uktam / atha yo ha khalu vāva śarīra⁴ ity uktam sa
bhūtātmety uktam / athāsti tasyātmābbindur⁵ iva puṣkara iti / sa vā eṣo
'bhībhūtaḥ prākṛtair guṇair iti / ato⁶ 'bhībhūtātāt saṃmūḍhatvam
prayātaḥ⁷ / saṃmūḍhatvād ātmasthaṃ prabhuṃ bhagavantaṃ kārayi-
tāraṃ nāpaśyat / guṇaughais tṛpyamānaḥ⁸ kaluṣikṛtaś cāsthiraś cañcalo
lolupyamānaḥ⁹ saspr̥ho vyagraś cābhimānitvam prayāta iti / ahaṃ
so mamedam ity evaṃ manyamānaḥ nibadhnāty ātmanātmānaṃ
jāleneva khacaram¹⁰ / kṛtasyānuphalair abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramatīti //**
[katama eṣa iti¹¹ / tān hovāceti¹² //]

1. V *tanmātrā*. – 2. SM om. *atha*. – 3. V *yat samudayaṃ taccharīram*. – 4. SM *śarīram*. –
5. V *athāmṛto 'syātmābbindur*. – 6. V *atho*. – 7. SM *prayātya-*. – 8. V *uhyamānaḥ*. –
9. V *lupyamānaḥ*. – 10. SM om. *khacaram*, but probably editor's omission since Br. has
it. – 11. V om. *iti*. – 12. SM om. *katama eṣa iti tān hovāceti*.

3.3 (SM 3.3)

*****athānyatrāpy uktam – yaḥ kartā so 'yam vai bhūtātmā / karaṇaiḥ
kārayitāntaḥpuruṣaḥ / atha yathāgniṇāyaḥpiṇḍo vābhibhūtaḥ kartṛbhir
hanyamāno nānātvam upaity evaṃ vāva khalv asau bhūtātmāntaḥ
puruṣeṇābhibhūto guṇair hanyamāno nānātvam upaiti / atha triguṇam¹
caturaśītilakṣayonipariṇatam² bhūtagaṇam etad vāva nānatvasya rūpam /
tāni ha vā etāni³ guṇāni puruṣeṇeritāni cakram iva cakriṇā⁴ / atha**

yathāyaḥpiṇḍe hanyamāne nāgnir abhibhūyaty evaṃ nābhībhūyaty asau puruṣaḥ / abhibhūyaty ayaṃ bhūtātmopasaṃśliṣṭatvāt //

1. e.c.; SM *bhūtatriguṇam*, V *caturjālaṃ caturdaśavidham*. – 2. V *caturaśītidhā pariṇatam*; the readings are uncertain; R must have found a *lakṣa* in his text: *caturaśītidhā tāval lakṣaṃ tāvato 'py adhikaṃ vā bhedena pariṇatam upacitam ity arthaṃ*. – 3. SM *imāni*. – 4. V *mṛtpacena* (C *mṛtyavena*).

3.4 (SM 3.4) = 1.2a

3.5 (SM 3.5)

***athānyatrāpy uktam – saṃmoho bhayaṃ viṣādo nidrā tandri pramādo¹ jarā śokaḥ kṣut pipāsā kārpaṇyaṃ krodho nāstikyam ajñānaṃ mātsaryaṃ vaikaṛṇyaṃ² mūḍhatvaṃ nirvriḍatvaṃ nikṛtatvaṃ³ uddha tatvaṃ asamatvaṃ iti⁴ tamasānvitais⁵ tṛṣṇā sneho rāgo lobho himsā ratir dviṣṭir⁶ vyāvṛtatvaṃ irṣyā kāmo⁷ 'sthiratvaṃ cañcalatvaṃ vyagratvaṃ jihīrṣā⁸ arthopārjanaṃ mitrānugrahaṇaṃ parigrahāvalambo 'niṣṭeṣv indriyārtheṣu dviṣṭir iṣṭeṣv abhiṣvaṅga⁹ iti rājasānvitaiḥ paripūrṇa etair¹⁰ abhibhūta ity ayaṃ bhūtātmā / tasmān nānārūpāṇy avāpnotīty avāpnotīti //

1. SM *vraṇo*. – 2. SM *vaikaṛṇyam*; SM A, A₁, U; M *vaikaṛṇyam*, V *naiḥkaṛṇyam*. – 3. V *nirākṛtitvam*. – 4. V om. *iti*. – 5. SM *tāmasānvitaiḥ*, V *tāmasānyantaiḥ*. – 6. SM *dṛṣṭir*. – 7. SM, V *irṣyākāmam ā°*. – 8. SM *jigīṣā*. – 9. V adds *śuktasvaro 'nnatamas tu* "he who recites with sharply pronounced accents will be richest in food," which has wandered into our text. – 10. V *rājasāny etaiḥ paripūrṇa etaiḥ*.

4.1 (SM –)

[te ha khalu vāvordhvaretaso 'tivismitā bhisametya¹ ūcur – bhagavan namas te 'stu / anuśādhi² / tvam asmākaṃ gatiḥ anyā na vidyata iti / asya ko vidhir³ bhūtātmano yenedaṃ hitvātmann⁴ eva sāyujyam upaiti / tān hovāceti //]

This entire section om. by SM, except SM A, Mu. – 1. SM A *atisametya*. – 2. SM A *te tvam naḥ śādhi*. – 3. SM A *ko 'tithir*. – 4. SM A *ātmany*.

4.2 (SM 4.1)

***athānyatrāpy uktam – mahānadiṣūrmaya ivānivartakam¹ asya yat purākṛtaṃ samudraveleva durnivāryam asya mṛtyor āgamanam / sadasatphalamayair hi² pāsaiḥ paśur³ iva baddhaṃ bandhastha ivāsvatantraṃ yamaviṣayastha⁴ iva bahubhayāvasthaṃ madironmatta iva moha⁵-madironmattaṃ pāpmanā gṛhīta iva bhrāmyamānaṃ mahoragadaṣṭa iva viṣayadaṣṭam⁶ mahāndhakāra⁷ iva rāgāndham indrajāla⁸ iva māyāmayaṃ svapna iva mithyadarśanaṃ kadaliḡarbham ivāsāraṃ naṭa

iva kṣaṇaveṣaṃ citrabhittir iva mithyāmanorāmam iti /

***athoktam –

*śabdasparsādāyo ye'rthā⁹ anarthā iva te sthitāḥ¹⁰ /

yeṣāṃ saktas tu bhūtātmā na smarec ca¹¹ paraṃ padam //

1. SM *iva nivartakam*. – 2. V om. *hi*. – 3. V *paṅgur*. – 4. V °*stham*. – 5. SM *ivāmoda-*
madira-. – 6. SM *vipaddhṛṣṭam*. – 7. V *mahāndhakāram*. – 8. V *indrajālam*. – 9. V *hy*
arthā. – 10. V *martye 'narthā ivāvasthitāḥ*. – 11. V *smareta*.

4.3 (SM 4.2)

***ayaṃ vāva khalv asya pratividhir bhūtātmano yad veda¹-vidyādhi-
gamaḥ² svadharmasyānucaraṇaṃ svāśrameṣv evānukramaṇaṃ sva-
dharma eva sarvaṃ dhatte³ stambaśākhevetarāṇy⁴ anenordhvbhāg
bhavati / āśrameṣv evāvasthitas tapasvī ca⁵ ity ucyate / etad apy uktam –
nātapaskasyātmajñāne⁶ 'dhigamaḥ karmaśuddhiś⁷ ceti / evaṃ hy āha –

*tapasā prāpyate sattvaṃ sattvāt saṃprāpyate manaḥ /

manasā prāpyate tv⁸ ātmā hy ātmāptyā na nivartate⁹ //

1. SM *yad eva*. – 2. SM °*gamam*. – 3. V *svadharmasya vā etad vratam*. – 4. V *aparāṇy*. –
5. V *vā*. – 6. SM A, A₁, K °*dhyāne*. – 7. V °*siddhir vā*. – 8. V *hy*. – 9. SM *hy ātmāptyā*
nivartate <hy ātmāptyā na nivartate (M); V ātmā yam āptvā.

V 4.4 (SM –)

[asti brahmeti brahmavidyāvid abravīt / brahmadvāram ity evaitad
āha yas tapasāpahatapāpmā / Oṃ brahmaṇo mahimety evaitad āha yaḥ
suyukto 'jasraṃ cintayati / tasmād vidyayā tapasā cintayā copalabhyate
brahma / sa brahmaṇa para etā bhavaty adhidaivatvaṃ devebhyaś cety
akṣayyaṃ aparimitam anāmayaṃ sukham aśnute ya evaṃ vidvān anena
trikeṇa brahmopāste / atha yaiḥ paripūrṇo 'bhībhūto 'yaṃ rathitāś ca
tair vaiva muktas tv ātmann eva sāyujyaṃ bhavati //]

V 4.5 (SM –)

[te hocur – bhagavann abhivādyasīty abhivādyasīti / nihitam asmābhir
etad yathāvad uktaṃ manasīti / athottaraṃ praśnam anubrūhīti / agnir
vāyur ādityaḥ kālo yaḥ prāṇo 'nnaṃ brahmā rudro viṣṇur ity eke 'nyam
abhidhyāyanty eke 'nyam / śreyaḥ katamo yaḥ so 'smākaṃ brūhīti /
tān hovāceti //]

V 4.6 (SM –)

[brahmaṇo vāvaitā agryās tanavaḥ parasyāmṛtasyāśarīrasya / tasyaiva
loke pratimodatiha yo yasyānuśakta iti / evaṃ hy āha – brahma khalv
idaṃ vāva sarvaṃ / yā vāsyā agryās tanavas tā abhidhyāyed arcayen

nihnuyāc ca / atas tābhiḥ sahaivopary upari lokeṣu carati / atha
kṛtsnakṣaya ekatvam eti puruṣasya puruṣasya //]

V – (6.34) (SM 4.3)

*atreme¹ ślokā bhavanti –

yathā nirindhano vahniḥ svayonāv upaśāmyati² /
tathā vṛttikṣayāc cittam svayonāv upaśāmyati² //1//
svayonāv upaśāntasya manasaḥ satyakāminaḥ³ /
indriyārthāvimūḍhasya⁴ anṛtāḥ karmavaśānugāḥ //2//
cittam eva hi saṃsāras⁵ tat prayatnena śodhayet /
yaccittas tanmayo bhavati guhyam etat sanātanam //3//
cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma śubhāśubham /
prasannātmātmani sthitvā sukham avyayam aśnute //4//
samāsaktam yathā⁶ cittam jantor viṣayagocare /
yady evaṃ brahmaṇi syāt tat ko no mucyeta bandhanāt //5//
**mano hi dvididham proktaṃ śuddham cāsuddham eva ca /
aśuddham kāmasaṃparkāt⁷ śuddham kāmavivarjitam //6//
layavikṣeparahitam manaḥ kṛtvā suniścalam⁸ /
yadā yāty amanobhāvaṃ tadā tat paramam padam //7//
tāvan mano⁹ nirodhdhavyaṃ hṛdi yāvat kṣayaṃ gatam¹⁰//
etaj jñānaṃ ca mokṣaś ca śeṣas tu¹¹ granthavistarāḥ //8//
samādhinirdhautam¹² amalasya cetaso
niveśitasyātmani yat sukham bhavet¹³ /
na śakyate varṇayituṃ girā tadā
svayaṃ tad antaḥkaraṇena gṛhyate //9//
apām apo 'gnir agnau vā vyomni vyoma na lakṣayet /
evam antargataṃ yasya manaḥ sa parimucyate¹⁴ //10//
mana eva manuṣyāṇāṃ kāraṇaṃ bandhamokṣayoḥ /
bandhāya viṣayāsaktam¹⁵ muktyai¹⁶ nirviṣayaṃ smṛtam //11//

1. SM prints *ete*, but Br reads *ime*. – 2. V *upaśāmyate*. – 3. So Mtre; V *satyakāmataḥ*, SM-M *satyaḡāminaḥ*. – 4. V *avimūḍhasya*. – 5. V *saṃsāram*. – 6. SM *yadā*, SM K, M *yathā*. – 7. SM *kāmasaṃkalpaṃ*. – 8. SM K *sunīścitam*. – 9. SM *tāvad eva*. – 10. R appears to read *gataḥkṣayaṃ (gataḥ prāptaḥ kṣayo vināśo yena tat tathā)*. – 11. V. *śeṣānye*. – 12. SM *nirdhūtam*. – 13. SM *labhet*. – 14. SM *antargataṃ cittam puruṣaḥ parimucyate*. – 15. V *viṣayāsaṅgi*. – 16. V *mokṣo*.

V 5.1 (SM 4.4)

***atha yatheyam kautsāyani stutiḥ –

tvam¹ brahmā tvam ca vai viṣṇus tvam rudras tvam prajāpatiḥ /
tvam agnir varuṇo vāyus tvam indras tvam niśākaraḥ //1//
tvam manus² tvam yamas tvam pṛthivī tvam athācyutaḥ³ /

svārthe svābhāvike 'rthe ca bahudhā tiṣṭhase divi⁴ //2//
 viśveśvara namas tubhyaṃ viśvātmā viśvakarmakṛt /
 viśvabhug viśvam āyus⁵ tvaṃ viśvakriḍāratih⁶ prabhuḥ //3//
 namaḥ śāntātmāne tubhyaṃ namo guhyatamāya ca /
 acintyāyāprameyāya anādinidhanāya ca //4// iti //

1. SM *tvam ca.* – 2 V *tvam annas.* – 3. V *pṛthivī tvam viśvaṃ tvaṃ athācyutaḥ*, and a variant *khaṃ* for *viśvam.* – 4. V *bahudhā samsthitis tvayā.* – 5. SM. *viśvam āyas.* – 6. V *°ratiprabhuḥ.*

V 5.2 (SM 4.5)

***tamo vā idam agra āsa / tat paścāt pareṇeritaṃ viśamatvaṃ prayāti /
 etad vai rajaso rūpam / tad rajaḥ khalv iritaṃ viśamatvaṃ prayāti /
 etad vai tamaso rūpam / tat sattvam everitam / tat sattvād rasah
 samprāsravat / so 'mśo 'yaṃ yaś cetanamātraḥ pratipurusaṃ kṣetrajñah
 samkalpādhyavasāyābhimānalingah prajāpatih / tasya proktā agryaś
 tanavo brahmā rudro viṣṇur iti / atha yo ha khalu vāvāsya tamaso 'mśo
 'sau sa yo 'yaṃ rudraḥ / atha yo ha khalu vāvāsya rajaso 'mśo 'sau sa
 yo 'yaṃ brahmā / atha yo ha khalu vāvāsya sāttviko 'mśo 'sau sa yo
 'yaṃ viṣṇuḥ / sa vā ekas tridhā bhūto 'ṣṭadhaikadaśadhā dvādaśadhā-
 parimitadhā codbhūtaḥ / udbhūtatvād bhūtaṃ / bhūteṣu carati pratiṣṭhā /
 sarvabhūtānām adhipatir babhūveti / asāv ātmāntar bahiś cāntar
 bahiś ca //

For variants and discussion see *supra*, Part One, ch. IV, iii.

6.1

dvidhā vā eṣa ātmānaṃ bibharti / ayaṃ yaḥ prāṇo yaś cāsā ādityaḥ /
 atha dvau vā etā asya panthānā [antar bahiś ca] / ahorātreṇaitau
 vyāvartete / [asau vā ādityo bahirātmāntarātmā prāṇaḥ / ato bahir-
 ātmakya gatyāntarātmano 'numiyate gatir ity evaṃ hy āha – atha yaḥ
 kaścīd vidvān apahatapāpmākṣādhyaḥṣo 'vadātamanās tanniṣṭhā āvṛtta-
 cakṣuḥ saḥ / antarātmakya gatyā bahirātmano 'numiyate gatir ity evaṃ
 hy āha – atha ya eṣo 'ntarāditye hiraṇmayāḥ puruṣo yaḥ paśyatimāṃ¹
 hiraṇyavasthāt sa eṣo 'ntare hṛtṣuṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti //]

For full discussion of original sections see *supra* Part One, ch. II. – 1. R notes v.l. *ami.*

6.2

atha ya eṣo 'ntare hṛtṣuṣkara evāśrito 'nnam atti sa eṣo 'gnir divi
 śritaḥ sauraḥ kālākhyo 'dṛśyaḥ sarvabhūtāny annam attīti / [kaḥ
 puṣkaraḥ kiṃmayo veti /] idam vāva tat puṣkaram yo 'yam ākāśaḥ /
 asyemāś catasro diśāś catasra upadiśo dalasamsthāḥ / āsam arvāg

vicarata etau prāṇādityau / etā upāsītom ity etad akṣareṇa vyāhṛtibhiḥ
savitryā ca //

6.3

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe mūrtaṃ cāmūrtaṃ ca / atha yan mūrtaṃ
tad asatyam / yad amūrtaṃ tat satyaṃ tad brahma taj jyotiḥ / yaj jyotiḥ
sa ādityaḥ / sa vā eṣa OM iti / etad ātmābhavat / sa tredhātmānaṃ
vyakuruta / OM iti tisro mātrāḥ / etābhiḥ sarvam idam otaṃ protaṃ
caivāsmin / [iti / evaṃ hy āha – etad vā āditya OM iti dhyāyaṃs
tathātmānaṃ yuñjiteti //]

1. e.c.; V *dhyāyatātmānaṃ*.

6.4

[athānyatrāpy uktam – atha khalu ya udgīthaḥ sa praṇavaḥ / yaḥ
praṇavaḥ sa udgītha iti / asau vā āditya udgītha eṣa praṇavā iti / evaṃ
hy āha – udgīthaṃ praṇavākhyam praṇetāraṃ bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ
vijaram vimṛtyuṃ tripadaṃ tryakṣaram punaḥ pañcadhā jñeyam
nīhitaṃ guhāyām iti / evaṃ hy āha – ūrdhvamūlam tripād brahma
śākhā ākāśavāyavyudakabhūmyādaya eko 'śvatthanāmaitad brahmai-
tasya tat tejo yad asā ādityaḥ / OM ity etad akṣarasya caitat / tasmād
OM ity anenaitad upāsītājasram iti / eko 'sya sambodhayiteti / evaṃ
hy āha –

etad evākṣaram puṇyam etad evākṣaram param /
etad evākṣaram jñātvā yo yad icchati tasya tat //]

6.5

[athānyatrāpy uktam – svanavaty eṣāsya tanūḥ yom iti / strīpuṃnapuṃ-
saketi liṅgavaty eṣā / athāgnir vāyur ādityā iti bhāsvaty eṣā / brahmā rudro
viṣṇur ity adhipativaty eṣā / atha gārhapatyo dakṣiṇāgnir āhavanīyā iti
mukhavaty eṣā / atha ṛg yajuḥ sāmeti vijñānavaty eṣā / bhūr bhuvaḥ
svar iti lokavaty eṣā / atha bhūtaṃ bhavyam bhaviṣyad iti kālavaty eṣā /
atha prāṇo 'gniḥ sūryā iti pratāpavaty eṣā / athānnaṃ āpaś candramā ity
āpyayanavaty eṣā / atha buddhir mano 'haṃkāra iti cetanavaty eṣā /
atha prāṇo 'pāno vyāna iti prānavaty eṣā / iti / ata OM ity uktenaitāḥ
prastutā arcitā arpitā bhavantīti / evaṃ hy āha – etad vai satyakāma
paraṃ cāparaṃ ca brahma yad OM ity etad akṣaram //]

6.6

athāvyāhṛtaṃ vā idam āsīt / sa satyaṃ prajāpatis tapas taptvā-
nuvyāharad – bhūr bhuvaḥ svar iti / eṣaivāsya prajāpateḥ sthaviṣṭhā

tanūḥ [yā lokavatīti] / svar ity asyāḥ śiro nābhir bhuvo bhūḥ pādā
 ādityaś cakṣuḥ / cakṣur āyattā hi puruṣasya mahati mātṛā / [cakṣusā hy
 ayaṃ mātṛāś carati /] satyaṃ vai cakṣuḥ / [akṣiṇy avasthito hi puruṣaḥ
 sarvārtheṣu carati /] etasmād bhūr bhuvaḥ svar ity upāsita / [anena hi
 prajāpatir viśvātmā viśvacakṣur upāsito bhavatīti / evaṃ hy āha –] eṣā
 vai prajāpater viśvabhṛt tanūḥ / etasyām idaṃ sarvam antarhitam
 asmiṃś ca sarvasmīn eṣāntarhiteti / tasmād eṣopāsita //

6.7

tat savitur vareṇyam ity asau vā ādityaḥ savitā / sa vā evaṃ pravaraṇiya
 ātmakāmenety āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha bhargo devasya dhimāhīti savitā vai devaḥ / tato yo'sya bhargā-
 khyas taṃ cintayāmīty āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayād iti buddhāyo vai dhīyaḥ / tā yo 'smākaṃ
 pracodayād ity āhur brahmavādinaḥ /

atha bhargā ity yo ha vā amusmīn āditye nihitas tāraḥ 'kṣiṇi vaiṣa
 bhargākhyāḥ / bhābhir gatir asya hīti bhargaḥ / bharjayatīti vā eṣa
 bhargā ity āhur brahmavādinaḥ //

[atha bha ity bhāsayatīmāṃ lokān / ra ity rañjayatīmāni bhūtāni / ga ity
 gacchanty asmīn āgacchanty asmād imāḥ prajāḥ / tasmād bharagatvād
 bhargaḥ / śāśvat sūyamānāt sūryaḥ / savanāt savitā / ādānād ādityaḥ /
 pavanāt pavanaḥ / athāpo 'pyayanād iti / evaṃ hy āha – atha khalv
 ātmano'tmā netāmṛtākhyāś cetā mantā gantotsraṣṭānandayitā kartā
 vaktā rasayitā ghrātā draṣṭā śrotā spraṣṭā² ca vibhur vīgrahe samniviṣṭa
 iti / evaṃ hy āha – atha yatra dvaitibhūtaṃ vijñānaṃ tatra hi śṛṇoti
 paśyati jighrati rasayati caiva sprśati³ sarvam ātmā jānīte / yatrādvaiti-
 bhūtaṃ vijñānaṃ kāryakāraṇakarmanirmuktaṃ nirvacanam anau-
 pamyāṃ nirupākhyāṃ kiṃ tad avācyam //]

1. text *rudro* for *āhur*, probably intrusive gloss on *bharjayati*. – 2. text *sprśati*; this is
 apparently a marginal correction for *sparśayati* (cf. note 3) which has been wrongly
 inserted in the place of a necessary *spraṣṭā*. – 3. text *sparśayati*, causative “attracted”
 by *rasayati*, corrected by a marginal *sprśati* which displaced *spraṣṭā*.

6.8

eṣa hi khalv ātmeśanaḥ śambhur bhavo rudraḥ prajāpatir viśvasṛg
 ghiraṇyagarbhaḥ satyaṃ prāṇo haṃsaḥ śāstā viṣṇur nārāyaṇo 'rkaḥ
 savitā dhātā vidhātā samṛd indra indur / [iti /] ya eṣa tapaty agnir
 ivāgnināpihitaḥ sahasrākṣeṇa hiraṇmayenāṇḍenaiṣa vai jijñāsītavyo
 'nveṣṭavyaḥ // [sarvabhūtebhyo 'bhayaṃ dattvāraṇyaṃ gatvātha bahiḥ
 kṛtvendriyārthān svāc charīrād¹ upalabhetainam iti /]

[viśvarūpaṃ hariṇaṃ jātavedasaṃ parāyaṇaṃ jyotir ekaṃ tapantaṃ / sahasraraśmiḥ śatadhā vartamānaḥ prāṇaḥ prajānāṃ udayaty eṣa sūryaḥ //]

1. Cowell *svāñ śarirād*, see above p. 93; ĀĀS ed. has above reading.

6.9

tasmād vā ubhayātmā / evaṃvid ātmann evābhidyāyaty ātmann eva yajati / [iti / dhyānaṃ prayogastham – mano vidvadbhiṣṭutaṃ manaḥ pūtam ucchiṣṭopahataṃ ity anena tatpāvayet / mantraṃ paṭhati – ucchiṣṭocchiṣṭopahataṃ yac ca pāpena dattaṃ mṛtasūtakād vā vasoḥ pavitraṃ agniḥ savituś ca raśmayaḥ punantv annaṃ mama duṣkṛtaṃ ca yad anyat / adbhiḥ purastāt paridadhāti / prāṇāya svāhā / apanāya svāhā / vyānāya svāhā / samānāya svāhā / udānāya svāhā / iti pañcabhir abhijuhoti / athāvaśiṣṭaṃ yataṃvāg aśnāti / ato 'dbhir bhūya evopariṣṭāt paridadhāti / ācānto bhūtvātmejyānaḥ prāṇo 'gnir – viśvo 'siti ca dvābhyām ātmānam abhidhyāyety / prāṇo 'gnir paramātmā vai pañcavāyuh samāśritaḥ / sa prītaḥ prīṇātu viśvaṃ viśvabhuk / viśvo 'si vaiśvānaro 'si viśvaṃ tvayā dhāryate jāyamānam / viśantu tvām āhutayaś ca sarvāḥ prajāś tatra yatra viśvāmṛto 'siti / evaṃ na vidhinā khalv anenāttānna-tvaṃ punar upaiti //]

6.10

[athāparaṃ veditavyam – uttaro vikāro 'syātmayajñasya yathānnaṃ annādaś ceti / asyopavyākhyānam / puruṣaś cetā pradhānāntaḥsthaḥ / sa eva bhoktā prākṛtaṃ annaṃ bhukta ity / tasyāyaṃ bhūtātmā hy annam asya kartā pradhānaḥ / tasmāt triguṇaṃ bhojyam / puruṣo 'ntaḥsthaḥ / atra dṛṣṭaṃ nāma pratyayam / yasmād bijasambhavā hi paśavas tasmād bijaṃ bhojyam / anenaiva pradhānasya bhojyatvaṃ vyākhyātam / tasmād bhoktā puruṣo bhojyā prakṛtiś tatstho bhukta ity / prākṛtaṃ annaṃ triguṇabhedapariṇāmatvān mahadādyam viśeṣāntaṃ liṅgam / anenaiva caturdaśavidhasya mārgasya vyākhyā kṛtā sukhaduḥkhamoḥasaṃjñā hy annabhūtam idaṃ jagat / na hi bijasya svādūparigraho 'stīti yāvan na prasūtiḥ / tasyāpy evaṃ tiṣṭsv avasthāsv annatvaṃ bhavati / kaumāraṃ yauvanaṃ jarā parināmatvāt tad annatvam / evaṃ pradhānasya vyaktatāṃ gatasyopalabdhir bhavati / tatra buddhyādīni svādūni bhavanti / adhyavasāyasamkalpābhīmāni ity *athendriyārthāḥ pañca svādūni bhavanti / evaṃ sarvāṇīndriyakarmāṇi prāṇakarmāṇi / evaṃ vyaktam annam avyaktam annam / asya nirguṇo bhoktā bhoktṛtvāc caitanyaṃ prasiddhaṃ tasya / yathāgnir vai devānāṃ annādaḥ somo 'nnaṃ agninaivānnaṃ ity evaṃvit / somasaṃjño 'yaṃ

bhūtātmāgnisaṃjño 'py avyaktamukhā iti vacanāt puruṣo hy avyakta-
mukhena triguṇaṃ bhukṅtā iti / yo haivaṃ veda saṃnyāsi yogi cātmayāji
ceti / atha yadvan na kaścic chūnyāgāre kāmīyaḥ praviṣṭāḥ spṛśatīndri-
yārthāṃs tadvad yo na spṛśati praviṣṭān saṃnyāsi yogi cātmayāji ceti //]

6.11

paraṃ vā etad ātmano rūpaṃ yad annam / annamayo hy ayaṃ
prāṇaḥ / atha na yady aśnāty amantāśrotāsprāṣṭādraṣṭāvaktāghrātāra-
sayitā bhavati prāṇāṃś cotsrjati / [iti / evaṃ hy āha –] atha yadi khalv
aśnāti prāṇasaṃddho bhūtvā mantā bhavati śrotā bhavati sprāṣṭā
bhavati vaktā bhavati rasayitā bhavati ghrātā bhavati draṣṭā bhavati /
[iti / evaṃ hy āha –

annād vai prajāḥ prajāyante yāḥ kāścic pṛthivīśritāḥ /
ato 'nenaiva jīvanty athaitad apiyanty antataḥ //]

6.12

[athānyatrāpy uktam – sarvāṇi ha vā imāni bhūtāny ahar ahar
prapatanty annam abhijighṛkṣamāṇāni / sūryo raśmibhir ādadāty annam
tenāsau tapati / annenābhiṣiktāḥ pacantīme prāṇāḥ / agnir vā annenā-
bhijvalati / annakāmenedaṃ prakalpitaṃ brahmaṇā / ato 'nnam ātmety
upāsita / iti / evaṃ hy āha –

annād bhūtāni jāyante jātāny annena vardhante /
adyate 'tti ca bhūtāni tasmād annam tad ucyate //]

6.13

[athānyatrāpy uktam – viśvabhṛd vai namaiṣā tanūr bhagavato viṣṇor
yad idam annam / prāṇo vai annasya raso manaḥ prāṇasya vijñānaṃ
manasa ānandaṃ vijñānasyety annavān prāṇavān manasvān vijñānavān
ānandavāṃś ca bhavati yo haivaṃ veda / yāvantiha vai bhūtāny annam
adanti tāvatsv antaḥstho 'nnam atti ya haivaṃ veda /

annam eva vijarannam annaṃ saṃvānaṃ smṛtam /
annaṃ paśūnāṃ prāṇo 'nnam jyeṣṭham annaṃ bhiṣak smṛtam //]

6.14

[athānyatrāpy uktam – annaṃ vā asya sarvasya yoniḥ / kālāś cānnasya
sūryo yoniḥ kālasya / tasyaitad rūpaṃ yan nimeṣādīkālāt saṃbhṛtam
dvādaśātmakaṃ vatsaram etasyāgneyam ardham ardham vāruṇam /
māghādyam śraviṣṭhārdham āgneyam krameṇotkrameṇa sārpadyaṃ
śraviṣṭhārdhāntaṃ saumyam / tatraikaikam ātmano navāṃśakaṃ
sacāraḥkavidham / sauḥśmyatvād etat pramāṇam / anenaiva pramiyate
hi kālaḥ / na vinā pramāṇena prameyasya yopalabdhiḥ / prameyo 'pi

pramānatām prthaktvād upaity ātmasambodhanārtham / iti / evaṃ hy
 āha – yāvatyo vai kālasya kalās tavatiṣu caraty asau yaḥ kālaṃ brahmety
 upāsita kālas tasyātidūram apasarati / iti / evaṃ hy āha –

kālāt sravanti bhūtāni kālād vṛddhiṃ prayānti ca /
 kāle cāstaṃ niyacchanti kālo mūrtir mūrtimān //

6.15

dve vāva brahmaṇo rūpe kālās cākālās ca / atha yaḥ prāg ādityāt so
 'kālo 'kalaḥ / atha ya ādityādyāḥ sa kālaḥ sakalaḥ / sakalasya vā etad
 rūpaṃ yat saṃvatsaram / saṃvatsarāt khalv evemāḥ prajāḥ prajāyante /
 saṃvatsareṇeḥ vai jātā vivardhante / saṃvatsare pratyastaṃ yanti /
 tasmāt saṃvatsaro vai prajāpateḥ kālo 'nnaṃ brahmaṇidam ātmā ca /
 [iti / evaṃ hy āha –

kālāḥ pacati bhūtāni sarvāṅy eva mahātmani /
 yasmims tu pacyate kālo yas taṃ veda sa vedavit //

6.16

[vighrahavān eṣa kālaḥ sindhurājaḥ prajānām / eṣa tatsthaḥ savitākhyo
 yasmād eveme candrarṣagrahasaṃvatsarādayaḥ sūyante / athaitabhyaḥ
 sarvam idam atra vā yat kiṃcic chubhāsubhaṃ dṛṣyeteḥa loke tad
 etebhyaḥ / tasmād ādityātmā brahma / atha kālasaṃjñam ādityam
 upāsītādityo brahmety eke / athaivaṃ hy āha –

hotā bhoktā havir mantro yajño viṣṇuḥ prajāpatiḥ /
 sarvaḥ kaścit prabhūḥ sāksī yo 'muṣmin bhāti maṇḍale //

6.17

brahma ha vā idam agra āsīd eko 'nantaḥ prāg ananto dakṣiṇato
 'nantaḥ prācya ananta udicy ananta ūrdhvaṃ cāvān ca sarvato 'nantaḥ /
 [na hy asya prācyādidiśaḥ kalpante / atha tiryag vāvān vordhvaṃ
 vānūhya eṣa paramātmāparimito 'jo 'tarkyo 'cintyaḥ /] eṣa ākāśātmaiva /
 eṣa kṛtsnaḥ eko jāgarti / iti / etasmād ākāśād eṣa khalv idam
 [cetāmātraṃ] bodhayati / anenaiva cedam jāyate¹ 'smiṃs ca pratyastaṃ
 yāti / asyaitad bhāsvaraṃ rūpaṃ yad amuṣminn āditye tapaty [agnau
 cādhūmake yaj jyotiś citrataraṃ udarastho 'tha vā yaḥ pacaty annam /
 iti / evaṃ hy āha –] yaś caiso 'gnau yaś cāyaṃ hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa
 eṣa ekā iti / ekasya haikatvam eti ya evaṃ veda //

1. V *dhyāyate*.

6.18

[tatra prayogakalpaḥ – prāṇāyāmaḥ pratyāhāro dhyānaṃ dhāraṇā

tarkaḥ samādhiḥ ṣaḍaṅgā ity ucyate yogaḥ / anena yadā paśyan paśyati
rukma-varṇaṃ kartāram īśaṃ puruṣaṃ brahmayoniṃ tadā vidvān
puṇyapāpe vihāya pare 'vyaye sarvaṃ ekīkaroti / iti / evaṃ hy āha –
yathā parvatam ādīptaṃ nāśrayanti mṛgadvijāḥ /
tadvad brahmavido doṣā nāśrayanti kadācana //]

6.19

[athānyatrāpy uktam – yadā vai bahir vidvān mano niyamyendri-
yārthāṃś ca prāṇe¹ niveśayitvā niḥsaṃkalpas tatas tiṣṭhet ... {aprāṇād
iha yasmāt saṃbhūtaḥ prāṇasaṃjñako jivas tasmāt prāṇo vai} ...
turyākhye dhārayet prāṇam iti / evaṃ hy āha –
acittaṃ cittamadyastham acintyaṃ guhyam uttamam /
tatra cittaṃ nidhyāyeta tac ca līngaṃ nirāśrayam //]

1. V prāṇo.

6.20

[athānyatrāpy uktam – atha parāśya dhāraṇā / tālurasanāgre nipīḍanād
vānmanaḥprāṇanīrodhanād brahma tarkeṇa paśyati / yadātmanātmānam
aṇor aṇiyāṃsaṃ dyotamānaṃ manaḥkṣayāt paśyati tadātmanātmānaṃ
dṛṣṭvā nirātmā bhavati / nirātmakatvād asaṃkhyo 'yonis cintyo
mokṣalakṣaṇam iti / tat paraṃ rahasyam iti / evaṃ hy āha –
cittasya hi prasādena hanti karma śubhāśubham /
prasannātmātmani sthitvā sukham avyayam aśnutā iti //]

6.21

[athānyatrāpy uktam – ūrdhvagā naḍi suṣumnākhyā prāṇasaṃcārīṇi
tālv antar vicchinnā / tayā prāṇā oṃkāramanoyuktayordhvam utkramet /
tālv adhy agraṃ parivartya cendriyāṇi saṃyojya mahimā mahimānaṃ
nirikṣeta / tato nirātmakatvam eti / nirātmakatvān na sukhaduḥkhabhāg
bhavati kevalatvaṃ labhatā iti / evaṃ hy āha –
paraḥ pūrvaṃ pariṣṭhāpya nigṛhītānilaṃ tataḥ /
tīrtvā pāram apāreṇa paścād yuñjita mūrdhani //]

6.22

[athānyatrāpy uktam – dve vāva brahmaṇi abhidhyeye śabdaś cā-
śabdaś ca / atha śabdenaivāśabdāni āviṣkriyate / atha tatrom iti śabdaḥ /
anenordhvam utkrānto 'śabde nidhanam eti / atha haiṣā gatiḥ etad
amṛtam etat sāyujyatvaṃ nirvṛtatvaṃ tathā ceti / atha yathorṇanābhis
tantunordhvam utkrānto 'vakāśaṃ labhatīty evaṃ vāva khalv asā
abhidhyātom ity anenordhvam utkrāntaḥ svātantryaṃ labhate /

anyathā pare śabdavādinah / śravaṇāṅguṣṭhayogenāntarhṛdayākāśa-
śabdān ākarṇayanti / saptavidheyam tasyopamā / yathā nāḍyaḥ kiṅkiṇī
kāṁsyacakrabhekaviḥkṛndhikā vṛṣṭir nivāte vadatīti / taṁ pṛthag
lakṣaṇam atītya pare 'śabde 'vyakte brahmaṇy astam gatās tatra te
'pṛthagdharmino 'pṛthagvivekyā yathā saṁpannā madhutvam nānā rasā
iti / evaṁ hy āha –

dve brahmaṇi veditavye śabdabrahma param ca yat /
śabdabrahmaṇi niṣṇātaḥ param brahmādhigacchati //

6.23

[athānyatrāpyuktam – yaḥ śabdān tad Om ity etad akṣaram / yad
asyāgram tac chāntam aśabdān abhayam aśokam ānandaṁ tṛptaṁ
sthīram acalam amṛtam acyutaṁ dhruvaṁ viṣṇusaṁjñītam sarvāpara-
tvāya tad etā upāsīteti / evaṁ hy āha –

yo 'sau parāparo devā oṁkāro nāma nāmataḥ /
niḥśabdaḥ śūnyabhūtas tu mūrdhni sthāne tato 'bhyaset //

6.24

[athānyatrāpy uktam – dhanuḥ śarīram Om ity etad charaḥ śikhāśya
manas tamolakṣaṇaṁ bhittvā tamo 'tamāviṣṭam āgacchati / athāviṣṭam
bhittvālātacakram iva sphurantam ādityavarṇam ūrjasvantaṁ brahma
tamasah param apaśyat / yad amusminn āditye 'tha some 'gnau vidyuti
vibhāti / atha khalv enam dṛṣṭvāmṛtatvam gacchātīty evaṁ hy āha –

dhyānam antaḥ pare tattve lakṣyeṣu ca nidhiyate /
ato 'viśeṣavijñānaṁ viśeṣam upagacchati //
mānase ca vilīne tu yat sukhaṁ cātmasākṣikam /
tad brahma cāmṛtaṁ śukraṁ sā gatir loka eva saḥ //

6.25

[athānyatrāpy uktam – nidrevāntarhitendriyaḥ śuddhitamayā dhiyā
svapna iva yaḥ paśyatīndriyabile 'vivaśaḥ praṇavākhyam praṇetāram
bhārūpaṁ vigatanidraṁ vijaram vimṛtyum viśokam ca / so 'pi praṇa-
vākhyah praṇetā bhārūpo vigatanidro vijaro vimṛtyur viśoko bhavatīti /
evaṁ hy āha –

evaṁ prāṇam athoṁkāraṁ yasmāt sarvam anekadhā /
yunakti yuñjate vāpi tasmād yoga iti smṛtaḥ //
ekatvam prāṇamanasor indriyāṇāṁ tathaiva ca /
sarvabhāvaparitāgo yoga ity abhidhiyate //

6.26

[athānyatrāpy uktam – yathā vāpsucāriṇaḥ śākunikaḥ sūtrayantre-

ṇoddhṛtyodare 'gnau juhoty evaṃ vāva khalv imān prāṇān OM ity
 anenoddhṛtyānāmaye 'gnau juhoti / atas taptorviva saḥ / atha yathā
 taptorvisarpistṛṇakāṣṭhasaṃsparśenojjvalaty evaṃ vāva khalv asāv
 aprāṇākhyāḥ prāṇasaṃsparśenojjvalati / atha yad ujjvalaty etad brahmaṇo
 rūpaṃ caitad viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ caitad rudrasya rudratvam etat
 tad aparimitadhā vibhajya pūrayatimāṃl lokān iti / evaṃ hy āha –

vahneś ca yadvat khalu visphuliṅgāḥ

suryān mayukhās ca tathaiva tasya //

prāṇādayo vai punar eva tasmād

abhyuccarantiha yathākrameṇa //]

6.27

[athānyatrāpy uktam – brahmaṇo vāvaitat tejaḥ parasyāmṛtasya /
 aśarīrasya yaccharīrasyauṣṇyam asyaitad gṛḥtam / athāviḥ san nabhasi
 nihitaṃ vaitad ekāgreṇaivam antarhṛdayākāśaṃ vinudanti / yat tasya
 jyotir iva saṃpadyatīti / atas tadbhāvam acireṇaiti / bhūmāv ayaṣpiṇḍam
 nihitaṃ yathācireṇaiti bhūmitvaṃ mṛdvatsaṃstham ayaṣpiṇḍam yathā-
 gnyayaṣkārādayo nābhibhavanti praṇaśyati cittaṃ tathāśrayeṇa sahaivam
 iti / evaṃ hy āha –

hṛdyākāśamayaṃ kośam ānandaṃ paramālayam /

svaṃ yogaś ca tato 'smākaṃ tejaś caivāgnisūryayoḥ //]

6.28

[athānyatrāpy uktam – bhūtendriyārthān atikramya tataḥ pravraj-
 yāyam dhṛtidaṇḍam dhanur gṛhītvānabhimānamayena caiveṣuṇā taṃ
 brahmadvārapāraṃ nihatyādyam ... {sammohamaulī tṛṣṇerṣyākuṇḍalī
 tandriḡhavetryabhimānādhyakṣaḥ krodhajyaṃ pralobhadaṇḍam dhanur
 gṛhīvecchāmayena caiveṣuṇemāni khalu bhūtāni hanti} ... taṃ
 hatvoṃkārāplavenāntarhṛdayākāśasya pāraṃ tirtvāvīrbhūte 'ntarākāśe
 śanakair avaṭaivāvataḥkr̥d dhātukāmaḥ saṃviśaty evaṃ brahmaśālāṃ
 viśet / tataś caturjālaṃ brahmakośaṃ praṇuded gurvāgameneti / ataḥ
 śuddhaḥ pūtaḥ śūnyaḥ śānto 'prāṇo nirātmānanto 'kṣayyaḥ sthiraḥ
 śāśvato 'jaḥ svatantraḥ sve mahimni tiṣṭhati / ataḥ sve mahimni tiṣṭha-
 mānaṃ dṛṣṭvāvṛttacakram iva saṃsāracakram ālokayatīti / evaṃ hy āha –

ṣaḍbhir māśais tu yuktasya nityamuktasya dehinaḥ /

anantaḥ paramo guhyaḥ samyagyogaḥ pravartate //

rajastamobhyāṃ viddhasya susamiddhasya dehinaḥ /

putradārakuṭumbeṣu saktasya na kadācana //]

6.29

[evaṃ uktvāntarhṛdayaḥ śākāyanyas tasmai namaskṛtvānayā brahma-

vidyayā rājan brahmaṇaḥ panthānam ārūḍhāḥ putrāḥ prajāpater iti /
saṃtoṣaṃ dvandvatitikṣāṃ śāntatvaṃ yogābhyāsād avāpnōtīti / etad
guhyatamaṃ nāputrāya nāśiṣyāya nāśāntāya kīrtayed ity ananyabhaktāya
sarvagūṇasaṃpannāya dadyāt /]

6.30

[OM śucau deṣe śuciḥ sattvasthaḥ sadadhīyānaḥ sadvādī saddhyāyi
sadyājī syād iti / ataḥ sadbrahmaṇi satyabhilāṣiṇi nirvṛttaḥ / anyas
tatphalacchinnapāśo nirāśaḥ pareṣv ātmavad vigatabhayo niṣkāmo
'kṣayyam aparimitaṃ sukham ākramya tiṣṭhati / paramaṃ vai śevadher
iva parasyoddharaṇaṃ yan niṣkāmatvam / sa hi sarvakāmamayaḥ puruṣo
'dhyavasāyasamkalpābhimānalingo baddho 'tas tadviparīto muktaḥ /

atraika āhuḥ – guṇaḥ prakṛtibhedavaśād adhyavasāyātmabandham
upāgato 'dhyavasāyasya doṣakṣayād vimokṣaḥ / manasā hy eva paśyati
manasā śṛṇoti / kāmāḥ samkalpo vicikitsā śraddhāśraddhā dhṛtir adhṛtir
hrīr dhīr bhīr ity etat sarvaṃ mana eva / guṇaughair uhyamānaḥ
kaluṣīkṛtāś cāsthiraś cañcalo lupyamānaḥ sasprho vyagraś cābhimāni-
tvaṃ prayātā iti / ahaṃ so mamedam ity evaṃ manyamāno nibadhnāty
ātmanātmānaṃ jāleneva khacaraḥ / ataḥ puruṣo 'dhyavasāyasamkalpā-
bhimānalingaḥ baddho 'tas tadviparīto muktaḥ / tasmān niradhyava-
sāyaḥ niḥsamkalpo nirabhimānas tiṣṭhet / etan mokṣalakṣaṇam eṣātra
brahmapādavy eṣo 'tra dvāravivaro 'nenāsya tamasāḥ pārāṃ gamiṣyati /
atra hi sarve kāmāḥ samāhitā iti / atrodāharanti –

yadā pañcāvatiṣṭhante jñānāni manasā saha /

buddhiś ca na viceṣṭate tām āhuḥ paramāṃ gatim //

etad uktvāntarhṛdayaḥ śākāyanyas tasmai namaskṛtvā yathāvad upacārī
kṛtakṛtyo marud uttarāyaṇaṃ gataḥ / na hy atrodvartmanā gatiḥ / eṣo
'tra brahmapathaḥ / sauraṃ dvāraṃ bhittvordhvena vinirgatā ity
atrodāharanti –

anantā raśmayas tasya dīpavad yaḥ sthito hṛdi /

sitāsītāḥ kadrūnilāḥ kapilā mṛdulohitāḥ //

ūrdhvam ekaḥ sthitas teṣāṃ yo bhittvā sūryamaṇḍalam /

brahmalokam atikramya tena yānti parāṃ gatim //

yad asyānyad raśmīsatam ūrdhvam eva vyavasthitam /

tena devanikāyānāṃ svadhāmāni prapadyate //

ye naikarūpāś cādhasād raśmayo 'sya mṛduprabhāḥ /

iha karmopabhogāya taiḥ saṃsarati so 'vaśaḥ //

tasmāt sargasvargāpavargahetur bhagavān asāv āditya iti //

6.31

[kimātmakāni vā etānindriyāṇi pracaranti / udgantā caiteṣāṃ iha ko

niyantā vety āha / pratyāha – ātmātmakānīti / ātmā hy eṣām udgantā
niyantā vā / apasaraso bhānaviyās ca maricayo nāma / atha pañcabhi
raśmibhir viṣayān atti /

katama ātmeti / yo 'yaṃ śuddhaḥ pūtaḥ śūnyaḥ śāntādilakṣaṇoktaḥ
svakair liṅgair upagṛhyaḥ / tasyaital liṅgam aliṅgasyāgner yad auṣṇyam
āviṣṭaṃ cāpāṃ yaḥ śivatamo rasa ity eke / atha vāk śrotraṃ cakṣur
manaḥ prāṇa ity eke / atha buddhir dhṛtiḥ smṛtiḥ prajñānam ity eke /
atha te vā etasyaivaṃ yathaveha bijasyāṅkurā vā / atha dhūmārcirvis-
phuliṅgā ivāgneś ceti / atrodāharanti –

vahneś ca yadvat khalu visphuliṅgāḥ
sūryān mayūkhās ca tathaiva tasya /
prāṇādayo vai punar eva tasmād
abhyuccarantiha yathākrameṇa //

6.32

[tasmād vā etasmād ātmani sarve prāṇāḥ sarve lokāḥ sarve vedāḥ
sarve devāḥ sarvāṇi ca bhūtāny uccaranti / tasyopaniṣat – satyasya
satyam iti / atha yathārdraindhāgner abhyāhitasya pṛthagdhūmā
niścaranty evaṃ vā etasya mahato bhūtasya niśvasitam etad yad ṛgvedo
yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāṅgirasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṃ vidyopaniṣadaḥ
ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni / asyaivaitāni viśvā
bhūtāni //]

6.33

pañceṣṭako vā eṣo 'gniḥ saṃvatsaraḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yo vasanto
grīṣmo varṣāḥ śarad dhemantaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān / eṣo
'gniḥ *puruṣavidhaḥ / seyaṃ prajāpateḥ prathamā citiḥ / karair yaja-
mānam antarikṣam utkṣiptvā vāyave prāyacchat /

prāṇo vai vāyuḥ / prāṇo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yaḥ prāṇo vyāno
'pānaḥ samāna udānaḥ / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān / eṣo 'gniḥ
*puruṣavidhaḥ / tad idam antarikṣam prajāpater dvitīyā citiḥ / karair
yajamānaṃ divam utkṣiptvendrāya prāyacchat /

asau vā āditya indraḥ / saiṣo 'gniḥ / tasyemā iṣṭakā yad ṛg yajuḥ
sāmātharvāṅgirasā itihāsapurāṇam / sa śiraḥpakṣasipṛṣṭhapucchavān /
eṣo 'gniḥ *puruṣavidhaḥ / saiṣa dyauḥ prajāpates tṛtīyā citiḥ / karair
yajamānasyātmavide 'vadānaṃ karoti / athātmavid utkṣipyā brahmaṇe
prāyacchat / tatrānandi modi bhavati //

6.34

pṛthivī gārhapatyah / antarikṣam dakṣiṇāgniḥ / dyaur āhavanīyah /

*ta¹ eva pavamānapāvakaśucayaḥ / *haviṣkṛtam² etenāsye 'nnam³ / [yataḥ pavamānapāvakaśucisaṃghāto hi jātharaḥ /] tasmād agnir yaṣṭavyaś cetavyaḥ stotavyo 'bhidhyātavyaḥ / [yajamāno havir gr̥hītvā devatā-bhidhyānam icchati] –

hiraṇyavarnaḥ śakuno hṛdy āditye pratiṣṭhitaḥ /

madgur haṃsas tejo vṛṣā so 'sminn agnau yajāmahe //

[iti cāpi mantrārthaṃ vicinoti /]

tat savitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo 'syābhidhyeyaṃ [yo buddhyantaḥsthaḥ⁴ dhyāyīha manaḥśāntipadam anusmarati⁵ ātmany eva dhatte /]

[atreṃ⁶ ślokā bhavanti –

yathā nirindhano vahniḥ (etc.)

ato 'nagnihotryanagnicidanagnyabhidhyāyinām⁷ brahmaṇaḥ padavyo-mānusmaraṇaṃ viruddham / tasmād agnir yaṣṭavyaś cetavyaḥ stotavyo 'bhidhyātavyaḥ //]

1. e.c. Rāmatīrtha; V tata. – 2. V āviṣkṛtam. – 3. V etenāsya yajñam. – 4. V buddhyanta-sthaḥ. – 5. V anusarati. – 6. SM ime, V ete; the ślokas are restored to their place in SM 4.3, after V 4.6. – 7. V ajñānabhidhyāyinām.

6.35

namo 'gnaye pṛthivikṣite lokasṛte¹ / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /
namo vāyave 'ntarikṣakṣite lokasṛte¹ / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /

nama ādityāya divikṣite lokasṛte¹ / lokam asmai yajamānāya dhehi /
namo brahmaṇe sarvakṣite sarvasṛte² / sarvam asmai yajamānāya dhehi //

hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam³ mukham /

tat tvam pūṣann apāvṛṇu satyadharmāya viṣṇave //

yo 'sā āditye puruṣaḥ so 'sā aham iti //

eṣa ha vai satyadharmo yad ādityasyādityatvam tac chuklaṃ rūpam⁴ 'ntargatasya tejaso / [nabhaso 'ṃśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhya evety akṣiṇy agnau caitad brahmaitad amṛtam etad bharga etad satyadharmāḥ / [nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'ṃśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhye 'mṛtam / yasya hi somaḥ prāṇā vāpy⁵ aṅkurā etad brahmaitad amṛtam etad bharga etad satyadharmāḥ / [nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'ṃśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhye yajur dīpyati – OM āpo jyoti raso 'mṛtam brahma bhūr bhuvāḥ svar OM //

aṣṭapādam śuci haṃsaṃ trisūtram aṇum avyayam /

dvidharmāṇaṃ⁶ tejaseddham⁷ sarvaṃ paśyan sa⁸ paśyati //

[nabhaso 'ntargatasya tejaso 'ṃśamātram] etad yad ādityasya madhye UD ity eva⁹ / mayukhe bhavataḥ / etat savit satyadharmā etad yajur etat

tapa etad agnir etad vāyur etad prāṇa etad āpa etac candramā etac
 chukram etad amṛtam etad brahma viṣayam etad bhānur arṇavaḥ /
 tasminn eva yajamānāḥ saindhava iva vliyante / eṣā vai brahmaikatātra
 hi sarve kāmā samāhitā iti / atrodāharanti – amśadhāraya ivāṇuvāteritaḥ
 saṃsphuraty asāv antargaḥ surāṇām / yo haivamvit sa savit sa dvaitavit
 saikadhāmetaḥ syāt tadātmakaś ca /

ye bindava ivābhyuccaranty ajasram
 vidyud ivābhrārciṣaḥ parame vyoman /
 te 'rciṣo vai yaśasaḥ āśrayavaśāj
 jaṭābhirūpā iva kṛṣṇavartmanaḥ //

1. e.c. Roth; V *lokasmṛte*. – 2. V *sarvasmṛte*. – V *abhihitam*. – 4. V *puruṣam alingam*. –
 5. e.c. Rāmatīrtha, V *vā apyayanūrā*. – 6. V *dvidharṃ'ndham*. – 7. V *tejasendham*. –
 8. V om. *sa*; v.l. *na* for *sa*. – 9. *udutvā, uditvā*.

6.36

dve vāva khalv ete brahmajyotiṣo rūpake śāntam ekaṃ samṛddham
 caikam / atha yac chāntaṃ tasyādhāraṃ kham / atha yat samṛddham
 idaṃ tasyānnaṃ / tasmān mantrauśadhājyāmiṣapuroḍāśasthālīpākā-
 dibhir yaṣṭavyam antar vedyām āsye 'gnyavaśiṣṭair¹ annapānaiś ca,
 āsyam āhavanīyam iti matvā, tejasāḥ samṛddhyai puṇyalokavijitya-
 rthāyāmṛtatvāya ca / atrodāharanti – agnihotraṃ juhuyāt svargakāmaḥ /
 yamarājyam agniṣṭomenābhijayati somarājyam ukthyena² sūryarājyam
 ṣoḍāśīnā svārājyam atirātreṇa prājāpatyam āsahasrasamvatsarānta-
 kratuṇeti /

[vārtādhārasnehayogād yathā dipasya samsthiṭiḥ /
 antaryāṇḍopayogād imau sthitāv ātmaśuci tathā //]

1. V *āsnyavaśiṣṭaiḥ, āsnyavasṛṣṭaiḥ*. – 2. e.c. Jacob; V *ukthēna*.

6.37

etad vāva [tatsva]rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yat paraṃ tejaḥ /
 etad vāva [tatsva]rūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntargatasya yad OM ity etad
 akṣaram / tat tredhābhihitam agnā āditye prāṇe / anenaiva tad udbu-
 dhnyaty udayaty ucchvasaty ajasram / tasmād OM ity anenaitad
 upāsītāparimitaṃ tejaḥ / athaiśā nāḍī annabahum iti / eṣāgnau hutam
 ādityaṃ gamayati / ato yo raso 'sravat sa udgīthaṃ varṣati / teneme
 prāṇāḥ prāṇebhyaḥ prajā iti / atrodāharanti – yad dhavir agnau hūyate
 tad ādityaṃ gamayati / tat sūryo raśmibhir varṣati / tenānnaṃ bhavati /
 asmād bhūtānām utpattir iti / [evaṃ hy āha –

agnau prāstāhutiḥ samyag ādityam upatiṣṭhate /
 ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annaṃ tataḥ prajāḥ //]

For the reconstruction of this hopelessly disordered section, see my notes on it in Part One, II, p. 59f.

6.38

agnihotraṃ juhvāno lobhajālaṃ bhinatti / ataḥ saṃmohaṃ chittvā na
krodhān stunvānaḥ kāmam abhidhyāyamānaḥ... / atas tac caturjālaṃ
brahmakoṣaṃ bhinatti / [atra hi saurasaumyāgneyasāttvikāni maṇḍalāni /]
ataḥ param ākāśaṃ bhittvā tataḥ sattvāntarastham acalam amṛtam
acyutaṃ dhruvaṃ viṣṇusaṃjñitaṃ sarvāparaṃ dhāma satyakāmasatya-
saṃkalpasarvajñatvasaṃyuktaṃ svatantraṃ caitanyaṃ sve mahimni
tiṣṭhamānaṃ paśyati / atrodāharanti –

ravimadhye sthitaḥ somaḥ somamadhye sthitaṃ tejaḥ /

tejomadhye sthitaṃ sattvaṃ sattvamadhye sthito 'cyutaḥ //

[śariraprādeśānguṣṭhamātraṃ aṅor apy aṅvyaṃ dhyātvātaḥ paramatām
gacchati / atra hi sarve kāmāḥ samāhitā iti / atrodāharanti – aṅguṣṭha-
prādeśaśariramātraṃ pradipapratāpavat /] dvis tredhā hi tad brahmā-
bhiṣṭūyamānaṃ mahas / devo bhuvanāny āviveśa / OM namaḥ /
brahmaṇe namaḥ //

7.1

agnir gāyatraṃ trivṛd rathantaraṃ vasantaḥ prāṇaḥ nakṣatrāni
vasavaḥ purastād udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar
vivareṇekṣanti / [acintyo 'mūrto gabhīro gupto 'navadyo ghano gahano
nirguṇaḥ śuddho bhāsvaro guṇabhug bhayo 'nivṛttir yogīśvaraḥ sarvajño
magho 'prameyo 'nādyantaḥ śrīmān ajo dhīmān anirdeśyaḥ sarvasṛk
sarvasyātmā sarvabhuk sarvasyeśānaḥ sarvasyāntarāntaraḥ /]

7.2

indras triṣṭup pañcadaśo bṛhad grīṣmo vyānaḥ somo rudrā dakṣiṇata
udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇekṣanti /
[anādyanto 'parimito 'paricchinnō 'paraprayojyaḥ svatanthro 'liṅgo
'mūrto 'nantaśaktir dhātā bhāskaraḥ //]

7.3

maruto jagati saptadaśo vairūpyaṃ varṣā apānaḥ śukra ādityāḥ
paścād udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṇek-
ṣanti / [tac chāntam aśabdāṃ abhayaṃ aśokam ānandaṃ tṛptaṃ sthiram
acalam amṛtam acyutaṃ dhruvaṃ viṣṇusaṃjñitaṃ sarvāparaṃ dhāma //]

7.4

viśve devā anuṣṭub ekaviṃśo vairājaḥ śarat samāno varuṇaḥ sādhyā

uttarata udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṅkṣanti / [antaḥśuddhaḥ pūtaḥ śūnyaḥ śānto 'prāṇo nirātmānantaḥ //]

7.5

mitrāvaruṇau pañktis trṇavatrayastrimśau śākvararavate hemanta-
śīśirā udāno 'ṅgirasas candramā ūrdhvā udyanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti
punar viśanty antar vivareṅkṣanti / [praṇavākhyam praṇetāram
bhārūpaṃ vigatanidraṃ vijaram vimṛtyuṃ viśokaṃ //]

7.6

*śanirāhuketūragarakṣoyakṣanaravihagaśarabhebhādayo 'dhastād ud-
yanti tapanti varṣanti stuvanti punar viśanty antar vivareṅkṣanti /
[yaḥ prājño vidhāraṇaḥ sarvāntaro 'kṣaraḥ śuddhaḥ pūto bhāntaḥ
kṣāntaḥ śāntaḥ //]

7.7

eṣa ho khalv ātmāntarhṛdaye 'ṇiyān iddho 'gnir iva viśvarūpaḥ /
asyaivānnam idaṃ sarvam / asminn otā imāḥ prajāḥ / eṣa ātmāpahata-
pāpmā vijaro vimṛtyur akṣutpipāsaḥ satyasamkalpaḥ satyakāmaḥ / eṣa
parameśvaraḥ / eṣa bhūtādhipatiḥ / eṣa bhūtapālaḥ / eṣa setur vidhāraṇaḥ /
eṣa ho khalv ātmeśānaḥ śambhur bhavo rudraḥ prajāpatir viśvasṛg
ghiraṇyagarbhaḥ satyam prāṇo hamsaḥ śāstācyuto viṣṇur nārāyaṇaḥ /
yaś caišo 'gnau yaś cāyam hṛdaye yaś cāsā āditye sa eṣa ekaḥ / tasmai te
viśvarūpāya satye nabhasi hitāya namaḥ //

7.8

*athedāniṃ jñānopasargāḥ / rājan mohajālasyaīṣa vai yonir yad
asvargyaiḥ saha svargyā āśliṣyanti¹ / atha ye cānye ha nityapramuditā
nityaprasavitā nityayācanakā nityam śilpopajivino 'tha ye cānye ha
purayācakā ayājayājakā śūdraśiṣyāḥ śūdrās ca śāstravidvāṃso 'tha ye
cānye ha cāṭajaṭanaṭabhaṭappravrajitarāṅgāvatāriṇo rājakarmani pati-
tādayo 'tha ye cānye ha yakṣarākṣasabhūtagaṇapīśācoragagrahādīnām
artham puraskṛtya śamayāma ity evaṃ bruvāṇā atha ye cānye ha vṛthā
kaṣāyakuṇḍalinaḥ kāpālino 'tha cānye ha vṛthātarkadṛṣṭāntakuhakendra-
jālair vaidikeṣu paristhātum icchanti taiḥ saha na samvaset / prakā-
śyabhūtā vai te taskarā asvargyā iti / evaṃ hy āha -
nairātmavyāvādakuhakair mithyādṛṣṭāntahetubhiḥ /
bhrāmyan loko na jānāti vedavidyāntaram tu yat //

1. For the restoration, see above p. 87.

7.9

*bṛhaspatir vai śukro bhūtvendrasyābhayāyāsuresbhyaḥ kṣayāyemām
avidyām asṛjat / tayā śivam aśivam ity uddiśanty aśivam śivam iti
vedādiśāstrahimsakadharmābhidyānam astv iti vadanti / ato nainām
abhidhiyeta / anyathaiśā vandhyevaiśā ratimātram phalam asyā
vṛttacyutasyeva nārambhaṇiyeti / evaṃ hy āha –

dūram ete viparīte viṣūci

avidyā yā ca vidyeti jñātā /

vidyābhīpsitam naciketasam manye

na tvā kāmā bahavo lolupante //

vidyām cāvidyām ca yas tad vedobhayam saha /

avidyayā mṛtyum tirtvā vidyayāmṛtam aśnute //

avidyāyām antare veṣṭyamānāḥ

svayamdhirāḥ paṇḍitammanyamānāḥ /

dandramyamānāḥ pariyanti mūḍhā

andheneva niyamānā yathāndhāḥ //

7.10

*devāsuraḥ ha vai ya ātmakāmā brahmaṇo 'ntikam prayātāḥ / tasmai
namaskṛtyocūḥ – bhagavan vayam ātmakāmāḥ / sa tvam no brūhiti /
ataś ciraṃ dhyātvāmanyatānyatātmāno vai te 'surāḥ / ato 'nyatamam
eteṣām uktam / tad ime mūḍhā upajīvanty abhiṣvaṅgiṇas taryābhighātino
'nṛtābhīṣamśinaḥ satyam ivānṛtam paśyantīndrajālavad iti / ato yad
vedeṣv abhihitam tat satyam / yed vedeṣūktam tad vidvāmsa upajīvanti /
tasmād brāhmaṇo nāvaidikam adhiyīta / ayam arthaḥ syād iti /

7.11

*etad vāva tatsvarūpaṃ nabhasaḥ khe 'ntarbhūtasya yat paraṃ tejaḥ /
tat tredhābhihitam agnā āditye prāṇa / etad vāva tatsvarūpaṃ nabhasaḥ
khe 'ntarbhūtasya yad OM ity etad akṣaram / anenaiva tad udbudhnyaty
udayaty ucchvasayaty ajasram / brahmadihyālambaṃ vā / atraivaitat
samīraṇe prakāśaprakṣepakauṣnyasthānīyam etad dhūmasyeva samīraṇe
nabhasi praśākhayaivotkramya skandhāt skandham anusarati / apsu
prakṣepako lavaṇasyeva ghṛtasya causṇyam ivābhidyātur viṣṭṭir
ivaitad iti / atrodāharanti – atha kasmād ucyate vaidyutaḥ / yasmād
uccāritamātra eva sarvaṃ śarīraṃ vidyotayati / tasmād OM ity anenaitad
upāsītāparimitam tejaḥ /

puruṣaś cākṣuso yo 'yam dakṣiṇe 'kṣiṇy avasthitāḥ /

indro 'yam asya jāyeyam savye cākṣiṇyavasthitā //

samāgamas tayor eva hṛdayāntargate suṣau /

tejas tal lohitasyātra piṇḍa evobhayos tayoh //
 hṛdayād āyatī tāvac cakṣuṣy asmin pratiṣṭhitā /
 sāraṇī sā tayor nāḍī dvayor ekā dvidhā satī //
 manaḥ kāyāgnim āhanti sa prerayati mārutam /
 mārutas tūrasi caran mandraṃ janayati svaram //
 khajāgñiyogād dhṛdi samprayuktam
 aṇor hy aṇur dviraṇuḥ kaṇṭhadeśe /
 jihvāgradeśe tryaṇukam ca vidhī
 vinirgataṃ mātṛkam evam āhuḥ //
 na paśyan mṛtyuṃ paśyati na rogaṃ nota duḥkhatām /
 sarvaṃ hi paśyan paśyati sarvam āpnoti sarvaśaḥ //
 cākṣuṣaḥ svapnacārī ca suptaḥ suptāt paraś ca yaḥ /
 bhedās caite 'sya catvāras tebhyaḥ turyaṃ mahattaraṃ /
 triṣv ekapāc cared brahma tripāc carati cottare //
 satyānr̥topabhogārthād dvaitibhāvo mahātmanaḥ //

II

TRANSLATION AND NOTES

1.1/0

The laying of the fire by the ancient was a brahman-sacrifice. Therefore the sacrificer, while laying these fires, must think upon them as the ātman. Thus the sacrifice becomes full and complete in all its parts.

*Which is the ātman that is thus to be thought upon? The ātman named prāṇa.

*On this there is the following narrative.

1.2/1

*There was a king of the name Bṛhadratha, who, having put his eldest son in charge of his realm, repaired to the forest, as he had become averse to sensual attachments, deeming the body but transitory. Performing the most severe austerities, he stood in the forest with arms raised, gazing at the sun. At the end of one thousand years¹ the reverend Śākāyanya came to the sage, like a smokeless fire² as it were blazing with power.

“Rise up, rise up! Choose a boon,” he spoke to the king.

The king bowed to him and said: “Sir, I do not know my self. We have heard that you know the principles.³ Teach me!”

“This boon⁴ is from of old⁵ difficult to bestow. Do not ask this question, O scion of Ikṣvāku’s race. Choose other boons.”

Touching Śākāyanya’s feet with his head, the king declaimed this verse.

1.3/2a

*Sir, this body has come forth out of copulation and, devoid of consciousness,⁶ it comes out by the way of urine into a hell; it is piled up

¹ I prefer one thousand years to one thousand days, since the former is the more usual number; the testimonies of SM and of R prove that *sahasrāhasya* is not original.

² “smokeless fire”, i.e., fire kindled with dry wood and hence blazing brightly.

³ *tattvavit*, which suggests Sāṃkhyan terminology; R (followed by translators): *ātmataṭṭvavit*.

⁴ The conjecture *vṛtam* for *vṛttam* is perhaps corroborated by the reading *vratam* in Max Müller’s ms.

⁵ *purastād*: so?

⁶ SM’s reading is probably original: *saṃvidvyapetam* was misread *saṃviddhyapetam* (Max Müller’s ms.) > *saṃvṛddhyupetam*. Mtre has *saṃvidapetam*. V’s reading translates: “...possessed of complete development in a hell (viz. the womb)”.

with bones, smeared over with flesh, bundled up with skin,⁷ and filled with feces, urine, wind, bile, phlegm, marrow, lymph, fat and with many other kinds of filth. How can one who inhabits such a body enjoy desires?

1.3/2b

*Sir, in this evil-smelling body, conglomeration of bones, skin, sinews, marrow, semen, blood, phlegm, tears, eye-secretion, feces, urine, wind, bile, and phlegm, devoid of all essence, how can one enjoy desires?

1.3/3

*In this body, which is a prey to lust, wrath, greed, perplexity, fear, despair, envy, parting with the loved and meeting with the unloved,⁸ hunger, thirst, senility, death, sickness, and other sorrows, how can one enjoy desires?

1.4/4

*And we see that all is transitory, like flies, gnats and so forth, like straw and giants of the forest, which rise into being to vanish again.

1.4/5

*But what of them? Other beings, greater than they, mighty archers, great kings, like Sudyumna, Bhūridyumna, Indradyumna, Kuvalayāśva, Yauvanāśva, Vadhryaśva, Aśvapati, Śaśabindu, Hariścandra, Ambariṣa, Nanaktu,⁹ Saryāti, Yayāti, Anarāya, Ukṣasena, and so forth, as well as kings like Marutta, Bharata and so on, they all have before the eyes of their kinsmen departed from this world to the world beyond, leaving behind their mighty splendour.

1.4/6

*But what of them? Other beings, greater still – we see the extinction of Gandharvas, Asuras, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Gaṇas, Piśācas, Serpent-demons, Grahas and the like.

⁷ The reading *avanaddham* has been preferred on account of the analogy *carmāvanaddham* (Manusmṛti 6.76 = MBh. (cr. ed.) 12.316.42); to the MBh. reading there is also a variant °*baddham*.

⁸ *iṣṭaviyogāniṣṭasaṃprayoga*, known as a typically Buddhist expression, is also found in Māṭharavṛtti on Sāṃkhyakārikā 1, and appears to be an old definition of happiness and unhappiness.

⁹ So with V? SM *ananūkta*, Max Müller's ms. *ananutu*, from which Max Müller conjectures hesitantly *Anānata*.

1.4/7

*But what of them? (we see the passing) of other beings: the drying-up of the oceans, the collapse of the mountains, the wandering of the polar star, the tearing of the windcords,¹⁰ the flooding of the earth, the fall of the gods from their seat. In such a world what good are enjoyments which we see come back repeatedly to the one to whom they have had recourse? Therefore deign to rescue me: I am trapped in this world like a frog in a sealed well. You are my refuge, reverend sir!"¹¹

2.1/1

*Thereupon well-pleased, the reverend Śākāyanya said to the king,
"Great king Bṛhadratha, pennant of Ikṣvāku's race! As you are famous under the name of Marut,¹² you shall soon have done and know your self. He indeed is your self."

"Who, reverend Sir?"

He said to him:

2.2/2

**"He, who with the reliance on the breath goes out upward, and is restless, yet, when not restless, dispels the darkness, he is the self,"¹³ thus spoke the reverend.

**"The perfect tranquillity which, departing from this body and going into the supreme light, itself becomes this light": that is the self, he said.
"This is the immortal, the freedom from fears, this is Brahman."¹⁴

2.3/3

**"Verily this is the brahman-knowledge, or the knowledge contained

¹⁰ See supra p. 75; on the notion see Viṣṇu Purāṇa 2.8.

¹¹ The repetition of *tvam no gatih* serves to show in true upaniṣadic fashion that the chapter has come to an end.

¹² Pun on what seems to be another name of Bṛhadratha, Marut = *vāyu* = *prāṇa* = *ātman*. The editor hence resumes this name in 6.30. The passage, which is strangely condensed (first the prolix *mahārāja bṛhadrathekṣvākuvamśadhvaja*, then the overconcise *śiḡhram* (? : V) *ātmajñāḥ kṛtakṛtyas tvam*) has probably suffered.

¹³ Uncertain; SM's *bāhya* is hard to explain as a corruption of *ucchvāsa* which itself is unexpected here. This line is clearly a quotation, like the next. I take it hesitantly that the sense is that the *prāṇa* (to be distinguished from the mere inhalation and exhalation of breath) "departs upward" (*ut-kram*, sp. used in the older upaniṣads with *prāṇa*, not signifying release but rather ordinary death), on account of one's reliance on ordinary breath (or: external objects: SM), but when it is no longer restless it shines forth in its perfection. To *tamaḥ pranudati*, cf. Manusmṛti 1.6 *svayambhūr bhagavān avyakto vyañjayann idam | prādur āsīt tamonudaḥ*: is an original misunderstood *vyañjyamāna* behind *vyathamāna* | *vyayamāna*?

¹⁴ Quoted from ChUp. 8.3.4.

in all upaniṣads, which the reverend Maitreya has explained to me, O king. I shall tell it to you.”

**There were, as is reported, the celibates known as the Vāḷakhilyas, whose impurities had been beaten off,¹⁵ potent with power. They spoke to Prajāpati, “Reverend Lord, this body is without intelligence, like a cart. Who is the one beyond the senses who has such power that he furnishes a basis for the body so that it has intelligence? Who is the one that sets it into motion? Tell us that, O reverend Lord.”

He said to them:

2.4/4

**“It is He who has been revealed as the One who stands above it, the pure, purified, void, serene, unbreathing, unlorded,¹⁶ unending, undying, stable, eternal, unborn, self-dependent One who abides in his own power.¹⁷ He has furnished a basis to this body, so that it has intelligence. And he sets it into motion.”

They said: “Reverend Lord, in what manner can such a being, itself without basis,¹⁸ yet furnish a basis to this body so that it has intelligence, and in what manner does it set the body into motion?”

He said to them:

2.5/5

**“The minute, suprasensible, invisible being called puruṣa enters, with different parts of himself, into each body, after a phase in which he was without consciousness – like a man who wakes up from his sleep, having been unconscious before. That part which enters into a body is the particular kṣetrajña to each person, which is pure intelligence; it has a character of resolution, self-will and purpose.¹⁹ This is Prajāpati, who sees everything.²⁰ This intelligent being furnishes a basis to the body, so that it has intelligence, and it sets the body in motion.”

¹⁵ *apahatapāpman* “cleansed by beating off evil”, old description of the pure ātman (ChUp. 1.2.9; 8.1.5, etc.; BĀUp. 4.3.21).

¹⁶ *aniśātman*, “not lorded over” in the sense that no one is superior to it; thus SM, Max Müller’s ms., and Vidyāraṇya; *nirātman* in V “without an embodied self” may be a *lectio facillior*.

¹⁷ Cf. ChUp. 7.41.2.

¹⁸ In spite of the evidence of SM (and Max Müller’s ms., Vidyāraṇya) this must be the correct reading: *aniṣṭhena*, on *niṣṭhā* = *pratiṣṭhā*; the SM reading must have started from a corruption *aniṣṭhena* (*belegt* by Rāmatīrtha) that was explained “without desire” = *anicchena*.

¹⁹ I.e., *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra* and *manas*, cf. Sāṃkhyakārikā 23 f.

²⁰ So? or V: *viśvākhyah* “called Viśva”?

They said: "Reverend Lord, in what manner does that being enter into each body with a part of itself?"

He said to them:

2.6/6

***"Prajāpati existed alone at first. Being alone he found no joy. Having thought upon himself, he created many creatures. He saw that they remained unconscious, like a stone, and without breath, like a tree-trunk. He found no joy. He thought: "To awaken them I shall enter into them." Thereupon, having made himself as the wind, he entered into them. He did not enter as one. Having divided himself into five...

***That is to say: prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna, vyāna.

2.6/7

***The prāṇa is the breath that goes out upward.²¹ The apāna the breath that goes downward. The samāna is the one which places the more solid food-elements in the apāna and conducts the less solid ones to every part of the body. The udāna is the one which pushes the eaten and drunk nourishment upward and down. The vyāna is the one which follows the course of the canals.²²

2.6/8

***The upāṃśu vessel succeeds to the antaryāma, and the antaryāma vessel to the upāṃśu. Between the two it generates the digestive heat.²³ This heat is the puruṣa. The puruṣa is the vaiśvānara fire.

****Elsewhere too it has been said: It is through the vaiśvānara fire, which is within the person, that the food which is eaten is digested. It

²¹ On the sense of *ut-kram*, see supra n. 13, p. 123.

²² *yenaitāḥ sirā anuvyāptāḥ*, attempt at explaining *vi-āna*.

²³ The gloss of V *uttaram vyānasya rūpaṃ caiteṣāṃ antarā prasūtīr evodānasya* must have been suggested by *etayor antarāle cauṣṇyaṃ prāsuvat*. The notion here is the following: between the *antaryāmagraha* and *upāṃśugraha* the soma is pressed; we should therefore understand *prāsuvat* (so V) also as "pressed forth"; *auṣṇya* should represent the body-heat of the pressing priests. Applied to the prāṇas: between prāṇa and apāna (in the sense of inhalation and exhalation), is found the vyāna which is the sandhi between prāṇa and apāna (cf. ChUp. 1.3.3). The curious gloss in V just cited seems to point to an early interpretation of that which is between *antaryāma* and *upāṃśu* as the vyāna, and vyāna = *auṣṇya* (digestive heat) = *vaiśvānara* = *ātman*; hence that after the first description of vyāna (V: *atha yena etā(v) anugrhitā(v) ity eṣa vāva sa vyānaḥ*) it is said that "there is another form of vyāna"; *udānasya* makes no sense whatever; it has apparently replaced *vyānasya* through prolepsis. This half section seems to be quoted, like the sequel.

makes the noise which one hears when one closes the ears. When it is about to depart from the body one no longer hears this noise.²⁴

2.6/9

**Having divided himself into five... <he entered into the inner space of the heart>.

***“... laid down in the innermost part”;²⁵ “he who consists of will and is embodied in the vital airs, informed with light, whose will is true, the ākāśātman...”²⁶

**Being not content in the inner space of the heart, he thought: “I will eat the objects.” So, having opened up these orifices, he went out with five rays²⁷ and thus ate the objects.

***These orifices are the sensory faculties. They are his reins. The motorial faculties are his horses. The body is the chariot. The will is the driver. The prakṛti is the goad.

**Thus, impelled by him, the body moves about like the potter’s wheel impelled by the potter. Thus a basis is furnished to the body so that it has intelligence, and he sets it into motion.

2.7/10

**The (sages) hold: “He is the ātman.” He, as it were overpowered, as it were overcome by the good and evil results of acts, exists in different bodies. (However,) being unreified, minute, invisible, suprasensible and unpossessive, he (actually) has no (real) existence (in the body), is not an agent (but only) seems to exist as an agent.

2.7/11

**He, being pure, stable, immobile, unaffected, unengaged, undesiring, exists as a spectator.²⁸ Remaining himself, enjoying the true, he exists below the covering of the cloth that is made up by the guṇas.

²⁴ Quoted from BĀUp. 5.9.

²⁵ Quoted from TaittUp. 2.1; quotation inspired by an *abhyantaram*, or *hṛdantaram* that has disappeared.

²⁶ Quoted from ChUp. 3.14.2.

²⁷ It would seem to me to be incorrect to take *raśmiḥ* here in the sense of “rein”. The notion here is that Prajāpati = prāṇa, after having entered the heart, opens to himself the orifices from which he may rise (*udita*: sun) and light upon the objects; the idea of ray fits this notion much better than “rein”; cf. also infra 6.35; with these rays he eats, i.e. experiences, the objects. But this use of *raśmi*, helped by the well-known simile of KathUp. 3.3 as well as by the description of the body as a cart, occasioned an interpolation in which *raśmi* was reinterpreted as “rein”.

²⁸ Sāṃkhyakārikā 19.

3.1/1

**They said: "Reverend Lord, if the greatness of this ātman is such as you describe it, then which is the other ātman, the ātman which, being overcome by good and evil results of acts, enters upon higher and lower forms of existence, which, being overcome by the pairs of opposites, goes about downward and upward?"

** <He said>

3.2/2

**Indeed, there is another (ātman) called the *bhūtātman*, which, being overcome by good and evil results of acts, enters upon higher and lower forms of existence, which, being overcome by the pairs of opposites, goes about downward and upward.

***The explanation of (*bhūtātman*) is this: the word *bhūta* designates the five *tanmātras*. The word *bhūta* also designates the five principal elements. The aggregate of these is called body. Hence it is said: **he who is in the body, ***it is said, **he is the *bhūtātman*.

**This ātman (namely the *bhūtātman*) is to the other (higher) ātman as a waterdrop on a lotus.

***That is to say: this *bhūtātman* is overcome by the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*; hence, being overcome, it becomes wholly ignorant. Because of its ignorance, it does not discern within itself the mighty lord who impels to action. Satisfied by multitudes of qualities, hardened, unstable, volatile, greedy, passionate and engaged in action, he reaches the stage where he mistakes his empirical ego for the self. Thus believing, "I am that, this is mine," he himself ensnares his self, as one ensnares a bird in a net; and overcome by the results that issue from his acts, he is involved in transmigration.

["Who is this?" He said to them:]

3.3/3

***Elsewhere it has also been said: It is the *bhūtātman*, which is the doer of acts. The *puruṣa* within is the one that impels him to act through his organs. Just as a lump of iron, which is overcome by fire, takes on many forms when it is forged by blacksmiths, so the *bhūtātman*, overcome by the *puruṣa* within, takes on many forms when battered by the qualities. The totality of beings which, determined by the three *guṇas*, evolve from eighty-four lacs of wombs, constitute the variety of its forms. All these qualities are set in motion by the *puruṣa*, as the potter sets in

motion his wheel. And just as when a lump of iron has been forged into some shape fire no longer can overpower it, so the puruṣa no longer has power over the *bhūtātman*: on the contrary the *bhūtātman* overpowers the puruṣa because it holds him completely enveloped.

3.4/4 = 1.2a

3.5/5

***Elsewhere it has also been said: Stupefaction, fear, despondency, sleep, sloth, distraction, senility, pain, hunger, thirst, destitution, anger, heresy, ignorance, envy, ruthlessness, confusion, shamelessness, contrariness, arrogance, and partiality are the *tamas*-determined qualities which overcome the *bhūtātman*. Ambition, love, passion, greed, violence, amity, enmity, inconsistency, jealousy, desire, inconstancy, volatility, preoccupation, possessiveness, seeking of wealth, cultivation of friends, reliance on possessions, aversion to disagreeable sense-objects and proclivity to agreeable ones are the *rajas*-determined qualities which overpower this *bhūtātman*. Therefore it takes on many forms.

4.1/0

[Thereupon the celibates were most surprised and said in chorus: "Reverend Lord, homage be to you. Instruct us. We have no other recourse. What is the instruction by which one can abandon the *bhūtātman* and attain to union in the self?"]

4.2/1

***Elsewhere it has also been said: like the waves in a big river it is impossible to check that which one has done before; like the tide of the ocean it is impossible to withhold the coming of death. (The body self)²⁹ is like a sacrificial victim tied with ropes of good and evil results. Like a prisoner it is powerless. Like a denizen of Yama's realm it is in a state of many fears. Like one drunk with spirituous liquor, it is intoxicated with inebriating confusion. Like one afflicted by disease, it is driven out to wander. Like one bitten by a cobra, it is bitten by the sense objects. Like total darkness, it is blind with passion. Like jugglery, it is made up of illusion. Like a dream, it shows but what is false. Like the core of a banana tree, it is without substance. Like an actor, it changes its guise in an instant. Like a mural painting, it enchants while it deceives.

²⁹ Thus, to account for the neuter.

***And it is said:

*The sense objects, sound, touch etc., remain so to say senseless,³⁰ attached to which the *bhūtātman* is unable to remember its supreme point.

4.3/2

***This, then, is the instruction to counter the *bhūtātman*: to learn the Vedic lore, to observe one's own dharma, to pursue one's destined stages of life. One puts everything in one's own dharma; like a tuft of grass, or a branch, are other things, one attains through it to elevation.³¹ One lives in hermitages and becomes an ascetic, it is said.

***This too has been said in:

***For none but an ascetic is there any learning of the knowledge of the self and becoming free from acts.

***Thus the author says:

*Through *tapas* one reaches *sattva*, through *sattva* the mind, through the mind the *ātman*, having reached which one shall not return.

4.4/0

[He who knows the lore of *brahman* says: "Brahman exists."³² "Now this is (but) the portal to Brahman," says he who has become cleansed of evil through *tapas*. "The syllable *OM* is the greatness of Brahman," says he who, well-fastened through yoga, constantly meditates.

[Therefore Brahman is apprehended through knowledge, *tapas*, and meditation. "Beyond Brahmā shall he attain to overlordship even over the gods";³³ the one who, enlightened, seeks Brahman by means of these three attains to imperishable, immeasurable and unobstructed bliss. Released from those factors by which he is filled, overcome and made a chariot,³⁴ he attains to union in the self.

³⁰ In the sense of pointless, without a goal (*artha*).

³¹ Meanings in both versions uncertain. V has *svadharmasya vā etad vratam stambaśākhevaparāṇi, anenordhvabhāg bhavati*, which is rendered: "This is the life-rule of one's own dharma; other (life-rules) are like a grass-tuft, or a branch; through it (sc. the *dharma* rule) one will share in higher things." This reading has the merit of making sense of *stambaśākhevaparāṇi* (SM *itarāṇi*); but *stambaśākhā* is improbable – it cannot mean "branches of a bush" (C.), nor "Ausläufer eines Grasbüschels". Mlle Esnoul in translating "une branche d'un tronc" misreads *stambha*. R. interprets *aparāṇi kāmyādini stambaśākheva tṛṇaśalākeva dṛḍhānity arthaḥ*.

³² Quoted from TaittUp. 2.6; for further remarks, cf. *supra* p. 19f.

³³ The line *sa brahmaṇa... devebhyas ceti* is probably a quotation.

³⁴ On the provenance of the terms, see above p. 18, n. 9; I take *rathita* as a passive past participle from a denominative *rathayati*: "To make something a chariot, drive it like a chariot".

4.5/0

[They said: “Hail thee, reverend Lord, hail thee!³⁵ Now that we have put in our hearts that which has been so truthfully declared, explain another question. There are some who meditate upon this one, some who meditate upon that one among Fire, Wind, Sun, Time, Prāṇa, Food, Brahmā, Rudra, Viṣṇu.³⁶ Who is the best? Tell us that.”

4.6/0

[He said to them:]

[These are all chief bodies of the Brahman,³⁷ of the supreme, immortal, unembodied one. One who is attached to anyone of them shall here rejoice in that one’s world. Thus the text says: “Brahman verily is the universe.”³⁸ One must meditate upon, worship, and propitiate these which are its bodies. So one shall through them ascend to higher and higher worlds. And at the universal dissolution he shall go to unity with the puruṣa.]

4.0/3

*On this there are these stanzas.

*Just as fire without fuel dies down in its hearth, so does the mind die down in its hearth because of the cessation of its operations.

*When the mind of one desirous of truth has died down in its hearth, and is no longer confused by the sense objects, these objects, which are slaves of karman, become untrue.³⁹

*For one should purify the mind with great effort; the mind is the saṃsāra: one becomes that which one has a mind to be; this is the everlasting secret.

*For through the tranquillity of the mind one kills off the act, both good and evil; and, with tranquil spirit abiding in one’s self, enjoys eternal bliss.

³⁵ I do not think we should emend *ativādy asi* (Max Müller, Deussen); we may take it either as a passive with active endings (cf. above *abhibhūyati*) for *abhivādyase*; or as *abhivādy asi*; *abhivādin* in the sense of “speaking good things etc.,” cf. *anabhivādaka* “one who speaks badly of, against something” in *na khalu bhavān asmatsaṃkalpāna-bhivādakaḥ* (Bhāsa, Avimāraka 1.9).

³⁶ Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu borrowed from SM 4.4–5 (V 5.1–2); *agni*, *vāyu*, *āditya* from 6.35; *kāla* from 6.2 and esp. 6.15; *prāṇa* from 6.1 etc.; *anna* from 6.11; 15.

³⁷ From SM 4.5, cf. supra p. 16f.

³⁸ Cf. ChUp. 3.14.1.

³⁹ I take *indriyārthāḥ*, analysed from *indriyārthāvimūḍhasya*, as the subject.

*When a man's mind is as firmly attached to Brahman as it is to sense objects, who will then not be released from bondage?

**The mind has been declared to be of two kinds, pure and impure. It is impure when it is touched with desire; pure when it is free from desire.

**When a man, having made his mind perfectly stable, without either abeyance or projections, thereupon enters upon a state higher than the mind, he reaches the supreme point.

**The mind has to be kept in check until it has died down in the heart; this is the knowledge; this is salvation; the rest is bookish proliferation.

**The bliss, purified in highest concentration, that arises when the pure mind has been brought into the self cannot be described by words; it must be experienced directly through the inner organ.

**If a man's mind merges in the self, just as water is no longer distinguishable in water, nor fire in fire, nor space in space, then he is released.

**The mind alone is man's cause of bondage and release; it leads to bondage when it is attached to sense objects, but to release when without objects; thus it is taught.

5.1/4.4

***Now the hymn of Kutsāyana.

You are Brahmā, you are Viṣṇu, you are Rudra, you are Prajāpati, you are Agni, Varuṇa, Indra and the Moon.

You are Manu and Yama, the Earth and Acyuta: in your essence and in your nature you exist in many forms in heaven.

Lord of all, homage to you, soul of all, worker of all works, enjoyer of all; you are all life, you are the sovereign who delights in all sports.

Homage to you whose self is pure. Homage to you, most mysterious one, incomprehensible one, unknowable one, beginningless and unending one!

5.2/4.5

***Darkness was here in the beginning. Thereupon (?) it was impelled by the supreme and unbalanced. This imbalance was the form of rajas. This rajas was impelled and unbalanced. This was the form of sattva. This sattva was impelled. From the sattva the essence flowed forth, that portion which is the kṣetrajña in every person, pure intelligence, marked by will, resolution and presumption, Prajāpati. His chief bodies are declared to be Brahmā, Rudra, and Viṣṇu. The portion of tamas is Rudra. The portion of rajas is Brahmā. The portion of sattva is Viṣṇu.

The one, having become triple,⁴⁰ became eightfold,⁴¹ elevenfold,⁴² twelvefold,⁴³ infinitesimal. Since he became, it is bhūta. The foundation lives in the bhūtas. He became the sovereign of all bhūtas. He is the ātman within and without.

6.1

He carries his self in two ways, the self which is the Prāṇa, and the self which is the Sun. These are his two paths, [one inside and one outside]. These two run parallel through day and night. [The Sun is the outer self, the Prāṇa is the inner self.]

[Consequently, from the course of action of the outer self the course of action of the inner self is measured. Thus the text says: "The (yogin) who is enlightened, free from evil, the controller of the eye, whose mind is purified, based upon that, with inward directed vision, he..." From the course of action of the inner self the course of action of the outer self is measured. Thus the text says: "The golden person within the eye, from his golden seat (?), who looks upon this earth ... he is the one who, abiding in the heart-lotus, eats food."]

6.2

That being which, abiding in the heart-lotus, eats food is the same as the fire which, abiding in the sky, the solar fire called time, invisible, eats all creatures for its food.

[What is this lotus? Of what kind is it?]

For this heart-lotus is the same as the ākāśa. The four regions and the four intermediate regions constitute its leaves. Prāṇa and Sun progress downward along its stalk. Both are to be presented as the syllable OM, with Syllable, vyāhrtis, and sāvitṛī.

6.3

Brahman has two forms, an embodied form and a disembodied one. The embodied form is the untrue form; the disembodied form is the true, it is Brahman, it is Light. This light is the sun. The sun is OM. That became a self. This self separated himself into three. OM has three mātṛās. Through these three mātṛās all this is woven on Brahman, warp and woof.

⁴⁰ As the *trimūrti*.

⁴¹ Probably as the eight *prakṛtis*: *avyakta*, *buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra* and five elements.

⁴² Probably as the ten *indriyas* and *manas*.

⁴³ Not clear, R. suggests the ten *indriyas*, *manas* and *buddhi*; we may also think of the twelvefold year.

[Thus the text says: "The yogin must fasten his self, while meditating⁴⁴ upon the equivalence: the sun is OM.]

6.4

[Elsewhere it has also been said:⁴⁵ "The udgītha is indeed the praṇava, and the praṇava is the udgītha, the sun being the udgītha is the praṇava." Thus the text says: (E.g. One must think upon the self) as the udgītha called praṇava, the leader, luminous, without sleep, age and death, consisting of three quarters being trisyllabic⁴⁶ (i.e.) the three-footed Brahman "abiding in the innermost heart".⁴⁷ (This triple being) must also be known as fivefold: ether, wind, fire, water, earth. Thus the text says: "This aśvattha, whose roots grow upward (and whose) branches (downward) is ... that Brahman."⁴⁸ Thereof the light, that is the sun. And it is of the syllable OM. Therefore one must continuously think upon it with the syllable OM. The sole being is the awakener of this (world). Thus the text says: "That is the pure syllable, that is the supreme syllable; he who knows this syllable obtains what he desires."⁴⁹

6.5

[Elsewhere it has also been said: OM is of him (Prajāpati)⁵⁰ the body consisting of sound. Masculine, feminine and neuter the body consisting of gender. Fire, wind and sun the luminous body. Through Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu the body has sovereign deities. Through the gārhapatya, dakṣiṇa and āhavanīya fires it has mouths. Through Ṛk, Yajur and Sāma it has knowledge. Through bhūḥ, bhuvah and svaḥ it has worlds.⁵¹ Through past, present and future it has time. Through breath, fire and sun it has fire. Through food, water and moon it has swelling.⁵² Through spirit, ego and will it has consciousness.⁵³ Through prāṇa, apāna and

⁴⁴ V's reading *dhyāyatātmānaṃ yuñjīta* cannot be right; we have to accept a 2nd pl. imp. *dhyāyata* in a line with a 3rd sg. pot. *yuñjīta*. Mlle Esnoul reads *dhyāyata ātmānaṃ* (misprint or gen. sg. of *dhyāyan*?) but translates: "...méditez... unissez-y votre Âme." I prefer to follow basically Maryla Falk's emendation (*Nāma-rūpa and Dharma-rūpa*, Calcutta, 1943, p. 42, n. 1) "read *dhyāyān ātmānaṃ...*" (misprint for *dhyāyan*).

⁴⁵ ChUp. 1.5.1.

⁴⁶ Cf. ChUp. 1.3.6.

⁴⁷ E.g. TaittUp. 2.1.1.

⁴⁸ Cf. KaṭhUp. 6.1.

⁴⁹ KaṭhUp. 2.16, which in a, b and c has *etad dhy*.

⁵⁰ *asya* refers to *asya Prajāpateḥ* in 6.6.

⁵¹ This repeats the expression of 6.6, or vice-versa.

⁵² These three entities are susceptible to swelling.

⁵³ These three entities sum up the "spiritual" faculties of a person.

vyāna it has prāṇas. Therefore by saying OM all these bodies are praised, worshipped and proffered. Thus the text says: "Satyakāma, the syllable OM comprises both the higher and the lower Brahman."⁵⁴

6.6

The world was (at first) unuttered. Prajāpati, who is the True, having performed tapas, uttered one after the other bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ. This is Prajāpati's most solid body, [i.e. the body consisting in worlds.] Svaḥ is the head, bhuvaḥ the navel, bhūḥ the feet, the sun the eye of this body. For the great object is dependent on a person's eye. [For the person, residing in the eye, operates on all objects.] Therefore one should meditate with bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ. [For in this manner Prajāpati, who is the universal soul, the universal eye,⁵⁵ is meditated upon. Thus the text says: This indeed is Prajāpati's all-carrying body; in it everything is contained, it is contained in all this. Therefore one must meditate on it.⁵⁶]

6.7

"Tat savitur vareṇyam" – savitā is the sun. He is to be elected by him who desires the ātman: thus say the exegetes.

"Bhargō devasya dhīmahi" – deva is savitā. The One who is its bhargas, on Him I think: thus say the exegetes.

"Dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt" – dhiyaḥ is spirits. He who must impel these spirits of ours: thus say the exegetes.

"Bhargas" – he who resides in yonder sun, the light spot in the eye, he is called Bhargas. He is called bhargas because he travels by rays, or he is bhargas because he threatens: thus say the exegetes.

[Bha means that he illumines these worlds. Ra means that he delights these beings. Ga means that these creatures go into him and come from him. So because of this bha, ra, and ga, he is bhargas. Sūrya is called thus, because it is perpetually produced.⁵⁷ Savitā is thus called, because of the impelling. Āditya is thus called, because it seizes.⁵⁸ Pavana is thus called, because it purifies. Āpas are thus called, because they swell.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ PraśnUp. 5.11.

⁵⁵ Or: he who sees everything.

⁵⁶ *eṣopāsita*: either we must assume a lacuna between *eṣā* and *upāsita*, or emend *etām*; I translate the latter. R. explains: *eṣā* <vyāhṛtyātmikā tanūr uktā> *tasmād* <*etām tathaiva*> *upāsita*.

⁵⁷ So? It may also be derived from *su* "to press", so R. etc.; we would in any case expect *sūyamānatvāt*.

⁵⁸ E.g., water; or, in the sense of *āditya kāla*, the creatures who die.

⁵⁹ Note the sandhi '(ā)pyayanāt.

Thus the text says: (He is) indeed the self's self,⁶⁰ the guide, named the immortal, a thinker, goer, creator, rejoicer, doer, speaker, taster, smeller, seer, hearer, and toucher; the mighty one has entered into a body. Thus the text says: Where there is knowledge that is duality he hears, sees, smells, tastes, and touches; the self knows all (the objects).⁶¹ Where there is knowledge that is non-duality, (one attains to) that which is free from effect, cause and action, unexplained, incomparable, inexplicable, of which it cannot be said what it is.^{62]}

6.8

He indeed is the lord of the soul, the auspicious One, the becoming One, Rudra, Prajāpati, Hiranyagarbha, the creator of all, the true One, the Prāṇa, the Swan, the Preceptor, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, Arka, Savitṛ, the Creator and Disposer, the Sovereign, Indra, Indu. He, the One who shines, like fire hidden beneath fire, concealed within the Golden Egg with a thousand orifices, He is to be looked for, to be sought after.

[Having granted security to all creatures, and having retired to the forest, thereupon having put the sense objects outside of his own body⁶³ he apprehends Him. "The many-formed, the yellow-colored Jātavedas, last refuge, the light, the glowing one, the sun of a thousand rays, the prāṇa of the creatures which works in a hundred ways, rises."^{64]}

6.9

Therefore he has two selves. He who knows this thinks upon the ātman alone, sacrifices into the ātman alone.

[The meditation course which is found in the practical manuals is as follows. The manas praised by the wise, the pure manas, must be purified by means of the ucchiṣṭopahata regulations. He recites this mantra: "Vasu's purifier, the fire, Savitā's rays must purify my food and all other evil, food that has been left over, or contains left-overs, that has been given by a man since deceased, or touched with childbirth impurity." He first surrounds it with water.⁶⁵ Then he pours it with the five,⁶⁶ viz.: "for

⁶⁰ I.e., the soul of the corporeal self.

⁶¹ *jānīte iti > jānīta iti > jānīteti.*

⁶² I take *kiṃ tad avācyam* as an expression parallel to the preceding *nirvacanam* etc. as *kiṃ-tad-ity-avācyam*.

⁶³ If we take the abl. *svāc charirād* to be dependent on *bahiḥ kṛtvā*; others translate: "apprehends him out of his own body", Mlle Esnoul even "dans son propre corps".

⁶⁴ PraśnUp. 1.8.

⁶⁵ Viz. by rinsing the mouth, cf. ChUp. 5.2.2.

⁶⁶ Sc. mantras.

the prāṇa, svāhā; for the apāna, svāhā; for the vyāna, svāhā; for the samāna, svānā; for the udāna, svāhā.” Then he eats silently the remaining food. Thereupon he surrounds it with water afterward. Having rinsed the mouth, the one who offers into the self must meditate upon the self with the two, “Breath, fire...” and “Thou art all...”, (i.e.) “Breath, fire, the supreme ātman is resorted to as the five airs. Pleased, he must please all, who eats all;” “Thou art all, thou art Vaiśvānara, all that is born is sustained by thee. All oblations must enter thee, and so must all creatures, there where thou art who art all immortal.” Through this rite the eater will no more become food.]

6.10

[Another matter is to be known, namely, that there is a further transformation of him who sacrifices into the self,⁶⁷ viz. as food and as the eater of food. This is the explanation thereof.

The puruṣa is the conscient one who resides within the pradhāna. An eater, he eats the food, viz. that which derives from prakṛti. The material self is its food, the pradhāna is its agent.⁶⁸ Therefore the pradhāna of three guṇas is that which is eaten, the eater is the puruṣa within. As to this the perceived is the proof.⁶⁹ Inasmuch as the sacrificial animals originate from seed, the seed is that which is eaten;⁷⁰ herewith the pradhāna’s nature of being food is explained. Thus the puruṣa is the eater, the prakṛti his food: he eats it while abiding within it. The food, deriving from prakṛti, being developed according to the distinctions of the three guṇas, is the liṅga,⁷¹ beginning with the Mahat and ending with the viśeṣas. Herewith the explanation of the fourteen-fold (liṅga) has been given. “For this world, called happiness, unhappiness and delusion is food.”⁷² For of the seed there is no taking of sweet food, i.e. as long as

⁶⁷ Namely as stated in 6.9 ... *ātmann eva yajati*, to which 6.11 is the sequel; 6.10 is a preceding commentary to 6.11. I would like to explain *ātmayajña* as a *bahuvrihi*, for the division of *annam* and *annāda* applies to the person, not to his rites.

⁶⁸ The *bhūtātman* is the self that has become, the embodied self, upon which the *pradhāna* “feeds” through its agency; Sāṃkhyan theory, contrary to Vedānta, holds that the self does not act, but *pradhāna*.

⁶⁹ *atra dṛṣṭam nāma pratyayam*; unclear and probably corrupted: *pratyaya* is masculine.

⁷⁰ The point of this cryptic sentence seems to be that since *prakṛti* is cause (*bija*) of the non-conscient animals it is necessarily *bhojya*.

⁷¹ The subtle body; for other descriptions of *liṅga*, see below. It comprises *prakṛti*, *mahat*, *ahaṃkāra*, *manas* and a set of ten, which are here apparently understood as the five senses with their objects.

⁷² A quotation? The line may be scanned as a half-śloka.

there is no production.⁷³ Of this same (seed) develops the nature of being food, in three phases: infancy, maturity, senility. By developing (thus) it becomes food. When the pradhāna has, in this manner, become manifest, knowledge of it arises. In it the sweet foods,^{73a} viz. the buddhi etc. originate; they are resolution, intention and misrepresentation.⁷⁴ Then originate the five sweets, the sense objects.^{74a} Likewise all the sensory functions and prāṇic functions. Thus there is manifest food, and unmanifest food.⁷⁵ The eater⁷⁶ of it is free from the guṇas. Since he is an eater, consciousness evidently belongs to him. Just as among the gods fire is the eater and soma the food, so one who knows this⁷⁷ eats^{77a} through fire food; for, as it is explained, the bhūtātman is here called soma, the one whose mouth is unmanifest is called fire: therefore the puruṣa eats the threefold (pradhāna) with the unmanifest as his mouth. He who knows this is a saṃnyāsi, a yogin, a sacrificer into the self. Just as one who does not touch love-sick women who have entered into an empty room, so he who does not touch the sense objects which are available to them⁷⁸ is a saṃnyāsi, a yogī, a sacrificer into the self.

6.11

Of the self there is a further form, viz. food, for the prāṇa consists of food. So if one does not eat, one will be without will, hearing, touch, sight, speech, smell and taste, and give up the vital airs. [Thus the text says:] If he eats, then, having become thriving in one's vital airs, one will be willing, hearing, touching, seeing, speaking, tasting, and smelling. [Thus the text says: From food the creatures are born whichever live on earth. Through it they thereupon live. To it, thereupon, they return in the end.]⁷⁹

6.12

[Elsewhere it has also been said: All these creatures wander about day after day seeking food to eat. The sun takes its food with its rays, so that it blazes. Sprinkled with food these vital airs cook it. The fire

⁷³ I.e., the seed cannot be enjoyed until it has grown into a product.

^{73a} Read here and below *svādīmi* with ĀĀS ed., ms. ka.

⁷⁴ Synonyms or descriptions of *buddhi*, *manas* and *ahaṃkāra* respectively.

^{74a} The emendation °*ārthāḥ* for °*ārthān* is necessary.

⁷⁵ I.e., *prakṛti* as food after it has evolved, and before.

⁷⁶ The *puruṣa* within.

⁷⁷ This explains the *evaṃvit* of 6.9.

^{77a} **atti*, e.c. Deussen for *iti*.

⁷⁸ The comparison is doubtless intended to point up the seductiveness of the sense objects.

⁷⁹ Cf. TaittUp. 2.2.

blazes through the food. By one who desires food it is provided through Brahman. Therefore one must meditate upon the self as food. Thus the text says: From food the creatures are born; once born they grow through food. It is eaten and it itself eats the creatures. Hence it is called food.]⁸⁰

6.13

[Elsewhere it has also been said: Food is the all-carrying body of Viṣṇu. The *prāṇa* indeed is the essence of food, *manas* the essence of *prāṇa*, of *manas* knowledge, of knowledge bliss: he who knows this will possess food, *prāṇa*, *manas*, knowledge and bliss.⁸¹ As many creatures on earth eat food, within so many⁸² will he eat food who knows this. Food wards off old age,⁸³ food causes a pleasant mood, it is said; food is the life of the animals; food, it is said, is the best healer.]

6.14

[Elsewhere it has also been said: Food is the origin of all the world. Time is the origin of food. The sun is the origin of time.⁸⁴ Of time the form is such that it is made up of (units) from a twinkling of the eye onward. The year is made up of twelve (months). Of it one half is *āgneya*, one half *vāruṇa*.⁸⁵ The *āgneya* half begins with *Māgha* and ends with the first half of *Śraviṣṭhā*; it comprises the southern course. The *saumya* half begins with *Sārpa* and ends with the second half of *Śraviṣṭhā*;⁸⁶ it comprises the northern course. In this (reckoning) every single (month) of the (year) itself amounts to nine quarters after the fashion of (reckoning) by the progression of lunar mansions. On account of the brevity (of a lunar mansion period) (the month) is the standard measure and time is measured by it.⁸⁷ Without a measure there is no knowledge of the thing to be measured. The thing to be measured becomes itself separately the measure in order to elucidate (time) itself.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ Quoted from TaittUp. 2.2.

⁸¹ Inspired by the five *ātman*s of TaittUp. 2.

⁸² The meaning is that he will eat through all creatures.

⁸³ *vijarannam*, a strange form which might perhaps be explained as a resanskritization of a *prākṛt vejarannam* < *vaijaranyam*: "something that fends off senility", cf. pw s.v.

⁸⁴ Cf. in 6.15 *ādityādyah kālah*.

⁸⁵ The half year comprising summer, and that comprising the rainy season respectively.

⁸⁶ Meant is that it begins with the second half of *śraviṣṭhā* and ends with *sārpa*.

⁸⁷ This seems to me the best interpretation of the concise passage.

⁸⁸ This seems to mean no more than that once one has arrived at the notion of year through measuring it by smaller units, the year itself becomes the basic time-unit by which time is measured; I take *ātma*- as "itself", i.e. time, as above in *tatraikaikam ātmano*...

Thus the text says: He who knows Brahman as time runs in all the many divisions of time that exist, time will pass him by at a distance. Thus the text says: From time flow the creatures, from time they grow, in time they vanish: time, itself without a body, is incarnate (in the creatures).]

6.15

Brahman has two forms, time and non-time. That which is before the sun is non-time, without parts. That which begins with the sun is time, which has parts. Of the partite (Brahman) the form is the year. Out of the year these creatures are born; in the year they grow when they have been born; in the year they perish. Therefore the year is Prajāpati (as) time. It is food, the nest of Brahman, and the self. [Thus the text says: Time cooks⁸⁹ all these creatures; but he who knows the great ātman in which time itself is cooked knows the Veda.]

6.16

[Embodied, time is an ocean of creatures. In it stays the one called Savitr̥, out of whom the moon, asterisms, planets, year etc. are born.⁹⁰ And out of them all this world is formed, and all good and evil that is found in the world comes from them. Therefore Brahman is embodied in the sun. (That is to say,) one must know Brahman as the sun called time;⁹¹ others however equate Brahman with sun. Thus the text says: Sacrificer, eater, oblation, formula, sacrifice, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati are that one overlord, who is everything, the spectator who shines in yonder disk.]

6.17

Brahman was here alone at first, infinite to the East, infinite to the South, infinite to the West, infinite to the North, infinite upward and downward, in all directions infinite.

[For it must not be supposed that Brahman has directions like East etc. He who cannot be guessed at horizontally, or downward, or upward, is the supreme ātman, boundless, unborn, inconceivable, unimaginable.]

He is the ākāśātman. When all is destroyed, he awakes, alone. Out of this ākāśa he awakens this, [which is pure spirit]. And through ākāśa it is born, and in it it goes down again. The luminous form of it is the light that glows in yonder sun, [and the more radiant light that (glows) in smokeless fire, and the (vaiśvānara fire) in the belly, which digests food.

⁸⁹ In the sense of "dissolves" or "matures".

⁹⁰ Attempt at an etymology of *savitr̥* from *su* "to give birth".

⁹¹ I.e., Brahman as Time.

For thus he says:] This fire there (in the fireplace), this fire here in the heart, and the fire yonder in the sun is one. To the oneness of the one comes he who knows this.

6.18

[The technique is the six-membered yoga, viz. breath control, withdrawal of the senses, concentration, retention, consideration, complete fastening. When, seeing through yoga, one sees the golden-colored doer, the sovereign puruṣa who springs from Brahman, then, being enlightened, relinquishing good and evil acts, one unifies everything in the supreme and imperishable. Thus the text says: Just as game and fowl do not remain on a mountain that is afire, so evil affections never remain in those who know Brahman.]

6.19

[Elsewhere it has also been said: When the enlightened, having his outward directed manas in control and having brought the senses into the prāṇa, thereupon remains without will – inasmuch as the jīva is born into the world from the one without prāṇa, and is (thus) called prāṇa, therefore the word prāṇa is (used here)⁹² – he must maintain his prāṇa in that which is called the turya.⁹³ Thus the text says: The (yogin) must fasten his mind on that which is in the middle of the mind, unthinkable, inconceivable, the supremely mysterious. And that is the liṅga,⁹⁴ without a basis.]

6.20

[Elsewhere it has also been said. Next comes the retention of it.⁹⁵ While pushing the tip of the tongue against the palate and thus checking speech, thought and breath, (the yogin) sees Brahman through Consideration.⁹⁶ When after the cessation of thought he sees by means of the ātman the ātman more minute than the minute, and radiant, then, having through the ātman beheld the ātman, he becomes without ātman. From this fact, that he is without ātman, we must conclude that he is without thought, without source; it is the definition of release. That is

⁹² In the sense of ātman.

⁹³ The highest state of consciousness.

⁹⁴ *liṅga* here should probably be interpreted as “mark of a goal”, as e.g. BĀUp. 4.4.6.

⁹⁵ As a *yogāṅga*.

⁹⁶ The next stage in the six-membered yoga described in 6.18.

the supreme mystery. Thus the text says: For by the favour of the mind he kills off acts both good and evil. With a tranquil spirit abiding in the self he attains to imperishable bliss.]⁹⁷

6.21

[Elsewhere it has also been said: the upward canal called *suṣumnā*, which conducts the *prāṇa*, debouches in the palate. By way of this canal, which contains the syllable OM and the *manas*, the *prāṇa* comes out upward. Having placed the tip of the tongue completely over the palate, and having collected the senses, greatness gazes upon greatness. Thereupon it enters upon a state beyond the *ātman*. From the fact that it is without *ātman* follows that it does not partake of joy or grief, attains complete isolation. Thus the text says: Having first stabilized the checked *prāṇa* at that yonder state, he comes to the other shore through the shoreless and thereupon fastens it in the head.]

6.22

[Elsewhere it has also been said: Two Brahmanas are asserted, sound and non-sound. The non-sound manifests itself through sound. This sound is OM. The *prāṇa* ascending through OM comes to its termination in non-sound. This indeed is the course. This is the immortal. It is the state of being fastened and it is the state of being withdrawn. Just as a spider climbing up along its thread finds open space, so indeed the yogin in meditation climbs up through OM and finds complete independence.

But differently proceed others who maintain sound. They listen to the sound which is contained within the space inside the heart by placing the thumb against the ear. This sound is compared to seven things: rivers, bell ringing, the droning of a vessel, the rolling of wheels, the croaking of frogs, rain, and what sounds in a windless place. These sounds, transcending their peculiar characteristics, terminate in the supreme, soundless, indistinct Brahman. They remain without individual characteristics, indiscrete, like different flavors which combine to become one sweet taste. Thus the text says: Two Brahmanas are to be known, *śabdabrahman* and that which is beyond this. Immersed in the *śabda-brahman*, one attains to the Brahman beyond.]

6.23

[Elsewhere it has also been said: The syllable OM is the sound. And

⁹⁷ Quoted from the eleven ślokas of SM 4.4; stanza 4.

that which is its top, that is the pure, soundless, fearless, griefless bliss, self-sufficient, stable, immobile, immortal, unfalling, fixed, called Viṣṇu. One must meditate on both⁹⁸ for the sake of total superiority. Thus the text says: Indeed, the higher and the lower God is the syllable OM by name. Soundless, being void, it resides in the head. One must seek it there.]

6.24

[Elsewhere it has also been said: The body is the bow, OM the arrow, manas its point. Having pierced that which is marked as tamas, it enters the tamas, penetrated with non-tamas. Having pierced this penetrated tamas, he sees, radiant like a firebrand (swung so fast that it resembles) a wheel, the sun-hued, awesome Brahman beyond tamas, that which shines in yonder sun, and in the moon, in fire and in lightning. Having seen this Brahman, he verily attains to immortality. Thus the text says: The meditation is directed within to the supreme principle and (without) to the (objects which are its) targets. Hence consciousness, which is undifferentiated, becomes differentiated. That bliss which arises when the mind has been dissolved, that bliss which is experienced by the ātman, that is Brahman, the immortal, the resplendent. That is the goal, that is the world.]

6.25

[Elsewhere it has also been said: He who, with his senses withdrawn as in sleep, with a perfectly pure⁹⁹ mind as in a dream sees in the void left by the senses,¹⁰⁰ independently the leader named praṇava, luminous, beyond sleep, old age, death and pain, he becomes the leader called praṇava, luminous, beyond sleep, old age, death and pain. Thus the text says: Since the yogin fastens¹⁰¹ the prāṇa and OM and all in many different ways, therefore this technique is called Fastening.¹⁰² The union of prāṇa, manas and senses, and the relinquishment of all objects is called yoga.¹⁰³]

6.26

[Elsewhere it has also been said: Just as a bird catcher draws in the

⁹⁸ Sc. *śabda* and *aśabda*.

⁹⁹ *śuddhitamayā*: if true, a superlative built on a substantive!

¹⁰⁰ *indriyabile*.

¹⁰¹ The text uses both the active and medial forms of the verb.

¹⁰² Etymology of yoga.

¹⁰³ Second etymology of yoga.

animals that live in the water with a contraption of ropes and sacrifices them in the fire of his belly, so (the yogin) draws in these prāṇas with the syllable OM and sacrifices them in the irreproachable fire. Thus he becomes like heated earth. Just as the butter of the heated-earth pot blazes up when it touches the straws and wood,¹⁰⁴ so the one called aprāṇa blazes up when it touches the prāṇa. That which blazes forth is the form of Brahman, the highest step of Viṣṇu, and that which makes Rudra Rudra. That, having divided itself infinitely, fills these worlds. Thus the text says: Just as the sparks spring up from the fire, and the rays from the sun, so the prāṇas etc. spring successively from it.]

6.27

[Elsewhere it has also been said: It is the fire of Brahman, the supreme, the immortal; it is the fire of the disembodied one, the body-fire is the ghee to it. It resides, manifest, in ether: thus they penetrate the space within the heart with the (mind) that is entirely pointed, which, as it were, becomes its fire. Hence it becomes soon identical with it. Just as a lump of iron, placed on earth, soon becomes earth, and just as fire, or a blacksmith etc. cannot prevail over a lump of iron that has taken on a configuration like clay, so the mind perishes along with its substratum. Thus the text says: The cup which consists of the space in the heart is bliss, the supreme abode. It is our own fire, and our fastening, as well as the fire of Fire and Sun.¹⁰⁵]

6.28

[Elsewhere it has also been said: Having transcended the elements, senses and objects, and having thereupon taken the bow whose cord is relinquishment and whose wood is perseverance, he pierces, with the arrow of non-presumption,¹⁰⁶ the first portal of Brahman – but the other, wearing his confusion as a crown, his ambition and envy as his earrings, carrying as his stick his sloth, and sins, guided by presumption, having taken his bow whose cord is anger and whose wood is greed, kills with the arrow of desire these creatures –, thus, having struck, he crosses with the boat OM to the other shore of the ether within the heart and enters slowly, even as a miner in search of minerals enters a mine, the hall of

¹⁰⁴ The heated-earth pot or *mahāvīra* is a baked earthen vessel used in the *pravargya*. The butter is caused to overflow, and when it drops on the burning branches of the *pravṛñjaniya* hearth it blazes up tremendously, the flash striking in the pot full of butter.

¹⁰⁵ Uncertain. The nouns of the first half śloka are accusatives: they are all masculine; *svam* is hard to understand; should we emend *saṃyoga*?

¹⁰⁶ I.e., giving up *abhimāna* or *ahaṃkāra*.

Brahman in the manifest ether. Thereupon he makes his way into the Brahman cup of four whorls,¹⁰⁷ that is, through the instruction of his guru. Then the pure, purified, void, cleared, prāṇa-less, self-less, eternal, indestructible, stable, permanent, unborn, independent One abides in his own greatness, i.e. then having seen him who abides in his own greatness he looks upon the wheel of transmigration as a wheel that rolls on. Thus he says: of the embodied person who, eternally released, has been in yoga for six months, proceeds the complete yoga, the endless, supreme, and mysterious. But never of the embodied person who is penetrated by rajas and tamas, who is fiercely kindled and attached to son, wife and household.]

6.29

[After having said this, Śākāyanya (who was the one) within the heart, after (the king) had bowed to him, (continued as follows): “Through this brahmavidyā, O King, the sons of Prajāpati¹⁰⁸ have ascended along the path of Brahman.” – Contentment, forbearance of the pairs of opposites, and tranquillity one acquires through the practice of yoga. This most secret practice should not be divulged to one who has no sons, or no pupils, or is impure. One must impart it to a perfect bhakta, to one endowed with all good qualities.]

6.30

[OM. In a pure place one should be pure, abiding in sattva, learning well, speaking well, meditating well, worshipping well; thus one is perfected in the true Brahman, being desirous of truth.¹⁰⁹ The other,¹¹⁰ whose ropes that tie him to the results of his acts have been cut, who has no worldly hopes, who, as an ātman, has no fear for others, without desire, attains permanently to indestructible, unmeasurable bliss. This freedom from desire is the supreme excavation of a supreme treasure. For the puruṣa who is possessed of all kinds of desire, whose liṅga¹¹¹ is resolution, intention and misrepresentation, is bound. The opposite of that puruṣa is released.

As to this some say: the evolute reaches a state of bondage which consists in resolution,¹¹² as the result of the differentiation of prakṛti.

¹⁰⁷ Inspired by 6.38.

¹⁰⁸ This should refer to the Vāikhilyas.

¹⁰⁹ *satyabhilāṣiṇi* makes no sense whatever; the translation is a guess.

¹¹⁰ The first word of the sentence, *anyaḥ*, suggests that there is a lacuna.

¹¹¹ The *liṅgaśarīra* is here equated with *buddhi*, *manas* and *ahaṅkāra*.

¹¹² *adhyavasāyātmabandham* may be interpreted as “bondage of one self through resolution” (*buddhi*, the first product), or “which is resolution”.

Release occurs on the destruction of the defect of resolution. For a man sees through the manas, hears through the manas; desire, will, doubt, faith, disbelief, perseverance, inconsistency, shame, resoluteness, fear are all manas. Carried away by the multitudes of qualities, hardened, unstable, volatile, greedy, desirous, preoccupied, he comes to assume certain presumptions: thinking, I am that person, this is mine, he himself binds his self, as a bird (is ensnared) in a net.¹¹³ So the puruṣa whose liṅga is resolution, intention and misrepresentation is bound; the opposite of that puruṣa is released.

Therefore one should be without resolution, without intention, without misrepresentation. That is the sign of release. This is here the path of Brahman. This is here the opening of the gate. Through it one reaches beyond tamas. In it all desires are contained. On this they cite: When the five sources of knowledge¹¹⁴ and the manas are at peace and the buddhi is no longer active, they call this state the supreme goal.

After having said this Śākāyanya (who was the one) within the heart – after the king had bowed to him... properly attentive, having now reached his goal, Marut went by the northern course. For there is no going by a byway. This is here the path of Brahman. Having pierced the solar portal, he went out upward.

On this they cite: Of him who resides within the heart the radiations are infinite, white and black, tawney and dark, brownish and reddish.¹¹⁵ Among these rays there is one above which pierces the disk of the sun and passes into the Brahmaloḥka; along this ray they go to the supreme goal. The hundred rays other than this one, which are above, are the path by which one reaches the abodes of the hosts of gods. The many-hued, faintly luminous rays below this (hundred) are the path by which the man, powerless, wanders to experience his karman. Therefore the reverend Lord, yonder Sun, is the cause of creation, heaven, and release.]

6.31

[On what repose the senses that operate? Who is their leader, who is their director, he asks.

He replies: they repose on the ātman. The ātman is their leader as well as their director. He eats the objects with five rays; the rays are called apsarasas, bhānavīyas and maricis.

Which ātman?

¹¹³ Lifted bodily from 3.2.

¹¹⁴ I.e., the five senses.

¹¹⁵ Cf. ChUp. 8.6.

The ātman that is pure, purifies, void, described as being characterized as tranquil etc., which can be grasped by means of his own liṅgas.¹¹⁶ That liṅga is to him (who has no liṅgas) what heat and the heated¹¹⁷ are to fire, what the most auspicious taste¹¹⁸ is to water. Thus maintain some thinkers. Others hold that the liṅga is speech, hearing, sight, manas and prāṇa. Others again that it is cognition, discrimination, recollection, and knowledge. Or they¹¹⁹ relate to him as in the world sprouts relate to the seed. Or as smoke, glow and sparks relate to fire. On this they cite: As sparks spring from fire and the rays from the sun, so his prāṇa etc. one after the other spring from him.¹²⁰

6.32

Therefore all prāṇas, all worlds, all Vedas, all gods and all creatures spring up in the ātman. His esoteric teaching is satyasya satyam.¹²¹ Just as from a fire that burns damp kindling separate wisps of smoke depart, so are the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvāṅgirasas, epic and purāṇa science, upaniṣads, ślokaś, sūtras, glosses, explanations, the breath of the Great Being; of him are all creatures.]

6.33

This fire, made of five bricks, is the Year. Its bricks are spring, summer, rains, autumn, winter. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail: (thus) this fire is like a man. This earth is Prajāpati's first laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proffered him to Wind.

Wind equals Prāṇa. This fire is prāṇa. Its bricks are prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. The atmosphere is Prajāpati's second laying. Having thrown up the yajamāna with its hands, it proffered him to Indra.

Indra is yonder sun. This fire is the sun. Its bricks are Ṛc, Yajus, Sāman, the Atharvāṅgirasas, the epic and purāṇa. It has a head, two wings, a back and a tail. (Thus) this fire is like a man. This sky is Prajāpati's third laying. With its hands it makes an offering of the yajamāna to the ātman-knower. The ātman-knower, having thrown him up, proffered him to the Brahman. There he becomes blissful, joyful.

¹¹⁶ *liṅga* is taken here and below both as "characteristic mark" and "*liṅgaśarira*".

¹¹⁷ I take *āviṣṭa* for *auṣṇyāviṣṭa*, but this is uncertain; one suspects behind the word a superlative parallel to *śivatama*.

¹¹⁸ *rasa* defines water, as smell defines earth.

¹¹⁹ I.e., the various functions.

¹²⁰ Also quoted above 6.26.

¹²¹ BĀUp. 2.1.20.

6.34

The gārhapatya fire is Earth. The dakṣiṇa fire is Atmosphere. The āhavaniya fire is Sky. They are the Pavamāna, Pāvaka, and Śuci. He makes an offering of food in his mouth. [For the intestinal fire is the combination of the Pavamāna, Pāvaka, and Śuci.] Therefore the fire is to be worshipped, laid, praised and meditated upon. [The yajamāna, having taken the oblation, desires to meditate upon the deity of the fire, thus:]

The golden-hued Bird abides in the heart as well as in the sun, He who is the Diver, the Duck, the Glow, and the Bull. He is in the fire. We worship him.

[And he must think upon the meaning of the mantra.] That covetable gift of Savitr̥, on that he must meditate, he who is within the spirit. [While meditating he contemplates the state of serenity of the mind, puts (the mind) into the ātman itself.]

*On this there are these ślokas: Like a fire without fuel ... etc.¹²² [Therefore the contemplation of the heavenly abode which is the (highest) state of Brahman is outside the scope of those who fail to offer the agnihotra, to think upon the fire, and to meditate upon the fire: therefore the fire must be worshipped, "thought upon", praised, and meditated upon.]

6.35

Homage to Fire, dweller on Earth, bestower of his world: bestow the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to Wind, dweller in the atmosphere, bestower of his world: bestow the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to Sun, dweller in the Sky, bestower of his world: bestow the world on the sacrificer.

Homage to Brahman, dweller in all, bestower of all: bestow all on the sacrificer.

The face of the True is covered by a golden vessel; open it, thou Pūṣan, on him whose order is the True, on Viṣṇu. The person in that sun, that am I.

He is in truth the One whose order is the True. That which makes the sun sun is its white color. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the One who dwells in Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun, as it

¹²² See above in SM 4.3.

were, and in the eye, and in the fire, that is Brahman, the immortal, the bhargas, the one whose order is the True. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the One who dwells in Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun is the immortal; of which sun and moon are the offshoots, that is Brahman, the immortal, the Bhargas, the One whose order is the True. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the one who dwells in Ether...] that which is in the middle of the sun... the yajus glows: OM āpo jyotī raso brahmāmṛtaṃ bhūḥ bhuvaḥ svar OM.

The eight-footed, the Pure, the Duck, the thrice-corded, the minute, the imperishable, the one of two orders, kindled in glow – seeing him one sees all.

That which is in the middle of the sun is the UD. [But that is only a particle of the glow of the one who dwells in Ether.] Two rays appear – it is the savit, the One whose order is the True, the yajus, the tapas, the fire, the wind, the prāṇa, the waters, the moon, the bright, the immortal, the Brahman, the oceanic light: in it the sacrificers sink as in a sea. This is the oneness with Brahman; for in it all objects of desire are contained. On this they cite: like a lamp that is moved by a tiny wind, he flickers, entered among the gods. He who knows this is the savit, he knows duality, he will come to unity and consist in it. Like drops that spring up continually, like lightning, the lights that play upon the clouds in the high heaven – these lights are the powers of fame, because of their substratum, resplendent with the flame-crests of the fire.

6.36

This brahman-light has two forms. One is the pure form; the other is the thriving form. Ether is the seat of the pure form; food that of the thriving form. Therefore one should sacrifice with formulae, herbs, butter, meat, cakes, cooked rice and such in the fire-hearth, and in the mouth with the eatables and drinkables left over by the fire, [thinking that the mouth is the āhavanīya hearth,] for the thriving of the light-power, the winning of auspicious worlds, and for immortality.

On this they cite: “He who desires heaven must offer the agnihotra. With the agniṣṭoma one conquers the world of Yama. With the Ukthya the realm of the moon. With the ṣoḍāśin the realm of the sun, with the atirātra the realm of Indra, with a sacrifice of a thousand years the realm of Prajāpati.

[Just as a lamp exists by virtue of the combination of wick, container and oil, so do the ātman and the śuci stand by virtue of the combination with the inner egg.]

6.37

The Supreme Light is the essence of That which is in the heart of Ether. The syllable OM is the essence of that which is in the heart of Ether. It is uttered thrice: for the fire, for the sun, for the *prāṇa*. Through it, fire breaks forth, sun rises, breath breathes. Therefore one should meditate upon the boundless light with OM.

Now the channel: Annabahu. It conducts the oblation to the sun. The sap which flows from it rains down the *udgītha*. Through it live the vital airs, through the airs live the creatures.

On this they cite: the oblation which is poured into the fire it conducts to the sun. The sun rains it down with its rays; through that food is born.

[Out of food takes place the origination of the beings: thus the text says: the oblation thrown in the fire goes entirely to the sun. Out of the sun rain comes forth. Out of rain food; therefrom the creatures.]

6.38

He who offers the *agnihotra* pierces the net of greed. [Thereupon, having severed ignorance, not lauding the wraths, (not?) meditating upon desire...] Thereupon he pierces the four whorls of the Brahman calyx. [For therein are four circles, solar, lunar, fiery, and *sattvic*.] Then having pierced the space beyond (these whorls) he beholds the Supreme Light, present within the *sattva*, unmoving, undying, unfalling, stable, called *Viṣṇu*, possessed of the trueness of desires, trueness of will and omniscience, the autonomous consciousness, which abides in its own greatness.

[On this they cite: Within the sun is the moon; within the moon the fire; within the fire the *sattva*; within the *sattva* the Unfallen. Having meditated upon this one whose body is the mere size of a thumb, more minute than the minute, he thereupon attains to supreme vastness. For therein all desires are contained. On this they cite: whose body has the mere size of a thumb... like the relation between lamp and light...¹²³]

Twice, indeed thrice this Brahman is lauded: *mahas!* The god has entered the worlds. Homage to OM. Homage to Brahman.

7.1

Agni, the *Gāyatra*,¹²⁴ the *Trivṛt*, the *Rathantara*, the Spring, the *Prāṇa*,

¹²³ This often refers to the relation between the supreme being and the world; here it is in the air.

¹²⁴ In the following series *gāyatra*, *triṣṭubh*, *jagati*, *anuṣṭubh* and *pañkti* are names of metres; *trivṛti*, *pañcadaśa*, *saptadaśa*, *ekaviṃśa*, *triṅava* and *trayastrīṃśa* names of stomas; *rathantara*, *br̥hat*, *vairūpya*, *vairāja*, *śākvara* and *raivata* names of *sāmans*.

the Asterisms, the Vasu gods rise from the East, glow, rain, praise, re-enter, and watch from within through an orifice. [Inconceivable, disembodied, profound, mysterious, irreproachable, condensed, secret, without guṇas, perfected, luminous, partaking of the guṇas, dangerous, active, lord of yogins, omniscient, powerful, unknowable, without beginning or end, lustrous, unborn, wise, indescribable, all-creator, universal soul, experiencing all, lord of all, innermost within all.]

7.2

Indra, the Triṣṭubh, the Pañcadaśa, the Bṛhat, the Summer, the Vyāna, the Moon, the Rudras rise from the South, glow, rain, praise, re-enter and watch from within through an orifice. [Without beginning or end, immeasurable, unlimited, not to be impelled by another, independent, without a liṅga, disembodied, infinitely powerful, creator, illuminator.]

7.3

The Maruts, the Jagatī, the Saptadaśa, the Vairūpya, the Rains, the Apāna, the planet Śukra, the Ādityas rise from the West, glow, rain, praise, re-enter, and watch from within through an orifice.

[That pure, soundless, fearless, griefless bliss, satisfied, stable, unshakable, immortal, unfalling, fixed, called Viṣṇu, supreme abode.]

7.4

The Viśve Devāḥ, the Anuṣṭubh, the Ekaviṃśa, the Vairāja, the Autumn, the Samāna, the planet Varuṇa, the Sādhyas rise from the North, glow, rain, praise, re-enter, and watch from within through an orifice. [Interior, pure, purified, void, appeased, without prāṇa, without ātman, infinite.]

7.5

Mitra and Varuṇa, the Pañkti, the Triṇava and Trayastriṃśa, the Śākvara and Raivata, Winter and Dewy Season, the Udāna, the Aṅgirasas, the Moon rise from the zenith, glow, rain, praise, re-enter, and watch from within through an orifice. [Named the Praṇava, the leader, luminous, without sleep, without age, without death, without grief.]

7.6

The planet Saturn, the ascending and the descending nodes, the serpents, the Rākṣasas, the Yakṣas, men, birds, śarabhas, elephants etc.

Translation and Notes

rise from the nadir, glow, rain, praise, re-enter, and watch from within through an orifice. [Who is wise, supporting, residing within all, indestructible, pure, purified, luminous, peaceful, appeased.]

7.7

He indeed is the ātman within the heart, very minute, like a kindled fire, of all forms. All this is his food. On him these creatures are woven. He is the ātman, cleansed of evil, without age, without death, without hunger and thirst, whose will is true, whose desire is true.¹²⁵ He is the supreme Lord. He is the sovereign of creatures. He is the protector of creatures. He is the bridge, the support. He indeed is the ātman, Lord, Śambhu, Bhava, Rudra, Prajāpati, the all-creator, Hiranyagarbha, the True, the Prāṇa, the Swan, the Preceptor, Acyuta, Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa.¹²⁶ He who is here in the fire, here in the heart, and yonder in the sun is the same. Homage to Thee, of all forms, who art residing in the true Ether.

7.8

Now the obstacles of knowledge. O King, this net of delusion has its origin in that the godly associate with the ungodly. And the others who, always jolly, always ajourney, always abegging, always living off skills – and the others, begging in towns, sacrificing improper substances, accepting śūdras as pupils, and śūdras that know the scriptures – and the others, rogues, wearing braided hair, dancers, fighters, homeless wanderers, who give shows, degraded to royal service etc. – and the others who, placing ahead the cause of yakṣas, Rākṣasas, spirits, ghouls, demons, serpents, planets etc., are saying: “We must appease them,” – and the others who hypocritically wear saffron robes, (glass) earrings, skulls, – and the others who wish to erect themselves as judges concerning Vedic matters by weaving illusions with logic, illustrations and sophisms – with all those one should not have intercourse. Indeed they are conspicuous thieves and ungodly.

Thus the text says: erring because of the sophisms, false illustrations and grounds of the doctrine that holds there is no ātman,¹²⁷ the world does not know what the conclusion of Vedic wisdom is.

7.9

Bṛhaspati, having become Śukra, created this false knowledge for the

¹²⁵ Quoted from ChUp. 8.1.5.

¹²⁶ Quoted from 6.8.

¹²⁷ Buddhism.

security of Indra, and the ruin of the Asuras. Through it they point to what is auspicious as being inauspicious, and say that one must ponder the injurious character¹²⁸ of the scriptures like the Veda etc. Hence one must not learn that knowledge, else it is like a barren woman: its fruit is mere concupiscence; even one who has fallen away from his proper conduct must not embrace it.

Thus the text says: “Widely opposed and differently directed are what are known as knowledge and ignorance. I believe that Naciketas is desired by knowledge; the many objects of desire do not hanker after thee.¹²⁹ He who knows these two, knowledge and ignorance, will, having crossed to death by ignorance, reach non-death by knowledge.¹³⁰ Enveloped within ignorance, the self-styled sages who deem themselves learned run around in a rush, confused, like blind men led by a blind man.¹³¹

7.10

The gods and asuras, being desirous of the ātman, betook themselves to Brahman. Having bowed to him they said: “Reverend, we are desirous of the ātman: teach us.” Thereupon, having pondered awhile, he thought: “The asuras are after a different ātman.”¹³² Therefore something different was taught them. Those who are confused, live according to that, being attracted to it, assaulting the Veda, they look upon untruth as truth – it is like an illusion. Hence that which is stated in the Vedas is the truth. On that which is declared in the Vedas the wise live. Therefore the Brahmin should not learn non-Vedic doctrines, that is the meaning.

7.11

The Supreme Light is the essence of that which resides in the heart of ether. That is said thrice: for fire, for sun, for breath. The Syllable OM is the essence of that which resides in the heart of ether. Through it, fire breaks forth, sun rises, breath breathes. Or there be support through thinking of Brahman.

As to this, in breath it represents the digestive heat which spreads about radiance. Or (the spreading) of smoke: in the wind it rises to the

¹²⁸ Because they enjoin animal sacrifices.

¹²⁹ Quoted from KaṭhUp. 2.4.

¹³⁰ Quoted from ĪsUp. 14.

¹³¹ Quoted from KaṭhUp. 2.5 = MuṇḍUp. 1.2.8.

¹³² We should emend either *anyatamātmano* or *ayatātmano*.

sky along the branches and runs from treetrunk to treetrunk. Or like the spreading of salt in water, or the heat of (offered) ghee. It is like the spreading out of him who meditates.

On this they cite: Why is it¹³³ called *vaidyuta*? Because at the mere uttering of it it illumines the entire body. Therefore one must meditate with OM upon the boundless light.

The ocular *puruṣa* which resides in the right eye is Indra. His wife resides in the left eye. Their meeting takes place in the hollow of the heart. The lump of blood there is their light. A channel runs from the heart and ends in the eye; this is the vein of both of them, which, after being one, bifurcates. The mind heats the body fire; the fire prompts breath; the breath, circulating in the chest, generates a soft sound.

By the union with the fire that springs from the sky it¹³⁴ is joined in the heart. Out of the atom rises an atom; in the throat it becomes a double-atom; on the tip of the tongue it becomes a triple-atom, you should know. When it comes out, they call it the *māṛka*.

Not seeing death he sees neither sickness nor suffering. For seeing all he sees indeed; he reaches all everywhere. The ocular one, the one that moves in the dream, the one of the deep sleep, and the one beyond deep sleep, those are its four phases; of them the fourth is the highest. In the three, Brahman moves one-footed; in the other he moves three-footed.¹³⁵

For the sake of the experience of truth and untruth the great *ātman* becomes dual.

¹³³ Sc. the syllable *OM*.

¹³⁴ The body-fire.

¹³⁵ Sc. the brahman is by three quarters unmanifest, by one quarter manifest: ancient notion from RV 10.90.

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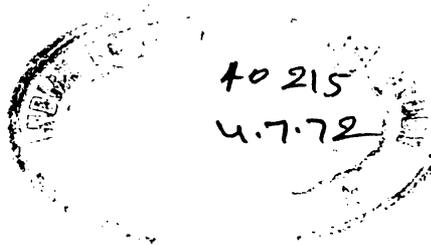
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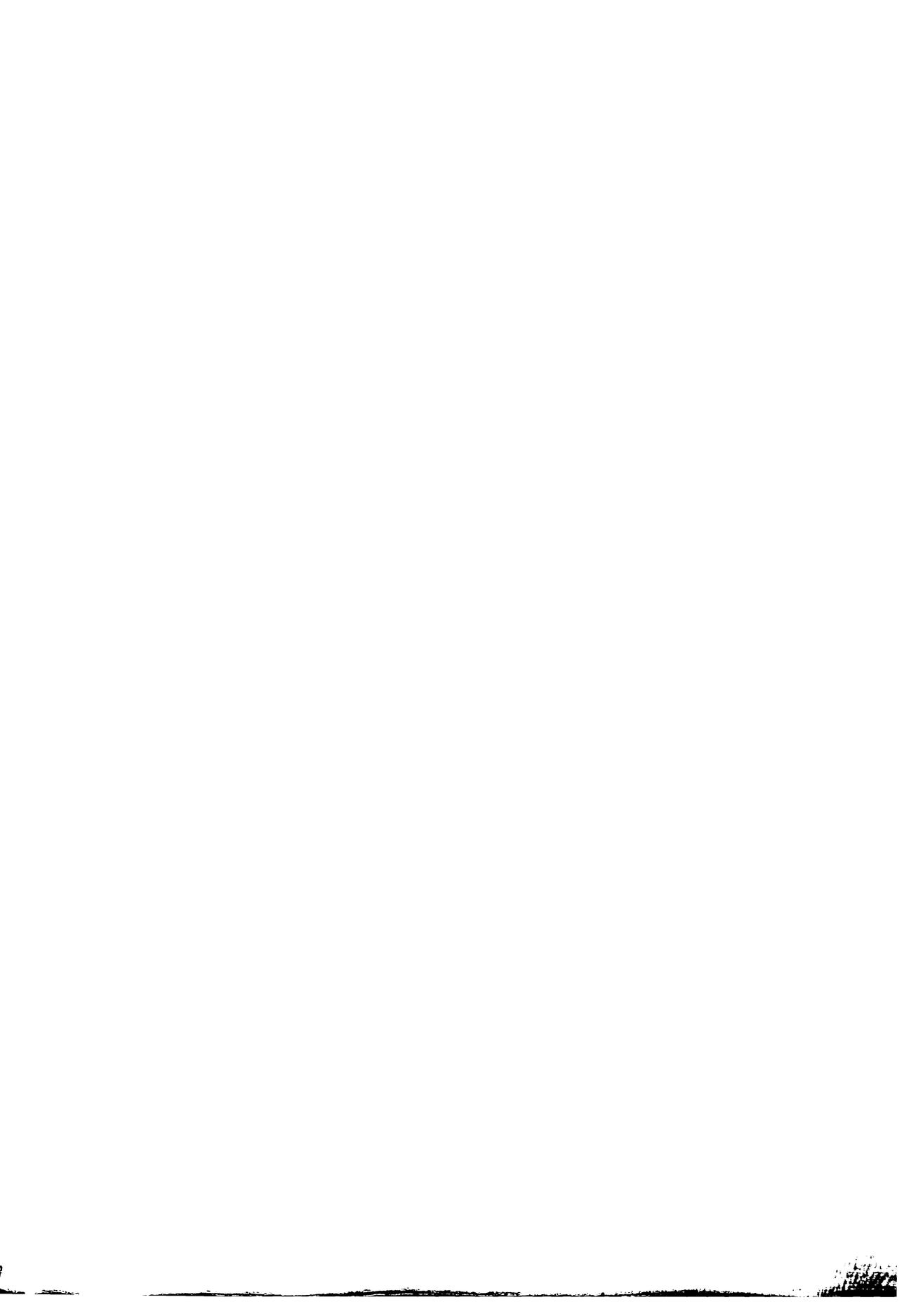
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