

The
Beginnings
of
Indian
Philosophy

*A Summing-up after a
lifetime of philological
study and Reflection*

Franklin Edgerton

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

SELECTIONS FROM THE RIG VEDA, ATHARVA VEDA
UPANIṢADS, AND MAHĀBHĀRATA

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSKRIT
WITH AN INTRODUCTION, NOTES
AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX

BY

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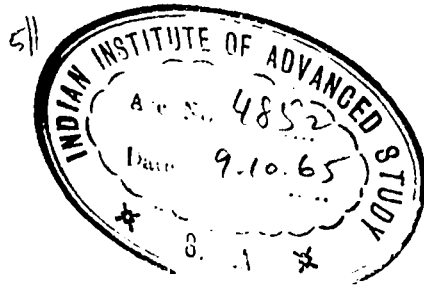
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PREFACE

The majority of the Sanskrit texts here translated have been the objects of intensive study by me for decades, and have been worked over again and again in seminars with advanced Sanskrit pupils, some of whom have made valuable contributions to their interpretation. This interpretation of the Sanskrit texts is rarely simple or easy; most of the texts, indeed, contain many problems. All have been translated before, mostly more than once, and in some cases many times. I have made copious and profitable use of many of these earlier translations. After all the help I could get, I am still not satisfied with some of my renderings. I can, however, claim that in a considerable number of cases I have arrived at new and original interpretations, which I hope constitute some advance towards the elucidation of the texts.¹

The Introduction, in three chapters, will, it is hoped, supply a necessary background for the three major parts of the translation (Veda, Upaniṣads, Mahābhārata). The footnotes should also help to make the texts comprehensible, even to those who have no knowledge of Sanskrit. I have tried to keep in mind the 'general public' to whom the series containing this book is addressed. When the use of Sanskrit words seemed quite unavoidable, I have tried to make their meaning as clear as I could, in the Introduction and Notes.

I am grateful to UNESCO for making it possible for me to publish this book, which I regard as a kind of scholarly last will and testament, as far as its subject is concerned. It sums up my views on early Indian speculation, in what will certainly be, for me, their final form. I have arrived at them only after a lifetime of philological study and reflection. Some of them are unconventional, not to say unorthodox. Though these have been published before, mostly in journal articles, they seem not to have engaged the attention of my scholarly colleagues, or at least their acceptance, to the extent which an author's partiality had led me to hope for. I may be permitted to list here (though they will also be mentioned below, in Introduction or Notes) what I consider the most important of these earlier publications:

The philosophic materials of the Atharva Veda. In *Studies in honour of Maurice Bloomfield* (New Haven, 1920), 117-135, especially 129-135.

The meaning of Sāṃkhya and Yoga. *American Journal of Philology* 45 (1924), 1-46.²

¹ The Bhagavad Gītā is a special case; I published a complete translation of it in 1944 (see below), after some three decades of study of it in and out of academic classes, and for the most part my selections in this book are taken without change from that translation (to which I might have applied the closing words of this paragraph).

² Mahābhārata citations in this article are from the vulgate (and faulty) Calcutta edition; there was then no critical edition. In the present book they are of course taken from the critical edition, and translations in my 1924 article are corrected in accord therewith.

PREFACE

The Upaniṣads: what do they seek, and why? *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 49 (1929), 97-121.

Review of S. Dasgupta, 'A history of Indian philosophy', I and II. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 52 (1932), 248-252.

Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62 (1942), 151-6.

The Bhagavad Gītā, translated and interpreted. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1944. 2 volumes; text and translation with notes in volume 1; interpretation in volume 2.

I am indebted to the Harvard University Press, and to its Director, Mr Thomas J. Wilson, for kindly permitting me to quote extensively from the last-mentioned work.

My friend and former pupil, Norvin J. Hein, Associate Professor of Comparative Religion in the Divinity School of Yale University, has kindly acted as referee on the typescript of the book, and has taken the trouble to read all of it. I value highly the favourable opinion he has expressed of it.

References in the Notes to 'Renou' are to the pages of the book by Louis Renou, *Hymnes spéculatifs du Vêda, traduits et annotés*, Paris, 1956 (Collection Unesco d'oeuvres représentatives, Série Indienne). I have profited greatly from study of this excellent work.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

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PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT WORDS

In reading Sanskrit, at least in the West, it is customary in general to accent the first syllable of two-syllable words, and in longer words to accent the penult when it is long, otherwise the antepenult (as in Latin). A syllable is long (as in Greek and Latin) if it contains a long vowel or diphthong, or if its vowel is followed by more than one consonant.¹ But note:

(1) The vowels *e* and *o* are originally diphthongs, and so are *always long* (although no macron is printed over them); and

(2) The letter *h*, when it follows another consonant, in general does not count as a consonant in determining the length of a syllable. Thus, e.g. *th* is one consonant, not two; and if a short vowel is followed by this and no other consonant, the syllable is short.

Most vowels are pronounced substantially as in German or Italian. The following are their approximate English equivalents.

ā = *a* in father

a (short) = the same sound shortened (or, alternatively, almost like *u* in but; so the Hindus pronounce it)

e (always long) = *ay* in say

ī = *i* in machine

i (short) = *i* in pin

o (always long) = *o* in go

ū = *u* in rule

u (short) = *u* in full

r̄ (a vowel; always short) = *er* in river (or, alternatively, like *ri* in river; so most Hindus pronounce it. There is also a long vowel r̄, but it occurs rarely, and never in words found in this book).

l̄ (a vowel) = *el* in label. (Of rare occurrence; always short.)

DIPHTHONGS

ai = *ai* in aisle.

au = *ou* in loud

The consonants may be pronounced essentially as in English, with the following exceptions:

c = *ch* in church

g is always 'hard' as in get

ṣ and ś may both be pronounced like *sh* in shun. Or more exactly, ś may be pronounced like the 'soft' *s* of Russian; or alternatively like *ch* in German *ich*.

ṁ is a nasalization of a preceding vowel, like the *n* in French Jean.

¹ This system of stress-accent, as here stated, is fairly close to the usage of most Indians today. But it originated in post-classical times in Sanskrit, and has no bearing whatever on Vedic or Sanskrit meter, which are determined exclusively by rhythmic arrangements of long and short syllables. See pp. 337 ff.

PRONUNCIATION OF SANSKRIT WORDS

Furthermore, note that *h* after another consonant is to be pronounced as an aspiration of the preceding consonant. Thus, *bh* is pronounced in a way approaching the sound of *bh* in abhor; *th* (not as in English this or thin, but) in a way approaching *th* in anthill. Note also that *j* is pronounced as in English.

English-speaking readers are advised to ignore the difference between *t*, *th*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *n*, and the same letters printed with dots below, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ̣*, *ḍ̣h*, *ṇ*. These groups represent quite distinctive sounds of Indian languages. English *t*, *d*, and *n* are actually rather closer to *ṭ*, *ḍ̣*, *ṇ* of Sanskrit and other Indian languages than to their *t*, *d*, and *n*. But few English-speakers can imitate, or even recognize, the difference without special training.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

I. THE ORIGINS OF HINDU SPECULATION

The ritualism of the Rig Veda

The records of Hindu religious and speculative thought, as of Hindu literature in general, begin with the Rig Veda. This is a collection consisting mostly of hymns of praise and prayer to a group of deities who are primarily personified powers of nature—sun, fire, wind, sky, rain,¹ and the like—with the addition of some gods whose original nature is obscure. The religion represented by the Rig Veda, however, is by no means a simple or primitive nature-worship. Before the dawn of history it had developed into a ritualistic cult, a complicated system of sacrifices, the performance of which was the class privilege of a guild of priests. In the hands of this priestly class the sacrificial cult became more and more elaborate, and occupied more and more the centre of the stage. At first merely a means of gratification and propitiation of the gods, the sacrifice gradually became an end in itself, and finally, in the period succeeding the hymns of the Rig Veda, the gods became super-numeraries. The now all-important sacrifices no longer persuaded, but compelled them to do what the sacrificer desired; or else, at times, the sacrifice produced the desired result immediately, without any participation whatsoever on the part of the gods. The gods are even spoken of themselves as offering sacrifices; and it is said that they owe their divine position, or their very existence, to the sacrifice. This extreme glorification of the ritual performance appears in the period of the Brāhmaṇas, theological textbooks whose purpose is to expound the mystic meaning of the various rites. They are later in date than the Vedic hymns; and their religion, a pure magical ritualism, is the apotheosis, or the *reductio ad absurdum*, of the ritualistic nature-worship of the hymns.

The popular religion of the Atharva Veda

Even in Rigvedic times the priestly ritual was so elaborate, and so expensive, that in the nature of things only rich men, mainly princes, could engage in it. It was therefore not only a hieratic but an aristocratic cult. The real religion of the great mass of the people was different. We find it portrayed best in the Atharva Veda. This is a collection of hymns, or rather magic charms, intended to accompany a mass of simpler rites and ceremonies which were not connected with the hieratic cult of the Rig Veda. Almost every conceivable human need and aspiration is represented by these popular performances. Their religious basis may be described as primitive animism, and their method of opera-

¹ A good example is RV. 5.83, to the rain-god Parjanya.

tion as simple magic. That is, they regard all creatures, things, powers, and even abstract principles, as volitional potencies or 'spirits', or as animated by 'spirits', which they seek to control by incantations and magic rites. They know also the higher gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, and likewise other gods which perhaps belonged at the start to aboriginal, non-'Aryan' tribes ('Aryan' is the name which the Vedic Hindus apply to themselves). But they invoke these gods after the manner of magic-mongers, much as medieval European incantations invoke the persons of the Trinity and Christian saints in connection with magic practices to heal a broken bone or to bring rain for the crops.

Later Hindu thought developed primarily out of the hieratic, Rigvedic religion; but it contains also quite a dash of lower, more popular beliefs. The separation of the two elements is by no means always easy. The truth seems to be that the speculations out of which the later forms of thought developed were carried on mainly by priests, adherents of the hieratic ritual religion. Almost all the intellectual leaders of the community belonged to the priestly class. But they were naturally—almost inevitably—influenced by the popular religion which surrounded them. Indeed, there was no opposition between the two types of religion, nor such a cleavage as our description may suggest. The followers of the hieratic cult also engaged in the practices that belonged to the more popular religion. This accounts for the constant infiltration from the 'lower' sphere into the 'higher', which we see going on at all periods. In fact, we shall presently see that one of the most fundamental aspects of Vedic speculation, which is equally characteristic of the early Upaniṣads, is more characteristic of the magical religion of the Atharva Veda than of the hieratic Rig Veda.

Henotheism

We can clearly see the growth of certain new views within the Rig Veda itself. Out of the older ritualistic nature-worship, with its indefinite plurality of gods, arises in many Rigvedic hymns a new attitude, a sort of mitigated polytheism, to which has been given the name of henotheism. By this is meant a religious point of view which, when dealing for the moment with any particular god, seems to feel it as an insult to his dignity to admit the competition of other deities. And so, either the particular god of the moment is made to absorb all the others, who are declared to be manifestations of him;¹ or else, he is given attributes which in strict logic could only be given to a sole monotheistic deity.² Thus various Vedic gods are each at different times declared to be the creator, preserver, and animator of the universe, the sole ruler of all creatures, human and divine, and so on. Such hymns, considered separately, seem

¹ RV. 2.1.3-7; 5.3.1-3; to Agni, Fire personified, especially as the fire of sacrifice.

² RV. 2.12; to Indra the war-god.

clearly to imply monotheism; but all that they really imply is a ritualistic henotheism. As each god comes upon the stage in the procession of rites, he is impartially granted this increasingly extravagant praise, until everything that could be said of all the gods collectively is said of each of them in turn, individually. We see that Vedic henotheism is rooted in the hieratic ritual, without which it perhaps would hardly have developed.

Tentative monotheism and monism

In the fifth verse of RV. 2.12, a henotheistic hymn to the war-god Indra, there is a startling reference to religious scepticism. Some people, it says, asked about Indra, 'Where is he?', and even dared to say, 'He is not at all!' Of course the pious author rejects this view; but the fact that he refers to it may be significant. Without going so far as the sceptics, and still keeping within the orthodox ritualistic sphere, some advanced thinkers went beyond henotheism. Instead of simply identifying all gods with one of their number, or attributing to one of them the cosmic powers which traditionally belonged to them all, some new figure is set up to receive such attributes as creation of all things, and supremacy over gods, men, animals, and natural powers. This new figure may be, and in Vedic hymns most often is, personalized as a sort of super-god, in which case we may speak of tentative monotheism; or it may be impersonal, when the author seems to strive to reach an ultimate First Principle, an abstraction, a tentative monism. But the distinction between these two was probably not very sharp or clear to the Vedic poets.

In nearly all the few hymns of this sort found in the Rig Veda, the authors show close contact with hieratic ritualism. So RV. 10.125 is a self-laudation of *Vāc*, literally 'speech', to be rendered 'Holy Utterance', since it (or she; the word is grammatically feminine) is a personification of Vedic hymnal composition. Especially in the first two verses, she supports or inspires the chief gods of the pantheon; the list reminds us of the gods henotheistically identified with Agni in RV. 2.1 and 5.3. But the spirit is new; they are not identified with her; she is supreme over them all, and over the universe (including, of course, importantly the ritual). In another hymn to *Vāc*, RV. 10.71, the interest is less cosmic; rather, strictly ritualistic, centering on the priestly sodality and their search for the inspiration of Holy Utterance. Later Hindu tradition makes 'knowledge' (*jñāna*) the theme of this hymn; a very sound and significant analysis, to which we shall return. In a different way, RV. 10.121, with its tentative monotheism, seems also a development from henotheism. It is suspected of containing actual verbal reminiscences from the Indra-hymn 2.12 (fn. 2). But instead of the latter's refrain, 'He, O folk, is Indra,' 10.121 ends each verse with 'To what god shall we do homage with oblation?' (instead of Indra, as

it were). It proclaims a Demiurge, creator, animator, and ruler of the universe; but never names him (except in the last verse which names Prajāpati, the 'Lord of Creatures', but seems to be a late addition).

In RV. 10.81 and 82 the demiurge is 'the All-maker' (*Viśvakarman*), who in 10.81.7 has the epithet 'Lord of Holy Utterance' (*Vācas-pati*); this is equivalent to *Br̥has-pati* (10.71.1) or *Brahmaṇas-pati* (10.72.2),¹ 'Lord of the Holy Word', (*byh-* or *brāhman*, 'hymn or incantation').

But in more abstract, monistic contexts it is an unnamed 'One' or 'That One', neuter in gender, which RV. 1.164.46 says 'the seers' refer to by names of various gods (a carry-over from henotheism), while RV. 10.129.2 and 3 posits it as utterly independent (the gods are 'later', vs. 6). This remarkable hymn struggles towards purely negative characterizations; in the beginning there was 'neither non-existent nor existent'.²

But the ancient Hindu thinkers, even if they sometimes recognized that they could not, in the nature of things, know the Unknowable, still kept returning to the struggle again and again, from ever varied points of attack. In the Rig Veda itself, in one of its latest hymns (10.90), appears the first trace of a strain of monistic thought which is of the greatest importance for later Hindu philosophy: the universe is treated as parallel in nature to the human personality. The First Principle in this hymn is called *Puruṣa*, that is, 'Man' or 'Person'. From the several parts of this cosmic Person are derived, by a still rather crude process of evolution, all existing things. The significance of this lies in its anticipation of the Upaniṣadic view of the identity of the human soul (later called *ātman*, literally 'self', as a rule) with the universal principle.

Monotheism and monism in the Atharva Veda

The Atharva Veda also contains speculative materials. At times they are monotheistic in tendency. The 'Lord of Creatures', Prajāpati, appears again and again, as a kind of demiurge; and other names are invented for the same or similar figure, such as the 'Establisher', Dhātār, or the 'Arranger', Vidhātār, or 'He that is in the Highest', Parameṣṭhin.³ But never does such a figure attain anything like the

¹ Both these are well-known in older Rig-Vedic hymns as purely ritualistic deities, often assimilated to Agni the 'Fire' of sacrifice; but in the speculative hymns of both Rig Veda and Atharva Veda they come to function as demiurges, or epithets of them. *Brāhman* (neuter) and *Vāc* (feminine) are virtually synonyms. The word *byh-* does not occur alone, only in the compound *Byhas-pati*, but must have been equivalent to *brāhman*.

² *asat, sat*, 'What is not, what is.' But in the fourth verse it goes so far as to say that the 'existent' has its root (origin) in the 'non-existent'; so also RV. 10.72.2 and 3 (contradicted in Chāndogya Up. 6.2). Other references to *asat* and *sat* in Atharva Veda 4.1.1; 10.7.10, 21, and 25.

³ Prajāpati (who is very familiar later), in AV. (e.g.) 10.7.7-8 and 17; 10.8.13; with Parameṣṭhin, 13.3.5 (the latter alone, 13.1.6, 17, and 19; 19.53.9).

definite dignity which we associate with a genuine monotheistic deity. And more often the interest centres around less personal, more abstract entities, either physical or metaphysical, or more or less both at once. The sun, especially under the mystic name of Rohita, 'the Ruddy One', enjoys a momentary glory in several Atharva-Vedic charms, which invest him with the functions of a cosmic principle.¹ Or the world is developed out of water;² we are reminded of Thales, the first of the Greek philosophers. The wind, regarded as the most subtle of physical elements and as the 'life-breath' (*prāṇa*) of the universe, plays at times a like role,³ and by being compared with man's life-breath it contributes to the development of the cosmic 'Person' (Puruṣa) of the Rig Veda into the later Ātman or Soul (of man) as the Supreme One. The word *ātman* itself seems actually to be used in this way in one or two late verses of the Atharva Veda.⁴ The power of Time (*kāla*)⁵ or of Desire (*kāma*)⁶—a sort of cosmic Will, reminding us of Schopenhauer—is elsewhere treated as the force behind the evolution of the universe. Or, still more abstractly, the world-all is derived from a hardly defined 'Support', that is, a 'Fundamental Principle' (*skambha*),⁷ on which everything rests. These and other shadowy figures flit across the stage of later Vedic speculation. Individually, few of them have enough definiteness or importance to merit much attention. But in the mass they are of great value for one who would follow the development of Hindu speculation as a whole.

Identifications

The real underlying motive and rationale of all this 'monism', this seeking for a single principle in the universe, cannot be understood without reference to the principle of *identification* as it appears in Vedic texts; most clearly in the Brāhmaṇas (above, p. 17). A very striking feature of these works is their passion for identification of one thing with another, on the slenderest possible basis; indeed, often on no basis at all that we can discover. The purpose was strictly practical; more specifically, magical. It was to get results by setting cosmic forces in motion. To this end a cosmic force was said to 'be' this or that other thing, which other thing we can control. 'By grasping or controlling one of the two identified entities, the possessor of the mystic knowledge as to

¹ AV. 13.1-3 (Rohita); the sun elsewhere, AV. 10.8.16-24; 11.4.20-22.

² The cosmic waters frequently function, in various ways, in cosmologies, most commonly perhaps as a kind of first evolvent of some more primal principle. See RV. 10.129.1 and 3; 10.125.7; 10.121.7-9; 10.82.5-6; as 'The Shining One' (Virāj) 10.90.5. AV. 9.2.23(?); 10.2.7; 10.7.6, 41; 10.8.34; 11.8.2 and 6; 12.1.8; 13.1.50; 19.54.1 (and in Classical Sanskrit, e.g. Manu 1.8).

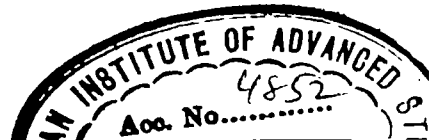
³ AV. 11.4.

⁴ 10.8.43, 44.

⁵ AV. 19.53 and 54. Cf. Mbh. 12.231.25.

⁶ AV. 9.2; 19.52.

⁷ AV. 10.7 and 8.



their identity has power over the other, which is in fact no other¹ but really the same. For instance, 'the cow is breath'; I control a cow, therefore I control breath, my own life-breath, or someone else's. That is the only reason for the fantastic identification. We want to control, let us say, the breath of life, in ourselves or someone else (perhaps an enemy); so we earnestly and insistently identify it with something that we *can* control, and the trick is turned.²

The magic power of knowledge

It required only a slight extension of this to arrive at the notion that if we can only 'know' the one principle of the whole universe, the one which is to be *identified* with 'all', with everything that is, we shall then control all, and be able to deal with the universe as we please.

To understand the implications of 'knowing' this, or anything, in the Vedic age, we must understand the mystic, magic *power* which was then attributed to 'knowledge' as such. Incidentally, this will explain why so large a proportion of Vedic speculation is contained in the Atharva Veda, a book of magic charms. Many have found this association strange. But actually the two are fundamentally one in spirit.

It is a commonplace of Atharvan psychology that *knowledge* of the end to be gained is a prime means of gaining it. 'We know your name, O assembly!' says AV. 7.12.2, in a charm to get control of the public assembly. 'I have grasped the names of all of them,' says a medical charm, AV. 6.83.2, of the scrofulous sores it intends to cure.³ No more fundamental idea can be found in the whole range of Atharvan magic.

We meet the same idea, clearly and insistently set forth in innumerable expressions, in the Brāhmaṇas (p. 17). In their view of the ritual, 'the *knowledge* of a procedure, its psychic image, is magically connected with the procedure itself. The knower, precisely through the fact that he

¹ H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1919, p. 110.

² This was nothing new in the Brāhmaṇas. The Atharva Veda hymn 9.7 glorifies the draft ox by identifying the parts of its body with all sorts of Vedic gods and cosmic entities. In AV. 10.7.32-34 various parts of the 'Support' (itself here identified as a whole with the 'supreme *brāhman*') are severally identified with cosmic entities ('atmosphere his belly, the sky his head', etc. See also AV. 11.4.13). As Oldenberg pointed out (op. cit. 110) the Rig Veda too has similar identifications; e.g. RV. 10.85.7, 10; '... thought (*manas*) was (the bride's) car (*anas*; note the word-play), heaven was its roof', etc.

³ The 'name' is the essence of the person or thing; this is a widespread belief in early human cultures. It lasts at least into the Upaniṣads; in BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.11M. (12 K.), the 'name' is the eternal part of man which does not perish at death. He who knows the 'name' of anything therefore knows the thing itself; and in Vedic belief, if he knows it he controls it and can mold it to his purposes, magically, by immediate power of that knowledge. (For 'K' and 'M' see p. 135).

knows—not because through his knowledge he *acts* skilfully and correctly but by reason of the power of the knowledge in itself . . .—possesses power over the entity or event known.¹ It is, therefore, even said to be unnecessary actually to perform a rite. If you know it, you have as good as performed it. That is, you can be sure of the benefits which are promised to the performer. And furthermore, ignorant performance, that is mechanically going through the motions without true knowledge of their esoteric meaning, does not bring the desired result.² That is why the vast bulk of the Brāhmaṇa texts is devoted to explaining the mystic or magic meaning of various elements in the ritual. We constantly find in them, after such an explanation, that he who ‘knowing thus’ (*evaṃ vidvān*) performs the rite, gets such and such a benefit; or, more directly and simply, that he ‘who knows thus’ (*ya evaṃ veda*) gets the benefit.³ That this doctrine in its extreme form is dangerous to the perpetuation of the actual performances, is obvious. All the more impressive is the fact that despite their absorbing interest in the rites, the Brāhmaṇa texts frequently do not shrink from drawing this conclusion.

It might seem to follow from this that the speculative activity of this period belonged to the popular sphere represented by the religion of the Atharva Veda, more than to the ritualistic cult that was the heir of the Rig Veda. But I think there is evidence to the contrary. However appropriate to the spirit of the popular religion it was in some important respects, this activity was carried on mainly by the priests of the hieratic ritual. And this fact, which for various reasons seems to me indubitable, finds a striking concrete expression in a philosophic term, developed in this period, which deserves special consideration.

Brāhman

Among all the varied formulations of the First and Supreme Principle, none recurs more constantly throughout the later Vedic texts than the *brāhman*. The oldest meaning of this word seems to be ‘holy knowledge’, or (what to primitive man is the same thing) its concrete expression, ‘hymn’ or ‘incantation’. It is applied both to the ritual hymns of the Rig Veda and to the magic charms of the Atharva Veda. Any holy, mystic utterance is *brāhman*. This is the regular, if not the exclusive, meaning which the word has in the Rig Veda. But from the point of view of those times, this definition implies far more than it would suggest to our minds. The spoken word had a mysterious, supernatural power; it contained within itself the essence of the thing denoted. To ‘know

¹ Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, 5.

² *Op. cit.* 140 (with n. 2), 201.

³ A good example of genuine Brāhmaṇa style is the (prose) ‘hymn’ AV. 8.10. After most of its ‘verses’ we are told what he ‘who knows thus’ may expect to gain from this knowledge. Cf. also AV. 2.1.2; 10.2.29-30; 10.8.44.

the *name*' of anything was to control the thing. The *word* means wisdom, knowledge; and knowledge, as we have seen, was (magic) power. So *brāhman*, the 'holy word', soon came to mean the mystic power inherent in the holy word.¹

But to the later Vedic ritualists, this holy word was the direct expression and embodiment of the ritual religion, and as such a cosmic power of the first magnitude. The ritual religion, and hence its verbal expression, the *brāhman*, was omnipotent; it was 'all'. All human desires and aspirations were accessible to him who mastered it. All other cosmic forces, even the greatest of natural and supernatural powers, were dependent upon it. The gods themselves, originally the beneficiaries of the cult, became its helpless mechanical agents, or were left out of account altogether as useless middlemen. The cult was the direct controlling force of the universe. And the *brāhman* was the spirit, the expression, of the cult; nay, it *was* the cult, mystically speaking, because the word and the thing were one; he who knew the word, knew and controlled the thing. Therefore, he who knew the *brāhman* knew and controlled the whole universe. It is no wonder, then, that in the later Vedic texts (not yet in the Rig Veda) we find the *brāhman* frequently mentioned as the primal principle² and as the ruling and guiding spirit of the universe. It is a thoroughly ritualistic notion, inconceivable except as an outgrowth of the theories of the ritualistic cult, but very simple and as it were self-evident from the point of view of the ritualists. The overwhelming prominence and importance of the *brāhman* in later Vedic speculation seems, therefore, a striking proof of the fact that this speculation was at least in large part a product of ritualistic, priestly circles.

¹ The feminine word *Vāc* 'Holy Utterance', as we saw (p. 19), is virtually synonymous with the neuter *brāhman* in its Rig-Vedic meaning. There are also the masculine personifications, *Vācas-pati*, *Byhas-pati*, *Brahmaṇas-pati*, 'Lord of Holy Utterance', etc.

² 'There is nothing more ancient or higher than this *brāhman*,' Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 10.3.5.10. In the Atharva Veda *brāhman* already has this meaning in not a few cases; but the earlier meaning 'Holy Word, hymn, charm' is also fully alive in it, and it is often hard to draw the line between them. This is really only a translation problem. In the Atharva Veda passages translated in this book, the following seem to me cases in which *brāhman* may possibly be rendered 'supreme cosmic principle' or the like: AV. 4.1.1(?); 10.2.21 (and others, 23-33); 10.7.10(?); 17, 24, 32 ff.; 11.8.32; 13.1.33. It is worth noting that the magic charms of the Atharva Veda often specifically allude to the power inherent in these incantations (denoted by *brāhman*!) to bring about the particular object sought in any individual case, such as release from disease (2.10.1), advancement over one's fellows (1.9.3), injury to rivals (1.14.4), etc. The very first hymn of the AV. invokes the 'Lord of Holy Utterance' (*Vācas-pati*) to abide in the Atharvan practitioner, that is, to endow him with the all-important mystic knowledge which is to enable him to gain any end he pleases.

Relations of the First Principle to the empiric world

Not content with attempts to identify the One, the Vedic thinkers also try to define His, or Its, relation to the empiric world. Here again their suggestions are many and varied. Often the One is a sort of demiurge, a Creator, Father, First Cause.¹ Such theistic expressions may be used of impersonal monistic names for the One as well as of more personal, quasi-monotheistic ones. The One is compared to a carpenter² or a smith;³ he joins or smelts the world into being. Or his act is like an act of generation; he begets all beings.⁴ Still more interestingly, his creative activity is compared to a sacrifice, a ritual performance, or to religious fervour.⁵ This obviously ritualistic imagery appears even in the Rig Veda itself, in several of its philosophic hymns.⁶ In the Puruṣa hymn, already referred to, the universe is derived from the sacrifice of the cosmic Person, the Puruṣa; the figure is of the dismemberment of a sacrificial animal; from each of the members of the cosmic Puruṣa evolved a part of the existing world.⁷ The performers of this cosmogonic sacrifice are 'the gods'—inconsistently, of course, for the gods have already been declared to be secondary to the Puruṣa, who transcends all existing things. In later Vedic times we repeatedly meet with such ritualistic expressions. They confirm our feeling that we are dealing with priests.

We see from what has just been said of the Puruṣa hymn that the One—here the Puruṣa, the cosmic 'person' or 'man'—may be regarded as the material source (*causa materialis*) as well as the creator (*causa efficiens*) of the world. All evolves out of it, or is a part of it; but frequently, as in the Puruṣa hymn, it is *more* than all empiric existence; it transcends all things, which form, or derive from, but a part of it.⁸ Again, it is often spoken of as the ruler, controller, or lord of all. Or, it is the foundation, fundament, upon which all is based, which supports all.⁹ Still more significant are passages which speak of the One as subtly pervading all, as air or wind pervades the physical universe, and animating all, as the breath of life (*prāṇa*) is regarded as both pervading and animating the human body.¹⁰

Such expressions as this last lead to a modification, with mitigation of the crudity, of the above-noted parallelism between man, the microcosm, and the universe, the macrocosm, which as we have seen dates from late Rig-Vedic times. In the Puruṣa hymn of the Rig Veda we find a crude evolution of various parts of the physical universe from

¹ E.g. AV. 2.1.3; 11.8.8-9.² RV. 10.81.4.³ RV. 10.72.2; 10.81.3.⁴ RV. 10.129.5 seems to compare the act of creation to a sexual act.⁵ *tapas* RV. 10.129.3.⁶ RV. 10.81.1, 5, 6; 10.82.1.⁷ RV. 10.90.6 ff.⁸ RV. 10.90.3-4; cf. RV. 1.164.45; AV. 2.1.2.⁹ AV. 10.7 and 8.¹⁰ AV. 11.4; on wind, cf. BṛhĀrUp, 3.3.2; 3.7.6 M. (2 K.).

parts of the physical body of the cosmic 'Man'. But in the later Vedic texts the feeling grows that man's nature is not accounted for by dissecting his physical body—and, correspondingly, that there must be something more in the universe than the sum total of its physical elements. What is that 'something more' in man? Is it the 'life-breath' or 'life-breaths' (*prāṇa*), which seem to be in and through various parts of the human body and to be the principle of man's life (since they leave the body at death)? So many Vedic thinkers believed. What, then, is the corresponding 'life-breath' of the universe? Obviously the wind, say some.¹ But even this presently seems too physical, too material. On the human side, too, it begins to be evident that the 'life-breath', like its cosmic counterpart the wind, is in reality physical. Surely the essential Man must be something else. What then? Fittingly, here and there, it is suggested that it may be man's 'desire' or 'will' (*kāma*), or his 'mind' (*manas*),² or something else of a more or less 'psychological' nature. But already in the Atharva Veda,³ and with increasing frequency later, we find as an expression for the real, essential part of Man the word *ātman* used. *Ātman* means simply 'self'; it is used familiarly as a reflexive pronoun, like the German *sich*. One could hardly get a more abstract term for that which is left when everything unessential is deducted from man, and which is at the same time to be considered the principle of his life, the living soul that pervades his being. And, carrying on the parallelism, we presently find mention of the *ātman*, self or soul, of the universe.⁴ The texts do not content themselves with that; they continue to speculate as to what that 'soul' of the universe is. But these speculations tend to become more and more remote from purely physical elements. Increasing partiality is shown for such metaphysical expressions as 'the existent', or 'that which is' (*sat*),⁵ or again 'the non-existent' (*asat*); in the Rig-Vedic hymn 10.129⁶ we were told that in the beginning there was 'neither existent nor non-existent', but later we find both 'the existent' and 'the non-existent' used as expressions for the first principle. But perhaps the favourite formula in later Vedic times for the soul of the universe is the originally ritualistic one of the *brāhman*.

If we remember the Brāhmaṇa principle of identification by mystic knowledge for purposes of magical control, set forth above, we shall

¹ AV. 11.4; on wind, cf. BṛhĀrUp, 3.3.2; 3.7.6 M. (2 K.).

² RV. 10.129.4.

³ 10.8.44; 10.2.32.

⁴ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 14.5.5.15: 'Verily this *ātman* is the overlord of all beings, the king of all beings.'

⁵ But the 'existent', the 'being', that which (really) is, whether in man or in the universe, was probably not so abstract or metaphysical as we feel the corresponding western phrases. The Sanskrit word must be understood from the magical standpoint which I have described.

⁶ Above, n. page 20.

now be able to understand the standard answer given in the Upaniṣads to the question 'With what shall we identify the one thing, by knowing which all is known?' That answer is: 'With the soul, the *ātman*, of man'. Obviously; for whether it be called *brāhman*, or the existent, or what-not, the One is naturally the essential self or 'soul', *ātman*, of the universe. If it is *ātman*, and my soul, my real self, is also *ātman*, then is not the mystic identification ready-made? By 'knowing' the one I may 'know'—and control—the other. And surely there is nothing which I control more obviously and perfectly than my own 'self'. If now I 'know' that the *brāhman*, which is the *ātman* of the universe, is my own *ātman*, then not only do I control the fundamental principle of the universe, because knowledge is magic power; but even more than that, I *am* the fundamental principle of the universe, by mystic identification. For this double reason, there is nothing beyond my grasp. Thus the knowledge of the One which is All, and its identification with the human soul, is a short-cut to the satisfaction of all desires, the freedom from all fear and danger and sorrow.

II. THE UPANIṢADS AND THE FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES OF LATER HINDU THOUGHT

Spirit and aim of the Upaniṣads

The Upaniṣads are the earliest Hindu treatises, other than single hymns or brief passages, which deal with philosophic subjects. They are formally parts of the Veda.¹ The dry bones of the Vedic ritual cult frequently rattle about in them in quite a noisy fashion, and seriously strain our patience and our charity. But in them the struggling speculations sketched above reach a higher development. They do not reach any systematic codification. They are still tentative, fluid, and unstable, often inconsistent with themselves and each other. The difference between them and the groping speculations of the Vedic hymns and Brāhmaṇas is mainly one of emphasis. While cosmo-physical and ritualistic notions are still prominent in them, their interest becomes increasingly anthropocentric; they try to explain the universe in human or quasi-human terms. 'That (world-principle) art thou;'² 'whoso thus knows, "I am *brāhman*", becomes this All';³ 'it (the universal *brāhman*) is thy Self, that is within everything'.⁴ All that is outside of this Self may be viewed as created by, or emitted from, It, as in dreams the Self seems to create a dream-world and to live in it.⁵

The Upaniṣads, as I wrote over thirty years ago,⁶ seek to know the real truth about the universe, not for its own sake; not for the mere joy of knowledge;⁷ not as an abstract speculation; but simply because they conceive such knowledge as a short-cut to the control of every cosmic power. The possessor of such knowledge will be in a position to satisfy his any desire. He will be free from old age and death, from danger and sorrow, from all the ills that flesh is heir to. By knowledge

¹ At least the oldest are mostly parts of, or appendices to, the Brāhmaṇas (p. 17). We may ignore the many late and secondary works which call themselves Upaniṣads. The word may be freely rendered 'secret' or 'mystic doctrine'.

² Chā. Up. 6.8.

³ BrhĀrUp. 1.4.22 M. (10 K.).

⁴ *ibid.* 3.4.1.; see also *ibid.* 3.7.7-30 M. (3-23 K.).

⁵ *ibid.* 4.3.10-11 M. (9-10 K.).

⁶ *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 49 (1929). 118.

⁷ Contrary to the opinion of H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft* 3-8, who says it is 'rare' to find, before the Upaniṣads, a Vedic philosopher seeking 'to unfold a picture of things as they are for its own sake, out of the pure joy of perceiving and understanding', but finds (as a 'genuine novelty') such 'true philosophers' in the authors of the Upaniṣads. In my opinion there never was such a figure in ancient India. Even the latest Classical Indian philosophers would have been amazed to hear this said of themselves. Purely abstract speculation would have seemed to them pointless and incomprehensible. Their aim is to point the way to human salvation.

of the One that is All, and by mystically identifying his own self with that One which is all, he has, like the One, the All in his control. True estoretic knowledge is the magic key to omnipotence, absolute power. By it one becomes autonomous.¹ Upaniṣad philosophy is simply an attempt to gain at one stroke all possible human ends, by *knowing*, once for all, the essential truth of the entire cosmos. If all can be known at once, and especially if it can be mystically identified with one's own 'soul', then all will be controlled, and there will be no need of half-way measures; no need of attempting by magic to gain this or that special desideratum.² The *brāhman*, as an expression for the supreme power of the universe, is, as we saw above, simply this same mystic or magic knowledge.

History of the theory of rebirth and karma

Let us now consider some Upaniṣad speculations about the destiny of man's soul, which lead directly to new developments in later Indian religion.

Belief in some form of life after death is very common all over the world, and existed in Vedic culture. There, as commonly among ourselves, post-mortal life was placed in some un-earthly world or 'heaven' (*svarga*). At least for the man who conformed to the approved cultural norm, it was expected that this life would be happy; nor does it appear that any end was assigned to it—at first. But in the later Vedic period of the texts called Brāhmaṇas, we begin to hear a good deal about 're-death', *punarmṛtyu*, which it was feared might end that post-mortal life, and which people sought to avoid by religious or magical methods.

In the early Upaniṣads, this effort comes to be regarded as vain—for the ordinary man. Further, for him, life after death is now regarded as not different in nature, and not necessarily different even in location, from earthly life. Man is entangled in an indefinite series of lives, essentially like the present life, and ordinarily lived on this earth, though they may take place in some fancied other world. One may be reborn as an animal, as a man low or high in the social scale, even as a super-human being, a *deva* (a 'god' with a small initial letter—not to be

¹ *svarāj*; Chā.Up. 7.25.2.

² By a natural inconsistency, such minor and special desiderata are nevertheless constantly promised for special bits of knowledge in the Upaniṣads. On p. 104 of my 1929 article (fn. 12), I listed over 200 passages in BṛhĀrUp. and ChāUp. (the two oldest Upaniṣads) alone, in which something is promised to one 'who knows thus' some 'truth' that has just been declared. In some cases the boon promised is the *summum bonum*, or if not that, at least freedom from death, old age, sorrow, or the like. But elsewhere it is rulership, progeny, herds of cattle, splendour, wealth, worldly success of all kinds, ascendancy over one's fellows, the discomfiture of one's enemies, even success in the seduction of women; in short, almost anything which was sought by magic practices in the Atharva Veda.

confused with God, see below). But all such lives end in death, and are followed by other lives. It is an endless chain; the Sanskrit term is *samsāra*, 'course, migration' and so 'transmigration'.¹

The relative excellence of any new birth is rigidly determined by the net balance of good and bad actions in previous births. This is the famous law of 'karma' (Sanskrit *karman*, 'action, deed'). It is a law of nature and works automatically; it is not administered by any God or superhuman agent. It is man's relation to propriety or morality, *dharma*, which alone determines. For more than two thousand years, it appears that almost all Hindus have regarded transmigration, determined by 'karma', as an axiomatic fact. 'By good deed one becomes what is good; by evil deed, evil.'²

It might seem, indeed it has seemed to some westerners, that this belief ought to have comforting and reassuring effects on those who hold it. It not only explains the ills of life as just results of past misdeeds, but further seems to make man master of his own future fate. If it leaves no room for divine mercy, it also never cuts off hope; there is no eternal hell, and the lowest being can rise to the status of a 'god' (*deva*) simply by doing right.

But the attitude of thoughtful Hindus has been almost unanimously the opposite. They have regarded the chain of transmigration as a chain in the other sense, a bondage (*bandhana*, or a synonym). Even the life of a 'god' is at any rate transitory. All pleasures come to an end; this knowledge poisons their enjoyment, and after they are gone their remembrance makes life doubly bitter. Death is an unavoidable misery, not less dread because it must be undergone over and over again; we saw that belief in, and fear of, 're-death' was older than the theory of rebirth. No human, at least, is free from disease, old age, separation from loved ones, and other ills. The fleeting pleasures of life by no means compensate for all these evils. In short, life is fundamentally bad (*duḥkha*, 'misery'); that transmigration makes it inescapable means that we are imprisoned in an eternal dungeon.

Or is it necessarily eternal? Is there any way of cutting the Gordian knot of transmigration under 'karma'?

For the ordinary man, say most Hindus, there is none. So long as one does nothing better than perform various acts for worldly purposes (which the Hindus summarize as the 'group of three', *trivarga*: social propriety, worldly advantage, and love, *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*) these acts must have their 'fruit' or result (*phala*), good or bad, for the doer; and that (even the good act and its result) means continued existence in birth after birth. Since all births are evil, even the best and

¹ The oldest known occurrence of this word is in KāṭhaUp. 3.7. But the essential idea is at least as old as BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.4-5 M.

² BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.14 M.; 4.4.6 M.

highest, which is the most that the ordinary man can hope for, is still evil.

Ways of release, or salvation

There is, however, a possible way out. Few can attain it. It involves rejection of ordinary human aims; a denial, in theory at least complete, of the generally accepted cultural pattern. This is what I have called the *extraordinary* norm.¹ In spite of variation in details of method, its several varieties agree substantially in the end to be sought, and in their attitude towards the ordinary way of life. And, significantly, its followers have received, even from those who cleave to that ordinary norm, the homage of reverence, implying a recognition of its superiority, though it may be regarded as unattainable by the generality of mankind.

The aim of the extraordinary norm is emancipation from rebirth. Perhaps the earliest account of it² makes it the result of getting rid of all desires, except desire for the Self. The desireless man becomes immortal and identical with the world soul; 'being just the *brāhman*, unto the *brāhman* he arrives'. He is then unaffected by any action; he is beyond good or evil deed.³ For him there can be no more involvement in the karma-controlled chain of rebirths. This is what is later called 'release' or 'salvation'.⁴

*'Knowledge' the primary way; morality and devotion
originally ancillary*

Most Hindus have always regarded this as the *summum bonum*. 'Anything other than this is evil.'⁵ All the later philosophies make it their aim to teach ways of gaining it. And the favourite way, that preferred by most later systems, is by true *knowledge*, just as in the Vedic and Upaniṣad texts. However, other ancillary, or at least preliminary, methods are regarded as helpful. The chief ones are morality, asceticism, and devotion. Morality is important only in early stages; one must get rid of immorality in order to start towards the goal.

¹ See my 'Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 62 (1942). 151-6.

² BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.8-10 M. (6-7 K.); cf. also KaṭhaUp. 6.14 and elsewhere.

³ BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.24, 27, 28 M. (22, 23 K.).

⁴ *Mokṣa*, *mukti*; these words are not so used until later Upaniṣads (not included in this book), but are standard in epic Sanskrit and later philosophy (e.g. Mbh. 12.290.23). In BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.5 M. (3 K.) ff. we find four kinds of *mukti*, 'release' (from death and the ravages of time; the fourth is ascent to the 'heavenly world'), followed by four 'attainments'. All these are won by mystic knowledge of identifications between ritual, cosmic, and human entities. Obviously this is not the later *mukti*, 'release' from rebirth.

⁵ BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1 M. (3.4.2 K.) *et alibi*.

Devotion to God (or Brahman) plays very little role in the earliest Upaniṣads; their One is too abstract and impersonal.¹

Asceticism

Asceticism has a complicated early history. In Vedic speculation we hear of what is called *tapas*, which literally means 'heat'. In cosmogonic contexts² it may suggest the creative warmth that is symbolized by brooding over eggs; the notion of a cosmic egg out of which the world comes occurs more than once. But in religious language the same word also means 'religious, devotional fervour', the inspiration of the priest, and thus nearly related to *brāhman*, the Holy Word.³ For these various reasons *tapas*, 'heat' or 'fervour', occurs as a cosmic force. Occasionally it is a First Principle itself, but more often the Creator god 'exercises *tapas*' in making the world.

About the time of the early Upaniṣads, or perhaps earlier, *tapas* began to acquire a new connotation, connected with the growth in India of a recognized class of monks or hermits, who renounced the world and devoted themselves to meditation or some kind of asceticism. They do not appear very clearly in the Vedic hymns.⁴ Their appearance in large numbers is surely related to the growth of world-weariness among Hindu intellectuals. The seeker after saving 'knowledge' must get rid of all desires for worldly things, as we saw. This naturally meant detachment from normal human life. Not only because it was painful or at best transitory and negligible, but because it was distracting. It impeded the attainment of the higher goal by involving man in mundane interests. Thus arose the ideal norm of the wandering monk (*saṃnyāsin*, *bhikṣu*, *muni*), the homeless ascetic, living on alms, cut off from family ties, possessions, and all worldly life. He stood outside of everything, even of caste; a member of any caste, or of none, might become a truth-seeking mendicant. All monks were brothers, and to them all was one. The truly enlightened man regards a learned brahman and a despised outcaste, a noble beeve or elephant and an unclean dog, as all one.⁵

¹ Although Kaṭha Up. 2.23 says 'Only whom He (the Self) chooses, by him He is to be gained; this Self chooses that man's person as his own (to dwell in)'; and cf. 2.24 with my note. The Bhagavad Gītā, on the other hand, makes devotion to God its favourite way of salvation. See Bh.G. 7.20-23, 28; 9.30, 31; Chapter 11 entire; 12.6-8; etc.

² RV. 10.129.3; 10.190.1; also AV. 10.7.1; 11.8.2 and 6.

³ *Brāhman* in this meaning is closely associated with *tapas* in AV. 8.10.25. In this sense, too, it may have had a partly physical connotation. The sacrificial ritual itself, performed over the sacred fire, was 'heating' to the officiants, as the texts make clear.

⁴ But note the curious RV. 10.136 (not included in this book), a glorification of ascetics, here called *muni*; the word *tapas* does not appear in this hymn.

⁵ Bhagavad Gītā 5.18. Outcastes are said to be eligible for salvation in Mbh. 12.232.32.

This supreme knowledge was only for the rare elect. Ascetic life (*tapas*) was popularly regarded as its outward sign, and sometimes confused with the inner reality, a fact of which hypocrites could and did take advantage to seek undeserved popular respect. At times the ascetic life, originally only ancillary to the search for knowledge, tended to obscure that goal, and to be thought of by the vulgar as the direct way to salvation.

Worldly but unselfish activity

A still different aid to, or even substitute for, saving knowledge is taught in the celebrated Bhagavad Gītā. It points out that normal worldly action is motivated by desire or craving (*kāma, tṛṣṇā*).¹ It is not what one does, but the motive of the act, that produces the binding effect of the law of karma. Accordingly, says this text, it is not at all necessary to renounce mundane life and activity, and adopt asceticism. All that is needed is to act with pure unselfishness, not caring what happens to oneself. Disinterested action (*karma*-)yoga or 'discipline (in action)', does not bind to continued rebirth. The Gītā is still the most popular religious authority in India, doubtless for this reason, that it allows salvation for the man who remains in worldly life, provided only that he is selfless.²

How to define the state of salvation

But what is this salvation or 'freedom' (*mokṣa*), the goal of the extraordinary cultural norm in all its forms, whatever their variant methods of seeking it? They all agree that it is complete and permanent freedom from transmigration, and from the law of 'karma' which regulates it. That means freedom from life, or rather from empiric existence as we know it. The favourite term is *nirvāṇa*, occurring first in such texts as the Bhagavad Gītā and in Pāli Buddhist texts; the genuine Upaniṣads do not contain it, though they have roughly equivalent expressions. It, or the *Brāhman* which is a semi-personalized expression for it, is sometimes defined as real (*sat*; not non-existent), conscious (*cit*; not inert), and blissful (*ānanda*). Otherwise it is called 'the supreme station (*dhāma paramaṃ*), that than which there is

¹ See above, with fn. 2, p. 31.

² Note that even this, the mildest and least demanding of all the forms of the extraordinary norm, nevertheless rejects the aims not only of *artha* and *kāma*, worldly profit and love, but even of *dharma*, traditional social propriety—as aims for seekers of salvation. Salvation, *mokṣa*, is a fourth aim; the *trivarga* or Group of Three now is replaced by the *caturvarga*, or Group of Four. But its fourth member is on a totally different level. Its followers are after all men, if exceptional ones, hence a complete and true enumeration of all human aims must include it, as well as the other three. But one who pursues the fourth must renounce the three, and vice versa.

nothing better (*niḥśreyasa*), or the like; or, in monotheistic texts, 'becoming' or 'going to God'.¹ Clearer positive descriptions hardly exist. It is utterly unlike existence as we know it—on a totally different plane. Indeed, at times the texts say that only negative statements about it are possible; *neti, neti*,² 'No, no', a very old Upaniṣad says several times. All one can say is that anything one could say is false.

The word *nirvāṇa* means literally 'extinction' as of a flame. It is not, however, extinction of existence; only of empiric existence as we know it. Originally, indeed, it seems to have meant extinction of the flames of desire, which is often compared to a consuming fire, and which leads to action, which leads to continued rebirth. It is therefore their 'extinction' which leads to salvation (*mukti, mokṣa*), the goal of the extraordinary norm.

¹ Such expressions are used as *madbhāvaṃ yāti, māṃ eti*. Gītā 8.5; 11.55, 'he goes to My estate, to becoming Me,' or simply 'to Me' (God speaking).

² BṛhĀrUp. (M.) 3.9.28 *et alibi*.

III. PHILOSOPHY IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

The epic's position in the history of Indian philosophy

This 'great epic of India' contains a number of passages which are as speculative or 'philosophical' as the Upaniṣads, and may be regarded as somewhat later developments of Upaniṣad thought.¹ Like the Upaniṣads, they are still tentative, fluid and unstable, and often inconsistent with themselves and each other. But they mark another step, if not a very long one, in the direction of the systematic codifications of classical Hindu philosophical systems.

Ways of salvation: first, by 'knowledge'

The 'fundamental doctrines of later Hindu thought' set forth above in Chapter II are all, to the extent there indicated, to be understood as underlying Mbh. philosophy. In particular, its one and only general aim is to set forth a way, or ways, of human salvation.² And, while other ways have now become prominent, one can hardly avoid the impression that, to begin with, they were ancillary to the way of *knowledge*, which, as we saw, was virtually the only way of salvation recognized in the Upaniṣads.³ There seems to be a tendency to claim that other ways of salvation are 'just as good as' the way of knowledge. But a denial of the efficacy of the latter is hardly to be found.⁴

The name Sāṃkhya

The epic has a regular name for the way of salvation by knowledge. It calls it Sāṃkhya (neuter); and its adherents are also called Sāṃkhya (masculine). This word means 'based upon *saṃkhyā*', which in 12.308.79

¹ Indeed, the Bhagavad Gītā, the most important of these passages, is described as an Upaniṣad in the colophons or chapter-signatures of most of its manuscripts; they call it the 'secret doctrines (Upaniṣads) sung (*gītā*) by the Lord (Bhagavad, i.e. Kṛṣṇa or God).' It is called 'the Gītā' for short, but strictly speaking the word *gītā* was an adjective, not a noun. The Mokṣadharmā, the only other part of the Mbh. from which I shall present selections, is a much looser conglomeration than the Gītā; it constitutes the third sub-parvan (grand division) of Book 12 of the Mbh., and has no other inclusive title. Its passages are referred to here by '12' followed by number of chapter and verse.

² In fact, this is equally true of the later and more systematic philosophies of classical India. See above, footnote 7, p. 28, Chapter II.

³ And which originated in the Vedic belief in the magic power of knowledge; Chapter I above.

⁴ While, contrariwise, there are passages, such as 12.233.3-14, which definitely rate the way of 'action', by which one is bound, as inferior to the way of 'knowledge' (with inactivity), which leads to salvation. Note also Gītā 4.38, where 'knowledge' is the unequalled 'purifier' (means of salvation), but 'discipline' leads, as an ancillary means, to 'knowledge'.

and 82 is used, not as a technical term of philosophy but as a word of every-day language, meaning 'reasoning, ratiocination'. It is there one of five qualities which should characterize 'speech'; that is, successful eloquence or 'rhetoric'. (Cf. also 12.228.27.) Accordingly, the derivative Sāṃkhya must be understood as the method 'based on reason, ratiocination'; it is the rationalizing, reflective, speculative, philosophical method. In my translation of the Gītā I have rendered it 'reason-method'. It seems a natural term to describe the method of gaining salvation by 'knowledge'.¹

The way of knowledge (Sāṃkhya) involves abstention from actions

Repeatedly in the Mbh. we hear that Sāṃkhya-followers believe in renunciation of actions.² The stock argument for this quietism is that all acts, which must involve contacts with the outer world through the senses, must have their results in continued existence.³ However, knowledge remains the main theme in the Sāṃkhya way of salvation.

¹ Another meaning of *saṃkhyā* is 'number'. Many, perhaps most, scholars in the past have assumed that Sāṃkhya meant 'numerical' system, because allegedly many numerical categories were characteristic of what was later called the 'Sāṃkhya' system. But I cannot find that even later 'Sāṃkhya' was more 'numerical' than any other Hindu philosophy. All Hindu systems, of science and pseudo-science as well as philosophy, revel in numerical categories; I know of no Hindu systematic treatise on any subject which did not. With what less 'numerical' system would Sāṃkhya be contrasted in this sense? It is commonly set off against Yoga (see below). Yet the later Yoga, so far from lacking numerical categories, takes over virtually all the categories of the Sāṃkhya system and even adds to them. And the epic also attributes to Yoga, as well as to Sāṃkhya, acceptance of the 24 or 25 principles (*tattva*) which are the chief example always cited as the reason for interpreting Sāṃkhya as 'numerical system'. H. Jacobi, a very distinguished Indologist, remarked truly (in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1895*, p. 209) that Jainism, Buddhism, and other Hindu sects go much farther than Sāṃkhya in using numerical categories. But the conclusive answer to the theory that Sāṃkhya meant 'system of numbered categories', in my opinion, is that Sāṃkhya meant no metaphysical 'system' at all, but a way of salvation, by knowledge. Occasionally (as in 12.294.42), but rarely, we may find what seems to be a punning use of the word with reference to the mathematical meanings of its cognates. The fondness of Hindus for word plays makes this predictable.

² This is clearly implied in Gītā 3.4 ff., which in preferring 'action' to 'renunciation' is obviously preferring 'Yoga' to 'Sāṃkhya', both mentioned just before in 3.3. The same collocation is repeated in Gītā 5.2-6, where it is admitted in 5.4-5 that both Sāṃkhya and Yoga are 'one', since both lead to salvation, but where 'discipline of action' (=Yoga, see below) is preferable to 'renunciation' (clearly =Sāṃkhya) because the latter is 'hard to attain'. So in Mokṣadh.: 12.228.32 'The withdrawal from sense-objects is the mark of perfection for Sāṃkhya-followers' and 12.228.36 (with a description of the Sāṃkhya adept); likewise 12.231.5 (identified as Sāṃkhya 232.1); 289.4-5 (Sāṃkhya-followers must turn away from the objects of sense); 290.59-60.

³ So e.g. Mbh. 12.233, and other references cited just below.

In Mbh. 12.290.95 ff. we find a long paean in praise of the *knowledge* of Sāṃkhya. Knowledge is made specifically characteristic of Sāṃkhya in 12.267.38; 290.2-5; 294.26; 304.2. In 12.233 the word Sāṃkhya does not occur, but two 'paths' are sharply distinguished. They consist (vss. 3 ff.) of 'action', which is 'perishable' and leads to bondage and rebirth (vs. 7 ff.), and is thus contrasted with the path of 'knowledge' (with 'inactivity', vs. 6) which is 'imperishable' and leads to salvation. Obviously this is a glorification of the Sāṃkhya way of salvation, though the name Sāṃkhya is lacking. Quite similarly, knowledge as a means of salvation is glorified in the Gītā, 4.33-39 (note especially 37), also without mention of the term Sāṃkhya; and this too although in general the Gītā prefers other ways of salvation. Cf. 12.306.84, 88.

Yoga, the way of salvation by actions

The principal alternative to the Sāṃkhya 'way of salvation' in the Mbh. is called Yoga. This word, as all Sanskritists know, is a fluid one, used in a variety of senses, philosophical and other. It may mean simply 'method, means'; and it is so used in the epic, e.g. Gītā 3.3, where Sāṃkhya-followers follow the *yoga* (method) of knowledge (*jñāna-yoga*), while Yoga-followers follow the *yoga* (method) of action (*karma-yoga*). Here the two compounds, 'method (*yoga*) of knowledge' and 'method (*yoga*) of action', characterize respectively the 'Sāṃkhya' and the 'Yoga' ways of salvation. It seems clear, though rather puzzling to us, that 'Yoga' as name of a way of salvation must have some other meaning than 'method', though the same word occurs twice in the same verse in just that sense. This other meaning is 'exertion, disciplined activity', a regular, disciplined course of *action* leading to a definite end; namely, the end of emancipation.¹ Sāṃkhya seeks salvation by *knowing* something, Yoga by *doing* something. Yoga as a name for a way of salvation is a synonym of the less ambiguous *karma-yoga*, 'method (discipline) of *action*' (Gītā 3.3, above).

This being so, it is natural that 'action, activity' and 'power' are key-notes of the method of Yoga, in contrast with 'knowledge' in the case of Sāṃkhya. 'There is no knowledge like Sāṃkhya, no power like

¹ It should be emphasized that Yoga *never* means 'union (of the soul with Brahman or God)', as has been wrongly held; see my monograph, 'The meaning of Sāṃkhya and Yoga', *American Journal of Philology* 45 (1924), pp. 38-39 with fn. 44. The root from which it is derived meant originally to 'hitch up', as horses to a vehicle; then, figuratively, to 'put (anything) to active, vigorous, and purposeful use'. The noun *yoga*, as defined above, is often associated with the cognate past participle *yukta*, 'disciplined, zealous in action', and with other related forms, especially *yogin*, 'one who possesses or is adept in *yoga*'. In popular language it may mean 'supernatural or mysterious performance'; so apparently Gītā 7.25, 'My (God's) magic trick-of-illusion' (*yoga-māyā*; *māyā* is used of a juggler's performances); 9.5, 'My (God's) divine *yoga* (mysterious act, or magic).'

Yoga' (12.304.2).¹ And in 12.294.6, 7 (here also 'the highest power'); 304.8 it is 'Yoga-activity'. Vigorous, powerful strenuosity is characteristic of Yoga; a series of lively similes illustrating this is given in 12.289.12-25.

'Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one'

Several times the Mbh. asserts that 'Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one'. 'The same which Yoga-followers see, that is observed by Sāṃkhya-followers. Who sees that Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one, he is enlightened,' Mbh. 12.293.30; virtually identical are 12.304.4, and Gītā 5.5. In 12.304.2-4 Sāṃkhya and Yoga are 'one' because they 'have the same practical result', namely, they both lead to 'freedom from death' (salvation). A fuller statement in 12.289.1-9 similarly says that both methods answer the question 'How may the soul be saved?' (3) 'Yoga-followers rely on immediate (mystic) perception, Sāṃkhya-followers on accepted teaching² (i.e. knowledge; by "knowing" says vs. 4); and both these opinions I consider true' (7; i.e. one can get salvation by either method). 'Common to both are disciplined purity and compassion to all creatures. The maintenance of strict vows is alike in both; the views are not the same in them' (9), i.e. each has its own preferred way of reaching salvation. Interestingly, the Gītā 5.6 prefers Yoga to Sāṃkhya because the latter is more difficult; it is easier to feel and act than to think.

Specific 'activity' of Yoga method

In Mbh. 12.294.6 ff. and 304.5 ff. we find typical programs of Yoga 'activity' (294.6-7; 304.8). Its most fundamental feature in 294.7 is meditation (*dhyāna*), 'the highest power' (294.7; cf. 304.2), which in 304.16 is represented by the cognate verb (*dhyāyeta*), 'he shall meditate'. In both passages this basic Yoga-activity is of two kinds: restraint of the vital powers (*prāṇāyāma*, withdrawing the senses from sense-objects), and fixation or concentration of the thought-organ (*dhāraṇā*, *dhāraṇam*, or *ekāgratā*, *manasaḥ*). The former of these two is 'qualified, material' (*sa-guṇa*), the latter 'unqualified, super-material' (*nir-guṇa*); see all these Sanskrit words in the Index; I have suggested the terms 'exoteric' and 'esoteric', since the latter is clearly a higher stage (294.7-8, 10, 16; 304.8-9, 13-15, and cf. 23). So finally one attains union with the Absolute (304.26), or 'sees the Seer, the supreme ageless Self' (294.25). This kind of strenuous, and solitary, activity (solitude is repeatedly enjoined), amounts, it seems, to what western rationalists might interpret as a kind of self-hypnosis; cf. 12.289.31-41, with notes. The commonest Sanskrit word for it is *samādhi*, 'concentration'. Other passages dealing with the same subject are Mbh. 12.188; 228.4-15; 232; 238.6-12

¹ In the preceding stanza 1, to be sure, 'Yoga-knowledge' is the term used; but see my note on that verse.

² See fn. 2 on p. 36.

(without the label Yoga). Probably the earliest reference (a brief one) to Yoga in this sense is KUp. 6.10-13.

Supernatural powers

Along the Yoga-way towards the goal, we are told that the practitioner incidentally may acquire various supernatural powers, such as are still attributed to 'yogis' in popular Hindu belief. But, interestingly, the epic definitely treats these as negligible, if not positively detrimental to the searcher after final salvation. See 12.228.16-26 (they must be transcended, 37-38); 232.21 (supernatural experiences) and 22 (these should be ignored); 289.26-27 (but cf. 29-30 with note 1); 304.5-6.

Yoga in the Bhagavad Gītā

We have now referred, in the last two paragraphs, to the most important passages in which the Mokṣadharmā treats the way of salvation by Yoga. In one passage of the Bhagavad Gītā, 6.10 ff. (note especially vss. 10-12, 19-28), we find language clearly reminiscent of the sort of *samādhi*, concentration or self-hypnosis called Yoga in these Mokṣadharmā sections. But oftener, when the Gītā speaks of Yoga, it means (as we saw in Chapter II) a different kind of 'disciplined activity', namely, remaining in worldly life and doing one's duty, without selfish interest. The Gītā teaches that this too will bring salvation; and since it is obviously a course of *action*, it fits the term Yoga. In some passages, no doubt, the Gītā's use of *yoga* may be ambiguous. But there are a number of places where it seems clearly to mean the way of worldly but unselfish action, required by 'duty' (which is often not clearly defined; sometimes it is traditional caste-duty; sometimes obedience to God; sometimes treating others like oneself, as in the Christian Golden Rule; see 13.28 note 1). I find such passages in Gītā 2.47-51; 3.3-8, 19; 4.19-23; 5.1-12; 6.1-4; 12.12; 18.2-6, 9-11.

Salvation by the way of devotion to God

However, the Bhagavad Gītā's favourite way of salvation is one that is hardly known, certainly not prominent, in the early Upaniṣads, nor in the Mokṣadharmā. This is the mystic's way of devotion (*bhakti*) to God. The Gītā's religion is a compromise between the speculation of the intellectuals and the emotionalism of popular religion, which in later India comes to play a great role; the cult of Kṛṣṇa (identified with the Vedic god Viṣṇu in Gītā 11.24 and 30)¹ must have originated in such local popular circles. The impersonal Brahman is still recognized as an acceptable First Principle in the Gītā. But devotion to God is preferred.² It is,

¹ Arnold presents only one of these two identifications (309, from Gītā 11.30).

² Gītā 12.2; it is easier, 12.5. But those who revere 'the imperishable, undefinable, unmanifest' (substantially = Brāhman which however is not named in this passage) reach God all the same, 12.3-4.

indeed, as the Gītā says, not so easy to feel a mystic's warm personal devotion for an abstract, impersonal Absolute. The mystic vision of God in the eleventh chapter is the climax of the poem.

The way of devotion is sometimes rationalized as another side-door entrance (like asceticism and some form of Yoga) to salvation by knowledge, in this case knowledge of God, which will lead to union with Him and so to final release. But usually the Gītā speaks of it as the immediate and all-sufficient way.¹

What 'knowledge' is to bring salvation ?

We must now examine the content of the 'knowledge' which in the epic is expected to bring salvation, at least according to the Sāṃkhya method.² By 'knowing' *what*, shall one be saved?

We saw in Chapter II that in the Upaniṣads, it was knowledge of the fundamental principle of the universe, of the 'One' which is 'All', most commonly called Brahman; and its identification with the 'self or soul' of man (usually *ātman* or *puruṣa*). We saw that in the early Upaniṣads, this identifying knowledge was conceived as magic power, giving immediate control of what was known; a belief inherited from the Veda, and applicable also to lower and purely worldly human ends.³

¹ Cf. above, Chapter II, note 1, p. 32.

² And let us not forget that even those who follow other methods seem to recognize that the 'way of knowledge' is at least *one* valid way. The metaphysics of the epic tends to be associated specially with this method, naturally, since it is the way based on ratiocination, on getting at the 'truth' about the universe, which is expected directly to set man free. So, for example, Mbh. 12.267, a speculative and analytic passage, is identified at the end (vs. 38) as 'Sāṃkhya-knowledge', which leads to 'becoming Brahman', that is salvation. But a similar passage, 12.295, is said (in vss. 42-46) to be accepted by both Sāṃkhya and Yoga. And another, 12.306.52-88, is not only attributed to both Sāṃkhya and Yoga repeatedly (vss. 55, 65, 69, 76), but vs. 83 goes farther; it says that 'all Sāṃkhya-followers . . . and also Yoga-followers . . . and likewise *whatever other men are seeking salvation*, all of them have this view, which is perceived by *knowledge*.' See also 12.228.27, 32, 36, which certify this passage as Sāṃkhya; but vs. 28 says its main doctrines are accepted in both Sāṃkhya and Yoga. Similarly 12.290.95-110 is a glorification of Sāṃkhya, leading to the highest goal (Brahman); but it is said to be accepted by Yoga too, vss. 100, 103. In the same way, both Sāṃkhya and Yoga accept the teachings of 12.293.29-50 (vss. 29, 30, 42, 44); 12.295 (vss. 42-46). In short, we are told that there was no disagreement as to metaphysical theory between the followers of different ways of salvation. There are considerable differences found in the details of the epic's formulations of the 'truth' about the universe and man; but they are not associated with different methods of seeking the *summum bonum*. Nowhere, to the best of my knowledge, does the epic attribute *metaphysical* differences to one or another way of salvation. This must be emphasized, because the contrary has been, and I fear still is, widely held. My 1924 article in the *American Journal of Philology* (note 1, p. 37) undertakes to refute the most important of what I consider such errors.

³ Chapter II, note 2, p. 29.

Knowledge of the truth about the universe and man

In the Mbh., one may safely generalize to the extent of saying that it is still knowledge of the fundamental 'truth' about the universe and man, which is expected to bring salvation directly. But while this was clearly inherited from the Upaniṣads, it can hardly be called 'magical' any longer. The epic has become more sophisticated. There is also no longer any clear proof that lower, worldly ends were sought by magic knowledge. The epic speaks of acquisition of supernatural (we might say 'magic') powers, but in connection with the Yoga method, not the Sāṃkhya way of knowledge. And furthermore, even in Yoga, they are deprecated; it is said that they should be ignored or transcended (above). They do not help towards salvation.

Seeming (prima-facie) dualism

The Upaniṣads show little interest in anything but the 'soul', of man or of the universe. Not that they deny other things' existence, but they find them negligible: 'anything other than that is evil'.¹

The epic is like them in regarding the soul as the essential part of man. But in emphasizing its distinction from what is body or non-soul, it often undertakes to analyse matter.² The soul is unitary, undifferentiated, without qualities, and generally regarded as really inactive. It is immortal; when the body dies, the soul merely passes into another body; and it cannot be affected by anything physical (BhG. 2.12-25). All acts are commonly said to be done by material nature, which appears in manifold forms and is constantly subject to change.

The three 'strands' of matter

The variety of material nature is expressed in two ways. First, it is composed of three elements usually called *gūṇas*, that is 'threads, strands' as of a rope, or 'qualities'; they are named *sattva*, 'goodness, purity', *rajas*, 'passion, activity', and *tamas*, 'darkness, dullness'. Preponderance of one or another of them determines the character of any given part of matter.³

This three-fold variety in material nature, pervading all parts of it, may be called a horizontal division of matter, into best, middling, and worst layers or aspects of it.

¹ BrhĀrUp. 3.5.1 M. (3.4.2 K.) *et alibi*.

² Besides *dēha* and *śarīra*, common words for 'body', the usual more philosophical Hindu term is *prakṛti*, 'material nature' (or, in its primal unevolved state, *avyakta*, 'the unmanifest'); also often *kṣetra*, 'the Field', as opposed to *kṣetra-jñā*, 'the Field-knower', a name for the soul. The soul is most commonly called *ātman* 'self', as in the Upaniṣads; other names are *puruṣa* 'man, person, spirit', and *dēhin*, *śarīrin*, or *kṣetrin*, 'the possessor of the body or field, the embodied'. Still other terms occur for both soul and non-soul.

³ For a good brief statement see *Gītā* 14.5-27.

The principles or evolvents (tattva) of matter

But secondly, there is an equally important division of material nature, which may be called vertical, and quasi-evolutionary (using this word not quite in its European sense). It is also quasi-dualistic, and in later, post-Epic Indian philosophy, it develops into a definitely dualistic system (then called by the name 'Sāṃkhya', a term borrowed from the Epic with modification of meaning), which asserts complete separation of the soul or self from the 'body' or matter. In this classical system (and in many Mahābhārata passages) the soul is unchanging and, in its true state, independent of matter. Matter, however, changes and evolves into a series of twenty-three, or (counting in the primal un-evolved matter) twenty-four, 'essences, elements' or 'principles' (principia, *tattva*), which include all existing things other than the soul; the soul is counted as a twenty-fifth *tattva*. This later system also retains from the Epic the three-fold horizontal division of matter into the 'strands'.

We find, usually in rather confused form, approaches to this 'evolutionary' system (system of 'evolvents' of matter) in the Mahābhārata. Perhaps the clearest statement, and closest to the later classical form, is 12.298.10-15. Here we find eight (productive) material principles (*prakṛti*, plural), of which seven are 'manifest', while the eighth (the original, primal, *prakṛti*) is 'unmanifest'. From this 'unmanifest' evolves first the 'Great One' (masculine; elsewhere called Great Self, but also *buddhi*, 'awareness, consciousness, intelligence, intellect'; see Index s.v. *Buddhi* 4); then the 'I-faculty' (*ahaṃkāra*); then the five gross elements (ether, air or wind, fire, water, earth); these are the eight *prakṛtis*. There are, next, sixteen 'modifications' (*vikāra*; distinguished from the eight *prakṛtis* as non-productive), viz. the five organs of perception (the same as the 'five senses' known in the west), their five objects (things heard, felt, seen, tasted, smelled),¹ the five organs of action (hands, for grasping; feet, for locomotion; mouth or 'speech', for speaking; anus and generative organ), and the thought-organ (*manas*, an internal sense). It will be noted that the Hindus include among the evolvents of material nature a number of faculties of living beings which are commonly called 'mental' in the west (*buddhi*, *ahaṃkāra*, *manas*). In standard Indian thought they have nothing to do with the 'Soul' or 'self', the twenty-fifth 'principle'. To be sure there seems at times to be some confusion on this point.

This list of twenty-four 'principles' differs somewhat in detail from the later Sanskrit list but is close to it. It must have been widely known in epic times. This is shown by numerous references to twenty-four

¹ Regarded as evolvents of the five gross elements, in the order named above (ether is the source of sounds, air of touches, etc.).

tattvas, or to the twenty-fourth *tattva* as material nature (*prakṛti*, also called *avyakta* 'the unmanifest', above, and *pradhāna*); also to twenty-five *tattvas* and to the Soul as the 'twenty-fifth'; see Index under all these terms.¹ Gītā 13.5 (supplemented by 13.19) shows that its author also knew the twenty-four material principles.

This system of twenty-four evolvents of matter, with the separate soul as twenty-fifth, developed in the time of the Epic. It is not recorded earlier; the Upaniṣads do not contain it. Nevertheless, parts of it seem to be anticipated, or (better) theories appear which in the Epic were incorporated into it (with modifications), as early as the Kāṭha Upaniṣad. And some of these reappear in the Epic, side by side with the fully developed system. I refer to KUp. 3.10-11 and 6.7-8; there are quite similar passages in Mbh. 12.238.3-4 and 240.2.² A different but also fragmentary list of what are elsewhere called *tattvas* will be found in Gītā 7.4; it is applied here to the 'lower' or physical nature of God (cf. 7.5).

One peculiar aspect of the system of evolvents of matter is worthy of note, and as far as I know seems to have failed to attract attention. The primal *prakṛti* is that out of which the other twenty-three 'principles' evolve. One would expect it, then, to be the first 'principle'; yet it is regularly numbered as the twenty-fourth and last. (To be sure, the evolvents are also said ultimately to dissolve again, in reverse order, into that out of which they were created; Mbh. 12.294.31. But this hardly seems a good reason for calling *prakṛti* the twenty-fourth instead of the first 'principle'.) Perhaps the uncertainty (in the Epic) about the exact order of the evolvents may explain, or excuse, this fact. It may be worth noting that occasionally the five gross elements are treated as 'the origin and end of all beings' (Mbh. 12.187.4-5); they were created by an unspecified 'creator of beings' (ibid. 7). From them come forth both the senses of perception and their objects, along with various bodily parts and functions (ibid. 8-10). The 'intellect' (*buddhi*) is the highest physical element mentioned in this chapter; the chapter knows no *prakṛti* or *pradhāna*. The Field-knower (Soul) merely looks on (ibid. 11-13). The 'intellect' governs, and operates in and through, the senses and bodily parts (ibid. 16-19); to be sure, the Spirit (*puruṣa*) presides over it (ibid. 20-21). Enough has been said to show that this chapter 12.187 is highly aberrant from the standard system of the evolvents. Its starting evolution with the five elements (cf. also 12.231.6) can hardly be used to explain the numbering of primal nature as twenty-fourth 'principle' instead of first.

Besides the passages mentioned above (p. 42 f.), there are in the

¹ See Mbh. 12.296.7 with note 1, and Index s.v. Twenty-sixth, on the 26th 'principle' which is sometimes added.

² Gītā 3.42 (which I have not included in the book) is also similar to these.

*Epic other variations in the listing of the 'principles'. Even the number of them varies considerably; see Index s.vv. Eighteenth, Seventeen, Sixteen, Twenty. Some lists are so confusing that I find it hard to make sense of them. Anyone who wishes to pursue the subject further (a pursuit which I have found not very rewarding) may consult the list in my note¹ below. I do not include here passages which only mention twenty-four or twenty-five 'principles' without listing any of them; these are easy to find from the Index under the numbers. Practically all of these passages concerning the *tattvas* are associated with 'Sāṃkhya', the way of knowledge, for reasons set forth in note 2, p. 40 above.*

Statements of the relation between the soul and material nature seem at times puzzling. Fundamentally, as we saw, the soul performs no acts, nor does it experience the consequences of good and evil acts. All that belongs to material nature (which includes *buddhi*, 'intellect, consciousness, or will', the 'I-faculty', the 'thought-organ', and of course the senses). It is often said that the soul only 'beholds, witnesses, looks over' the world of matter. But, owing to the (material) organ of self-consciousness (the I-faculty), the soul is confused and imagines that he is the doer (BhG. 3.27). The soul is even said to experience pleasure and pain (BhG. 13.20-21); but what is really meant is that owing to its seeming association with matter, it becomes (ignorantly) involved in what is, in very truth, none of its concern.²

The soul must get to realize its own freedom from material nature; then it *becomes* free. That means salvation (*mukti*, *mokṣa*), which is literally 'release, emancipation'—from the bonds of ignorance which involve it in matter. All ways of salvation have that as their goal, whether the way of knowledge (Sāṃkhya), or some form of the way of action (Yoga), or the way of devotion to God (as in the Gītā). In all forms of epic religion, this involves becoming one with the Absolute, the Highest, the First Principle—or God. This is surely implied even when the texts say, as they often do, simply 'seeing' (the Highest, or the like).³

¹ Mbh. 12.228 (partial list in vss. 13-15; 25 principles referred to vs. 28); 231.6, 12-15; 238.1-7 (on 3-4 see above, p. 43); 244; 267; 291.21 ff.; 294.27 ff. In 12.233.8 'bodily form' (assumed in rebirth) is described as 'sixteen-fold'. In 12.293.31 and 35 there is a unique (as far as I know) list of eight components of the body: skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bone, and sinew (vs. 35 adds semen). This chapter does not mention the 24 'principles' of matter; but vss. 48-50 mention 25 'principles', including the soul, which is also mentioned as '25th' in vss. 38 and 44. The list of vss. 31 and 35 does not seem to fit in with this.

² BhG. 3.29; 15.7-10.

³ That the Soul is really different from material nature is often stated; see e.g. Gītā 13.1-5, 19-34; Mbh. 12.295.18-22. And see 23-38 for a spirited soliloquy put into the mouth of the enlightened soul, who has come to realize his independence from matter, and is about to be emancipated. For a few examples of becoming united with the (nameless) Supreme Self, see 12.290.75; 296.13; 306.53. On union with God or Brāhman, see below.

Plurality of 'selves'

Even if the Highest is not personalized as 'God', it is very often called a 'self' or 'soul' (*ātman*, *puruṣa*), usually described as the 'Highest, Supreme Self'; often also it is called Brahman. It may be more or less clearly distinguished from individual selves. Even material nature may be referred to as a sort of 'self', but 'perishable', while the (real) 'self' is 'imperishable'; and there is a still different 'highest spirit', 'the Supreme Soul' (Brāhman or God), 'which, entering into the three worlds, supports them'.¹

Elsewhere it appears to be only the individual soul which is contrasted with the World-Soul (12.242.9). The former (or is it material nature as in BhG. 15.16?) does not know its own origin or destiny, but 'in it there is another, inner Self which sees everything' (is this the All-soul, monistically identified with the individual soul?). In the monistic tract 12.339 the universal Spirit is in everything (though unaffected by matter and unstained by actions). This sounds like the Gītā's God, and is indeed identified (vs. 14) with Nārāyaṇa (note 1, p. 46) and (vss. 12, 18, 20) with the four cosmic manifestations of Viṣṇu (but the name Kṛṣṇa of the Gītā does not occur).

In 12.338 the question is plainly put: 'Are there many spirits (*puruṣa*), or only one?' The answer is, first: 'There are many spirits in the world'; it is denied that there is only one. But later (vss. 24-25) a Single Universal Spirit is said to be the source of the many spirits, which, when they free themselves from material nature, 'enter into' Him. In BhG. 15.7 the individual soul (here *jīva*, 'living being') is a 'part' of God.²

Salvation

At the end of Chapter II of this Introduction, we saw that the state of the soul, when perfected and released, is sometimes called *nirvāṇa*.³ But more often in the Epic it is vaguely referred to as 'the highest place, the highest goal' or the like, or 'immortality, freedom from (all sorts of) evils', or the place 'whence one is not reborn'; that is, the end of the chain of rebirth and sentient existence.

Union with the One

However, as we saw above (cf. note 3, p. 44; and as Gītā 5.24 illustrates³), it is often called 'becoming, or union with, the One'. In the

¹ BhG. 15.16-17; cf. 12.187.6, note.

² On *jīva* see 12.187.6 note. See also note on 12.296.7, on the 'unenlightened, becoming-enlightened, and enlightened' souls, or states of the soul. The last means the soul that has attained unity with the Supreme Soul (the '26th' principle), and so is permanently saved.

³ So in 12.188.2, 22; rather oftener in the Gītā, e.g. 6.15, where it 'rests in Me (God)', or 5.24-26 where the term is *brahma-nirvāṇa*, '*nirvāṇa* in (or, that is) Brāhman'; it is attained by him who has 'become Brāhman'.

Gītā, where an incarnation of God (Kṛṣṇa = Viṣṇu) is the chief speaker, union with Him is so commonly called the goal that it hardly needs references.¹ Union with Brāhman is, nevertheless, also a familiar goal in the Gītā (5.6, 19-21, 24-26; 6.27-28; 13.30), and in the Mokṣadharmā, 12.233.13; 242.17; 296.9 (here seems to be the same as the 'twenty-sixth', see note on 296.7); 304.25. Or the Supreme One which the perfected soul 'sees', or with which he is united, may be called the Absolute (*kevala*), or 'the Seer, the supreme ageless Self', or the like (Mbh. 12.304.26; 294.25; above, p. 38). But the theistic Gītā subordinates Brāhman to God at times.²

The mystic vision of God

The climax of the Gītā is the eleventh chapter, in which, as a special favour to Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa (God) reveals to him His supernal form, said to have never before been revealed to anyone. In a magnificent outpouring of noblest poetry, the ineffable majesty of the divine Form is described, or rather adumbrated; for we are told, no verbal description can do it justice. I am fortunate in being able to quote the truly noble, almost overwhelming, version of this chapter by the distinguished English poet Sir Edwin Arnold. It speaks for itself; any words of mine would only detract from it. It should, however, be pointed out that the spirit of this vision is remarkably close to what other mystics—Christian, Jewish, and Mohammedan—have testified to about their own mystic experiences. Like the Gītā, they all agree that these ecstatic visions can not be really described in terms comprehensible to any but a fellow mystic who has enjoyed the like experience at first hand. This, of course, does not prevent many of them from trying, like the Gītā, to describe the indescribable.

Quasi-panteism or monism

Not only is the Supreme One (personal or impersonal) the goal to which enlightenment aspires. He, or it, is also spoken of as either permeating, or embracing, or creating, all existent things, material as well

¹ The first to occur is 4.9. Such personal theism is rare in the Mokṣadharmā. But in 12.291.37 'the 25th (principle, the Soul) is Viṣṇu'. In 12.290.91-92 the 'Supreme Imperishable Soul has the nature of Nārāyaṇa (another name of Viṣṇu), which is independent, beyond material nature . . . [Gaining Him] one does not return.' Nārāyaṇa is also 'this primeval universe' in 12.290.110; and in 12.339.14 he is identified with the One Supreme Soul; in this chapter the four 'cosmic manifestations' (*vyūha*) of Viṣṇu are clearly referred to (vss. 12, 20), and one of them, Aniruddha, is named, vs. 18.

² Gītā 13.12; 14.27. And note the curious 14.3-4, where Brahman is the womb, or mother, in which God implants the seed as father; thence come all beings. Quite different is 12.294.21 where enlightened people abiding in the 'womb of Brahman' (meaning, probably, in material bodies) 'see him (the Self) who is free from wombs and immortal.' There is nothing here about a 'father'.

as 'spiritual'; not just 'beholding, witnessing, looking over' the world (above). So in 12.231.20, 'In all beings, moving and stationary, dwells the one Great Self (*mahān ātmā*), by whom this universe was expanded'; etc.¹ In the *Gītā*, pantheistic-sounding passages occur frequently, and especially in Chapters 7, 9, 10, and 11 (the mystic vision). God is everything, or in everything, or everything is in Him. Sometimes even evil entities or states are included (*Gītā* 7.12); but sometimes the evil ones are excluded from God (7.11). There are passages which say that God is more than the universe; the whole cosmos constitutes only a part of Him (10.41, 42). This reminds us of the Vedic passages which speak of the ultimate one as containing more than the visible universe; see Index s.v. Quarters.

Note on later Indian philosophy

This book does not undertake to trace Hindu speculation beyond the *Mahābhārata*, into what is called 'Classical Sanskrit'. Nor does it deal with the philosophies of the Buddhists and Jains; they are called 'heterodox' because they rejected the authority of the Vedas, to which all 'orthodox' Hindus pay lip-homage at least, though often their knowledge of what the Vedas really contain is rather limited.

In one respect, as I have already said in fn. 7 p. 28 to Chapter II and fn. 2, p. 35 to this chapter, all orthodox and heterodox Indian philosophies, late as well as early, have the same aim: namely, to provide a way of salvation for men. They did not think of philosophy as an abstract search for absolute truth for its own sake. Cf. above, note 7, p. 28 to Chapter II of Introduction.

True 'knowledge' is, in later India as in earlier, widely regarded as a fundamental key to salvation. But there are at least as great differences of opinion as to how this saving 'knowledge' should be formulated—often within what goes under the name of a single *darśana* or 'view', as the later 'systems' of philosophy are called. For example, the term *Sāṃkhya* is applied to what is called one of these *darśanas*. It is often said that it was atheistic. Some works which call themselves *Sāṃkhya* do indeed teach only a plurality of individual souls (*puruṣa*), and say nothing of a supreme world-soul. But others recognize God (*īśvara*) as supreme spirit, just as the *Mahābhārata* does.²

Another and perhaps the best-known classical philosophical *darśana* goes by the name of *Vedānta*. This means 'the Upaniṣads'; literally, 'end of the Veda', because the oldest Upaniṣads were appendices to

¹ So the *Mokṣadharmā*, 231.27, 30; 232.9; 290.110 (*Nārāyaṇa*, creates and then devours the cosmos); 291.37-40 (the soul as '25th' = *Viṣṇu*); 294.22-23, 34-35.

² Contrary to the opinion of many scholars, I hold that in the Epic atheism is never associated with the *Sāṃkhya* way of salvation. See *Mbh.* 12.289.3 with my note. And the later so-called 'Sāṃkhya' system includes definitely theistic works.

Vedic works, and because they were regarded as the culmination of the Veda. The classical text which is supposed to be the basis of all schools called 'Vedānta' is the Vedānta-sūtras, attributed to Bādarāyaṇa, of uncertain date.¹ Its extremely compressed style, fairly described as enigmatic, has been interpreted by later commentators in ways that vary from strictest absolute monism (the only true reality is Brahman, with whom the individual soul is identical), through shades of qualified monism, to frank and unmitigated dualism.² It is certain that the Vedānta, in all its schools, professes to be based on the Upaniṣads. Appropriately, therefore, true knowledge is its most fundamental way of salvation. Nevertheless most of its teachers show influence of the devotional (*bhakti*) method; as we saw (fn 1, p.35 above), the Bhagavad Gītā, the most celebrated advocate of the way of devotion to God, also claims to be an Upaniṣad.

¹ S. N. Dasgupta, one of the best-known historians of Indian philosophy, conjectures perhaps 2nd century AD.

² The strictest unqualified monism is taught by Śaṅkara, the most celebrated of Indian philosophers (ca. AD 800). Dasgupta (*History of Indian Philosophy I*, p. 421) is 'inclined to believe that the dualistic interpretation . . . were probably more faithful to the sūtras than . . . Śaṅkara'.

PART II

SELECTIONS FROM THE RIG VEDA

SELECTIONS FROM THE RIG VEDA

On the Rig Veda in general see Chapter I of my Introduction. I have included here all of its speculative hymns which I felt I could present in a reliable and comprehensible English guise. There are undoubtedly others which can properly be called speculative. The trouble with them is that they are so cryptic, so opaque, that in my opinion they can hardly be translated at all, in any way that I could consider valuable or significant for laymen. That is, if I succeeded in making a translation of them sound comprehensible to the general reader, I should have the uneasy feeling that I was really deceiving him—pretending to understand something which I simply don't. This does not mean that I doubt at all that the authors of such hymns really knew what they thought they meant. I think that they were deliberately cryptic, purposely composing riddles. This is true, in fact, of many Rigvedic hymns which are not at all speculative.

The very first hymn, 1.164, from which I quote two verses only, is a good example; see my introductory remarks to it. But the two verses which I quote should not be omitted. They are, indeed, justly celebrated.

Rig Veda 1.164.45 and 46.

This long hymn consists mainly of disconnected riddles, the answers to which are mostly unknown or at best conjectural. The two verses given here are the only ones which seem important for our subject.

45. Holy Utterance¹ is measured as four quarters; wise brahmans know these. The three (quarters) that are set down in secret they do not bring into movement. The fourth (quarter) of Holy Utterance is what men speak.²

46. They call it Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Fire (Agni); or it is the heavenly Sun-bird. That which is One (neuter gender) the seers speak of in various terms; they call it Fire, Yama, Mātariśvan.³

¹ *Vāc*; see RV. 10.71 and 125; Introduction, Chapter I, fn. 1, p. 20.

² Similarly the *Puruṣa*, RV. 10.90.3 and 4; and cf. AV. 2.1.2.

³ *Intro.* Chapter I, section headed '*Tentative monotheism and monoism.*'

Rig Veda 2.1.3-7. Henotheistic; To Fire (Agni)

In this hymn, and in the next but one (5.3.1-3), we have examples of the first type of 'Henotheism' mentioned in the section of Chapter I of my Introduction which is so headed; see that section with fn 1. The next hymn, 2.12, is a good example of the other type of 'Henotheism'; see fn. 2 at the place quoted (p. 18).

3. You, O Agni (Fire), are Indra, the bull (strongest) of all that exist; you are the wide-striding Viṣṇu, worthy of reverence; you, O Lord of the Holy Word (Brahmaṇaspati), are the chief priest who finds riches (for the sacrificer); you, O distributor, are associated with munificence.

4. You, O Agni, are King Varuṇa, whose laws are firm; you are Mitra, the wonderworker to be revered; you are Aryaman, the reliable lord, of whom I would get enjoyment; O god, you are (god) Aṃśa ('Sharer'), the generous giver on the sacrificial ground.

5. You, O Agni, as Tvaṣṭar give heroic sons to the worshipper; O you who are attended by (divine) women, who have the might of Mitra, yours is relationship (with divine women? with Mitra? or both?); as you incite swift horses (to race), you bestow good horses; you, with your abundant wealth, are the strength of men.

6. You, O Agni, are Rudra, the Asura of lofty heaven; as the troop of Maruts, you control sustenance; you travel by the ruddy winds¹ (of the dawn), bringing weal to households; as (god) Pūṣan you protect by your person the worshippers.

7. You, O Agni, give wealth to him who serves you; as god Savitar you are bestower of property; as (god) Bhaga ('Portioner'), O king, you control riches; you are a protector in the house of him who has revered you.

¹ Implied is identity of Agni with the wind-god Vāta.

Rig Veda 2.12. Henotheistic; to Indra.

See introduction to preceding hymn.

1. Who as soon as born, first possessor of thought, the god, strengthened the gods by his magic (intellectual) power; of whose fury the two firmaments were afraid because of the greatness of his manliness, he, O folk, is Indra.
2. Who made firm the shaking earth, who brought to rest the mountains when they were disturbed, who measured out the wide atmosphere, who fixed the heaven, he, O folk, is Indra.
3. Who slew the dragon and made the seven streams to flow, who drove out the cows (of light) by disclosing Vala (the demon of darkness), who created the fire between two stones, winner of booty in battles, he, O folk, is Indra.
4. By whom all these shatterings were made, who put down the *dāsa* (non-Aryan) race in darkness, who takes the wealth of the enemy as a clever gambler takes the stake when he has won, he, O folk, is Indra.
5. The terrible one, of whom they ask, Where is he? and they even say of him, He is not at all; he diminishes the wealth of the enemy like gambling-stakes. Believe in him! He, O folk, is Indra.
6. Who encourages the humble, the feeble, the hard-pressed priest and poet; the one with lips effective (for drinking), who aids the soma-presser that employs the pressing-stones, he, O folk, is Indra.
7. In whose control are horses, cattle, villages, and all chariots; who created the sun, the dawn, and who guides the waters, he, O folk, is Indra.
8. Whom the two battle-lines invoke as they meet each other, both groups of foes on this side and on that; drawing near to his self-same chariot they call on him severally; he, O folk, is Indra.
9. Without whom people do not conquer, whom they invoke for aid while they fight, who has become a match for all, who shakes the unshaken, he, O folk, is Indra.
10. Who slays with his bolt, before they know it, all those that have committed great sin; who does not forgive the insolent his insolence, who slays the *dasyu* (non-Aryan), he, O folk, is Indra.

11. Who in the fortieth autumn found out (the demon) Śambara who was lurking in the mountains; who slew the might-exerting dragon, Dānu as he lay, he, O folk, is Indra.

12. The mighty bull of (requiring for control) seven reins, who let loose the seven streams to flow, who, club in arm, kicked down (presumptuous) Rauhiṇa as he was scaling heaven, he, O folk, is Indra.

13. Even heaven and earth bow before him; of his fury even the mountains are afraid; who is recognized as soma-drinker, club in arm, club in hand, he, O folk, is Indra.

14. Who helps by his aid him that presses (soma) and cooks (sacrificial food), that chants (hymns) and is busily occupied (with sacrifice); of whom holy utterance is a strengthening, and the soma and this gift (to officiating priests), he, O folk, is Indra.

15. You who with furious energy cause sustenance to burst forth for the one that presses and cooks, verily you are reliable. May we, O Indra, be ever dear to you. Having heroic sons, may we address the place of sacrifice.

Rig Veda 5.3.1-3. Henotheistic; to Fire (Agni)

See introduction to 2.1.3-7

1. You, O Agni (god Fire), are Varuṇa when you are born. You become Mitra when you are kindled. In you, O son of strength,¹ are all gods. You are Indra for the pious mortal.

2. You become Aryaman,² in that you belong to maidens, you bear (this) secret name, O self-mighty one. Like Mitra³ (a friend) well-accepted they anoint you with ghee, since you make a married couple concordant.

3. Unto your glory the Maruts⁴ adorn themselves, when your beautiful, wondrous birth (takes place), O Rudra.⁴ What was set down as the highest footstep of Viṣṇu, with that you (Fire) guard the secret name of the cows.

¹ Standard epithet of Fire, because the sacrificial fire is generated by vigorously rubbing two dry sticks together.

² A god of courtship and marriage.

³ God of contracts, and also, with word-play, 'a friend'.

⁴ Though the Maruts are regularly followers of Indra, Rudra is called their father. In this verse Fire is, by implication, identified with Rudra and Viṣṇu.

Rig Veda 5.83. To the naturalistic rain-god Parjanya

See first page of Introduction, Chapter I, with fn. 1.

1. Call hither the mighty one by these stanzas; praise Parjanya, seek to win him with homage. Roaring, the quickly flowing bull implants his seed as embryo in the plants.

2. He shatters the trees, and shatters the devils; the whole world fears him of the mighty weapon. Even the innocent man hurries away from him of manly strength, when Parjanya, thundering, smites the evil-doers.

3. Like a charioteer lashing the horses with the whip, he manifests verily his rainy messengers. From afar roars (as) of a lion arise, when Parjanya makes the rainy mass of clouds.

4. The winds blow forth, lightning-flashes fall, plants shoot up, the heavenly light-space overflows. Refreshment is produced for the whole world when Parjanya favours the earth with his seed.

5. In whose control the earth bows low, in whose control hooped creatures leap (for joy), in whose control are plants of every kind—do you, Parjanya, grant us (your) powerful protection.

6. O Maruts, grant us the rain of heaven; make abound the streams of the lusty stallion.¹ Come hither with this thunder, pouring down water, our Asura father.

7. Roar, thunder, implant the embryo; fly about with your water-bearing car. Draw well downward the opened water-bag. Let the heights and the depths become of the same level!

8. Draw up the great water-vessel and pour (the water) down. Let the channels, released, flow forward. Inundate heaven and earth with ghee. Let there be good drinking (-places) for the cattle.

9. When, Parjanya, roaring and thundering, you smite the evil-doers, all this (world), whatever is upon earth, rejoices in response.

¹ Parjanya, who is directly addressed again in the rest of the stanza. The first part of it treats the Maruts (regularly followers of Indra) as connected with Parjanya; here he has the ancient epithet Asura, which originally belonged to Varuṇa and other prehistoric gods.

10. You have rained down rain; now kindly check it! You have made the deserts passable; you have created plants (sufficient) for feeding; and you have inspired hymnal devotion for creatures (priest-poets).

Rig Veda 10.71. Holy Utterance (Vāc); traditionally, Knowledge (jñāna)

A hymn to Vāc, 'Holy Utterance', like 10.125; significantly, it begins with an address to Bṛhaspati, 'the Lord of the Holy Word' (*bṛh* = *brāhman* = *vāc*); see n. 1 below. The hymn's repeated references to 'comrades' and 'comradeship' seem to refer to membership in a guild or association of priests (not necessarily a 'caste' in the later sense). Rig Veda 10.101 is an address to such 'comrades', urging them to begin the morning sacrifice. It is lively and interesting in its genre pictures, but seems to have no speculative bearing.

1. O Bṛhaspati,¹ that was the first beginning of Holy Utterance,¹ when (the seers) set out, name-assigning—that spotless (possession, or aspect) which was their noblest, which had been hidden in secret, was revealed out of affection.

2. Where the wise (seers) have fashioned Holy Utterance with their intellects, as if sifting grain with a sieve, there (in that) the Comrades recognize the Comradeness(s), (for) their auspicious mark is contained in (Holy) Utterance.

3. By sacrificial performance they have followed the track of Holy Utterance; they found Her, entered into the seers. Taking Her thence, they have settled Her in many places; therefore seven (= many) singers chant Her in unison.

4. Many a one, seeing, has not seen Holy Utterance; many a one, hearing, does not hear Her. Yet to many another She has revealed herself, like a fair-clothed bride, willingly, to her husband.

5. Many a one they say is stiffly heavy in the Comradeship; they cannot stimulate him at all unto (hymnal) contests. He operates with a not milk-yielding (unprofitable) delusion; the Holy Utterance which he has heard remains without fruit or flower.²

6. He who abandons (or betrays) his Comrade, who is a colleague in knowledge, has no part in Holy Utterance at all. Even if he hears Her, it is all in vain that he hears; for he knows not the path of good conduct.

¹ Bṛhaspati, 'Lord of the Holy Word' (*bṛh* = *brāhman*), i.e. Vedic hymns and charms; Vāc, 'speech', personified as '(Holy) Utterance' (as in 10.125), a feminine expression for the Holy Word (*bṛh*, *brāhman*); both mean what came later to be called 'knowledge' (*jñāna*), which later Hindu tradition significantly identifies as the subject of this hymn.

² Contests among priest-poets in hymnal compositions are here compared to horse-racing; unsuccessful contestants are like 'stiffly heavy' horses, unfit for racing. The same figure underlies verse 10 below.

7. Though (alike) gifted with eyes and ears, Comrades prove different in intellectual quickness. Many are like pools reaching to the mouth or to the armpits, others again are like pools good to bathe in.¹

8. When priestly Comrades vie in making offerings, in (feats of) intellectual quickness (in hymnal contests) which are fashioned with the heart (i.e. composed in fitting words), then truly one of them is left behind advisedly, while others depart after composing hymns of (successful) praise (of the gods).

9. Those who move not this way nor that (who are lazy and sluggish), who are no (true) priests and are not active in pressing the soma (sacred drink), in ill fashion have they taken to (Holy) Utterance; ignorantly they weave a web out of *sirī*.²

10. All Comrades rejoice with a Comrade who returns in glory after winning in the assembly (hymnal contest). For he frees them from reproach, wins them sustenance, and is sufficiently stimulated for the contest.

II. One (the *hotar* priest) sits and develops the rich bloom of the verses (*ṛcaḥ*, of the Rigveda); another (the *udgātar* priest) sings the chants (of the Sāmaveda) in *śakvarī* (meter); another, the *brahmán* (priest), speaks forth his innate wisdom; another (the *adhvaryu* priest) measures the true measure of the sacrifice.³

¹ i.e. some are deep, others are shallow. Interpreters differ as to which are which; to me it seems that 'pools good to bathe in' means those that are not over-deep.

² A word of unknown meaning; evidently something unfit for weaving. There are many guesses, but none seem based on reasonable evidence.

³ The four chief priests at a complete Vedic sacrifice are here referred to. The *adhvaryu* handles the implements, speaking formulas from the Yajurveda; the *brahmán* is the supervisory priest whose duty is to see that the whole rite goes well.

Rig Veda 10.72. Creation of the world, of (and by) the gods

A rather superficial hymn, of no great interest. It derives the existent from the non-existent. (See Introduction, Chapter I, fn 2, p. 20). Dakṣa is born from Aditi and Aditi from Dakṣa (cf. 10.90.5). Its most original trait seems to be that of the (cosmic Mother) giving birth (*uttānā-pad*, 'with feet outstretched').

1. We will now proclaim the origins of the gods to win applause (from any) who shall behold them in a later age, as the hymns are chanted.
2. Brahmanaspati (the Lord of the Holy Word) smelted them together, as a smith. In the primal age of the gods the Existent was born from the Non-existent.
3. In the first age of the gods the Existent was born from the Non-existent. After it (the Existent) the regions were born—(after) it, from the (World-mother) in labour.
4. The world was born from the (World-mother) in labour; from the world the regions were born. From Aditi Dakṣa was born, from Dakṣa likewise Aditi (was born).
5. Aditi, verily, was born, who is thy daughter, O Dakṣa. After her the gods were born, the blessed ones, companions of immortality.
6. When, O gods, there in the flood you stood, holding fast to one another, then from you, as from dancers, thick dust¹ arose.
7. When, O gods, like wizard-priests, you made the worlds to swell, then you brought forth the sun that had been hidden in the sea.
8. There were eight sons of Aditi, which were born of her body. She went to the gods with seven; the (Sun-)bird she cast away.
9. With seven sons Aditi went to the primal generation (of gods). She brought back the (Sun-)bird for alternate procreation and death.

¹ Figurative for spray, perhaps.

Rig Veda 10.81. The All-maker (Viśvakarman).

Introduces a new quasi-monotheistic Demiurge, the 'All-maker' (Viśvakarman), who has a considerable mythic history in later times. Here he is described as 'Lord of Holy Utterance' (Vācas-pati, cf. RV. 10.125 and 10.71). The hymn is rooted in ritualism, yet contains much of cosmological interest. It compares the cosmic creation to a sacrifice (cf. RV. 10.90), but also to the work of a smith and a carpenter; any work of elaborate handicraft may figure thus. But the hymn also shows curiosity about how and from what position the creator began his work (vs. 2), and what material he could have used (vs. 4).

1. The seer who, in sacrificing all these worlds, took his seat as *hotar*-priest, our father—he, with prayer seeking wealth (i.e. sacrificing), concealing that which was first, entered into the later beings.

2. What, verily, was that resting-place (support)? What manner of thing did he begin from, and how was it, that from which the All-maker, the all-seeing, creating the earth, unfolded the heaven by his might?

3. With eyes and face in all directions, likewise with arms and feet in all directions, he welded (as a smith) them together with his arms, with fan-bellows, creating heaven and earth, the sole god.

4. What, verily, was the wood, what the lumber, from which they carpentered out heaven and earth? You wise ones, with your wisdom inquire into that, upon what base he rested, establishing the worlds.

5. These your highest places, your lowest also, and these that are your midmost, All-maker, teach to (your) friends at the oblation, O Self-mighty One. Yourself offer sacrifice,¹ prospering your own self (thereby).

6. O All-maker, thriving on sacrifice, do you sacrifice for yourself (i.e. create, by the cosmic 'sacrifice' of creation) earth and heaven. Let other people round about stray helplessly; for us here let there be a generous patron.

7. Let us summon today for aid at the (sacrificial) contest the Lord of Holy Utterance,² the All-maker, who inspires the intellect. Let him take pleasure in our offerings, being helpful to all, working surely unto our support.

¹ Not, I think, 'sacrifice yourself, your body'; *yajate* regularly means 'sacrifice for oneself', as in the next verse.

² Vācas-pati; see Rig Veda 10.125, etc..

Rig Veda 10.82. The All-maker (Viśvakarman).

Continuation of 10.81, with its metaphor of the cosmic creation as a sacrificial operation. The All-maker's creative power and authority is more emphatically stated in vs. 3, and in vs. 2 is called the One (god, vs. 2; probably masculine, though ambiguous in gender), who dwells beyond the sky. Yet in vss. 5-6 he is 'the first embryo which the (cosmic) waters bore'. Was he the creator, as well as the first creature, of the cosmic waters? It is not impossible; see Introduction, Chapter I, fn. 2, p. 21, and for the reciprocal parentage see RV. 10.72.4-5 and 10.90.5; but this hymn does not say so.

1. The father of the eye—for he is wise in his intellect—produced as ghee (for the cosmic 'sacrifice' of creation) these two (firmaments), that bow before him. Only after the ancient limits¹ were firmly fixed, then only were heaven and earth extended.

2. The All-maker (is) wise, likewise mighty, the Creator, Disposer, also the highest Aspect. Their sacrifices² revel with nourishment (in paradise), where beyond the (constellation) Seven Sages they say is the One (god, the All-maker).

3. Who is our Father, our Generator, and Disposer, who knows all places and creatures, who is the sole name-giver of the gods, to him other beings go to ask him.

4. Those ancient sages offered rich sacrifice unto him (the All-maker), like (present-day) singers with their abundance; (the ancient sages) who, when the sun-lit and unlit³ spaces had been set down, created these beings.

¹ The boundaries of the universe. Renou, 'eastern limits', assuming a parallel to the measurement of the sacrificial ground beginning from the east. (Geldner also 'eastern', without explanation.) This may be right; but *pūrva* means 'ancient' at least as often as 'eastern'.

² Those of the All-maker's creatures or helpers, perhaps referring only vaguely to verse 1, or to the 'sages' of verse 4. I take *iṣṭāni* as 'sacrifices', rather than 'wishes' with many interpreters; both are formally possible. I assume identity with the prior member of the compound *iṣṭā-(pūrta)*, 'sacrifices (and gifts to the priests)'; they precede the sacrificer to paradise, where he will join them (RV. 10.14.8) and will, as is here said by transference of the sacrifices themselves, 'revel with nourishment'.

³ Perhaps the cosmic spaces as they appear by day and by night. These words, and indeed the meaning of the whole verse, are obscure. The 'ancient' sages seem to be helpers of the All-maker at the cosmic 'sacrifice' = world-creation; cf. verse 2 above.

5. That which is beyond the heaven, beyond this earth, beyond the Asura-gods¹—what, verily, was the first embryo which the waters bore, in which (waters) the gods all beheld themselves² together?

6. He (the All-maker) and no other was the first embryo which the waters bore, in which (waters) the gods were all assembled together; the One (embryo), implanted in the navel of the Unborn, on which all the worlds have rested.

7. You shall not find him, who created these (worlds); something else has come between you (and him). Enveloped in fog and chatter walk the reciters of hymns, the robbers of lives.³

¹ The leading gods of the most ancient religious stratum recorded in the Rigveda (Varuṇa being the most important). Later, *asura* came to mean the opponents of the gods, 'demons'; so already in some late hymns of the RV., and possibly here.

² Or perhaps, 'beheld (the scene) together'; Renou, 'en étaient les témoins'.

³ Usually taken to mean offerers of bloody (animal) sacrifices. While this is not impossible, I prefer to understand hostile and vicious sorcerers or black magicians. This seems to be supported by RV. 10.87.14.

Rig Veda 10.85

Marriage hymn. The later part contains verses to be recited at various points in the marriage. The earlier part, vss. 1-19, treats by symbolic cosmic identifications the mythic marriage of Sūryā, daughter of the Sun, with Soma, the plant and its juice used in the sacrifice, who is here identified with the Moon, as regularly in later literature; this is perhaps the only Rigvedic hymn in which this identification is clearly made.

1. The earth is propped up by Truth; the sky is propped up by the Sun. The Ādityas take their place by the Right, Soma is set in the sky (as the Moon).

2. By Soma the Ādityas possess strength, by Soma the earth is great; and Soma is placed in the lap of these constellations.

3. (A man) thinks he has drunk Soma when they crush the plant (*soma*). (But) the Soma whom priests know, no one eats of him.

4. Guarded by those ordained to cover you, protected by the dwellers in the high (heaven), Soma, you stand listening to the pressing-stones; no earthly person eats of you.

5. When they drink you, O god, then (as waxing Moon) you fill yourself up again. (The wind-god) Vāyu is protector of Soma. The Moon (also 'month') is the pattern of the years.

6. The *raibhī*¹ was the parting song, the *nārāśamṣī*¹ the welcoming one. Right beautiful is Sūryā's garment; it goes adorned with verse.

7. Understanding was her cushion, vision her (eye-) salve. Heaven (and) earth were the wagon-box, when Sūryā went to her husband.

8. The hymns of praise were the cross-poles (on the car), meter was her head-band and hair-do. The (twin-gods) Aśvins were Sūryā's wooers (marriage-brokers), (god) Fire led the procession.

9. Soma was the bridegroom, the two Aśvins the marriage-brokers, when (the sun-god) Savitar gave to her husband (his daughter) Sūryā, who approved with her thoughts.

¹ Two verses sung by bards in praise of generous patrons. The predicate nouns going with both are of doubtful meaning; they are often understood as female attendants of the bride.

10. Thought (*manas*) was her car (*anas*), heaven its roof. The two hot months (*śukra*) were the beasts of burden, when Sūryā went to her (new) home.

11. Harnessed with (Rig-Vedic) stanza and (Sāma-Vedic) chant, your two oxen go peacefully(?). Hearing was the two wheels; the road goes along in the sky.

12. The two hot months (*śuci*) were your wheels as you went; the (circulating) breath was fixed as the axle. Sūryā mounted her car of thought, going forth to her husband.

13. Sūryā's bridal procession went forth, which Savitar sent out. Under the (constellation) *Aghās* the cattle are slaughtered (in honour of the bridegroom, when he comes to the bride's house); under the (constellation of the) two *Arjunīs* the departure (to the groom's house) takes place.

14. When you, O Aśvins (vs. 8), went in your three-wheeled (car) to Sūryā's bridal procession, asking (to transport her), then all the gods gave you their assent. Pūṣan,¹ (your) son, chose (you two) as (his) fathers.

15. When, you two lords of beauty (Aśvins), you approached Sūryā to woo her, where was the one (odd, i.e. third) wheel of your (car)? Where did you two stand to give directions (for the road)?

16. Your two wheels, O Sūryā, the priests know correctly. But the one (third) wheel that is in secret, that only inspired seers know.

17. To Sūryā, to the gods, to Mitra and Varuṇa,² who know (all) that has come to be, to them I have made this obeisance.

18. One after the other these two (sun and moon) move by (their) mystic power; (as) two boys in play, they go about (and regulate) the sacrifice. One (sun) surveys all creatures; the other (moon) is born again, arranging the times.

19. It is ever and again born anew; signal of the days, it goes in front of the dawns. As it comes, it assigns to the gods their (periodic) portion.

¹ A God who guards journeys. Sometimes associated with the Aśvins, and with Sūryā as her suitor.

² Two ancient and revered gods. Both, especially Mitra, preside over contracts, and so are appropriate at weddings.

The moon extends afar its long life. [The rest of the long hymn contains stanzas to be recited at various points in the wedding rite. A few times Sūryā is again mentioned, usually in figurative reference to the bride. The marriage of Sūryā with Soma perhaps originally ended with vs. 17; vss. 18 and 19 are riddle-verses about the sun and moon.]

Rig Veda 10.90. The cosmic Man (Puruṣa)

Hymn to Puruṣa, 'Man', as a cosmic entity; a sort of world-giant. In 1-4 his supreme greatness is more than the universe, a quarter of him is all beings, three-quarters are 'the immortal in heaven'. In vs. 5 the 'shining one' (Virāj = the cosmic waters) was born from him, and he from her (cf. RV. 10.72.4-5). In 6 ff., Puruṣa becomes the oblation, the animal victim at the cosmic sacrifice (= creation), performed by 'the gods'. Out of this sacrifice, and from the members of the Puruṣa, came all things—Vedic hymns, all animals, men of the four castes, cosmic powers (moon = his mind, sun = his eye, wind = his breath, etc.).

1. The Puruṣa has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. He, encompassing the world on all sides, stood out ten fingers' lengths beyond.
2. The Puruṣa alone is all this universe, what has been, and what is to be. He rules likewise over (the world of) immortality (viz. the gods), which he grows beyond, by (sacrificial?) food.
3. Such is the extent of his greatness; and the Puruṣa is still greater than this. A quarter of him is all beings, three quarters are (the world of) the immortal in heaven.¹
4. In his three-quarters the Puruṣa arose to the upper regions; a quarter of him, on the other hand, came to be here below. From this (quarter) he expanded manifoldly into the things that eat and those that do not eat (animate and inanimate beings).
5. From him the Shining One (the cosmic waters) was born, from the Shining One (was born likewise) the Puruṣa. Being born (from the Shining One) he extended beyond the world, behind and also before.
6. When the gods, with the Puruṣa as oblation, extended (performed) the (cosmic) sacrifice, Spring became the butter for it, Summer the fire-wood, Autumn the oblation.
7. They consecrated on the sacred grass this sacrifice, (namely) the Puruṣa, born in the beginning. With him the gods sacrificed, the Sādhyas,² and the Seers.
8. From this sacrifice, offered as whole-offering, the ghee-mixture (the juice that flowed off) was collected; it made these animals—those of the air, of the jungle, and of the village.

¹ See RV. 1.164.45, AV. 2.1.2.

² See note, next page.

9. From this sacrifice, offered as whole-offering, the stanzas of praise (the Rigveda) and the melodies (Sāmaveda) were produced; the meters were produced therefrom, the sacrificial formulas (Yajurveda) were produced therefrom.

10. Therefrom were produced horses, and whatever animals have (cutting-)teeth on both jaws. Cattle were produced therefrom, therefrom were born goats and sheep.

11. When they divided the Puruṣa (as the victim at the cosmic sacrifice), into how many parts did they separate him? What did his mouth become? What his two arms? What are declared to be his two thighs, his two feet?

12. The Brahman (priestly caste) was his mouth, his two arms became the Rājanya (warrior caste); his two thighs are the Vaiśya (artisan caste), from his two feet the Śūdra (serf caste) was produced.

13. The moon sprang from his thought-organ, the sun was produced from his eye; from his mouth Indra (war-god and soma-drinker) and Agni (the Fire-god), from his breath Vāyu (the wind) was produced.

14. From his navel arose the atmosphere, from his head the heaven evolved; from his two feet the earth, from his ear the directions. Thus they fashioned the worlds.

15. Seven were his surrounding sticks (at the burnt-offering), thrice seven were made the pieces of kindling wood, when the gods, extending (performing) the (cosmic) sacrifice, bound the Puruṣa as the victim.

16. With offering the gods offered the offering; these were the first (holy) institutions. Verily these powers have followed up to heaven, where are the Sādhyā-gods¹ of old.

¹ A class of ancient gods or demigods, obscure in character.

Rig Veda 10.121. The unnamed (monotheistic) god

This hymn is one of the best examples of tentative or quasi-monotheism. Its language may even contain verbal reminiscences of the henotheistic 2.12, to Indra; some of these are mentioned in the notes below. It gives an impressive description of a Demiurge—creator, animator, and ruler of the universe; the cosmic waters were both his origin, 7, and his first product, 8-9 (see RV. 10.72.4-5; 10.90.5). But it does not name him; each verse ends with a question, 'to *what* god shall we do homage with oblation?' As if it said, 'instead of Indra, who?' The tenth verse, to be sure, gives the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati) as the answer; in the Atharva Veda (e.g. 10.7.7 with note) and later he is well-known as a Demiurge. But in this sense he is unknown in the Rig Veda (unless here). And the 'word-text', which regularly furnishes for every Rig-Vedic verse a division into all its separate words, ignores this verse. This surely means that when the 'word-text' was composed (some centuries BC) the hymn ended with verse 9.

1. The golden germ was evolved in the beginning; born, he was the sole lord of what was. He established the earth and this heaven. To what god shall we do homage with oblation?

2. Who is the life-giver, the strength-giver; whose command all attend, even the gods; of whom immortality and death¹ are the reflection; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

3. Who by his might has ever been the sole lord of the world that breathes and blinks;² who rules over these two-footed and four-footed beings; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

4. Whose are these snow-clad mountains through his might; whose they say is the ocean along with the Rasā (world-stream surrounding the earth); whose are these directions, whose arms they are; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

5. By whom the mighty heaven and the earth were made fast, by whom the sky was established, by whom the firmament; who is the one that measures off the celestial region in the atmosphere; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?³

¹ Gods and men; see RV. 10.129.2.

² That is, that lives. This interpretation seems to me confirmed by AV. 9.2.23, where *nimiṣato* 'blinking' is contrasted with *tiṣṭhato*, 'stationary, unmoving', hence 'inanimate'.

³ The language of this verse is reminiscent of RV. 2.12.2.

6. To whom the two lines of battle,¹ by his aid made firm, look up trembling in their hearts; (resting) on whom the risen sun shines abroad; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

7. Verily when the mighty waters moved, pregnant with the universe as embryo, producing Agni (fire), thence he was evolved, the sole life (-principle) of the gods. To what god shall we do homage with oblation?

8. Who surveyed the waters with might, the waters pregnant with power,² producing the sacrifice; who was the sole god over the gods; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

9. May he harm us not, who is the father of the earth, or who produced the heaven, he of unfailling ordinance, and who produced the mighty shining waters; to what god shall we do homage with oblation?

10. Prajāpati ('Lord of Creatures'), 'tis no other than you, who enveloped (protected, or included in yourself) all these created things. That which we desire as we make oblation to you, may it be ours; may we be lords of riches.

¹ A vague imitation of part of RV. 2.12.8, repeating the rare word *kṛandasi* which there is admitted by all to mean 'the two lines of battle'. It seems to me that it must mean that here too. But it was an ancient and rare word, the meaning of which was forgotten even by AV. times. For AV. 4.2.3b adds *rodasi*, 'the two firmaments', agreeing with *kṛandasi*, and later texts go farther and substitute *dyāvāpṛthivī* 'heaven and earth', for *kṛandasi*. Most modern interpreters assume that in our verse the word *kṛandasi* ('figuratively') means 'heaven and earth'. In a cosmogonic context like this, it was natural for later Vedic redactors to attribute this meaning to a dual word whose real meaning they had forgotten, or to substitute for it a word of that meaning.

² Or possibly 'with *Dakṣa*', personified as a cosmic principle, as in RV. 10.72.4, 5 (which may be influenced directly or indirectly by this verse).

Rig Veda 10.125. Holy Utterance (Vāc)

Self-laudation of Vāc, 'Holy Utterance', the personification of Vedic hymnal composition; feminine equivalent of *brāhman*, the 'Holy Word'. In the first two verses, she 'bears' (supports) or inspires the chief gods of the pantheon; the list reminds us of the gods henotheistically identified with Agni (RV. 2.1 and 5.3), but the spirit is new; Vāc is supreme over them all, and over the whole universe. The hymn thus gives us a premonition of the later development of *brāhman*, the neuter equivalent of Vāc, into the World-principle.

1. I move with the Rudras,¹ with the Vasus, with the Ādityas I (move), also with the All-gods. I bear (carry) Mitra and Varuṇa both, Indra and Agni, both the Aśvins.

2. I bear the lusty Soma, I also (bear) Tvaṣṭar, Pūṣan, Bhaga. I give wealth to the offerer of oblations, to the well-invoking sacrificer that presses (the soma).

3. I am queen, gatherer of riches; very wise, the first of beings worthy of reverence. I am she whom the gods have settled in various places; I have many stations, and bestow (boons) on many.²

4. Through me he eats his food, whoever looks abroad, whoever breathes, yes, whoever hears what is spoken. Though they know it not they dwell in me: hear, you that are (yourself) heard (by me)!³ what I tell you is worthy of faith.

5. I myself say this, good tidings to gods and men. Whom I favour, even him I make mighty, him I make a brahman, a sage, a wise seer.

6. I draw the bow for Rudra, for a bolt to slay the hater of the Holy Word (or, of priests). I make war for the people. I have entered into heaven and earth.

7. I bring forth the Father,⁴ at the summit of this (cosmos). My womb (origin) is within the waters, in the ocean. Thence I extend

¹ This verse and the next name many of the chief gods of the Vedic pantheon.

² Or, bestow many boons, on whom I will, cf. 2 and 5. Proved by AV. 7.79.3 see Edgerton, *Studies in honour of Maurice Bloomfield*, 126.

³ That is, probably, whose devotional address I have heard.

⁴ Interpretation uncertain; instead of 'bring forth, bear' the verb could mean 'impel, inspire'. If it means 'bear', it is still not clear whether she bears the universal, cosmic 'Father' (Prajāpati or Viśvakarman or some other term for the Creator-god), or specifically her own father (who would then be also the cosmic 'Father'), with the same paradox recorded in RV. 10.90.5; 10.72.4, 5.

myself throughout all the worlds; yonder heaven also I touch with my peak.

8. I also blow forth, (pervading everything) like the wind, taking to myself all the worlds. Beyond the heaven, beyond this earth, so great I have become in grandeur.

Rig Veda 10.129. The monistic (impersonal) cosmic principle

Monism; searching attempt to get from nothing to something, mainly by extremely cautious, largely negative, and very tentative starts. In the beginning was neither non-existent nor existent. In 2, 'That One (neuter) breathed'—but without breath (no ordinary breathing!); then it there was nothing else. In 3, 'darkness there was, hidden by darkness; an undistinguished ocean (cf. Introduction, Chapter I, fn. 2, p. 21) was This All. A generative principle (lit. 'coming into being') enveloped by emptiness—by the might of (its own) fervour That One (neuter) was born'. In 4, Desire (creative urge) arose, and from it Thought. Existent had, somehow, to arise out of non-existent. On vs. 5 see note 3 below. In 6 and 7 the poet seems to feel he has gone too far, and relapses into complete agnosticism; the gods are too late to know anything; maybe some power in heaven knows, but maybe not.

1. Non-existent there was not, existent there was not then. There was not the atmospheric space, nor the vault beyond. What stirred, where, and in whose control? Was there water, a deep abyss?

2. Nor death nor immortality (mortals nor immortals) was there then; there was no distinction of night or day. That One breathed without breath by inner power; then it verily there was nothing else further.

3. Darkness there was, hidden by darkness, in the beginning; an undistinguished ocean was This All. What generative principle¹ was enveloped by emptiness—by the might of (its own) fervour² That One was born.

4. Desire (creative, or perhaps sacrificial, impulse) arose then in the beginning, which was the first seed of thought. The (causal) connection (*bandhu*) of the existent the sages found in the non-existent, searching with devotion in their hearts.

5. Straight across was stretched the (dividing-)cord of them (i.e. of the following); below (what) was there? above (what) was there? Seed-bearers (male forces) there were, strengths (female forces) there were; (female) innate power below, (male) impellent force above.³

¹ Literally, 'coming into being', *ābhu*; noun to the verb *ābabhūva* 'came into being', vss. 6 and 7.

² *tapas*, 'heat' or 'ascetic fervour', as of a shaman.

³ Male and female powers develop in the chaos; by their interaction the empiric world is to be produced. 'Innate power' is an attempt to render *svadhā*, a difficult word. Renou 254 n. 9 takes it to refer to male forces, 'bien que le mot soit féminin grammaticalement.' More important, and decisive as it seems to me, is the fact that it is 'below'; the 'impellent force' (*prayati*, also grammatically feminine) is 'above', therefore male.

6. Who truly knows? Who shall here proclaim it—whence they were produced, whence this creation? The gods (arose) on this side (later), by the creation of this (empiric world, to which the gods belong); then who knows whence it came into being?

7. This creation, whence it came into being, whether it was established,¹ or whether not—he who is its overseer in the highest heaven, he verily knows, or perchance he knows not.²

¹ i.e. created; or perhaps, 'established itself' (the verb may be understood as passive or middle).

² Literally, probably 'or if he doesn't know?' ('then what?'); interrogative intonation.

Rig Veda 10.190. Cosmic, creative Fervour (*tapas*)

See Introduction, Chapter II, section headed *Asceticism*.

1. Cosmic order and Truth were born out of kindled Heat (*tapas*).
From that night was born, from that the ocean with its waves.
2. From the ocean with its waves the year was born, which arranges
days and nights and rules over all that blinks (lives).
3. The Creator (or Ordainer) fashioned in regular order the sun and
moon, heaven and earth, the atmosphere and the light.

PART III

SELECTIONS FROM THE
ATHARVA VEDA

SELECTIONS FROM THE ATHARVA VEDA

On the Atharva Veda and its place in Vedic speculation, see Introduction, Chapter I, especially the sections headed 'The popular religion of the Atharva Veda', 'Monotheism and Monism in the Atharva Veda', and 'The magic power of knowledge'; also fn. 2, p. 24. The tradition of the Atharva Veda is much less reliable than that of the Rig Veda; see 'The philosophical materials of the Atharva Veda', in *Studies in Honour of Maurice Bloomfield*, pp. 117-135. A second recension of this Veda, called the Paippalāda version, has been published in this century; occasionally my notes make use of its variants, but as a whole it is far more corrupt than the vulgate recension. The first two hymns here presented are rather cryptic.

Atharva Veda 2.1. Vena

1. Vena¹ saw that highest that was in secret, in which this All becomes of one form. This the varicoloured (cow) milked (out). Being born, the heaven-winning (or, -knowing) females² shouted (for joy).

2. Let the Gandharva,³ who knows the immortal, declare this highest station, which is in secret. Three quarters of it are set down in secret. He who knows this shall be the Father's Father!

3. He, our father, our generator, and the (cosmic) Connection,⁴ knows the stations and the worlds all. Who is the sole name-assigner of the gods, to him all beings go to inquire.

4. In an instant I have encircled heaven and earth; I approached the First-born of the Right, (which is) like Speech in a speaker; this thirsty one that abides in the world, is he not Fire?

¹ What Vena means is much disputed. Some identify him with the Gandharva in the next verse.

² *vrāh*; also uncertain. Some, 'the dawns'; others, 'seductresses' (=who?); some, = *Vāc(ah)*, the Holy Utterances of the seers (because they bring the gods to the offering). It is not even certain that it means 'females' rather than 'companies', an older interpretation still favoured by excellent scholars at least as recently as 1912 (Oldenberg).

³ Originally, a male sexual demon, who troubles women, as his female counterpart, the Apsaras, disturbs men (Atharva Veda 4.37). Both are often mentioned together, as in AV. 19.54.4 (in a cosmic rigmarole). But here apparently only a supernatural creature of undefinable status; some think, the same as Vena in vs. 1—'Three quarters', etc.; same ideas as Rig Veda 10.90.3. 'Father's Father' = 'Supreme Father'; he shall equal the Supreme.

⁴ Cf. RV. 10.129.4; also AV. 4.1.3. The word *bandhu* means 'the meaning and purpose of everything, its occult, mystic effect' (Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*, 4). The verse contains reminiscences of RV. 10.82.3.

5. I have encircled all the worlds, to see the stretched-out thread of Right (the sacrifice?), where the gods, having attained immortality, went to their common home.

Atharva Veda 4.1. The Holy Word

1. The Holy Word¹ first born in the east Vena has disclosed from the shining horizon. He has disclosed the lowest and the highest forms of it, the womb of both the Existent and the Non-existent.

2. Let this ancestral Queen (*Vāc*, 'Holy Utterance'; cf. RV. 10.71.1 ff.), abiding in the world, go first unto the primal creation. I have instigated for that (purpose) this shining (sun-)bird. Let them heat the (sacrificial) milk for the first thirsty one. (See AV. 2.1.4.)

3. He who was born knowing, the Connection (AV. 2.1.3) of this (universe), declares all the births of the gods. He brought forth the Holy Word from the middle of the Holy Word; below and above he set forth by his own innate power.²

4. Abiding in Truth, he has fixed at rest the two mighty firmaments of heaven and earth. As soon as born, the mighty one fixed severally the two mighty (firmaments), the sky as seat, and the earthly space.

5. By generation he has attained from the lowest unto the highest.³ The Lord of the Holy Word (*Bṛhaspati* = *Brahmaṇaspati*), the universal ruler, is his divinity. Since the bright day was born from the light, so may the priestly singers shine radiant far and wide.

6. At this present time the one who has a priest-poet's capacity sets in motion that ordainment of this mighty god of old;⁴ he has (now) been born together with right many, though still asleep when the earlier part was opened up.

7. Whoso shall comprehend Father Atharvan (to whom, or his family, the 'Atharva' Veda is attributed), the kinsman of the gods, and

¹ *Bṛāhman*, specifically a Vedic hymn or charm. This is surely one of the earliest occurrences in which it seems to be treated as a cosmic principle (see further AV. 10.2.21-33; 10.7.10, 17, 24, 32 ff.; 10.8.1; 11.8.32; 13.1.33). It is to be sure still tied in with the ritual. The Rig-Vedic sacrifice begins in the east, facing the rising sun. On Vena see AV. 2.1.1.; on Existent and Non-Existent, RV. 10.129, etc., etc.

² Reading *svādhayābhi* with the Paippalāda version and Yajurveda parallels.

³ Reading *januṣā* with the Paippalāda version and all (three) parallel texts.

⁴ Contrast between present time and 'of old'; paradoxically, a priest-poet of today works backward in time, and motivates what happened long ago when he was still 'sleeping' (the second half verse emphasizes the strange mystic paradox still further). But it may be (and has been) suggested that the sun is cryptically meant as subject; cf. vss. 1 and 2.

shall comprehend the Lord of the Holy Word (*Bṛhaspati*), with homage—
that you may be the creator of all, that the divine priest-poet of innate
power may not harm (you).¹

¹ Syntax of the last half verse is uncertain. 'You' is apparently addressed to any contemporary priest-poet who is assimilated to the original Creator.

Atharva Veda 8.10. Virāj. (Prose.)

On Virāj see RV. 10.90.5; AV. 9.2.5, and elsewhere below. It seems to mean either Shining One or Queen (or both?).

1. The Shining One (or Ruler) truly was this (universe) in the beginning. Of her, when she was born, everything was afraid (thinking): She alone will become this (universe).

2. She ascended; she descended in the householder's fire.¹ He becomes a householder that offers the house-sacrifices, who knows thus.

3. She ascended; she descended in the fire of offering. The gods go to his god-invocation, he becomes dear to the gods, who knows thus.

4. She ascended; she descended in the southern (*dakṣiṇa*) fire. He becomes fitted for sacrifice, capable of sacrificial gifts (*dakṣiṇīya*), able to furnish refuge, who knows thus.

5. She ascended; she descended in the assembly. (People) go to his assembly, he becomes worthy of assembly, who knows thus.

6. She ascended; she descended in the meeting. (People) go to his meeting, he becomes worthy of meeting, who knows thus.

7. She ascended; she descended in address. (People) go to his address, he becomes worthy of address, who knows thus.

8. She ascended; she stood striding out fourfold in the atmosphere.

9. Of her gods and men said: She is the one who knows that upon which we both may subsist, let us invoke her.

10. They invoked her:

11. O vigour, come! O libation, come! O bounty, come! O rich in refreshment, come!

12. Of her Indra was the calf, the *gāyatrī* (verse)² the halter, cloud the udder.

¹ The three fires mentioned in this and the next two verses are the recognized fires of the three-fire (hieratic) ritual.

² See AV. 13.1.10 and note.

13. (The two chants, *sāman*) *br̥hat* and *rathaṃtara* were two teats; (the chants) *yajñāyajñīya* and *vāmadevya* were two.

14. The gods milked (from her) plants by the *rathaṃtara*, space by the *br̥hat*;

15. Waters by the *vāmadevya*, the sacrifice by the *yajñāyajñīya*.

16. The *rathaṃtara* milks plants, the *br̥hat* space,

17. The *vāmadevya* waters, the *yajñāyajñīya* sacrifice, for him who knows thus.

18. She ascended; she came to the trees. The trees slew her. In a year she came into being (again). Therefore what of trees is cut off grows again in a year. Cut off is the hostile rival of him who knows thus.

19. She ascended; she came to the Fathers (manes, departed spirits). The Fathers slew her. In a month she came into being (again). Therefore in a month they give to the Fathers the monthly (offering). He understands the road that goes to the Fathers who knows thus.

20. She ascended; she came to the gods. The gods slew her. In a half-month she came into being (again). Therefore in a half-month they make the *vaṣaṭ*¹ for the gods. He understands the road that goes to the gods who knows thus.

21. She ascended; she came to men. Men slew her. She came into being (again) immediately. Therefore on two successive days² they offer (food) to men. They offer (food) in the house of him who knows thus.

22. She ascended; she came to the demons (*asura*). The demons invoked her; O wile, come! Virocana³ the son of Prahlāda was her calf, an iron vessel the (milking) vessel. Dvimūrdhan³ the son of Ṛtu milked her. He milked just wile from her. On that wile the demons subsist. He becomes one to be subsisted upon who knows thus.

23. She ascended; she came to the Fathers. The Fathers invoked her: O libation (for the Fathers), come! Her calf was King Yama (god of

¹ A ritual exclamation which, spoken by the *hotar* priest, gives the signal to the 'working' (*adhvaryu*) priest to present the offerings.

² That is, presumably, 'every day; today and tomorrow'.

³ Both well-known demons (*asuras*).

death), a silver vessel the (milking) vessel. The Ender,¹ son of Death, milked her. He milked just the libation from her. On that libation the Fathers subsist. He becomes one to be subsisted upon who knows thus.

24. She ascended; she came to men. Men invoked her: O rich in refreshment, come! Manu² the son of Vivasvant was her calf, the earth was the (milking) vessel. Pr̥thī³ son of Vena milked her. He milked cultivation and grain from her. On those two, cultivation and grain, men subsist. He becomes successful in what is cultivated, and one to be subsisted upon, who knows thus.

25. She ascended; she came to the seven seers (*ṛṣis*). The seven seers invoked her: O rich in the Holy Word (*brāhman*), come! (The sacred drink) King Soma was her calf, meter the (milking) vessel. Br̥haspati (the Lord of the Holy Word) of the Aṅgiras family milked her. He milked the Holy Word and Fervour (*tapas*) from her. On that, the Holy Word and Fervour, the seven seers subsist. He becomes possessed of splendour of the Holy Word, and one to be subsisted upon, who knows thus.

26. She ascended; she came to the gods. The gods invoked her: O vigour, come! Indra was her calf, a bowl was the (milking) vessel. The (sun-)god Savitar milked her. He milked just vigour from her. On that vigour the gods subsist. He becomes one to be subsisted upon who knows thus.

27. She ascended; she came to the gandharvas and apsarases. The gandharvas and apsarases invoked her: O sweet-scented one, come! Citraratha⁴ the son of Sūryavarca was her calf, the blue-lotus leaf was the (milking) vessel. Vasuruci⁵ the son of Sūryavarca milked her. He milked just sweet scent from her. On that sweet scent the gandharvas and apsarases subsist. He becomes sweet-scented, and one to be subsisted upon, who knows thus.

28. She ascended; she came to the other-folks.⁶ The other-folks invoked her: O concealment, come! Kubera the son of Viśravaṇa was her

¹ Otherwise used as an epithet of Yama, or of Death.

² The eponymous ancestor of the human race; son of the Sun (Vivasvant).

³ A mythical king of old; said to have invented agriculture.

⁴ King of the gandharvas.

⁵ An otherwise unknown gandharva.

⁶ A euphemistic name for a kind of demonic creatures conceived as living in concealment underground. Kubera is, in the Veda, mentioned as their ruler. In later times Kubera son of Viśravaṇa is a god of wealth, ruler of *yakṣas* who control, especially, hidden treasure. Rajatanābhi ('silver-navel') is known, as proper name, only from this passage.

calf, an unbaked vessel was the (milking) vessel. Rajatanābhi the son of Kubera milked her; he milked just concealment from her. On that concealment the other-folks subsist. He conceals all evil and becomes one to be subsisted upon who knows thus.

29. She ascended; she came to the serpents. The serpents invoked her: O Poisonous One, come! Takṣaka¹ the descendant of Viśāla was her calf, a gourd-vessel was the (milking) vessel. Dhṛtarāṣṭra¹ the son of Irāvant milked her. He milked just poison from her. On that poison the serpents subsist. He becomes one to be subsisted upon who knows thus.

30. So if one should sprinkle with a gourd (in consecration) for one who knows thus, he should reject it.²

31. If he does not reject it (physically), he should reject it (by thinking): I reject you by my thought.

32. In that he rejects it, it is just poison that he thus rejects.

33. Just poison is poured out upon the hostile rival of him who knows thus.

¹ Two well-known serpent-demons, or serpent-princes.

² Because of its association with serpents and poison.

Atharva Veda 9.2, vss. 5, 19-25.¹ Desire (*Kāma*)

On Desire as a cosmic force see also AV. 19.52; Introduction, Chapter I, fn. 6, p. 21.

5. That milch-cow, O Desire, whom the priest-poets call the resplendent (or ruling) Speech, is said to be your daughter; by her keep off those who are my enemies; let breath, cattle, life desert them.

19. Desire was the first to be born; neither gods nor (departed) ancestors nor men have reached (equalled) him; you are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

20. However wide heaven and earth extend, however far the (cosmic?) waters flow, or fire (goes); you are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

21. However great the cardinal and intermediate directions on all sides, however great the regions and vistas of the sky, you are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

22. As many as there are bees, bats, *kurūrus*,² as many *vaghās*,² tree-crawlers, you are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

23. You are superior to (any) that blinks (lives) or stands still (is inanimate); you are superior to the ocean, O Desire, O Passion!³ You are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

24. Truly wind does not ever reach (equal) Desire, nor Fire, the Sun, nor yet the Moon. You are superior to them, ever mighty; to you, Desire, we verily do homage.

25. Those auspicious and kindly forms of yours, Desire, by means of which whatever you wish comes true, with these do you enter wholly into us; make evil thoughts enter off somewhere else.

¹ Most of this hymn has no speculative interest; it employs Desire (*Kāma*) in routine magic to conquer enemies. Verse 5 also has this motive, but is included here because of its mention of *Vāc Virāj*, 'the resplendent (or ruling) Speech'; we have met both these terms in the speculative hymns of the Rig Veda. Here they refer to the same personage, a milch-cow, that is giver of wishes, and daughter of Desire.

² Unidentified insects; the first occurs (with variants *kurūra*, *kurīra*) in AV. 2.31.2, the second in AV. 6.50.3.

³ *Manyu*, see AV. 11.8.1 and note.

Atharva Veda 10.2. Structure of the human body (Cf. 11.8, below)

1. Who brought here the two heels of Man (Puruṣa; as in RV. 10.90)? Who assembled his flesh, his two ankles? Who his artistic fingers? Who his apertures? Who his two *ucchlakhas*¹ in the middle? Who his footing?

2. From what, say, did they make the two ankles below, the two knee-pans above, of Man? Where, producing the two shanks, did they insert them? The two joints of the knees? Who understands that?

3. A set of four (the legs and arms) is joined on, with the extremities attached; above the knees the soft (? unstable) trunk. The two buttocks and two thighs, who produced them? by which the trunk was made firm (opposite of soft or unstable above).

4. How many gods, and which were they, who arranged the bosom, the neck-bones of Man? How many (gods) arranged the two breasts, who the *kaphoḍas*,¹ how many arranged the shoulder-bones (plural) how many the ribs?

5. Who assembled his two arms, that he should perform heroic deeds? What god then fixed his two shoulders upon his trunk?

6. Who bored through the seven apertures in his head, these ears, the nostrils, the eyes, (and) the mouth? in the power of the mastery of which four-footed and two-footed beings go their way in various places.

7. Indeed between his jaws he placed the ample tongue, then put into it mighty Speech. He rolls on mightily within the worlds, clothing himself in the (cosmic) waters; who understands that?

8. The one who first (fashioned) his brain, his forehead, the nape of his neck, his skull, (and) having arranged what must be arranged (the teeth?) in the jaws of Man, he mounted to heaven; which was that god?

9. Numerous pleasant and unpleasant things, sleep (or dream), afflictions and wearinesses, joys and delights, whence does mighty Man derive these?

10. Whence, now, (come) in Man mishap, ruin, destruction, neglect, success, accomplishment, non-failure, mindfulness, elevations, whence?

¹ Unknown words; both dual.

11. Who arranged the waters (liquids) in this Man, which flow variously, flow manifoldly, which are produced to flow in streams, which are sharp, ruddy, red, copper-dark, and (go) upward, downward, and crosswise?

12. Who put form in him, and stature and name? Who (put) gait, who intelligence (? 'brightness' ?), who movements in this Man?

13. Who wove in him the upper breath, who the nether breath, and the crosswise breath? What god set the circulating breath in this Man?

14. What one god fixed sacrifice in this Man? Who (put) in him truth, who falsehood? Whence (came) death, whence immortality?

15. Who put clothing around him? Who determined his life(-span)? Who gave strength to him? Who arranged swiftness for him?

16. Whereby did he (the god, or Man?) stretch out the waters? Whereby did he make the day to shine? Whereby did he kindle the dawn? Whereby did he grant the coming on of evening?

17. Who deposited the seed in him, thinking, Let his line be extended? Who installed wisdom in him? Who placed music, dances (in him)?

18. By what did he cover this earth? By what did he encompass the heaven? By what did (does) Man surpass the mountains in height, by what (does he surpass) (sacrificial?) acts?

19. By what does he follow after (attain, or equal?) (the rain-god) Parjanya, by what the wise Soma (sacred drink)? By what sacrifice and faith? By what was thought put into him?

20. By what does he obtain a priest learned in the Veda? By what (does he obtain) Him that is in the Highest¹ here? By what (does) Man (obtain) this Fire (-god, Agni)? By what did he measure out the year?

21. As *bráhman*² (neuter) he obtains a priest learned in the Veda, as *bráhman* Him that is in the Highest here, as *bráhman* Man (obtains) this Fire (-god), as *bráhman* he measured out the year.

¹ *Parameṣṭhin*; a sort of cosmic First Principle, masculine, like *Prajāpati* (on whom see AV. 10.7.7), of whom he seems sometimes to be an epithet (e.g. AV. 9.3.11), but elsewhere (e.g. AV. 9.7.1) a separate entity who may be associated with him.

² See AV. 4.1.1. and note; Introduction, Chap. I, section headed '*Bráhman*'.

22. By what does he dwell near the gods, by what (near) the common people (*viśah*, the third caste) of the divine folk? By what (does he dwell near) this other, non-noble (caste; the brahmans?), by what (this which) is called the real noble caste?¹

23. As *brāhman* (neuter) he dwells near the gods, as *brāhman* (near) the common people of the divine folk, as *brāhamn* (near) the other, non-noble (caste), as *brāhman* (near this which) is called the real noble caste.

24. By what was this earth disposed, by what was the sky set above, by what was this atmosphere, the wide expanse, set aloft and crosswise?

25. By *brāhman* the earth was disposed, as *brāhman* the sky was set above, as *brāhman* this atmosphere, the wide expanse, was set aloft and crosswise.

26. Atharvan, having sewed up his (Man's) head and his heart, as a wind rising up, expelled (it)² from his brain, out of his head.

27. Verily that head of Atharvan is a treasure-chest of the gods, well closed together. That head the Life-breath (*prāṇa*) guards, also food and the thought-organ.³

28. Was he created above? Or was he created crosswise? Did Man come to be in all directions?—He who knows the citadel of the *brāhman*, from which Man⁴ is (so) called.

29. Verily, who knows that citadel of *brāhman*, covered over with immortality, to him *brāhman* and the (powers?) of *brāhman* grant sight, life-breath, offspring.

30. Verily, sight does not leave him, nor life-breath, before old age, who knows the citadel of *brāhman*, from which Man is (so) called.

¹ Interpretation doubtful; it implies word-play, which involves arbitrary distortion of word-accents.

² (Atharvan: see AV. 4.1.7.) The verb is formally active and transitive (causative); but no object seems to be expressed, nor clearly understood (could it be the 'heart' of Man? not very plausible). Some translate it as intransitive, which is at least violent as to form.

³ The last two are generally taken as additional subjects, but formally could quite as well be objects (parallel with the 'head').

⁴ By a punning 'analysis' which is well known in Indian literature, *puruṣa* 'man' is derived from *pur* 'citadel'. There is no connection apparent between the two halves of this verse, and the second half demands a complement which is not recorded here, but is found in the repetition in the second half of vs. 30.

31. The impregnable citadel of the gods has eight circles, nine doors. In it is a golden treasure-chest, heavenly, enveloped in light.¹

32. In this golden treasure-chest, which has three spokes and is triply based—the prodigy in it which consists of Self (*ātman*), that verily *brāhman*-knowers know.²

33. *Brāhman* has entered into this shining, yellow, golden, impregnable citadel, which is all enveloped in glory.

¹ The human body. The 'circles' probably refer to the parts that touch the ground in a complete prostration (forehead, chest, hands, knees and feet). The 'doors' are the nine bodily openings (a very commonly mentioned category; see e.g. AV. 10.8.43); the seven in the head are listed in vs. 6. 'Treasure-chest', cf. vs. 27.

² Cf. AV. 10.8.43, where *tri-guṇa* has naturally suggested the three 'strands' of epic and later speculation; some assume this also in this verse, with its 'three spokes', etc. I doubt this interpretation, but confess I have no other to propose.

Atharva Veda 10.7. Skambha, Support

This hymn, and at least the opening verses of the next, deal primarily with a quite abstract 'Support', which resembles the *Puruṣa* of RV. 10.90 in some respects, though more sophisticated. In fact, the word *Puruṣa* occurs twice in the hymn, vss. 15 and 17 (see n. 4, p. 93), apparently assimilated to the 'Support'. These two hymns are among the most advanced of the AV. philosophic hymns.

1. In what member of him is Fervour located? In what member of him is Right deposited? In what part of him is Vow, is Faith located? In what member of him is Truth established?

2. From what member of him does Fire (god Agni) blaze? From what member of him does Wind (*Mātariśvan*) blow? From what member does the moon measure out, in measuring the body (or, member) of the mighty Support (*Skambha*)?

3. In what member of him is Earth located? In what member is Atmosphere located? In what member does the Sky remain set? In what member is located what is above the Sky?

4. Whither yearning does Fire blaze aloft? Whither yearning does Wind blow? To whom (their?) courses¹ yearn and approach, declare that Support; which one of all, pray, is he?

5. Whither go the half-months, and the months, in concord with the year? To whom the seasons, to whom the season-groups go, declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

6. Whither yearning do the two maidens of different forms run in common accord, the Day and the Night? To whom the waters, yearning, approach, declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

7. Upon whom supporting them (the worlds), the Lord of Creatures² made firm all the worlds, declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

¹ Doubtful; perhaps certain 'ritual acts'. Literally, 'turnings'. Renou, 'the directions of space', without supporting note; I have failed to find evidence for this.

² *Prajāpati*; in the Atharva Veda and later very common as a sort of demiurge. Rare in the Rig Veda, and in this technical sense hardly known there, except in 10.121.10 which is probably a late addition.

8. That which the Lord of Creatures created, of every form, highest, lowest, and middling, with how much (of himself) did the Support enter into that? How much was that (part of him) which did not enter?

9. With how much did the Support enter into the past? How much of him stretches over the future? That one body (or, member) which he made a thousand fold, with how much did the Support enter into that?

10. In which men know (are) the worlds and (their) containing envelopes, the waters and the *brāhman* (neuter; Holy Word, or World-principle?), within which are both the non-existent and the existent, declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

11. In which Fervour, advancing, maintains Vow (at a) higher (level); in which Right and Faith, the waters and *brāhman* (as in vs. 10), are united; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

12. In which earth and atmosphere, in which the sky is fixed, in which Fire, moon, sun, wind remain fastened; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

13. In whose body (or, member) all the three and thirty gods are united; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

14. In which (are implanted) the seers born in the beginning,¹ the verses, chants, liturgical formulas,² and the earth, in which the Sole Seer³ is implanted; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

15. In which, as Man,⁴ immortality and death are united; whose are the ocean, (and) the veins that are united in Man; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

16. Of whom the four directions are the swelling⁵ veins, in whom the sacrifice has advanced mightily; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

¹ Literally, 'first-born'. 'Seers' (*rishis*), who revealed the contents of all the Vedas.

² The technical names for the contents of the three hieratic Vedas (Rig-, Sāma-, Yajur-Veda).

³ This expression occurs elsewhere (several times in the Upaniṣads). Just what it means is not very clear; perhaps only an unspecified 'Chief of Seers (*ṛṣis*)'.

⁴ Here and in vs. 17 the cosmic 'giant' Man (*Puruṣa*), as in RV. 10.90 (and cf. AV. 10.2, etc.), appears as an aspect of *Skambha*. *Puruṣa* under this name does not occur again in the hymn (see however vs. 43); but vss. 18 ff. identify *Skambha*'s members in ways not unlike *Puruṣa*'s in RV. 10.90.

⁵ Read *pra-pyasāḥ* (probably related to *pra-pyā*, 'swell') for *prathamāḥ*; see note in Whitney-Lanman's translation.

17. Those who know the *brāhman* in Man, they know Him that is in the Highest;¹ who knows Him that is in the Highest, and who knows the Lord of Creatures, those who know the supreme *brāhman*-power, they consequently also know the Support.

18. Whose head is the Universal (Fire),² whose eye the Aṅgirasas³ became, whose members are the sorcerous fiends; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

19. Of whom they call the Holy Word (*brāhman*) the face (or, mouth), the honey-whip⁴ the tongue, of whom they call the Shining One⁵ the udder; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

20. From whom they chopped off the verses, from whom they scraped off the liturgical formula, of whom the chants are the bodily hairs, the Atharvans-and-Aṅgirasas the mouth;⁶ declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

21. A branch of the non-existent, which (branch) stands forth, people know as seemingly the supreme thing. Inferior folk, who revere your branch, think of it also as the existent.

22. In which the Ādityas and the Rudras and the Vasus⁷ are fixed together, in which what has been and what is to be, and all the worlds, are established; declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

23. Whose treasure the three and thirty gods always guard—who at this time knows that treasure, which you guard, O gods?

¹ See AV. 10.2.20; 'Lord of Creatures', see vs. 7 above.

² Vaiśvānara, ancient epithet of Fire. Either the Sun as form of Fire, or more likely the Fire of sacrifice that is kindled in every man's house.

³ An ancient priestly clan who became associated with (the) Atharvan(s) (see AV. 4.1.7), as authors or patrons of the Atharva Veda. See AV. 11.4.16 and note, which explains why the 'sorcerous fiends', used in hostile magic, are connected with the Aṅgirasas.

⁴ This belongs to the twin Aśvin gods. Just what it symbolizes is uncertain, but it belongs to the hieratic ritual cult, and, like *brāhman* and other ritual entities, is erected into a sort of cosmogonic power in AV. 9.1, which is not included in this book because it seems hardly important enough for our purpose.

⁵ Virāj; so rendered in RV. 10.90.5, since there it seems to me to refer to the cosmic waters. But, perhaps oftener, it means also 'ruler'; regularly feminine in AV. and later, sometimes masculine in RV. (and rarely later). It is also symbolized as a cow, usually involved in cosmological speculation as here. Cf. AV. 13.1.33 (with 27 and 41). Virāj appears as a cosmic potency in AV. 8.9 and 10.

⁶ The first three are the contents of the three hieratic Vedas; see vs. 14 with note 2. The fourth means the Atharva Veda; cf. vs. 18 with note 3.

⁷ Three groups of gods of the Rig-Vedic pantheon.

24. In which the *bráhma*n-knowing gods recognize the supreme *bráhma*n (neuter)—he verily who knows them face to face, would be a priest (*brahmán*, masculine) that knows.

25. Great, to be sure, are called those gods who were born out of the non-existent. That non-existent people declare to be a single member of the Support, which is beyond.

26. When the Support, generating, evolved the Ancient (cosmos, or principle), that Ancient came also to be recognized as a single member of the Support.

27. In whose (one) member the three and thirty gods shared out limbs for themselves—verily only *bráhma*n-knowers know those three and thirty gods.

28. Men recognize the 'golden germ'¹ as the supreme, which no words can surpass; the Support in the beginning poured forth that gold within the world.

29. In the Support are the worlds, in the Support is Fervor, upon the Support the Right is fixed. I know you, the Support, face to face, as wholly concentrated in Indra.²

30. In Indra are the worlds, in Indra is Fervor, upon Indra the Right is fixed. I know you, as Indra, face to face, wholly concentrated in the Support.

31. One (sc. a ritualist) loudly invokes name after name, before the sun(-rise), before the dawn. (But) when the Unborn One first came into being, he entered into this his independent rule, he than whom there is nothing else higher in existence.

32. Of whom the earth was the standard of measurement, the atmosphere the belly, who made the sky his head—homage to that supreme *bráhma*n!

33. Of whom the sun is the eye, and the moon that ever renews itself, who made the Fire his mouth—homage to that supreme *bráhma*n!

34. Of whom the wind is the upper and nether breath, of whom the *Ángiras*es³ became the eye(s), who made the directions his intelligence—homage to that supreme *bráhma*n!

¹ First mentioned RV. 10.121.1, q.v.; the only Rig-Vedic occurrence. In AV. and later quite familiar as epithet of the cosmic demiurge.

² The old Rig-Vedic war-god, here (as in some other places) treated as the Supreme God; cf. the henotheistic hymn to Indra RV. 2.12.

³ cf. n. 3, p. 94.

35. The Support made firm both heaven and earth here; the Support made firm the wide atmosphere; the Support made firm the six wide directions;¹ the Support has entered into this entire world.

36. Who, born from toil, from fervour (or penance; or, from the toil of fervour or penance), has completely attained all the worlds, who made (the sacred drink) soma exclusively his own (or, who exclusively created soma)—homage to that supreme *brāhman!*

37. How is it that the wind does not cease? How is it that the thought-organ does not rest? How is it that the waters, seeking Truth, never cease?

38. A great prodigy, in the midst of the cosmos, strode in (religious) fervour (or, in heat)² on the back of the ocean; in it are set whatsoever gods there are, like branches round about the trunk of a tree.

39. To whom, with hands, feet, voice, hearing, and sight, the gods always present offering that is measureless, in the measured (sacrificial ground?); declare that Support: which one of all, pray, is he?

40. Darkness is struck away from him; he is separated from evil. In him are all the three lights³ which are in the Lord of Creatures (*Prajāpati*).

41. Who knows the golden reed⁴ that is located in the sea, he verily is the secret Lord of Creatures.

42. Two single maidens⁵ of different forms weave a six-pegged⁶ web, approaching it (in turn); one draws out the threads, the other sets them; they both do not leave off, they shall not get to an end.

43. Of these two, as if they were women dancing, I do not distinguish which one is beyond (the other). A male⁷ weaves it, ties it up; a male has spread it out upon the sky.

¹ An unusual number; probably the four cardinal points plus zenith and nadir. In AV. 10.8.35 *five* directions are mentioned (these six without the nadir).

² *tapas*: see Introduction, Chapter II, section headed '*Asceticism*'.

³ Possibly fire, moon, and sun, as in vss. 12 and 33 above? Uncertain.

⁴ A poetic expression for the First Principle.

⁵ Day and night (vs. 6).

⁶ Possibly the six directions of vs. 35(?). The verse is a cosmic allegory, perhaps with implied reference also to the sacrifice (weaving is a familiar metaphor in both connections); cf. RV. 10.130.2, from which the second half of vs. 43 and vs. 44 are borrowed (with alterations).

⁷ See note 6. Possibly referring to the 'Man' of RV. 10.90 and earlier verses (15 with note 4, and 17) of this hymn; but the word used is not *puruṣa*, as in those and similar places, but *pumāms*, 'male'.

44. These pegs propped up the sky; the chants¹ were made the shuttles for weaving.

¹ See vs. 14, note 2.

Atharva Veda 10.8. Skambha, Support, and other cosmic principles

The first two verses of this hymn continue the theme of the preceding one ('Support', Skambha). But the rest passes on to other themes. Evidently they are cosmic and mystic; many are so cryptic that interpretation is very difficult. The last two verses, however, are clear enough, and extraordinarily interesting, introducing the term *ālman*, for the first time with clarity, in its Upaniṣad sense of world-principle; see note 1, p. 103.

1. Who presides over what has been and is to be, and over everything, and whose alone is the heaven, to that supreme *brāhman* (neuter) be homage.

2. By the Support these two, heaven and earth, remain fixed apart. In the Support (is) all this which possesses soul, that which breathes and blinks.

3. Three generations have passed and gone; others have taken their places about the (sacrificial) laudation. Lofty he stood, (the Sun) who measures out space. The tawny (masculine) has entered into the tawny ones (feminine; flames of sacrificial fire?).¹

4. Twelve fellies, a single wheel, three naves; who understands that? Therein are fixed three hundred and sixty pins (=spokes), pegs which are immovable.²

5. This, O (sun-god) Savitar, understand! Six are twins, one is born alone.³ They seek association with that one of them who is born alone.

6. Manifest, (yet) set down in secret; called the Aged,⁴ a great place; therein all this (universe) is fixed, (therein) whatever stirs and breathes is established.

¹ This obscure mystic verse is taken from Rig Veda 8.101.14. Cf. vs. 40 below; the second half of which largely repeats this vs. (2d half); in the last quarter the sacred drink *soma*, under the name of Pavamāna, takes the place of 'the tawny (masculine)' and suggests our interpretation.

² Rig Veda 1.164.48, with alterations. A riddlesome reference to the year, as a wheel, with twelve months, three seasons (so sometimes reckoned in Vedic times; warm, rainy, and cold), 360 days.

³ The twelve months of the year, each of 30 days, standardly classified in six pairs; and the intercalary month which had to be inserted occasionally to bring the year of 360 days into approximate agreement with the true year.

⁴ Perhaps equivalent to the 'Ancient' of AV. 10.7.26.

7. It rolls with a single wheel, a single rim, a thousand sounds,¹ up in the east, down in the west. With a half it created the whole world; its (other) half, what has become of that?

8 and 9, too obscure to interpret.

10. The (Rig-Vedic) stanza² which is employed in front and behind, which is employed in all cases and in every case, by which the sacrifice is extended forward (or, in the east), that I ask you: which of the stanzas is it?

11. What stirs, flies, and what stands still, what may be breathing, not breathing, and blinking, that, having all forms, sustains the earth; that, combining, becomes One alone.

12. The infinite is extended in many places; the infinite and the finite, having a common end (limit, border). The guarding of the firmament moves discriminating these two,³ he who knows what of it has been and what is to be.

13. The Lord of Creatures (*Prajāpati*) moves within the womb; not being seen, he (yet) is manifoldly born. With half (of himself) he created the whole world; the (other) half of him, what is the distinguishing mark (of it)?

14. Him⁴ who carries water upward, like a woman carrying water in a jar, all see with their eye; not all know (him) with their mind.

15. Afar he dwells with the full, afar he is freed from the deficient—the great Prodigy in the middle of the universe; to him the rulers of kingdoms bring tribute.

16. Out of which the sun rises, and in which it sets, that alone, I believe, is the Supreme; nothing surpasses that.

17. Those who recently, in the middle (past) and anciently talk round about the man who knows the Veda, they all really talk about the Sun, (and) Fire as the second, and the three-fold Swan.⁵

¹ Obscure; or 'syllables'; 'elements' or 'rays' have been suggested. The verse refers cryptically to the sun; the '(other) half' means the night-time, when the sun disappears.

² Doubtless the *sāvitrī* or *gāyatrī* stanza, supposedly the holiest of all; see AV. 13.1.10 and note.

³ Probably heaven and earth are meant.

⁴ The sun, which draws aloft water from the earth.

⁵ The Absolute One is somehow meant in the second half-verse, but the precise application is obscure. Instead of 'three-fold', one would expect 'as third'. 'Swan' renders (freely) *haṃsa*, a bird much used in poetic references to the One (e.g. in the next verse).

18. A thousand days' journeys are spread out the two wings of the yellow Swan,¹ flying to heaven. He, taking in his bosom all the gods, moves inspecting all the worlds.

19. By Truth he blazes aloft;¹ by the Holy Word (*brāhman*) he looks abroad hitherward; by (the upper?) breath he breathes transversely, he on whom rests the Supreme thing.

20. Verily who knows these two kindling-sticks (rubbed together in lighting the sacred Fire), by which is rubbed out wealth (through sacrifice), he may be considered a knower of the Supreme; he would know the *brāhman*-power.²

21. He³ came into being footless in the beginning; he brought the (heavenly) light in the beginning; having become four-footed, enjoyable, he took to himself all enjoyment.

22. He shall become enjoyable, he shall eat much food, whosoever shall revere the eternal god that has supremacy.

23. They call him eternal, and yet he (the sun) will be ever renewing himself at the present time; day and night shall be produced reciprocally in their several forms.

24. A hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million—innumerable is the property that is entered into him. This of him they destroy, even as he looks on, (yet) on that account this god finds that pleasurable.⁴

25. The One (neuter) is finer than a hair; yes, the One is, as it seems, not visible; (yet) more embracing than this (universe) is this deity, dear to me.

26. This beautiful woman,⁵ not ageing, immortal in the mortal's house—he for whom she was made lies inert; he who made her, grows old.

¹ The Sun is meant in both these verses, of course as a form of the Absolute. Vs. 18 = AV. 13.3.14.

² *brāhmaṇam*; same word AV. 10.7.17, and below, vs. 33.

³ The Sun seems to be meant; he is called 'footless' in the Rigveda. Elsewhere (AV. 11.4.21) he has one foot. But the second half-verse is obscure.

⁴ Still the sun seems to be meant; his property is his innumerable rays; it has been suggested that their 'destruction' means that they are reabsorbed in himself; but the second half-verse is hard to interpret.

⁵ Renou, expanding a hint by Deussen, suggests that the (individual) soul is here referred to in feminine terms, while the body is masculine. He compares Kaṭha Upaniṣad 4.7 (q.v.). Both passages have at least this in common, that they are very cryptic in language. If Renou is right, this verse would fit on to the preceding, where the One is called a 'deity' (*devatā*, feminine in gender), 'dear to me'. See also vss. 30 and 31 (not thought by Renou pertinent to this).

27. You (the Self) are woman, you are man; you are boy and also girl. Grown old, you totter with a staff; at birth, you face all ways.

28. He is both their father and their son; he is both the oldest and the youngest of them; the sole god that is entered into thought, born the first, is yet (still) within the womb.

29. From the full he ladles out the full; the full is poured out by the full; would that we might know today that, from which that is poured out.

30. She, everlasting, born in right olden times, she, the ancient, has encompassed everything; this mighty goddess, illumining the dawns,¹ looks forth through every one that blinks.

31. The goddess named Helpful² sits surrounded by the Right. By her form (colour) trees here are green, green-garlanded.

32. Near by though he is, one can not leave him; near by though he is, one can not see him. Behold the artistry of the god! He does not die, he does not grow old.

33. Words sent forth by the One who had no predecessor, they speak as they should. Where they go speaking—that they call the great *brāhman*-power (vs. 20).

34. In which gods and men are set like wheel-spokes in the nave—I ask you that in which the flower (offspring) of the (cosmic) waters was placed by superhuman power.

¹ Usually (and even by Renou, see vs. 26, note 5) interpreted 'the mighty goddess of Dawn, shining forth'. Possibly the Skt. *devy uṣaso vibhātī* could mean this; but 'goddess', when associated with *Uṣas* 'Dawn', is regularly in apposition (in the same case) with it. Any noun modified by the genitive *uṣaso*, 'of dawn', generally denotes something possessed by *Uṣas*: her light, her chariot, etc. I question whether the 'appositional' genitive, as in 'goddess of dawn', is Vedic. The form *uṣaso* is ambiguous; it could be ablative or genitive singular, or nominative or accusative plural. Also the verb *vi-bhā* (participle *vibhātī*) can apparently be transitive (RV. 9.97.32, with Grassmann and Geldner; otherwise Ludwig), as well as intransitive. The next verse does not suggest Dawn. I prefer (with Deussen, except that he takes *uṣaso* as ablative) to understand a feminine cosmic entity, who, among other feats, makes even the dawns to shine (that is, to perform their regular function).

² The word *avi*, normally 'sheep', is here by word-play connected with the root *av*, 'to help'. Perhaps concocted *ad hoc*; the only other occurrence recorded (AV. 5.1.9) is certainly wrong; Whitney, Transl., adopts *avi-(vṛdhāma)*, with the Paippalāda version (6.2.9; JAOS 34.382).

35. By whom impelled the wind blows away, who make the five directions¹ convergent, the gods who thought themselves above the oblation, conductors of the waters, which ones were they?

36. One of them clothes himself in this earth; one embraces the atmosphere; he of them that is the Arranger provides the sky; others protect all the quarters (directions).

37. Who knows the thread stretched out, on which these creatures are strung together,² who knows the thread of the thread, he would know the great *bráhman*-power (vss. 20, 33).

38. I know the thread stretched out, on which these creatures are strung together; I know the thread of the thread, and so the great *bráhman*-power.

39. When between heaven and earth Fire went burning, all-consuming, in the place where the monogamous women³ stood afar, where was Mātariśvan⁴ then?

40. Mātariśvan had entered into the waters; the gods had entered into the seas; lofty he stood, (the sun) who measures out space; the Purified (sacred drink soma) entered into the tawny ones (feminine; see vs. 3 above).

41. Higher, it seems, than the *gāyatrī*-stanza,⁵ upon the immortal he strode forth; those who well know (Vedic) chant with chant, (can they know) where was the Unborn One then?

42. The giver of repose, the assembler of riches, like god Savitar⁶ of unfailing ordinance, like Indra⁷ he stands firm in the struggle for wealth.

43. The lotus with nine gates,⁸ covered over with three strands⁹—

¹ See AV. 10.7.35 with note.

² See Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 3.7.2 and 6.

³ Women true to a single husband (the cosmic waters? obscure); or, possibly, 'wives of the One'? (also cosmic waters).

⁴ An old name for Fire, or for a messenger of Fire. But later only = wind; and so already in AV. (10.7.2; 11.4.15, q.v.).

⁵ See vs. 10, note 2.

⁶ A sun-god; literally 'the Promoter'.

⁷ The war-god, who wins booty in battle.

⁸ The human body; see AV. 10.2.31 with note.

⁹ See AV. 10.2.32 with note; here there is more temptation to recognize an (if genuine, extremely early!) allusion to the 'three strands' of epic and later speculation. The second half of this verse is identical with that of 10.2.32.

the prodigy in it which consists of Self (*ātman*), that verily *brāhman*-knowers know.

44. Desireless, wise, immortal, self-existent, satiated with enjoyment, not deficient in any respect—he fears not death who knows this same Self (*ātman*), which is wise, ageless, (eternally) young.¹

¹ This verse may still be said to justify Paul Deussen's enthusiastic words (*Geschichte der Philosophie* I.1 p. 334): 'the first and oldest passage known to us in which the *ātman* is proclaimed without reserve as the World-principle', if we emphasize 'without reserve'. Less clear references occur, e.g. in AV. 10.2.32 (and 10.8.43).

Atharva Veda 11.4 Breath (Prāṇa)

On breath, individual and (as the wind) cosmic, see pp. 20-1, 25-6 with note 1, p. 26. Note that the real (magic) purpose of Atharvan speculation comes out clearly in the last verse (26); here it is to control the breath of life, to hold on to it.

1. Homage to breath, in whose power is this All, who is the Lord of all, on whom all is based.

2. Homage, breath (as wind in nature), to your roaring, homage to your thunder, homage, breath, to your lightning, homage, breath, to you that are raining.

3. When breath with thunder roars at the plants, they are fertilized, they receive the germ, consequently they are born abundantly.

4. When, on the arrival of the (rainy) season, breath roars at the plants, then everything rejoices, whatsoever is upon the earth.

5. When breath has rained with rain upon the great earth, then cattle rejoice (thinking): Surely we shall get strength.

6. Rained upon, the plants spoke with breath (saying): You have extended our life, you have made us all fragrant.

7. Homage be to you coming, homage to you departing; homage, breath, to you standing, and homage to you sitting.

8. Homage, breath, be to you breathing up, homage to you breathing down;¹ homage to you turning away, homage to you turning hither; here is homage to all of you.

9. Your dear form, breath, and your even dearer form, also the healing power that is yours, of that put in us, that we may live.

10. Breath clothes creatures, as a father his dear son. Breath is the lord of all, both what breathes (lives) and what does not.

¹ When *prāṇa* and *apāna*. and their related verbs, are mentioned together, the first refers to breath in the upper part of the body, the second to that in the lower part; not 'outbreathing' and 'inbreathing', or the reverse, as commonly rendered. But *prāṇa* is also very commonly, and in this hymn usually, used of breath in general, notably the breath of life, as in the next verse.

11. Breath is death, breath is fever; the gods revere breath. Breath shall set the truth-speaker in the highest heaven.

12. Breath is the shining One (the Queen),¹ breath the Directress,² all revere breath; breath is the sun and the moon, breath they say is the Lord of Creatures.³

13. The upper and nether breaths are rice and barley;⁴ breath is called the draft-ox;⁵ the upper breath is placed in barley, the nether breath is called rice.

14. Man, while still in the womb, functions with nether and upper breath; when you, breath, quicken him, then he is born again.

15. Breath they call Mātariśvan;⁶ wind is called breath. In breath is what has been and what is to be; everything is based on breath.

16. Plants used in white magic and in black magic,⁷ divine ones and those produced by men, are generated when you, breath, quicken them.

17. When breath has rained with rain upon the great earth, plants are generated, and all herbs that exist.

18. Whoever, O breath, knows this of you, and (that) on which you are based,⁸ to him all shall bring tribute in yonder highest heaven.

19. As, O breath, all these creatures (on earth) bring tribute to you, so shall they bring tribute (in heaven) to him who hears you, O you whom it is good to hear.

¹ Virāj; see AV. 10.7.19 note 5.

² Deṣṭri; a rare name, or perhaps epithet, of a Vedic divinity; in RV. only once, in a marriage hymn.

³ See AV. 10.7.7 with note.

⁴ The two chief food-grains of India; food in general is symbolized. Cf. AV. 12.1.42.

⁵ Who is glorified in the curious hymn AV. 9.7; there all parts of the animal's body are severally identified with Vedic gods and cosmic entities. AV. 4.11 treats the ox similarly as a cosmic power.

⁶ Here certainly wind; the next sentence uses *vāta*, a common word for wind. So also in AV. 10.7.2; 12.1.51. Originally appears to have been a form of Fire; see AV. 10.8.39 note 4.

⁷ Lit. 'Atharvanic and Aṅgīrasic'; see AV. 10.7.18 and 20; together these two names refer to the contents of the Atharva Veda. But in the AV. ritual texts the two are distinguished as indicated here. All AV. hymns are designed for magic purpose of one sort or another, even the speculative hymns; see Introduction, Chap. I, section headed '*The magic power of knowledge*'.

⁸ Or possibly, 'and (he) in whom you are firmly fixed'.

20. He moves within the deities as a germ; having come into being, being in existence, he is born again; he has entered with his powers into the world that has been, that is, and that will be,¹ as a father (approaches) his son.

21. When as a swan² he arises from the sea, he does not withdraw his one foot. If he were to withdraw that, there would be no today and no tomorrow at all; there would be neither night nor day, and it would never dawn.

22. It rolls with eight wheels, a single rim, a thousand sounds (or syllables), up in the east, down in the west. With a half it created the whole world; its (other) half, what is the distinguishing mark (thereof)?³

23. Who is lord over this (all) of every source, over all that moves, whose bow is swift among (against?) the unwearied ones,—O breath, homage be to thee.

24. Who is lord over this (all) of all sources, over all that moves, who is unwearied, wise (or, firm) by holy incantation (*bráhman*), let breath follow after me.

25. He stays awake, erect, among those asleep; by no means does he fall down (so as to be) horizontal. No one has ever heard of his being asleep among those asleep.

26. O breath, turn not away from me; you shall be no other than myself. I bind you to myself, breath, like the child of the waters,⁴ that I may live.

¹ The vulgate text of the AV. is clearly corrupt here; the true text is given in the Paippalāda version of AV. (16.22.10c): *sa bhūtaṃ bhavyaṃ bhuvanaṃ bhaviṣyat*.—Probably this vs. 20, and certainly vss. 21 and 22, have nothing to do with breath (*prāṇa*); they are addressed to the Sun. The hymn to breath perhaps ended originally with vs. 19; another brief hymn to breath is appended as vss. 23-26.

² The sun, as in AV. 10.8.17, 18. In AV. 10.8.21, and elsewhere, he is footless. See M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva Veda* (Sacred Books of the East, vol. 42), pp. 625, 664 on Aja Ekapad, the 'unborn one-footed' (or 'one-footed goat'), clearly used of the sun.

³ Repeated with slight variants from 10.8.7, and (the second half) 13; see these.

⁴ The Fire-god (Agni), repeatedly so-called in Rig Veda. Here perhaps as guest in every human habitation.

Atharva Veda 11.8. Man, and his relation to the universe.
(Cf. 10.2, above)

1. When Passion¹ brought his wife away from the house of Purpose, who were the groomsmen? Who the wooers? And who was the chief wooer?

2. Fervour and Action were within the great flood (the cosmic waters); they were the groomsmen, they the wooers; *brāhman* (neuter) was the chief wooer.

3. Ten 'gods' (potencies)² were born together, before the (other, familiar ritualistic) gods. Whoever should know them face to face, he truly could speak mightily (or, proclaim the Mighty) today.

4. Upper and nether breath, sight, hearing, both imperishability and perishability, transverse breath and rising breath, speech, thought—these verily brought Wish (as bride of Passion).

5. Unborn (then) were the seasons, also the Creator (and?) the Lord of the Holy Word (Bṛhaspati = Brahmanaspati), likewise Indra and Agni (Fire), the twin Aśvins,³ then; whom did they revere as the Supreme?

6. Fervour and Action were within the great flood. Fervour was born from Action; that (Action) they revered as the Supreme.

7. The earth, which was earlier than this (present earth?), and which only profound knowers know—whoever knows it by its name, he may think himself a knower of the Ancient (principle).

8. Whence was Indra born, whence (the sacred drink) Soma, whence Fire? Whence did Tvaṣṭar (the 'Carpenter' god) originate? Whence was the Creator (Dhātār) born?

¹ *Manyu*, most commonly 'fury, wrath'; but sometimes (as in AV. 9.2.23) equated with *kāma*, 'desire'; I render it by the ambiguous 'passion'. In vs. 17 below apparently called *vaśa*, 'will'.

² *Deva*, like synonymous *devatā*, often used in the Upaniṣads (see e.g. ChUp 6.3) of any abstract or cosmic potency. The ten are listed in vs. 4; they are contrasted with, and older than, the ritualistic Vedic 'gods'.

³ Ritualistic gods, like Indra and Agni. 'The Creator': *dhātār*, a rather shadowy abstract figure; rare in the Rig Veda, but common later; often applied to, or associated with, any demiurge.

9. Indra was born from Indra, Soma from Soma, Fire from Fire, Tvaṣṭar was born from Tvaṣṭar, the Creator was born from the Creator.

10. The ten 'gods' (potencies) that were born before the (other) gods, after giving the world to their sons, in what world do they sit?¹

11. When he (someone? the creator?) had brought the hair, bone, sinew, flesh, and marrow, having made the body endowed with quarters (or, feet), into what world did he then enter?

12. Whence did he bring the hair, whence the sinew, whence the bones? The limbs, the joints, the marrow—who brought the flesh, from where?

13. Pourers-together are called those 'gods' who assembled the assemblings; having poured together the entire mortal, the 'gods' entered into Man (*puruṣa*).

14. The two thighs and feet, the two knee-pans, the head, the two hands, also the mouth (or, face), the ribs, the two nipples, the two flanks—what sage combined all that?

15. Head, hands, also mouth (or, face), tongue, and neck, the vertebrae—having covered it all with skin, the great Combination (or Combiner?)² combined it.

16. The great body which lay there, combined by the Combination (or Combiner), who brought into it the colour, by which it is resplendent here today?

17. All the 'gods' lent their aid; that the virtuous bride knew, the (house-) mistress who was the wife of Will;³ she brought colour into it.

18. When Tvaṣṭar, (or) the superior one who was Tvaṣṭar's father, bored it through,⁴ making the mortal a habitation (for the 'gods'), the 'gods' entered into Man (*puruṣa*).

¹ The answer, the human body, is perhaps implied in the following.

² Deussen, 'the great Harmony', which may perhaps be a bit too poetic; *saṃdhā*, noun of action or agent to the verb *samādhāt*, 'put together, combined'. A quasi-personification which never established itself.

³ *Vaśa*; apparently the same as *manyu* in vs. 1, q.v.

⁴ Tvaṣṭar (vs. 8), the carpenter-god, opened the apertures of the human body. 'Tvaṣṭar's father', the 'superior one', is a passing fancy, striving to suggest a remoter, more ultimate personage.

19. Sleep, verily, and weariness, ruin, the 'gods' (potencies, *devatā*; vs. 3) called evils, old age, baldness, hoariness, entered the body afterwards.

20. Theft, wickedness, trickery; truth, sacrifice, great fame, strength, dominion, and power, entered the body afterwards.

21. Prosperity and adversity, generousities and niggardlinesses, all hungers and thirsts, entered the body afterwards.

22. Both revilings and non-revilings, both saying 'yes, come on!' and saying 'no!'; faith, the sacrificial fee, and non-faith, entered the body afterwards.

23. Both knowledges and ignorances, and whatever else can be taught; the holy word¹ entered the body, the verses (of the Rig Veda), the chants (of the Sāmaveda) and the sacrificial formula (of the Yajurveda).

24. Joys, delights, pleasures, and enjoyments and happinesses, laughter, sport, and dances, entered the body afterwards.

25. Speakings and talkings, remarks and verbal expressions, all entered the body, and joinings on, teamings, yokings.²

26. Upper and nether breath, sight, hearing, both imperishability and perishability, transverse breath and rising breath, speech, thought—they move about with the body.³

27. Both prayers and orders, directions and varying directions, intentions and all purposes, entered the body afterwards.

28. The liquids of the blood and of the bladder, those produced by hurrying (sweat) and by misery (tears); the secret ones, white (semen) and thick (excrement), these liquids they settled in loathsome places.

29. Making bone (their) firewood, they settled eight⁴ liquids there. Making semen (their) sacrificial butter, the gods entered into Man (*ṣuruṣa*).

¹ *Brāhman*; here clearly in its old sense of Vedic hymns; the Vedas.

² This verse looks like an artificial construction on the model of the preceding.

³ See vs. 4 above.

⁴ Only seven terms occur in vs. 28. Is ordinary water understood as the eighth? So Paul Deussen seems to understand.

30. The liquids, the 'deities' (*devatā*, above), the Shining One (or Queen; *virāj*) together with *brāhman*—*brāhman* entered the body; above the body (was) the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati).

31. The sun and the wind shared Man's sight and breath¹ (respectively). Then his other (or the rest of his) Self (*ātman*) the gods gave to Fire.

32. Therefore one who knows Man (*puruṣa*; or the spirit) thinks, 'This is *brāhman*'. For all 'deities' (potencies, *devatā*) are seated in him, as cattle in a cow-stall.

33. With first (i.e. immediately upon) dying he goes apart variously threefold. With one (part; sight) he goes yonder (to the sun), with one (breath) he goes yonder (to the wind), with one he abides here (on earth, in the funeral fire).

34. In waters that are sluggish, old (stale?), the body is deposited. Within it there is strength (*śavaḥ*); therefore it is called a corpse (*śavaḥ*; a word-play).

¹ Sight and breath are understood as the immortal parts of man. We may perhaps render *brāhman* in the next verse 'Holy Power'. It is a very early (the earliest?) occurrence of the Upaniṣadic identification of the Spirit (of Man; here *puruṣa*) with *Brāhman* as, apparently, World-soul. But the *ātman* (or part of it) is here burned in the (funeral) fire; so it seems to be corporeal, as it sometimes is elsewhere (BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.13).

Atharva Veda 12.1. The earth as cosmic power

As in 11.4 above, the practical magic purpose is clear at various points in this long hymn, notably at the end.

1. Lofty truth, formidable right, (sacrificial) consecration, fervour, the holy word (*bráhmaṇ*), sacrifice, uphold the earth; she, mistress of what has been and what is to be, may the earth make a wide domain for us—

2. Unconfined from the midst of men. She who has heights and slopes, and extensive level ground, who bears herbs of manifold virtues, may the earth spread herself out and fit herself for us.

3. She on whom are the ocean, and the River (Indus), the waters, on whom food and the tribes of men have sprung up, on whom moves (all) this that breathes and stirs, may this earth assign us precedence in drinking.

4. This earth who owns the four quarters, on whom food and the tribes of men have sprung up, who bears abundantly what breathes and stirs, may she, the earth, assign us cattle, yes, inexhaustibleness (of them).

5. On whom of old the ancient peoples spread themselves out, on whom the gods overcame the demons (*asuras*), the station of cattle, horses, and fowls, may earth assign us good fortune and glory.

6. Who supports all, provides wealth, a firm foundation, who has golden breasts, who gives rest to living beings, who supports the Universal Fire (-god), who mates with the bull Indra, may earth assign us wealth.

7. The broad earth whom the gods, unsleeping, at all times guard without fail, may she milk out for us precious honey, and further sprinkle us with glory.

8. She who in the beginning was a sea upon the ocean (of space or chaos), whom the inspired seers found out by their mystic powers; the earth whose heart, covered with truth and immortal, is in the highest firmament, may she, the earth, assign us splendour and power, in highest royalty.

9. On whom the flowing waters, (always) the same, course without fail, night and day; may she, the earth, of abundant streams, pour out milk for us, and further sprinkle us with glory.

10. Whom the twin Horsemen (gods, Aśvins) measured, on whom (the god) Viṣṇu strode out (his three strides), whom (god) Indra the Lord of Might made free of enemies for himself, for us may she, the earth, pour forth milk (as) a mother to me her son.

11. Let your hills, your snowy mountains, your jungle-land be pleasant, O earth. The brown, dark, red, many-coloured, firm, broad earth, guarded by Indra, upon (this) earth I have settled, unconquered, unsmitten, unwounded.

12. Your middle, earth, and your navel, and the nourishments that have sprung up from your body, in them set us; purify yourself for us; earth is (my) mother, I am earth's son. (The rain-god) Parjanya is our father; may he also fill us up (or, save us).

13. The earth on which they enclose the altar (*vedi*), on which those who do all (holy) work extend the sacrifice, the earth in which are set up the sacrificial posts, erect and resplendent, before the oblation, may she, the earth, make us thrive, (herself) thriving.

14. He who may hate us, O earth, who may fight us and show hostility to us in his thoughts or with weapon, him subject to us, O Earth, acting first (i.e. anticipating any attack)!

15. Born of you, mortals move upon you; you support bipeds and quadrupeds. Yours, O earth, are these five human (tribes)¹, the mortals for whom the rising sun with his rays extends undying light.

16. Let these creatures all together yield milk for us; assign to me, O earth, the honey of speech.

17. The all-generating mother of herbs, the firm, broad earth, sustained by (divine) ordinance—may we always go our ways along her, (finding her) kindly and gracious.

18. As a great gathering place, you have become great; great is your agitation, shaking, quaking. Great Indra guards you without fail. Make us to shine, O earth, as in the aspect of gold; let no one hate us.

19. Fire is in the earth, in the herbs; the waters bear Fire, Fire is in the stones; Fire (of digestion) is within men; in cattle and horses are Fires.

¹ A familiar category in the Rigveda; see vs. 42 below.

20. Fire (as sun) glows from the sky; the broad atmosphere is god Fire's (as lightning). Mortals kindle Fire (of sacrifice), the bearer of oblations, who loves ghee.

21. Let earth, fire-clad, black-kneed, make me brilliant, sharp.

22. On earth men give to the gods the sacrifice, the properly prepared oblation. On earth mortal men live on food, according to custom (? or, in comfort). May she, earth, assign me breath, (long) life; may earth make me attain old age.

23. The fragrance which has arisen in you, earth, which the herbs and waters hold, which the gandharvas and apsarases¹ share, with that make me fragrant; let no one hate us.

24. The fragrance of yours that has entered into the lotus, the fragrance which in the beginning the gods brought together at the marriage of the Sun-maiden, O earth, with that make me fragrant; let no one hate us.

25. The fragrance of yours that is in human beings, the distinction and charm in women and in men, that which is in horses and heroes (warriors), also what is in wild elephants (or, deer, or wild animals, and elephants); the charm which is in a young girl, O earth, blend us also with that; let no one hate us.

26. Rock is the earth, stone, and dust. The earth is held firm, held together. To this golden-breasted earth I have done homage.

27. On whom the trees that grow in the forests stand firm at all times, the all-nourishing solid earth we invoke.

28. Rising or sitting, standing or walking, with either foot, right or left, may we not stumble on the earth.

29. I invoke the purifying earth, the patient earth that thrives by the Holy Word (*bráhman*). May we sit down upon you, O earth, that bear nourishment, prosperity, a share of food, and ghee.

30. Purified may the waters flow for our body; what for (or, of) us is *syedu*,² that we deposit on an enemy; with a purifier, O earth, I purify myself.

¹ See AV. 2.1.2 with note. Fragrance is traditionally associated with these beings.

² A wholly unknown and obscure word, recorded nowhere else. Conjectural interpretations seem to me not worth citing.

31. Your eastern directions, your northern ones, your southern, O earth, and your western ones, may they all be kind to me as I walk; based firmly on the earth, may I not fall.

32. Do not drive at us from the west, nor from the east, nor from the north or south either. Be weal to us, O earth; let not waylayers find (us); keep far away the deadly weapon.

33. As much of you as I look out upon, with the Sun as (my) ally, O earth, so far may my sight not fail, for year after year.

34. When as I lie, I turn to the right or left side, O earth, when stretched out we lie with our ribs upon you that press against (us), do not injure us then, O earth, against whom everyone lies down.

35. Whatever I dig up of you, O earth, may that quickly grow over (heal); may I not penetrate to your vital spot, O purifying one, not to your heart.

36. Your summer, O earth, rainy season, autumn, winter, cool season, spring, your regularly fixed seasons and years, your day and night shall yield us milk, O earth.

37. The purifying one, that recoils away at the serpent,¹ on whom are the fires that are within the waters, who delivers over the blasphemous barbarians (or, demons; *dasyu*), the earth, who chooses Indra, not (his demoniac adversary) Vṛtra—has kept herself for the Mighty (god, Indra), the lusty bull.

38. She on whom are the sacrificial shed and the (two) vehicles (for the sacred drink *soma*), on whom the sacrificial post is implanted, on whom the *brahmán* priests² praise (the gods) with verses (of the Rigveda), with chants (of the Sāmaveda), knowing (also) the formulas (of the Yajurveda); on whom (all the) priests are employed, in order for Indra to drink the *soma*—

39. On whom the ancient seers, creators of beings, brought forth the cows³ by their songs, the seven sages, by the (sacrificial) session, by sacrifice, by (creative) fervour, together—

¹ There seems to be a corruption here; no confidence should be placed in the translation.

² The *brahmán* priest is responsible for the success of the whole sacrifice, and for correction of any errors made by the other priests; therefore he must be competent in all three hieratic Vedas.

³ Allusion to the Rig Vedic myth of the 'cows' (of light) who were imprisoned by the demon Vala, and released (usually by the god Indra, or also by other means).

40. May she, the earth, assign to us the wealth which we desire; may Bhaga (Fortune personified) add his aid, may Indra go leading the way.

41. The earth upon whom mortals, with discordant noises, sing and dance, on whom they fight, on whom resounds the war-cry, the (war-) drum, may she, the earth, put our rivals to rout; may the earth make me unrivalled.

42. On whom is food, rice and barley, on whom are these five tribes (of men), to the earth, whose spouse is (the rain-god) Parjanya, and who is fattened by rain, be homage.

43. Whose are the god-made strongholds, on whose soil they are developed variously, let the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati) make pleasant for us the earth that bears everything in her womb—(make pleasant) every single region of her.

44. Who bears treasure manifoldly, wealth in secret places, may earth give me jewels and gold. May the benevolent goddess assign riches to us, she that is the lavish giver of riches.

45. The earth who bears manifoldly men of various languages, of different customs, according to their habitations, shall milk out for me a thousand streams of wealth, like a steady cow that does not kick.

46. Your snake or scorpion with thirsty fangs, that lies hidden, caught by winter, torpid (?);¹ the worm, O earth, (and) whatever thing comes to life and stirs in the rainy season, let not that, when it crawls, crawl towards us; with what is kindly (on you) be gracious unto us.

47. Your many paths on which people go, your roads for a chariot or a wagon to go on, by which both good and evil men proceed, may we win that road that is free from enemies and robbers; with what is kindly (on you) be gracious unto us.

48. She who supports the fool and supports the distinguished, who permits the good and the bad to dwell (on her), the earth, in concord with the boar, opens up for the wild hog (to root in).

49. Your forest animals, the wild beasts located in the woods, lions and tigers who go about eating men—drive away hence from us, O

¹ The word conjecturally rendered 'torpid' is unknown otherwise and has no plausible derivation. The preceding word, in the vulgate text, means literally 'snapped by winter'; the Paippalāda version has plainly 'caught, seized'.

earth, the *ula*,¹ the wolf, the (demon personifying) disaster, the *ṛkṣīkā*,¹ the fiend.

50. The gandharvas and apsarases; the *arāyas* and *kimīdins*—the *piśācas*² and all demons, them, O earth, drive away from us.

51. She upon whom the biped birds assemble in flight, the swans (*haṃsa*), eagles, *śakunas* (a bird of prey, perhaps kite or vulture), the (various) fowls; she on whom the wind Mātariśvan rushes, causing dust-storms and shaking the trees—as the wind blows forth and back, fire blows after—³

52. The earth upon which the dark and the bright, the combined day and night, are determined; the broad earth covered and enveloped with rain, may she kindly set us in one pleasant abode after another.

53. Both heaven and earth and atmosphere (have given) me this wide expanse; Fire, Sun, the waters, and All-gods have given me wisdom.

54. I am mighty, I am called superior on the earth; I am overpowering, all-conquering, victorious over every region.

55. When, O goddess, spreading out forward, called by the gods, you expanded unto yonder greatness (that is now yours), then well-being entered into you; you fashioned for yourself the four quarters.

56. What villages, what jungle, what assemblies (there are) upon the earth, what gatherings and meetings, in them may we speak what is pleasing to you.

57. As a horse the dust, she has shaken up the peoples who have dwelt on the earth since she was born; she pleasing, leading the van, protectress of the world, who contains the trees and herbs.

58. What I speak, I speak that full of honey; what I see, people procure that for me. I am brilliant and energetic; I smite down others who are violent.

¹ Both these words occur elsewhere, but nothing is known of their meanings, except that they must be either beasts of prey or demons.

² All five terms denote evil spirits (the original meaning of gandharvas and apsarases, see note on AV. 2.1.2, though often, as above in vs. 23, they seem innocent enough); *kimīdins* and *piśācas* (ogres who devour men) are very familiar; *arāyas* are less so but found in the Rigveda (literally the word seems to mean 'stingy, tight-fisted').

³ Mātariśvan, see on AV. 10.7.2; 10.8.39; 11.4.15. The last clause, put between dashes, seems to be parenthetical. The whole vs. joins on to the next one.

59. Peaceful, fragrant, gracious, with sweet drink in her udder, rich in milk, may earth bless me, the broad earth together with (her) milk.

60. Whom the All-maker (Viśvakarman) sought after with oblation, when she was entered within the flood, the (atmospheric) vapour—(she), which was a vessel of nourishment deposited in secret, became visible in enjoyment for such as have mothers.¹

61. You are the planter of people, (you are) Aditi,² who milks forth desires, spreading out wide. Whatever is lacking to you, that may the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati), the first born of Right, fully supply for you.

62. May your approaches (contacts), O earth, (when they are) produced, be free from disease, free from consumption for us. Awakening unto long life for us, may we be bringers of offerings to you.

63. O mother earth, graciously set me down (so that I shall be) well established. In concord with the sky, O sage, place me in fortune, in prosperity.

¹ Does this mean 'for all beings (or humans)'?

² Ancient and shadowy mythic figure; mother of the chief gods; cf. Rig Veda 10.72.4-5. Relatively late etymological and lexical works identify her with earth, but this seems to me to have no probable bearing on our passage.—'Planter', doubtless roughly 'she that generates'.

Atharva Veda 13.1. Rohita, the Ruddy (Sun). See note 2 below

1. Arise, mighty one,¹ who are within the waters; enter this kingdom that is rich in generous gifts; the Ruddy One who begot this universe shall support you, well supported, for kingship.

2. Up has risen the might (or, wealth) that was in the waters; mount² upon the common people that are sprung from you. Furnishing (the drink) soma, water, herbs, and cattle, make enter here four-footed and two-footed creatures.

3. You, formidable Maruts,³ offspring of the spotted cow, with Indra as your ally, crush the enemies. May the Ruddy One hearken to you, thrice-seven Maruts, who furnish good moisture and delight in sweet (food or drink).

4. The Ruddy One mounted mountings; he, the embryo of women (i.e. dawns?), mounted the lap (womb) of births. The six wide (directions)⁴ found him out, him that was taken hold of by them (the women, or dawns); looking for a way, he has brought kingdom hither.

5. The Ruddy One has brought here kingship for you (the king); (your) enemies have scattered; security has ensued for you. For you may heaven and earth, with (the Vedic stanzas called) *revatī* (rich) and *śakvarī* (mighty), milk out here your desire.

6. The Ruddy One begot heaven and earth; there He that is in the Highest (Parameṣṭhin) extended the thread (of the sacrifice); there supported himself the one-footed Unborn,⁵ he made firm heaven and earth by his might.

¹ May also mean 'possessor of wealth; prize-winner; (chariot-) horse', etc.

² (*ā*)*roha*, with word-play on Roh-ita 'Ruddy One', i.e. the Sun. In the many places where 'mount' is used in this hymn (and in AV. 13.3), the same word-play is indicated. The hymn is at the same time a glorification of Rohita, or the Sun, as a cosmic force, and a charm for an earthly king; often both may be meant, but here the latter perhaps predominates.

³ Storm-gods; in the Rig Veda offspring of Pṛṣṇi, 'the spotted cow', doubtless = 'cloud'. The Maruts are standardly associated with the war-god Indra, as his assistants and troops. 'Thrice seven' as their number means only indefinitely numerous. 'Furnishing good moisture' (*sudānu*) is a familiar Marut epithet in the Rig Veda. Also, Indra is the heavenly prototype of a king, and the Maruts are his subjects ('common people', vs. 2).

⁴ See AV. 10.7.35 with note.

⁵ Or 'goat'; see AV. 11.4.21 with note. Synonym of the Ruddy One (the sun).
—Parameṣṭhin: see AV. 10.2.20.

7. The Ruddy One made firm heaven and earth; by him was established the (heavenly) light, by him the firmament. By him the atmosphere and (its) spaces were measured out; by him the gods found immortality.

8. The Ruddy One pondered the all-formed (universe), preparing his mountings and forward-mountings. Having mounted the sky with great might, let him anoint your (the king's) kingdom with milk and ghee.

9. Your mountings, forward-mountings, and mountings towards, with which you fill up the sky and the atmosphere—strengthened by their (magic) charm (*brāhman*) and their milk, do you keep watchful guard among the people, in the kingdom, of the (earthly) Ruddy One (or Sun; sc. the king).

10. Your folk (subjects), assembled out of fervour, have come here following the Calf (and) the *gāyatrī*. Let them enter unto you with favourable thought; let the Ruddy Calf come hither with his mother.¹

11. The Ruddy One has stood upright (or, high) upon the firmament, begetting all forms, young and a sage. As fire he shines abroad with penetrating light, in the third (and highest) heavenly space he has made for himself pleasures.

12. The thousand-horned bull Jātavedas (a name of Fire; 'horns' = rays), receiver of sacrifices of ghee, having (the sacrificial drink) soma on his back, excellent (provider of) heroic sons—may he not abandon me, lest I, in my distress, abandon you (Fire, the Sun, or the Ruddy One); grant me abundance of cattle and of heroic sons.

13. The Ruddy One is the begetter of the sacrifice, and is its mouth; to the Ruddy One I make oblation with words, hearing, and thought. To the Ruddy One the gods go with well-disposed thoughts; may he cause me to mount with mountings of assemblies.

¹The whole vs. relates to the beginning of the sacrificial day, at dawn. The (Ruddy) Calf' is the young sun, at sunrise; the *gāyatrī* is the all-sacred stanza RV. 3.62.10, which pious men address to the Sun at its rising (cf. AV. 8.10.12; 10.8.10 and 41; 13.3.20); the Calf's mother is the *gāyatrī* itself (is it thought that the sun might perhaps not rise if this verse were not recited? in any case its ritual position and importance surely justify the title of the sun's mother). The 'folk . . . assembled out of fervour' are the king's pious subjects who flock to the morning service; the charm is to make them 'enter into' him, that is, he is to swallow them, as in AV. 4.22.7 where the king is told to 'eat the people' (*viśo addhi*).

14. The Ruddy One arranged the sacrifice for the All-maker (Viśvakarman); from that these splendours have come to me. May I declare your origin upon the whole range of the world.

15. To you has mounted the *brhatī*,¹ also the *pañkti*,¹ to you, the *kakubh*¹ with splendour, O Jātavedas (Fire). To you has mounted the *uṣṇihā*,¹ the (sacred) syllable (*om*), the (sacrificial cry) *vaṣat*; to you has mounted the Ruddy One with seed.

16. This one clothes himself in the womb of earth, he clothes himself in the sky, in the atmosphere; he, on the summit of the reddish one, has attained the light-region, the worlds (or, heavens).

17. O Lord of Holy Utterance (Vācas-pati), may earth be gracious to us, gracious be our abode, kindly our couch. Let the breath (of life) be right here, in friendship with us; O You that are in the Highest,² may Fire encompass you with long life and glory.

18. O Lord of Holy Utterance, the five seasons³ which are ours, which have originated as creations of the All-Maker (Viśvakarman), let (them and) the breath (of life) be right here, in friendship with us; O You that are in the Highest, may the Ruddy One encompass you with long life and glory.

19. O Lord of Holy Utterance, (produce for us) benevolence and intelligence, produce cattle in our stable, children in our wombs. Let the breath (of life) be right here, in friendship with us; O You that are in the Highest, I encompass you with long life and glory.

20. May (the sun-god) Savitar and god Fire encompass you, with splendour may Mitra and Varuṇa⁴ (come) to you. Treading down all malignant powers, come here; you have made this kingdom rich in liberality.

21. You, Ruddy One, whom the spotted mare (and) a side-(or lead-) horse carry in the chariot, you travel with splendour, causing the waters to flow.

22. Obedient to the Ruddy (male) is the (feminine) Ruddy One,⁵

¹ Names of four Rig Vedic meters.

² Parameṣṭhin, but here applied in flattery to the king.

³ In other early passages, also, the six seasons (listed AV. 12.1.36) are reduced to five, usually by combining winter and the cool season in one.

⁴ A pair of ancient and highly respected Vedic gods.

⁵ Rohiṇī, feminine counterpart to Rohita; commonly assumed to mean the Dawn. In this vs. she has the epithet Sūri, which is otherwise only masculine (patron of a sacrifice); perhaps cf. Sūryā, the Sun-maiden, as in AV. 12.1.24 and elsewhere. But vs. 23 may support the view that Rohiṇī is the spotted mare (or cow?) who draws the Sun.

the generous (? patroness, or mistress), beautiful, great, and glorious. Through her may we win booty of every form; through her may we conquer in all battles.

23. This is the (male) Ruddy One's seat, (namely) the (female) Ruddy One; yonder is the road by which the spotted (mare; or cow)? goes. Her the gandharvas and Kaśyapas¹ lead forth; her the sages guard without fail.

24. The bright bay horses of the Sun, the immortal ones, always draw (his) well-running chariot. The Ruddy One, the ghee-drinking shining god, entered the spotted sky.

25. The Ruddy One, the bull with sharp horns (i.e. rays), who encompassed (or, surpassed) Fire and the sun, who props apart earth and heaven, out of him the gods create the creations.

26. The Ruddy One mounted the heaven from out of the great flood; the Ruddy One has mounted all mountings.

27. Measure out the (cow that is) rich in milk and ghee; she² is the milch-cow of the gods, that does not refuse. Let Indra drink the soma; let there be peaceful possession. Let (god) Fire sing praises. Drive away the enemies.

28. Fire is kindled, is being kindled, increased by ghee, receiving offerings of ghee; triumphant, all-conquering, may (god) Fire smite whatever rivals I have.

29. Let him smite them, let him burn, whatever enemy attacks us. By the flesh-devouring Fire (who burns corpses) we burn up our rivals.

30. Smite them down below, O Indra, strong of arm, with your club (thunderbolt). Now I have taken in my rivals by the burning heat of (god) Fire.

31. O Fire, make our rivals fall below us; O Lord of Holy Word (Bṛhaspati = Brahmanaspati), upset our insolent kinsman. O Indra and Agni (Fire), O Mitra and Varuṇa (vs. 20 above), let them fall below (us), incapable of venting their fury against us.

32. As you rise, god Sūrya (the sun), do you smite down my rivals. Smite them down with a rock; let them go to lowest darkness.

¹ See AV. 2.1.2 and note; 19.53.10 and note.

² Probably Virāj, who occurs in vs. 33 below; on her see AV. 10.7.19 with note.

33. The calf of the Shining One,¹ the bull of prayers, bright-backed, has mounted the atmosphere. They sing a (ritual) song, along with (sacrificial) ghee, to the calf; him who is *bráhman*² (neuter) they magnify by *bráhman*.²

34. (To the king:) Mount the heaven, and mount the earth; mount sovereignty, and mount riches; mount offspring and mount immortality; bring yourself into contact with the Ruddy One.

35. The sovereignty-bearing gods who go about the sun—may the Ruddy One, concordant with them and kindly disposed, assign sovereignty to you (the king).

36. The sacrifices, purified by the Holy Word (*bráhman*), carry you (the Ruddy One, the sun) up; the bay steeds, going on their road, carry you (up); you shine across beyond the ocean, the flood.

37. Heaven and earth are fixed on the Ruddy One, the winner of wealth, winner of cattle, winner of booty, whose births are a thousand and seven; may I declare your (the Ruddy One's) origin upon the whole range of the world.

38. Glorious you go to the cardinal and intermediate directions, glorious for cattle and for the tribes of men, glorious in the lap of earth, of Aditi,³ may I like Savitar (vs. 20) be pleasing.

39. When you are yonder, you know (what is) here; when here, you see those things yonder. From here (men) see the shining space, the inspired Sun in the sky.

40. A god, you praise the gods (at sacrifice); you move (as sun) within the (cosmic) flood. They kindle the self-same Fire;⁴ that (Fire) the supreme sages know.

¹ Virāj; see vs. 27 above, and AV. 10.7.19 with note. Any feminine cosmic power, especially a bright one, may be meant by this word; here the dawn. Her 'calf' is certainly the sun (elsewhere he is dawn's consort). Cf. also vs. 41 below.

² *Bráhman* the second time is certainly the 'Holy Word', hymn or magic charm. The first time, it seems to mean the World-Principle, as in Upaniṣad and later times. In that case it belongs with a rather small group of Atharvan occurrences which anticipate the later meaning. See Introduction, Chap. I, section headed '*Bráhman*'.

³ See AV. 12.1.61 with note.

⁴ The sacrificial fire is the same as the sun's fire.

41. Below the upper, above the lower here, the cow has arisen, holding her calf by the foot. Towards what, to what part, has she gone away? Where does she give birth? Not in this herd!¹

42. One-footed, two-footed is she, four-footed, eight-footed, nine-footed she has become; of a thousand sounds (or syllables), a series of the world; out from her the oceans flow.²

43. Mounting to heaven, immortal, receive kindly my words. The sacrifices, purified by the Holy Word, carry you up; the bay steeds, going on their road, carry you (up).

44. This I know of you, immortal one, namely your ascension to the sky, (and) your station in the highest firmament.

45. The sun looks beyond the sky, the sun (looks beyond) the earth, the sun (looks beyond) the waters. The sun is the sole eye of what has come to be; it has mounted the mighty heaven.

46. The broad (directions) were the sticks surrounding (the place of the cosmic sacrifice);³ the earth made itself the altar. There the Ruddy One set down these two fires, cold and heat.

47. Having laid on cold and heat, having made the mountains (serve as) sacrificial posts (to which animal victims were tied), using rain as (sacrificial) ghee, the two fires of the Ruddy One, finder of the heavenly light, performed (the cosmic) sacrifice.

48. The fire of the Ruddy One, finder of the heavenly light, is kindled by the Holy Word (*bráhman*). From that (fire) was born heat, from it cold, from it the sacrifice (was born).

49. The two fires have been increased by the Holy Word; they are increased by the Holy Word, they are offered in by the Holy Word. Kindled by the Holy Word, the two fires of the Ruddy One, finder of the heavenly light, performed (the cosmic) sacrifice.

¹ A cosmic riddle. The cow is dawn, her calf the sun. Cf. vss. 27, 33. The latter half of this verse cryptically refers to the disappearance of the dawn after full sunrise; and the last quarter means that her 'calf', the sun, is not on earth but in heaven.

² An even more obscure enigma. The 'thousand sounds (or syllables)' of AV. 10.8.7 and 11.4.22 hardly help; the term is equally obscure there. If the dawn is still referred to, the application to her is not apparent.

³ On the creation compared to a sacrifice see RV. 10.90; the idea is here developed in a different way, under the supervision of the sun, either under his common name as Sūrya (beginning in vs. 45), or as the Ruddy One (Rohita).—The 'two fires, cold and heat', (both words are nouns), are ignored in most comments; I cannot explain them.

50. The one (fire) is established in truth, the other is kindled in the (cosmic) waters. Kindled by the Holy Word, the two fires of the Ruddy One, finder of the heavenly light, performed (the cosmic) sacrifice.

51. (The one) which Wind adorns, and (the one) which Indra and the Lord of the Holy Word (Brahmaṇaspati; sc. adorn)—kindled by the Holy Word, the two fires of the Ruddy One, finder of the heavenly light, performed (the cosmic) sacrifice.

52. Having fashioned earth into an altar, having made the sky the sacrificial fee, then having made heat the (sacrificial) fire, with rain for ghee, the Ruddy One made all that which possesses Self (or Soul, *ātman*).

53. Rain made itself ghee, heat (made itself) fire, the earth an altar. There Fire by his hymns fashioned these lofty mountains.

54. Having fashioned (the mountains) lofty by his hymns, the Ruddy One said to the earth: In you let all this be born, what has been or what is to be.

55. So the first sacrifice, which has been and is to be, was born. From it was born all this, whatsoever shines forth here—brought by the Ruddy One as seer.¹

56. Who kicks a cow with his foot, and who urinates facing the sun—of you I pluck out the root; you shall not cast a shadow any more.

57. You who pass by me, casting your shadow against me, between me and the fire—of you I pluck out the root; you shall not cast a shadow any more.

58. Whoever today, god Sūrya (Sun), passes between you and me, on him we wipe off bad dreams, filth, and misfortunes.

59. May we not stray from the (right) path, (may we) not (stray) from the sacrifice of a soma-presser, O Indra; may the niggards not intercept us.

60. The thread that accomplishes the sacrifice, that is stretched out among the gods, that may we attain, when it has received (our) oblation.

¹ *ṛṣi*, the term applied to the 'authors' of the Vedic hymns, as westerners say; the orthodox Hindu view regards them as sages through whom the eternal and self-existent Veda was revealed.—The remaining verses hardly belong to the hymn; they are not in the Paippalāda version.

Selected verses on Rohita, the Ruddy (Sun), from Atharva Veda 13.2

This is a hymn to the Sun, which contains only a few verses that mention the Ruddy One (Rohita); we translate chiefly those, which were evidently responsible for the placing of this hymn between AV. 13.1 and 13.3.

25. The Ruddy One, full of fervour (heat), has mounted the sky by fervour. He comes into the womb and is born again; he has become overlord of the gods.

35. (Not to Rohita, but glorification of the Sun, Sūrya, under his normal name.) The shining face of the gods has arisen, the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa, and Agni (Fire). He has filled heaven and earth, and the atmosphere. The Sun is the soul (*ātman*) of what moves and is stationary.

39. The Ruddy One became Time, the Ruddy One (became) the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati) in the beginning. The Ruddy One is the face (or mouth) of sacrifices; the Ruddy One brought hither the (heavenly) light.

40. The Ruddy One became the world; the Ruddy One blazed across the sky; the Ruddy One with his rays traversed the earth and the ocean.

41. The Ruddy One, overlord of the sky, moved over all the quarters (directions); heaven, ocean, earth—all that has come into being he guards.

Atharva Veda 13.3. The sun, as cosmic power. See 13.1 above

1. Who brought forth these two, heaven and earth; who clothes himself in the worlds, making them his garment; in whom abide the six wide directions, towards which he, the (sun-) bird, gazes around intently: [Refrain: repeated at the end of every verse but the last; it usually has little syntactic relation to the verses, and equally little relation in sense.] Against that god in his anger is this an offence; whoever injures a brahman that has such knowledge, do you, Ruddy One, make him tremble, destroy him; fasten bonds on the oppressor of brahmans.

2. From whom in their season the winds go purifying, from whom the oceans flow forth—[Refrain].

3. Who causes death and causes life, from whom all creatures get their life—[Refrain].

4. Who with his upper breath satisfies heaven and earth, who with his nether breath fills the ocean's belly—[Refrain].

5. In whom are set the Shining One (Virāj), He that is in the Highest (Parameṣṭhin), the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati), the Universal (Vaiśvānara) Fire, together with the line (of seers);¹ who took to himself the breath of the lofty one, the splendour of the loftiest one—[Refrain].

6. Upon whom rest the six wide (spaces), the five directions, the four seas, the three sounds (*om*, analyzed *a-u-m*) of the sacrifice; who, angered, gazed with his eye between the two firmaments—[Refrain].

7. Who has become the giver of food, lord of food, and who also (has become) Lord of the Holy Word (Brahmaṇaspati); who has become that which is (still) future, the lord of the world—[Refrain].

8. Who measures out the thirteenth (intercalary) month, that is measured in thirty parts by days and nights—[Refrain].

9. On a dark path the yellow winged ones fly up to heaven, clothing themselves in water. They have returned from the Seat of Right (the highest place)²—[Refrain].

¹ Probably the *ṛṣis*, as suggested by AV. 8.5.10cd.

² A riddlesome verse, taken from RV. 1.164.47. According to one theory, the dark path is smoke, the yellow winged ones the flames; by evaporation they become full of water in the highest place, and then bring rain down on earth.

10. O Kaśyapa,¹ what bright, shining, magnificent, and resplendent thing you have fashioned, in which seven suns are fixed all together—[Refrain].

11. The 'Great' (*bṛhat*, sc. chant, *sāman*) clothes itself in him in the east, the *ratham̐tara* (another well-known *sāman*, chant) receives him in the west, both clothed always in light unremittingly—[Refrain].

12. The 'Great' (*bṛhat*, sc. chant) was his wing on one side, the *ratham̐tara* on the other, both of like power, of like aim, when the gods generated the Ruddy One—[Refrain].

13. This Fire becomes Varuṇa in the evening; he becomes Mitra when he rises in the morning; becoming (the sun-god) Savitar he goes through the atmosphere; becoming Indra he burns midway through the sky—[Refrain].

14. A thousand days' journeys are spread out the two wings of this yellow Swan, flying to heaven. He, taking in his bosom all the gods, moves inspecting all the worlds—[=AV. 10.8.18—Refrain].

15. This is that god within the waters, Atri² of a thousand roots, of many powers, who produced this whole universe—[Refrain].

16. Swift running bay steeds carry the bright god that shines with splendour in the sky, whose lofty bodies heat the sky; he shines abroad hitherward with golden rays.—[Refrain].

17. Through whom the bay steeds carry the Ādityas,³ by whom, as sacrifice, many proceed, knowing well (what they are doing); which single light shines abroad manifoldly—[Refrain].

18. Seven harness a one-wheeled chariot; one horse, of seven names, draws it; of three naves is the wheel, unageing, irresistible, upon which all these worlds rest.⁴—[Refrain].

¹ See AV. 19.53.10 and note.

² An ancient seer (*ṛṣi*) who even in the Rig Veda has relations with Fire and the sun, though he seems not to be identified with them.

³ Literally, 'sons of Aditi' (on whom see AV. 12.1.61 with note). In the Rig Veda, a group of important gods, often seven (but the number varies greatly), of whom the sun is at most only one. In later times, as here, a specific name for the sun. Note the 'seven suns' (*sūrya*) of vs. 10 above; in later Sanskrit, when the word is plural, there are generally twelve.

⁴ A riddle stanza, copied from Rig Veda 1.164.2. It apparently refers to the sun's chariot. An Indian tradition makes the three naves the three seasons of the year, but this is a very rare number of seasons, known apparently only in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

19. Harnessed eight-fold draws the formidable draft-horse, father of the gods, producer of prayers. Measuring out with his thought the cord of Right,¹ he purifies as Mātariśvan (the wind) all quarters—[Refrain].

20. (Measuring) the common cord through all the (intermediate) directions, within the *gāyatrī*,² in the womb of the immortal—[Refrain].

21. Three (sun-) settings (there are), three dawnings; three space-regions, and just three heavens. We know, O fire, your birth three-fold; we know the three-fold generations of the gods.—[Refrain].

22. Who, (even) while being born, opened up the earth, (and) set the ocean in the atmosphere—[Refrain].

23. You, O Fire, impelled by (magic) powers, by beams, kindled as the Sun, have shone out in the sky. To what did the Maruts,³ offspring of the spotted cow, address their songs of praise, when the gods generated the Ruddy One?—[Refrain].

24. Who is the life-giver, the strength-giver, whose command all attend, even the gods; who rules over these two-footed and four-footed beings;⁴—[Refrain].

25. The one-footed marches out further than the two-footed; the two-footed overtakes the three-footed from behind; the four-footed acts at the call of two-footed ones, coming up and watching over the herd.⁵—[Refrain].

26. From dark night was born a Calf, a bright offspring (the sun); he mounts upon the sky; the Ruddy One has mounted the mountings.

¹ Doubtless means the sacrifice.

² See AV. 10.8.41; 13.1.10 and note.

³ See AV. 13.1.3 and note.

⁴ This is made up of parts of Rigveda 10.121.2 and 3.

⁵ A riddle, borrowed (with slight variants) from Rig Veda 10.117.8. The one-footed is the sun (AV. 13.1.6), the two-footed is man, the three-footed is the old man walking with a staff (as in the Sphinx's riddle solved by Oedipus!), the four-footed is the (herdsman's) dog who obeys the call of men and comes to watch over the herd of cattle.

Atharva Veda 19.52. Desire (Kāma). (See AV. 9.2)

1. Desire (creative and cosmic) arose then in the beginning, which was the first seed of thought.¹ O Desire, being of like origin with (our) mighty desire, establish increase of wealth for the sacrificer.

2. You, Desire, are established by power, lordly, brilliant, a friend to one who seeks a friend. Do you, a mighty conqueror in battles, establish might and power for the sacrificer.

3. To him who has been desiring from afar, (and?) who (has been) bargaining in his dwelling,² to him (his) hopes have hearkened; by Desire he has generated might.³

4. By (cosmic) Desire desire has come unto me, out of Heart (has come) heart (seat of intelligence); that thought which pertains to those people yonder, let it come to me here.

5. Desiring what, O Desire, we make you this oblation, may all that succeed for us; so taste of this oblation; hail!

¹ The first half-verse is (with only one variant) identical with the first half of RV. 10.129.4. It was obviously lifted from that, but applied to a new kind of glorification of Kāma, 'desire', for very practical purposes.

² The reading of this clause is doubtful, and its meaning obscure.

³ We read here with the Paippalāda recension (1.30.3).

Atharva Veda 19.53 and 54. Time (Kāla)

See Introduction, Chapter I, fn. 5, p. 21.

1. Time drives (as) a steed with seven reins (rays), thousand-eyed, unageing, of abundant seed. Him mount the poets that know holy hymns; his wheels are all worlds (or beings).¹

2. This Time drives seven wheels; seven are his naves, his axle is immortality. He, adorning (anointing) all these worlds, he, Time, moves on as foremost god.

3. A full vessel is set upon Time; we see him, verily, though he is in many forms; he faces towards all these worlds; they say that he, Time, is in the highest heaven.

4. He alone assembled the worlds (or, beings); he alone encompassed the worlds (beings). Though their father, he became their son; than him there is no other majesty higher.

5. Time created yonder heaven, Time also these earths; impelled by Time, what has been and what is to be take their several positions.

6. Time created lordship,² in Time the sun shines; in Time are all beings; in Time the eye looks abroad.

7. In Time is thought, in Time (life-) breath, in Time name³ is concentrated. All creatures here rejoice in Time when it arrives.

8. In Time is fervour, in Time the Supreme, in Time the Holy Word (*brāhman*) is concentrated. Time is the lord of all, he who was the father of the Lord of Creatures (Prajāpati, creator-god).

¹ Time recurs, as a cosmic power of some sort, in Mbh. 12.231.25; 244.2; 267.9. In this verse Time appears to be represented by the Sun, who drives a chariot; there is some confusion of chariot, driver, and horse(s). The Sun, under the name of Rohita the Ruddy, is identified with Time in AV. 13.2.39. The number 'seven' (reins = rays) is probably only the 'perfect' number; so in the next verse; it suggests indefinite plurality, though several attempts have been made towards a specific meaning here.

² So the mss. (*bhūtim*); the Paippalāda recension *bhūtam*, 'what is', vulgate text emends to *bhūmim* 'earth'.

³ The name is that which does not leave man at death; BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.11 (K.; 11 M.).

9. By him it was sent forth, by him it was born, on him it is founded; truly Time, having become the Holy Word, supports Him that is in the Highest.¹

10. Time created creatures, Time (created) the Lord of Creatures in the beginning; from Time the self-existent Kaśyapa,² from Time fervour was born.

¹ Parameṣṭhin, see AV. 10.2.20 with note. 'It', three times in the first part of the verse, refers to the Holy Word (*brāhman*).

² An ancient sage, also known as consort of Aditi, the Rig Vedic goddess who was the mother of the chief gods; K. likewise comes to be identified with Prajāpati or any creator-god.

Atharva Veda 19.54¹

1. From Time originated the (cosmic) waters, from Time the Holy Word (*bráhman*), fervour, the directions (of space); by Time the sun rises, in Time it goes to rest again.

2. By Time the wind blows purifying, by Time the great earth (exists), in Time the great sky is set. Time, (who was their) son, begot of old what has been and what is to be.

3. From Time the stanzas (of the Rig Veda) originated, from Time the formula (of the Yajur Veda) was born. Time set in motion the sacrifice, (as) an inexhaustible portion for the gods.

4. In Time the gandharvas and apsarases (are established), in Time the worlds are established. Upon Time this divine Aṅgiras and Atharvan both stand.²

5. Having conquered by the holy word³ both this world and the supreme (heavenly) world, both the holy worlds and (their) holy separating divisions, (in short) all the worlds, this Time, the highest god, marches on.

¹ Continuation of 53; the two form one hymn, and are presented as such in the Paippalāda version, Book 12, hymn 2. In the verse-division we follow the commentary, and in the readings of vss. 2-3 the manuscripts (and in part the Paippalāda text) rather than the vulgate which is largely emended.

² On gandharvas and apsarases cf. AV. 2.1.2 and note. Aṅgiras and Atharvan here seem to be meant as eponymous ancestors of the authors of the hymns of the Atharva Veda; see AV. 10.7.20 and 11.4.16 with notes.

³ *bráhman*; here perhaps with specific reference to the magic charms of the Atharva Veda, which are just as familiarly *bráhman* in Atharvan literature as are the hieratic hymns in the Rig Veda. But it would be rash to insist, in such a passage as this, on any single meaning (i.e. English translation) of this many-sided word.

PART IV

SELECTIONS FROM THE UPANIṢADS

BRHAD ĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD, BOOKS 3 AND 4

INTRODUCTION

The Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, probably the oldest Upaniṣad we have, appears as the concluding part of the last book of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which belongs to the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā ('White' Yajur Veda). Like the Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa of this school, it appears in two recensions, called Mādhyamdina and Kāṇva, which vary from each other, for the most part only slightly, but occasionally in major respects.

Most editions and translations of the Upaniṣad follow the Kāṇva text, and the editions print no accents. The Mādhyamdina text is reprinted by Boehtlingk from Weber's edition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and is accented like the latter. In general I follow M, but the more important readings of K are recorded at least in the notes. The third and fourth books, of both of which Yājñavalkya is the hero, are included here.

The Third Book consists entirely of a theologico-philosophical debate between Yājñavalkya and a group of brahmins at the court of King Janaka of Videha. The king offers a very rich reward to whoever of them could prove himself the greatest brahmin, i.e. scholar. Yājñavalkya claims the prize. He is challenged nine times, by eight contestants, who examine him on his learning. One of the eight, who interestingly is a woman, venture two separate challenges. It is rare for a woman to take part in such arguments; yet the text here gives no evidence that she was regarded as exceptionally presumptuous. In Chapter 5 of the Fourth Book will be found a dialogue between Yājñavalkya and his favourite wife Maitreyī. But here she appears only as her husband's pupil.

SELECTIONS FROM THE BRHAD ĀRANYAKA UPANIṢAD

FIRST CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

Theological tournament at the court of Janaka

1. Janaka, (king) of Videha, sacrificed with a sacrifice accompanied by large sacrificial fees. At it were gathered together the brahmans of the Kurus and Pañcālas. There arose (in the mind) of this Janaka of Videha a desire to know which of these brahmans was the most learned.

2. He herded off a thousand cows. Ten quarter-pieces were bound to the horns of each one. He said to them: Reverend brahmans, whichever of you is the greatest brahman, let him drive off these cows. Those brahmans did not venture to.

3. Then Yājñavalkya said to his own brahman-pupil: Drive off these cows, Sāmaśravas, my dear! He took them away. Those brahmans were angry: How, pray, can he claim to be the greatest brahman of us?

4. At this time Aśvala was the hotar (-priest) of Janaka of Videha. He asked him: Pray, Yājñavalkya, are you really the greatest brahman of us? He said: We do reverence to the greatest brahman; we merely have a desire for cows! Accordingly, then, Aśvala the hotar undertook to question him.

Releases and attainments by ritual mysticism

5. Yājñavalkya, said he, since this whole universe is in the grasp of death, in the control of death, whereby is the sacrificer released beyond the grasp of death?—By the hotar priest, by Agni (fire), by Speech. The hotar of the sacrifice verily is speech. Now it is this Agni (fire) which is this speech; that is the hotar; that is release, that is release beyond (death).

6. Yājñavalkya . . . (as above, 'day and night' instead of 'death').—By the adhvaryu priest, by the eye, by the sun. The adhvaryu of the sacrifice verily is the eye. Now it is this eye which is yonder sun; that is the adhvaryu; that is release, that is release beyond (day and night).

7. Yājñavalkya . . . (as above, 'the first and second lunar half-months').—By the brahmán priest, by the thought-organ, by the moon. The brahmán of the sacrifice verily is the thought-organ. Now it is this thought-organ which is yonder moon; that is the brahmán; that is release, that is release beyond (the two half-months).

8. Yājñavalkya, said he, since this atmosphere seems to be without support, then by what ascent does the sacrificer ascend the heavenly world?—By the udgātar priest, by wind, by breath. The udgātar of the sacrifice verily is the breath. Now it is this breath which is wind; that is the udgātar; that is release, that is release beyond (obstacles to attaining heaven).¹ So far the releases beyond; now the attainments.

9. Yājñavalkya, said he, with how many stanzas will the hotar operate today at this sacrifice?—With three.—What are those three?—The preliminary stanza of invitation, the stanza of sacrifice, and the third is the stanza of laudation.—What does he win by them?—It is the earth-world that he wins by the preliminary stanza of invitation, the atmosphere-world by the stanza of sacrifice, the heaven-world by the stanza of laudation.

10. Yājñavalkya, said he, how many offerings² will the adhvaryu offer as oblations today at this sacrifice?—Three.—What are those three?—Those which, offered, flame up (ghee); those which, offered, flow over (hot milk, etc.); those which, offered, lie on top (cakes, etc.).—What does he win by them?—Those which, offered, flame up, by them he wins the world of the gods; for the world of the gods blazes, as it were. Those which, offered, flow over, by them he wins the world of men; for the world of men is as it were over-and-beyond (stretches to the horizon). Those which, offered, lie on top (*adhi*), by them he wins the world of the departed fathers; for the world of the departed fathers is below (*adhah*) as it were.

11. Yājñavalkya, said he, with how many divinities (potencies) will

¹ The sacrificer (patron and beneficiary of the sacrifice) is said in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 9.5.2.16 to be the Self or Soul (*ātman*) of the sacrifice, the priests its members. The four priests here are identified, as elements in the *sacrifice*, with the four principal powers of man (i.e. of the sacrificer), and with four corresponding cosmic powers. What is meant is that the correctly understood sacrifice will 'release' the sacrificer 'beyond death (and all ills)', after which his human elements will unite in heaven with the corresponding cosmic powers. This last feature is made clearer in BṛhĀrUp. 1.3.12 (Kāṇva 11) ff., where a potency 'carries' (the human powers) 'beyond death'; (13) 'It first carried speech (*vāc*) across; when it (speech) was released beyond death, it became (the cosmic power) Fire, which has transcended death and shines (in heaven)'. Then the same happens to breath, which getting past death becomes wind; the eye or sight, which becomes the sun; (in this passage the ear, or hearing, becomes the 'directions' or space); and the thought-organ which becomes the moon. These two passages, read together, make the point of this ritualistic passage clear. In the parallel just quoted the mediation of the sacrifice and its priests is omitted.

² *āhuti*, 'offering in general', not only 'poured offering'; *puruṣāhuti* 'human sacrifice' Taittirīya Saṃhita 2.2.2.5.

the brahmán protect the sacrifice today from the south (direction of death and danger)?—With one.—What is that one?—Simply the thought-organ. The thought-organ, verily, is infinite; infinite are the All-gods; precisely the infinite world he wins thereby (i.e. probably 'by this knowledge').

12. Yājñavalkya, said he, how many chants of praise will the udgātar chant today at this sacrifice?—Three.—What are those three?—The preliminary stanza of invitation, the stanza of sacrifice, and the third is the stanza of laudation.—So far with reference to the deities (potencies); now with reference to the self. What are those with reference to the self?—The preliminary stanza of invitation is just the upper breath; the stanza of sacrifice is the nether breath; the stanza of laudation is the transverse breath.—What does he win by them?—Whatsoever here on earth has breath.—Then the hotar Aśvala subsided.

SECOND CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

The sense-organs and their objects

1. Then Ārtabhāga son of Jaratkāru questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said he, How many graspers are there? How many super-graspers?—Eight graspers, eight super-graspers.—What are these eight graspers, these eight super-graspers?¹

2. The breath, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, odour, for by the breath odours are smelled.²

3. The tongue, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, flavour, for by the tongue flavours are tasted.

¹ The sense-organs which follow here are 'graspers' in that with them man takes note of the objects of sense; but at the same time these sense-organs are, from another point of view, 'grasped' or enthralled by the objects of sense, which are therefore 'super-graspers'. The grasping of the one by the other and the 'still more powerful grasping' of the others by the one constitute together the bond between Man the individual and the external world. Deussen rightly compares Kāṭha Up. 6.15, where the 'knots' or fetters (*granthi*) of the heart are similarly mentioned. It is implied that man ought to strive to release himself from these bonds. Cf. especially the sixth of the list below, the 'grasper' thought-organ and its 'super-grasper' desire. The *grahas* however are also soma cups or the drafts contained in them; and the verb *ati-grah* means 'make an extra draft (of soma, *atigrāhya*), one beyond measure.' Undoubtedly there is a double entente here.

² The verse is certainly to be read thus with Boehtlingk and Senart; the ms. reading (*apāna* 'nether breath' instead of *gandha* 'odour') is absurd and is wholly irreconcilable with the seven following verses. Śaṅkara reads *apānena* with editions but says *apāna* = *gandha*.

4. Speech, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, name (i.e. word), for by speech names (words) are spoken.
5. The eye, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, form, for by the eye forms are seen.
6. The ear, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, sound, for by the ear sounds are heard.
7. The thought-organ, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, desire; for by the thought-organ desires are desired.
8. The two hands, I say, are a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, action, for by the hands action is performed.
9. The skin, I say, is a grasper; it is grasped by the super-grasper, touch, for by the skin touches are felt. These are the eight graspers, the eight super-graspers.

Reflections about death

10. Yājñavalkya, said he, since all this universe is the food of death, what, pray, is that potency whose food death is?—Fire, I say, is death; it, as the food of water (*apām*), wards off (*apa*) re-death.
11. Yājñavalkya, said he, when man here dies, what does not leave him?—The name. Endless, I say, is the name; endless are the All-gods; and it is just the endless world (heaven) that one gains thereby (i.e. by knowing this).
12. Yājñavalkya, said he, when man here dies, do the vital breaths rise up out of him, or not?—No, said Yājñavalkya. They are collected together right there in him; he swells up, becomes inflated, and, being inflated, lies dead.

What survives death?

13. Yājñavalkya, said he, when man here is dead, if his speech enters into fire, his breath into wind, his eye into the sun, his thought-organ into the moon, his ear (hearing) into the directions, his body into the earth, his soul (*ātman*) into the ether, the hairs of his body into the plants, the hairs of his head into the trees, and his blood and semen are deposited in water, what then becomes of this man?—Take my hand, my dear!
14. Ārtabhāga, said he, we two alone will discuss this matter; this business of ours is not public.—They went forth and consulted. What

they spoke of—it was just Deed that they spoke of; also what they praised—it was just Deed that they praised: 'By good Deed, in sooth, one becomes good—by evil (Deed), evil'. Then Ārtabhāga son of Jaratkāru subsided.

THIRD CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

What has become of great men of old?

1. Then Bhujyu son of Lāhya (or Lahya) questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said he, we were wandering about as travelling scholars among the Madras. And we came to the house of Patañcala son of Kapi. He had a daughter possessed of a gandharva (spirit). We asked him: Who are you? He said: Sudhanvan of the Aṅgiras family. When we had asked him about the ends of the worlds, then we said to him: Where are the sons of Parikṣit (royal race of the golden age) gone? Where are the sons of Parikṣit gone? That I now ask you, Yājñavalkya: Where are the sons of Parikṣit gone?

2. He said: Doubtless this is what he said to you: They have gone, to be sure, where the sacrificers of the *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice, the greatest and most expensive Vedic sacrifice) go.—Where then do the sacrificers of the *aśvamedha* go?—This region (world, continent), I say, is thirty-two days' journey for the divine (sun-) chariot in extent. This entire region is surrounded by the earth, to twice that extent. This earth is surrounded by the ocean to twice that extent. Then (between the ocean and the upper firmament, or heaven) there is the ether in between, equal in extent to a razor's edge or a fly's wing. Now Indra, taking the form of an eagle, gave them (the *aśvamedha*-sacrificers) over to Vāyu (the Wind, cosmic 'breath' or *prāṇa*). Vāyu put them upon himself and went thither,¹ where the sons of Parikṣit were gone. In some such way as this, doubtless, he (the gandharva) praised Vāyu. Therefore it is just Vāyu (the Wind) that is success and Vāyu that is attainment. He who knows this wards off a second death and attains to any age. Then Bhujyu son of Lāhya subsided.

FOURTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

The Brāhman and the personal Self

1. Then Kahoḍa son of Kuṣītaka questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said he, explain to me what the manifest, unconcealed Brāhman is, the *ātman* (self) that is within everything.—It is this thy *ātman*, which is within everything.—What (manner of *ātman*), O Yājñavalkya, (is it

¹ Kāṇva text: took them thither.

that is) within everything?—That which transcends hunger and thirst, sorrow, confusion, old age, and death. It is this *ātman*, I say, which when they know, brahmans abjure the desire for sons, the desire for possessions, the desire for (heavenly) worlds, and take up the begging ascetic's life. For the desire for sons is the same as the desire for possessions, and the desire for possessions is the same as the desire for worlds; for they are both simply desires. Hence the learned man, renouncing his learning, should seek to be childishly simple. And when he has come to renounce both childish simplicity and learning, then he is a Muni (silent sage). And when he has come to renounce both the state of being a Muni and the state of not being a Muni, then he is a (true, mystic, absolute, unqualified) Brāhmaṇa (knower of brāhman). By what would he be a Brāhmaṇa (i.e. in what do the characteristics of this sort of Brāhmaṇahood consist)? *By what he is* (i.e. by the very fact that he is such as he is), by that he becomes just such a one (as he is),¹ who knows this. Then Kaḥoḍa son of Kuṣītaka subsided.

FIFTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

The universal subject cannot be object

1. Then Uṣasta son of Cakra questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said he, explain to me what the manifest, unconcealed Brāhman is, the ātman (self) which is within everything.—It is this thy ātman, which is within everything.—What (manner of ātman), O Yājñavalkya, (is it that is) within everything?—That which breathes with each of the five vital breaths,² this is thy ātman which is within everything.—Then said Uṣasta son of Cakra: As if one should say: that is a cow, that is a horse!—even so this has been described (by you).³ Explain to me just what the manifest unconcealed Brāhman is, the ātman that is within everything.—It is thy ātman, which is within everything.—What (manner of ātman), O Yājñavalkya, (is it that is) within everything?—*You cannot see the seer of sight!*⁴ *You cannot hear the hearer of hearing (sound)! You*

¹ The meaning of these last words has been much disputed; they mean simply that this sort of Brāhmaṇa—who is really already one with the Brāhman—is, like the Brāhman (see the next paragraph) incapable of description, or characterization; *he is that he is*. The Kāṇva text omits 'who knows this'.

² *prāṇa* (upper breath), *apāna* (lower breath), *vyāna* (transverse breath), *udāna* (up-rising breath), *samāna* (together breath). The translation compresses the text.

³ Doubtless with allusion to the fact that the word *ātman* also, in the RV., means 'breath' (probably its oldest meaning), so that Y's statement may be taken to mean 'that which breathes with thy breath is thy breath (*ātman*).' It is a definition in terms of itself.

⁴ The absolute is the agent of every possible action; it is the seer of every seeing, etc.; since it is always *subject*, it can never be object (can never be *seen*, etc.). Cf. 4.3.23-30; 4.5.24-25.

cannot think (of) the thinker of thought! You cannot understand the understander of understanding! It is thy *ātman*, which is within everything. Anything other than this is evil!—Then Uṣasta son of Cakra subsided.

SIXTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

Danger in persistent questioning

1. Then Gārgī daughter of Vacaknu questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said she, inasmuch as all this universe is strung and threaded on water, on what, pray, is water strung and threaded? On wind, Gārgī.—On what, pray, is wind strung and threaded?—On the ether, Gārgī.—On what, pray, is the ether strung and threaded?—On the atmosphere-worlds, Gārgī . . .¹—On what, pray, are the Brahman-worlds strung and threaded?—He said: Gārgī, do not question too much, lest your head fall off. In sooth, the (cosmic) potencies are not to be questioned too much. You question too much, Gārgī; do not question too much!—Then Gārgī daughter of Vacaknu subsided.

SEVENTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

Uddālaka's two questions

1. Then Uddālaka son of Aruṇa questioned him. Yājñavalkya, said he, we were dwelling among the Madras, studying the sacrifice in the house of Patañcala son of Kapi. His wife was possessed of a gandharva (spirit). We asked him: Who are you? He said: Kavandha of the Atharvan family.

2. He said unto Patañcala son of Kapi and the students of the sacrifice: Do you know, pray, son of Kapi, that thread on which this world and the world beyond and all creatures are strung together?—Patañcala son of Kapi said: I do not know it, reverend sir.

3. He said unto Patañcala son of Kapi and the students of the sacrifice: Do you know, pray, son of Kapi, that inner controller which controls this world and the world beyond and all creatures within?—Patañcala son of Kapi said: I do not know it, reverend sir.

¹ In the same way the series is carried back to the heaven-worlds, the sun-worlds, the moon-worlds, the star- (or constellation-) worlds, the god-worlds, the gandharva-worlds, the Prajāpati-worlds, and the Brahman-worlds. The Kāṇva text varies somewhat in the identity and arrangement of these links; it omits the ether, and the heaven-worlds; it puts the gandharva-worlds earlier, before the sun-worlds; and it adds Indra-worlds after god-worlds.

4. He said unto Patañcala son of Kapi and the students of the sacrifice: Verily, son of Kapi, whosoever knows that thread and that inner controller, he knows Bráhmaṇ, he knows the worlds, he knows the gods, he knows the vedas, he knows the sacrifice, he knows creatures, he knows the Self (*ātman*), he knows everything.—Thus he spoke unto them. This I know. If you, Yājñavalkya, without knowing that thread and that inner controller, are driving away the brahmans' cows, your head shall fall off!

The 'thread' on which the universe is 'strung'

5. I know, verily, that thread, Gautama,¹ and that inner controller.—Anyone whatsoever might say 'I know, I know'. Say, how you know it!

6. Wind,² verily, Gautama, is that thread. By wind, verily, Gautama, as by a thread, this world and the world beyond and all creatures are strung together. Therefore, verily, Gautama, they say of a man that is dead, that his limbs have fallen apart. For by the wind, Gautama, as a thread, they are strung together.—That is just so, Yājñavalkya. Say (what) the inner controller (is).

The 'inner controller' of all is the Self

7. That which rests in the earth, and is distinct from the earth, which the earth knows not, of which the earth is the body (material manifestation or form), which controls the earth within, that is thy Self (*ātman*), the immortal inner controller.

8. That which rests in water, and is distinct from water, which water knows not, of which water is the body, which controls water within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller.

9-16. That which rests in fire, and is distinct from fire, which fire knows not, of which fire is the body, which controls fire within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller. . . .³ So far with respect to the (cosmic) potencies. Now with respect to the worlds.

17. That which rests in all the worlds, and is distinct from all the worlds, which all the worlds know not, of which all the worlds are the body, which controls all the worlds within, that is thy Self, the immortal

¹ Member of the family of Gotama, to which Aruṇa and Uddālaka belonged.

² Wind, as we have already seen, is the cosmic correspondent of breath in living beings; it is the 'life-breath' of the cosmos. On the 'thread' cf. AV. 10.8.37.

³ So with ether, wind, sun, moon and stars, 'directions' (of space), lightning, thunder. The Kāṇva text varies somewhat. It also omits the next three paragraphs.

inner controller. So far, again, with respect to the worlds. Now with respect to the Vedas.

18. That which rests in all the Vedas, and is distinct from all the Vedas, which all the Vedas know not, of which all the Vedas are the body, which controls all the Vedas within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller. So far, again, with respect to the Vedas. Now with respect to sacrifices.

19. That which rests in all sacrifices, and is distinct from all sacrifices, which all sacrifices know not, of which all sacrifices are the body, which controls all sacrifices within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller. So far, again, with regard to sacrifices. Now with regard to creatures.

20. That which rests in all creatures, and is distinct from all creatures, which all creatures know not, of which all creatures are the body, which controls all creatures within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller. So far, again, with regard to creatures. Now with regard to the (individual) self.

21-30. That which rests in the breath, and is distinct from the breath, which the breath knows not, of which the breath is the body, which controls the breath within, that is thy Self, the immortal inner controller.¹

31. The Unseen Seer; the Unheard Hearer; the Unthought Thinker; the Unknown Knower. There is no other Seer; there is no other Hearer; there is no other Thinker; there is no other Knower. This is thy Self, the immortal inner controller. Whatever is other than this is evil.— Then Uddālaka son of Aruṇa subsided.

EIGHTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

Gārgī returns to the attack

1. Then (Gārgī) the daughter of Vacaknu said: Reverend Brahmans, look now! I will ask this Yājñavalkya two questions. If he solves them

¹ So likewise with speech, the eye, the ear, the thought-organ, the skin, light, darkness (the latter two in the Kāṇva text appear more appropriately above, among the cosmic potencies, and are here replaced by 'understanding' or 'knowledge', *vijñāna*), the semen, and finally (curiously as it seems to us, and not in the Kāṇva text) the Self. Is the contradiction or duplication here only apparent? Does *ātman* mean in the one case the ego, the individual, as an empiric unit, in the other case the *ātman* as world-principle? Or is *ātman* a part of the physical body, as in Ārtabhāga's question (end of 3.2 above), 'the soul (*ātman*) into the ether'?

for me, of a certainty not one of you could overcome him in a *brahmodya* (theological debate). If he does not solve them for me, his head will fall off.—Ask, Gārgī! he said.

2. Said she: Verily I, Yājñavalkya—as a chief's son of Kāśī or Videha would string his unstrung bow and take in his hand two arrows to smite his enemies and stand forth (to combat)—just so I stand forth against you with two questions. Answer me them!—Ask, Gārgī, he said.

Ether is that which pervades all

3. Said she: That which, Yājñavalkya, is above the heaven, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between heaven and earth here, that which they call past and present and future; on what is this strung and threaded?

4. Said he: That which, Gārgī, is above the heaven, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between heaven and earth here, that which they call past and present and future; on the ether that is strung and threaded.

5. Said she: Homage be yours, Yājñavalkya! For you have solved me this (question). Prepare yourself for the other.—Ask, Gārgī! he said.

6. Said she: That which, Yājñavalkya, is above the heaven, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between heaven and earth here, that which they call past and present and future; on what, I repeat, is this strung and threaded?

7. Said he: That which, Gārgī, is above the heaven, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between heaven and earth here, that which they call past and present and future; on the ether, I repeat, that is strung and threaded.—But on what, say, is the ether strung and threaded?

The 'Imperishable' underlies the ether

8. Said he: This verily, Gārgī, is what brahmans refer to as the Imperishable. It is not coarse, not fine; not short, not long; without blood, without fat; without shadow, without darkness; without wind, without ether; without contact, without touch, without smell, without taste, without sight, without hearing, without speech, without thought-organ, without heat; without breath, without mouth (face?); without (personal) name, without family (name); ageless, deathless, fearless, immortal; without dust (impurity?), without sound (word); not opened, not closed; without first, without last; without inside, without outside; it consumes no one, no one consumes it.

9. In the control of this Imperishable, Gārgī, heaven and earth stand severally fixed. In the control of this Imperishable, Gārgī, sun and moon stand severally fixed. In the control of this Imperishable, Gārgī, days and nights, half-months, months, seasons, and years stand severally fixed. In the control of this Imperishable, Gārgī, some rivers flow eastward from the white mountains, others westward, and in whatsoever direction they each may flow. In the control of this Imperishable, Gārgī, men praise the generous giver, the gods are dependent on the sacrifice-patron, and the departed ancestors on the spoon-offering.

10. Whosoever without knowing this Imperishable, Gārgī, sacrifices, gives gifts, or practices austerities for even many thousands of years, for him that (heavenly) world (which he gains) is only finite. Whosoever without knowing this Imperishable, Gārgī, passes away from this world, he is wretched. But he who knowing this Imperishable, Gārgī, passes away from this world, he is a (true) Brāhmaṇa.

It is the universal Subject

11. It is just this Imperishable, Gārgī, which is the unseen seeing one, the unheard hearing one, the unthought thinking one, the unknown knowing one. There is nothing else that sees; there is nothing else that hears; there is nothing else that thinks; there is nothing else that knows. It is even this Imperishable, Gārgī, whereon the ether is strung and threaded.

12. Said she: Reverend Brahmans! Think it a great enough thing, if you can get free of him with a rendering of homage! Of a certainty not one of you will ever overcome him in a *brahmodya* (theological debate).—Then (Gārgī) the daughter of Vacaknu subsided.

NINTH CHAPTER OF THIRD BOOK

Lists of gods

1. Then Vidagdha son of Śākala (or Śakala) questioned him. How many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—He replied with this invocation: As many as are stated in the invocation belonging to the laudation of the All-gods; three hundred and three, three thousand and three.—Yea, said he.

2. Again I say, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—Thirty-three.—Yea, said he. Again I say, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—Six.—Yea, said he. Again I say, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—Three.—Yea, said he. Again I say, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—Two.—Yea, said he. Again I say, how many

gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—One and a half.—Yea, said he. Again I say, how many gods are there, Yājñavalkya?—One.—Yea, said he. What are those three hundred and three and three thousand and three?

3. He replied: These are only their powers. Actually there are only thirty-three gods.—What are those thirty-three?—Eight Vasus, eleven Rudras, twelve Ādityas, that makes thirty-one; Indra and Prajāpati are the (thirty-second and) thirty-third.

4. What are the Vasus?—Fire, earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, sky, moon, and stars, these are the Vasus. For in them all 'good' (*vasu*) here is set; for they give dwelling (*vāsayingante*) to all this world; since they give dwelling to all this world, they are called Vasus.—

5. What are the Rudras?—These ten breaths in man; the Soul (*ātman*) is the eleventh. When they depart from this mortal body, they cause weeping (*rud-*). Since they cause weeping, they are called Rudras.—

6. What are the Ādityas?—The twelve months of the year are the Ādityas. For they move taking with them this whole world. Since they move taking with them (*ādadānā yanti*) this whole world, they are called Ādityas.—

7. What is Indra, what Prajāpati?—Indra is thunder, Prajāpati is the sacrifice.—What is thunder?—The lightning-flash.—What is the sacrifice?—The (sacrificial) animals.—

8. What are the six (gods)?—Fire, earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, and sky, these are the six. For these same six are this whole world.—

9. What are the three gods?—These three worlds, for all these gods are in them.—What are the two gods?—Food and breath.—What is the one and a half?—This (wind) that blows purifying.

10. On this they say: Since he who blows purifying is only one, how is he one and a half? Because in him the whole world succeeds (*adhyardh-*), therefore he is called one and a half (*adhyardha*).—What is the one god?—He is called Brāhman, *That*.¹

¹ Up to this point, the text of this section is almost identical with Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.6.3.1 ff., which names the one god of our last sentence 'breath' (*prāṇa*); the Kāṇva text of our Upaniṣad combines the two versions, reading 'It is breath; they call it Brāhman, *That*.'—In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa this is immediately followed by Yājñavalkya's threat to Vidagdha that, because he has 'questioned too much' (cf. above at the end of our 3.6), he will die, and his bones will not reach his house. In fact, says the text, he did die in just that way, and 'robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else' (as below, in 3.9.28).

Eight 'Spirits', their 'resting-places' and 'divinities'

11. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit (*puruṣa*) whose resting-place is earth, that is the highest goal of every Self (*ātman*), he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of whom you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is this same spirit that is in the body. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—Women,¹ said he.

12. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is forms (the objects of sight), that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is that same spirit that is in the sun. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—The eye, said he.

13. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is ether, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is this same spirit that is in the wind. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—Breath, said he.

14. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is desire, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is that same spirit that is in the moon. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—The thought-organ, said he.

15. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is heat, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is this same spirit that is in fire. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—Speech, said he.

16. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is darkness, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self;

¹ Kāṇva text, 'the immortal' (or, 'nectar'); it has 'women' in the paragraph below which deals with the spirit whose resting-place is 'desire'. There are other variants in the Kāṇva text on this formulaic passage.

it is this same spirit that is in shadow. But tell me, son of Śākala; who is its divinity?—Death, said he.

17. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is water, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is this same spirit that is in water. But tell me, son of Śākala; who is its divinity?—Varuṇa (god of water), said he.

18. Whoever, having sight as his world and the thought-organ as his light, knows that spirit whose resting-place is semen, that is the highest goal of every Self, he would indeed be a knower, Yājñavalkya.—I know that spirit of which you speak, the highest goal of every Self; it is this same spirit that is in a son. But tell me, son of Śākala, who is its divinity?—Prajāpati (Lord of Creatures, or of procreation), said he.

19. Son of Śākala, said Yājñavalkya, have these brahmans made you a live-coal-remover?¹

*The 'directions' are all ultimately based on the
'heart' (seat of intelligence)*

20. Yājñavalkya, said the son of Śākala, since you have now claimed to surpass in debate the brahmans of the Kurus and Pañcālas, what holy knowledge (*brāhman*) do you know?—I know the directions (quarters of the sky), with their divinities and their bases.—Since you know the directions with their divinities and their bases,

21. What divinity have you in this eastern quarter?—The sun as divinity.—On what is this sun based?—On the eye.—On what is the eye based?—On (visible) forms; for with the eye one sees forms.—On what are forms based?—On the heart (seat of the thought-organ). For by the heart one recognizes forms; for it is just on the heart that forms are based.—So it is, Yājñavalkya.

22. What divinity have you in this southern quarter?—Yama (god of death) as divinity.—On what is this Yama based?—On the sacrificial fee.—On what is the sacrificial fee based?—On faith, for only when one has faith does he give a sacrificial fee; for the sacrificial fee is based only on faith.—On what is faith based?—On the heart. For by the heart one

¹ That is, approximately, 'cat's-paw'. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.6.3 (see fn. 1, p. 147), this question is put by Yājñavalkya before Vidagdha begins his questioning.

has faith; for it is just on the heart that faith is based.—So it is, Yājñavalkya.

23. What divinity have you in this western quarter?—Varuṇa as divinity.—On what is this Varuṇa based?—On water.—On what is water based?—On semen.—On what is semen based?—On the heart. Therefore they say of (a son) born that resembles his father, he has slipped out from the heart so to speak, he has been fashioned from the heart so to speak. For it is just on the heart that semen is based.—So it is, Yājñavalkya.

24. What divinity have you in this northern quarter?—Soma (moon, or sacred plant, or both) as divinity.—On what is this soma based?—On the *dīkṣā* (rite of consecration for sacrifice).—On what is the *dīkṣā* based?—On truth.—Therefore they say to the consecrated (for sacrifice; *dīkṣita*), Speak the truth! For it is just on truth that the *dīkṣā* is based.—On what is truth based?—On the heart, for with the heart one recognizes truth; for it is just on the heart that truth is based.—So it is, Yājñavalkya.

25. What divinity have you in this zenith quarter?—Fire as divinity.—On what is this fire based?—On speech.—On what is speech based?—On the thought-organ.—On what is the thought-organ based?—On the heart.—On what is the heart based?

26. Fool(?)! said Yājñavalkya, that you should think it elsewhere than in us! If it were elsewhere than in us, dogs would eat it, or birds would tear it asunder.

27. On what are you and (your) Self based?—On the upper breath.—On what is the upper breath based?—On the lower breath.—On what is the lower breath based?—On the transverse breath.—On what is the transverse breath based?—On the up-rising breath.—On what is the up-rising breath based?—On the together-breath.¹

The real Spirit of the Upaniṣads

28. This Self (*ātman*) is (simply described as) 'not, not'. It is ungraspable, for it is not grasped. It is indestructible, for it is not destroyed. It has no attachment, and is unfastened; it is not attached, and (yet) is not unsteady.—These are the eight resting-places, the eight worlds, the eight spirits (*puruṣa*; mentioned above in 11-18). But that (spirit) which sends forth and brings back these spirits and surpasses them—

¹ The text seems disturbed and inflated at this point.

that Upaniṣadic Spirit I ask of you. If you cannot expound it to me, your head shall fall off. (Vidagdha) the son of Śākala did not know it; his head fell off. And likewise robbers carried off his bones, taking them for something else (of value).

29. Then Yājñavalkya said: Reverend Brahmans, whosoever of you wishes, let him question me. Or do you all question me. Or whosoever of you wishes, I will question him. Or I will question you all.—But the brahmans did not dare.

Man's structure compared to a tree's

30. He questioned them with these verses:

Even as a tree, sovereign of the forest, just so is man, in very truth. The hairs of his body are the leaves, his skin is the outside bark.

31. From his skin, moreover, blood flows forth—from the bark-skin;¹ from him it comes forth when he is wounded,² just as sap from the tree when it is hacked.

32. His particles of flesh are the pieces of wood; this tough sinew is the fibre (?). His bones are the woody parts within; the marrow is made like marrow (pith, of the tree).

33. As a tree when it is hewn down grows anew from the root—when man is hewn down by death, from what root, pray, does he grow forth?

34. Do not say, from the seed; that is produced only from a living person. Once born, one is not born (again); who, pray, should beget him again?

A tree, indeed, grows from a seed-kernel, and comes into being from something else³ after death. But a tree which they should pluck up along with its root, could not come into being again.

When a man is hewn down by death, from what root, pray, does he grow forth?

BRĀHMAN (is that root)—(which is) Knowledge, and Joy—the supreme refuge of the generous giver, of him who is steadfast, knowing It.

¹ *utpaṭaḥ* Ablative of *utpaṭ* = *utpāṭikā*.

² Kāṇva text 'pierced, wounded', which seems better than the Mādhy. text, 'struck'.

³ Kāṇva text 'straightway' (instead of 'from something else').

FIRST CHAPTER OF FOURTH BOOK

Some imperfect definitions of Brāhman

[In Chapter I, Yājñavalkya presents himself to Janaka of Videha, and expresses a wish to hear whatever any teacher may have told him. The king then tells what six teachers in turn have identified to him as the *Brāhman*, viz., life-breath (*prāṇa*), speech, eye, ear, thought-organ, heart. Yājñavalkya accepts each answer as provisionally or partially correct but asks if the teachers have told the king the seat (*āyatana*) and basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) of each item. Learning that they have not, he declares that each of the entities named is itself only the seat (*āyatana*) of the *Brāhman*, and says they all have as basis (*pratiṣṭhā*) ether or space (*ākāśa*); one should regard (literally 'revere', *upāsīta*) the six named entities as respectively 'the dear' (*priya*), insight (*prajñā*), truth (*satya*), the infinite (*ananta*), bliss (*ānanda*), and steadfastness (*sthiti*). Anyone who knows each one of these partial truths is promised temporal rewards, including even the attainment of the status of a 'god' (*deva*). After each of the six explanations Janaka offers Y. a thousand cows with an elephant-like bull, but Y. declines, saying that he has not yet really instructed the king.]

SECOND CHAPTER OF FOURTH BOOK

Bodily and cosmic relations of the soul

1. Then Janaka of Videha descended humbly from his seat and said: Homage to you, Yājñavalkya! Instruct me! Said he: As, O king, one about to go on a long journey would provide himself with a car or a boat, so your Self (*ātman*) is fitted out with these mystic doctrines. Being so eminent and rich, after you have studied the Vedas and heard the mystic doctrines recited, where will you go when you are released from this world?—I do not know, reverend sir, where I shall go.—Then I will tell you this, where you will go.—Speak, reverend sir!

2. He said: This person (or man or spirit) in the right eye is called Indha (the kindler). He, who is Indha, is called Indra, cryptically as it were; for the gods may be said to love the cryptic and dislike the obvious.

3. Now this that has the form of a person in the left eye is his consort, Virāj ('queen' or 'majesty'). The concert (*saṁstāva*, literally 'hymning together') of these two is this space (*ākāśa*, ether or emptiness) within

the heart. Their food is this mass of blood within the heart. Their covering is this net-like thing within the heart. Their path, which is traversible, is this channel which goes upward from the heart. (See KUp. 6.16, n. 1, p. 193.)

4. (He (the Self, union of Indha and Virāj) has these channels called *Hitā*, (as fine) as a hair split in a thousand parts. By these flows in to him (the food) that flows in. Therefore he has, so to say, more delicate food than this corporeal Self.

5. Of this same person (or spirit), the eastern (-going) vital powers¹ are the eastern quarter, the southern (-going) vital powers are the southern quarter, the western (-going) vital powers are the western quarter, the northern (-going) vital powers are the northern quarter, the upward (-going) vital powers are the zenith, the downward (-going) vital powers are the nadir; all his vital powers are all the quarters (directions).

6. This is the Self (*ātman*) that is (described as) 'not, not'. It is ungraspable, for it is not grasped; it is indestructible, for it is not destroyed. It has not attachment and is unfastened; it is not attached, and (yet) is not unsteady. You have truly attained freedom from danger, Janaka! said Yājñavalkya.—Said Janaka of Videha: Homage to you, Yājñavalkya! May freedom from danger come to you, inasmuch as you, reverend sir, announce freedom from danger for me. Here are the Videhas, and here am I (as your servants).

THIRD CHAPTER OF FOURTH BOOK

When all other lights fail, the Self is man's light

1. Yājñavalkya approached Janaka of Videha, thinking: I will converse with him.² Now when Janaka of Videha and Yājñavalkya had conversed together at an Agnihotra sacrifice, Yājñavalkya had given him a wish. The wish which he chose was just to ask any desired question. And he had granted this (wish) to him. Therefore the king himself spoke first to him.

¹ Literally 'breaths'; cf. 4.3.41-4.4.3 with footnotes below. The author is referring to what happens at death.

² So the accented Mādhyamīna text would be rendered: *sām enena vadiṣya iti*. The unaccented Kāṇva text is interpreted by Śaṅkara and some moderns as *sa mene na . . .* 'he thought, I will *not* . . .'; this would require accented *nā*. But it seems that the original editor of the Mādhy. text emended; his ms. authorities actually imply the negative. Perhaps, then, read: 'I will not converse (with him).' It would have been presumptuous for the king to speak first, but for the previously granted wish.

2. Yājñavalkya, what serves as light to man here?—The sun, O king, said he. It is by the light of the sun that he sits down, walks about, does his work, and returns home.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya.

3. When the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, what serves as light, I repeat, to man here?—The moon, O king, said he. It is by the light of the moon that he sits down, walks about, does his work, and returns home.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya.

4. When the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, and the moon has set, what serves as light, I repeat, to man here?—The fire, O king, said he. It is by the light of the fire that he sits down, walks about, does his work, and returns home.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya.

5. When the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is extinguished, what serves as light, I repeat, to man here?—Speech, O king, said he. It is by the light of speech that he sits down, walks about, does his work, and returns home. Therefore it is, O king, that when even his own hand cannot be made out, then wherever Speech is uttered, one goes towards that.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya.

6. When the sun has set, Yājñavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is extinguished, and speech has ceased, what serves as light, I repeat, to man here?—The Self, O king, said he. For it is by the light of the Self that he sits down, walks about, does his work, and returns home.

The Self: preliminary characterization

7. What is the Self?—It is that Spirit (*puruṣa*), consisting of intelligence, the inner light within the vital powers,¹ within the heart. Being common (to the two worlds), it traverses both worlds, and seems to think (in the other, intellectual world), and seems to move about (in this world). Becoming a dream, endowed with intelligence² (characteristic of the other world), it transcends this world.

8. This same Spirit, upon being born and attaining a body, is conjoined to evils; passing forth, dying, it abandons evils, the forms of death.

States of the Self

9. Now of this same Spirit there are (primarily) just two states; this one, and the other-world state. There is a third, a twilight state, the state of dream. When he is in this twilight state, he sees both states, this one, and the other-world state.

¹ Literally 'breaths'; cf. 4.3.44, 4.4.1, below.

² *dhī*, a noun related to *dhyañyati* 'think', in the preceding sentence.

The dream state

10. Now as this (dream-state) is an approach to the other-world state, entering on this approach, he sees both the evils (of this world's state) and the joys (of the other world's state). When this (Spirit) dreams (literally, falls asleep; refers to light sleep, in which dreams come), he takes material¹ from this world with all its contents, and cutting it down himself, building it up himself, by his own radiance, by his own light, he dreams (literally sleeps or falls asleep). Under these circumstances his own self serves as light to man (Spirit, *ṣuruṣa*) here.

11. There are no wagons there (i.e. in the sleeping state), no teams, no roads; on the contrary he creates for himself wagons, teams, and roads. There are no joys, delights, and happinesses there; on the contrary he creates for himself joys, delights and happinesses. There are no pools, rivers and lakes there; on the contrary he creates for himself pools, rivers and lakes. For he is the Creator.

12. On this subject also there are these verses:

Subduing the bodily (state; or self?) with sleep (or, by means of dream)—not sleeping, he gazes intently on those that are asleep. Assuming brightness, he comes back again to his (waking) state—the golden, Single Swan of the Spirit.

13. Protecting by the life-breath (vital power, vitality) his other² nest, roaming immortal outside of the nest, he wanders, immortal, wherever he wills—the golden Single Swan of the Spirit.

14. Wandering manifoldly in the state of dream, he makes for himself many forms, the God; now apparently indulging in pleasures with women (and so) laughing; now again apparently seeing terrors.

15. They see his pleasure-garden; *himsel*f no one sees. Therefore they say, Let one not waken one that is stretched out³ (in sleep); hard to cure is he to whom this (Spirit) does not return.⁴

¹ *mātrā*, so used also in Bhagavad Gītā 2.14; see Edgerton's translation and note on this (Harvard Oriental Series 38; 1944).

² Perhaps better with Kāṇva text 'lower'.

³ There is no support for the alleged meaning 'suddenly'; *āyatayā* Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 1.7.3.3 means 'with outstretched, upraised' (weapon, or body, self).

⁴ The Spirit must get back to the same body (see para. 17 below). A popular belief has been reported (orally) from India and Burma, that if a person is waked from sleep (suddenly, according to the Burmese report), his spirit may not get back into the body (and some other spirit near by may slip in instead, according to the report from India).

16. On this subject, moreover, they say: This (dream condition) is just (the same as) the waking condition of him. For the same things that one sees when he is awake, even these (he sees) when dreaming. Under these circumstances this man (Spirit) serves for himself as light.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya. I now give your reverence a thousand (cows). From henceforth speak (on that which leads) unto salvation (release).

17. When, in this condition of dream, this (Spirit) has indulged in pleasures, has roamed about, only after he has seen the good (beyond) and the evil (here), according to his way of procedure (his 'rule', particular course of action), according to his origin (i.e. to the particular body which he left), he runs back precisely to the waking condition. And whatever he sees there (in dream), it does not follow after him; for nothing clings to this Spirit.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya. I now give your reverence a thousand (cows). From henceforth speak (on that which leads) unto salvation.

18. Just as a great fish follows along both banks, the nearer and the farther (alternately); even so this Spirit follows along both states, the dream state, and the waking state.

The state of deep and dreamless sleep

19. Just as in the ether here, an eagle, or a falcon, after flying about in various places, being weary, folds its wings and settles down precisely on its nest; just so this Spirit makes for that state in which, asleep, he desires no desire, sees no dream (i.e. the state of deep, dreamless sleep).

20. He has these channels called *Hitā*, as fine as a hair split in a thousand parts,¹ and they are full of white, blue, yellow, green and red. Now whenever (in a dream, as previously described; this resumé of dream-state prepares for the contrast with deep sleep) he seems to be smitten, or overpowered, or an elephant seems to cut him to pieces, or he seems to fall into a pit; whatever he looks upon as a terror when awake, even that in this state (of dream) he looks upon as a terror, through ignorance. On the other hand, (the state) in which (one is) like a king, like a god, one thinks 'I myself am this whole universe' (this describes the closest possible approach, in empiric waking life, to the author's notion of the state of deep sleep)—this (state of deep sleep) is his highest heaven.

¹ By the medium of these channels the Spirit enters the space about the heart and rests there during deep sleep, according to BrhĀrUp. 2.1 (K.) 19 (= M21), etc., where they are 72,000 in number. This is clearly to be understood in this passage, which deals with deep sleep. See also 4.2 above, and 4.4.12 below.

This is temporary union with the Universal Self,

Now when, asleep, he desires no desire and sees no dream, (21) even this is his form (aspect, practically 'state') that desires (only) the Self, that has attained desires, that has no desires. Just as a man who is embraced by a beloved woman knows nothing outer or inner, even so this bodily Self (*ātman*),¹ when it is embraced by the Self consisting-of-intelligence, knows neither outer nor inner.

22. Even this is his form that is beyond desire, that has sloughed off evil, that knows no fear, that is free from sorrow. In this state father is no father, mother no mother, worlds no worlds, gods no gods, Vedas no Vedas, sacrifices no sacrifices (to him): in this state a thief is no thief, a procurer of abortion no procurer of abortion, a Paulkasa no Paulkasa, a Cāṇḍāla no Cāṇḍāla,² a mendicant no mendicant, an ascetic no ascetic. He is unaffected by good, unaffected by evil; for then he has transcended all sorrows of the heart.

*which is the universal subject; hence his senses
cannot operate, there being no object for them*

23. If, then, he does not see—though seeing (having the power of sight), he sees no object of sight. For there cannot be any separation of the seer from sight, since it (or he?) is indestructible. But there is not, then, any second thing, other and separate from him, which he might see.

24-30. [This last paragraph is then repeated in terms of smelling, tasting, addressing, hearing, thinking, touching, and knowing, instead of seeing.]

31. He is (like) water (?),³ the One Seer, with no second. This is realized, the Heaven of the Brāhman, O king!—Thus he said to him.—This is his highest attainment, this is his highest heaven, this is his highest joy; it is just this joy, on a small portion of which other creatures live.

32. Now this (joy) of men which is perfect and prosperous, which is overlord of other (joys), and most richly endowed with all human desires;—this is the highest joy of men.

¹ Kāṇva text: this Spirit.

² These are two very low castes; the second the lowest of outcastes.

³ 'Water' as being pure or transparent? So Deussen, following Śaṅkara. Or, 'ocean' of all being, as being the One into which all beings enter at last, as all rivers enter into the ocean (cf. Ch.U. 6.10)? The word may also be taken as a locative (so Senart; 'au milieu de l'océan') case rather than a nominative, meaning 'in the water, or the ocean'.

33. But a hundred joys of men are one joy of the ancestors ('Fathers', Manes) who have won heaven.

34-38. But a hundred joys of the ancestors who have won heaven are one joy in the Gandharva heaven.¹

But a hundred joys in the Gandharva heaven are one joy of the karma-gods, who have attained unto godhood by karma (i.e. by ritual works).

But a hundred joys of the karma-gods are one joy of the gods from birth [and of one who is a scholar in the Veda, free from guile, and not affected by desire].²

But a hundred joys of the gods from birth are one joy in the Heaven of Prajāpati [and of one who is a scholar in the Veda, free from guile, and not affected by desire].²

39. But a hundred joys in the Heaven of Prajāpati are one joy in the Heaven of Brāhman [and of one who is a scholar in the Veda, free from guile, and not affected by desire].² This is the Heaven of Brāhman, O king!—Thus he instructed him.—This is immortality (or: nectar)! I now give your reverence a thousand (cows). From henceforth speak (on that which leads) unto salvation.—

Return from deep sleep to waking state

40. When, in this condition of peace, this (Spirit) has indulged in pleasure, has roamed about, has seen good and evil, according to his way of procedure (as above, 17) according to his origin (as above, 17) he returns again to the waking condition. And whatever he sees there (in deep sleep), it does not follow after him; for nothing clings to this Spirit.—Just so it is, Yājñavalkya. I now give your reverence a thousand (cows). From henceforth speak (on that which leads) unto salvation.—

The soul's approach to death

41. Then Yājñavalkya became afraid (thinking): The king is clever; he has driven me out of all my conclusions.—(He continued): When one wastes away (literally 'goes to thinness'), it is on account of either old age or afflicting (disease) that he wastes away. Just as a mango or fig or peepal fruit is released from its stem, even so this corporeal Self is released from these members and returns according to its way of pro-

¹ In this and the following sentences the Kāṇva text's reading is adopted.

² The clause in parenthesis seems to be an unintelligent ritualistic addition which spoils the passage, though it is found in both versions.

cedure, according to its origin (as above)—namely, to nothing but the (life-) breath.

42. Now just as a wagon when it is completely loaded starts out creaking, just so this corporeal Self, when the Intelligent Self (cf. 4.4.2, 3) has mounted upon it, starts out creaking.

43. Now just as when a king arrives his nobles, responsible heirs, marshals, and chief men of the towns prepare for him with food, drink, and lodging, saying: Here he comes, here he arrives!—just so all the elements¹ (of the body, viz. the vital powers or sense-faculties and their material objects) prepare for him who has this knowledge, saying: Here (at the time of approaching death) comes the Brāhman, here he arrives!

The vital powers gather together as death approaches

44. Now just as when a king intends to set out on a journey² his nobles, responsible heirs, marshals and chief men of the towns gather together unto him, just so all the vital powers (*prāṇāḥ*) gather together unto this Self at the time of death,³ when he is on the point of breathing forth (his life) upward.

FOURTH CHAPTER OF FOURTH BOOK

The state of coma before death

1. Now when this corporeal Self becomes weak and enters a state of seeming insensibility, then these vital powers (*prāṇāḥ*; here the various

¹ *bhūtāni* as in Kauṣītaki Up. 3.4, end, where the commentary correctly glosses *vāgādīni saviṣayāni* (the list, for our passage, is given in 4.4.2 below). Only Hertel has seen the importance of KauṣUp. 3.3-5 for this entire passage, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.41 to 4.4.3. But even Hertel, like all others, fails to see that *coma* (4.4.1-2) comes before death (4.4.3). And hence he is not quite right here; 4.3.43 does not refer to the beginning of an existence, but to entrance into coma before death. At this time, the bodily powers attend him, preparing to depart with him. The word *evamvidam* 'who has this knowledge' has caused trouble, and is a trifle over-precise; really everyone, not merely the *evamvid*, is Brāhman, cf. 4.4.6. But the specific statement of identity with Brāhman seems especially true of the *evamvid*; hence the author puts the word in. Only the 'knowing' soul is welcomed as Brāhman in the fullest sense.

² The same word (*pra-i, pra-yā*) means also 'to die'.

³ Instead of 'this Self at the time of death' (so the Kāṇva text) the Mādhyamīna text reads 'one who has this knowledge'; see note 1, p. 159. The word *evamvid* is perhaps no more inappropriate here than in 43, really; but (at least to the Kāṇva redactor) it seems here more acutely evident that we are dealing as yet only with the unenlightened soul.

organic functions) gather together unto it. It takes unto itself those particles of radiance¹ and departs into the Heart.

2. Now when this Spirit (*puruṣa*) of the Eye, leaving (the eye), turns away from it (to the Bodily Self in the heart), then he (the dying man) becomes incapable of distinguishing forms. He is unified: and they say, he cannot see.² He is unified, and they say, he cannot smell. He is unified, and they say, he cannot taste. He is unified, and they say, he cannot speak. He is unified, and they say, he cannot hear. He is unified, and they say, he cannot think. He is unified, and they say, he cannot touch. He is unified, and they say, he cannot understand.

Death of the unemancipated Soul

3. Now the tip of this heart becomes illuminated (by the 'particles of radiance', 4.4.1). By this light this Self (*ātman*) departs, either from the eye, or from the head, or from other parts of the body. When it departs the life (-breath; *prāṇa*) departs along with it; and when the life (-breath) departs all the vital powers (of the several organs, which have previously been united with it, in the state of coma; the word used is *prāṇāḥ*) depart along with it. It is simply consciousness (*saṃjñāna*, which must mean or include the *prāṇa* and the several *prāṇas*)³ that

¹ *tejomātrāḥ*; this has been wrongly thought to refer to the cooling of the body after death. Only coma, not death, is here described; death comes with the next paragraph but one. The 'particles of radiance' are to be compared with the 'sparks from a blazing fire' (*agner jvalataḥ . . . viśphuliṅgāḥ*) to which the *prāṇāḥ* are compared in KauṣUp. 3.3; there, when man awakens from deep and dreamless sleep (= temporary union with the One), they 'go forth in all directions from this self (*ātman*) to their several stations (*yathāyatanam*), and from them the *devas* (comm. *agnyādayaḥ*, i.e. the generalized physical elements), and from these the *lokāḥ* (comm. *nāmādayo viśayāḥ*, the objects of the senses).' In our passage, it is made clear that these 'sparks' or 'bits of light' also return to the *ātman* in coma (as, naturally, in deep sleep). They are simply the *prāṇas* (the organic functions, vital powers, or senses, perhaps along with the objects of sense), listed in the next paragraph. See note 1, p. 159.

² This passage, like the preceding, has been wrongly taken to refer to death, but it still applies to coma, preceding death. This is said to be caused by the withdrawal of all the vital functions (*prāṇāḥ*) of the several organs (as for instance, the 'Spirit of the Eye', *cākṣuṣaḥ puruṣāḥ*) from the organs in which they have resided; this leaves the organs incapable of activity, though death has not yet occurred. The vital powers assemble and join the 'corporeal Self' in the heart, being thus 'unified' in the centre of the body. It is to the 'corporeal Self', of which the 'life' (*prāṇa*) is the base (4.3.41), and with which it is now united (*ibid.*)—or (with the close parallel KauṣUp. 3) to the *prāṇa* itself—that the various vital powers of the several organs now likewise 'return', attending the Self as courtiers attend a king (4.3.44).

³ Cf. KauṣUp. 3.4, end, where it is definitely stated that *prāṇa* = *prajāñ* (which = *saṃjñāna* here).

follows along with it; this same (Self) becomes knowing, endowed with intelligence (*viññāna*).¹ His knowledge and (past) deeds and memory ('knowledge of the past') take hold of him.

Rebirth of the unemancipated Soul

4. Then just as a grass leech, when it comes to the end of a blade of grass,² gathers itself up together (to go over to something else), even so this Spirit, when it has rid itself of this body and cast off ignorance,² gathers itself up together (to go over to another body).

5. Just as an embroiderer takes off a part from an embroidered garment and weaves for himself another, newer and more beautiful, pattern, even so this Spirit, when it has rid itself of this body and cast off ignorance, weaves for itself another newer³ form—either of a departed spirit (*pītar*) or of a gandharva or of (an inhabitant of) Brahma('s world) or of (an inhabitant of) Prajāpati('s world) or of a god or of a man or from other creatures.⁴

The law of karma governs rebirth

6. Now this Self (*ātman*), verily, is Brāhman. It is composed of intelligence, thought, speech, life (vital power or breath), sight, hearing, ether, wind, heat (fire), water, earth, anger and non-anger, joy and non-joy, right and non-right; it is composed of everything (i.e. contains everything within itself, because it is identical with the Brāhman or Soul of the universe). Now whenever it is composed of this thing or of that thing,—however it acts, however it operates, so it becomes (in the next life). Acting well it becomes good; acting ill it becomes evil. As a result of right action it becomes what is good; as a result of evil action it becomes what is evil.

7. Now in this connection they say: This Spirit (man, *puruṣa*) consists simply of desire. As is his desire, so is his resolve; as is his resolve, so is the deed he does; as is the deed he does, so is that which he attains unto.

8. So there is this verse:

That upon which his characteristic mark (tag, namely) his thought,

¹ So Mādhyamīna text; perhaps better with Kāṇva text for this sentence: 'He becomes endowed with intelligence, and only what is (likewise) endowed with intelligence departs along with him'.

² Kāṇva text adds 'making another approach'.

³ Kāṇva text adds 'and more beautiful'.

⁴ Instead of 'from', perhaps 'for' = 'so as to become' (other creatures). Kāṇva text: 'of a departed spirit or of a gandharva or of a god or of Prajāpati (as above) or of Brahma (as above) or of other creatures'.

is intent—being just that, man goes unto that along with deeds.¹ Having come to the end of (the effects of) that action, of all whatsoever he does in *this* world, he returns again from that world (beyond) unto this world, unto action.²

Destiny of the emancipated Soul

So far one who is desirous. Now one who no longer desires. He who is desireless, who is without desire, who desires (only) the Self, who has attained his desires—from him the vital powers (of the body) do not mount upward; they are collected together right in him.³ Being just the Bráhmaṇ, unto the Bráhmaṇ he (the Soul) arrives.

9. Now on this there is this verse:

When all desires are expelled, which lurk within his heart, then a mortal becomes immortal; he attains the Bráhmaṇ here (in this world).

10. Just as the slough of a snake lies dead, thrown down upon an ant-hill, even so this body lies (dead). Then this boneless, bodiless, intelligent Self (*ātman*) is just the Bráhmaṇ—is just Heaven, O king! Thus said Yājñavalkya.—I now give your reverence a thousand (cows)! Thus said Janaka of Videha.

11. Now in this connection there are these verses:

Narrow is the way—penetrating (Kāṇva text 'extended'), ancient; it has reached unto me,⁴ by me likewise has it been discovered; by this way the wise knowers of the Bráhmaṇ, rising upward, arrive at the heavenly world, released from this world.

12. Therein, they say, is white and blue, yellow, green, and red⁵ (fluid); this way was discovered, verily, by the Bráhmaṇ; on it travels the Bráhmaṇ-knower, the radiant, and the doer of right.

¹ So Mādhyamīna text; but Kāṇva: 'The man who is attached (to objects of desire) goes, along with his deeds, precisely to that upon which his characteristic mark, his thought, is intent.'

² This verse seems to hold that the working-out of karma, deed, occurs in some supernatural existence, not 'in this world', thus differing from the classical Hindu belief. The preceding prose passage may be interpreted in this sense too, though it is not clear. Even if *mānuṣaṃ vā* 'or of a man' at the end of 5 (but not in Kāṇva) is original, the form of a 'man' may have been thought possible in a supernatural world (not necessarily on this earth).

³ The last clause is omitted in the Kāṇva text.

⁴ On the active use of past passive participles of transitive verbs see Speyer, Sanskrit Syntax, §360.

⁵ Reference is made to the *hitā* channels leading to the heart; as shown in note 1 on 4.3.20, the soul goes by them into deep sleep, which is a temporary union with Bráhmaṇ; and so here into permanent union.

13. Into blind darkness enter they who are devoted to not-coming-into-being (who believe in no rebirth); into what seems even greater darkness than that, those who take delight in coming-into-being (who crave rebirth, further existence).¹

14. Those worlds are called the demons' worlds; they are enveloped in blind darkness. Ignorant, foolish folk enter into them after death.

15. Being just that, even that we become;² dire disaster comes to him who knows it not!³ Those who know it become immortal; on the other hand the others attain naught but suffering.

16. If a man should well understand the Self, saying 'I am It'—seeking after what, for desire of what, should he pursue (Kāṇva, crave after, be troubled about) the body?

17. He who has found and awakened his Self, that is entered into this thicket of a bodily mold (impenetrable bodily complex), he is the All-creator; for he is the Maker of everything. Heaven is his; nay rather, he *is* Heaven outright!

18. When one looks upon this, the Self, directly as God, the Lord of past and future, then he shall not falter.

19. That Self, in which the five-fold creatures⁴ and the ether have their foundation, even that I, intelligent and immortal, hold for the immortal Brāhman.

20. On this side of whom⁵ the year revolves with the days, that the gods worship as the light of lights—yes, as life, as immortality.

21. The life (-power) of life (-power), the eye of the eye likewise, and the ear of the ear, the food of food, the mind of mind⁶—those who

¹ Kāṇva text: 'into blind darkness enter they who are devoted to ignorance (the vulgar common folk); into what seems even greater darkness than that, those who delight in (orthodox, traditional) learning' (cf. 23 below).

² Cf. 8 above. Kāṇva text: 'Even while still in this world, we yet know this'.

³ Read with mss. *avedī* (n. sg. of *a-vedin*); Kāṇva *avedir* (which perhaps means the same thing; quasi-Prakritic n sg. of *a-vedin*? as commonly in BHS; but commonly taken to mean 'ignorance', stem *a-vedī* which is otherwise unknown). 'If not, (he is) ignorant (Kāṇva possibly: [there is] ignorance), a great disaster'. The Kenopaniṣad 13 has *avedin* (*na ced ihāvedin mah*^o), aorist. This may be the original reading of the verse: 'if he has not known (or found) this'.

⁴ Gods, men, gandharvas and apsarases, serpents, departed ancestors; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 3.31.

⁵ Cf. RV. 10.129.6; or, 'before whose face'.

⁶ See Oertel, *Satyasya satyam* (Sitzungsber. Bayr. Akad. 1937, Heft 3), 16 f.

know this, they have understood the Brāhman, the ancient, the primal.

By the mind alone must it be understood, that there is nothing manifold in this world. (22). Death after death¹ attains he who thinks he sees manifoldness in this world.

That imperishable, constant one must be perceived only with the mind; (23) (it is) the unborn, great, constant Self, free from impurity, higher than the ether.

A man of insight, a brāhmaṇa, by understanding this (Self) should make knowledge for himself. Let him not muse on many words; for that is only wearing out the voice.

No law of karma exists for the emancipated Soul

24. Now it is this Self² that is the controller of all, the lord of all, the sovereign of all; it governs all this universe, whatever is at all. It becomes not greater by good deed, nor less by evil deed. It is overlord of creatures;³ it is the lord of the world(s); it is the guardian of the world(s); it is the dyke that holds apart these worlds, lest they should crash together (i.e. it keeps the world order from falling into chaos).

25. This it is which they seek to know through repetition of the Vedas, through celibate life, through asceticism, through faith, through sacrifice, and through fasting. When one knows this he becomes a Muni (silent sage). This it is which wandering ascetics seek as their heavenly world when they wander forth as ascetics.

26. Therefore those Brāhmaṇas of old, learned and wise, desired no offspring, thinking: What shall we do with offspring, we who possess this Self, this (equivalent of the) Heavenly World (which is the traditional object of begetting sons)?—Abandoning both the desire for sons and the desire for possessions and the desire for heaven, they wandered forth a-begging. For the desire for sons is the same as the desire for possessions, and the desire for possessions is the same as the desire for heaven; for both are nothing but desires.⁴

¹ Oldenberg, *Lehre der Upaniṣaden* 92 with n. 1, 'death of death', intensifying; but Oertel, *Satyasya satyam*, p. 25 f., prefers the usual interpretation 'death after death' (*mṛtyoḥ* abl.), which on the whole seems preferable.

² Kāṇva text expanded: 'this great unborn Self, which, composed of intelligence, is within the vital powers, which lies in this ether (or space) that is within the heart'.— It may be worth noting that this prose passage *could* link directly with the prose of 10; are the intervening verses an insertion? However a direct reference to the last verse (23) is also possible.

³ Or perhaps 'of the elements of the body' as in 4.3.43.

⁴ Cf. 3.4 above.

27. This Self is (simply described as) 'Not, not'. It is ungraspable, for it is not grasped. It is indestructible, for it is not destroyed. It has no attachment, and is unfastened; it is not attached, and (yet) is not unsteady. For it, immortal, passes beyond both these two states (in which one thinks) 'For this reason¹ I have done evil', 'For this reason I have done good'. It is not disturbed by good or evil things that are done or left undone; its heaven is not lost by any deed.

28. This is meant by this verse:

This is the constant greatness of the brāhmaṇa (knower of brāhman); he increases not nor becomes less by deed. This (greatness) it is, the basis of which one should seek to find; having found it, one is not stained by evil deed.

He is the Brāhman

Therefore one who knows this, becoming pacified,² controlled, at peace, patient, full of faith,³ should see the Self in the Self alone. He looks upon everyone as it. Everyone comes to be his Self; he becomes the Self of everyone. He passes over all evil; evil does not pass over him. He subdues all evil; evil does not subdue him. He is free from evil, free from age (Kāṇva from impurity), free from hunger (Kāṇva from doubt), free from thirst (Kāṇva omits), a Brāhmaṇa, whoso has this knowledge.

29. This verily is that great unborn Self, the eater of (sacrificial) food, the giver of wealth (i.e. who has the functions of the Vedic gods). Whosoever knows thus this great unborn Self, the eater of food, the giver of wealth, he finds wealth.⁴

30. This is that great unborn Self, ageless, deathless, fearless, immortal—the Brāhman. You have attained fearlessness, O Janaka! Thus spoke Yājñavalkya.—I now give unto your reverence the Videhas, and myself too along with them, in servitude.—

¹ That is, to get some selfish object; so Śaṅkara, *ato 'smān nimittāc charitradhāraṇādīhetoh*.—Kāṇva is verbally different here; it begins: *etam u haivaite na tarata ity (ataḥ pāpam akaravam, etc.)*, 'these two (notions, or conditions) do not pass over (overcome) him., viz . . .'.
² Mādhyamdina *śrānta*, normally 'wearied', acc. to Hindu lexicons may = *śānta* 'pacified'; this meaning seems necessary, and Kāṇva reads *śānto*; perhaps *śrānto* is an old error, which may have led to the lexical statement.
³ For this Kāṇva *samāhito* 'concentrated' (as in yoga).
⁴ Kāṇva text varies considerably in this and the following, chiefly however in the order of the sentences.

31. This is that great unborn Self, ageless, deathless, fearless, immortal, the Bráhmaṇ. The Bráhmaṇ, in sooth, is fearlessness; fearlessness surely he becomes, he becomes Bráhmaṇ, who has such knowledge.

FIFTH CHAPTER OF FOURTH BOOK
Dialogue of Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī

1. Now Yājñavalkya had two wives, Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī. Of these two Maitreyī was fond of theological discussion, but Kātyāyanī was, as one might say (Kāṇva, 'was only') of feminine intelligence. He, being about to change his mode of life—

2. Said Yājñavalkya: Maitreyī, behold, I am going to depart from this place as a wandering ascetic. Look, I will make a division between you and Kātyāyanī here.

3. Said Maitreyī: Pray, sir, if all this world filled with riches were mine, should I by that be immortal, or not?—No, said Yājñavalkya; just as is the life of people of means, even so would be your life; but there is no hope for immortality through riches.

4. Said Maitreyī: What should I then do with that by which I could not become immortal? Tell me rather, sir, all that you know.

5. Said Yājñavalkya: Of course you are dear to me, madam, and (naturally) you have acted in a manner dear to me.¹ Well then, madam, I will explain and expound this to you. But do you weigh my words carefully while I am expounding it.—Speak, sir!—

The Self is the only thing that counts

6. Said Yājñavalkya: Behold, not for the love of husband is husband dear to one, but for the love of the ātman is husband dear. Behold, not for the love of wife is wife dear to one, but for the love of the ātman is wife dear . . . [And so on: with 'sons', 'possessions', 'the brahman caste', 'the warrior caste', 'worlds', 'gods', 'Vedas', 'sacrifices', 'creatures', 'everything'.] . . . Behold, the ātman is that which is to be seen, heard, thought, and meditated upon, Maitreyī. Behold, in seeing, hearing, thinking, and understanding the ātman, everything is known.

¹ Kāṇva text, 'you have added to what is dear (or pleasing, sc. to me in you)'. In the corresponding passage at 2.4.4, both texts have 'you speak what pleases me'.

7. The brahman caste renounces him who thinks the brahman caste anything other than the ātman. The warrior caste renounces him who thinks the warrior caste anything other than the ātman . . . [And so on: with 'the worlds', 'the gods', 'the Vedas', 'the sacrifices', 'the creatures', 'everything'.] This is the brahman caste, this is the warrior caste, this is the worlds, this is the gods, this is the Vedas, this is the sacrifices, this is the creatures, this is everything—namely the ātman.

No ultimate reality in individual existences

8. It is just as one could not grasp the sounds of a drum that is struck when they have left it; but by grasping the drum, or the one who beats it, the sound is grasped.¹

9. It is just as one could not grasp the sounds of a lute that is played when they have left it; but by grasping the lute, or its player, the sound is grasped.

10. It is just as one could not grasp the sounds of a horn that is blown when they have left it; but by grasping the horn, or its blower, the sound is grasped.

They all emanate from the One

11. It is just as when a fire has been laid with wet kindling wood, its clouds of smoke go forth severally in different directions; behold, just so this is the exhalation of that Great Being; namely the Rig Veda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvans-and-āṅgirasas (Atharva Veda), the Itihāsas and Purāṇas (legends and tales), the sciences, the Upaniṣads, the verses, the Sūtras, the explanations and commentaries; (sacrificial) gifts, oblations, food, drink; both this world and the world beyond, and all creatures; all these are exclusively Its exhalations.

12. It is just as the sea is the sole locality of all water; thus the skin is the sole locality of all touchings, thus the nostrils are the sole locality of all smells, thus the tongue is the sole locality of all tastes, thus the eye is the sole locality of all forms (sights), thus the ear is the sole locality of all sounds, thus the thought-organ is the sole locality of all resolves, thus the heart is the sole locality of all sciences, thus the hands are the sole locality of all deeds, thus the feet are the sole locality of all journeys, thus the genital organ is the sole locality of all delights, thus the anus is

¹ That is, individual existences are no more real than the separate existence of the sounds of a drum, as apart from the drum and the beater of it; just so individual existences are mere emanations of the ātman and only as such have they any reality.

the sole locality of all evacuations, thus speech is the sole locality of all Vedas.¹

And dissolve into the One

13. It is just as a lump of salt, which has no interior and no exterior, but is as a whole just a mass of flavour; even so this Great Element² has no boundaries, no limits,³ but as a whole is just a mass of intelligence. Arising out of these elements, it disappears (dissolves) into the same. After death there is no consciousness, lo, I say! said Yājñavalkya.⁴

Hence, when all has become One, the immortal soul—

14. Then said Maitreyī: Just here you have brought me into a state of confusion, reverend sir; I do not understand this, when you say that after death there is no consciousness.

¹ Following the Kāṇva text I read thus instead of associating the Vedas with the heart and 'sciences' (*vidyā*) with speech, as the Mādhyamīna text reads. Vāc, speech, is a fundamentally theological conception; it means Holy Speech. It is therefore natural to associate it with the Vedas rather than with the 'sciences', while there is no point in the other arrangement. And the heart is elsewhere thought of as the seat of knowledge, or at least of intelligence, as is sufficiently shown by the article *hṛdaya* in Boehtlingk and Roth's lexicon. This paragraph ought to end 'So the ātman is the sole locality of all things'. Perhaps the author thought this clear enough to be understood.

² Kāṇva, this Self.

³ Kāṇva, has no interior, no exterior.

⁴ This seems to mean that separate consciousness, perceptible by itself like the lump of salt, ceases when it, like the salt after dissolution (in water; this is not stated here), dissolves into the universal one; hence 'there is no (perceptible) consciousness after death'. But probably the original form of the passage is that of BrhĀrUp. 2.4.12 (note that this is to some extent confirmed by ChU. 6.13, which at least shows that the comparison of the All-One to salt *dissolved in water* was otherwise known): 'It is just as when a lump of salt is cast into water, it would be dissolved into nothing but water. There would seem to be (*iva*) no getting of it out; but from wheresoever one might take, it would always be salt. Just so, I say, this Great Element (the *ātman*), without boundary or limit, is nothing but a mass of intelligence. Arising out of these elements, it disappears (dissolves) into the same. After death there is no (separable, distinguishable) consciousness, lo, I say! said Yājñavalkya.' Comment: There is (demonstrable, perceptible, realizable) consciousness only when there is *duality*, i.e. when the lump of salt (= the Great Element, 'a solid mass of intelligence') is separate from the other elements (as water), from which it evolved (out of the Primal Undifferentiated One, as salt out of sea-water), and into which it will be dissolved again. After death, although the faculty of consciousness is there (as dissolved salt in water), there 'seems to be no way of getting it out', so that one may say there is no (operation of) consciousness, because there is no duality.—It is precisely the *separation* of the solid lump of salt (= intelligence or consciousness) from the other elements (water) that makes it perceptible, realizable, in relation to other things.

15. Then said Yājñavalkya: I say nothing confusing; this ātman is imperishable, its nature is indestructible; but it has association with matter (up to release, after which this and all duality cease).¹

cannot exercise its faculties, for lack of a separate object

24. (For 16-23, see footnote 1, p. 169). If there were, as one might say, something else (than the One),² then one would see something³ else, one would smell something else, one would taste something else, one would address something else, one would hear something else, one would think on something else, one would touch something else, one would know something else.

25. But when all of This (or, of him) has become just the ātman, then by what means should It see—whom? By what means should It smell—whom? By what means should It taste—whom? By what means should It address—whom? By what means should It hear—whom? By what means should It think on—whom? By what means should It touch—whom? By what means should It know—whom? By what means could one know that by which All This (universe) knows?⁴ By what means, I say, could one know the Knower? Now the lesson has been declared to you, Maitreyī. This, I say, is all there is on the subject of immortality.—Having spoken thus Yājñavalkya entered upon the life of a wandering ascetic.

[The book ends, in 26-27, with a list of teachers who have handed down this doctrine.]

End of Fourth Book

¹ According to Deussen, understanding *mātrā-asamsargah*, 'it has no association with matter (after death)'. This is a much easier reading, but the sam̐dhi-ambiguity is on that assumption hard to accept as part of the original text. Kāṇva text lacks the phrase altogether; and BṛhĀrUp. 2.4 substitutes a much shorter version for the whole sentence.—Here the Mādhyam̐dina text only (neither recension in 2.4) inserts (as 16-23) a repetition of 4.3.23-30. It fits this place extremely well; yet its non-occurrence in the other three versions (Kāṇva here and both in 2.4) seems to make it unlikely that it is original. It may however be noted that 4.5.24-25 contains, in 4.5.24, in both recensions, a fuller list of the sense faculties than 2.4.15 has in either recension (taste and touch are included here, not in 2.4); since 4.3.23-30 contains the fuller list, it might be suggested that this full list (even in Kāṇva in 4.5.24-25) is related to the Mādhyam̐dina inclusion of 4.3.23-30 here.

² Kāṇva text here, and both recensions at 2.4.15, 'a duality'.

³ Kāṇva 'someone', and so in the following.

⁴ *idaṃ sarvaṃ* subject, not object as usually taken; general sense favours this, and the following sentence clinches it. In the Kāṇva text, to be sure, that following sentence is separated from this by an insertion (*sa hi neti neti*, etc., 3.9.28, etc.). But in 2.4 both recensions lack this, which seems clearly a secondary and disturbing intrusion.

CHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD, CHAPTER 6

This is a very noteworthy passage; it contains the celebrated 'That art thou!' (*tat tvam asi*), which later Vedānta philosophers (notably Śaṅkara) regard as a sort of quintessence of their monistic doctrine. It stands quite by itself in the Upaniṣad, without any connection with the preceding or following parts thereof.

Uddālaka's instruction to his son on that by knowing which, all becomes known

1. Śvetaketu was the son of (Uddālaka) the son of Aruṇa. His father said to him: Śvetaketu, take up the brahman student's life. Surely, my dear, one of our family does not live without educating himself, as if a mere onhanger of the brahmanhood.

At the age of twelve he began his studies, and at the age of twenty-four he returned home, having studied all the Vedas, conceited, deeming himself learned, puffed up.

His father said to him: Śvetaketu, my dear, since now you are conceited, deem yourself learned, are puffed up, I presume you must also have asked about that rule by which what is (hitherto) unheard becomes heard, what is unthought thought, and what is understood understood?

How, pray, is that rule, reverend sir? said he.—As, my dear, by one clod of earth everything made of earth would be understood: the appellation (of individual manifestations; of any particular product of earth) is a verbal handle, a modification;¹ the real truth is simply 'earth'.

As, my dear, by one copper ornament (or, amulet) everything made of copper would be understood: the appellation (of individual manifestations; of any particular product of copper) is a verbal handle, a modification; the real truth is simply 'copper'.

As, my dear, by one nail-cutter everything that is made of iron would be understood: the appellation (of individual manifestations; of any particular product of iron) is a verbal handle, a modification; the real truth is simply 'iron'. So, my dear, is that rule.

Surely those reverend gentlemen did not know this. For if they had known this, how would they not have told it to me? But do *you*, reverend sir, explain it to me.—Very well, my dear, said he.

¹ Of the ultimate, underlying reality, here 'earth'; the 'appellation' or 'name' implies also the thing itself, that which constitutes the individual thing 'made of earth'.

2. The existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning, one alone, without a second. Now some¹ say: The non-existent only was this universe in the beginning, one alone, without a second; from that non-existent the existent was born.²

But how—surely you must see—could it be so, my dear? said he.—How could the existent be born from the non-existent, as they say? On the contrary, the existent only, my dear, was this universe in the beginning, one alone, without a second.

It considered: Let me be many, let me propagate myself. It created (or, emitted) heat. That heat considered: Let me be many, let me propagate myself. It created water. Therefore, wherever it is hot, a man surely sweats, just because of the heat; on this basis water is produced.

That water considered: Let me be many, let me propagate myself. It created food. Therefore, wherever it rains, right there abundant food arises, just because of the water; on this basis a feast of food is produced.

3. As everyone knows, there are just three origins of creatures here in the world; they are egg-born, live-born, or sprout-born.³

This above-mentioned potency⁴ considered: Look now! entering in throughout these three potencies with this living self,⁵ let me differentiate name-and-form (=individuality, of empiric existing things). Let me (to this end) make each one of them (the three potencies) to be combined-in-(various)-triads.⁶

This above-mentioned potency, entering in throughout these three potencies with this very living self (of each one), differentiated name-and-form. It made each one of them to be combined in triads (with the other two).

But in what way, my dear, as you will clearly see, these three potencies become each combined in triads (with the other two), that learn of me, he said.

¹ RV. 10.72.2, 3; 10.129.4.

² *jāyata* seems to be the true reading; unaugmented imperfect, cf. Vedic Variants I, sections 7-9 and 264 ff.

³ The 'heat' of incubation hatches eggs; mammals are suggested as born of the 'water' in the embryo-sack, out of which the new-born child comes; plants are 'sprout-born', i.e. from 'food'. Thus each type of creature derives from one of the three first evolvents of the Existent. They are named in the order of the preceding paragraph.

⁴ The Existent. Literally, 'this divinity'; but I think the author means something less personal.

⁵ Of each one (heat, water, and food, each of which, as just stated, produced one type of living thing). Not 'with *my* (the Existent's) living self', as commonly understood.

⁶ As the 3 × 3 Verses of Rig Veda 9.11 may be combined in ritual recitation; this is called the *trivṛt stoma*, the triply combining chant.

4. The red form of fire, that is the form of heat; the white, of water; the black, of food. The fire-quality (what constitutes the independent individuality of fire) has gone from fire; the appellation ('fire'; note 1, p. 170) is a verbal handle, a modification (of the underlying reality); the real truth is simply the three forms.

The red form of the sun (etc., as above).

The red form of the moon (etc.).

The red form of lightning (etc.).

This, in very truth, is that which the wise men said, great householders of old and great knowers of the Word. For from these (three forms) they knew: Now no one shall adduce anything to us unheard, unthought, ununderstood.

On the contrary, whatsoever was said to present itself as seeming red, that they knew was the form of heat. Whatsoever . . . as seeming white . . . of water. Whatsoever . . . as seeming black . . . of food.

Whatsoever was said to present itself as seeming undifferentiated (in colour), that they knew was a conglomerate of these same potencies (heat, water, food).

Now in what way, my dear, as you will see, these three potencies in coming into man become each combined in triads, that learn of me, he said.

5. Food, when it is eaten, is divided into three parts: the heaviest (coarsest) element becomes excrement, the middle element flesh, the finest (lightest) element thought-organ.

Water, when it is drunk, is divided into three parts: the heaviest (coarsest) element of it becomes urine, the middle element blood, the finest (lightest) element breath.

Heat, when it is eaten, is divided into three parts: the heaviest (coarsest) element of it becomes bone, the middle element marrow, the finest (lightest) element speech.

For the thought-organ, my dear, is composed of food, breath of water, and speech of heat.—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.¹

6. ²When sour milk is churned, my dear, the finest (lightest) part of it moves up to the top and becomes butter.

Exactly so, you see, my dear, when food is eaten, the finest part of it moves up to the top and becomes thought-organ.

¹ It is implied that excrement, urine, and bone form a unitary group; and so flesh, blood, and marrow, and thought-organ, breath, and speech.

² Answer to a possible objection: how can the three simple and homogeneous 'potencies' (principles or elements) come to have different parts?

When water is drunk, my dear the finest part of it moves up to the top and becomes breath.

When heat is eaten, my dear, the finest part of it moves up to the top and becomes speech.

For the thought-organ, my dear, is composed of food, breath of water, and speech of heat.—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

7. Man, my dear, consists of sixteen parts.¹ Do not eat for fifteen days; drink water as you like; the (life-) breath is composed of water, and will be cut off if one does not drink (or, will not be cut off if one drinks).

For fifteen days he did not eat. Then he waited upon him, saying: Reverend sir, what shall I recite?—The hymns of praise (Rig Veda), my dear; the sacrificial formulas (Yajurveda), the chants (Sāmaveda).—Said he: They do not occur to me at all.

He said to him: As if, my dear, a great fire had been kindled, and of it there were only one coal left (burning), the size of a firefly, by that (coal) it would not burn, either, more than (to the extent of) that (coal), (or, by that it would not then burn much either); even so, my dear, of your sixteen parts, there will be only one part left; with it you do not now remember the Vedas. Eat!

Then you shall learn from me.—He ate. Then he waited upon him. And whatever thing he asked him, he answered every one. He said to him:

As if, my dear, a great fire had been kindled, and of it there were only one coal left (burning), the size of a firefly, and one were to heap it up with grass and make it burn therewith, by that (kindling) it would burn more than (the extent of) that (coal), too (or, by that it would then burn much, too).

Even so, my dear, of your sixteen parts, there was one part left; it was heaped up with food, and blazed up; with it now you remember the Vedas. For the thought-organ, my dear, is composed of food, breath of water, and speech of heat.—This, verily, of him he learned, he learned.

On sleep, hunger, thirst, and death

8. Uddālaka son of Aruṇa said unto his son Śvetaketu: Learn from me, my dear, the nature of sleep. When man here is said to 'sleep', then, my dear, he is united with the Existent; he has entered into his

¹ Praśna Upaniṣad 6.4 gives a fanciful and unilluminating list of the 16 parts of man; it is hardly worth quoting. Other vague references and parallels are cited by Deussen, *Sechzig Upaniṣads*, 570 ff., and Hume, *Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, 388 n.1.

own (*svam-apīta*); therefore they say, 'he sleeps' (*svapīti*), since he has entered into his own.

Just as a bird tied by a string flies in one direction after another, and finding no resting-place elsewhere alights right on the place where it is tied; precisely so, you see, my dear, this thought-organ flies in one direction after another, and finding no resting-place elsewhere alights right on the life-breath; for the thought-organ is fastened to the life-breath, my dear.¹

Learn from me about hunger and thirst, my dear. When man here is said to be 'hungry', that means that water is leading away (removing) what he has eaten. So just as they say 'cow-leader', 'horse-leader', 'man-leader',² thus they call his water 'food-leader' (*aśa-nāyā* 'hunger'). In this case, my dear, understand that this is a result³ produced; it will not be without a cause.

Where should its cause be, except food? Precisely so, you see, my dear, by food as result look to water as cause; by water, my dear, as result look to heat as cause; by heat, my dear, as result look to the Existent as cause. All creatures here, my dear, have the Existent as their cause (root), the Existent as their resting-place, the Existent as their foundation.

Now then, when man here is said to be 'thirsty', that means that heat is leading away (removing) what he has drunk. So just as they say 'cow-leader', 'horse-leader', 'man-leader', thus they call his heat 'water-leader'.⁴ In this case, my dear, understand just as before that this is a result produced; it will not be without a cause.⁵

Where should its cause be, except water? By water, my dear, as result, look to heat as cause; by heat, my dear, as result, look to the Existent as cause. All creatures here, my dear, have the Existent as their cause (root), the Existent as their resting-place, the Existent as their foundation. But as to how these three potencies in coming into Man become each combined in triads, that, my dear, has already been explained above (Section 5). When man here is dying, my dear, his speech enters into his thought-organ, thought-organ into life-breath,

¹ Cf. later in this section, and paragraph 15 below.

² Compounds of *nāya* 'leader' (Rig Veda, and authorized by Pāṇini). The word 'hunger' is *aśanāyā*; modern scholars would not accept the analysis of it given here. There is a root *aś* 'to eat', but no *aśa* 'food' exists.

³ Literally, a bud-sheath, calyx; in this figurative meaning not known outside of this passage; but the word for 'root', which is here used for 'cause', is familiar in that sense. 'This' (calyx, or result) is commonly assumed to mean 'the body'; but perhaps rather 'the state of hunger', caused by food that has been carried off.

⁴ *udā-nyā*, a very rare word meaning 'thirst'; *uda* 'water', regarded here as compounded with a form of the root of *nāya* 'leader', above. Actually, the word derives from a Vedic stem *udan* 'water' with suffixal *-yā*.

⁵ Footnote 3, p. 174 applies here too.

life-breath into heat, heat into the supreme potency (the Existent).¹
What that subtle essence² is—

'That art Thou!'

A state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*),—THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu.—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

Parables illustrating how the many become the One

9. As, my dear, bees set out for honey, and gathering the juices of various trees, reduce the juice to a unity;

As they there do not have any discernment (self-consciousness) that they are severally the juice of such and such a tree, or of such and such a tree; even so, you see, my dear, all these creatures, when they merge with the Existent, do not know (sc. that they are this or that individual; no self-consciousness remains), in the feeling: We are merging with the Existent.³

Whatever they are in this world, whether tiger or lion or wolf or boar or worm or moth or gnat or mosquito, they become That (Existent).

What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu.—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

10. These rivers, my dear, in the east flow eastward, in the west westward. They go from the (heavenly) ocean to the (earthly) ocean; it becomes nothing but the ocean. Just as they then do not know that they are individually this or that (river)—

Even so, you see, my dear, all these creatures, when they come to the

¹ This is repeated, with slight elaboration, in 6.15 below; the relation of thought-organ to life-breath was adumbrated above in this section (simile of the tied bird). The approach of death is pictured realistically, on the basis of observation, and is not forced into a rigid scheme based on section 5 above. As death approaches, most commonly a man ceases to speak while remaining conscious ('speech enters into thought-organ'), then in coma he is unconscious but still breathes ('thought-organ into life-breath'), then when breath ceases the body still remains warm ('life-breath into heat'), etc.

² Literally 'fineness'; cognate adjective rendered 'finest (part)' in 6.6 above, first sentence.

³ In this and the next section (10) I adopt the interpretation of Paul Tedesco, presented orally in March 1960, before the American Oriental Society. With *na viduḥ* in 9.2 and 10.2 the understood complement is 'I am such and such a one'; not the following *sati saṃpadyāmaha (sata āgacchāmaha) iti*, in which *iti* quotes the feeling or thought of the creatures merging with the Existent. Before *āgacchāmaha iti*, *sata* stands in *saṃdhi* for *sate*, dative of goal or aim; not, as always taken heretofore, for *sataḥ*, ablative.

Existent, do not know (what individual creature each was in the world), in the feeling: We are coming to the Existent. Whatever they are in this world, whether tiger or lion or wolf or boar or worm or moth or gnat or mosquito, they become That (Existent).

What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

The mystery of life

11. If one should hack at the root of this great tree, my dear, being alive, it would flow; if one should hack at the middle of it, being alive, it would flow; if one should hack at the top, being alive, it would flow. It stands here pervaded throughout with the living soul (*jīva ātman*), (and hence) actively drinking in moisture, rejoicing.

If the life (*jīva*) leaves one branch of it, then that branch withers; if it leaves a second branch, that withers; if it leaves a third branch, that withers; if it leaves the whole, the whole tree withers. Even so, you see, my dear, understand—said he:

While what is bereft of life here below undoubtedly¹ dies, life does not die!—What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

12. Bring a banyan-fruit from this (tree; with a gesture).—Here it is, reverend sir.—Split it.—It is split, reverend sir.—What do you see in it?—These fine-appearing kernels, reverend sir.—Now split one of them.—It is split, reverend sir.—What do you see in it?—Nothing at all, reverend sir.

He said unto him: This very fineness (subtle essence) my dear, which you cannot see, even from this very fineness (subtle essence), my dear, grows the so-great banyan tree.

Believe, my dear! What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

13. Put this salt in water, and then wait upon me tomorrow.—He did so. He said unto him: Bring me that salt which you put in the water yesterday.—He felt for it, but could not find it.

¹ *vāva*, standardly in the first of two correlative (often contrasting) clauses; *kīla* often with concessive force ('no doubt, to be sure').

Dissolved as it is,¹ come, sip of it from the side.—How (does it taste)?—Salty.—Sip of it from the middle.—How (does it taste)?—Salty.—Sip of it from the (other) side.—How (does it taste)?—Salty.

Throw it upon (the ground, or a flat stone); then wait upon me, he said.—He did so. That (salt) turned up, there all the time (literally, 'came to be constant'; it reappeared by evaporation of the water in the sun).

He said to him: My dear, while no doubt (*vāva kila*) you do not perceive the Existent here, it is not to be doubted that (*kila*) it is here just the same (*eva*).

What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

Value of a competent teacher

14. As if, my dear, one should bring hither a man from the land of Gandhāra (the extreme west) with eyes bound tight (blindfolded), and then should turn him loose in a desert place; as he would then drift about eastward, or northward, or southward,² having been brought thither blindfold, and having been turned loose blindfold;

As if one should free him from the binding (of his eyes), and should tell him: In this direction is the land of Gandhāra, go in this direction; he would ask (the way) from village to village, being a wise and intelligent man, and would arrive at the land of Gandhāra, nowhere else. Just so a man who has an instructor in this world knows. There is delay for him only for so long a time as he is not freed (from the bondage of ignorance); then he will arrive (at his final goal).³

What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

Death is gradual absorption into the One

15. Also when a man is seriously ill, my dear, his relations crowd around him, saying: Do you know me? Do you know me? As long as his speech does not enter into his thought-organ, thought-organ into life-breath, life-breath into heat, heat into the Supreme Potency, so long he knows them.⁴

¹ With Ānandagiri I understand *yathā* as (approximately) *yady aṅi*.

² The chances would be at least three to one against his wandering due west.

³ The verbs in this sentence are to be understood as 3rd person, agreeing in form with the 1st person, as fairly often in the Vedic language. So Śaṅkara.

⁴ See end of 6.8 above, with note 2, p. 175.

When his speech enters into his thought-organ, thought-organ into life-breath, life-breath into heat, heat into the Supreme Potency, then he does not know them.

What that subtle essence is, a state-of-having-that-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu!—Tell me more, reverend sir!—Very well, my dear, said he.

Truth is the perfect safeguard

16. Also they lead along a man held by the hand, my dear, saying: He has stolen, he has committed theft, heat the axe for him. If he is the doer of it, for that very reason he makes himself false; covering himself with falsehood,¹ enwrapping himself in falsehood, he takes hold of the heated axe; he is burned, then he perishes.

But if he is not the doer of it, for that very reason he makes himself true; covering himself with truth,¹ enwrapping himself in truth, he takes hold of the axe; he is not burned, then he is released.

As he would then not be caused to be burned²—a state-of-having-that-(principle)-as-its-nature is this universe; that is the Real, that is the Soul (*ātman*), THAT ART THOU, Śvetaketu.—Thus, verily, by him he was taught, he was taught.

¹ Śaṅkara, I think, certainly understood this as I do; see especially his commentary on the second clause, *satyavyavadhānāt*, 'because of the intervention of truth' (between the hand and the heated axe).

² At least one edition inserts 'what that subtle essence is'.

KATHA UPANIṢAD CHAPTER I

Another Upaniṣad, in which the mystery of Death is explored.

Prologue: Naciketas sent to Death

1. Desiring (the fruit of sacrificial works) Vājaśravasa gave (a sacrifice involving the gift of) all his possessions. He had a son named Naciketas.

2. To him, boy as he was, as the sacrificial gifts were taken away, religious inspiration (fervour) entered in. He thought:

3. (These cows) are through with drinking water and eating grass, their milkings have been all milked, their bodily powers are gone. Joyless surely are the worlds¹ to which he goes, giving them.

4. He said to his father: Father, to whom will you give me? (He asked this) a second and a third time. He said to him: To death I give you.²

5. (Naciketas reflects, apostrophically, not addressing anyone:) I go the first of many; I go in the midst of many. What, I wonder, may be Yama's (the god of death's) task, which he will do by means of me today?

6. (Continuation of Naciketas's reflections, or else the narrator speaking in his own person:) Look backward; as (went) men of old,—look the contrary way (i.e. forward); so later men (will go). Like corn man ripens, like corn (after death) he is born again.

7. (Ballad-like style; the narrator speaks in his own person:) As God Agni a brahman guest enters the house. Of him they make appeasement thus. O (Yama) son of Vivasvant, bring water.

8. Hope and expectation, association, generous giving, sacrifices and sacrificial gifts, and all sons and cattle,—this he takes away from the man of little wit, in whose house a brahman spends a night without eating. (This may still be the narrator's own words, not put into anyone's mouth.)

¹ BṛhĀrUp. (Kāṇva) 4.4.11 (same quarter-stanza).

² Spoken in annoyance with the boy's importunity. This, the traditional interpretation, has been questioned, but seems proved by vs. 10 below.

Death offers Naciketas three wishes

9. (Yama:) Since three nights you have dwelt in my house not eating, O brahman, a guest that should have been revered, homage be to you, and may welfare be mine! Therefore, in requital, choose three boons.

Naciketas's first wish is granted: appeasement of his father

10. (Naciketas:) His purpose (regarding me, expressed in vs. 4) appeased, that Gautama (my father) may be well-disposed and free from anger towards me, O Death, that he may speak to me, when I am released by you, in gracious mood, this I choose as the first boon of the three.

11. (Yama:) As before he shall be graciously disposed. The son of Uddālaka Āruṇi (i.e. Naciketas) is released by me. He (your father) shall sleep through the nights in comfort, freed from anger, having seen you released from the jaws of death.

Naciketas's second wish granted: to know the fire that leads to heaven

12. (Naciketas:) In the heavenly world there is no danger at all; you (Death) are not there; one fears not because of old age; having overcome both hunger and thirst, getting beyond sorrow, one rejoices in the world of heaven.

13. (Naciketas:) You know the sacred fire that leads to heaven, O Death. Tell it to me who have religious zeal. The heavenly worlds enjoy immortality. This I choose by way of my second boon.

14. (Yama:) I tell it to you: you mark it well from me;—I who understand the sacred fire that leads to heaven, Naciketas. Know that it is the attainment of the infinite world, and its basis; it is set down in the secret spot.¹

15. He explained to him that sacred fire, the entrance of heaven,—what are the bricks (used in the fire's altar), or how many, or how (they are laid). And he too repeated it back to him as it was explained. Then Death spoke to him yet again, gratified.

Death adds the further boon, that this fire shall be named for Naciketas

16. To him the exalted one (Death), pleased, said: Yet further a boon I give to you today. By your name alone shall this sacred fire be (called). And receive this chain (necklace?)² of manifold form.

¹ This probably means 'the heart'; see vs. 2.20.

² An obscure word, recurring in vs. 2.3. Madhva cites from the Padma Purāṇa (but it has not been found there) a verse of this story containing the same word, evidently understanding it as an ornament.

17. (Yama:) One who knows the triple Naciketas-(fire), coming into association with the three (sacred fires of the ritual), performing the three-fold ritual acts (three daily sacrifices), passes over birth and death. Knowing and revering the god (Agni, fire) who is to be revered, who knows the products of the *brāhman* (sacred word), one goes to this peace forever.

18. (Yama:) The knower of the three Naciketas- (fires), knowing this triad (of rites, or fires), he who has such knowledge constructs the Naciketas- (fire, or its altar). He, thrusting away in advance the bonds of Death, getting past sorrow, enjoys himself in the heavenly world.

19. (Yama:) This is your fire, Naciketas, leading to heaven, which you have chosen by way of your second boon. This fire people shall proclaim [yours alone].¹ Choose a third boon, Naciketas.

Naciketas's third wish: to learn what happens to man after death

20. (Naciketas:) This doubt which exists with regard to a man that is dead: 'he exists' say some, and 'he does not exist' say others,—this may I know, instructed by you. Of (my) boons this is the third boon.

21. (Yama:) On this point even the gods have been in doubt from olden times. For it is not easy to understand;² subtle is this doctrine. Choose another boon, Naciketas; do not press me; excuse me from this.

22. (Naciketas:) On this point even the gods have been in doubt, to be sure; and you, O Death, say that it is not easy to understand;² and no other declarer of it like you can be found. There is no other boon at all equal to this.

Death tries to bribe Naciketas with earthly joys to excuse him from answering, but Naciketas persists

23. (Yama:) Choose sons and grandsons living a hundred years, many cattle, elephants and gold, and horses. Choose a great homestead-area (estate, home district) of earth; and yourself live for years as long as you wish.

24. (Yama:) If you think this an equal boon, choose wealth and long life; be, O Naciketas, (at home, in control) upon a great estate; I make you desire-enjoyer of (all) desires.

¹ This is perhaps a secondary insertion, since it spoils the meter.

² Pronounce *svijñeyam* (after a short syllable); Edgerton, *Language* 10 (1934), 237 f.

25. (Yama:) Whatsoever desires are hard to obtain in the world of mortals, ask for all desires as you please. Here (I give you) lovely women, with chariots and musical instruments; for such are not to be obtained by men. Amuse yourself with these, which I give you; O Naciketas, do not press inquiry into death.

26. (Naciketas:) (These) ephemeral (girls) wear out that keenness of all the senses which belongs to a man, O Death. Moreover all life is only brief; yours alone are vehicles, and dance and song.¹

27. (Naciketas:) A man cannot be satisfied with wealth. Shall we get wealth if we have seen you? Shall we (even) live, as long as you shall rule? But I must choose that same boon.

28. (Naciketas:) Having got at (come to understand)² the unageing immortals, what ageing mortal, in his poor low position, if he is intelligent, meditating on the pleasures of beauty and love, would find joy in over-long life?

29. (Naciketas:) In regard to which people here are in doubt, O Death,—what relates to the great life beyond, declare that to us. This boon, which penetrates into the deepest mystery, no other than that Naciketas chooses.

CHAPTER 2

The wise man chooses what is salutary, the ignorant what is pleasurable

1. (Yama speaks through 13:) One thing is the salutary, and quite another is the pleasant. Both of these, of different aims, bind man. Of these two, it is well for one who takes the salutary; but who chooses the pleasant misses his aim.

2. The salutary and the pleasant come to man. The two (men, the wise and foolish), after considering,—the wise man discriminates; for the wise man chooses the salutary rather than the pleasant; the fool chooses the pleasant rather than welfare.

3. You, meditating on pleasant desires of pleasant aspect, have let them go, Naciketas. You have not accepted this chain that consists of wealth, in which many men founder.

¹ In a, *śvobhāvā(h)*, 'having a nature that relates only to tomorrow'.—In d, 'yours alone', either 'subject to you (Death)'; or perhaps 'you may keep them (I don't want them)'.

² *upetya* with genitive, like *budh* and other verbs of perceiving. Parallelism with next line proves stem *ajtryant*.

4. These two are quite opposite and far different in direction, namely ignorance and what is recognized as knowledge. I hold that Naciketas is a seeker of knowledge. The many desires do not inflict their terrible damage on you.

5. Abiding in the midst of ignorance, self-wise, deeming themselves learned, fools go around in circles, furiously rushing about, like blind men led by one who is likewise blind.

6. The Life Beyond does not present itself clearly to a simple-minded one, heedless, befuddled by the delusion of wealth. Thinking 'here is the world, no other exists', he comes again and again into my power.

Knowledge (of after-life) can only be learned from a competent teacher

7. Which¹ many cannot even get to hear, which many even though they hear it could not understand,—a rare marvel is the expert who declares, who gets hold of it; a rare marvel he who knows it, being instructed by an expert.

8. If declared by a common person, this is not easily understood, even if pondered many times. Yet there is no getting at it unless it be declared by another; for it is subtler than the measure of an atom, a thing not to be got by reasoning.

9. This doctrine is not to be acquired² by reasoning; only when declared by another is it easily understood, my dear one,—this doctrine which you have obtained. Assuredly you are of reliable steadfastness! May there be no other questioner (of me) like you, Naciketas!

Yama himself began his own education with the Naciketas fire-rite

10. I know that the thing called treasure is an impermanent thing. For not by transient things is that permanent thing won. Therefore by (Yama) the Naciketas-fire was laid; (and so) by (giving up in sacrifices, not seeking) impermanent wealth I obtained the permanent.

¹ Usually taken to refer to the Self (*ātman*), which is certainly referred to in Bhagavad Gītā 2.29, a repetition of this verse with modifications. But the Self has not yet been mentioned here. To me it seems more likely to refer to the Life Beyond (*samparāya*) of the preceding verse. If it meant the Self, I should think the verse would have been put below, in the vicinity of verses 18 to 23. Charpentier (Ind. Ant. 1928; p. 13 note 113 of reprint) seems to have had similar qualms; though he keeps the usual interpretation, he says the verse 'seems slightly out of order'.

² *āpaneyā* for *īyā* by analogy of *-eya* forms from roots in *ā*. In d, I take *no* as negative, with Charpentier (l.c. note 114).

11. Having beheld (the Naciketas fire-rite, which is) the attainment of desire, the foundation of the world, infinity of ritual performance, the further shore of security, wide scope that is great through songs of praise (accompaniments of the Naciketas fire-rite), a firm foundation,—being fixed in steadfastness, Naciketas, you have let go (impermanent wealth, 10d).

Then, discipline and meditation lead one on to salvation

12. By resort to the discipline of the super-soul thinking on the god that is hard to perceive, entered into a hidden place, set down in secret, abiding in an obscure location, ancient,—the wise one abandons both joy and grief.

13. Having heard this and fully grasped it, the mortal, having appropriated¹ and attained this subtle religious principle, rejoices, for he has gained that which is worth rejoicing over. I hold that Naciketas is an opened (ready, prepared) habitation (for enlightenment).

Pressed by Naciketas, Yama exalts meditation on Om

14. (Naciketas:) What you see that is other than the right and the wrong, other than (deeds) done and not done here, other than what has been and is to be, that declare.

15. (Yama speaks from here through 3.15:) The word which all the Vedas repeat, and what they say is (equivalent to) all austerities,² seeking which men lead the religious life, that word I declare to you summarily. It is *Om*.

16. For this syllable alone is *brāhman* (here perhaps = the Holy Word, the Veda); for this syllable alone is the supreme; for knowing this syllable alone, whatever anyone wishes, that is his.

17. This is the best foundation (support), this is the supreme foundation; knowing this foundation one enjoys bliss in the *brāhman*-world.

The immortal, independent Soul, knowable only by His own grace

18. He is not born nor does he die, the wise (Self); he is not (derived) from any, nor does he become anyone. Unborn, eternal, everlasting, this ancient one is not slain when the body is slain.³

¹ Or 'drawn to himself', *pravṛhya*; cf. below 6.17, and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 11.5.9.4.

² With Geldner I take this as predicate. It is usually taken as subject of 'say'; I question whether 'austerities' would 'speak'. The word 'word' may also mean 'place', which is clearly what is intended in the repetition of this verse in Bhagavad Gītā 8.11.

³ This and the next verse are repeated, with alterations, in Bhagavad Gītā 2.20 and 19.

19. If the slayer thinks to slay, if the slain thinks he is slain, both these understand not; He slays not, is not slain.

20. Finer than the fine, greater than the great, the Self is set down in the secret part of this living being. One who abstains from ritual acts, rid of sorrow, beholds this greatness of the Self by grace of the Creator.¹

21. Seated he strays afar; lying down he goes everywhere. Who other than me can know this god that is both joy and non-joy?

22. Bodiless among bodies, made fixed among the unfixed,—thinking (thus) on the great, pervasive Self, the wise man is not grieved.

23. This Self cannot be gained by instruction, not by intellect, not by much holy Learning. Only whom he chooses, by him he is to be gained; this Self chooses² that man's person as his own (to dwell in).

24. Not one who has not ceased from evil action, not one who is not pacified and concentrated, nor yet one of unpacified mentality, could attain him by (the way of) knowledge.³

25. For whom the priesthood and nobility are both rice-gruel, for whom death is the sauce (to put on it),—who knows truly where He is?

CHAPTER 3

Two stages of the Soul: one subject to deed (karma), the other attained to release

1. *Brāhman*-knowers, knowers of the five (sacred) fires, and those who know the three Naciketas fires, call 'shade and light' the two, (one of) who(m) drinks the right(-ful recompense) of his own deed in the world (i.e. the individual soul which is subject to transmigration and karma), and (one of) who(m) has entered into the secret place in the highest sphere beyond (i.e. who has attained salvation).⁴

2. May we master the Naciketas [fire], which is a bridge for those who have sacrificed, and the supreme eternal *Brāhman* for those who seek to cross over to the safe farther shore (of existence).

¹ Reading *dhātuh*, which seems the best supported text; with the variant *dhātu-* it would mean 'through serenity of his bodily elements'.

² So if *vṛṇute* be read; if the variant *vivṛṇute* be read, 'to him this Self reveals his own person'.

³ That is, as a preliminary to the way of knowledge these preparatory conditions are necessary.

⁴ Only Geldner seems to have understood this verse. The next verse confirms our view, referring again to those (sacrificers) who are subject to *karma* and those who have attained *brāhman*; though in vs. 2 both are helped by the Naciketas fire.

Parable of the soul in a chariot

3. Know that the Self is the traveller in the chariot, while the body is the chariot itself; the intelligence, on the other hand, know as the charioteer, while the thought-organ is the reins rather.

4. The senses they say are the horses; the objects of sense are their ranges. That which is joined with the Self, the senses, and the thought-organ¹ the wise call the Enjoyer (the one who undergoes the results of actions).

5. On the one hand, he who is without intelligence,² with always unfastened (undisciplined) thought-organ,³ his senses are uncontrolled, like a charioteer's unruly horses.

6. But he who has intelligence, with always fastened (disciplined) thought-organ, his senses are controlled, like a charioteer's good horses.

7. On the one hand, he who has no intelligence, no thought-organ, who is always impure, does not attain that place, and proceeds into the round of rebirths.

8. But he who has intelligence and thought-organ, who is always pure, he on the other hand attains that place, from which he is not born again.

9. But what man has intelligence as his charioteer and thought-organ as his reins, he gets to the end of the journey, to that highest place of Vishnu.

Hierarchy of the elements of personality

10. For the objects of sense are higher than the senses (because they enthral them), and the thought-organ is higher than the objects, while the intelligence is higher than the thought-organ; higher than the intelligence is the great Self (individual *ātman*).⁴

11. Higher than the great (individual Self) is the unmanifest (cosmic material nature); higher than the unmanifest is the (universal) Spirit. Higher than the Spirit there is nothing; that is the goal, that is the supreme course.

¹ That is, the psychic personality as a whole, vaguely like the *liṅgaśarīra* of later times.

² *vijñāna* in this passage = *buddhi*, cf. especially vs. 9 with vs. 3.

³ The 'reins', vs. 3.

⁴ With this and the next verse cf. 6.7, 8, below, and Mbh. 12.238.3, with note. For 'intelligence' 6.7 has *satva*; see Mbh. 12.294.40 with note.

12. This Self, hidden in all beings, does not reveal himself. But he is seen by those of subtle sight through the supreme, subtle intelligence.

Stages of control of the self (cf. 6.10 ff. below)

13. A wise man should control speech and thought-organ; he should control it in the intelligence,¹ the self; the intelligence he should control in the great self;² that he should control in the pacified (perfected) self.³

Urging the difficult way to freedom from death

14. Arise, awake; having obtained boons¹ use your intelligence. The sharpened razor's edge is hard to walk across; that the sages call the difficult part of the way.

15. That which is soundless, touchless, formless, imperishable, also tasteless, constant, scentless, without beginning or end, higher than the great,⁵ unmoving,—having revered (or, perceived) that, one is freed from the jaws of death.

Conclusion of Part I

16. (The narrator:) A wise man who speaks and hears the ancient Naciketas-episode, spoken by Death, enjoys bliss in the *brāhman*-world.

17. Who should recite this supreme mystery in an assembly of brahmins, or after due preparation at the time of an offering to ancestors, is then fit for eternity. Yes, he is then fit for eternity.⁶

PART 2

CHAPTER 4

The soul to be sought by introspection

1. (Yama seems to be the speaker in all the rest, down to 6.18.) The Self-existent bored through (from the inside, as the inner self) the

¹ Here *jñāna*, like *vijñāna* in vss. 5 ff. above = *buddhi*.

² As in 10-11 above; the individual self, in its normal, empirically observed state.

³ Most translators seem to fail to understand this. Even the pacified self, *śānta ātman*, does not mean primarily or directly the world soul, but rather the individual soul after it has attained perfection. As Deussen suggests, several stages of yoga, practical discipline of self-control leading to perfection, are described here; the control is extended to ever higher functions of the personality—*vāc*, *manas*, *buddhi*, *mahān ātmā*, and finally *śānta ātman* which is the same thing in its 'arrived' state.

⁴ Perhaps the being chosen by the *ātman*? (vs. 2.23 above).

⁵ Probably 'great self', as in vss. 10 ff.

⁶ On the repetition see note on 6.18 below.

(sensory) openings outward-directed; therefore one looks outward, not inward into the self. A rare wise one looks backward at the self, with sight turned around, seeking immortality.¹

2. Fools run after outward desires; they go into the snare of widespread death. On the other hand the wise, knowing immortality, do not seek in this world the permanent in impermanent things.

But the one self activates all functions of the body

3. By that same (faculty) whereby one (perceives) form, taste, smell(s), sounds, touches, and copulations, by that one exercises the intelligence.² What is left here (after that)? Even this is that.

4. Thinking on the great all-pervading Self, by which one contemplates both the dream state and the waking state, the wise man is not grieved.

5. Who intimately knows this honey-eating (i.e. enjoying the fruits of actions) living Self, Lord of what has been and is to be, he does not shrink away from it. Even this is that.

6. Who (knows) him that was born before fervour,—and he was born before the cosmic waters,—(knows) him that having entered into the secret place, abides there, who looks abroad through (all) beings—

7. (Who knows) her who comes into being through the vital breath, namely Aditi who is composed of divinity, her that, entered into the secret place, abides there, who was born variously through (all) beings—(sc. does not shrink away from that?).³

8. Jātavedas is set down in the two rubbing sticks, well borne as within the womb⁴ by pregnant women, day by day to be revered by men waking early and offering oblations, he the Fire-god. Even this is that.

¹ See 5.1 below, with note.

² That same unitary faculty which through the senses acts on the external objects of sense, also exercises the inner (mental) sense, later regularly *manas*, but here *viññāna* = *buddhi*, as above (*viññānāti* = *viññānaṃ karoti*).

³ Vss. 6 and 7 are very problematic. We must supply *veda* from vs. 5 as governing *jātam* . . . *tiṣṭhantam*, and *tiṣṭhantim*, which otherwise are unconstruable; *yaḥ* at the beginning of vs. 6 can only be the subject of this *veda*, not of *ajāyata*, which is in a parenthetical clause, the subject being the same as that meant by *jātam*. Probably pāda 5d is understood as conclusion. It has been suggested by Renou on AV. 10.8.26 (q.v.), that in that verse and this one the individual soul is referred to as feminine.

⁴ *garbhe*, parallel to *araṇyor*; not *garbhaḥ* as usually taken.

9. Whence the sun arises and in which he sets, therein are all the gods implanted; no one gets beyond that. Even this is that.

All is fundamentally One

10. Just what is here, that is yonder; what is yonder, that is correspondingly here. Death after death he attains who sees as it were separateness in this world.

11. With the thought-organ alone this is to be grasped—there is nothing separate in this world. To death after death he goes who sees as it were separateness in this world.

The universal spirit is in the individual soul

12. The spirit of the size of the thumb abides in the midst of the self, the lord of what has been and is to be. From that he does not shrink away (who knows this). Even this is that.

13. The spirit of the size of the thumb is like a smokeless fire, lord of what has been and is to be. He alone is the same today and tomorrow. Even that is that.

14. As water rained in an inaccessible place runs away in the mountains, so one who sees the states of existence as separate runs away variously after those same (states).

15. As pure water poured into pure becomes just like it, so becomes (like the universal self, when it enters it) the soul of the sage who has true intelligence, O Gautama.

CHAPTER 5

The universal in the individual

1. Having controlled the eleven-gated citadel of the unborn (soul) of unwavering intelligence, one is not grieved; being (actually, already) released, he attains release.¹ Even this is that.

2. As a swan he sits in the bright, as god in the atmosphere, as *hotar*-priest he sits on the sacrificial ground, as guest in (every) home; he sits in men, in the wide expanse, in the cosmic Truth, in the firmament; born of water, born in the cow, born of the cosmic Truth, born of the rock,—(he is) the great cosmic Truth. (Cited from Rig Veda 4.40.5.)

¹ The 11 gates are the 11 *indryas* or senses, as also the *khāni* of 4.1; not the nine apertures plus navel and brahmarandhra, as assumed by many; for this idea there is no evidence. The senses must be controlled (*anu-ṣṭhā*, as Mbh. 3.1200*, in many mss. before or after 3.251.10), not 'entered into' as often rendered.

3. He conducts the upper breath upwards, he ejects the lower breath backward; him, the dwarf seated in the midst (of the body), all the gods revere.

4. When this soul that abides in the body is loosened and released from the body, what is left there? Even this is that.

5. Not by the upper breath, not by the lower breath does any mortal live, but men live by something else, on which these two are dependent.

The individual soul reborn

6. Behold, I shall declare this to you, the eternal secret *Brāhman*, and how the Self fares after experiencing death, O Gautama (= Naciketas).

7. Some souls attain a womb, unto a bodily state; others pass into the unmoving (vegetable state); each according to his acts, according to his holy learning.

The universal One within the many, assuming manifold aspects

8. The spirit which is awake among the sleepers, fashioning himself desire after desire (BrhĀrUp. 4.3.10 ff.), just that is the bright, that is *Brāhman*, just that is called immortality; in that all the worlds are fixed; that no one surpasses. Even this is that.

9. As the one fire, entered into the created world, assumes a form to match every form, so the one inner Self of all beings assumes a form to match every form, and (yet remains) outside of them (as an absolute entity).¹

10. As the one wind, entered into the created world (as individual breath, *prāna*), assumes a form to match every form, so the one inner self of all beings assumes a form to match every form, and (yet remains) outside of them.

11. As the sun, the eye of the whole world, is not afflicted with the external imperfections of (normal) eyes, so the one inner self of all beings is not afflicted with the suffering of the world, being outside of it.

The bliss and peace of realizing the Unity in oneself

12. The one controlling inner self of all beings, who makes his one form manifold,—those wise ones who see him abiding in themselves (their Self), for them is eternal bliss, not for others.

¹ The fire is perhaps the digestive fire in each man.

13. The eternal of non-eternals, the intelligent of intelligent ones, the one of many, who assigns desires (to others),—the wise who see him abiding in themselves, for them is eternal peace, not for others.

14. 'This is that!' they hold, the inexpressible supreme bliss. How pray may I comprehend that? Does it shine or show resplendence?¹

15. There the sun does not shine, nor the moon and stars; these lightnings do not shine, much less this fire. The universe reflects the light of just this one as it shines. By its light this whole universe is resplendent.

CHAPTER 6

The 'upside-down' fig-tree

1. This is the eternal fig-tree, with root above and branches below.² Just that is the bright, that is *Brāhman*; just that is called immortality. In this all the worlds are fixed; this no one gets beyond. Even this is that.

2. This whole world whatsoever, which came forth when the life-breath was stirring, is a great danger, an uplifted thunderbolt; those who know it become immortal.³

3. Through fear of it fire burns, through fear of it the sun burns, through fear of it run Indra and Vāyu (Wind) and Death as the fifth.

4. If one has been able to become enlightened (as to its true nature) in this life, before the loosening of the (soul from the) body, then he is fit for embodiment in the creations in the (heavenly) worlds.⁴

¹ We must resist the temptation to render *vibhāti* 'reflects'; this common verb never seems to show that meaning; *anubhāti* means that, as in the next verse. Coomaraswamy agrees on this point, but makes an esoteric, rather mystical distinction between *bhāti* and *vibhāti* (New Indian Antiquary, I. 208). I think *vibhāti* is only a sort of mild intensive of *bhāti*.

² Repeated Bhagavad Gītā 15.1. On the figure see Emeneau, 'The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature', Univ. of California Publications in Classical Philology, 13, No. 10, pp. 345-70.

³ They 'know' its nature, its relative unreality in relation to the One 'root above'; it is a 'danger' as causing confusion, causing people to think of the plurality rather than the unity, which must be realized. But since Emeneau has made it seem likely that the figure applied to the epiphytic or 'strangling' fig-tree, perhaps it would not be implausible to assume comparison to the 'danger' caused to the host tree, which the fig-tree threatens to 'strangle'. The 'branches below' might seem to be the effective 'strangling' agents; in Bh.G. 15.2 they, especially, are described as material. In the Kāṭha verse the 'root above' is clearly Brāhman, the world-soul. In our vs. 1, therefore, I think 'root' should be singular, even though this is apparently not consistent with the actual growth of the 'strangling' fig.

⁴ No emendation is necessary; *loka* means *svarga-loka*.

5. As in a mirror, so (image-fashion) it is seen in the self; as in a dream, so (vaguely) in the world of the dead ancestors; as in water, so (indistinctly) it is seen in the gandharva-world; as in shade-and-light (in the state of broad day; i.e. directly, as it truly is) in the world of *Brāhman*.

6. Thinking on the separate nature of the senses, and the fact that they arise and are dissolved (as the soul is not), as they originate separately (from the soul), the wise man is not grieved.

Hierarchy of the elements of personality (cf. 3.10-11 above)

7. Higher than the senses is the thought-organ; higher than the thought-organ is the Essential (material) Reality (*sattva*; replaces 'intelligence', *buddhi*, of 3.10, q.v.); higher than the Essential Reality is the Great Self; higher than the Great (Self) is the Unmanifest (material nature).

8. But higher than the Unmanifest is the Spirit, pervading and quite without distinguishing mark; knowing which a creature is released and goes to immortality.

9. His form does not present itself to sight; no one sees it with the eye. With the heart, the intelligence, the thought-organ it is conceived. Those who know this become immortal.

Stabilization of the elements of personality (cf. 3.13 ff. above)

10. When the five organs of perceptual knowledge together with the thought-organ are brought to stability, and the intellect does not stir, that they call the highest goal.

11. This steady control of the senses they regard as practical discipline (*yoga*). Then he becomes calm (undisturbed); for practical discipline (*yoga*) is (not only) origination (as is implied by its name, 'active effort', but also is, i.e. leads to) absorption (its goal).

12. It cannot at all be attained by speech, by thought, by sight. How is this grasped except one says (of it) 'it is'?

13. Only by saying 'it is' is it grasped, and by (realizing) the essential nature of both.¹ The essential nature of it becomes luminous only when it is grasped by the formula 'it is'.

¹ That which is grasped, and the grasper; the latter is the individual striver or would-be adept; his 'essential nature' is identity with the thing to be grasped, the Absolute one.

The mortal becoming immortal

14. When all desires are expelled which lurk within the heart, then the mortal becomes immortal; he attains *brāhman* here (in this world).

15. When all the knots of the heart in this (body, or person) are cut, then the mortal becomes immortal. So far the instruction (this is the end of the doctrine).

16. A hundred and one are the channels of the heart. One of them goes forth up to the head. Proceeding upward by that he goes to immortality. The others are concerned in going forth in all sorts of different directions.¹

17. The spirit of the size of a thumb, the inner self, is settled forever in the heart of men. It one should pluck out with fortitude from his own body as a blade from a *muñja*-reed (sheath). It one should know as the bright, the immortal. It one should know as the bright, the immortal.

Conclusion (by a later redactor)

18. (The narrator:) Now Naciketa(-s), having got this knowledge proclaimed by Death, and the whole method of practical discipline, having attained to *brahman*, became free from impurity, free from death; and so does another who is thus knowing with reference to the super-soul itself.²

May it aid us two together. May it profit us two together. May we together effect manly deed. May what has been studied be glorious for us. May we not quarrel. *Om!* Peace, peace, peace.

¹ This vs. = ChāUp. 8.6.6. The channels are surely those called *hilā* elsewhere (BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.4; 4.3.20; 4.4.12). The channel that leads upward is probably the artery called *suṣumnā*, first in MaitriUp. 6.21, and often later; referred to, but unnamed, BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.3.

² The repetition of the last line of vs. 17 doubtless means that it was originally the end of a section, if not of the whole work. A similar repetition occurs at the end of Chapter 3 above (3.17), which certainly marks the end of a section of the Upaniṣad; indeed, the mss. and editions divide the work into two 'books' (*adhyaṅga*), the first consisting of the first three chapters, and the second of the last three. This division may or may not be original. In some other Upaniṣads, notably the Chānodyga, such repetitions occur at the end of the whole (ChāU. 8.15.1), but also at some points in the text which may indeed be regarded as ends of topics (e.g. ChāU. 6.7.6 and 6.16.3), but surely not as ends of any version of the (or an) entire work. In the present instance, it does seem not unreasonable to guess that vs. 18 and the following prose may have been later addenda.

PART V

SELECTIONS FROM THE
BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ

INTRODUCTION

This 'favourite Bible' of India is a part of the sixth book of the Mahābhārata. Its eighteen chapters (700 stanzas) constitute Mbh. 6.23-40 of the critical edition.¹ Possibly it may have been secondarily inserted here; but I see no serious reason to think so. Just two mss., out of the thirty-four used for the critical apparatus of the critical edition, omit the Gītā entirely. They are not exceptionally old or important mss. While no obvious reason for this omission in them appears, it would seem rash to presume that it goes back to a form of Book 6 older than the original of the rest of the mss., a form which had not yet incorporated the Gītā. The Gītā seems a unit, but this is just as true of many other sections of

¹ The critical apparatus in this edition shows almost no serious variants in the mss. In contrast with most of the Mbh., including the Mokṣadharmā, where variants are numerous and often serious, and where secondary insertions (often long ones) abound in individual mss., there is no good reason to doubt that the Gītā's text as usually printed is precisely the oldest form of it now in existence, and in that sense precisely the 'original' of all known variant versions, with the possible exception of a few slight verbal uncertainties, rarely if ever concerning more than single words. In particular, when individual mss. are longer than the standard text, the plus parts are invariably secondary insertions. This should be emphasized, because it has been held, sometimes unfortunately by good scholars, that the standard text may have been 'abbreviated'. As recently as 1961, in his good and generally reliable book on the literatures of India *Die Literaturen Indiens*, Helmuth von Glasenapp (on p. 121) finds it 'conceivable that the perhaps originally independent work [the Gītā] may have been modified when it was incorporated into the epic, or may even have been somewhat shortened later on'. His only reason stated is that 'in Mbh. 6.43.4' it is said that 'the Gītā has 743 stanzas' instead of the standard 700. But he was quoting from an uncritical and unreliable printed text; the critical edition, p. 189, in a note after 6.40.78 (the last stanza of the Gītā), shows that the line containing the figure 743 is a clearly secondary insertion, found in only a few, and mostly poor, mss. Not a single one of these mss., by the way, contains 743 stanzas, or anywhere near it, in its text of the Gītā; the nearest approach is in a single ms. which has about 715. The critical apparatus proves, on sound text-critical grounds, that all stanzas above 700 are, in all mss., unquestionably secondary insertions. Now that we have a reliable critical edition (founded by the late V. S. Sukthankar, and in course of publication by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona; now under the general editorship of S. K. Belvalkar) of most of the Mbh., it is regrettable that some scholars still refer to uncritical, outdated, and scientifically worthless editions, instead of using the critical edition, which in general is reliable and authoritative. J. Gonda, in his *Die Religionen Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1960), also follows this strange (to me inexplicable) habit of referring to the Mbh. in vulgate texts, even for books that have been published in the critical edition (e.g. pp. 271-2). There is the less excuse for this unscholarly procedure, because the editors of the critical edition have made it very easy to locate passages from the vulgate editions of Calcutta and Bombay (and Kumbhakonam), by furnishing marginal references to them at the beginning or end of every page.

the Mbh. At present there is no evidence for an earlier form of the epic which presented only the main story, without the considerable number of parts, which might be regarded subjectively as unitary 'insertions', and which swell the bulk of various of its 'books' or major divisions. The first chapter of the Gītā gives a *mise en scène* which compels us to assume that it, at least, was composed with the definite intention of fitting it into precisely the place where it occurs in the Mbh. And in the rest of the poem there are a number of clear references to this dramatic situation, which would be incomprehensible if detached therefrom.

In form the Gītā is mainly a long dialogue, which is almost a monologue. The principal speaker is Kṛṣṇa, in his human aspect charioteer to Arjuna, who is one of the main heroes of the Mbh., leader of the Pāṇḍava army, and the other speaker in the dialogue, the whole of which (with a few connecting links) is reported verbatim to the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra by his charioteer Saṃjaya. As the two armies are drawn up and about to begin the main battle, Arjuna is shocked to see among his opponents many kinsmen and friends, and throws down his arms rather than fight them.

What follows is the Gītā. Extracts from it are here presented in my translation (Harvard Oriental Series 38), each line of which renders a single line of the original, in the original order. The one exception is the eleventh chapter, the mystic vision of God, for which I have borrowed Sir Edwin Arnold's free poetic translation, for reasons stated in the introduction to that chapter. The third chapter of my general Introduction to this book discusses the contents of the Gītā.

References are to chapter and verse of the Gītā (abbreviated 'Gītā' or Bh. G.) itself, as a separate unit (not to chapters of Mbh. Book 6).

CHAPTER 2

Arjuna's despair

- Arjuna:
- 2.4. How shall I in battle against Bhiṣma,
And Droṇa, O Slayer of Madhu,
Fight with arrows,
Who are both worthy of reverence?
- 2.5. For not slaying my revered elders of great dignity
'Twere better to eat alms-food, even, in this world;
But having slain my elders who seek their ends, right in this world
I should eat food smeared with blood.¹
- 2.6. And we know not which of the two were better for us,
Whether we should conquer, or they should conquer us;
What very ones having slain we wish not to live,
They are arrayed in front of us, Dhṛtarāṣṭra's men.
- 2.7. My very being afflicted with the taint of weak compassion,
I ask Thee, my mind bewildered as to the right:
Which were better, that tell me definitely;
I am Thy pupil, teach me that have come to Thee (for
instruction).
- 2.8. For I see not what would dispel my
Grief, the witherer of the senses,
If I attained on earth rivalless, prosperous
Kingship, and even overlordship of the gods.
- Samjaya (the narrator):
- 2.9. Thus speaking to Kṛṣṇa
Arjuna the Slayer of the Foe
'I'll not fight!' to Kṛṣṇa
Said, and was silent.
- 2.10. To him spoke Kṛṣṇa
With a semblance of a smile,
Betwixt the two armies
As he was despondent, these words:

¹ Without waiting for such punishment in a future life. Interference with a revered person's desires is a grievous sin.

*The soul cannot be slain; the body is always
replaced by another body*

Kṛṣṇa:

- 2.11. Thou has mourned those who should not be mourned,
And (yet) thou speakest words about wisdom!
Dead and living men
The (truly) learned do not mourn.
- 2.12. But not in any respect was I (ever) not,
Nor thou, nor these kings;
And not at all shall we ever come not to be,
All of us, henceforward.
- 2.13. As to the embodied (soul) in this body
Come childhood, youth, old age,
So the coming to another body;
The wise man is not confused herein.
- 2.14. But contacts with matter,
Cause cold and heat, pleasure and pain;
They come and go, and are impermanent;
Put up with them, son of Bharata!
- 2.15. For whom these (contacts) do not cause to waver,
The man, O bull of men,
To whom pain and pleasure are alike, the wise,
He is fit for immortality.
- 2.16. Of what is not, no coming to be occurs;
No coming not to be occurs of what is;
But the dividing-line of both is seen,
Of these two, by those who see the truth.
- 2.17. But know that that is indestructible,
By which this all is pervaded;
Destruction of this imperishable one
No one can cause.
- 2.18. These bodies come to an end,
It is declared, of the eternal embodied (soul),
Which is indestructible and unfathomable.
Therefore fight, son of Bharata!
- 2.19. Who believes him a slayer,
And who thinks him slain,
Both these understand not:
He slays not, is not slain.

- 2.20. He is not born, nor does he ever die;
 Nor, having come to be, will he ever more come not to be.
 Unborn, eternal, everlasting, this ancient one
 Is not slain when the body is slain.
- 2.21. Who knows as indestructible and eternal
 This unborn, imperishable one,
 That man, son of Pṛthā, how
 Can he slay or cause to slay—whom?
- 2.22. As leaving aside worn-out garments
 A man takes other, new ones,
 So leaving aside worn-out bodies
 To other, new ones goes the embodied (soul)
- 2.23. Swords cut him not,
 Fire burns him not,
 Water wets him not,
 Wind dries him not.
- 2.24. Not to be cut is he, not to be burnt is he,
 Not to be wet nor yet dried;
 Eternal, omnipresent, fixed,
 Immovable, everlasting is he.
- 2.25. Unmanifest he, unthinkable he,
 Unchangeable he is declared to be;
 Therefore knowing him thus
 Thou shouldst not mourn him.
- 2.26. Moreover, even if constantly born
 Or constantly dying thou considerest him,
 Even so, great-armed one, thou
 Shouldst not mourn him.
- 2.27. For to one that is born death is certain,
 And birth is certain for one that has died;
 Therefore, the thing being unavoidable,
 Thou shouldst not mourn.
- 2.28. The beginnings of things are unmanifest,
 Manifest their middles, son of Bharata,
 Unmanifest again their ends:
 Why mourn about this?

- 2.29. By a rare chance one may see him,
 And by a rare chance likewise may another declare him,
 And by a rare chance may another hear (of) him;
 (But) even having heard (of) him, no one whatsoever knows him.
- 2.30. This embodied (soul) is eternally unslayable
 In the body of every one, son of Bharata;
 Therefore all beings
 Thou shouldst not mourn.

Vanity of the Vedic religion

- 2.42. This flowery speech which
 Undiscerning men utter,
 Who take delight in the words of the Veda,
 Saying that there is nothing else,
- 2.43. Whose nature is desire, who are intent on heaven,
 (The speech) which yields rebirth as the fruit of actions,
 Which is replete with various (ritual) acts
 Aiming at the goal of enjoyment and power,—
- 2.44. Of men devoted to enjoyment and power,
 Who are robbed of insight by that (speech),
 A mental attitude resolute in nature
 Is not established in concentration.
- 2.45. The Vedas have the three Strands¹ (of matter) as their scope;
 Be thou free from the three Strands, Arjuna,
 Free from the pairs¹ (of opposites), eternally fixed in goodness,
 Free from acquisition and possession, self-possessed.
- 2.46. As much profit as there is in a water-tank
 When on all sides there is a flood of water,
 No more is there in all the Vedas
 For a brahman who (truly) understands.

*Action as such is not binding; it is interest in
 its results that binds*

- 2.47. On action alone be thy interest,
 Never on its fruits;
 Let not the fruits of action be thy motive,
 Nor be thy attachment to inaction.

¹ 'Strands'; see 14.5-27 below.—The 'pairs' of opposites: pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, honour and disgrace, etc.; one should become indifferent to them all.

- 2.48. Abiding in discipline perform actions,
Abandoning attachment,
Being indifferent to success or failure;
Discipline is defined as indifference.
- 2.49. For action is far inferior
To discipline of mental attitude,
In the mental attitude seek thy (religious) refuge;
Wretched are those whose motive is the fruit (of action).
- 2.50. The disciplined in mental attitude leaves behind in this world
Both good and evil deeds.
Therefore discipline thyself unto discipline;
Discipline in actions is weal.
- 2.51. For the disciplined in mental attitude, action-produced
Fruit abandoning, the intelligent ones,
Freed from the bondage of rebirth,
Go to the place that is free from illness.
- 2.52. When the jungle of delusion
Thy mentality shall get across,
Then thou shalt come to aversion
Towards what is to be heard and has been heard (in the Veda).
- 2.53. Averse to traditional lore ('heard' in the Veda)
When shall stand motionless
Thy mentality, immovable in concentration,
Then thou shalt attain discipline.
- Arjuna:
- 2.54. What is the description of the man of stabilized mentality,
That is fixed in concentration,
How might the man of stabilized mentality speak,
How might he sit, how walk?
- Kṛṣṇa:
- 2.55. When he abandons desires,
All that are in the mind, son of Pṛthā,
Finding contentment by himself in the self alone,
Then he is called of stabilized mentality.
- 2.56. When his mind is not perturbed in sorrows,
And he has lost desire for joys,
His longing, fear, and wrath departed,
He is called a stable-minded holy man.

- 2.57. Who has no desire towards anything,
And getting this or that good or evil,
Neither delights in it nor loathes it,
His mentality is stabilized.
- 2.58. And when he withdraws,
As a tortoise his limbs from all sides,
His senses from the objects of sense,
His mentality is stabilized.
- 2.67. For the senses are roving,
And when the thought-organ is directed after them,
It carries away his mentality,
As wind a ship on the water.
- 2.68. Therefore whosoever, great-armed one,
Has withdrawn on all sides
The senses from the objects of sense,
His mentality is stabilized.
- 2.71. Abandoning all desires, what
Man moves free from longing,
Without self-interest and egotism,
He goes to peace.

CHAPTER 3

*Yoga*¹ (*disciplined action*) preferred to *Sāṅkhya*¹
(*knowledge, abandoning action*)

Kṛṣṇa:

- 3.3. In this world a two-fold basis (or religion)
Has been declared by Me of old, blameless one:
By the discipline of knowledge of the followers of reason-method,
And by the discipline of action of the followers of discipline-
method.
- 3.4. Not by not starting actions
Does a man attain actionlessness,
And not by renunciation alone
Does he go to perfection.
- 3.5. For no one even for a moment
Remains at all without performing actions;
For he is made to perform action willy-nilly,
Every one is, by the Strands that spring from material nature.
- 3.6. Restraining the action-senses
Who sits pondering with his thought-organ
On the objects of sense, with deluded soul,
He is called a hypocrite.
- 3.7. But whoso the senses with the thought-organ
Controlling, undertakes
Discipline of action with the action-senses,
Unattached (to the fruits of action), he is superior.
- 3.8. Perform thou action that is (religiously) required;
For action is better than inaction.
And even the maintenance of the body for thee
Cannot succeed without action.
- 3.19. Therefore unattached ever
Perform action that must be done;
For performing action without attachment
Man attains the highest.

¹ On these terms see Introduction Chapter III.

Actions concern only matter, not the true Self

- 3.27. Performed by material nature's
 Strands are actions, altogether;
 He whose soul is deluded by the I-faculty
 Imagines 'I am the agent'.
- 3.28. But he who knows the truth, great-armed one,
 About the separation (of the soul) from both the Strands and
 action,
 'The Strands act upon the Strands'—
 Knowing this, is not attached (to actions).
- 3.29. Deluded by the Strands of material nature,
 Men are attached to the actions of the Strands.
 These dull folk of imperfect knowledge
 The man of perfect knowledge should not disturb.
- 3.34. Of (every) sense, upon the objects of (that) sense
 Longing and loathing are fixed;
 One must not come under control of those two,
 For they are his two enemies.

CHAPTER 4

Incarnations of the Deity

Kṛṣṇa:

- 4.6. Though unborn, though My self is eternal,
Though Lord of Beings,
Resorting to My own material nature
I come into being by My own mysterious power.
- 4.7. For whenever of the right
A languishing appears,
A rising up of unright,
Then I send Myself forth.
- 4.8. For protection of the good,
And for destruction of evil-doers,
To make a firm footing for the right,
I come into being in age after age.
- 4.9. My wondrous birth and actions
Whoso knows thus as they truly are,
On leaving the body, to rebirth
He goes not; to Me he goes!
- 4.14. Actions do not stain Me,
(Because) I have no yearning for the fruit of actions.
Who comprehends Me thus
Is not bound by actions.

Disinterested action does not bind

- 4.19. All whose undertakings
Are free from desire and purpose,
His actions burnt up in the fire of knowledge,
Him the wise call the man of learning.
- 4.20. Abandoning attachment to the fruits of action,
Constantly content, independent,
Even when he sets out upon action,
He yet does (in effect) nothing whatsoever.
- 4.21. Free from wishes, with mind and soul restrained,
Abandoning all possessions,
Action with the body alone
Performing, he attains no guilt.

4.22. Content with getting what comes by chance,
 Passed beyond the pairs (of opposites), free from jealousy,
 Indifferent to success and failure,
 Even acting, he is not bound.

4.23. Rid of attachment, freed,
 His mind fixed in knowledge,
 Doing acts for worship (only), his action
 All melts away.

Glorification of knowledge

4.33. Better than sacrifice that consists of substance
 Is the sacrifice of knowledge.
 All action without remainder,
 Is completely ended in knowledge.

4.34. Learn to know this by obeisance (to those who can teach it),
 By questioning (them), by serving (them);
 They will teach thee knowledge,
 Those who have knowledge, who see the truth.

4.35. Knowing which, not again to bewilderment
 In this manner shalt thou go,
 Whereby all beings without exception
 Thou shalt see in thyself, and also in Me.

4.36. Even if thou art of sinners
 The worst sinner of all,
 Merely by the boat of knowledge all
 (The 'sea' of) evil shalt thou cross over.

4.37. As firewood a kindled fire
 Reduces to ashes, Arjuna,
 The fire of knowledge all actions
 Reduces to ashes even so.

4.38. For not like unto knowledge
 Is any purifier found in this world.
 This the man perfected in discipline himself
 In time finds in himself.

4.39. The man of faith gets knowledge,
 Intent solely upon it, restraining his senses.
 Having got knowledge, to supreme peace
 In no long time he goes.

CHAPTER 5

Yoga equally effective with Sāṃkhya, and easier

Arjuna:

- 5.1. Renunciation of actions,
And again discipline Thou approvest;
Which one is the better of these two,
That tell me definitely.

Kṛṣṇa:

- 5.2. Renunciation and discipline of action
Both lead to supreme weal.
But of these two, rather than renunciation of action,
Discipline of action is superior.
- 5.3. He is to be recognized as (in effect) forever renouncing (action),
Who neither loathes nor craves;
For he that is free from the pairs (of opposites),
Is easily freed from bondage (otherwise caused by actions).
- 5.4. Of reason-method¹ and discipline as separate, fools
Speak, not the wise;
Resorting to even one of them, completely
Man wins the fruit of both.
- 5.5. What place is gained by the followers of reason-method,
That is reached also by the followers of discipline (-method).
That reason-method and discipline are one
Who sees, he (truly) sees.
- 5.6. But renunciation
Is hard to attain without discipline;
Disciplined in discipline, to Brāhman the sage
Goes in no long time.
- The self in effect does not act, if he isolates himself*
- 5.7. Disciplined in discipline, with purified self,
Self-subdued, with senses overcome,

¹ Note that 'reason-method' or Sāṃkhya is identified, or intimately associated, with ascetic renunciation. In this passage, Yoga in the sense of disciplined (disinterested) activity is preferred to it, because easier; and we are again reminded (cf. 3.27 ff. above) that all action is performed by and upon matter; it does not concern the self; and if one is indifferent to its results, it cannot bind him.

- His self become (one with) the self of all beings,¹
Even acting, he is not stained.
- 5.8. 'I am (in effect) doing nothing at all!'—so
The disciplined man should think, knowing the truth,
When he sees, hears, touches, smells,
Eats, walks, sleeps, breathes,
- 5.9. Talks, evacuates, grasps,
Opens and shuts his eyes;
'The senses (only) on the objects of sense
Are operating'—holding fast to this thought.
- 5.10. Casting (all) actions upon Bráhman,
Whoso acts abandoning attachment,
Evil does not cleave to him,
As water (does not cleave) to a lotus-leaf.
- 5.11. With the body, the thought-organ, the intelligence,
And also with the senses alone,
Disciplined men perform action,
Abandoning attachment, unto self-purification.
- 5.12. The disciplined man, abandoning the fruit of actions,
Attains perfect peace;
The undisciplined, by action due to desire,
Attached to the fruit (of action), is bound.
- 5.13. All actions with the thought-organ
Renouncing, he sits happily, in control,
The embodied (soul), in the citadel of nine gates,
Not in the least acting nor causing to act.
- 5.14. Neither agency nor actions
Of the (people of the) world does the Lord (soul) instigate,
Nor the conjunction of actions with their fruits;
But inherent nature operates (in all this).
- 5.15. He does not receive (the effect of) any one's sin,
Nor yet (of) good deeds, the Lord (soul);
Knowledge is obscured by ignorance;
By that creatures are deluded.

¹ Here, and in 5.25 ('who delight in the welfare of all beings') we have clear reference to the 'Golden Rule', which is as standard doctrine in Hinduism as in Christianity. See also 12.4 and especially 13.28 with note.

- 5.16. But if by knowledge that ignorance
Of men's souls is destroyed,
Their knowledge like the sun
Illumines that Highest.
- 5.17. Their consciousness and soul fixed on that (Highest),
With that as their final goal, supremely devoted to that,
They go to (the state whence there is) no more return,
Their sins destroyed by knowledge.
- 5.18. In a knowledge-and-cultivation-perfected
Brahman, a cow, an elephant,
And in a mere dog, and an outcaste,
The wise see the same thing.
- 5.19. Right in this world they have overcome birth,
Whose mind is fixed in indifference;
For Brāhman is flawless and indifferent;
Therefore they are fixed in Brāhman.
- 5.20. He will not rejoice on attaining the pleasant,
Nor repine on attaining the unpleasant;
With stabilized mentality, unbewildered,
Knowing Brāhman, he is fixed in Brāhman.
- 5.21. With self unattached to outside contacts,
When he finds happiness in the self,
He, his self disciplined in Brāhman-discipline,
Attains imperishable bliss.
- 5.22. For the enjoyments that spring from (outside) contacts
Are nothing but sources of misery;
They have beginning and end,
The wise man takes no delight in them.
- 5.23. Who can control right in this life,
Before being freed from the body,
The excitement that springs from desire and wrath,
He is disciplined, he the happy man.
- 5.24. Who finds his happiness within, his joy within,
And likewise his light only within,
That disciplined man to Brāhman-nirvāṇa
Goes, having become Brāhman.

- 5.25. Bráhmaṇ-nirvāṇa is won
By the seers whose sins are destroyed,
Whose doubts are cleft, whose souls are controlled,
Who delight in the welfare of all beings.
- 5.26. To those who have put off desire and wrath,
Religious men whose minds are controlled,
Close at hand Bráhmaṇ-nirvāṇa
Comes, to knowers of the self.

CHAPTER 6

Disinterested action is the same as renunciation

Kṛṣṇa:

- 6.1. Not interested in the fruit of action,
Who does action that is required (by religion),
He is the possessor of both renunciation and discipline (of action);
Not he who builds no sacred fires and does no (ritual) acts.
- 6.2. What they call renunciation,
Know that that is discipline (of action),
For not without renouncing purpose
Does anyone become possessed of discipline.
- 6.3. For the sage that desires to mount to discipline
Action is called the means;
For the same man when he has mounted to discipline
Quiescence is called the means.
- 6.4. For when not to the objects of sense
Nor to actions is he attached,
Renouncing all purpose,
Then he is said to have mounted to discipline.
- 6.5. One should lift up the self by the self,
And should not let the self down;
For the self is the self's only friend,
And the self is the self's only enemy.
- 6.6. The self is a friend to that self
By which self the very self is subdued;
But to him that does not possess the self, in enmity
Will abide his very self, like an enemy.
- 6.7. Of the self-subdued, pacified man,
The supreme self remains concentrated (in absorption),
In cold and heat, pleasure and pain,
Likewise in honour and disgrace.
- 6.8. His self satiated with theoretical and practical knowledge,
Immovable, with subdued senses,
The possessor of discipline is called (truly) disciplined,
To whom clods, stones, and gold are all one.

- 6.9. To friend, ally, foe, remote neutral,
 Holder of middle ground, object of enmity, and kinsman,
 To good and evil men alike,
 Who has the same mental attitude, is superior.

Physical aids to discipline

- 6.10. Let the disciplined man ever discipline
 Himself, abiding in a secret place,
 Solitary, restraining his thoughts and soul,
 Free from aspirations and without possessions
- 6.11. In a clean place establishing
 A steady seat for himself,
 That is neither too high nor too low,
 Covered with a cloth, a skin, and kuśa-grass,
- 6.12. There fixing the thought-organ on a single object,
 Restraining the activity of his mind and senses,
 Sitting on the seat, let him practise
 Discipline unto self-purification.
- 6.13. Even body, head, and neck
 Holding motionless, (keeping himself) steady,
 Gazing at the tip of his own nose,
 And not looking in any direction,
- 6.14. With tranquil soul, rid of fear,
 Abiding in the vow of chastity,
 Controlling the mind, his thoughts on Me,
 Let him sit disciplined, absorbed in Me.
- 6.15. Thus ever disciplining himself,
 The man of discipline, with controlled mind,
 To peace that culminates in nirvāṇa,
 And rests in Me, attains.

Moderation; the middle way

- 6.16. But he who eats too much has no discipline,
 Nor he who eats not at all;
 Neither he who is over-given to sleep,
 Nor yet he who is (ever) wakeful, Arjuna.
- 6.17. Who is disciplined (moderate) in food and recreation,
 And has disciplined activity in works,
 And is disciplined in both sleep and wakefulness,
 To him belongs discipline that bans misery.

The perfected man's state is glorified

- 6.18. When the thought, controlled,
Settles on the self alone,
The man free from longing for all desires
Is then called disciplined.
- 6.19. As a lamp stationed in a windless place
Flickers not, this image is recorded
Of the disciplined man controlled in thought,
Practising discipline of the self.
- 6.20. When the thought comes to rest,
Checked by the practice of discipline,
And when, the self by the self
Contemplating, he finds satisfaction in the self;
- 6.21. That supernal bliss which
Is to be grasped by the consciousness and is beyond the senses,
When he knows this, and not in the least
Swerves from the truth, abiding fixed (in it);
- 6.22. And which having gained, other gain
He counts none higher than it;
In which established, by no misery,
However grievous, is he moved;
- 6.23. This (state), let him know,—from conjunction with misery
The disjunction,—is known as discipline;
With determination must be practised this
Discipline, with heart undismayed.
- 6.24. The desires that spring from purposes
Abandoning, all without remainder,
With the thought-organ alone the throng of senses
Restraining altogether,
- 6.25. Little by little let him come to rest
Through the consciousness, held with firmness;
Keeping the thought-organ fixed in the self,
He should think on nothing at all.
- 6.26. Because of whatsoever thing strays
The thought-organ, fickle and unstable,
From every such thing holding it back,
He shall bring it into control in the self alone.

- 6.27. For to him when his thought-organ is tranquil,
 To the disciplined one, supreme bliss
 Approaches, his passion stilled,
 Become (one with) Bráhmán, stainless.
- 6.28. Thus ever disciplining himself,
 The disciplined man, free from stain,
 Easily to contact with Bráhmán,
 To endless bliss, attains.
- 6.29. Himself as in all beings,
 And all beings in himself,
 Sees he whose self is disciplined in discipline,
 Who sees the same in all things.
- 6.30. Who sees Me in all,
 And sees all in Me,
 For him I am not lost,
 And he is not lost for Me.
- 6.31. Me as abiding in all beings whoso
 Reveres, adopting (the belief in) one-ness,
 Though abiding in any possible condition,
 That disciplined man abides in Me.
- 6.32. By comparison with himself, in all (beings)
 Whoso sees the same, Arjuna,
 Whether it be pleasure or pain,
 He is deemed the supreme disciplined man.

CHAPTER 7

The 'lower' and the higher nature of God

Kṛṣṇa:

- 7.1. With mind attached to Me, son of Pṛthā,
Practising discipline with reliance on Me,
Without doubt Me entirely
How thou shalt know, that hear!
- 7.2. Theoretical knowledge to thee along with practical
I shall now expound completely;
Having known which, in this world no other further
Thing to be known is left.
- 7.3. Among thousands of men
Perchance one strives for perfection;
Even of those that strive and are perfected,
Perchance one knows Me in very truth.
- 7.4. Earth, water, fire, wind,
Ether, thought-organ and consciousness,
And I-faculty: thus My
Nature is divided eight-fold.
- 7.5. This is My lower (nature). But other than this,
My higher nature know:
It is the Life (soul), great-armed one,
By which this world is maintained.
- 7.6. Beings spring from it,
All of them, be assured.
Of the whole world I am
The origin and the dissolution too.
- 7.7. Than Me no other higher thing
Whatsoever exists, Dhanamjaya;
On Me all this (universe) is strung,
Like heaps of pearls on a string.

God is the essential part of everything

- 7.8. I am taste in water, son of Kuntī,
I am light in the moon and sun,

The sacred syllable (*om*) in all the Vedas,
Sound in ether, manliness in men.

- 7.9. Both the goodly odour in earth,
And brilliance in fire am I,
Life in all beings,
And austerity in ascetics am I.
- 7.10. The seed of all beings am I,
The eternal, be assured, son of Pṛthā;
I am intelligence of the intelligent,
Majesty of the majestic am I.
- 7.11. Might of the mighty am I, too,
(Such as is) free from desire and passion;
(So far as it is) not inconsistent with right, in creatures
I am desire, O best of Bharatas.
- 7.12. Both whatsoever states are of (the Strand) goodness,
And those of (the Strands) passion and darkness too,
Know that they are from Me alone;
But I am not in them; they are in Me.
- 7.13. By the three states (of being), composed of the Strands,
These (just named), all this world,
Deluded, does not recognize
Me that am higher than they and eternal.
- 7.14. For this is My divine strand-composed
Trick-of-illusion, hard to get past;
Those who resort to Me alone
Penetrate beyond this trick-of-illusion.
- The one God grants fruition to all religious practices*
- 7.20. Deprived of knowledge by this or that desire,
Men resort to other deities,
Taking to this or that (religious) rule,
Constrained by their own nature.
- 7.21. Whatsoever (divine) form any devotee
With faith seeks to worship,
For every such (devotee), faith unswerving
I ordain that same to be.

- 7.22. He, disciplined with that faith,
 Seeks to propitiate that (divine being),
 And obtains therefrom his desires,
 Because I myself ordain them.
- 7.23. But finite fruition for them
 That becomes, (since) they are of scant intelligence;
 The worshippers of the gods go to the gods,
 My devotees go to Me also.
- Delusions which impede true knowledge of God*
- 7.24. Unmanifest, as having come into manifestation
 Fools conceive Me,
 Not knowing the higher essence
 Of Me, which is imperishable, supreme.
- 7.25. I am not revealed to every one,
 Being veiled by My magic trick-of-illusion;
 'Tis deluded and does not recognize
 Me the unborn, imperishable,—this world.
- 7.26. I know those that are past,
 And that are present,
 And beings that are yet to be,
 But no one knows Me.
- 7.27. It arises from desire and loathing,
 The delusion of the pairs (of opposites),
 Because of it all beings to confusion
 Are subject at their birth.
- 7.28. But those whose sin is ended,
 Men of virtuous deeds,
 Freed from the delusion of the pairs,
 Revere Me with firm resolve.

CHAPTER 8

Importance of the hour of death

- Kṛṣṇa:
- 8.5. And at the hour of death, on Me alone
Meditating, leaving the body
Whoso dies, to My estate he
Goes; there is no doubt of that.
- 8.6. Whatsoever state (of being) meditating upon
He leaves the body at death,
To just that he goes,
Always, being made to be in the condition of that.
- 8.9. The ancient seer, the governor,
Finer than an atom—who meditates on Him,
The establisher of all, of unthinkable form,
Sun-coloured, beyond darkness,
- 8.10. At the time of death with unswerving thought,
Disciplined with devotion and the power of discipline,
Making the breath to enter altogether between the eye-brows,
He goes to that supreme divine Spirit.
- 8.13. The single-syllable Brāhman (which is) *om*
Pronouncing, and meditating on Me,
Who departs, leaving the body,
He goes to the highest goal.
- 8.23. But at what times to non-return,
And (when) to return, disciplined men
Dying depart, those times
I shall declare.
- 8.24. Fire, light, day, the bright (lunar fortnight),
The six months that are the northward course of the sun,
Dying in these, go
To Brāhman Brāhman-knowing folk.
- 8.25. Smoke, night, also the dark (lunar fortnight),
The six months that are the southward course of the sun,
In these (when he dies) to the moon's light
Attaining, the disciplined man returns.

- 8.26. For these two paths, light and dark,
Are held to be eternal for the world;
By one, man goes to non-return,
By the other he returns again.
- 8.27. Knowing these two paths, not
Is any disciplined man confused.
Therefore at all times
Be disciplined in discipline, Arjuna.

CHAPTER 9

God is the motive force in all the cosmos

- Kṛṣṇa:
9.4. By Me is pervaded all this
Universe, by Me in the form of the unmanifest.
All beings rest in Me,
And I do not rest in them.
- 9.5. And (yet) beings do not rest in Me:
Behold My divine mystery (or magic)!
Supporter of beings, and not resting in beings,
Is My Self, that causes beings to be.
- 9.6. As constantly abides in the ether
The great wind, that penetrates everywhere,
So all beings
Abide in Me; make sure of that.
- 9.7. All beings, son of Kuntī,
Pass into My material nature
At the end of a world-eon; them again
I send forth at the beginning of a (new) world-eon.
- 9.8. Taking as base My own material-nature
I send forth again and again
This whole host of beings,
Which is powerless, by the power of (My) material nature.
- 9.9. And Me these actions do not
Bind, Arjuna,
Participating as one indifferent,
Unattached to these actions.
- 9.10. With Me as overseer, material nature
Brings forth (the world of) moving and unmoving (beings);
By this motive-force,
The world goes around.
- 9.11. Fools despise Me
That have assumed human form,
Not knowing the higher state
Of Me, which is the great lord of beings.

- 9.13. But 'tis Me, son of Pṛthā, that great-souled men,
 Abiding in god-like nature,
 Revere with unswerving thoughts,
 Knowing (Me as) the beginning of beings, the imperishable.
- 9.14. Ever glorifying Me,
 And striving with firm resolve,
 And paying homage to Me with devotion,
 Constantly disciplined, they wait upon Me.
- 9.15. With knowledge-worship also others
 Worshipping wait upon Me,
 In My unique and manifold forms,
 (Me as) variously (manifested), facing in all directions.
- 9.16. I am the ritual act, I am the act of worship,
 I am the offering to the dead, I am the medicinal herb,
 I am the sacred formula, I alone am the sacrificial butter,
 I am the fire of offering, I am the poured oblation.
- 9.17. I am the father of this world,
 The mother, the establisher, the grandsire,
 The object of knowledge, the purifier, the sacred syllable *om*,
 The verse of praise, the chant, and the sacrificial formula;
- 9.18. The goal, supporter, lord, witness,
 The dwelling-place, refuge, friend,
 The origin, dissolution, and maintenance,
 The treasure-house, the imperishable seed.
- 9.19. I give heat; the rain I
 Hold back and send forth;
 Both immortality and death,
 Both the existent and the non-existent am I, Arjuna.
- 9.22. Thinking on Me, with no other thought,
 What folk wait upon Me,
 To them, when they are constant in perseverance,
 I bring acquisition and peaceful possession (of their aim).
- 9.23. Even those who are devotees of other gods,
 And worship them permeated with faith,
 It is only Me, son of Kuntī, that even they
 Worship, (though) not in the enjoined fashion.

- 9.24. For I of all acts of worship
 Am both the recipient and the lord;
 But they do not recognize Me
 In the true way; therefore they fall (from the 'heaven'
 they win).
- 9.25. Votaries of the gods go to the gods,
 Votaries of the (departed) fathers go to the fathers,
 Worshippers of goblins go to the goblins,
 Worshippers of Me also go to Me.
- 9.26. A leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water,
 Who presents to Me with devotion,
 That offering of devotion I
 Accept from the devout-souled (giver).
- 9.27. Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest,
 Whatever thou offerest in oblation or givest,
 Whatever austerity thou performest,
 That do as an offering to Me.
- 9.29. I am the same to all beings,
 No one is hateful or dear to Me;
 But those who revere Me with devotion,
 They are in Me and I too am in them.
- 9.30. Even if a very evil doer
 Reveres Me with single devotion,
 He must be regarded as righteous in spite of all;
 For he has the right resolution.
- 9.31. Quickly his soul becomes righteous,
 And he goes to eternal peace,
 Son of Kuntī, make sure of this:
 No devotee of Mine is lost.

CHAPTER 10

*The supernal manifestations of God*¹

Kṛṣṇa:

- 10.39. Moreover whatsoever of all beings
Is the seed, that am I,
There is none such as could be without
Me, no being moving or unmoving.
- 10.40. There is no end to My marvellous
Supernal manifestations,
But I have now declared by way of examples
The extent of my supernal manifestation.
- 10.41. Whatever being shows supernal manifestations,
Or majesty or vigour,
Be thou assured that that in every case
Is sprung from a fraction of My glory.
- 10.42. After all, this extensive
Instruction—what boots it thee?
I support this entire
World with a single fraction (of Myself), and remain so.

¹ Most of the tenth chapter lists many categories of entities, declaring that God is the chief of each category; these are his 'supernal manifestations'.

CHAPTER II

The mystic vision of God

Sir Edwin Arnold's inspired translation of this climax of the poem is here reprinted from Harvard Oriental Series 39 (Volume 2 of my translation of the *Gītā*), pp. 137-146. It requires a gifted poet like Arnold to do justice to this chapter, the spirit of which is better rendered by him than in any other translation known to me. It is, of course, rather free. Those who want a more precise verbal rendering may find one in H.O.S. 38 (Volume 1 of my translation) pp. 107 ff.—See the section headed 'The mystic vision of God,' near the end of Chapter III of my Introduction.

Arjuna:

This, for my soul's peace, have I heard from Thee,
The unfolding of the Mystery Supreme
Named Adhyātman; comprehending which,
My darkness is dispelled; for now I know—
O Lotus-eyed!—whence is the birth of men,
And whence their death, and what the majesties
Of thine immortal rule. Fain would I see,
As thou Thyself declar'st it, Sovereign Lord!
The likeness of that glory of Thy Form
Wholly revealed. O Thou Divinest One!
If this can be, if I may bear the sight,
Make Thyself visible, Lord of all prayers!
Show me Thy very self, the Eternal God!

Kṛṣṇa:

Gaze, then, thou Son of Pṛthā! I manifest for thee
Those hundred thousand thousand shapes that clothe my Mystery:
I show thee all my semblances, infinite, rich, divine,
My changeful hues, my countless forms. See! in this face of mine,
Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Aśvins, and Maruts;¹ see
Wonders unnumbered, Indian Prince! revealed to none save thee.
Behold! this is the Universe!—Look! what is live and dead
I gather all in one—in Me! Gaze, as thy lips have said,
On GOD ETERNAL, VERY GOD! See ME! see what thou prayest!

Thou canst not!—nor, with human eyes, Arjuna! ever mayest!
Therefore I give thee sense divine. Have other eyes, new light!
And, look! This is My glory, unveiled to mortal sight!

¹ Ancient Vedic gods.

Samjaya:

Then, O King! the God, so saying,
 Stood, to Pṛthā's Son displaying
 All the splendour, wonder, dread
 Of His vast Almighty head.
 Out of countless eyes beholding,
 Out of countless mouths commanding,
 Countless mystic forms enfolding
 In one Form: supremely standing
 Countless radiant glories wearing,
 Countless heavenly weapons bearing,
 Crowned with garlands of star-clusters,
 Robed in garb of woven lustres,
 Breathing from His perfect Presence
 Breaths of all delicious essence
 Of all sweetest odours; shedding
 Blinding brilliance, overspreading—
 Boundless, beautiful—all spaces
 From His all-regarding faces;
 So He showed! If there should rise
 Suddenly within the skies
 Sunburst of a thousand suns
 Flooding earth with rays undeemed-of,
 Then might be that Holy One's
 Majesty and glory dreamed of!

So did Pandu's Son behold
 All this universe enfold
 All its huge diversity
 Into one great shape, and be
 Visible, and viewed, and blended
 In one Body—subtle, splendid,
 Nameless—th'All-comprehending
 God of Gods, the Never-Ending
 Deity!

But, sore amazed,
 Thrilled, o'erfilled, dazzled, and dazed,
 Arjuna knelt, and bowed his head,
 And clasped his palms, and cried, and said:

Arjuna:

Yea! I have seen! I see!
 Lord! all is wrapped in Thee!

The gods are in Thy glorious frame! the creatures
 Of earth, and heaven, and hell
 In Thy Divine form dwell,
 And in Thy countenance show all the features

Of Brahmā, sitting lone
 Upon His lotus-throne;
 Of saints and sages, and the serpent races
 Ananta, Vāsuki.
 Yea! mightiest Lord! I see
 Thy thousand thousand arms, and breasts, and faces,

And eyes,—on every side
 Perfect, diversified;
 And nowhere end of Thee, nowhere beginning,
 Nowhere a centre! Shifts
 Wherever soul's gaze lifts
 Thy central Self, all-willing, and all-winning!

Infinite King! I see
 The anadem on Thee,
 The club, the shell, the discus; see Thee burning
 In beams insufferable,
 Lighting earth, heaven, and hell
 With brilliance blinding, glorious, flashing, turning

Darkness to dazzling day,
 Look I whichever way.
 Ah, Lord! I worship Thee, the Undivided,
 The Uttermost of thought,
 The Treasure-Palace wrought
 To hold the wealth of the worlds; the shield provided

To shelter Virtue's laws;
 The Fount whence Life's stream draws
 All waters of all rivers of all being:
 The One Unborn, Unending:
 Unchanging and unblending!
 With might and majesty, past thought, past seeing!

Silver of moon and gold
 Of sun are glances rolled
 From Thy great eyes; Thy visage, beaming tender

Over the stars and skies,
 Doth to warm life surprise
 Thy Universe. The worlds are filled with wonder

Of Thy perfections! Space
 Star-sprinkled, and the place
 From pole to pole of the heavens, from bound to bound,
 Hath Thee in every spot,
 Thee, Thee!—Where Thou art not
 O Holy, Marvellous Form! is nowhere found!

O Mystic, Awful One!
 At sight of Thee, made known,
 The Three Worlds quake; the lower gods draw nigh Thee;
 They fold their palms, and bow
 Body, and breast, and brow,
 And, whispering worship, laud and magnify Thee!

Ṛsis and Siddhas cry
 'Hail! Highest Majesty!'
 From sage and singer breaks the hymn of glory
 In holy melody,
 Sounding the praise of Thee,
 While countless companies take up the story,

Rudras, who ride the storm,
 Th' Ādityas' shining forms,
 Vasus and sādhyas, Viśvas, Uṣmapas,
 Maruts, and those great Twins,
 The heavenly, fair Aśvins,
 Gandharvas, Rakshasas, Siddhas, Asuras,¹—

These see Thee, and revere
 In silence-stricken fear;
 Ye! the Worlds—seeing Thee with form stupendous,
 With faces manifold,
 With eyes which all behold,
 Unnumbered eyes, vast arms, members tremendous,

Flanks, lit with sun and star,
 Feet planted near and far,
 Tushes of terror, mouths wrathful and tender;—

¹ Various superhuman beings.

The Three wide Worlds before Thee
 Adore, as I adore Thee,
 Quake, as I quake, to witness so much splendour!

I mark Thee strike the skies
 With front in wondrous wise
 Huge, rainbow-painted, glittering; and thy mouth
 Opened, and orbs which see
 All things, whatever be,
 In all Thy worlds, east, west, and north and south.

O Eyes of God! O Head!
 My strength of soul is fled,
 Gone is heart's force, rebuked is mind's desire!
 When I behold Thee so,
 With awful brows a-glow,
 With burning glance, and lips lighted with fire,

Fierce as those flames which shall
 Consume, at close of all,
 Earth, Heaven! Ah me! I see no Earth and Heaven!
 Thee, Lord of Lords! I see,
 Thee only—only Thee!
 Ah! let Thy mercy unto me be given!

Thou Refuge of the World!
 Lo! to the cavern hurled
 Of Thy wide-opened throat, and lips white-tushed,
 I see our noblest ones,
 Great Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons,
 Bhiṣma, Drona, and Karna,¹ caught and crushed!

The Kings and Chiefs drawn in,
 That gaping gorge within;
 The best of all both armies torn and riven!
 Between Thy jaws they lie
 Mangled fell bloodily,
 Ground into dust and death! Like streams downdriven

With helpless haste, which go
 In headlong furious flow
 Straight to the gulping maw of th' unfilled ocean,

¹ Warriors in the Mahābhārata battle.

So to that flaming cave
 These heroes great and brave
 Pour, in unending streams, with helpless motion!

Like moths which in the night
 Flutter towards a light,
 Drawn to their fiery doom, flying and dying,
 So to their death still throng,
 Blind, dazzled, borne along
 Ceaselessly, all these multitudes, wild flying!

Thou, that hast fashioned men,
 Devourest them agen,
 One with another, great and small, alike!
 The creatures whom Thou mak'st,
 With flaming jaws Thou tak'st,
 Lapping them up! Lord God! Thy terrors strike

From end to end of earth,
 Filling life full, from birth
 To death, with deadly, burning, lurid dread!
 Ah, Viṣṇu! make me know
 Why is Thy visage so?
 Who art Thou, feasting thus upon Thy dead?

Who? awful Deity!
 I bow myself to Thee,
 Namō 'stu Te Devavara! Prasīd!¹
 O Mightiest Lord! rehearse
 Why hast Thou face so fierce?
 Whence did this aspect horrible proceed?

Kṛṣṇa:

Thou seest Me as Time who kills, Time who brings all to doom,
 The Slayer Time, Ancient of Days, come hither to consume;
 Excepting thee, of all these hosts of hostile chiefs arrayed,
 There shines not one shall leave alive the battlefield! Dismayed
 No longer be! Arise! obtain renown! destroy thy foes!
 Fight for the kingdom waiting thee when thou hast vanquished those.
 By me they fall—not thee! the stroke of death is dealt them now,
 Even as they stand thus gallantly; My instrument art thou!
 Strike, strong-armed Prince! at Drona! at Bhiṣma strike! deal death
 To Karna, Jayadratha,² stay all this warlike breath!

¹ 'Hail to Thee, God of Gods! Be favourable!'

² As note 1, p. 230.

'Tis I who bid them perish! Thou wilt but slay the slain.
Fight! they must fall, and thou must live, victor upon this plain!

Samjaya:

Hearing mighty Keśav's word,
Tremblingly that helméd Lord
Clasped his lifted palms, and—praying
Grace of Kṛṣṇa—stood there, saying,
With bowed brow and accents broken,
These words, timorously spoken:

Arjuna:

Worthily, Lord of Might!
The whole world hath delight
In Thy surpassing power, obeying Thee;
The Rākṣasas, in dread
At sight of Thee, are sped
To all four quarters; and the company

Of Siddhas sound Thy name.
How should they not proclaim
Thy Majesties, Divinest, Mightiest?
Thou Brahm, than Brahma greater!
Thou Infinite Creator!
Thou God of gods, Life's Dwelling-place and Rest!

Thou, of all souls the Soul!
The Comprehending Whole!
Of Being formed, and formless Being the Framér:
O Utmost One! O Lord!
Older than eld, Who stored
The worlds with wealth of life. O Treasure-claimer

Who wottest all, and art
Wisdom Thyself! O Part
In all, and all, for all from Thee have risen!
Numberless now I see
The aspects are of Thee!
Vayu¹ Thou art, and He who keeps the prison

Of Narak, Yama dark,
And Agni's shining spark.
Varuna's waves are Thy waves. Moon and starlight

¹ In this and the next stanza other Vedic gods are named.

Are Thine! Prajāpati
 Art Thou, and 'tis to Thee
 Men kneel in worshipping the old world's far light,

The first of mortal men.
 Again, Thou God! again
 A thousand thousand times be magnified!
 Honour and worship be—
 Glory and praise,—to Thee
 Namō, Namas te,¹ cried on every side.

Cried here, above, below,
 Uttered when Thou dost go,
 Uttered when Thou dost come! Namō!¹ we call.
 Namō 'stu!¹ God adored!
 Namō 'stu!¹ Nameless Lord!
 Hail to Thee! Praise to Thee! Thou One in all.

For Thou art All! Yea, Thou!
 Ah! if in anger now
 Thou shouldst remember I did think Thee Friend,
 Speaking with easy speech,
 As men use each to each;
 Did call Thee, 'Kṛṣṇa', 'Prince', nor comprehend

Thy hidden majesty,
 The might, the awe of Thee;
 Did, in my heedlessness, or in my love,
 On journey, or in jest,
 Or when we lay at rest,
 Sitting at council, straying in the grove,

Alone, or in the throng,
 Do Thee, most Holy! wrong,
 Be Thy grace granted for that witless sin!
 For Thou art, now I know,
 Father of all below,
 Of all above, of all the worlds within,

Guru of Gurus, more
 To reverence and adore
 Than all which is adorable and high!

¹ '(Let be) homage!'

How, in the wide worlds three
Should any equal be?
Shall any other share Thy majesty?

Therefore, with body bent
And reverent intent,
I praise, and serve, and seek Thee, asking grace.
As father to a son,
As friend to friend, as one
Who loveth to his lover, turn Thy face

In gentleness on me!
Good is it I did see
This unknown marvel of Thy Form! But fear
Mingles with joy! Retake,
Dear Lord! for pity's sake
Thine earthly shape, which earthly eyes may bear!

Be merciful, and show
The visage that I know;
Let me regard Thee, as of yore, arrayed
With disc and forehead-gem,
With mace and anadem,
Thou who sustainest all things! Undismayed

Let me once more behold
The form I loved of old,
Thou of the thousand arms and countless eyes!
My frightened heart is fain
To see restored again
The Charioteer, my Kṛṣṇa's kind disguise.

Kṛṣṇa:

Yea! thou hast seen, Arjuna! because I loved thee well,
The secret countenance of Me, revealed by mystic spell,
Shining, and wonderful, and vast, majestic, manifold,
Which none save thou in all the years had favour to behold;
For not by Vedas cometh this, nor sacrifice, nor alms,
Nor works well-done, nor penance long, nor prayers, nor chaunted psalms,
That mortal eyes should bear to view the Immortal Soul unclad,
Prince of the Kurus! This was kept for thee alone! Be glad!
Let no more trouble shake thy heart because thine eyes have seen
My terror with My glory. As I before have been
So will I be again for thee; with lightened heart behold!
Once more I am thy Kṛṣṇa, the form thou knew'st of old!

Samjaya:

These words to Arjuna spake
 Vāsudev, and straight did take
 Back again the semblance dear
 Of the well-loved charioteer;
 Peace and joy it did restore
 When the Prince beheld once more
 Mighty BRAHMA's form and face
 Clothed in Kṛṣṇa's gentle grace.

Arjuna:

Now that I see come back, Janardana!
 This friendly human frame, my mind can think
 Calm thoughts once more; my heart beats still again!

Kṛṣṇa:

Yea! it was wonderful, terrible
 To view me as thou didst, dear Prince! The gods
 Dread and desire continually to view!
 Yet not by Vedas, nor from sacrifice,
 Nor penance, nor gift-giving, nor with prayer
 Shall any so behold, as thou hast seen!
 Only by fullest service, perfect faith,
 And uttermost surrender am I known
 And seen, and entered into, Indian Prince!
 Who doeth all for Me; who findeth Me
 In all; adoreth always; loveth all
 Which I have made, and Me, for Love's sole end,
 That man, Arjuna! unto Me doth wend.

CHAPTER 12

*Which is better, worship of a personal God or of the
abstract Absolute?*

Arjuna:

- 12.1. Those who are thus constantly disciplined,
And revere Thee with devotion,
And those also who (revere) the imperishable unmanifest—
Of these which are the best knowers of discipline?

Kṛṣṇa:

- 12.2. Fixing the thought-organ on Me, those who Me
Revere with constant discipline,
Pervaded with supreme faith,
Them I hold to be the most disciplined.
- 12.3. But those who the imperishable, undefinable.
Unmanifest, revere,
The omnipresent and unthinkable,
The immovable, unchanging, fixed.
- 12.4. Restraining the throng of the senses,
With mental attitude alike to all,¹
They (also) reach none but Me,
Delighting in the welfare of all beings.
- 12.5. Greater is the toil of them
That have their hearts fixed on the unmanifest;
For with difficulty is the unmanifest goal
Attained by embodied (souls).
- 12.6. But those who, all actions
Casting on Me, intent on Me,
With utterly unswerving discipline
Meditating on Me, revere Me,
- 12.7. For them I the Saviour
From the sea of the round of deaths
Become right soon,
When they have made their thoughts enter into Me.

¹ To all experiences (indifferent to the results), or to all beings (as in the fourth line), or both. See 5.7 and note.

- 12.8. Fix thy thought-organ on Me alone;
 Make thy consciousness enter into Me;
 And thou shalt come to dwell even in Me
 Hereafter; there is no doubt of this.
- 12.9. But if to fix thy thought
 Steadfastly on Me thou art not able,
 With the discipline of practice then
 Seek to win Me, Dhanamjaya.
- 12.10. If thou hast no ability even for practice,
 Be wholly devoted to work for Me;
 For My sake also actions
 Performing, thou shalt win perfection.
- 12.11. But if even this thou art unable
 To do, resorting to My discipline,
 Abandonment of the fruit of all actions
 Do thou then effect, controlling thyself.
- 12.12. For knowledge is better than practice,
 And meditation is superior to knowledge,
 And abandonment of the fruit of actions is better than meditation;
 From abandonment (comes) peace immediately.¹
- 12.13. No hater of all beings,
 Friendly and compassionate,
 Free from selfishness and I-faculty,
 Indifferent to pain and pleasure, patient,
- 12.14. The disciplined man who is always content,
 Whose self is controlled, of firm resolve,
 Whose thought and consciousness are fixed on Me,
 Who is devoted to Me, he is dear to Me.
- 12.15. He before whom people do not tremble,
 And who does not tremble before people,

¹ Here three different ways of salvation are briefly mentioned, in climactic order: (1) the Sāṃkhya way of knowledge, (2) the kind of Yoga often mentioned in the Mokṣadharmā section (see e.g. Mbh. 12.294.6-25) and (3) the Gītā's favourite way, which it also calls Yoga, acting unselfishly with no interest in results. Characteristically, the way of devotion to God is, in the latter part of the chapter, emphatically exalted above all other ways (though they may be combined with it). The colophon, in fact, entitles the chapter 'discipline of devotion' (*bhakti-yoga*).

- From joy, impatience, fear, and agitation
Who is free, he too is dear to Me.
- 12.16. Unconcerned, pure, capable,
Disinterested, free from perturbation,
Abandoning all undertakings,
Who is devoted to Me, is dear to Me.
- 12.17. Who neither delights nor loathes,
Neither grieves nor craves,
Renouncing good and evil (objects),
Who is full of devotion, he is dear to Me.
- 12.18. Alike to foe and friend,
Also to honour and disgrace,
To cold and heat, joy and sorrow
Alike, freed from attachment,
- 12.19. To whom blame and praise are equal, restrained in speech,
Content with anything that comes,
Having no home, of steadfast mind,
Full of devotion, that man is dear to Me.
- 12.20. But those who this nectar of duty
Revere as it has (now) been declared,
Having faith (in it), intent on Me,
Those devotees are beyond measure dear to Me.

CHAPTER 13

Matter and Spirit

KṚṢṆA:

- 13.1. This body, son of Kuntī,
Is called the Field.
Who knows this, he is called
Field-knower by those who know him.
- 13.2. Know also that I am the Field-knower
In all Fields, son of Bharata,
Knowledge of the Field and Field-knower,
This I hold to be (true) knowledge.
- 13.3. This Field, what it is and of what nature,
What its modifications, and whence which one (is derived),
And who He (the Field-knower) is, and what His powers are,
That hear from Me in brief.
- 13.4. This has been sung in many ways by the seers,
In various (Vedic) hymns severally,
And also in words of aphorisms about Brāhman (in the Upaniṣads),
Well-reasoned and definite.
- 13.5. The gross elements, the I-faculty,
The consciousness, and the unmanifest,
The senses ten and one,
And the five objects on which the senses (of perception) play.¹
- Knowledge, and its object (the Brāhman)*
- 13.10. With single-minded discipline, towards Me
Devotion unswerving;
Cultivation of solitary places,
Dislike for a crowd of people;
- 13.11. Constancy in the knowledge of the over-soul,
Perception of the object of knowledge of the truth:—
This (all) is called knowledge;
Ignorance is what is other than that.
- 13.12. What is the object of knowledge, that I shall declare,
Knowing which one attains freedom from death:

¹ See Introduction p. 42; also Introduction, Chapter III, note 1, p. 43.

- (It is) the beginningless Bráhman, ruled by Me;
Neither existent nor non-existent it is called.
- 13.13. It has hands and feet on all sides,
Eyes, heads, and faces on all sides,
Hearing on all sides in the world,
And it remains constantly enveloping all;
- 13.14. Having the semblance of the qualities of all the senses,
(Yet) freed from all the senses,
Unattached, and yet all-maintaining;
Free from the Strands, yet experiencing the Strands (of
matter);
- 13.15. Outside of beings, and within them,
Unmoving, and yet moving;
Because of its subtleness it cannot be comprehended:
Both far away and near it is.
- 13.16. Both undivided in beings,
And seemingly divided it remains;
Both as the supporter of beings it is to be known,
And as (their) consumer and originator.
- 13.17. Of lights also it is the light
Beyond darkness, so 'tis declared;
Knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the goal of knowledge;¹
(It is) settled in the heart of all.
- 13.18. Thus the Field, and also knowledge,
And the object of knowledge have been declared in brief;
My devotee, understanding this,
Attains unto My estate.
- Matter and Spirit* (resuming theme of 13.1-5)
- 13.19. Both material nature and the spirit,
Know thou, are equally beginningless;
Both the modifications and the Strands,
Know thou, spring from material nature.
- 13.20. In anything that concerns effect, instrument, or agent,
Material nature is declared the cause;

¹ The object of knowledge is Bráhman, that which must be known; its goal is salvation.

The spirit, in pleasure-and-pain's
Experiencing is declared the cause.

- 13.21. For the spirit, abiding in material nature,
Experiences the Strands born of material nature;
Attachment to the Strands is the cause of his
Births in good and evil wombs.
- 13.22. The onlooker and consenter,
The supporter, experiencer, great Lord,
The supreme soul also is declared to be
The highest spirit, in this body.
- 13.23. Whoso thus knows the spirit
And material nature along with its Strands,
Though he exist in any condition at all,
He is not reborn again.
- 13.24. By meditation, in the self see
Some the self by the self;
Others by discipline of reason,
And others by discipline of action.
- 13.25. But others, not having this knowledge,
Hearing it from others, revere it;
Even they also, nevertheless, cross over
Death, devoted to the holy revelation which they hear.
- 13.26. In so far as is produced any
Creature, stationary or moving,
From union of Field and Field-knower
Know that (is sprung).
- 13.27. Alike in all beings
Abiding, the supreme Lord,¹
Not perishing when they perish,
Who sees him, he (truly) sees.
- 13.28. For seeing in all the same
Lord established,

¹ Here the individual soul (*puruṣa*) or 'Field-knower'; so also in the next verse.

- He harms not himself (in others)¹ by himself,
Then he goes to the highest goal.
- 13.29. Both that by material-nature alone actions
Are performed altogether,
Who sees, and likewise that (his) self
Is not the doer, he (truly) sees.
- 13.30. When the various states of beings
He perceives as abiding in One,
And from that alone their expansion,
Then he attains Bráhmaṇ.
- 13.31. Because he is beginningless and free from the Strands,
This supreme self, imperishable,
Even abiding in the body,
Acts not, nor is he stained (by actions).
- 13.32. As because of its subtleness the omnipresent
Ether is not stained (by contact with other elements),
Abiding in every body
The self is not stained likewise.
- 13.33. As alone illumines
This whole world the sun,
So the Field-owner the whole Field
Illumines, son of Bharata.
- 13.34. Thus between Field and Field-knower
The difference, with the eye of knowledge,
And release of beings from material nature,
Those who know (these), they go to the highest.

¹ Cf. on this 5.7 with note. In this verse, which I think most interpreters have failed to understand (Paul Deussen has it right), we have in my opinion the clearest evidence that the 'Golden Rule' was not only fully accepted in Hinduism, but provided with a metaphysical proof (which it seems to lack in Christianity). It is a logical deduction from the Upaniṣad doctrine mentioned above, which has always been widely accepted in India, that the soul or real self of every man is identical with that of the universe ('that art thou', *tat tvam asi*). It follows, since things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, that one must identify his own self with all other selves. If he harms others, he harms himself. This conclusion seems inevitable, if one accepts the premises. That is why the supremely moral man, even while he lives by the ordinary norm, 'identifies his self with the self of all beings' and 'delights in the welfare of all beings' (Gītā 5.7, 25). Note also that in higher forms of Hinduism, animals are included under the Golden Rule. The law of *ahimsā*, 'non-injury' to any living thing, is mentioned several times in the Gītā.

CHAPTER 14

Bráhmaṇ as the 'womb' from which God generates the world

Kṛṣṇa:

- 14.1. Further I shall declare the highest
Knowledge, the best of all knowledges,
Knowing which all saints
Have gone from this world to supreme perfection.
- 14.2. Having resorted to this knowledge,
Come to a state of likeness with Me,
Even at a world-creation they do not come to birth,
Nor at a dissolution are they disturbed.
- 14.3. For me great Bráhmaṇ is a womb;
Therein I plant the germ;
The origin of all beings
Comes from that.
- 14.4. In all wombs,
Whatsoever forms originate,
Of them great Bráhmaṇ is the womb,
I am the father that furnishes the seed.

The three 'Strands' (as in a rope; freely, qualities) of material nature

- 14.5. Goodness, passion, and darkness,
The Strands that spring from material nature,
Bind, O great-armed one,
In the body the immortal embodied (soul).
- 14.6. Among these goodness, because it is stainless,
Is illuminating and free from disease;
It binds by attachment to bliss,
And by attachment to knowledge, blameless one.
- 14.7. Know that passion is of the nature of desire,
Source of attachment to thirst;
It, son of Kuntī, binds
The embodied (soul) by attachment to actions.
- 14.8. But know that darkness is born of ignorance,
The deluder of all embodied (souls);

- By heedlessness, sloth, and sleep
It binds, son of Bharata.
- 14.9. Goodness causes attachment to bliss,
Passion to action, son of Bharata,
But darkness, obscuring knowledge,
Causes attachment to heedlessness likewise.
- 14.10. Prevailing over passion and darkness,
Goodness comes to be, son of Bharata;
Passion, (prevailing over) goodness and darkness likewise,
And so darkness, (prevailing over) goodness and passion.
- 14.11. In all the gates (orifices) in this body
An illumination appears,
Which is knowledge; when that happens, then one shall know
Also that goodness is dominant,
- 14.12. Greed, activity, the undertaking
Of actions, unrest, longing,
These are produced when passion
Is dominant.
- 14.13. Unillumination, and inactivity,
Heedlessness, and mere delusion,
These are produced when darkness
Is dominant.
- 14.14. But when under dominance of goodness
The body-bearing (soul) goes to dissolution,
Then to the worlds of them that know the highest,
The spotless (worlds), he attains.
- 14.15. Going to dissolution in (dominance of) passion,
He is born among those attached to actions;
And so when dissolved in (dominance of) darkness,
He is born in deluded wombs.
- 14.16. Of action well done, they say
The fruit is spotless and of the nature of goodness;
But the fruit of passion is pain;
The fruit of darkness is ignorance.
- 14.17. From goodness is born knowledge,
From passion greed rather,

Heedlessness and delusion from darkness
Arise, and ignorance.

14.18. Those that abide in goodness go on high;
The men of passion remain in the middle (states);
Abiding in the scope of the base Strand,
The men of darkness go below.

14.19. No other agent than the Strands
When the Beholder (soul) perceives,
And knows the higher-than-the-Strands,
He goes unto My estate.

14.20. Transcending these three Strands,
That spring from the body, the embodied (soul),
From birth, death, old age, and sorrow
Freed, attains deathlessness.

Arjuna:

14.21. By what marks, when these three Strands
He has transcended, is he characterized, O Lord?
What is his conduct, and how these
Three Strands does he get beyond?

Kṛṣṇa:

14.22. Both illumination and activity
And delusion,
He does not loathe when they have arisen,
Nor crave when they have ceased.

14.23. Sitting as one sitting apart (indifferent),
Who is not perturbed by the Strands,
Thinking 'the Strands operate' only,
Who remains firm and is unshaken,

14.24. To whom pain and pleasure are alike, abiding in the self,
To whom clods, stones, and gold are all one,
To whom loved and unloved are equal, wise,
To whom blame and praise of himself are equal,

14.25. Alike to honour and disgrace,
Alike to parties of friend and foe,
Abandoning all undertakings,
He is called the man that has transcended the Strands.

- 14.26. And whoso Me with unswerving
 Discipline of devotion serves,
He, transcending these Strands,
 Is fit for becoming Bráhman.
- 14.27. For I am the foundation of Bráhman,
 The immortal and imperishable,
And of the eternal right,
 And of absolute bliss.

CHAPTER 15

The individual soul a 'part' of God

Kṛṣṇa:

- 15.7. A part just of Me in the world of the living
Becomes the individual-soul, the eternal;
The (five) senses, with the thought-organ as sixth,
Which rest in material nature, it draws along.
- 15.8. When he acquires a body,
And also when he departs (from it), the Lord¹
Moves taking them along,
As the wind odours from their home.
- 15.9. Hearing, sight, and touch,
Taste, and smell,
Making use of these, and the thought-organ, he
Devotes himself to the objects of sense.
- 15.10. As he departs (from the body) or remains (in it),
Or experiences (sense-objects), while attended by the Strands,
Deluded men do not perceive him;
Those whose eye is knowledge perceive him.
- 15.11. Him also men of discipline, earnestly striving,
Perceive located in their self;
(But) even though they strive, those whose self is unperfected
Perceive him not, the fools.
- 15.12. The splendour that belongs to the sun,
Which illumines the whole world,
And that which is in the moon and in fire,
Know that to be My splendour.
- 15.13. And entering into the earth, (all) beings
I maintain by (My) power;
And I nourish all plants,
Becoming the juicy soma (sacred plant and moon, identified).
- 15.14. I, becoming the (digestive) fire of all men,
Dwelling in the body of (all) living beings,

¹ The individual soul.

- In union with the upper and nether breaths
Cook (digest) their food of all four sorts.
- 15.15. I am entered into the heart of every one;
From Me come memory, knowledge and disputation;
I alone am that which is to be known by all the Vedas;
And I am the author of the Upaniṣads and the Vedas' knower.
- 15.16. Here in the world are two spirits,
The perishable, and the imperishable;¹
The perishable is all beings;
The imperishable is called the immovable.
- 15.17. But there is a highest spirit, other (than this),
Called the Supreme Soul;
Which, entering into the three worlds,
Supports them, the undying Lord.
- 15.18. Since I transcend the perishable,
And am higher than the imperishable too,
Therefore in the world and the Veda I am
Proclaimed as the highest spirit.
- 15.19. The man who, undeluded, thus Me
Knows as the supreme spirit,
He knows all, and devotes himself to Me
With his whole being.
- 15.20. Thus the most secret science
Has now been declared by Me, blameless one;
Being enlightened as to this, a man would have true enlightenment,
And would have done all there is to do.

¹ Matter, and the individual soul. In the next verse, the supreme soul or God.

CHAPTER 16

A brief code of morals

Kṛṣṇa:

- 16.1. Fearlessness, purification of essence,
Steadfastness in the discipline of knowledge,
Generosity, control, and religious worship,
Study of the Holy Word, austerities, uprightness,
- 16.2. Harmlessness, truth, no anger,
Abandonment, serenity, no backbiting,
Compassion towards creatures, no greedy desire,
Gentleness, modesty, no fickleness,
- 16.3. Majesty, patience, fortitude, purity,
No injuriousness, no excessive pride,
Are (the qualities) of him that to the divine lot
Is born, son of Bharata.
- 16.4. Hypocrisy, arrogance, overweening pride,
Wrath, and harshness (of speech) too,
And ignorance, are (the qualities) of him that is born
To the demoniac lot, son of Pṛthā.

CHAPTER 18

The true nature of abandonment of action

Kṛṣṇa:

- 18.2. The renouncing of acts of desire
Sages call renunciation.
The abandonment of all action-fruits
The wise call abandonment.
- 18.3. That it must be abandoned as sinful, some
Wise men say of action;
That actions of worship, gift, and austerity
Must not be abandoned, say others.
- 18.5. Actions of worship, gift, and austerity
Must not be abandoned, but rather performed;
Worship, gift, and austerity
Are purifiers of the wise.
- 18.6. However, these actions
With abandonment of attachment and fruits
Must be performed: this is My
Definite and highest judgment.
- 18.9. Simply because it ought to be done, when action
That is (religiously) required is performed,
Abandoning attachment and fruit,
That abandonment is held to be of goodness.
- 18.10. He loathes not disagreeable action,
Nor does he cling to agreeable (action),
The man of abandonment who is filled with goodness,
Wise, whose doubts are destroyed.
- 18.11. For a body-bearing (soul) can not
Abandon actions without remainder;
But he who abandons the fruit of action
Is called the man of (true) abandonment.

The actions innately pertaining to the four castes

- 18.41. Of brahmans, warriors, and artisans,
And of serfs, scorcher of the foe,

The actions are distinguished
According to the Strands that spring from their innate nature.

- 18.42. Calm, (self-) control, austerities, purity.
Patience, and uprightness,
Theoretical and practical knowledge, and religious faith,
Are the natural-born actions of brahmans.
- 18.43. Heroism, majesty, firmness, skill,
And not fleeing in battle also,
Generosity, and lordly nature,
Are the natural-born actions of warriors.
- 18.44. Agriculture, cattle-tending, and commerce
Are the natural-born actions of artisans;
Action that consists of service
Is likewise natural-born to a serf.
- 18.45. Taking delight in his own special kind of action,
A man attains perfection;
Delighting in one's own special action, success
How one reaches, that hear!
- 18.46. Whence comes the activity of beings,
By whom this all is pervaded,—
Him worshipping by (doing) one's own appropriate action,
A man attains perfection.
- 18.47. Better one's own duty (even) imperfect,
Than another's duty well performed.
Action pertaining to his own estate
Performing, he incurs no guilt.
- 18.48. Natural-born action,
Even though it be faulty, one should not abandon.
For all undertakings by faults
Are dimmed, as fire by smoke.

PART VI

SELECTIONS FROM THE
MOKṢADHARMA
(MAHĀBHĀRATA, BOOK 12)

SELECTIONS FROM THE MOKṢADHARMA

INTRODUCTION

Here are presented extracts from the 'Doctrine of Release' or 'Salvation', which occupies the last half, or somewhat more (Chapters 168-353 in the critical edition), of Book 12 of the Mahābhārata. This and the Bhagavad Gītā together contain the most important speculative materials in the epic. The Mokṣadh. cannot, however, compare with the Gītā, in either philosophical depth or poetic quality. If even the Gītā shows inconsistencies and illogical elements, this is much more true of the Mokṣadh. I have not tried to suppress or gloss over these. Often I have deliberately included passages which state views that seem radically different from each other. My aim has been to include passages which represent all speculative or 'philosophical' ideas that are prevalent in the Mbh. I have especially tried to include all passages which throw any important light on the crucial terms Sāṃkhya (rendered 'reason-method' in my translation of the Gītā), and Yoga, when used as a methodological term, particularly when so used as a pendant to Sāṃkhya. The third chapter of my general Introduction to this book discusses the contents of this section as well as of the Bhagavad Gītā.

The entire Mokṣadharmā was translated by Paul Deussen in *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahābhāratam*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 111-882. Unfortunately there was then no critical edition. Deussen therefore had perforce to use the vulgate editions, which leave much to be desired. Many differences between my version and his are due to this circumstance. The numbering of the chapters, for instance, is different. Since some may wish to compare Deussen's version with mine, I furnish for each selection the chapter-number, and the initial page, of Deussen.

Unlike the text of the Gītā, that of the Mokṣadharmā is, in many places, confused and uncertain. Frequently there are serious differences in the manuscripts, and even the critical edition is occasionally obscure, and not wholly reliable. Now and then, though not often, I have ventured to emend the edition; such cases are recorded in the notes.

References are to 12 (the number of the book of the Mbh. concerned), followed by chapter and verse, as in my translations.

SELECTIONS FROM THE MOKṢADHARMA

Mbh. 12.187 (Duessen 194, p. 180)

What is the over-soul?

Yudhiṣṭhira:

1. What is here thought of as man's over-soul, what the over-soul is and whence (it comes), that declare to me.

Bhīṣma:

2. This over-soul which you ask me about, that I shall explain to you—the most weal-bringing bliss;

3. Knowing which a man finds joy and bliss in the world; and (by knowing it) he shall immediately obtain a fruitful result, and that is weal for all beings.

The five elements, origin and end of all beings

4. Earth, wind (air), ether, water, and fire as the fifth, are the gross elements; they are the origin and end of all beings.

5. Beings are created from them, and into them they return again and again; the gross elements in beings are like the waves of the sea.

6. And as a tortoise puts out his limbs and draws them in again, in that same way the elemental self,¹ having created beings, draws them in again.

¹ *bhūtātman*, 'self of (or appearing in) the (material) elements'; it seems to mean the empirically observed living being, without distinction of body and soul. In 12.291.34 it is 'perishable', because bodily things perish from day to day; it is contrasted with the 'imperishable', the real soul, ib. 35. 'Perishable' and 'imperishable selves' are contrasted also in 12.231.31; the former is 'in all beings' (*bhūta*; the first member of the compound *bhūtātman*!), the latter 'the divine immortal'. Here 'self' is *ātman*. The same, with 'spirit (*puruṣa*)' for *ātman*, in BhG. 15.16-17; here is a third, 'highest spirit', the Supreme Soul (Brāhman or God), 'which, entering the three worlds, supports them'. In 12.231.11 the *bhūtātman*, 'fixed in the heart, yokes the thought-organ'. Yet in 12.231.21 the *bhūtātman*, 'when he sees himself in all beings and all beings in himself, attains Brāhman'. Here it must be the individual soul, ordinarily called *jīva*, as in 12.187.7, which seems to be substantially identical with *bhūtātman*. For *jīva*, too, is or includes matter. In 12.244.11 it is definitely said to be the Field (= matter), in contrast with ib. 10 'the inner self' which is 'altogether the highest'. Similarly in 12.233.20, intelligence (*cetana*) is a quality of *jīva*, which 'acts and causes everything to act'. In BhG. 15.7 *jīva* is 'a part' of God.

7. The creator of beings created just five elements in all beings, and put diversity in them; but the self (*jīva*) does not see this.¹

8. Sound, hearing, and the (ear-) openings, these three originate in ether;² from wind (air) come skin, contact, and gestures, and speech, these four.

9. Form (things seen), the eye, and digestion (regarded as an internal cooking), thus fire is called three-fold. Flavour, moisture, and the tongue are called the three qualities of water.

10. Odour, nose (smell), and the (gross) body, however, are the three qualities of earth. There are (these) five gross elements; but the thought-organ is called the sixth.³

The means of perception

11. The senses and the thought-organ are man's (means of) perception. They say the intellect⁴ is the seventh, while the Field-knower (the soul) is the eighth.

12. The eye is for seeing, the thought-organ causes doubtful consideration, the intellect⁴ is for determination; the Field-knower is present as Onlooker.

13. He (the Field-knower) sees everything that is above the soles of the feet, what is (directed) hitherward, and upward; know that by him this whole world is included within.

¹ Most mss. have the negative; critical edition omits it.

² The Sanskrit *ākāśa* is commonly, and reasonably, rendered 'ether', which in western physics, as late as the nineteenth century, was understood as 'a substance of great elasticity and subtilty, believed to permeate the whole of planetary and stellar space, not only filling the inter-planetary spaces, but also the interstices between the particles of air and other matter on the earth: the medium through which the waves of light are propagated' (Oxford English Dictionary, of which the letter E was published in 1888-1893). There is one difference: *ākāśa* was by the Hindus associated not with the transmission of light, but of sound. Like ether ('the clear sky; the upper regions of space . . .', loc. cit.), *ākāśa* could also mean the 'ethereal' space, and sometimes is replaced by *antarikṣa*, 'atmosphere', originally the space between earth and heaven. But as one of the five elements, it was conceived as a subtle and all-pervasive substance, filling in the 'interstices between the particles of . . . matter on the earth'.

³ This is inconsistent with the common scheme, which makes the thought-organ one of the senses (the sixth, as in vs. 16 below, or eleventh if the action-senses are counted). On the word *guṇa*, rendered 'qualities' in vss. 9 and 10, see notes 1 and 2, p. 258.

⁴ Or 'consciousness' or 'will'; *buddhi*; familiar as the first evolvent of primal material nature (*prakṛti*). The rendering 'will' would be fitting here. The word also means 'awareness' or 'enlightenment'. In vs. 15 below it is used with the cognate verb *budh-*, which shares its meanings.

14. And the senses here in man must be known completely. And know that the (three) conditions of existence, darkness, passion, and goodness,¹ are dependent on them.

15. Becoming aware (or enlightened) by the intellect, a man contemplates this coming and going of creatures, and gradually obtains supreme peace.

16. The intellect governs the qualities,² the intellect (governs) also the sense-organs, all of them, with the thought-organ as sixth; in the absence of intellect, how could the qualities exist?

17. So this whole world of stationary and movable things is composed of that (intellect); (with it) it perishes and is produced; therefore it is so defined.

18. The eye is what (the intellect) sees with; what it hears with is called the ear; the nose, they say, is what it smells with; with the tongue it recognizes flavour;

19. And with the skin it makes contact with touches; the intellect is adapted in various ways. That with which it adopts anything as its purpose is the thought-organ.

20. For the abiding-places of the intellect, which they say are the five senses, five-fold with their different objects, these the Invisible (soul, spirit) abides in (or, presides over).

The three 'conditions of existence' (or 'strands')

21. The intellect, presided over by the spirit (*ṣuruṣa*), is present in the three conditions of existence.³ At times it gets enjoyment (in the 'condition' of goodness, *sattva*); at times it is tormented (in the condition of passion, *rajas*);

¹ These are standardly, and in vss. 28 ff. below, known as the three 'strands' (*guṇa*) or qualities which pervade all material nature (BhG. 14.5-27). But below, 21-23, as here, they are again called 'conditions of existence' or 'states of being' (*bhāva*); and similarly 12.267.25, q.v., with note; 12.240.6, and elsewhere. But *bhāva* seems in these places to mean about the same as 'strand' (*guṇa*). A different use of the word *guṇa* in vss. 9 and 10, and apparently in 16.

² The word so rendered is *guṇa*, which in 9 and 10 is used of 'qualities' of (two of the) gross elements, including objects of the senses. Most commentaries so understand *guṇa* in this verse; one understands it as meaning the three strands of material nature as a whole (see note 1, p. 258), which seems less probable here.

³ See vs. 14 with note.

22. At times (in the condition of darkness, dullness, *tamas*) it is affected by neither pleasure nor pain. Thus it abides in the three conditions of existence, in the thought-organ of men.

23. This (intellect), whose nature is rooted in the conditions of existence, never gets beyond these three conditions, as the sea, the lord of rivers, with its waves (never gets beyond) its great boundary . . .

28. Three sorts of sensation are seen in all beings, those due to goodness, passion, and darkness (dullness).

29. The strand goodness has contact with pleasure, the strand passion has contact with pain; by the strand darkness (dullness) both (pleasure and pain) become joined and (so) inactive (they are cancelled out).

30. When something joined with pleasure occurs in the body or thought-organ, then one should observe that the condition of goodness exists.

31. Then when there is something joined with pain, causing distress to oneself, knowing that passion has developed, one should not get excited and worry about it.

32. Then when something develops that is joined with confusion and seems obscure, undefinable and undiscernible, that one should know to be darkness (dullness) . . .

37. Note this difference between the two subtle entities, essential (material) reality¹ and the Field-knower (soul). The one creates the strands (of matter), the other does not create the strands.

38. As the gnat and the fig-tree (in which the insect burrows) are always joined, and yet are distinct from one another, thus these two are joined.

39. (Though) they are distinct by nature, these two are always joined; as a fish and water are joined, just so these two.

40. The strands (of matter) do not know the soul; he knows the strands altogether. He is the one who surveys the strands, and (wrongly) imagines that he is always their creator.

¹ *sattva*; see 12.294.40 with note; also vs. 42 below.

41. But for the purpose of illumination (of the person), the supreme self makes himself like a light, by means of the sense-organs with (thought-organ as sixth and) intellect as seventh, though they are (in themselves) inactive and un-knowing.

42. For essential (material) reality creates the strands, the Field-knower surveys them. This is the permanent connection of these two, essential reality and the Field-knower. . . .

48. When the strands have come to an end (i.e. when the body dies), through the carrying to completion of their own nature, he always sends them forth (creates them); the strands are to be understood as like the thread, as a spider sends it forth (from itself).

49. After they have died, they do not perish; no perishing of them is observed by direct perception; this (their continued existence) is established by inference, in an esoteric (mystic) way.

50. Thus some are convinced; others think they perish. Having considered both alternatives, one must decide this as he thinks best . . .

55. He who knows the 'group of three',¹ he, illuminated by light before him, is emancipated, having searched with his thought-organ, disciplined, beholding the truth, free from yearning . . .

57. Becoming aware of this, he would be enlightened; what other mark of an enlightened man could there be? For understanding this, the wise believe that they have done all that needs to be done.

¹ Propriety, wordly advantage, and love, the three objects of normal human desire. All three should be ignored by the seeker of salvation.

Mbh. 12.188 (Deussen 195, p. 187)

Practice (Yoga) of meditation leads to nirvāṇa

Bhīṣma:

1. Behold, I will tell you the four-fold¹ discipline (Yoga) of meditation, knowing which supreme seers go to eternal perfection.

2. Thus yogins (possessors of Yoga) perform meditation, as it is properly performed—the great seers who are satiated with knowledge, whose minds are gone to *nirvāṇa*.

3. They do not return again, released from the evils of the round of rebirths, vanished from the evils of birth, firmly established in their own essence;

4. Free from the pairs (of opposites),² eternally abiding in goodness (*sattva*), released, permanently resorted to things that are free from attachment and from dispute and that produce quietude in the thought-organ.

The first step is withdrawal of the senses from their objects,

5. Then the ascetic should fix the thought-organ, closely united with study, on a single point, rolling together the group of the senses (in the thought-organ), sitting like a stick of wood.

6. He shall not find sound with the ear, nor be conscious of touch with the skin, nor know form with the eye, nor tastes with the tongue;

7. Also the Yoga-knower shall abandon all smells by meditation; energetically he shall refuse to crave these (sense-objects) which disturb the group of five (senses).

And uniting them in the thought-organ

8. Then he shall wisely unite the group of five in the thought-organ, and shall concentrate the wandering thought-organ together with the five senses.

9. The restless thought-organ that strays hither and thither, which is without steady resting-place, with its five (sense-) outlets, he shall firmly concentrate on the first course of meditation within.

¹ The commentaries have different explanations of this term.

² BhG. 2.45 with note.

10. When he rolls together the senses and the thought-organ, this is described by me as the first course of meditation.

But after this, the thoughts become unsteady

11. This initially checked group (of senses) of which the thought-organ is the sixth will thereupon be disturbed and flicker for him, like lightning in a cloud.

12. As a drop of water on a leaf trembles and runs all around, just so becomes that thought of his, on the course of meditation.

13. For a moment his thought-organ remains somewhat concentrated on the course of meditation, but again strays on the path of the wind and becomes like the wind.

He must not be discouraged, but must persist in his endeavour

14. Undespondent and undistressed, free from weariness and selfishness, the one who knows the discipline (Yoga) of meditation shall again concentrate his thought by meditation.

15. Doubt and uncertainty and dubiety arise in the ascetic when he first concentrates in meditation from the beginning.

16. But (even) when he is disturbed by the thought-organ, he must cause it to attain concentration; the ascetic must not become discouraged; he must rather act for his soul's welfare.

17. Just as heaps of dust, ashes, and rubbish piled up, when sprinkled with water, do not immediately become saturated,

18. And just as dry meal, when it is slightly moistened, is not completely soaked, but little by little it gradually becomes saturated,

19. Just so one should gradually make the group of the senses completely saturated, and should concentrate them step by step; (thus) he shall become completely tranquil.

20. Of themselves the thought-organ and the group of five (senses), when they have attained the first course of meditation, will be tranquilized by constant Yoga-practice.

21. Not by (worldly) human action, nor by any divine intervention, will that bliss come to him, which comes to one who thus controls himself.

22. Endowed with that bliss he will abide happily in the process of meditation. For thus possessors of Yoga go to that *nirvāṇa* which is free from disease.

Mbh. 12.228 (Deussen 236 or 237; p. 349)

The discipline of Yoga will save even inferior persons

Vyāsa:

4 (cdef). He should control speech and thought-organ by the intellect, who desires the highest knowledge; by knowledge he should control the self, who desires peace for his self.

5. If he keeps all these things in view, even a very violent man, whether he knows all the Vedas or knows no Vedic verse and recites none,

6. Whether he is a righteous sacrificer or the worst of evil-doers, whether a tiger of a man or fixed in cowardice,

7. He yet crosses over the very dreadful sea of old age and death. For thus by this discipline (Yoga) disciplining himself unto (reaching) the One finally, even while still seeking knowledge, he passes beyond the word-brāhman (Vedic religion).

Metaphor of a car applied to Yoga-exercises

8. (The car) whose seat is righteousness, whose guard-rail is modesty, whose shafts are successful or unsuccessful expedients, whose axle is the nether breath, whose yoke is the upper breath, whose ropes are wisdom, life, and soul,

9. Whose standing-plank is intelligence, the beautiful (car) whose wheel-felly is adoption of good conduct, whose shoulder-pieces are sight and touch, whose draught-horses are smell and hearing.

10. Whose (wheel-) nave is wisdom, whose whip is all scientific books, whose charioteer is knowledge; the Field-knower (soul) presides over it, it is firm and is attended by faith and self-control,

11. It follows the road of renunciation and leads to peace, goes to purity, has meditation within its range; this heavenly car, yoked up by the soul, is replendent in the world of Brāhman.

Prescriptions for Yoga-practice

12. Now I shall explain the quick-going method for one who wishes speedily to yoke up this car, who intends to go to the Imperishable;

13. Who, suppressing speech, attains to all seven fixations (of the thought-organ, listed in next verses), and whatever other fixations there may be that are from behind or from the side (i.e. of secondary importance).

14. Step by step he attains mastery over (the gross elements) earth, air, ether, water, and fire, and of the I-faculty through the intellect (*buddhi*),

15. And he gradually attains mastery of the unmanifest (primal material nature). And whoever has got these powers, he disciplines (or 'yokes up') himself according to Yoga.

Supernatural manifestations and powers

16. Then for him, disciplined in discipline (Yoga), seeing success in himself, one that is extracted from (or by?) subtleness shall exhibit these (following) forms.

17. As a fine winter's fog spreads over the sky, so for one released from the body (by the magic powers of Yoga) his previous (bodily) form shall present itself.

18. Then, on the cessation of the fog, he sees a second appearance of form, as if a form of water within the ether (but) right there in his own self.

19. And also, upon the passing away of the water, a form of fire appears. And when that has disappeared, a yellow-robed form is expected; and (next?) a form having the (white) colour of wool appears . . . [He also attains various supernatural powers; vss. 20-26.]

The knowledge-method of Sāṃkhya; its results

27. That from which the world comes forth, and becomes called the manifest, an explanation concerning the Unmanifest in that, hear you from me in detail; and first learn from me the reasoning (*saṃkhyā*) that concerns the manifest.

28. The twenty-five principles (*tattva*) which are equally in both Yoga and Sāṃkhya alike, and likewise the differences between them, hear from me.

29. That which is called the manifest, is born, grows, decays, and dies; it is joined with (these) four characteristic marks.

30. The opposite of that is called the unmanifest. And there are two selves (*ātman*) declared in the Vedas and scientific books.

31. But one (material nature) of the two, born with (those) four characteristics, they call the group of four; it is manifest, born of the unmanifest. Now the other (self) is the enlightened (*buddha*). Essential (material) reality (*sattva*; see 12.294.40 and note) and the Field-knower (soul), these two are also taught.

Withdrawal is characteristic of Sāṃkhya

32. Both the selves, according to the Vedas, are attracted to the objects of sense. The withdrawal from sense-objects is the mark of perfection for Sāṃkhya-followers.

33. Unselfish, without egotism, free from the pairs,¹ having cut off doubts, he is not angry and does not hate, nor does he speak false words.

34. When reviled and beaten, because of his kindness he has no bad thought; he turns away from reprisal in word, action, and thought, all three.

35. Alike to all beings, he draws near to (the god) Brahmā. He neither desires, nor is he without desire; he limits himself to merely sustaining life.

36. Not covetous, unshaken, self-controlled; not active, yet not neglecting religious duty; his sense-organs are not drawn to many objects, his desires are not widely scattered; he is not harmful to any creature; such a Sāṃkhya-follower is released.

Yoga-followers saved by transcending the supernatural powers

37. Now learn from me by what means men are released through Yoga. He who having passed beyond the supernatural powers of Yoga,² leaves them behind, is released.

38. Thus this enlightenment born in the heart has been told to you, without a doubt. Thus one becomes free from the pairs (of opposites) and goes unto (the god) Brahmā.

¹ BhG. 2.45 with note.

² Some of these supernatural powers are described in vss. 12 ff. above; see also 12.289.24-29. They are incidental to the main purpose of Yoga, which is salvation; the true yogin must leave them behind; 12.289.29 note 1.

Mbh. 12.231. (Deussen 239 or 240; p. 359)

Renunciation, as well as knowledge, necessary in Sāṅkhya-method

Vyāsa:

5. Not without knowledge and asceticism, not without restraint of the senses, not without complete renunciation, does anyone find perfection.

A (confused) list of bodily elements

6. All the gross elements were the ancient creation of the Self-existent and were implanted especially in the crowd of living beings, in the embodied ones . . .

11. The thought-organ yokes the sense-organs, as a groom does obedient horses. And the elemental-self,¹ fixed in the heart, always yokes the thought-organ, too.

12. Likewise the thought-organ always lords it over all these sense-organs, in the matter of restraining them and letting them go, and the elemental-self the thought-organ even so . . .

15. Thus the seventeenth (namely, the soul) in the body is surrounded by sixteen qualities (= unproductive 'modifications', q.v.); the wise brahman, by his thought-organ, sees the self in himself.

The individual soul and the universal soul

16. For this great Self (*ātman*) is not to be seen by the eye, nor by all the sense-organs; by the thought-organ, when it is illumined, it shines forth.

17. That, without sound, touch, or form, without taste or smell, undying, bodiless and without sense-organs, one should see in one's own body.

18. He who perceives the immortal (self) that is located, unmanifest, in manifest mortal bodies, he after death is fitted for becoming Brāhman.

19. In a brahman characterized by knowledge and noble origin, in a cow, in an elephant, and in a mere dog, and an outcaste, the wise see the same.²

¹ See 12.187.6, note.

² Cf. BhG. 5.18.

20. For in all beings, moving and stationary, dwells this one great Self, by whom this universe was expanded.

21. When the elemental-self¹ sees himself in all beings and all beings in himself, then he attains Bráhman.

22. In so far as the Self of the Veda is in the (individual) self, in so far the (individual) self is in the Supreme Self. He who always knows this is fitted for immortality.

Difficulty of perceiving the Supreme

23. Who has become the self of all beings and is benevolent to all beings, his path is confusing even to the gods, as they seek the track of the trackless one.

24. As the course of birds in the air and of a fish in water, so the course of the most exalted soul cannot be seen.

25. Time matures all beings by itself in itself. But no one here on earth knows him in which Time is matured. (See 12.244.2.)

26. Not above, not horizontally, not below, nor yet transversely, nor in the middle can anyone from any side grasp this.

27. All these worlds are stationed within this, and there is nothing outside of them. If one should attain (a distance, or speed, of?) a thousand, as an arrow loosed from the bow-string,

28. He could not come to the end of its cause, even if he were swift as thought. There is nothing subtler than this subtle one, and nothing greater than it.

29. It has hands and feet on all sides, eyes, heads, and faces on all sides, hearing on all sides in the world, and it remains constantly enveloping all.²

30. It is finer than the fine, it is greater than the great; remaining fixed within all beings, it is not seen.

Perishable and imperishable soul

31. Imperishable and perishable—this is the two-fold nature of the

¹ See 12.187.6, note.

² Cf. BhG. 13.13.

self. It is perishable in all beings; for the imperishable is the divine immortal.¹

32. Entering into the city of nine gates (the body), the swan (*haṃsa*-bird) is fixed, in control, as lord of every creature, stationary and moving.

33. Those who see the further shore (of existence) declare that the unborn (soul) is the swan (*haṃsa*-bird), with its conjunction with ever new bodies that are subject to alternations of cessation and breaking down.

34. And the imperishable, which is called the swan, the immovable which is the imperishable, knowing that imperishable and having attained it, one leaves behind life and (re-) birth.

¹ See note on 12.187.6.

Mbh. 12.232 (Deussen 240 or 241; p. 362)

The preceding Chapter is Sāṅkhya-method

Vyāsa:

1. In response to your question I have set forth, accurately according to the truth, that which is associated with the Sāṅkhya-method.

The method of Yoga; concentration of senses and mentality

2. But (now) I shall exhibit for you the whole of Yoga-activity; listen to it! It is unification of the thought-organ and consciousness, and of the senses altogether; this is the supreme knowledge of the self, that is engaged in meditation.

3. Now this must be brought into consciousness by one who is calmed, self-restrained, who is devoted to the Over-soul, who finds his joy in the self, who is enlightened and pure in action,

The hindrances to Yoga

4. After he has exterminated the hindrances to Yoga, which the sages say are five: desire, wrath, and greed, fear, and somnolence¹ as the fifth . . . [The following verses describe how this is done.]

Brahman the source of creatures

9. Brāhman, composed of energy, is the Pure, of which this universe is the flavour. Originating from (this) One creature are the two (kinds of creatures), stationary and moving.

Preliminary virtues to be gained

10. Meditation, study, generosity, truth, modesty, honesty, patience, purity, cleanness of food, and restraint of the senses,

11. By these his energy increases, and he dispenses with evil; all his aims succeed and his understanding progresses.

12. Spending his time alike towards all beings, in gain or loss, shaking off evil, energetic, eating little, subduing the senses, keeping desire and wrath under control, he shall seek out the place of Brāhman.

Concentration; approach to self-hypnosis

13. Collected and effecting concentration of the thought-organ and senses, in the early and late parts of the night he shall make the thought-organ firm by his self.

¹ A somewhat different list of five in 12.289.11.

14. If of the five senses of this person a single sense-organ gets a crack (towards the outside), then his insight trickles away, like water from the bottom of a bag.

15. But the knower of Yoga should first grasp his thought-organ, as a fisherman grasps unruly fish, and so also then his ear, eye, tongue, and nose.

16. Then the ascetic should hold these (senses) fast and make them rest in the thought-organ, and similarly should remove all purposes from the thought-organ and hold it steady in the self.

He attains Brāhman, the Supreme Self

17. Uniting the five (senses) knowingly, the ascetic shall make them rest in the thought-organ; and when they, and the thought-organ as sixth, abide in the self, and standing firm become calmed, then Brāhman shines forth,

Which is everything

18. Like a smokeless lighted fire, like the blazing sun, like the fire of lightning in the air; he sees the Self by the self, and everything then is seen everywhere, because of its all-pervasiveness.

19. Him (the Self) the wise and great-souled brahmans behold; who are steadfast and of great intelligence, and who delight in the welfare of all beings.

20. Thus living for a limited time, sitting alone in a secret place with sharpened vows, he shall attain identity with the Imperishable Self.

Supernatural marvels arise

21. Then confusion ensues, revolving, and whirlpools in smells, sounds and sights, wonders in tastes and touches, cold and hot, a wind (-like) shape.

But they should be ignored

22. Experiencing, as a result of Yoga, apparitions and supernatural appearances, the one who knows the truth should pay no heed to them, but by his own self alone should make them disappear.

Times and places favourable to Yoga-practice

23. The controlled ascetic should make his practice in Yoga at the three times;¹ he shall engage in it on a mountain peak, at a holy shrine, or in the tops of trees.

¹ According to a commentary, 'morning, and first and later parts of the night'.

24. Completely controlling the group of the senses, as if he had his mind on a bucket in a cow-stall (to keep it from being upset or otherwise molested by the cattle), he should always ponder concentrated and not let his thoughts depart from Yoga.

25. By whatever means the fickle thought-organ can be completely restrained, just that he should devote himself to, disciplined, and should not swerve at all from it.

26. Concentrated, he should approach to take up his abode in empty mountain caves, in temples, and in empty houses.

No contact with others; indifference to surroundings

27. He should not embrace another person in words, action, or even thought. Indifferent, limited in nourishment, he should be disinterested regarding what he gets or fails to get.

28. One who may speak well of him and one who may revile him, towards both these he shall behave alike; he shall not desire anything pleasant or unpleasant.

29. He shall not rejoice in gains, nor worry about failures to gain. Alike towards all creatures, his character should be like the wind.

30. For the saint who thus with his whole soul has the same view regarding everything, who is constantly disciplined (in Yoga) for six months, the word-Bráhmaṇ (Vedic religion) passes away.

31. Seeing creatures distressed with pain, he, to whom clods, stones, and gold are all alike, devoted to this way (of Yoga), he shall come to rest, freed from confusion.

Anyone is eligible for Yoga-practice

32. Even one who has fallen from caste, or a woman who desires the right, even these by this way (of Yoga) may go to the highest goal.

33. The unborn, ancient, ageless, everlasting, which one may grasp with senses that do not stir,¹ which is finer than the fine and greater than the great,—that the disciplined (*yogin*), possessing the Self, sees by himself.

¹ Reading with most mss. *upalabheta niścalaiḥ*.

34. When one has followed through with his thought and considered these words of the great exalted sage, correctly reported, he shall attain identity with the One that is in the Highest, which is the goal of creatures, to which the wise depart.

Mbh. 12.233 (Deussen 241 or 242; p. 366)

*The way of knowledge (with renunciation; Sāṃkhya)
is superior to the way of action*

Śuka:

1. Here it is said in the Veda: 'Perform action!' (and also) 'Give it up!' To what region do people go by knowledge, and to what by action?

2. I wish to hear this, so explain it to me, sir. But this (statement) is in mutual contradiction, since (the two parts are) inconsistent.

Bhīṣma:

3. Thus addressed the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa) replied to his son (Śuka): I will explain these two (paths), consisting of action and of knowledge, which are perishable and imperishable (respectively).

4. To what region they go by knowledge, and to what by action, hear with concentrated mind, my son; for profound is this difference.

5. As if one should say, It is said in the doctrine, and, It is not (said) in the same (doctrine),—similar to that view would be this my (statement).

6. Now there are two paths, on which the Vedas are based: the doctrine that is characterized by activity, and the clearly stated one that rests on inactivity.

7. By action a creature is bound, but by knowledge he is released. Therefore the ascetics who see the farther shore do not perform action.

8. By action one is born after death with bodily form, sixteen-fold; by knowledge one is always born undying, imperishable by nature.

9. But some men, of rather scant intelligence, approve of action; therefore they devote themselves to the snares of the body, taking pleasure in them.

10. But those who have attained highest intelligence and see the totality of the doctrine, they do not approve of action, as one drinking in a river (does not care for) a well.

11. One obtains as the fruit of action pleasure and pain, coming into being and passing away. By knowledge one obtains that to which having gone one is not distressed;

12. To which having gone one does not die, to which having gone one is not born, to which having gone one does not diminish, to which having gone one does not increase;

13. Where is that supreme Bráhmaṇ (neuter), the unmanifest, ageless, unchanging, unimpeded, effortless, immortal, and without deprivation;

14. Where (creatures) are not tormented by the pairs (of opposites)¹ nor by activity of the thought-organ, always equable, friendly, and delighting in the welfare of all beings . . .

18. The divine being that is set down in this (body), like a drop of water on a lotus leaf, him one should recognize as the Field-knower, who has subdued his self by abandonment (of action) . . .

20. They say intelligence is a quality of the (individual) soul;² this (soul) acts and causes everything to act. Higher than that (soul) Knowers of the Field call him (the universal Soul) who set in motion the seven worlds.

¹ See BhG. 2.45 with note 1.

² *jīva*; see 12.187.6 note.

The soul within the body

Vyāsa:

1. But what are the evolvents of material nature, by them the Field-knower (soul) is encircled. And they do not know him, but he knows them.

2. And by these (five) sense-organs, with thought-organ as the sixth, he does his work in the world, like a charioteer with excellent, stout, well-trained horses.

3. Higher than the senses are the (sense-) objects, higher than the objects is the thought-organ, higher than the thought-organ is the consciousness (or intellect, *buddhi*), higher than the consciousness is the Great Self.¹

4. Higher than the Great (Self) is the unmanifest (the unevolved material nature); higher than the unmanifest is the Immortal (neuter); higher than the Immortal there is nothing; it is the goal, it is the highest course.

5. The Self, thus hidden in all beings, does not reveal himself. But he is seen by those who see the truth, through the supreme, subtle intelligence (*buddhi*; cf. note 1, p. 276).

6. Lurking in the inner self, by his wisdom not caring about the (five) senses with thought-organ as sixth, nor the sense-objects, nor manifold care,

7. Making the thought-organ come to rest by meditation, and perfecting it by knowledge, the Supreme (self),² calmed in nature, then goes to the immortal place.

8. But the mortal whose self is subject to all the senses, whose thoughts are unstable, by giving himself over attains death.

¹ With this (also 12.240.2) and the next two verses cf. KaṭhaUp. 3.10-12 and 6.7-9, which have 'the Spirit (*puruṣa*)' instead of 'the Immortal' in the next vs.; 6.7 also has *sattva* for *buddhi*, see 12.294.40 and note. On *buddhi* see 12.187.11 note.

² *aniśvaraḥ*, masculine; 'he who has no lord'; see 12.289.3 note 1.

9. But abandoning all purposes he should make his thought enter into (the strand) goodness. Having made his thought enter goodness, he would be (immovable as the mountain) Kālaṃjara.

10. For by serenity of thoughts the ascetic abandons good and evil. With serene self abiding in the (his?) self, he attains endless bliss.

11. But the sign of serenity is, as when one, satiated, sleeps in peace, or as when a lamp lighted in a windless place does not flicker.

12. Thus in the first and last parts of the night, disciplining (*yujān*, the verb cognate with Yoga) himself by himself, his self purified by living on goodness,¹ he sees the Self in his self.

¹That is, probably, 'fasting'. In two earlier Mbh. occurrences (3.203.37 and 12.180.28) the verse reads 'eating little', and so many mss. read here, for 'living on goodness'.

Nature and relations of the intellect, the strands, and the self

Vyāsa:

1. The thought-organ creates the condition of existence (of matter); the intellect (or will, *buddhi*) forms a resolution; the heart knows what is pleasant and unpleasant; three-fold is the impulse to action.

2. For higher than the sense-organs are their objects; higher than the (sense-) objects is the thought-organ; but the intellect¹ is higher than the thought-organ; the self (*ātman*) is considered higher than the intellect.

3. The intellect is the self of man; the intellect is like the self of the self;² when it modifies the condition of existence, then it becomes the thought-organ.

4. For because of the various specific natures of the sense-organs, the intellect is subtly modified; as it hears, it becomes hearing; as it touches, it is called touch.

5. As it sees, it becomes sight; as it tastes, it becomes taste; as it smells, it becomes smelling; the intellect is modified variously.

6. These they call the sense-organs; over them the unseen (intellect³) presides. Being present in man, the intellect is found in the three conditions of existence⁴.

7. Sometimes it enjoys pleasure, sometimes it is pained here; sometimes it is affected by neither pleasure nor pain here.

8. This (intellect), whose nature is rooted in the conditions of existence, never gets beyond these three conditions, as the sea, the lord of rivers, with its waves (never gets beyond) its great boundary . . .⁵

¹ See 12.187.11 note. With vs. 2 cf. 12.238.3 and note.

² Commentary: 'because it causes the rest to act'.

³ So with critical edition; but many mss. 'the unseen one (masculine)' = the self or soul, as in 12.187.20.

⁴ See 12.187.14 with note. This explains the following vs. 7 also.

⁵ This verse is repeated 12.187.23, which seems to have the correct reading (here adopted); the critical edition has a corruption which gives the opposite meaning.

16. As a water-dwelling bird is not stained as it moves in the water, just so one who has attained knowledge, as he moves among the sense-objects without sin, not attaching himself to any of them, is not stained in any way.

17. Abandoning the actions he has previously performed, who finds his pleasure always in the self, whose self has become (identified with) the self of all beings, who is not attached to the paths of the strands,

18. His self brings forth goodness, not ever the (other) strands. The strands do not know the self; he always knows the strands.

19. He is the observer of the strands, and their creator, howsoever they may be. Note this difference between the two subtle entities, essential (material) reality,¹ and the Field-knower (soul).

20. The one creates the strands (of matter), the other does not create the strands. Though separate by nature, these two are always associated.

21. As a fish is different from the water, and yet the two are associated, just so these two. And also just as the gnat and the fig-tree are associated together,

22. Or as the blade inside the reed-stalk is both separate and yet associated, just so these two are associated and fixed in one another.

¹ *sattva*; see 12.294.40 and note.

Mbh. 12.241 (Deussen 249; p. 390)

The soul governs, without interest, the permutations of matter

Vyāsa:

1. Essential (material) reality¹ creates the strands (of matter); but the Field-knower (soul) governs them, disinterestedly, as Lord, all the strands as they are modulated.

2. That (essential material nature) is wholly joined with self-nature (primal matter) when it creates these strands; as a spider its thread, it creates the strands like a string.

3. After they have died, they do not perish;² (but) no (presumption of) activity (of them) is observed. Thus some are convinced; others think they perish.

4. Having considered both alternatives, one must decide as he thinks best. In this manner the occupant of wombs (one subject to rebirth) becomes great. (?)

The enlightened man, knowing the self, attains peace

5. Having obtained the permanent, which has neither beginning nor end, a man should live without anger and without rejoicing, constantly without coveting.

6. Having thus got beyond the knot of the heart,³ hard, consisting of the cares of the intellect, one should sit at ease, not grieving, his doubts cleft.

7. As ignorant men would be tormented when, fallen from the earth (bank), they are plunged into a swollen river, so, know you, is this world.

8. But the wise man is not distressed; knowing the truth, he walks on dry land,—who thus finds the Self, and complete knowledge of the Self (or, of himself).

9. Thus, becoming aware of all the coming and going of beings, and having taken careful note of it, a man gradually obtains supreme peace.

¹ *sattva*; 12.294.40 ff. with note.

² Contrast 12.187.49; with the following cf. *ibid.* 50.

³ See BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.1 with note; KāṭhaUp. 6.15.

10. This is the full capacity of birth (=all that birth can provide), especially for a brahman: knowledge of the self, and peace. Thus the highest goal is reached.

11. Being enlightened as to this, one would be (truly) enlightened; what other mark of the enlightened man is there? Having understood this, wise men have done all that needs to be done and are saved.

12. For the wise there exists not the great danger, which is a very great danger for the unwise. For there is no higher goal for anyone than the eternal goal of the wise man.

13. A man grumbles about this sick world, and seeing this or that thing is distressed. But behold the competent men, who are not distressed, who know both what has been done and has not been done.

14. What he does is not dictated by selfish interest, and what he did earlier he thrusts away from him. And what he is still doing in this world, that does not produce anything either pleasant or unpleasant for him.

The highest duty, concentration and suppression of the senses, leads to seeing the Supreme and to salvation

Śuka:

1. Do you, sir, declare to me that duty (*dharma*), than which no higher duty exists here on earth, and which is distinguished above (other) duties.

Vyāsa:

2. I will explain to you the ancient duty that is praised by the seers, distinguished above all duties; do you listen to it with concentrated mind.

3. Having restrained by the intellect with effort, as a father his own sons, the impetuous senses, which try to rush out in all directions;

4. Concentration of the thought-organ and the senses, the highest asceticism (*tapas*), this is superior to all duties; this is called the highest duty.

5. With wisdom bringing together all these (senses), with the thought-organ as sixth, he should sit as it were satiated with the Self, not caring for the many things people care about.

6. When they (the senses), withdrawn from their (several) ranges (the sense-objects), shall be fixed in their (own several) abodes (the sense-organs), then you shall by your self see the supreme, eternal Self.

7. Wise and great-souled brahmans behold that universal Self, that great Self, like a smokeless fire.

8. As a great tree, with many branches, full of flowers and fruits, does not know where its own flower is or its own fruit,

9. So the (individual) self does not know whither it will go nor whence it came. For in it there is another, inner Self (without individual consciousness), which sees everything.

10. By the kindled light of knowledge it sees the Self by the Self. Do you, having seen the Self by the Self, become free from self,¹ omniscient,

¹ One commentary interprets, 'free from the I-faculty (egotism)'.

11. Freed from all evils, like a snake freed from its skin, having obtained supreme enlightenment in this life, sinless, rid of fever.

Metaphor of worldly life as a river in flood

12. The fearful river which with its courses on all sides sweeps away the world, whose crocodiles are the five senses, whose embankments are the desires of the heart,

13. Which has lust and delusion as its sedge-grass, desire and wrath as its reptiles, the great river which has truth as its ford, falsehood as its agitation, anger as its mud,

14. Originating in the unmanifest (primal material nature), swift and hard to cross by those of unperfected selves, which is full of the crocodiles of desire,—do you cross this river by enlightenment;

15. It leads to the ocean of rebirth; it is hard to cross because of its subterranean cavern of (birth in) wombs; it arises out of individual ('self-') birth and is dangerous to approach because of its whirlpools of the tongue.¹

This river is crossed by knowledge, which leads to union with Brāhman

16. This (river) wise and steadfast men who have perfected knowledge cross over. Having crossed over it, completely freed, with purified self, self-knowing, pure,

17. Having attained supreme enlightenment, you shall reach the state of identity with Brāhman, having got past all sufferings, with serene soul, unstained.

18. Like one standing on a mountain, look down on creatures standing on the earth, not being angry and not exulting, also with no noxious thoughts; then you shall behold the origin and passing away of all creatures.

19. Thus the wise sages who see the truth have conceived the most distinguished duty of all duties, O best of supporters of duty!

This knowledge to be imparted only to the worthy

20. Knowing this instruction about the imperishable Self, you should declare it to one who is self-subdued, well-disposed, and obedient.

¹ 'Having tongue-whirlpools' seems to be the only possible interpretation of the reading which the mss. clearly support. Its meaning is obscure to me. No commentarial gloss is quoted. Deussen, 'whose whirlpools are speeches', which is unconvincing.

21. This knowledge of the Self is the great secret, most secret of all, witness of the Self, which I have told you straight out.

22. Not feminine, not masculine, and not neuter is this Bráhma; it knows neither pain nor pleasure; it has the nature of past, future, and present.

23. Knowing this, neither man nor woman shall attain rebirth. This road is ordained for the purpose of attaining freedom from birth.

24. How all things are considered, and also how they are not, so I have declared the things that come to be (in rebirth) and that do not come to be.

25. For being asked about this by a son who is characterized by affection, possesses virtue, possesses the virtues of a good son, and is loving, one should declare what I have spoken here, for the welfare of his son.

The elements and their relation to the senses and their objects; Time, the principles of origination and dissolution, and the soul

Vyāsa:

1. A seeker after knowledge of salvation who pursues the pairs (of opposites) and worldly advantage and duty, should first be instructed, as a pupil, on the following important subject, by a qualified teacher.

2. Ether, wind, fire, water, and earth as the fifth, and coming into being and passing away, and Time, are in all the five elements (just listed).¹

3. The ether is internal by nature; the sense that is composed of it is hearing. One who knows the ordinances of the scientific books about the body should know that its quality² is sound.

4. Motion has the nature of wind, and the upper and nether breaths are composed of it. And one should know that its sense is touch, and contact, composed of it (as its quality).

5. Next, digestion and illumination and light; and the eye (or sight) is composed of it. One should know that its quality is form, clung to in nature by darkness.³

6. Moisture, fineness,⁴ and stickiness are specified as water; and its organ, which tastes, is the tongue; and flavour is considered the quality of water.

7. Compactness is the earthly element, bone, teeth, and nails, beard, hair of the body and of the head, veins, sinew, and skin.

8. (Its) sense-organ perceives smells and is called the nose. And odour is to be known as its sense-object, consisting of earth.

¹ See 12.267.9; as to Time, cf. also 12.231.25, and cf. AV. 19.53 and 54.

² *guna*; see 12.267.13 ff. with note 1.

³ So critical edition. But the true reading, supported by many mss., is probably 'having the nature of (colours, such as) red, white, and black'; this applies to the 'quality form', i.e. what is seen.

⁴ A commentary glosses: 'subtlety, because it loosens the parts of earth by entering into them'. Some mss. 'fluidity' or 'sweating'.

9. And all higher qualities are in all the higher (principles);¹ sages know the extension of the five (gross-) element complexes.

10. But the thought-organ is the ninth of them,² while the intellect is considered the tenth. And the eleventh is the inner self; it is declared to be altogether the highest.³

11. The intellect has the nature of decision, the thought-organ that of discrimination. The (individual) soul (*jīva*) is to be known through inference from action, and is named the Field.³

12. The wise man who sees all pervaded by all these conditions of existence, of which Time is the eighth, (all being) unfouled⁴ (by them), he does not follow after delusion.

¹ Apparently referring to such organs as thought-organ and intellect, in the next verse; the I-faculty, though not mentioned, may be understood as included; the 'inner self' seems also to be included.

² After the eight of vs. 2 above, and similarly, 12.267.9.

³ See 12.187.6, note.

⁴ So critical edition; but a considerable minority of mss. make 'unfouled' refer to the subject, 'the wise man', which is certainly more plausible.

Mbh. 12.267 (Deussen 276 or 275; p. 478)

Time said to create everything from the five gross elements

Nārada:

3. From what was this universe created, with stationary and moving beings? And to whom do they go at dissolution? That tell me, sir.

Asita:

4. From which Time,¹ impelled by (his own) nature, creates beings, that those who think about beings say were the five gross elements.

5. From them Time, impelled by his own self, creates beings. One who should say that it was something other (or, higher) than these would be saying an untruth, there is no doubt.

6. Know that these five are eternal, immovable, unchanging; they are aggregates of great energy by their very nature, with Time as sixth;

7. (Namely) water, atmosphere (=ether), earth, wind, and fire. There is no proof of anything higher than these elements; this is beyond doubt.

8. By no evidence or argument can one say this is false; there is no doubt of that. You know that these have been produced from that (energy) of which these six are aggregates.

9. These five and Time, and the simple coming into being and passing away² are the eight eternal elements of beings, their origin and dissolution.

10. In just these, when they have been brought into being from non-existence,² and out of them, (beings) come forth; also a creature that has died becomes just these, five-fold.³

11. His body is of earth, hearing comes from the ether, sight is the sun, the life-breath the wind, while the blood is from water, of course.

¹ See 12.244.2.

² See 12.244.2 on *bhāva* and *abhāva*; in vs. 10 the latter (*abhāvād*) might mean 'after death'.

³ That is, after death the body is dissolved into the five physical elements. In Sanskrit, to 'go to fiveness' is a common expression for to 'die'; so in vs. 32 below.

The senses, and their objects (qualities of the elements)

12. The eyes, nose, ears, skin, and tongue as fifth, are the sense-organs which constitute cognizance of the sense-objects, as the wise know.

13. (The processes of) seeing, hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting, know by their (respective) appropriateness as the five qualities (*guṇa*) in the five (elements),¹ in five-fold fashion.

14. Form, odour, taste (what is tasted), contact, and sound, as qualities (*guṇa*) of those (elements), these five are grasped in five-fold fashion by the five (senses).¹

15. But the senses are not aware² of these five qualities, form, odour, taste, contact, and sound; rather, the Field-knower is aware of them.

16. Mind³ is higher than the complex of the senses; the thought-organ is higher than that; but consciousness (*buddhi*) is higher than the thought-organ; the Field-knower is higher than consciousness.

17. First a man by the senses puts-his-mind-on⁴ the various sense-objects; having considered these by the thought-organ, he then afterwards makes his decision by the consciousness (*buddhi*),—whoever comes to a decision on all the (sense-) objects grasped by the senses.

18. The mind, the complex of the senses, the thought-organ, the consciousness as eighth, these are called the eight senses of perception (or knowledge) by those who think on the over-soul.

19. Hands and feet, anus and generative organ, and fifthly the mouth, hear these which are mentioned as the organs of action too.

¹ Elsewhere (see 12.294.29; 298.14) the sense-objects are called *viśeṣa*, 'innate characteristics', of the gross elements. It seems that *guṇa* is here substantially equivalent to this. So 12.244.3 ff.

² Or 'conscious'; the verb is *budh-*, from which *buddhi* 'intellect, consciousness, enlightenment' is derived. A commentary supplies 'by their own power'; i.e. the Field-knower (the soul) is the only possible 'conscious perceiver or knower'; the senses, like material nature and all her evolvents, have no real intelligence. The word translated 'are grasped' in vs. 14 (*upa-labh-*) is ordinarily a synonym of *budh-*.

³ Or 'thought'; the word used is *citta*, which is sometimes a synonym of *buddhi* as first or highest evolvent of material nature (which is obviously what *buddhi* means here). Such words for 'mental' functions are hardly capable of rigorous definition or translation. In vs. 17 the word translated 'puts his mind on' is a relative of *citta*.

⁴ *cetayate*: to *citta*.

20. The mouth is called an organ, which has the purpose of speaking and eating; the two feet are the organ of walking, the two hands are concerned in the performance of work.

21. The anus and generative organ are organs of discharging, and their actions are like, in the discharging of feces and in the discharging (of the fluid) of desire.

22. Power (*bala*) is the sixth. These six are (stated) in words, correctly according to traditional lore. (So) I have completely listed all the qualities of the organs of knowledge and of action.

Sleep and dreams

23. When from weariness the senses take a rest from their activities, then, from the exhaustion of the sense-organs, a man sleeps.

24. When, while the senses are at rest, the thought-organ is not at rest, but pursues the sense-objects instead, that one must know is the seeing of dreams.

25. And the conditions of existence¹ characterized by (the strand) goodness, as well as by passion and darkness, these they declare are bound up with actions, those of goodness and the others too.

26. Joy, success of actions, ascertainment, and the highest goal, are marks of the condition of goodness. Memory (in dreams) depends on conditions of existence,

27. Those conditions of existence which in the case of every individual creature have thus arrived at performance. These two states (waking and dream) have a manifest access to the ever desired (state; of deep sleep?).

The nature and position of the soul

28. The senses,² and the (three) conditions (characterized by goodness, passion and darkness) are declared to be the seventeen qualities (*guṇa*). The eighteenth of these, the soul (*dehin*) that is in the body, is eternal.

¹ The word so rendered (*bhāva*; also in vs. 28 below) seems substantially equivalent to *guṇa*, '(the three) strand(s)', goodness, passion, and darkness. See 12.187.14 and 21 ff., where *bhāva* very clearly is similarly used, and where *guṇa*, the usual term, occurs in 29.

² Reckoned as eight of perception (vs. 18) and six of action (vs. 22; the usual five, vss. 19-21, plus 'power'), fourteen in all.

29. However, all these qualities of embodied ones are connected with the body and dependent (on it); for upon (the soul's) separation from it they are no longer connected with the body.

30. However, this combination constitutes the body, made up of the five elements. The one¹ and the eighteen (qualities) together of embodied ones (*śarīrin*), along with (bodily) heat, make up an aggregate of twenty, based on the five elements.

31. The Great One (masculine), together with wind (i.e. breath), holds together this body. The sign that this is bound up with the body (appears) when the body is destroyed.

32. Just as anything originates, so it goes (to dissolution) in the five (elements), at the completion of the exhaustion of (the effect of) good and evil (deeds). Then in time this (soul) enters (another) body, which is set in motion by good and evil (deeds), and is conditioned by actions.

33. For this Field-owner (*kṣetrin*, soul), repeatedly leaving, goes forth from body to body, finding a (new) shelter, impelled by time (or death?), as from a ruined house to (another) house.

34. In this respect the wise, who are fixed in certainty, are not at all perturbed; but wretched men are perturbed, who imagine they are bound.

35. For this (soul) is not anyone, nor does he belong to anyone, nor does anyone belong to him; for he is eternally alone, (though) participating in pleasure and pain in the body.

36. Man is not born at all, nor does he die at all. After experiencing the body, he goes, some time, to the highest goal.

37. Annihilating the body that is made up of good and evil as a result of accumulation of actions, when the body is destroyed, the soul further attains the state of Brāhman.

38. And for destroying good and evil, the Sāṃkhya-knowledge is prescribed. For upon their destruction, they see for him the highest goal, in becoming Brāhman.

¹ Masculine! Deussen, 'the Field-knower'(?). I cannot make sense of these enumerations.

Mbh. 12.289 (Deussen 302 or 300; p. 592)

Likenesses and differences in Sāṃkhya and Yoga

Yudhiṣṭhira:

1. Be pleased to tell me, Sir, the difference between Sāṃkhya and Yoga. For you know everything.

Bhīṣma:

2. Brahmans who follow Sāṃkhya praise Sāṃkhya, and those who follow Yoga praise Yoga; they declare (each their own) superiority by the means (which they adopt) to magnify their own (respective) parties.

3. How may the soul¹ be saved? Thus, by the means (they adopt to this end), the wise followers of Yoga declare in clear form their superiority (of method).

4. And the Sāṃkhya brahmans declare in clear form this (following) means (for saving the soul). Whosoever, knowing all courses (or, methods, ways, or goals) in this world, turns away from the objects of sense,

5. He, after leaving the body, will assuredly be saved, and not otherwise. This the great sages say is the Sāṃkhya view of salvation.²

6. The means (of salvation) contained in one's own party is to be accepted, as a competent and salutary statement. For the opinion of the learned is to be accepted by such as you who are in agreement with the learned.

7. The followers of Yoga rely on immediate (mystic) perception;³ the followers of Sāṃkhya rest on accepted teaching (i.e. 'knowledge'). And both these opinions I consider true.

8. And both these kinds of knowledge, agreeing with the learned, when followed according to instructions, may lead to the supreme goal (salvation).

¹ The soul is here called *aniśvara*, 'having no lord, supreme'. Elsewhere (as in Gītā 15.8) he is called *iśvara*, 'the lord', here the individual soul which enters and leaves the body. 'The lord' and 'he who has no lord' mean the same thing. In Mbh. 12.294.40 the 'twenty-fifth' (the human soul) is also called *aniśvara*, 'the supreme'; the same also 12.238.7 ('having none higher above him', Deussen). And in the Kumārasambhava 2.9 *aniśvara* (v.l. *niriśvara*, identical in meaning) is an epithet of Brahmā. It never means 'an atheist' or 'without God'.

² That is, they prefer the way of gaining salvation by *knowledge* (*vijñāya*), with avoidance of sense-objects; see Introduction, Chapter III with notes 1 and 2, p. 36.

³ See Introduction, Chapter III, section headed 'Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one.'

9. Common to both of them alike are disciplined purity, and compassion to all creatures. The maintenance of strict vows is alike in both of them; the views are not the same in them.

Yudhiṣṭhira:

10. If vows, purity, and compassion are common to both, tell me how comes it that the views are not the same?

The method of Yoga; emphasis on power, with numerous similes

Bhīṣma:

11. Passion, delusion, attachment, love, and wrath,¹ having cut off these five hindrances from the beginning by Yoga, they attain that Absolute.

12. And as large fish, breaking a net, get into the water again, so followers of Yoga, freed from stain, get to that place (salvation).

13. Likewise as powerful animals, breaking a snare, attain a clear course, freed from all bonds,

14. So powerful followers of Yoga, breaking the bonds that spring from cupidity, purified, go on the supreme blissful way.

15. And like weak animals in snares, in the same way others, without the power of Yoga, perish without a doubt.

16. And as weak fish, caught in a net, meet their death, so feeble followers of Yoga.

17. And as birds, coming upon a fine net, perish if stuck there, and get free if they are strong,

18. So Yoga-followers, bound by the bonds of action, perish if weak, and get free if strong.

19. And as a small and feeble fire goes out if large pieces of kindling-wood are loaded on it, just so a feeble Yoga-follower;

20. And when that same fire has grown strong because wind has blown on it, it may quickly burn up even the whole earth;

21. So a Yogin who has become strong, mighty with flaming energy, like the sun at the time of (the) destruction (of the world), might dry up the whole world.

¹ A somewhat different list of five in 12.232.4.

22. And as a weak man is carried away by a stream, so a feeble Yoga-follower is carried away helpless by the sense-objects.

23. And as an elephant blocks that same stream, so, having obtained the power of Yoga, he dissipates the many sense-objects.

24. And the Yoga-followers endowed with the power of Yoga, the lords, enter automatically the ranks of the Prajāpatis (creator gods), the sages (ṛṣis), the gods, and the great elements.

25. Yama, and the wrathful End-maker, and Death of terrible prowess, all these are not a match for the Yoga-follower of measureless energy.

Supernatural powers acquired by Yoga

26. The Yoga-follower, having attained power, can create many thousands of selves (i.e. may make himself many-thousand-fold), and may roam the earth in all these (guises).

27. He may attain the sense-objects and yet again engage in severe asceticism; and he may assemble these (selves) again (in himself), as the sun does the qualities of radiance.

28. For on the part of the Yoga-follower that is established in strength and that can overcome the bonds, mastery of salvation is attained without a doubt.

29. I have stated these powers that are in (the follower of ?) Yoga. I shall now further declare to you, by way of illustration, the subtle (superior) powers¹ (found therein).

30. Hear from me the subtle (superior) illustrations with reference to making the Self firm in concentration.

The higher powers and purposes of Yoga (self-hypnosis)

31. As an archer that is attentive and concentrated hits the target, so the perfectly disciplined (*yukta*) *yogin* attains salvation, without a doubt.

¹ So far, the supernatural or magical 'powers' of Yoga have been treated, in accord with the popular Indian notion that the *yogin* is a magician. But the pursuit of these is really unworthy, and must be transcended. The 'subtle' or superior, and in the final analysis only valuable, 'powers' of Yoga are now to be treated. They consist in attainment of the highest goal, salvation, by concentration (*samādhāna*, vs. 30; synonym of *samādhi*; the cognate participle *samāhita* 'concentrated' occurs in vss. 34 and 40, see note 2).

32. As a man that fixes his mind unswervingly on a pot full of oil (carried in his hands) may cautiously mount a staircase, his mind being disciplined (*yukta*),¹

33. So this Yoga-follower, disciplining his Self so that it is motionless, makes his Self pure and of sun-like appearance.

34. And as a concentrated (heedful) helmsman may quickly bring to port a ship that is on the great ocean,

35. So he who knows the truth and by Yoga applies self-concentration, on leaving this body, attains the place that is hard to go to.

36. And as a charioteer, having carefully yoked good horses, quickly brings the bowman (his rider) to the desired place,

37. So the *yogin*, attentive to the concentrations (of self), quickly attains the highest station, as a discharged arrow the target.

38. And a *yogin* who remains motionless, making his self enter into his self, attains the unageing place, as a killer of fish attains evil (or, sin).

39. In the navel, the neck, the head, the heart, the breast, the sides, in the (organs of) sight, touch, and smell,

40. What *yogin*, concentrated² on great vows, in these places (listed in 39) unites his subtle self completely with his (lower) self,

41. He, spotlessly wise, having quickly burnt up (the effects of his) action either good or bad, and resorted to supreme Yoga, is released whenever he wishes. [Verses 42-62, the end of the chapter, continue to deal exclusively with Yoga; they are here omitted as of slight interest.]

¹ Cf. 12.304.22-23.

² *samāhita*; compare note 1, p. 293. The condition here described is commonly called in Sanskrit *samādhi* (or *samādhāna*, vs. 30 above), usually rendered 'concentration'. Western rationalists might call it 'self-hypnosis'.

Mbh. 12.290 (Deussen 303 or 301; p. 598)

The method of Sāṃkhya (salvation by knowledge)

Yudhiṣṭhira:

1. You have told (me) your pupil here, all about this way of Yoga, as approved by the learned, according to its rules, you who desire (my) welfare.

2. But now, in response to my question, declare completely the method that is in Sāṃkhya. For you know all the *knowledge* that is in the three worlds.

Bhīṣma:

3. Hear from me this pure (doctrine) of the Sāṃkhya-followers who know the Self,—that was laid down by the wise and lordly sages, Kapila and others.

4. In which no errors are (to be) perceived; in which there are both many excellences, and a total lack of faults.

5. Computing by *knowledge* the sense-objects with their defects, all the human regions that are hard to win, and the regions of the goblins too . . .¹

10. And knowing correctly the extreme time (duration) of life in the world, and knowing the highest truth of bliss,

11. And (knowing) the misery of seekers after the sense-objects, who fall (to worse existences) when the time (of death) arrives, and the misery of those who fall into animal (existences) and of those who fall into hell,

12. And (knowing) all the advantages and all the evils of (existence in) heaven, and the evils in what is said in the Vedas, and also the advantages of the Vedas,

¹ The Sanskrit word *viśaya* means (1) region, place of residence or operation, or (2) sense-object (as the 'scope' or 'region' in which the senses operate). In this passage the word seems to be used first in the second meaning, and vs. 11 below seems certainly to present this meaning. But the first meaning seems surely meant in the second half of vs. 5 and in vss. 6-9, which (after the 'regions' of men and goblins, vs. 5) list the 'regions' (places of residence) of a long list of (mostly mythical) beings, ending with 'the regions of Brāhman'!

13. And whatever evils there are in the discipline of knowledge (*jñāna-yoga*) and whatever advantages there are in (such) discipline, and whatever evils there are in Sāṃkhya-knowledge, and likewise what advantages there are,

[14-16 characterize the three 'strands' and other entities, in confused and inconsistent ways.]

17. [Such persons], perfected in theoretical and practical knowledge and purified by auspicious means, attain to fair salvation, as the fine ones [? perhaps 'sun's rays' or 'winds', according to commentaries] attain to the highest firmament.

[18-22 analyse, in a confused way, various elements of the body and of the cosmos, trying to make one depend on another, ending in 22: 'and [knowing that] goodness (the highest of the three "strands" of matter) is dependent on the Self (*ātman*).']

23. And (knowing that) the Self is dependent on the Lord (Śiva), and on the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu); and the god is dependent on salvation (release, *mokṣa*); but salvation is not dependent on anything.

[24-58, again confused bits of 'knowledge', including a list of many evils which beset normal existence, which should all be 'known', e.g. 40, 'knowing that (people) show great respect for things they cannot get, and are indifferent to what they get, and knowing the depravity of the sense-objects (*viśaya*)'; 44, 'by this *knowledge knowing* the (future) fate of evil-doers, and knowing the various fates of those reborn as animals.']

Abandonment is a feature of Sāṃkhya

59. The very wise Sāṃkhya-followers, abandoning the body that creates offspring, by the great, all-pervading Sāṃkhya (-method), that is knowable by knowledge,

60. Cutting off quickly by the sword of knowledge, by the weapon of asceticism, all traces (literally 'smells') of (the three 'strands' of matter), the evil ones of passion (*rajas*) and the like (evil) ones of darkness (*tamas*), and (even) the excellent traces of goodness (*sattva*), all produced by contact (with sense-objects) and based upon the body,

Which leads to salvation from the round of existence

61-62. Then they cross over by wisdom the frightful water of misery, which has care and sorrow as its pools, illness and death as its great

sharks, great danger as its mighty serpents, (the 'strand' of) darkness (*tamas*) as its tortoises, (that of) passion (*rajas*) as its fish, attachment as its mire, old age as its straits, contact (with sense-objects) as its islands,¹

63. Of which the depths are (binding) action, of which the (further) shore, characterized by firm vows, is truth; of which harmfulness is the great swift current, of which the great mines are the various (seductive) flavours,

64. Its great jewels are varied (manifestations of) love, its winds are suffering and fever, its great whirlpools are sorrow and longing, its great elephants are severe illnesses,

65. Its landing ghats(?) are skeletons, its foam is slime, its mines of pearls are generosity, this terrible ocean of which pools of blood are the corals,

66. Of which laughter and crying are the resonance (of the waves or surf), which is hard to cross over (even) by many sorts of knowledge, whose salt is the impurity of tears of weeping, whose final end is abandonment of attachment,

67. Whose world-flood is rebirth, whose cities (on its shore) are sons and kinsmen, whose boundary-limits are harmlessness and truth, whose great billows are abandonment of life,

68. Whose (safety-)island is resort to the *vedānta* (probably the Upaniṣads), of which compassion for all creatures is the —, ² of which salvation is the hard-to-attain horizon, this ocean that is (contains) the mouth of hell,

The goal of salvation

69. It perfected sages cross over by the discipline of *knowledge*; and having crossed over (re-)birth which is hard to cross, they enter the spotless ether.

¹ A commentary says, 'because they are the abiding-places of perturbation, or error'. The reading seems certain, from the total evidence of the mss. The reading of the vulgate texts, supported by some mss., is 'having knowledge (*jñāna*) as its islands,' i.e. as 'safety-islands', which, subjectively, seems more attractive, but must apparently be rejected.

² Deussen renders 'swimming bladder', i.e. life-preserver. This seems indeed to be a meaning suitable to the context. But the word (*udadhi*) means only 'ocean', and the mss. seem to suggest no other reading. Perhaps Deussen thought the word a figurative expression for the bladder, as 'water-holder'; but in Sanskrit words for 'water' seem not to be applied to urine.

70. Then the sun with his rays carries those righteous Sāṃkhya-followers, entering like a lotus-fibre (into water which it sucks up), as it carries them from the sensory sphere.

71. Then the On-carrying wind¹ receives them, their passions departed, perfected devotees, endowed with energy, rich in asceticism;

72. That best of the seven winds, fine, cool, fragrant, comfortable in feeling, which goes to the blessed worlds, carries them to the highest course of the ether.

73. The ether carries them to the highest course of (the 'strand') *rajas* ('passion'); *rajas* carries them to the highest course of *sattva* ('goodness', the best of the three material 'strands').

74. *Sattva* carries them to the Supreme Lord Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu); the pure-souled Lord carries them, by himself, to the Supreme Soul (*paramātman*).

75. Having reached the Supreme Soul, having become Him (and so pure in their abiding-place, they are fitted for immortality; they do not return. This is the Highest Goal of noble souls who have no paired relationship (are absolutely independent).²

Is there consciousness in the perfected state?

Yudhiṣṭhira:

76. These men of fixed vows, when they have attained the highest station, (that is) the Lord, do they remember (past experience) from birth to death, or not?

77. Be good enough to tell me truly just what is the truth on this point; I cannot ask any other man than you.

78. This would be a serious defect in salvation, if the supreme devotees, after meeting with the seers who have gone to perfection, should remain in consciousness in that very place.

79. (In that case) I see the highest ordinance showing marks of activity. For what, pray, could be more painful than that, for one that is sunk in the highest knowledge?³

¹ One of seven winds said to regulate the motions of the planets.

² Or, 'who are free from the pairs of opposites'; see BhG. 2.45 with my note 1.

³ For a different answer to this question see 12.296.17 with note 1.

Bhīṣma:

80. Quite properly you have asked this very critical question. Even enlightened men have been confused in regard to this question. On this point too hear the supreme truth, completely uttered by me.

81. Where the supreme consciousness of the noble followers of Kapila exists, the senses also are aware of the own (individual) body of the embodied (soul); but that subtle one (the soul) by the (senses) perceives them as its own instruments.

82. But when deserted by the Soul, being (unsubstantial) as wooden walls, they are destroyed without doubt, like foam on the sea.

83. When the embodied (soul) is asleep along with the senses, the subtle (soul) goes everywhere, like wind in the sky.

84. He sees regularly and makes contact with touches, being aware of everything here as before (when awake).

85. All the senses, each in its own station as is regular, perish (or, are hidden) because they are powerless (in themselves), like snakes whose venom is destroyed.

86. But the soul enters upon subtle courses and moves, without a doubt, altogether in the several stations of all the senses.

87. And entering all the (material) qualities of (the 'strand') goodness, and those of passion and of darkness, and all the qualities of the intellect,

88. And the qualities of the thought-organ likewise, and the qualities of ether, and the qualities of wind and those of fire,

89. And the qualities of water and of earth,—pervading with his whole self, with (all) the qualities, he is the Field-knower.

90. And to the Field-knower goes the Self, and good and evil actions, and the senses go to him like pupils to a noble (teacher).

91. And having transcended material nature, he goes to the Supreme Imperishable Soul, that has the nature of Nārāyaṇa (God, or specifically Viṣṇu), which is independent, beyond material nature.

92. Freed from good and evil, entered into that diseaseless, quality-less Supreme Soul, one does not return.

93. But here (i.e. while still in earthly life) a well-trained thought-organ and senses come in due time, (as if pupils) doing a teacher's bidding.

94. And in a short time peace can be obtained by one who seeks (good) qualities, who is thus disciplined, a seeker of salvation with trained knowledge.

Glorification of Sāṃkhya method

95. The Sāṃkhya-followers of great knowledge go to the highest goal by this knowledge; no knowledge equal to it exists.

96. Have no doubt of this! The Sāṃkhya knowledge is rated the supreme; it is the eternal, steadfast, unmanifest, primal, everlasting Brāhman (neuter);

97. Without beginning, middle, or end; independent, the eternal Maker (neuter), immovable and permanent, of which tranquil souls speak;

98. Whence come all creation, dissolution, and modification; which they praise in scientific treatises, and which great sages declare,

99. All inspired priests and gods and men who know holy tradition (declare this) holy, the highest god, infinite, unshakeable by any other.

100. And seeking, sages of virtuous insight declare him, also perfectly disciplined Yoga-followers, and Sāṃkhya-followers of measureless vision.

101. Of this Formless One, Sāṃkhya is the Form, so the Holy Word says; for they say thought constitutes the signs thereof.

102. There are two kinds of creatures here on earth, moving and not moving; but the moving kind is superior.

103. For what great knowledge is within the great Vedas, the Sāṃkhyas, and Yoga; and also what various (knowledge) has been perceived of old, that in its entirety has come from Sāṃkhya.

104. And what is perceived in the great histories, and what is in the science of polity, approved by the educated, and whatsoever knowledge there is here in the world, that great (knowledge) has come from Sāṃkhya.

105. And the peace that is observed, and the supreme power, and the subtle knowledge that is truly declared, and the subtle penances and joys too, are all correctly prescribed in Sāṃkhya.

106. For in the event of calamity to a man, the Sāṃkhya-followers always go happily to the gods; and following after them (the gods), then, successfully, they fall (to earth) again (reborn) among priests that are controlled.

107. And leaving the body (again) the Sāṃkhya-followers enter into salvation, (as easily) as gods enter heaven. Therefore these brahmans take special delight in the most worthy Sāṃkhya, which is approved by the learned.

108. For they never experience animal-existence, nor the downward course (to hell), nor the abode of evil-doers, nor of foolish people,—these brahmans who devote themselves to this knowledge.

109. The Sāṃkhya is vast, supreme, primeval, a pure great ocean, exalted and pleasing. And the great-souled Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu, God) maintains the entire illimitable Sāṃkhya.

110. This truth I have spoken: Nārāyaṇa is this primeval universe. He, at the time of creation, makes the creation; and at the time of world-destruction he devours it again.

Mbh. 12.291 (Deussen 304 or 302; p. 609)

Evolvents of material nature

21. (Deussen 22; p. 611) From the unmanifest the manifest sprang; that they call the creation of wisdom. And they call the Great (masculine) and the I-faculty the creation of unwisdom.

22. Thus non-injunction and injunction sprang from the same source; they are called wisdom and unwisdom by those who ponder the meaning of holy revelation and science.

23. Know that the third creation (after the two of vs. 21) is that of existing beings from the I-faculty. Know that the fourth (creation) involves modification of the already modified (evolvents of matter), in the existing beings which constitute the I-faculties (or, are derived from the I-faculty).¹

24. Wind, fire, and ether, water, and earth too (the five gross elements); sound, contact, and form, taste, and odour too (the objects of the five senses of perception).

25. Thus (as the fourth creation) a group of ten (just named) was created all at once, there is no doubt. Learn the fifth creation, derived from the (gross) elements, all of it, with its meaning.

26. (It is the sense-organs) the ear (hearing), the skin (touch), the two eyes (sight), the tongue (taste), and the nose (smell) as the fifth; also speech, the two hands and feet, the anus, and the generative organ too.

27. And these are the (five) organs of perception, and the (five) organs of action. They, together with the thought-organ (the eleventh, internal organ), are produced here simultaneously.

Material nature and its evolvents, constituting twenty-four principles, form the body

28. This (nature), consisting of twenty-four principles, exists in all forms; knowing it, brahmans who see the truth, (or, the principles) are not troubled.

¹ (Read āhamkāreṣu?). The next verse lists the ten products of the 'fourth creation', which seems to mean certain primary products of the I-faculty (itself an indirect evolvent or modification of primary matter); the five gross elements and what are called in 12.294.29 their 'innate characteristics' (the sense-objects) are derived from it. Cf. 12.298.14.

29. This, which is called the body, one should know is found in all embodied beings in the triple world, including gods, men, and demons . . . [and all other living things, many specifically listed in 30-33; even trees are included in 32.]

This is perishable; it is called the 'elemental self'

34. The entirety of this, called the manifest, perishes from day to day; therefore the elemental self¹ is called the perishable.

35. This (other, the real soul) is called the imperishable, while this world perishes. They say that the world, which is deluded in nature, being unmanifest, is called manifest.

36. And the Great (principle), the very first product (or primal nature),—this is a constant example of the perishable. I have told you that (truth), as a result of which one does not return again (to birth).

Relation of the Soul (the twenty-fifth principle)

to matter (the twenty-fourth) and the Great Self (=consciousness)

37. The twenty-fifth (principle, the soul) is Viṣṇu; free from the principles, he is yet called a principle. Because he is the resting place of the principles, the wise called this a principle.

38. Whatever formless thing he has created as manifest, this, which takes on this or that form, he controls, he the twenty-fourth (material nature), which is manifest;² for the twenty-fifth is formless.

39. Just he abides in all forms, in their heart, soul-possessing, making them conscious, he the eternal conscious one, all-formed and formless.

40. In the sphere of her (material nature) who is characterized by creation and dissolution, he who is without creation or dissolution abides permanently, free from the strands but bearing the name of the strands.

41. Thus this Great Self (alias *buddhi*, consciousness; first evolvent of nature), knowing creation and dissolution, modifying himself, possessed of material nature, while (really) lacking in consciousness (or enlightenment), imagines himself (as conscious, or enlightened).

Effects of the strands

42. Joined with (the strands) darkness, goodness, and passion, he hides himself in various wombs in the world, because he is unenlightened through association with unenlightened persons.

¹ *bhūtātman*; see 12.187.6, note.

² So critical edition; could also be understood as 'unmanifest'; but cf. vss. 28-9, 34.

43. Dwelling together (with them) and acting as (their) abiding-place, he imagines 'I am no other (than they),' for saying 'Who I am, he I am!' he turns back after the strands.

44. By darkness he attains to various existences of darkness, by passion to those of passion simply, and through association with goodness to those of goodness.

45. But these are the three colours¹ (literally forms), white, red, and black (of the three strands); know that all these forms belong to material nature alone.

46. (Creatures) of darkness go to hell, those of passion to (existence as) men also, those of goodness go to the world of the gods and enjoy happiness.

47. By unmitigated evil one will obtain animal birth, by (mixed) good and evil human (birth), by good alone the deities.

48. Thus the wise call the sphere of the unmanifest (matter) perishable. He who is this twenty-fifth (the soul) proceeds from knowledge alone.

¹ It has been held that these colours are a reminiscence of Chāndogya Up. 6.4, q.v. (of which, more plausibly, Śvetāśvatara Up. 4.5 may be held an earlier reminiscence). The order of the three, however, is different, and so is the application, which in the Chāndogya is to 'heat' (fire), water, and 'food' (colours: red, white, black), whereas here it is to the three strands (white, red, black). If there is an historic connection it has been seriously modified.

Mbh. 12.293 (Deussen 307 or 305; p. 620)

Equivalence of Sāṃkhya and Yoga

Vasiṣṭha to Janaka:

29 (Deussen 18, p. 621). Therefore hear you how this is beheld, in very truth, among exalted followers of (both) Sāṃkhya and Yoga.

30. The same which Yoga-followers see, that is observed by Sāṃkhya-followers. Who sees that Sāṃkhya and Yoga are one, he is enlightened.

Distinction between matter and spirit

31. Skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bone, and sinew, this relates to the senses, which you have stated here.

32. From substance substance arises, and sense-organ from sense-organ; from a body one obtains a body, and just so seed from seed.

33. Of this embodied (soul), being without sense-organs, without seed, without substance, how shall the strands (of material nature) arise, since this exalted (soul) is without strands?

34. The strands are born in the strands, and disappear in them likewise. Thus the strands are born from material nature, and disappear in it.

35. Skin, flesh, blood, fat, bile, marrow, bone, and sinew, these eight, including semen, know belong to material nature.

36. Both spirit and non-spirit, what has three characteristics¹ is declared to be of the nature of matter. What is not spirit and what is spirit, that is said to be a bearer of characteristics.

37. Material nature, though without characteristics (in its unevolved state), is known by the characteristics which arise out of itself, as the seasons of the year are always known as forms by the flowers and fruits (produced by each).

38. For thus too by inference the One (neuter) that has no characteristics is known, (namely) the twenty-fifth (principle, i.e. the soul), whose nature is not fixed in characteristics.

¹ Here *liṅga*, 'characteristic', appears to be equivalent to the usual *guṇa* 'strand'. The verse is obscure.

The (unenlightened) soul imagines it is material

39. It is without beginning or end, infinite, all-seeing, free from suffering; but only owing to imagination is it, though without strands (*guṇa*, qualities of matter), spoken of as among the strands.

40. A strand-potessor has strands; how could strands¹ belong to one that has no strands? Therefore people who (really) perceive strands understand thus.

41. But when he (the soul) imagines all the strands of material nature (as belonging to himself), then he, really possessed of strands, takes them to be (himself) in the highest sense.

42. That which followers of Sāṃkhya and Yoga unanimously declare to be higher than the intellect (or consciousness, *buddhi*, the highest material evolvent), is the very intelligent one (neuter) that is becoming enlightened (or, seeking enlightenment) by getting rid of what is unenlightened.

43. Now they call the unenlightened unmanifest (*avyakta*) the lord (soul) that is associated with the (material) strands (i.e. the unsaved individual soul); and the lord (soul) that is free from the strands, (and so enlightened, they call) the eternal overseer.

Different stages of enlightenment of the soul

44. The wise who are skilled in Sāṃkhya and Yoga, who seek the highest, become aware of the twenty-fifth (principle; the soul) after material nature and its strands.

45. But when, aware (or, enlightened, awakened), and fearing the (re-)birth of the conditions (of human life), they become aware of the unmanifest (soul) as becoming enlightened, then they cause it to go to the Constant (the Supreme; a commentary, '*brāhman* which is without a second').

46. This is the correct view; incorrect is the view that it (the enlightened soul) is distinct from both the becoming enlightened and the still unenlightened.

47. This is declared to be an indication of the perishable and imperishable, in respect to each other; unity they call the imperishable, plurality is called the perishable.²

¹ A commentary says: 'even the strands (qualities) of knowledge and joy'.

² The world of plurality is (not unreal or false, but) finite, and rests on the basis of a greater, more fundamental unity, which is not finite but eternal.

48. When, with fundamental knowledge of the twenty-five (principles, which include the soul as well as material nature), he (the soul) moves forward in the proper way, then he sees unity and no plurality (as the ultimate truth).

49. A distinction must be made between the principles (*tattva*; they constitute the 'perishable' of vs. 47), on the one hand, and on the other the un-principled. But the wise call the principle that is the creation of the twenty-five (principles)—

50. The un-principled one, higher than the twenty-five; so they state the (true) view, (namely) the principle that constitutes the group of the group (of principles) and their activity, that is everlasting compared with (any) principle.

Clarification requested

Janaka:

1. You have spoken here of plurality and unity, and I find the statement of these two unclear.
2. And, undoubtedly because my intelligence is sluggish, I do not understand the truth about the unenlightened, the enlightened, and the becoming-enlightened.
3. And the reason for the imperishable and the perishable which you have stated, this too, because my intelligence is infirm, seems to have escaped me.
4. So I should like to hear the theory of plurality and unity, and the enlightened, the unenlightened, and the becoming-enlightened, in very truth.
5. And knowledge and ignorance, the imperishable and the perishable, and about Sāṃkhya and Yoga in full, how they are separate and not separate.

The method of Yoga

Vasiṣṭha:

6. Come, I will explain to you this which you ask after; hear the activity of Yoga (stated) separately by itself.
7. Yoga-activity of Yoga-followers is meditation, the highest power. This meditation also, Veda-knowing folk say, is of two kinds.
8. (It includes) concentration of the thought-organ, and also restraint of the vital powers. But restraint of the vital powers is qualified (exoteric); (concentration) of the thought-organ is unqualified (esoteric).¹
9. When urinating and defecating, and when eating, at (these) three times he should not practise Yoga; for the rest he should practise it intently.

¹ See 12.304.8 with n. 4. 'Vital powers': literally 'breaths', as carriers of the vital powers; so often in the Upaniṣads, e.g. BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.44; 4.4.1-3.

10. The sage, withdrawing by his thought-organ the senses from the sense-objects, by the ten or twelve,¹ then that which is higher than the twenty-fourth (principle, i.e. material nature)—

11. (Namely) that Self, which abides permanently ageless, he, the wise, shall stimulate by (these) stimulants¹ (to Yoga),—which (process) is declared by men of insight.

12. And by these men the Self is always to be known, so we have heard. For the substance (of Yoga) belongs to a man of no feeble thought-organ, necessarily, that is certain.

13. Free from all attachments, eating little, his senses controlled, in the first and last part of the night he shall hold fast the thought-organ in the Self.

14. Making stable the group of the senses by the thought-organ, making the thought-organ stable by the consciousness, like a stone motionless,

15. And unshakeable as a stump, he shall be immovable as a mountain. Then the wise who know injunctions and precepts declare him disciplined (a Yoga-adept).

16. He hears not, he smells not, he tastes not, he sees not, and he perceives no touch; his thought-organ forms no resolve.

17. And he desires nothing, and like a stick of wood has no awareness. Then the wise call him disciplined (in Yoga), and entered (with the body) into the primal material nature.

18. And like a lamp shining in a windless place, so he is regarded. Without gesture or movement, he shall attain an upward course, not swerving to one side.²

19. Then he shall behold Him, having seen whom he is said to be the inner Self abiding in the heart; he is to be known as the knowing one by the likes of me.

¹ In 12.304.11 it is said that twelve 'stimulants' (to Yoga) are to be practised in the first watch of the night, and twelve (not ten in either case) in the last watch. No list of the 'stimulants' is given in either passage, nor (so far as recorded) in the commentaries.

² A more standard meaning of the words would be 'attains no rebirth as an animal'; but here the context makes any rebirth out of the question.

20. Like a smokeless fire, like the sun with its rays, like the fire of lightning in the ether, so the Self is seen in (his) Self.

21. Exalted, steadfast, intelligent brahmans, who abide in the womb of Bráhmaṇ, see him, who is free from (rebirth in) wombs and immortal by nature.

22. That same (state) they say is the finer than the fine, the greater than the great; that abides fixed within all beings and is not seen.

23. It may be seen by the substance of consciousness, by the light of the thought-organ, as the World-creator, abiding on the further side of the great darkness, (but) free from darkness.

24. By knowers of truth who have mastered the Veda he is called the dispeller of darkness, and the pure one free from darkness, who has no characteristics and is called the uncharacterized one.

25. For this I consider the Yoga of Yoga-followers; it is the distinguishing mark of Yoga. Thus they see the Seer, the supreme ageless Self.

26. So far I have declared for you the view of Yoga in very truth. (Now) I shall tell you the Sāṃkhya-knowledge which teaches calculation.

The Sāṃkhya method; evolvents of material nature

27. Those who discuss material nature call the primal material nature the Unmanifest. From it the Great (neuter)¹ arose as the second (principle).

28. But the I-faculty arose from the Great as third (principle), so we have heard. Those who understand Sāṃkhya say that the five (gross) elements arose from the I-faculty.

29. These are the eight (productive) material principles. And there are also sixteen (non-productive) modifications, the five innate characteristics (of the gross elements = the sense-objects), and the five sense-organs (of perception).²

30. So many principles constitute the Sāṃkhya, say the wise, who know the injunctions and ordinances in the Sāṃkhya, and always take delight in the Sāṃkhya path.

¹ Elsewhere masculine; also called *buddhi*, 'intellect' or 'consciousness' or 'will'.

² The other six are the five organs of action, and the thought-organ, an internal sense organ. See 12.298.12-15.

31. Whatever is produced from anything, that dissolves in that same thing again. They dissolve in the reverse order from that in which they are created by the inner self.

32. The strands (collectively = material nature) always are created in regular order, and dissolve in reverse order, like the waves of the sea.

The Self, affected by matter, causes its creation

33. So far the creation and dissolution of material nature. It becomes unified in dissolution, and manifold when he (the 'inner self') has created it. Just so it must be understood by those who ponder on the objects of knowledge.

34. The (Soul) when affected by the principles of material nature (has created) the Superintendent, the Unmanifest, and unity and plurality in order. It possesses unity in dissolution, and plurality as a result of being sent forth.

He, the twenty-fifth, creates, superintends, and knows nature

35. Many times the Soul shall create material nature, which is destined to give birth; and that (material nature), which is the Field, the Great Soul which is the twenty-fifth (principle) superintends.

36. He is called the Superintendent by excellent ascetics; because he superintends the Fields, he is the Superintendent of them, so we have heard.

37. He knows the Unmanifest Field, so he is called the Field-knower; he lies (*śete*) in the citadel (*pura*) that belongs to the Unmanifest, and so he is called Spirit (*pur-u-ṣa*).

38. The field and the Field-knower are two quite different things; the Field is said to be the Unmanifest, the (Field-) knower is the twenty-fifth (principle, the Soul).

39. Knowledge and the object of knowledge are two quite different things; the Unmanifest is said to be knowledge, while the object of knowledge is the twenty-fifth.¹

40. Unmanifest the Field is said to be, likewise essential reality,² likewise the ruler;² rulerless (supreme) and without (material) principles is that twenty-fifth principle.

¹ 'Knowledge' is a *process*, hence it is material nature ('the Unmanifest', *prakṛti*), like any process; the Soul in its true state is completely inactive. The soul is the object of knowledge; it must be 'known' in order that salvation may be gained. But the Soul is also the Knower (12.295.9). It must know itself; yet the process of knowing, like any process, pertains to material nature.

² See fn. 1 on p. 312.

41. So far the Sāṃkhya view, the view based on calculation; the Sāṃkhya creates and proclaims material nature,

42. And Sāṃkhya-followers (also proclaim this), enumerating the twenty-four principles according to their essence, together with material nature; the twenty-fifth (the Self) is free from the principles.

43. The twenty-fifth, while the Self is unenlightened, is called the becoming-enlightened; but when it becomes aware of the Self (or of itself), then it becomes the Absolute (or Unique, *kevala*).

44. Now the correct view has been told to you as it really is. Understanding it thus, men also attain identity (with the Supreme).

45. What the correct explanation of material nature is, is also clearly before you; moreover these are the strands and the principles. So the Other (the enlightened Soul) shall be free from the strands.

46. But for those who are in this state no further rebirth exists.² Because of their imperishable condition, they have no reciprocal relations, and are immortal.

47. But those who think (matter and soul are) all the same, their view is not correct. They come back again and again to the unmanifest (material nature).³

48. Those who understand all this, because they comprehend all, shall not become involved in the manifest, or come under the sway of the manifest.

49. It is declared that all is the unmanifest (sc. material nature); (but) the twenty-fifth has no part in (that) all. Those who know him, for them no danger exists.

¹ *sattva*, (see n. 2 below) here not one of the 'strands', but substantially equivalent to the 'unmanifest' or *prakṛti*, primal material nature; several times contrasted with the Field-knower (soul). See 12.187.37; 228.31; 240.19; 241.1 f., and (presumably the oldest occurrence in this sense) KaṭhaUp. 6.7, for which the parallel 3.10 has 'intelligence', *buddhi*; in any case a rather high, but material, principle is (confusedly) meant. 'Ruler': *iśvaram*, neuter, doubtless as epithet of *sattvam*, 'the ruling principle'; the vulgate texts read *iśvaraḥ*, masculine, 'God'. On *anīśvara*, 'supreme', see 12.289.3 with note 1.

² These, the enlightened and emancipated souls, become one with the Supreme, elsewhere called the 26th (principle); see 12.296.7 with note 1.

³ So the critical edition interprets. The Sanskrit text permits also the interpretation 'to the manifest', i.e. to the evolvents of matter; both alternatives are supported by different commentaries.

Mbh. 12.295 (Deussen 309 or 307; p. 629)

Knowledge and ignorance

Vasiṣṭha:

1. So far I have told you (in 12.294.27 ff.) the Sāṃkhya view. But now hear from me knowledge and ignorance in order.

2. Ignorance they say is the unmanifest (material nature), characterized by creation and dissolution; while knowledge (they call) the twenty-fifth (the soul), which is free from creation and dissolution . . .

9. Knowledge is said to be the unmanifest; the object of knowledge is the twenty-fifth. Likewise knowledge is the unmanifest, the Knower is the twenty-fifth.¹

The imperishable and the perishable

10 (cd). Now learn from me what are called the imperishable and the perishable.

11. Both of these are called perishable, and both of them also not perishable.² But I shall tell you the reason why they are so called in very truth.

12. Both of them are without beginning or end, and are considered lords (i.e. great powers). They are both declared to be (among the twenty-five) 'principles' by those who think on knowledge.

13. Because it has the qualities of creation and dissolution, the unmanifest (material nature) they call imperishable; and this modifies itself again and again to create its secondary parts (*guṇa*, here = evolvents).

14. Its secondary parts, the Great One (first evolvent) and the rest, arise one from another; because this twenty-fifth (the soul) presides over them, they call him (also) the Field (normally = material nature).

15. But when he dashes together that network of the secondary parts in the unmanifest self, then along with those secondary parts (of matter) the twenty-fifth disappears (is hidden).

¹ See 12.294.39 with note.

² A commentary says they are both popularly called imperishable, but scientifically both are called perishable.

16. The secondary parts disappear in the secondary parts; then there shall come to be only the single material nature. When the Field-knower (soul) also then disappears in the Field,

17. Then material nature, known by its secondary parts, reaches the imperishable state, the state of having no secondary parts (evolvents), because it does not return into its evolvents.¹

Differentiation of the soul from material nature

18. Just so the Field-knower, upon loss of knowledge of the Field, is free of the evolvents of material nature; so we have heard.

19. When he becomes perishable (i.e. individual and plural), then he recognizes material nature as having the evolvents, and the self as free from the evolvents.

20. Then he becomes purified, because he escapes from material nature, when he, enlightened, becomes aware that 'I am different from her.'

21. Then he attains the state of being different and does not become mixed with material nature; he is seen as not mixed (with her) and different.

22. But when he loathes that network of evolvents that belongs to material nature, and sees the Supreme Seeing One, then, seeing, he shall not be distressed.

The enlightened soul's soliloquy

23. (He thinks:) 'What have I been doing this long time? I have been dragging along (with me) this personality (=body) owing to ignorance, just as a fish (drags along) a net (in water).

24. For I myself, owing to delusion, have been dragging along one personality (body) after another in this world, like a fish because it knows the water (but not the net).

25. As through ignorance the fish does not suppose that (the net) is different from the water, in the same way through ignorance I have not known (my, or the) Self and my difference (from the body).

26. Fie upon me, so unenlightened that in my delusion I have been dragging along these personalities (bodies) one after another repeatedly, each of which is sunk (in the round of rebirths).

¹ Read *aprativartanāt* with most mss.

27. This (true Self) shall be my companion, with him (comes) salvation; having arrived at likeness and identity (with him), I am (now) such as I (really) am.

28. I now perceive the likeness here; I am really like him. For he is pure, and evidently I am just such (as he is).

29. Because of the delusion of ignorance, I have concerned myself with the un-knowing (material nature) which is affected by attachment; but from this time on I remain free from attachment.

30. For this (past) time I, being not enlightened, was subjugated by her; how can I live with her (who is only one) of high, middling and low (i.e. miscellaneous, entities)?

31. And how can I here go on living with her, so common as she is, because of my unenlightened condition? Now I am firm in well-being.

32. I shall not go on living with her from now on, owing to (her) trickery; for I, who am changeless, have been tricked by her, the changeable.

33. And (yet) this was not her fault; it was my fault, in that I became attached to her, turning to retrogression.

34. Therefore I, the formless, have remained in many kinds of forms; though unformed, my self has assumed form; I was assailed by selfishness.

35. Because of the misbehaviour of material nature, why did I act with egotism in various existences here on earth, I who am (naturally) without egotism, as I dwelt in these various existences with mind that has lost its wits?

36. I have nothing more to do now with her, whose nature is affected by the I-faculty (by egotism), who is now again trying to inveigle me, making herself many-fold. Now I am enlightened, free of selfishness and egotism.

37. Permanent selfishness was by her made her nature, through the I-faculty. I, withdrawing and abandoning her, shall take refuge with the diseaseless one.

38. I shall become like him, not like her, the unintelligent. Proper for me is uniting with him, not with her.—Thus through awareness of the Highest the twenty-fifth wins enlightenment.

39. He, abandoning the perishable, shall procure imperishability, the diseaseless. Perceiving how the unmanifest takes on manifest nature, and how the one with no evolvents (? qualities) becomes possessed of evolvents (qualities), and seeing that the one with no evolvents is first (in rank), he becomes like him.

40. This explanation, perfect in knowledge, of the imperishable and the perishable has been declared to you here by me, according to the explanation given in revelation.

41. But now I shall further declare to you something that is free from doubt, subtle, enlightened, and pure; attend to it, as revelation gives it.

Common views of Sāṃkhya and Yoga

42. I have stated Sāṃkhya and Yoga, according to the teaching of the two textbooks. The same teaching (as to truth) that is stated in Sāṃkhya, that is just the view of Yoga.

43. The knowledge of Sāṃkhya-followers that causes enlightenment is clearly stated there, because of (my) desire for the welfare of pupils.

44. For skilful men say that this teaching is lofty. And in this teaching (of the Sāṃkhya-followers) there is now the curds, now the cream, of the followers of Yoga.

45. No principle higher than the twenty-fifth (the individual soul) can one see. But the supreme (principle) of the Sāṃkhya-followers has been correctly described at that point,

46. As that which (in various stages) is enlightened, and the un-enlightened, and the (soul) becoming-enlightened¹ in truth (or, in regard to the principles; *tattvataḥ*). The (soul) that is becoming enlightened and that is enlightened they declare is (also) the view of Yoga.

¹ Or 'seeking enlightenment'. A commentary says: 'Among these three, the enlightened and (the two) others, two (sc. the enlightened and the becoming-enlightened) illuminate knowledge of the soul.' (The third is the 'unenlightened' material nature; but before winning enlightenment, the soul may also be associated with her, and called by the same terms, cf. vs. 14 above.) See note on 12.296.7; the 'twenty-sixth' there mentioned is the 'enlightened' soul, the 'twenty-fifth' is the 'becoming-enlightened'.

Mbh. 12.296 (Deussen 310 or 308; p. 633)

The twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth 'principles'

Vasiṣṭha (to Janaka):

1. Hear this way of the 'strands' (of material nature), which is unenlightened and unmanifest. For she (material nature) maintains the strands, creates them, and withdraws them too.

2. But constantly altering herself here, in sport, making herself many-fold, she manifests these same (aspects of herself).

3. While she is thus creating these alterations, the soul seeking enlightenment is not aware of her; because his enlightenment (or awareness) is not manifest, they call him the (soul) seeking enlightenment.

4. But he is not at all aware of the unmanifest (material universe), whether with or without the strands; in fact, they sometimes call this the (permanently) unenlightened.

5. If, however, he becomes aware of (or is enlightened to) this unmanifest (that is the) twenty-fifth (principle, the soul), he then becomes one that is seeking enlightenment, (still) characterized by attachment (to worldly things); such is the revelation.

6. For this reason they call him the unenlightened (but) unshaken unmanifest; and because enlightenment (awareness) is (still) unmanifest they also call him the one seeking enlightenment.

7. And he is also not aware that the exalted twenty-fifth (the individual soul) is the twenty-sixth (the Supreme Spirit), the pure and enlightened, immeasurable and eternal.¹

¹ There are usually only 25 'principles' (*tattva*) in the evolutionary scheme: 24 are material, including the primal material nature (*prakṛti*, *pradhāna*), also often called the 'unmanifest' (*avyakta*), and counted as the 24th (as if beginning at the other end). The 25th is the soul, which is non-material. In the Mokṣadharmā (sec 12.306.53-4, 70, 74-7, besides several later verses in this chapter) there is mention of a '26th'. When this is referred to, it means the soul that has reached enlightenment (*buddha* or the like), while the 25th is the soul 'becoming-enlightened' or 'seeking enlightenment' (*budhyamāna*). The soul's place in the list of 'principles' is split in two, to provide recognition for a qualified difference between these two stages of the soul. Ultimately, the soul is in reality to be identified with the world-soul (Brāhman), which, when the two stages of the individual soul are distinguished, is naturally associated with the '26th' rather than the 25th. But the two are really the same; when enlightenment is reached, the 25th becomes the 26th. Often the 26th is ignored. The 24th is material nature, which is permanently unenlightened, unintelligent and unconscious (vs. 4 above). The 25th (the soul) only through ignorance may identify himself with material nature; in that state the texts sometimes speak of the 'unenlightened' (as if blending this state of the soul with material nature), by the side of the 'becoming-enlightened' (25th) and 'enlightened' (which may be counted as the 26th). See e.g. 12.295.46 and note.

8. He is always aware of the twenty-fifth and the twenty-fourth (material nature), that which has followed into both the visible and the invisible, which are of great splendour.

9. But he is not aware of that unmanifest, absolute Brāhman (neuter); he only sees the twenty-fifth and the twenty-fourth¹ (the individual soul and primal matter).

The enlightened soul

10. When, becoming conscious of himself, he thinks 'I am another (than these)', then, free from material nature,² he comes to behold the Unmanifest.

11. And when he is enlightened unto supreme, pure, spotless enlightenment, then as the twenty-sixth he shall enter into the state of being enlightened (a Buddha).

12. Then he abandons the unmanifest (matter), which is characterized by creation and dissolution; free from the strands, he knows that material nature is connected with the strands and unintelligent.

13. Then, having the nature of the Absolute, since he sees the Unmanifest, uniting with the Absolute, emancipated, he shall attain the Self. (He is then the 'twenty-sixth'.)

14. This is that Principle they say, that is free from the (twenty-five) principles, free from old age and death; because it is (externally) associated with the principles, it is both possessing the principles and not so. The wise declare the twenty-five principles.

15. And he is not involved in the principles, but this enlightened one is free from the principles. For he quickly rids himself of the principle which is the mark of the enlightened.

16. The wise one, ageless and immortal, seized by the mere abstract power (of knowing) 'I am the twenty-sixth', undoubtedly goes to identity (with the Supreme One; he is then the 'twenty-sixth').

No consciousness in supreme enlightenment

17. Though being awakened (or enlightened, or conscious) by the awakened (enlightened) twenty-sixth, he (the perfected soul) lacks

¹ I read *ca*, with many mss., for *na* 'not', which hardly makes sense.

² Understand *apraṅkṛtimān* (after -ā); commentary *prakṛtijayī*, 'overcoming material nature', which can only be understood as a gloss on *apraṅkṛtimān*.

consciousness; for this (consciousness) is (implies) plurality; so it is declared by the teachings of Sāṃkhya and holy revelation.¹

18. And of this twenty-fifth (the soul), united with intelligence, unity results only when it is not conscious with consciousness.²

19. The becoming-enlightened becomes the same as the unenlightened (i.e. both states are transcended); he (each of these), who is (originally) characterized by attachment (to worldly things), (now) becomes a Soul free from attachment.

20. Having attained to the Soul free from attachment, they know the twenty-sixth, the Unborn (supreme Soul); and the Lord (soul) gets rid of the unmanifest (material nature), when he becomes aware that this twenty-fourth (material nature) is unfordable (cannot be got through); because the twenty-sixth is enlightened.

Association is not inconsistent with separateness

21. Now I have explained to you the unenlightened, and the becoming-enlightened and the enlightened, in very truth, according to the doctrine set forth in holy revelation. So much on the subject of separateness and oneness is to be understood according to the views of scientific books.

22. Just like a gnat and a fig-tree, so these two (soul and matter) are wholly different (though associated); like a fish in water, so their difference is understood.

23. Precisely so must one comprehend the separateness and oneness of these two. This is called salvation; it is connected with knowledge of the unmanifest.

24. He who abides here in the bodies of this group of twenty-five (principles; he is the twenty-fifth) must be set free, they declare, from the sphere of the unmanifest (material nature).

¹ The impossibility of exercising consciousness when there is no plurality is clearly stated as early as BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.15-25. The same question about consciousness after reaching unity is raised in 12.290.76-79, and less clearly answered there in 80-94. In this and the surrounding stanzas there occurs a kind of word-play on the meanings of the root *budh* and its derivatives (*buddha*, participle, etc.). It means (1) to become enlightened, and (2) to be aware, conscious (of something). Consciousness, or intelligence, is a material process, as any process must be; it is a function of *buddhi*, one (usually the first) of the evolvents of *prakṛti*, material nature. See 12.294.39 and note.

² A commentary: 'as, when consciousness is stopped as in deep sleep, there is experience of the twenty-sixth' (temporary union with the One; BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.23-30).

25. He may be set free thus, and not otherwise; this is certain. And uniting with the Supreme, he becomes possessed of the nature of the Supreme.

26. Uniting with the pure, his nature is pure; uniting with the enlightened, he possesses enlightenment; uniting with the released, his nature is released.

27. And (uniting) with (the twenty-sixth) which is characterized by separation¹ (from matter), he also becomes characterized by separation;¹ and when he unites with the possessor of salvation, salvation also takes place (for him) here on earth.

28. He becomes of pure actions and pure; he possesses immeasurable radiance, and becomes pure in spirit, uniting with the pure in spirit.

29. Likewise uniting with the Absolute, his nature becomes absolute; and being independent, he attains independence by the Independent.

30. So far I have told you this truth, according to its meaning and nature, taking disinterestedness as (my) aim; it is the eternal, pure, primal Bráhma.

Only the qualified must be taught these truths

31. Not to a man who takes his stand on the Veda² should you give this supreme lesson, which causes enlightenment; it is for one desirous of knowledge, who humbles himself for the sake of enlightenment.

32. And also this should not be given to one who is a natural liar, who is deceitful, a eunuch, or one of crooked mind, nor to one who annoys others with his scholarly knowledge. Hear to what sort of person you should give this!

33. To one possessed of faith and virtue, who always refrains from speaking ill of others, who is pure in his efforts, wise, active, patient, and beneficent,

34. Who is devoted to solitude, a lover of proper rules, averse from quarrels, well educated, who has practical knowledge and does not tolerate malevolence, and is competent in the control and tranquillization of souls.

¹ Reading *viyoga-* twice, with many mss., for *niyoga-* of the critical edition.

² Cf. BhG. 2.42-46.

35. To one wholly without these virtues should not be given (instruction in) this supreme, pure Brāhman, they say. Done for such a one, it will not endow a religious teacher with weal, because he gives it to an unworthy person.

36. Even if he should offer this whole earth full of jewels, yet this should not be bestowed on one without vows. But to one that has subdued the senses, you may certainly give this supreme (lesson).

37. Have no fear of anything; you have heard this supreme Brāhman today correctly declared; it is the highest purifier, free from sorrow, endless and without beginning or middle;

38. Whose birth is unfathomable, deathless, free from sickness, without fear, and auspicious. Perceiving this, abandon today all delusion, having known this essence and meaning of knowledge.

39. For this (teaching) was obtained of old from the eternal Hiraṇyagarbha¹ who declared it, (by me) after zealously propitiating him of terrible brilliance, the eternal Brāhman (neuter), just as (it was obtained) by you today.

40. As I was asked by you, so by me this has been told to you today; so it was obtained by me from Brāhman, the great ancient knowledge of those who know salvation.

Warning to those who fail of the goal

Bhīṣma (narrator of the foregoing to Yudhiṣṭhira):

41. This highest Brāhman has been declared, from which the twenty-fifth does not return again, according to the instruction of the supreme sages.

42. Yet (even) having obtained the highest knowledge he comes again to rebirth, if the becoming-enlightened (Soul) does not become aware of the ageless and immortal one² in very truth.

43. This best of knowledges, which produces supreme beatitude, I have told you in truth, having heard it from the god-sage (Vasiṣṭha) . . .

46. No danger exists for him by whom the perishable and imperishable have been found. But there is danger for him who does not know this.

¹ See RV. 10.121.1; 'the golden germ', later a name for Brāhman.

² Reading *ajarāmaram* with most mss. for critical edition *ajarāmarah*.

47. His self deluded by ignorance, again and again getting into difficulty, after death he attains thousands of births which end in death.

48. He attains the world of gods, and animal existence, and human existence too; perchance in the course of time he gets purified from this ocean of ignorance.

49. For a frightful ocean of ignorance is declared the fathomless unmanifest, in which day after day creatures sink.

50. You have got out of this eternal fathomless unmanifest; therefore you are free from impurity and darkness (the strands *rajas* and *tamas*?).

The order of evolvents of material nature

10. Eight (productive) material principles (*prakṛti*) are declared, and sixteen modifications too. Now seven are said to be manifest by those who ponder on the super-soul.

11. The unmanifest (i.e. the primal material nature or principle, *prakṛti*), and the Great One (masculine; otherwise 'intellect' or 'consciousness', *buddhi*, first evolvent of the material 'unmanifest'), and the I-faculty too; earth, wind, ether, water, and fire as the fifth (of the gross elements);

12. These are the eight (productive) material principles. But hear from me the modifications too: (the five sense-organs) hearing (ear), skin (touch), and eye (sight), tongue (taste) and nose (smell) as the fifth;

13. (Their objects) sound, contact, and form, tastes (things tasted), and odour too; speech, the hands and feet, the anus and the generative organ likewise (the five organs of action).

14. These (the first five named in vs. 13) are the innate characteristics in the five gross elements. And these (listed in vs. 12) are the organs of perception, together with the innate characteristics (of the gross elements which are their objects).¹

15. The thought-organ is called the sixteenth (non-productive material principle) by those who think on the course of the super-soul,—you and other wise men who are trained in awareness of the principles.

16. From the unmanifest (primal material nature, *prakṛti*) the Great Self (*mahān ātmā*; see vs. 11) is produced; this the wise call the first material creation (literally, derivative of the *pradhāna*, 'the fundamental matter', a synonym of *prakṛti*).

17. And from the Great One the I-faculty is produced; this they call the second material creation, known as characterized by intellect (or consciousness, *buddhi*, see vs. 11).

18. And from the I-faculty is produced the thought-organ, which is characterized by the qualities (*guṇa* here = *viśeṣa*, 'innate characteristics', vs. 14) of the (gross) elements; this is called the third material creation, belonging to the I-faculty.

¹ These (*viśeṣa*) are elsewhere called *indriyārtha* or *viśaya*, objects of the (five) senses (of perception): BhG. 2.64, 68, etc. See also Mbh. 12.294.29.

19. But from the thought-organ arise the gross elements; this they regard as the fourth material creation, belonging to the thought-organ.¹

20. Sound, contact, form, taste, and odour too² are called the fifth material creation, derived from the (gross) elements according to people who reflect on the elements.

21. Ear (hearing), skin (touch), eye (sight), tongue (taste), and nose (smell) as the fifth, they call the sixth material creation, regarded as full of much care by nature.³

22. The group of senses (of action) that move downward is (then) produced; this they say is recorded as the seventh creation; (their activity) concerns (only) the sense-organ (itself).⁴

23. The upward and side-to-side moving (senses of action) are (then) produced; this the wise call the eighth creation, which is straight-forward (moving in a straight line).⁴

24. But the side-to-side moving and downward moving (sense of action) is (then) produced; this the wise call the ninth creation, which is straightforward.⁴

25. These nine creations, and the twenty-four principles (*tattva*), have been declared from instruction according to holy revelation.

¹ This is clearly inconsistent (not only with the later Sāṃkhya but) with vs. 15 above in this very passage; there the thought-organ is the sixteenth non-productive principle; also vss. 11-12 include the five gross elements among the eight productive evolvents.

² The objects of the senses of perception, also called the innate characteristics of the five gross elements, vs. 14 above, from which they, and apparently by implication the eleven senses, seem here to be derived.

³ Because these sense-organs arouse desire and aversion.

⁴ These three verses relate to the organs of action, vs. 22 to the excretory (and generative) organs, vs. 23 to speech and the hands, vs. 24 to the feet. The activities of the first two, as concerning the respective organs only, are contrasted with the last three which operate 'in straight lines'. These verses, however, are problematic; I cannot claim that I understand them. The commentaries cited in the critical edition do not help. In vs. 22, for critical edition *adhaḥ śrotv[ā]*-, the true reading is *adhaḥsrot[ā]*- (with irregular saṃdhi for *-srotas*), as is proved by vss. 23 and 24 *ūrdhvasrotas*, *tiryaksrotas*, *adhaḥsrota(s)*.

Mbh. 12.304 (Deussen 318 or 316; p. 655)

Equality of Sāṃkhya and Yoga

Yājñavalkya:

1. I have declared the Sāṃkhya knowledge (in chapter 303); learn from me the Yoga-knowledge,¹ as it has been heard and seen in very truth.

2. There is no knowledge like Sāṃkhya, there is no power like Yoga. But both of these have the same practical result, and both are declared (to lead to) freedom from death.

3. Men who are devoted to weak intelligence regard them as separate; but we regard them as certainly only one.

4. The same thing which Yoga-followers perceive, is perceived also by Sāṃkhya-followers. Who looks upon Sāṃkhya and Yoga as one, knows the truth.

The method of Yoga

5. Know that there are other (inferior) Yoga-followers, of whom (the uncanny god) Rudra was the founder; with this same body they roam over the ten directions,²

6. Up to death, by the subtle eight-fold³ Yoga roaming over the worlds, renouncing bliss.

7. The wise declare the eight-fold Yoga in the Vedas; they say the subtle eight-fold Yoga is nothing else.

8. But they say the supreme Yoga-activity of Yoga-followers is of two kinds, qualified (exoteric) and unqualified (esoteric),⁴ according to the teaching of scientific text-books.

¹ Here, and in a few other places (e.g. 12.306.65), the word 'knowledge' (*jñānam*) is mechanically carried over from the compound Sāṃkhya-jñānam, just before, to the parallel *Yoga-jñānam*; the proper term would be 'Yoga-power' (*-balaṃ*) as in vs. 2, or 'Yoga-activity' (*-kṛtyam*) as in vs. 8.

² Cf. 12.289.26-30 and n. 1.

³ Perhaps as having the eight 'supremacies' (*siddhi*) or supernatural powers; or the eight *yogāṅgas* of later (Classical) Yoga (*yama, niyama, etc.*).

⁴ Provided or not provided with the 'strands', 'material or super-material'; perhaps 'exoteric and esoteric' would be the best rendering. See 12.294.8.

9. (These are) fixation¹ of the thought-organ, and restraint of the vital powers; for restraint of the vital powers is exoteric; fixation (of the thought-organ) is considered² esoteric.

10. When he is seen releasing the vital powers, there ensues a superabundance of wind; therefore he should not practise (this).

11. In the first watch of the night, twelve stimulants (to Yoga) are traditional; but having slept in the middle (watch), in the last watch there are equally twelve stimulants.³

12. So thus one must discipline his self (practise Yoga), there is no doubt, being pacified, subdued, fond of loneliness, enlightened (or awake), rejoicing in the Self, abiding in a solitary place.

The stages of restraint of the vital powers

13. But subduing in five-fold fashion the evils (sc. sense-objects) of the five senses, sound, touch, form (objects of sight), taste, and smell too,

14. Checking the appearance and disappearance (of them), and causing the whole set of sense-organs to enter into the thought-organ,

15. Likewise making the thought-organ steady in the I-faculty, also (making steady) the I-faculty in the intellect, (or consciousness; elsewhere the Great one), and the intellect in the (primal) material nature,

Meditation on the Absolute

16. Thus having gone through the list (of vital powers), he should then meditate on the Absolute, that is free from impurity, sufficient, eternal, infinite, pure, uninjured,

17. The Spirit that stands fast as purity,⁴ indivisible, free from age and death, the eternal, imperishable Lord, and the imperishable Bráhma.

Characteristics of the Yoga-adept

18. But one should understand the marks of the disciplined (Yoga-adept); the mark of (his) serenity is as a sated man might sleep happily.

¹ *dhāraṇā* or *dhāraṇam*; equivalent to *ekāgratā*, 'concentration', vs. 23 below, 12.294.8, and often.

² Read *dhāraṇam matam*, or else *dhārayen manaḥ*, 'one should fix the thought-organ without the strands' (both with ms. variants); text *dhāraṇam manaḥ*, which seems to me an unconstruable blend of these two.

³ See 12.294.10-11 with note.

⁴ Or 'goodness', *sattva*.

19. But as a lamp in a windless place, filled with oil, will burn with motionless up-rising flame, in the same way the wise describe the disciplined (Yoga-adept).

20. As a stone, struck by water-drops coming from a cloud, cannot be disturbed, such is the mark of the disciplined (Yoga-adept).

21. As one would not tremble because of sounds of conch and drum, or various songs and music performed, that is the description of the disciplined (Yoga-adept).

22. As a man taking a pot full of oil in his hands might mount a staircase while in fear from threats of men armed with swords,

23. If he is self-controlled, would not for fear of them spill a drop from the vessel,¹ and so he climbs with concentrated mind,

24. Because his senses are steady and undisturbed; thus one must understand the marks of the disciplined (Yoga-adept) sage.

25. That disciplined (Yoga-adept) beholds Bráhmaṇ (neuter) which is supreme and imperishable, like a light standing in the midst of great darkness.

26. Thereby, after leaving the body, he goes to the Absolute, which has no witness, after a long time; this is the everlasting revelation.

27. For this is the Yoga (discipline) of Yoga-followers; what else could have the marks of Yoga? Having understood this, wise men are thought to have done all that they need to do.

¹ Cf. 12.289.32.

Mbh. 12.306 (Deussen 320 or 318, p. 660)

The unenlightened and enlightened soul ('twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth' principles)

Yājñavalkya:

52. (Deussen 54, p. 665) Considering birth and death, which never end, and abandoning the three (Vedas) as something perishable, one resorts to the eternal doctrine.

53. But when he keeps his vision fixed on the infinite (doctrine) day in and day out, then he becomes Absolute and sees the twenty-sixth (Supreme Soul).

54. (A different) one is the eternally unmanifest (soul, the twenty-sixth), another (soul) is the twenty-fifth; saints say that one should look on both, thinking 'this one belongs to that'.

55. Therefore the Yoga-followers and Sāṃkhya-followers who seek the highest do not recognize this twenty-fifth as the permanent, because they fear rebirth and death.

Viśvāvasu:

56. This twenty-fifth of which you have spoken, is it so, or not so? Be pleased to explain this . . .

65. You have obtained the Sāṃkhya-knowledge in its entirety, and also the Yoga-knowledge¹ in (all) particulars . . .

Yājñavalkya:

68. The twenty-fifth (the individual soul) is aware (conscious) of material nature, which is unaware (unconscious). But material nature is not aware of the twenty-fifth.

69. Because of this unawareness, they call it (material nature) the fundamental entity (of matter; *pradhāna*, a recognized synonym of the primal *prakṛti*),—the followers of Sāṃkhya and of Yoga who know the truth, according to pronouncements of revelation.

70. Seeing and yet not seeing, another one thus sees, (namely) the twenty-sixth (Supreme Soul); it sees both the twenty-fifth (individual

¹ See note on 12.304.1.

soul) and the twenty-fourth (primal matter). But one who looks through to Him, though seeing, does not see (in a worldly sense).¹

71. The twenty-fifth imagines, 'There is no one higher than I'. The twenty-fourth is not incomprehensible for men who see knowledge.

72. As a fish goes through the water, and proceeds by (its own) propulsion,—just as the fish is aware (of the water), just so also this (twenty-fifth) is aware (of material nature, the twenty-fourth); for it always has attachment (to it), dwells with (it), and imagines (itself concerned in it).

73. It sinks down at whatever time it is not aware of (its) one-ness (with the Supreme), and rises up when it is not engulfed in selfishness.

74. But when a brahman thinks 'I am different from this (material nature)', then he becomes the Absolute and sees the twenty-sixth.

75. The Supreme is different from the twenty-fifth; (but) because the one is the basis of the other, saints regard them as one and the same.

76. Therefore they do not acknowledge this twenty-fifth as the Imperishable (Supreme). Followers of Yoga and Sāṃkhya, fearing the dangers of birth and death, look to the twenty-sixth (as that), being pure, and wholly devoted to that.

77. When he, having become the Absolute, looks upon the twenty-sixth, then that wise one, omniscient, does not come again to birth.

78. Thus I have explained to you in very truth the unenlightened, the becoming-enlightened, and the enlightened, according to the views of holy revelation;

79. (The enlightened) who sees clearly him who sees and him who sees not, and (what constitutes) security and truth, the Absolute and what is not the Absolute, the primal one, and what is beyond the twenty-fifth . . .

83. Both all Sāṃkhya-followers, who delight in the Sāṃkhya religion, and also Yoga-followers, who delight in the Yoga religion, and likewise whatever other men are seeking salvation, all of them have this view, which is perceived by knowledge.

¹ See 12.296.17 and note.

84. From knowledge salvation is produced for men, not from what is not knowledge, so they say. Therefore one must pursue knowledge as it truly is, by which he shall save himself from birth and death.

85. Whether one receives knowledge from a brahman, or from a noble, or from an artisan, or even from a base serf,—immediately the believer must always have faith in it; birth and death do not affect the believer . . .

88. As from lack of knowledge they arrive at various wombs of action, and (so) go to death, thus (all) castes, bereft of knowledge, as a result of their fearful lack of knowledge fall into the net of wombs belonging to material nature.

Mbh. 12.308 (Deussen 322 or 320; p. 673)

*Sāṃkhya 'reasoning, calculation', as one of the five aspects
required of speech*

79. (Deussen p. 680). Subtlety (*saukṣmya*), reasoning (*sāṃkhya*) and order (of parts; *krama*) both, clear conclusion (*nirṇaya*), and motivation (for action, *prayojana*), these five things make up what is called Speech . . .

82. When with reference to a particular object there is a classificatory weighing of disadvantages and advantages, this should be known as reasoning (*sāṃkhya*) . . .

*Recognizing the identity of all selves a necessary
condition for salvation*

126 (Deussen 125, p. 685). As you see the self in (your) self by (your) self, just so why do you not see the self by (your) self in another? And if you ascertain the identity in your self and in another,

127. Then why do you ask me who I am and to whom I belong? For one who is freed from the contrasting pairs such as 'this is mine, this is not', what use is there in such questions as 'who are you, to whom do you belong, or whence do you come?' . . .

130. Who does not look with the same view on the pleasant and the unpleasant, on the weak and the strong, what sign of being saved is there in him? . . .

Enjoyments of even the greatest men have natural limitations

134. One who should rule over this entire world under his single sway, surely that king could only live in a single city.

135. And in that city he would have only a single house to live in, and in the house too only a single bed in which he would rest at night.

136. And half of even that bed would be occupied by a wife. So he would enjoy the fruits (of rule) here subject to these limitations.

Many souls or One?

Janamejaya:

1. Are there many spirits (*puruṣa*) or only one? Who among them is the supreme spirit? Or what is said to be the source of them in the world?

Vaiśampāyana:

2. There are many spirits in the world for those who consider Sāṃkhya and Yoga; they do not approve this (theory that there is) one single spirit.

3. And as a single source of the many spirits is declared, thus I shall explain that universal spirit, superior to the strands (of matter) . . .

8. On this point also they tell this ancient story, a conversation of Śiva with (god) Brahmā . . .

Brahmā:

21 (Deussen 22). I always dwell on this excellent mountain Vaijayanta; here with concentrated thought-organ I meditate on the ruling (or shining; *virāj*) Spirit.

Śiva:

22. Many spirits have been created by you, the self-existent, and others are being created, and (you say) this is a single ruling (or shining) Spirit?

23. Who is that Supreme Spirit that you meditate on? Explain this, my doubt; for I have great curiosity.

Brahmā:

24. (There are) many spirits, as you have said. In a sense this is transcended, and in this (other) sense not transcended, too. But I shall explain to you the basis of the Single Spirit.

25. As He is declared to be the single source of the many spirits, so they, when they become free from the strands, enter into that universal Spirit, supreme and greatest of all, who is free from the strands and eternal.

A tract on monism: The One within the whole universe

Brahmā:

1. Hear how this Spirit, eternal and undying, imperishable and immeasurable, and omnipresent, is described.

2. He cannot be seen by you, nor by me, nor by others. For, being both with and without the strands, He, the Universal, is said to be perceivable (only) by knowledge.

3. Bodiless, He dwells in all bodies; though dwelling in bodies he is not stained by actions.

4. He is my inner Self, and yours, and that of all others who bear the name of bodies; He is the on-looking Witness, not to be grasped by anyone anywhere.

5. Having head, arms, feet, eyes, and nose everywhere, He moves alone in the Fields, going with free will just as it pleases Him.

6. For the Fields are bodies, and their seeds are good and evil deeds; He knows them, He whose essence is Yoga; therefore he is called the Field-knower.

7. His coming and going is not to be known by any creature; only by the Sāṃkhya method, and by Yoga step by step.

8. I ponder on His course, and yet I do not know His highest course. But I shall declare according to (my) knowledge that eternal Spirit.

9. He possesses unity and greatness, and he is considered the One Spirit; and he alone, the eternal, bears the name Great Spirit.

10. He, the One, is kindled as fire in many places; He, the One, as the sun is the sole source of heat; He, the One, as wind blows in many places in the world; and as the ocean He is the sole source of waters; He is the One Spirit, free from strands, of all forms; and to Him, the strand-less Spirit, (others) enter in.

11. Abandoning all that is composed of the strands, abandoning good and evil deeds, leaving behind both truth and falsehood, thus one becomes free from the strands.

12. And having known Him the unthinkable, of subtle nature, four-fold,¹ whose shall roam as a wandering monk, intent, he shall go to the lordly Spirit.

13. For thus some scholars maintain that He is the Highest Soul; and others who ponder on the over-soul consider (this) soul the One single Soul.

14. Now he who is the Highest Soul, is declared to be permanently free from the strands. For he is to be known as Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), inasmuch as he is the Spirit that is the All-soul. And he is not stained by the fruits (results, of action), as a lotus-leaf (is not stained) by water.

15. But as that other who has a self characterized by action, he is connected with bondage and release; for he is connected with the (material) aggregate that includes the seventeen.² Thus the Spirit has been declared to you, with its various kinds in order.

16. He is to be known as the entire domain of the world-system, the supreme object of awareness and the one who is aware of it, the thinker and the thinkable, the eater and the eatable, the smeller and the smellable, the toucher and the touchable,

17. The seer and the seeable, the hearer and the hearable, the knower and the knowable, what has and has not the strands, and what is called the primal substance (*pradhāna* = *prakṛti*) which is equal to the strands; and this is called forever the eternal and imperishable.

18. Since He creates the Creator's first deposit, therefore brahmans call Him Aniruddha.³ And what is pious Vedic action in the world, associated with desires, that too is for Him to enjoy.

19. All the gods and sages, well controlled, with sacrifices offer the sacrificial share first of all to Him. I, Brahmā, the first lord of creatures, was born from Him, and you were born from me; for from me comes the world of moving and stationary things, and all the Vedas, together with the secret doctrines (Upaniṣads).

20. The Spirit, divided in four (cosmic manifestations of Viṣṇu, note 3, below), sports as he pleases; and even so the Lord by (his own) knowledge is completely enlightened.

21. This has now been told you in very truth, in reply to your question, what is in Sāṃkhya-knowledge and in Yoga, fully described.

¹ The four cosmic manifestations of Viṣṇu, as in vs. 20; cf. vs. 18 note 3.

² According to one commentary, the ten sense-organs, the five gross elements, the thought-organ and the intellect or consciousness (*buddhi*). But see Index s.v.

³ One of the four cosmic manifestations of Viṣṇu; literally 'Uncontrolled'.

ADDENDUM: A FEW TRANSLITERATIONS OF SANSKRIT STANZAS

Note on the structure of Sanskrit verse

Rhyme is not used in either Vedic, Epic or standard Classical Sanskrit poetry. In some very late Sanskrit verse it is found, but only rarely.

Rhythmic meters are standardly used. (What determines the rhythm is always the length or shortness of syllables; never stress-accent. See p. 13.) Some meters, in both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, are quite complicated. The meters of the poetic parts of the selections translated in this book are fairly simple on the whole. They usually consist of stanzas of 'verses' of four lines each. Every line normally has the same number of syllables as every other line in the same stanza, though exceptions occur. Fundamentally, the latter part of each line, the 'cadence', shows in each meter a fixed succession of long and short syllables. (See below.) Certain freedoms, however, are allowed within limits; the poets are masters, not slaves, of the meters they use.

In connected discourse in Sanskrit, the end of one word often undergoes alterations which are determined by the initial of the following word. The most important of these 'combinations' (*sam̐dhi*), as they are called in Sanskrit, is the fusion of a final vowel with a following initial vowel, or some other alteration of the final vowel before the initial. Sanskrit manuscripts do not normally separate words. In the selections quoted below, I have separated all words, using an initial apostrophe to indicate that an initial vowel has been fused with a preceding final. Thus, at the very beginning of Rig Veda 10.129, where the manuscripts write *nāsad*, a fusion of *na* 'not' with *asad* 'non-existent', I print *nā'sad*. In the Rig Veda, the manuscripts show certain other orthographic peculiarities which are known to misrepresent the meter of the hymns as originally recited. I have changed these to the true metrical readings without comment.

For Sanskrit pronunciation see p. 13.

Rig Veda 10.129

The meter is called *triṣṭubh*. Its normal line has eleven syllables. After the eighth syllable, which is almost always long, follows a three-syllable cadence, of which the first two syllables are iambic (∪ —), and the third, like the last syllable of every Sanskrit verse-line, may be either long or short. (This so-called 'catalectic double iambus' may then be noted metrically as a cadence ∪ — ×.) The cadence of the second line of stanza 3 is a full double iambus (∪ — ∪ ×), which technically makes the line into the meter called *jagatī*; but *jagatī* and *triṣṭubh* lines commingle in both Vedic and epic verse. The cadence of the second line of stanza 7 lacks the last *two* syllables—a highly unusual procedure which is undoubtedly deliberate; the abrupt aposiopesis (as it has been called) is most effective.

1. nā 'sad āsīn na sad āsīt tadānīm
nā 'sīd rajo no viyomā paro yat
kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarman
ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanam gabhīram
2. na mṛtyur āsīd amṛtaṃ na tarhi
na rātriyā ahna āsīt praketaḥ
ānīd avātaṃ svadhayā tad ekaṃ
tasmād dhā 'nyan na paraḥ kiṃ canā 'sa
3. tama āsīt tamasā gūlham agre
apraketaṃ salilaṃ sarvam ā idam
tucchyenā 'bhuv apihitaṃ yad āsīt
tapasas tan mahinā 'jāyatai 'kam
4. kāmas tad agre samavartatā 'dhi
manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt
sato bandhum asati nir avindan
hṛdi pratiṣyā kavayo manīṣā
5. tiraścīno vitato raśmir eṣām
adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt
retodhā āsan mahimāna āsan
svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt
6. ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat
kuta ājātā kuta iyaṃ¹ viśṛṣṭiḥ
arvāg devā asya visarjanena
athā ko veda yata ābabhūva
7. iyaṃ viśṛṣṭir yata ābabhūva
yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na
yo asyā 'dhyakṣaḥ parame viyoman
so aṅga veda yadi vā na veda

Bhagavad Gītā 2.19, 22

All stanzas in the Gītā also contain four lines, which are fundamentally of equal syllabic length (a few, called 'hypermetric', have an extra syllable, but this usage is rather strictly regulated). In most of them there are eight syllables per line. This meter is called *anuṣṭubh*, or *śloka*. The cadence, which consists of the last four syllables, most commonly shows the metrical scheme ∪ — — × in the first and third lines, but invariably the scheme ∪ — ∪ ×

¹ These two words were pronounced together as three syllables; something like *kuteyam*, or *kuteyam*.

(a double iambus) in the second and fourth lines. This is by far the commonest meter in the entire Mahābhārata. It is a descendant of a Vedic meter also called *anuṣṭubh*, of four eight-syllable lines, but the metrical scheme of the cadence is somewhat different in the Veda. Gītā 2.19 is an example.

2.19. ya enaṃ veti hantāraṃ
yaś cai 'naṃ manyate hatam
ubhau tau na vijānīto
nā 'yaṃ hanti na hanyate.

While the Gītā, and the Mahābhārata generally, use this meter for simple narration and description, they also have a descendant of the Vedic *triṣṭubh* which we met in Rig Veda 10.129. The use of this meter always marks an elevated passage, a high point in the poem. It is not surprising that most of the mystic vision (Chapter 11) is composed in *triṣṭubh*. It begins with fourteen *anuṣṭubh* stanzas, building up to the climax where Arjuna begins to describe his vision of God. With Arjuna's first words it breaks into *triṣṭubh*, in which the next thirty-six stanzas are composed. Only with stanza 51, after the overwhelming vision has disappeared, and Arjuna, with relief, sees Kṛṣṇa in his human form again, does the poet drop back into the more pedestrian *anuṣṭubh* for the last fifteen stanzas, as a sort of anticlimax.

As an example of epic *triṣṭubh* I have chosen Gītā 2.22, a fine and exalted verse which says that leaving a worn-out body and taking on a new one is no more important than laying aside worn-out garments and putting on new ones. It will be noted that it has the same metrical scheme in the cadence which is regular in the Rig Veda (10.129, above).

2.22. vāsāṃsi jīrṇāni yathā vihāya
navāni gṛhṇāti naro 'parāṇi
tathā śarīrāṇi vihāya jīrṇāny
anyāni saṃyāti navāni dehī

Note that there are just four words in each line, sixteen words in all. The simplicity of the language is as impressive as its grandeur. Let me translate it literally word for word, in the Sanskrit order; I think readers can imagine the effect of the original, even through this veil which as English is necessarily unidiomatic:

Garments, worn-out (ones), as laying aside,
New (ones) takes a man, others,
So bodies laying aside, worn-out (ones),
To others goes, to new (ones), the soul.

Now see what a great English poet, Sir Edwin Arnold, makes of the verse; to be sure with a slight sacrifice of simplicity, by using somewhat more words:

M

Nay, but as when one layeth
His worn-out robes away,
And, taking new ones, sayeth,
'These will I wear today!'
So putteth by the spirit
Lightly its garb of flesh,
And passeth to inherit
A residence afresh.

('The Song Celestial', quoted from page 101 of *Harvard Oriental Series*
Volume 39.)

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

An attempt has been made to furnish in this Index brief definitions of Sanskrit words. All proper names are included, as well as the more important Sanskrit vocables—those which users of the book are apt to look for.

References to the translations are to chapter and verse of each work, abbreviated RV., AV., BṛhĀrUp., ChāUp, KUp., Gītā (or Bh.G.), and, for the Mokṣadharmā, (Mbh.)12. Most commonly 'Mbh.' is omitted, since '12', the number of the book of the Mahābhārata that contains the Mokṣadh., followed by two figures for chapter and verse, is ordinarily an unambiguous reference.

The three chapters of the Introduction are usually referred to by pages alone (without the word Introduction); sometimes by the chapter number and numbered footnotes.

The text and notes of the Introduction contain many references to the translations which follow. In most such cases, when the Index refers to such a passage in the Introduction, it has seemed an unnecessary duplication to include in the Index also specific references to the translations which are cited in the Introduction passage there referred to. Users of the Index are therefore warned that a reference to the Introduction implies also references to the translation mentioned therein.

Abandonment = Renunciation, q.v.
 Abhāva, passing away, coming not to be (death? cf. Bhāva), as element in creative process, 12.244.2; 267.9 (with n.2), 10
 Ābhu, 'coming into being', generative principle, RV. 10.129.3 with n.1
 Absolute = Kevala, q.v.
 Abuddha, (also Apratibuddha, Aprabuddha, qq.v.) the unenlightened (personality), 12.293.42
 Action, activity, deed (= Karma[n], q.v., Kṛtya), characteristic of Yoga, q.v., in contrast with 'Knowledge' of Sāṃkhya, 37-9; rated inferior to way of knowledge, 35 n.4, 37; rated superior to it, because easier, 38; in Gītā usually (= *karma-yoga*) 'disciplined but worldly activity', 33, 39; if disinterested, unselfish, required by duty, action does not bind, 33, 39, 48; actions natural to each of the four castes (described Gītā 18.41-4) should be performed

by the respective caste-members, 18.45-8; resign responsibility for acts to Brahman, Gītā 5.10, or God, ib. 12.6

Adhvaryu, one of the priests at a Vedic sacrifice; his duty is to recite formulas (*yajus*) from the Yajur Veda, RV. 10.71.11 with n.; AV. 8.10.20 with n.; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.6, 10

Adhyātma, the super- or over-(supreme) Self, KUp. 2.12 (probably oldest occurrence); 12.187.1, 2; 232.3; 267.18. In none of the above is there any clear indication of difference from the (individual) *ātman*

Aditi, n. of a goddess often conceived as mother of the chief gods (Ādityas); both mother and daughter of Dakṣa, q.v., RV. 10.72.4, 5, 8, 9; AV. 12.1.61; 13.1.38; KUp. 4.7; her eight sons, RV. 10.72.8

Āditya, 'son of Aditi', q.v.; epithet of various important gods in the Veda,

Āditya—*continued*

- RV. 10.85.1, 2; 125.1; AV. 10.7.22; 13.3.17 with n.3; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.3 (twelve), 6 (identified with the year's twelve months); already in the Veda, and later prevailingly, applied to the Sun, q.v.
- Aghā (plural), n. of a constellation, RV. 10.85.13
- Agni, fire (-god), 18n., 19, 20n., RV. 1.164.46; 10.85.8; 10.90.13; 10.125.1; AV. 2.1.4; 10.2.20; 10.7.2, 4; 10.8.17, 39; 11.4.26 with n. 4; 11.8.5, 8; 12.1.19-20, 51, 53; 13.1.25, 27, 31, 40 with n. 4, 53; 13.2.35; 13.3.21, 23; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.5; KUp. 1.7; flesh-devouring (funeral) fire, AV. 13.1.29, receives man's ātman at death, AV. 11.8.31; as form of the sun, AV. 13.1.11-32; (sacrificial) fire leads to heaven, KUp. 1.13-5, or to final release, *ibid.* 16-8; two fires, 'cold' and 'hot', AV. 13.1.46 ff.; corresponds to speech in man, BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.5; 3.2.13. See also Vaiśvānara, Jātavedas
- Agnosticism, 19; RV. 10.129.6-7
- Ahaṃkāra, see Self-consciousness
- Ahimsā, non-injury, harmlessness, Gītā 13.28 n.1; 16.2
- Aja, see Unborn
- Ākāśa, 'ether', also atmosphere, space, or emptiness; 12.187.8 n. 2; BṛhĀrUp. 3.8.3-7, 11; *ib.* 4.1; 4.2.3; one of the five gross physical elements, see Bhūta
- Akṣara (neuter), see Imperishable
- 'All-gods' (Viśve devāḥ), treated as a category of gods, RV. 10.125.1; AV. 12.1.53; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.1
- All-maker, the, see Viśvakarman
- Aṃśa ('sharer'), Vedic god, RV. 2.1.4
- Ānanda, 'bliss', as epithet of Brahman (the Supreme), 33
- Ānandagiri, a Hindu commentator, ChāUp. 6.13 n. 1
- Āngiras, n. of an ancient priestly family and its founder, AV. 8.10.25 (here Bṛhaspati belongs to it); 10.7.18 (with n. 3), 34; Āngirasa, a member of this family, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1. See Atharvans-and-Āngirases.
- Āniman, fineness, or subtle essence, said of the ultimate One Principle, ChāUp. 6.8 p. 175 with n. 2 (repeated later); *ib.* 6.12 (it exists in the invisible centre of a kernel of a banyan-tree, which grows from it)
- Animism, 18
- Aniruddha, one of the four cosmic manifestations of Viṣṇu, 46 n. 1
- Aniśvara, 'having no lord', Supreme (usually of the Self); 12.238.7; 12.289.3 with n.1; 12.294.40
- Antaka, see Ender
- Antar-ātman, 'inner Self'; often seems indistinguishable from Ātman, but sometimes seems preferred name for the Universal (One) Self, KUp. 5.9-12; 12.242.9 (sees everything; the [individual] self does not know whither it will go or whence it came); 12.244.10 ('altogether the highest'); it creates material nature, 12.294.31, 33, but in 35 simply ātman does this, while the Great Soul (mahān ātmā), the 25th (tattva), superintends
- Apāna, nether breath; see Prāṇa (BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 2)
- Aprabuddha = Abuddha, q.v.: said of the unmanifest (avyakta) Lord (= individual soul) associated with the Strands (sa-guṇa) 12.293.43, 46; 12.294.2, 43; 12.296.19. See also Budhyamāna
- Apratibuddha = Abuddha; 12.294.4; 295.46; 296.6, 21; 306.78. See Budhyamāna
- Apratibuddhaka, *id.* 12.296.4
- Apsaras, seductive superhuman females, female counterpart of Gandharvas, q.v.; AV. 2.1.2 with n.; 8.10.27; 12.1.23, 50; 19.54.4
- Arāya, a kind of evil spirit, AV. 12.1.50
- Arjuna, epic hero, interlocutor in Gītā, p. 199
- Arjunī (dual), n. of a constellation, RV. 10.85.13
- Arnold, Sir Edwin, pp. 46, 198, 226
- Ārtabhāga, son of Jaratkāru, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.1, 14
- Artha, (1) worldly advantage, as one of the trivarga, q.v., 30, 33 with n.; 12.244.1; (2) short for Indriyārtha, 'objects' (of senses), KUp. 3.10
- Aruṇa, father of Uddālaka, q.v. (patronymic Āruṇi)

Aryaman, Vedic god, RV. 2.1.4; 5.3.2
 Aryans, 18
 Asat, see Non-existent
 Asceticism, see Tapas
 Asti, 'it is,' the only way of characterizing the Supreme, KUp. 6.13.
 Contrast Negative terms, q.v.
 Asura, ancient epithet of disputed meaning, applied to a number of important Vedic gods, RV. 2.1.6; 5.83.6; 10.82.5 (see n.1); later, 'demon', one of the opponents of the gods, AV. 8.10.22; 12.1.5
 Ásvala, hotar-priest of Janaka, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.4, 12
 Ásvamedha, horse-sacrifice, see BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.2
 Ásvins, a pair of twin Vedic gods, RV. 10.85.8, 14, 15; 10.125.1; AV. 11.8.5; 12.1.10
 Atharvan, ancestor of the priest-family for which the Atharva Veda is named, AV. 4.1.7; 10.2.27; Ātharvaṇa, a member of this family, BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.1
 Atharvans-and-Āngirasas (collectively, Atharva Veda), AV. 10.7.18 and 20, with notes 3 and 6; 11.4.16 with n. 7
 Atharva Veda, 17, 18, 20 n., 20, 21, 22-3, 24 n., 26, 79
 Ātman, 'Self', Soul (see also Puruṣa), 20, 21; early development in philosophical sense, 26-7; identified with Brahman, q.v., 27, 30, or with any term for the Supreme One, 38, 40, 46; 'anything other than that is evil', 31, 41; contrasted with material nature, 41 with n. 2; relations between them, 44 (with n. 3); *yaḥṣa*, q.v., consisting of ātman, AV. 10.2.32; 10.8.43; (as if part of body) goes into ether at death, BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.13 (only Action, karma, remains), and (?) 3.7.30 (see n. 1), cf. AV. 11.8.31 with n. 1 (goes to funeral fire at death); even material nature is called a 'self', but 'perishable', 45 (n. 1); at approach of death, 'corporeal Self' is 'mounted' by 'intelligent Self' BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.42; two 'selves', one 'manifest' (is born and dies); it is born of the other ('unmanifest'); both 'attracted to sense-

objects', Mbh. 12.228.29-32; two-fold nature of Self, perishable and imperishable, 12.231.31 (cf. vss. 16-18, 20-22, 32-4); two ātmans, one called *dehin* ('embodied'); when it is asleep, the other ('subtle one', *sūkṣma*) goes anywhere (in Dream, q.v., 12.290.83 ff.); 'the unmanifest self' apparently means *prakṛti* in 12.295.15; Plurality of 'Selves', see this; is man's light when other lights fail, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.6 (= Spirit, *puruṣa*, made of intelligence, the inner light within the vital powers, within the heart, 7); a mass of intelligence, ib. 4.5.13; the 'inner controller' that controls all, ib. 3.7.7 ff.; Ātman in everything is all that gives value to it, ib. 4.5.6-7; knowing it one knows everything, ibid. 7; no ultimate reality in anything else, ibid. 8-10; all emanates from it, and dissolves into it, ibid. 11-13; Ātman is Brahman, hence composed of everything (potentially; here explaining fate of unemancipated Self, determined by *karma*) ib. 4.4.6-8; emancipated Self is not reborn, it is Brahman ibid. 8-10; glorified, as lord of all, ibid. 11-31; other descriptions, KUp. 2.18-25 (vs 23, 'reveals himself only to whom He chooses'); ātman as Field-knower knows the strands of matter, and surveys them, 12.187.40; sends them forth (as a spider its threads) to a new existence after death, ibid. 48; Yoga-adept makes senses abide in the Self; then Brahman shines forth, and he sees, and becomes, the Imperishable (Supreme) Self, 12.232.17-20; perfected self attains Brahman 12.242.16-17; having transcended matter, one attains the Supreme Self, which has the nature of Nārāyaṇa, and, freed from good and evil, does not return, 12.290.91-2; no consciousness after death (in unification), see Subject (Universal); neither does nor suffers acts, 41 f.; relations between the One and the many, 45; *mahān (ātmā)*, 'Great (Self)', substitute for *buddhi* as first

Ātman—*continued*

- evolvent of primal matter, see s.v. Buddhi (4); *sānta* (*ātman*), see this; see Negative terms used of the One; said to *create* material nature, 12.294.31-5 (but rather 'super-intends' or 'knows' it, 32 f.)
- Atri, a well-known Rig-vedic seer (ṛṣi), AV. 13.3.15 (see n. 2)
- Avi, (goddess) 'Helpful' (?), AV. 10.8.31 with n. 2
- Avidyā, 'Ignorance', q.v.
- Avyakta, the Unmanifest, often applied to primal, unevolved Prakṛti, 41 n. 2; KUp. 3.11; 6.7; Gītā 13.5 with n. 1; 12.238.4; 294.27; 295.13; 298.10-11; but elsewhere prakṛti is manifest (*vyakta*), sprung from the Unmanifest, 12.228.29-31; 291.21; here the unmanifest must be the enlightened (*buddha*, 228.31) Self, or else as in Gītā 12.1-5 the unmanifest (also imperishable, etc.) abstract (unnamed) Absolute (substantially = Brahman); yet in 12.293.43 the 'un-enlightened unmanifest Lord' is the Strand-connected Self, and in *ibid.* 45 'they become aware of the unmanifest (Self) as becoming-enlightened'. Some confusion is doubtless to be expected with these terms. The terms *avyakta* and *vyakta* seem to be nearly equivalent to *aḥṣara* and *ḥṣara*, imperishable and perishable, as in 12.187.6 etc.
- Āyatana, 'seat' of Brahman, see BṛhĀrUp. 4.1
- Bādarāyaṇa, reputed author of post-epic Vedānta sūtras, p. 48
- Bahutva = plurality, q.v.
- Bala, 'Power', q.v.
- Bandhu, (causal) connection, RV. 10.129.4; AV. 2.1.3 with n. 4; 4.1.3
- Belvalkar, S.K., p. 197
- Bhaga ('Portioner', Fortune), Vedic god, RV. 2.1.7; 10.125.2
- Bhagavad Gītā, see Gītā
- Bhakti, 'devotion', q.v.
- Bharata, ancestor of chief heroes of the Mahābhārata, Gītā 2.14, 18; 16.3

- Bhāva, (1) coming into being, as element in creation (see Abhāva), 12.244.2; 267.9; (2) (three) 'states of being, conditions of existence', seems = the three Strands (q.v.), Gītā 7.13; 12.187.14 (with n.1), 21 ff.; 12.240.6; 244.12 (here all is pervaded by the bhāvas 'of which Time is the 8th', referring to 244.2 where the 'elements', *bhūta*, are the 5 gross elements plus *bhāva*, *abhāva*, and Time!); 267.25, 28
- Bhikṣu, ascetic (see Tapas), 32
- Bhīṣma, epic hero, Gītā 2.4
- Bhujyu son of Lāhya, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1, 2
- Bhūta, (1) as adjective, past (contrasting with present and future); very common; e.g. BṛhĀrUp. 3.8.3; (2) being, creature, also very common; e.g. BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.6-7; five kinds, *ib.* 4.4.19 n. 4; (3) rarely, the vital powers or sense-faculties, with their material objects, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.43 with n. 1; possibly 4.4.24, see n. 3; (4) with an adjective 'great', the Great Being or Element or Elemental Being, said of the Universal Self, BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.11, 13, with n. 2; (5) in Mbh. and later, the (gross) physical elements of matter, usually five (earth, water, fire, air, ether); most often called *mahā-bhūta*, 'gross elements'; a possible early occurrence in this sense, BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.13, q.v. with n. 2; in Mbh. often in lists of Tattvas, q.v., of matter; Gītā 13.5 with n. 1; beings (*bhūta*, sense 2 above, are created from the *mahā-bhūta* and return into them, 12.187.4-7; from each of them originate severally the organs or senses of perception, their objects, and some other bodily functions, *ibid.* 8-10 (*manas* here called a sixth *mahābhūta*! see n. 4); 12.244.2-9; 12.267.4-14 (they are 'eternal, immovable', and there is 'nothing higher', 6-8)
- Bhūtātman, elemental self; see 12.187.6 with n. 1; 231.11, 21; 291.34
- Blade in reed-stalk, associated but distinct, 12.240.22

- Bloomfield, M., AV. 11.4.21 n. 2
- Bodhana, enlightenment, 12.296.3 and 6. Also Buddhi, q.v. (3)
- Body (vs. Self, Soul), see Dualism
- Boehlingk, O., BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.2 with n.
- Bondage, characteristic of round of rebirths, p. 30
- Brahmán (masculine), (1) one of the most important priests at a Vedic sacrifice, RV. 10.71.11 with n.; AV. 12.1.38 with n.; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.7, 11; (perhaps priest in general?) AV. 10.7.24; (2) member of the brahman caste, RV. 10.90.12; (?) AV. 10.2.22 with n.; (3) the personal god Brahṁā, Gītā 11.15 (Arnold p. 228); 12.228.35, 38; 12.338.8; 12.339.19
- Brāhman (neuter), (1) Holy Word, Vedic hymn or incantation, 15 with n. 1; 23-4; AV. 10.7.19; 10.8.19; 11.4.24; 11.8.23 with n.; 11.8.30-2 with n. 1 (?); 12.1.1, 29; 13.1.9, 33, 36 (with n. 2), 43, 48, 50, 51; 19.53.8, 9; 19.54.1, 5 (with n. 3); associated with *tapas*, q.v., 32 with n. 3; AV. 11.8.2; (2) as 'supreme' entity, 22 n. 2; early history of this use (see passages cited in AV. 4.1.1, with note), 23-4 (n. 2); comes to be identified with *ātman*, 26-7, 28, 29; BṛhĀrUp. 3.4 and 5; 3.7.4; (with only the perfected Self) ib. 4.4.28-31; identified with *Puruṣa*, AV. 11.8.32; Brāhman in *Man*, AV. 10.7.17; Br. the root from which man is reborn after death, BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.33-4; the One (neuter) god, 'That', ib. 3.9.10 with n.; six imperfect definitions of Br., BṛhĀrUp. 4.1; Br. is the Universal One within the many, assuming manifold aspects, KUp. 5.8 ff.; those who see him in themselves gain perfect bliss and peace, ib. 5.12 ff.; relation to God, 45-7; devotion to God is easier, 39-40; attaining identity with Br. brings release, 31, cf. 33 f.; (a few other passages out of many) Gītā 5.19-20; 6.27-8; 8.13 (= *om*); = 'object of (all) knowledge' (but 'ruled by God!') 13.12 (description 13.13-17); Mbh. 12.233.13; 267.38; 296.30 and 37 ff.; 304. 16-17 and 25
- Brahmaṇas-pati (= Bṛhaspati), Lord of the Holy Word, 20 with n. 1; 24 n. 1; RV. 2.1.3; 10.72.2; AV. 13.1.51; 13.3.7
- Brāhmaṇa (neuter) texts, 17, 21-3; (jyeṣṭham) Brāhmaṇa, (supreme) 'Brāhman-power', AV. 10.7.17, 10.8.20, 33, 37; (masculine) a knower of Brāhman, one who has attained it, BṛhĀrUp. 3.4.1, q.v. with n. 1; ib. 3.8.10; 4.4.23, 28 (*bis*); a member of the brahman caste, RV. 10.90.12 (probably oldest occurrence in this sense), *et passim*
- Brahma(n)-nirvāṇa, 'nirvāṇa in (or, that is) Brahman', p. 45, n. 3
- Brahmodya, theological or philosophical debate, BṛhĀrUp. 3.8.1, 12
- Breath, see Prāṇa
- Bṛhas-pati, Lord of the Holy Word, 20 with n. 1; 24 n. 1; RV. 10.71.1; AV. 4.1.5, 7; 8.10.25 (here 'of the Aṅgiras family'); 11.8.5; 13.1.31
- Bṛhat (lit. 'Great'), n. of a sāman, q.v., AV. 8.10.13; 13.3.11, 12
- Bṛhatī, a Rīgvedic meter, AV. 13.1.14
- Buddha, enlightened, said of the perfected Self, of the Supreme Soul (in 12.296.7 (with n.), 11, 21, of the '26th'), 12.228.31; 241.11; 295.46 with n. 1; 306.78
- Buddha-tva, state of being buddha (= buddhi 3, bodhana), 12.296.11 ('as the 26th')
- Buddhi, fundamentally, 'awareness'; (1) mentality, mental attitude, in vaguest and most generalized way, Gītā 2.49-53, 54-8, 67-8 (synonyms *dhi*, *prajñā*); 5.20; (2) intelligence, intellect, or consciousness, 44; KUp. 3.3 (charioteer to chariot = body); synonym of *vijñāna* (1), q.v., KUp. 3.3; 12.290.81; 296.17 (with note) and 18 (with note); Gītā 5.17; 12.232.2; operates in and through the sense-organs, 12.187.11-2 (with n. 4), 15-20; 12.240.3-6; called one of 8 organs of perception (or knowledge, *jñāna*; regular term for the 'five senses' known to westerners, which are included among the 8 here) 12.187.11; and in a different list of eight, 12.267.18; cares of the intellect constitute 'knot of the

- Buddhi**—*continued*
 heart', 12.241.6 with n. 3; (3) enlightenment (the supreme goal), 12.228.38; 242.14, 17; 12.296.11; = bodhana, q.v.; (4) regarded as a material organ or faculty (some of the passages cited under 2 above doubtless belong here), usually the highest of them (ordinarily followed by the ahaṃkāra, then the manas, then the sense-organs, their objects, and the gross elements), all modifications or evolvents of material nature (*prākṛti*, also *avyakta*), Gītā 13.5; 12.293.42. Instead of this, however, in lists of the tattvas, q.v., we sometimes find *mahān*, masculine, the Great One, with or sc. *ātman*, (12.291.21, 36; 298.11, 16), or neuter (*mahat*, 12.294.27); in 12.295.14 gender ambiguous. See Introduction p. 42. This same variation occurs in later 'Sāṃkhya' authorities (Dasgupta, History of Indian Philosophy, I.249). Occasionally we find both terms, with the 'Great One' put higher (i.e. as the first evolvent of matter), followed by buddhi (KUp. 3.10; 12.238.3-4). The equivalence of Great Self and buddhi in this use is proved by 12.298.16 (*mahān ātmā*) compared with *ibid.* 17 (creation of ahaṃkāra from the Great One is 'of the nature of buddhi')
- Buddhimant**, possessing enlightenment (buddhi 3), 12.295.20; 296.26
- Budhyamāna**, (the Self) that is becoming enlightened, or seeking enlightenment: 12.293.42, 45, 46; 294.2, 4, 43 (here while the Self is unenlightened, the 25th, i.e. the Self, is called the becoming-enlightened, but when it becomes aware of the Self, or Itself, it becomes the Absolute; this is elsewhere called the 26th), and is (*ibid.* 45) the Other that is free from the Strands. For him there is no rebirth; he is immortal (*ibid.* 46); 295.46, with note; 296.3, 5, 6, 17, 19 (the becoming-enlightened becomes the same as the unenlightened, i.e. both are transcended, when the Self is freed from attachment), 21, 42 (the becoming-enlightened must beware of backsliding); 306.78
- Calculation (*parisaṃkhyā*), taught in 'Sāṃkhya-knowledge', 12.294.26
- Calyx (of flower), figuratively = result, ChāUp. 6.8 with n. 3
- Cāṇḍāla, lowest of outcastes, BrhĀrUp. 4.3.22
- Car, see Chariot
- Carpenter's work (creation compared to), p. 25 with n. 2
- Caste, not clearly referred to in Rig Veda except in 10.90.12, where the four standard castes are named for the first time (Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya = Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra); AV. 10.2.23; actions innately pertaining to the four castes, Gītā 18.41-4; such action should be performed, *ib.* 45-8
- Caturvarga, 'group of four', i.e. the Trivarga, q.v., plus mokṣa, 33 n. 2
- Chant, see Sāman
- Characteristics, see Liṅga
- Chariot, structure of man compared to, KUp. 3.3-9; compared to Yoga-exercises, 12.228.8-11
- Charpentier, J., KUp. 2.7, 9, notes 1, 2
- 'Circles', eight, of the body, AV. 10.2.31, note
- Cit, 'thought, intellection', as epithet of Brāhman (the Supreme), 33
- Citraratha, king of Gandharvas, q.v., AV. 8.10.27
- Citta, 'mind'; in a hierarchy of personality elements, 12.267.16 with n. 3 (higher than the senses, but lower than manas, buddhi, and Field-knower); *id.* 18; in both these something separate from manas and buddhi!); (one of 8 'organs of perception', see Sense-organs)
- Coma, when approaching death, BrhĀrUp. 4.4.1-2; ChāUp. 6.8 n. 1
- Coming into being, see Bhāva
- Conditions of existence = Bhāva, q.v.
- Consciousness, see Saṃjñā, Saṃjñāna; Buddhi; Vijñāna
- Coomaraswamy, A.K., 191 n. 1
- Constant (always the same; Skt. *sama*), of the Supreme, 12.293.45
- Creation (material), see Sarga

- Dakṣa, apparently name or epithet of a creator god, son and father of Aditi, q.v., RV. 10.72.4, 5; in later times often identified with Prajāpati, q.v.; in RV. 10.121.8 with n. 2, perhaps personified, or common noun, 'power'
- Dakṣiṇa, (the) southern (sacrificial fire) AV. 8.10.4 with n. 1
- Dakṣiṇīya, capable of sacrificial gifts to priests (dakṣiṇā), AV. 8.10.4 (word-play on dakṣiṇa, q.v.)
- Dānu, a demon vanquished by Indra, 54; RV. 2.12.11
- Dāsa, name given by the Vedic Aryans to the aborigines; also demon, RV. 2.12.4
- Dasgupta, S. N., p. 48 n. 1
- Dasyu = Dāsa, q.v., RV. 2.12.10; AV. 12.1.37
- Dawn, goddess, see Uṣas
- Death (see also Hour of Death), approach to, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.41-4 (and see Coma); ChāUp. 6.8 (p. 175, n. 1), 15; of the unemancipated soul, BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.3-4; personified (= Yama, q.v.) KUp. 1.13, 15, 18, 22, 26, 29; 6.3; (with Ender and Yama in same vs) AV. 8.10.23 (patronymic of 'Ender', Mārtyava = 'son of Death'); Mbh. 12.289.25; Naciketas asks what comes after death, KUp. 1.20-9; Yama's reply, ib. 2.1 ff., makes knowledge of life beyond (see Samparāya) the key to salvation
- Deed = Action, karma, qq.v.
- Deep (dreamless) sleep, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.19-20; temporary union with the One, ibid. 20-1, transcending all desires and sorrows, ibid. 22, and though one's faculties still exist, there is no separate object for them to operate on, ibid. 23-31 (see Subject); state of supreme bliss, ibid. 31-39; return to waking state, ibid. 40; (this state perhaps referred to in 12.267.27 ?)
- Deha, body; see Dualism
- Dehin, soul, see Dualism
- Demiurge, 20, 25, 69; see First Principle, Prajāpati, Viśvakarman
- Desire, see Kāma
- Deṣṭri, 'Directress', AV. 11.4.12 with n. 2
- Deussen, P., AV. 10.8.26 n.; ibid. 44 n.; 11.8.15 n.; ib. 29 n.; BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.1 n.; 4.3.31 n.; 4.5.15 n. 1; ChāUp. 6.7 n.; KUp. 3.13 with n. 3; Gītā 13.28 n.; p. 255; 12.242.15 n.; 267.30 n.; 289.3 n.; 290.68 n.
- Deva, and synonymous Devatā, 'god' (of Vedic, or later popular, religion), 29 (distinguished from īśvara, 'God'); subject to rebirth, 30; also said of cosmic 'potencies', distinguished from ritualistic gods, AV. 11.8.3 with n.; ib. 10, 13, 17-19, 30-32; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.11; 3.2.10; 3.6.1; ChāUp. 6.3, 4, 8, 15
- Devotion (*bhakti*) to God (or any Supreme Entity), as way of salvation (see Release); originally ancillary to Knowledge, and unimportant in Upaniṣads, 32 with n. 1; favourite way in the Gītā, 39-40; Gītā 9.14, 22-31; devotion to personal God easier than to an impersonal Absolute, 39-40; even evildoers who worship God devotedly quickly become righteous and are saved, Gītā 9.30-1
- Dhāraṇā, Dhāraṇam (manasaḥ), fixation (of the thought-organ and sometimes other sense-organs), the esoteric form of dhyāna, in Yoga activity, 38; also called ekāgratā (manasaḥ), q.v.; of the senses (indriya), KUp. 6.11 (rendered 'control'); 12.228.13 (seven fixations, listed)
- Dharma, morality, propriety, duty, 30 (controls rebirth under law of karma); one of the trivarga, q.v., 30, 33 with n.; 12.244.1; duty, the highest, 12.242.1-4, 19
- Dhātar, the Establisher or Creator, 20; RV. 10.190.3; AV. 11.8.5 (with n. 3), 8-9
- Dhī, mentality, synonym of Buddhi (1), q.v.; (2) intelligence (the Spirit, puruṣa = ātman, is composed of it), = Buddhi (2), BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.7
- Dhṛtarāṣṭra, (1) n. of a serpent demon, AV. 8. 10.29 with n.; (2) n. of the blind king, father of the chief enemies of Arjuna's party in the Mbh., Gītā 2.6

- Dhyāna, meditation, fundamental features of Yoga-activity, 'the highest power,' 38; of two kinds, *prāṇāyāna* (q.v.) which is *sa-guṇa*, qualified, exoteric, and *dhāraṇā* or *dhāraṇam* (q.v.), or *ekāgratā* (q.v.), *manasaḥ*, which is unqualified, esoteric, 38-9
- Dikṣā, rite of consecration for sacrifice; Dikṣita, one who is thus consecrated; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.24
- Directions (or Quarters, points of the compass), produced from Puruṣa's ear, RV. 10.90.14; later associated with sense of hearing, BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.8 n. 1; 3.2.13; six directions (cardinal points plus zenith and nadir), AV. 10.7.35 with n. 1; 13.1.4; 13.3.1; BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.5; five, (same without nadir) AV. 10.8.35 with n. 1; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.21-5
- Discipline, see Yoga
- Divinity (god), see Deva(tā)
- 'Doors' (or gates, apertures of the body, nine, AV. 10.2.31 with n. 1; 10.8.43; Gītā 5.13; 12.231.32; eleven (= the sense-organs), KUp. 5.1 with n. 1
- Draft-ox, as cosmic potency, AV. 11.4.13, with note 5, q.v.
- Dream, state of, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.7-18; KUp. 4.4; 5.8; 12.267.23-7; 12.290.83 ff. (see Ātman)
- Droṇa, epic hero, Gītā 2.4
- Dualism (seeming or prima-facie; see Monism, Subject); contrast between self or soul, and body; 41 f.
- Duty = Dharma, q.v.
- Dvimūrdhan, n. of a demon (asura), AV. 8.10.22
- Earth, as cosmic power, AV. 12.1
- Edgerton, F., RV. 10.125.3 n. 2; BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.10 n. 1; KUp. 1.22 n. 2
- Eighteenth (quality, *guṇa*), = the Soul (dehin), after Seventeen (see this), 12.267.28
- Eight-fold Yoga, 12.304.6-7 with n. 3
- Ekāgra, fixed, concentrated, 12.232.24; Gītā 6.12 (manas)
- Ekāgratā (manasaḥ), fixation (of the thought-organ), = Dhāraṇā q.v., also Ekatva, 38
- Ekāgrya = above, 12.232.13 (of manas and senses)
- Ekatva = Oneness (q.v.), Unity, Unification
- Elemental Self = Bhūtātman, q.v.
- Emeneau, M. B., KUp. 6.1-2 notes 2 and 3
- Ender, or End-maker (Antaka), (with patronymic Mārtyava, 'son of Death'), AV. 8.10.23; otherwise a name for Death or Yama; in 12.289.25 in same vs with both of these
- Enlightened = Buddha, q.v.; Enlightenment = Buddhi (3), Bodhana, qq.v.
- Esoteric, see Nirguṇa
- Essential (material) reality, see Sattva
- Ether, see Ākāśa
- Evolvent = Vikāra; 12.238.1; see Modifications
- Existent (sat), the 20, 26, 33; ChāUp. 6.2 and ff. (could not be born from the Non-existent; the ultimate principle from which all arises); God is both existent and non-existent, Gītā 9.19; Brahman is neither e. nor non-e., Gītā 13.12
- Exoteric, see Saṅgā
- 'Extraordinary' norm of life (leads to salvation), 31
- Fathers (manes, departed spirits), AV. 8.10.19, 23
- Father's father, 'supreme father', AV. 2.1.2 with n. 3. Cf. Generation (but here there is no mother)
- Fervour, see Tapas
- Field and Field-knower (Field-possessor), see Kṣetra, Kṣetrajña, Kṣetrin, and Dualism
- Fig-tree (aśvattha), existence compared to, KUp. 6.1-2 with notes 2 and 3. See also Gnat
- Fish and water, associated but distinct, 12.187.39; 240.21
- Fineness = Añiman, q.v.
- Fire, see Agni
- First Principle (see also Demiurge, Brāhman, Generation, Golden Reed, Skambha, Yakṣa), 19-21; relation to empiric world (in Veda), 25-7
- Five tribes (of men), AV. 12.1.15, 42

- Fixation = Dhāraṇā or °ṇa, Ekāgratā manasaḥ, qq.v.
- Formula of Yajur Veda, see Yajus
- 'Fruit' of (good or evil) deeds, see phala
- Gandharva, (see) AV. 2.1.2 n. 3; AV. 8.10.27; 12.1.23, 50; 13.1.23; 19.54.4. In BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1; 3.7.1 seems to mean a 'spirit' that enters and controls a living person
- Gandhāra (land in extreme west), ChāUp. 6.14
- Gārgī daughter of Vacaknu, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.6; 3.8
- 'Gates' (of the body), see 'Doors'
- Gautama, member of the family of Gotama, to which Uddālaka belongs, BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.5-6; KUp. 1.10; applied to his son, Naciketas, KUp. 4.15; 5.6
- Gāyatrī, the all-sacred stanza RV. 3.62.10 with which pious men greet the newly-risen sun, AV. 8.10.12; 10.8.41; 13.1.10 with n.; 13.3.20
- Geldner, K., RV. 10.82.1 n.; KUp. 2.15 n.; 3.1 n.
- Generation, act of (creation compared to), 25; 10.121.7-9; reciprocal relation between male Creator who is both father and son of a female cosmic entity, RV. 10.72.4-5; 10.90.5; (perhaps 10.82.3, 5-6; 10.125.7 with n. 4); (both father and son, but no mother mentioned) AV. 10.8.28; 19.53.4 and 54.2
- Gītā, the (more fully Bhagavad Gītā; abbreviated BhG.), 7 n., 8, 32, notes 1 and 5, 36 n., 33, 34 with n., 35 n. (literal meaning), 36 with n., 36-7 with n., 38, 39-40, 43 with n., 44-7; KUp. 2.15 n.; 3.1 n.; 6.1-2, notes 2 and 3, 197-8 (Introduction to selections; fn.1, editions)
- Glaserapp, H. von, 197 n. 1
- Gnat and Fig-tree (udumbara), associated but distinct, 12.187.38; 240.21; 296.22
- God (see also Devotion, Deva(tā), Mystic vision), relation to Brahman (see this), and to the universe and the individual soul, 45-6; His lower and higher nature; the latter is the world's Jīva (q.v.), Gītā 7.4-5; all beings come from Him, he is their origin and dissolution, ib. 7.6; there is nothing higher; on him the universe is 'strung' 7.7; He is the essential part of everything, 7.8-14; causes fruition (though finite) for faithful worshippers of other gods 7.20-3; they really, though ignorantly, worship 'Me', Gītā 9.23-5; God's true nature is mistaken by the ignorant, Gītā 7.24-8; He is the motive force in all the cosmos, Gītā 9.4-19; God's 'supernal manifestations', the best of all categories of beings, Gītā 10.39-41 with n. 1; the whole world is based on a single part of God, 10.41-2; list of traits which make men 'dear' to God, Gītā 12.13-20
- 'Golden germ', see Hiranyagarbha
- 'Golden reed' (in the sea), poetic n. for First Principle, AV. 10.7.41
- 'Golden rule', Gītā 5.7 with n. 1; 5.25; 6.32; 12.4; 13.28 with n. 1
- Gonda, J., p. 197, n.
- Granthi, 'knots' (fetters) of the heart, BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.1 with n. 1; KUp. 6.15; 12.241.6 with n. 3 (hard, consisting of the cares of the intellect [buddhi])
- Great Self, or Great (One), see Buddhi (4)
- Guṇa, commonest term for the 3 'Strands', q.v. Other uses: (1) 'quality' of the gross elements, 12.187.9, 10, 16 (see notes 1, end, and 2); 244.3, (4), 5, 6, (8), 9, and of other organs or faculties, ib. 9 with note; in the last list it seems implied that guṇa refers to the sense-objects, which are treated as 'qualities' (guṇa) of the gross elements in 12.267.13-15 (see n. 1) and 298.18; (2) 'qualities' or 'secondary parts', used of the modifications (more commonly called *tattva*, q.v.) of material nature which is here called the imperishable and unmanifest, 12.295.13-17; similarly 12.267.28-9
- Haṃsa, a large (and often probably mythical) bird, much used in references to the One; here freely rendered 'Swan' because in English

Haṃsa—continued

this suggests the emotional values of haṃsa; said of the Sun, AV. 10.8.17-8; 11.4.21; 13.3.14; a literal bird, AV. 12.1.51; of the Self or Puruṣa, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.12; KUp. 5.2; 12.231.32

'Heart' (hṛd or hṛdaya), the seat of intelligence, BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.21-5; the place of the soul, union of Indha and Virāj, 4.2.3; residence of the Puruṣa = Ātman, 4.3.7

Heat, see Tapas, Tejas, Ūsman

Henotheism, pp. 18, 19 (with notes), 69

Hertel, J., BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.43 n. 1

Hindrances to Yoga (five), 12.232.4; 12.289.11

Hiraṇyagarbha, 'golden germ', said of the Demiurge, RV. 10.121.1; later standard epithet of Brahman or any Creator-god; AV. 10.7.28 (originated from the Support); Mbh. 12.296.39

Hitā, n. given to very tiny channels or veins; by them food flows in to the Spirit in the heart, BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.4; by them the Spirit enters, in deep sleep, into the heart, 4.3.20 with n., and the emancipated soul after death goes to Brāhman, 4.4.12 with n. 5 (here not named but clearly referred to; so also KUp. 6.16 with n. 1)

Holy Utterance, see Vāc

Holy Word, see Brāhman (neuter)

Honey-whip, see AV. 10.7.19 with n. 4

Hotar, one of the four principal priests at important Vedic sacrifices; he recites the stanzas of the Rig Veda; RV. 10.71.11; 10.81.1; AV. 8.10.20 n. 1; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.4, 5, 9, 12

Hour of Death (its importance for future state), Gītā 8.5-6, 9-10, 13; 14.14-5; favourable and unfavourable times for dying (some lead to Brahman, others to rebirth) 8.23-7

Hume, R. E., ChāUp. 6.7 n. 1

Hunger, explained etymologically, ChāUp. 6.8

Identifications, as magic force, 21 with n., 22, 26-7

I-faculty (akamkāra), see Self-consciousness

Ignorance ('non-knowledge'), see Knowledge; its dangers, compared to an ocean, threaten even one who has attained 'highest knowledge', who may backslide, 12.296.42-50

Imperishable (Akṣara, neuter), is that on which Ākāśa (q.v.) is strung, BṛhĀrUp. 3.8.8-12; later practically interchangeable with Avyakta, q.v., as in Gītā 12.1-5 (esp. 3, 5), where Brāhman or equivalent is meant, and in 12.295.13 where the primal prakṛti is meant; see also 12.295.10-11, 17, 39, 40; 296.46; unity or oneness is akṣara, 12.293.47 (and 294.3, 5), plurality kṣara, 'perishable'

Incarnations, of God (Kṛṣṇa) Gītā 4.6-8

Indha, 'kindler', name given to the Spirit in the right eye, BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.2 (mystically = Indra)

Indifferent, same (Skt. sama); high and low creatures all one, Gītā 5.18 = 12.231.19, as Brahman is the same, Gītā 5.19; indifference ('sameness', sāmya), ib.; to friend and foe, good men and bad, Gītā 6.9; to all surroundings (in Yoga), 12.232.27-31; one must see sameness (sama-tā) in oneself and another, 12.308.126

Indra, (Vedic) war-god, 18 with n., 19-20; RV. 1.164.46; 2.1.3; 2.12; 10.90.13; 10.125.1; AV. 8.10.12, 26; 10.7.29-30 (assimilated to the Support); 11.8.5, 8-9; 12.1.6, 10-11, 18, 37-8, 40; 13.1.3, 27, 30-1, 51, 59; 13.3.13; BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.2; 3.9.3, 7; KUp. 6.3. See also Indha

Indriya, see Sense-organs

Indriyārtha, see Sense-objects

Innate characteristics (viśeṣa) of the five gross elements, appearing as the five objects of the senses of perception; Mbh. 12.294.29; 298.14

'Inner controller' which controls all, BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.3-5, 7-31 (it is 'thy Self')

Inner self, see Antar-ātman

Instruction, value of, ChāUp. 6.14; KUp. 2.7-9; Gītā 4.34; 13.25; 12.244.1; (but KUp. 2.23 declares that instruction will not succeed); supreme truth must be imparted

Instruction—*continued*

- only to the worthy, 12.242.20-5; 296.31-6
- Intelligence, renders Buddhi or Vijñāna, qq.v.
- Irāvāt, father of the serpent-demon Dhṛtarāṣṭra, AV. 8.10.29
- Iṣṭā(-pūrta), sacrifices (and gifts to priests), RV. 10.82.2 with n.
- Íśvara, Lord, often used of the Supreme Deity (so in Gītā 15.17); but also applied to the individual (embodied) spirit, Gītā 13.27-8; 15.8
- Jacobi, H., p. 36, n. 1
- Janaka, king of Videha, stimulates a philosophical debate among brahmins, p. 135; BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1, 4; converses with Yājñavalkya 4.1; 4.2.1; 4.3.1, 4.4.10, 30
- Jantu = Puruṣa, q.v., 12.267.36
- Janus, 'generation', AV. 4.1.5 with n. 3
- Jātavedas, an ancient epithet of Fire, AV. 13.1.12 (here as form of the Sun), 15; KUp. 5.8
- Jīva, life, living being, applied usually to the individual soul (it is a 'part' of God), 45 with n. 2; living self (jīva ātman), of a tree, ChāUp. 6.11; jīva ātman also KUp. 4.5; on Gītā 7.5, see God; jīva is or includes matter, see n.1 on 12.187.6; 244.11 ('is named the Field'); acts and causes everything to act; but higher than that is he (the universal Soul) who set in motion the seven worlds, 12.233.20
- Jñāna, (1) knowledge, p. 19; assimilated to Vāc, see RV. 10.71.1 n. 1; (2) intelligence or consciousness (= vijñāna = buddhi), KUp. 3.13 with n. 1; (3) five = the five organs of perception, KUp. 6.10; (4) theoretical knowledge, in contrast with vijñāna (2), q.v.
- Jñāna-yoga, way of (salvation by) Knowledge (= Sāṃkhya), 44-5; 12.290.13
- Kahoḍa, son of Kuṣitaka, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.4.1
- Kakubh, a Rig-vedic meter, AV. 13.1.15

Kāla, see Time

- Kālamjara, n. of a mountain, 12.238.9
- Kāma, (1) desire, as cosmic power, 21, 26; (2) object of the thought-organ (manas), BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.7; (3) love, as one of the trivarga, q.v., 30, 33 with n.; (4) must be got rid of to attain salvation, 30, 32, 33 with n. 2, 34; KUp. 6.14; underlies law of karma, BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.7, and the emancipated soul, being free from desires, is not reborn, ib. 8-9; this state temporarily attained in deep sleep, id. 4.3.19-22; abandonment of desires recommended in Mbh., e.g. Gītā 2.55, 71
- Kāṇva recension of BṛhĀrUp. p. 135, and variously in notes to Books 3 and 4 thereof (abbreviated K.)
- Kaphoḍa (dual), an unknown part of the human body, AV. 10.2.4
- Kapila, n. of an authority on Sāṃkhya, 12.290.3
- Karma, 'action', q.v., or 'deed'; law of, determines rebirth, 30 with n. 2; moral quality of acts results in better or worse rebirths (see dharma), 30; BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.6-8; does not affect the emancipated soul, ib. 24-8; 12.267.32-8; does not affect the Soul at all, because really performed by the body only, Gītā 5.7-16; effects destroyed by Yoga-practice, 12.289.41
- Karma-yoga, 'discipline in action', see Action; also 'way (of salvation) by action', pp. 33, 36 n. 2, 37, with note 1
- Kaśyapa, an ancient sage (plural, his family), AV. 13.1.23 (pl.); 13.3.10; 19.53.10 with n. 2
- Kavandha, name assumed by a 'gandharva' who possesses a living person, BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.1
- Kevala, absolute, unique, which the Self becomes when enlightened, 12.294.43; 296.13, 29; 304.16, 26; 306.5 (one 'becomes Absolute and sees the 26th'); same expression 306.74; similarly ib. 77; see also ib. 79
- Kimīdin, a kind of fiend, AV. 12.1.50
- 'Knots' of the heart, see Granthi

- Knowledge, magic power of, 21-3, 26-7, 29, with notes; way of salvation by, 31 (primary, favourite way); so in Mbh., 35 with n. 3 and 4; 40 n. 2 ('truth' sought by knowledge varies in different passages, but never systematically associated with different 'ways of salvation'); glorified, Gītā 4.33-9, and defined so broadly as to include practically all other methods, 13.10-11, 17-18; key to salvation, KUp. 2.4; how to be gained, KUp. 2.7-13, 20, 23-4 with n. 3 (preliminaries to way of knowledge); knowledge, object of knowledge, and knower, 12.294.39, 295.2, 9 (also 'ignorance'); way of knowledge with renunciation of action (cf. 36, 37) superior to way of action 12.233.1-20 (leads to Brahman, vs. 13); theoretical vs. practical knowledge, see Jñāna and Vijñāna; see also Sāṃkhya and Jñāna-yoga
- Krandasī (dual), originally (and in RV.) 'two lines of battle'; later understood as 'two firmaments, heaven and earth,' RV. 2.12.8; 10.121.6 with n. 1
- Kṛṣṇa, the God of the Gītā (see Incarnations); identified with Viṣṇu 39, 45-6; 198; *passim* in Gītā
- Kṛtya, 'Action, activity' = Karma; of Yoga, see Action
- Kṣara, see Perishable
- Kṣetra, the 'field' or body, matter; see Dualism; Gītā 13.1-3, 18, 26, 33-4; 12.294.35-40, *et passim* in Mokṣadh.; anomalously applied to the 25th (soul), 'because it presides over the evolvents', 12.295.14; just below (15-16) it (the 25th) disappears (along with the evolvents), and then 'the Field-knower also disappears in the Field.'
- Kṣetrajñā, 'Field-knower' = Self, Soul (see Dualism), Gītā 13.1, 2 (God is Field-knower in all Fields), 3, 26, 33-4; 12.187.1-3 (is Onlooker), 37 (does not create Strands), 42 (but surveys them); 12.233.18 (set down in the body); 238.1-2 (encircled by evolvents of matter, which he knows, but they do not know him); 267.15; 294.37-8; 295.16 (disappears in the Field); 339.6; others, see s.v. Sattva (2)
- Kṣetṛin, 'Field-possessor', soul, see Dualism; 12.267.33
- Kubera, see n. 6 to AV. 8.10.28
- Kuntī = Pṛthā (another name for Arjuna's mother), Gītā 9.7, 23, 31; 13.1; 14.7
- Kuru and Pañcāla, two important tribes of central India, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1; 3.9.20
- Kurūru, some kind of vermin, AV. 9.2.22
- Lamp in a windless place (unflickering), compared to adept in Yoga, Gītā 6.19; 12.238.11; 294.18; 304.19
- Life beyond (Death), see Samparāya
- Life-breath, see Prāṇa
- Limitations to enjoyment, even for the greatest of men, 12.308.134-6
- Liṅga, (three) 'characteristic(s)', seems equivalent to Strands, q.v.; 12.293.36-8 with n. 1
- Lotus-leaf, not stained by water (simile of), Gītā 5.10; 12.339.14, *et alibi*
- Madhu, a demon slain by Kṛṣṇa, Gītā 2.4
- Madhva, a Hindu commentator, KUp. 1.16 n. 2
- Mādhyamīna recension, of BṛhĀrUp., p. 135 and *passim* in notes to translation (abbreviated M.)
- Madra, n. of a tribe, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1; 3.7.1
- Magic, in Atharva Veda, 17, 22; in Brāhmaṇas, 21-3; in Mbh. played down, 41
- Mahābhārata, 'great story of the Bharatas', (abbreviated Mbh.), philosophy in, 35-48
- Mahā-bhūta, 'gross-element' (five), see Bhūta (5)
- Mahant (m. or nt.) = Great One, q.v.
- Maitreyī, favourite wife of Yājñavalkya, instructed by him, p. 135, BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.1 ff.
- Manas, 'mind' or 'thought-organ', pp. 26, 38, 44; RV. 10.85.10; Puruṣa's, produced the moon, RV. 10.90.13; the moon corresponds to manas in

Manas—*continued*

- man, BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.7; 3.2.13; kāma source of manas, RV. 10.129.4; composed of food, ChāUp. 6.5.6, 7; 'fastened' to life-breath, ib. 8, 15; joined with Self and senses constitutes the 'Enjoyer', KUp. 3.4; an (internal) sense-organ, BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.7 (cf. 4.3.28), its object 'desires' (cf. Gītā 2.55); higher than the (other) senses, KUp. 3.10; 6.7; Gītā 2.67; 3.6-7; 5.11, 13; 7.4; 12.2, 8; 15.9; 12.187.10-13 (aberrant); 231.11-12, 15; 232.2, 13, 15-17, 25; 238.2-3; 240.1-2; 242.4-5; 244.10 (aberrant numbering); 267.16-18 (aberrant); 291.27; 298.15, 18, 19 (inconsistent); especially in Yoga, q.v., concentration or fixation of the manas, Gītā 6.12, 24-7; 12.294.8, 10, 14, 16, 23; 304.9, 14, 15
- Manifest = Vyakta, q.v.
- Manu ('man'), eponymous ancestor of human race, son of Vivasvant, AV. 8.10.24
- Manyu, Passion, AV. 9.2.23; 11.8.1 with n. 1. See Vaśa
- Marut(s), a group of Vedic gods, attendants of Indra, RV. 2.1.6; 5.3.3; 5.83.6; 13.1.3 with n.; 13.3.23
- Mātariśvan, Vedic god, RV. 1.164.46; AV. 10.7.2; (see especially) 10.8.39 with n. 4; 11.4.15 with n. 6; 12.1.51; 13.3.19
- Material nature, or Matter (Prakṛti, also Pradhāna), composed of the 3 Strands, q.v.; responsible for all actions, Gītā 3.5, 27-9; all creatures enter into God's 'material nature', His 'body', at the end of a world-eon, and He sends them forth at the beginning of the next eon, Gītā 9.7-10; prakṛti and Spirit (Puruṣa) both beginningless, modifications and Strands come from prakṛti alone, Gītā 13.19; *passim*
- Mātrā, matter, material, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.10 with n. 1; 4.5.15 with n. 1; Gītā 2.14
- Matter, see Material nature; also Mātrā
- Māyā, see Trick-of-illusion
- Meditation = Dhyāna, q.v.
- Mind, see Manas; Citta
- Mitra, Vedic god (often associated with Varuṇa), RV. 1.164.46; 2.1.4, 5; 5.3.1; 10.85.17; 10.125.1; AV. 13.1.20, 31; 13.2.35; 13.3.13
- Moderation recommended (the middle way), 6.16-17
- Modifications (vikāra), or evolvents of material nature; Gītā 13.19 (here apparently all 23 of them; cf. Gītā 13.5 with n. 1); but in 12.294.29 and 298.10 applied only to the 16 non-productive evolvents, viz. the 11 sense-organs and the 5 objects of perception; 12.238.1 is not clear on this point. The same 16 modifications are apparently called 'qualities' (guṇa) in 12.231.15
- Mokṣa = mukti, q.v.; added as a fourth aim to the trivarga, q.v., makes a caturvarga, q.v.; 'not dependent on anything,' Mbh. 12.290.23; see s.v. Nārāyaṇa
- Mokṣa-dharma, 'doctrine of release', section of Mbh. 12 containing speculative materials, p. 31, 35 n., 44, 46 n. 1, 47 n. 1, 255; All references to '12' followed by two other numbers are to my translations from this section, followed by chapter and verse
- Monism, Vedic, 19-21, 23-7; Upaniṣad, 28-9, 31; KUp. 4.10-15; epic, well stated in 12.339.1-21. Cf. Brahman, Ātman, Puruṣa
- Monotheism, (Vedic) 19-21
- Moon, see Soma and Manas
- Morality, ancillary to knowledge as way of salvation, 31; a brief code of practical morals, Gītā 16.1-4; many others elsewhere, especially in Mokṣadharmā
- Mukti, Release, q.v.; early occurrences, 31 with n.
- Muni, (silent) ascetic (see Tapas) 32, with n. 4 (in Rig Veda); BṛhĀrUp. 3.4.1
- Mystic doctrines = Upaniṣads, q.v.
- Mystic vision of God's transcendent form (Gītā chap. 11), 46, 47
- Naciketas, son of Uddālaka Āruṇi (KUp. 1.11), chief personage in Kaṭha Up.; triple sacrificial fire named for him, id. 1.14-19

- Nāma-rūpa, see Name-and-form
 Name, the, as essence of person or thing named, 22 with n. 3 (eternal, does not perish at death), 23-4
 Name-and-form (Nāma-rūpa), roughly 'individuality', ChāUp. 6.3
 Nānātva, see Plurality
 Nārāśaṃsī, name of a Vedic song, RV. 10.85.6
 Nārāyaṇa, form of Viṣṇu, p. 45 with note 1, p. 46, 47 n. 1; 12.290.23 (dependent on mokṣa, which is not dependent on anything, i.e. is the highest principle); 12.290.74 (carries perfected souls to the paramātman); 12.290.91, 109; 339.14
 Nature-worship, 17
 Negative terms used of the One, 20; *neti neti*, 'not, not' or 'no, no', 34; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.28; 4.2.6; 4.4.27; 4.5.25 n. 4. In contrast, see *Asti*
Neti, neti, see Negative terms
 Niḥśreyasa, 'that than which there is nothing better,' the summum bonum, 34; Gītā 5.2 *et alibi*
 Nir-guṇa, unqualified, esoteric, 38 (of advanced stage of dhyāna, q.v.); free from the Strands, 12.293.43 (of the enlightened Soul)
 Nirvāṇa, name for the supreme goal; literal meaning, 33; Gītā 6.15; 12.188.2, 22; See also Brahmanirvāṇa
 Non-existent (asat), the, 20, 26; ChāUp. 6.2 (could not be source of the Existent); God is both, Gītā 9.19; Brahman is neither, Gītā 13.12
 Ocean, elaborate metaphor for worldly existence, 12.290.61-8
 Oertel, H., BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.21 note 6; 4.4.22, note 1
 Oldenberg, H., 22 with n. 1, 23 with notes 1, 2; 28 n. 7; AV. 2.1.3 n. 4; BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.22 n. 1
 Om, sacred syllable (accompanies Vedic recitation), AV. 13.1.15; called the 'three sounds' (analysing a-u-m), AV. 13.3.6; = brahman, the supreme; by its knowledge all wishes are gained, KUp. 2.15-17; 'the single-syllable Brahman,' Gītā 8.13; 9.17
 On-carrying (pravaha) wind, see Wind
 One, the: neuter, 20; AV. 10.8.11, 25; Mbh. 12.293.38, 42; masculine, RV. 10.8.2.2 (? gender uncertain); but usually with a noun, such as *deva*, 'the sole god', RV. 10.8.1.3; 10.121.8; AV. 10.8.28; or *puruṣa* 'the sole Spirit', Mbh. 12.339.9-10
 One-ness (*ekatva*), unification; see Plurality; of senses, manas, and buddhi, in Yoga, Mbh. 12.232.2; self in all and all in self, Gītā 6.29; God in all and all in God, ib. 6.30-1 'Other-folks', see AV. 8.10.28 with n. 6
 Over-soul, see Adhyātma
 Paippalāda (recension of Atharva Veda), p. 79; AV. 4.1.3 n. 2, 5 n. 3; 10.8.31 n.; 11.4.20 n.; 12.1.46 n. 7; 13.1.55 n. 1; 19.52.3 n. 3; 19.53.6 n. 2
 'Pairs' of opposites (one should be indifferent to them), Gītā 2.45 n. 1; 4.22; 5.3; 7.27-8 (they cause delusion); Gītā 12.18 gives several couples; 12.188.4; 228.33, 38; 233.14; 290.75 with n. 2; 308.127
 Pañcāla, see Kuru
 Pañkti, a Rig-vedic meter, AV. 13.1.15
 Paramaṃ (dhāma), 'highest (station)', 33; Gītā 15.6 (mama, = God's)
 Paramātman, Supreme Soul, common term for the summum bonum; e.g. 12.290.74-5
 Parameṣṭhin, He that is in the Highest, p. 20; AV. 10.2.20 with n., 10.7.17 with n.
 Parāśara, father of Vyāsa, 12.233.3
 Parikṣit, a mythical king of the golden age, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1, 2
 Parisaṃkhyā = Calculation, q.v.
 Parjanya, rain-god, 17 n.; AV. 10.2.19; 12.1.12, 42 (spouse of earth)
 Part (of God), the whole universe is: Gītā 10.41, 42. See also Quarters.
 Introduction p. 47
 Passing away = Abhāva, q.v.
 Passion, see Manyu
 Patañcala son of Kapi, n. of a Madra, BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.1; 3.7.1-4
 Paulkasa, a very low caste, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.22

- Perishable (kṣara; see Imperishable), plurality is; 12.293.47; 294.3, 5; see also 12.295.10-11, 19
- Person, see Puruṣa
- Pessimism, regarding ordinary empiric life, pp. 30 f., 32
- Phala, 'fruit', result, of deeds done in ordinary life, 30
- Piśāca, a kind of demon, AV. 12.1.50
- Plurality, of 'selves' or 'spirits' (puruṣa), 45; *nānātva* (separateness) or *bahutva* (manyness), of empiric world, is 'perishable', 12.293.47-8; 294.1, 4, 33-4; 296.21; unity (oneness, *ekatva*) is 'imperishable' (in dissolution); besides the above, 12.296.18
- Popular Vedic religion, 17; see Atharva Veda
- 'Potency' (cosmic), used to translate Deva(tā), q.v.
- Pot full of oil carried up staircase (simile for concentration in Yoga), 12.289.32; 304.22-3
- Power (bala), as prominent feature of Yoga-activity, see pp. 37, 38; aberrantly said to be a sixth 'organ of action', 12.267.22
- Prabuddha = Buddha, q.v.; 12.296.17
- Pradhāna = Prakṛti, fundamental matter, 12.298.16; 306.69; 339.17
- Prahlāda, father of the asura Virocana, AV. 8.10.22
- Prajāpati, Lord of Creatures, a demiurge, pp. 20 (twice), with n. 1 and 3; 69; RV. 10.121.10; n. 1 on AV. 10.2.20; 10.7.40; 11.4.12; 11.8.30; 12.1.43, 61; 13.2.39; 13.3.5; 19.53.10; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.3, 7; plural, creator-gods, 12.289.24
- Prajñā, mentality, intelligence, synonym of Buddhī, q.v.; equated with *prāṇa*, see BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.3 note 3
- Prakṛti, Material nature, q.v., matter, see Avyakta, Pradhāna, Dualism. In the plural, used of the eight productive material principles, 12.294.29; 298.10, 12 (listed). See Tattva
- Prāṇa, '(life-)breath,' and in the cosmos 'wind', 21, 25 with n. 10; 26; wind (Vāyu) produced from Puruṣa's prāṇa, RV. 10.90.13; AV. 11.4, passim; 11.8.31; 10.7.34; this correspondence, standard in the Veda, also in some Up. passages, BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.8; 3.2.13; other cosmic functions of prāṇa, AV. 10.2.27; exceptionally, organ of smelling, BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.2 with n. 2; composed of water, ChāUp. 6.5-7; thought-organ fastened to prāṇa, enters into it when man is dying, ChāUp. 6.8, 15; two 'breaths', prāṇa and apāna, see AV. 11.4.8 n. 1; AV. 10.7.34; 13.3.4; KUp. 5.3; five 'breaths', BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 2; 3.9.27; (becomes standard list; must have been known in AV., as shown by AV. 10.2.13 combined with 11.8.4 and 26); prāṇāḥ also occurs as an indefinite plural, with no number (or various numbers) specified, but then usually means 'the vital powers', and especially 'the senses'; Spirit is 'the inner light within the vital powers' BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.7; they do not rise out of the body at death, id. 3.2.13; but id. 4.4.8 applies this only to the emancipated soul, which is Brahman (so is to abandon bodily existence); as to the soul about to transmigrate, see the complicated passage id. 4.3.41-4, 4.4.1-3, with notes 1-3 (p. 159); 1-3 (p. 160); n. 1, (p. 161); ten prāṇas (probably 'senses') in man (ātman is the 11th) id. 3.9.5.; six prāṇas, which go (at death) into the 6 directions, id. 4.2.5; in Yoga-activity, the 'exoteric' stage of meditation (Dhyāna) is Prāṇāyāma, which clearly means 'restraint of the vital powers', particularly 'of the senses' (not of the 'breaths'), see p. 38 with references there; 12.304.13-15 makes it very clear what prāṇa means in this context
- Prāṇāyāma, 'restraint of vital powers', see Prāṇa
- Pratiṣṭhā, 'basis' (of imperfect identifications of Brāhman), is Ether (see Ākāśa), BṛhĀrUp. 4.1
- Prayati, 'impellent force', RV. 10.129.5 with n. 3
- Preliminaries to Yoga-practice, 12.232.10-12
- 'Principles', see Tattva

'Prodigy', see Yakṣa
 Pr̥ṣni, 'spotted (cloud?)', mother of the Maruts, AV. 13.1.3 with n. 3; 13.3.23
 Pr̥thā, n. of Arjuna's mother (= Kuntī, q.v.), Gītā 2.21, 55; 7.1, 10; 9.13; 16.4
 Pr̥thī, 'son of Vena' (q.v.), a mythical ancient king, AV. 8.10.24 with n. 3
 Pumāms = Puruṣa, q.v.
 Punamṛtyu, 're-death', 29 (older than 'rebirth')
 Puruṣa, literally 'Man'; in the Veda, (20, 25) applied to personalized cosmos; in RV. 10.90 the sacrificial animal at cosmic creation, from whose parts the parts of the world are created; similarly, with analysis of human body, AV. 10.2 (Puruṣa vss. 1, 8, 10 *et al.*), and AV. 11.8.11-34 (see vss. 13, 29, 31); in vs. 32 identified with Brahman, as in AV. 10.7.15 (see n. 4) with the cosmic 'Support'; with etymological word-play, 'citadel of Brahman', AV. 10.2.28 n. 4; this fanciful analysis of the word as Pur-u-ṣa occurs often in later Skt., e.g. Mbh. 12.294.37; his parts poetically compared to those of a tree, BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.30-34; in Ups. already = ātman (see p. 41 n. 2), BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.7; 4.4.7-8 (composed of desire, which determines action and rebirth); of 16 parts, ChāUp. 6.7; 8 Puruṣas with physical bases BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.11-18 (but a single 'Upaniṣadic' P. is over them all, ib. 28); individual Puruṣas attributed to special bodily organs, as right and left eye, id. 4.2.2-3; to the eye (and other organs), id. 4.4.2 (in this passage, as in id. 4.3.7 ff. and constantly in Mbh., Puruṣa and Ātman seem interchangeable; Prāṇa, q.v., also plays in here, as 'vital powers'); sometimes seems favourite word for Supreme (universal) Spirit, KUp. 3.11; 6.8; of the size of the thumb, abides in the Self, id. 4.12-13, or in the heart of men (people, jana), id. 6.17; fashions himself desires (probably in dreams), id. 5.8; opposed to prakṛti, Gītā 13.19; however, 'the

supreme Lord' may mean the individual (embodied) Spirit, Gītā 13.27-8; two Puruṣas, one perishable (matter) and one imperishable (individual soul), id. 15.16; but there is another, highest Puruṣa, called the Supreme Self, which supports the cosmos, id. 15.17; and this is God (Kṛṣṇa) ib. 18; presides over the intellect (buddhi), which is in the three bhāvas (= guṇas), 12.187.21; glorification of the Supreme Spirit, 12.339.1-21.—Rarely other words for 'man' are substituted for Puruṣa or Ātman; so Pumāms, 12.293.36, Jantu 12.267.36 Pūṣan, Vedic god, RV. 2.1.6; 10.85.14; 10.125.2

Quarters, three (of cosmic entities) are secret, only one manifest, RV. 1.164.45; 10.90.3-4; AV. 2.1.2. See also s.v. Part. (Quarters of the sky = Directions, q.v.)

Raibhī, name of a Vedic song, RV. 10.85.6

Rājanya (= Kṣatriya), member of the warrior caste, RV. 10.90.12

Rajas, 'passion, activity', second of three Strands (q.v.) of matter

Rajatanābhi, son of Kubera, see AV. 8.10.28, n. 6

Rasā, world-stream surrounding the earth, RV. 10.121.4

Rathaṃtara, n. of a sāman, q.v., AV. 8.10.13; 13.3.11-12

Rauhiṇa, a personage vanquished by Indra, 2.12.12

Ṛc, stanza (of the Rig Veda), RV. 10.71.11; 10.90.9; AV. 10.7.14, 20 (with n. 6); 12.1.38; 19.54.3; ChāUp. 6.7

Reason-method = Sāṃkhya, q.v.

Rebirth, or transmigration, reincarnation; first found in early Upaniṣads, q.v., 29, 30 (endless chain, saṃsāra, q.v., 30); of (unemancipated) soul, BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.4-8; KUp. 3.1-7; 5.6-7; 12.267.32-3; affects only the body, not the Self, Gītā 2.11-25, affects the Self, but not when it becomes enlightened; getting rid of

- Rebirth—*continued*
 the body and of good and evil, it becomes Brahman, the highest goal, 12.267.32-8
- Reciters of hymns (uktha-śas) called 'enveloped in fog and chatter' and 'robbers of lives', RV. 10.82.7 with n.
- Reincarnation, see Rebirth
- Release or salvation (mukti, mokṣa, nirvāṇa, qq.v.), aim of the 'extraordinary norm', 31; how defined, 31, 33; ways of attaining it, 31-4, and in Mbh. 35-40; KUp. 2.20-4; uniting with the Supreme, 44 with n., 45-6; series of alternative ways listed in Gitā 12.8-12 and 13.24-5
- Renou, L., last page of Preface; RV. 10.82.1 n. 1, 5 n. 2; 10.129.5 n. 3; AV. 10.7.4 n. 1; 10.8.26 n. 5, 30 n. 1; KUp. 4.7 n. 3
- Renunciation (= Abandonment) of actions, attributed to Sāṃkhya method, q.v.
- Revati, n. of a Vedic stanza, AV. 13.1.5
- Rig Veda, 17-21, 23, 24, 51; RV. 10.71.11 n. 3; 10.90.9; ChāUp. 6.7
- Ritualism, 17
- River, the (Indus), see Sindhu; river in flood, as metaphor for worldly life, 12.242.12-15; it is crossed by knowledge, leading to final release and identity with Brahman, id. 16-19
- R̥kṣikā, a beast of prey or demon, AV. 12.1.49
- 'Robbers of lives', said of reciters of hymns, RV. 10.82.7 with n.
- Rodasi, 'two firmaments', heaven and earth, n. 1 to RV. 10.121.6
- Rohiṇī, female counterpart to Rohita, AV. 13.1.22 n. 5
- Rohita, 'the Ruddy One', the sun, 21, AV. 13.1-3
- Root = cause, ChāUp. 6.8 with n. 3
- R̥ṣi, seer, sage (said of the reputed authors of Vedic hymns), AV. 10.7.14 with n. 1; 13.1.55 with n. 1; 13.3.5 n. 1; 'Sole seer', see AV. 10.7.14 n. 3; see also 'Seven seers'
- R̥tu, the father of the asura Dvīmūrdhan, AV. 8.10.22
- Rudra, Vedic god (believed to be historically connected with Hindu Śiva), RV. 2.1.6; referred to as founder of a (reprobated) school of Yoga, 12.304.5; also plural, RV. 10.125.1; AV. 10.7.22; eleven, BrhĀrUp. 3.9.3, 5
- Sacrificial rite (creation compared to), 25; AV. 13.1.46 with n. 3; 51-3, 55; performance of Naciketas fire-rite leads to heaven, or even to complete salvation, KUp. 1.17-19; 2.10-13
- Sādhya (plural), see RV. 10.90.7, 16 n. 1
- Sa-guṇa, associated with the Strands, said of the unenlightened Soul, 12.293.43; qualified, exoteric, said of the first stage of dhyāna, q.v., p. 38; 12.294.8; 304.8-9
- Śakuna, a kind of bird of prey, AV. 12.1.51
- Śakvari, n. of a Vedic meter, or verse composed in it, RV. 10.71.11; AV. 13.1.5
- Salt, parable of (dissolved in water), BrhĀrUp. 4.5.13 with n. 4; ChāUp. 6.13
- Salvation, see Release
- Sama, 'same', alike, indifferent (see this); the 'Constant' (Supreme), 12.293.45
- Samādhāna = samādhi, 12.289.29 with n. 1; 30; 32 with note 2; 35
- Samādhi, complete concentration, goal of Yoga activity, 38, 39; Gitā 2.53-4 etc.
- Samāhita (adjective to preceding), concentrated, collected, 12.232.13; 289.29 (with n. 1), 31, 34, 36-7, 40, with note 2
- Samāna, see Prāṇa (AV. 10.2.13; BrhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 2)
- Sama-tā, same-ness, from Sama; see Indifference
- Sāman, chant or melody, RV. 10.90.9; AV. 8.10.13; 10.7.14, 20 (n. 6), 44; 11.8.23; 12.1.38; ChāUp. 6.7
- Sāma Veda, the Veda of chants (sāman, q.v.)
- Śambara, a demon vanquished by Indra, RV. 2.12.11
- Samdhā, 'Combiner' or 'Combination' (in creation of human body), AV. 11.8.15

- Saṃdhi, 'combination (of sounds)', p. 335
 Saṃjaya (Dhṛtarāṣṭra's charioteer), narrator of the Gītā, Gītā (after) 2.8; pp. 227, 232
 Saṃjñā (cf. Saṃjñāna), consciousness, BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.13 with n. 4 (none after death, because no duality; see Subject)
 Saṃjñāna (cf. Saṃjñā), consciousness (must mean or include prāṇa), BṛhĀrUp. 4.4.3 with n. 3
 Śaṃkara, Indian philosopher and commentator, BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.31 n.; 4.4.27 n. 1; p. 170; ChāUp. 6.14 n. 3 id. 6.16 n. 1
 Sāṃkhya, 'reason-method', applied to the way of salvation by Knowledge (q.v.), and to its followers: 35-7 with notes; contrasted with Yoga, 37-8; 'S. and Yoga are one', because both lead to the same result, salvation, 38; literal meaning of the word S., 36 with n.; regarded as involving renunciation of actions, 36-7; metaphysical passages are the regular business of Sāṃkhya as 'reason-method', but sometimes said to be accepted by Yoga too, 40, note 2 (no metaphysical differences between the two); S. never atheistic in Mbh., and not always in later India, 47-8 (see Anīśvara)
 Saṃnyāsa, renunciation, abandonment; of actions, see s.v. Sāṃkhya; also Gītā 5.1, 2, 6
 Saṃnyāsana = Saṃnyāsa, Gītā 3.4
 Saṃnyāsin, ascetic (see Tapas), 32
 Saṃparāya, life beyond (death), KUp. 2.6, 7 n. 1
 Saṃsāra, (the chain of) rebirths (q.v.); first occurrence, 30, n.
 Sāmya, 'indifference', see Indifferent
 Sanskrit words, pronunciation of, 13
 Śānta ('pacified, perfected') Self, KUp. 3.13 with n. 3, q.v.
 Sarga, 'material creation'; nine successive ones, some of which are obscure, 12.298.16-25
 Śarīra, body; see Dualism
 Śarīrin, soul, see Dualism; 12.267.30
 Sat, see Existent
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 135
 Sattva, (1) 'goodness, purity', highest of the 3 'Strands' (q.v.), Gītā 2.45; 14.5 ff.; 18.9-10; 12.187.29-30; 188.4; 238.9; 2.40.18; even it, like the other two, must be got rid of, 290.60; *et passim*; (2) 'essential (material) reality' (?); KUp. 6.7 (replaces buddhi of 3.10: higher than manas but lower than the 'Great Self' which is the highest evolver of 'unmanifest' matter); 12.187.37, 42 (creates the Strands); 12.228.31; the Self is the observer and creator of the Strands, yet there is a difference between sattva and the Field-knower 12.240.19, in that the former creates the Strands, the latter does not ib. 20; so in 12.241.1-2 sattva creates the Strands, the Field-knower governs them; see especially 12.294.40, note Śavaḥ, corpse; punningly also 'strength' (a homonym), AV. 11.8.34 Savitar, Vedic sun-god (literally, 'the Promoter'), RV. 2.1.7; 10.85.9; AV. 8.10.26; 10.8.5, 42; 13.1.20, 38; 13.3.13
 Sāvitrī = Gāyatrī (stanza), q.v. (AV. 10.8.10 n. 2)
 Seasons, (six) AV. 12.1.36; (five) AV. 13.1.18 with n. 3
 Self, see Ātman
 Self-consciousness (organ of), or I-faculty (ahaṃkāra), confuses the soul, 54; one of the Tattvas, q.v.; self-consciousness ceases when, after death, the individual merges in the universal One (here the Existent), ChāUp. 6.9, 10 (simile of honey and rivers)
 Self-existent, the, see Svayambhū
 Self-hypnosis, 38, 12.232.13-20; 289.31-41
 Senart, E., BṛhĀrUp. 3.2.2 n.; 4.3.31 n.
 Sense-objects, see Sense-organs; commonly called Indriyārtha, as in Gītā 2.58, 68 (*et passim*); (= rarer Indriya-gocara, Gītā 13.5; gocara is a synonym of viśaya); shortened to Artha alone, KUp. 3.10; also often Viśaya, q.v.
 Sense-organs, normally Indriya; an early list, with respective Sense-objects, called 'graspers' and 'super-

Sense-organs—*continued*

- graspers', eight, including the later 5 organs of perception, two of action (speech and hands), and manas, BrhĀrUp. 3.2.1-9 (see n. 1); slightly different list of 8 without the objects of sense, and with vijñāna 'knowing' instead of 'hands', ib. 4.3.23-30; similarly ib. 4.5.15, (with note 1), 24 with n. 2; strange list of 8 'senses of perception (or knowledge, jñānen-driya)' which adds citta, manas, and buddhi to the normal 5, 12.267.18; usually Mbh. has 5 senses of perception and 5 of action, with manas as 11th (internal) sense, and the same passage, 12.267.12-15, gives the normal 5 organs of perception with their 5 'objects', and ib. 19-21 the 5 organs of action (ib. 22 abnormally adding 'power' as a sixth); the 5 plus 5 plus one senses listed 12.291.26-7 (the 5 'objects' of perception ib. 24); see also n. 1 to Gītā 13.5; and the lists of 'principles' (tattva) listed in fn. 1, p. 43 of Introduction Chap. III contain others; the senses must be withdrawn from the sense-objects, Gītā 2.58, 68 (*et passim*); the Buddhi activitates and presides over the organs of perception, 12.240.3-6
- Seven seers (or sages, ṛṣi), name of a constellation, RV. 10. 82.2; or priestly seers, AV. 12.1.39; in AV. 8.10.25 uncertain which
- Seventeen (Tattvas or 'principles' of matter); not enumerated, but with them the individual, unemancipated Spirit is 'connected', 12.339.15. A comm. says: ten sense organs, 5 gross elements, manas and buddhi. But cf. 12.231.15, s.vv. Seventeenth and Sixteen. Perhaps the 5 sense-objects should be understood as counted in 12.339.15, rather than the 5 organs of action. Uncertain.—Another, but bizarre, list of 17 material elements in 12.267.28: the senses (reckoned as 8 of perception, vs. 18, and six of action, vss 19-21 with 'power', 22), with the three bhāva, make 17 guṇa. The 18th is the soul (dehin) in the body; it is eternal. Verse 30 says, 'the one (masculine; Deussen, 'Field-knower', but really duplicates dehin of vs. 28) and the eighteen guṇas, along with (bodily) heat (ūṣman) make up an aggregate of twenty, 'based on the 5 elements'
- Seventeenth = the Self, in the body (so all comms.; 12.231.15 (surrounded by the Sixteen, q.v.). See also Seventeen
- Sindhu, ('river' in general, and particularly) the Indus, AV. 12.1.3
- Sirī, ? RV. 10.71.9 with n. 2
- Śiva, third member of the Hindu divine Trinity, 12.338.8; seemingly referred to as the Lord (Īśa, a special epithet of Śiva; bracketed with Nārāyaṇa = Viṣṇu), 12.290.23
- Sixteen (Guṇas, here 'modifications', q.v., of Prakṛti), 12.231.15, by which the Seventeenth, q.v., is 'surrounded'. In 12.294.29 applied to 16 'modifications' (vikāra) which are non-productive (see my translation with n. 5); and the same in 12.298.12 ff. This was probably meant in 12.231.15, where the context is confused. See also 12.233.8
- Skambha, 'support', as First Principle, p. 21, note 7; p. 22, note 2
- Skepticism (in Veda), 19
- Sleep, ChāUp. 6.8 (explained etymologically); 12.267.23-7; 12.290.83-86; see also Dream and Deep sleep
- Smith's work (creation compared to), p. 25
- Soliloquy of enlightened soul, on getting rid of matter and so being saved, 12.295.23-38
- Solitude, enjoined in Yoga activity, 38; Gītā 6.10; 13.10; 12.232.20; 12.304.12
- Soma, plant and sacred drink extracted from it; identified with the moon, RV. 10.85.1-17 (married to Sūryā); (drink) AV. 8.10.25; 10.2.19; 10.8.3 (see n. 1), 40 ('being purified'), 11.8.8; 12.1.38; 13.1.12, 27
- Soul, see Ātman, Puruṣa
- Space, or Emptiness, see Ākāśa
- Stanza = Verse of the Rig Veda, see Ṛc.

- Stimulants (10 or 12) to Yoga, 12.294.10-11 with n. 1; (12 in first part of night, 12 in last) 12.304.11
- 'Strands' (Guṇa), also called 'conditions of existence' (Bhāva, q.v.; here listed under both names), three components of material nature, Sattva, Rajas, and Tamas, qq.v.; Gītā 2.45; 3.5, 27-9; 7.12-4; 13.19, 21, 23, 31; 14.5-27 (their characteristics in detail); 15.10; 12.187.21-48 (their effects); 240.6-8, 18-20; 241.1-2; 291.40, 42-7 (their effects; in vs. 45 their three colours, see n. 1); they belong to matter alone, not the Self, 12.293.33-4 (and 36-8?), 39-41; but Self imagines itself possessed of strands and so is affected by them, *ib.* 41; in this state it is unenlightened, but becomes enlightened by getting rid of them, *ib.* 42-50
- Subject (Universal); after death, the (unified) Brāhman (or ātman, or Absolute under other names) is Subject of every act, hence can never be object of any, in particular of any kind of perception, BrhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 4; 3.7.31; 3.8.11; 4.3.23-30; 4.5.13 with n. 4; 4.5.14-25; Mbh. 12.296.18
- Subtle essence = Aṇiman, q.v.
- Śuci, dual = Śukra, q.v., RV. 10.85.12
- Sudhanvan, n. assumed by a 'gandharva' who possesses a living person, BrhĀrUp. 3.3.1
- Śudra, member of the serf caste, RV. 10.90.12
- Śuka, a son of Vyāsa, 12.233.3
- Śukra(= Śuci), dual, name of two summer months, RV. 10.85.10
- Sukthankar, V. S., p. 197, note
- Summum bonum, 31; = Release, q.v., or Salvation; also Paramātman and other terms.
- Sun, as cosmic principle (see Āditya, Rohita), 21; conceived as a bird, RV. 1.164.46; 10.72.8 (8th son of Aditi); AV. 4.1.2; 10.8.16-24 with notes; 11.4.20-2; 13.3.1; other more or less cosmic passages, RV. 10.85.1 (props up the sky); AV. 10.8.7; 12.1.53; 13.1.25, 32; measures space, AV. 10.8.3; is the Soul of what moves and does not, AV. 13.2.35; is one-footed, see s.v. Unborn; produced from the eye of the Puruṣa, RV. 10.90.13; cf. AV. 10.7.33; 11.8.33; correspondence between the eye and the sun persists later, BrhĀrUp. 3.1.6 and n. 1, p. 137; 3.2.13
- Supernatural powers and experiences, may be acquired by Yoga-practitioners, but should be transcended, 39; not associated in Mbh. with saving 'knowledge', 41
- Super-Soul, see Adhyātma
- Support, see Skambha
- Sūri (in Rig Veda 'patron of a sacrifice'), epithet of Rohinī, see AV. 13.1.22 n. 5
- Sūrya, normal word for the Sun (q.v.); Sūryā, his daughter, the Sun-maiden; married to Soma, RV. 10.85.6-10, 12-17; AV. 12.1.24
- Sūryavarcas, n. of a Gandharva (father of Citraratha and Vasuruci), AV. 8.10.27
- Suṣumnā, upward-leading channel, KUp. 6.16 n. 1 (not named in text)
- Svadhā, 'innate power' (?), RV. 10.129.5 with n. 3; AV. 4.1.3, 7
- Svarāj, autonomous, 29, note 1
- Svarga, 'heaven', 29
- Svayambhū, 'self-existent', common epithet of the Supreme; (e.g.) AV. 10.8.44; KUp. 4.1
- Śvetaketu, instructed by his father Uddālaka, ChĀUp. 6 *passim*
- 'Swan', see Haṃsa
- Syedu, ? AV. 12.1.30 with n.
- Takṣaka, n. of a serpent demon, AV. 8.10.29 with n.
- Tamas, 'darkness, dullness', lowest of three 'Strands', q.v., of matter; applied to chaotic state before creation of the universe, RV. 10.129.3
- Tapas, heat, fervour, asceticism; connected with cosmic creation, 25 with n. 5; 32 (with notes 2, 3 and 4); 33; in Time, AV. 19.53.8, 54.1; *passim* (also in Mbh., e.g. 12.242.4)

- Tattva, see s.v. Sixteen, Seventeen, 24(th), 25(th), 26th, and see Sense-Organs; literally 'that-ness', principle or element, principium (of reality), 36 n.; 42-4; used of the evolvents of material nature; by standard count 23, plus prakṛti = 24, plus the 25th, the soul; in Mbh. 12 sometimes a 26th, 53 with n. 19; smaller counts occur in Gītā and Mokṣadh and some lists begin at the lower end, with the five 'gross elements'; see 43 n. 1
- Tat tvam asi, 'That art Thou', p. 28, n. 2; p. 170; ChāUp. 6.8-16; cf. see all beings in thyself, and in God, Gītā 4.35; 13.28 with n. 1
- Tedesco, P., ChāUp. 6.9 n. 13
- Tejas, heat (cf. Tapas); first evolvent of the Existent (as primal principle), ChāUp. 6.2-8, 15; principle of incubation, id. 6.3 with n. 3
- Thirst, explained etymologically, ChāUp. 6.8
- Thirty-three (gods, said to constitute the Vedic pantheon), AV. 10.7.23; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.2, 3
- Thought-organ = manas, q.v.
- Thread, on which things are 'strung together', AV. 10.8.37, 38 (also 'thread of the thread'); BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.2, 4-6 ('Wind'); 3.8.3-7 ('ether'), 8-11 (the 'Imperishable'); cf. also Gītā 7.7
- Time (kāla), as cosmic principle, 21; AV. 19.53 and 54; Rohita became Time and Prajāpati, AV. 13.2.39; in Mbh., concerned in evolution of entities, 12.231.25; 244.2; 267.4, 5, 9
- Times when one should not practice Yoga, 12.294.9; times specially recommended for it, first and last parts of night, 12.238.12; 294.13; 304.11
- Transmigration, see Rebirth
- Trick-of-illusion (māyā), God's, keeps the unwise from knowing his true nature, Gītā 7.14, 25 (here yoga-māyā; yoga here means magic, supernatural performance)
- Trivarga, 'group of three' (objects of ordinary human life), dharma, artha, and kāma (qq.v.), 30, 33 n. 2; 12.187.55; only artha and dharma named, 12.244.1, as unworthy aims for seekers of salvation; with addition of mokṣa (q.v.) becomes a 'group of four' (see caturvarga), 33 n. 2
- Trivṛt (stoma), triply-combining (chant), ChāUp. 6.3 n. 6
- Tṛṣṇā, desire, craving (literally 'thirst'; = Kāma, q.v.), 33
- Truth (satya), BṛhĀrUp. 4.1; the perfect safeguard, ChāUp. 6.16 (parable of the ordeal by heated axe)
- Tvaṣṭar, Vedic god ('Carpenter'), RV. 2.1.5; 10.125. 2; AV. 11.8.8-9, 18 with n. 4
- Twenty ('qualities' = Tattva), 12.267.30. See s.v. Seventeen. (I can make no sense of the numbers in this passage)
- Twenty-fifth ('principle'), the Soul (see under Twenty-five); 12.291.37-8, 48; 293.38, 44, 48; 294.35, 38-43, 49; 295.2, 3, 14 (here, curiously, called the 'Field', which normally = material nature), 15, 38, 45; 296.5, 7 with n. 1 (on distinction from 26th), 8-9, 18, 41; 306.54-6, 68, 70-1, 75-6, 79
- Twenty-five 'principles' (tattva); viz. 24 (material nature and its) evolvents, and the Soul as 25th; this is the standard reckoning, lasting on into Classical Skt.; 12.228.28; 293.48-50; 296.14, 24. See Twenty-fifth, Twenty-four(th), Twenty-sixth; also Ātman, Budhyamāna
- Twenty-four (material) 'principles' (tattva), see under Twenty-five; 12.291.28; 294.42; 298.25; also implied in 294.27-9
- Twenty-fourth 'principle' (= material nature, unevolved), see preceding; 12.291.38; 294.10; 296.8-9, 20; 306.70-1
- Twenty-sixth 'principle,' see p. 43 n. 1, and especially 12.296.7 with n. 1; further, 12.296.11, 16-17, 20; 306.53-4, 70, 74, 76-7. It seems that the '26th' (the soul that has reached enlightenment) is separately numbered only in these two passages. In 306.79 it is meant by 'what is beyond the 25th'

- Ucchlakha (dual), an unknown part of the body, AV. 10.2.1
- Udāna, see Prāṇa (BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 2)
- Uddālaka, son of Aruṇa, of the Gautama family, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.7.1, 31; instructs his son Śvetaketu, ChāUp. 6.1, 8; in KUp. father of Naciketas, q.v., KUp. 1.11
- Udgātar, the priest who sings the chants of the Sāma Veda at Vedic sacrifices, RV. 10.71.11 with n. 3; BṛhĀrUp. 3.1.8, 12
- [Uktha-śas, reciters of hymns, q.v.]
- Ula, a beast of prey or demon, AV. 12.1.49
- Unborn (Aja; sometimes, by word-play, interpreted as 'goat', which is a possible meaning—a homonym of the word 'unborn'), name or epithet of the Supreme, AV. 10.7.31; 10.8.41; one-footed Unborn (or 'goat'), AV. 11.4.21 n. 2 (of the Sun), AV. 13.1.6 with n. 5; cf. AV. 13.3.25 with n. 5 (the Sun is one-footed)
- Unenlightened = Abuddha, Aprabuddha, Apratibuddha, qq.v.
- Unification, see One-ness
- Unity = Oneness, q.v.
- Unmanifest, the, see Avyakta
- Un-principled, free from and higher than the Tattvas, the creation of the Tattvas, everlasting, 12.293.49-50. It seems that what is elsewhere called the 26th is meant here, but that term (q.v.) is not used
- Upaniṣads, 18; general characterization, 28 ff.; and Veda-Brāhmaṇa, likeness and differences, 28; the word defined, 28 n.; not abstract, 'pure' philosophy but practical search for salvation through magic power of *knowledge* of, and identification with, the One that is All, 29; also other, minor aims sought by the same method, 29 n.; epic speculations develop from them, 35, 41; soul fitted out with them, as if with a car or boat for a journey, BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.1; 4.5.11; called 'aphorisms about Brahman' (brahma-sūtra), Gītā 13.4; n. 1 to Gītā 13.28; called 'end of the Veda' (Vedānta), Gītā 15.15
- Upaniṣadic Spirit (one only), BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.28; see Puruṣa
- Uṣas, goddess of Dawn, AV. 10.8.30 n. 1; 13.1.41 n. 1
- Uṣasta son of Cakra, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1
- Uṣman, (bodily) heat, counted in 12.267.30 as helping to make up an aggregate of Twenty (q.v.) 'qualities'
- Uṣnihā, a Rig-Vedic meter, AV. 13.1.15
- Utpaṭ, bark of a tree (= utpātikā), BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.31 n. 1
- Uttāna-pad, (apparently 'with feet outstretched'), applied to the world-mother in labour producing the world, p. 60; RV. 10.72.4
- Vāc, 'speech', Holy Utterance, 19, 20 with n. 1; = brāhman, 24 n. 1; self-laudation, RV. 1.164.45; 10.71; 10.125; (called 'ancestral Queen') AV. 4.1.2; perhaps any normal speech, AV. 2.1.4; 10.2.7; called Virāj, AV. 9.2.5; BṛhĀrUp. 4.5.12 n. 1; in man, ChāUp. 6.5.6 (composed of Heat); see Vākya
- Vācas-pati, Lord of Holy Utterance, 20, 24 n. 1; 24 n. 2; AV. 13.1.17-19
- Vaghā, some kind of vermin, AV. 9.2.22
- Vaijayanta, n. of a mountain, 12.338.21
- Vaiśvānara, 'universal' (for all men), ancient epithet of Fire; with Agni, AV. 12.1.6; 13.3.5; without the word Agni, AV. 10.7.18 with n. 2; Gītā 15.14 (here the digestive fire in the body)
- Vaiśya, member of the artisan caste, RV. 10.90.12
- Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, p. 135
- Vājaśravasa, alternative patronymic ('descendant of Vājaśravas') for Uddālaka Āruṇi, father of Naciketas, KUp. 1.1
- Vākya (cf. Vāc; here ordinary worldly speech is meant), speech (made up of five elements, one of them Saṃkhyā, reasoning) 12.308.79, 82

- Vala, a (Vedic) demon of darkness, vanquished by Indra, RV. 2.12.3; AV. 12.1.39 n. 3
- Vāmadevya, n. of a sāman, q.v., AV. 8.10.13
- Varuṇa, Vedic god (often associated with Mitra; in later times, god of water), RV. 1.164.46; 2.1.4; 5.3.1; 5.83.6 n. 1; 10.85.17; 10.125.1; AV. 13.1.20, 31; 13.2.35; 13.3.13
- Vaśa, 'will', AV. 11.8.17 with n. (= Manyu?)
- Vaṣaṭ, a (meaningless) sacrificial exclamation, AV. 8.10.20 with n.; 13.1.15
- Vasiṣṭha, an ancient sage, 12.296.43
- Vasu (plural), a class of gods, RV. 10.125.1; AV. 10.7.22; BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.3, 4
- Vasuruci, n. of a Gandharva, AV. 8.10.27
- Vāta (cf. Vāyu), wind-god, RV. 2.1.6 n. 1
- Vāyu (cf. Vāta), wind (-god), RV. 10.85.5; produced from the Puruṣa's breath, RV. 10.90.13. See Wind
- Vedānta, 'end of the Veda', primarily = the Upaniṣads (so in Gītā 15.15, and 12.290.68); also applied to a later system or systems of speculation supposed to be based on the Upaniṣads, p. 47
- Vedi, the (Vedic) sacrificial ground or 'altar', AV. 12.1.13
- Vedic religion depreciated, Gītā 2.42-6, 52-3; 12.228.7 ('word-brahman', i.e. Vedic religion); same phrase 12.232.30; similarly 12.296.31; Vedas 'perishable' and to be abandoned, 12.306.52
- Vegetable state, rebirth in, KUp. 5.7
- Vena, AV. 2.1.1 with n., 4.1.1 (and cf. Pṛthī)
- Verse or stanza of Rig Veda, see Ṛc.
- Vidagdha son of Śākala, questions Yājñavalkya, BṛhĀrUp. 3.9.1-27; loses his head, ib. 28
- Vidhātār, the Arranger, 20
- Vidyā = Knowledge, q.v.
- Vijñāna, (1) intelligence, intellect, or consciousness; clearly = Buddha (2), BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.30 (see Sense-organs); ib. 4.4.3 with n. 1; KUp. 3.5 with n. 2; 4.3 with n. 2; 12.290.78 (consciousness; resumed by Buddha ibid. 81), here means what we mean by 'being conscious, awake and aware'; (2) practical knowledge, 'know-how', in contrast with jñāna, theoretical knowledge, Gītā 6.8; 7.2; 12.290.17
- Vikāra, modifications (q.v.) or evolutions of material nature (q.v.)
- Virāj, 'Shining' or 'Ruling One', (usually feminine), a cosmic potency, sometimes seemingly = the cosmic water, RV. 10.90.5; epithet of Vāc as a milch-cow (daughter of Desire), AV. 9.2.5; elsewhere as a cow, AV. 13.1.33 (n. 1) with 27 and 41; the 'udder' of Support, AV. 10.7.19, see n. 5; epithet of Prāṇa, AV. 11.4.12; associated with other cosmic potencies, AV. 11.8.30; 13.3.5; an ultimate cosmic principle in her own right, AV. 8.10 (also 8.9); and seems a name for the one Supreme Spirit in Mbh. 12.338.21-2; 'spirit in the left eye', pairing with Indra as that in the right eye, BṛhĀrUp. 4.2.3; see especially my note 1 on AV. 13.1.33
- Virocana, n. of a demon (asura), AV. 8.10.22
- Viśāla, father or ancestor of Takṣaka, q.v., AV. 8.10.29
- Viśaya, (1) region, place of residence; (2) Sense-objects, q.v. (on meanings see 12.290.5 n. 1); in second sense, KUp. 3.4; Gītā 15.9 (*et passim*)
- Viśeṣa (in special, technical sense); see Innate characteristics
- Viṣṇu, Vedic god; RV. 2.1.3; 5.3.3; AV. 12.1.10; later, one of the favourite terms for Supreme God; Kṛṣṇa identified with him, 39; has four cosmic manifestations, 45; 25th (principle, the soul) is Viṣṇu, 46 with n. 1; highest place of V. = salvation, KUp. 3.9
- Viśravaṇa, father of Kubera, AV. 8.10.28 n. 6
- Viśvakarman, the All-maker, as demiurge, 20, AV. 12.1.60; 13.1.14
- Viśve devāḥ, the 'All-gods', q.v.
- Vivasvant (originally the Sun), father of Manu AV. 8.10.24; father of Yama q.v., KUp. 1.7

- Vrā(h), (heavenly) females, AV. 2.1.1 with n. 2
- Vṛtra, a (Rig-Vedic) demon subdued by Indra, AV. 12.1.37
- Vyakta, the manifest, opp. of Avyakta, q.v.
- Vyāna, see Prāṇa (BṛhĀrUp. 3.5.1 with n. 2)
- Vyāsa, an ancient sage, son of Parāśara, reputed composer of the Mbh. 12.233.3
- Vyūha, cosmic manifestation (especially of Viṣṇu; four such), 46 n. 1
- Water, a cosmic principle, see p. 21 note 2 in Introduction Chap. I. In BṛhĀrUp. 4.3.31, application obscure; see n. 3
- Whitney, W. D., AV. 10.8.31 n. 2
- Wind (as cosmic breath often equated with breath in man, see Prāṇa), 26 with n. 1; AV. 10.7.4; BṛhĀrUp. 3.3.2; 3.7.6 (thread on which all is strung); KUp. 6.3; see Vāta, Vāyu, Mātariśvan; 'on-carrying' (pravaha) wind, one of 7 cosmic winds, 12.290.71 with n. 1
- Withdrawal (pratisamhāra) from sense-objects, marks perfection for Sāṃkhya followers, 12.228.32
- 'Word-brahman' (śabda-brahman), 12.228.7; 232.30 Vedic religion
- Yajate, sacrifices for oneself, RV. 10.81.5 with n. 1
- Yājñavalkya, scholar and philosopher, principal speaker in Books 3 and 4 of BṛhĀrUp., p. 135 ff.
- Yajñājñīya, n. of a sāman, AV. 8.10.13
- Yajur Veda, containing formulas recited by the adhvaryu priest at Vedic sacrifices, see Yajus
- Yajus, a formula of the Yajur Veda, RV. 10.71.11 n. 3; 10.90.9; AV. 10.7.14 n. 2, 20 n. 6; 11.8.23; 12.1.38; 19.54.3; ChāUp. 6.7
- Yakṣa, 'prodigy', consisting of ātman, AV. 10.2.32; 10.8.43; as a kind of First Principle, AV. 10.7.38; 10.8.15
- Yama, god of death, RV. 10.164.46; AV. 8.10.23; KUp. 1.5; son of Vivasvant, see also Ender, and Death
- Yukta (adjective to Yoga), disciplined, esp. in Yoga, 12.289.32
- Yoga, 'discipline'; way of salvation by actions, 36 n., 37, 38, also personally used of its followers (so = Yogin); may also mean (any) 'method, way, means' (see Jñāna-yoga), but commonly = Karma-yoga, q.v. (other meanings 37 n. 1; never 'union' of the soul with Brahman or God); this is characterized by 'activity' and 'power', contrasting with 'knowledge' of Sāṃkhya, 37-38; relies on intuition of 'immediate (mystic) perception', 38; most fundamental feature is *dhyāna*, q.v., with Skt. terms there quoted; if successful, leads to union with the Absolute (but this union is not called Yoga!) 38; the state producing it is called samādhi, (self-hypnosis?), 38; supernatural powers (q.v.), 39; in the Gītā, generally 'disciplined (disinterested) activity', 33, 39; in popular language, 'magic', Gītā 7.25 see Trick-of-illusion
- Yogin, possessing Yoga (= yukta), 12.188.2; 289.37-8, 40; etc.



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