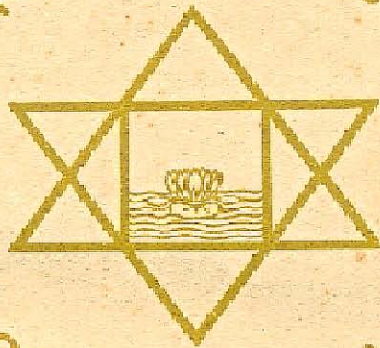




SRI AUROBINDO
BIRTH
CENTENARY LIBRARY



THE SECRET OF THE VEDA

SRI AUROBINDO



**THE
SECRET
OF
THE VEDA**

**BIRTH CENTENARY
LIBRARY**

VOLUME 10

SRI AUROBINDO BIRTH CENTENARY LIBRARY - POPULAR EDITION

© Sri Aurobindo Ashram Trust 1971 . Published By Sri Aurobindo Ashram
Pondicherry . Reproduced by offset at the All India Press, Pondicherry, India

PRINTED IN INDIA

SRI AUROBINDO

BIRTH

August 15, 1872



MAHASAMADHI

December 5, 1950



CENTENARY

August 15, 1972

Contents

PART ONE

THE SECRET OF THE VEDA

| | | |
|--|--|-----|
| I. | | |
| THE PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION | | 1 |
| II. | | |
| A RETROSPECT OF VEDIC THEORY (1) | | 8 |
| — THE SCHOLARS (2) | | 15 |
| III. | | |
| MODERN THEORIES | | 22 |
| IV. | | |
| THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY | | 32 |
| V. | | |
| THE PHILOLOGICAL METHOD OF THE VEDA | | 45 |
| VI. | | |
| AGNI AND THE TRUTH | | 54 |
| VII. | | |
| VARUNA-MITRA AND THE TRUTH | | 65 |
| VIII. | | |
| THE ASHWINS — INDRA — THE VISHWADEVAS | | 75 |
| IX. | | |
| SARASWATI AND HER CONSORTS | | 86 |
| X. | | |
| THE IMAGE OF THE OCEANS AND THE RIVERS | | 95 |
| XI. | | |
| THE SEVEN RIVERS | | 104 |
| XII. | | |
| THE HERDS OF THE DAWN | | 118 |
| XIII. | | |
| DAWN AND THE TRUTH | | 126 |
| XIV. | | |
| THE COW AND THE ANGIRASA LEGEND | | 132 |

C O N T E N T S

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| XV. | | |
| THE LOST SUN AND THE LOST COWS | 142 | |
| XVI. | | |
| THE ANGIRASA RISHIS | 152 | |
| XVII. | | |
| THE SEVEN-HEADED THOUGHT, SWAR AND THE DASHAGWAS | 166 | |
| XVIII | | |
| THE HUMAN FATHERS | 179 | |
| XIX. | | |
| THE VICTORY OF THE FATHERS | 191 | |
| XX. | | |
| THE HOUND OF HEAVEN | 203 | |
| XXI. | | |
| THE SONS OF DARKNESS | 215 | |
| XXII. | | |
| THE CONQUEST OVER THE DASYUS | 224 | |
| XXIII. | | |
| SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS | 233 | |

PART TWO

SELECTED HYMNS

| | | |
|--|-----|--|
| I. | | |
| THE COLLOQUY OF INDRA AND AGASTYA : I. 170 | 241 | |
| II. | | |
| INDRA, GIVER OF LIGHT : I. 4 | 245 | |
| III. | | |
| INDRA AND THE THOUGHT-FORCES : I. 171 | 254 | |
| IV. | | |
| AGNI, THE ILLUMINED WILL : I. 77 | 263 | |
| V. | | |
| SURYA SAVITRI, CREATOR AND INCREASER : V. 81 | 272 | |
| VI. | | |
| THE DIVINE DAWN : III. 61 | 281 | |

CONTENTS

| | | |
|--|---|-----|
| VII. | | |
| TO BHAGA SAVITRI, THE ENJOYER : V. 82 | . | 287 |
| VIII. | | |
| VAYU, THE MASTER OF THE LIFE ENERGIES : IV. 48 | . | 294 |
| IX. | | |
| BRIHASPATI, POWER OF THE SOUL : IV. 50 | . | 303 |
| X. | | |
| THE ASHWINS, LORDS OF BLISS : IV. 45 | . | 314 |
| XI. | | |
| THE RIBHUS, ARTISANS OF IMMORTALITY : I. 20 | . | 324 |
| XII. | | |
| VISHNU, THE ALL-PERVADING GODHEAD : I. 154 | . | 331 |
| XIII. | | |
| SOMA, LORD OF DELIGHT AND IMMORTALITY : IX. 83 | . | 339 |

PART THREE

HYMNS OF THE ATRIS

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|-----|
| FOREWORD | . | 351 |
| HYMNS TO AGNI : V | | |
| Agni, the Divine Will-Force | . | 358 |
| The First Hymn to Agni | . | 364 |
| The Second Hymn to Agni | . | 367 |
| The Third Hymn to Agni | . | 370 |
| The Fourth Hymn to Agni | . | 373 |
| The Fifth Hymn to Agni | . | 376 |
| The Sixth Hymn to Agni | . | 378 |
| The Seventh Hymn to Agni | . | 381 |
| The Eighth Hymn to Agni | . | 384 |
| The Ninth Hymn to Agni | . | 386 |
| The Tenth Hymn to Agni | . | 388 |
| The Eleventh Hymn to Agni | . | 390 |
| The Twelfth Hymn to Agni | . | 392 |
| The Thirteenth Hymn to Agni | . | 394 |

C O N T E N T S

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Fourteenth Hymn to Agni | 395 |
| The Fifteenth Hymn to Agni | 397 |
| The Sixteenth Hymn to Agni | 399 |
| The Seventeenth Hymn to Agni | 401 |
| The Eighteenth Hymn to Agni | 403 |
| The Nineteenth Hymn to Agni | 405 |
| The Twentieth Hymn to Agni | 407 |
| The Twenty-First Hymn to Agni | 408 |
| The Twenty-Second Hymn to Agni | 409 |
| The Twenty-Third Hymn to Agni | 410 |
| The Twenty-Fourth Hymn to Agni | 411 |
| The Twenty-Fifth Hymn to Agni | 412 |
| The Twenty-Sixth Hymn to Agni | 414 |
| The Twenty-Seventh Hymn to Agni | 416 |
| The Twenty-Eighth Hymn to Agni | 419 |

THE GUARDIANS OF THE LIGHT:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Surya, Light and Seer | 421 |
| The Divine Dawn | 429 |
| Pushan the Increaser | 433 |
| Savitri the Creator | 436 |
| The Four Kings | 438 |
| Varuna | 447 |
| Mitra | 456 |
| Aryaman | 461 |
| Bhaga | 463 |

HYMNS TO THE LORDS OF LIGHT : V

| | |
|--|-----|
| The First Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 465 |
| The Second Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 469 |
| The Third Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 472 |
| The Fourth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 475 |
| The Fifth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 477 |
| The Sixth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 479 |
| The Seventh Hymn to Mitra-Varuna | 481 |

C O N T E N T S

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Eighth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna . . . | 483 |
| The Ninth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna . . . | 485 |
| The Tenth Hymn to Mitra-Varuna . . . | 487 |
| The Eleventh Hymn to Mitra-Varuna . . . | 488 |

PART FOUR

OTHER HYMNS

| | |
|--|-----|
| HYMN IN PRAISE OF INDRA : I. 5 | 491 |
| HYMN TO INDRA : I. 7-11 | 502 |
| HYMN TO INDRA : VIII. 54 | 513 |
| HYMN TO INDRA : X. 54 | 515 |
| A VEDIC HYMN : I. 3 | 517 |
| FROM A VEDIC HYMN : I. 15 | 520 |
| HYMN TO BRAHMANASPATI : I. 18 | 522 |
| HYMNS TO THE DAWN : V. 79, 80 | 524 |
| A HYMN TO SAVITRI : V. 81 | 529 |
| HYMN TO VARUNA (two versions) : V. 85 | 531 |
| A VEDIC HYMN : VII. 60 | 536 |
| THE GOD OF THE MYSTIC WINE : IX. 42,75 | 539 |
| A HYMN OF THE THOUGHT-GODS : V. 52-58 | 542 |
| INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDA | 545 |
| THE ORIGINS OF ARYAN SPEECH | 551 |

PART ONE

THE SECRET OF THE VEDA

The Problem and Its Solution

IS there at all or is there still a secret of the Veda?

According to current conceptions the heart of that ancient mystery has been plucked out and revealed to the gaze of all, or rather no real secret ever existed. The hymns of the Veda are the sacrificial compositions of a primitive and still barbarous race written around a system of ceremonial and propitiatory rites, addressed to personified Powers of Nature and replete with a confused mass of half-formed myth and crude astronomical allegories yet in the making. Only in the later hymns do we perceive the first appearance of deeper psychological and moral ideas, — borrowed, some think, from the hostile Dravidians, the “robbers” and “Veda-haters” freely cursed in the hymns themselves, — and, however acquired, the first seed of the later Vedantic speculations. This modern theory is in accord with the received idea of a rapid human evolution from the quite recent savage; it is supported by an imposing apparatus of critical research and upheld by a number of Sciences, unhappily still young and still largely conjectural in their methods and shifting in their results, — Comparative Philology, Comparative Mythology and the Science of Comparative Religion.

It is my object in these chapters to suggest a new view of the ancient problem. I do not propose to use a negative and destructive method directed against the received solutions, but simply to present, positively and constructively, a larger and, in some sort, a complementary hypothesis built upon broader foundations, — a hypothesis which, in addition, may shed light on one or two important problems in the history of ancient thought and cult left very insufficiently solved by the ordinary theories.

We have in the Rig-veda, — the true and only Veda in the

estimation of European scholars, — a body of sacrificial hymns couched in a very ancient language which presents a number of almost insoluble difficulties. It is full of ancient forms and words which do not appear in later speech and have often to be fixed in some doubtful sense by intelligent conjecture; a mass even of the words that it has in common with classical Sanskrit seem to bear or at least to admit another significance than in the later literary tongue; and a multitude of its vocables, especially the most common, those which are most vital to the sense, are capable of a surprising number of unconnected significances which may give, according to our preference in selection, quite different complexions to whole passages, whole hymns and even to the whole thought of the Veda. In the course of several thousands of years there have been at least three considerable attempts, entirely differing from each other in their methods and results, to fix the sense of these ancient litanies. One of these is prehistoric in time and exists only by fragments in the Brahmanas and Upanishads; but we possess in its entirety the traditional interpretation of the Indian scholar Sayana and we have in our own day the interpretation constructed after an immense labour of comparison and conjecture by modern European scholarship. Both of them present one characteristic in common, the extraordinary incoherence and poverty of sense which their results stamp upon the ancient hymns. The separate lines can be given, whether naturally or by force of conjecture, a good sense or a sense that hangs together; the diction that results, if garish in style, if loaded with otiose and decorative epithets, if developing extraordinarily little of meaning in an amazing mass of gaudy figure and verbiage, can be made to run into intelligible sentences; but when we come to read the hymns as a whole we seem to be in the presence of men who, unlike the early writers of other races, were incapable of coherent and natural expression or of connected thought. Except in the briefer and simpler hymns, the language tends to be either obscure or artificial; the thoughts are either unconnected or have to be forced and beaten by the interpreter into a whole. The scholar in dealing with his text is obliged to substitute for interpretation a process almost of fabrication. We feel that he is not so much revealing

the sense as hammering and forging rebellious material into some sort of shape and consistency.

Yet these obscure and barbarous compositions have had the most splendid good fortune in all literary history. They have been the reputed source not only of some of the world's richest and profoundest religions, but of some of its subtlest metaphysical philosophies. In the fixed tradition of thousands of years they have been revered as the origin and standard of all that can be held as authoritative and true in Brahmana and Upanishad, in Tantra and Purana, in the doctrines of great philosophical schools and in the teachings of famous saints and sages. The name borne by them was Veda, the knowledge, — the received name for the highest spiritual truth of which the human mind is capable. But if we accept the current interpretations, whether Sayana's or the modern theory, the whole of this sublime and sacred reputation is a colossal fiction. The hymns are, on the contrary, nothing more than the naive superstitious fancies of untaught and materialistic barbarians concerned only with the most external gains and enjoyments and ignorant of all but the most elementary moral notions or religious aspirations. Nor do occasional passages, quite out of harmony with their general spirit, destroy this total impression. The true foundation or starting-point of the later religions and philosophies is the Upanishads, which have then to be conceived as a revolt of philosophical and speculative minds against the ritualistic materialism of the Vedas.

But this conception, supported by misleading European parallels, really explains nothing. Such profound and ultimate thoughts, such systems of subtle and elaborate psychology as are found in the substance of the Upanishads, do not spring out of a previous void. The human mind in its progress marches from knowledge to knowledge, or it renews and enlarges previous knowledge that has been obscured and overlaid, or it seizes on old imperfect clues and is led by them to new discoveries. The thought of the Upanishads supposes great origins anterior to itself, and these in the ordinary theories are lacking. The hypothesis, invented to fill the gap, that these ideas were borrowed by barbarous Aryan invaders from the civilised Dravidians, is a

conjecture supported only by other conjectures. It is indeed coming to be doubted whether the whole story of an Aryan invasion through the Punjab is not a myth of the philologists.

Now, in ancient Europe the schools of intellectual philosophy were preceded by the secret doctrines of the mystics; Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries prepared the rich soil of mentality out of which sprang Pythagoras and Plato. A similar starting-point is at least probable for the later march of thought in India. Much indeed of the forms and symbols of thought which we find in the Upanishads, much of the substance of the Brahmanas supposes a period in India in which thought took the form or the veil of secret teachings such as those of the Greek mysteries.

Another hiatus left by the received theories is the gulf that divides the material worship of external Nature-Powers in the Veda from the developed religion of the Greeks and from the psychological and spiritual ideas we find attached to the functions of the Gods in the Upanishads and Puranas. We may accept for the present the theory that the earliest fully intelligent form of human religion is necessarily, — since man on earth begins from the external and proceeds to the internal, — a worship of outward Nature-Powers invested with the consciousness and the personality that he finds in his own being.

Agni in the Veda is avowedly Fire; Surya is the Sun, Parjanya the Rain-cloud, Usha the Dawn; and if the material origin or function of some other Gods is less trenchantly clear, it is easy to render the obscure precise by philological inferences or ingenious speculation. But when we come to the worship of the Greeks not much later in date than the Veda, according to modern ideas of chronology, we find a significant change. The material attributes of the Gods are effaced or have become subordinate to psychological conceptions. The impetuous God of Fire has been converted into a lame God of Labour; Apollo, the Sun, presides over poetical and prophetic inspiration; Athene, who may plausibly be identified as in origin a Dawn-Goddess, has lost all memory of her material functions and is the wise, strong and pure Goddess of Knowledge; and there are other deities also, Gods of War, Love, Beauty, whose material

functions have disappeared if they ever existed. It is not enough to say that this change was inevitable with the progress of human civilisation: the process also of the change demands inquiry and elucidation. We see the same revolution effected in the Puranas partly by the substitution of other divine names and figures, but also in part by the same obscure process that we observe in the evolution of Greek mythology. The river Saraswati has become the Muse and Goddess of Learning; Vishnu and Rudra of the Vedas are now the supreme Godhead, members of a divine Triad and expressive separately of the conservative and destructive process in the cosmos. In the Isha Upanishad we find an appeal to Surya as a God of revelatory knowledge by whose action we can arrive at the highest truth. This, too, is his function in the sacred Vedic formula of the Gayatri which was for thousands of years repeated by every Brahmin in his daily meditation; and we may note that this formula is a verse from the Rig-veda, from a hymn of the Rishi Vishwamitra. In the same Upanishad, Agni is invoked for purely moral functions as the purifier from sin, the leader of the soul by the good path to the divine Bliss, and he seems to be identified with the power of the will and responsible for human actions. In other Upanishads the Gods are clearly the symbols of sense-functions in man. Soma, the plant which yielded the mystic wine for the Vedic sacrifice, has become not only the God of the moon, but manifests himself as mind in the human being. These evolutions suppose some period, posterior to the early material worship or superior Pantheistic Animism attributed to the Vedas and prior to the developed Puranic mythology, in which the Gods became invested with deeper psychological functions, a period which may well have been the Age of the Mysteries. As things stand, a gap is left or else has been created by our exclusive preoccupation with the naturalistic element in the religion of the Vedic Rishis.

I suggest that the gulf is of our own creation and does not really exist in the ancient sacred writings. The hypothesis I propose is that the Rig-veda is itself the one considerable document that remains to us from the early period of human thought of which the historic Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries were the

failing remnants, when the spiritual and psychological knowledge of the race was concealed, for reasons now difficult to determine, in a veil of concrete and material figures and symbols which protected the sense from the profane and revealed it to the initiated. One of the leading principles of the mystics was the sacredness and secrecy of self-knowledge and the true knowledge of the Gods. This wisdom was, they thought, unfit, perhaps even dangerous to the ordinary human mind or in any case liable to perversion and misuse and loss of virtue if revealed to vulgar and unpurified spirits. Hence they favoured the existence of an outer worship, effective but imperfect, for the profane, an inner discipline for the initiate, and clothed their language in words and images which had, equally, a spiritual sense for the elect, a concrete sense for the mass of ordinary worshippers. The Vedic hymns were conceived and constructed on this principle. Their formulas and ceremonies are, overtly, the details of an outward ritual devised for the Pantheistic Nature-Worship which was then the common religion, covertly the sacred words, the effective symbols of a spiritual experience and knowledge and a psychological discipline of self-culture which were then the highest achievement of the human race. The ritual system recognised by Sayana may, in its externalities, stand; the naturalistic sense discovered by European scholarship may, in its general conceptions, be accepted; but behind them there is always the true and still hidden secret of the Veda, — the secret words, *nīnyā vacāmsi*, which were spoken for the purified in soul and the awakened in knowledge. To disengage this less obvious but more important sense by fixing the import of Vedic terms, the sense of Vedic symbols and the psychological functions of the Gods is thus a difficult but necessary task, for which these chapters and the translations that accompany them are only a preparation.

The hypothesis, if it proves to be valid, will have three advantages. It will elucidate simply and effectively the parts of the Upanishads that remain yet unintelligible or ill-understood as well as much of the origins of the Puranas. It will explain and justify rationally the whole ancient tradition of India; for it will be found that, in sober truth, the Vedanta, Purana, Tantra, the philosophical schools and the great Indian religions do go back

in their source to Vedic origins. We can see there in their original seed or in their early or even primitive forms the fundamental conceptions of later Indian thought. Thus a natural starting-point will be provided for a sounder study of Comparative Religion in the Indian field. Instead of wandering amid insecure speculations or having to account for impossible conversions and unexplained transitions we shall have a clue to a natural and progressive development satisfying to the reason. In addition, some light may be thrown on the obscurities of early cult and myth in other ancient nations. Finally, the incoherencies of the Vedic texts will at once be explained and disappear. They exist in appearance only, because the real thread of the sense is to be found in an inner meaning. That thread found, the hymns appear as logical and organic wholes and the expression, though alien in type to our modern ways of thinking and speaking, becomes, in its own style, just and precise and sins rather by economy of phrase than by excess, by over-pregnancy rather than by poverty of sense. The Veda ceases to be merely an interesting remnant of barbarism and takes rank among the most important of the world's early Scriptures.

A Retrospect of Vedic Theory

VEDA, then, is the creation of an age anterior to our intellectual philosophies. In that original epoch thought proceeded by other methods than those of our logical reasoning and speech accepted modes of expression which in our modern habits would be inadmissible. The wisest then depended on inner experience and the suggestions of the intuitive mind for all knowledge that ranged beyond mankind's ordinary perceptions and daily activities. Their aim was illumination, not logical conviction, their ideal the inspired seer, not the accurate reasoner. Indian tradition has faithfully preserved this account of the origin of the Vedas. The Rishi was not the individual composer of the hymn, but the seer (*draṣṭā*) of an eternal truth and an impersonal knowledge. The language of Veda itself is *śruti*, a rhythm not composed by the intellect but heard, a divine Word that came vibrating out of the Infinite to the inner audience of the man who had previously made himself fit for the impersonal knowledge. The words themselves, *dr̥ṣṭi* and *śruti*, sight and hearing, are Vedic expressions; these and cognate words signify, in the esoteric terminology of the hymns, revelatory knowledge and the contents of inspiration.

In the Vedic idea of the revelation there is no suggestion of the miraculous or the supernatural. The Rishi who employed these faculties, had acquired them by a progressive self-culture. Knowledge itself was a travelling and a reaching, or a finding and a winning; the revelation came only at the end, the light was the prize of a final victory. There is continually in the Veda this image of the journey, the soul's march on the path of Truth. On that path, as it advances, it also ascends; new vistas of power and light open to its aspiration; it wins by a heroic effort its enlarged spiritual possessions.

From the historical point of view the Rig-veda may be

regarded as a record of a great advance made by humanity by special means at a certain period of its collective progress. In its esoteric, as well as its exoteric significance, it is the Book of Works, of the inner and the outer sacrifice; it is the spirit's hymn of battle and victory as it discovers and climbs to planes of thought and experience inaccessible to the natural or animal man, man's praise of the divine Light, Power and Grace at work in the mortal. It is far, therefore, from being an attempt to set down the results of intellectual or imaginative speculation, nor does it consist of the dogmas of a primitive religion. Only, out of the sameness of experience and out of the impersonality of the knowledge received, there arise a fixed body of conceptions constantly repeated and a fixed symbolic language which, perhaps, in that early human speech, was the inevitable form of these conceptions because alone capable by its combined concreteness and power of mystic suggestion of expressing that which for the ordinary mind of the race was inexpressible. We have, at any rate, the same notions repeated from hymn to hymn with the same constant terms and figures and frequently in the same phrases with an entire indifference to any search for poetical originality or any demand for novelty of thought and freshness of language. No pursuit of aesthetic grace, richness or beauty induces these mystic poets to vary the consecrated form which has become for them a sort of divine algebra transmitting the eternal formulae of the Knowledge to the continuous succession of the initiates.

The hymns possess indeed a finished metrical form, a constant subtlety and skill in their technique, great variations of style and poetical personality; they are not the work of rude, barbarous and primitive craftsmen, but the living breath of a supreme and conscious Art forming its creations in the puissant but well-governed movement of a self-observing inspiration. Still, all these high gifts have deliberately been exercised within one unvarying framework and always with the same materials. For the art of expression was to the Rishis only a means, not an aim; their principal preoccupation was strenuously practical, almost utilitarian, in the highest sense of utility. The hymn was to the Rishi who composed it a means of spiritual progress for himself

and for others. It rose out of his soul, it became a power of his mind, it was the vehicle of his self-expression in some important or even critical moment of his life's inner history. It helped him to express the god in him, to destroy the devourer, the expresser of evil; it became a weapon in the hands of the Aryan striver after perfection, it flashed forth like Indra's lightning against the Coverer on the slopes, the Wolf on the path, the Robber by the streams.

The invariable fixity of Vedic thought when taken in conjunction with its depth, richness and subtlety, gives rise to some interesting speculations. For we may reasonably argue that such a fixed form and substance would not easily be possible in the beginnings of thought and psychological experience or even during their early progress and unfolding. We may therefore surmise that our actual Sanhita represents the close of a period, not its commencement, nor even some of its successive stages. It is even possible that its most ancient hymns are a comparatively modern development or version of a more ancient¹ lyric evangel couched in the freer and more pliable forms of a still earlier human speech. Or the whole voluminous mass of its litanies may be only a selection by Veda Vyasa out of a more richly vocal Aryan past. Made, according to the common belief, by Krishna of the Isle, the great traditional sage, the colossal compiler (Vyasa), with his face turned towards the commencement of the Iron Age, towards the centuries of increasing twilight and final darkness, it is perhaps only the last testament of the Ages of Intuition, the luminous Dawns of the Forefathers, to their descendants, to a human race already turning in spirit towards the lower levels and the more easy and secure gains — secure perhaps only in appearance — of the physical life and of the intellect and the logical reason.

But these are only speculations and inferences. Certain it is that the old tradition of a progressive obscuration and loss of the Veda as the law of the human cycle has been fully justified by the event. The obscuration had already proceeded far before

¹ The Veda itself speaks constantly of "ancient" and "modern" Rishis, (*pūrvabhīḥ... nūtanaiḥ*), the former remote enough to be regarded as a kind of demigods, the first founders of knowledge.

the opening of the next great age of Indian spirituality, the Vedantic, which struggled to preserve or recover what it yet could of the ancient knowledge. It could hardly have been otherwise. For the system of the Vedic mystics was founded upon experiences difficult to ordinary mankind and proceeded by the aid of faculties which in most of us are rudimentary and imperfectly developed and, when active at all, are mixed and irregular in their operation. Once the first intensity of the search after truth had passed, periods of fatigue and relaxation were bound to intervene in which the old truths would be partially lost. Nor once lost, could they easily be recovered by scrutinising the sense of the ancient hymns; for those hymns were couched in a language that was deliberately ambiguous.

A tongue unintelligible to us may be correctly understood once a clue has been found; a diction that is deliberately ambiguous, holds its secret much more obstinately and successfully, for it is full of lures and of indications that mislead. Therefore when the Indian mind turned again to review the sense of Veda, the task was difficult and the success only partial. One source of light still existed, the traditional knowledge handed down among those who memorised and explained the Vedic text or had charge of the Vedic ritual, — two functions that had originally been one; for in the early days the priest was also the teacher and seer. But the clearness of this light was already obscured. Even Purohits of repute performed the rites with a very imperfect knowledge of the power and the sense of the sacred words which they repeated. For the material aspects of Vedic worship had grown like a thick crust over the inner knowledge and were stifling what they had once served to protect. The Veda was already a mass of myth and ritual. The power had begun to disappear out of the symbolic ceremony; the light had departed from the mystic parable and left only a surface of apparent grotesqueness and naïveté.

The Brahmanas and the Upanishads are the record of a powerful revival which took the sacred text and ritual as a starting-point for a new statement of spiritual thought and experience. This movement had two complementary aspects, one, the conservation of the forms, another the revelation of the

soul of Veda, — the first represented by the Brahmanas,¹ the second by the Upanishads.

The Brahmanas labour to fix and preserve the minutiae of the Vedic ceremony, the conditions of their material effectuality, the symbolic sense and purpose of their different parts, movements, implements, the significance of texts important in the ritual, the drift of obscure allusions, the memory of ancient myths and traditions. Many of their legends are evidently posterior to the hymns, invented to explain passages which were no longer understood; others may have been part of the apparatus of original myth and parable employed by the ancient symbolists or memories of the actual historical circumstances surrounding the composition of the hymns. Oral tradition is always a light that obscures; a new symbolism working upon an old that is half lost, is likely to overgrow rather than reveal it; therefore the Brahmanas, though full of interesting hints, help us very little in our research; nor are they a safe guide to the meaning of separate texts when they attempt an exact and verbal interpretation.

The Rishis of the Upanishads followed another method. They sought to recover the lost or waning knowledge by meditation and spiritual experience and they used the text of the ancient mantras as a prop or an authority for their own intuitions and perceptions; or else the Vedic Word was a seed of thought and vision by which they recovered old truths in new forms. What they found, they expressed in other terms more intelligible to the age in which they lived. In a certain sense their handling of the texts was not disinterested; it was not governed by the scholar's scrupulous desire to arrive at the exact intention of the words and the precise thought of the sentences in their actual framing. They were seekers of a higher than verbal truth and used words merely as suggestions for the illumination towards which they were striving. They knew not or they neglected the etymological sense and employed often a method of symbolic interpretation of component sounds in which it is very difficult to follow them. For this reason, while the Upanishads are invaluable for the light they shed on the principal ideas and on the

¹ Necessarily, these and other appreciations in the chapter are brief and summary views of certain main tendencies. The Brahmanas, for instance, have their philosophical passages.

psychological system of the ancient Rishis, they help us as little as the Brahmanas in determining the accurate sense of the texts which they quote. Their real work was to found Vedanta rather than to interpret Veda.

For this great movement resulted in a new and more permanently powerful statement of thought and spirituality, Veda culminating in Vedanta. And it held in itself two strong tendencies which worked towards the disintegration of the old Vedic thought and culture. First, it tended to subordinate more and more completely the outward ritual, the material utility of the mantra and the sacrifice to a more purely spiritual aim and intention. The balance, the synthesis preserved by the old Mystics between the external and the internal, the material and the spiritual life was displaced and disorganised. A new balance, a new synthesis was established, leaning finally towards asceticism and renunciation, and maintained itself until it was in its turn displaced and disorganised by the exaggeration of its own tendencies in Buddhism. The sacrifice, the symbolic ritual became more and more a useless survival and even an encumbrance; yet, as so often happens, by the very fact of becoming mechanical and ineffective the importance of everything that was most external in them came to be exaggerated and their minutiae irrationally enforced by that part of the national mind which still clung to them. A sharp practical division came into being, effective though never entirely recognised in theory, between Veda and Vedanta, a distinction which might be expressed in the formula, "the Veda for the priests, the Vedanta for the sages".

The second tendency of the Vedantic movement was to disencumber itself progressively of the symbolic language, the veil of concrete myth and poetic figure, in which the Mystics had shrouded their thought and to substitute a clearer statement and more philosophical language. The complete evolution of this tendency rendered obsolete the utility not only of the Vedic ritual but of the Vedic text. Upanishads, increasingly clear and direct in their language, became the fountain-head of the highest Indian thought and replaced the inspired verses of Vasishtha and Vishvamitra.¹ The Vedas, becoming less and less the indispensable basis of

¹ Again this expresses the main tendency and is subject to qualification. The Vedas

education, were no longer studied with the same zeal and intelligence; their symbolic language, ceasing to be used, lost the remnant of its inner sense to new generations whose whole manner of thought was different from that of the Vedic forefathers. The Ages of Intuition were passing away into the first dawn of the Age of Reason.

Buddhism completed the revolution and left of the externalities of the ancient world only some venerable pomps and some mechanical usages. It sought to abolish the Vedic sacrifice and to bring into use the popular vernacular in place of the literary tongue. And although the consummation of its work was delayed for several centuries by the revival of Hinduism in the Puranic religions, the Veda itself benefited little by this respite. In order to combat the popularity of the new religion it was necessary to put forward instead of venerable but unintelligible texts Scriptures written in an easy form of a more modern Sanskrit. For the mass of the nation the Puranas pushed aside the Veda and the forms of new religious systems took the place of the ancient ceremonies. As the Veda had passed from the sage to the priest, so now it began to pass from the hands of the priest into the hands of the scholar. And in that keeping it suffered the last mutilation of its sense and the last diminution of its true dignity and sanctity.

Not that the dealings of Indian scholarship with the hymns, beginning from the pre-Christian centuries, have been altogether a record of loss. Rather it is to the scrupulous diligence and conservative tradition of the Pandits that we owe the preservation of Veda at all after its secret had been lost and the hymns themselves had ceased in practice to be a living Scripture. And even for the recovery of the lost secret the two millenniums of scholastic orthodoxy have left us some invaluable aids, a text determined scrupulously to its very accentuation, the important lexicon of Yaska and Sayana's great commentary which in spite of its many and often startling imperfections remains still for the scholar an indispensable first step towards the formation of a sound Vedic learning.

are also quoted as authorities; but as a whole it is the Upanishads that become the Book of Knowledge, the Veda being rather the Book of Works.

THE SCHOLARS

The text of the Veda which we possess has remained uncorrupted for over two thousand years. It dates, so far as we know, from that great period of Indian intellectual activity, contemporaneous with the Greek efflorescence, but earlier in its beginnings, which founded the culture and civilisation recorded in the classical literature of the land. We cannot say to how much earlier a date our text may be carried. But there are certain considerations which justify us in supposing for it an almost enormous antiquity. An accurate text, accurate in every syllable, accurate in every accent, was a matter of supreme importance to the Vedic ritualists; for on scrupulous accuracy depended the effectuality of the sacrifice. We are told, for instance, in the Brahmanas the story of Twashtri who, performing a sacrifice to produce an avenger of his son slain by Indra, produced, owing to an error of accentuation, not a slayer of Indra, but one of whom Indra must be the slayer. The prodigious accuracy of the ancient Indian memory is also notorious. And the sanctity of the text prevented such interpolations, alterations, modernising revisions as have replaced by the present form of the Mahabharata the ancient epic of the Kurus. It is not, therefore, at all improbable that we have the Sanhita of Vyasa substantially as it was arranged by the great sage and compiler.

Substantially, not in its present written form. Vedic prosody differed in many respects from the prosody of classical Sanskrit and, especially, employed a greater freedom in the use of that principle of euphonic combination of separate words (*sandhi*) which is so peculiar a feature of the literary tongue. The Vedic Rishis, as was natural in a living speech, followed the ear rather than fixed rule; sometimes they combined the separate words, sometimes they left them uncombined. But when the Veda came to be written down, the law of euphonic combination had assumed a much more despotic authority over the language and the ancient text was written by the grammarians as far as pos-

sible in consonance with its regulations. They were careful, however, to accompany it with another text, called the Pada-patha, in which all euphonic combinations were again resolved into the original and separate words and even the components of compound words indicated.

It is a notable tribute to the fidelity of the ancient memorisers that, instead of the confusion to which this system might so easily have given rise, it is always perfectly easy to resolve the formal text into the original harmonies of Vedic prosody. And very few are the instances in which the exactness or the sound judgment of the Pada-patha can be called into question. We have, then, as our basis a text which we can confidently accept and which, even if we hold it in a few instances doubtful or defective, does not at any rate call for that often licentious labour of emendation to which some of the European classics lend themselves. This is, to start with, a priceless advantage for which we cannot be too grateful to the conscientiousness of the old Indian learning.

In certain other directions it might not be safe always to follow implicitly the scholastic tradition, — as in the ascription of the Vedic poems to their respective Rishis, wherever older tradition was not firm and sound. But these are details of minor importance. Nor is there, in my view, any good reason to doubt that we have the hymns arrayed, for the most part, in the right order of their verses and in their exact entirety. The exceptions, if they exist, are negligible in number and importance. When the hymns seem to us incoherent, it is because we do not understand them. Once the clue is found, we discover that they are perfect wholes as admirable in the structure of their thought as in their language and their rhythms.

It is when we come to the interpretation of the Veda and seek help from ancient Indian scholarship that we feel compelled to make the largest reserves. For even in the earlier days of classical erudition the ritualistic view of the Veda was already dominant, the original sense of the words, the lines, the allusions, the clue to the structure of the thought had been long lost or obscured; nor was there in the erudite that intuition or that spiritual experience which might have partly recovered the lost secret. In such a field

mere learning, especially when it is accompanied by an ingenious scholastic mind, is as often a snare as a guide.

In Yaska's lexicon, our most important help, we have to distinguish between two elements of very disparate value. When Yaska gives as a lexicographer the various meanings of Vedic words, his authority is great and the help he gives is of the first importance. It does not appear that he possessed all the ancient significances, for many had been obliterated by Time and Change and in the absence of a scientific Philology could not be restored. But much also had been preserved by tradition. Wherever Yaska preserves this tradition and does not use a grammarian's ingenuity, the meanings he assigns to words, although not always applicable to the text to which he refers them, can yet be confirmed as possible senses by a sound Philology. But Yaska the etymologist does not rank with Yaska the lexicographer. Scientific grammar was first developed by Indian learning, but the beginnings of sound Philology we owe to modern research. Nothing can be more fanciful and lawless than the methods of mere ingenuity used by the old etymologists down even to the nineteenth century, whether in Europe or India. And when Yaska follows these methods, we are obliged to part company with him entirely. Nor in his interpretation of particular texts is he more convincing than the later erudition of Sayana.

The commentary of Sayana closes the period of original and living scholastic work on the Veda which Yaska's Nirukta among other important authorities may be said to open. The lexicon was compiled in the earlier vigour of the Indian mind when it was assembling its prehistoric gains as the materials of a fresh outburst of originality; the commentary is almost the last great work of the kind left to us by the classical tradition in its final refuge and centre in Southern India before the old culture was dislocated and broken into regional fragments by the shock of the Mahomedan conquest. Since then we have had jets of strong and original effort, scattered attempts at new birth and novel combination, but work of quite this general, massive and monumental character has hardly been possible.

The commanding merits of this great legacy of the past are obvious. Composed by Sayana with the aid of the most learned

scholars of his time, it is a work representing an enormous labour of erudition, more perhaps than could have been commanded at that time by a single brain. Yet it bears the stamp of the co-ordinating mind. It is consistent in the mass in spite of its many inconsistencies of detail, largely planned, yet most simply, composed in a style lucid, terse and possessed of an almost literary grace one would have thought impossible in the traditional form of the Indian commentary. Nowhere is there any display of pedantry; the struggle with the difficulties of the text is skilfully veiled and there is an air of clear acuteness and of assured, yet unassuming authority which imposes even on the dissident. The first Vedic scholars in Europe admired especially the rationality of Sayana's interpretations.

Yet, even for the external sense of the Veda, it is not possible to follow either Sayana's method or his results without the largest reservation. It is not only that he admits in his method licenses of language and construction which are unnecessary and sometimes incredible, nor that he arrives at his results, often, by a surprising inconsistency in his interpretation of common Vedic terms and even of fixed Vedic formulae. These are defects of detail, unavoidable perhaps in the state of the materials with which he had to deal. But it is the central defect of Sayana's system that he is obsessed always by the ritualistic formula and seeks continually to force the sense of the Veda into that narrow mould. So he loses many clues of the greatest suggestiveness and importance for the external sense of the ancient Scripture, — a problem quite as interesting as its internal sense. The outcome is a representation of the Rishis, their thoughts, their culture, their aspirations, so narrow and poverty-stricken that, if accepted, it renders the ancient reverence for the Veda, its sacred authority, its divine reputation quite incomprehensible to the reason or only explicable as a blind and unquestioning tradition of faith starting from an original error.

There are indeed other aspects and elements in the commentary, but they are subordinate or subservient to the main idea. Sayana and his helpers had to work upon a great mass of often conflicting speculation and tradition which still survived from the past. To some of its elements they had to give a formal

adhesion, to others they felt bound to grant minor concessions. It is possible that to Sayana's skill in evolving out of previous uncertainty or even confusion an interpretation which had firm shape and consistence, is due the great and long-unquestioned authority of his work.

The first element with which Sayana had to deal, the most interesting to us, was the remnant of the old spiritual, philosophic or psychological interpretations of the Shruti which were the true foundation of its sanctity. So far as these had entered into the current or orthodox¹ conception, Sayana admits them; but they form an exceptional element in his work, insignificant in bulk and in importance. Occasionally he gives a passing mention or concession to less current psychological renderings. He mentions, for instance, but not to admit it, an old interpretation of Vritra as the Coverer who holds back from man the objects of his desire and his aspirations. For Sayana Vritra is either simply the enemy or the physical cloud-demon who holds back the waters and has to be pierced by the Rain-giver.

A second element is the mythological, or, as it might almost be called, the Puranic, — myths and stories of the gods given in their outward form without that deeper sense and symbolic fact which is the justifying truth of all Purana.²

A third element is the legendary and historic, the stories of old kings and Rishis, given in the Brahmanas or by later tradition in explanation of the obscure allusions of the Veda. Sayana's dealings with this element are marked by some hesitation. Often he accepts them as the right interpretation of the hymns; sometimes he gives an alternative sense with which he has evidently more intellectual sympathy, but wavers between the two authorities.

More important is the element of naturalistic interpretation. Not only are there the obvious or the traditional identifications, Indra, the Maruts, the triple Agni, Surya, Usha, but we find that Mitra was identified with the Day, Varuna with the Night, Arya-

¹ I use the word loosely. The terms orthodox and heterodox in the European or sectarian sense have no true application to India where opinion has always been free.

² There is reason to suppose that Purana (legend and apologue) and Itihasa (historical tradition) were parts of Vedic culture long before the present forms of the Puranas and historical Epics were evolved.

man and Bhaga with the Sun, the Ribhus with its rays. We have here the seeds of that naturalistic theory of the Veda to which European learning has given so wide an extension. The old Indian scholars did not use the same freedom or the same systematic minuteness in their speculations. Still this element in Sayana's commentary is the true parent of the European Science of Comparative Mythology.

But it is the ritualistic conception that pervades; that is the persistent note in which all others lose themselves. In the formula of the philosophic schools, the hymns, even while standing as a supreme authority for knowledge, are yet principally and fundamentally concerned with the Karmakanda, with works, — and by works was understood, pre-eminently, the ritualistic observation of the Vedic sacrifices. Sayana labours always in the light of this idea. Into this mould he moulds the language of the Veda, turning the mass of its characteristic words into the ritualistic significances, — food, priest, giver, wealth, praise, prayer, rite, sacrifice.

Wealth and food; — for it is the most egoistic and materialistic objects that are proposed as the aim of the sacrifice, possessions, strength, power, children, servants, gold, horses, cows, victory, the slaughter and the plunder of enemies, the destruction of rival and malevolent critic. As one reads and finds hymn after hymn interpreted in this sense, one begins to understand better the apparent inconsistency in the attitude of the Gita which, regarding always the Veda as divine knowledge¹ yet censures severely the champions of an exclusive Vedism², all whose flowery teachings were devoted solely to material wealth, power and enjoyment.

It is the final and authoritative binding of the Veda to this lowest of all its possible senses that has been the most unfortunate result of Sayana's commentary. The dominance of the ritualistic interpretation had already deprived India of the living use of its greatest Scripture and of the true clue to the entire sense of the Upanishads. Sayana's commentary put a seal of finality on the old misunderstanding which could not be broken for many centuries. And its suggestions, when another civilisa-

¹ Gita XV.15. ² Gita II.42.

tion discovered and set itself to study the Veda, became in the European mind the parent of fresh errors.

Nevertheless, if Sayana's work has been a key turned with double lock on the inner sense of the Veda, it is yet indispensable for opening the antechambers of Vedic learning. All the vast labour of European erudition has not been able to replace its utility. At every step we are obliged to differ from it, but at every step we are obliged to use it. It is a necessary springing-board, or a stair that we have to use for entrance, though we must leave it behind if we wish to pass forwards into the penetralia.

Modern Theories

IT WAS the curiosity of a foreign culture that broke after many centuries the seal of final authoritativeness which Sayana had fixed on the ritualistic interpretation of the Veda. The ancient Scripture was delivered over to a scholarship laborious, bold in speculation, ingenious in its flights of fancy, conscientious according to its own lights, but ill-fitted to understand the method of the old mystic poets; for it was void of any sympathy with that ancient temperament, unprovided with any clue in its own intellectual or spiritual environment to the ideas hidden in the Vedic figures and parables. The result has been of a double character, on the one side the beginnings of a more minute, thorough and careful as well as a freer handling of the problems of Vedic interpretation, on the other hand a final exaggeration of its apparent material sense and the complete obscuration of its true and inner secret.

In spite of the hardness of its speculations and its freedom in discovery or invention the Vedic scholarship of Europe has really founded itself throughout on the traditional elements preserved in Sayana's commentary and has not attempted an entirely independent handling of the problem. What it found in Sayana and in the Brahmanas it has developed in the light of modern theories and modern knowledge; by ingenious deductions from the comparative method applied to philology, mythology and history, by large amplifications of the existing data with the aid of ingenious speculation, by unification of the scattered indications available it has built up a complete theory of Vedic mythology, Vedic history, Vedic civilisation which fascinates by its detail and thoroughness and conceals by its apparent sureness of method the fact that this imposing edifice has been founded, for the most part, on the sands of conjecture.

The modern theory of the Veda starts with the conception,

for which Sayana is responsible, of the Vedas as the hymnal of an early, primitive and largely barbaric society crude in its moral and religious conceptions, rude in its social structure and entirely childlike in its outlook upon the world that environed it. The ritualism which Sayana accepted as part of a divine knowledge and as endowed with a mysterious efficacy, European scholarship accepted as an elaboration of the old savage propitiatory sacrifices offered to imaginary superhuman personalities who might be benevolent or malevolent according as they were worshipped or neglected. The historical element admitted by Sayana was readily seized on and enlarged by new renderings and new explanations of the allusions in the hymns developed in an eager hunt for clues to the primitive history, manners and institutions of those barbarous races. The naturalistic element played a still more important role. The obvious identification of the Vedic gods in their external aspects with certain Nature-Powers was used as the starting-point for a comparative study of Aryan mythologies; the hesitating identification of certain of the less prominent deities as Sun-Powers was taken as a general clue to the system of primitive myth-making and elaborate sun-myth and star-myth theories of comparative mythology were founded. In this new light the Vedic hymnology has come to be interpreted as a half-superstitious, half-poetic allegory of Nature with an important astronomical element. The rest is partly contemporary history, partly the formulae and practices of a sacrificial ritualism, not mystic, but merely primitive and superstitious.

This interpretation is in entire harmony with the scientific theories of early human culture and of the recent emergence from the mere savage which were in vogue throughout the nineteenth century and are even now dominant. But the increase of our knowledge has considerably shaken this first and too hasty generalisation. We now know that remarkable civilisations existed in China, Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria many thousands of years ago, and it is now coming generally to be agreed that Greece and India were no exceptions to the general high culture of Asia and the Mediterranean races. If the Vedic Indians do not get the benefit of this revised knowledge, it is due to the survival of the theory with which European erudition started, that they

belonged to the so-called Aryan race and were on the same level of culture with the early Aryan Greeks, Celts, Germans as they are represented to us in the Homeric poems, the old Norse Sagas and the Roman accounts of the ancient Gaul and Teuton. Hence has arisen the theory that these Aryan races were northern barbarians who broke in from their colder climes on the old and rich civilisations of Mediterranean Europe and Dravidian India.

But the indications in the Veda on which this theory of a recent Aryan invasion is built, are very scanty in quantity and uncertain in their significance. There is no actual mention of any such invasion. The distinction between Aryan and un-Aryan on which so much has been built, seems on the mass of the evidence to indicate a cultural rather than a racial difference.¹ The language of the hymns clearly points to a particular worship or spiritual culture as the distinguishing sign of the Aryan, — a worship of Light and of the powers of Light and a self-discipline based on the culture of the “Truth” and the aspiration to Immortality, — Ritam and Amritam. There is no reliable indication of any racial difference. It is always possible that the bulk of the peoples now inhabiting India may have been the descendants of a new race from more northern latitudes, even perhaps, as argued by Mr. Tilak, from the Arctic regions; but there is nothing in the Veda, as there is nothing in the present ethnological features² of the country to prove that this descent took place near to the time of the Vedic hymns or was the slow penetration of a small body of fair-skinned barbarians into a civilised Dravidian peninsula.

Nor is it a certain conclusion from the data we possess that the early Aryan cultures — supposing the Celt, Teuton, Greek and Indian to represent one common cultural origin, — were really undeveloped and barbarous. A certain pure and high

¹ It is urged that the Dasyus are described as black of skin and noseless in opposition to the fair and high-nosed Aryans. But the former distinction is certainly applied to the Aryan Gods and the Dasa Powers in the sense of light and darkness, and the word *anāsaḥ* does not mean noseless. Even if it did, it would be wholly inapplicable to the Dravidian races; for the southern nose can give as good an account of itself as any “Aryan” proboscis in the North.

² In India we are chiefly familiar with the old philological divisions of the Indian races and with the speculations of Mr. Risley which are founded upon these earlier generalisations. But a more advanced ethnology rejects all linguistic tests and leans to the idea of a single homogeneous race inhabiting the Indian peninsula.

simplicity in their outward life and its organisation, a certain concreteness and vivid human familiarity in their conception of and relations with the gods they worshipped, distinguish the Aryan type from the more sumptuous and materialistic Egypto-Chaldean civilisation and its solemn and occult religions. But those characteristics are not inconsistent with a high internal culture. On the contrary, indications of a great spiritual tradition meet us at many points and negate the ordinary theory. The old Celtic races certainly possessed some of the highest philosophical conceptions and they preserve stamped upon them even to the present day the result of an early mystic and intuitional development which must have been of long standing and highly evolved to have produced such enduring results. In Greece it is probable that the Hellenic type was moulded in the same way by Orphic and Eleusinian influences and that Greek mythology, as it has come down to us, full of delicate psychological suggestions, is a legacy of the Orphic teaching. It would be only consonant with the general tradition if it turned out that Indian civilisation has throughout been the prolongation of tendencies and ideas sown in us by the Vedic forefathers. The extraordinary vitality of these early cultures which still determine for us the principal types of modern man, the main elements of his temperament, the chief tendencies of his thought, art and religion, can have proceeded from no primitive savagery. They are the result of a deep and puissant prehistoric development.

Comparative Mythology has deformed the sense of man's traditions by ignoring this important stage in human progress. It has founded its interpretation on a theory which saw nothing between the early savage and Plato or the Upanishads. It has supposed the early religions to have been founded on the wonder of barbarians waking up suddenly to the astonishing fact that such strange things as Dawn and Night and the Sun existed and attempting in a crude, barbaric, imaginative way to explain their existence. And from this childlike wonder we stride at one step to the profound theories of the Greek philosophers and the Vedantic sages. Comparative Mythology is the creation of Hellenists interpreting un-Hellenic data from a standpoint which is itself founded on a misunderstanding of the Greek mind. Its

method has been an ingenious play of the poetic imagination rather than a patient scientific research.

If we look at the results of the method, we find an extraordinary confusion of images and of their interpretations in which there is nowhere any coherence or consistency. It is a mass of details running into each other, getting confusedly into each other's way, disagreeing yet entangled, dependent for their validity on the license of imaginative conjecture as our sole means of knowledge. This incoherence has even been exalted into a standard of truth; for it is seriously argued by eminent scholars that a method arriving at a more logical and well-ordered result would be disproved and discredited by its very coherency, since confusion must be supposed to be the very essence of the early mythopoeic faculty. But in that case there can be nothing binding in the results of Comparative Mythology and one theory will be as good as another; for there is no reason why one particular mass of incoherence should be held to be more valid than another mass of incoherence differently composed.

There is much that is useful in the speculations of Comparative Mythology; but in order that the bulk of its results should be sound and acceptable, it must use a more patient and consistent method and organise itself as part of a well-founded Science of Religion. We must recognise that the old religions were organic systems founded on ideas which were at least as coherent as those which constitute our modern systems of belief. We must recognise also that there has been a perfectly intelligible progressive development from the earlier to the later systems of religious creed and of philosophical thought. It is by studying our data widely and profoundly in this spirit and discovering the true evolution of human thought and belief that we shall arrive at real knowledge. The mere identification of Greek and Sanskrit names and the ingenious discovery that Heracles' pyre is an image of the setting sun or that Paris and Helen are Greek corruptions of the Vedic Sarama and the Panis make an interesting diversion for an imaginative mind, but can by themselves lead to no serious result, even if they should prove to be correct. Nor is their correctness beyond serious doubt, for it is the vice of the fragmentary and imaginative method by which the sun and star

myth interpretations are built up that they can be applied with equal ease and convincingness to any and every human tradition, belief or even actual event of history.¹ With this method we can never be sure where we have hit on a truth or where we are listening to a mere ingenuity.

Comparative Philology can indeed be called to our aid, but, in the present state of that Science, with very little conclusiveness. Modern Philology is an immense advance on anything we have had before the nineteenth century. It has introduced a spirit of order and method in place of mere phantasy; it has given us more correct ideas of the morphology of language and of what is or is not possible in etymology. It has established a few rules which govern the phenomena of the detrition of language and guide us in the identification of the same word or of related words as they appear in the changes of different but kindred tongues. Here, however, its achievements cease. The high hopes which attended its birth, have not been fulfilled by its maturity. It has failed to create a Science of Language and we are still compelled to apply to it the apologetic description given by a great philologist after some decades of earnest labour when he was obliged to speak of his favourite pursuits as “our petty conjectural sciences”. But a conjectural Science is no Science at all. Therefore the followers of more exact and scrupulous forms of knowledge refuse that name altogether to Comparative Philology and deny even the possibility of a linguistic science.

There is, in fact, no real certainty as yet in the obtained results of Philology; for beyond one or two laws of a limited application there is nowhere a sure basis. Yesterday we were all convinced that Varuna was identical with Ouranos, the Greek heaven; today this identity is denounced to us as a philological error; tomorrow it may be rehabilitated. *Parame vyoman* is a Vedic phrase which most of us would translate “in the highest heaven”, but Mr. T. Paramasiva Aiyar in his brilliant and astonishing work, *The Riks*, tells us that it means “in the lowest hollow”; for *vyoman* “means break, fissure, being literally absence of protection, (*ūmā*)”; and the reasoning which he uses is so

¹ E.g. Christ and his twelve apostles are, a great scholar assures us, the sun and the twelve months. The career of Napoleon is the most perfect Sun-myth in all legend or history.

entirely after the fashion of the modern scholar that the philologist is debarred from answering that "absence of protection" cannot possibly mean a fissure and that human language was not constructed on these principles. For Philology has failed to discover the principles on which language was constructed or rather was organically developed, and on the other hand it has preserved a sufficient amount of the old spirit of mere phantasy and ingenuity and is full of precisely such brilliances of hazardous inference. But then we arrive at this result that there is nothing to help us in deciding whether *paramē vyoman* in the Veda refers to the highest heaven or to the lowest abyss. It is obvious that a philology so imperfect may be a brilliant aid, but can never be a sure guide to the sense of Veda.

We have to recognise in fact that European scholarship in its dealings with the Veda has derived an excessive prestige from its association in the popular mind with the march of European Science. The truth is that there is an enormous gulf between the patient, scrupulous and exact physical sciences and these other brilliant, but immature branches of learning upon which Vedic scholarship relies. Those are careful of their foundation, slow to generalise, solid in their conclusions; these are compelled to build upon scanty data large and sweeping theories and supply the deficiency of sure indications by an excess of conjecture and hypothesis. They are full of brilliant beginnings, but can come to no secure conclusion. They are the first rough scaffolding for a Science, but they are not as yet Sciences.

It follows that the whole problem of the interpretation of Veda still remains an open field in which any contribution that can throw light upon the problem should be welcome. Three such contributions have proceeded from Indian scholars. Two of them follow the lines or the methods of European research, while opening up new theories which if established, would considerably alter our view of the external sense of the hymns. Mr. Tilak in his *Arctic Home in the Vedas* has accepted the general conclusions of European scholarship, but by a fresh examination of the Vedic Dawn, the figure of the Vedic cows and the astronomical data of the hymns, has established at least a strong probability that the Aryan races descended originally from the Arctic

regions in the glacial period. Mr. T. Paramasiva Aiyar by a still bolder departure has attempted to prove that the whole of the Rig-veda is a figurative representation of the geological phenomena belonging to the new birth of our planet after its long-continued glacial death in the same period of terrestrial evolution. It is difficult to accept in their mass Mr. Aiyar's reasonings and conclusions, but he has at least thrown a new light on the great Vedic mythus of Ahi Vritra and the release of the seven rivers. His interpretation is far more consistent and probable than the current theory which is not borne out by the language of the hymns. Taken in conjunction with Mr. Tilak's work it may serve as the starting-point for a new external interpretation of the old Scripture which will explain much that is now inexplicable and recreate for us the physical origins if not the actual physical environment of the old Aryan world.

The third Indian contribution is older in date, but nearer to my present purpose. It is the remarkable attempt by Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, to re-establish the Veda as a living religious Scripture. Dayananda took as his basis a free use of the old Indian philology which he found in the Nirukta. Himself a great Sanskrit scholar, he handled his materials with remarkable power and independence. Especially creative was his use of that peculiar feature of the old Sanskrit tongue which is best expressed by a phrase of Sayana's, — the "multi-significance of roots". We shall see that the right following of this clue is of capital importance for understanding the peculiar method of the Vedic Rishis.

Dayananda's interpretation of the hymns is governed by the idea that the Vedas are a plenary revelation of religious, ethical and scientific truth. Its religious teaching is monotheistic and the Vedic gods are different descriptive names of the one Deity; they are at the same time indications of His powers as we see them working in Nature and by a true understanding of the sense of the Vedas we could arrive at all the scientific truths which have been discovered by modern research.

Such a theory is, obviously, difficult to establish. The Rig-veda itself, indeed, asserts¹ that the gods are only different names

¹ Rv. I.164.46.

and expressions of one universal Being who in His own reality transcends the universe; but from the language of the hymns we are compelled to perceive in the gods not only different names, but also different forms, powers and personalities of the one Deva. The monotheism of the Veda includes in itself also the monistic, pantheistic and even polytheistic views of the cosmos and is by no means the trenchant and simple creed of modern Theism. It is only by a violent struggle with the text that we can force on it a less complex aspect.

That the ancient races were far more advanced in the physical sciences than is as yet recognised, may also be admitted. The Egyptians and Chaldeans, we now know, had discovered much that has since been rediscovered by modern Science and much also that has not been rediscovered. The ancient Indians were, at least, no mean astronomers and were always skilful physicians; nor do Hindu medicine and chemistry seem to have been of a foreign origin. It is possible that in other branches also of physical knowledge they were advanced even in early times. But the absolute completeness of scientific revelation asserted by Swami Dayananda will take a great deal of proving.

The hypothesis on which I shall conduct my own enquiry is that the Veda has a double aspect and that the two, though closely related, must be kept apart. The Rishis arranged the substance of their thought in a system of parallelism by which the same deities were at once internal and external Powers of universal Nature, and they managed its expression through a system of double values by which the same language served for their worship in both aspects. But the psychological sense predominates and is more pervading, close-knit and coherent than the physical. The Veda is primarily intended to serve for spiritual enlightenment and self-culture. It is, therefore, this sense which has first to be restored.

To this task each of the ancient and modern systems of interpretation brings an indispensable assistance. Sayana and Yaska supply the ritualistic framework of outward symbols and their large store of traditional significances and explanations. The Upanishads give their clue to the psychological and philosophical ideas of the earlier Rishis and hand down to us their

method of spiritual experience and intuition. European scholarship supplies a critical method of comparative research, yet to be perfected, but capable of immensely increasing the materials available and sure eventually to give a scientific certainty and firm intellectual basis which has hitherto been lacking. Dayananda has given the clue to the linguistic secret of the Rishis and re-emphasised one central idea of the Vedic religion, the idea of the One Being with the Devas expressing in numerous names and forms the many-sidedness of His unity.

With so much help from the intermediate past we may yet succeed in reconstituting this remoter antiquity and enter by the gate of the Veda into the thoughts and realities of a prehistoric wisdom.

The Foundations of the Psychological Theory

A HYPOTHESIS of the sense of Veda must always proceed, to be sure and sound, from a basis that clearly emerges in the language of the Veda itself. Even if the bulk of its substance be an arrangement of symbols and figures, the sense of which has to be discovered, yet there should be clear indications in the explicit language of the hymns which will guide us to that sense. Otherwise, the symbols being themselves ambiguous, we shall be in danger of manufacturing a system out of our own imaginations and preferences instead of discovering the real purport of the figures chosen by the Rishis. In that case, however ingenious and complete our theory, it is likely to be a building in the air, brilliant, but without reality or solidity.

Our first duty, therefore, is to determine whether there is, apart from figure and symbol, in the clear language of the hymns a sufficient kernel of psychological notions to justify us in supposing at all a higher than the barbarous and primitive sense of the Veda. And afterwards we have to find, as far as possible from the internal evidence of the Suktas themselves, the interpretation of each symbol and image and the right psychological function of each of the gods. A firm and not a fluctuating sense, founded on good philological justification and fitting naturally into the context wherever it occurs, must be found for each of the fixed terms of the Veda. For, as has already been said, the language of the hymns is a language fixed and invariable; it is the carefully preserved and scrupulously respected diction consistently expressing either a formal creed and ritual or a traditional doctrine and constant experience. If the language of the Vedic Rishis were free and variable, if their ideas were evidently in a state of flux, shifting and uncertain, a convenient license and incoherence in the sense we attach to their terminology and the re-

lation we find between their ideas, might be justified or tolerated. But the hymns themselves on the very face of them bear exactly the contrary testimony. We have the right therefore to demand the same fidelity and scrupulousness in the interpreter as in the original he interprets. There is obviously a constant relation between the different notions and cherished terms of the Vedic religion; incoherence and uncertainty in the interpretation will prove, not that the face evidence of the Veda is misleading, but simply that the interpreter has failed to discover the right relations.

If, after this initial labour has been scrupulously and carefully done, it can be shown by a translation of the hymns that the interpretations we have fixed fit in naturally and easily in whatever context, if they are found to illuminate what seemed obscure and to create intelligible and clear coherence where there seemed to be only confusion; if the hymns in their entirety give thus a clear and connected sense and the successive verses show a logical succession of related thoughts, and if the result as a whole be a profound, consistent and antique body of doctrines, then our hypothesis will have a right to stand besides others, to challenge them where they contradict it or to complete them where they are consistent with its findings. Nor will the probability of our hypothesis be lessened, but rather its validity confirmed if it be found that the body of ideas and doctrines thus revealed in the Veda are a more antique form of subsequent Indian thought and religious experience, the natural parent of Vedanta and Purana.

So considerable and minute a labour is beyond the scope of these brief and summary chapters. Their object is only to indicate for those who care to follow the clue I have myself received, the path and its principal turnings, — the results I have arrived at and the main indications by which the Veda itself helps us to arrive at them. And, first, it seems to me advisable to explain the genesis of the theory in my own mind so that the reader may the better understand the line I have taken or, if he chooses, check any prepossessions or personal preferences which may have influenced or limited the right application of reasoning to this difficult problem.

Like the majority of educated Indians I had passively ac-

cepted without examination, before myself reading the Veda, the conclusions of European Scholarship both as to the religious and as to the historical and ethnical sense of the ancient hymns. In consequence, following again the ordinary line taken by modernised Hindu opinion, I regarded the Upanishads as the most ancient source of Indian thought and religion, the true Veda, the first Book of Knowledge. The Rig-veda in the modern translations which were all I knew of this profound Scripture, represented for me an important document of our national history, but seemed of small value or importance for the history of thought or for a living spiritual experience.

My first contact with Vedic thought came indirectly while pursuing certain lines of self-development in the way of Indian Yoga, which, without my knowing it, were spontaneously converging towards the ancient and now unfrequented paths followed by our forefathers. At this time there began to arise in my mind an arrangement of symbolic names attached to certain psychological experiences which had begun to regularise themselves; and among them there came the figures of three female energies, Ila, Saraswati, Sarama, representing severally three out of the four faculties of the intuitive reason, — revelation, inspiration and intuition. Two of these names were not well known to me as names of Vedic goddesses, but were connected rather with the current Hindu religion or with old Puranic legend, Saraswati, goddess of learning and Ila, mother of the Lunar dynasty. But Sarama was familiar enough. I was unable, however, to establish any connection between the figure that rose in my mind and the Vedic hound of heaven, who was associated in my memory with the Argive Helen and represented only an image of the physical Dawn entering in its pursuit of the vanished herds of Light into the cave of the Powers of darkness. When once the clue is found, the clue of the physical Light imaging the subjective, it is easy to see that the hound of heaven may be the intuition entering into the dark caverns of the subconscious mind to prepare the delivery and outflashing of the bright illuminations of knowledge which have there been imprisoned. But the clue was wanting and I was obliged to suppose an identity of name without any identity of the symbol.

It was my stay in Southern India which first seriously turned my thoughts to the Veda. Two observations that were forced on my mind gave a serious shock to my second-hand belief in the racial division between Northern Aryans and Southern Dravidians. The distinction had always rested for me on a supposed difference between the physical types of Aryan and Dravidian and a more definite incompatibility between the northern Sanskritic and the southern non-Sanskritic tongues. I knew indeed of the later theories which suppose that a single homogeneous race, Dravidian or Indo-Afghan, inhabits the Indian peninsula; but hitherto I had not attached much importance to these speculations. I could not, however, be long in Southern India without being impressed by the general recurrence of northern or "Aryan" types in the Tamil race. Wherever I turned, I seemed to recognise with a startling distinctness, not only among the Brahmins but in all castes and classes, the old familiar faces, features, figures of my friends of Maharashtra, Gujerat, Hindustan, even, though this similarity was less widely spread, of my own province Bengal. The impression I received was as if an army of all the tribes of the North had descended on the South and submerged any previous populations that may have occupied it. A general impression of a Southern type survived, but it was impossible to fix it rigidly while studying the physiognomy of individuals. And in the end I could not but perceive that whatever admixtures might have taken place, whatever regional differences might have been evolved, there remains, behind all variations, a unity of physical as well as of cultural type¹ throughout India. For the rest, this is a conclusion to which ethnological speculation² itself has an increasing tendency.

But what then of the sharp distinction between Aryan and Dravidian races created by the philologists? It disappears. If at all an Aryan invasion is admitted, we have either to suppose that it flooded India and determined the physical type of the

¹ I prefer not to use the term race, for race is a thing much more obscure and difficult to determine than is usually imagined. In dealing with it the trenchant distinctions current in the popular mind are wholly out of place.

² Always supposing that ethnological speculations have at all any validity. The only firm basis of ethnology is the theory of the hereditary invariability of the human skull which is now being challenged. If it disappears, the whole science disappears with it.

people, with whatever modifications, or that it was the incursion of small bands of a less civilised race who melted away into the original population. We have then to suppose that entering a vast peninsula occupied by a civilised people, builders of great cities, extensive traders, not without mental and spiritual culture, they were yet able to impose on them their own language, religion, ideas and manners. Such a miracle would be just possible if the invaders possessed a very highly organised language, a greater force of creative mind and a more dynamic religious form and spirit.

And there was always the difference of language to support the theory of a meeting of races. But here also my preconceived ideas were disturbed and confounded. For on examining the vocables of the Tamil language, in appearance so foreign to the Sanskritic form and character, I yet found myself continually guided by words or by families of words supposed to be pure Tamil in establishing new relations between Sanskrit and its distant sister, Latin, and occasionally, between the Greek and the Sanskrit. Sometimes the Tamil vocable not only suggested the connection, but proved the missing link in a family of connected words. And it was through this Dravidian language that I came first to perceive what seems to me now the true law, origins and, as it were, the embryology of the Aryan tongues. I was unable to pursue my examination far enough to establish any definite conclusion, but it certainly seems to me that the original connection between the Dravidian and Aryan tongues was far closer and more extensive than is usually supposed and the possibility suggests itself that they may even have been two divergent families derived from one lost primitive tongue. If so, the sole remaining evidence of an Aryan invasion of Dravidian India would be the indications to be found in the Vedic hymns.

It was, therefore, with a double interest that for the first time I took up the Veda in the original, though without any immediate intention of a close or serious study. It did not take long to see that the Vedic indications of a racial division between Aryans and Dasyus and the identification of the latter with the indigenous Indians were of a far flimsier character than I had supposed. But far more interesting to me was the discovery of

a considerable body of profound psychological thought and experience lying neglected in these ancient hymns. And the importance of this element increased in my eyes when I found, first, that the mantras of the Veda illuminated with a clear and exact light psychological experiences of my own for which I had found no sufficient explanation either in European psychology or in the teachings of Yoga or of Vedanta, so far as I was acquainted with them, and, secondly, that they shed light on obscure passages and ideas of the Upanishads to which, previously, I could attach no exact meaning and gave at the same time a new sense to much in the Puranas.

I was helped in arriving at this result by my fortunate ignorance of the commentary of Sayana. For I was left free to attribute their natural psychological significance to many ordinary and current words of the Veda, such as *dhī*, thought or understanding, *manas*, mind, *mati*, thought, feeling or mental state, *manīṣā*, intellect, *ṛtam*, truth; to give their exact shades of sense to *kavi*, seer, *manīṣī*, thinker, *vipra*, *vipaścīt*, enlightened in mind, and a number of similar words; and to hazard a psychological sense, justified by more extensive study, for words like *dakṣa* which for Sayana means strength and *śravas* which he renders as wealth, food or fame. The psychological theory of the Veda rests upon our right to concede their natural significance to these vocables.

Sayana gives to the words *dhī*, *ṛtam*, etc., very variable significances. *Ṛtam*, which is almost the key-word of any psychological or spiritual interpretation, is rendered by him sometimes as "truth", more often "sacrifice", occasionally in the sense of water. The psychological interpretation gives it invariably the sense of Truth. *Dhī* is rendered by Sayana variously "thought", "prayer", "action", "food", etc. The psychological interpretation gives it consistently the sense of thought or understanding. And so with the other fixed terms of Veda. Moreover, Sayana's tendency, is to obliterate all fine shades and distinctions between words and to give them their vaguest general significance. All epithets conveying ideas of mental activity mean for him simply "intelligent", all words suggesting various ideas of force, and the Veda overflows with them, are reduced to the broad idea of

strength. I found myself, on the contrary, impressed by the great importance of fixing and preserving the right shade of meaning and precise association to be given to different words, however close they may be to each other in their general sense. I do not see indeed why we should suppose that the Vedic Rishis, unlike all other masters of poetic style, used words pell-mell and indiscriminately without feeling their just associations and giving them their right and exact force in the verbal combination.

By following this principle I found that without departing from the simple natural and straightforward sense of words and clauses an extraordinarily large body not only of separate verses but of entire passages came at once into evidence which entirely altered the whole character of the Veda. For this Scripture then appeared to have a constant vein of the richest gold of thought and spiritual experience running all through it and appearing sometimes in small streaks, sometimes in larger bands, in the majority of its hymns. Moreover, besides the words that in their plain and ordinary sense give at once a wealth of psychological significance to their context, the Veda is full of others to which it is possible to give either an external and material or an internal and psychological value according to our conception of the general purport of Veda. For instance such words as *rāye*, *rayi*, *rādhas*, *ratna*, may mean either merely material prosperity and riches or internal felicity and plenitude applying itself equally to the subjective and the objective world; *dhana*, *vāja*, *poṣa* may mean either objective wealth, plenty and increase or all possessions internal or external, their plenitude and their growth in the life of the individual. *Rāye*, is used in the Upanishads, in a quotation from the Rig-veda, to mean spiritual felicity; why should it be incapable of bearing that sense in the original text? *Vāja* occurs frequently in a context in which every other word has a psychological significance and the mention of physical plenty comes in with a violent jar of incoherency into the homogeneous totality of the thought. Commonsense, therefore, demands that the use of these words with a psychological import should be admitted in the Veda.

But if this is done consistently, not only whole verses and passages, but whole hymns assume at once the psychological

complexion. On one condition this transformation is frequently complete, leaving no word or phrase unaffected, — the condition that we should admit the symbolic character of the Vedic sacrifice. We find in the Gita the word *yajña*, sacrifice, used in a symbolic sense for all action, whether internal or external, that is consecrated to the gods or to the Supreme. Was such symbolic use of the word born of a later philosophical intellectuality, or was it inherent in the Vedic idea of sacrifice? I found that in the Veda itself there were hymns in which the idea of the *yajña* or of the victim is openly symbolical, others in which the veil is quite transparent. The question then arose whether these were later compositions developing an incipient symbolism out of old superstitious practices or rather the occasional plainer statement of a sense which is in most hymns more or less carefully veiled by the figure. If there were no constant recurrence of psychological passages in the Veda, the former explanation would, no doubt, have to be accepted. But on the contrary whole hymns took naturally a psychological sense proceeding with a perfect and luminous coherency from verse to verse, where the only points of obscurity were the mention of the sacrifice or of the offering or sometimes of the officiating priest, who might be either a man or a god. If these words could be interpreted symbolically, I found always that the progression of thought became more perfect, more luminous, more coherent and the sense of the hymn in its entirety was victoriously completed. I felt therefore justified by every canon of sound criticism in pursuing my hypothesis farther and including in it the symbolic sense of the Vedic ritual.

Nevertheless here intervenes the first real difficulty of the psychological interpretation. Hitherto I had been proceeding by a perfectly straightforward and natural method of interpretation based on the surface meaning of the words and sentences. Now I came to an element in which the surface meaning had, in a sense, to be overridden, and this is a process in which every critical and conscientious mind must find itself beset by continual scruples. Nor can one always be sure, even with the utmost care, of having hit on the right clue and the just interpretation.

The Vedic sacrifice consists of three features, — omitting

for the moment the god and the mantra, — the persons who offer, the offering and the fruits of the offering. If the *yajña* is the action consecrated to the gods, I could not but take the *yajamāna*, the giver of the sacrifice, as the doer of the action. *Yajña* is works, internal or external, the *yajamāna* must be the soul or the personality as the doer. But there were also the officiating priests, *hotā*, *ṛtvij*, *purohita*, *brahmā*, *adhvaryu* etc. What was their part in the symbolism? For if we once suppose a symbolic sense for the sacrifice, we must suppose also a symbolic value for each feature of the ceremony. I found that the gods were continually spoken of as priests of the offering and in many passages it was undisguisedly a non-human power or energy which presided over the sacrifice. I perceived also that throughout Veda the elements of our personality are themselves continually personified. I had only to apply this rule inversely and to suppose that the person of the priest in the external figure represented, in the internal activities figured, a non-human power or energy or an element of our personality. It remained to fix the psychological sense of the different priestly offices. Here I found that the Veda itself presented a clue by its philological indications and insistences, such as the use of the word *purohita* in its separated form with the sense of the representative “put in front” and a frequent reference to the god Agni who symbolises the divine Will or Force in humanity that takes up the action in all consecration of works.

The offerings were more difficult to understand. Even if the Soma-wine by the context in which it occurred, its use and effect and the philological indication of its synonyms, suggested its own interpretation, what could possibly be indicated by the *ghṛtam*, the clarified butter in the sacrifice? And yet the word as used in the Veda was constantly insisting on its own symbolical significance. What for instance could be made of clarified butter dropping from heaven or dripping from the horses of Indra or dripping from the mind? Obviously, this was grotesque nonsense, if the sense of *ghṛta* as clarified butter was anything more than a symbol used with great looseness, so that often the external sense was wholly or partly put aside in the mind of the thinker. It was possible of course to vary conveniently the sense of the

words, to take *ghṛta* sometimes as butter and sometimes as water and *manas* sometimes as the mind, sometimes as food or a cake. But I found that *ghṛta* was constantly used in connection with the thought or the mind, that heaven in Veda was a symbol of the mind, that Indra represented the illuminated mentality and his two horses double energies of that mentality and even that the Veda sometimes speaks plainly of offering the intellect (*dhiṣaṇā*) as purified *ghṛta*, to the gods, *ghṛtaṁ na pūtaṁ dhiṣaṇām* (III.2.1). The word *ghṛta* counts also among its philological significances the sense of a rich or warm brightness. It was by this concurrence of indications that I felt justified in fixing a certain psychological significance for the figure of the clarified butter. And I found the same rule and the same method applicable to other features of the sacrifice.

The fruits of the offering were in appearance purely material — cows, horses, gold, offspring, men, physical strength, victory in battle. Here the difficulty thickened. But I had already found that the Vedic cow was an exceedingly enigmatical animal and came from no earthly herd. The word *go* means both cow and light and in a number of passages evidently meant light even while putting forward the image of the cow. This is clear enough when we have to do with the cows of the sun — the Homeric kine of Helios — and the cows of the Dawn. Psychologically, the physical Light might well be used as a symbol of knowledge and especially of the divine knowledge. But how could this mere possibility be tested and established? I found that passages occurred in which all the surrounding context was psychological and only the image of the cow interfered with its obtrusive material suggestion. Indra is invoked as the maker of perfect forms to drink the wine of Soma; drinking he becomes full of ecstasy and a “giver of cows”; then we can attain to his most intimate or his most ultimate right thinkings, then we question him and his clear discernment brings us our highest good. It is obvious that in such a passage these cows cannot be material herds nor would the giving of physical Light carry any sense in the context. In one instance at least the psychological symbolism of the Vedic cow was established with certainty to my mind. I then applied it to other passages in which the word occurred and always I

saw that it resulted in the best sense and the greatest possible coherency in the context.

The cow and horse, *go* and *aśva*, are constantly associated. Usha, the Dawn, is described as *gomatī aśvavati*; Dawn gives to the sacrificer horses and cows. As applied to the physical dawn *gomatī* means accompanied by or bringing the rays of light and is an image of the dawn of illumination in the human mind. Therefore *aśvavati* also cannot refer merely to the physical steed; it must have a psychological significance as well. A study of the Vedic horse led me to the conclusion that *go* and *aśva* represent the two companion ideas of Light and Energy, Consciousness and Force, which to the Vedic and Vedantic mind were the double or twin aspect of all the activities of existence.

It was apparent, therefore, that the two chief fruits of the Vedic sacrifice, wealth of cows and wealth of horses, were symbolic of richness of mental illumination and abundance of vital energy. It followed that the other fruits continually associated with these two chief results of the Vedic karma must also be capable of a psychological significance. It remained only to fix their exact purport.

Another all-important feature of Vedic symbolism is the system of the worlds and the functions of the gods. I found the clue to the symbolism of the worlds in the Vedic conception of the *vyāhṛtis*, the three symbolic words of the mantra, *om bhūr bhuvah svah*, and in the connection of the fourth Vyahriti, Mahas, with the psychological term *ṛtam*. The Rishis speak of three cosmic divisions, Earth, the *antarikṣa* or middle region and Heaven (*dyau*); but there is also a greater Heaven (*bṛhad dyau*) called also the Wide World, the Vast (*bṛhat*), and typified sometimes as the Great Water, *maho arṇah*. This *bṛhat* is again described as *ṛtam bṛhat* or in a triple term *satyam ṛtam bṛhat*. And as the three worlds correspond to the Vyahritis, so this fourth world of the Vastness and the Truth seems to correspond to the fourth Vyahriti mentioned in the Upanishads, Mahas. In the Puranic formula the four are completed by three others, Jana, Tapas, and Satya, the three supreme worlds of the Hindu cosmology. In the Veda also we have three supreme worlds whose names are not given. But in the Vedantic

and Puranic system the seven worlds correspond to seven psychological principles or forms of existence, Sat, Chit, Ananda, Vijnana, Manas, Prana and Anna. Now Vijnana, the central principle, the principle of Mahas, the great world, is the Truth of things, identical with the Vedic *ṛtam* which is the principle of *br̥hat*, the Vast, and while in the Puranic system Mahas is followed in the ascending order by Jana, the world of Ananda, of the divine Bliss, in the Veda also *ṛtam*, the Truth, leads upward to Mayas, Bliss. We may, therefore, be fairly sure that the two systems are identical and that both depend on the same idea of seven principles of subjective consciousness formulating themselves in seven objective worlds. On this principle I was able to identify the Vedic worlds with the corresponding psychological planes of consciousness and the whole Vedic system became clear to my mind.

With so much established the rest followed naturally and inevitably. I had already seen that the central idea of the Vedic Rishis was the transition of the human soul from a state of death to a state of immortality by the exchange of the Falsehood for the Truth, of divided and limited being for integrality and infinity. Death is the mortal state of Matter with Mind and Life involved in it; Immortality is a state of infinite being, consciousness and bliss. Man rises beyond the two firmaments, *rodasi*, Heaven and Earth, mind and body, to the infinity of the Truth, Mahas, and so to the divine Bliss. This is the "great passage" discovered by the Ancestors, the ancient Rishis.

The gods I found to be described as children of Light, sons of Aditi, of Infinity; and without exception they are described as increasing man, bringing him light, pouring on him the fullness of the waters, the abundance of the heavens, increasing the truth in him, building up the divine worlds, leading him against all attacks to the great goal, the integral felicity, the perfect bliss. Their separate functions emerged by means of their activities, their epithets, the psychological sense of the legends connected with them, the indications of the Upanishads and Puranas, the occasional side-lights from Greek myth. On the other hand the demons who opposed them, are all powers of division and limitation, Coverers, Tearers, Devourers, Confiners,

Dualisers, Obstructers, as their names indicate, powers that work against the free and unified integrality of the being. These Vritras, Panis, Atris, Rakshasas, Sambara, Vala, Namuchi, are not Dravidian kings and gods, as the modern mind with its exaggerated historic sense would like them to be; they represent a more antique idea better suited to the religious and ethical pre-occupations of our forefathers. They represent the struggle between the powers of the higher Good and the lower desire, and this conception of the Rig-veda and the same opposition of good and evil otherwise expressed, with less psychological subtlety, with more ethical directness in the scriptures of the Zoroastrians, our ancient neighbours and kindred, proceeded probably from a common original discipline of the Aryan culture.

Finally, I found that the systematic symbolism of the Veda was extended to the legends related of the gods and of their dealings with the ancient seers. Some of these myths, if not all, may have had, in all probability had, a naturalistic and astronomical origin; but, if so, their original sense had been supplemented by a psychological symbolism. Once the sense of the Vedic symbols is known, the spiritual intention of these legends becomes apparent and inevitable. Every element of the Veda is inextricably bound up with every other and the very nature of these compositions compels us, once we have adopted a principle of interpretation, to carry it to its farthest rational limits. Their materials have been skilfully welded together by firm hands and any inconsistency in our handling of them shatters the whole fabric of their sense and their coherent thinking.

Thus there emerged in my mind, revealing itself as it were out of the ancient verses, a Veda which was throughout the Scripture of a great and antique religion already equipped with a profound psychological discipline, — a Scripture not confused in thought or primitive in its substance, not a medley of heterogeneous or barbarous elements, but one, complete and self-conscious in its purpose and in its purport, veiled indeed by the cover, sometimes thick, sometimes transparent, of another and material sense but never losing sight even for a single moment of its high spiritual aim and tendency.

The Philological Method of the Veda

NO interpretation of the Veda can be sound which does not rest on a sound and secure philological basis; and yet this Scripture with its obscure and antique tongue of which it is the sole remaining document offers unique philological difficulties. To rely entirely on the traditional and often imaginative renderings of the Indian scholars is impossible for any critical mind. Modern philology strives after a more secure and scientific basis, but has not yet found it.

In the psychological interpretation of the Veda there are, especially, two difficulties which can only be met by a satisfactory philological justification. This interpretation necessitates the acceptance of several new senses for a fair number of fixed technical terms of the Veda, — terms, for example like *ūti*, *avas*, *vayas*. These new renderings satisfy one test we may fairly demand; they fit in to every context, clarify the sense and free us from the necessity of attributing quite different significances to the same term in a work of so fixed a form as the Veda. But this test is not sufficient. We must have, besides, a philological basis which will not only account for the new sense, but also explain how a single word came to be capable of so many different meanings, the sense attached to it by the psychological interpretation, those given to it by the old grammarians and those, if any, which are attached to it in later Sanskrit. But this is not easily possible unless we find a more scientific basis for our philological deductions than our present knowledge affords.

Secondly, the theory of the psychological interpretation depends very often on the use of a double meaning for important words, — the key-words of the secret teaching. The figure is one that is traditional in Sanskrit literature and sometimes employed with an excess of artifice in the later classical works; it is the *śleṣa* or rhetorical figure of *double entendre*. But its very

artificiality predisposes us to believe that this poetical device must belong necessarily to a later and more sophisticated culture. How are we to account for its constant presence in a work of the remotest antiquity? Moreover, there is a peculiar extension of it in the Vedic use, a deliberate employment of the "multi-significance" of Sanskrit roots in order to pack as much meaning as possible into a single word, which at first sight enhances the difficulty of the problem to an extraordinary degree. For instance, the word, *aśva*, usually signifying a horse, is used as a figure of the Prana, the nervous energy, the vital breath, the half-mental, half-material dynamism which links mind and matter. Its root is capable, among other senses, of the ideas of impulsion, force, possession, enjoyment, and we find all these meanings united in this figure of the Steed of Life to indicate the essential tendencies of the Pranic energy. Such a use of language would not be possible if the tongue of the Aryan forefathers obeyed the same conventions as our modern speech or were in the same stage of development. But if we can suppose that there was some peculiarity in the old Aryan tongue as it was used by the Vedic Rishis by which words were felt to be more alive, less merely conventional symbols of ideas, more free in their transitions of meaning than in our later use of speech, then we shall find that these devices were not at all artificial or far-fetched to their employers, but were rather the first natural means which would suggest themselves to men anxious at once to find new, brief and adequate formulae of speech for psychological conceptions not understood by the vulgar and to conceal the ideas contained in their formulae from a profane intelligence. I believe that this is the true explanation; it can be established, I think, by a study of the development of Aryan speech that language did pass through a stage peculiarly favourable to this cryptic and psychological use of words which in their popular handling have a plain, precise and physical significance.

I have already indicated that my first study of Tamil words had brought me to what seemed a clue to the very origins and structure of the ancient Sanskrit tongue; and so far did this clue lead that I lost sight entirely of my original subject of interest, the connections between Aryan and Dravidian speech, and

plunged into the far more interesting research of the origins and laws of development of human language itself. It seems to me that this great inquiry and not the ordinary preoccupation of linguistic scholars should be the first and central aim of any true science of Philology.

Owing to the failure of the first hopes which attended the birth of modern Philology, its meagre results, its crystallisation into the character of a "petty conjectural science", the idea of a Science of Language is now discredited and its very possibility, on quite insufficient reasoning, entirely denied. It seems to me impossible to acquiesce in such a final negation. If there is one thing that Modern Science has triumphantly established, it is the reign of law and process of evolution in the history of all earthly things. Whatever may be the deeper nature of Speech, in its outward manifestation as human language it is an organism, a growth, a terrestrial evolution. It contains indeed a constant psychological element and is therefore more free, flexible, consciously self-adaptive than purely physical organisms; its secret is more difficult to seize, its constituents yield themselves only to more subtle and less trenchant methods of analysis. But law and process exist in mental no less than in material phenomena in spite of their more volatile and variable appearances. Law and process must have governed the origins and developments of language. Given the necessary clue and sufficient data, they must be discoverable. It seems to me that in the Sanskrit language the clue can be found, the data lie ready for investigation.

The error of Philology which prevented it from arriving at a more satisfactory result in this direction, was its preoccupation in the physical parts of speech with the exterior morphology of language and in its psychological parts with the equally external connections of formed vocables and of grammatical inflexions in kindred languages. But the true method of Science is to go back to the origins, the embryology, the elements and more obscure processes of things. From the obvious only the obvious and superficial results. The profundities of things, their real truth, can best be discovered by penetration into the hidden things that the surface of phenomena conceals, into that past development of which the finished forms present only secret and dispersed indi-

cations or into the possibilities from which the actualities we see are only a narrow selection. A similar method applied to the earlier forms of human speech can alone give us a real Science of Language.

It is not in a short chapter of a treatise itself brief and devoted to another subject that it is at all possible to present the results of the work that I have attempted on these lines.¹ I can only briefly indicate the one or two features which bear directly on the subject of Vedic interpretation. And I mention them here solely to avoid any supposition in the minds of my readers that in departing from the received senses of certain Vedic words I have simply taken advantage of that freedom of ingenious conjecture which is at once one of the great attractions and one of the most serious weaknesses of modern Philology.

My researches first convinced me that words, like plants, like animals, are in no sense artificial products, but growths, — living growths of sound with certain seed-sounds as their basis. Out of these seed-sounds develop a small number of primitive root-words with an immense progeny which have their successive generations and arrange themselves in tribes, clans, families, selective groups each having a common stock and a common psychological history. For the factor which presided over the development of language was the association, by the nervous mind of primitive man, of certain general significances or rather of certain general utilities and sense-values with articulate sounds. The process of this association was also in no sense artificial but natural, governed by simple and definite psychological laws.

In their beginnings language-sounds were not used to express what we should call ideas; they were rather the vocal equivalents of certain general sensations and emotion-values. It was the nerves and not the intellect which created speech. To use Vedic symbols, Agni and Vayu, not Indra, were the original artificers of human language. Mind has emerged out of vital and sensational activities; intellect in man has built itself upon a basis of sense-associations and sense-reactions. By a similar process the intellectual use of language has developed by a natural law

¹ I propose to deal with them in a separate work on "The Origins of Aryan Speech".
[*Vide* Appendix.]

out of the sensational and emotional. Words, which were originally vital ejections full of a vague sense-potentiality, have evolved into fixed symbols of precise intellectual significances.

In consequence, the word originally was not fixed to any precise idea. It had a general character or quality (*guṇa*), which was capable of a great number of applications and therefore of a great number of possible significances. And this *guṇa* and its results it shared with many kindred sounds. At first, therefore, word-clans, word-families started life on the communal system with a common stock of possible and realised significances and a common right to all of them; their individuality lay rather in shades of expression of the same ideas than in any exclusive right to the expression of a single idea. The early history of language was a development from this communal life of words to a system of individual property in one or more intellectual significances. The principle of partition was at first fluid, then increased in rigidity, until word-families and finally single words were able to start life on their own account. The last stage of the entirely natural growth of language comes when the life of the word is entirely subjected to the life of the idea which it represents. For in the first state of language the word is as living or even a more living force than its idea; sound determines sense. In its last state the positions have been reversed; the idea becomes all-important, the sound secondary.

Another feature of the early history of language is that it expresses at first a remarkably small stock of ideas and these are the most general notions possible and generally the most concrete, such as light, motion, touch, substance, extension, force, speed, etc. Afterwards there is a gradual increase in variety of idea and precision of idea. The progression is from the general to the particular, from the vague to the precise, from the physical to the mental, from the concrete to the abstract, from the expression of an abundant variety of sensations about similar things to the expression of precise difference between similar things, feelings and actions. This progression is worked out by processes of association in ideas which are always the same, always recurrent and, although no doubt due to the environments and actual experiences of the men who spoke the language, wear the appear-

ance of fixed natural laws of development. And after all what is a law but a process which has been worked out by the nature of things in response to the necessities of their environment and has become the fixed habit of their action?

From this past history of language certain consequences derive which are of considerable importance in Vedic interpretation. In the first place by a knowledge of the laws under which the relations of sound and sense formed themselves in the Sanskrit tongue and by a careful and minute study of its word-families it is possible to a great extent to restore the past history of individual words. It is possible to account for the meanings actually possessed by them, to show how they were worked out through the various stages of language-development, to establish the mutual relations of different significances and to explain how they came to be attached to the same word in spite of the wide difference and sometimes even the direct contrariety of their sense-values. It is possible also to restore lost senses of words on a sure and scientific basis and to justify them by an appeal to the observed laws of association which governed the development of the old Aryan tongues, to the secret evidence of the word itself and to the corroborative evidence of its immediate kindred. Thus instead of having a purely floating and conjectural basis for our dealings with the vocables of the Vedic language, we can work with confidence upon a solid and reliable foundation.

Naturally, it does not follow that because a Vedic word may or must have had at one time a particular significance, that significance can be safely applied to the actual text of the Veda. But we do establish a sound sense and a clear possibility of its being the right sense for the Veda. The rest is a matter of comparative study of the passages in which the word occurs and of constant fitness in the context. I have continually found that a sense thus restored illumines always the context wherever it is applied and on the other hand that a sense demanded always by the context is precisely that to which we are led by the history of the word. This is a sufficient basis for a moral, if not for an absolute certainty.

Secondly, one remarkable feature of language in its inception is the enormous number of different meanings of which a

single word was capable and also the enormous number of words which could be used to represent a single idea. Afterwards this tropical luxuriance came to be cut down. The intellect intervened with its growing need of precision, its growing sense of economy. The bearing capacity of words progressively diminished; and it became less and less tolerable to be burdened with a superfluous number of words for the same idea, a redundant variety of ideas for the same word. A considerable, though not too rigid economy in these respects, modified by a demand for a temperate richness of variation, became the final law of language. But the Sanskrit tongue never quite reached the final stages of this development; it dissolved too early into the Prakrit dialects. Even in its latest and most literary form it is lavish of varieties of meanings for the same word; it overflows with a redundant wealth of synonyms. Hence its extraordinary capacity for rhetorical devices which in any other language would be difficult, forced and hopelessly artificial, and especially for the figure of double sense, of *śleṣa*.

The Vedic Sanskrit represents a still earlier stratum in the development of language. Even in its outward features it is less fixed than any classical tongue; it abounds in a variety of forms and inflexions; it is fluid and vague, yet richly subtle in its use of cases and tenses. And on its psychological side it has not yet crystallised, is not entirely hardened into the rigid forms of intellectual precision. The word for the Vedic Rishi is still a living thing, a thing of power, creative, formative. It is not yet a conventional symbol for an idea, but itself the parent and former of ideas. It carries within it the memory of its roots, is still conscious of its own history.

The Rishis' use of language was governed by this ancient psychology of the Word. When in English we use the word "wolf" or "cow", we mean by it simply the animal designated; we are not conscious of any reason why we should use that particular sound for the idea except the immemorial custom of the language; and we cannot use it for any other sense or purpose except by an artificial device of style. But for the Vedic Rishi *vṛka* meant the tearer and therefore, among other applications of the sense, a wolf; *dhenu* meant the fosterer, nourisher, and

therefore a cow. But the original and general sense predominates, the derived and particular is secondary. Therefore, it was possible for the fashioner of the hymn to use these common words with a great pliability, sometimes putting forward the image of the wolf or the cow, sometimes using it to colour the more general sense, sometimes keeping it merely as a conventional figure for the psychological conception on which his mind was dwelling, sometimes losing sight of the image altogether. It is in the light of this psychology of the old language that we have to understand the peculiar figures of Vedic symbolism as handled by the Rishis, even to the most apparently common and concrete. It is so that words like *ghṛtam*, the clarified butter, *soma*, the sacred wine, and a host of others are used.

Moreover, the partitions made by the thought between different senses of the same word were much less separative than in modern speech. In English "fleet" meaning a number of ships and "fleet" meaning swift are two different words; when we use "fleet" in the first sense we do not think of the swiftness of the ship's motion, nor when we use it in the second, do we recall the image of ships gliding rapidly over the ocean. But this was precisely what was apt to occur in the Vedic use of language. *Bhaga*, enjoyment, and *bhāga*, share, were for the Vedic mind not different words, but one word which had developed two different uses. Therefore it was easy for the Rishis to employ it in one of the two senses with the other at the back of the mind colouring its overt connotation or even to use it equally in both senses at a time by a sort of figure of cumulative significance. *Canas* meant food but also it meant "enjoyment, pleasure"; therefore it could be used by the Rishi to suggest to the profane mind only the food given at the sacrifice to the gods, but for the initiated it meant the Ananda, the joy of the divine bliss entering into the physical consciousness and at the same time suggested the image of the Soma-wine, at once the food of the gods and the Vedic symbol of the Ananda.

We see everywhere this use of language dominating the Word of the Vedic hymns. It was the great device by which the ancient Mystics overcame the difficulty of their task. Agni for the ordinary worshipper may have meant simply the god of the

Vedic fire, or it may have meant the principle of Heat and Light in physical Nature, or to the most ignorant it may have meant simply a superhuman personage, one of the many "givers of wealth", satisfiers of human desire. How suggest to those capable of a deeper conception the psychological functions of the God? The word itself fulfilled that service. For Agni meant the Strong, it meant the Bright, or even Force, Brilliance. So it could easily recall to the initiated, wherever it occurred, the idea of the illumined Energy which builds up the worlds and which exalts man to the Highest, the doer of the great work, the Purohit of the human sacrifice.

Or how keep it in the mind of the hearer that all these gods are personalities of the one universal Deva? The names of the gods in their very meaning recall that they are only epithets, significant names, descriptions, not personal appellations. Mitra is the Deva as the Lord of love and harmony, Bhaga as the Lord of enjoyment, Surya as the Lord of illumination, Varuna as the all-pervading Vastness and purity of the Divine supporting and perfecting the world. "The Existent is One," says the Rishi Dirghatamas, "but the sages express It variously; they say Indra, Varuna, Mitra, Agni; they call It Agni, Yama, Matariswan."¹ The initiate in the earlier days of the Vedic knowledge had no need of this express statement. The names of the gods carried to him their own significance and recalled the great fundamental truth which remained with him always.

But in the later ages the very device used by the Rishis turned against the preservation of the knowledge. For language changed its character, rejected its earlier pliability, shed off old familiar senses; the word contracted and shrank into its outer and concrete significance. The ambrosial wine of the Ananda was forgotten in the physical offering; the image of the clarified butter recalled only the gross libation to mythological deities, lords of the fire and the cloud and the storm-blast, godheads void of any but a material energy and an external lustre. The letter lived on when the spirit was forgotten; the symbol, the body of the doctrine, remained, but the soul of knowledge had fled from its coverings.

¹ Rv. I.164.46.

Agni and the Truth

THE Rig-veda is one in all its parts. Whichever of its ten Mandalas we choose, we find the same substance, the same ideas, the same images, the same phrases. The Rishis are the seers of a single truth and use in its expression a common language. They differ in temperament and personality; some are inclined to a more rich, subtle and profound use of Vedic symbolism; others give voice to their spiritual experience in a barer and simpler diction, with less fertility of thought, richness of poetical image or depth and fullness of suggestion. Often the songs of one seer vary in their manner, range from the utmost simplicity to the most curious richness. Or there are risings and fallings in the same hymn; it proceeds from the most ordinary conventions of the general symbol of sacrifice to a movement of packed and complex thought. Some of the Suktas are plain and almost modern in their language; others baffle us at first by their semblance of antique obscurity. But these differences of manner take nothing from the unity of spiritual experience, nor are they complicated by any variation of the fixed terms and the common formulae. In the deep and mystic style of Dirghatamas Auchathya as in the melodious lucidity of Medhatithi Kanwa, in the puissant and energetic hymns of Vishwamitra as in Vasishtha's even harmonies we have the same firm foundation of knowledge and the same scrupulous adherence to the sacred conventions of the Initiates.

From this peculiarity of the Vedic compositions it results that the method of interpretation which I have described can be equally well illustrated from a number of scattered Suktas selected from the ten Mandalas or from any small block of hymns by a single Rishi. If my purpose were to establish beyond all possibility of objection the interpretation which I am now offering, a much more detailed and considerable work would be neces-

sary. A critical scrutiny covering the whole of the ten Mandalas would be indispensable. To justify, for instance, the idea I attach to the Vedic term *ṛtam*, the Truth, or my explanation of the symbol of the Cow of Light, I should have to cite all passages of any importance in which the idea of the Truth or the image of the Cow are introduced and establish my thesis by an examination of their sense and context. Or if I wish to prove that Indra in the Veda is really in his psychological functions the master of luminous mind typified by *dyauh*, or Heaven, with its three shining realms, *rocanā*, I should have to examine similarly the hymns addressed to Indra and the passages in which there is a clear mention of the Vedic system of worlds. Nor could this be sufficient, so intertwined and interdependent are the notions of the Veda, without some scrutiny of the other Gods and of other important psychological terms connected with the idea of the Truth and of the mental illumination through which man arrives at it. I recognise the necessity of such a work of justification and hope to follow it out in other studies on the Vedic Truth, on the Gods of the Veda and on Vedic symbols. But a labour of this scope would be beyond the range of the present work, which is confined merely to an illustration of my method and to a brief statement of the results of my theory.

In order to illustrate the method I propose to take the first eleven Suktas of the first Mandala and to show how some of the central ideas of a psychological interpretation arise out of certain important passages or single hymns and how the surrounding context of the passages and the general thought of the hymns assume an entirely new appearance in the light of this profounder thinking.

The Sanhita of the Rig-veda, as we possess it, is arranged in ten books or Mandalas. A double principle is observed in the arrangement. Six of the Mandalas are given each to the hymns of a single Rishi or family of Rishis. Thus the second is devoted chiefly to the Suktas of the Rishi Gritsamada, the third and the seventh similarly to the great names of Vishwamitra and Vasishtha respectively, the fourth to Vamadeva, the sixth to Bharadwaja. The fifth is occupied by the hymns of the house of Atri. In each of these Mandalas the Suktas addressed to Agni are first

collected together and followed by those of which Indra is the deity; the invocations of other Gods, Brihaspati, Surya, the Ribhus, Usha, etc. close the Mandala. A whole book, the ninth, is given to a single God, Soma. The first, eighth and tenth Mandalas are collections of Suktas by various Rishis, but the hymns of each seer are ordinarily placed together in the order of their deities, Agni leading, Indra following, the other Gods succeeding. Thus the first Mandala opens with ten hymns of the seer Madhuchchhandas, son of Vishwamitra, and an eleventh ascribed to Jetri, son of Madhuchchhandas. This last Sukta, however, is identical in style, manner and spirit with the ten that precede it and they can all be taken together as a single block of hymns one in intention and diction.

A certain principle of thought-development also has not been absent from the arrangement of these Vedic hymns. The opening Mandala seems to have been so designed that the general thought of the Veda in its various elements should gradually unroll itself under the cover of the established symbols by the voices of a certain number of Rishis who almost all rank high as thinkers and sacred singers and are, some of them, among the most famous names of Vedic tradition. Nor can it be by accident that the tenth or closing Mandala gives us, with an even greater miscellaneity of authors, the last developments of the thought of the Veda and some of the most modern in language of its Suktas. It is here that we find the Sacrifice of the Purusha and the great Hymn of the Creation. It is here also that modern scholars think they discover the first origins of the Vedantic philosophy, the Brahmavada.

In any case, the hymns of the son and grandson of Vishwamitra with which the Rig-veda opens strike admirably the first essential notes of the Vedic harmony. The first hymn, addressed to Agni, suggests the central conception of the Truth which is confirmed in the second and third Suktas invoking Indra in company with other gods. In the remaining eight hymns with Indra as the sole deity, except for one which he shares with the Maruts, we find the symbols of the Soma and the Cow, the obstructor Vritra and the great role played by Indra in leading man to the Light and overthrowing the barriers to his progress. These

hymns are therefore of crucial importance to the psychological interpretation of the Veda.

There are four verses in the Hymn to Agni, the fifth to the eighth in which the psychological sense comes out with a great force and clearness, escaping from the veil of the symbol.

*Agnir hotā kavikratuḥ, satyaścitraśravastamaḥ,
devo devebhir āgamat.*

*Yad aṅga dāsūṣe tvam, agne bhadraṁ kariṣyasi,
tavet tat satyam aṅgiraḥ.*

*Upa tvāgne divedive, doṣāvastar dhiyā vayam,
namo bharanta emasi.*

*Rājantam adhvarāṅām, gopām ṛtasya didivim,
vardhamānaṁ sve dame.*

In this passage we have a series of terms plainly bearing or obviously capable of a psychological sense and giving their colour to the whole context. Sayana, however, insists on a purely ritual interpretation and it is interesting to see how he arrives at it. In the first phrase we have the word *kavi* meaning a seer and, even if we take *kratu* to mean work of the sacrifice, we shall have as a result, "Agni, the priest whose work or rite is that of the seer", a turn which at once gives a symbolic character to the sacrifice and is in itself sufficient to serve as the seed of a deeper understanding of the Veda. Sayana feels that he has to turn the difficulty at any cost and therefore he gets rid of the sense of seer for *kavi* and gives it another and unusual significance. He then explains that Agni is *satya*, true, because he brings about the true fruit of the sacrifice. Śravas Sayana renders "fame", Agni has an exceedingly various renown. It would have been surely better to take the word in the sense of wealth so as to avoid the incoherency of this last rendering. We shall then have this result for the fifth verse, "Agni the priest, active in the ritual, who is true (in its fruit) — for his is the most varied wealth, — let him come, a god with the gods."

To the sixth Rik the commentator gives a very awkward and abrupt construction and trivial turn of thought which breaks entirely the flow of the verse. "That good (in the shape

of varied wealth) which thou shalt effect for the giver, thine is that. This is true, O Angiras”, that is to say, there can be no doubt about this fact, for if Agni does good to the giver by providing him with wealth, he in turn will perform fresh sacrifices to Agni, and thus the good of the sacrificer becomes the good of the god. Here again it would be better to render, “The good that thou wilt do for the giver, that is that truth of thee, O Angiras”, for we thus get at once a simpler sense and construction and an explanation of the epithet, *satya*, true, as applied to the god of the sacrificial fire. This is the truth of Agni that to the giver of the sacrifice he surely gives good in return.

The seventh verse offers no difficulty to the ritualistic interpretation except the curious phrase, “we come *bearing* the prostration”. Sayana explains that bearing here means simply doing and he renders, “To thee day by day we, by night and by day, come with the thought performing the prostration.” In the eighth verse he takes *ṛtasya* in the sense of truth and explains it as the true fruit of the ritual. “To thee shining, the protector of the sacrifices, manifesting always their truth (that is, their inevitable fruit), increasing in thy own house.” Again, it would be simpler and better to take *ṛtam* in the sense of sacrifice and to render, “To thee shining out in the sacrifices, protector of the rite, ever luminous, increasing in thy own house.” The “own house” of Agni, says the commentator, is the place of sacrifice and this is indeed called frequently enough in Sanskrit, “the house of Agni”.

We see, therefore, that with a little managing we can work out a purely ritual sense quite empty of thought even for a passage which at first sight offers a considerable wealth of psychological significance. Nevertheless, however ingeniously it is effected, flaws and cracks remain which betray the artificiality of the work. We have had to throw overboard the plain sense of *kavi* which adheres to it throughout the Veda and foist in an unreal rendering. We have either to divorce the two words *satya* and *ṛta* which are closely associated in the Veda or to give a forced sense to *ṛta*. And throughout we have avoided the natural suggestions pressed on us by the language of the Rishi.

Let us now follow instead the opposite principle and give

their full psychological value to the words of the inspired text. *Kratu* means in Sanskrit work or action and especially work in the sense of the sacrifice; but it means also power or strength (the Greek *kratos*) effective of action. Psychologically this power effective of action is the will. The word may also mean mind or intellect and Sayana admits thought or knowledge as a possible sense for *kratu*. *Śravas* means literally hearing and from this primary significance is derived its secondary sense, "fame". But, psychologically, the idea of hearing leads up in Sanskrit to another sense which we find in *śravaṇa*, *śruti*, *śruta*, — revealed knowledge, the knowledge which comes by inspiration. *Dṛṣṭi* and *śruti*, sight and hearing, revelation and inspiration are the two chief powers of that supra-mental faculty which belongs to the old Vedic idea of the Truth, the *ṛtam*. The word *śravas* is not recognised by the lexicographers in this sense, but it is accepted in the sense of a hymn, — the inspired word of the Veda. This indicates clearly that at one time it conveyed the idea of inspiration or of something inspired, whether word or knowledge. This significance, then, we are entitled to give it, provisionally at least, in the present passage; for the other sense of fame is entirely incoherent and meaningless in the context. Again the word *namas* is also capable of a psychological sense; for it means literally "bending down" and is applied to the act of adoring submission to the deity rendered physically by the prostration of the body. When therefore the Rishi speaks of "bearing obeisance to Agni by the thought" we can hardly doubt that he gives to *namas* the psychological sense of the inward prostration, the act of submission or surrender to the deity.

We get then this rendering of the four verses: —

"May Agni, priest of the offering whose will towards action is that of the seer, who is true, most rich in varied inspiration, come, a god with the gods.

"The good that thou wilt create for the giver, that is that truth of thee, O Angiras.

"To thee day by day, O Agni, in the night and in the light, we by the thought come bearing our submission, —

"To thee who shinest out from the sacrifices (or, who

governest the sacrifices), guardian of the Truth and its illumination, increasing in thy own home.”

The defect of the translation is that we have had to employ one and the same word for *satyam* and *ṛtam* whereas, as we see in the formula *satyam ṛtam brhat*, there was a distinction in the Vedic mind between the precise significances of the two words.

Who, then, is this god Agni to whom language of so mystic a fervour is addressed, to whom functions so vast and profound are ascribed? Who is this guardian of the Truth, who is in his act its illumination, whose will in the act is the will of a seer possessed of a divine wisdom governing his richly varied inspiration? What is the Truth that he guards? And what is this good that he creates for the giver who comes always to him in thought day and night bearing as his sacrifice submission and self-surrender? Is it gold and horses and cattle that he brings or is it some diviner riches?

It is not the sacrificial Fire that is capable of these functions, nor can it be any material flame or principle of physical heat and light. Yet throughout the symbol of the sacrificial Fire is maintained. It is evident that we are in the presence of a mystic symbolism to which the fire, the sacrifice, the priest are only outward figures of a deeper teaching and yet figures which it was thought necessary to maintain and to hold constantly in front.

In the early Vedantic teaching of the Upanishads we come across a conception of the Truth which is often expressed by formulas taken from the hymns of the Veda, such as the expression already quoted, *satyam ṛtam brhat*, — the truth, the right, the vast. This Truth is spoken of in the Veda as a path leading to felicity, leading to immortality. In the Upanishads also it is by the path of the Truth that the sage or seer, Rishi or Kavi, passes beyond. He passes out of the falsehood, out of the mortal state into an immortal existence. We have the right therefore to assume that the same conception is in question in both Veda and Vedanta.

This psychological conception is that of a truth which is truth of divine essence, not truth of mortal sensation and appearance. It is *satyam*, truth of being; it is in its action *ṛtam*, right,

— truth of divine being regulating right activity both of mind and body; it is *br̥hat*, the universal truth proceeding direct and undeformed out of the Infinite. The consciousness that corresponds to it is also infinite, *br̥hat*, large as opposed to the consciousness of the sense-mind which is founded upon limitation. The one is described as *bhūmā*, the large, the other as *alpa*, the little. Another name for this supramental or Truth-Consciousness is Mahas which also means the great, the vast. And as for the facts of sensation and appearance which are full of falsehoods (*anṛtam*, not-truth or wrong application of the *satyam* in mental and bodily activity), we have for instruments the senses, the sense-mind (*manas*) and the intellect working upon their evidence, so for the Truth-Consciousness there are corresponding faculties, — *dr̥ṣṭi*, *śruti*, *viveka*, the direct vision of the truth, the direct hearing of its word, the direct discrimination of the right. Whoever is in possession of this Truth-Consciousness or open to the action of these faculties, is the Rishi or Kavi, sage or seer. It is these conceptions of the truth, *satyam* and *ṛtam*, that we have to apply in this opening hymn of the Veda.

Agni in the Veda is always presented in the double aspect of force and light. He is the divine power that builds up the worlds, a power which acts always with a perfect knowledge, for it is *jātavedas*, knower of all births, *viśvāni vayunāni vidvān*, — it knows all manifestations or phenomena or it possesses all forms and activities of the divine wisdom. Moreover it is repeatedly said that the gods have established Agni as the immortal in mortals, the divine power in man, the energy of fulfilment through which they do their work in him. It is this work which is symbolised by the sacrifice.

Psychologically, then, we may take Agni to be the divine will perfectly inspired by divine Wisdom, and indeed one with it, which is the active or effective power of the Truth-Consciousness. This is the obvious sense of the word *kavikratuḥ*, he whose active will or power of effectivity is that of the seer, — works, that is to say, with the knowledge which comes by the Truth-Consciousness and in which there is no misapplication or error. The epithets that follow confirm this interpretation. Agni is *satya*, true in his being; perfect possession of his own truth and the essential truth

of things gives him the power to apply it perfectly in all act and movement of force. He has both the *satyam* and the *ṛtam*. Moreover, he is *citraśravastamah*; from the *ṛtam* there proceeds a fullness of richly luminous and varied inspirations which give the capacity for doing the perfect work. For all these are epithets of Agni as the *hotṛ*, the priest of the sacrifice, he who performs the offering. Therefore it is the power of Agni to apply the Truth in the work (*karma* or *apas*) symbolised by the sacrifice, that makes him the object of human invocation. The importance of the sacrificial fire in the outward ritual corresponds to the importance of this inward force of unified Light and Power in the inward rite by which there is communication and interchange between the mortal and the Immortal. Agni is elsewhere frequently described as the envoy, *dūta*, the medium of that communication and interchange.

We see, then, in what capacity Agni is called to the sacrifice. "Let him come, a god with the gods." The emphasis given to the idea of divinity by this repetition, *devo devebhiḥ*, becomes intelligible when we recall the standing description of Agni as the god in human beings, the immortal in mortals, the divine guest. We may give the full psychological sense by translating, "Let him come, a divine power with the divine powers". For in the external sense of the Veda the Gods are universal powers of physical Nature personified; in any inner sense they must be universal powers of Nature in her subjective activities, Will, Mind, etc. But in the Veda there is always a distinction between the ordinary human or mental action of these puissances, *manuṣvat*, and the divine. It is supposed that man by the right use of their mental action in the inner sacrifice to the gods can convert them into their true or divine nature, the mortal can become immortal. Thus the Ribhus, who were at first human beings or represented human faculties, became divine and immortal powers by perfection in the work, *sukṛtyayā*, *svapasyayā*. It is a continual self-offering of the human to the divine and a continual descent of the divine into the human which seems to be symbolised in the sacrifice.

The state of immortality thus attained is conceived as a state of felicity or bliss founded on a perfect Truth and Right, *satyam*

ṛtam. We must, I think, understand in this sense the verse that follows. "The good (happiness) which thou wilt create for the giver, that is that truth of thee, O Agni." In other words, the essence of this truth, which is the nature of Agni, is the freedom from evil, the state of perfect good and happiness which the *ṛtam* carries in itself and which is sure to be created in the mortal when he offers the sacrifice by the action of Agni as the divine priest. *Bhadram* means anything good, auspicious, happy and by itself need not carry any deep significance. But we find it in the Veda used, like *ṛtam*, in a special sense. It is described in one of the hymns (V.82.4,5) as the opposite of the evil dream (*duḥṣvapnyam*), the false consciousness of that which is not the *ṛtam*, and of *duritam*, false going, which means all evil and suffering. *Bhadram* is therefore equivalent to *suvitam*, right going, which means all good and felicity belonging to the state of the Truth, the *ṛtam*. It is *mayas*, the felicity, and the gods who represent the Truth-Consciousness are described as *mayobhuvah*, those who bring or carry in their being the felicity. Thus every part of the Veda, if properly understood, throws light upon every other part. It is only when we are misled by its veils that we find in it an incoherence.

In the next verse there seems to be stated the condition of the effective sacrifice. It is the continual resort day by day, in the night and in the light, of the thought in the human being with submission, adoration, self-surrender, to the divine Will and Wisdom represented by Agni. Night and Day, *naktoṣāsā*, are also symbolical, like all the other gods in the Veda, and the sense seems to be that in all states of consciousness, whether illumined or obscure, there must be a constant submission and reference of all activities to the divine control.

For whether by day or night Agni shines out in the sacrifices; he is the guardian of the Truth, of the *ṛtam* in man and defends it from the powers of darkness; he is its constant illumination burning up even in obscure and besieged states of the mind. The ideas thus briefly indicated in the eighth verse are constantly found throughout the hymns to Agni in the Rig-veda.

Agni is finally described as increasing in his own home. We can no longer be satisfied with the explanation of the own home

of Agni as the “fire-room” of the Vedic householder. We must seek in the Veda itself for another interpretation and we find it in the 75th hymn of the first Mandala.

*Yajā no mitrāvaruṇā, yajā devān ṛtaṁ bṛhat,
agne yakṣi svam̐ damam. (I.75.5)*

“Sacrifice for us to Mitra and Varuna, sacrifice to the gods, to the Truth, the Vast; O Agni, sacrifice to thy own home.”

Here *ṛtaṁ bṛhat* and *svam̐ damam* seem to express the goal of the sacrifice and this is perfectly in consonance with the imagery of the Veda which frequently describes the sacrifice as travelling towards the gods and man himself as a traveller moving towards the truth, the light or the felicity. It is evident, therefore, that the Truth, the Vast and Agni’s own home are identical. Agni and other gods are frequently spoken of as being born in the truth, dwelling in the wide or vast. The sense, then, will be in our passage that Agni the divine will and power in man increases in the Truth-Consciousness, its proper sphere, where false limitations are broken down, *urau...anibādhe*, in the wide and the limitless.

Thus in these four verses of the opening hymn of the Veda we get the first indications of the principal ideas of the Vedic Rishis, — the conception of a Truth-Consciousness supramental and divine, the invocation of the gods as powers of the Truth to raise man out of the falsehoods of the mortal mind, the attainment in and by this Truth of an immortal state of perfect good and felicity and the inner sacrifice and offering of what one has and is by the mortal to the Immortal as the means of the divine consummation. All the rest of Vedic thought in its spiritual aspects is grouped around these central conceptions.

Varuna-Mitra and the Truth

IF THE idea of the Truth that we have found in the very opening hymn of the Veda really carries in itself the contents we have supposed and amounts to the conception of a supramental consciousness which is the condition of the state of immortality or beatitude and if this be the leading conception of the Vedic Rishis, we are bound to find it recurring throughout the hymns as a centre for other and dependent psychological realisations. In the very next Sukta, the second hymn of Madhuchchhandas addressed to Indra and Vayu, we find another passage full of clear and this time quite invincible psychological suggestions in which the idea of the *ṛtam* is insisted upon with an even greater force than in the hymn to Agni. The passage comprises the last three Riks of the Sukta.

*Mitraṁ huve pūதாக্షam, varuṇaṁ ca riśādasam,
dhiyaṁ ghṛtācīṁ sādhanā.
Ṛtena mitrāvaruṇā, ṛtāvṛdhā ṛtasprśā,
kratum̐ bṛhantam āśāthe.
Kavi no mitrāvaruṇā, tuvijātā urukṣayā,
dakṣaṁ dadhāte apasam.*

In the first Rik of this passage we have the word *dakṣa* usually explained by Sayana as strength, but capable of a psychological significance, the important word *ghṛta* in the adjectival form *ghṛtācī* and the remarkable phrase *dhiyaṁ ghṛtācīm*. The verse may be translated literally "I invoke Mitra of purified strength (or, purified discernment) and Varuna destroyer of our foes perfecting (or accomplishing) a bright understanding."

In the second Rik we have *ṛtam* thrice repeated and the words *bṛhat* and *kratu*, to both of which we have attached a considerable importance in the psychological interpretation of the

Veda. *Kratu* here may mean either work of sacrifice or effective power. In favour of the former sense we have a similar passage in the Veda in which Varuna and Mitra are said to attain to or enjoy by the Truth a mighty sacrifice, *yajñam bṛhantam āśāthe*. But this parallel is not conclusive; for while in one expression it is the sacrifice itself that is spoken of, in the other it may be the power or strength which effects the sacrifice. The verse may be translated, literally, "By Truth Mitra and Varuna, truth-increasing, truth-touching, enjoy (or, attain) a mighty work" or "a vast (effective) power."

Finally in the third Rik we have again *dakṣa*; we have the word *kavi*, seer, already associated by Madhuchchhandas with *kratu*, work or will; we have the idea of the Truth, and we have the expression *uruḥṣaya*, where *uru* wide or vast, may be an equivalent of *bṛhat*, the vast, which is used to describe the world or plane of the Truth-Consciousness, the "own home" of Agni. I translate the verse, literally, "For us Mitra and Varuna, seers, multiply-born, wide-housed, uphold the strength (or, discernment) that does the work."

It will at once be evident that we have in this passage of the second hymn precisely the same order of ideas and many of the same expressions as those on which we founded ourselves in the first Sukta. But the application is different and the conceptions of the purified discernment, the richly-bright understanding, *dhiyaṃ gṛtācīm*, and the action of the Truth in the work of the sacrifice, *apas*, introduce certain fresh precisions which throw further light on the central ideas of the Rishis.

The word *dakṣa*, which alone in this passage admits of some real doubt as to its sense, is usually rendered by Sayana strength. It comes from a root which, like most of its congeners, *e.g.* *daś*, *diś*, *dah* suggested originally as one of its characteristic significances an aggressive pressure and hence any form of injury, but especially dividing, cutting, crushing or sometimes burning. Many of the words for strength had originally this idea of a force for injury, the aggressive strength of the fighter and slayer, the kind of force most highly prized by primitive man making a place for himself by violence on the earth he had come to inherit. We see this connection in the ordinary Sanskrit word for strength,

balam, which is of the same family as the Greek *ballo*, I strike, and *belos*, a weapon. The sense, strength, for *dakṣa* has the same origin.

But this idea of division led up also in the psychology of language-development to quite another order of ideas; for when man wished to have words for mental conceptions, his readiest method was to apply the figures of physical action to the mental movement. The idea of physical division or separation was thus used and converted into that of distinction. It seems to have been first applied to distinguishing by the ocular sense and then to the act of mental separation, — discernment, judgment. Thus the root *vid*, which means in Sanskrit to find or know, signifies in Greek and Latin to see. *Dṛś*, to see, meant originally to rend, tear apart, separate; *paś*, to see, has a similar origin. We have three almost identical roots which are very instructive in this respect, — *pis*, to hurt, injure, be strong; *piṣ*, to hurt, injure, be strong, crush, pound; and *piś*, to form, shape, organise, be reduced to the constituent parts, — all these senses betraying the original idea of separation, division, cutting apart, — with derivatives, *piśāca*, a devil, and *piśuna*, which means on one side harsh, cruel, wicked, treacherous, slanderous, all from the idea of injury, and at the same time “indicatory, manifesting, displaying, making clear” from the other sense of distinction. So *kri* to injure, divide, scatter appears in Greek *krino*, I sift, choose, judge, determine. *Dakṣa* has a similar history. It is kin to the root *daś* which in Latin gives us *doceo*, I teach, and in Greek *dokeo*, I think, judge, reckon, and *dokazo*, I observe, am of opinion. So also we have the kindred root *diś* meaning to point out or teach, Greek *deiknumi*. Almost identical with *dakṣa* itself is the Greek *doxa*, opinion, judgment, and *dexios*, clever, dexterous, right-hand. In Sanskrit the root *dakṣ* means to hurt, kill and also to be competent, able, the adjective *dakṣa* means clever, skilful, competent, fit, careful, attentive; *dakṣiṇa* means clever, skilful, right-hand, like *dexios*, and the noun *dakṣa* means, besides strength and also wickedness from the sense of hurting, mental ability or fitness like other words of the family. We may compare also the word *daśā* in the sense of mind, understanding. All this evidence taken together seems to indicate clearly enough

that *dakṣa* must have meant at one time discernment, judgment, discriminative thought-power and that its sense of mental capacity is derived from this sense of mental division and not by transference of the idea of physical strength to power of mind.

We have therefore three possible senses for *dakṣa* in the Veda, strength generally, mental power or especially the power of judgment, discernment. *Dakṣa* is continually associated with *kratu*; the Rishis aspire to them together, *dakṣāya kratve*, which may mean simply, “capacity and effective power” or “will and discernment”. Continually we find the word occurring in passages where the whole context relates to mental activities. Finally, we have the goddess Dakshina who may well be a female form of Daksha, himself a god and afterwards in the Purana one of the Prajapatis, the original progenitors, — we have Dakshina associated with the manifestation of knowledge and sometimes almost identified with Usha, the divine Dawn, who is the bringer of illumination. I shall suggest that Dakshina like the more famous Ila, Saraswati and Sarama, is one of four goddesses, representing the four faculties of the *ṛtam* or Truth-Consciousness, — Ila representing truth-vision or revelation, Saraswati truth-audition, inspiration, the divine word, Sarama intuition, Dakshina the separative intuitional discrimination. *Dakṣa* then will mean this discrimination whether as mental judgment on the mind-plane or as intuitional discernment on the plane of the Ritam.

The three Riks with which we are dealing occur as the closing passage of a hymn of which the first three verses are addressed to Vayu alone and the next three to Indra and Vayu. Indra in the psychological interpretation of the hymns represents, as we shall see, Mind-Power. The word for the sense-faculties, *indriya*, is derived from his name. His special realm is Swar, a word which means sun or luminous, being akin to *sūra* and *sūrya*, the sun, and is used to indicate the third of the Vedic *vyāhrtis* and the third of the Vedic worlds corresponding to the principle of the pure or unobscured Mind. Surya represents the illumination of the *ṛtam* rising upon the mind; Swar is that plane of mental consciousness which directly receives the illumination. Vayu on the other hand is always associated with

the Prana or Life-Energy which contributes to the system all the ensemble of those nervous activities that in man are the support of the mental energies governed by Indra. Their combination constitutes the normal mentality of man. These two gods are invited in the hymn to come and partake together of the Soma-wine. This wine of Soma represents, as we have abundant proof in the Veda and especially in the ninth book, a collection of more than a hundred hymns addressed to the deity Soma, the intoxication of the Ananda, the divine delight of being, inflowing upon the mind from the supramental consciousness through the *ṛtam* or Truth. If we accept these interpretations we can easily translate the hymn into its psychological significance.

Indra and Vayu awaken in consciousness (*cetathaḥ*) to the flowings of the Soma-wine; that is to say, the mind-power and life-power working together in human mentality are to awaken to the inflowings of this Ananda, this Amrita, this delight and immortality from above. They receive them into the full plenitude of the mental and nervous energies, *cetathaḥ sutānāri vājinīvasū*.¹ The Ananda thus received constitutes a new action preparing immortal consciousness in the mortal and Indra and Vayu are bidden to come and swiftly perfect these new workings by the participation of the thought, *ā yātam upa niṣkṛtaṁ makṣu ... dhiyā*.² For *dhi* is the thought-power, intellect or understanding. It is intermediate between the normal mentality represented by the combination of Indra and Vayu and the *ṛtam* or Truth-Consciousness.

It is at this point that Varuna and Mitra intervene and our passage begins. Without the psychological clue the connection between the first part of the hymn and the close is not very clear, nor the relation between the couple Varuna-Mitra and the couple Indra-Vayu. With that clue both connections become obvious; indeed they depend upon each other. For the earlier part of the hymn has for its subject the preparation first of the vital forces represented by Vayu who is alone invoked in the three opening Riks, then of the mentality represented by the couple Indra-Vayu for the activities of the Truth-Consciousness in the human being; the close has for its subject the working of the Truth on

¹ I.2.5. ² I.2.6.

the mentality so as to perfect the intellect and to enlarge the actions. Varuna and Mitra are two of the four gods who represent this working of the Truth in the human mind and temperament.

In the style of the Veda when there is a transition of this kind from one movement of thought to another developing out of it, the link of connection is often indicated by the repetition in the new movement of an important word which has already occurred in the close of the movement that precedes. This principle of suggestion by echo, as one may term it, pervades the hymns and is a mannerism common to all the Rishis. The connecting word here is *dhi*, thought or intellect. *Dhi* differs from the more general word, *mati*, which means mentality or mental action generally and which indicates sometimes thought, sometimes feeling, sometimes the whole mental state. *Dhi* is the thought-mind or intellect; as understanding it holds all that comes to it, defines everything and puts it into the right place,¹ or often *dhi* indicates the activity of the intellect, particular thought or thoughts. It is by the thought that Indra and Vayu have been called upon to perfect the nervous mentality, *niṣkṛtam...dhiyā*. But this instrument, thought, has itself to be perfected, enriched, clarified before the mind can become capable of free communication with the Truth-Consciousness. Therefore Varuna and Mitra, Powers of the Truth, are invoked "accomplishing a richly luminous thought", *dhiyam ghṛtācīm sādhanā*.

This is the first occurrence in the Veda of the word *ghṛta*, in a modified adjectival form, and it is significant that it should occur as an epithet of the Vedic word for the intellect, *dhi*. In other passages also we find it continually in connection with the words *manas*, *manīṣā* or in a context where some activity of thought is indicated. The root *ghṛ* conveys the idea of a strong brightness or heat such as that of fire or the summer sun. It means also to sprinkle or anoint, Greek *chrio*. It is capable of being used to signify any liquid, but especially a bright, thick liquid. It is the ambiguity of these two possible senses of which the Vedic Rishis took advantage to indicate by the word outwardly the clarified butter in the sacrifice, inwardly a rich and

¹ The root *dhi* means to hold or to place.

bright state or activity of the brain-power, *medhā*, as basis and substance of illuminated thought. By *dhiyaṁ ghr̥tācīm* is meant, therefore, the intellect full of a rich and bright mental activity.

Varuna and Mitra who accomplish or perfect this state of the intellect, are distinguished by two several epithets. Mitra is *pūtadakṣa*, possessed of a purified judgment; Varuna is *riśādas*, he destroys all hurters or enemies. In the Veda there are no merely ornamental epithets. Every word is meant to tell, to add something to the sense and bear a strict relation to the thought of the sentence in which it occurs. There are two obstacles which prevent the intellect from being a perfect and luminous mirror of the Truth-Consciousness; first, impurity of the discernment or discriminative faculty which leads to confusion of the Truth, secondly the many causes or influences which interfere with the growth of the Truth by limiting its full application or by breaking up the connections and harmony of the thoughts that express it and which thus bring about poverty and falsification of its contents. Just as the Gods in the Veda represent universal powers descended from the Truth-Consciousness which build up the harmony of the worlds and in man his progressive perfection, so the influences that work against these objects are represented by hostile agencies, Dasyus and Vritras, who seek to break up, to limit, to withhold and deny. Varuna in the Veda is always characterised as a power of wideness and purity; when, therefore, he is present in man as a conscious force of the Truth, all that limits and hurts the nature by introducing into it fault, sin and evil is destroyed by contact with him. He is *riśādas*, destroyer of the enemy, of all that seek to injure the growth. Mitra, a power like Varuna of the Light and Truth, especially represents Love, Joy and Harmony, the foundations of *Mayas*, the Vedic beatitude. Working with the purity of Varuna and imparting that purity to the discernment, he enables it to get rid of all discords and confusions and establish the right working of the strong and luminous intellect.

This progress enables the Truth-Consciousness, the *ṛtam*, to work in the human mentality. With the *ṛtam* as the agency, *ṛtena*, increasing the action of the Truth in man, *ṛtāvṛdhā*, touch-

ing or reaching the Truth, enabling, that is to say, the mental consciousness to come into successful contact with and possession of the Truth-Consciousness, *ṛtaspr̥sā*, Mitra and Varuna are able to enjoy the use of a vast effective will-power, *kratum̐ bṛhantam̐ āśāthe*. For it is the Will that is the chief effective agent of the inner sacrifice, but a Will that is in harmony with the Truth, guided therefore by a purified discernment. The Will as it enters more and more into the wideness of the Truth-Consciousness becomes itself wide and vast, free from limitation in its view and of hampering impediments in its effectivity. It works *urau anibādhe*, in the wideness where there is no obstacle or wall of limitation.

Thus the two requisites on which the Vedic Rishis always insist are secured, Light and Power, the Light of the Truth working in the knowledge, *dhiyam̐ ghṛtācīm*, the Power of the Truth working in the effective and enlightened Will, *kratum̐ bṛhantam̐*. As a result Varuna and Mitra are shown to us in the closing verse of the hymn working in the full sense of their Truth, *kavi̐ tuvijātā urukṣayā*. *Kavi*, we have seen, means possessed of the Truth-Consciousness and using its faculties of vision, inspiration, intuition, discrimination. *Tuvijātā* is "multiply born", for *tuvi*, meaning originally strength or force, is used like the French word "force" in the sense of many. But by the birth of the gods is meant always in the Veda their manifestation; thus *tuvijātā* signifies "manifested multiply", in many forms and activities. *Urukṣayā* means dwelling in the wideness, an idea which occurs frequently in the hymns; *uru* is equivalent to *bṛhat*, the Vast, and indicates the infinite freedom of the Truth-Consciousness. Thus we have as the result of increasing activities of the *ṛtam̐* the manifestation in the human being of the Powers of wideness and purity, of joy and harmony, a manifestation rich in forms, seated in the wideness of the *ṛtam̐* and using the faculties of the supramental consciousness.

This manifestation of the Powers of the Truth upholds or confirms the discernment while it does the work, *dakṣam̐ dadhāte apasam̐*. The discernment, now purified and supported, works in the sense of the Truth as a power of the Truth and accomplishes the perfection of the activities of Indra and Vāyu by

freeing the thoughts and the will from all defect and confusion in their working and results.

To confirm the interpretation we have put on the terms of this passage we may quote a Rik from the tenth Sukta of the fourth Mandala.

*Adhā hyagne krator bhadrasya dakṣasya sādhoḥ,
rathīr ṛtasya bṛhato babhūtha. (IV.10.2)*

“Then indeed, O Agni, thou becomest the charioteer of the happy will, the perfecting discernment, the Truth that is the Vast.” We have here the same idea as in the first hymn of the first Mandala, the effective will that is the nature of the Truth-Consciousness, *kavikratuḥ*, and works out therefore in a state of beatitude the good, *bhadram*. We have in the phrase *dakṣasya sādhoḥ* at once a variant and explanation of the last phrase of the second hymn, *dakṣam apasam*, the discernment perfecting and accomplishing the inner work in man. We have the vast Truth as the consummation of these two activities of power and knowledge, Will and Discernment, *kratu* and *dakṣa*. Always the hymns of the Veda confirm each other by this reproduction of the same terms and ideas and the same relation of ideas. This would not be possible unless they were based on a coherent doctrine with a precise significance for standing terms such as *kavi*, *kratu*, *dakṣa*, *bhadram*, *ṛtam*, etc. The internal evidence of the Riks themselves establishes that this significance is psychological, as otherwise the terms lose their fixed value, their precise sense, necessary connection, and their constant recurrence in relation to each other has to be regarded as fortuitous and void of reason or purpose.

We see then that in the second hymn we find again the same governing ideas as in the first. All is based on the central Vedic conception of the Supramental or Truth-Consciousness towards which the progressively perfected mentality of the human being labours as towards a consummation and a goal. In the first hymn this is merely stated as the aim of the sacrifice and the characteristic work of Agni. The second hymn indicates the preliminary work of preparation, by Indra and Vayu, by Mitra and Varuna,

of the ordinary mentality of man through the force of the Ananda and the increasing growth of the Truth.

We shall find that the whole of the Rig-veda is practically a constant variation on this double theme, the preparation of the human being in mind and body and the fulfilment of the god-head or immortality in him by his attainment and development of the Truth and the Beatitude.

The Ashwins — Indra — the Vishwadevas

THE third hymn of Madhuchchhandas is again a hymn of the Soma sacrifice. It is composed, like the second before it, in movements of three stanzas, the first addressed to the Ashwins, the second to Indra, the third to the Vishwadevas, the fourth to the goddess Saraswati. In this hymn also we have in the closing movement, in the invocation to Saraswati, a passage of clear psychological significance, of a far greater clarity indeed than those that have already helped us to understand the secret thought of the Veda.

But this whole hymn is full of psychological suggestions and we find in it the close connection and even identity which the Vedic Rishis sought to establish and perfect between the three main interests of the human soul, Thought and its final victorious illuminations, Action and its last supreme all-achieving puissances, enjoyment and its highest spiritual ecstasies. The Soma-wine symbolises the replacing of our ordinary sense-enjoyment by the divine Ananda. That substitution is brought about by divinising our thought-action, and as it progresses it helps in its turn the consummation of the movement which has brought it about. The Cow, the Horse, the Soma-wine are the figures of this triple sacrifice. The offering of *ghṛta*, the clarified butter which is the yield of the cow, the offering of the horse, *aśvamedha*, the offering of the wine of Soma are its three principal forms or elements. We have also, less prominent, the offering of the cake which is possibly symbolic of the body, of Matter.

We commence with an invocation of the two Ashwins, the two Riders on the Horse, Castor and Polydeuces of the old Mediterranean mythology. They are supposed by the comparative mythologists to represent twin stars in the heavens which for some reason had a better fortune than the rest of the celestial host and attracted the special adoration of the Aryans. Let us,

however, see how they are described in the hymn we are studying. They are first described as “Ashwins, swift-footed lords of bliss, much-enjoying, — *dravatpāṇi śubhaspatī purubhujā*”. The word *śubha*, like the words *ratna* and *candra*, is capable of signifying either light or enjoyment; but in this passage it occurs in connection with the adjective *purubhujā*, “much-enjoying”, and the verb *canasyatam*, “take delight”, and must therefore be taken in the sense of weal or bliss.

Next, these twin gods are described as “Ashwins, divine souls, many-actioned, thought-holding” who accept and rejoice in the words of the Mantra “with an energetic thought”, — *purudaṁsasā narā śavīrayā dhiyā dhiṣṇyā*. *Nṛ* in the Veda is applicable both to gods and men and does not mean simply a man; it meant originally, I think, strong or active and then a male and is applied to the male gods, active divine souls or powers, *puruṣas*, opposed to the female deities, *gnāh*, who are their energies. It still preserved in the minds of the Rishis much of its original sense, as we see from the word *nṛmṇa*, strength, and the phrase *nṛtamo nṛṇām*, strongest of the divine powers. *Śavas* and its adjective *śavīra* give the idea of energy, but always with an association of the farther idea of flame or light; *śavīra* is therefore a very appropriate epithet for *dhi*, thought full of a shining or flashing energy. *Dhiṣṇyā* is connected with *dhiṣaṇā*, intellect or understanding, and is rendered by Sayana “intellectual”, *buddhimantau*.

Again the Ashwins are described as “effectual in action, powers of the movement, fierce-moving in their paths”, *dasrā nāsatyā rudravartanī*. The Vedic epithets *dasra* and *dasma* are rendered by Sayana indifferently “destroying” or “beautiful” or “bountiful” according to his caprice or convenience. I connect it with the root *das* not in the sense of cutting, dividing, from which it gets the two significances of destroying and giving, not in the sense of “discerning, seeing”, from which it gets Sayana’s significance “beautiful”, *darśanīya*, but in the sense of doing, acting, shaping, accomplishing, as in *purudaṁsasā* in the second Rik. *Nāsatyā* is supposed by some to be a patronymic; the old grammarians ingeniously fabricated for it the sense of “true, not false”; but I take it from *nas* to move. We must remember that

the Ashwins are riders on the horse, that they are described often by epithets of motion, “swift-footed”, “fierce-moving in their paths”; that Castor and Pollux in Graeco-Latin mythology protect sailors in their voyages and save them in storm and shipwreck and that in the Rig-veda also they are represented as powers that carry over the Rishis as in a ship or save them from drowning in the ocean. *Nāsatyā* may therefore very well mean lords of the voyage, journey, or powers of the movement. *Rudravartanī* is rendered by modern scholars “red-pathed”, an epithet supposed to be well-suited to stars and they instance the parallel phrase, *hiranyavartanī*, having a golden or shining path. Certainly, *rudra* must have meant at one time, “shining, deep-coloured, red” like the roots *ruṣ* and *ruś*, *rudhira*, “blood”, “red”, the Latin *ruber*, *rutilus*, *rufus*, all meaning red. *Rodasī*, the dual Vedic word for heaven and earth, meant probably, like *rajas* and *rocanā*, other Vedic words for the heavenly and earthly worlds, “the shining”. On the other hand the sense of injury and violence is equally inherent in this family of words and is almost universal in the various roots which form it. “Fierce” or “violent” is therefore likely to be as good a sense for *rudra* as “red”. The Ashwins are both *hiranyavartanī* and *rudravartanī*, because they are both powers of Light and of nervous force; in the former aspect they have a bright gold movement, in the latter they are violent in their movement. In one hymn (V.75.3) we have the combination *rudrā hiranyavartanī*, violent and moving in the paths of light; we can hardly with any respect for coherence of sense understand it to mean that the stars are red but their movement or their path is golden.

Here then, in these three verses, are an extraordinary series of psychological functions to apply to two stars of a heavenly constellation! It is evident that if this was the physical origin of the Ashwins, they have as in Greek mythology long lost their purely stellar nature; they have acquired like Athene, goddess of dawn, a psychological character and function. They are riders on the horse, the Ashwa, symbolic of force and especially of life-energy and nervous force, the Prana. Their common character is that they are gods of enjoyment, seekers of honey; they are physicians, they bring back youth to the old, health to the sick,

wholeness to the maimed. Another characteristic is movement, swift, violent, irresistible; their rapid and indomitable chariot is a constant object of celebration and they are described here as swift-footed and violent in their paths. They are like birds in their swiftness, like the mind, like the wind (V.77.3 and 78.1). They bring in their chariot ripe or perfected satisfactions to man, they are creators of bliss, *mayas*. These indications are perfectly clear. They show that the Ashwins are twin divine powers whose special function is to perfect the nervous or vital being in man in the sense of action and enjoyment. But they are also powers of Truth, of intelligent action, of right enjoyment, they are powers that appear with the Dawn, effective powers of action born out of the ocean of being who, because they are divine, are able to mentalise securely the felicities of the higher existence by a thought-faculty which finds or comes to know that true substance and true wealth:

*Yā dasrā sindhumātarā, manotarā rayiṇām;
dhiyā devā vasuvidā. (I.46.2)*

They give that impelling energy for the great work which, having for its nature and substance the light of the Truth, carries man beyond the darkness:

*Yā naḥ pīparad aśvinā, jyotiṣmatī tamas tiraḥ;
tām asme rāsāthām iṣam. (I.46.6.)*

They carry man in their ship to the other shore beyond the thoughts and states of the human mind, that is to say, to the supramental consciousness, — *nāvā matinām pārāya* (I.46.7). *Sūryā*, daughter of the Sun, Lord of the Truth, mounts their car as their bride.

In the present hymn the Ashwins are invoked, as swift-moving lords of bliss who carry with them many enjoyments, to take delight in the impelling energies of the sacrifice, — *yajvarīr iṣaḥ...canasyatam*. These impelling forces are born evidently of the drinking of the Soma-wine, that is to say, of the inflow of the divine Ananda. For the expressive words, *giraḥ*,

that are to make new formations in the consciousness are already rising, the seat of the sacrifice has been piled, the vigorous juices of the Soma-wine are pressed out.¹ The Ashwins are to come as effective powers of action, *purudāmsasā narā*, to take delight in the Words and to accept them into the intellect where they shall be retained for the action by a thought full of luminous energy.² They are to come to the offering of the Soma-wine, in order to effect the action of the sacrifice, *dasrā*, as fulfillers of action, by giving to the delight of the action that violent movement of theirs, *rudravartanī*, which carries them irresistibly on their path and overcomes all opposition. They come as powers of the Aryan journey, lords of the great human movement, *nāsatyā*. We see throughout that it is energy which these Riders on the Horse are to give; they are to take delight in the sacrificial energies, to take up the word into an energetic thought, to bring to the sacrifice their own violent movement on the path. And it is effectiveness of action and swiftness in the great journey that is the object of this demand for energy. I would call the attention of the reader continually to the consistency of conception and coherence of structure, the easy clearness and precision of outline which the thought of the Rishis assumes by a psychological interpretation, so different from the tangled confusion and incoherent abruptness of the interpretations which ignore the supreme tradition of the Veda as a book of wisdom and deepest knowledge.

We have then this rendering for the first three verses:

“O Riders of the Steed, swift-footed, much-enjoying lords of bliss, take delight in the energies of the sacrifice.

“O Riders of the Steed, male souls effecting a manifold action, take joy of the words, O holders in the intellect, by a luminously energetic thought.

“I have piled the seat of sacrifice, I have pressed out the vigorous Soma-juices; fulfillers of action, powers of the movement, come to them with your fierce speed on the path.”

¹ *yuvākavaḥ sutā vrktabarhiṣaḥ.*

² *śavīrayā dhīyā dhīṣṇyā vanatam girah.*

As in the second hymn, so in the third the Rishi begins by invoking deities who act in the nervous or vital forces. But there he called Vayu who supplies the vital forces, brings his steeds of life; here he calls the Ashwins who use the vital forces, ride on the steed. As in the second hymn, he proceeds from the vital or nervous action to the mental; he invokes in his second movement the might of Indra. The out-pressings of the wine of delight desire him, *sutā ime tvāyavaḥ*; they desire the luminous mind to take possession of them for its activities; they are purified, *aṅvībhis tanā*, “by the fingers and the body” as Sayana explains it, by the subtle thought-powers of the pure mind and by extension in the physical consciousness as it seems to me to mean. For these “ten fingers”, if they are fingers at all, are the ten fingers of *sūryā*, daughter of the Sun, bride of the Ashwins. In the first hymn of the ninth Mandala this same Rishi Madhuchchandas expands the idea which here he passes over so succinctly. He says, addressing the deity Soma, “The daughter of the Sun purifies thy Soma as it flows abroad in her straining-vessel by a continuous extension”, *vāreṇa śasvatā tanā*. And immediately he adds, “The subtle ones seize it in their labour (or, in the great work, struggle, aspiration, *samarye*), the ten Brides, sisters in the heaven that has to be crossed”, a phrase that recalls at once the ship of the Ashwins that carries us over beyond the thoughts; for Heaven is the symbol of the pure mental consciousness in the Veda as is Earth of the physical consciousness. These sisters who dwell in the pure mind, the subtle ones, *aṅvīḥ*, the ten brides, *daśa yoṣaṇāḥ*, are elsewhere called the ten Casters, *daśa kṣipāḥ*, because they seize the Soma and speed it on its way. They are probably identical with the ten Rays, *daśa gāvaḥ*, sometimes spoken of in the Veda. They seem to be described as the grandchildren or descendants of the Sun, *naptībhir...vivasvataḥ* (IX.14.5). They are aided in the task of purification by the seven forms of Thought-consciousness, *sapta dhītibhiḥ* (IX.9.4). Again we are told that “Soma advances, heroic with his swift chariots, by the force of the subtle thought, *dhiyā aṅvyā*, to the perfected activity (or perfected field) of Indra and takes many forms of thought to arrive at that vast extension (or, formation) of the godhead where the Immortals are” —

*Eṣa purū dhiyāyate, brhate devatātaye,
yatramṛtāsa āsate. (IX.15.1, 2)*

I have dwelt on this point in order to show how entirely symbolical is the Soma-wine of the Vedic Rishis and how richly surrounded with psychological conceptions, — as anyone will find who cares to go through the ninth Mandala with its almost overcharged splendour of symbolic imagery and overflowing psychological suggestions.

However that may be, the important point here is not the Soma and its purification but the psychological function of Indra. He is addressed as Indra of the richly-various lustres, *indra citrabhāno*. The Soma-juices desire him. He comes impelled by the thought, driven forward by the illumined thinker within, *dhiyeṣito viprajūtaḥ*, to the soul-thoughts of the Rishi who has pressed out the wine of delight and seeks to manifest them in speech, in the inspired mantras, *sutāvataḥ upa brahmāṇi vāghataḥ*. He comes with the speed and force of the illumined mind-power, in possession of his brilliant horses to those thoughts, *tūtujāna upa brahmāṇi harivaḥ*, and the Rishi prays to him to confirm or hold the delight in the Soma-offering, *sute dadhiṣva naś canaḥ*. The Ashwins have brought and energised the pleasure of the vital system in the action of the Ananda. Indra is necessary to hold that pleasure firmly in the illuminated mind so that it may not fall away from the consciousness.

“Come, O Indra, with thy rich lustres, these Soma-juices desire thee; they are purified by the subtle powers and by extension in body.

“Come, O Indra, impelled by the mind, driven forward by the illumined thinker, to my soul-thoughts, I who have poured out the Soma-juice and seek to express them in speech.

“Come, O Indra, with forceful speed to my soul-thoughts, O lord of the bright horses; hold firm the delight in the Soma-juice.”

The Rishi next passes to the Vishwadevas, all the gods or the all-gods. It has been disputed whether these Vishwadevas

form a class by themselves or are simply the gods in their generality. I take it that the phrase means the universal collectivity of the divine powers; for this sense seems to me best to correspond to the actual expressions of the hymns in which they are invoked. In this hymn they are called for a general action which supports and completes the functions of the Ashwins and Indra. They are to come to the sacrifice in their collectivity and divide among themselves, each evidently for the divine and joyous working of his proper activity, the Soma which the giver of the sacrifice distributes to them; *viśve devāsa āgata, dāśvāmso dāśuṣaḥ sutam*. In the next Rik the call is repeated with greater insistence; they are to arrive swiftly, *tūrṇayaḥ*, to the Soma-offering or, it may mean, making their way through all the planes of consciousness, “waters”, which divide the physical nature of man from their godhead and are full of obstacles to communication between earth and heaven; *apturaḥ sutam ā ganta tūrṇayaḥ*. They are to come like cattle hastening to the stalls of their rest at evening-tide, *usrā iva svasarāṇi*. Thus gladly arriving, they are gladly to accept and cleave to the sacrifice and support it, bearing it up in its journey to its goal, in its ascent to the gods or to the home of the gods, the Truth, the Vast, *medham juṣanta vahnayaḥ*.

And the epithets of the Vishwadevas, qualifying their character and the functions for which they are invited to the Soma-offering, have the same generality; they are common to all the gods, and applied indifferently to any or all of them throughout the Veda. They are fosterers or increasers of man and upholders of his labour and effort in the work, the sacrifice, — *omāsaś carṣaṇīdhṛtaḥ*. Sayana renders these words protectors and sustainers of men. I need not enter here into a full justification of the significances which I prefer to give them; for I have already indicated the philological method which I follow. Sayana himself finds it impossible to attribute always the sense of protection to the words derived from the root *av*, *avas*, *ūti*, *ūmā*, etc. which are so common in the hymns, and is obliged to give to the same word in different passages the most diverse and unconnected significances. Similarly, while it is easy to attribute the sense of “man” to the two kindred words *carṣaṇi* and *kṛṣṭi* when they stand by themselves, this meaning seems unaccountably to dis-

appear in compound forms like *vicarṣaṇi*, *viśvacarṣaṇi*, *viśvakṛṣṭi*. Sayana himself is obliged to render *viśvacarṣaṇi* “all-seeing” and not “all-man” or “all-human”. I do not admit the possibility of such abysmal variations in fixed Vedic terms. *Av* can mean, to be, have, keep; contain, protect; become, create; foster, increase, thrive, prosper; gladden, be glad; but it is the sense of increasing or fostering which seems to me to prevail in the Veda. *Carṣ* and *kṛṣ* were originally derivate roots from *car* and *kṛ*, both meaning to do, and the sense of laborious action or movement still remains in *kṛṣ*, to drag, to plough. *Carṣaṇi* and *kṛṣṭi*, mean therefore effort, laborious action or work or else the doers of such action. They are two among the many words, (*karma*, *apas*, *kāra*, *kiri*, *duvas*, etc.) which are used to indicate the Vedic work, the sacrifice, the toil of aspiring humanity, the *arati* of the Aryan.

The fostering or increasing of man in all his substance and possessions, his continual enlargement towards the fullness and richness of the vast Truth-Consciousness, the upholding of him in his great struggle and labour, this is the common preoccupation of the Vedic gods. Then, they are *apturaḥ*, they who cross the waters, or as Sayana takes it, they who give the waters. This he understands in the sense of “rain-givers” and it is perfectly true that all the Vedic gods are givers of the rain, the abundance (for *vṛṣṭi*, rain, has both senses) of heaven, sometimes described as the solar waters, *svarvatir apah*, or waters which carry in them the light of the luminous heaven, *sva*. But the ocean and the waters in the Veda, as this phrase itself indicates, are the symbol of conscient being in its mass and in its movements. The gods pour the fullness of these waters, especially the upper waters, the waters of heaven, the streams of the Truth, *ṛtasya dhārāḥ*, across all obstacles into the human consciousness. In this sense they are all *apturaḥ*. But man is also described as crossing the waters over to his home in the Truth-Consciousness and the gods as carrying him over; it is doubtful whether this may not be the true sense here, especially as we have the two words *apturaḥ ...tūrṇayaḥ* close to each other in a connection that may well be significant.

Again the gods are all free from effective assailants, free from the harm of the hurtful or opposing powers and therefore

the creative formations of their conscious knowledge, their Maya, move freely, pervasively, attain their right goal, — *asridha ahimāyāso adruhaḥ*. If we take into account the numerous passages of the Veda which indicate the general object of the sacrifice, of the work, of the journey, of the increase of the light and the abundance of the waters to be the attainment of the Truth-Consciousness, *ṛtam*, with the resultant Bliss, *mayas*, and that these epithets commonly apply to powers of the infinite, integral Truth-Consciousness we can see that it is this attainment of the Truth which is indicated in these three verses. The all-gods increase man, they uphold him in the great work, they bring him the abundance of the waters of Swar, the streams of the Truth, they communicate the unassailably integral and pervading action of the Truth-Consciousness with its wide formations of knowledge, *māyāḥ*.

I have translated the phrase, *usra iva svasarāni*, in the most external sense possible; but in the Veda even poetical similes are seldom or never employed for mere decoration; they too are utilised to deepen the psychological sense and with a figure of symbolic or double meaning. The word *usra* is always used in the Veda, like *go*, with the double sense of the concrete figure or symbol, the Bull or Cow, and at the same time the psychological indication of the bright or luminous ones, the illumined powers of the Truth in man. It is as such illumined powers that the all-gods have to come and they come to the Soma-juice, *svasaraṇi*, as if to seats or forms of peace or of bliss; for the root *svas*, like *sas* and many others, means both to rest and to enjoy. They are the powers of Truth entering into the outpourings of the Ananda in man as soon as that movement has been prepared by the vital and mental activity of the Ashwins and the pure mental activity of Indra.

“O fosterers who uphold the doer in his work, O all-gods, come and divide the Soma-wine that I distribute.

“O all-gods who bring over to us the Waters, come passing through to my Soma-offerings as illumined powers to your places of bliss.

“O all-gods, you who are not assailed nor come to hurt,

free-moving in your forms of knowledge, cleave to my sacrifice as its upbearers.”

And, finally, in the last movement of the hymn we have the clear and unmistakable indication of the Truth-Consciousness as the goal of the sacrifice, the object of the Soma-offering, the culmination of the work of the Ashwins, Indra and the All-gods in the vitality and in the mind. For these are the three Riks devoted to Saraswati, the divine Word, who represents the stream of inspiration that descends from the Truth-Consciousness, and thus limpidly runs their sense:

“May purifying Saraswati with all the plenitude of her forms of plenty, rich in substance by the thought, desire our sacrifice.

“She, the impeller to happy truths, the awakener in consciousness to right mentalisings, Saraswati, upholds the sacrifice.

“Saraswati by the perception awakens in consciousness the great flood (the vast movement of the *ṛtam*) and illumines entirely all the thoughts.”

This clear and luminous finale throws back its light on all that has preceded it. It shows the intimate connection between the Vedic sacrifice and a certain state of mind and soul, the interdependence between the offering of the clarified butter and the Soma-juice and luminous thought, richness of psychological content, right states of the mind and its awaking and impulsion to the truth and light. It reveals the figure of Saraswati as the goddess of the inspiration, of Shruti. And it establishes the connection between the Vedic rivers and psychological states of mind. The passage is one of those luminous hints which the Rishis have left scattered amidst the deliberate ambiguities of their symbolic style to guide us towards their secret.

Saraswati and Her Consorts

THE symbolism of the Veda betrays itself with the greatest clearness in the figure of the goddess Saraswati. In many of the other gods the balance of the internal sense and the external figure is carefully preserved. The veil sometimes becomes transparent or its corners are lifted even for the ordinary hearer of the Word; but it is never entirely removed. One may doubt whether Agni is anything more than the personification of the sacrificial Fire or of the physical principle of Light and Heat in things, or Indra anything more than the god of the sky and the rain or of physical Light, or Vayu anything more than the divinity in the Wind and Air or at most of the physical Life-breath. In the lesser gods the naturalistic interpretation has less ground for confidence; for it is obvious that Varuna is not merely a Vedic Uranus or Neptune, but a god with great and important moral functions; Mitra and Bhaga have the same psychological aspect; the Ribhus who form things by the mind and build up immortality by works can with difficulty be crushed into the Procrustean measure of a naturalistic mythology. Still by imputing a chaotic confusion of ideas to the poets of the Vedic hymns the difficulty can be trampled upon, if not overcome. But Saraswati will submit to no such treatment. She is, plainly and clearly, the goddess of the Word, the goddess of a divine Inspiration.

If that were all, this would not carry us much farther than the obvious fact that the Vedic Rishis were not mere naturalistic barbarians, but had their psychological ideas and were capable of creating mythological symbols which represent not only those obvious operations of physical Nature that interested their agricultural, pastoral and open-air life, but also the inner operations of the mind and soul. If we have to conceive the history of ancient religious thought as a progression from the physical to the spiritual, from a purely naturalistic to an increasingly ethical

and psychological view of Nature and the world and the gods, — and this, though by no means certain, is for the present the accepted view,¹ — we must suppose that the Vedic poets were at least already advancing from the physical and naturalistic conception of the gods to the ethical and the spiritual. But Saraswati is not only the goddess of Inspiration, she is at one and the same time one of the seven rivers of the early Aryan world. The question at once arises, whence came this extraordinary identification? And how does the connection of the two ideas present itself in the Vedic hymns? And there is more; for Saraswati is important not only in herself but by her connections. Before proceeding farther let us cast a rapid and cursory glance at them to see what they can teach us.

The association of a river with the poetical inspiration occurs also in the Greek mythology; but there the Muses are not conceived of as rivers; they are only connected in a not very intelligible fashion with a particular earthly stream. This stream is the river Hippocrene, the fountain of the Horse, and to account for its name we have a legend that it sprang from the hoof of the divine horse Pegasus; for he smote the rock with his hoof and the waters of inspiration gushed out where the mountain had been thus smitten. Was this legend merely a Greek fairy-tale or had it any special meaning? And it is evident that if it had any meaning, it must, since it obviously refers to a psychological phenomenon, the birth of the waters of inspiration, have had a psychological meaning; it must have been an attempt to put into concrete figures certain psychological facts. We may note that the word Pegasus, if we transliterate it into the original Aryan phonetics, becomes Pajasa and is obviously connected with the Sanskrit *pājas*, which meant originally force, movement, or sometimes footing. In Greek itself it is connected with *pêgê*, a stream. There is, therefore, in the terms of this legend a constant association with the image of a forceful movement of inspiration. If we turn to Vedic symbols we see that the Ashwa or Horse is an image

¹ I do not think we have any real materials for determining the first origin and primitive history of religious ideas. What the facts really point to is an early teaching at once psychological and naturalistic, that is to say with two faces, of which the first came to be more or less obscured, but never entirely effaced even in the barbarous races, even in races like the tribes of North America. But this teaching, though prehistoric, was anything but primitive.

of the great dynamic force of Life, of the vital and nervous energy, and is constantly coupled with other images that symbolise the consciousness. *Adri*, the hill or rock, is a symbol of formal existence and especially of the physical nature and it is out of this hill or rock that the herds of the Sun are released and the waters flow. The streams of the *madhu*, the honey, the Soma, are said also to be milked out of this Hill or Rock. The stroke of the Horse's hoof on the rock releasing the waters of inspiration would thus become a very obvious psychological image. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the old Greeks and Indians were incapable either of such psychological observation or of putting it into the poetical and mystic imagery which was the very body of the ancient Mysteries.

We might indeed go farther and inquire whether there was not some original connection between the hero Bellerophon, slayer of Bellerus, who rides on the divine Horse, and Indra Valahan, the Vedic slayer of Vala, the enemy who keeps for himself the Light. But this would take us beyond the limits of our subject. Nor does this interpretation of the Pegasus legend carry us any farther than to indicate the natural turn of imagination of the Ancients and the way in which they came to figure the stream of inspiration as an actual stream of flowing water. Saraswati means, "she of the stream, the flowing movement", and is therefore a natural name both for a river and for the goddess of inspiration. But by what process of thought or association does the general idea of the river of inspiration come to be associated with a particular earthly stream? And in the Veda it is not a question of one river which by its surroundings, natural and legendary, might seem more fitly associated with the idea of sacred inspiration than any other. For here it is a question not of one, but of seven rivers always associated together in the minds of the Rishis and all of them released together by the stroke of the God Indra when he smote the Python who coiled across their fountains and sealed up their outflow. It seems impossible to suppose that one river only in all this sevenfold outflowing acquired a psychological significance while the rest were associated only with the annual coming of the rains in the Punjab. The psychological significance of Saraswati carries with

it a psychological significance for the whole symbol of the Vedic waters.¹

Saraswati is not only connected with other rivers but with other goddesses who are plainly psychological symbols and especially with Bharati and Ila. In the later Puranic forms of worship Saraswati is the goddess of speech, of learning and of poetry and Bharati is one of her names, but in the Veda Bharati and Saraswati are different deities. Bharati is also called Mahi, the Large, Great or Vast. The three, Ila, Mahi or Bharati and Saraswati are associated together in a constant formula in those hymns of invocation in which the gods are called by Agni to the sacrifice.

*Iḷā sarasvatī mahī tisro devīr mayobhuvah,
barhiḥ sīdantvasridhaḥ. (I.13.9)*

“May Ila, Saraswati and Mahi, three goddesses who give birth to the bliss, take their place on the sacrificial seat, they who stumble not,” or “who come not to hurt” or “do not hurt.” The epithet means, I think, they in whom there is no false movement with its evil consequences, *duritam*, no stumbling into pitfalls of sin and error. The formula is expanded in Hymn 110 of the tenth Mandala:

*Ā no yajñam bhāratī tūyam etu,
iḷā manuṣvad iha cetayanti,
tisro devīr barhir edam syonam
sarasvatī svapasah sadantu.*

“May Bharati come speeding to our sacrifice and Ila hither awakening our consciousness (or, knowledge or perceptions) in human wise, and Saraswati, — three goddesses sit on this blissful seat, doing well the Work.”

It is clear and will become yet clearer that these three

¹ The rivers have a symbolic sense in later Indian thought; as for instance Ganges, Yamuna and Saraswati and their confluence are in the Tantric imagery Yogic symbols, and they are used, though in a different way, in Yogic symbolism generally.

goddesses have closely connected functions akin to the inspirational power of Saraswati. Saraswati is the Word, the inspiration, as I suggest, that comes from the *ṛtam*, the Truth-Consciousness. Bharati and Ila must also be different forms of the same Word or knowledge. In the eighth hymn of Madhuchchhandas we have a Rik in which Bharati is mentioned under the name of Mahi.

*Evā hyasya sūnṛtā, virapśī gomati mahi,
pakvā śākhā na dāsuse.*

“Thus Mahi for Indra full of the rays, overflowing in her abundance, in her nature a happy truth, becomes as if a ripe branch for the giver of the sacrifice.” (I.8.8)

The rays in the Veda are the rays of Surya, the Sun. Are we to suppose that the goddess is a deity of the physical Light or are we to translate *go* by cow and suppose that Mahi is full of cows for the sacrificer? The psychological character of Saraswati comes to our rescue against the last absurd supposition, but it negatives equally the naturalistic interpretation. This characterisation of Mahi, Saraswati’s companion in the sacrifice, the sister of the goddess of inspiration, entirely identified with her in the later mythology, is one proof among a hundred others that light in the Veda is a symbol of knowledge, of spiritual illumination. Surya is the Lord of the supreme Sight, the vast Light, *bṛhat jyotiḥ*, or, as it is sometimes called, the true Light, *ṛtam jyotiḥ*. And the connection between the words *ṛtam* and *bṛhat* is constant in the Veda.

It seems to me impossible to see in these expressions anything else than the indication of a state of illumined consciousness the nature of which is that it is wide or large, *bṛhat*, full of the truth of being, *satyam*, and of the truth of knowledge and action, *ṛtam*. The gods have this consciousness. Agni, for instance, is termed *ṛtacit*, he who has the Truth-Consciousness. Mahi is full of the rays of this Surya; she carries in her this illumination. Moreover she is *sūnṛtā*, she is the word of a blissful Truth, even as it has been said of Saraswati that she is the im-

pellor of happy truths, *codayitri sūṅṅtānām*. Finally, she is *virapṣī*, large or breaking out into abundance, a word which recalls to us that the Truth is also a Largeness, *ṛtam bṛhat*. And, in another hymn, (I.22.10), she is described as *varūtri dhiṣaṅā*, a widely covering or embracing Thought-power. Mahi, then, is the luminous vastness of the Truth, she represents the Largeness, *bṛhat*, of the superconscient in us containing in itself the Truth, *ṛtam*. She is, therefore, for the sacrificer, like a branch covered with ripe fruit.

Ila is also the word of the truth; her name has become identical in a later confusion with the idea of speech. As Saraswati is an awakener of the consciousness to right thinkings or right states of mind, *cetanti sumatinām*, so also Ila comes to the sacrifice awakening the consciousness to knowledge, *cetayanti*. She is full of energy, *suvirā*, and brings knowledge. She also is connected with Surya, the Sun, as when Agni, the Will, is invoked (V.4.4) to labour by the rays of the Sun, Lord of the true Light, being of one mind with Ila, *iḷayā sajoṣā yatamāno rasṁibhiḥ sūryasya*. She is the mother of the Rays, the herds of the Sun. Her name means she who seeks and attains and it contains the same association of ideas as the words *ṛtam* and Rishi. Ila may therefore well be the vision of the seer which attains the truth.

As Saraswati represents the truth-audition, *śruti*, which gives the inspired word, so Ila represents *drṣṭi*, the truth-vision. If so, since *drṣṭi* and *śruti* are the two powers of the Rishi, the Kavi, the Seer of the Truth, we can understand the close connection of Ila and Saraswati. Bharati or Mahi is the largeness of the Truth-Consciousness which, dawning on man's limited mind, brings with it the two sister Puissances. We can also understand how these fine and living distinctions came afterwards to be neglected as the Vedic knowledge declined and Bharati, Saraswati, Ila melted into one.

We may note also that these three goddesses are said to bring to birth for man the Bliss, *mayas*. I have already insisted on the constant relation, as conceived by the Vedic seers, between the Truth and the Bliss or Ananda. It is by the dawning of the true or infinite consciousness in man that he arrives out of this evil dream of pain and suffering, this divided creation into the

Bliss, the happy state variously described in Veda by the words *bhadram*, *mayas* (love and bliss), *svasti* (the good state of existence, right being) and by others less technically used such as *vāryam*, *rayiḥ*, *rāyaḥ*. For the Vedic Rishi Truth is the passage and the antechamber, the Bliss of the divine existence is the goal, or else Truth is the foundation, Bliss the supreme result.

Such, then, is the character of Saraswati as a psychological principle, her peculiar function and her relation to her most immediate connections among the gods. How far do these shed any light on her relations as the Vedic river to her six sister streams? The number seven plays an exceedingly important part in the Vedic system, as in most very ancient schools of thought. We find it recurring constantly, — the seven delights, *sapta ratnāni*; the seven flames, tongues or rays of Agni, *sapta arciṣaḥ*, *sapta jvālāḥ*; the seven forms of the Thought-principle, *sapta dhīṭayaḥ*; the seven Rays or Cows, forms of the Cow unslayable, Aditi, mother of the gods, *sapta gāvaḥ*; the seven rivers, the seven mothers or fostering cows, *sapta mātaraḥ*, *sapta dheṇavaḥ*, a term applied indifferently to the Rays and to the Rivers. All these sets of seven depend, it seems to me, upon the Vedic classification of the fundamental principles, the *tattvas*, of existence. The enquiry into the number of these *tattvas* greatly interested the speculative mind of the ancients and in Indian philosophy we find various answers ranging from the One upward and running into the twenties. In Vedic thought the basis chosen was the number of the psychological principles, because all existence was conceived by the Rishis as a movement of conscious being. However merely curious or barren these speculations and classifications may seem to the modern mind, they were no mere dry metaphysical distinctions, but closely connected with a living psychological practice of which they were to a great extent the thought-basis, and in any case we must understand them clearly if we wish to form with any accuracy an idea of this ancient and far-off system.

In the Veda, then, we find the number of the principles variously stated. The One was recognised as the basis and continent; in this One there were the two principles divine and human, mortal and immortal. The dual number is also otherwise

applied in the two principles, Heaven and Earth, Mind and Body, Soul and Nature, who are regarded as the father and mother of all beings. It is significant, however, that Heaven and Earth, when they symbolise two forms of natural energy, the mental and the physical consciousness, are no longer the father and mother, but the two mothers. The triple principle was doubly recognised, first in the threefold divine principle answering to the later Sachchidananda, the divine existence, consciousness and bliss, and secondly in the threefold mundane principle, Mind, Life, Body, upon which is built the triple world of the Veda and Puranas. But the full number ordinarily recognised is seven. This figure was arrived at by adding the three divine principles to the three mundane and interpolating a seventh or link-principle which is precisely that of the Truth-Consciousness, *ṛtaṁ brhat*, afterwards known as Vijnana or Mahas. The latter term means the Large and is therefore an equivalent of *brhat*. There are other classifications of five, eight, nine and ten and even, as it would seem, twelve; but these do not immediately concern us.

All these principles, be it noted, are supposed to be really inseparable and omnipresent and therefore apply themselves to each separate formation of Nature. The seven Thoughts, for instance, are Mind applying itself to each of the seven planes as we would now call them and formulating Matter-mind, if we may so call it, nervous mind, pure mind, truth-mind and so on to the highest summit, *paramā parāvat*. The seven rays or cows are Aditi the infinite Mother, the Cow unslayable, supreme Nature or infinite Consciousness, pristine source of the later idea of Prakriti or Shakti, — the Purusha is in this early pastoral imagery the Bull, Vrishabha, — the Mother of things taking form on the seven planes of her world-action as energy of conscious being. So also, the seven rivers are conscious currents corresponding to the sevenfold substance of the ocean of being which appears to us formulated in the seven worlds enumerated by the Puranas. It is their full flow in the human consciousness which constitutes the entire activity of the being, his full treasure of substance, his full play of energy. In the Vedic image, his cows drink of the water of the seven rivers.

Should this imagery be admitted, and it is evident that if

once such conceptions are supposed to exist, this would be the natural imagery for a people living the life and placed in the surroundings of the ancient Aryans, — quite as natural for them and inevitable as for us the image of the “planes” with which theosophical thought has familiarised us, — the place of Saraswati as one of the seven rivers becomes clear. She is the current which comes from the Truth-principle, from the *ṛtam* or Mahas, and we actually find this principle spoken of in the Veda, — in the closing passage of our third hymn for instance, — as the Great Water, *maho arṇaḥ*, — an expression which gives us at once the origin of the later term, Mahas — or sometimes *mahān arṇavaḥ*. We see in the third hymn the close connection between Saraswati and this great water. Let us examine a little more closely this connection before we proceed to the consideration of the Vedic cows and their relation to the god Indra and Saraswati’s close cousin the goddess Sarama. For it is necessary to define these relations before we can progress with the scrutiny of Madhuchchhandas’ other hymns addressed without exception to the great Vedic deity, King of Heaven, who, according to our hypothesis, symbolises the Power of Mind and especially the divine or self-luminous Mind in the human being.

The Image of the Oceans and the Rivers

THE three Riks of the third hymn of Madhuchchhandas in which Saraswati has been invoked, run as follows, in the Sanskrit:

*Pāvakā naḥ sarasvatī vājebhir vājīnivatī;
yajñam vaṣṭu dhiyāvasuḥ.*

*Codayitrī sūnṛtānām, cetantī sumatinām;
yajñam dadhe sarasvatī.*

*Maho arṇaḥ sarasvatī, pra cetayati ketunā;
dhiyo viśvā vi rājati.*

The sense of the first two verses is clear enough when we know Saraswati to be that power of the Truth which we call inspiration. Inspiration from the Truth purifies by getting rid of all falsehood, for all sin according to the Indian idea is merely falsehood, wrongly inspired emotion, wrongly directed will and action. The central idea of life and ourselves from which we start is a falsehood and all else is falsified by it. Truth comes to us as a light, a voice, compelling a change of thought, imposing a new discernment of ourselves and all around us. Truth of thought creates truth of vision and truth of vision forms in us truth of being, and out of truth of being (*satyam*) flows naturally truth of emotion, will and action. This is indeed the central notion of the Veda.

Saraswati, the inspiration, is full of her luminous plenitudes, rich in substance of thought. She upholds the Sacrifice, the offering of the mortal being's activities to the divine by awakening his consciousness so that it assumes right states of emotion and right movements of thought in accordance with the Truth from which she pours her illuminations and by impelling in it the rise of those truths which, according to the Vedic Rishis, libe-

rate the life and being from falsehood, weakness and limitation and open to it the doors of the supreme felicity.

By this constant awakening and impulsion, summed up in the word, perception, *ketu*, often called the divine perception, *daivya ketu*, to distinguish it from the false mortal vision of things, — Saraswati brings into active consciousness in the human being the great flood or great movement, the Truth-Consciousness itself, and illumines with it all our thoughts. We must remember that this Truth-Consciousness of the Vedic Rishis is a supramental plane, a level of the hill of being (*adreh sānu*) which is beyond our ordinary reach and to which we have to climb with difficulty. It is not part of our waking being, it is hidden from us in the sleep of the superconscient. We can then understand what Madhuchchhandas means when he says that Saraswati by the constant action of the inspiration awakens the Truth to consciousness in our thoughts.

But this line may, so far as the mere grammatical form of it goes, be quite otherwise translated; we may take *maho arṇaḥ* in apposition to Saraswati and render the verse “Saraswati, the great river, awakens us to knowledge by the perception and shines in all our thoughts”. If we understand by this expression, “the great river”, as Sayana seems to understand, the physical river in the Punjab, we get an incoherence of thought and expression which is impossible except in a nightmare or a lunatic asylum. But it is possible to suppose that it means the great flood of inspiration and that there is no reference to the great ocean of the Truth-Consciousness. Elsewhere, however, there is repeated reference to the gods working by the vast power of the great flood, *mahnā mahato arṇavasya* (X.67.12) where there is no reference to Saraswati and it is improbable that she should be meant. It is true that in the Vedic writings Saraswati is spoken of as the secret self of Indra, — an expression, we may observe, that is void of sense if Saraswati is only a northern river and Indra the god of the sky, but has a very profound and striking significance if Indra be the illumined Mind and Saraswati the inspiration that proceeds from the hidden plane of the supramental Truth. But it is impossible to give Saraswati so important a place with regard to the other gods as would be implied by interpreting the phrase

mahnā mahato arṇavasya in the sense “by the greatness of Saraswati”. The gods act, it is continually stated, by the power of the Truth, *rtena*, but Saraswati is only one of the deities of the Truth and not even the most important or universal of them. The sense I have given is, therefore, the only rendering consistent with the use of the phrase in other passages.

Let us then start from this decisive fact put beyond doubt by this passage — whether we take the great stream to be Saraswati itself or the Truth-ocean — that the Vedic Rishis used the image of water, a river or an ocean, in a figurative sense and as a psychological symbol, and let us see how far it takes us. We notice first that existence itself is constantly spoken of in the Hindu writings, in Veda, Purana and even philosophical reasoning and illustration as an ocean. The Veda speaks of two oceans, the upper and the lower waters. These are the oceans of the subconscious, dark and inexpressive, and the ocean of the superconscious, luminous and eternal expression but beyond the human mind. Vamadeva in the last hymn of the fourth Mandala speaks of these two oceans. He says that a honeyed wave climbs up from the ocean and by means of this mounting wave which is the Soma (*amśu*) one attains entirely to immortality; that wave or that Soma is the secret name of the clarity (*ghṛtasya*, the symbol of the clarified butter); it is the tongue of the gods; it is the nodus (*nābhi*) of immortality.

*Samudrād ūrmir madhumān udārad,
upāṁśunā sam amṛtatvam ānaṣ;
ghṛtasya nāma guhyam yad asti,
jihvā devānām amṛtasya nābhiḥ. (IV.58.1)*

I presume there can be no doubt that the sea, the honey, the Soma, the clarified butter are in this passage at least psychological symbols. Certainly, Vamadeva does not mean that a wave or flood of wine came mounting up out of the salt water of the Indian Ocean or of the Bay of Bengal or even from the fresh water of the river Indus or the Ganges and that this wine is a secret name for clarified butter. What he means to say is clearly that out of the subconscious depths in us arises a honeyed wave of

Ananda or pure delight of existence, that it is by this Ananda that we can arrive at immortality; this Ananda is the secret being, the secret reality behind the action of the mind in its shining clarities. Soma, the god of the Ananda, the Vedanta also tells us, is that which has become mind or sensational perception; in other words, all mental sensation carries in it a hidden delight of existence and strives to express that secret of its own being. Therefore Ananda is the tongue of the gods with which they taste the delight of existence, it is the nodus in which all the activities of the immortal state or divine existence are bound together. Vamadeva goes on to say, "Let us give expression to this secret name of the clarity, — that is to say, let us bring out this Soma-wine, this hidden delight of existence; let us hold it in this world-sacrifice by our surrenderings or submissions to Agni, the divine Will or Conscious-Power which is the Master of being. He is the four-horned Bull of the worlds and when he listens to the soul-thought of man in its self-expression, he ejects this secret name of delight from its hiding-place."

*Vayaṁ nāma pra bravāmā ghṛtasya,
asmin yajñe dhārayāmā namobhiḥ;
upa brahmā śṛṇavac chasyamānam,
catuḥśṛṅgo avamīd gaura etat. (IV.58.2)*

Let us note, in passing, that since the wine and the clarified butter are symbolic, the sacrifice also must be symbolic. In such hymns as this of Vamadeva's the ritualistic veil so elaborately woven by the Vedic mystics vanishes like a dissolving mist before our eyes and there emerges the Vedantic truth, the secret of the Veda.

Vamadeva leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the Ocean of which he speaks; for in the fifth verse he openly describes it as the ocean of the heart, *hṛdyāt samudrāt*, out of which rise the waters of the clarity, *ghṛtasya dhārāḥ*; the flow he says, becoming progressively purified by the mind and the inner heart, *antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ*. And in the closing verse he speaks of the whole of existence being triply established, first in the seat of Agni — which we know from other Riks to be the Truth-Consciousness, Agni's own home, *svaṁ damam, ṛtaṁ bṛhat*, —

secondly, in the heart, the sea, which is evidently the same as the heart-ocean, — thirdly, in the life of man.

*Dhāman te viśvaṁ bhuvanam adhiśritam,
antaḥ samudre hṛdyantar āyuṣi. (IV.58.11)*

The superconscient, the sea of the subconscious, the life of the living being between the two, — this is the Vedic idea of existence.

The sea of the superconscient is the goal of the rivers of clarity, of the honeyed wave, as the sea of the subconscious in the heart within is their place of rising. This upper sea is spoken of as the Sindhu, a word which may mean either river or ocean; but in this hymn it clearly means ocean. Let us observe the remarkable language in which Vamadeva speaks of these rivers of the clarity. He says first that the gods sought and found the clarity, the *ghṛtam*, triply placed and hidden by the Panis in the cow, *gavi*. It is beyond doubt that *gauḥ* is used in the Veda in the double sense of Cow and Light; the Cow is the outer symbol, the inner meaning is the Light. The figure of the cows stolen and hidden by the Panis is constant in the Veda. Here it is evident that as the sea is a psychological symbol — the heart-ocean, *samudre hṛdi*, — and the Soma is a psychological symbol and the clarified butter is a psychological symbol, the cow in which the gods find the clarified butter hidden by the Panis must also symbolise an inner illumination and not physical light. The cow is really Aditi, the infinite consciousness hidden in the subconscious, and the triple *ghṛtam* is the triple clarity of the liberated sensation finding its secret of delight, of the thought-mind attaining to light and intuition and of the truth itself, the ultimate supramental vision. This is clear from the second half of the verse (IV.58.4) in which it is said, “One Indra produced, one Surya, one the gods fashioned by natural development out of Vena”; for Indra is the Master of the thought-mind, Surya of the supramental light, Vena is Soma, the master of mental delight of existence, creator of the sense-mind.

We may observe also in passing that the Panis here must perforce be spiritual enemies, powers of darkness, and not Dravi-

dian gods or Dravidian tribes or Dravidian merchants. In the next verse Vamadeva says of the streams of the *ghṛtam* that they move from the heart-ocean shut up in a hundred prisons (pens) by the enemy so that they are not seen. Certainly, this does not mean that rivers of ghee — or of water, either — rising from the heart-ocean or any ocean were caught on their way by the wicked and unconscionable Dravidians and shut up in a hundred pens so that the Aryans or the Aryan gods could not even catch a glimpse of them. We perceive at once that the enemy, Pani, Vritra of the hymns is a purely psychological conception and not an attempt of our forefathers to conceal the facts of early Indian history from their posterity in a cloud of tangled and inextricable myths. The Rishi Vamadeva would have stood aghast at such an unforeseen travesty of his ritual images. We have not even helped if we take *ghṛta* in the sense of water, *hṛdya samudra* in the sense of a delightful lake, and suppose that the Dravidians enclose the water of the rivers with a hundred dams so that the Aryans could not even get a glimpse of them. For even if the rivers of the Punjab all flow out of one heart-pleasing lake, yet their streams of water cannot even so have been triply placed in a cow and the cow hidden in a cave by the cleverest and most inventive Dravidians.

“These move”, says Vamadeva, “from the heart-ocean, penned by the enemy in a hundred enclosures they cannot be seen; I look towards the streams of the clarity, for in their midst is the Golden Reed. Entirely they stream like flowing rivers becoming purified by the heart within and the mind; these move, waves of the clarity, like animals under the mastery of their driver. As if on a path in front of the Ocean (*sindhu*, the upper ocean) the mighty ones move compact of forceful speed but limited by the vital force (*vāta*, *vāyu*), the streams of clarity; they are like a straining horse which breaks its limits, as it is nourished by the waves”. (IV.58.5-7) On the very face of it this is the poetry of a mystic concealing his sense from the profane under a veil of images which occasionally he suffers to grow transparent to the eye that chooses to see. What he means is that the divine knowledge is all the time flowing constantly behind our thoughts, but is kept from us by the internal enemies who limit

our material of mind to the sense-action and sense-perception so that though the waves of our being beat on banks that border upon the superconscient, the infinite, they are limited by the nervous action of the sense-mind and cannot reveal their secret. They are like horses controlled and reined in; only when the waves of the light have nourished their strength to the full does the straining steed break these limits and they flow freely towards That from which the Soma-wine is pressed out and the sacrifice is born.

*Yatra somah sūyate yatra yajño
ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante. (IV.58.9)*

This goal is, again, explained to be that which is all honey, — *ghṛtasya dhārā madhumat pavante (IV.58.10)*; it is Ananda, the divine Beatitude. And that this goal is the Sindhu, the superconscient ocean, is made clear in the last Rik, where Vamadeva says, “May we taste that honeyed wave of thine” — of Agni, the divine Purusha, the four-horned Bull of the worlds — “which is borne in the force of the Waters where they come together”.

*Apām anīke samithe ya ābhṛtaḥ,
tam aśyāma madhumantaṁ ta ūrmim. (IV.58.11)*

We find this fundamental idea of the Vedic Rishis brought out in the Hymn of Creation (X.129.3-5) where the subconscious is thus described. “Darkness hidden by darkness in the beginning was this all, an ocean without mental consciousness ... out of it the One was born by the greatness of Its energy. It first moved in it as desire which was the first seed of mind. The Masters of Wisdom found out in the non-existent that which builds up the existent; in the heart they found it by purposeful impulsion and by the thought-mind. Their ray was extended horizontally; there was something above, there was something below.” In this passage the same ideas are brought out as in Vamadeva’s hymn but without the veil of images. Out of the subconscious ocean the One arises in the heart first as desire; he moves there in the heart-ocean as an unexpressed desire of

the delight of existence and this desire is the first seed of what afterwards appears as the sense-mind. The gods thus find out a means of building up the existent, the conscious being, out of the subconscious darkness; they find it in the heart and bring it out by the growth of thought and purposeful impulsion, *pratiṣyā*, by which is meant mental desire as distinguished from the first vague desire that arises out of the subconscious in the merely vital movements of nature. The conscious existence which they thus create is stretched out as it were horizontally between two other extensions; below is the dark sleep of the subconscious, above is the luminous secrecy of the superconscious. These are the upper and the lower ocean.

This Vedic imagery throws a clear light on the similar symbolic images of the Puranas, especially on the famous symbol of Vishnu sleeping after the *pralaya* on the folds of the snake Ananta upon the ocean of sweet milk. It may perhaps be objected that the Puranas were written by superstitious Hindu priests or poets who believed that eclipses were caused by a dragon eating the sun and moon and could easily believe that during the periods of non-creation the supreme Deity in a physical body went to sleep on a physical snake upon a material ocean of real milk and that therefore it is a vain ingenuity to seek for a spiritual meaning in these fables. My reply would be that there is in fact no need to seek for such meanings; for these very superstitious poets have put them there plainly on the very surface of the fable for everybody to see who does not choose to be blind. For they have given a name to Vishnu's snake, the name Ananta, and Ananta means the Infinite; therefore they have told us plainly enough that the image is an allegory and that Vishnu, the all-pervading Deity, sleeps in the periods of non-creation on the coils of the Infinite. As for the ocean, the Vedic imagery shows us that it must be the ocean of eternal existence and this ocean of eternal existence is an ocean of absolute sweetness, in other words, of pure Bliss. For the sweet milk (itself a Vedic image) has, evidently, a sense not essentially different from the *madhu*, honey or sweetness, of Vamadeva's hymn.

Thus we find that both Veda and Purana use the same symbolic images; the ocean is for them the image of infinite and eter-

nal existence. We find also that the image of the river or flowing current is used to symbolise a stream of conscious being. We find that Saraswati, one of the seven rivers, is the river of inspiration flowing from the Truth-Consciousness. We have the right then to suppose that the other six rivers are also psychological symbols.

But we need not depend entirely on hypothesis and inference, however strong and entirely convincing. As in the hymn of Vamadeva we have seen that the rivers, *ghṛtasya dhārāḥ*, are there not rivers of clarified butter or rivers of physical water, but psychological symbols, so we find in other hymns the same compelling evidence as to the image of the seven rivers. For this purpose I will examine one more hymn, the first Sukta of the third Mandala sung by the Rishi Vishwamitra to the God Agni; for here he speaks of the seven rivers in language as remarkable and unmistakable as the language of Vamadeva about the rivers of clarity. We shall find precisely the same ideas recurring in quite different contents in the chants of these two sacred singers.

The Seven Rivers

THE Veda speaks constantly of the waters or the rivers, especially of the divine waters, *āpo devīḥ* or *āpo divyāḥ*, and occasionally of the waters which carry in them the light of the luminous solar world or the light of the Sun, *svarvatīr apah*. The passage of the waters effected by the gods or by man with the aid of the gods is a constant symbol. The three great conquests to which the human being aspires, which the gods are in constant battle with the Vritras and Panis to give to man are the herds, the waters and the Sun or the solar world, *gāḥ*, *apah*, *svah*. The question is whether these references are to the rains of heaven, the rivers of Northern India possessed or assailed by the Dravidians — the Vritras being sometimes the Dravidians and sometimes their gods, the herds possessed or robbed from the Aryan settlers by the indigenous “robbers”, — the Panis who hold or steal the herds being again sometimes the Dravidians and sometimes their gods; or is there a deeper, a spiritual meaning? Is the winning of Swar simply the recovery of the sun from its shadowing by the storm-cloud or its seizure by eclipse or its concealment by the darkness of Night? For here at least there can be no withholding of the sun from the Aryans by human “black-skinned” and “noseless” enemies. Or does the conquest of Swar mean simply the winning of heaven by sacrifice? And in either case what is the sense of this curious collocation of cows, waters and the sun or cows, waters and the sky? Is it not rather a system of symbolic meanings in which the herds, indicated by the word *gāḥ* in the sense both of cows and rays of light, are the illuminations from the higher consciousness which have their origin in the Sun of Light, the Sun of Truth? Is not Swar itself the world or plane of immortality governed by that Light or Truth of the all-illuminating Sun called in Veda the vast Truth, *ṛtaṁ brhat*, and the true Light? and are not the divine

waters, *āpo devīḥ*, *divyāḥ* or *svarvatīḥ*, the floods of this higher consciousness pouring on the mortal mind from that plane of immortality?

It is, no doubt, easy to point to passages or hymns in which on the surface there seems to be no need of any such interpretation and the Sukta can be understood as a prayer or praise for the giving of rain or an account of a battle on the rivers of the Punjab. But the Veda cannot be interpreted by separate passages or hymns. If it is to have any coherent or consistent meaning, we must interpret it as a whole. We may escape our difficulties by assigning to *svar* or *gāḥ* entirely different senses in different passages — just as Sayana sometimes finds in *gāḥ* the sense of cows, sometimes rays and sometimes, with an admirable light-heartedness, compels it to mean waters.¹ But such a system of interpretation is not rational merely because it leads to a “rationalistic” or “common-sense” result. It rather flouts both reason and common sense. We can indeed arrive by it at any result we please, but no reasonable and unbiassed mind can feel convinced that that result was the original sense of the Vedic hymns.

But if we adopt a more consistent method, insuperable difficulties oppose themselves to the purely material sense. We have for instance a hymn (VII.49) of Vasishtha to the divine waters, *āpo devīḥ*, *āpo divyāḥ*, in which the second verse runs “The divine waters that flow whether in channels dug or self-born, they whose movement is towards the ocean, pure, purifying, — may those waters foster me.” Here, it will be said, the sense is quite clear; it is to material waters, earthly rivers, canals, — or, if the word *khanitrimāḥ* means simply “dug”, then wells, — that Vasishtha addresses his hymn and *divyāḥ*, divine, is only an ornamental epithet of praise; or even perhaps we may render the verse differently and suppose that three kinds of water are described, — the waters of heaven, that is to say the rain, the water of wells, the water of rivers. But when we study the hymn as a whole this sense can no longer stand. For thus it runs:

¹ So also he interprets the all-important Vedic word *ṛtam* sometimes as sacrifice, sometimes as truth, sometimes as water, and all these different senses in a single hymn of five or six verses!

“May those divine waters foster me, the eldest (or greatest) of the ocean from the midst of the moving flood that go purifying, not settling down, which Indra of the thunderbolt, the Bull, clove out. The divine waters that flow whether in channels dug or self-born, whose movement is towards the Ocean, — may those divine waters foster me. In the midst of whom King Varuna moves looking down on the truth and the falsehood of creatures, they that stream honey and are pure and purifying, — may those divine waters foster me. In whom Varuna the king, in whom Soma, in whom all the Gods have the intoxication of the energy, into whom Agni Vaishwanara has entered, may those divine waters foster me.” (VII.49.1-4)

It is evident that Vasishtha is speaking here of the same waters, the same streams that Vamadeva hymns, the waters that rise from the ocean and flow into the ocean, the honeyed wave that rises upward from the sea, from the flood that is the heart of things, streams of the clarity, *ghṛtasya dhārāḥ*. They are the floods of the supreme and universal conscious existence in which Varuna moves looking down on the truth and the falsehood of mortals, — a phrase that can apply neither to the descending rains nor to the physical ocean. Varuna in the Veda is not an Indian Neptune, neither is he precisely, as the European scholars at first imagined, the Greek Ouranos, the sky. He is the master of an ethereal wideness, an upper ocean, of the vastness of being, of its purity; in that vastness, it is elsewhere said, he has made paths in the pathless infinite along which Surya, the Sun, the Lord of Truth and the Light can move. Thence he looks down on the mingled truths and falsehoods of the mortal consciousness.... And we have further to note that these divine waters are those which Indra has cloven out and made to flow upon the earth — a description which throughout the Veda is applied to the seven rivers.

If there were any doubt whether these waters of Vasishtha's prayer are the same as the waters of Vamadeva's great hymn, *madhumān ūrmih, ghṛtasya dhārāḥ*, it is entirely removed by another Sukta of the sage Vasishtha (VII.47). In the forty-ninth hymn he refers briefly to the divine waters as honey-streaming,

madhuścutaḥ and speaks of the Gods enjoying in them the intoxication of the energy, *ūrjam madanti*; from this we can gather that the honey or sweetness is the *madhu*, the Soma, the wine of the Ananda, of which the Gods have the ecstasy. But in the forty-seventh hymn he makes his meaning unmistakably clear.

“O Waters, that supreme wave of yours, the drink of Indra, which the seekers of the Godhead have made for themselves, that pure, inviolate, clarity-streaming, most honeyed (*ghṛta-pruṣaṁ madhumantam*) wave of you may we today enjoy. O Waters, may the son of the waters (Agni), he of the swift rushings, foster that most honeyed wave of you; that wave of yours in which Indra with the Vasus is intoxicated with ecstasy, may we who seek the Godhead taste today. Strained through the hundred purifiers, ecstatic by their self-nature, they are divine and move to the goal of the movement of the Gods (the supreme ocean); they limit not the workings of Indra: offer to the rivers a food of oblation full of the clarity (*ghṛtavat*). May the rivers which the sun has formed by his rays, from whom Indra clove out a moving wave, establish for us the supreme good. And do ye, O Gods, protect us ever by states of felicity.” (VII.47.1-4)

Here we have Vamadeva’s *madhumān ūrmiḥ*, the sweet intoxicating wave, and it is plainly said that this honey, this sweetness is the Soma, the drink of Indra. That is farther made clear by the epithet *śatapavitrāḥ* which can only refer in the Vedic language to the Soma; and let us note that it is an epithet of the rivers themselves and that the honeyed wave is brought flowing from them by Indra, its passage being cloven out on the mountains by the thunderbolt that slew Vritra. Again it is made clear that these waters are the seven rivers released by Indra from the hold of Vritra, the Besieger, the Coverer and sent flowing down upon the earth.

What can these rivers be whose wave is full of Soma-wine, full of the *ghṛta*, full of *ūrj*, the energy? What are these waters that flow to the goal of the god’s movement, that establish for man the supreme good? Not the rivers of the Punjab; no wildest assumption of barbarous confusion or insane incoherence in the

mentality of the Vedic Rishis can induce us to put such a construction upon such expressions. Obviously these are the waters of the Truth and the Bliss that flow from the supreme ocean. These rivers flow not upon earth, but in heaven; they are prevented by Vritra the Besieger, the Coverer from flowing down upon the earth-consciousness in which we mortals live till Indra, the god-mind, smites the Coverer with his flashing lightnings and cuts out a passage on the summits of that earth-consciousness down which they can flow. Such is the only rational, coherent and sensible explanation of the thought and language of the Vedic sages. For the rest, Vasishtha makes it clear enough to us; for he says that these are the waters which Surya has formed by his rays and which, unlike earthly movements, do not limit or diminish the workings of Indra, the supreme Mind. They are, in other words, the waters of the Vast Truth, *ṛtam bṛhat* and, as we have always seen that this Truth creates the Bliss, so here we find that these waters of the Truth, *ṛtasya dhārāḥ*, as they are plainly called in other hymns (e.g. V.12.2 "O perceiver of the Truth, perceive the Truth alone, cleave out many streams of the Truth"), establish for men the supreme good and the supreme good¹ is the felicity, the bliss of the divine existence.

Still, neither in these hymns nor in Vamadeva's is there an express mention of the seven rivers. We will turn therefore to the first hymn of Vishwamitra, his hymn to Agni (III.1), from its second to its fourteenth verse. The passage is a long one, but is sufficiently important to cite and translate in full.

*Prāñcam yajñam cakṛma vardhatām gīḥ,
samidbhir agniṁ namasā duvasyan;
divaḥ śasāsū vidathā kavīnām,
gr̥tsāya cit tavase gātum iṣuḥ. (2)*

*Mayo dadhe medhiraḥ pūதாகṣo
divaḥ subandhur januṣā pṛthivyāḥ;
avīdan nu darśatam apsvantar
devāso agniṁ apasi svasṛṇām. (3)*

¹ The word indeed is usually understood as "felicity".

*Avardhayanta subhagam sapta yahviḥ,
svetaṁ jajñānam aruṣaṁ mahitvā;
śiṣuṁ na jātam abhyārur aśvā
devāso agniṁ janiman vapuṣyan. (4)*

*Śukrebhir aṅgai raja ātatanvān,
kratuṁ punānaḥ kavibhiḥ pavitraiḥ;
śocir vasānaḥ pari āyur apām,
śriyo mimite bṛhatir anūnāḥ. (5)*

*Vavrāja sim anadatir adabdhāḥ,
divo yahvir avasānā anagnāḥ;
śanā atra yuvatayaḥ sayonir
ekaṁ garbhaṁ dadhire sapta vāṅiḥ. (6)*

*Stirṇā asya saṁhato viśvarūpā
ghṛtasya yonau sravathe madhūnām;
asthur atra dhenavaḥ pinvamānā
mahī dasmasya mātaraḥ samici. (7)*

*Babhrāṇaḥ sūno sahaso vyadyaud,
dadhānaḥ śukrā rabhasā vapūmṣi;
ścotanti dhārā madhuno ghṛtasya,
vṛṣā yatra vāvṛdhe kāvyena. (8)*

*Pituś cid ūdhar januṣā viveda,
vyasya dhārā asṛjad vi dhenāḥ;
guhā carantaṁ sakhibhiḥ śivebhir
divo yahvibhir na guhā babhūva. (9)*

*Pituś ca garbhaṁ janituś ca babhre,
pūrvir eko adhayat pīpyānāḥ;
vṛṣṇe sapatnī śucaye sabandhū,
ubhe asmai manuṣye ni pāhi. (10)*

*Urau mahān anibādhe vavardha,
āpo agniṁ yaśasaḥ saṁ hi pūrvih;
ṛtasya yonāvaśayad damūnā
jāminām agnir apasi svasṛṇām. (11)*

*Akro na babhriḥ samithe mahinām,
 didṛkṣeyaḥ sūnave bhārjikah;
 ud usriyā janitā yo jajāna,
 apām garbho nṛtamo yahvo agniḥ. (12)*

*Apām garbham darśatam oṣadhinām,
 vanā jajāna subhagā virūpam;
 devāsaś cin manasā saṁ hi jagmuḥ,
 paniṣṭham jātam tavasaṁ duvasyan. (13)*

*Bṛhanta id bhānavo bhārjikam,
 agniṁ sacanta vidyuto na śukrāḥ;
 guheva vṛddham sadasi sve antar
 apāra ūrve amṛtam duhānāḥ. (14)*

“We have made the sacrifice to ascend towards the supreme, let the Word increase. With kindlings of his fire, with obeisance of submission they set Agni to his workings; they have given expression in the heaven to the knowings of the seers and they desire a passage for him in his strength, in his desire of the word. (2)

“Full of intellect, purified in discernment, the perfect friend (or, perfect builder) from his birth of Heaven and of Earth, he establishes the Bliss; the gods discovered Agni visible in the Waters, in the working of the sisters. (3)

“The seven Mighty Ones increased him who utterly enjoys felicity, white in his birth, ruddy when he has grown. They moved and laboured about him, the Mares around the new-born child; the gods gave body to Agni in his birth. (4)

“With his pure bright limbs he extended and formed the middle world purifying the will-to-action by the help of the pure lords of wisdom; wearing light as a robe about all the life of the Waters he formed in himself glories vast and without any deficiency. (5)

“He moved everywhere about the Mighty Ones of Heaven,

and they devoured not, neither were overcome, — they were not clothed, neither were they naked. Here the eternal and ever young goddesses from one womb held the one Child, they the Seven Words. (6)

“Spread out were the masses of him in universal forms in the womb of the clarity, in the flowings of the sweetnesses; here the fostering Rivers stood nourishing themselves; the two Mothers of the accomplishing god became vast and harmonised. (7)

“Borne by them, O child of Force, thou didst blaze out holding thy bright and rapturous embodiments; out flow the streams of the sweetness, the clarity, where the Bull of the abundance has grown by the Wisdom. (8)

“He discovered at his birth the source of the abundance of the Father and he loosed forth wide His streams and wide His rivers. By his helpful comrades and by the Mighty Ones of Heaven he found Him moving in the secret places of existence, yet himself was not lost in their secrecy. (9)

“He bore the child of the Father and of him that begot him; one, he fed upon his many mothers in their increasing. In this pure Male both these powers in man (Earth and Heaven) have their common lord and lover; do thou guard them both. (10)

“Great in the unobstructed Vast he increased; yea, many Waters victoriously increased Agni. In the source of the Truth he lay down, there he made his home, Agni in the working of the undivided Sisters. (11)

“As the mover in things and as their sustainer he in the meeting of the Great Ones, seeking vision, straight in his lustres for the presser-out of the Soma-wine, he who was the father of the Radiances, gave them now their higher birth, — the child of the Waters, the mighty and most strong Agni. (12)

“To the visible Birth of the waters and of the growths of

Earth the goddess of Delight now gave birth in many forms, she of the utter felicity. The gods united in him by the mind and they set him to his working who was born full of strength and mighty for the labour. (13)

“Those vast shinings clove to Agni straight in his lustre and were like bright lightnings; from him increasing in the secret places of existence in his own seat within the shoreless Vast they milked out Immortality.” (14)

Whatever may be the meaning of this passage, — and it is absolutely clear that it has a mystic significance and is no mere sacrificial hymn of ritualistic barbarians, — the seven rivers, the waters, the seven sisters cannot here be the seven rivers of the Punjab. The waters in which the gods discovered the visible Agni cannot be terrestrial and material streams; this Agni who increases by knowledge and makes his home and rest in the source of the Truth, of whom Heaven and Earth are the wives and lovers, who is increased by the divine waters in the unobstructed Vast, his own seat, and dwelling in that shoreless infinity yields to the illumined gods the supreme Immortality, cannot be the god of physical Fire. In this passage, as in so many others, the mystical, the spiritual, the psychological character of the burden of the Veda reveals itself not under the surface, not behind a veil of mere ritualism, but openly, insistently, — in a disguise indeed, but a disguise that is transparent, so that the secret truth of the Veda appears here, like the rivers of Vishwamitra’s hymn, “neither veiled nor naked”.

We see that these Waters are the same as those of Vama-deva’s hymn, of Vasishtha’s, closely connected with the clarity and the honey, — *ghṛtasya yonau sravathe madhūnām, ścotanti dhārā madhuno ghṛtasya*; they lead to the Truth, they are themselves the source of the Truth, they flow in the unobstructed and shoreless Vast as well as here upon the earth. They are figured as fostering cows (*dhenavaḥ*), mares (*aśvāḥ*), they are called *sapta vāṇiḥ*, the seven Words of the creative goddess Vak, — Speech, the expressive power of Aditi, of the supreme Prakriti who is spoken of as the Cow just as the Deva or Purusha is

described in the Veda as Vrishabha or Vrishan, the Bull. They are therefore the seven strands of all being, the seven streams or currents or forms of movement of the one conscious existence.

We shall find that in the light of the ideas which we have discovered from the very opening of the Veda in Madhuchchandas' hymns and in the light of the symbolic interpretations which are now becoming clear to us, this passage apparently so figured, mysterious, enigmatical becomes perfectly straightforward and coherent, as indeed do all the passages of the Veda which seem now almost unintelligible, when once their right clue is found. We have only to fix the psychological function of Agni, the priest, the fighter, the worker, the truth-finder, the winner of beatitude for man; and that has already been fixed for us in the first hymn of the Rig-veda of Madhuchchandas' description of him, — "the Will in works of the Seer true and most rich in varied inspiration". Agni is the Deva, the All-Seer, manifested as conscious-force or, as it would be called in modern language, Divine or Cosmic Will, first hidden and building up the eternal worlds, then manifest, "born", building up in man the Truth and the Immortality.

Gods and men, says Vishwamitra in effect, kindle this divine force by lighting the fires of the inner sacrifice; they enable it to work by their adoration and submission to it; they express in heaven, that is to say, in the pure mentality which is symbolised by *dyauh*, the knowings of the Seers, in other words the illuminations of the Truth-Consciousness which exceeds Mind; and they do this in order to make a passage for this divine force which in its strength seeking always to find the word of right self-expression aspires beyond mind. This divine will carrying in all its workings the secret of the divine knowledge, *kavikratuh*, befriends or builds up the mental and physical consciousness in man, *divah prthivyāh*, perfects the intellect, purifies the discernment so that they grow to be capable of the "knowings of the seers" and by the super-conscious Truth thus made conscient in us establishes firmly the Beatitude (Riks 2.3):

The rest of the passage describes the ascent of this divine conscious-force, Agni, this Immortal in mortals who in the sacrifice takes the place of the ordinary will and knowledge of

man, from the mortal and physical consciousness to the immortality of the Truth and the Beatitude. The Vedic Rishis speak of five births for man, five worlds of creatures where works are done, *pañca janāḥ*, *pañca kṛṣṭiḥ* or *kṣitiḥ*. *Dyauḥ* and *pṛthivī* represent the pure mental and the physical consciousness; between them is the *antarikṣa*, the intermediate or connecting level of the vital or nervous consciousness. *Dyauḥ* and *pṛthivī* are *rodasī*, our two firmaments; but these have to be overpassed, for then we find admission to another heaven than that of the pure mind — to the wide, the Vast which is the basis, the foundation (*budhna*) of the infinite consciousness, Aditi. This Vast is the Truth which supports the supreme triple world, those highest steps or seats (*padāni*, *sadāmsi*) of Agni, of Vishnu, those supreme Names of the Mother, the Cow, Aditi. The Vast or Truth is declared to be the own or proper seat or home of Agni, *svaṁ damam*, *svaṁ sadaḥ*. Agni is described in this hymn ascending from earth to his own seat.

This divine Power is found by the gods visible in the Waters, in the working of the Sisters. These are the sevenfold Waters of the Truth, the divine Waters brought down from the heights of our being by Indra. First it is secret in the earth's growths, *oṣadhīḥ*, the things that hold her heats, and has to be brought out by a sort of force, by a pressure of the two *aranis*, earth and heaven. Therefore it is called the child of the earth's growths and the child of the earth and heaven; this immortal Force is produced by man with pain and difficulty from the workings of the pure mind upon the physical being. But in the divine Waters Agni is found visible and easily born in all his strength and in all his knowledge and in all his enjoyment, entirely white and pure, growing ruddy with his action as he increases (Rik 3). From his very birth the Gods give him force and splendour and body; the seven mighty Rivers increase him in his joy; they move about this great new-born child and labour over him as the Mares, *aśvāḥ* (Rik 4).

The rivers, usually named *dhenavaḥ*, fostering cows, are here described as *aśvāḥ*, Mares, because while the Cow is the symbol of consciousness in the form of knowledge, the Horse is the symbol of consciousness in the form of force. Ashwa, the Horse, is

the dynamic force of Life, and the rivers labouring over Agni on the earth become the waters of Life, of the vital dynamis or kinesis, the Prana, which moves and acts and desires and enjoys. Agni himself begins as material heat and power, manifests secondarily as the Horse and then only becomes the heavenly fire. His first work is to give as the child of the Waters its full form and extension and purity to the middle world, the vital or dynamic plane, *raja ātatanvān*. He purifies the nervous life in man pervading it with his own pure bright limbs, lifting upward its impulses and desires, its purified will in works (*kratum*) by the pure powers of the superconscient Truth and Wisdom, *kavibhiḥ pavitraiḥ*. So he wears his vast glories, no longer the broken and limited activity of desires and instincts, all about the life of the Waters (Riks 4,5).

The sevenfold Waters thus rise upward and become the pure mental activity, the Mighty Ones of Heaven. They there reveal themselves as the first eternal ever-young energies, separate streams but of one origin — for they have all flowed from the one womb of the superconscient Truth — the seven Words or fundamental creative expressions of the divine Mind, *sapta vāṇiḥ*. This life of the pure mind is not like that of the nervous life which devours its objects in order to sustain its mortal existence; its waters devour not but they do not fail; they are the eternal truth robed in a transparent veil of mental forms; therefore, it is said, they are neither clothed nor naked (Rik 6).

But this is not the last stage. The Force rises into the womb or birthplace of this mental clarity (*ghṛtasya*) where the waters flow as streams of the divine sweetness (*srvathe madhūnām*); there the forms it assumes are universal forms, masses of the vast and infinite consciousness. As a result, the fostering rivers in the lower world are nourished by this descending higher sweetness and the mental and physical consciousness, the two first mothers of the all-effecting Will, become in their entire largeness perfectly equal and harmonised by this light of the Truth, through this nourishing by the infinite Bliss. They bear the full force of Agni, the blaze of his lightnings, the glory and rapture of his universal forms. For where the Lord, the Male, the Bull of the abundance is increased by the wisdom of the superconscient Truth, there

always flow the streams of the clarity and the streams of the bliss (Riks 7,8).

The Father of all things is the Lord and Male; he is hidden in the secret source of things, in the superconscient; Agni, with his companion gods and with the sevenfold Waters, enters into the superconscient without therefore disappearing from our conscient existence, finds the source of the honeyed plenty of the Father of things and pours them out on our life. He bears and himself becomes the Son, the pure Kumara, the pure Male, the One, the soul in man revealed in its universality; the mental and physical consciousness in the human being accept him as their lord and lover; but, though one, he still enjoys the manifold movement of the rivers, the multiple cosmic energies (Riks 9,10).

Then we are told expressly that this infinite into which he has entered and in which he grows, in which the many Waters victoriously reaching their goal (*yaśasaḥ*) increase him, is the unobstructed Vast where the Truth is born, the shoreless infinite, his own natural seat in which he now takes up his home. There the seven rivers, the sisters, work no longer separated though of one origin as on the earth and in the mortal life, but rather as indivisible companions (*jāmīnām apasi svasṛṇām*). In that entire meeting of these great ones Agni moves in all things and upbears all things; the rays of his vision are perfectly straight, no longer affected by the lower crookedness; he from whom the radiances of knowledge, the brilliant herds, were born, now gives them this high and supreme birth; he turns them into the divine knowledge, the immortal consciousness (Riks 11,12).

This also is his own new and last birth. He who was born as the Son of Force from the growths of earth, he who was born as the child of the Waters, is now born in many forms to the goddess of bliss, she who has the entire felicity, that is to say to the divine conscious beatitude, in the shoreless infinite. The gods or divine powers in man using the mind as an instrument reach him there, unite around him, set him to the great work of the world in this new, mighty and effective birth. They, the outshinings of the vast consciousness, cleave to this divine Force as its bright lightnings and from him in the superconscient, the shoreless vast, his own home, they draw for man the Immortality.

Such then, profound, coherent, luminous behind the veil of figures is the sense of the Vedic symbol of the seven rivers, of the Waters, of the five worlds, of the birth and ascent of Agni which is also the upward journey of man and the gods whose image man forms in himself from level to level of the great hill of being (*sānoḥ sānum*). Once we apply it and seize the true sense of the symbol of the Cow and the symbol of the Soma with a just conception of the psychological functions of the gods, all the apparent incoherences and obscurities and far-fetched chaotic confusion of these ancient hymns disappears in a moment. Simply, easily, without straining there disengages itself the profound and luminous doctrine of the ancient Mystics, the secret of the Veda.

The Herds of the Dawn

THE Seven Rivers of the Veda, the Waters, *āpaḥ*, are usually designated in the figured Vedic language as the seven Mothers or the seven fostering Cows, *sapta dhenavaḥ*. The word *āpaḥ* itself has, covertly, a double significance; for the root *ap* meant originally not only to move, from which in all probability is derived the sense of waters, but to be or bring into being, as in *apatya*, a child, and the Southern Indian *appā*, father. The seven Waters are the waters of being; they are the Mothers from whom all forms of existence are born. But we meet also another expression, *sapta gāvaḥ*, the seven Cows or the seven Lights, and the epithet *saptagu*, that which has seven rays. *Gu* (*gvaḥ*) and *go* (*gāvaḥ*) bear throughout the Vedic hymns this double sense of cows and radiances. In the ancient Indian system of thought being and consciousness were aspects of each other, and Aditi, infinite existence from whom the gods are born, described as the Mother with her seven names and seven seats (*dhāmāni*), is also conceived as the infinite consciousness, the Cow, the primal Light manifest in seven Radiances, *sapta gāvaḥ*. The sevenfold principle of existence is therefore imaged from the one point of view in the figure of the Rivers that arise from the ocean, *sapta dhenavaḥ*, from the other in the figure of the Rays of the all-creating Father, Surya Savitri, *sapta gāvaḥ*.

The image of the Cow is the most important of all the Vedic symbols. For the ritualist the word *go* means simply a physical cow and nothing else, just as its companion word *aśva*, means simply a physical horse and has no other sense, or as *ghṛta* means only water or clarified butter, *vīra* only a son or a retainer or servant. When the Rishi prays to the Dawn, *gomad vīravat dhehi ratnam uṣo aśvāvat*, the ritualistic commentator sees in the invocation only an entreaty for “pleasant wealth to which are attached cows, men (or sons) and horses”. If on the other hand

these words are symbolic, the sense will run, “confirm in us a state of bliss full of light, of conquering energy and of force of vitality”. It is therefore necessary to decide once for all the significance of the word *go* in the Vedic hymns. If it proves to be symbolic, then these other words, — *aśva*, horse, *vīra*, man or hero, *apatya* or *prajā*, offspring, *hiranya*, gold, *vāja*, plenty (food, according to Sayana), — by which it is continually accompanied, must perforce assume also a symbolic and a kindred significance.

The image of the Cow is constantly associated in Veda with the Dawn and the Sun; it also recurs in the legend of the recovery of the lost cows from the cave of the Panis by Indra and Brihaspati with the aid of the hound Sarama and the Angirasa Rishis. The conception of the Dawn and the legend of the Angirasa are at the very heart of the Vedic cult and may almost be considered as the key to the secret of the significance of Veda. It is therefore these two that we must examine in order to find firm ground for our inquiry.

Now even the most superficial examination of the Vedic hymns to the Dawn makes it perfectly clear that the cows of the Dawn, the cows of the Sun are a symbol for Light and cannot be anything else. Sayana himself is obliged in these hymns to interpret the word sometimes as cows, sometimes as rays, — careless, as usual of consistency; sometimes he will even tell us that *gauḥ* like *ṛtam*, the word for truth, means water. As a matter of fact it is evident that we are meant to take the word in a double sense, “light” as the true significance, “cow” as the concrete image and verbal figure.

The sense of “rays” is quite indisputable in such passages as the third verse of Madhuchchhandas’ hymn to Indra, I.7, “Indra for far vision made the Sun to ascend in heaven: he sped him all over the hill by his rays”, *vi gobhir adrim airayat*.¹ But at the same time, the rays of Surya are the herds of the Sun, the kine of Helios slain by the companions of Odysseus in the Odyssey, stolen by Hermes from his brother Apollo in the

¹ We may also translate “He sent abroad the thunderbolt with its lights”; but this does not make as good and coherent a sense; even if we take it, *gobhiḥ* must mean “radiances”, not “cows”.

Homeric hymn to Hermes. They are the cows concealed by the enemy Vala, by the Panis; when Madhuchchhandas says to Indra, "Thou didst uncover the hole of Vala of the Cows", he means that Vala is the concealer, the withholder of the Light and it is the concealed Light that Indra restores to the sacrificer. The recovery of the lost or stolen cows is constantly spoken of in the Vedic hymns and its sense will be clear enough when we come to examine the legend of the Panis and of the Angirases.

Once this sense is established, the material explanation of the Vedic prayer for "cows" is at once shaken; for if the lost cows for whose restoration the Rishis invoke Indra, are not physical herds stolen by the Dravidians but the shining herds of the Sun, of the Light, then we are justified in considering whether the same figure does not apply when there is the simple prayer for "cows" without any reference to any hostile interception. For instance in I.4.1,2 it is said of Indra, the maker of perfect forms who is as a good milker in the milking of the cows, that his ecstasy of the Soma wine is verily "cow-giving", *godā id revato madaḥ*. It is the height of absurdity and irrationality to understand by this phrase that Indra is a very wealthy god and, when he gets drunk, exceedingly liberal in the matter of cow-giving. It is obvious that as the cow-milking in the first verse is a figure, so the cow-giving in the second verse is a figure. And if we know from other passages of the Veda that the Cow is the symbol of Light, we must understand here also that Indra, when full of the Soma-ecstasy, is sure to give us the Light.

In the hymns to the Dawn the symbolic sense of the cows of light is equally clear. Dawn is described always as *gomatī*, which must mean, obviously, luminous or radiant; for it would be nonsense to use "cowful" in a literal sense as the fixed epithet of the Dawn. But the image of the cows is there in the epithet; for Usha is not only *gomatī*, she is *gomatī aśvāvati*; she has always with her her cows and her horses. She creates light for all the world and opens out the darkness as the pen of the Cow, where we have without any possibility of mistake the cow as the symbol of light (I.92.4). We may note also that in this hymn (Rik 16), the Ashwins are asked to drive downward their chariot on a path that is radiant and golden, *gomad hiraṇyavad*. Moreover

Dawn is said to be drawn in her chariot sometimes by ruddy cows, sometimes by ruddy horses. “She yokes her host of the ruddy cows”; *yurikte gavām aruṇānām anikam* (I.124.11), — where the second meaning “her host of the ruddy rays” stands clear behind the concrete image. She is described as the mother of the cows or radiances; *gavām janitrī akṛta pra ketum* (I.124.5), “the Mother of the cows (radiances) has created vision”, and it is said elsewhere of her action, “vision” or “perception has dawned now where nought was”; and again it is clear that the cows are the shining herds of the Light. She is also praised as “the leader of the shining herds”, *netrī gavām*, (VII.76.6); and there is an illuminating verse in which the two ideas are combined, “the Mother of the Herds, the guide of the days”, *gavām mātā netrī ahnām* (VII.77.2). Finally, as if to remove the veil of the image entirely, the Veda itself tells us that the herds are a figure for the rays of the Light, “her happy rays come into sight like the cows released into movement” — *prati bhadṛā adṛkṣata gavām sargā na raśmayah* (IV.52.5). And we have the still more conclusive verse (VII.79.2), “Thy cows (rays) remove the darkness and extend the Light”, *saṁ te gāvas tama ā vartayanti, jyotir yacchanti*.¹

But Dawn is not only drawn by these shining herds; she brings them as a gift to the sacrificer; she is, like Indra in his Soma-ecstasy, a giver of the Light. In a hymn of Vasishtha (VII.75.7) she is described as sharing in the action of the gods by which the strong places where the herds are concealed are broken open and they are given to men; “True with the gods who are true, great with the gods who are great, she breaks open the strong places and gives of the shining herds; the cows low towards the dawn”, — *rujad dṛḷhāni dadad usriyānām, prati gāva uṣasaṁ vāvaśanta*. And in the very next verse she is asked to confirm or establish for the sacrificers *gomad ratnam aśvāvāt purubhojah*, a state of bliss full of the light (cows), of the horses (vital force) and of many enjoyments. The herds which Usha gives are therefore the shining troops of the Light recovered by

¹ It cannot of course be disputed that *gauḥ* means light in the Veda e.g. when it is said that Vritra is slain *gavā*, by light, there is no question of the cow; the question is of the use of the double sense and of the cow as a symbol.

the gods and the Angirasa Rishis from the strong places of Vala and the Panis and the wealth of cows (and horses) for which the Rishis constantly pray can be no other than a wealth of this same Light; for it is impossible to suppose that the cows which Usha is said to give in the 7th verse of the hymn are different from the cows which are prayed for in the 8th, — that the word in the former verse means light and in the next physical cows and that the Rishi has forgotten the image he was using the very moment it has fallen from his tongue.

Sometimes the prayer is not for luminous delight or luminous plenitude, but for a luminous impulsion or force; “Bring to us, O daughter of Heaven, luminous impulsions along with the rays of the Sun”, *gomatir iṣa ā vaha duhitar divaḥ, sākam sūryasya raśmibhiḥ*, (V.79.8). Sayana explains that this means “shining foods”, but it is obviously nonsense to talk of radiant foods being brought by Dawn with the rays of the Sun. If *iṣ* means food, then we have to understand by the phrase “food of cow’s flesh”, but, although the eating of cow’s flesh was not forbidden in the early times, as is apparent from the Brahmanas, still that this sense which Sayana avoids as shocking to the later Hindu sentiment, is not intended — it would be quite as absurd as the other, — is proved by another verse of the Rig-veda in which the Ashwins are invoked to give the luminous impulsion that carries us through to the other side of the darkness, *yā naḥ piparad aśvinā jyotiṣmatī tamas tiraḥ, tām asme rāsāthām iṣam* (I.46.6).

We can perceive from these typical examples how pervading is this image of the Cow of Light and how inevitably it points to a psychological sense for the Veda. A doubt, however, intervenes. Why should we not, even accepting this inevitable conclusion that the cow is an image for Light, understand it to mean simply the light of day as the language of the Veda seems to intend? Why suppose a symbol where there is only an image? Why invite the difficulty of a double figure in which “cow” means light of dawn and light of dawn is the symbol of an inner illumination? Why not take it that the Rishis were praying not for spiritual illumination, but for daylight?

The objections are manifold and some of them overwhelming. If we assume that the Vedic hymns were composed in India

and the dawn is the Indian dawn and the night the brief Indian night of ten or twelve hours, we have to start with the concession that the Vedic Rishis were savages overpowered by a terror of the darkness which they peopled with goblins, ignorant of the natural law of the succession of night and day, — which is yet beautifully hymned in many of the Suktas, — and believed that it was only by their prayers and sacrifices that the Sun rose in the heavens and the Dawn emerged from the embrace of her sister Night. Yet they speak of the undeviating rule of the action of the Gods, and of Dawn following always the path of the eternal Law or Truth! We have to suppose that when the Rishi gives vent to the joyous cry “We have crossed over to the other shore of this darkness!”, it was only the normal awakening to the daily sunrise that he thus eagerly hymned. We have to suppose that the Vedic peoples sat down to the sacrifice at dawn and prayed for the light when it had already come. And if we accept all these improbabilities, we are met by the clear statement that it was only after they had sat for nine or for ten months that the lost light and the lost sun were recovered by the Angirasa Rishis. And what are we to make of the constant assertion of the discovery of the Light by the Fathers; — “Our fathers found out the hidden light, by the truth in their thoughts they brought to birth the Dawn”, *gūḥam jyotiḥ pitaro anvavindan, satyamantrā ajanayan uṣāsam* (VII.76.4)? If we found such a verse in any collection of poems in any literature, we would at once give it a psychological or a spiritual sense; there is no just reason for a different treatment of the Veda.

If, however, we are to give a naturalistic explanation and no other to the Vedic hymns, it is quite clear that the Vedic Dawn and Night cannot be the Night and Dawn of India; it is only in the Arctic regions that the attitude of the Rishis towards these natural circumstances and the statements about the Angirasa become at all intelligible. But though it is extremely probable that the memories of the Arctic home enter into the external sense of the Veda, the Arctic theory does not exclude an inner sense behind the ancient images drawn from Nature nor does it dispense with the necessity for a more coherent and straightforward explanation of the hymns to the Dawn.

We have, for instance, the hymn of Praskanwa Kanwa to the Ashwins (I.46) in which there is the reference to the luminous impulsion that carries us through to the other shore of the darkness. This hymn is intimately connected with the Vedic idea of the Dawn and the Night. It contains references to many of the fixed Vedic images, to the path of the Truth, the crossing of the rivers, the rising of the Sun, the connection between the Dawn and the Ashwins, the mystic effect and oceanic essence of the Soma-wine.

“Lo, the Dawn than which there is none higher, opens out full of delight in the Heavens; O Ashwins, the Vast of you I affirm, ye of whom the Ocean is the mother, accomplishers of the work who pass beyond through the mind to the felicities and, divine, find that substance by the thought.... O Lords of the Voyage, who mentalise the word, this is the dissolver of your thinkings, — drink ye of the Soma violently; give to us that impulsion, O Ashwins which, luminous, carries us through beyond the darkness. Travel for us in your ship to reach the other shore beyond the thoughts of the mind. Yoke, O Ashwins, your car, — your car that becomes the vast oared ship in Heaven, in the crossing of its rivers. By the thought the powers of Delight have been yoked. The Soma-powers of delight in heaven are that substance in the place of the Waters. But where shall you cast aside the veil you have made to conceal you? Nay, Light has been born for the joy of the Soma; — the Sun that was dark has shot out its tongue towards the Gold. The path of the Truth has come into being by which we shall travel to that other shore; seen is all the wide way through Heaven. The seeker grows in his being towards increasing manifestation after manifestation of the Ashwins when they find satisfaction in the ecstasy of the Soma. Do ye, dwelling (or, shining) in the all-luminous Sun, by the drinking of the Soma, by the Word come as creators of the bliss into our humanity. Dawn comes to us according to your glory when you pervade all our worlds and you win the Truths out of the Nights. Both together drink, O Ashwins, both together extend to us the peace by expandings whose wholeness remains unturn.”

This is the straightforward and natural sense of the hymn and its intention is not difficult to follow if we remember the main ideas and images of the Vedic doctrine. The Night is clearly the image of an inner darkness; by the coming of the Dawn the Truths are won out of the Nights. This is the rising of the Sun which was lost in the obscurity — the familiar figure of the lost sun recovered by the Gods and the Angirasa Rishis — the sun of Truth and it now shoots out its tongue of fire towards the golden Light: — for *hiranya*, gold is the concrete symbol of the higher light, the gold of the Truth, and it is this treasure not golden coin for which the Vedic Rishis pray to the Gods. This great change from the inner obscuration to the illumination is effected by the Ashwins, lords of the joyous upward action of the mind and the vital powers, through the immortal wine of the Ananda poured into mind and body and there drunk by them. They mentalise the expressive Word, they lead us into the heaven of pure mind beyond this darkness and there by the Thought they set the powers of the Delight to work. But even over the heavenly waters they cross, for the power of the Soma helps them to dissolve all mental constructions, and they cast aside even this veil; they go beyond Mind and the last attaining is described as the crossing of the rivers, the passage through the heaven of the pure mind, the journey by the path of the Truth to the other side. Not till we reach the highest supreme, *paramā parāvat*, do we rest at last from the great human journey.

We shall see that not only in this hymn, but everywhere Dawn comes as a bringer of the Truth, is herself the outshining of the Truth. She is the divine Dawn and the physical dawning is only her shadow and symbol in the material universe.

Dawn and the Truth

USHA is described repeatedly as the Mother of the Cows. If then the cow is a Vedic symbol for the physical light or for spiritual illumination the phrase must either bear this sense that she is the mother or source of the physical rays of the daylight or else that she creates the radiances of the supreme Day, the splendour and clarity of the inner illumination. But we see in the Veda that Aditi, the Mother of the gods, is described both as the Cow and as the general Mother; she is the Supreme Light and all radiances proceed from her. Psychologically, Aditi is the supreme or infinite Consciousness, mother of the gods, in opposition to Danu or Diti,¹ the divided consciousness, mother of Vritra and the other Danavas — enemies of the gods and of man in his progress. In a more general aspect she is the source of all the cosmic forms of consciousness from the physical upwards, the seven cows, *sapta gāvah*, are her forms and there are, we are told, seven names and seven seats of the Mother. Usha as the mother of the cows can only be a form or power of this supreme Light, of this supreme Consciousness, of Aditi. And in fact, we do find her so described in I.113.19, *mātā devānām aditer anikam*, “Mother of the gods, form (or, power) of Aditi”.

But the illumining dawn of the higher or undivided Consciousness is always the dawn of the Truth; if Usha is that illumining dawn, then we are bound to find her advent frequently associated in the verses of the Rig-veda with the idea of the Truth, the *ṛtam*. And such association we do repeatedly find. For, first of all, Usha is described as “following effectively the path of the Truth”, *ṛtasya panthām anveti sādhu* (I.124.3). Here neither the ritualistic nor the naturalistic sense suggested for *ṛtam* can at all apply; there would be no meaning in a constant affirmation

¹ Not that the word Aditi is etymologically the privative of Diti; the two words derive from entirely different roots, *ad* and *di*.

that Dawn follows the path of the sacrifice or follows the path of the water. We can only escape from the obvious significance if we choose to understand by *panthā ṛtasya* the path, not of the Truth, but of the Sun. But the Veda describes rather the Sun as following the path of Usha and this would be the natural image suggested to an observer of the physical Dawn. Moreover, even if the phrase did not clearly in other passages mean the path of the Truth, the psychological significance would still intervene; for the sense would then be that the dawn of illumination follows the path of the True or the Lord of the Truth, Surya Savitri.

We have precisely the same idea repeated but with still clearer and fuller psychological indications in I.124.3, *ṛtasya panthām anveti sādhu, prajānatīva na diśo mināti*, “She moves according to the path of the Truth and, as one that knows, she limits not the regions”. *Diśaḥ*, we may note, has a double sense; but it is not necessary to insist upon it here. Dawn adheres to the path of the Truth and because she has this knowledge or perception she does not limit the infinity, the *br̥hat*, of which she is the illumination. That this is the true sense of the verse is proved beyond dispute, expressly, unmistakably, by a Rik of the fifth Mandala (V.80.1) which describes Usha *dyutad-yāmānam br̥hatīm ṛtena ṛtāvarīm svar āvahantīm*, “of a luminous movement, vast with the Truth, supreme in (or possessed of) the Truth, bringing with her Swar”. We have the idea of the Vast, the idea of the Truth, the idea of the solar light of the world of Swar; and certainly all these notions are thus intimately and insistently associated with no mere physical Dawn! We may compare VII.75.1, *vyuṣā āvo divijā ṛtena, āviṣkr̥ṇvānā mahimānam āgāt*, “Dawn born in heaven opens out things by the Truth, she comes manifesting the greatness”. Again we have Dawn revealing all things by the power of the Truth and the result described as the manifestation of a certain Vastness.

Finally we have the same idea described, but with the use of another word for Truth, *satya* which does not, like *ṛtam*, lend itself to any ambiguity, *satyā satyebhir mahatī mahadbhir devī devebhiḥ* (VII.75.7), “Dawn true in her being with the gods who are true, vast with the Gods who are vast”. This “truth” of the Dawn is much insisted upon by Vamadeva in one of his

hymns, IV.51; for there not only does he speak of the Dawns “encompassing the worlds immediately with horses yoked by the Truth”, *ṛtayugbhir aśvaiḥ* (cf. VI.65.2) but he speaks of them as *bhadrā ṛtajātasatyāḥ*, “happy, and true because born from the Truth”, and in another verse he describes them as “the goddesses who awake from the seat of the Truth” (IV.51.8).

This close connection of *bhadra* and *ṛta* reminds us of the same connection of ideas in Madhuchchandas’ Hymn to Agni. In our psychological interpretation of the Veda we are met at every turn by the ancient conception of the Truth as the path to the Bliss. Usha, the dawn of the illumination of the Truth, must necessarily bring also the joy and the beatitude. This idea of the Dawn as the bringer of delight we find constantly in the Veda and Vasishtha gives a very positive expression to it in VII.81.3, *yā vahasi puru spārham ratnam na dāsuse mayah*, “thou who bearest to the giver the beatitude as a manifold and desirable ecstasy”.

A common Vedic word is the word *sūnṛtā* which Sayana interprets as “pleasant and true speech”; but it seems to have often the more general sense of “happy truths”. Dawn is sometimes described as *ṛtāvari*, full of the Truth, sometimes as *sūnṛtāvari*. She comes uttering her true and happy words, *sūnṛtā irayanti*. As she has been described as the leader of the radiant herds and the leader of the days, so she is described as the luminous leader of happy truths, *bhāsvatī netri sūnṛtānām* (I.92.7). And this close connection in the mind of the Vedic Rishis between the idea of light, of the rays or cows, and the idea of the truth is even more unmistakable in another Rik, I.92.14, *gomati aśvāvati vibhāvari...sūnṛtāvati*, “Dawn with the shining herds, with thy steeds, widely luminous, full of happy truths”. A similar but yet more open phrase in I.48.2 points the significance of this collocation of epithets, *gomatī aśvāvatiṛ viśvasuvidah*, “Dawns with their radiances (herds), their swiftnesses (horses), rightly knowing all things”.

These are by no means all the indications of the psychological character of the Vedic Dawn that we find in the Rig-veda. Dawn is constantly represented as awakening to vision, perception, right movement. “The goddess”, says Gotama Rahugana, “fronts and looks upon all the worlds, the eye of vision shines

with an utter wideness; awakening all life for movement she discovers speech for all that thinks”, *viśvasya vācam avidat manā-yoḥ* (I.92.9). We have here a Dawn that releases life and mind into their fullest wideness and we ignore the whole force of the words and phrases chosen by the Rishi if we limit the suggestion to a mere picture of the reawakening of earthly life in the physical dawning. And even if here the word used for the vision brought by the Dawn, *cakṣuḥ*, is capable of indicating only physical sight, yet in other passages it is *ketuḥ* which means perception, a perceptive vision in the mental consciousness, a faculty of knowledge. Usha is *pracetāḥ*, she who has this perceptive knowledge. Mother of the radiances, she has created this perceptive vision of the mind; *gavām janitrī akṛta pra ketum* (I.124.5). She is herself that vision, — “Now perceptive vision has broken out into its wide dawn where nought was before”, *vi nūnam ucchād asati pra ketuḥ* (I.124.11). She is by her perceptive power possessed of the happy truths, *cikitvit sūnṛtāvari* (IV.52.4).

This perception, this vision is, we are told, that of the Immortality, *amṛtasya ketuḥ* (III.61.3); it is the light, in other words, of the Truth and the Bliss which constitute the higher or immortal consciousness. Night in the Veda is the symbol of our obscure consciousness full of ignorance in knowledge and of stumblings in will and act, therefore of all evil, sin and suffering; light is the coming of the illuminated higher consciousness which leads to truth and happiness. We find constantly the opposition of the two words *duritam* and *suvitam*. *Duritam* means literally stumbling or wrong going, figuratively all that is wrong and evil, all sin, error, calamity; *suvitam* means literally right or good going and expresses all that is good and happy, it means especially the felicity that comes by following the right path. Thus Vasishtha says of the goddess (VII.78.2), “Dawn comes divine repelling by the Light all darknesses and evils”, *viśvā tamāṁsi duritā*; and in a number of verses the goddess is described as awakening, impelling or leading men to right going, to the happiness, *suvitāya*.

Therefore she is the leader not only of happy truths, but of our spiritual wealth and joy, bringer of the felicity which is reached by man or brought to him by the Truth, *eṣā netri rā-*

dhasaḥ sūnṛtānām (VII.76.7). This wealth for which the Rishis pray is described under the figure of material riches; it is *gomad aśvāvad vīravād* or it is *gomad aśvāvad rathavacca rādhaḥ*. *Go*, the cow, *aśva*, the horse, *prajā* or *apatya*, the offspring, *nṛ* or *vīra*, the man or hero, *hiraṇya*, gold, *ratha*, the chariot, *śravas*, — food or fame; according to the ritualist interpretation, — these are the constituents of the wealth desired by the Vedic sages. Nothing, it would seem, could be more matter-of-fact, earthy, material; these are indeed the blessings for which a race of lusty barbarians full of vigorous appetite, avid of earth's goods would pray to their primitive gods. But we have seen that *hiraṇya* is used in another sense than that of earthly gold. We have seen that the "cows" return constantly in connection with the Dawn as a figure for the Light and we have seen that this light is connected with mental vision and with the truth that brings the bliss. And *aśva*, the horse, is always in these concrete images of psychological suggestions coupled with the symbolic figure of the cows: Dawn is *gomatī aśvāvati*. Vasishtha has a verse (VII.77.3) in which the symbolic sense of the Vedic Horse comes out with great power and clearness, —

*Devānām cakṣuḥ subhagā vahantī,
śvetam nayantī sudṛśīkam aśvam;
uṣā adarśī raśmibhir vyaktā
citrāmaghā viśvam anu prabhūtā.*

"Happy, bringing the gods' eye of vision, leading the white Horse that has perfect sight, Dawn is seen expressed entirely by the rays, full of her varied riches, manifesting her birth in all things." It is clear enough that the white horse (a phrase applied to the god Agni who is the Seer-Will, *kavikratu*, the perfectly-seeing force of divine will in its works (V.11.4) is entirely symbolical¹ and that the "varied riches" she brings with her are also a figure and certainly do not mean physical wealth.

¹ The symbolism of the horse is quite evident in the hymns of Dirghatamas to the Horse of the Sacrifice, the hymns of various Rishis to the Horse Dadhikravan and again in the opening of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad in which "Dawn is the head of the Horse" is the first phrase of a very elaborate figure.

Dawn is described as *gomatī aśvāvatī vīravatī*; and since the epithets *gomatī* and *aśvāvatī* applied to her are symbolical and mean not “cowful and horsed”, but radiant with illuminations of knowledge and accompanied by the swiftnesses of force, so *vīravatī* cannot mean “man-accompanied” or accompanied by heroes or servants or sons, but rather signifies that she is attended by conquering energies or at any rate is used in some kindred and symbolic sense. This becomes quite evident in I.113.18, *yā gomatīr uśasaḥ sarvavīrāḥ...tā aśvadā aśnavat somasutvā*. It does not mean “the Dawns that have cows and all men or all servants, those a man, having offered the Soma, enjoys as horse-givers.” The Dawn is the inner dawn which brings to man all the varied fullnesses of his widest being, force, consciousness, joy; it is radiant with its illuminations, it is accompanied by all possible powers and energies, it gives man the full force of vitality so that he can enjoy the infinite delight of that vaster existence.

We can no longer take *gomad aśvāvad vīravad rādhaḥ* in a physical sense; the very language of the Veda points us to quite another truth. Therefore the other circumstances of this god-given wealth must be taken equally in a spiritual significance; the offspring, gold, chariots are symbolical; *śravas* is not fame or food, but bears its psychological sense and means the higher knowledge which comes not to the senses or the intellect, but to the divine hearing and the divine vision of the Truth; *rādhaḥ dīrghaśruttamam* (VII.81.5), *rayim śravasyum* (VII.75.2) is that rich state of being, that spiritually opulent felicity which turns towards the knowledge (*śravasyu*) and has a far-extended hearing for the vibrations of the Word that comes to us from the regions (*diśaḥ*) of the Infinite. Thus the luminous figure of the Dawn liberates us from the material, ritual, ignorant misunderstanding of the Veda which would lead us stumbling from pitfall to pitfall in a very night of chaos and obscurity; it opens to us the closed door and admits to the heart of the Vedic knowledge.

The Cow and the Angirasa Legend

WE MUST now pursue this image of the Cow which we are using as a key to the sense of the Veda, into the striking Vedic parable or legend of the Angirasa Rishis, on the whole the most important of all the Vedic myths.

The Vedic hymns, whatever else they may be, are throughout an invocation to certain "Aryan" gods, friends and helpers of man, for ends which are held by the singers, — or seers, as they call themselves (*kavi*, *ṛṣi*, *vipra*), — to be supremely desirable (*vara*, *vāra*). These desirable ends, these boons of the gods are summed up in the words *rayi*, *rādhas*, which may mean physically wealth or prosperity, and psychologically a felicity or enjoyment which consists in the abundance of certain forms of spiritual wealth. Man contributes as his share of the joint effort the work of the sacrifice, the Word, the Soma-Wine and the *ghṛta* or clarified butter. The gods are born in the sacrifice, they increase by the Word, the Wine and the *ghṛta* and in that strength and in the ecstasy and intoxication of the Wine they accomplish the aims of the sacrificer. The chief elements of the wealth thus acquired are the Cow and the Horse; but there are also others, *hiranya*, gold, *vīra*, men or heroes, *ratha*, chariots, *prajā* or *apatya*, offspring. The very means of the sacrifice, the fire, the Soma, the *ghṛta*, are supplied by the gods and they attend the sacrifice as its priests, purifiers, upholders, heroes of its warfare, — for there are those who hate the sacrifice and the Word, attack the sacrificer and tear or withhold from him the coveted wealth. The chief conditions of the prosperity so ardently desired are the rising of the Dawn and the Sun and the downpour of the rain of heaven and of the seven rivers, — physical or mystic, — called in the Veda the Mighty Ones of heaven. But even this prosperity, this fullness of cows, horses, gold, men, chariots, offspring, is not a final end in itself; all this is a means towards the opening

up of the other worlds, the winning of Swar, the ascent to the solar heavens, the attainment by the path of the Truth to the Light and to the heavenly Bliss where the mortal arrives at Immortality.

Such is the undoubted substance of the Veda. The ritual and mythological sense which has been given to it from very ancient times is well known and need not be particularised; in sum, it is the performance of sacrificial worship as the chief duty of man with a view to the enjoyment of wealth here and heaven hereafter. We know also the modern view of the matter in which the Veda is a worship of the personified sun, moon, stars, dawn, wind, rain, fire, sky, rivers and other deities of Nature, the propitiation of these gods by sacrifice, the winning and holding of wealth in this life, chiefly from human and Dravidian enemies and against hostile demons and mortal plunderers, and after death man's attainment to the Paradise of the gods. We now find, that however valid these ideas may have been for the vulgar, they were not the inner sense of the Veda to the seers, the illumined minds (*kavi, vipra*) of the Vedic age. For them these material objects were symbols of the immaterial; the cows were the radiances or illuminations of a divine Dawn, the horses and chariots were symbols of force and movement, gold was light, the shining wealth of a divine Sun — the true light, *ṛtam jyotiḥ*; both the wealth acquired by the sacrifice and the sacrifice itself in all their details symbolised man's effort and his means towards a greater end, the acquisition of immortality. The aspiration of the Vedic seer was the enrichment and expansion of man's being, the birth and the formation of the godheads in his life-sacrifice, the increase of the Force, Truth, Light, Joy of which they are the powers until through the enlarged and ever-opening worlds of his being the soul of man rises, sees the divine doors (*devīr dvārah*) swing open to his call and enters into the supreme felicity of a divine existence beyond heaven and earth. This ascent is the parable of the Angirasa Rishis.

All the gods are conquerors and givers of the Cows, the Horse and the divine riches, but it is especially the great deity Indra who is the hero and fighter in this warfare and who wins for man the Light and the Force. Therefore Indra is constantly

addressed as the Master of the herds, *gopati*; he is even imaged as himself the cow and the horse; he is the good milker whom the Rishi wishes to milk and what he yields are perfect forms and ultimate thoughts; he is Vrishabha, the Bull of the herds; his is the wealth of cows and horses which man covets. It is even said in VI.28.5, "O people, these that are the cows, they are Indra; it is Indra I desire with my heart and with my mind." This identification of the cows and Indra is important and we shall have to return to it, when we deal with Madhuchchhandas' hymns to that deity.

But ordinarily the Rishis image the acquisition of this wealth as a conquest effected against certain powers, the Dasyus, sometimes represented as possessing the coveted riches which have to be ravished from them by violence, sometimes as stealing them from the Aryan who has then to discover and recover the lost wealth by the aid of the gods. The Dasyus who withhold or steal the cows are called the Panis, a word which seems originally to have meant doers, dealers or traffickers; but this significance is sometimes coloured by its further sense of "misers". Their chief is Vala, a demon whose name signifies probably the circumscriber or "encloser", as Vritra means the opponent, obstructer or en-folding coverer. It is easy to suggest, as do the scholars who would read as much primitive history as possible into the Veda, that the Panis are the Dravidians and Vala is their chief or god. But this sense can only be upheld in isolated passages; in many hymns it is incompatible with the actual words of the Rishis and turns into a jumble of gaudy nonsense their images and figures. We have seen something of this incompatibility already; it will become clearer to us as we examine more closely the mythus of the lost cows.

Vala dwells in a lair, a hole (*bila*) in the mountains; Indra and the Angirasa Rishis have to pursue him there and force him to give up his wealth: for he is Vala of the cows, *valasya gomataḥ* (I.11.5). The Panis also are represented as concealing the stolen herds in a cave of the mountain which is called their concealing prison, *vavra*, or the pen of the cows, *vraja*, or sometimes in a significant phrase, *gavyam ūrvam*, literally the cowey wideness or in the other sense of *go* "the luminous wideness", the vast wealth

of the shining herds. To recover this lost wealth the sacrifice has to be performed; the Angirasas or else Brihaspati and the Angirasa has to chant the true word, the *mantra*; Sarama the heavenly hound has to find out the cows in the cave of the Panis; Indra strong with the Soma-wine and the Angirasa, the seers, his companions, have to follow the track, enter the cave or violently break open the strong places of the hill, defeat the Panis and drive upward the delivered herds.

Let us, first, take note of certain features which ought not to be overlooked when we seek to determine the interpretation of this parable or this myth. In the first place the legend, however precise in its images, is not yet in the Veda a simple mythological tradition, but is used with a certain freedom and fluidity which betrays the significant image behind the sacred tradition. Often it is stripped of the mythological aspect and applied to the personal need or aspiration of the singer. For it is an action of which Indra is always capable; although he has done it once for all in the type by means of the Angirasa, yet he repeats the type continually even in the present, he is constantly the seeker of the cows, *gaveṣaṇā*, and the restorer of the stolen wealth.

Sometimes we have simply the fact of the stolen cows and the recovery by Indra without any reference to Sarama or the Angirasa or the Panis. But it is not always Indra who recovers the herds. We have for instance a hymn to Agni, the second of the fifth Mandala, a hymn of the Atris, in which the singer applies the image of the stolen cows to himself in a language which clearly betrays its symbolism. Agni, long repressed in her womb by mother Earth who is unwilling to give him to the father Heaven, held and concealed in her so long as she is compressed into limited form (*peṣī*), at length comes to birth when she becomes great and vast (*mahiṣī*). The birth of Agni is associated with a manifestation or vision of luminous herds. "I beheld afar in a field one shaping his weapons who was golden-tusked and pure-bright of hue; I give to him the Amrita (the immortal essence, Soma) in separate parts; what shall they do to me who have not Indra and have not the word? I beheld in the field as it were a happy herd ranging continuously, many, shining; they seized them not, for *he* was born; even those (cows) that were

old, become young again." But if these *Dasyus* who have not Indra, nor the word, are at present powerless to seize on the luminous herds, it was otherwise before this bright and formidable godhead was born. "Who were they that divorced my strength (*maryakam*; my host of men, my heroes, *vīra*) from the cows? For they (my men) had no warrior and protector of the kine. Let those who took them from me, release them; he knows and comes driving to us the cattle."

What, we may fairly ask, are these shining herds, these cows who were old and become young again? Certainly, they are not physical herds, nor is it any earthly field by the Yamuna or the Jhelum that is the scene of this splendid vision of the golden-tusked warrior god and the herds of the shining cattle. They are the herds either of the physical or of the divine Dawn and the language suits ill with the former interpretation; this mystical vision is surely a figure of the divine illumination. They are radiances that were stolen by the powers of darkness and are now divinely recovered not by the god of the physical fire, but by the flaming Force which was concealed in the littleness of the material existence and is now liberated into the clarities of an illumined mental action.

Indra is not, then, the only god who can break up the tenebrous cave and restore the lost radiances. There are other deities to whom various hymns make the attribution of this great victory. Usha is one of them, the divine Dawn, mother of these herds. "True with the gods who are true, great with the gods who are great, sacrificial godhead with the gods sacrificial, she breaks open the strong places, she gives of the shining herds; the cows low towards the Dawn!" (VII.75.7). Agni is another; sometimes he wars by himself as we have already seen, sometimes along with Indra — "Ye two warred over the cows, O Indra, O Agni" (VI.60.2); or, again, with Soma, "O Agni and Soma, that heroic might of yours was made conscient when ye robbed the Pani of the cows" (I.93.4). Soma in another passage is associated in this victory with Indra, "This god born by force, stayed, with Indra as his comrade, the Pani" and performed all the exploits of the gods warring against the *Dasyus* (VI.44.22). The Ashwins also are credited with the same achievement in VI.62.11, "Ye two

open the doors of the strong pen full of the kine” and again in I.112.18, “O Angiras, (the twin Ashwins are sometimes unified in a single appellation), ye two take delight by the mind and enter first in the opening of the stream of the cows”, where the sense is evidently the liberated, outflowing stream or sea of the Light.

Brihaspati is more frequently the hero of this victory. “Brihaspati, coming first into birth from the great Light in the supreme ether, seven-mouthed, multiply-born, seven-rayed, dispelled the darknesses; he with his host that possess the *stubbh* and the Rik broke Vala into pieces by his cry. Shouting Brihaspati drove upwards the bright herds that speed the offering and they lowed in reply” (IV.50.4,5). And again in VI.73.1 and 3, “Brihaspati who is the hill-breaker, the first-born, the Angirasa.... Brihaspati conquered the treasures (*vasūni*), great pens this god won full of the kine.” The Maruts also, singers of the Rik like Brihaspati, are associated, though less directly in this divine action. “He whom ye foster, O Maruts, shall break open the pen” (VI.66.8), and elsewhere we hear of the cows of the Maruts (I.38.2). Pushan, the Increaser, a form of the sun-god is also invoked for the pursuit and recovery of the stolen cattle (VI.54.5,6,10): “Let Pushan follow after our kine, let him protect our war-steeds.... Pushan, go thou after the kine.... Let him drive back to us that which was lost.” Even Saraswati becomes a slayer of the Panis. And in Madhuchchhandas’ hymn (I.11.5) we have this striking image, “O lord of the thunderbolt, thou didst uncover the hole of Vala of the cows; the gods, unfearing, entered speeding (or putting forth their force) into thee.”

Is there a definite sense in these variations which will bind them together into a single coherent idea or is it at random that the Rishis invoke now this and now the other deity in the search and war for their lost cattle? If we will consent to take the ideas of the Veda as a whole instead of bewildering ourselves in the play of separate detail, we shall find a very simple and sufficient answer. This matter of the lost herds is only part of a whole system of connected symbols and images. They are recovered by the sacrifice and the fiery god Agni is the flame, the power and the priest of the sacrifice; — by the Word, and Brihaspati is the father of the Word, the Maruts its singers or Brahmas, *brahmāṇo*

marutaḥ, Saraswati its inspiration; — by the Wine, and Soma is the god of the Wine and the Ashwins its seekers, finders, givers, drinkers. The herds are the herds of Light and the Light comes by the Dawn and by the Sun of whom Pushan is a form. Finally, Indra is the head of all these gods, lord of the light, king of the luminous heaven called Swar, — he is, we say, the luminous or divine Mind, into him all the gods enter and take part in his unveiling of the hidden light. We see therefore that there is a perfect appropriateness in the attribution of one and the same victory to these different deities and in Madhuchchhandas' image of the gods entering into Indra for the stroke against Vala. Nothing has been done at random or in obedience to a confused fluidity of ideas. The Veda is perfect and beautiful in its coherence and its unity.

Moreover, the conquest of the Light is only part of the great action of the Vedic sacrifice. The gods have to win by it all the boons (*viśvā vāryā*) which are necessary for the conquest of immortality and the emergence of the hidden illuminations is only one of these. Force, the Horse, is as necessary as Light, the Cow; not only must Vala be reached and the light won from his jealous grasp, but Vritra must be slain and the waters released; the emergence of the shining herds means the rising of the Dawn and the Sun; that again is incomplete without the sacrifice, the fire, the wine. All these things are different members of one action, sometimes mentioned separately, sometimes in groups, sometimes together as if in a single action, a grand total conquest. And the result of their possession is the revelation of the vast Truth and the conquest of Swar, the luminous world, called frequently the wide other world, *urum u lokam* or simply *u lokam*. We must grasp this unity first if we are to understand the separate introduction of these symbols in the various passages of the Rig-veda.

Thus in VI.73 which has already been cited, we find a brief hymn of three verses in which these symbols are briefly put together in their unity; it might almost be described as one of the mnemonic hymns of the Veda which serve to keep in mind the unity of its sense and its symbolism. "He who is the hill-breaker, first-born, possessed of the truth, Brihaspati, the Angirasa, the giver of the oblation, pervader of the two worlds, dweller in the

heat and light (of the sun), our father, roars aloud as the Bull to the two firmaments. Brihaspati who for man the voyager has fashioned that other world in the calling of the gods, slaying the Vritra-forces breaks open the cities, conquering foes and overpowering unfriends in his battles. Brihaspati conquers for him the treasures, great pens this god wins full of the kine, seeking the conquest of the world of Swar, unassailable; Brihaspati slays the Foe by the hymns of illumination (*arkaiḥ*).” We see at once the unity of this many-sided symbolism.

Another passage more mystic in its language brings in the idea of the dawn and the restoration or new-birth of light in the sun which are not expressly mentioned in the brief hymn to Brihaspati. It is in the praise of Soma of which the opening phrase has already been cited, VI.44.22; “This god born by force, stayed, with Indra as his comrade, the Pani; he it was wrested from his own unblest father (the divided being) his weapons of war and his forms of knowledge (*māyāḥ*), he it was made the Dawns glorious in their lord, he it was created in the Sun the Light within, he it was found the triple principle (of immortality) in heaven in its regions of splendour (the three worlds of Swar) and in the tripartite worlds the hidden immortality (this is the giving of the Amrita in separate parts alluded to in the Atris’ hymn to Agni, the threefold offering of the Soma given on the three levels, *triṣu sānuṣu*, body, life and mind); he it was supported widely heaven and earth, he it was fashioned the car with the seven rays; he it was held by his force the ripe yield (of the *madhu* or *ghṛta*) in the cows, even the fountain of the ten movements” (VI.44.22-24). It certainly seems astonishing to me that so many acute and eager minds should have read such hymns as these without realising that they are the sacred poems of symbolists and mystics, not of Nature-worshipping barbarians or of rude Aryan invaders warring with the civilised and Vedantic Dravidians.

Let us now pass rapidly through certain other passages in which there is a more scattered collocation of these symbols. First, we find that in this image of the cavern-pen, in the hill, as elsewhere, the Cow and Horse go together. We have seen Pushan called upon to seek for the cows and protect the horses. The two forms of the Aryan’s wealth always at the mercy of marauders?

But let us see. "So in thy ecstasy of the Soma thou didst break open, O hero (Indra), the pen of the Cow and the Horse, like a city" (VIII.32.5). "Break open for us the thousands of the Cow and the Horse" (VIII.34.14). "That which thou holdest, O Indra, the Cow and the Horse and the imperishable enjoyment, confirm that in the sacrificer and not in the Pani; he who lies in the slumber, doing not the work and seeking not the gods, let him perish by his own impulsions; thereafter confirm perpetually (in us) the wealth that must increase" (VIII.97.2,3). In another hymn the Panis are said to withhold the wealth of cows and horses. Always they are powers who receive the coveted wealth but do not use it, preferring to slumber, avoiding the divine action (*vrata*), and they are powers who must perish or be conquered before the wealth can be securely possessed by the sacrificer. And always the Cow and the Horse represent a concealed and imprisoned wealth which has to be uncovered and released by a divine puissance.

With the conquest of the shining herds is also associated the conquest or the birth or illumination of the Dawn and the Sun, but this is a point whose significance we shall have to consider in another chapter. And associated with the Herds, the Dawn and the Sun are the Waters; for the slaying of Vritra with the release of the waters and the defeat of Vala with the release of the herds are two companion and not unconnected myths. In certain passages even, as in I.32.4, the slaying of Vritra is represented as the preliminary to the birth of the Sun, the Dawn and Heaven, and in others the opening of the Hill to the flowing of the Waters. For the general connection we may note the following passages: VII.90.4, "The Dawns broke forth perfect in their shining and unhurt; meditating they (the Angirasas) found the wide Light; they who desire opened the wideness of the cows and the waters for them flowed forth from heaven"; I.72.8, "By right thought the seven Mighty Ones of heaven (the seven rivers) knew the truth and knew the doors of bliss; Sarama found the strong wideness of the cows and by that the human creature enjoys"; I.100.18 of Indra and the Maruts, "He with his shining companions won the field, won the Sun, won the waters"; V.14.4 of Agni, "Agni, born, shone out slaying the Dasyus, by the Light the Darkness; he found the cows, the waters and Swar"; VI.60.2 of Indra and

Agni, "Ye two warred over the cows, the waters, Swar, the dawns that were ravished; O Indra, O Agni, thou unitest (to us) the regions, Swar, the brilliant dawns, the waters and the cows"; I.32.12 of Indra, "O hero, thou didst conquer the cow, thou didst conquer the Soma; thou didst loose forth to their flowing the seven rivers."

In the last passage we see Soma coupled with the cows among the conquests of Indra. Usually the Soma-intoxication is the strength in which Indra conquers the cows; e.g. III.43.7, the Soma "in the intoxication of which thou didst open up the cowpens"; (II.15.8), "He, hymned by the Angirasa, broke Vala and hurled apart the strong places of the hill; he severed their artificial obstructions; these things Indra did in the intoxication of the Soma". Sometimes, however, the working is reversed and it is the Light that brings the bliss of the Soma-wine or they come together as in I.62.5, "Hymned by the Angirasa, O achiever of works, thou didst open the dawns with (or by) the Sun and with (or by) the cows the Soma".

Agni is also, like the Soma, an indispensable element of the sacrifice and therefore we find Agni too included in these formulas of association, as in VII.99.4: "Ye made that wide other world for (as the goal of) the sacrifice, bringing into being the Sun and the Dawn and Agni", and we have the same formula in III.31.15, with the addition of the Path and in VII.44.3, with the addition of the cow.

From these examples it will appear how closely the different symbols and parables of the Veda are connected with each other and we shall therefore miss the true road of interpretation if we treat the legend of the Angirasa and the Panis as an isolated mythus which we can interpret at our pleasure without careful regard to its setting in the general thought of the Veda and the light that that general thought casts upon the figured language in which the legend is recounted.

The Lost Sun and the Lost Cows

THE conquest or recovery of the Sun and the Dawn is a frequent subject of allusion in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Sometimes it is the finding of Surya, sometimes the finding or conquest of Swar, the world of Surya. Sayana, indeed, takes the word Swar as a synonym of Surya; but it is perfectly clear from several passages that Swar is the name of a world or supreme Heaven above the ordinary heaven and earth. Sometimes indeed it is used for the solar light proper both to Surya and to the world which is formed by his illumination. We have seen that the waters which descend from Heaven or which are conquered and enjoyed by Indra and the mortals who are befriended by him, are described as *svarvatih̄ apah̄*. Sayana, taking these *apah̄* for physical waters, was bound to find another meaning for *svarvatih̄* and he declares that it means *saraṇavatih̄*, moving; but this is obviously a forced sense which the word itself does not suggest and can hardly bear. The thunderbolt of Indra is called the heavenly stone, *svaryam aśmānam*; its light, that is to say, is the light from this world of the solar splendours. Indra himself is *svarpati*, the master of Swar, of the luminous world.

Moreover, as we see that the finding and recovery of the Cows is usually described as the work of Indra, often with the aid of the Angirasa Rishis and by the instrumentality of the *mantra* and the sacrifice, of Agni and Soma, so also the finding and recovery of the sun is attributed to the same agencies. Moreover the two actions are continually associated together. We have, it seems to me, overwhelming evidence in the Veda itself that all these things constitute really one great action of which they are parts. The Cows are the hidden rays of the Dawn or of Surya; their rescue out of the darkness leads to or is the sign of the uprising of the Sun that was hidden in the darkness; this again is the condition, always with the instrumentality

of the sacrifice, its circumstances and its helping gods, of the conquest of Swar, the supreme world of Light. So much results beyond doubt, it seems to me, from the language of the Veda itself; but also that language points to this Sun being a symbol of the divine illumining Power, Swar the world of the divine Truth and the conquest of divine Truth the real aim of the Vedic Rishis and the subject of their hymns. I will now examine as rapidly as possible the evidence which points towards this conclusion.

First of all, we see that Swar and Surya are different conceptions in the minds of the Vedic Rishis, but always closely connected. We have for instance the verse in Bharadwaja's hymn to Soma and Indra (VI.72.1), "Ye found the Sun, ye found Swar, ye slew all darkness and limitations", and in a hymn of Vama-deva to Indra (IV.16.4) which celebrates this achievement of Indra and the Angirasas, "When by the hymns of illumination (*arkaih*) Swar was found, entirely visible, when they (the Angirasas) made to shine the great light out of the night, he (Indra) made the darkneses ill-assured (i.e. loosened their firm hold) so that men might have vision". In the first passage we see that Swar and Surya are different from each other and that Swar is not merely another name for Surya; but at the same time the finding of Swar and the finding of Surya are represented as closely connected and indeed one movement and the result is the slaying of all darkness and limitations. So in the second passage the finding and making visible of Swar is associated with the shining of a great light out of the darkness, which we find from parallel passages to be the recovery, by the Angirasas, of the Sun that was lying concealed in the darkness. Surya is found by the Angirasas through the power of their hymns or true *mantras*; Swar also is found and made visible by the hymns of the Angirasas, *arkaih*. It is clear therefore that the substance of Swar is a great light and that that light is the light of Surya, the Sun.

We might even suppose that Swar is a word for the sun, light or the sky if it were not clear from other passages that it is the name of a world. It is frequently alluded to as a world beyond the *rodasi*, beyond heaven and earth, and is otherwise called the wide world, *uru loka*, or the wide other world, *uru u loka*, or simply

that (other) world, *u loka*. This world is described as one of vast light and of a wide freedom from fear where the cows, the rays of Surya, disport themselves freely. So in VI.47.8, we have “Thou in thy knowledge leadest us on to the wide world, even Swar, the Light which is freedom from fear, with happy being”, *svaṛ jyotir abhayaṁ svasti*. In III.2.7, Agni Vaishwanara is described as filling the earth and heaven and the vast Swar, *ā rodasi aprṇad ā svaṛ mahat*; and so also Vasishtha says in his hymn to Vishnu, VII.99.3,4, “Thou didst support firmly, O Vishnu, this earth and heaven and uphold the earth all around by the rays (of Surya). Ye two created for the sacrifice (i.e. as its result) the wide other world (*urum u lokam*), bringing into being the Sun, the Dawn and Agni”, where we again see the close connection of Swar, the wide world, with the birth or appearance of the Sun and the Dawn. It is described as the result of the sacrifice, the end of our pilgrimage, the vast home to which we arrive, the other world to which those who do well the works of sacrifice attain, *sukṛtām u lokam*. Agni goes as an envoy between earth and heaven and then encompasses with his being this vast home, *kṣayaṁ bṛhantaṁ pari bhūṣati* (III.3.2). It is a world of bliss and the fullness of all the riches to which the Vedic Rishi aspires: “He for whom, because he does well his works, O Agni Jatavedas, thou willest to make that other world of bliss, attains to a felicity full of the Horses, the Sons, the Heroes, the Cows, all happy being” (V.4.11). And it is by the Light that this Bliss is attained; it is by bringing to Birth the Sun and the Dawn and the Days that the Angirasas attain to it for the desiring human race; “Indra who winneth Swar, bringing to birth the days, has conquered by those who desire (*uṣigbhiḥ*, a word applied like *nṛ* to express men and gods, but, like *nṛ* also, sometimes especially indicating the Angirasas) the armies he attacks, and he has made to shine out for man the vision of the days (*ketum ahnām*) and formed the Light for the great bliss”, *avindaj jyotir bṛhate raṇāya* (III.34.4).

All this may very well be interpreted, so far as these and other isolated passages go, as a sort of Red Indian conception of a physical world beyond the sky and the earth, a world made out of the rays of the sun, in which the human being, freed from fear

and limitation, — it is a wide world, — has his desires satisfied and possesses quite an unlimited number of horses, cows, sons and retainers. But what we have set out to prove is that it is not so, that on the contrary, this wide world, *brhad dyau* or Swar, which we have to attain by passing beyond heaven and earth, — for so it is more than once stated, e.g. I.36.8, “Human beings (*manuṣaḥ*) slaying the Coverer have crossed beyond both earth and heaven and made the wide world for their dwelling place”, *ghnanto vṛtram ataran rodasī apa uru kṣayāya cakrire*, — that this supra-celestial wideness, this illimitable light is a supramental heaven, the heaven of the supramental Truth, of the immortal Beatitude, and that the light which is its substance and constituent reality, is the light of Truth. But at present it is enough to emphasise this point that it is a heaven concealed from our vision by a certain darkness, that it is to be found and made visible, and that this seeing and finding depends on the birth of the Dawn, the rising of the Sun, the upsurging of the Solar Herds out of their secret cave. *The souls successful in sacrifice become swards* and *svarvid*, seers of Swar and finders of Swar or its knowers; for *vid* is a root which means both to find or get and to know and in one or two passages the less ambiguous root *jñā* is substituted for it and the Veda even speaks of making the light known out of the darkness. For the rest, this question of the nature of Swar or the wide world is of supreme importance for the interpretation of the Veda, since on it turns the whole difference between the theory of a hymnal of barbarians and the theory of a book of ancient knowledge, a real Veda. It can only be entirely dealt with in a discussion of the hundred and more passages speaking of this wide world which would be quite beyond the scope of these chapters. We shall, however, have to return to this question while dealing with the Angirasa hymns and afterwards.

The birth of the Sun and the Dawn must therefore be regarded as the condition of seeing or attaining to Swar, and it is this which explains the immense importance attached to this legend or image in the Veda and to the conception of the illumining, finding, bringing to birth of the light out of the darkness by the true hymn, the *satya mantra*. This is done by Indra

and the Angirasas, and numerous are the passages that allude to it. Indra and the Angirasas are described as finding Swar or the Sun, *avidat*, illumining or making it to shine, *arocayat*, bringing it to birth, *ajanayat*, (we must remember that in the Veda the manifestation of the gods in the sacrifice is constantly described as their birth); and winning and possessing it, *sanat*. Often indeed Indra alone is mentioned. It is he who makes light from the nights and brings into birth the Sun, *kṣapām vastā janitā sūryasya* (III.49.4), he who has brought to their birth the Sun and the Dawn (II.12.7), or, in a more ample phrase, brings to birth together the Sun and Heaven and Dawn (VI.30.5). By his shining he illumines the Dawn, by his shining he makes to blaze out the sun, *haryan uṣasam arcayaḥ sūram haryan arocayaḥ* (III.44.2). These are his great achievements, *jajāna sūryam uṣasam sudamsāḥ* (III.32.8), that with his shining comrades he wins for possession the field (is this not the field in which the Atri saw the shining cows?), wins the sun, wins the waters, *sanat kṣetram sakhībhiḥ śvitnyebhiḥ sanat sūryam sanad apāḥ suvajraḥ* (I.100.18). He is also he who winneth Swar, *svarṣāḥ*, as we have seen, by bringing to birth the days. In isolated passages we might take this birth of the Sun as referring to the original creation of the sun by the gods, but not when we take these and other passages together. This birth is his birth in conjunction with the Dawn, his birth out of the Night. It is by the sacrifice that this birth takes place, — *indraḥ suyajña uṣasāḥ svar janat* (II.21.4), “Indra sacrificing well brought to birth the Dawns and Swar”; it is by human aid that it is done, — *asmākebhir nṛbhiḥ sūryam sanat*, by our “men” he wins the sun (I.100.6); and in many hymns it is described as the result of the work of the Angirasas and is associated with the delivering of the cows or the breaking of the hill.

It is this circumstance among others that prevents us from taking, as we might otherwise have taken, the birth or finding of the Sun as simply a description of the sky (Indra) daily recovering the sun at dawn. When it is said of him that he finds the light even in the blind darkness, *so andhe cit tamasi jyotir vidat* (I.100.8), it is evident that the reference is to the same light which Agni and Soma found, one light for all these many creatures, *avindatam jyotir ekam bahubhyaḥ*, when they stole the cows from

the Panis (I.93.4), “the wakeful light which they who increase truth brought into birth, a god for the god” (VIII.89.1), the secret light, *gūḷham jyotiḥ*, which the fathers, the Angirasas, found when by their true mantras they brought to birth the Dawn (VII.76.4). It is that which is referred to in the mystic hymn to all the gods (VIII.29.10) attributed to Manu Vaivaswata or to Kashyapa, in which it is said “certain of them singing the Rik thought out the mighty Saman and by that they made the Sun to shine”. This is not represented as being done previous to the creation of man; for it is said in VII.91.1, “The gods who increase by our obeisance and were of old, without blame, they for man beset (by the powers of darkness) made the Dawn to shine by the Sun”. This is the finding of the Sun that was dwelling in the darkness by the Angirasas through their ten months’ sacrifice. Whatever may have been the origin of the image or legend, it is an old one and widespread and it supposes a long obscuration of the Sun during which man was beset by darkness. We find it not only among the Aryans of India, but among the Mayas of America whose civilisation was a ruder and perhaps earlier type of the Egyptian culture; there too it is the same legend of the Sun concealed for many months in the darkness and recovered by the hymns and prayers of the wise men (the Angirasa Rishis?). In the Veda the recovery of the Light is first effected by the Angirasas, the seven sages, the ancient human fathers and is then constantly repeated in human experience by their agency.

It will appear from this analysis that the legend of the lost Sun and its recovery by sacrifice and by the *mantra* and the legend of the lost Cows and their recovery, also by the *mantra*, both carried out by Indra and the Angirasas, are not two different myths, they are one. We have already asserted this identity while discussing the relations of the Cows and the Dawn. The Cows are the rays of the Dawn, the herds of the Sun and not physical cattle. The lost Cows are the lost rays of the Sun; their recovery is the forerunner of the recovery of the lost sun. But it is now necessary to put this identity beyond all possible doubt by the clear statement of the Veda itself.

For the Veda does explicitly tell us that the cows are the Light and the pen in which they are hidden is the darkness. Not

only have we the passage already quoted, I.92.4, in which the purely metaphorical character of the cows and the pen is indicated, "Dawn uncovered the darkness like the pen of the cow"; not only have we the constant connection of the image of the recovery of the cows with the finding of the light as in I.93.4, "Ye two stole the cows from the Panis.... Ye found the one light for many", or in II.24.3, "That is the work to be done for the most divine of the gods; the firm places were cast down, the fortified places were made weak; up Brihaspati drove the cows (rays), by the hymn (*brahmaṇā*) he broke Vala, he concealed the darkness, he made Swar visible"; not only are we told in V.31.3, "He impelled forward the good milkers within the concealing pen, he opened up by the Light the all-concealing darkness"; but, in case any one should tell us that there is no connection in the Veda between one clause of a sentence and another and that the Rishis are hopping about with minds happily liberated from the bonds of sense and reason from the Cows to the Sun and from the darkness to the cave of the Dravidians, we have in answer the absolute identification in I.33.10, "Indra the Bull made the thunderbolt his ally" or perhaps "made it applied (*yujam*), he by the Light milked the rays (cows) out of the darkness", — we must remember that the thunderbolt is the *svarya aśmā* and has the light of Swar in it, — and again in IV.51.2, where there is question of the Panis, "They (the Dawns) breaking into dawn pure purifying, opened the doors of the pen, even of the darkness", *vrajasya tamaso dvārā*. If in face of all these passages we insist on making a historical myth of the Cows and the Panis, it will be because we are determined to make the Veda mean that in spite of the evidence of the Veda itself. Otherwise we must admit that this supreme hidden wealth of the Panis, *nidhiṃ paṇinām paramaṃ guhāhitam* (II.24.6), is not wealth of earthly herds, but, as is clearly stated by Puruchchhepa Daivodasi (I.130.3), "the treasure of heaven hidden in the secret cavern like the young of the Bird, within the infinite rock, like a pen of the cows", *avindad divo nihitam guhā nidhiṃ verna garbham parivitam aśmani anante antar aśmani, vrajam vajrī gavām iva siṣāsan*.

The passages in which the connection of the two legends or their identity appear, are numerous; I will only cite a few that

are typical. We have in one of the hymns that speak at length of this legend, I.62, "O Indra, O Puissant, thou with the Dasha-gwas (the Angirasas) didst tear Vala with the cry; hymned by the Angirasas, thou didst open the Dawns with the Sun and with the Cows the Soma". We have VI.17.3, "Hear the hymn and increase by the words; make manifest the Sun, slay the foe, cleave out the Cows, O Indra". We read in VII.98.6, "All this wealth of cows that thou seest around thee by the eye of the Sun is thine, thou art the sole lord of the cows, O Indra," *gavām asi gopatir eka indra*, and to show of what kind of cows Indra is the lord, we have in III.31, a hymn of Sarama and the Cows, "The victorious (Dawns) clove to him and they knew a great light out of the darkness; knowing the Dawns went upward to him, Indra became the sole lord of the Cows", *patir gavām abhavad eka indrah*, and the hymn goes on to tell how it was by the mind and by the discovery of the whole path of the Truth that the seven sages, the Angirasas drove up the Cows out of their strong prison and how Sarama, knowing, came to the cavern in the hill and to the voice of the imperishable herds. We have the same connection with the Dawns and the finding of the wide solar light of Swar in VII.90.4, "The Dawns broke forth perfect in light and unhurt, they (the Angirasas) meditating found the wide Light (*uru jyotiḥ*); they who desire opened the wideness of the Cows, the waters flowed on them from heaven".

So too in II.19.3, we have the Days and the Sun and the Cows, — "He brought to its birth the Sun, found the Cows, effecting out of the Night the manifestations of the days". In IV.1.13, the Dawns and the Cows are identified, "The good milkers whose pen was the rock, the shining ones in their concealing prison they drove upward, the Dawns answering their call", unless this means, as is possible, that the Dawns called by the Angirasas, "our human fathers", who are mentioned in the preceding verse, drove up for them the Cows. Then in VI.17.5, we have the breaking of the pen as the means of the outshining of the Sun: "Thou didst make the Sun and the Dawn to shine, breaking the firm places; thou didst move from its foundation the great hill that enveloped the Cows;" and finally in III.39.4,5, the absolute identification of the two images in their legendary

form, “None is there among mortals who can blame (or, as I should rather interpret, no mortal power that can confine or obstruct) these our fathers who fought for the Cows (of the Panis); Indra of the mightiness, Indra of the works released for them the strongly closed cow-pens; when a friend with his friends the Navagwas, following on his knees the cows, when with the ten, the Dashagwas, Indra found the true Sun (or, as I render it, the Truth, the Sun), dwelling in the darkness.” The passage is conclusive; the cows are the Cows of the Panis which the Angirasas pursue entering the cave on their hands and knees, the finders are Indra and the Angirasas who are spoken of in other hymns as Navagwas and Dashagwas, and that which is found by entering the cow-pens of the Panis in the cave of the hill is not the stolen wealth of the Aryans, but “the sun dwelling in the darkness”.

Therefore it is established beyond question that the cows of the Veda, the cows of the Panis, the cows which are stolen, fought for, pursued, recovered, the cows which are desired by the Rishis, the cows which are won by the hymn and the sacrifice, by the blazing fire and the god-increasing verse and the god-intoxicating Soma, are symbolic cows, are the cows of Light, are, in the other and inner Vedic sense of the words *go*, *usrā*, *usriyā*, the shining ones, the radiances, the herds of the Sun, the luminous forms of the Dawn. By this inevitable conclusion the corner-stone of Vedic interpretation is securely founded far above the gross materialism of a barbarous worship and the Veda reveals itself as a symbolic scripture, a sacred allegory whether of Sun-worship and Dawn-worship or of the cult of a higher and inner Light, of the true Sun, *satyam sūryam*, that dwells concealed in the darkness of our ignorance, hidden as the child of the Bird, the divine Hansa, in the infinite rock of this material existence, *anante antar aśmani* (I.130.3).

Although in this chapter I have confined myself with some rigidity to the evidence that the cows are the light of the sun hid in darkness, yet their connection with the light of Truth and the sun of Knowledge has already shown itself in one or two of the verses cited. We shall see that when we examine, not separate verses, but whole passages of these Angirasa hymns the hint thus

given develops into a clear certainty. But first we must cast a glance at these Angirasa Rishis and at the creatures of the cave, the friends of darkness from whom they recover the luminous herds and the lost Sun, — the enigmatic Panis.

The Angirasa Rishis

THE name Angirasa occurs in the Veda in two different forms, Angira and Angirasa, although the latter is the more common; we have also the patronymic Angirasa applied more than once to the god Brihaspati. In later times Angirasa, like Bhrigu and other seers, was regarded as one of the original sages, progenitors of clans of Rishis who went by their names, the Angirasas, Atris, Bhargavas. In the Veda also there are these families of Rishis, the Atris, Bhrigus, Kanwas, etc. In one of the hymns of the Atris the discovery of Agni, the sacred fire, is attributed to the Angirasa Rishis (V.11.6), but in another to the Bhrigus (X.46.9).¹ Frequently the seven original Angirasa Rishis are described as the human fathers, *pitāro manuṣyāḥ*, who discovered the Light, made the sun to shine and ascended to the heaven of the Truth. In some of the hymns of the tenth Mandala they are associated as the Pitris or Manes with Yama, a deity who only comes into prominence in the later Suktas; they take their seats with the gods on the *barhis*, the sacred grass, and have their share in the sacrifice.

If this were all, the explanation of the part taken by the Angirasa Rishis in the finding of the Cows, would be simple and superficial enough; they would be the Ancestors, the founders of the Vedic religion, partially deified by their descendants and continually associated with the gods whether in the winning back of the Dawn and the Sun out of the long Arctic night or in the conquest of the Light and the Truth. But this is not all, the Vedic myth has profounder aspects. In the first place, the Angirasas are not merely the deified human fathers, they are also brought before us as heavenly seers, sons of the gods, sons of heaven and heroes or powers of the Asura, the mighty Lord,

¹ Very possibly the Angirasa Rishis are the flame-powers of Agni and the Bhrigus the solar powers of Surya.

divas putrāso asurasya virāḥ (III.53.7), an expression which, their number being seven, reminds us strongly, though perhaps only fortuitously, of the seven Angels of Ahura Mazda in the kindred Iranian mythology. Moreover there are passages in which they seem to become purely symbolical, powers and sons of Agni the original Angirasa, forces of the symbolic Light and Flame, and even to coalesce into a single seven-mouthed Angirasa with his nine and his ten rays of the Light, *navagve aṅgire daśagve sapṭā-sye*, on and by whom the Dawn breaks out with all her joy and opulence. And yet all these three presentations seem to be of the same Angirasas, their characteristics and their action being otherwise identical.

Two entirely opposite explanations can be given of the double character of these seers, divine and human. They may have been originally human sages deified by their descendants and in the apotheosis given a divine parentage and a divine function; or they may have been originally demi-gods, powers of the Light and Flame, who became humanised as the fathers of the race and the discoverers of its wisdom. Both of these processes are recognisable in early mythology. In the Greek legend, for instance, Castor and Polydeuces and their sister Helen are human beings, though children of Zeus, and only deified after their death, but the probability is that originally all three were gods, — Castor and Polydeuces, the twins, riders of the horse, saviours of sailors on the ocean being almost certainly identical with the Vedic Ashwins, the Horsemen, as their name signifies, riders in the wonderful chariot, twins also, saviours of Bhujyu from the ocean, ferriers over the great waters, brothers of the Dawn, and Helen very possibly the Dawn their sister or even identical with Sarama, the hound of heaven, who is, like Dakshina, a power, almost a figure of the Dawn. But in either case there has been a farther development by which these gods or demi-gods have become invested with psychological functions, perhaps by the same process which in the Greek religion converted Athene, the Dawn, into the goddess of knowledge and Apollo, the sun, into the divine singer and seer, lord of the prophetic and poetic inspiration.

In the Veda it is possible that another tendency has been at

work, — the persistent and all-pervading habit of symbolism dominant in the minds of these ancient Mystics. Everything, their own names, the names of Kings and sacrificers, the ordinary circumstances of their lives were turned into symbols and covers for their secret meaning. Just as they used the ambiguity of the word *go*, which means both ray and cow, so as to make the concrete figure of the cow, the chief form of their pastoral wealth, a cover for its hidden sense of the inner light which was the chief element in the spiritual wealth they coveted from the gods, so also they would use their own names, *gotama* “most full of light”, *gaviṣṭhira* “the steadfast in light” to hide a broad and general sense for their thought beneath what seemed a personal claim or desire. Thus too they used the experiences external and internal whether of themselves or of other Rishis. If there is any truth in the old legend of Shunahshepa bound as a victim on the altar of sacrifice, it is yet quite certain, as we shall see, that in the Rig-veda the occurrence or the legend is used as a symbol of the human soul bound by the triple cord of sin and released from it by the divine power of Agni, Surya, Varuna. So also Rishis like Kutsa, Kanwa, Ushanas Kavya have become types and symbols of certain spiritual experiences and victories and placed in that capacity side by side with the gods. It is not surprising, then, that in this mystic symbolism the seven Angirasa Rishis should have become divine powers and living forces of the spiritual life without losing altogether their traditional or historic human character. We will leave, however, these conjectures and speculations aside and examine instead the part played by these three elements or aspects of their personality in the figure of the cows and the recovery of the Sun and the Dawn out of the darkness.

We note first that the word Angiras is used in the Veda as an epithet, often in connection with the image of the Dawn and the Cows. Secondly, it occurs as a name of Agni, while Indra is said to become Angirasa and Brihaspati is called *aṅgiras* and *āṅgiraśa*, obviously not as a mere decorative or mythological appellation but with a special significance and an allusion to the psychological or other sense attached to the word. Even the Ashwins are addressed collectively as Angirasa. It is therefore clear that the word Angirasa is used in the Veda not merely as a name

of a certain family of Rishis, but with a distinct meaning inherent in the word. It is probable also that even when used as a name it is still with a clear recognition of the inherent meaning of the name; it is probable even that names in the Veda are generally, if not always, used with a certain stress on their significance, especially the names of gods, sages and kings. The word Indra is generally used as a name, yet we have such significant glimpses of the Vedic method as the description of Usha *indratamā anگیرastamā*, “most-Indra”, “most-Angirasa”, and of the Panis as *anindrāḥ*, “not-Indra”, expressions which evidently are meant to convey the possession or absence of the qualities, powers or functionings represented by Indra and the Angirasa. We have then to see what may be this meaning and what light it sheds on the nature or functions of the Angirasa Rishis.

The word is akin to the name Agni; for it is derived from a root *anig* which is only a nasalised form of *ag*, the root of Agni. These roots seem to convey intrinsically the sense of pre-eminent or forceful state, feeling, movement, action, light,¹ and it is this last sense of a brilliant or burning light that gives us *agni*, fire, *anigati*, fire, *anigāra*, a burning coal and *anigiras*, which must have meant flaming, glowing. Both in the Veda and the tradition of the Brahmanas the Angirases are in their origin closely connected with Agni. In the Brahmanas it is said that Agni is the fire and the Angirases the burning coals, *anigārāḥ*; but in the Veda itself the indication seems rather to be that they are the flames or lustres of Agni. In X.62, a hymn to the Angirasa Rishis, it is said of them that they are sons of Agni and have been born about him in different forms all about heaven, and in the next clause it is added, speaking of them collectively in the singular, *navagvo nu daśagvo anگیرastamaḥ sacā deveṣu manhate*, nine-rayed, ten-rayed, most *anigiras*, this Angirasa clan becomes together full of plenty with or in the gods; aided by Indra they set free the pen of cows and horses, they give to the sacrificer the mystic eight-eared kine and thereby create in the gods *śravas*, the divine hearing or inspiration of the Truth. It is fairly evident that the Angirasa

¹ For state we have *agra*, first, top and Greek *agan*, excessively; for feeling, Greek *agape*, love, and possibly Sanskrit *aniganā*, a woman; for movement and action several words in Sanskrit and in Greek and Latin.

Rishis are here the radiant lustres of the divine Agni which are born in heaven, therefore of the divine Flame and not of any physical fire; they become equipped with the nine rays of the Light and the ten, become most *angiras*, that is to say most full of the blazing radiance of Agni, the divine flame, and are therefore able to release the imprisoned Light and Force and create the supramental knowledge.

Even if this interpretation of the symbolism is not accepted, yet that there is a symbolism must be admitted. These Angirasas are not human sacrificers, but sons of Agni born in heaven, although their action is precisely that of the human Angirasas, the fathers, *pitāro manuṣyāḥ*; they are born with different forms, *virūpāsaḥ*, and all this can only mean that they are various forms of the power of Agni. The question is of what Agni, the sacrificial flame, the element of fire generally or that other sacred flame which is described as “the priest with the seer-will” or “who does the work of the seer, the true, the rich in varied light of inspiration,” *agnir hotā kavikratuḥ satyaś citraśravastamaḥ* (I.1.5)? If it is the element of fire, then the blazing lustre they represent must be that of the Sun, the fire of Agni radiating out as the solar rays and in association with Indra the sky creating the Dawn. There can be no other physical interpretation consistent with the details and circumstances of the Angirasa myth. But this explanation does not at all account for the farther description of the Angirasa Rishis as seers, as singers of the hymn, powers of Brihaspati as well as of the Sun and Dawn.

There is another passage of the Veda (VI.6.3-5) in which the identity of these divine Angirasas with the flaming lustres of Agni is clearly and unmistakably revealed. “Wide everywhere, O pure-shining Agni, range driven by the wind thy pure shining lustres (*bhāmāsaḥ*); forcefully overpowering the heavenly Nine-rayed ones (*divyā navagvāḥ*) enjoy the woods¹ (*vanā vananti*, significantly conveying the covert sense, ‘enjoying the objects of enjoyment’) breaking them up violently. O thou of the pure light, they bright and pure assail² (or overcome) all the earth, they are thy horses galloping in all directions. Then thy roaming shines

¹ The logs of the sacrificial fire, according to Sayana.

² Shave the hair of the earth, according to Sayana.

widely vast directing their journey to the higher level of the Various-coloured (the cow, Prishni, mother of the Maruts). Then doubly (in earth and heaven?) thy tongue leaps forward like the lightning loosed of the Bull that wars for the cows." Sayana tries to avoid the obvious identification of the Rishis with the flames by giving *navagva* the sense of "new-born rays", but obviously *divyā navagvāḥ* here and the sons of Agni (in X.62) born in heaven who are *navagva* are the same and cannot possibly be different; and the identification is confirmed, if any confirmation were needed, by the statement that in this ranging of Agni constituted by the action of the Navagwas his tongue takes the appearance of the thunderbolt of Indra, the Bull who wars for the cows, loosed from his hand and leaping forward, undoubtedly to assail the powers of darkness in the hill of heaven; for the march of Agni and the Navagwas is here described as ascending the hill (*sānu prśneḥ*) after ranging over the earth.

We have evidently here a symbolism of the Flame and the Light, the divine flames devouring the earth and then becoming the lightning of heaven and the lustre of the solar Powers; for Agni in the Veda is the light of the sun and the lightning as well as the flame found in the waters and shining on the earth. The Angirasa Rishis being powers of Agni share this manifold function. The divine flame kindled by the sacrifice supplies also to Indra the material of the lightning, the weapon, the heavenly stone, *svarya aśmā*, by which he destroys the powers of darkness and wins the cows, the solar illuminations.

Agni, the father of the Angirasas, is not only the fount and origin of these divine flames, he is also described in the Veda as himself the first, that is to say, the supreme and original Angirasa, *prathamō aṅgirāḥ*. What do the Vedic poets wish us to understand by this description? We can best understand by a glance at some of the passages in which this epithet is applied to the bright and flaming deity. In the first place it is twice associated with another fixed epithet of Agni, the Son of Force or of Energy, *sahasāḥ sūnuḥ*, *ūrjo napāt*. Thus in VIII.60.2, he is addressed "O Angirasa, Son of Force", *sahasāḥ sūno aṅgiraḥ*, and in VIII.84.4, "O Agni Angirasa, Son of Energy", *agne aṅgira ūrjo napāt*. And in V.11.6, it is said "Thee, O Agni, the Angirasas

found established in the secret place (*guhā hitam*) lying in wood and wood (*vanevane*)” or, if we accept the indication of a covert sense we have already noted in the phrase *vanā vananti*, “in each object of enjoyment. So art thou born by being pressed (*mathyamānaḥ*) a mighty force; thee they call the Son of Force, O Angirasa, *sa jāyase mathyamānaḥ saho mahat tvām āhuḥ sahasas putram aṅgiraḥ*”. It is hardly doubtful, then, that this idea of force is an essential element in the Vedic conception of the Angirasa and it is, as we have seen, part of the meaning of the word. Force in status, action, movement, light, feeling is the inherent quality of the roots *ag* and *aṅg* from which we have *agni* and *aṅgiraḥ*. Force but also, in these words, Light. Agni, the sacred flame, is the burning force of Light; the Angirasas also are burning powers of the Light.

But of what light? physical or figurative? We must not imagine that the Vedic poets were crude and savage intellects incapable of the obvious figure, common to all languages, which makes the physical light a figure of the mental and spiritual, of knowledge, of an inner illumination. The Veda speaks expressly of “luminous sages”, *dyumato viprān* and the word *sūri*, a seer, is associated with Surya, the sun, by etymology and must originally have meant luminous. In I.31.1, it is said of this god of the Flame, “Thou, O Agni, wast the first Angirasa, the seer and auspicious friend, a god, of the gods; in the law of thy working the Maruts with their shining spears were born, seers who do the work by the knowledge.” Clearly, then, in the conception of Agni Angirasa there are two ideas, knowledge and action; the luminous Agni and the luminous Maruts are by their light seers of the knowledge, *ṛṣi*, *kavi*; and by the light of knowledge the forceful Maruts do the work because they are born or manifested in the characteristic working (*vrata*) of Agni. For Agni himself has been described to us as having the seer-will, *kavikratuḥ*, the force of action which works according to the inspired or supramental knowledge (*śravas*), for it is that knowledge and not intellectuality which is meant by the word *kavi*. What then is this great force, Agni Angirasa, *saho mahat*, but the flaming force of the divine consciousness with its two twin qualities of Light and Power working in perfect harmony, — even as the Maruts

are described, *kavayo vidmanā apasaḥ*, seers working by the knowledge? We have had reason to conclude that Usha is the divine Dawn and not merely the physical, that her cows, or rays of the Dawn and the Sun are the illuminations of the dawning divine consciousness and that therefore the Sun is the Illuminer in the sense of the Lord of Knowledge and that Swar, the solar world beyond heaven and earth, is the world of the divine Truth and Bliss, in a word, that Light in the Veda is the symbol of knowledge, of the illumination of the divine Truth. We now begin to have reason for concluding that the Flame, which is only another aspect of Light, is the Vedic symbol for the Force of the divine consciousness, of the supramental Truth.

In another passage, VI.11.3, we have mention of the “seer most illumined of the Angirasas”, *vepiṣṭho aṅgirasām vipraḥ*, where the reference is not at all clear. Sayana, ignoring the collocation *vepiṣṭho vipraḥ* which at once fixes the sense of *vepiṣṭha* as equivalent to most *vipra*, most a seer, most illumined, supposes that Bharadwaja, the traditional Rishi of the hymn, is here praising himself as the “greatest praiser” of the gods; but this is a doubtful suggestion. Here it is Agni who is the *hotā*, the priest; it is he who is sacrificing to the gods, to his own embodiment, *tanvaṁ tava svām* (VI.11.2), to the Maruts, Mitra, Varuna, Heaven and Earth. “For in thee”, says the hymn, “the thought even though full of riches desires still the gods, the (divine) births, for the singer of the hymn that he may sacrifice to them, when the sage, the most luminous of the Angirasas, utters the rhythm of sweetness in the sacrifice.” It would almost seem that Agni himself is the sage, the most luminous of the Angirasas. On the other hand, the description seems to be more appropriate to Brihaspati.

For Brihaspati is also an Āngirasa and one who becomes the Angirasa. He is, as we have seen, closely associated with the Angiras Rishis in the winning of the luminous cattle and he is so associated as Brahmanaspati, as the Master of the sacred or inspired word (*brahman*); for by his cry Vala is split to pieces and the cows answer lowing with desire to his call. As powers of Agni these Rishis are like him *kavikratu*; they possess the divine Light, they act by it with the divine force; they are not only

Rishis, but heroes of the Vedic war, *divas putrāso asurasya virāḥ* (III.53.7) sons of heaven, heroes of the Mighty Lord, they are, as described in VI.75.9, “The Fathers who dwell in the sweetness (the world of bliss), who establish the wide birth, moving in the difficult places, possessed of force, profound,¹ with their bright host and their strength of arrows, invincible, heroes in their being, wide overcomers of the banded foes”: but also, they are, as the next verse describes them, *brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarāḥ somyāsaḥ*, that is, they have the divine word and the inspired knowledge it carries with it.² This divine word is the *satya mantra*, it is the thought by whose truth the Angirasas bring the Dawn to birth and make the lost Sun to rise in the heavens. This word is also called the *arka*, a vocable which means both hymn and light and is sometimes used of the sun. It is therefore the word of illumination, the word which expresses the truth of which the Sun is the lord, and its emergence from the secret seat of the Truth is associated with the outpouring by the Sun of its herded radiances; so we read in VII.36.1, “Let the Word come forward from the seat of the Truth; the Sun has released wide by its rays the cows”, *pra brahmaitu sadanād ṛtasya, vi raśmibhiḥ sasrje sūryo gāḥ*. It has to be won possession of like the Sun itself and the gods have to give their aid for that possession (*arkasya sātāu*) as well as for the possession of the Sun (*sūryasya sātāu*) and of Swar (*svarṣātāu*).

The Angirasa, therefore, is not only an Agni-power, he is also a Brihaspati-power. Brihaspati is called more than once the Āngirasa, as in VI.73.1, *yo adribhit prathamajā ṛtāva bṛhaspatir āngiraso haviṣmān*, “Brihaspati, breaker of the hill (the cave of the Panis), the first-born who has the Truth, the Āngirasa, he of the oblation”. And in X.47.6, we have a still more significant description of Brihaspati as the Āngirasa: *pra saptagum ṛtadhītiṃ sumedhām bṛhaspatiṃ matir acchā jigāti, ya āngiraso namasā upasadyaḥ*. “The thought goes towards Brihaspati the

¹ Cf. the description in X.62.5 of the Angirasas as sons of Agni, different in form, but all profound in knowledge, *gambhīravepasah*.

² This seems to be the sense of the word Brahman in the Veda. It certainly does not mean Brahmanas by caste or priests by profession; the Fathers here are warriors as well as sages. The four castes are only mentioned in the Rig-veda once, in that profound but late composition, the Purushasukta.

seven-rayed, the truth-thinking, the perfect intelligence, who is the Āngirasa, to be approached with obeisance.” In II.23.18 also, Brihaspati is addressed as Angirasa in connection with the release of the cows and the release of the waters: “For the glory of thee the hill parted asunder when thou didst release upward the pen of the cows; with Indra for ally thou didst force out, O Brihaspati, the flood of the waters which was environed by the darkness.” We may note in passing how closely the release of the waters, which is the subject of the Vritra legend, is associated with the release of the cows which is the subject of the legend of the Angirasa Rishis and the Panis and that both Vritra and the Panis are powers of the darkness. The cows are the light of the Truth, the true illumining sun, *satyam tat...sūryam*; the waters released from the environing darkness of Vritra are called sometimes the streams of the Truth, *ṛtasya dhārāḥ* and sometimes *svarvatīr āpah*, the waters of Swar, the luminous solar world.

We see then that the Angirasa is in the first place a power of Agni the seer-will; he is the seer who works by the light, by the knowledge; he is a flame of the puissance of Agni, the great force that is born into the world to be the priest of the sacrifice and the leader of the journey, the puissance which the gods are said by Vamadeva (IV.1.1) to establish here as the Immortal in mortals, the energy that does the great work (*arati*). In the second place, he is a power or at least has the power of Brihaspati, the truth-thinking and seven-rayed, whose seven rays of the light hold that truth which he thinks (*ṛtadhītim*) and whose seven mouths repeat the word that expresses the truth, the god of whom it is said (IV.50.4,5), “Brihaspati coming first to birth out of the great Light in the highest heaven, born in many forms, seven-mouthed, seven-rayed (*saptāsyah saptaraśmiḥ*), by his cry dispelled the darkness; he by his host with the Rik and the Stubh (the hymn of illumination and the rhythm that affirms the gods) broke Vala by his cry.” It cannot be doubted that by this host or troop of Brihaspati (*suṣṭubhā ṛkvatā gaṇena*) are meant the Angirasa Rishis who by the true mantra help in the great victory.

Indra is also described as becoming an Angirasa or as becoming possessed of the Angirasa quality. “May he become most Angirasa with the Angirasas, being the Bull with bulls (the

bull is the male power or Purusha, *nṛ*, with regard to the Rays and the Waters who are the cows, *gāvaḥ*, *dhenavaḥ*), the Friend with friends, the possessor of the Rik with those who have the Rik (*ṛgmibhir ṛgmī*), with those who make the journey (*gātubhiḥ*, the souls that advance on the path towards the Vast and True) the greatest; may Indra become associated with the Maruts (*marutvān*) for our thriving.” The epithets here (I.100.4) are all the proper epithets of the Angirasa Rishis and Indra is supposed to take upon himself the qualities or relations that constitute Angirasahood. So in III.31.7, “Most illumined in knowledge (*vipratamaḥ*, answering to the *vepiṣṭho aṅgirasām vipraḥ* of VI.11.3), becoming a friend (*sakhīyan*, the Angirasas are friends or comrades in the great battle) he went (*agacchat*, upon the path, cf. *gātubhiḥ*, discovered by Sarama); the hill sped forth its pregnant contents (*garbham*) for the doer of the good work; strong in manhood with the young (*maryo yuvabhiḥ*, the youth also giving the idea of unaging, undecaying force) he sought fullness of riches and won possession (*sasāna makhasyan*); so at once, chanting the hymn (*arcan*), he became an Angirasa.” This Indra who assumes all the qualities of the Angirasa is, we must remember, the Lord of Swar, the wide world of the Sun or the Truth, and descends to us with his two shining horses, *harī*, which are called in one passage *sūryasya ketū*, the sun’s two powers of perception or of vision in knowledge, in order to war with the sons of darkness and aid the great journey. If we have been right in all that we have concluded with regard to the esoteric sense of the Veda, Indra must be the Power (*Indra*, the Puissant,¹ the powerful lord) of the divine Mind born in man and there increasing by the Word and the Soma to his full divinity. This growth continues by the winning and growth of the Light, till Indra reveals himself fully as the lord of all the luminous herds which he sees by the “eye of the sun”, the divine Mind master of all the illuminations of knowledge.

Indra, in becoming the Angirasa, becomes *marutvān*, possessed of or companioned by the Maruts, and these Maruts, luminous and violent gods of the storm and the lightning, uniting in themselves the vehement power of Vayu, the Wind, the

¹ But also perhaps “shining”, cf. *indu*, the moon; *ina*, glorious, the sun; *indh*, to kindle.

Breath, the Lord of Life and the force of Agni, the Seer-Will, are therefore seers who do the work by the knowledge, *kavayo vidmanā-apasaḥ*, as well as battling forces who by the power of the heavenly Breath and the heavenly lightning overthrow the established things, the artificial obstructions, *kṛtrimāṇi rodhāṁsi*, in which the sons of Darkness have entrenched themselves, and aid Indra to overcome Vritra and the Dasyus. They seem to be in the esoteric Veda the Life-Powers that support by their nervous or vital energies the action of the thought in the attempt of the mortal consciousness to grow or expand itself into the immortality of the Truth and Bliss. In any case, they also are described in VI.49.11, as acting with the qualities of the Angirasa (*aṅgirasvat*), “O young and seers and powers of the sacrifice, Maruts, come uttering the word to the high place (or desirable plane of earth or the hill, *adhi sānu pṛśneḥ*, VI.6.4, which is probably the sense of *varasyām*), powers increasing, rightly moving (on the path, *gātu*) like the Angirasa,¹ give joy even to that which is not illumined (*acitram*, that which has not received the varied light of the dawn, the night of our ordinary darkness)”. We see there the same characteristics of the Angirasa action, the eternal youth and force of Agni (*agne yaviṣṭha*), the possession and utterance of the Word, the seerhood, the doing of the work of sacrifice, the right movement on the great path which leads, as we shall see, to the world of the Truth, to the vast and luminous bliss. The Maruts are even said to be (X.78.5) as it were “Angirases with their Sama hymns, they who take all forms”, *viśvarūpā aṅgiraso na sāmabhiḥ*.

All this action and movement are made possible by the coming of Usha, the Dawn. Usha also is described as *aṅgiraṣtamā* and in addition as *indrataṁā*. The power of Agni, the Angirasa power, manifests itself also in the lightning of Indra and in the rays of the Dawn. Two passages may be cited which throw light on this aspect of the Angirasa force. The first is VII.79.2,3. “The Dawns make their rays to shine out in the

¹ It is to be noted that Sayana here hazards the idea that Angirasa means the moving rays (from *aṅg* to move) or the Angirasa Rishis. If the great scholar had been able to pursue with greater courage his ideas to their logical conclusion, he would have anticipated the modern theory in its most essential points.

extremities of heaven, they labour like men who are set to a work. Thy rays set fleeing the darkness, they extend the Light as if the sun were extending its two arms. Usha has become (or, come into being) most full of Indra power (*indratamā*), opulent in riches and has given birth to the inspirations of knowledge for our happy going (or for good and bliss), the goddess, daughter of Heaven, most full of Angirasahood (*aṅgirastamā*), orders her riches for the doer of good works." The riches in which Usha is opulent cannot be anything else than the riches of the Light and the Power of the Truth; full of Indra power, the power of the divine illumined mind, she gives the inspirations of that mind (*śravāṁsi*) which lead us towards the Bliss, and by the flaming radiant Angirasa-power in her she bestows and arranges her treasures for those who do aright the great work and thus move rightly on the path, *itthā nakṣanto aṅgirasvat* (VI.49.11).

The second passage is in VII.75, "Dawn, heaven-born, has opened up (the veil of darkness) by the Truth and she comes making manifest the vastness (*mahimānam*), she has drawn away the veil of harms and of darkness (*druhas tamaḥ*) and all that is unloved; most full of Angirasahood she manifests the paths (of the great journey). Today, O Dawn, awake for us for the journey to the vast bliss (*mahe suvitāya*), extend (thy riches) for a vast state of enjoyment, confirm in us a wealth of varied brightness (*citram*) full of inspired knowledge (*śravasyum*), in us mortals, O human and divine. These are the lustres of the visible Dawn which have come varied-bright (*citrāḥ*) and immortal; bringing to birth the divine workings they diffuse themselves, filling those of the mid-region", *janayanto daivyāni vratāni, āpṛṇanto antarikṣā vyasthuḥ* (Riks 1-3). Again we have the Angirasa power associated with the journey, the revelation of its paths by the removal of the darkness and the bringing of the radiances of the Dawn; the Panis represent the harms (*druhaḥ*, hurts or those who hurt) done to man by the evil powers, the darkness is their cave; the journey is that which leads to the divine happiness and the state of immortal bliss by means of our growing wealth of light and power and knowledge; the immortal lustres of the Dawn which give birth in man to the heavenly workings and fill with them the workings of the mid-regions between

earth and heaven, that is to say, the functioning of those vital planes governed by Vayu which link our physical and pure mental being, may well be the Angirasa powers. For they too gain and maintain the truth by maintaining unhurt the divine workings (*amardhanto daivyā vratāni*). This is indeed their function, to bring the divine Dawn into mortal nature so that the visible goddess pouring out her riches may be there, at once divine and human, *devi marteṣu mānuṣi*, the goddess human in mortals.

The Seven-Headed Thought, Swar and the Dashagwas

THE language of the hymns establishes, then, a double aspect for the Angirasa Rishis. One belongs to the external garb of the Veda; it weaves together its naturalistic imagery of the Sun, the Flame, the Dawn, the Cow, the Horse, the Wine, the sacrificial Hymn; the other extricates from that imagery the internal sense. The Angirasas are sons of the Flame, lustres of the Dawn, givers and drinkers of the Wine, singers of the Hymn, eternal youths and heroes who wrest for us the Sun, the Cows, the Horses and all treasures from the grasp of the sons of darkness. But they are also seers of the Truth, finders and speakers of the word of the Truth and by the power of the Truth they win for us the wide world of Light and Immortality which is described in the Veda as the Vast, the True, the Right and as the own home of this Flame of which they are the children. This physical imagery and these psychological indications are closely interwoven and they cannot be separated from each other. Therefore we are obliged by ordinary common sense to conclude that the Flame of which the Right and the Truth is the own home is itself a Flame of that Right and Truth, that the Light which is won by the Truth and by the force of true thought is not merely a physical light, the cows which Sarama finds on the path of the Truth not merely physical herds, the Horses not merely the wealth of the Dravidians conquered by invading Aryan tribes, nor even merely images of the physical Dawn, its light and its swiftly moving rays and the darkness of which the Panis and Vritra are the defenders not merely the darkness of the Indian or the Arctic night. We have even been able to hazard a reasonable hypothesis by which we can disentangle the real sense of this imagery and discover the true godhead of these shining gods and these divine, luminous sages.

The Angirasa Rishis are at once divine and human seers. This double character is not in itself an extraordinary feature or peculiar in the Veda to these sages. The Vedic gods also have a double action; divine and pre-existent in themselves, they are human in their working upon the mortal plane when they grow in man to the great ascension. This has been strikingly expressed in the allocution to Usha, the Dawn, “goddess human in mortals”, *devi marṭeṣu mānuṣi* (VII.75.2). But in the imagery of the Angirasa Rishis this double character is farther complicated by the tradition which makes them the human fathers, discoverers of the Light, the Path and the Goal. We must see how this complication affects our theory of the Vedic creed and the Vedic symbolism.

The Angirasa Rishis are ordinarily described as seven in number: they are *sapta viprāḥ*, the seven sages who have come down to us in the Puranic tradition¹ and are enthroned by Indian astronomy in the constellation of the Great Bear. But they are also described as Navagwas and Dashagwas, and if in VI.22.2, we are told of the ancient fathers, the seven seers who were Navagwas, *pūrve pitaro navagvāḥ sapta viprāsaḥ*, yet in III.39.5, we have mention of two different classes, Navagwas, and Dashagwas, the latter ten in number, the former presumably, though it is not expressly stated, nine. *Sakhā ha yatra sakhibhir navagvair abhi-jñvā satvabhir gā anugman; satyaṁ tadindro daśabhir daśagvaiḥ, sūryaṁ viveda tamasi kṣiyantam*; “Where, a friend with his friends the Navagwas, following the cows Indra with the ten Dashagwas found that truth, even the Sun dwelling in the darkness.” On the other hand we have in IV.51.4, a collective description of the Angirasa seven-faced or seven-mouthed, nine-rayed, ten-rayed, *navagve aṅgire daśagve saptāsyē*. In X.108.8, we have another Rishi Ayasya associated with the Navagwa Angirasas. In X.67.1, this Ayasya is described as our father who found the vast seven-headed Thought that was born out of the Truth and as singing the hymn to Indra. According as the Navagwas are seven or nine, Ayasya will be the eighth or the tenth Rishi.

Tradition asserts the separate existence of two classes of

¹ Not that the names given them by the Purana need be those which the Vedic tradition would have given.

Angirasa Rishis, the one Navagwas who sacrificed for nine months, the other Dashagwas whose sessions of sacrifice endured for ten. According to this interpretation we must take Navagwa and Dashagwa as “nine-cowed” and “ten-cowed”, each cow representing collectively the thirty Dawns which constitute one month of the sacrificial year. But there is at least one passage of the Rig-veda which on its surface is in direct conflict with the traditional interpretation. For in the seventh verse of V.45, and again in the eleventh we are told that it was the Navagwas, not the Dashagwas, who sacrificed or chanted the hymn for ten months. This seventh verse runs, *anūnod atra hastayato adrir ārcan yena daśa māso navagvāḥ; ṛtam yatī saramā gā avindad, viśvāni satyā aṅgirāścakāra*, “Here cried (or, moved) the stone impelled by the hand, whereby the Navagwas chanted for ten months the hymn; Sarama travelling to the Truth found the cows; all things the Angiras made true.” And in verse 11, we have the assertion repeated; *dhiyaṁ vo apsu dadhiṣe svarṣām, yayātaran daśa māso navagvāḥ; ayā dhiyā syāma devagopāḥ, ayā dhiyā tuturyāma ati arihaḥ*, “I hold for you in the waters (i.e. the seven Rivers) the thought that wins possession of heaven¹ (this is once more the seven-headed thought born from the Truth and found by Ayasya), by which the Navagwas passed through the ten months; by this thought may we have the gods for protectors, by this thought may we pass through beyond the evil.” The statement is explicit. Sayana indeed makes a faint-hearted attempt to take *daśa māsaḥ* in V.45.7, ten months, as if it were an epithet *daśa māsaḥ*, the ten-month ones i.e. the Dashagwas; but he offers this improbable rendering only as an alternative and abandons it in the eleventh Rik.

Must we then suppose that the poet of this hymn had forgotten the tradition and was confusing the Dashagwas and Navagwas? Such a supposition is inadmissible. The difficulty arises because we suppose the Navagwas and Dashagwas to have been in the minds of the Vedic Rishis two different classes of

¹ Sayana takes it to mean, “I recite the hymn for water” i.e. in order to get rain; the case however is the locative plural, and *dadhiṣe* means “I place or hold” or, with the psychological sense, “think” or “hold in thought, meditate”. *Dhiṣaṇā* like *dhi* means thought; *dhiyaṁ dadhiṣe* would thus mean “I think or meditate the thought”.

Angirasa Rishis; rather these seem to have been two different powers of Angirasahood and in that case the Navagwas themselves might well become Dashagwas by extending the period of the sacrifice to ten months instead of nine. The expression in the hymn, *daśa māso ataran*, indicates that there was some difficulty in getting through the full period of ten months. It is during this period apparently that the sons of darkness had the power to assail the sacrifice; for it is indicated that it is only by the confirming of the thought which conquers Swar, the solar world, that the Rishis are able to get through the ten months, but this thought once found they become assured of the protection of the gods and pass beyond the assault of the evil, the harms of the Panis and Vritras. This Swar-conquering thought is certainly the same as that seven-headed thought which was born from the Truth and discovered by Ayasya the companion of the Navagwas; for by it, we are told, Ayasya becoming universal, embracing the births in all the worlds, brought into being a fourth world or fourfold world, which must be the supramental beyond the three lower sessions, *dyau*, *antarikṣa* and *pṛthivī*, that wide world which, according to Kanwa, son of Ghora, men reach or create by crossing beyond the two *rodasī* after killing Vritra. This fourth world must be therefore Swar. The seven-headed thought of Ayasya enables him to become *viśvajanya*, which means probably that he occupies or possesses all the worlds or births of the soul, or else that he becomes universal, identifying himself with all beings born, — and to manifest or give being to a certain fourth world (*sva*), *turīyam svij janayad viśvajanyaḥ* (X.67.1); and the thought established in the waters which enables the Navagwa Rishis to pass through the ten months, is also *svaṛṣāḥ*, that which brings about the possession of Swar. The waters are clearly the seven rivers and the two thoughts are evidently the same. Must we not then conclude that it is the addition of Ayasya to the Navagwas which raises the nine Navagwas to the number of ten and enables them by his discovery of the seven-headed Swar-conquering thought to prolong their nine-months' sacrifice through the tenth month? Thus they become the ten Dashagwas. We may note in this connection that the intoxication of the Soma by which Indra manifests or increases the might of Swar or the

Swar-Purusha, (*svaṛṇara*) is described as ten-rayed and illuminating *daśagvaṁ vepayantam* (VIII.12.2).

This conclusion is entirely confirmed by the passage in III.39.5, which we have already cited. For there we find that it is with the help of the Navagwas that Indra pursues the trace of the lost kine, but it is only with the aid of the ten Dashagwas that he is able to bring the pursuit to a successful issue and find that Truth, *satyaṁ tat*, namely, the Sun that was lying in the darkness. In other words, it is when the nine-months' sacrifice is prolonged through the tenth, it is when the Navagwas become the ten Dashagwas by the seven-headed thought of Ayasya, the tenth Rishi, that the Sun is found and the luminous world of Swar in which we possess the truth or the one universal Deva, is disclosed and conquered. This conquest of Swar is the aim of the sacrifice and the great work accomplished by the Angirasa Rishis.

But what is meant by the figure of the months? for it now becomes clear that it is a figure, a parable; the year is symbolic, the months are symbolic.¹ It is in the revolution of the year that the recovery of the lost Sun and the lost cows, is effected, for we have the explicit statement in X.62.2, *ṛtenābhinandan parivatsare valam*, "by the truth, in the revolution of the year, they broke Vala", or as Sayana interprets it, "by sacrifice lasting for a year". This passage certainly goes far to support the Arctic theory, for it speaks of a yearly and not a daily return of the Sun. But we are not concerned with the external figure, nor does its validity in any way affect our own theory; for it may very well be that the striking Arctic experience of the long night, the annual sunrise and the continuous dawns was made by the Mystics the figure of the spiritual night and its difficult illumination. But that this idea of Time, of the months and years is used as a symbol seems to be clear from other passages of the Veda, notably from Gritsamada's hymn to Brihaspati, II.24.

In this hymn Brihaspati is described driving up the cows, breaking Vala by the divine word, *brahmaṇā*, concealing the darkness and making Swar visible (Rik 3). The first result is the breaking open by force of the well which has the rock for its face

¹ Observe that in the Puranas the Yugas, moments, months, etc. are all symbolic and it is stated that the body of man is the year.

and whose streams are of the honey, *madhu*, the Soma sweetness, *aśmāsyam avatam madhudhāram* (Rik 4). This well of honey covered by the rock must be the Ananda or divine beatitude of the supreme threefold world of bliss, the Satya, Tapas and Jana worlds of the Puranic system based upon the three supreme principles, Sat, Chit-Tapas and Ananda; their base is Swar of the Veda, Mahar of the Upanishads and Puranas, the world of Truth.¹ These four together make the fourfold fourth world and are described in the Rig-veda as the four supreme and secret seats, the source of the "four upper rivers". Sometimes, however, this upper world seems to be divided into two, Swar the base, Mayas or the divine beatitude the summit, so that there are five worlds or births of the ascending soul. The three other rivers are the three lower powers of being and supply the principles of the three lower worlds.

This secret well of honey is drunk by all those who are able to see Swar and they pour out its billowing fountain of sweetness in manifold streams together, *tam eva viśve papire swardṛśo bahu sākam sisicur utsam udrinam* (II.24.4). These many streams poured out together are the seven rivers poured down the hill by Indra after slaying Vritra, the rivers or streams of the Truth, *ṛtasya dhārāḥ*; and they represent, according to our theory, the seven principles of conscious being in their divine fulfilment in the Truth and Bliss. This is why the seven-headed thought, — that is to say, the knowledge of the divine existence with its seven heads or powers, the seven-rayed knowledge of Brihaspati, *saptagum*, has to be confirmed or held in thought in the waters, the seven rivers, that is to say the seven forms of divine consciousness are to be held in the seven forms or movements of divine being; *dhiyam vo apsu dadhiṣe svarṣām*, "I hold the Swar-conquering thought in the waters".

That the making visible of Swar to the eyes of the Swar-seers, *swardṛśaḥ*, their drinking of the honeyed well and the out-pouring of the divine waters amounts to the revelation to man of

¹ In the Upanishads and Puranas there is no distinction between Swar and Dyau; therefore a fourth name had to be found for the world of Truth, and this is the Mahar discovered according to the Taittiriya Upanishad by the Rishi Mahachamasya as the fourth Vyahrti, the other three being Swar, Bhuvar and Bhur, i.e. Dyau, Antariksha and Prithivi of the Veda.

new worlds or new states of existence is clearly told us in the next verse, II.24.5, *sanā tā kā cid bhuvanā bhavitvā, mādbhiḥ śaradbhiḥ duro varanta vaḥ; ayatantā carato anyad anyad id, yā cakāra vayunā brahmaṇaspatiḥ*, “Certain eternal worlds (states of existence) are these which have to come into being, their doors are shut¹ to you (or, opened) by the months and the years; without effort one (world) moves in the other, and it is these that Brahmanaspati has made manifest to knowledge”; *vayunā* means knowledge, and the two forms are divinised earth and heaven which Brahmanaspati created. These are the four eternal worlds hidden in the *guhā*, the secret, unmanifest or superconscient parts of being which, although in themselves eternally present states of existence (*sanā bhuvanā*), are for us non-existent and in the future; for us they have to be brought into being, *bhavitvā*, they are yet to be created. Therefore the Veda sometimes speaks of Swar being made visible as here (*vyacakṣayat svaḥ*, II.24.3) or discovered and taken possession of, *avidat, asanat*, sometimes of its being created or made (*bhū, kṛ*). These secret eternal worlds have been closed to us, says the Rishi, by the movement of Time, by the months and years; therefore naturally they have to be discovered, revealed, conquered, created in us by the movement of Time, yet in a sense against it. This development in an inner or psychological Time is, it seems to me, that which is symbolised by the sacrificial year and by the ten months that have to be spent before the revealing hymn of the soul (*brahma*) is able to discover the seven-headed, heaven-conquering thought which finally carries us beyond the harms of Vritra and the Panis.

We get the connection of the rivers and the worlds very clearly in I.62.4, where Indra is described as breaking the hill by the aid of the Navagwas and breaking Vala by the aid of the Dashagwas. Hymned by the Angirasa Rishis Indra opens up the darkness by the Dawn and the Sun and the Cows, he spreads out the high plateau of the earthly hill into wideness and upholds the higher world of heaven. For the result of the opening up of the higher

¹ Sayana says *varanta* is here “opened”, which is quite possible, but *vr* means ordinarily to shut, close up, cover, especially when applied to the doors of the hill whence flow the rivers and the cows come forth; Vritra is the closer of the doors. *Vi vr* and *apa vr* mean to open. Nevertheless, if the word means here to open, that only makes our case all the stronger.

planes of consciousness is to increase the wideness of the physical, to raise the height of the mental. "This, indeed," says the Rishi Nodha, "is his mightiest work, the fairest achievement of the achiever" *dasmasya cārutamam asti darṁsah*, "that the four upper rivers streaming honey nourish the two worlds of the crookedness," *upahvare yad uparā apinvan madhvarṇaso nadyaś catasrah* (I.62.6). This is again the honey-streaming well pouring down its many streams together; the four higher rivers of the divine being, divine conscious force, divine delight, divine truth nourishing the two worlds of the mind and body into which they descend with their floods of sweetness. These two, the *rodasī*, are normally worlds of crookedness, that is to say of the falsehood, — the *ṛtam* or Truth being the straight, the *anṛtam* or Falsehood the crooked, — because they are exposed to the harms of the undivine powers, Vritras and Panis, sons of darkness and division. They now become forms of the truth, the knowledge, *vayunā*, agreeing with outer action and this is evidently Gritsamada's *carato anyad anyad* and his *yā cakāra vayunā brahmaṇaspatiḥ*. The Rishi then proceeds to define the result of the work of Ayasya, which is to reveal the true eternal and unified form of earth and heaven. "In their twofold (divine and human?) Ayasya uncovered by his hymns the two, eternal and in one nest; perfectly achieving he upheld earth and heaven in the highest ether (of the revealed superconscient, *parame vyoman*) as the Enjoyer his two wives" (I.62.7). The souls' enjoyment of its divinised mental and bodily existence uplifted in the eternal joy of the spiritual being could not be more clearly and beautifully imaged.

These ideas and many of the expressions are the same as those of the hymn of Gritsamada. Nodha says of the Night and Dawn, the dark physical and the illumined mental consciousness that they new-born (*punarbhuvā*) about heaven and earth move into each other with their own proper movements, *svebhir evaiḥ...carato anyānyā* (I.62.8),¹ in the eternal friendship that is worked out by the high achievement of their son who thus up-

¹ cf. Gritsamada's *ayatantā carato anyad anyad...bearing the same sense as svebhir evaiḥ... i.e. spontaneously.*

This and many other passages show clearly, conclusively, as it seems to me, that the *anyad anyad*, the two are always earth and heaven, the human based on the physical consciousness and the divine based on the supraphysical heaven.

holds them, *sanemi sakhyam svapasyamānaḥ, sūnur dādharma śavasā sudamsāḥ* (I.62.9). In Gritsamada's hymn as in Nodha's, the Angirasas attain to Swar, — the Truth from which they originally came, the "own home" of all divine Purushas, — by the attainment of the truth and by the detection of the falsehood. "They who travel towards the goal and attain that treasure of the Panis, the supreme treasure hidden in the secret cave, they, having the knowledge and perceiving the falsehoods, rise up again thither whence they came and enter into that world. Possessed of the truth, beholding the falsehoods they, seers, rise up again into the great path," *mahas pathaḥ* (II.24.6,7), the path of the Truth, or the great and wide realm, Mahas of the Upanishads.

We begin now to unravel the knot of this Vedic imagery. Brihaspati is the seven-rayed Thinker, *saptaguḥ, saptaraśmiḥ*, he is the seven-faced or seven-mouthed Angirasa, born in many forms, *saptāsyah tuvijātaḥ*, nine-rayed, ten-rayed. The seven mouths are the seven Angirasas who repeat the divine word (*brahma*) which comes from the seat of the Truth, Swar, and of which he is the lord (*brahmaṇaspatiḥ*). Each also corresponds to one of the seven rays of Brihaspati; therefore they are the seven seers, *sapta viprāḥ, sapta ṛṣayah*, who severally personify these seven rays of the knowledge. These rays are, again, the seven brilliant horses of the sun, *sapta haritaḥ*, and their full union constitutes the seven-headed Thought of Ayasya by which the lost sun of Truth is recovered. That thought again is established in the seven rivers, the seven principles of being divine and human, the totality of which founds the perfect spiritual existence. The winning of these seven rivers of our being withheld by Vritra and these seven rays withheld by Vala, the possession of our complete divine consciousness delivered from all falsehood by the free descent of the truth, gives us the secure possession of the world of Swar and the enjoyment of mental and physical being lifted into the godhead above darkness, falsehood and death by the in-streaming of our divine elements. This victory is won in twelve periods of the upward journey, represented by the revolution of the twelve months of the sacrificial year, the periods corresponding to the successive dawns of a wider and wider truth, until the tenth secures the victory. What may be the precise

significance of the nine rays and the ten, is a more difficult question which we are not yet in a position to solve; but the light we already have is sufficient to illuminate all the main imagery of the Rig-veda.

The symbolism of the Veda depends upon the image of the life of man as a sacrifice, a journey and a battle. The ancient Mystics took for their theme the spiritual life of man, but, in order both to make it concrete to themselves and to veil its secrets from the unfit, they expressed it in poetical images drawn from the outward life of their age. That life was largely an existence of herdsmen and tillers of the soil for the mass of the people, varied by the wars and migrations of the clans under their kings, and in all this activity the worship of the gods by sacrifice had become the most solemn and magnificent element, the knot of all the rest. For by the sacrifice were won the rain which fertilised the soil, the herds of cattle and horses necessary for their existence in peace and war, the wealth of gold, land, (*kṣetra*), retainers, fighting-men which constituted greatness and lordship, the victory in the battle, safety in the journey by land and water which was so difficult and dangerous in those times of poor means of communication and loosely organised inter-tribal existence. All the principal features of that outward life which they saw around them the mystic poets took and turned into significant images of the inner life. The life of man is represented as a sacrifice to the gods, a journey sometimes figured as a crossing of dangerous waters, sometimes as an ascent from level to level of the hill of being, and, thirdly, as a battle against hostile nations. But these three images are not kept separate. The sacrifice is also a journey; indeed the sacrifice itself is described as travelling, as journeying to a divine goal; and the journey and the sacrifice are both continually spoken of as a battle against the dark powers.

The legend of the Angirasas takes up and combines all these three essential features of the Vedic imagery. The Angirasas are pilgrims of the light. The phrase *nakṣantaḥ* or *abhinakṣantaḥ* is constantly used to describe their characteristic action. They are those who travel towards the goal and attain to the highest, *abhinakṣanto abhi ye tam ānaśur nidhiṃ paramam*, "they who travel to and attain that supreme treasure" (II.24.6). Their action is in-

voked for carrying forward the life of man farther towards its goal, *sahasrasāve pra tiranta āyuh* (III.53.7). But this journey, if principally of the nature of a quest, the quest of the hidden light, becomes also by the opposition of the powers of darkness an expedition and a battle. The Angirasas are heroes and fighters of that battle, *goṣu yodhāḥ*, “fighters for the cows or rays”. Indra marches with them *saranyubhiḥ*, as travellers on the path, *sakhibhiḥ*, comrades, *ṛgmibhiḥ* and *kavibhiḥ*, seers and singers of the sacred chant, but also *satvabhiḥ*, fighters in the battle. They are frequently spoken of by the appellation *nṛ* or *vīra*, as when Indra is said to win the luminous herds *asmākebhiḥ nṛbhiḥ*, “by our men”. Strengthened by them he conquers in the journey and reaches the goal, *nakṣaddābham taturim*. This journey or march proceeds along the path discovered by Sarama, the hound of heaven, the path of the Truth, *ṛtasya panthāḥ*, the great path, *mahas pathaḥ*, which leads to the realms of the Truth. It is also the sacrificial journey; for its stages correspond to the periods of the sacrifice of the Navagwas and it is effected by the force of the Soma-wine and the sacred Word.

The drinking of the Soma-wine as the means of strength, victory and attainment is one of the pervading figures of the Veda. Indra and the Ashwins are the great Soma-drinkers, but all the gods have their share of the immortalising draught. The Angirasas also conquer in the strength of the Soma. Sarama threatens the Panis with the coming of Ayasya and the Navagwa Angirasas in the keen intensity of their Soma-rapture, *eha gaman ṛsayah somaśitā ayāsyo aṅgirasō navagvāḥ* (X.108.8). It is the great force by which men have the power to follow the path of the Truth. “That rapture of the Soma we desire by which thou, O Indra, didst make to thrive the Might of Swar (or the Swar-soul, *svaṛṇaram*), that rapture ten-rayed and making a light of knowledge or shaking the whole being with its force (*daśagvaṁ vepayantam*) by which thou didst foster the ocean; that Soma-intoxication by which thou didst drive forward the great waters (the seven rivers) like chariots to their sea, — that we desire that we may travel on the path of the truth,” *panthām ṛtasya yātave tam īmahe* (VIII.12.2,3). It is in the power of the Soma that the hill is broken open, the sons of darkness overthrown. This Soma-

wine is the sweetness that comes flowing from the streams of the upper hidden world, it is that which flows in the seven waters, it is that with which the *ghṛta*, the clarified butter of the mystic sacrifice, is instinct; it is the honeyed wave which rises out of the ocean of life. Such images can have only one meaning; it is the divine delight hidden in all existence which, once manifest, supports all life's crowning activities and is the force that finally immortalises the mortal, the *amṛtam*, ambrosia of the gods.

But it is especially the Word that the Angirasas possess; their seerhood is their most distinguishing characteristic. They are *brāhmaṇāsāḥ pitarāḥ somyāsah...ṛtāvṛdhaḥ* (VI.75.10) the fathers who are full of the Soma and have the word and are therefore increasers of the Truth. Indra in order to impel them on the path joins himself to the chanted expressions of their thought and gives fullness and force to the words of their soul, *aṅgirasām ucathā jujusvān brahma tūtod gātum iṣṇan* (II.20.5). It is when enriched in light and force of thought by the Angirasas that Indra completes his victorious journey and reaches the goal on the mountain, "In him our primal fathers, the seven seers, the Navagwas, increase their plenty, him victorious on his march and breaking through (to the goal), standing on the mountain, inviolate in speech, most luminous-forceful by his thinkings", *nakṣaddābham taturim parvateṣṭhām, adroghavācam matibhiḥ śaviṣṭham* (VI.22.2). It is by singing the Rik, the hymn of illumination, that they find the solar illuminations in the cave of our being, *arcanto¹ gā avindan* (I.62.2). It is by the *stubbh*, the all-supporting rhythm of the hymn of the seven seers, by the vibrating voice of the Navagwas that Indra becomes full of the power of Swar, *svareṇa svaryaḥ* and by the cry of the Dashagwas that he rends Vala in pieces (I.62.4). For this cry is the voice of the higher heaven, the thunder that cries in the lightning-flash of Indra, and the advance of the Angirasas on their path is the forward movement of this cry of the heavens, *pra brahmāṇo aṅgirasō nakṣanta, pra krandanur nabhanyasya vetu* (VII.42.1); for we are told that the voice of Brihaspati the Angirasa discovering the Sun and the Dawn and Cow and the light of the

¹ *rc* (*arcantah*) in the Veda means to shine and to sing the Rik; *arka* means sun, light and the Vedic hymn.

Word is the thunder of Heaven, *br̥haspatir uṣasam sūryam gām arkam viveda stanayan iva dyauḥ* (X.67.5). It is by *satya* mantra, the true thought expressed in the rhythm of the truth, that the hidden light is found and the Dawn brought to birth, *gūḥam jyotiḥ pitaro anvavindan, satyamantrā ajanayan uṣāsam* (VII.76.4). For these are the Angirasas who speak aright, *itthā vadadbhiḥ aṅgirobhiḥ* (VI.18.5), masters of the Rik who place perfectly their thought, *svādhibhir ṛkvabhiḥ* (VI.32.2); they are the sons of heaven, heroes of the Mighty Lord who speak the truth and think the straightness and therefore they are able to hold the seat of illumined knowledge, to mentalise the supreme abode of the sacrifice, *ṛtam śarīsanta ṛju didhyānā divasputrāso asurasya virāḥ; vipram padam aṅgirasō dadhānā yajñasya dhāma prathamam mananta* (X.67.2).

It is impossible that such expressions should convey nothing more than the recovery of stolen cows from Dravidian cave-dwellers by some Aryan seers led by a god and his dog or else the return of the Dawn after the darkness of the night. The wonders of the Arctic dawn themselves are insufficient to explain the association of images and the persistent stress on the idea of the Word, the Thought, the Truth, the journey and the conquest of the falsehood which meets us always in these hymns. Only the theory we are enouncing, a theory not brought in from outside but arising straight from the language and the suggestions of the hymns themselves, can unite this varied imagery and bring an easy lucidity and coherence into this apparent tangle of incongruities. In fact, once the central idea is grasped and the mentality of the Vedic Rishis and the principle of their symbolism are understood, no incongruity and no disorder remain. There is a fixed system of symbols which, except in some of the later hymns, does not admit of any important variations and in the light of which the inner sense of the Veda everywhere yields itself up readily enough. There is indeed a certain restricted freedom in the combination of the symbols, as in those of any fixed poetical imagery, — for instance, the sacred poems of the Vaishnavas; but the substance of thought behind is constant, coherent and does not vary.

The Human Fathers

THESE characteristics of the Angirasa Rishis seem at first sight to indicate that they are in the Vedic system a class of demi-gods, in their outward aspect personifications or rather personalities of the Light and the Voice and the Flame, but in their inner aspect powers of the Truth who second the gods in their battles. But even as divine seers, even as sons of Heaven and heroes of the Lord, these sages represent aspiring humanity. True, they are originally the sons of the gods, *deva-putrāḥ*, children of Agni, forms of the manifoldly born Brihaspati, and in their ascent to the world of the Truth they are described as ascending back to the place from whence they came; but even in these characteristics they may well be representative of the human soul which has itself descended from that world and has to reascend; for it is in its origin a mental being, son of immortality (*amṛtasya putrāḥ*), a child of Heaven born in Heaven and mortal only in the bodies that it assumes. And the part of the Angirasa Rishis in the sacrifice is the human part, to find the word, to sing the hymn of the soul to the gods, to sustain and increase the divine Powers by the praise, the sacred food and the Soma-wine, to bring to birth by their aid the divine Dawn, to win the luminous form of the all-radiating Truth and to ascend to its secret, far and high-seated home.

In this work of the sacrifice they appear in a double form,¹ the divine Angirasas, *ṛṣayo divyāḥ*, who symbolise and preside over certain psychological powers and workings like the gods, and the human fathers, *pitaro manuṣyāḥ*, who like the Ribhus, also described as human beings or at least human powers that have conquered immortality by the work, have attained the goal

¹ It is to be noted that the Puranas distinguish specifically between two classes of Pitris, the divine Fathers, a class of deities, and the human Ancestors to both of whom the *pinḍa* is offered. The Puranas, obviously, only continue in this respect the original Vedic tradition.

and are invoked to assist a later mortal race in the same divine achievement. Quite apart from the later Yama hymns of the tenth Mandala in which the Angirasas are spoken of as Barhishad Pitris along with the Bhrigus and Atharvans and receive their own peculiar portion in the sacrifice, they are in the rest of the Veda also called upon in a less definite but a larger and more significant imagery. It is for the great human journey that they are invoked; for it is the human journey from the mortality to the immortality, from the falsehood to the truth that the Ancestors accomplished, opening the way to their descendants.

We see this characteristic of their working in VII.42 and VII.52. The first of these two hymns of Vasishtha is a Sukta in which the gods are invoked precisely for this great journey, *adhvara yajña*,¹ the sacrifice that travels or is a travel to the home of the godheads and at the same time a battle: for thus it is sung, “Easy of travelling for thee is the path, O Agni, and known to thee from of old. Yoke in the Soma-offering thy ruddy (or, actively-moving) mares which bear the hero. Seated, I call the births divine” (verse 2). What path is this? It is the path between the home of the gods and our earthly mortality down which the gods descend through the *antarikṣa*, the vital regions, to the earthly sacrifice and up which the sacrifice and man by the sacrifice ascends to the home of the gods. Agni yokes his mares, his variously-coloured energies or flames of the divine Force he represents, which bear the Hero, the battling power within us that performs the journey. And the births divine are at once the gods themselves and those manifestations of the divine life in man which are the Vedic meaning of the godheads. That this is the sense becomes clear from the fourth Rik. “When the Guest that lodges in the bliss has become conscious in knowledge in the gated house of the hero rich (in felicity), when Agni is perfectly satisfied and firmly lodged in the house, then he gives the desirable good to the creature that makes the journey”

¹ Sayana takes *a-dhvara yajña*, the unhurt sacrifice; but “unhurt” can never have come to be used as a synonym of sacrifice. *Adhvara* is “travelling”, “moving”, connected with *adhvan*, path or journey from the lost root *adh*, to move, extend, be wide, compact, etc. We see the connection between the two words *adhvan* and *adhvara* in *adhva*, air, sky and *adhvara* with the same sense. The passages in the Veda are numerous in which the *adhvara* or *adhvara yajña* is connected with the idea of travelling, journeying, advancing on the path.

or, it may be, for his journeying.

The hymn is therefore an invocation to Agni for the journey to the supreme good, the divine birth, the bliss. And its opening verse is a prayer for the necessary conditions of the journey, the things that are said here to constitute the form of the pilgrim sacrifice, *adhvarasya peśaḥ*, and among these comes first the forward movement of the Angirasas; “Forward let the Angirasas travel, priests of the Word, forward go the cry of heaven (or, of the heavenly thing, cloud or lightning), forward move the fostering Cows that diffuse their waters, and let the two pressing-stones be yoked (to their work) — the form of the pilgrim sacrifice”, *pra brahmāṇo aṅgirasō nakṣanta, pra krandanur nabhanyasya vetu; pra dhenava udapruto navanta, yujyātām adri adhvarasya peśaḥ* (VII.42.1). The Angirasas with the divine Word, the cry of Heaven which is the voice of Swar, the luminous heaven, and of its lightnings thundering out from the Word, the divine waters or seven rivers that are set free to their flowing by that heavenly lightning of Indra the master of Swar, and with the outflowing of the divine waters the outpressing of the immortalising Soma, these constitute the form, *peśaḥ*, of the *adhvara yajña*. And its general characteristic is forward movement, the advance of all to the divine goal, as emphasised by the three verbs of motion, *naksanta, vetu, navanta* and the emphatic *pra*, forward, which opens and sets the key to each clause.

But the fifty-second hymn is still more significant and suggestive. The first Rik runs, “O Sons of the infinite Mother (*ādityāsaḥ*), may we become infinite beings (*aditayaḥ syāma*), may the Vasus protect in the godhead and the mortality (*devatrā martyatrā*); possessing may we possess you, O Mitra and Varuna, becoming may we become you, O Heaven and Earth”, *sanema mitrāvaruṇā sanantaḥ, bhavema dyāvāprthivi bhavantaḥ*. This is evidently the sense that we are to possess and become the infinities or children of Aditi, the godheads, *aditayaḥ, ādityāsaḥ*. Mitra and Varuna, we must remember, are powers of Surya Savitri, the Lord of the Light and the Truth. And the third verse runs, “May the Angirasas who hasten through to the goal move in their travelling to the bliss of the divine Savitri; and that (bliss) may our great Father, he of the sacrifice, and all the gods

becoming of one mind accept in heart.” *Turaṇyavo nakṣanta ratnaṁ devasya savitur iyānāḥ*. It is quite clear therefore that the Angirasas are travellers to the light and truth of the solar deity from which are born the luminous cows they wrest from the Panis and to the bliss which, as we always see, is founded on that light and truth. It is clear also that this journey is a growing into the godhead, into the infinite being (*aditayaḥ syāma*), said in this hymn (verse 2) to come by the growth of the peace and bliss through the action in us of Mitra, Varuna and the Vasus who protect us in the godhead and the mortality.

In these two hymns the Angirasa Rishis generally are mentioned; but in others we have positive references to the human Fathers who first discovered the Light and possessed the Thought and the Word and travelled to the secret worlds of the luminous Bliss. In the light of the conclusions at which we have arrived, we can now study the more important passages, profound, beautiful and luminous, in which this great discovery of the human forefathers is hymned. We shall find there the summary of that great hope which the Vedic mystics held ever before their eyes; that journey, that victory is the ancient, primal achievement set as a type of the luminous Ancestors for the mortality that was to come after them. It was the conquest of the powers of the circumscribing Night *rātri paritakmyā* (V.30.14), Vritras, Sambaras and Valas, the Titans, Giants, Pythons, subconscious Powers who hold the light and the force in themselves, in their cities of darkness and illusion, but can neither use it aright nor will give it up to man, the mental being. Their ignorance, evil and limitation have not merely to be cut away from us, but broken up and into and made to yield up the secret of light and good and infinity. Out of this death that immortality has to be conquered. Pent up behind this ignorance is a secret knowledge and a great light of truth; prisoned by this evil is an infinite content of good; in this limiting death is the seed of a boundless immortality. Vala, for example, is Vala of the radiances, *valasya gomataḥ* (I.11.5), his body is made of the light, *govapuṣo valasya* (X.68.9), his hole or cave is a city full of treasures; that body has to be broken up, that city rent open, those treasures seized. This is the work set for humanity and the Ancestors have done

it for the race that the way may be known and the goal reached by the same means and through the same companionship with the gods of Light. "Let there be that ancient friendship between you gods and us as when with the Angirasas who spoke aright the word, thou didst make to fall that which was fixed and slewest Vala as he rushed against thee, O achiever of works, and thou didst make to swing open all the doors of his city" (VI.18.5). At the beginning of all human traditions there is this ancient memory. It is Indra and the serpent Vritra, it is Apollo and the Python, it is Thor and the Giants, Sigurd and Fafner, it is the mutually opposing gods of the Celtic mythology; but only in the Veda do we find the key to this imagery which conceals the hope or the wisdom of a prehistoric humanity.

The first hymn we will take is one by the great Rishi, Viswamitra, III.39; for it carries us right into the heart of our subject. It sets out with a description of the ancestral Thought, *pitryā dhīḥ*, the Thought of the fathers which can be no other than the Swar-possessing thought hymned by the Atris, the seven-headed thought discovered by Ayasya for the Navagwas; for in this hymn also it is spoken of in connection with the Angirasas, the Fathers. "The thought expressing itself from the heart, formed into the Stoma, goes towards Indra its lord" (Rik 1). Indra is, we have supposed, the Power of luminous Mind, master of the world of Light and its lightnings; the words or the thoughts are constantly imaged as cows or women, Indra as the Bull or husband, and the words desire him and are even spoken of as casting themselves upwards to seek him, e.g. I.9.4, *giraḥ prati tvām ud ahāsata...vṛṣabham patim*. The luminous Mind of Swar is the goal sought by the Vedic thought and the Vedic speech which express the herd of the illuminations pressing upward from the soul, from the cave of the subconscious in which they were penned; Indra master of Swar is the Bull, the lord of these herds, *gopatiḥ*.

The Rishi continues to describe the Thought. It is "the thought that when it is being expressed, remains wakeful in the knowledge", does not lend itself to the slumber of the Panis, *yā jāgrvir vidathe śasyamānā*; "that which is born of thee (or, for thee), O Indra, of that take knowledge". This is a constant formula in the Veda. The god, the divine, has to take cognizance

of what rises up to him in man, to become awake to it in the knowledge within us, (*viddhi, cetathaḥ, etc.*), otherwise it remains a human thing and does not “go to the gods”, (*deveṣu gacchati*). And then, “It is ancient (or eternal), it is born from heaven; when it is being expressed, it remains wakeful in the knowledge; wearing white and happy robes, *this in us is the ancient thought of the fathers*”, *seyam asme sanajā pitryā dhīḥ* (Rik 2). And then the Rishi speaks of this Thought as “The mother of twins, who here gives birth to the twins; on the tip of the tongue it descends and stands; the twin bodies when they are born cleave to each other and are slayers of darkness and move in the foundation of burning force” (Rik 3). I will not now discuss what are these luminous twins, for that would carry us beyond the limits of our immediate subject: suffice it to say that they are spoken of elsewhere in connection with the Angirasas and their establishment of the supreme birth (the plane of the Truth) as the twins in whom Indra places the word of the expression (I:83.3), that the burning force in whose foundation they move is evidently that of the Sun, the slayer of darkness, and this foundation is therefore identical with the supreme plane, the foundation of the Truth, *ṛtasya budhne*, and, finally that they can hardly be wholly unconnected with the twin children of Surya, Yama and Yami, — Yama who in the tenth Mandala is associated with the Angirasa Rishis.¹

Having thus described the ancestral thought with its twin children, slayers of darkness, Vishwamitra proceeds to speak of the ancient Fathers who first formed it and of the great victory by which they discovered “that Truth, the sun lying in the darkness”. “None is there among mortals who can blame (or, as it rather seems to me to mean, no power of mortality that can confine or bind) our ancient fathers, they who were fighters for the cows; Indra of the mightiness, Indra of the achievement released upward for them the fortified pens, — there where, a comrade with his comrades, the fighters, the Navagwas, following on his knees the cows, Indra with the ten Dashagwas found that Truth,

¹ It is in the light of these facts that we must understand the colloquy of Yama and Yami in the tenth Mandala in which the sister seeks union with her brother and is put off to later generations, meaning really symbolic periods of time, the word for later signifying rather “higher”, *uttara*.

satyam tad, even the sun dwelling in the darkness” (Riks 4,5). This is the usual image of the conquest of the luminous cattle and the discovery of the hidden Sun; but in the next verse it is associated with two other related images which also occur frequently in the Vedic hymns, the pasture or field of the cow and the honey found in the cow. “Indra found the honey stored in the Shining One, the footed and hoofed (wealth) in the pasture¹ of the Cow” (Rik 6). The Shining One, *usriyā* (also *usrā*), is another word which like *go* means both ray and cow and is used as a synonym of *go* in the Veda. We hear constantly of the *ghṛta* or clarified butter stored in the cow, hidden there by the Panis in three portions according to Vamadeva; but it is sometimes the honeyed *ghṛta* and sometimes simply the honey, *madhumad ghṛtam* (IX.86.37) and *madhu*. We have seen how closely the yield of the cow, the *ghṛta*, and the yield of the Soma plant are connected in other hymns and now that we know definitely what is meant by the Cow, this strange and incongruous connection becomes clear and simple enough. *Ghṛta* also means shining, it is the shining yield of the shining cow; it is the formed light of conscious knowledge in the mentality which is stored in the illumined consciousness and it is liberated by the liberation of the Cow: Soma is the delight, beatitude, Ananda inseparable from the illumined state of the being; and as there are, according to the Veda, three planes of mentality in us, so there are three portions of the *ghṛta* dependent on the three gods Surya, Indra and Soma, and the Soma also is offered in three parts, on the three levels of the hill, *triṣu sānuṣu*. We may hazard the conjecture, having regard to the nature of the three gods, that Soma releases the divine light from the sense mentality, Indra from the dynamic mentality, Surya from the pure reflective mentality. As for the pasture of the cow we are already familiar with it; it is the field or *kṣetra* which Indra wins for his shining comrades from the Dasyu and in which the Atri beheld the warrior Agni and the luminous cows, those of whom even the old became young again. This field, *kṣetra*, is only another image for the luminous home (*kṣaya*) to which the gods by the sacrifice lead the human soul.

¹ Name *goh*. *Nama* from *nam* to move, range, Greek *nemo*; *nama* is the range, pasture, Greek *namos*.

Vishwamitra then proceeds to indicate the real mystic sense of all this imagery. "He having Dakshina with him held in his right hand (*dakṣiṇe dakṣiṇāvān*) the secret thing that is placed in the secret cave and concealed in the waters. May he, knowing perfectly, separate the light from the darkness, *jyotir vṛṇīta tamaso vijānan*, may we be far from the presence of the evil" (Riks 6,7). We have here a clue to the sense of this goddess Dakshina who seems in some passages to be a form or epithet of the Dawn and in others that which distributes the offerings in the sacrifice. Usha is the divine illumination and Dakshina is the discerning knowledge that comes with the dawn and enables the Power in the mind, Indra, to know aright and separate the light from the darkness, the truth from the falsehood, the straight from the crooked, *vṛṇīta vijānan*. The right and left hand of Indra are his two powers of action in knowledge; for his two arms are called *gabhasti*, a word which means ordinarily a ray of the sun but also forearm, and they correspond to his two perceptive powers, his two bright horses, *harī*, which are described as sun-eyed, *sūracakṣasaḥ* and as vision-powers of the Sun, *sūryasya ketū*. Dakshina presides over the right-hand power, *dakṣiṇā*, and therefore we have the collocation *dakṣiṇe dakṣiṇāvān*. It is this discernment which presides over the right action of the sacrifice and the right distribution of the offerings and it is this which enables Indra to hold the herded wealth of the Panis securely, in his right hand. And finally we are told what is this secret thing that was placed for us in the cave and is concealed in the waters of being, the waters in which the Thought of the Fathers has to be set, *apsu dhiyam dadhiṣe*. It is the hidden Sun, the secret Light of our divine existence which has to be found and taken out by knowledge from the darkness in which it is concealed. That this light is not physical is shown by the word *vijānan*, for it is through right knowledge that it has to be found, and by the moral result, *viz.* that we go far from the presence of evil, *duritād*, literally, the wrong going, the stumbling to which we are subjected in the night of our being before the sun has been found, before the divine Dawn has arisen.

Once we have the key to the meaning of the Cows, the Sun, the Honey-Wine, all the circumstances of the Angirasa legend

and the action of the Fathers, which are such an incongruous patchwork in the ritualistic or naturalistic and so hopelessly impossible in the historical or Arya-Dravidian interpretation of the hymns, become on the contrary perfectly clear and connected and each throws light on the other. We understand each hymn in its entirety and in relation to other hymns; each isolated line, each passage, each scattered reference in the Vedas falls inevitably and harmoniously into a common whole. We know, here, how the Honey, the Bliss can be said to be stored in the Cow, the shining Light of the Truth; what is the connection of the honey-bearing Cow with the Sun, lord and origin of that Light; why the discovery of the Sun dwelling in the darkness is connected with the conquest or recovery of the cows of the Panis by the Angirasas; why it is called the discovery of that Truth; what is meant by the footed and hoofed wealth and the field or pasture of the Cow. We begin to see what is the cave of the Panis and why that which is hidden in the lair of Vala is said also to be hidden in the waters released by Indra from the hold of Vritra, the seven rivers possessed by the seven-headed heaven-conquering thought of Ayasya; why the rescue of the sun out of the cave, the separation or choosing of the light out of the darkness is said to be done by an all-discerning knowledge; who are Dakshina and Sarama and what is meant by Indra holding the hoofed wealth in his right hand. And in arriving at these conclusions we have not to wrest the sense of words, to interpret the same fixed term by different renderings according to our convenience of the moment or to render differently the same phrase or line in different hymns, or to make incoherence a standard of right interpretation; on the contrary, the greater the fidelity to word and form of the Riks, the more conspicuously the general and the detailed sense of the Veda emerge in a constant clearness and fullness.

We have therefore acquired the right to apply the sense we have discovered to other passages such as the hymn of Vasishtha which I shall next examine, VII.76, although to a superficial glance it would seem to be only an ecstatic picture of the physical Dawn. This first impression, however, disappears when we examine it; we see that there is a constant suggestion of a profounder meaning and, the moment we apply the key we have

found, the harmony of the real sense appears. The hymn commences with a description of that rising of the Sun into the light of the supreme Dawn which is brought about by the gods and the Angirasas. "Savitri, the god, the universal Male, has ascended into the Light that is immortal and of all the births, *jyotir amṛtaṁ viśvajanyam*; by the work (of sacrifice) the eye of the gods has been born (or, by the will-power of the gods vision has been born); Dawn has manifested the whole world (or, all that comes into being, all existences, *viśvaṁ bhuvanam*)" (Rik 1). This immortal light into which the sun rises is elsewhere called the true light, *ṛtaṁ jyotiḥ*, Truth and immortality being constantly associated in the Veda. It is the light of the knowledge given by the seven-headed thought which Ayasya discovered when he became *viśvajanya*, universal in his being; therefore this light too is called *viśvajanya*, for it belongs to the fourth plane, the *turiyaṁ svid* of Ayasya, from which all the rest are born and by whose truth all the rest are manifested in their large universality and no longer in the limited terms of the falsehood and crookedness. Therefore it is called also the eye of the gods and the divine dawn that makes manifest the whole of existence.

The result of this birth of divine vision is that man's path manifests itself to him and those journeyings of the gods or to the gods (*devayānāḥ*) which lead to the infinite wideness of the divine existence. "Before me the paths of the journeyings of the gods have become visible, journeyings that violate not, whose movement was formed by the Vasus. The eye of Dawn has come into being in front and she has come towards us (arriving) over our houses" (Rik 2). The house in the Veda is the constant image for the bodies that are dwelling-places of the soul, just as the field or habitation means the planes to which it mounts and in which it rests. The path of man is that of his journey to the supreme plane and that which the journeyings of the gods do not violate is, as we see, in the fifth verse where the phrase is repeated, the workings of the gods, the divine law of life into which the soul has to grow. We have then a curious image which seems to support the Arctic theory. "Many were those days which were before the rising of the Sun (or which were of old by the rising of the Sun), in which thou, O Dawn, wert seen as if moving about

thy lover and not coming again” (Rik 3). This is certainly a picture of continual dawns, not interrupted by Night, such as are visible in the Arctic regions. The psychological sense which arises out of the verse, is obvious.

What were these dawns? They were those created by the actions of the Fathers, the ancient Angirasas. “They indeed had the joy (of the Soma) along with the gods,¹ the ancient seers who possessed the truth; the fathers found the hidden Light; they, having the true thought (*satyamantrāḥ*, the true thought expressed in the inspired Word), brought into being the Dawn” (Rik 4). And to what did the Dawn, the path, the divine journeying lead the Fathers? To the level wideness, *samāne ūrve*, termed elsewhere the unobstructed vast, *urau anibādhe*, which is evidently the same as that wide being or world which, according to Kanwa, men create when they slay Vritra and pass beyond heaven and earth; it is the vast Truth and the infinite being of Aditi. “In the level wideness they meet together and unite their knowledge (or, know perfectly) and strive not together; they diminish not (limit not or hurt not) the workings of the gods, not violating them they move (to their goal) by (the strength of) the Vasus” (Rik 5). It is evident that the seven Angirasas, whether human or divine, represent different principles of the Knowledge, Thought or Word, the seven-headed thought, the seven-mouthed word of Brihaspati, and in the level wideness these are harmonised in a universal knowledge; the error, crookedness, falsehood by which men violate the workings of the gods and by which different principles of their being, consciousness, knowledge enter into confused conflict with each other, have been removed by the eye or vision of the divine Dawn.

The hymn closes with the aspiration of the Vasishthas towards this divine and blissful Dawn as leader of the herds and mistress of plenty and again as leader of the felicity and the truths (*sūnṛtānām*). They desire to arrive at the same achievement as the primal seers, the fathers and it would follow that these are the human and not the divine Angirasas. In any case the sense of the Angirasas legend is fixed in all its details, except the exact

¹ I adopt provisionally the traditional rendering of *sadhamaḍaḥ* though I am not sure that it is the correct rendering.

identity of the Panis and the hound Sarama, and we can turn to the consideration of the passages in the opening hymns of the fourth Mandala in which the human fathers are explicitly mentioned and their achievement described. These hymns of Vama-deva are the most illuminating and important for this aspect of the Angirasa legend and they are in themselves among the most interesting in the Rig-veda.

The Victory of the Fathers

THE hymns addressed by the great Rishi Vamadeva to the divine Flame, to the Seer-Will, Agni are among the most mystic in expression in the Rig-veda and though quite plain in their sense if we hold firmly in our mind the system of significant figures employed by the Rishis, will otherwise seem only a brilliant haze of images baffling our comprehension. The reader has at every moment to apply that fixed notation which is the key to the sense of the hymns; otherwise he will be as much at a loss as a reader of metaphysics who has not mastered the sense of the philosophical terms that are being constantly used or, let us say, one who tries to read Panini's Sutras without knowing the peculiar system of grammatical notation in which they are expressed. We have, however, already enough light upon this system of images to understand well enough what Vamadeva has to tell us about the great achievement of the human forefathers.

In order to hold clearly in our minds at the start what that great achievement was we may put before ourselves the clear and sufficient formulas in which Parashara Shaktya expresses them. "Our fathers broke open the firm and strong places by their words, yea, the Angirasas broke open the hill by their cry; they made in us the path to the great heaven; they found the Day and Swar and vision and the luminous Cows", *cakrur divo bṛhato gātum asme, ahaḥ svar vividuḥ ketum usrāḥ*, (I.71.2). This path, he tells us, is the path which leads to immortality; "they who entered into all things that bear right fruit formed a path towards the immortality; earth stood wide for them by the greatness and by the Great Ones, the mother Aditi with her sons came (or, manifested herself) for the upholding" (I.72.9).¹ That

¹ *Ā ye viśvā svapatyāni tasthuḥ kṛṇvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum; mahnā mahadbhiḥ pṛthivi vi tasthe mātā putrair aditir dhāyase veḥ.*

is to say, the physical being visited by the greatness of the infinite planes above and by the power of the great godheads who reign on those planes breaks its limits, opens out to the Light and is upheld in its new wideness by the infinite Consciousness, mother Aditi, and her sons, the divine Powers of the supreme Deva. This is the Vedic immortality.

The means of this finding and expanding are also very succinctly stated by Parashara in his mystic, but still clear and impressive style. "They held the truth, they enriched its thought; then indeed, aspiring souls (*aryaḥ*), they, holding it in thought, bore it diffused in all their being", *dadhan ṛtam dhanayan asya dhītim, ād id aryo didhiṣvo vibhrtrāḥ*, (I.71.3). The image in *vibhrtrāḥ* suggests the upholding of the thought of the Truth in all the principles of our being or, to put it in the ordinary Vedic image, the seven-headed thought in all the seven waters, *apsu dhiyam dadhiṣe*, as we have seen it elsewhere expressed in almost identical language; this is shown by the image that immediately follows, — "The doers of the work go towards the unthirsting (waters) which increase the divine births by the satisfaction of delight", *atrṣyantīr apaso yanti acchā, devān janma prayasā vardhayantiḥ*. The sevenfold Truth-Consciousness in the satisfied sevenfold Truth-being increasing the divine births in us by the satisfaction of the soul's hunger for the Beatitude, this is the growth of immortality. It is the manifestation of that trinity of divine being, light and bliss which the Vedantins afterwards called Sachchidananda.

The sense of this universal diffusion of Truth and the birth and activity of all the godheads in us assuring an universal and immortal life in place of our present limited mortality is made yet clearer by Parashara in I.68. Agni, the divine Seer-Will, is described as ascending to heaven and unrolling the veil of the nights from all that is stable and all that is mobile, "when he becomes the one God encompassing all these godheads with the greatness of his being. Then indeed all accept and cleave to the Will (or the Work) when, O godhead, thou art born a living soul from the dryness (i.e. from the material being, the desert, as it is called, unwatered by the streams of the Truth); all enjoy godhead attaining to the truth and the immortality by their move-

ments, *bhajanta viśve devatvaṃ nāma, ṛtaṃ sapanto amṛtam evaiḥ*. The impulse of the Truth, the thinking of the Truth becomes a universal life (or pervades all the life), and in it all fulfil their workings," *ṛtasya preṣā ṛtasya dhītir viśvāyur viśve apāṃsi cakruḥ* (Riks 1-3).

And in order that we may not, haunted by the unfortunate misconstruction of the Veda which European scholarship has imposed on the modern mind, carry with us the idea of the seven earthly rivers of the Punjab into the super-terrestrial achievement of the human forefathers, we will note what Parashara in his clear and illuminating fashion tells us about the seven rivers. "The fostering cows of the Truth (*dhenavaḥ*, an image applied to the rivers, while *gāvaḥ* or *usrāḥ* expresses the luminous cows of the Sun) nourished him, lowing, with happy udders, enjoyed in heaven; obtaining right thinking as a boon from the supreme (plane) the rivers flowed wide and evenly over the hill;" *ṛtasya hi dhenavo vāvaśānāḥ, smadūdhnīḥ pīpayanta dyubhaktāḥ; parāvataḥ sumatirṃ bhikṣamāṇāḥ, vi sindhavaḥ samayā sasrur adrim* (I.73.6). And in I.72.8, speaking of them in a phrase which is applied to the rivers in other hymns, he says "The seven mighty ones of heaven, placing aright the thought, knowing the Truth, discerned in knowledge the doors of felicity; Sarama found the fastness, the wideness of the luminous cows; thereby the human creature enjoys the bliss", *svādhyo diva ā sapta yahviḥ, rāyo duro vi ṛtajñā ajānan; vidad gavyaṃ saramā dṛḷham ūrvam, yenā nu kaṃ mānuṣī bhojate viḥ*. These are evidently not the waters of the Punjab, but the rivers of Heaven, the streams of the Truth,¹ goddesses like Saraswati, who possess the Truth in knowledge and open by it the doors of the beatitude to the human creature. We see here too what I have already insisted on, that there is a close connection between the finding of the Cows and the out-flowing of the Rivers; they are parts of one action, the achievement of the truth and immortality by men, *ṛtaṃ sapanto amṛtam evaiḥ*.

It is now perfectly clear that the achievement of the Angi-

¹ Note that in I.32.8, Hiranyastupa Angirasa describes the waters released from Vritra as "ascending the mind", *mano ruhāṇāḥ*, and elsewhere they are called the waters that have the knowledge, *āpo vicetasah* (I.83.1).

rasas is the conquest of the Truth and the Immortality, that Swar called also the great heaven, *brhat dyauh*, is the plane of the Truth above the ordinary heaven and earth which can be no other than the ordinary mental and physical being; that the path of the great heaven, the path of the Truth created by the Angirasas and followed by the hound Sarama is the path to the Immortality, *amṛtatvāya gātum* (I.72.9); that the vision (*ketu*) of the Dawn, the Day won by the Angirasas, is the vision proper to the Truth-Consciousness; that the luminous cows of the Sun and Dawn wrested from the Panis are the illuminations of this Truth-Consciousness which help to form the thought of the Truth, *ṛtasya dhītiḥ*, complete in the seven-headed thought of Ayasya; that the Night of the Veda is the obscured consciousness of the mortal being in which the Truth is subconscious, hidden in the cave of the hill; that the recovery of the lost sun lying in this darkness of Night is the recovery of the sun of Truth out of the darkened subconscious condition; and that the down-flowing earthward of the seven rivers must be the outstreaming action of the sevenfold principle of our being as it is formulated in the Truth of the divine or immortal existence. Equally then must the Panis be the powers that prevent the Truth from emerging out of the subconscious condition and that constantly strive to steal its illuminations from man and throw him back into the Night, and Vritra must be the power that obstructs and prevents the free movement of the illumined rivers of the Truth, obstructs the impulsion of the Truth in us, *ṛtasya preṣā*, the luminous impulsion, *dyumatīm iṣam* (VII.5.8), which carries us beyond the Night to the immortality. And the gods, the sons of Aditi, must be on the contrary the luminous divine powers, born of the infinite consciousness Aditi, whose formation and activity in our human and mortal being are necessary for our growth into the godhead, into the being of the Deva (*devatvam*) which is the Immortality. Agni, the truth-conscious seer-will, is the principal godhead who enables us to effect the sacrifice; he leads it on the path of the Truth, he is the warrior of the battle, the doer of the work, and his unity and universality in us comprehending in itself all the other godheads is the basis of the Immortality. The plane of the Truth to which we arrive is his own home and the

own home of the other gods, and the final home also of the soul of man. And this immortality is described as a beatitude, a state of infinite spiritual wealth and plenitude, *ratna*, *rayi*, *vāja*, *rādhas*, etc. the opening doors of our divine home are the doors of the felicity, *rāyo durah*, the divine doors which swing wide open to those who increase the Truth (*ṛtāvṛdhaḥ*) and which are discovered for us by Saraswati and her sisters, by the seven Rivers, by Sarama; to them and to the wide pasture (*kṣetra*) in the unobstructed and equal infinities of the vast Truth Brihaspati and Indra lead upward the shining Herds.

With these conceptions clearly fixed in our minds we shall be able to understand the verses of Vamadeva which only repeat in symbolic language the substance of the thought expressed more openly by Parashara. It is to Agni the Seer-Will that Vamadeva's opening hymns are addressed. He is hymned as the friend or builder of man's sacrifice who awakes him to the vision, the knowledge (*ketu*), *sa cetayan manuṣo yajñabandhuḥ* (IV.1.9); so doing, "he dwells in the gated homes of this being, accomplishing; he, a god, has come to be the means of accomplishment of the mortal", *sa kṣeti asya duryāsu sādhan, devo martasya sadhanitvam āpa*. What is it that he accomplishes? The next verse tells us. "May this Agni lead us in his knowledge towards that bliss of him which is enjoyed by the gods, that which by the thought all the immortals created and Dyauspita the father out-pouring the Truth;" *sa no agnir nayatu prajānan, acchā ratnaṁ devabhaktaṁ yad asya; dhiyā yad viśve amṛtā akr̥ṇvan, dyauspitā janitā satyam ukṣan*. This is Parashara's beatitude of the Immortality created by all the powers of the immortal god-head doing their work in the thought of the Truth and in its impulsion, and the out-pouring of the Truth is evidently the out-pouring of the waters as is indicated by the word *ukṣan*, Parashara's equal diffusion of the seven rivers of the truth over the hill.

Vamadeva then goes on to tell us of the birth of this great, first or supreme force, Agni, in the Truth, in its waters, in its original home. "He was born, the first, in the waters, in the foundation of the vast world (Swar), in its womb, (i.e. its seat and birthplace, its original home); without head and feet, concealing his two extremities, setting himself to his work in the lair of

the Bull” (Rik 11). The Bull is the Deva or Purusha, his lair is the plane of the Truth, and Agni the Seer-Will, working in the Truth-Consciousness, creates the worlds; but he conceals his two extremities, his head and feet; that is to say, his workings act between the superconscient and the subconscient in which his highest and his lowest states are respectively concealed, one in an utter light, the other in an utter darkness. From that he goes forth as the first and supreme force and is born to the Bull or the Lord by the action of the seven powers of the Bliss, the seven Beloved. “He went forward by illumined knowledge as the first force, in the seat of the Truth, in the lair of the Bull, desirable, young, full in body, shining wide; the seven Beloved bore him to the Lord” (Rik 12).

The Rishi then comes to the achievement of the human fathers, *asmākam atra pitaro manuṣyāḥ, abhi pra sedur ṛtam āśuṣāṇāḥ*: “Here our human fathers seeking possession of the Truth went forward to it; the bright cows in their covering prison, the good milkers whose pen is in the rock they drove upward (to the Truth), the Dawns answered their call. They rent the hill asunder and made them bright; others all around them declared wide this (Truth) of theirs; drivers of the herds they sang the hymn to the doer of works (Agni), they found the light, they shone in their thoughts (or, they accomplished the work by their thoughts). They with the mind that seeks the light (the cows, *gavyatā manasā*) rent the firm and compact hill that environed the luminous cows; the souls that desire opened by the divine word, *vacasā daivyena*, the firm pen full of the kine” (Riks 13-15). These are the ordinary images of the Angiras legend, but in the next verse Vamadeva uses a still more mystic language. “They conceived in mind the first name of the fostering cows, they found the thrice seven supreme (seats) of the Mother; the females of the herd knew that and they followed after it; the ruddy one was manifested by the victorious attainment (or, the splendour) of the cow of Light”, *te manvata prathamam nāma dhenos triḥ sapta mātuḥ paramāṇi vindan; taj jānatir abhyanūṣata vrā, āvirbhuvad aruṇir yaśasā goḥ*. The Mother here is Aditi, the infinite consciousness, who is the *dhenuḥ* or fostering Cow with the seven rivers for her sevenfold streaming as well as *gauḥ*, the

Cow of Light with the Dawns for her children; the Ruddy One is the divine Dawn and the herd or rays are her dawning illuminations. The first name of the Mother with her thrice seven supreme seats, that which the dawns or mental illuminations know and move towards, must be the name or deity of the supreme Deva, who is infinite being and infinite consciousness and infinite bliss, and the seats are the three divine worlds, called earlier in the hymn the three supreme births of Agni, Satya, Tapas and Jana of the Puranas, which correspond to these three infinities of the Deva and each fulfils in its own way the sevenfold principle of our existence: thus we get the series of thrice seven seats of Aditi manifested in all her glory by the opening out of the Dawn of Truth.¹ Thus we see that the achievement of the Light and Truth by the human fathers is also an ascent to the Immortality of the supreme and divine status, to the first name of the all-creating infinite Mother, to her thrice seven supreme degrees of this ascending existence, to the highest levels of the eternal hill (*sānu, adri*).

This immortality is the beatitude enjoyed by the gods of which Vamadeva has already spoken as the thing which Agni has to accomplish by the sacrifice, the supreme bliss with its thrice seven ecstasies (I.20.7). For he proceeds; “Vanished the darkness, shaken in its foundation; Heaven shone out (*rocata dyauh*, implying the manifestation of the three luminous worlds of Swar, *divo rocanāni*); upward rose the light of the divine Dawn; the Sun entered the vast fields (of the Truth) beholding the straight things and the crooked in mortals. Thereafter indeed they awoke and saw utterly (by the sun’s separation of the straight from the crooked, the truth from the falsehood); then indeed they held in them the bliss that is enjoyed in heaven, *ratnaṁ dhārayanta dyubhaktam*. Let all the gods be in all our homes, let there be the truth for our thought, O Mitra, O Varuna”, *viśve viśvāsu duryāsu devā mitra dhiye varuṇa satyam astu* (Riks 17,18). This is evidently the same idea as has been ex-

¹ The same idea is expressed by Medhatithi Kanwa (I.20.7) as the thrice seven ecstasies of the Beatitude, *ratnāni triḥ saptāni*, or more literally, the ecstasies in their three series of seven, each of which the Ribhus bring out in their separate and complete expression, *ekam ekam suśastibhiḥ*.

pressed in different language by Parashara Shaktya, the pervasion of the whole existence by the thought and impulse of the Truth and the working of all the godheads in that thought and impulsion to create in every part of our existence the bliss and the immortality.

The hymn closes thus: "May I speak the word towards Agni shining pure, the priest of the offering, greatest in sacrifice who brings to us the all; may he press out both the pure udder of the Cows of Light and the purified food of the plant of delight (the Soma) poured out everywhere. He is the infinite being of all the lords of sacrifice (the gods) and the guest of all human beings; may Agni, accepting into himself the increasing manifestation of the gods, knower of the births, be a giver of happiness" (Riks 19, 20).

In the second hymn of the fourth Mandala we get very clearly and suggestively the parallelism of the seven Rishis who are the divine Angirasas and the human fathers. The passage is preceded by four verses, IV.2.11-14, which bring in the idea of the human seeking after the Truth and the Bliss. "May he the knower discern perfectly the Knowledge and the Ignorance, the wide levels and the crooked that shut in mortals; and, O God, for a bliss fruitful in offspring, lavish on us Diti and protect Aditi." This eleventh verse is very striking in its significance. We have the opposition of the Knowledge and the Ignorance familiar to Vedanta; and the Knowledge is likened to the wide open levels which are frequently referred to in the Veda; they are the large levels to which those ascend who labour in the sacrifice and they find there Agni seated self-blissful (V.7.5); they are the wide being which he makes for his own body (V.4.6), the level wide-ness, the unobstructed vast. It is therefore the infinite being of the Deva to which we arrive on the plane of the Truth, and it contains the thrice seven supreme seats of Aditi the Mother, the three supreme births of Agni within the Infinite, *anante antaḥ* (IV.1.7). The Ignorance on the other hand is identified with the crooked or uneven levels¹ which shut in mortals and it is therefore the limited, divided mortal existence. Moreover it is evident that the Ignorance is the Diti of the next half-verse, *ditim ca*

¹ *Cittim acittim cinavad vi vidvān, prṣṭheva vitā vṛjinā ca martān. Vṛjinā means crooked,*

rāsva aditim uruṣya, and the Knowledge is Aditi. Diti, called also Danu, means division and the obstructing powers or Vritras are her children, Danus, Danavas, Daityas, while Aditi is existence in its infinity and the mother of the gods. The Rishi desires a bliss fruitful in offspring, that is in divine works and their results and this is to be effected through the conquest of all the riches held in itself by our divided mortal being but kept from us by the Vritras and Panis and through the holding of them in the infinite divine being. The latter is to be in us protected from the ordinary tendency of our human existence, from subjection to the sons of Danu or Diti. The idea is evidently identical with that of the Isha Upanishad which declares the possession of the Knowledge and the Ignorance, the unity and the multiplicity in the one Brahman as the condition for the attainment of Immortality.

We then come to the seven divine seers. “The seers unconquered declared the Seer (the Deva, Agni) holding him within in the homes of the human being; thence (from this embodied human being) mayst thou, O Agni, aspiring by the work (*aryaḥ*), behold by thy advancing movements these of whom thou must have the vision, the transcendent ones (the godheads of the Deva)”; *kaviṃ śasāsuh kavayo adabdhāḥ, nidhārayanto dur-yāsu āyoh; atas tvam drśyān agna etān, paḍbhiḥ paśyer adbhutān aya evaiḥ* (Rik 12). This is again the journey to the vision of the Godhead. “Thou, O Agni, youngest power, art the perfect guide (on that journey) to him who sings the word and offers the Soma and orders the sacrifice; bring to the illumined who accomplishes the work the bliss with its vast delight for his increasing, satisfying the doer of the work (or, the man, *carṣaṇiprāḥ*). Now, O Agni, of all that we have done with our hands and our feet and our bodies the right thinkers (the Angirasas) make as it were thy chariot by the work of the two arms (Heaven and Earth, *bhuri-joh*); seeking to possess the Truth they have worked their way to it (or won control of it)”, *ṛtam yemuḥ sudhya āśuṣāṇāḥ* (Riks 13, 14). “Now as the seven seers of Dawn, the Mother, the supreme disposers (of the sacrifice), may we beget for ourselves the gods;

and is used in the Veda to indicate the crookedness of the falsehood as opposed to the open straightness of the Truth, but the poet has evidently in his mind the verbal sense of *vṛj*, to separate, screen off, and it is this verbal sense in the adjective that governs *martān*.

may we become the Angirasas, sons of Heaven, breaking open the wealth-filled hill, shining in purity” (Rik 15). We have here very clearly the seven divine Seers as the supreme ordainers of the world-sacrifice and the idea of the human being “becoming” these seven Seers, that is to say, creating them in himself and growing into that which they mean, just as he becomes the Heaven and Earth and the other gods or, as it is otherwise put, begets or creates or forms (*jan, kr, tan*) the divine births in his own being.

Next the example of the human fathers is given as the original type of this great becoming and achievement. “Now also, even as our supreme ancient fathers, O Agni, seeking to possess the Truth, expressing the Word, travelled to the purity and the light; breaking open the earth (the material being) they uncovered the ruddy ones (the Dawns, the Cows); perfected in works and in light, seeking the godheads, gods, forging the Births like iron (or, forging the divine births like iron), making Agni a pure flame, increasing Indra, they attained and reached the wideness of the Light (of the Cows, *gavyam ūrvam*). As if herds of the Cow in the field of riches, that was manifested to vision which is the Births of the Gods within, O puissant One; they both accomplished the wide enjoyments (or, longings) of mortals and worked as aspirers for the increase of the higher being”; *ā yūtheva kṣumati paśvo akhyad devānām yaj janima anti ugra; martānām cid urvaśir akṛpran vṛdhe cid arya uparasya āyoh,* (Riks 16-18). Evidently, this is a repetition in other language of the double idea of possessing the riches of Diti, yet safeguarding Aditi. “We have done the work for thee, we have become perfect in works, the wide-shining Dawns have taken up their home in the Truth (or, have robed themselves with the Truth), in the fullness of Agni and his manifold delight, in the shining eye of the god in all his brightness” (Rik 19).

The Angirasas are again mentioned in IV.3.11, and some of the expressions which lead up to this verse, are worth noting; for it cannot be too often repeated that no verse in the Veda can be properly understood except by reference to its context, to its place in the thought of the Sukta, to all that precedes and all that follows. The hymn opens with a call to men to create Agni who

sacrifices in the truth, to create him in his form of golden light (*hiraṇyārūpam*, the gold being always the symbol of the solar light of the Truth, *ṛtaṁ jyotiḥ*) before the Ignorance can form itself, *purā tanayitnor acittāt* (IV.3.1). The god is asked to awaken to the work of man and the truth in him as being himself “the Truth-conscious who places aright the thought”, *ṛtasya bodhi ṛtacit svādhiḥ* (IV.3.4), — for all falsehood is merely a wrong placing of the Truth. He is to refer all fault and sin and defect in man to the various godheads or divine powers of the Divine Being so that it may be removed and the man declared finally blameless before the Infinite Mother — *aditaye anāgasah* (I.24. 15), or for the infinite existence, as it is elsewhere expressed.

Then in the ninth and tenth verses we have, expressed in various formulas, the idea of the united human and divine existence, Diti and Aditi, the latter founding, controlling and flooding with itself the former. “The Truth controlled by the Truth I desire (i.e. the human by the divine), together the unripe things of the Cow and her ripe and honeyed yield (again the imperfect human and the perfect and blissful divine fruits of the universal consciousness and existence); she (the cow) being black (the dark and divided existence, Diti) is nourished by the shining water of the foundation, the water of the companion streams (*jāmaryeṇa payasā*). By the Truth Agni the Bull, the Male, sprinkled with the water of its levels, ranges unquivering, establishing wideness (wide space or manifestation); the dappled Bull milks the pure shining teat.” The symbolic opposition between the shining white purity of the One who is the source, seat, foundation and the variegated colouring of the Life manifested in the triple world is frequent in the Veda; this image of the dappled Bull and the pure-bright udder or source of the waters only repeats therefore, like the other images, the idea of the multiple manifestations of the human life purified, tranquillised in its activities, fed by the waters of the Truth and the Infinity.

Finally, the Rishi proceeds to the coupling, which we so repeatedly find, of the luminous Cows and the Waters. “By the Truth the Angirasas broke open and hurled asunder the hill and came to union with the Cows; human souls, they took up their dwelling in the blissful Dawn, Swar became manifest when Agni

was born. By Truth the divine immortal waters, unoppressed, with their honeyed floods, O Agni, like a horse breasting forward in its gallopings ran in an eternal flowing” (Riks 11, 12). These four verses in fact are meant to give the preliminary conditions for the great achievement of the Immortality. They are the symbols of the grand Mythos, the mythos of the Mystics in which they hid their supreme spiritual experience from the profane and, alas! effectively enough from their posterity. That they were secret symbols, images meant to reveal the truth which they protected but only to the initiated, to the knower, to the seer, Vama-deva himself tells us in the most plain and emphatic language in the last verse of this very hymn; “All these are secret words that I have uttered to thee who knowest, O Agni, O Disposer, words of leading, words of seer-knowledge that express their meaning to the seer, — I have spoken them illumined in my words and my thinkings;” *etā viśvā viduṣe tubhyaṁ vedho nīthāni agne niṅyā vacāṁsi; nivacanā kavaye kāvyāni, aśarṁsiṣaṁ matibhir vipra ukthaiḥ* (IV.3.16). Secret words that have kept indeed their secret ignored by the priest, the ritualist, the grammarian, the pandit, the historian, the mythologist, to whom they have been words of darkness or seals of confusion and not what they were to the supreme ancient forefathers and their illumined posterity, *niṅyā vacāṁsi nīthāni nivacanā kāvyāni*.

The Hound of Heaven

THERE yet remain two constant features of the Angirasa legend with regard to which we have to acquire a little farther light in order to master entirely this Vedic conception of the Truth and the discovery of the illuminations of the Dawn by the primeval Fathers; we have to fix the identity of Sarama and the exact function of the Panis, two problems of Vedic interpretation which are very closely related to each other. That Sarama is some power of the Light and probably of the Dawn is very clear; for once we know that the struggle between Indra and the original Aryan seers on the one hand and the sons of the Cave on the other is no strange deformation of primitive Indian history but a symbolic struggle between the powers of Light and Darkness, Sarama who leads in the search for the radiant herds and discovers both the path and the secret hold in the mountain must be a forerunner of the dawn of Truth in the human mind. And if we ask ourselves what power among the truth-finding faculties it is that thus discovers out of the darkness of the unknown in our being the truth that is hidden in it, we at once think of the intuition. For Sarama is not Saraswati, she is not the inspiration, even though the names are similar. Saraswati gives the full flood of the knowledge; she is or awakens the great stream, *maho arṇaḥ*, and illumines with plenitude all the thoughts, *viśvā dhiyo vi rājati*. Saraswati possesses and is the flood of the Truth; Sarama is the traveller and seeker on its path who does not herself possess but rather finds that which is lost. Neither is she the plenary word of the revelation, the Teacher of man like the goddess Ila; for even when what she seeks is found, she does not take possession but only gives the message to the seers and their divine helpers who have still to fight for the possession of the light that has been discovered.

Let us see, however, what the Veda itself says of Sarama.

There is a verse (5) in I.104, which does not mention her name, nor is the hymn itself about the Angirasas or Panis, yet the line describes accurately enough the part attributed to her in the Veda: — “When this guide became visible, she went, knowing, towards the seat that is as if the home of the Dasyu”, *prati yat syā nīthā adarśi dasyor oko na acchā sadanam jānati gāt*. These are the two essential characteristics of Sarama; the knowledge comes to her beforehand, before vision, springs up instinctively at the least indication and with that knowledge she guides the rest of the faculties and divine powers that seek. And she leads to that seat, *sadanam*, the home of the Destroyers, which is at the other pole of existence to the seat of the Truth, *sadanam ṛtasya*, in the cave or secret place of darkness, *guhāyām*, just as the home of the gods is in the cave or secrecy of light. In other words, she is a power descended from the superconscient Truth which leads us to the light that is hidden in ourselves, in the subconscious. All these characteristics apply exactly to the intuition.

Sarama is mentioned by name only in a few hymns of the Veda, and invariably in connection with the achievement of the Angirasas or the winning of the highest planes of existence. The most important of these hymns is the Sukta of the Atris we have already had to take note of in our scrutiny of the Navagwa and Dashagwa Angirasas, V.45. The first three verses summarise the great achievement. “Severing the hill of heaven by the words he found them, yea, the radiant ones of the arriving Dawn went abroad; he uncovered those that were in the pen, Swar rose up; a god opened the human doors. The Sun attained widely to strength and glory; the Mother of the Cows (the Dawn), knowing, came from the wideness; the rivers became rushing floods, floods that cleft (their channel), heaven was made firm like a well-shaped pillar. To this word the contents of the pregnant hill (came forth) for the supreme birth of the Great Ones (the rivers or, less probably, the dawns); the hill parted asunder, heaven was perfected (or, accomplished itself); they lodged (upon earth) and distributed the largeness.” It is of Indra and the Angirasas that the Rishi is speaking, as the rest of the hymn shows and as is indeed evident from the expressions used; for these are the usual formulas of

the Angirasa mythus and repeat the exact expressions that are constantly used in the hymns of the delivery of the Dawn, the Cows and the Sun. We know already what they mean. The hill of our already formed triple existence which rises into heaven at its summit is rent asunder by Indra and the hidden illuminations go abroad; Swar, the higher heaven of the superconscient, is manifested by the upward streaming of the brilliant herds. The sun of Truth diffuses all the strength and glory of its light, the inner Dawn comes from the luminous wideness instinct with knowledge, — *jānati gāt*, the same phrase that is used of her who leads to the house of the Dasyu in I.104.5; and of Sarama in III.31.6, — the rivers of the Truth, representing the outflow of its being and its movement (*ṛtasya preṣā*), descend in their rushing streams and make a channel here for their waters; heaven, the mental being, is perfected and made firm like a well-shaped pillar to support the vast Truth of the higher or immortal life that is now made manifest and the largeness of that Truth is lodged here in all the physical being. The delivery of the pregnant contents of the hill, *parvatasya garbhaḥ*, the illuminations constituting the seven-headed thought, *ṛtasya dhītiḥ*, which come forth in answer to the inspired word, leads to the supreme birth of the seven great rivers who constitute the substance of the Truth put into active movement, *ṛtasya preṣā*.

Then after the invocation of Indra and Agni by the “words of perfect speech that are loved of the gods”, — for by those words the Maruts¹ perform the sacrifices as seers who by their seer-knowledge do well the sacrificial work, *ukthebhir hi śmā kavayaḥ suyajñāḥ...maruto yajanti*, (Rik 4) — the Rishi next puts into the mouth of men an exhortation and mutual encouragement to do even as the Fathers and attain the same divine results. “Come now, today let us become perfected in thought, let us destroy suffering and unease, let us embrace the higher good”, *eto nu adya sudhyo bhavāma, pra ducchunā minavāmā varīyaḥ*; “far from us let us put always all hostile things (all the things that attack and divide, *dveṣāmsi*); let us go forward towards the Master of the sacrifice. Come, let us create the Thought, O friends, (obviously, the seven-headed Angirasa-thought), which

¹ The thought-attaining powers of the Life as will appear hereafter.

is the Mother (Aditi or the Dawn) and removes the screening pen of the Cow" (Riks 5,6). The significance is clear enough; it is in such passages as these that the inner sense of the Veda half disengages itself from the veil of the symbol.

Then the Rishi speaks of the great and ancient example which men are called upon to repeat, the example of the Angirasas, the achievement of Sarama. "Here the stone was set in motion whereby the Navagwas chanted the hymn for the ten months, Sarama going to the Truth found the cows, the Angirasa made all things true. When in the dawning of this vast One (Usha representing the infinite Aditi, *mātā devānām aditer anīkam*) all the Angirasas came together with the cows (or rather, perhaps by the illuminations represented in the symbol of the cows or Rays); there was the fountain of these (illuminations) in the supreme world; by the path of the Truth Sarama found the cows" (Riks 7,8). Here we see that it is through the movement of Sarama going straight to the Truth by the path of the Truth, that the seven seers, representing the seven-headed or seven-rayed thought of Ayasya and Brihaspati, find all the concealed illuminations and by force of these illuminations they all come together, as we have been already told by Vasishtha, in the level wideness, *samāne ūrve*, from which the Dawn has descended with the knowledge, *ūrvād jānati gāt* (Rik 2) or, as it is here expressed, in the dawning of this vast One, that is to say, in the infinite consciousness. There, as Vasishtha has said, they, united, agree in knowledge and do not strive together, *saṅgatāsaḥ sam jānate na yatante mithas te* (VII.76.5), that is to say, the seven become as one, as is indicated in another hymn; they become the one seven-mouthed Angirasa, an image corresponding to that of the seven-headed thought, and it is this single unified Angirasa who makes all things true as the result of Sarama's discovery (verse 7). The harmonised, united, perfected Seer-Will corrects all falsehood and crookedness and turns all thought, life, action into terms of the Truth. In this hymn also the action of Sarama is precisely that of the Intuition which goes straight to the Truth by the straight path of the Truth and not through the crooked paths of doubt and error and which delivers the Truth out of the veil of darkness and false appear-

ances; it is through the illuminations discovered by her that the Seer-mind can attain to the complete revelation of the Truth. The rest of the hymn speaks of the rising of the seven-horsed Sun towards his "field which spreads wide for him at the end of the long journey", the attainment of the swift Bird to the Soma and of the young Seer to that field of the luminous cows, the Sun's ascent to the "luminous Ocean", its crossing over it "like a ship guided by the thinkers" and the descent upon man of the water of that ocean in response to their call. In those waters the sevenfold thought of the Angirasa is established by the human seer. If we remember that the Sun represents the light of the superconscient or truth-conscious knowledge and the luminous ocean the realms of the superconscient with their thrice seven seats of the Mother Aditi, the sense of these symbolic expressions¹ will not be difficult to understand. It is the highest attainment of the supreme goal which follows upon the complete achievement of the Angirasas, their united ascent to the plane of the Truth, just as that achievement follows upon the discovery of the herds by Sarama.

Another hymn of great importance in this connection is the thirty-first of the third Mandala, by Vishwamitra. "Agni the (Divine Force) is born quivering with his flame of the offering for sacrifice to the great Sons of the Shining One (the Deva, Rudra); great is the child of them, a vast birth; there is a great movement of the Driver of the shining steeds (Indra, the Divine Mind) by the sacrifices. The conquering (dawns) cleave to him in his struggle, they deliver by knowledge a great light out of the darkness; knowing the Dawns rise up to him, Indra has become the one lord of the luminous cows. The cows who were in the strong place (of the Panis) the thinkers clove out; by the mind the seven seers set them moving forward (or upwards towards the supreme), they found the entire path (goal or field of travel) of the Truth; knowing those (supreme seats of the Truth) Indra by the obeisance entered into them", *viḷau satir abhi dhīrā atrdan, prācā ahinvan manasā sapta viprāḥ; viśvām avindan pathyām*

¹ It is in this sense that we can easily understand many now obscure expressions of the Veda, e.g. VIII.68.9, "May we conquer by thy aid in our battles the great wealth in the waters and the Sun", *apsu sūrye mahad dhanam*.

rtasya, prajānan it tā namasā viveśa (Riks 3-5). This is, as usual, the great birth, the great light, the great divine movement of the Truth-knowledge with the finding of the goal and the entry of the gods and the seers into the supreme planes above. Next we have the part of Sarama in this work. "When Sarama found the broken place of the hill, he (or perhaps she, Sarama) made continuous the great and supreme goal. She, the fair-footed, led him to the front of the imperishable ones (the unslayable cows of the Dawn); first she went, knowing, towards their cry" (Rik 6). It is again the Intuition that leads; knowing, she speeds at once and in front of all towards the voice of the concealed illuminations, towards the place where the hill so firmly formed and impervious in appearance (*viṣṭu, dr̥ḷha*) is broken and can admit the seekers.

The rest of the hymn continues to describe the achievement of the Angirasas and Indra. "He went, the greatest seer of them all, doing them friendship; the pregnant hill sent forth its contents for the doer of perfect works; in the strength of manhood he with the young (Angirasas) seeking plenitude of riches attained possession, then singing the hymn of light he became at once the Angirasa. Becoming in our front the form and measure of each existing thing, he knows all the births, he slays Shushna"; that is to say, the Divine Mind assumes a form answering to each existing thing in the world and reveals its true divine image and meaning and slays the false force that distorts knowledge and action. "Seeker of the cows, traveller to the seat of heaven, singing the hymns, he, the Friend, delivers his friends out of all defect (of right self-expression). With a mind that sought the Light (the cows) they entered their seats by the illuminating words, making the path towards Immortality (*ni gavyatā manasā sedur arkaiḥ kṛṇvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum*). This is that large seat of theirs, the Truth by which they took possession of the months (the ten months of the Dashagwas). Harmonised in vision (or, perfectly seeing) they rejoiced in their own (abode, Swar) milking out the milk of the ancient seed (of things). Their cry (of the Word) heated all the earth and heaven (created, that is to say, the burning clarity, *gharma, taptam ghṛtam*, which is the yield of the solar cows); they established in

that which was born a firm abiding and in the cows the heroes (that is, the battling force was established in the light of the knowledge).

“Indra, the Vritra-slayer, by those who were born (the sons of the sacrifice), by the offerings, by the hymns of illumination released upward the shining ones; the wide and delightful Cow (the cow Aditi, the vast and blissful higher consciousness) bringing for him the sweet food, the honey mixed with the *ghṛta*, yielded it as her milk. For this Father also (for Heaven) they fashioned the vast and shining abode; doers of perfect works, they had the entire vision of it. Wide-upholding by their support the Parents (Heaven and Earth) they sat in that high world and embraced all its ecstasy. When for the cleaving away (of evil and falsehood) the vast Thought holds him immediately increasing in his pervasion of earth and heaven, — then for Indra in whom are the equal and faultless words, there are all irresistible energies. He has found the great, manifold and blissful Field (the wide field of the cows, Swar); and he has sent forth together all the moving herd for his friends. Indra shining out by the human souls (the Angirasas) has brought into being, together, the Sun, the Dawn, the Path and the Flame” (Riks 7-15).

And in the remaining verses the same figures continue, with an intervention of the famous image of the rain which has been so much misunderstood. “The Ancient-born I make new that I may conquer. Do thou remove our many undivine hurters and set Swar for our possessing. The purifying rains are extended before us (in the shape of the waters); take us over to the state of bliss that is the other shore of them. Warring in thy chariot protect us from the foe; soon, soon make us conquerors of the Cows. The Vritra-slayer, the Master of the Cows, showed (to men) the cows; he has entered with his shining laws (or lustres) within those who are black (void of light, like the Panis); showing the truths (the cows of truth) by the Truth he has opened all his own doors”, *pra sūṅṛtā disamāna ṛtena duras ca viśvā avṛṇod apa svāḥ* (Riks 19-21); that is to say, he opens the doors of his own world, Swar, after breaking open by his entry into our darkness (*antaḥ kṛṣṇān gāt*) the “human doors” kept closed by the Panis.

Such is this remarkable hymn, the bulk of which I have translated because it both brings into striking relief the mystic and entirely psychological character of the Vedic poetry and by so doing sets out vividly the nature of the imagery in the midst of which Sarama figures. The other references to Sarama in the Rig-veda do not add anything essential to the conception. We have a brief allusion in IV.16.8, "When thou didst tear the waters out of the hill, Sarama became manifest before thee; so do thou as our leader tear out much wealth for us, breaking the pens, hymned by the Angirasas." It is the Intuition manifesting before the Divine Mind as its forerunner when there is the emergence of the waters, the streaming movements of the Truth that break out of the hill in which they were confined by Vritra (verse 7); and it is by means of the Intuition that this godhead becomes our leader to the rescue of the Light and the conquest of the much wealth hidden within in the rock behind the fortress gates of the Panis.

We find another allusion to Sarama in a hymn by Parashara Shaktya, I.72. This is one of the Suktas which most clearly reveal the sense of the Vedic imagery, like most indeed of the hymns of Parashara, a very luminous poet who loves always to throw back something more than a corner of the mystic's veil. It is brief and I shall translate it in full. "He has created, within, the seer-knowings of the eternal Disposer of things, holding in his hand many powers (powers of the divine Purushas, *naryā purūṇi*); Agni creating together all immortalities becomes the master of the (divine) riches. All the immortals, they who are not limited (by ignorance), desiring, found him in us as if the Calf (of the cow Aditi) existing everywhere; labouring, travelling to the Seat, holding the Thought they attained in the supreme seat to the shining (glory) of Agni. O Agni, when through the three years (three symbolic seasons or periods corresponding perhaps to the passage through the three mental heavens) they, pure, had served thee, the pure one, with the *ghṛta*, they held the sacrificial names and set moving (to the supreme heaven) forms well born. They had knowledge of the vast heaven and earth and bore them forward, they the sons of Rudra, the lords of the sacrifice, the mortal awoke to vision and found Agni standing in the seat

supreme. Knowing perfectly (or in harmony) they kneeled down to him; they with their wives (the female energies of the gods) bowed down to him who is worthy of obeisance; purifying themselves (or, perhaps, exceeding the limits of heaven and earth) they created their own (their proper or divine) forms, guarded in the gaze, each friend, of the Friend. In thee the gods of the sacrifice found the thrice seven secret seats hidden within; they, being of one heart, protect by them the immortality. Guard thou the herds that stand and that which moves. O Agni, having knowledge of all manifestations (or births,) in the worlds (or, knowing all the knowledge of the peoples) establish thy forces, continuous, for life. Knowing, within, the paths of the journeying of the gods thou becamest their sleepless messenger and the bearer of the offerings. The seven mighty ones of heaven (the rivers) placing aright the thought, knowing the Truth, discerned the doors of the felicity; Sarama found the fastness, the wideness of the cows whereby now the human creature enjoys (the supreme riches). They who entered upon all things that bear right issue, made the path to Immortality; by the great ones and by the greatness earth stood wide; the mother Aditi with her sons came for the upholding. The Immortals planted in him the shining glory, when they made the two eyes of heaven (identical probably with the two vision-powers of the Sun, the two horses of Indra); rivers, as it were, flow down released; the shining ones (the cows) who were here below knew, O Agni."

So runs this hymn of Parashara, translated with the utmost possible literalness even at the cost of some uncouthness in the English. It is clear at the very first glance that it is throughout a hymn of knowledge, of the Truth, of a divine Flame which is hardly distinguishable from the supreme Deity, of immortality, of the ascent of the gods, the divine powers, by the sacrifice to their godhead, to their supreme names, to their proper forms, to the shining glory of the supreme state with its thrice seven seats of the Godhead. Such an ascent can have no other meaning than the ascent of the divine powers *in man* out of their ordinary cosmic appearances to the shining Truth beyond, as indeed Parashara himself tells us that by this action of the gods mortal man awakens to the knowledge and finds Agni standing in the su-

preme seat and goal; *vidan marto nemadhitā cikivān, agnim pade parame tasthivāmsam*. What is Sarama doing in such a hymn if she is not a power of the Truth, if her cows are not the rays of a divine dawn of illumination? What have the cows of old warring tribes and the sanguinary squabbles of our Aryan and Dravidian ancestors over their mutual plunderings and cattle-lifting to do with this luminous apocalypse of the immortality and the god-head? Or what are these rivers that think and know the Truth and discover the hidden doors? Or must we still say that these were the rivers of the Punjab dammed up by drought or by the Dravidians and Sarama a mythological figure for an Aryan embassy or else only the physical Dawn?

One hymn in the tenth Mandala is devoted entirely to this "embassy" of Sarama, it is the colloquy of Sarama and the Panis; but it adds nothing essential to what we already know about her and its chief importance lies in the help it gives us in forming our conception of the masters of the cavern treasure. We may note, however, that neither in this hymn, nor in the others we have noticed is there the least indication of the figure of the divine hound which was attributed to Sarama in a possibly later development of the Vedic imagery. It is surely the shining fair-footed goddess by whom the Panis are attracted and whom they desire as their sister, — not as a dog to guard their cattle, but as one who will share in the possession of their riches. The image of the hound of heaven is, however, exceedingly apt and striking and was bound to develop out of the legend. In one of the earlier hymns (I.62) we have mention indeed of a son for whom Sarama "got food" according to an ancient interpretation which accounts for the phrase by a story that the hound Sarama demanded food for her offspring in the sacrifice as a condition of her search for the lost cows. But this is obviously an explanatory invention which finds no place in the Rig-veda itself. The Veda says, "In the sacrifice" or, as it more probably means, "in the seeking of Indra and the Angirasas (for the cows) Sarama discovered a foundation for the Son", *vidat saramā tanayāya dhāsim* (I.62.3); for such is the more likely sense here of the word *dhāsim*. The son is in all probability the son born of the sacrifice, a constant element in the Vedic imagery and not the dog-race

born of Sarama. We have similar phrases in the Veda as in I.96.4, *mātariśvā puruvārapuṣṭir vidad gātum tanayāya svarvit*, “Matarishwan (the Life-god, Vayu) increasing the many desirable things (the higher objects of life) discovered the path for the Son, discovered Swar”, where the subject is evidently the same but the son has nothing to do with any brood of puppies.

The two Sarameya dogs, messengers of Yama, are mentioned in a late hymn in the tenth Mandala, but without any reference to Sarama as their mother. This occurs in the famous “funeral” hymn X.14, and it is worth while noting the real character of Yama and his two dogs in the Rig-veda. In the later ideas Yama is the god of Death and has his own special world; but in the Rig-veda he seems to have been originally a form of the Sun, — even as late as the Isha Upanishad we find the name used as an appellation of the Sun, — and then one of the twin children of the wide-shining Lord of Truth. He is the guardian of the Dharma, the law of the Truth, *satyadharma*, which is a condition of immortality, and therefore himself the guardian of immortality. His world is Swar, the world of immortality, *amṛte loke akṣite*, where, as we are told in IX.113.7, is the indestructible Light, where Swar is established, *yatra jyotir ajasram, yasmin loke svar hitam*. The hymn X.14 is indeed not a hymn of Death so much as a hymn of Life and Immortality. Yama and the ancient Fathers have discovered the path to that world which is a pasture of the Cows whence the enemy cannot bear away the radiant herds, *yamo no gātum prathamō viveda, naiṣā gavyūtir apabhartavā u, yatrā naḥ pūrve pitarah pareyuḥ* (Rik 2). The soul of the heaven-ascending mortal is bidden to “outrun the two four-eyed varicoloured Sarameya dogs on the good (or effective) path” (Rik 10). Of that path to heaven they are the four-eyed guardians, protecting man on the road by their divine vision, *yau te śvānau yama rakṣitārau caturakṣau pathirakṣi nṛcakṣasau* (Rik 11), and Yama is asked to give them as an escort to the soul on its way. These dogs are “wide-moving, not easily satisfied” and range as the messengers of the Lord of the Law among men. And the hymn prays, “May they (the dogs) give us back bliss here in the unhappy (world) so that we may look upon the Sun” (Rik 12). We are still in the order of the old

Vedic ideas, the Light and the Bliss and the Immortality, and these Sarameya dogs have the essential characteristics of Sarama, the vision, the wide-ranging movement, the power to travel on the path by which the goal is reached. Sarama leads to the wideness of the cows; these dogs protect the soul on its journey to the inviolable pasture, the field (*kṣetra*) of the luminous and imperishable herds. Sarama brings us to the truth, to the sun-vision which is the way to the bliss; these dogs bring the weal to man in this world of suffering so that he shall have the vision of the Sun. Whether Sarama figures as the fair-footed goddess speeding on the path or the heavenly hound, mother of these wide-ranging guardians of the path, the idea is the same, a power of the Truth that seeks and discovers, that finds by a divine faculty of insight the hidden Light and the denied Immortality. But it is to this seeking and finding that her function is limited.

The Sons of Darkness

WE HAVE seen, not once but repeatedly, that it is impossible to read into the story of the Angirasas, Indra and Sarama, the cave of the Panis and the conquest of the Dawn, the Sun and the Cows an account of a political and military struggle between Aryan invaders and Dravidian cave-dwellers. It is a struggle between the seekers of Light and the powers of Darkness; the cows are the illuminations of the Sun and the Dawn, they cannot be physical cows; the wide fear-free field of the Cows won by Indra for the Aryans is the wide world of Swar, the world of the solar Illumination, the threefold luminous regions of Heaven. Therefore equally the Panis must be taken as powers of the cave of Darkness. It is quite true that the Panis are Dasyus or Dāsas; they are spoken of constantly by that name, they are described as the Dāsa Varna as opposed to the Arya Varna, and *varṇa*, colour, is the word used for caste or class in the Brahmanas and later writings, although it does not therefore follow that it has that sense in the Rig-veda. The Dasyus are the haters of the sacred word; they are those who give not to the gods the gift or the holy wine, who keep their wealth of cows and horses and other treasure for themselves and do not give them to the seers; they are those who do not the sacrifice. We may, if we like, suppose that there was a struggle between two different cults in India and that the Rishis took their images from the physical struggle between the human representatives of these cults and applied them to the spiritual conflict, just as they employed the other details of their physical life to symbolise the spiritual sacrifice, the spiritual wealth, the spiritual battle and journey. But it is perfectly certain that in the Rig-veda at least it is the spiritual conflict and victory, not the physical battle and plunder of which they are speaking.

It is either an uncritical or a disingenuous method to take

isolated passages and give them a particular sense which will do well enough there only while ignoring the numerous other passages in which that sense is patently inapplicable. We must take as a whole all the references in the Veda to the Panis, their wealth, their characteristics, the victory of the Gods, the seers and the Aryans over them and adopt uniformly that conclusion which arises from all the passages thus taken together. When we follow this method we find that in many of these passages the idea of the Panis as human beings is absolutely impossible and that they are powers either of physical or of spiritual darkness; in others that they cannot at all be powers of physical darkness, but may well be either human enemies of the god-seekers and sacrificers or else enemies of the spiritual Light; in yet others that they cannot be either human enemies or enemies of the physical Light, but are certainly the enemies of the spiritual Light, the Truth and the Thought. From these data there can be only one conclusion, that they are always and only enemies of the spiritual Light.

We may take as the master-clue to the general character of these Dasyus the Rik V.14.4, "Agni born shone out slaying the Dasyus, the darkness by the Light; he found the Cows, the Waters, Swar," *agnir jāto arocata, ghnān dasyūn jyotiṣā tamaḥ, avindad gā apahḥ svaḥ*. There are two great divisions of the Dasyus, the Panis who intercept both the cows and the waters but are especially associated with the refusal of the cows, the Vritras who intercept the waters and the light, but are especially associated with the withholding of the waters; all Dasyus without exception stand in the way of the ascent to Swar and oppose the acquisition of the wealth by the Aryan seers. The refusal of the light is their opposition to the vision of Swar, *svardrś*, and the vision of the sun, to the supreme vision of knowledge, *upamā ketuḥ* (V.34.9); the refusal of the waters is their opposition to the abundant movement of Swar, *svarvatīr apahḥ*, the movement or streamings of the Truth, *ṛtasya preṣā, ṛtasya dhārāḥ*; the opposition to the wealth-acquisition is their refusal of the abundant substance of Swar, *vasu, dhana, vāja, hiranya*, that great wealth which is found in the sun and in the waters, *apsu sūrye mahad dhanam* (VIII.68.9). Still since the whole struggle is between the Light and the Darkness, the Truth and the Falsehood, the divine

Maya and the undivine, all the Dasyus alike are here identified with the Darkness; and it is by the birth and shining of Agni that the Light is created with which he slays the Dasyus and the Darkness. The historical interpretation will not do at all here, though the naturalistic may pass if we isolate the passage and suppose the lighting of the sacrificial fire to be the cause of the daily sunrise; but we have to judge from a comparative study of the Veda and not on the strength of isolated passages.

The opposition between the Aryans and the Panis or Dasyus is brought out in another hymn (34) of the fifth Mandala and in III.34, we have the expression *āryam varṇam*. We must remember that the Dasyus have been identified with the Darkness; therefore the Aryans must be connected with the Light and we actually find that the light of the Sun is called in the Veda the Aryan Light in contradistinction evidently to the Dāsa Darkness. Vasishtha also speaks of the three Aryan peoples who are *jyotiragrāh*, led by the light, having the light in their front (VII.33.7). The Aryan-Dasyu question can only be adequately treated by an exhaustive discussion in which all the relevant passages are scrutinised and the difficulties faced, but for my present purpose this is a sufficient starting-point. We must remember also that we have in the Veda the expressions *ṛtam jyotiḥ*, *hiranyam jyotiḥ*, the true light, the golden light, which give us an additional clue. Now these three epithets of the solar light, *ārya*, *ṛta*, *hiranya* are, I suggest, mutually illuminative and almost equivalent. The Sun is the Lord of Truth, therefore its light is the *ṛtam jyotiḥ*; this light of truth is that which the Aryan, god or mortal, possesses, and which constitutes his Aryahood; again the epithet golden is constantly applied to the Sun and gold is in Veda probably the symbol of the substance of the truth, for its substance is the light which is the golden wealth found in Surya and in the waters of Swar, *apsu sūrye*, — therefore we have the epithet *hiranyam jyotiḥ*. This golden or shining light is the hue, *varṇa*, of the truth; it is also the hue of the thoughts full of that illumination won by the Aryan, the cows who are bright in colour, *śukra*, *śveta*, the colour of Light; while the Dasyu, being a power of darkness, is black in hue. I suggest that the brightness of the light of the truth, *jyotiḥ āryam* (X.43.4), is the *Arya varṇa*, the

hue of these Aryans who are *jyotiragrāḥ*; the darkness of the night of the ignorance is the hue of the Panis, the *Dāsa varṇa*. In this way *varṇa* would come to mean almost the nature or else all those of that particular nature, the colour being the symbol of the nature; and that this idea was a current notion among the ancient Aryans seems to me to be shown by the later use of different colours to distinguish the four castes, white, red, yellow and black.

The passage in V.34, runs as follows. "He (Indra) desires not to ascend by the five and by the ten; he cleaves not to him who gives not the Soma even though he grow and increase; he overcomes him or else he slays in his impetuous movement; he gives to the god-seeker for his enjoyment the pen full of the Cows. Cleaver (of the foe) in the battle-shock, firm holder of the discus (or the wheel), averse from him who gives not the Soma but increaser of the Soma-giver, terrible is Indra and the tamer of all; Aryan, he brings into utter subjection the *Dāsa*. He comes driving this enjoyment of the Pani, robbing him of it, and he apportions entirely to the giver for his enjoyment the wealth rich in hero-powers (lit. in men, *sūnaram vasu*, *vīrāḥ* and *nṛ* being often used synonymously); that man who makes wroth the strength of Indra is held back manifoldly in a difficult journeying, (*durge¹ cana dhriyate ā puru*). When Maghavan has known in the shining cows the Two who are rich in wealth and have all forces, he growing in knowledge makes a third his helper and rushing impetuously looses upward the multitude of the cows (*gavyam*) by the help of his fighters." And the last Rik of the Sukta speaks of the Aryan (god or man) arriving at the highest knowledge-vision (*upamāṇi ketum aryaḥ*), the waters in their meeting nourishing him and his housing a strong and brilliant force of battle *kṣatram amavat tveṣam* (Riks 5-9).

From what we already know of these symbols we can easily grasp the inner sense of the hymn. Indra, the Divine Mind-Power, takes their secret wealth from the powers of the Ignorance with whom he refuses to ally himself even when they are rich and

¹ The Rishis pray always to the gods to make their path to the highest bliss easy of going and thornless, *suga*; *durga* is the opposite of the easy going, it is the path beset by manifold (*puru*) dangers and sufferings and difficulties.

prosper; he gives the imprisoned herds of the illumined Dawn to the man of the sacrifice who desires the godheads. He is himself the Aryan who brings the life of the ignorance into complete subjection to the higher life so that it yields up to it all the wealth it holds. The use of the words *ārya* and *arya* to signify the gods, not only in this but in other passages, tends to show in itself that the opposition of Arya and Dasyu is not at all a national or tribal or merely human distinction, but has a deeper significance. The fighters are certainly the seven Angirasas; for they and not the Maruts, which is Sayana's interpretation of *satvabhiḥ*, are Indra's helpers in the release of the Cows. But the three persons whom Indra finds or comes to know by entering among the bright cows, by possessing the trooping illuminations of the Thought, are more difficult to fix. In all probability it is these three by whom the seven rays of the Angirasa-knowledge are raised to ten so that they pass successfully through the ten months and release the sun and the cows; for it is after finding or knowing the two and getting help of the third that Indra releases the cows of the Panis. They may also be connected with the symbolism of the three Aryan peoples led by the light and the three luminous worlds of Swar; for the attainment of the supreme knowledge-vision, *upamā ketuḥ*, is the final result of their action and this supreme knowledge is that which has the vision of Swar and stands in its three luminous worlds, *rocanāni*, as we find in III. 2.14, *svardṛśaṁ ketuṁ divo rocanasthām uṣarbudham*, "the knowledge-vision that sees Swar, that stands in the shining worlds, that awakes in the dawn".

In III.34, Vishwamitra gives us the expression *ārya varṇa* and at the same time the key to its psychological significance. Three verses of the hymn (8-10) run as follows: "(They hymn) the supremely desirable, the ever overcoming, the giver of strength who wins possession of Swar and the divine waters; the thinkers have joy in the wake of Indra who takes possession of the earth and the heaven. Indra wins possession of the Steeds, wins the Sun, wins the Cow of the many enjoyments; he wins the golden enjoyment, having slain the Dasyus he fosters (or protects) the Aryan *varṇa*; Indra wins the herbs and the days, the trees and the mid-world; he pierces Vala and impels forward

the speaker of the words; so he becomes the tamer of those who set against him their will in works, (*abhikratūnām*).” We have here the symbolic elements of all the wealth won by Indra for the Aryan, and it includes the Sun, the days, the earth, the heavens, the middle world, the horses, the growths of earth, herbs and trees (*vanaspatīn* in the double sense, lords of the forest and lords of enjoyment); and we have as against Vala and his Dasyus the Aryan *varṇa*.

But in the verses that precede (4-6) we have already the word *varṇa* as the hue of the Aryan thoughts, the thoughts that are true and full of light. “Indra, Swar-conquering, bringing to birth the days assailed and conquered by the desires (the Angirasas) these armies (of the Dasyus); he made to shine for man the knowledge-vision of the days (*ketum ahnām*), he found the Light for the vast enjoyment; ... he made conscious in knowledge these thoughts for his adorer, he carried forward (beyond the obstruction of the Dasyus) this bright *varṇa* of these (thoughts), *acetayad dhiya imā jaritre, pra imāṃ varṇam atiracchukram āsām*. They set in action (or, praise) many great and perfect works of the great Indra; by his strength he crushes, in his overwhelming energy, by his workings of knowledge (*māyābhiḥ*) the crooked Dasyus.”

We find here the Vedic phrase *ketum ahnām*, the knowledge-vision of the-days, by which is meant the light of the Sun of Truth that leads to the vast beatitude; for the “days” are those produced through Indra’s conquest of Swar for man following as we know upon his destruction of the Pani armies with the help of the Angirasas and the ascent of the Sun and the shining Cows. It is for man and as powers of man that all this is done by the gods, not on their own account since they possess already; — for him that as the *nṛ*, the divine Man or Purusha, Indra holds many strengths of that manhood, *nṛvad...naryā purūṇi*; him he awakes to the knowledge of these thoughts which are symbolised as the shining Cows released from the Panis; and the shining hue of these thoughts *śukraṃ varṇam āsām*, is evidently the same as that *śukra* or *śveta* Aryan hue which is mentioned in verse 9. Indra carries forward or increases the “colour” of these thoughts beyond the opposition of the Panis, *pra varṇam atiracchukram*;

in doing so he slays the Dasyus and protects or fosters and increases the Aryan "colour", *hatvī dasyūn pra āryam varṇam āvat*. Moreover these Dasyus are the crooked ones, *vṛjinān*, and are conquered by Indra's works or forms of knowledge, his "*māyā*"s by which, as we are elsewhere told, he overcomes the opposing "*māyā*"s of the Dasyus, Vritra or Vala. The straight and the crooked are constantly synonymous in Veda with the truth and the falsehood. Therefore it is clear that these Pani Dasyus are crooked powers of the falsehood and ignorance who set their false knowledge, their false strength, will and works against the true knowledge, the true strength, will and works of the gods and the Aryans. The triumph of the Light is the triumph of the divine knowledge of the Truth against the darkness of this false or demoniac knowledge; that victory is the ascent of the Sun, the birth of the Days, the advent of the Dawn, the release of the herds of the shining Rays and their mounting to the world of Light.

That the cows are the thoughts of the Truth we are told clearly enough in IX.111, a hymn to Soma. "By this brilliant light he, purifying himself, breaks through all hostile powers by his self-yoked horses, as if by the self-yoked horses of the Sun. He shines, a stream of the outpressed Soma, purifying himself, luminous, the brilliant One, when he encompasses all forms (of things) with the speakers of the Rik, with the seven-mouthed speakers of the Rik (the Angirasa powers). Thou, O Soma findest that wealth of the Panis; thou by the Mothers (the cows of the Panis, frequently so designed in other hymns) makest thyself bright in thy own home (Swar), by the thoughts of the Truth in thy home, *sam māṛbhīḥ marjayasi sva ā dame ṛtasya dhītibhir dame*. As if the Sama (equal fulfilment, *samāne ūrve*, in the level wideness) of the higher world (*parāvataḥ*), is that (Swar) where the thoughts (of the Truth) take their delight. By those shining ones of the triple world (or triple elemental nature) he holds the wide manifestation (of knowledge), shining he holds the wide manifestation." We see that these cows of the Panis by whom Soma becomes clear and bright in his own home, the home of Agni and the other gods, which we know to be the vast Truth of Swar, *ṛtam brhat*, these shining cows who have in them the triple

nature of the supreme world, *tridhātubhir aruṣibhiḥ*, and by whom Soma holds the birth or wide manifestation of that Truth¹, are the thoughts which realise the Truth. This Swar with its three shining worlds in whose wideness there is the equal fulfilment of the *tridhātu*, a phrase often used for the supreme triple principle forming the triune highest world, *tisraḥ parāvataḥ*, is elsewhere described as the wide and fear-free pasture in which the Cows range at will and take their delight (*raṇanti*) and here too it is that region where the thoughts of the Truth take their delight, *yatra raṇanti dhītayaḥ*. And it is said in the next verse that the divine chariot of Soma follows, getting knowledge, the supreme direction and labours forward, having vision, by the rays, *pūrvām anu pradiśam yāti cekitat, sam raśmibhir yatate darśato ratho daivyo darśato rathaḥ*. This supreme direction is evidently that of the divine or vast Truth; these rays are evidently the rays of the Dawn or Sun of Truth; they are the cows concealed by the Panis, the illumined thoughts, *dhiyaḥ*, of the bright hue, *ṛtasya dhītayaḥ*.

All the internal evidence of the Veda wherever this image of the Panis, the Cows, the Angirasas occurs establishes invariably the same conclusion. The Panis are the withholders of the thoughts of the Truth, dwellers in the darkness without knowledge (*tamaḥ avayunam*) which Indra and the Angirasas by the Word, by the Sun replace with Light to manifest in its stead the wideness of the Truth. It is not with physical weapons but with words that Indra fights the Panis (VI.39.2), *paṇin vacobhir abhi yodhad indraḥ*. It will be enough to translate without comment the hymn in which this phrase occurs so as to show finally the nature of this symbolism. "Of this divine and rapturous seer (Soma), bearer of the sacrifice, this honeyed speaker with the illumined thought, O god, join to us, to the speaker of the word the impulses that are led by the cows of light (*iṣo goagrāḥ*). He it was who desired the shining ones (the cows, *usrāḥ*) all about the hill, truth-yoked, yoking his car with the thoughts of the Truth, *ṛtadhītibhir ṛtayug yujānaḥ*; (then) Indra broke the un-

¹ *Vayah*. cf. VI.21.2,3, where it is said that Indra who has the knowledge and who upholds our words and is by the words increased in the sacrifice, *indram yo vidāno gīrvāhasam gīrbhir yajjīnavṛddham*, forms by the Sun into that which has manifestation of knowledge the darkness which had extended itself and in which there was no knowledge, *sa it tamo'vayunam tatanvat sūryeṇa vayunavac cakāra*.

broken hill-level of Vala, by the words he fought against the Panis. He it was (Soma) who as the Moon-Power (Indu) day and night and through the years made the lightless nights to shine out, and they held the vision of the days; he created the dawns pure in their birth. He it was becoming luminous who made full of light the lightless ones; he made the many (dawns) shine by the Truth, he went with horses yoked by the Truth, with the wheel that finds Swar, satisfying (with the wealth) the doer of works (VI.39.1-4).” It is always the thought, the Truth, the word that is associated with the Cows of the Panis; by the words of Indra, the Divine Mind-Power, those who withhold the cows are conquered; that which was dark becomes light; the chariot drawn by the horses yoked by the Truth finds (by knowledge, *svavidā nābhinā*) the luminous vastnesses of being and consciousness and delight now concealed from our vision. “By the *brahma* Indra pierces Vala, conceals the darkness, makes Swar visible (II.24.3)”, *ud gā ājad abhinad brahmaṇa valam agūhat tamo vyacakṣayat svaḥ*.

The whole Rig-veda is a triumph-chant of the powers of Light, and their ascent by the force and vision of the Truth to its possession in its source and seat where it is free from the attack of the falsehood. “By Truth the cows (illumined thoughts) enter into the Truth; labouring towards the Truth the Truth one conquers; the aggressive force of the Truth seeks the cows of Light and goes breaking through (the enemy); for Truth the two wide ones (Heaven and Earth) become multitudinous and deep, for Truth the two supreme Mothers give their yield”, *ṛtena gāva ṛtam ā viveśuḥ; ṛtam yemāna ṛtam id vanoti, ṛtasya śuśmasturayā u gavyuḥ; ṛtāya pṛthvī bahule gabhīre, ṛtāya dhenū parame duhāte* (IV.23.9,10).

The Conquest over the Dasyus

THE Dasyus stand in opposition to both the Aryan gods and the Aryan seers. The gods are born from Aditi in the Supreme Truth of things, the Dasyus or Danavas from Diti in the nether darkness; they are the Lords of Light and the Lords of Night fronting each other across the triple world of earth, heaven and mid-air, body, mind and the connecting breath of life. Sarama in X.108, descends from the supreme realm, *parākāt*; she has to cross the waters of the *rasā*, she meets the night which gives place to her for fear of her overleaping it, *atiṣkado bhiyasā*; she arrives at the home of the Dasyus, *dasyor oko na sadanam*, which they themselves describe as the *reku padam alakam*, the world of falsehood beyond the bound of things. The supreme world also surpasses the bound of things by exceeding or transcending it; it is *reku padam*, but *satyam* not *alakam*, the world of the Truth, not the world of the falsehood. The latter is the darkness without knowledge, *tamaḥ avayunam tatanvat*; Indra, when his largeness exceeds (*ririce*) heaven and earth and mid-world, creates for the Aryan the opposite world of truth and knowledge, *vayunavat*, which exceeds these three domains and is therefore *reku padam*. This darkness, this lower world of Night and the Inconscient in the formed existence of things symbolised in the image of the mountain which rises from the bowels of earth to the back of heaven, is represented by the secret cave at the base of the hill, the cave of the darkness.

But the cave is only the home of the Panis, their field of action is earth and heaven and the mid-world. They are the sons of the Inconscience, but themselves are not precisely inconscient in their action; they have forms of apparent knowledge, *māyāḥ*, but these are forms of ignorance the truth of which is concealed in the darkness of the inconscient and their surface or front is

falsehood, not truth. For the world as we see it has come out of the darkness concealed in darkness, the deep and abysmal flood that covered all things, the unconscious ocean, *apraketam salilam* (X.129.3); in that non-existence the seers have found by desire in the heart and thought in the mind that which builds up the true existence. This non-existence of the truth of things, *asat*, is the first aspect of them that emerges from the unconscious ocean; and its great darkness is the Vedic Night, *rātrīm jagato niveśanīm* (I.35.1), which holds the world and all its unrevealed potentialities in her obscure bosom. Night extends her realm over this triple world of ours and out of her in heaven, in the mental being, Dawn is born who delivers the Sun out of the darkness where it was lying concealed and eclipsed and creates the vision of the supreme Day in the non-existence, in the Night, *asati pra ketuḥ* (I.124.11). It is therefore in these three realms that the battle between the Lords of Light and the Lords of the Ignorance proceeds through its continual vicissitudes.

The word *paṇi* means dealer, trafficker, from *paṇ* (also *pan*¹, cf. Tamil *pan*, Greek *ponos*, labour) and we may perhaps regard the Panis as the powers that preside over those ordinary unilluminated sense-activities of life whose immediate root is in the dark subconscious physical being and not in the divine mind. The whole struggle of man is to replace this action by the luminous working of mind and life which comes from above through the mental existence. Whoever thus aspires, labours, battles, travels, ascends the hill of being is the Aryan (*ārya*, *arya*, *ari* with the various senses, to toil, to fight, to climb or rise, to travel, to prepare the sacrifice); for the work of the Aryan is a sacrifice which is at once a battle and an ascent and a journey, a battle against the powers of darkness, an ascent to the highest peaks of the mountain beyond earth and heaven into Swar, a journey to the other shore of the rivers and the ocean into the farthest Infinity of things. The Aryan has the will to the work, he is the doer of the work (*kāru*, *kīri*, etc.), the gods who put their force into his work

¹ Sayana takes *pan* in Veda — to praise, but in one place he admits the sense of *vyavahāra*, dealing. Action seems to me to be its sense in most passages. From *paṇ* in the sense of action we have the earlier names of the organs of action, *pāṇi*, hand, foot or hoof, Lat. *penis*, cf. also *pāyu*.

are *sukratu*, perfect in power for the sacrifice; the Dasyu or Pani is the opposite of both, he is *akratu*. The Aryan is the sacrificer, *yajamāna*, *yajyu*; the gods who receive, uphold, impel his sacrifice are *yajata*, *yajatra*, powers of the sacrifice; the Dasyu is the opposite of both, he is *ayajyu*. The Aryan in the sacrifice finds the divine word, *gīḥ*, *mantra*, *brahma*, *uktha*, he is the *brahmā* or singer of the word; the gods delight in and uphold the word, *girvāhasaḥ*, *girvaṇasaḥ*, the Dasyus are haters and destroyers of the Word, *brahmadviṣaḥ*, spoilers of speech, *mṛdhravacasaḥ*. They have no force of the divine breath or no mouth to speak it, they are *anāsaḥ*; and they have no power to think and mentalise the word and the truth it contains, they are *amanyamānāḥ*: but the Aryans are the thinkers of the word *manyamānāḥ*, holders of the thought, the thought-mind and the seer-knowledge, *dhīra*, *manīṣī*, *kavi*; the gods are also the supreme thinkers of the Thought, *prathamo manotā dhiyaḥ*, *kavayaḥ*. The Aryans are desirers of the godheads, *devayavaḥ*, *uśijaḥ*; they seek to increase their own being and the godheads in them by the sacrifice, the word, the thought; the Dasyus are god-haters *devadviṣaḥ*, obstructors of the godhead, *devanidaḥ*, who desire no increase, *avṛdhaḥ*. The gods lavish wealth on the Aryan, the Aryan gives his wealth to the gods; the Dasyu withholds his wealth from the Aryan until it is taken from him by force, and does not press out the immortal Soma-wine for the deities who seek its rapture in man; although he is *revān*, although his cave is packed with cows and horses and treasures, *gobhir aśvebhir vasubhir nyrṣṭaḥ* (X.108.7), still he is *arādhas*, because his wealth gives no prosperity or felicity to man or himself, — the Pani is the miser of existence. And in the struggle between the Aryan and the Dasyu he seeks always to plunder and destroy, to steal the luminous cows of the latter and hide them again in the darkness of the cave. “Slay the devourer, the Pani; for he is the wolf (the tearer, *vṛkaḥ*)” (VI.51.14).

It is evident that these descriptions could easily be applied to human enemies who hate the cult and the gods of the Aryan, but we shall see that such an interpretation is entirely impossible because in the hymn I.33, in which these distinctions are most clearly drawn and the battle of Indra and his human allies with

the Dasyus most elaborately described, these Dasyus, Panis and Vritras, cannot possibly be human fighters, tribes or robbers. In this hymn of Hiranyastupa Angirasa the first ten verses clearly refer to the battle for the Cows and therefore to the Panis. "Come, let us go seeking the cows to Indra; for it is he that increases the thought in us; invincible is he and complete are his felicities, he releases for us (separates from the darkness) the supreme knowledge-vision of the luminous cows, *gavām ketam param āvarjate naḥ*. I fly to the unassailable giver of riches like a bird to its beloved nest, bowing down to Indra with the supreme words of light, to him to whom his affirmers must call in their journey. He comes with all his armies and has fastened firmly his quivers; he is the fighter (the Aryan) who brings the cows to whomsoever he desires. O Indra who hast increased (by our word), hold not back for thyself thy much delight, become not in us the Pani, *coṣkūyamāṇaḥ indra bhūri vāmam mā paṇir bhūr asmad adhi pravṛddha*." The last phrase is a striking one and in the current interpretation its real force is avoided by rendering "do not become a miser with regard to us". But this is to ignore the fact that the Panis are the withholders of the wealth who keep it for themselves and give it neither to god nor man. The sense obviously is, "Having thy much wealth of the delight, do not be a Pani, one who holds his possessions only for himself and keeps them from man; do not hold the delight away from us in thy superconscient as the Panis do in their subconscient secrecy."

Then the hymn describes the Pani, the Dasyu and Indra's battle with him for the possession of earth and heaven. "Nay, thou slayest with thy weapon the wealthy Dasyu, ranging alone with thy powers that serve thee, O Indra; they on thy bow (the powers as arrows) sped diversely in all directions and they who keep possession and sacrifice not went unto their death. Their heads were scattered far from them, they who do not sacrifice yet strove with the sacrificers, when, O lord of the shining steeds, O strong stander in heaven, thou didst cast out from Heaven and Earth those who observe not the law of thy working (*avratān*). They fought against the army of the blameless one; the Nava-gwas set him on his march; like bullocks who fight against the

bull they were cast out, they came to know what was Indra and fled from him down the slopes. O Indra, thou foughtest them who laughed and wept on the other side of the mid-world (*rajasah pāre*, i.e. on the borders of heaven); thou didst burn down the Dasyu out of heaven from on high, thou didst foster the expression of him who affirms thee and gives the Soma. Making the circle of the earth, they shone in the light of the golden gem (an image for the Sun); but for all their rushing they could not pass beyond Indra, for he set spies all around by the Sun. When thou possessedst earth and heaven all around with thy vastness; O Indra, by the speakers of the word (*brahmabhiḥ*) thou didst cast out the Dasyu, attacking those who can think not (the Truth) by those who think, *amanyamānān abhi manyamānaiḥ*. They attained not to the end of heaven and earth; Indra, the bull, made the lightning his helper, by the Light he milked the shining cows out of the darkness.”

The battle takes place not on earth but on the other shore of the Antariksha, the Dasyus are driven out of heaven by the flames of the thunderbolt, they circle round the earth and are cast out of both heaven and earth; for they can find no place in either heaven or earth, all being now full of the greatness of Indra, nor can conceal themselves anywhere from his lightnings because the Sun with its rays gives him spies whom he sets all round and in the brightness of those rays the Panis are discovered. This can be no description of an earthly battle between Aryan and Dravidian tribes; neither can the lightning be the physical lightning since that has nothing to do with the destruction of the powers of Night and the milking of the cows of the Dawn out of the darkness. It is clear then that these non-sacrificers, these haters of the word who are incompetent even to think it are not any human enemies of the Aryan cult. They are the powers that strive for possession of heaven and earth in man himself; they are demons and not Dravidians.

It is noteworthy that they strive, but fail to attain the “limit of earth and heaven”; we may suppose that these powers seek without the word or the sacrifice to attain to the higher world beyond earth and heaven which can be conquered only by the word and the sacrifice. They seek to possess the Truth under

the law of the Ignorance; but they are unable to attain to the limit of earth or heaven; only Indra and the gods can so exceed the formula of mind, life and body after filling all three with their greatness. Sarama (X.108.6) seems to hint at this ambition of the Panis; “May your words be unable to attain, may your embodiments be evil and inauspicious; may you not violate the path to travel upon it; may Brihaspati not give you happiness of the two worlds (divine and human).” The Panis indeed offer insolently to be friendly with Indra if he will stay in their cave and be the keeper of their cows, to which Sarama answers that Indra is the overcomer of all and cannot be himself overcome and oppressed, and again they offer brotherhood to Sarama if she will dwell with them and not return to the far world whence she has come by the force of the gods against all obstacles, *prabādhitā sahasā daivyena*. Sarama replies, “I know not brotherhood and sisterhood, Indra knows and the dread Angirasas; desiring the Cows they protected me so that I came; depart hence, O Panis, to a better place. Depart hence, O Panis, to a better place, let the Cows ye confine go upward by the Truth, the hidden Cows whom Brihaspati finds and Soma and the pressing-stones and the illumined seers.”

We have the idea also of a voluntary yielding up of their store by the Panis in VI.53, a hymn addressed to the Sun as the Increaser Pushan. “O Pushan, Lord of the Path, we yoke thee like a chariot for the winning of the plenitude, for the Thought. ... O shining Pushan, impel to giving the Pani, even him who giveth not; soften the mind even of the Pani. Distinguish the paths that lead to the winning of the plenitude, slay the aggressors, let our thoughts be perfected. Smite the hearts of the Panis with thy goad, O seer; so make them subject to us. Smite them, O Pushan, with thy goad and desire in the heart of the Pani our delight; so make him subject to us.... Thy goad thou bearest that impels the word to rise, O shining seer, with that write thy line on the hearts of all and sever them, (so make them subject to us). Thy goad of which thy ray is the point and which perfects the herds (of thought-vision, *paśusādhanī*, cf. *sādhantāṁ dhiyaḥ* in verse 4), the delight of that we desire. Create for us the thought that wins the cow, that wins the

horse, that wins the plenitude of the wealth.”

If we are right in our interpretation of this symbol of the Panis, these ideas are sufficiently intelligible without depriving the word of its ordinary sense, as does Sayana, and making it mean only a miserly, greedy human being whom the hunger-stricken poet is thus piteously importuning the Sun-God to turn to softness and charity. The Vedic idea was that the subconscious darkness and the ordinary life of ignorance held concealed in it all that belongs to the divine life and that these secret riches must be recovered first by destroying the impenitent powers of ignorance and then by possessing the lower life subjected to the higher. Of Indra it has been said, as we have seen, that he either slays or conquers the Dasyu and transfers his wealth to the Aryan. So also Sarama refuses peace with alliance to the Panis, but suggests their submission to the gods and the Aryans by the surrender and ascent of the imprisoned cows and their own departure from the darkness to a better place, *varīyah* (X.108.10,11). And it is by the strenuous touch of the goad of the luminous seer, Pushan, lord of the Truth, the goad that drives open the closed heart and makes the sacred word to arise from its depths, it is by this luminous-pointed goad which perfects the radiant cows, accomplishes the luminous thoughts, that the conversion of the Pani is effected; then the Truth-god in his darkened heart also desires that which the Aryan desires. Therefore by this penetrating action of the Light and the Truth the powers of the ordinary ignorant sense-activity become subject to the Aryan.

But, normally, they are his enemies, not *dāsa*, in the sense of submission and service (*dāsa*, servant, from *das* the work), but in the sense of destruction and injury (*dāsa*, *dasyu*, an enemy, plunderer, from *das* to divide, hurt, injure). The Pani is the robber who snatches away the cows of light, the horses of the swiftness and the treasures of the divine plenitude, he is the wolf, the eater, *atri*, *vṛka*; he is the obstructor, *nid*, and spoiler of the word. He is the enemy, the thief, the false or evil thinker who makes difficult the Path by his robberies and obstructions. “Cast away utterly far from us the enemy, the thief, the crooked one who places falsely the thought; O master of exis-

tence, make our path easy to travel. Slay the Pani for he is the wolf, that devours" (VI.51.13,14). His rising to the attack must be checked by the gods. "This god (Soma) in his birth with Indra for helper held back by force the Pani" (VI.44.22), and won Swar and the sun and all the riches. The Panis have to be slain or routed so that their riches may be ravished from them and devoted to the higher life. "Thou who didst sever the Pani in his continuous ranks, thine are these strong givings, O Saraswati. O Saraswati, crush the obstructors of the gods" (VI.61.1,3). "O Agni and Soma, then was your strength awakened when you robbed the Pani of the cows and found the one Light for many" (I.93.4).

When the gods awake in the Dawn for the sacrifice, the Panis must not awake also to interfere with its successful progress; let them sleep in their cavern darkness. "O Dawn, queen of the plenitudes, awaken those who fill us (the gods), but let the Panis sleep unawakening. Richly dawn for the lords of the plenitude, O queen of the plenitude, richly for him who affirms thee, O Dawn that art Truth. Young she shines out before us, she has created her host of the ruddy cows; in the non-existent vision has dawned out wide" (I.124.10,11). Or again in IV.51.1-3, "Lo, in front of us that supreme light full of the knowledge has arisen out of the darkness; daughters of heaven shining wide, the Dawns have created the path for the human being. The Dawns stand in front of us like pillars in the sacrifices; breaking out pure and purifying they have opened the doors of the pen, the darkness. Breaking forth today the dawns awaken to knowledge the enjoyers for the giving of the rich felicity; within where there is no play of light let the Panis sleep unwaking in the heart of the darkness." Into this nether darkness they have to be cast down from the higher planes while the Dawns imprisoned by them in that night have to be lifted to the highest planes. "Panis who make the knot of the crookedness, who have not the will to works, spoilers of speech, who have not faith, who increase not, who do not sacrifice, them has Agni driven farther and farther; supreme, he has made them nethermost who will not sacrifice. And (the Cows, the Dawns) who rejoiced in the nether darkness, by his power he has made to move to the highest....

He has broken down by his blows the walls that limit, he has given the Dawns to be possessed by the Aryan”, *aryapatnir uṣasaś cakāra* (VII.6.3-5). The Rivers and Dawns when in the possession of Vritra or Vala are described as *dāsapatniḥ*; by the action of the gods they become *aryapatniḥ*, they become the helpmates of the Aryan.

The lords of the ignorance have to be slain or enslaved to the Truth and its seekers, but their wealth is indispensable to the human fulfilment; it is as if “on the most wealth-abounding head of the Panis” (VI.45.31) that Indra takes his stand, *panīnām varṣiṣṭhe mūrdhan asthāt*; he becomes himself the Cow of Light and the Horse of Swiftmess and lavishes an ever-increasing thousandfold wealth. The fullness of that luminous wealth of the Panis and its ascent heavenward is, as we know already, the Path and the birth of the Immortality. “The Angirasas held the supreme manifestation (of the Truth), they who had lit the fire, by perfect accomplishment of the work; they gained the whole enjoyment of the Pani, its herds of the cows and the horses. Atharvan first formed the Path, thereafter Surya was born as the protector of the Law and the Blissful One, *tataḥ sūryo vratapā vena ājani*. Ushanas Kavya drove upward the Cows. With them may we win by the sacrifice the immortality that is born as a child to the Lord of the Law,” *yamasya jātam amṛtam yajāmahe* (I.83.4,5). Angirasa is the Rishi who represents the Seer-Will, Atharvan is the Rishi of the journeying on the Path, Ushanas Kavya is the Rishi of the heavenward desire that is born from the seer-knowledge. The Angirasas win the wealth of illuminations and powers of the Truth concealed behind the lower life and its crookednesses; Atharvan forms in their strength the Path and Surya the Lord of Light is then born as the guardian of the divine Law and the Yama-power; Ushanas drives the herded illuminations of our thought up that path of the Truth to the Bliss which Surya possesses; so is born from the law of the Truth the immortality to which the Aryan soul by its sacrifice aspires.

Summary of Conclusions

WE HAVE now closely scrutinised the Angirasa legend in the Rig-veda from all possible sides and in all its main symbols and are in a position to summarise firmly the conclusions we have drawn from it. As I have already said, the Angirasa legend and the Vritra mythus are the two principal parables of the Veda; they occur and recur everywhere; they run through the hymns as two closely connected threads of symbolic imagery, and around them all the rest of the Vedic symbolism is woven. Not that they are its central ideas, but they are two main pillars of this ancient structure. When we determine their sense, we have determined the sense of the whole Rik Samhita. If Vritra and the waters symbolise the cloud and the rain and the gushing forth of the seven rivers of the Punjab and if the Angirasas are the bringers of the physical dawn, then the Veda is a symbolism of natural phenomena personified in the figure of gods and Rishis and maleficent demons. If Vritra and Vala are Dravidian gods and the Panis and Vritras human enemies, then the Veda is a poetical and legendary account of the invasion of Dravidian India by Nature-worshipping barbarians. If on the other hand this is a symbolism of the struggle between spiritual powers of Light and Darkness, Truth and Falsehood, Knowledge and Ignorance, Death and Immortality, then that is the real sense of the whole Veda.

We have concluded that the Angirasa Rishis are bringers of the Dawn, rescuers of the Sun out of the darkness, but that this Dawn, Sun, Darkness are figures used with a spiritual significance. The central conception of the Veda is the conquest of the Truth out of the darkness of Ignorance and by the conquest of the Truth the conquest also of Immortality. For the Vedic *rtam* is a spiritual as well as a psychological conception. It is the true being, the true consciousness, the true delight of exis-

tence beyond this earth of body, this mid-region of vital force, this ordinary sky or heaven of mind. We have to cross beyond all these planes in order to arrive at the higher plane of that super-conscious Truth which is the own home of the gods and the foundation of Immortality. This is the world of Swar, to which the Angirasas have found the path for their posterity.

The Angirasas are at once the divine seers who assist in the cosmic and human workings of the gods and their earthly representatives, the ancient fathers who first found the wisdom of which the Vedic hymns are a chant and memory and renewal in experience. The seven divine Angirasas are sons or powers of Agni, powers of the Seer-Will, the flame of divine Force instinct with divine knowledge which is kindled for the victory. The Bhrigus have found this Flame secret in the growths of the earthly existence, but the Angirasas kindle it on the altar of sacrifice and maintain the sacrifice through the periods of the sacrificial year symbolising the periods of the divine labour by which the Sun of Truth is recovered out of the darkness. Those who sacrifice for nine months of this year are Navagwas, seers of the nine cows or nine rays, who institute the search for the herds of the Sun and the march of Indra to battle with the Panis. Those who sacrifice for ten months are the Dashagwas, seers of the ten rays who enter with Indra into the cave of the Panis and recover the lost herds.

The sacrifice is the giving by man of what he possesses in his being to the higher or divine nature and its fruit is the farther enrichment of his manhood by the lavish bounty of the gods. The wealth thus gained constitutes a state of spiritual riches, prosperity, felicity which is itself a power for the journey and a force of battle. For the sacrifice is a journey, a progression; the sacrifice itself travels led by Agni up the divine path to the gods and of this journey the ascent of the Angirasa fathers to the divine world of Swar is the type. Their journey of the sacrifice is also a battle, for it is opposed by Panis, Vritras and other powers of evil and falsehood, and of this warfare the conflict of Indra and the Angirasas with the Panis is a principal episode.

The principal features of sacrifice are the kindling of the divine flame, the offering of the *ghṛta* and the Soma-wine and the

chanting of the sacred word. By the hymn and the offering the gods are increased; they are said to be born, created or manifested in man and by their increase and greatness here they increase the earth and heaven, that is to say, the physical and mental existence to their utmost capacity and, exceeding these, create in their turn the higher worlds or planes. The higher existence is the divine, the infinite of which the shining Cow, the infinite Mother, Aditi, is the symbol; the lower is subject to her dark form Diti. The object of the sacrifice is to win the higher or divine being and possess with it and make subject to its law and truth the lower or human existence. The *ghṛta* of the sacrifice is the yield of the shining Cow; it is the clarity or brightness of the solar light in the human mentality. The Soma is the immortal delight of existence secret in the waters and the plant and pressed out for drinking by gods and men. The word is the inspired speech expressing the thought-illumination of the Truth which rises out of the soul, formed in the heart, shaped by the mind. Agni growing by the *ghṛta*, Indra forceful with the luminous strength and joy of the Soma and increased by the Word, aid the Angirases to recover the herds of the Sun.

Brihaspati is the Master of the creative Word. If Agni is the supreme Angirasa, the flame from whom the Angirases are born, Brihaspati is the one Angirasa with the seven mouths, the seven rays of the illuminative thought and the seven words which express it, of whom these seers are the powers of utterance. It is the complete thought of the Truth, the seven-headed, which wins the fourth or divine world for man by winning for him the complete spiritual wealth, object of the sacrifice. Therefore Agni, Indra, Brihaspati, Soma are all described as winners of the herds of the Sun and destroyers of the Dasyus who conceal and withhold them from man. Saraswati, who is the stream of the Word or inspiration of the Truth, is also a Dasyuslayer and winner of the shining herds; and they are discovered by Sarama, forerunner of Indra, who is a solar or dawn goddess and seems to symbolise the intuitive power of the Truth. Usha, the Dawn, is at once herself a worker in the great victory and in her full advent its luminous result.

Usha is the divine Dawn, for the Sun that arises by her

coming is the Sun of the superconscient Truth; the day he brings is the day of the true life in the true knowledge, the night he dispels is the night of the ignorance which yet conceals the dawn in its bosom. Usha herself is the Truth, *sūṛtā*, and the mother of Truths. These truths of the divine Dawn are called her cows, her shining herds; while the forces of the Truth that accompany them and occupy the Life are called her horses. Around this symbol of the cows and horses much of the Vedic symbolism turns; for these are the chief elements of the riches sought by man from the gods. The cows of the Dawn have been stolen and concealed by the demons, the lords of darkness in their nether cave of the secret subconscious. They are the illuminations of knowledge, the thoughts of the Truth, *gāvo matayaḥ*, which have to be delivered out of their imprisonment. Their release is the upsurging of the powers of the divine Dawn.

It is also the recovery of the Sun that was lying in the darkness; for it is said that the Sun, "that Truth", was the thing found by Indra and the Angirasas in the cave of the Panis. By the rending of that cave the herds of the divine dawn which are the rays of the Sun of Truth ascend the hill of being and the Sun itself ascends to the luminous upper ocean of the divine existence, led over it by the thinkers like a ship over the waters, till it reaches its farther shore.

The Panis who conceal the herds, the masters of the nether cavern, are a class of Dasyus who are in the Vedic symbolism set in opposition to the Aryan gods and Aryan seers and workers. The Aryan is he who does the work of sacrifice, finds the sacred word of illumination, desires the gods and increases them and is increased by them into the largeness of the true existence; he is the warrior of the light and the traveller to the Truth. The Dasyu is the undivine being who does no sacrifice, amasses a wealth he cannot rightly use because he cannot speak the word or mentalise the superconscient Truth, hates the Word, the gods and the sacrifice and gives nothing of himself to the higher existences but robs and withholds his wealth from the Aryan. He is the thief, the enemy, the wolf, the devourer, the divider, the obstructor, the confiner. The Dasyus are powers of darkness and ignorance who oppose the seeker of truth and immortality. The gods are the

powers of Light, the children of Infinity, forms and personalities of the one Godhead who by their help and by their growth and human workings in man raise him to the truth and the immortality.

Thus the interpretation of the Angirasa myth gives us the key to the whole secret of the Veda. For if the cows and horses lost by the Aryans and recovered for them by the gods, the cows and horses of which Indra is the lord and giver and indeed himself the Cow and Horse, are not physical cattle, if these elements of the wealth sought by the sacrifice are symbols of spiritual riches, so also must be its other elements which are always associated with them, sons, men, gold, treasure, etc. If the Cow of which the *ghṛta* is the yield is not a physical cow but the shining Mother, then the *ghṛta* itself which is found in the waters and is said to be triply secreted by the Panis in the Cow, is no physical offering, nor the honey-wine of Soma either which is also said to exist in the rivers and to rise in a honeyed wave from the ocean and to flow streaming up to the gods. And if these, then also the other offerings of the sacrifice must be symbolic; the outer sacrifice itself can be nothing but the symbol of an inner giving. And if the Angirasa Rishis are also in part symbolic or are, like the gods, semi-divine workers and helpers in the sacrifice, so also must be the Bhrigus, Atharvans, Ushana and Kutsa and others who are associated with them in their work. If the Angirasa legend and the story of the struggle with the Dasyus is a parable, so also should be the other legendary stories we find in the Rig-veda of the help given by the gods to the Rishis against the demons; for these also are related in similar terms and constantly classed by the Vedic poets along with the Angirasa story as on the same footing.

Similarly if these Dasyus who refuse the gift and the sacrifice, and hate the Word and the gods and with whom the Aryans are constantly at war, these Vritras, Panis and others, are not human enemies but powers of darkness, falsehood and evil, then the whole idea of the Aryan wars and kings and nations begins to take upon itself the aspect of spiritual symbol and apologue. Whether they are entirely so or only partly, cannot be decided except by a more detailed examination which is not our present

object. Our object is only to see whether there is a *prima facie* case for the idea with which we started that the Vedic hymns are the symbolic gospel of the ancient Indian mystics and their sense spiritual and psychological. Such a *prima facie* case we have established; for there is already sufficient ground for seriously approaching the Veda from this standpoint and interpreting it in detail as such a lyric symbolism.

Still, to make our case entirely firm it will be well to examine the other companion legend of Vritra and the waters which we have seen to be closely connected with that of the Angirasas and the Light. In the first place Indra the Vritra-slayer is along with Agni one of the two chief gods of the Vedic Pantheon and if his character and functions can be properly established, we shall have the general type of the Aryan gods fixed firmly. Secondly, the Maruts, his companions, singers of the sacred chant, are the strongest point of the naturalistic theory of Vedic worship; they are undoubtedly storm-gods and no other of the greater Vedic deities, Agni or the Ashwins or Varuna and Mitra or Twashtri and the goddesses or even Surya the Sun or Usha the Dawn have such a pronounced physical character. If then these storm-gods can be shown to have a psychological character and symbolism, then there can be no farther doubt about the profounder sense of the Vedic religion and ritual. Finally, if Vritra and his associated demons, Shushna, Namuchi and the rest appear when closely scrutinised to be Dasyus in the spiritual sense and if the meaning of the heavenly waters he obstructs be more thoroughly investigated, then the consideration of the stories of the Rishis and the gods and demons as parables can be proceeded with from a sure starting-point and the symbolism of the Vedic worlds brought nearer to a satisfactory interpretation.

More we cannot at present attempt; for the Vedic symbolism as worked out in the hymns is too complex in its details, too numerous in its standpoints, presents too many obscurities and difficulties to the interpreter in its shades and side allusions and above all has been too much obscured by ages of oblivion and misunderstanding to be adequately dealt with in a single work. We can only at present seek out the leading clues and lay as securely as may be the right foundations.

PART TWO
SELECTED HYMNS

SELECTED HYMNS*

THE COLLOQUY OF INDRA AND AGASTYA

Rig-veda I.170

इन्द्रः

न नूनमस्ति नो इवः कस्तद्वेव यवद्भुतम् ।
अन्यस्य वित्तमभि संचरेष्यसुतापीतिं वि नश्यति ॥१॥

INDRA

1. It is not now, nor is It tomorrow; who knoweth that which is Supreme and Wonderful? It has motion and action in the consciousness of another, but when It is approached by the thought, It vanishes.

अगस्त्यः

किं न इन्द्र जिघांससि भ्रातरो मस्तस्तव ।
तेभिः कल्पस्व साधुया मा नः समरणे वधीः ॥२॥

AGASTYA

2. Why dost thou seek to smite us, O Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. By them accomplish perfection; slay us not in our struggle.

इन्द्रः

किं नो भ्रातरगस्त्य सखाः सन्नति मन्यसे ।
विषा हि ते यथा मनोऽस्मभ्यमिष वित्ससि ॥३॥

अरं कृष्वन्तु वेदिं सवग्निमिन्धता पुरः ।
तत्रामृतस्य चेतनं यज्ञं ते तनवावहे ॥४॥

* These translations are offered here only in their results for the interest of the general reader and as an illustration of the theory advanced. Their philological and critical justification would be interesting only to a limited circle. A few indications, however, may at a later stage be given which will illustrate the method.

INDRA

3. Why, O my brother Agastya, art thou my friend, yet settest thy thought beyond me? For well do I know how to us thou willest not to give thy mind.
4. Let them make ready the altar, let them set Agni in blaze in front. It is there, the awakening of the consciousness to Immortality. Let us two extend for thee thy effective sacrifice.

अगस्त्यः

त्वमोशिषे वसुपते वसूनां त्वं मित्राणां मित्रपते षेष्ठः ।

इन्द्र त्वं मरुद्भिः सं ववस्वाष प्राशान ऋतुया हवीषि ॥५॥

AGASTYA

5. O Lord of substance over all substances of being, thou art the master in force! O Lord of Love over the powers of love, thou art the strongest to hold in status! Do thou, O Indra, agree with the Maruts, then enjoy the offerings in the ordered method of the Truth.

COMMENTARY

The governing idea of the hymn belongs to a stage of spiritual progress when the human soul wishes by the sheer force of Thought to hasten forward beyond in order to reach prematurely the source of all things without full development of the being in all its progressive stages of conscious activity. The effort is opposed by the gods who preside over the universe of man and of the world and a violent struggle takes place in the human consciousness between the individual soul in its egoistic eagerness and the universal Powers which seek to fulfil the divine purpose of the Cosmos.

The seer Agastya at such a moment confronts in his inner experience Indra, Lord of Swar, the realm of pure intelligence, through which the ascending soul passes into the divine Truth.

Indra speaks first of that unknowable Source of things towards which Agastya is too impatiently striving. That is not to be found in Time. It does not exist in the actualities of the present, nor in the eventualities of the future. It neither is now nor becomes hereafter. Its being is beyond Space and Time and therefore in Itself cannot be known by that which is in Space and Time. It manifests Itself by Its forms and activities in the consciousness of that which is not Itself and through those activities it is meant that It should be realised. But if one tries to approach It and study It in Itself, It disappears from the thought that would seize It and is as if It were not.

Agastya still does not understand why he is so violently opposed in a pursuit which is the eventual aim of all being and which all his thoughts and feelings demand. The Maruts are the powers of Thought which by the strong and apparently destructive motion of their progress break down that which is established and help to the attainment of new formations. Indra, the Power of pure Intelligence, is their brother, kin to them in his nature although elder in being. He should by their means effect the perfection towards which Agastya is striving and not turn enemy nor slay his friend in this terrible struggle towards the goal.

Indra replies that Agastya is his friend and brother, —

brother in the soul as children of one Supreme Being, friends as comrades in a common effort and one in the divine love that unites God and man, — and by this friendship and alliance has attained to the present stage in his progressive perfection; but now he treats Indra as an inferior Power and wishes to go beyond without fulfilling himself in the domain of the God. He seeks to divert his increased thought-powers towards his own object instead of delivering them up to the universal Intelligence so that it may enrich its realisations in humanity through Agastya and lead him forward by the way of the Truth. Let the egoistic endeavour cease, the great sacrifice be resumed, the flame of the divine Force, Agni, be kindled in front as head of the sacrifice and leader of the march. Indra and Agastya together, the universal Power and the human soul, will extend in harmony the effective inner action on the plane of the pure Intelligence so that it may enrich itself there and attain beyond. For it is precisely by the progressive surrender of the lower being to the divine activities that the limited and egoistic consciousness of the mortal awakens to the infinite and immortal state which is its goal.

Agastya accepts the will of the God and submits. He agrees to perceive and fulfil the Supreme in the activities of Indra. From his own realm Indra is supreme lord over the substances of being as manifested through the triple world of mind, life and body and has therefore power to dispose of its formations towards the fulfilment, in the movement of Nature, of the divine Truth that expresses itself in the universe, — supreme lord over love and delight manifested in the same triple world and has therefore power to fix those formations harmoniously in the status of Nature. Agastya gives up all that is realised in him into the hands of Indra, as offerings of the sacrifice, to be held by him in the fixed parts of Agastya's consciousness and directed in the motion towards fresh formations. Indra is once more to enter into friendly parley with the upward aspiring powers of Agastya's being and to establish agreement between the seer's thoughts and the illumination that comes to us through the pure Intelligence. That power will then enjoy in Agastya the offerings of the sacrifice according to the right order of things as formulated and governed by the Truth which is beyond.

INDRA, GIVER OF LIGHT

Rig-veda I.4

सुरूपकृत्नुमूतये सुदुघामिव गोबुहे ।
जुहूमसि सविद्यवि ॥१॥

1. The fashioner of perfect forms, like a good yielder for the milker of the Herds, we call for increase from day to day.

उप नः सवना गहि सोमस्य सोमयाः पिब ।
गोवा इद्रेवतो मदः ॥२॥

2. Come to our Soma-offerings. O Soma-drinker, drink of the Soma-wine; the intoxication of thy rapture gives indeed the Light.

अथा ते अन्तमानां विद्याम सुमतीनाम् ।
मा नो अति स्थ आ गहि ॥३॥

3. Then may we know somewhat of thy uttermost right thinkings. Show not beyond us, come.

परेहि विद्यमस्तृत्तमिन्द्रं पूञ्छा विपश्चितम् ।
यस्ते सखिभ्य आ वरम् ॥४॥

4. Come over, question Indra of the clear-seeing mind, the vigorous, the unoverthrown, who to thy comrades has brought the highest good.

उत ब्रुवन्तु नो निबो निरन्यतश्चिदारत ।
वषाना इन्द्र इद् ब्रुवः ॥५॥

5. And may the Restrainers¹ say to us, "Nay, forth and strive on even in other fields, reposing on Indra your activity."

¹ Or Censurers, *nidaḥ*. The root *nid* bears, I think, in the Veda the sense of "bondage",

उत नः सुभगां अरिर्वाचियुर्दस्य कृष्टयः ।
स्यामेदिन्द्रस्य शर्मणि ॥६॥

6. And may the fighters, doers of the work,¹ declare us entirely blessed, O achiever; may we abide in Indra's peace.

एमाशुमानाशे भर यज्ञश्रियं नृमावनम् ।
पतयन्मन्त्रयत्सखम् ॥७॥

7. Intense for the intense bring thou this glory of the sacrifice that intoxicates the Man, carrying forward on the way Indra who gives joy to his friend.

अस्य पीत्वा शतक्रतो घनो वृत्राणामभवः ।
प्रावो वाजेषु वाजिनम् ॥८॥

8. When thou hadst drunk of this, O thou of the hundred activities, thou becamest a slayer of the Coverers and protectedst the rich mind in its riches.

तं त्वा वाजेषु वाजिनं वाजयामः शतक्रतो ।
घनानामिन्द्र सातये ॥९॥

9. Thee thus rich in thy riches we enrich again, O Indra, O thou of the hundred activities, for the safe enjoyment of our havings.

यो रायोऽवनिर्महात्सुपारः सुन्वतः सखा ।
तस्मा इन्द्राय गायत ॥१०॥

10. He who in his vastness is a continent of bliss, — the friend of the Soma-giver and he carries him safely through, — to that Indra raise the chant.

“confinement”, “limitation”, which can be assigned to it with entire certainty by philological deduction. It is the base of *nidita*, bound and *nidāna*, tether. But the root also means to blame. After the peculiar method of the esoteric diction one or other sense predominates in different passages without entirely excluding the other.

¹ *Ariḥ kṛṣṭayaḥ* may also be translated, “the Aryan people”, or “the warlike nations”. The words *kṛṣṭi* and *carṣaṇi*, interpreted by Sayana as “man”, have as their base the roots *kṛṣ* and *carṣ* which originally imply labour, effort or laborious action. They mean sometimes the doer of Vedic Karma, sometimes, the Karma itself, — the worker or the works.

SAYANA'S INTERPRETATION

1. The doer of (works that have) a good shape, Indra, we call daily for protection as (one calls) for the cow-milker a good milch-cow.
2. Come to our (three) libations, drink of the Soma, O Soma-drinker; the intoxication of thee, the wealthy one, is indeed cow-giving.
3. Then (standing) among the intelligent people who are nearest to thee, may we know thee. Do not (go) beyond us (and) manifest (thyself to others, but) come to us.
4. Come to him and question about me, the intelligent one, (whether I have praised him rightly or not), — to the intelligent and unhurt Indra who gives to thy friends (the priests) the best wealth.
5. Let of us (i.e. our priests) speak (i.e. praise Indra), — and also, O you who censure, go out (from here) and from elsewhere too, — (our priests) doing service all about Indra.
6. O destroyer (of foes), may even our enemies speak of us as having good wealth, — men (i.e. our friends will say it of course); may we be in the peace (bestowed) by Indra.
7. Bring this Soma, that wealth of the sacrifice, the cause of exhilaration to men, (the Soma) that pervades (the three oblations) for Indra who pervades (the Soma-offering), that attains the rites and is friendly to (Indra) who gives joy (to the sacrificer).
8. Drinking of this, O thou of many actions, thou becamest a slayer of Vritras (i.e. enemies led by Vritra) and didst protect entirely the fighter in the fights.

9. O Indra of many actions, for enjoyment of riches we make thee abundant in food who art strong in the battles.¹
10. Sing to that Indra who is a protector of wealth, great, a good fulfiller (of works) and a friend of the sacrificer.

¹ Note that Sayana explains *vājinam* in I.48, as “fighter in the fights” and the same expression in the very next verse as “strong in the fights” and that in the phrase *vājeṣu vājīnāṁ vājayāmah*, he takes the base word *vāja* in three different significances, “battle”, “strength” and “food”. This is a typical example of the deliberate inconsistency of Sayana’s method.

I have given the two renderings together so that the reader may make an easy comparison between both methods and results. I enclose within brackets the commentator’s explanations wherever they are necessary to complete the sense or to make it intelligible. Even the reader unacquainted with Sanskrit will be able, I think, to appreciate from this single example the reasons which justify the modern critical mind in refusing to accept Sayana as a reliable authority for the interpretation of the Vedic text.

COMMENTARY

Madhuchchhandas, son of Vishwamitra, invokes in the Soma-offering Indra, the Master of luminous Mind, for increase in the Light. The symbols of the hymn are those of a collective sacrifice. Its subject is the growth of power and delight in Indra by the drinking of the Soma, the wine of immortality, and the consequent illumination of the human being so that the obstructions of his inner knowledge are removed and he attains to the utmost splendours of the liberated mind.

But what is this Soma, called sometimes *amṛta*, the Greek ambrosia, as if it were itself the substance of immortality? It is a figure for the divine Ananda, the principle of Bliss, from which, in the Vedic conception, the existence of Man, this mental being, is drawn. A secret Delight is the base of existence, its sustaining atmosphere and almost its substance. This Ananda is spoken of in the Taittiriya Upanishad as the ethereal atmosphere of bliss without which nothing could remain in being. In the Aitareya Upanishad Soma, as the lunar deity, is born from the sense-mind in the universal Purusha and, when man is produced, expresses himself again as sense-mentality in the human being. For delight is the *raison d'être* of sensation, or, we may say, sensation is an attempt to translate the secret delight of existence into the terms of physical consciousness. But in that consciousness, — often figured as *adri*, the hill, stone, or dense substance, — divine light and divine delight are both of them concealed and confined, and have to be released or extracted. Ananda is retained as *rasa*, the sap, the essence, in sense-objects and sense-experiences, in the plants and growths of the earth-nature, and among these growths the mystic Soma-plant symbolises that element behind all sense-activities and their enjoyments which yields the divine essence. It has to be distilled and, once distilled, purified and intensified until it has grown luminous, full of radiance, full of swiftness, full of energy, *gomat*, *āṣu*, *yuvāku*. It becomes the chief food of the gods who, called to the Soma-oblation, take their share of the enjoyment and in the strength of that ecstasy increase in man, exalt him to his highest

possibilities, make him capable of the supreme experiences. Those who do not give the delight in them as an offering to the divine Powers, preferring to reserve themselves for the sense and the lower life, are adorers not of the gods, but of the Panis, lords of the sense-consciousness, traffickers in its limited activities, they who press not the mystic wine, give not the purified offering, raise not the sacred chant. It is the Panis who steal from us the Rays of the illumined consciousness, those brilliant herds of the sun, and pen them up in the cavern of the subconscious, in the dense hill of matter, corrupting even Sarama, the hound of heaven, the luminous intuition, when she comes on their track to the cave of the Panis.

But the conception of this hymn belongs to a stage in our inner progress when the Panis have been exceeded and even the Vritras or Coverers who seclude from us our full powers and activities and Vala who holds back the Light, are already over-passed. But there are even then powers that stand in the way of our perfection. They are the powers of limitation, the Confiners or Censurers, who, without altogether obscuring the rays or damming up the energies, yet seek by constantly affirming the deficiencies of our self-expression to limit its field and set up the progress realised as an obstacle to the progress to come. Madhuchhandas calls upon Indra to remove the defect and affirm in its place an increasing illumination.

The principle which Indra represents is Mind-Power released from the limits and obscurations of the nervous consciousness. It is this enlightened Intelligence which fashions right or perfect forms of thought or of action not deformed by the nervous impulses, not hampered by the falsehoods of sense. The image presented is that of a cow giving abundantly its yield to the milker of the herds. The word *go* means in Sanskrit both a cow and a ray of light. This double sense is used by the Vedic symbolists to suggest a double figure which was to them more than a figure; for light, in their view, is not merely an apt poetic image of thought, but is actually its physical form. Thus, the herds that are milked are the Herds of the Sun, — Surya, God of the revelatory and intuitive mind, or else of Dawn, the goddess who manifests the solar glory. The Rishi desires from Indra a daily increase of this

light of Truth by his fuller activity pouring rays in a rich yield upon the receptive mind.

The activity of the pure illuminated Intelligence is sustained and increased by the conscious expression in us of the delight in divine existence and divine activity typified by the Soma-wine. As the Intelligence feeds upon it, its action becomes an intoxicated ecstasy of inspiration by which the rays come pouring abundantly and joyously in. "Light-giving indeed is the intoxication of thee in thy rapture."

For then it is possible, breaking beyond the limitations still insisted upon by the Confiners, to arrive at something of the finalities of knowledge possible to the illuminated intelligence. Right thoughts, right sensibilities, — this is the full sense of the word *sumati*; for the Vedic *mati* includes not only the thinking, but also the emotional parts of mentality. *Sumati* is a light in the thoughts; it is also a bright gladness and kindness in the soul. But in this passage the stress of the sense is upon right thought and not on the emotions. It is necessary, however, that the progress in right thinking should commence in the field of consciousness already attained; there must not be flashes and dazzling manifestations which by going beyond our powers elude expression in right form and confuse the receptive mind. Indra must be not only illuminer, but a fashioner of right thought-formations, *surūpakṛtmu*.

The Rishi, next, turning to a comrade in the collective Yoga, or, perhaps, addressing his own mind, encourages him or it to pass beyond the obstruction of the adverse suggestions opposed to him and by questioning the divine Intelligence progress to the highest good which it has already given to others. For it is that Intelligence which clearly discerns and can solve or remove all still-existing confusion and obsuration. Swift of movement, intense, energetic, it does not by its energy stumble in its paths like the impulses of the nervous consciousness. Or perhaps it is rather meant that owing to its invincible energy it does not succumb to the attacks whether of the Coverers or of the powers that limit.

Next are described the results towards which the seer aspires. With this fuller light opening on to the finalities of mental know-

ledge the powers of Limitation will be satisfied and of themselves will withdraw, consenting to the farther advance and to the new luminous activities. They will say, in effect, "Yes, now you have the right which we were hitherto justified in denying. Not only in the fields won already, but in other and untrod provinces pursue then your conquering march. Repose this action wholly on the divine Intelligence, not upon your lower capacities. For it is the greater surrender which gives you the greater right."

The word *ārata*, move or strive, like its congeners *ari*, *arya*, *ārya*, *arata*, *araṇi*, expresses the central idea of the Veda. The root *ar* indicates always a movement of effort or of struggle or a state of surpassing height or excellence; it is applied to rowing, ploughing, fighting, lifting, climbing. The Aryan then is the man who seeks to fulfil himself by the Vedic action, the internal and external *karma* or *apas*, which is of the nature of a sacrifice to the gods. But it is also imaged as a journey, a march, a battle, a climbing upwards. The Aryan man labours towards heights, fights his way on in a march which is at once a progress forward and an ascent. That is his Aryahood, his *arete*, virtue, to use a Greek word derived from the same root. *Ārata*, with the rest of the phrase, might be translated, "Out and push forward in other fields".

The idea is taken up again, in the subtle Vedic fashion of thought-connections by word-echoes, with the *ariḥ kṛṣṭayaḥ* of the next verse. These are, I think, not the Aryan nations on earth, although that sense too is possible when the idea is that of a collective or national Yoga, but the powers that help man in his ascent, his spiritual kindred bound to him as comrades, allies, brothers, yoke-fellows (*sakhāyaḥ*, *yujāḥ*, *jāmayāḥ*), for his aspiration is their aspiration and by his completeness they are fulfilled. As the Restrainers are satisfied and give way, so they too, satisfied, must affirm finally their task accomplished by the fullness of human bliss, when the soul shall rest in the peace of Indra that comes with the Light, the peace of a perfected mentality standing as upon heights of consummated consciousness and Beatitude.

Therefore is the divine Ananda poured out to be made swift and intense in the system and offered to Indra for the sup-

port of his intensities. For it is this profound joy manifest in the inner sensations that gives the ecstasy by which the man or the God grows strong. The divine Intelligence will be able to move forward in the journey yet incomplected and will return the gift by fresh powers of the Beatitude descending upon the friend of God.

For it was in this strength that the Divine Mind in man destroyed all that opposed, as Coverers or besiegers, its hundred-fold activities of will and of thought; in this strength it protected afterwards the rich and various possessions already won in past battles from the *atris* and *dasyus*, devourers and plunderers of our gains.

Although, continues Madhuchchhandas, that Intelligence is already thus rich and variously stored we seek to increase yet more its force of abundance, removing the Restrainers as well as the Vritras, so that we may have the full and assured possession of our riches.

For this Light is, in its entire greatness free from limitation, a continent of felicity; this Power is that which befriends the human soul and carries it safe through the battle, to the end of its march, to the summit of its aspiration.

INDRA AND THE THOUGHT-FORCES

Rig-veda I.171

प्रति व एना नमसाहमेमि सूक्तेन भिक्षे मुमतिं तुराणाम् ।
 रराणता मस्तो वेद्याभिनि हेळो घत्त वि मुचष्यमदवान् ॥१॥

1. To you I come with this obeisance, by the perfect word I seek right mentality from the swift in the passage. Take delight, O Maruts, in the things of knowledge, lay aside your wrath, unyoke your steeds.

एष वः स्तोमो मस्तो नमस्वान्हुदा तष्टो मनसा घायि देवाः ।
 उपेमा यात मनसा जुषाणा यूयं हि ष्ठा नमस इद्दधासः ॥२॥

2. Lo, the hymn of your affirmation, O Maruts; it is fraught with my obeisance, it was framed by the heart, it was established by the mind, O ye gods. Approach these my words and embrace them with the mind; for of submission¹ are you the increasers.

स्तुतासो नो मस्तो मृळ्यन्तुत स्तुतो मघवा शम्भविष्ठः ।
 ऊर्ध्वा नः सन्तु कोम्या वनान्यहानि विदवा मस्तो जिगीषा ॥३॥

3. Affirmed let the Maruts be benign to us, affirmed the lord of plenitude has become wholly creative of felicity. Upward may our desirable delights² be uplifted, O Maruts, upward all our days by the will towards victory.

¹ *Namasah*. Sayana takes *namas* throughout in his favourite sense, food; for "increasers of salutation" is obviously impossible. It is evident from this and other passages that behind the physical sense of obeisance the word carries with it a psychological significance which here disengages itself clearly from the concrete figure.

² *Vanāni*. The word means both "forests" and "enjoyments" or as an adjective, "enjoyable". It has commonly the double sense in the Veda, the "pleasant growths" of our physical existence, *romā pṛthivyāḥ*.

अस्मादहं तविषादीषमाण इन्द्राद्भिया मरुतो रेजमानः ।
युष्मभ्यं हृष्या निशितान्यासन्तान्यारे चकृमा मृळता नः ॥४॥

4. I, mastered by this mighty one, trembling with the fear of Indra, O Maruts, put far away the offerings that for you had been made intense. Let your grace be upon us.

येन मानासञ्चितयन्त उन्ना व्युष्टिषु शवसा शश्वतीनाम् ।
स नो मरुद्भिरवृषभ भवो धा उग्र उप्रेभिः स्थविरः सहोदाः ॥५॥

5. Thou by whom the movements of the mind grow conscient and brilliant¹ in our mornings through the bright power² of the continuous Dawns, O Bull of the herd³ establish by the Maruts inspired knowledge in us — by them in their energy thou energetic, steadfast, a giver of might.

त्वं पाहीन्द्र सहोयसो नृन्भवा मरुद्भिरवयातहेळाः ।
मुप्रकेतेभिः सासहिर्दधानो विद्यामेघं वृजनं जोरदानम् ॥६॥

6. Do thou, O Indra, protect the Powers⁴ in their increased might; put away thy wrath against the Maruts, by them in thy forcefulness upheld, who have right perceptions. May we find the strong impulsion that shall break swiftly through.

¹ *Usrāh*. In the feminine the word is used as a synonym for the Vedic *go*, meaning at once Cow and ray of light. *Uṣāh*, the Dawn, also, is *gomati*, girt with rays or accompanied by the herds of the Sun. There is in the text a significant assonance, *usrā vi-uṣṭisu*, one of the common devices used by the Vedic Rishis to suggest a thought or a connection which they do not consider it essential to bring out expressly.

² *Śavasā*. There are a host of words in the Veda for strength, force, power and each of them carries with it its own peculiar shade of significance. *Śavas* usually conveys the idea of light as well as force.

³ *Vṛṣabha*. Bull, Male, Lord or Puissant. Indra is constantly spoken of as *vṛṣabha* or *vṛṣan*. The word is sometimes used by itself, as here, sometimes with another governed by it to bring out the idea of the herds, e.g. *vṛṣabhaḥ matinām*, Lord of the thoughts, where the image of the bull and the herd is plainly intended.

⁴ *Nṛn*. The word *nṛ* seems to have meant originally active, swift or strong. We have *nṛmṛta*, strength, and *nṛtamō nṛnām*, most puissant of the Powers. It came afterwards to mean male or man and in the Veda is oftenest applied to the gods as the male powers or Purushas presiding over the energies of Nature as opposed to the female powers, who are called *gnāh* or *gnāvah*.

COMMENTARY

A Sequel to the colloquy of Indra and Agastya, this Sukta is Agastya's hymn of propitiation to the Maruts whose sacrifice he had interrupted at the bidding of the mightier deity. Less directly, it is connected in thought with the 165th hymn of the (First) Mandala, the colloquy of Indra and the Maruts, in which the supremacy of the Lord of Heaven is declared and these lesser shining hosts are admitted as subordinate powers who impart to men their impulsion towards the high truths which belong to Indra. "Giving the energy of your breath to their thoughts of varied light, become in them impellers to the knowledge of my truths. Whensoever the doer becomes active for the work and the intelligence of the thinker creates us in him, O Maruts, move surely towards that illumined seer", — such is the closing word of the colloquy, the final injunction of Indra to the inferior deities.

These verses fix clearly enough the psychological function of the Maruts. They are not properly gods of thought, rather gods of energy; still, it is in the mind that their energies become effective. To the uninstructed Aryan worshipper, the Maruts were powers of wind, storm and rain; it is the images of the tempest that are most commonly applied to them and they are spoken of as the Rudras, the fierce, impetuous ones, — a name that they share with the god of Force, Agni. Although Indra is described sometimes as the eldest of the Maruts, — *indrajyeṣṭho marud-gaṇah*, — yet they would seem at first to belong rather to the domain of Vayu, the Wind-God, who in the Vedic system is the Master of Life, inspirer of that Breath or dynamic energy, called the Prana, which is represented in man by the vital and nervous activities. But this is only a part of their physiognomy. Brilliance, no less than impetuosity, is their characteristic. Everything about them is lustrous, themselves, their shining weapons, their golden ornaments, their resplendent cars. Not only do they send down the rain, the waters, the abundance of heaven, and break down the things best established to make way for new movements and new formations, — functions which, for the rest,

they share with other gods, Indra, Mitra, Varuna, — but, like them, they also are friends of Truth, creators of Light. It is so that the Rishi, Gotama Rahugana, prays to them, “O ye who have the flashing strength of the Truth, manifest that by your might; pierce with your lightning the Rakshasa. Conceal the concealing darkness, repel every devourer, create the Light for which we long” (I.86.9,10). And in another hymn, Agastya says to them, “They carry with them the sweetness (of the Ananda) as their eternal offspring and play out their play, brilliant in the activities of knowledge” (I.166.2). The Maruts, therefore, are energies of the mentality, energies which make for knowledge. Theirs is not the settled truth, the diffused light, but the movement, the search, the lightning-flash, and, when Truth is found, the many-sided play of its separate illuminations.

We have seen that Agastya in his colloquy with Indra speaks more than once of the Maruts. They are Indra’s brothers, and therefore the god should not strike at Agastya in his struggle towards perfection. They are his instruments for that perfection, and as such Indra should use them. And in the closing formula of submission and reconciliation, he prays to the god to parley again with the Maruts and to agree with them so that the sacrifice may proceed in the order and movement of the divine Truth towards which it is directed. The crisis, then, that left so powerful an impression on the mind of the seer, was in the nature of a violent struggle in which the higher divine Power confronted Agastya and the Maruts and opposed their impetuous advance. There has been wrath and strife between the divine Intelligence that governs the world and the vehement aspiring powers of Agastya’s mind. Both would have the human being reach his goal; but not as the inferior divine powers choose must that march be directed, — rather as it has been firmly willed and settled above by the secret Intelligence that always possesses for the manifested intelligence that still seeks. Therefore the mind of the human being has been turned into a battle-field for greater Powers and is still quivering with the awe and alarm of that experience.

The submission to Indra has been made; Agastya now appeals to the Maruts to accept the terms of the reconciliation,

so that the full harmony of his inner being may be restored. He approaches them with the submission he has rendered to the greater god and extends it to their brilliant legions. The perfection of the mental state and its powers which he desires, their clearness, rectitude, truth-observing energy, is not possible without the swift coursing of the Thought-Forces in their movement towards the higher knowledge. But that movement, mistakenly directed, not rightly illumined, has been checked by the formidable opposition of Indra and has departed for a time out of Agastya's mentality. Thus repelled, the Maruts have left him for other sacrificers; elsewhere shine their resplendent chariots, in other fields thunder the hooves of their wind-footed steeds. The Seer prays to them to put aside their wrath, to take pleasure once more in the pursuit of knowledge and in its activities; not passing him by any more, let them unyoke their steeds, descend and take their place on the seat of the sacrifice, assume their share of the offerings.

For he would confirm again in himself these splendid energies, and it is a hymn of affirmation that he offers them, the *stoma* of the Vedic sages. In the system of the Mystics, which has partially survived in the schools of Indian Yoga, the Word is a power, the Word creates. For all creation is expression, everything exists already in the secret abode of the Infinite, *guhā hitam*, and has only to be brought out here in apparent form by the active consciousness. Certain schools of Vedic thought even suppose the worlds to have been created by the goddess Word and sound as first etheric vibration to have preceded formation. In the Veda itself there are passages which treat the poetic measures of the sacred mantras, — *anuṣṭubh*, *triṣṭubh*, *jagatī*, *gāyatrī*, — as symbolic of the rhythms in which the universal movement of things is cast.

By expression then we create and men are even said to create the gods in themselves by the mantra. Again, that which we have created in our consciousness by the Word, we can fix there by the Word to become part of ourselves and effective not only in our inner life but upon the outer physical world. By expression we form, by affirmation we establish. As a power of expression the word is termed *gīḥ* or *vacas*; as a power of affirmation, *stoma*.

In either aspect it is named *manma* or *mantra*, expression of thought in mind, and *brahman*, expression of the heart or the soul, — for this seems to have been the earlier sense of the word *brahman*,¹ afterwards applied to the Supreme Soul or Universal Being.

The process of formation of the mantra is described in the second verse along with the conditions of its effectivity. Agastya presents the *stoma*, hymn at once of affirmation and of submission, to the Maruts. Fashioned by the heart, it receives its just place in the mentality through confirmation by the mind. The mantra, though it expresses thought in mind, is not in its essential part a creation of the intellect. To be the sacred and effective word, it must have come as an inspiration from the supramental plane, termed in Veda, *ṛtam*, the Truth, and have been received into the superficial consciousness either through the heart or by the luminous intelligence, *manīṣā*. The heart in Vedic psychology is not restricted to the seat of the emotions; it includes all that large tract of spontaneous mentality, nearest to the subconscious in us, out of which rise the sensations, emotions, instincts, impulses and all those intuitions and inspirations that travel through these agencies before they arrive at form in the intelligence. This is the “heart” of Veda and Vedanta, *hṛdaya*, *hṛd*, or *brahman*. There in the present state of mankind the Purusha is supposed to be seated centrally. Nearer to the vastness of the subconscious, it is there that, in ordinary mankind, — man not yet exalted to a higher plane where the contact with the Infinite is luminous, intimate and direct, — the inspirations of the Universal Soul can most easily enter in and most swiftly take possession of the individual soul. It is therefore by the power of the heart that the mantra takes form. But it has to be received and held in the thought of the intelligence as well as in the perceptions of the heart; for not till the intelligence has accepted and even brooded upon it, can that truth of thought which the truth of the Word expresses be firmly possessed or normally effective. Fashioned by the heart, it is confirmed by the mind.

¹ Also found in the form *br̥h* (Brihaspati, Brahmanaspati); and there seem to have been older forms, *br̥han* and *brahan*. It is from *brahan* (gen. *brahnas*) that, in all probability, we have the Greek *phren*, *phrenos*, signifying mind.

But another approval is also needed. The individual mind has accepted; the effective powers of the Cosmos must also accept. The words of the hymn retained by the mind form a basis for the new mental posture from which the future thought-energies have to proceed. The Maruts must approach them and take their stand upon them, the mind of these universal Powers approve and unite itself with the formations in the mind of the individual. So only can our inner or our outer action have its supreme effectivity.

Nor have the Maruts any reason to refuse their assent or to persist in the prolongation of discord. Divine powers who themselves obey a higher law than the personal impulse, it should be their function, as it is their essential nature, to assist the mortal in his surrender to the Immortal and increase obedience to the Truth, the Vast towards which his human faculties aspire.

Indra, affirmed and accepted, is no longer in his contact with the mortal a cause of suffering; the divine touch is now utterly creative of peace and felicity. The Maruts too, affirmed and accepted, must put aside their violence. Assuming their gentler forms, benignant in their action, not leading the soul through strife and disturbance, they too must become purely beneficent as well as puissant agencies.

This complete harmony established, Agastya's Yoga will proceed triumphantly on the new and straight path prescribed to it. It is always the elevation to a higher plane that is the end, — higher than the ordinary life of divided and egoistic sensation, emotion, thought and action. And it is to be pursued always with the same puissant will towards victory over all that resists and hampers. But it must be an integral exaltation. All the joys that the human being seeks with his desire, all the active energies of his waking consciousness, — his days, as it is expressed in the brief symbolic language of the Veda, — must be uplifted to that higher plane. By *vanāni* are meant the receptive sensations seeking in all objectivities the Ananda whose quest is their reason for existence. These, too, are not excluded. Nothing has to be rejected, all has to be raised to the pure levels of the divine consciousness.

Formerly Agastya had prepared the sacrifice for the Maruts

under other conditions. He had put their full potentiality of force into all in him that he sought to place in the hands of the Thought-Powers; but because of the defect in his sacrifice he had been met midway by the Mighty One as by an enemy and only after fear and strong suffering had his eyes been opened and his soul surrendered. Still vibrating with the emotions of that experience, he has been compelled to renounce the activities which he had so puissantly prepared. Now he offers the sacrifice again to the Maruts, but couples with that brilliant Name the more puissant godhead of Indra. Let the Maruts then bear no wrath for the interrupted sacrifice but accept this new and more justly guided action.

Agastya turns, in the two closing verses, from the Maruts to Indra. The Maruts represent the progressive illumination of human mentality, until from the first obscure movements of mind which only just emerge out of the darkness of the sub-conscious, they are transformed into an image of the luminous consciousness of which Indra is the Purusha, the representative Being. Obscure, they become conscient; twilit, half-lit or turned into misleading reflections, they surmount these deficiencies and put on the divine brilliance. This great evolution is effected in Time gradually, in the mornings of the human spirit, by the unbroken succession of the Dawns. For Dawn in the Veda is the goddess symbolic of new openings of divine illumination on man's physical consciousness. She alternates with her sister Night; but that darkness itself is a mother of light and always Dawn comes to reveal what the black-browed Mother has prepared. Here, however, the seer seems to speak of continuous dawns, not broken by these intervals of apparent rest and obscurity. By the brilliant force of that continuity of successive illuminations the mentality of man ascends swiftly into fullest light. But always the force which has governed and made possible the transformation, is the puissance of Indra. It is that supreme Intelligence which through the Dawns, through the Maruts, has been pouring itself into the human being. Indra is the Bull of the radiant herd, the Master of the thought-energies, the Lord of the luminous dawns.

Now also let Indra use the Maruts as his instruments for

the illumination. By them let him establish the supramental knowledge of the seer. By their energy his energy will be supported in the human nature and he will give that nature his divine firmness, his divine force, so that it may not stumble under the shock or fail to contain the vaster play of puissant activities too great for our ordinary capacity.

The Maruts, thus reinforced in strength, will always need the guidance and protection of the superior Power. They are the Purushas of the separate thought-energies, Indra the one Purusha of all thought-energy. In him they find their fullness and their harmony. Let there then be no longer strife and disagreement between this whole and these parts. The Maruts, accepting Indra, will receive from him the right perception of the things that have to be known. They will not be misled by the brilliance of a partial light or carried too far by the absorption of a limited energy. They will be able to sustain the action of Indra as he puts forth his force against all that may yet stand between the soul and its consummation.

So in the harmony of these divine Powers and their aspirations may humanity find that impulsion which shall be strong enough to break through the myriad oppositions of this world and, in the individual with his composite personality or in the race, pass rapidly on towards the goal so constantly glimpsed but so distant even to him who seems to himself almost to have attained.

AGNI, THE ILLUMINED WILL

Rig-veda I.77

कथा दाशेमानये कास्मं देवेषुष्टोष्यते भामिने गीः ।

यो मर्त्येष्वमृत ऋतावा होता यजिष्ठ इत्कृणोति देवान् ॥१॥

1. How shall we give to Agni? For him what Word accepted by the Gods is spoken, for the lord of the brilliant flame? for him who in mortals, immortal, possessed of the Truth, priest of the oblation strongest for sacrifice, creates the gods?

यो अप्वरेषु शंतम ऋतावा होता तमू नमोभिरा कृणुष्वम् ।

अग्निर्यद्वेर्मर्ताय देवान्त्स चा बोधाति मनसा यजाति ॥२॥

2. He who in the sacrifices is the priest of the offering, full of peace, full of the Truth, him verily form in you by your surrenderings; when Agni manifests¹ for the mortals the gods, he also has perception of them and by the mind offers to them the sacrifice.

स हि ऋतुः स मर्यः स सार्षुमित्रो न मूढद्भुतस्य रथीः ।

तं मेघेषु प्रथमं देवयन्ती विश उप ब्रुवते दस्ममारीः ॥३॥

3. For he is the will, he is the strength, he is the effecter of perfection, even as Mitra he becomes the charioteer of the Supreme. To him, the first, in the rich-offerings the people seeking the godhead utter the word, the Aryan people to the fulfiller.

स नो नृपां नृत्सो रिशावा अग्निगिरोऽवसा वेतु षीतिम् ।

तना च ये मघवानः शबिष्ठा वाजप्रसूता इषयन्त मन्म ॥४॥

¹ Or, "enters into the gods".

4. May this strongest of the Powers and devourer of the destroyers manifest¹ by his presence the words and their understanding, and may they who in their extension are lords of plenitude, brightest in energy, pour forth their plenty and give their impulsion to the thought.

एवाग्निर्गोतयेभिर्हृतावा विप्रेभिरस्तोष्ट जातवेदाः ।

स एषु द्युम्नं पोषयत्स वाजं स पुष्टिं याति जोषमा चिकित्वात् ॥५॥

5. Thus has Agni, possessed of the Truth, been affirmed by the masters of light,² the knower of the worlds by clarified minds. He shall foster in them the force of illumination, he too the plenty; he shall attain to increase and to harmony by his perceptions.

¹ Or, "enter into the words and the thinking".

² *Gotamebhiḥ*. In its external sense "by the Gotamas" the family of the Rishi, Gotama Rahugana, the seer of the hymn. But the names of the Rishis are constantly used with a covert reference to their meaning. In this passage there is an unmistakable significance in the grouping of the words, *gotamebhir ṛiāvā, viprebhir jātavedāḥ*, as in verse 3 in *dasman ārtḥ*.

COMMENTARY

Gotama Rahugana is the seer of this Hymn, which is a *stoma* in praise of Agni, the divine Will at work in the universe.

Agni is the most important, the most universal of the Vedic gods. In the physical world he is the general devourer and enjoyer. He is also the purifier; when he devours and enjoys, then also he purifies. He is the fire that prepares and perfects; he is also the fire that assimilates and the heat of energy that forms. He is the heat of life and creates the sap, the *rasa* in things, the essence of their substantial being and the essence of their delight.

He is equally the Will in Prana, the dynamic Life-energy, and in that energy performs the same functions. Devouring and enjoying, purifying, preparing, assimilating, forming, he rises upwards always and transfigures his powers into the Maruts, the energies of Mind. Our passions and obscure emotions are the smoke of Agni's burning. All our nervous forces are assured of their action only by his support.

If he is the Will in our nervous being and purifies it by action, he is also the Will in the mind and clarifies it by aspiration. When he enters into the intellect, he is drawing near to his divine birth-place and home. He leads the thoughts towards effective power; he leads the active energies towards light.

His divine birth-place and home, — though he is born everywhere and dwells in all things, — is the Truth, the Infinity, the vast cosmic Intelligence in which Knowledge and Force are unified. For there all Will is in harmony with the truth of things and therefore effective; all thought part of Wisdom, which is the divine Law, and therefore perfectly regulative of a divine action. Agni fulfilled becomes mighty in his own home — in the Truth, the Right, the Vast. It is thither that he is leading upward the aspiration in humanity, the soul of the Aryan, the head of the cosmic sacrifice.

It is at the point where there is the first possibility of the great passage, the transition from mind to supermind, the transfiguration of the intelligence, till now the crowned leader of the mental being, into a divine Light, — it is at this supreme and cru-

cial point in the Vedic Yoga that the Rishi, Gotama Rahugana, seeks in himself for the inspired Word. The Word shall help him to realise for himself and others the Power that must effect the transition and the state of luminous plenitude from which the transfiguration must commence.

The Vedic sacrifice is, psychologically, a symbol of cosmic and individual activity become self-conscious, enlightened and aware of its goal. The whole process of the universe is in its very nature a sacrifice, voluntary or involuntary. Self-fulfilment by self-immolation, to grow by giving is the universal law. That which refuses to give itself, is still the food of the cosmic Powers. "The eater eating is eaten" is the formula, pregnant and terrible, in which the Upanishad sums up this aspect of the universe, and in another passage men are described as the cattle of the gods. It is only when the law is recognised and voluntarily accepted that this kingdom of death can be overpassed and by the works of sacrifice Immortality made possible and attained. All the powers and potentialities of the human life are offered up, in the symbol of a sacrifice, to the divine Life in the Cosmos.

Knowledge, Force and Delight are the three powers of the divine Life; thought and its formations, will and its works, love and its harmonisings are the corresponding human activities which have to be exalted to the divine level. The dualities of truth and falsehood, light and darkness, conceptional right and wrong are the confusions of knowledge born of egoistic division; the dualities of egoistic love and hatred, joy and grief, pleasure and pain are the confusions of Love, perversities of Ananda; the dualities of strength and weakness, sin and virtue, action and inaction are the confusions of will, dissipators of the divine Force. And all these confusions arise and even become necessary modes of our action because the triune powers of the divine Life are divorced from each other, Knowledge from Strength, Love from both, by the Ignorance which divides. It is the Ignorance, the dominant cosmic Falsehood that has to be removed. Through the Truth, then, lies the road to the true harmony, the consummated felicity, the ultimate fulfilment of love in the divine Delight. Therefore, only when the Will in man becomes divine and possessed of the Truth, *amṛtaḥ ṛtāvā*, can the perfection

towards which we move be realised in humanity.

Agni, then, is the god who has to become conscient in the mortal. Him the inspired Word has to express, to confirm in this gated mansion and on the altar-seat of this sacrifice.

“How must we give to Agni?” asks the Rishi. The word for the sacrificial giving, *dāśema*, means literally distribution; it has a covert connection with the root *daś* in the sense of discernment. The sacrifice is essentially an arrangement, a distribution of the human activities and enjoyments among the different cosmic Powers to whose province they by right belong. Therefore the hymns repeatedly speak of the portions of the gods. It is the problem of the right arrangement and distribution of his works that presents itself to the sacrificer; for the sacrifice must be always according to the Law and the divine ordainment (*ṛtu*, the later *vidhi*). The will to right arrangement is an all-important preparation for the reign of the supreme Law and Truth in the mortal.

The solution of the problem depends on right realisation, and right realisation starts from the right illuminative Word, expression of the inspired Thought which is sent to the seer out of the Vast. Therefore the Rishi asks farther, “What word is uttered to Agni?” What word of affirmation, what word of realisation? Two conditions have to be satisfied. The Word must be accepted by other divine Powers, that is, it must bring out some potentiality in the nature or bring into it some light of realisation by which the divine Workers may be induced to manifest in the superficial consciousness of humanity and embrace openly their respective functions. And it must be illuminative of the double nature of Agni, this Lord of the lustrous flame. *Bhāma* means both a light of knowledge and a flame of action. Agni is a Light as well as a Force.

The Word arrives. *Yo martyeṣu amṛtaḥ ṛtāvā*. Agni is, pre-eminently, the Immortal in mortals. It is this Agni by whom the other bright sons of Infinity are able to work out the manifestation and self-extension of the Divine (*devavīti*, *devatāti*) which is at once aim and process of the cosmic and of the human sacrifice. For he is the divine Will which in all things is always present, is always destroying and constructing, always building and perfecting, supporting always the complex progression of the

universe. It is this which persists through all death and change. It is eternally and inalienably possessed of the Truth. In the last obscuration of Nature, in the lowest unintelligence of Matter, it is this Will that is a concealed knowledge and compels all these darkened movements to obey, as if mechanically, the divine Law and adhere to the truth of their Nature. It is this which makes the tree grow according to its seed and each action bear its appropriate fruit. In the obscurity of man's ignorance, — less than material Nature's, yet greater, — it is this divine Will that governs and guides, knows the sense of his blindness and the goal of his aberration and out of the crooked workings of the cosmic Falsehood in him evolves the progressive manifestation of the cosmic Truth. Alone of the brilliant Gods, he burns bright and has full vision in the darkness of Night no less than in the splendours of day. The other gods are *uṣarbudhaḥ*, wakers with the Dawn.

Therefore is he the priest of the offering, strongest or most apt for sacrifice, he who, all-powerful, follows always the law of the Truth. We must remember that the oblation (*havya*) signifies always action (*karma*) and each action of mind or body is regarded as a giving of our plenty into the cosmic being and the cosmic intention. Agni, the divine Will, is that which stands behind the human will in its works. In the conscient offering, he comes in front; he is the priest set in front (*purah-hita*), guides the oblation and determines its effectiveness.

By this self-guided Truth, by this knowledge that works out as an unerring Will in the Cosmos, he fashions the gods in mortals. Agni manifests divine potentialities in a death-besieged body; Agni brings them to effective actuality and perfection. He creates in us the luminous forms of the Immortals.

This work he does as a cosmic Power labouring upon the rebellious human material even when in our ignorance we resist the heavenward impulse and, accustomed to offer our actions to the egoistic life, cannot yet or as yet will not make the divine surrender. But it is in proportion as we learn to subjugate the ego and compel it to bow down in every act to the universal Being and to serve consciously in its least movements the supreme Will, that Agni himself takes form in us. The Divine Will becomes

present and conscient in a human mind and enlightens it with the divine Knowledge. Thus it is that man can be said to form by his toil the great Gods.

The Sanskrit expression is here *ā kṛṇudhvam*. The preposition gives the idea of a drawing upon oneself of something outside and the working or shaping it out in our own consciousness. *Ā kṛ* corresponds to the converse expression, *ā bhū*, used of the gods when they approach the mortal with the contact of Immortality and, divine form of godhead falling on form of humanity, "become", take shape, as it were, in him. The cosmic Powers act and exist in the universe; man takes them upon himself, makes an image of them in his own consciousness and endows that image with the life and power that the Supreme Being has breathed into His own divine forms and world-energies.¹

It is when thus present and conscient in the mortal, like a "house-lord"², master in his mansion, that Agni appears in the true nature of his divinity. When we are obscure and revolt against the Truth and the Law, our progress seems to be a stumbling from ignorance to ignorance and is full of pain and disturbance. By constant submission to the Truth, surrenderings, *namobhiḥ*, we create in ourselves that image of the divine Will which is on the contrary full of peace, because it is assured of the Truth and the Law. Equality of soul³ created by the surrender to the universal Wisdom gives us a supreme peace and calm. And since that Wisdom guides all our steps in the straight paths of the Truth we are carried by it beyond all stumblings (*duritāni*).

Moreover, with Agni conscient in our humanity, the creation of the gods in us becomes a veritable manifestation and no longer a veiled growth. The will within grows conscient of the increasing godhead, awakens to the process, perceives the lines of the growth. Human action intelligently directed and devoted to the universal Powers, ceases to be a mechanical, involuntary or imperfect offering; the thinking and observing mind participates and becomes the instrument of the sacrificial will.

Agni is the power of conscious Being, called by us will,

¹ This is the true sense and theory of Hindu image-worship, which is thus a material rendering of the great Vedic symbols.

² *Grhapati*; also *viśpati*, lord or king in the creature. ³ *Samatā* of the Gita.

effective behind the workings of mind and body. Agni is the strong God within (*maryah*, the strong, the masculine) who puts out his strength against all assailing powers, who forbids inertia, who repels every failing of heart and of force, who spurns out all lack of manhood. Agni actualises what might otherwise remain as an ineffectual thought or aspiration. He is the doer of the Yoga (*sādhu*); divine smith labouring at his forge, he hammers out our perfection. Here he is said to become the charioteer of the Supreme. The Supreme and Wonderful that moves and fulfils Itself "in the consciousness of another"¹, (we have the same word, *adbhuta*, as in the colloquy of Indra and Agastya), effects that motion with this Power as charioteer holding the reins of the activity. Mitra also, the lord of Love and Light is even such a charioteer. Love illuminated fulfils the harmony which is the goal of the divine movement. But the power of this lord of Will and Light is also needed. Force and Love united and both illumined by Knowledge fulfil God in the world.

Will is the first necessity, the chief actualising force. When therefore the race of mortals turn consciously towards the great aim and, offering their enriched capacities to the Sons of Heaven, seek to form the divine in themselves, it is to Agni, first and chief, that they lift the realising thought, frame the creative Word. For they are the Aryans who do the work and accept the effort, — the vastest of all works, the most grandiose of all efforts, — and he is the power that embraces Action and by Action fulfils the work. What is the Aryan without the divine Will that accepts the labour and the battle, works and wins, suffers and triumphs?

Therefore it is this Will which annihilates all forces commissioned to destroy the effort, this strongest of all the divine Puissances in which the supreme Purusha has imaged Himself, that must bestow its presence on these human vessels. There it will use the mind as instrument of the sacrifice and by its very presence manifest those inspired and realising Words which are as a chariot framed for the movement of the gods, giving to the Thought that meditates the illuminative comprehension which allows the forms of the divine Powers to outline themselves in our waking consciousness.

¹ Rv. I.170.

Then may those other mighty Ones who bring with them the plenitudes of the higher life, Indra and the Ashwins, Usha and Surya, Varuna and Mitra and Aryaman, assume with that formative extension of themselves in the human being their most brilliant energies. Let them create their plenty in us, pouring it forth from the secret places of our being so as to be utilisable in its daylight tracts and let their impulsions urge upward the divinising thought in Mind, till it transfigures itself in the supreme lustres.

The hymn closes. Thus, in inspired words, has the divine Will, Agni, been affirmed by the sacred chant of the Gotamas. The Rishi uses his name and that of his house as a symbol-word; we have in it the Vedic *go* in the sense "luminous", and Gotama means "entirely possessed of light". For it is only those that have the plenitude of the luminous intelligence by whom the master of divine Truth can be wholly received and affirmed in this world of an inferior Ray, — *gotamebhir ṛtāvā*. And it is upon those whose minds are pure, clear and open, *vipra*, that there can dawn the right knowledge of the great Births which are behind the physical world and from which it derives and supports its energies, — *viprebhir jātavedāḥ*.

Agni is Jatavedas, knower of the births, the worlds. He knows entirely the five worlds¹ and is not confined in his consciousness to this limited and dependent physical harmony. He has access even to the three highest states² of all, to the udder of the mystic Cow,³ the abundance of the Bull⁴ with the four horns. From that abundance he will foster the illumination in these Aryan seekers, swell the plenty of their divine faculties. By that fullness and plenty of his illumined perceptions he will unite thought with thought, word with word, till the human Intelligence is rich and harmonious enough to support and become the divine Idea.

¹ The worlds in which, respectively, Matter, Life-Energy, Mind, Truth and Beatitude are the essential energies. They are called respectively Bhur, Bhuvar, Swar, Mahas and Jana or Mayas.

² Divine Being, Consciousness, Bliss, — Sachchidananda.

³ Aditi, the infinite Consciousness, Mother of the worlds.

⁴ The divine Purusha, Sachchidananda; the three highest states and Truth are his four horns.

kindled by the mortal dwellers in this substance and thou movest to the meeting-place¹ of all felicities.

9. Deliver the Father and in thy knowledge put away evil from him who is borne in us as thy son, O child of Force. When wilt thou have that vision for us, O conscious knower? when wilt thou, O Truth-Conscious Will, impel us to the journey?
10. Then indeed the Father adores and holds, O Dweller in the substance, the vast Name² when thou makest him to accept and cleave to it. Will in us desires the bliss and, increasing, wins it entirely by the force of the Godhead.³
11. Thou, O Will, O youngest vigour, carriest thy adorer beyond all stumblings into grief and evil; for the creatures are seen of thee who would do hurt to us and are thieves in their hearts, — they whose perceptions are void of the knowledge and therefore they have fallen into the crookedness.
12. Lo, all these movements of our journeying have turned their faces towards thee, and for that evil in us, it is declared to the Dweller in our being. O never can this Will in his increasing betray us to the hurter of our self-expression; he will not deliver us into the hands of our enemy!

¹ The supreme world of Truth and Bliss.

² The world of Truth is also called the Wideness or the Vast or the Vast Truth.

³ The Deva, the supreme Deity, of whom all the gods are different Names and Powers.

THE FOURTH HYMN TO AGNI

THE DIVINE WILL, PRIEST, WARRIOR AND LEADER OF OUR JOURNEY

[The Rishi hymns the Divine Force that knows all the successive births of the soul on its ascending planes of existence and as priest of his upward and onward-journeying sacrifice gives him the purity, the power, the knowledge, the increasing riches, the faculty of new formation and spiritual productiveness by which the mortal grows into immortality. It destroys the enemy, the assailants, the powers of evil, enriches the soul with all they try to withhold, gives the triple peace and the triple fulfilment of the mental, vital and physical being and, labouring in the light of the supramental Truth, leads beyond, creating in us the world of immortal felicity.]

1. Strength, master over the lords of substance, towards thee I direct my delight in the march of my sacrifices. O King, by thee, increasing thy plenitudes, may we conquer our plenty and overcome the embattled assaults of mortal powers.
2. Strength unaging that bears the oblation is the Father of us, he in us pervades in being and is extended in light and is perfect in vision. Kindle altogether thy strengths of impulsion that belong perfectly to the Master in our dwelling,¹ form altogether thy inspirations of knowledge and turn them towards us.
3. Will that is the Seer and Lord of the creature in the human peoples, that is pure and purifies, with his surface of the mind's clarities, Will omniscient hold in you as the priest of your oblations, for this is he that wins for you your desirable boons in the godheads.

¹ Agni is here the supreme Will dwelling in us, Father and Lord of our being; he is to act in us entirely by the divine will and knowledge.

4. Becoming of one heart with the goddess of Truth-vision,¹ labouring by the rays of the Sun of Light, cleave to us with love, O Strength: accept in heart thy fuel in us, O Knower of the Births, and bring to us the gods that they may eat of our offering.
5. Domiciled in our gated dwelling, the Guest loved and accepted, come to this our sacrifice in all thy knowledge; all these energies slay that set themselves to attack us and bring to us their enjoyments who make themselves our enemies.²
6. Chase from us with thy blow the Divider, make a free space for thine own body! When, O Son of Force, thou art carrying the gods over to their goal,³ protect us in the plenitude of our possession, O Strength, O mightiest Deity.
7. May we order aright for thee our sacrifice by our words and by our offerings, O Will that purifiest, O happy flame of purity; in us pervade a felicity of all desirable boons, in us confirm all substance of our riches.
8. O Will, O Son of Force who dwellest in the three worlds⁴ of our session, cleave in heart to our sacrifice, cleave to our oblation. May we become perfect in our works in the god-heads; protect us by thy peace triple-armoured.⁵
9. O Knower of the Births, bear us over every difficult crossing, yea, over all stumblings into evil as in a ship that travels over the waters. O Will, expressed by us with our obeisance of submission as the Eater of things, awake in us, be the

¹ IIa.

² All hostile energies that attack the soul of man possess certain riches which he needs and has to wrest from them in order to arrive at his perfect plenitude.

³ The divine powers in us are carried to their goal in the Truth and Bliss by the force of the Divine Will working in man.

⁴ Mental, vital, physical, the lower "births" all the knowledge of which the Divine Will, knower of our Births, possesses and through which it has to lead the ascending sacrifice to the supramental.

⁵ The peace, joy and full satisfaction in the mental, vital and physical being.

fosterer of our embodyings.¹

10. I meditate on thee with a heart that does the Work and, mortal, I call to the Immortal. O Will, O Knower of the Births, confirm victory in us; by the children of my works may I enjoy immortality.
11. O Knower of the Births, the man perfect in his works for whom thou createst that other blissful world,² reaches a felicity that is peopled happily with his life's swiftnesses, his herds of Light, the children of his soul, the armies of his energy.³

¹ Not only the physical body, but the vital and mental sheaths, all the embodied states or forms of the soul.

² The supramental world has to be formed or created in us by the Divine Will as the result of a constant expansion and self-perfecting.

³ The constant Vedic symbols of the Horse, Cow, Son, Hero. The sons or children are the new soul-formations which constitute the divine Personality, the new births within us. The heroes are the mental and moral energies which resist the assaults of ignorance, division, evil and falsehood. The vital powers are the motive forces that bear us on our journey and are therefore symbolised by the Horse. The herds are the illuminations that come to us from the supramental Truth, herding rays of the sun of Light.

THE FIFTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE SUMMONING OF THE GODS

[The hymn calls to the sacrifice by the summons of the divine Flame the principal godheads. Each is described or invoked in that capacity and functioning in which he is needed and helpful to the perfection of the soul and its divine growth and attaining.]

1. To the Will that knoweth all the births, to the Flame highly kindled, purely luminous offer a poignant clarity.
2. This is he that expresses the powers of the gods, the untameable who speeds on its way this our sacrifice, this is the seer who comes with the wine of sweetness in his hands.
3. O Strength, we have sought thee with our adoration, bring hither the God-Mind¹ bright and dear in his happy chariots² for our increasing.
4. Widely spread thyself,³ softly, thickly covering; towards thee lighten the voices of our illumination. Be white and bright in us that we may conquer.
5. Swing open, O ye Doors divine.⁴ And give us easy passage for our expanding; farther, farther lead and fill our sacrifice.
6. Darkness and Dawn⁵ we desire, two mighty Mothers of the

¹ Indra.

² The plural is used to indicate the manifold movement of the Divine Mind in its completeness.

³ This verse is addressed to Indra, the Power of divine Mind, through whom comes the illumination of the supramental Truth; by the advancing chariots of this giver of Light we conquer our divine possessions.

⁴ Man's sacrifice is his labour and aspiration Godwards and is represented as travelling through the opening doors of the concealed heavenly realms, kingdoms conquered in succession by the expanding soul.

⁵ Night and Day, symbols of the alternation of the divine and human consciousness in

Truth, fairly fronting us, increasers of our spacious being.

7. And O ye divine Priests of our humanity, O worshipped Twain, approach on the paths of the Life-breath to this our sacrifice.
8. She of the vision of knowledge, she of its flowing inspiration, she of its vastness, three goddesses¹ who give birth to the Bliss, they who stumble not,² may they take their seats at the altar strewn of the sacrifice.
9. O Fashioner of things,³ beneficent hither come to us; pervader of all in thy being, in thy nourishing of all and with thyself,⁴ in sacrifice after sacrifice foster our ascension.
10. O Master of Delight⁵ to that goal⁶ where thou knowest the secret Names of the gods, thither lead our offerings.
11. Swaha to the Will and to the Lord of Wideness,⁷ Swaha to the God-Mind and to the Thought-Power,⁸ Swaha to the godheads be the food of our oblation.⁹

us. The Night of our ordinary consciousness holds and prepares all that the Dawn brings out into conscious being.

¹ Ila, Saraswati, Mahi; their names are translated in order to give the idea of their functions.

² Or, who are not assailed, cannot be attacked by the ignorance and darkness, cause of our suffering.

³ Twashtri.

⁴ The Divine as the Fashioner of things pervades all that He fashions both with His immutable self-existence and with that mutable becoming of Himself in things by which the soul seems to grow and increase and take on new forms. By the former He is the indwelling Lord and Maker; by the latter He is the material of his own works.

⁵ Soma.

⁶ The Ananda, the state of divine Beatitude in which all the powers of our being are revealed in their perfect godhead, here secret and hidden from us.

⁷ Varuna.

⁸ The Maruts, nervous or vital forces of our being which attain to conscious expression in the thought, singers of the hymn to Indra, the God-Mind.

⁹ That is, let all in us that we offer to the divine Life be turned into the self-light and self-force of the divine Nature.

THE SIXTH HYMN TO AGNI

THE GALLOPING FLAME-POWERS OF THE JOURNEY

[The flames of Agni the divine Will, home and meeting-place of all our increasing and advancing life-powers, are imaged as galloping on our human journey to the supreme good. Divine Will creates in us the divine strength of impulsion, an illumined and undecaying force and flame described as the steed of the plenitude, which brings us that good and carries us to that goal. His flames are coursers on the path who increase by the sacrifice; they hasten uninterruptedly, and race always more swiftly; they bring in the penned-up illuminations of the hidden knowledge. Their entire force and rapidity are accorded when the divine Strength is filled and satisfied with the sacrificial offerings.]

1. On Strength I meditate who is the dweller in substance and to him as their home go our fostering herds, to him as their home our swift war-steeds,¹ to him as their home our powers of the plenitude.
Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.²
2. He is that Strength who is the dweller in substance; him I express in whom come together³ our fostering herds, in whom meet our swiftly galloping war-steeds, in whom our luminous seers that come to perfect birth in us.
Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.
3. Will, the universal toiler, gives to the creature his steed of the plenitude, Will gives that which comes into entire being in us for the felicity and, satisfied, it journeys to the desirable good.

¹ The Horse is the symbol of Force in the Veda, especially of vital force. It is variously the *arvat* or war-steed in the battle and the *vājin*, the steed of the journey which brings us in the plenty of our spiritual wealth.

² The power that enables us to make the journey through the night of our being to the divine Light.

³ All our growing powers of force and knowledge move towards the manifestation of the divine Knowledge-Force and in it combine and are harmonised.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

4. That fire of thee we kindle O God, O Flame, luminous, unaging, when that more effective force of thy labour blazes in our heavens.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

5. Will, master of the pure-bright flame, thine is the offering cast by the illumining word; bearer of the oblation, to thee it is cast, O master of the creature, achiever of works, perfect in delight.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

6. Those are thy flames that in these thy other flames nourish and advance every desirable good; they, they race! they, they run! they drive on in their impulsions without a break.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

7. Those are thy fiery rays, O Will, steeds of the plenitude, and they increase into the largeness and with tramlings of their hooves they bring in the pens of the luminous kine.¹

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

8. Bring, O Will, to those who affirm thee new strengths of impulsion that find aright their dwelling-place;² may we be they who because they have thee for their messenger, sing the hymn of illumination in home and home.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

9. Both³ ladles of the running richness thou approachest to thy mouth, O perfect in delight; mayst thou in our speakings utterly fill thyself, O master of shining strength.

¹ The illuminations of the divine Truth penned up in the cavern of the subconscious by the lords of sense-action.

² That is, they take us to our home in the world of Truth, the superconscient plane, own home of Agni, in which all these impulsions advancing find their rest and dwelling-place. It is reached by an ascent from plane to plane opened in succession by the power of the divine illumining Word.

³ Perhaps, the divine and the human delight.

Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

10. So by our words and our sacrifices they without any break drive and control the Strength. May he establish in us an utter energy¹ and that swift galloping force.²
Bring to those who affirm thee thy force of the impulsion.

¹ The hero-power of the battling soul.

² *Āśu-aśvyam*, the swift Horse-Power, with a play on the two words giving it the sense of "swift horse-swiftness".

THE SEVENTH HYMN TO AGNI

THE DIVINE WILL, DESIRER, ENJOYER, PROGRESSIVE
FROM THE ANIMAL TO BLISS AND KNOWLEDGE

[Agni is hymned as the divine Force that brings the bliss and the ray of the truth into the human being and light into the night of our darkness. He leads men in their labour to his own infinite levels; he enjoys and tears up the objects of earthly enjoyment, but all his multitude of desires are for the building of an universality, an all-embracing enjoyment in the divine home of the human being. He is the animal moving as the enjoyer by the progressive movement of Nature, as with an axe through the forest, to the achievement and the bliss. This passionate, emotional, animal being of man is given by him to be purified into the peace and bliss; in it he establishes a divine light and knowledge and the awakened state of the soul.]

1. O comrades, in you an absolute force of impulsion and an utter affirming for the Strength that lavishes all his abundance on the worlds of our dwelling,¹ for the master of Force, for the son of Energy.
2. Wheresoever man's soul comes to the utter meeting with him, it becomes full of delight in its dwelling-place. Even they who are adepts in the strength continue to kindle the flame of him and all creatures born work to bring him to perfect birth.
3. When wholly we possess and enjoy our strengths of impulsion, wholly all that men offer as a sacrifice, then I receive the ray of the Truth in its illumination and shining energy.²
4. Verily he creates the light of perception even for one who sits far off in the night, when himself undecaying the puri-

¹ Or, "on the dwellers in the world".

² Or, "of the light, the luminous force, the truth".

fier compresses the lords¹ of the woodland of delight.

5. When in his circling men cast the sweat² of their toil as an offering on the paths, then they ascend to him where he sits self-joyous³ like climbers who arrive upon large levels.⁴
6. Him shall mortal man come to know as the godhead who has this multitude of his desires that he may establish in us the all; for he reaches forward to the sweet taste of all foods and he builds a home⁵ for this human being.
7. Yea, he teareth to pieces this desert⁶ in which we dwell as the Animal that teareth its food; the beard of this Beast is of the golden light, his fang is a purity and the force in him is not afflicted by his heats.
8. Pure indeed is he for whom as for the eater of things there is the flowing progression by Nature⁷ as by an axe, and with a happy travail she, his Mother, brought him forth that he may accomplish her works and taste of the enjoyment.⁸

¹ *Vanaspatin*, in its double sense, the trees, the lords of the forest, growths of the earth, our material existence, and lords of delight. Soma, producer of the immortalising wine, is the typical *vanaspati*.

² An equivoque on the double sense of the word, sweat and the rich droppings of the food-offering.

³ Or, "self-victorious".

⁴ These are the wide free infinite planes of existence founded on the Truth, the open levels opposed elsewhere to the uneven crookednesses which shut in men limiting their vision and obstructing their journey.

⁵ The home of man, the higher divine world of his existence which is being formed by the gods in his being through the sacrifice. This home is the complete Beatitude into which all human desires and enjoyings have to be transformed and lose themselves. Therefore Agni, the purifier, devours all the forms of material existence and enjoyment in order to reduce them to their divine equivalent.

⁶ The material existence not watered by the streams or rivers which descend from the superconscient Bliss and Truth.

⁷ Again an equivoque on the double sense of *svadhiti*, an axe or other cleaving instrument and the self-ordering power of Nature, *svadhā*. The image is of the progress of the divine Force through the forests of the material existence as with an axe. But the axe is the natural self-arranging progression of Nature, the World-Energy, the Mother from whom this divine Force, son of Energy, is born.

⁸ The divine enjoyment, *bhaga*, typified by the god Bhaga, the Enjoyer in the power of the Truth.

9. O strength, O presser out on us of the running richness, when thou findest one who is a glad peace¹ for the establishing of thy works, in such mortals illumination establish and inspired knowledge and the conscious soul.
10. For to this end I born in the material existence receive as thy gift the emotional mind and the animal being.² Yea, O Will, may the eater of things overpower the Dividers³ who minister not to his fullness; these souls that rush upon him with their impulsions may he overcome.

¹ *Sam* and *sarma* in the Veda express the idea of peace and joy, the joy that comes of the accomplished labour, *sami*, or work of the sacrifice: the toil of the battle and the journey find their rest, a foundation of beatitude is acquired which is already free from the pain of strife and effort.

² Literally, passion-mind and the animal; but the word *pasu* may also mean, as it does oftenest in the Veda, the symbolic Cow of light; in that case the sense will be the emotional mind and the illumined mind. But the first rendering agrees better with the general sense of the hymn and with its previous use of the word.

³ The Dasyus who hack and cut up the growth and unity of the soul and seek to assail and destroy its divine strength, joy and knowledge. They are powers of Darkness, the sons of Danu or Diti the divided being.

THE EIGHTH HYMN TO AGNI

DIVINE WILL, THE UNIVERSAL FULFILLER

[The Rishi having declared the continuity of the great effort and aspiration from the earliest times hymns divine Will harboured in us, inmate, priest of the sacrifice, master of this dwelling, who fulfils the universal impulse in all its multiplicity and both stimulates and leads it in act and knowledge.]

1. Will, who art by force created in us, thee the pristine Power the pristine seekers of the Truth kindled entirely that they might grow in their being, the god in the sacrifice, who because he has the multitude of his delights establishes the all,¹ domiciled in us, master of the dwelling, inmate supremely desirable.
2. Will, in thee the supreme² guest and master of the house with his locks of light the peoples take their foundation because thou hast with thee vast vision and the multitude of thy forms and the extraction of our riches and the perfect peace and perfect being and the destruction of enemies.³
3. Will, thee the human peoples seek with their adoration who hast knowledge of the powers of the sacrifice⁴ and rightly discriminating holdest for us utterly the delight and thou art seated in our secret being, O perfect enjoyer, seeing with a universal vision, pouring the multitude of thy voices, doing aright the sacrifice, agleam with the glory of the clarity.
4. Will, who sustainest the law of things in their universality, thee we approach with obeisance of submission and express thee by the words; so do thou, O puissant seer, approve and

¹ Or, "fosters all".

² "First", both original and supreme:

³ The hostile powers who try to break up the unity and completeness of our being and from whom the riches which rightly belong to us have to be rescued, not human enemies.

⁴ Or, "the process of the oblation".

cleave to us, a godhead set high-blazing by the victory¹ of the mortal, by his right illuminings.

Will multiply affirmed, thou takest many forms according to the man and establishest for each his wide manifestation even as of old; thou illuminest in thy force the many things that are thy food and none can do violence to that blaze of thy light when so thou blazest up.

Will, youngest vigour, thee the gods have kindled high and made their envoy to man and the bearer of his offerings; wide in thy rapidities, born from the clarity, receiver of the oblation, thee they have set in him as a keen and burning eye that urges his mentality.

Will, thee men who seek the bliss kindle high with an entire kindling, fed by their clarities in the front of heaven;² so increasing, diffused by its growths that hold its heats, thou enterest widely into all the earth-life's speeding movements.

¹ "Attainment", or, "the splendour" or, "glory".

² Heaven and earth, the pure mental being and the material consciousness.

THE NINTH HYMN TO AGNI

DIVINE WILL ASCENDENT FROM THE ANIMAL TO MENTALITY

[The Rishi speaks of the birth of the divine Will by the working of the pure mental on the material consciousness, its involved action in man's ordinary state of mortal mind emotional, nervous, passionate marked by crooked activities and perishable enjoyments and its emergence on the third plane of our being where it is forged and sharpened into a clear and effective power for liberation and spiritual conquest. It knows all the births or planes of our existence and leads the sacrifice and its offerings by a successive and continuous progress to the divine goal and home.]

1. Thee the godhead mortals with the oblation seek, O Will; on thee I meditate who knowest the births; therefore thou carriest to the goal our offerings without a break.
2. Will is the priest of the oblation for man who gives the offering and forms the seat of sacrifice and attains to his home; for in him our works of sacrifice converge and in him our plenitudes of the Truth's inspirations.
3. True too it is that thou art born from the two Workings¹ like a new-born infant, thou who art the upholder of the human peoples, Will that leads aright the sacrifice.
4. True too it is that thou art hard to seize as a son of crookednesses² when thou devourest the many growths of delight like an Animal that feeds in his pasture.
5. But afterwards thy fiery rays with their smoky passion meet

¹ The two Aranis or tinders by which the fire is struck out; the word can also mean workings and is related to *arya*. Heaven and Earth are the two Aranis which produce Agni; Heaven his father, Earth his mother.

² Literally, of the crooked ones, possibly the seven rivers or movements of our being winding through the obstructions of our mortal existence.

together entirely; oh then, the third Soul¹ forges him in our heavens like a smith in his smithy; 'tis as if in the smith himself that he whets him into a weapon of sharpness.²

6. O Will, may I by thy expandings and thy expressings of the Lord of Love, — yea, may we, as men assailed by enemies, so besieged by discords, pass through and beyond these stumblings of mortals.

7. Bring to us human souls that felicity, O Will, thou forceful one! May he shoot us forward on our path, may he nourish and increase us and be in us for the conquest of the plentitude. March with us in our battles that we may grow.

¹ *Trita āptya*, the Third or Triple, apparently the Purusha of the mental plane. In the tradition he is a Rishi and has two companions significantly named *eka*, one or single, and *dvita*, second or double, who must be the Purushas of the material and the vital or dynamic consciousness. In the Veda he seems rather to be a god.

² The original is very compressed in style and suggestion beyond even the common Vedic pregnancy of structure and phrase, "When, oh, him Trita forges in heaven like a smith, sharpens as in the smith". In English we have to expand in order to bring out the meaning.

THE TENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE SPLENDID SOULS WHO ATTAIN

[The Rishi prays to the divine Flame to work in him by the triple force of Power, Knowledge and Delight. He speaks of the splendid souls of knowledge in our humanity who attain to the Truth and Vastness; they are the burning and overpowering flame-rays of this transcendent Conscious-Force of the Divine that is at work in us to climb to divine mastery. Some have become such souls, others are still hampered but growing. He desires the increasing affirmation of Agni so that all may advance to a rich and all-comprehending universality.]

1. O Flame, O Ray in our limited existence, bring for us an illumination full of utter energy, by an all-encompassing felicity cleave forward our path towards the plenitude.
2. O Flame, thou supreme and wonderful thing, it is thou who by force of will becomest in us the greatness of discerning power; in thee the all-harmonising Friend in the sacrifice accomplishes the work and climbs to divine mastery.²
3. Thou, O Strength, increase the advancing³ and the growth of these who are splendid souls of knowledge that by their affirmations of thee attain to our fullnesses.
4. These are they, O Strength, O Delight, who have a happy richness of the swift forces of life and turn to a happy light the words of the thought, souls puissant with hero-puissances, for whom even in heaven⁴ is the Vastness; of itself

¹ Mitra, the Lord of Love, who introduces the principle of harmony into the workings of the divine effort in us and thus combines all the lines of our advance, all the strands of our sacrifice until the work is accomplished in the supreme unity of Knowledge, Power and Delight.

² *Asuryam*, the god-power, the mastering force of the Lord, the divine "Asura" in us.

³ Or, "attainment".

⁴ That is to say, on the heights of the pure mentality where it meets with and passes into the vastness of the superconscious.

its perfect working awakes to knowledge for these.

5. These are thy flaming rays, O Strength, that go blazing violently and are like lightnings that run over all the quarters and are like a resonant chariot that speeds towards the plenitude.
6. Now, O Strength, alike may those that are beset and hampered attain to expansion and the soul's riches and may these our splendid souls of knowledge traverse all the regions¹ and beyond.
7. O Strength, O Soul of Puissance, when thou art affirmed and in thy affirming, bring to us, O priest of the offering, felicity,² of an all-pervading forcefulness for all that affirm thee and for thy affirmation again. March with us in our battles that we may grow.

¹ The regions of the heavens of the mental existence which have all to be embraced in our consciousness and overpassed.

² That richness and abundance in the soul full of divine possessions which is its spiritual prosperity or felicity, an image of the infinite store of the divine Bliss and by which it advances to an ever greater and more richly-equipped wideness of its being.

THE ELEVENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN TO THE DIVINE PRIEST AND SACRIFICIAL FLAME

[The Rishi hymns the birth of the wakeful and discerning sacrificial Flame who is vision and will-power, the seer whose passion of effort turns into a divine knowledge, in the heavens of mind. This seer-will the inspired words of the Thought have to increase. It is a thing of puissance, the Son of Force, and found by the ancient Souls of luminous puissance concealed in the growths of earth, in all the experiences that the soul here seeks to enjoy.]

1. The protector of the creature is born, the Flame that is wakeful and perfect in discernment, for a new march to felicity. His front is of the clarities, luminously he shines wide so that the vastness of him touches the heavens, he is pure for the bringers of the riches.
2. Men have kindled high in the triple world¹ of the session the Flame supreme to be vision in the sacrifice and the vicar set in front; he comes in one chariot with the God-Mind and the divine Powers and sits on the seat of sacrifice, the Priest of the oblation perfect in will-power for the sacrificing.
3. Unovercome and pure² thou art born from thy mothers twain; thou hast risen up a rapturous seer from the all-luminous sun; they have increased thee with the clarity, O Flame, and the passion-smoke of thee becomes vision when it reaches and lodges in the heavens.
4. May the Flame come to our sacrifice with power to accomplish; the Flame men carry into every room of their dwelling-place; the Flame has become our messenger and the bearer

¹ The triple world of mind, life and body in which the session of our sacrifice takes place or in which the work of self-perfection proceeds.

² Or, "pure without cleansing".

of our offering; when men accept the Flame into themselves, it is the seer-will that they accept.

5. For thee, O Flame, this Word fraught fullest with the honey,¹ for thee this Thought and may it be the peace and bliss in thy heart. For the words of the Thought satisfy and increase thee as those great fostering streams² fill and increase that ocean.
6. O Flame, the souls of puissance³ discovered thee hidden in the secret place,⁴ lodging in every object of delight; by our pressure on thee thou art born, a mighty force; the Son of Force they have called thee, O Puissance.

¹ The honeyed Soma-wine, outflowing of the principle of Delight in things.

² The seven rivers or movements which descend from the superconscious being and fill the conscious ocean of our existence. They are called the Mothers, the fostering Cows, the Mighty Ones of Heaven, the Waters of Knowledge, the streams of the Truth, etc.

³ The seven ancient seers or fathers, the Angirasa Rishis, sons of Agni and divine or human types of the seer-will.

⁴ The subconscious heart in things.

THE TWELFTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF MAN'S ASPIRATION TO THE TRUTH

[The Rishi invokes this flame of the Divine Force, this vast Lord of the superconscient Truth, this Truth-conscious One, to accept thought and word into himself, become Truth-conscious in man and cleave out the many streams of the Truth. Not by mere force of effort nor under the law of the duality can the Truth be attained, but by the Truth itself. But there are not only powers of this Force that battle with the falsehood and guard and conquer, there are others also who have helped so far in the march, but who would keep to the foundation of the falsehood because they cling to the present self-expression of man and refuse to advance beyond it; these in their self-will speak the word of crookedness to the Truth-seeker. By the sacrifice and by submission in the sacrifice man, the ever-advancing pilgrim, brings near to him his wide dwelling-place beyond, the seat and home of the Truth.]

1. To Will, master of sacrifice, the Mighty One, the vast lord and diffuser of the Truth I bring forward my thought as an offering and it is as the clarified butter of the sacrifice purified in the mouth of the flame; my word¹ I bring forward that goes to meet its lord.²
2. O conscious seer of the Truth, the Truth alone perceive in my consciousness; cleave out³ many flowing streams of the Truth.⁴ Not by force, nor by the duality can I achieve the journey nor attain to the Truth of the shining Worker, the fertilising Lord.

¹ To turn thought and word into form and expression of the superconscient Truth which is hidden beyond the division and duality of the mental and physical existence was the central idea of the Vedic discipline and the foundation of its mysteries.

² The Bull; the thought is symbolised as the shining cow fronting and offering itself to the Godhead.

³ From the rock in the hill where they are guarded by the opposing powers.

⁴ The descent of the superconscient into our life was imaged as the rain of heaven; it formed the seven celestial rivers that flow down upon the earth-consciousness.

3. By what thought in me, O Will, shalt thou seeking the Truth by the Truth become the impeller to knowledge of a new word? The godhead who guards the times and seasons¹ of the Truth, knows all in me, but him I know not, the lord of that all-possessing felicity.
4. Who are they, O Will, that are thy binders of the Enemy? who are the shining ones, the guardians, the seekers after possession and conquest? Who, O Will, protect the foundations of the falsehood? who are the keepers of a present² word?
5. These are comrades of thine, O Will, who have gone astray from thee; benignant were they, they have become malignant. These do violence to themselves by their words speaking crooked things to the seeker after straightness.
6. But he, O Will, who desires with submission thy sacrifice, guards the truth of the shining Worker, the Fertiliser.³ To him may there come that wide habitation⁴ in which all is perfected, even that which is left⁵ for man the pilgrim to accomplish in his forward journeying.

¹ The periods, sometimes described as years, sometimes as the twelve symbolic months of the progress of the sacrifice.

² Or, "false word". In either case it means the old falsehood as opposed to the "new word" of the Truth of which Agni has to create the knowledge.

³ "The shining Bull or Male", but the latter word means also the rainer, fertiliser or diffuser of abundance and sometimes the strong and abundant, the former seems to bear also the sense of active or moving.

⁴ The plane of the superconscient Truth or world of Swar beyond mental Heaven and physical earth in which all is accomplished that here we strive after; it is described as the wide habitation and the wide and fear-free pasture of the shining cows.

⁵ This world is sometimes described as what is left or the excess; it is the additional field of being beyond this triplicity of mind, life and body which constitute our normal state of existence.

THE THIRTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF AFFIRMATION OF THE DIVINE WILL

[The Rishi declares the power of the Word affirming the Divine Will who attains to the touch of heaven for man. That Will affirmed in us by the word becomes the priest of our sacrifice and the winner in us of the divine riches and of the energy that conquers: This godhead contains all the others in its being as the nave of a wheel contains the spokes and therefore brings us all the varied wealth of the spiritual felicity.]

1. Chanting the word that illumines we call to thee, chanting the word that illumines we kindle thee, O Will, chanting the word that illumines for our increase. ●
2. Today we seize with the mind the affirmation all-effective, the hymn of the Will, of the godhead that seeks for us our divine substance,¹ of him who touches the heavens.
3. May the Will accept with love our words, he who is here as the priest in men; may he offer the sacrifice to the divine people.
4. Very wide and vast art thou, O Will, the priest of our offering desirable and beloved; by thee men extend wide the form of their sacrifice.
5. Thee, once rightly affirmed, the illumined increase, O Will, so that thou conquerest utterly the plenitude; therefore do thou lavish on us a complete hero-energy.
6. O Will, as the nave of a wheel contains the spokes, so thou containest in thy being all the gods; thou shalt bring to us a varied joy of those riches.

¹ The divine riches which are the object of the sacrifice.

THE FOURTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE FINDER OF LIGHT AND TRUTH

[The Rishi declares Agni as the Priest of the sacrifice, the slayer of the powers of Darkness, the finder of the world of the Sun of Truth, of his radiant herds and of his luminous waters; he is the seer in us who is increased by the clarities of right thought and speech.]

1. Awaken the Flame by the word that affirms him, kindle high the Immortal; let him place our offerings in the godheads.
2. Him in their pilgrim sacrifices mortal men desire and adore, the divine, the immortal, who is strongest for sacrifice in the human creature.
3. Him, the godhead, man's continuous generations adore with the ladle¹ dripping with the clarities; the Will they adore that he may bear their offering.
4. Born, the Flame shines out slaying the Destroyers,² yea, he smites the Darkness with the Light and he finds the shining Herds³ and those Waters and the luminous world.⁴
5. The Will serve and seek, the object of our adoration, the Seer with his surface of the clarities; may he come, may he hearken to my call.

¹ This ladle is the constantly lifted movement of man's aspiration towards the Truth and the Godhead.

² The Titans, dividers of our unity and completeness of being and sons of the Mother of Division, who are powers of the nether cave and the darkness.

³ The Herds and the Waters are the two principal images of the Veda; the former are the trooping Rays of the divine Sun, herds of the luminous Consciousness; the waters are the outpouring of the luminous movement and impulse of the divine or supramental existence.

⁴ Swar, the world of divine solar light to which we have to ascend and which is revealed by the release of the luminous herds from the nether cave and the consequent uprising of the divine Sun.

6. The Will men increase by the offering of their clarities, they increase the universal doer of their works by their hymns of affirmation which place aright the thought, which find the revealing word.

THE FIFTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE DIVINE UPHOLDER AND CONQUEROR

[The Rishi hymns the Divine Will as the Seer and the Mighty One, the upholder of the Bliss and the Truth, by which men attain to the supreme-seated godheads. He breaks leonine through an army of opposers, sees and confirms for man all the possible births and manifestations of the soul, forms in him the secret superconscient plane and by knowledge delivers him into that vast beatitude.]

1. To the Seer and Ordainer who is the object of knowledge I bring the offering of the Word, to the glorious and victorious, to the pristine and supreme. He is the Mighty One accomplished in joy who goes forward to the clarities, the strength that is holder of the bliss and holder of the substance.
2. By the Truth they uphold the Truth that holds all, in the power of the Sacrifice, in the supreme ether, even they who by the godheads born in them travel to the godheads unborn, to the Powers who are seated for ever in the Law that upholds the heavens.
3. Putting evil away from them they create wide-extended forms and embodiments of the soul that are a vast birth and indestructible manifestation for this first and supreme godhead; new-born he shall break through armies that join like converging floods; they stand encompassing him like hunters who enring an angry lion.
4. Thou art even as a mother when in thy wideness thou bearest in thy arms birth after birth to the firm foundation and to the vision. When thou holdest in thee and enjoyest manifestation after manifestation, thou movest abroad with thy self in many different forms.

5. May our plenitude possess the furthest limit of thy might, O godhead, where in its wideness and all-yielding abundance it upholds the bliss. Thou art he that forms and upholds in himself that secret abode to which we move; by thy awakening of him into knowledge thou hast rescued the enjoyer of things for a vast beatitude.

THE SIXTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN TO THE BRINGER OF ALL DESIRABLE GOOD

[The Rishi affirms the Divine Will in man as the offering and representative priest who brings light and strength and inspired knowledge and every desirable good; for he is the aspirer by works in whom is the puissance of all the gods and the full plenitude of their force.]

1. Sing thou out by the word a vast manifestation for the shining Light, for the divine, for the Will whom mortals by their expressions of his godhead as the Friend¹ put in their front.
2. The Will is the priest of offering of the peoples; by the illuminations of the discerning mind he bears abroad in both his arms the continuous order² of their offerings and as the divine enjoyer³ he moves to his good.
3. In the affirmation of him and in his comradeship when he has increased his flame of purity are all the lords of the plenitude;⁴ for all things are in the sound of his many voices and on him, the aspirer in his works, they have laid the burden of their strength.
4. Even now, O Will, may there be the full plenitude of their

¹ Mitra. Agni contains and is all the gods. Mortals have to discover in the action of the divine Will the light, love and harmony of the true knowledge and true existence, the Mitra-power; it is in this aspect that he has to be set in front of the human consciousness as the representative priest in the sacrifice.

² As the Purohita, the representative priest in the sacrifice and the leader in the van of its march. He stands in front of our consciousness, leader of all our powers, to guide and carry on our Godward work, so that there shall be no interruption, no gap in the order of the sacrifice, the right stages of its march to the gods, the right placing of its works according to the times and seasons of the Truth.

³ The Divine Will becomes the Enjoyer Bhaga, brother power of Mitra, who enjoys all delight of existence but by Mitra's power of pure discernment and according to the light, truth and harmony of the divine living.

⁴ The gods; the Divine Force contains and sustains all the other divine powers in their working; in him resides therefore the power of all the other godheads.

utter force. Around this mighty Will earth and heaven have become as if one voice of inspired knowledge.¹

5. Even now come to us, O Will, hymned by our words and bring to us our desirable good. May we who are here and those luminous masters of knowledge together found that blissful state of our being. March with us in our battles that we may grow.

¹ The whole physical and the whole mental consciousness become full of the knowledge which streams into them from the supramental plane and they, as it were, turn into the supramental light and action around the divine Seer-Will as he moves about in them at his work of transfiguration.

THE SEVENTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF ENLARGEMENT AND ULTIMATE ASPIRATION

[A state arrives in which man goes beyond the mere subtlety and fineness of the intelligence and reaches to a rich and manifold largeness of soul. Even then though he has now the wide law of his being which is our right foundation, he needs a force greater than his to lead him; for largeness and multiplicity of soul-force and knowledge are not enough, there must be the divine truth in thought, word and act. For we have to attain beyond the enlarged mental being to the beatitude of a state beyond mind. Agni has the light and the force, the Word and the true impulsion, the embracing knowledge and the achieving power. He shall bring the divine wealth in his chariot and carry us towards the blissful state and the supreme good.]

1. I am mortal who call thee, O godhead, for thy strength is greater than mine and it is righteous in its acts. Let the man of multiple soul when he has made perfect his sacrifice, adore the Will for his increasing.
2. Man, thou who hast won to the wide law of thy being,¹ by the mouth of this flame thou shalt be self-mightier to attain and shalt mentalise the paradise of his richest flamings, the paradise of rapture beyond the thought of the mind.²
3. For by the mouth and radiance of his flame he has yoked himself with the impelling force and the word, and vast as if with the seed of heaven blazes out the purity of his rays.
4. Because by the force of his workings he has the embracing knowledge and the achieving power, his chariot carries a

¹ The larger working of consciousness and power in the being by which the rigid limitations of the ordinary mind and life and physical being are broken and man is able to experience a full inner life and open himself to communication with all the planes of his own and of the cosmic existence.

² The state of bliss of which Swar, the supramental plane of existence, is the basis.

divine wealth; therefore in all creatures he is the godhead to be expressed and the helper to whom men call.

5. Even now and even for us may the luminous masters of knowledge be firm by the mouth of the flame to our supreme good.¹ O Sun of Energy, guard us so that we may enter in, be mighty to attain our blissful state. March with us in our battles that we may grow.

¹ The luminous gods in us must keep our consciousness firmly attached to the light and truth that is brought by the workings of the Will so that we may not fall away from the right movement and its divine joy.

THE EIGHTEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE LORDS OF THE PLENITUDE

[The Divine Will is invoked to complete the manifestation of the divine powers after the second state of the soul when it has passed beyond the mere physical being and is full of the perfect energy of the vital plane, for the gods have given all the life's fifty steeds of swiftness; Agni is there as the light and flame of its far-extended existence which has broken the limitations of the material being and he is full of the joys of this new and rich supra-physical life. Now the third state, the free mental being, is to be perfected by a richly varied and luminous play of thought and word ending in the manifestation of the highest reach of the mental realms, the power of the supramental Light in the mentality; there begins the manifestation of the intuitive and inspired mind. Agni has to create that vastness and light and divinity of the Truth-knowledge and so crown with it the already attained free swiftness of force and wide range of life and enjoyment proper to the perfected and god-filled vitality.]

1. Let the Will be affirmed in the dawning,¹ guest of the creature with his many delights who, immortal in mortals, takes joy in all their offerings.
2. He is the plenitude of his own discerning mind for the second soul² when it bears the purified intelligence; then it holds in itself the continual wine of delight and affirms thee, O Immortal.
3. Such art thou I call, the pure flame of this far-extending existence for the lords of the plenitude whose chariot in-

¹ The dawning of the divine Dawn of the higher knowledge in the mind.

² Dwita, the god or Rishi of the second plane of the human ascent. It is that of the Life-Force, the plane of fulfilled force, desire, free range of the vital powers which are no longer limited by the strict limitations of this mould of Matter. We become conscious of and conscious in new realms, immense ranges of life, the "far-extending existence" of the next verse, which are screened off from our ordinary physical consciousness. Trita is the god or Rishi of the third plane, full of luminous mental kingdoms unknown to the physical mind.

violate ranges wide,¹ O giver of the steeds of swiftness, —

4. The lords of the plenitude in whom is rich light of the thought and they keep the words of our utterance in their mouth;² the fullness of the soul has been spread as a seat of sacrifice in the power³ of the luminous world and all its inspirations are set round about.
5. They who have given me fifty steeds of swiftness⁴ with a perfect affirming, the divine souls that are lords of the plenitude, for them, O Flame-Immortal, create the large, the vast, the luminous knowledge full of the godheads.

¹ In these new worlds of life the divine movement is now fulfilled there and ranges unpierced by the "harms" of the powers of Death and Darkness.

² This verse describes the farther ascent of the movement from the realms of Dwita to the realms of Trita.

³ *Svarṇara*, often spoken of as if it were a country; it is not Swar itself, the utter super-conscious plane, but the power of itself which the light of that world forms in the pure mentality. Here its inspirations and illuminations descend and take their place round the seat of the sacrifice. These are elsewhere called the scouts, *éclairieurs*, of the solar Deity, Varuna.

⁴ The Ashwa or Horse is the symbol of the Life-Force as the Cow is the symbol of the Light. Fifty, hundred, a thousand are numbers symbolic of completeness.

THE NINETEENTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE REVEALING RAY AND CONQUERING WILL

[That epiphany of the soul is sung in which all the coverings of its higher states are penetrated and open to the divine light. It is the opening of the whole third plane of our existence which was before as a fortified city with its gates closed to the soul embodied in Matter. By this new action of the Divine Force the mental and physical consciousness are wedded to the high supramental which was till now separated from them and the life-force blazing in its works with the heat of the divine Sun is harmonised with the play of the sun-ray of the divine knowledge.]

1. State upon state is born, covering upon covering opens to consciousness of knowledge; in the lap of its Mother¹ the soul sees.²
2. Awakened to an embracing knowledge men cast in thee the offering, they guard a sleepless manhood, they enter into the fortified city.
3. Men who are born in the world and labour at the work increase the luminous state of the son of the white-shining Mother,³ he wears the golden necklace,⁴ he utters the vast word; with that and with the honey-wine of delight he becomes a seeker of the plenitude.
4. He is as the delightful and desirable yield of the Mother,⁵ he is that which being without a fellow⁶ yet dwells with the

¹ Aditi, the infinite consciousness, Mother of all things.

² With the all-embracing vision of the supramental infinite consciousness.

³ Aditi; her dark state or black form is Diti, mother of the powers of Darkness.

⁴ Of the rays of the divine Sun of Truth.

⁵ The milk of the Cow, Aditi.

⁶ The all-creating and self-sufficing Supermind high and remote and separated in our consciousness from the mental and physical planes; yet it is really there behind their action and reaction upon each other and in the liberated state of man the separation is abolished.

two companions, he is the heat of the Light and the belly of the plenitude, he is the eternal unconquerable who tramples all things under his feet.

5. O Ray, be born in us and dwell there at play harmonising thy knowledge with the blazing life-god.¹ May these flames of the will that bear our works be violent and keen and sharpened to a perfect intensity and firmly founded in the Bearer of all things.

THE TWENTIETH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE WORK AND THE ATTAINMENT

[The Rishi desires a state of spiritual wealth full of the divine working in which nothing shall fall away to the division and the crookedness. So, increasing by our works the divine Force in us daily, we shall attain to the Bliss and the Truth, the rapture of the Light and the rapture of the Force.]

1. O Will, O conqueror of our plenitude, the felicity which thou alone canst conceive in the mind, that make full of inspiration by our words and set it to labour in the gods as our helper.
2. They who are powers increased of thee in the fierceness of thy flame and strength, yet impel us not on the path, they fall away to the division, they cleave to the crookedness of a law that is other than thine.
3. Thee, O Will, we take to us as the priest of the offering and the accomplisher of a discerning knowledge; holding for thee all our delights we call thee the ancient and supreme to our sacrifices by the word;
4. Rightly and in such wise that, O forceful god, O perfect power of works, we may increase thee day by day, that we may have the Bliss, that we may have the Truth, that we may have perfect rapture by the Rays of the knowledge, that we may have perfect rapture by the Heroes of the Force.

THE TWENTY-FIRST HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE DIVINE FLAME IN HUMANITY

[The Rishi invokes the divine Flame to burn as the divine Man in humanity and to raise us to our perfection in the seats of the Truth and the Bliss.]

1. As the human¹ we set thee within us, as the human we kindle thee; O Flame, O Seer-Puissance, as the human offer sacrifice to the gods for the seeker of the godheads.
2. O Flame, thou burnest in the human creature when thou art satisfied with his offerings; his ladles go to thee unceasingly, O perfect in thy birth, O presser out of the running richness.
3. Thee all the gods with one heart of love made their envoy; O seer, men serve and adore thee in their sacrifices as the godhead.
4. Let mortal man adore the Will, the divine, by sacrifice to the powers divine; but thou, O Brightness, shine out high-kindled; enter into the home of the Truth, enter into the home of the Bliss.

¹ The godhead descending into man assumes the veil of humanity. The god is eternally perfect, unborn, fixed in the Truth and Joy; descending, he is born in man, grows, gradually manifests his completeness, attains as if by battle and difficult progress to the Truth and Joy. Man is the thinker, the god is the eternal seer; but the Divine veils his seerhood in the forms of thought and life to assist the development of the mortal into immortality.

THE TWENTY-SECOND HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE JOURNEY TO THE PERFECT JOY

[Man, the eater of things, seeks a fulfilment of his desires in a final equality of delight. To this end he has to be purified by the divine Flame, the Seer-Will who holds in himself the conscious vision and the utter rapture. By increasing him in us we shall journey forward with our progressing sacrifice and the gods will utterly manifest themselves. We must entertain this divine Force as the master of our house, our physical and mental body, and give it all the objects of our enjoyment as its food.]

1. Man who seekest thy equal fulfilment in all, sing as the enjoyer of things the word of illumination to him of the bright purifying flame, to the object of our adoration in the march of our sacrifices, to the priest of the offering most rapturous in the creature.
2. Set within thee Will that knows all the births, the divine sacrificer in the seasons; today let thy sacrifice march forward unceasingly, thy sacrifice shall open to thee the whole epiphany of the godheads.
3. Mortals, we have set our mind on thee the divine, for thou hast the mind of conscious vision; we meditate on thee as we journey, that we may increase and for the increase too of thee, the supremely desirable.
4. Awake then, O Will, to the vision of this within us; this is our word to thee, O Lord of Force. Strong-jawed enjoyer, master of our house, the eaters of things increase thee by their affirmations and by their words they make thee a thing of bright gladness.

THE TWENTY-THIRD HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE RICH AND CONQUERING SOUL

[The Rishi desires through Agni that opulence of the divine Light against which the armies of darkness cannot stand; for it overpowers them by its plenitude and force. This it does on all the successive planes of the soul's labour and in each of them man gets, by this divine Force that is the true and transcendent Being, all the objects of his desire that they contain.]

1. Bring to us, O Strength most forcefully prevailing, that forceful opulence of the Light which in all the fields of our labour shall by force prevail with thy mouth of flame to enter into the plenitudes.
2. O Flame, O Might, that rich felicity bring which shall violently overpower the armies that are embattled against us; for thou art the true in being, the transcendent and wonderful, who gives to man the luminous plenitude.
3. All these peoples who with one heart of love have made clear their seat of sacrifice, find in the dwelling-places¹ of the soul thee, the priest of sacrifice, the beloved, and they reach in them their many objects of desire.
4. This is the labourer in all man's works and he holds in himself an all-besieging force. O pure-brilliant Flame, shine out full of joy and opulence in these our habitations, shine out full of light, O our purifier.

¹ The "seats" or homes of the soul, which progresses from plane to plane and makes of each a habitation. They are sometimes called the cities. There are seven such planes each with its seven provinces and one additional above. Usually we hear of a hundred cities, the double number perhaps representing the downward gaze in each, of the Soul upon Nature and the upward aspiration of Nature to the Soul.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN TO THE DELIVERER AND PROTECTOR

[The Rishi invokes the Divine Will for protection from evil and for the fullness of the divine light and substance.]

- 1-2. O Will, become our inmost inmate, become auspicious to us, become our deliverer and our armour of protection. Thou who art the lord of substance and who of that substance hast the divine knowledge, come towards us, give us its most luminous opulence.
- 3-4. Awake! hear our call! keep us far from all that seeks to turn us to evil. O shining One, O flame of purest Light, thee for our comrades we desire that even now they may have the bliss and peace.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN TO THE LORD OF LIGHT AND CREATOR OF GODHEAD

[The Rishi hymns Agni as the Seer-Will whose whole being is the light and the truth and the lavishing of the substance of divinity. He is the son born to the thought of the seers and he gives himself as the godhead born in man who is the son of our works opulent with the divine Truth and the divine Power and as the conquering steed of the journey and the battle. The whole movement of the Seer-Will is upward to the light and vastness of the superconscient; his voice is as if the thunder-chant of those heavens. He shall carry us by his perfect working beyond the siege of darkness and limitation.]

1. Raise thy song towards the Will, towards the divine for thy increasing, for he is our lord of substance and he lavishes; he is the son of the seekers of knowledge; he is the keeper of the Truth who ferries us beyond the surge of our destroyers.
2. This is the true in his being whom the seers of old kindled, yea, the gods too kindled him with perfect outshinings into his wide substance of the light, the priest of the oblation with his tongue of ecstasy.
3. O Flame supremely desirable, so by our supreme thinking, by our brightest perfected mentality, by its utter cleaving way of all evil let thy light give unto us the bliss.
4. The Will is that which shines out in the gods, the Will is that which enters with its light into mortals, the Will is the carrier of our oblation; the Will seek and serve in all your thoughts.
5. The Will gives to the giver of sacrifice the Son¹ born of his

¹ The Son of the sacrifice is a constant image in the Veda. Here it is the godhead himself, Agni who gives himself as a son to man, a Son who delivers his father. Agni is also the War-

works who teems with the many inspirations and the many voices of the soul, the highest, the unassailable, the Master of things who opens our ears to the knowledge.

6. Yea, 'tis the Will gives to us the Lord of existences who conquers in the battles by his souls of power; Will gives to us our swift-galloping steed of battle ever conquering, never conquered.
7. That which is strongest in us to upbear, we give it to the Will. Sing out the Vast, O thou whose wide substance is its light. Thy opulence is as if the largeness of the Goddess¹ herself; upward is the rush of thy plenitudes.
8. Luminous are thy flaming radiances; there rises from thee a vast utterance like the voice of the pressing-stone of delight; yea, thy cry of itself rises up like a thunder-chant from the heavens.
9. Thus, desiring substance, we adore the Will who is forceful to conquer. May he who has the perfect power of his workings, carry us beyond all the forces that seek to destroy us, like a ship over the waters.

Horse and the steed of the journey, the White Horse, the mystic galloping Dadhikravan who carries us through the battle to the goal of our voyaging.

¹ Aditi, the vast Mother.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE PRIEST AND SACRIFICIAL FLAME

[The Rishi invokes the Divine Flame in all its usual attributes as the sacrificer, the luminous seer who has the vision of the luminous world, the bringer of the gods, the carrier of the offering, the envoy, conqueror, increaser of the divine workings in man, the knower of the Births, the leader of the march of the sacrifice with its progressive epiphany of the godheads.]

1. O Flame, O purifier, bring to us by thy tongue of rapture, O god, the gods and offer to them sacrifice.
2. Thou who drippest the clarity, thou of the rich and varied luminousness, we desire thee because thou hast the vision of our world of the Truth. Bring to us the gods for their manifesting.¹
3. O Seer, we kindle thee in thy light and thy vastness in the march of our sacrifice who carriest the offerings on their journey.
4. Come, O Will, with all the godheads for the giving of the oblation; thee we accept as the priest of the offering.
5. For the sacrificer who presses the wine of his delight, bring, O Flame, a perfect energy. Sit with the gods on the seat of the soul's fullness.
6. O Flame, thou burnest high and increasest the divine laws and art the conqueror of a thousandfold riches; thou art the messenger of the gods who hast the word.
7. Set within you the Flame who knows the births, bearer of

¹ Or, "for the journeying" to the luminous world of the Truth, or, "for the eating" of the oblations.

the offering, youngest vigour, divine sacrificer in the seasons of the Truth.

8. Today let thy sacrifice march forward unceasingly, thy sacrifice that shall bring the whole epiphany of the godheads. Strew the seat of thy soul that there they may sit.
9. There let the Life-powers¹ take their seat and the Riders of the Horse² and the Lord of Love³ and the Lord of Wide-ness,⁴ even the gods with all their nation.

¹ The Maruts. ² The twin Ashwins. ³ Mitra. ⁴ Varuna.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH HYMN TO ĀGNI

A HYMN OF THE STRENGTH AND ILLUMINATION

[The Rishi under the figure of the demigod, Traivrishna Tryaruna Trasadasyu, and the seer Ashwamedha, symbolises the fulfilment in the human mentality of the illumination of the God-Mind Indra, and the power of the God-Will, Agni in the vitality. The Mind-Soul, destroyer of the demons, awakened to knowledge as the human-born Indra, has given to the seer his two cows of light that draw his wain, his two shining horses that draw his chariot and the ten times twelve cows of the dawn of knowledge. He has assented to and confirmed the desire with which the Life-Soul has given the sacrifice of the Life-Horse to the gods. The Rishi prays that this Mind-Soul, lord of the triple dawn, may give to the journeying Life that seeks the truth, the mental intelligence and power of possession needed and may itself in return receive from Agni the peace and bliss. The Life-Soul on the other hand has given the hundred powers, the vital strength needed for the upward journey; the Rishi prays that this Life-Soul may attain to that vast strength which is the power of the Sun of Truth on the superconscient plane.]

1. O Will, O Universal Power,¹ the mighty One supreme in vision, master of his being, lord of his plenitudes has given me his two cows of the Light that draw his wain. He of the triple dawn, son of the triple Bull,² has awakened to knowledge with the ten thousands³ of his plenitude.
2. He gives to me the hundred and twenty⁴ of the cows of

¹ Or, "Godhead".

² The Triple Bull is Indra, lord of the three luminous realms of Swar, the Divine Mind; Tryaruna Trasadasyu is the half-god, man turned into the Indra type; therefore he is described by all the usual epithets of Indra, "Asura", "Satpati", "Maghavan". The triple dawn is the dawn of these three realms on the human mentality.

³ Thousand symbolises absolute completeness, but there are ten subtle powers of the illumined mind each of which has to have its entire plenitude.

⁴ The symbolic figure of the illuminations of divine knowledge as the series of dawns (cows) of the twelve months of the year and twelve periods of the sacrifice. There are again

dawn; his two shining¹ horses he gives, yoked to the car, that bear aright the yoke. O Will, O Universal Power, do thou rightly affirmed and increasing extend peace and bliss to the lord of the triple dawn.

3. For thus has he done desiring thy grace of mind, new-given for him new-manifested, — he, the disperser of the destroyers,² the lord of the triple dawn who with attentive mind gives response to the many words of my many births.³
4. May he who answers to me with assent give to the illumined giver of the Horse-sacrifice,⁴ by the word of illumination possession of the goal of his journey; may he give power of intelligence to the seeker of the Truth.
5. A hundred strong bulls of the diffusion⁵ raise me up to joy; the gifts of the sacrificer of the steed are as outpourings of the wine of delight with their triple infusions.⁶

ten times twelve to correspond to the ten subtle sisters, powers of the illumined mentality.

¹ The two shining horses of Indra identical probably with the two cows of light of the first verse; they are the two vision-powers of the supramental Truth-Consciousness, right-hand and left-hand, probably direct truth-discernment and intuition. As cows symbolising light of knowledge they yoke themselves to the material mind, the wain; as horses symbolising power of knowledge to the chariot of Indra, the liberated pure mind.

² *Trasadasyu*; in all things he reproduces the characteristics of Indra.

³ The seer by this self-fulfilment on the higher plane is born, as it were, into many realms of consciousness and from each of these there go up its words that express the impulses in it which seek a divine fulfilment. The Mind-Soul answers to these and gives assent, it supplies to the word of expression the answering word of illumination and to the Life that seeks the Truth it gives the power of intelligence that finds and holds the Truth.

⁴ The Horse-sacrifice is the offering of the Life-power with all its impulses, desires, enjoyments to the divine existence. The Life-Soul (*Dwita*) is itself the giver of the sacrifice which it performs when by the power of Agni it attains to vision on its own vital plane, when it becomes, in the figure of the hymn, the illumined seer *Ashwamedha*.

⁵ The complete hundred powers of the Life by whom all the abundance of the vital plane is showered upon the growing man. The vital forces being the instrument of desire and enjoyment, this diffusion is like the outpouring of the wine of delight that raises the soul to new and intoxicating joys.

⁶ The delight extracted from existence is typified by the honey-wine of the Soma; it is mixed with the milk, the curds and the grain, the milk being that of the luminous cows, the curds the fixation of their yield in the intellectual mind and the grain the formulation of the light in the force of the physical mind. These symbolic senses are indicated by the double meaning of the words used, *go*, *dadhi* and *yava*.

6. **May the God-Mind and the God-Will uphold in the sacrificer of the Horse and giver of his hundred a perfect energy and a vast force of battle even as in heaven the Sun of Light indestructible.¹**

¹ Perfect and vast energy in the vital being corresponding to the infinite and immortal light of the Truth in the mental being.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH HYMN TO AGNI

A HYMN OF THE HIGH-BLAZING FLAME, KING OF IMMORTALITY

[The Rishi celebrates the flame of the Will high-blazing in the dawn of knowledge as the King of Immortality, the giver to the soul of its spiritual riches and felicity and of a well-governed mastery of Nature. He is the bearer of our oblation, the illumined guide of our sacrifice to its divine and universal goal.]

1. The Flame of Will burning high rises to his pure light in the heaven of mind; wide he extends his illumination and fronts the Dawn. She comes, moving upward, laden with all desirable things, seeking the gods with the oblation, luminous with the clarity.
2. When thou burnest high thou art king of immortality and thou cleavest to the doer of sacrifice to give him that blissful state; he to whom thou comest to be his guest, holds in himself all substance and he sets thee within in his front.
3. O Flame, put forth thy battling might for a vast enjoyment¹ of bliss may there be thy highest illumination; create a well-governed union of the Lord and his Spouse, set thy foot on the greatness of hostile powers.
4. I adore, O Flame, the glory of thy high-blazing mightiness. Thou art the Bull with the illuminations; thou burnest up in the march of our sacrifices.
5. O Flame that receivest our offerings, perfect guide of the sacrifice, high-kindled offer our oblation to the godheads; for thou art the bearer of our offerings.

¹ The Vedic immortality is a vast beatitude, a large enjoyment of the divine and infinite existence reposing on a perfect union between the Soul and Nature; the soul becomes King of itself and its environment, conscious on all its planes, master of them, with Nature for its bride delivered from divisions and discords into an infinite and luminous harmony.

6. Cast the offering, serve the Will with your works¹ while your sacrifice moves forward to its goal, accept the carrier of our oblation.²

¹ Or, "set the Will to its workings".

² This hymn closes the series addressed to Agni and forming the first twenty-eight hymns of the fifth Mandala of the Rig-veda.

The Guardians of the Light

SURYA, LIGHT AND SEER

The Rig-veda rises out of the ancient Dawn a thousand-voiced hymn lifted from the soul of man to an all-creative Truth and an all-illuminating Light. Truth and Light are synonymous or equivalent words in the thought of the Vedic seers even as are their opposites, Darkness and Ignorance. The battle of the Vedic Gods and Titans is a perpetual conflict between Day and Night for the possession of the triple world of heaven, mid-air and earth and for the liberation or bondage of the mind, life and body of the human being, his mortality or his immortality. It is waged by the Powers of a supreme Truth and Lords of a supreme Light against other dark Powers who struggle to maintain the foundation of this falsehood in which we dwell and the iron walls of these hundred fortified cities of the Ignorance.

This antinomy between the Light and the Darkness, the Truth and the Falsehood has its roots in an original cosmic antinomy between the illumined Infinite and the darkened finite consciousness. Aditi the infinite, the undivided is the mother of the Gods, Diti or Danu, the division, the separative consciousness the mother of the Titans; therefore the gods in man move towards light, infinity and unity, the Titans dwell in their cave of the darkness and issue from it only to break up, make discordant, wounded, limited his knowledge, will, strength, joy and being. Aditi is originally the pure consciousness of infinite existence one and self-luminous; she is the Light that is Mother of all things. As the infinite she gives birth to Daksha, the discriminating and distributing Thought of the divine Mind, and is herself born to Daksha as the cosmic infinite, the mystic Cow whose udders feed all the worlds.

It is this divine daughter of Daksha who is the mother of the gods. In the cosmos Aditi is the undivided infinite unity of things, free from the duality, *advaya*, and has Diti the separa-

tive dualising consciousness for the obverse side of her cosmic creation, — her sister and a rival wife in the later myth. Here in the lower being where she is manifested as the earth-principle, her husband is the lower or inauspicious Father who is slain by their child Indra, the power of the divine Mind manifested in the inferior creation. Indra, says the hymn, slays his father, dragging him by the feet, and makes his mother a widow. In another image forcible and expressive though repugnant to the decorousness of our modern taste, Surya is said to be the lover of his sister Dawn and the second husband of his mother Aditi, and by a variation of the same image Aditi is hymned as the wife of the all-pervading Vishnu who is in the cosmic creation one of the sons of Aditi and the younger brother of Indra. These images which seem gross and confused when we lack the key to their mystic significance, become clear enough the moment that is recovered. Aditi is the infinite consciousness in the cosmos espoused and held by the lower creative power which works through the limited mind and body, but delivered from this subjection by the force of the divine or illumined Mind born of her in the mentality of man. It is this Indra who makes Surya the light of the Truth rise in heaven and dispel the darkneses and falsehoods and limited vision of the separative mentality. Vishnu is the vaster all-pervading existence which then takes possession of our liberated and unified consciousness, but he is born in us only after Indra has made his puissant and luminous appearance.

This Truth is the light, the body of Surya. It is described as the True, the Right, the Vast; as the luminous supramental heaven of Swar — “vast Swar, the great Truth” — concealed beyond our heaven and our earth; and as Surya, the Sun, “that Truth” which dwells lost in the darkness, withheld from us in the secret cave of the subconscious. This hidden Truth is the Vast because it dwells free and manifest only on the supramental plane where existence, will, knowledge, joy move in a rapturous and boundless infinity and are not limited and hedged as in this many-walled existence of the mind, life and body which form the lower being. That is the wideness of the higher being to which we have to ascend breaking beyond the two enclosing firmaments of the mental and physical; it is described as a divine

existence free and large in its unbounded range; it is a wideness where there is no obstacle nor any siege of limitation; it is the fear-free pasture of the luminous herds of the Sun; it is the seat and house of the Truth, the own home of the Gods, the solar world, the true light where there is no fear for the soul, no possibility of any wound to the large and equal bliss of its existence.

This supramental vastness is also the fundamental truth of being, *satyam*, out of which its active truth wells out naturally and without strife of effort into a perfect and faultless movement because there is upon those heights no division, no gulf between consciousness and force, no divorce of knowledge and will, no disharmonising of our being and its action; everything there is the "straight" and there is no least possibility of crookedness. Therefore this supramental plane of vastness and true being is also *ṛtam*, the true activity of things; it is a supreme truth of movement, action, manifestation, an infallible truth of will and heart and knowledge, a perfect truth of thought and word and emotion; it is the spontaneous Right, the free Law, the original divine order of things untouched by the falsehoods of the divided and separative consciousness. It is the vast divine and self-luminous synthesis born of a fundamental unity, of which our petty existence is only the poor, partial, broken and perverted cutting up and analysis. Such was the Sun of the Vedic worship, the paradise of light to which the Fathers aspired, the world, the body of Surya, son of Aditi.

Aditi is the infinite Light of which the divine world is a formation and the gods, children of the infinite Light, born of her in the *ṛtam*, manifested in that active truth of her movement guard it against Chaos and Ignorance. It is they who maintain the invincible workings of the Truth in the universe, they who build its worlds into an image of the Truth. They, bounteous givers, loose out upon man its floods variously imaged by the mystic poets as the sevenfold solar waters, the rain of heaven, the streams of the Truth, the seven mighty Ones of heaven, the waters that have knowledge, the floods that breaking through the control of Vritra the Coverer ascend and overflow the mind. They, seers and revealers, make the light of the Truth to arise on the darkened sky of his mentality, fill with its luminous and

honey-sweet satisfactions the atmosphere of his vital existence, transform into its vastness and plenitude by the power of the Sun the earth of his physical being, create everywhere the divine Dawn.

Then are established in man the seasons of the Truth, the divine workings, called sometimes the Aryan workings; the law of the Truth seizes and guides his action, the word of the Truth is heard in his thought. Then appear the straight undeviating paths of the Truth, the road and ford of Heaven, the way of going of the gods and of the fathers; for by this path where no violence is done to the divine workings, straight, thornless, happy, easy to tread once our feet are set upon it and the manifested divinities are our guard, the luminous fathers ascended by the power of the Word, by the power of the Wine, by the power of the Sacrifice into the fearless light and stood upon the wide and open levels of the supramental existence. So must man, their posterity, exchange the crooked movements of the separative consciousness for the straight things of the Truth-conscious mind. •

For always the courses of the Sun, the gallopings of the divine horse Dadhikravan, the movement of the chariot-wheels of the gods travel on the straight path over wide and level ranges where all is open and the vision is not confined; but the ways of the lower being are crooked windings beset with pits and stumbling-blocks and they crawl unvisited by the divine impulsion over a rugged and uneven ground which screens in from men their goal, their road, their possible helpers, the dangers that await them, their ambushed enemies. Travelling on the path of the Truth with the straight and perfect leading of the gods the limitations of mind and body are at length transcended; we take possession of the three luminous worlds of the higher heaven, enjoy the beatific immortality, grow into the epiphany of the gods and build in our human existence the universal formations of the higher or divine creation. Man then possesses both the divine and the human birth; he is lord of the double movement, he holds Aditi and Diti together, realises the universal in the individual, becomes the Infinite in the finite.

It is this conception that Surya embodies. He is the light

of the Truth rising on the human consciousness in the wake of the divine Dawn whom he pursues as a lover follows after his beloved and he treads the paths she has traced for him. For Dawn the daughter of Heaven, the face or power of Aditi, is the constant opening out of the divine light upon the human being; she is the coming of the spiritual riches, a light, a power, a new birth, the pouring out of the golden treasure of heaven into his earthly existence. Surya means the illumined or the luminous, as also the illumined thinker is called *sūri*; but the root means, besides, to create or, more literally, to loose, release, speed forth, — for in the Indian idea creation is a loosing forth of what is held back, a manifestation of what is hidden in the infinite Existence. Luminous vision and luminous creation are the two functions of Surya. He is Surya the creator and he is Surya the revealing vision, the all-seer.

What does he create? First the worlds; for everything is created out of the burning light and truth of the infinite Being, loosed out of the body of Surya who is the light of His infinite self-vision, formed by Agni, the seer-will, the omniscient creative force and flaming omnipotence of that self-vision. Secondly, into the night of man's darkened consciousness this Father of things, this Seer of the truth manifests out of himself in place of the inauspicious and inferior creation, which he then looses away from us, the illimitable harmony of the divine worlds governed by the self-conscious supramental Truth and the living law of the manifested godhead. Still, the name Surya is seldom used when there is question of this creation; it is reserved for his passive aspects as the body of the infinite Light and the revelation. In his active power he is addressed by other names; then he is Savitri, from the same root as Surya, the Creator; or he is Twashtri the Fashioner of things; or he is Pushan, the Increaser, — appellations that are sometimes used as if identical with Surya, sometimes as if expressing other forms and even other personalities of this universal godhead. Savitri, again, manifests himself, especially in the formation of the Truth in man, through four great and active deities Mitra, Varuna, Bhaga and Aryaman, the Lords of pure Wideness, luminous Harmony, divine Enjoyment, exalted Power.

But if Surya is the creator, he who is, as the Veda says, the self of all that moves and all that is stable, and if this Surya is also the divine, “the wide-burning Truth that is lodged in the law which upholds heaven”, then all the worlds should manifest that law of the Truth and all of them should be so many heavens. Whence then comes this falsehood, sin, death, suffering of our mortal existence? We are told that there are eight sons of the cosmic Aditi who are born from her body; by seven she moves to the gods, but the eighth son is Martanda, of the mortal creation, whom she casts away from her; with the seven she moves to the supreme life, the original age of the gods, but Martanda is brought back out of the Inconscient into which he had been cast to preside over mortal birth and death.

This Martanda or eighth Surya is the black or dark, the lost, the hidden sun. The Titans have taken and concealed him in their cavern of darkness and thence he must be released into splendour and freedom by the gods and seers through the power of the sacrifice. In less figurative language the mortal life is governed by an oppressed, a hidden, a disguised Truth; just as Agni the divine seer-will works at first upon earth concealed or obscured by the smoke of human passion and self-will, so Surya the divine Knowledge lies concealed and unattainable in the night and darkness, is enveloped and contained in the ignorance and error of the ordinary human existence. The Seers by the power of truth in their thoughts discover this Sun lying in the darkness, they liberate this knowledge, this power of undivided and all-embracing vision, this eye of the gods concealed in our subconscious being; they release his radiance, they create the divine Dawn. Indra the divine Mind-power, Agni the Seer-Will, Brihaspati the Master of the inspired word, Soma the immortal Delight born in man aid them to shatter the strong places of the mountain, the artificial obstructions of the Titans are broken and this Sun soars up radiant into our heavens. Arisen he mounts to the supramental Truth. “He goes where the gods have made a path for him cleaving like an eagle to his goal;” he ascends with his seven shining horses to the utter luminous ocean of the higher existence; he is led over it by the seers in a ship. Surya, the Sun, is himself perhaps the golden ship

in which Pushan the Increaser leads men beyond evil and darkness and sin to the Truth and the Immortality.

This is the first aspect of Surya that he is the supreme Light of the truth attained by the human being after his liberation from the Ignorance. "Beholding a higher Light beyond this darkness we have followed it and reached the highest Light of all, Surya divine in the divine Being" (I.50.10). This is the Vedic way of putting the idea which we find more openly expressed in the Upanishads, the fairest form of Surya in which man sees everywhere the one Purusha with the liberated vision "He am I". The higher light of Surya is that by which vision rises on our darkness and moves towards the superconscient, the highest that other greater Truth-vision which, having attained, moves in the farthest supreme world of the Infinite.¹

This brilliant Surya is made by the godward will of man; he is perfectly fashioned by the doers of divine works. For this light is the vision of the highest to which man arrives by the Yajna or Yoga of his being, by its union through a long labour of self-uplifting and self-giving to the powers of the concealed Truth. "O Sun, thou all-seeing Intelligence," cries the Rishi, "may we, living creatures, behold thee bringing to us the great Light, blazing out on us for vision upon vision of the beatitude, ascending to the bliss in the vast mass of thy strength above!" (X.37.8) The Life-powers in us, the purifying storm-gods who battle for the knowledge, they who are created by the divine Mind Indra and taught by Varuna who is the divine Purity and Wideness, are to attain to their enjoyment by the light of this Surya.

The light of Surya is the form, the body of that divine vision. He is described as the pure and visioned force of the Truth which shines out in his rising like the gold of Heaven. He is the great godhead who is the vision of Mitra and Varuna; he is the large and invincible eye of that Wideness and that Harmony; the eye of Mitra and Varuna is the great ocean of vision of Surya. His is that large truth-vision which makes us give to its possessors the name of seer. Himself the "wide-seeing", "the Sun, the Seer who knows the triple knowledge of these gods

¹ Rv. X.37.

and their more eternal births”, he sees all that is in the gods and all that is in men; “beholding the straight things and the crooked in mortals he looks down upon their movements”. It is by this eye of light that Indra, who has made him arise in heaven for far vision, distinguishes the Aryan powers from the Dasyu, separating the children of light from the children of darkness so that he may destroy these but raise those to their perfection.

But seerhood brings with it not only the far vision but the far hearing. As the eyes of the sage are opened to the light, so is his ear unsealed to receive the vibrations of the Infinite; from all the regions of the Truth there comes thrilling into him its Word which becomes the form of his thoughts. It is when “the thought rises from the seat of the Truth” that Surya by his rays releases into the wideness the mystic Cow of Light. Surya himself is not only “the son of Heaven who is the far-seeing eye of knowledge born of the gods” (X.37.1), but he is the speaker also of the supreme word and the impeller of the illumined and illuminating thought. “The truth that thou rising free from sin, O Sun, speakest today to Mitra and Varuna, that may we speak and abide in the Godhead dear to thee, O Aditi, and thee, O Aryaman” (VII.60.1). And in the Gayatri, the chosen formula of the ancient Vedic religion, the supreme light of the godhead Surya Savitri is invoked as the object of our desire, the deity who shall give his luminous impulsion to all our thoughts.

Surya Savitri, the Creator; for the seer and the creator meet again in this apotheosis of the divine vision in man. The victory of that vision, the arising of this Light to “its own home of the Truth”, the outflooding of this great ocean of vision of Surya which is the eye of the infinite Wideness and the infinite Harmony, is in fact nothing else than the second or divine creation. For then Surya in us beholds with a comprehensive vision all the worlds, all the births as herds of the divine Light, bodies of the infinite Aditi; and this new-seeing of all things, this new-moulding of thought, act, feeling, will, consciousness in the terms of the Truth, the Bliss, the Right, the Infinity is a new creation. It is the coming into us of “that greater existence which is beyond on the other side of this smaller and which, even if it be also a dream of the Infinite, puts away from it the falsehood.”

To prepare that new birth and new creation for man by his illumination and upward voyaging is the function of Surya, the divine Light and Seer.

THE DIVINE DAWN

As the Sun is image and godhead of the golden Light of the divine Truth, so Dawn is image and godhead of the opening out of the supreme illumination on the night of our human ignorance. Dawn daughter of Heaven and Night her sister are obverse and reverse sides of the same eternal Infinite. Utter Night out of which the worlds arise is the symbol of the Inconscient. That is the inconscient Ocean, that the darkness concealed within darkness out of which the One is born by the greatness of His energy. But in the world of our darkened mortal view of things there reigns the lesser Night of the Ignorance which envelops heaven and earth and the mid-region, our mental and physical consciousness and our vital being. It is here that Dawn the daughter of Heaven rises with the radiances of her Truth, with the bliss of her boons; putting off the darkness like a black woven robe, as a young maiden garbed in light, this bride of the luminous Lord of beatitude unveils the splendours of her bosom, reveals her shining limbs and makes the Sun ascend upon the upclimbing tier of the worlds.

This night of our darkness is not entirely unilluminated. If there be nothing else, if all is deep gloom, yet the divine flame of the seer-will Agni burns through the dense murk giving light to him who sits afar in its shadow; though not yet kindled, as it shall be at dawn, on a sacrificial altar, yet even so it fulfils on our earth as the lowest and greatest of the gods the will and works of the hidden Light in spite of all this enveloping smoke of passion and desire. And the stars shine out and the moon comes at night making manifest the invincible workings of the infinite King. Moreover, always Night holds hidden in her bosom her luminous sister; this life of our ignorance taught by the gods in their veiled human working prepares the birth of the divine Dawn so that, sped forth, she may manifest the supreme

creation of the luminous Creator. For the divine Dawn is the force or face of Aditi; she is the mother of the gods; she gives them birth into our humanity in their true forms no longer compressed into our littleness and veiled to our vision.

But this great work is to be done according to the ordered gradations of the Truth, in its fixed seasons, by the twelve months of the sacrifice, by the divine years of Surya Savitri. Therefore there is a constant rhythm and alternation of night and dawn, illuminations of the Light and periods of exile from it, openings up of our darkness and its settling upon us once more, till the celestial Birth is accomplished and again till it is fulfilled in its greatness, knowledge, love and power. These later nights are other than those utter darknesses which are dreaded as the occasion of the enemy, the haunt of the demons of division who devour; these are rather the pleasant nights, the divine and blessed ones who equally labour for our growth. Night and Dawn are then of different forms but one mind and suckle alternately the same luminous Child. Then the revealing lustres of the brighter goddess are known in the pleasant nights even through the movements of the darkness. Therefore Kutsa hymns the two sisters, "Immortal, with a common lover, agreeing, they move over heaven and earth forming the hue of the Light; common is the path of the sisters, infinite; and they range it, the one and the other, taught by the gods; common they, though different their forms" (I.113.2,3). For one is the bright Mother of the herds, the other the dark Cow, the black Infinite, who can yet be made to yield us the shining milk of heaven.

Thus the Dawns come with a constant alternation, thrice ten — the mystic number of our mentality — making the month, till some day there shall break out upon us the wondrous experience of our forefathers in a long bygone age of humanity when the dawns succeeded each other without the intervention of any night, when they came to the Sun as to a lover and circled round him, not returning again and again in his front as a precursor of his periodical visitations. That shall be when the supra-mental consciousness shines out fulfilled in the mentality and we shall possess the year-long day enjoyed by the gods on the summit of the eternal mountain. Then shall be the dawning of the

“best” or highest, most glorious Dawn, when “driving away the Enemy, guardian of the Truth, born in the Truth, full of the bliss, uttering the highest truths, fulfilled in all boons she brings the birth and manifestation of the godheads” (I.113.12). Meanwhile each dawn comes as the first of a long succession that shall follow and pursues the path and goal of those that have already gone forward; each in her coming impels the life upwards and awakens in us “some one who was dead” (I.113.8). “Mother of the gods, force of the Infinite, the vast vision that awakes from the sacrifice she creates expression for the thought of the soul” and gives us the universal birth in all that is born (I.113.19).

The Vedic Rishis, inspired poets penetrated with the beauty and glory of physical Nature, could not fail to make the most of the figures given to them by this splendid and attractive symbol of the earthly dawning, so that if we read carelessly or with too much attachment to the poetical figure we may miss or repel their deeper meaning. But in no hymn to their beautiful goddess do they forget to give us shining hints, illuminating epithets, profound mystical phrases which shall recall us to the divine sense of the symbol. Especially do they use that figure of the rays that are herds of shining cows around which they have woven the mystic parable of the Angirasa Rishis. Dawn is invoked to shine out on us as when she shone upon the seven-mouthed Angirasa, on the unity of the nine-rayed and the ten-rayed seers who by the utter thought of the soul, by the word that illumines broke open the fortified pens, “pens of the darkness” in which the Panis, misers and traffickers of the Night, had shut up the Sun’s radiant herds. Her rays are as loosings forth of these shining ones; the Dawns themselves are as if the released upward movements of those herded illuminations. Pure and purifying, they break open the doors of the pen. Dawn is the Truth-possessing mother of the herds; she is herself the shining Cow and her milk is the divine yield of heaven, the luminous milk which is mixed with the wine of the gods.

This Dawn illumines not only our earth but all the worlds. She brings out into expression the successive planes of our existence so that we may look upon all “the diverse lives” of which we are capable. She reveals them by the eye of the Sun and front-

ing “the worlds of the becoming she stands aloft over them all as the vision of immortality” (III.61.3). She is herself that which shines out widely as the Eye, and like her lover the Sun she gives not only the vision, but also the word; “she finds speech for every thinker”, she creates expression for the thought in the soul. To those who saw only a little she gives wide vision and brings out into expression for them all the worlds. For she is a godhead of thought, the “young and ancient goddess of many thoughts who moves according to the divine law” (III.61.1). She is the goddess of the perceptive knowledge who has the perfect truth; she is the supreme light of all lights and is born as a varied and all-embracing conscient vision. She is the light full of knowledge which rises up out of the darkness. “We have crossed through to the other shore of this darkness,” cries the Rishi, “Dawn is breaking forth and she creates and forms the births of knowledge” (I.92.6).

Constantly the idea of the Truth is associated with this luminous goddess Usha. She awakens full of the Truth by the illuminations of heaven; she comes uttering words of truth; her dawns are luminous in their entering in because they are true as being born from the Truth; it is from the seat of the Truth that the dawns awake. She is the shining leader of perfect truths who awakens in perception to things of varied light and opens all doors. Agni, the mighty one, enters into a great wideness of our heaven and earth receiving his impulsion in the foundation of the Truth which is the foundation of the Dawns; for the outshining of this Dawn is “the vast knowledge of Mitra and Varuna and like a thing of delight it orders the light everywhere in many forms” (III.61.7).

Moreover she gives the riches we seek and leads man on the divine path. She is the queen of all boons and the wealth she gives, expressed in the mystic symbols of the Cow and the Horse, is the bright abundance of the higher planes; Agni begs from her and attains in her luminous coming their delightful substance; she gives to the mortal inspired knowledge and plenitude and impelling force and vast energy. It is she who creates the Path for mortals by her light; she makes for them the good paths that are happy and easy of going. She moves man to his journey; “Thou,” says the Rishi, “art there for strength and knowledge

and great impulsion, thou art our movement to the goal, thou makest us set forth on the journey." Her path is a path of light and she moves on it with horses yoked by the Truth, herself possessed of the Truth and vast by its power. She follows effectively the path of the Truth and as one that knows she destroys not its directions. "Therefore," runs the chant, "O Dawn divine, shine out on us immortal, in thy chariot of bliss, uttering the words of Truth; let horses bring thee that are well-governed, golden of hue, wide in their strength" (III.61.2).

Like all the leaders of the Path, she is a destroyer of enemies. While the Aryan wakes in the dawn, the Panis, misers of Life and Light, sleep unawakening in the heart of the darkness where there are not her varied rays of knowledge. Like an armed hero she drives away our enemies and dispels the darkness like a charging war-horse. The daughter of heaven comes with the light driving away the enemy and all darkneses. And this Light is the light of the world of Swar, the luminous world that Surya Savitri shall create for us. For because she is divine Dawn of the luminous paths, vast with the Truth and bringing to us its bright world, therefore the illumined adore her with their thoughts. Removing, as it were, a woven robe the bride of the Lord of beatitude by her perfect works and her perfect enjoyment creates Swar and spreads wide in her glory from the ends of heaven over all the earth; she attains to a high-uplifted strength in heaven establishing the honey of the sweetness and the three luminous regions of that world are made to shine out by the delightful vision of this great Dawn.

Therefore cries the Rishi, "Arise, life and force have come to us, the darkness has departed, the Light arrives; she has made empty the path for the journey of the Sun; thither let us go where the gods shall carry forward our being beyond these limits" (I.113.16).

PUSHAN THE INCREASER

Since the divine work in us cannot be suddenly accomplished, the godhead cannot be created all at once, but only by a lumi-

nous development and constant nurture through the succession of the dawns, through the periodic revisitings of the illumining Sun, Surya the Sun-Power manifests himself in another form as Pushan, the Increaser. The root of this name means to increase, foster, nourish. The spiritual wealth coveted by the Rishis is one that thus increases "day by day", that is, in each return of this fostering Sun; increase or growth (*puṣṭi*) is a frequent object of their prayers. Pushan represents this aspect of the Surya-power. He is the "lord and master of plenitudes, lord of our growings, our comrade". Pushan is the enricher of our sacrifice. Vast Pushan shall advance our chariot by his energy; he shall become for the increase of our plenitudes. Pushan is described as himself a stream of the divine riches and a lavish heap of its substance. He is lord of the vast treasure of its joy and companion of our felicity.

The return of the night of ignorance which intervenes between the successive dawns is imaged as the loss of the radiant herds of the Sun frequently stolen from the seer by the Panis and sometimes as the loss of the Sun itself hidden by them again in their tenebrous cavern of the subconscious. The increase which Pushan gives depends on the recovery of these disappearing illuminations of the Truth. Therefore this god is associated with Indra the Power of divine Mind, his brother, friend, ally in battle, in their forceful recovery. He perfects and accomplishes our host that seeks for the herds so that they conquer and possess. "Let Pushan pursue after our luminous herds, let Pushan guard our war-horses, let Pushan conquer for us the plenitude. O Pushan, go after our cows.... Let Pushan hold his right hand over us in front; let him drive back to us that which we have lost" (VI. 54.5,6,10). So also he brings back the lost Surya. "O shining Pushan, bring to us, as if our lost herd, the God of the varied fullness of flame who upholds our heavens. Pushan finds the shining King who was hidden from us and concealed in the cave" (I.23.13,14). And we are told of the luminous goad which this resplendent deity bears, the goad that urges the thoughts of the soul and is the means of accomplishment of the herd of the radiant illuminations. What he gives to us is secure; for because he has the knowledge, he loses not the herd and is the guardian

of the world of our becoming. He has the variously ordaining and comprehensive no less than the complete unified vision of all our worlds and therefore he is our fosterer and increaser. He is the lord of our felicity who loses not our possession of knowledge and so long as we abide in the law of his workings we shall suffer no hurt nor diminution. The happy state of the soul that he gives removes from it all sin and evil and makes today and makes tomorrow for the building up of the whole godhead in our universal being.

Since Surya is the lord of the Knowledge, Pushan also is especially the knower and thinker and guardian of the shining thoughts of the seer — the keeper of the herds delighting in the thought who is immanent in the whole world and all-pervading fosters all the forms of creative knowledge. It is this Increaser who stirs and impels the minds of the illumined and is the means of accomplishment and perfection of their thoughts; he is the seer set in man the thinker, the comrade of his illumined mind who moves him upon the path. He manifests in us the thought which wins the Cow and the Horse and all the plenitude of the wealth. He is the friend of every thinker; he cherishes the thought in its increase as a lover cherishes his bride. The thoughts that seek the supreme felicity are the forces that the Increaser yokes to his car, they are the “unborn ones”¹ who take upon them the yoke of his chariot.

The image of the chariot, of the journey, of the path occurs constantly in association with Pushan because this growth which he gives is a journey towards the fullness of the Truth that lies beyond. The Path in the Veda is always the path of this Truth. Thus the Rishi prays to Pushan to become for us the charioteer of the Truth and the idea of the Vedic thought and knowledge and the idea of the Path are frequently interwoven with each other. Pushan is the lord of the Path whom we yoke as if a chariot for thought, for the winning of the plenitude; he distinguishes our paths so that the thoughts may be accomplished and perfected; he leads us on them by knowledge, forcefully teaching

¹ The word has the double meaning of goat and unborn. The words meaning sheep and goat are used with a covert sense in the Veda like that which means cow. Indra is called both the Ram and the Bull.

us, saying "thus it is and thus" so that we learn from him of the homes to which we travel; it is as the seer that he is the impeller of the horses of our chariots. Like Usha he makes for us happy paths of an easy going, — for he finds for us the will and strength, — and by his traversing of them rids us of evil. The wheel of his chariot comes not to harm, nor is there any trouble or suffering in its movement. There are indeed enemies on the way, but he shall slay these oppressors of our journey. "O Pushan, the wolf, the troubler of our bliss who teaches us evil, him smite from the Path. The adversary, the robber perverse of heart, drive him far from the road of our journeying. Set thy foot on the distressful force of whatsoever power of duality expresses evil in us" (I.42.2-4).

Thus beyond all the obstacles that cling to our wheels Pushan, the divine and luminous increaser of man's soul, shall lead us to the light and bliss which Surya Savitri creates. "The Life that is the life of all shall guard thee; Pushan shall guard thee in thy forward path in front, and where the doers of the good work are seated, where they have gone, there shall the divine Savitri set thee. Pushan knoweth all the regions and he shall lead us by the way which is freest from peril. Let the giver of felicity, the blazing god who has all the energies lead steadily in our front by his knowledge. Pushan has been born in thy forward travelling on the paths through earth and through heaven; for he moves in both the worlds which are made full of delight for us; here he ranges in his knowledge and he journeys beyond" (X.17.4-6).

SAVITRI THE CREATOR

The result of the procession of the shining dawns, of the divine returns of Surya, of the increasings of Pushan and his leading on the Path is summed up in the creation of Savitri the luminous Creator. It is the god Savitri who sets us there where the ancient doers of the Work have preceded us; that is the desirable flame and splendour of the divine Creator on which the seer has to meditate and towards which this god impels our thoughts, that

the bliss of the creative godhead on the forms of which our soul must meditate as it journeys towards it. It is the supreme creation in which the goddess undivided and infinite speaks out her Word and the all-ruling kings Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman; to that consummation the power of all these godheads turns with a united acceptance.

That divine word is the word of the Truth; for a super-conscious Truth lies concealed and is the basis of the infinite being which stands revealed on those higher altitudes of our ascension. What we now accept as life is the evil dream, the death that governs us because we live in a false knowledge, a limited and divided existence exposed to every devourer. That is not real life. For life we have to be able to look long upon the Sun; for life we have to be able to hold in our thought a knowledge and a word full of the consummate perception; we have to bring forward the Truth as an offering so that the luminous god with his golden hands full of the Light may rise high in our heavens and hear our word. We must choose and take into ourselves that supreme and vast state of this Mighty One who has the thought of the knowledge, he who creates for the gods the immortality and the highest enjoyment; we must widen out the cord of Savitri so that it shall release us into higher states of life made accessible to men and harmonised with their being. To hold that felicity we have to become free from sin and evil in the wideness and purity of Varuna, in the all-embracing harmony of Mitra, in the supreme creation of Savitri.

Then Savitri shall loose away from us, shall uncreate the suffering of the evil dream. For the seeker of the straightness he shall create an increasing wideness of his existence so that even with our incomplete knowledge we shall grow in our being towards the gods. By the godheads he will foster our knowledge and lead us towards the universal formation of them in the undivided consciousness of the infinite Aditi which we have chosen as our goal. All that we have done in our ignorance, in our divided and oppressed discernment of things, in our mere mortal becoming and humanity, against gods or men, he shall uncreate and make us free from the sin. For he is the creator of the Right, he is the creator who creates the Truth.

That Truth he shall create in a great wideness and force of our physical being, in a rich abundance of our mental and by its undiminishable vastness he shall uphold all the worlds of our existence. Thus in the working of Savitri whose creation is the Truth and of Mitra and Varuna the gods shall uphold in us its substance of varied light, the felicity of its energies and illuminations till all existence is that godhead of Savitri behind us and before, below as well as above, till we possess the far-extended life and have built up the universal form of our being, — the universal form which he creates for us when with hands of golden light, with the tongue that tastes the wine of sweetness he moves in the triple knowledge of the highest heaven of Truth, attains in the gods to the divine rhythm which he creates for his accomplished Law and takes up his abode in that golden strength of his, the Seer robed in light who first stretched out his two arms of knowledge and power to create the world. He who as Twashtri the Fashioner of things attended always by the male godheads and their female energies, powers of Purusha and powers of Prakriti, made and makes all things, shall as Savitri create for man the thinker born in a body that Truth and Immortality.

THE FOUR KINGS

The creation of Surya Savitri starts from the repeated risings of the divine Dawn and grows by the constant nourishing of her spiritual gifts and possessions through the work in us of Surya Pushan. But the actual formation, the perfected fullness depend on the birth and growth in us of all the gods, the children of Aditi, the All-Gods (*viśve devāḥ*) and especially of the four great luminous Kings, Varuna, Mitra, Bhaga, Aryaman. Indra and the Maruts and the Ribhus, Vayu, Agni, Soma and the Ashwins are indeed the principal agents; Vishnu, Rudra, Brahmanaspati, the future mighty Triad, preside over the indispensable conditions, — for the one paces out the vast framework of the inner worlds in which our soul-action takes place, the other in his wrath and might and violent beneficence forces onward the great evolution and smites the opponent and the recusant and

the ill-doer, and the third administers always the seed of the creative word from the profundities of the soul; so too Earth and Heaven and the divine Waters and the great goddesses and Twashtri the Fashioner of things on whom they attend, either provide the field or bring and shape the material; but over the utter creation, over its perfect vast space and pure texture, over the sweet and ordered harmony of its steps, over the illumined force and power of its fulfilment, over its rich, pure and abundant enjoyment and rapture the Sun-gods Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga cast the glory and protection of their divine gaze.

The sacred poems in which the All-Gods and the Adityas, the sons of the Infinite, and Aryaman, Mitra and Varuna are praised, — not the mere hymns of formal invocation to the sacrifice, — are among the most beautiful, solemn and profound that the imagination of man has conceived. The Adityas are described in formulas of an incomparable grandeur and sublimity. No mythic barbarian gods of cloud, sun and shower are these, no confused allegories of wonder-stricken savages, but the objects of worship to men far more inwardly civilised and profound in self-knowledge than ourselves. They may not have yoked the lightning to their chariots, nor weighed sun and star, nor materialised all the destructive forces in Nature to aid them in massacre and domination, but they had measured and fathomed all the heavens and earths within us, they had cast their plummet into the inconscient and the subconscious and the superconscient; they had read the riddle of death and found the secret of immortality; they had sought for and discovered the One and known and worshipped Him in the glories of His light and purity and wisdom and power. These were their gods, as great and deep conceptions as ever informed the esoteric doctrine of the Egyptians or inspired the men of an older primitive Greece, the fathers of knowledge who founded the mystic rites of Orpheus or the secret initiation of Eleusis. But over it all there was the "Aryan light", a confidence and joy and a happy, equal friendliness with the Gods which the Aryan brought with him into the world, free from the sombre shadows that fell upon Egypt from contact with the older races, Sons of deep-brooding Earth. These claimed

Heaven as their father and their seers had delivered his Sun out of our material darkness.

The self-luminous One is the goal of the Aryan-minded; therefore the seers worshipped him in the image of the Sun. One existent, him have the seers called by various names, Indra, Agni, Yama, Matarishwan. The phrases "That One", "That Truth",¹ occur constantly in the Veda in connection with the Highest and with the image of His workings here, the Sun. In one sublime and mystic chant the refrain returns perpetually, "The vast mightiness of the Gods, — That One" (III.55.1). There is the goal of that journey of the Sun by the path of the Truth which we have seen to be also the journey of the awakened and illumined soul. "Concealed by this truth is that Truth of you," of Mitra and Varuna, "where they unyoke the horses of the Sun. The ten hundreds meet there together, — That One, I have seen the supreme God of the embodied gods" (V.62.1). But in itself the One is timeless and our mind and being exist in Time. "It is neither today nor tomorrow; who knoweth That which is transcendent? When it is approached, it vanishes from us" (I.170.1). Therefore we have to grow towards it by giving birth to the gods in ourselves,² increasing their strong and radiant forms, building up their divine bodies, and this new birth and self-building is the true nature of the sacrifice, — the sacrifice through which there is the awakening of our consciousness to immortality.³

The sons of the Infinite have a twofold birth. They are born above in the divine Truth as creators of the worlds and guardians of the divine Law; they are born also here in the world itself and in man as cosmic and human powers of the Divine. In the visible world they are the male and female powers and energies of the universe and it is this external aspect of them as gods of the Sun, Fire, Air, Waters, Earth, Ether, the conscious-forces ever present in material being which gives us the external or psycho-physical side of the Aryan worship. The antique view of the world as a psycho-physical and not merely a material

¹ *Tad ekam, tat satyam* — phrases always carefully misinterpreted by the commentators.

² *Devavṛti, devatāti.*

³ *Amṛtasya cetanam,* (I.170.4).

reality is at the root of the ancient ideas about the efficacy of the *mantra* and the relation of the gods to the external life of man; hence the force of prayer, worship, sacrifice for material ends; hence the use of them for worldly life and in so-called magic rites which comes out prominently in the Atharva Veda and is behind much of the symbolism of the Brahmanas.¹ But in man himself the gods are conscious psychological powers. "Will-powers, they do the works of will; they are the thinkings in our hearts; they are the lords of delight who take delight; they travel in all the directions of the thought." Without them the soul of man cannot distinguish its right nor its left, what is in front of it nor what is behind, the things of foolishness or the things of wisdom; only if led by them can it reach and enjoy "the fearless Light". For this reason Dawn is addressed "O thou who art human and divine" and the gods constantly described as the "Men" or human powers (*māmuṣāḥ, narāḥ*); they are our "luminous seers", "our heroes", "our lords of plenitude". They conduct the sacrifice in their human capacity (*manuṣvat*) as well as receive it in their high divine being. Agni is the priest of the oblation, Brihaspati the priest of the word. In this sense Agni is said to be born from the heart of man; all the gods are thus born by the sacrifice, grow and out of their human action assume their divine bodies. Soma, the wine of the world-delight, rushing through the mind which is its "luminous wide-extended" strainer of purification, cleansed there by the ten sisters, pours forth giving birth to the gods.

But the nature of these inner powers is always divine and therefore their tendency is upward to Light and immortality and infinity. They are "the Sons of the Infinite, one in their will and work, pure, purified in the streams, free from crookedness, free from defect, unhurt in their being. Wide, profound, unconquered, conquering, with many organs of vision, they behold within the crooked things and the perfect; all is near to the Kings, even the things that are highest. Sons of the Infinite, they dwell in the movement of the world and uphold it; gods, they are the guardians of all that becomes as universe; far-thoughted, full of

¹ This is the real secret of the external sense of Veda which is all that the modern scholars have seen and so imperfectly understood. Even the exoteric religion was much more than a mere Nature worship.

the Truth, they guard the Might" (II.27.2-4). They are kings of the universe and of man and of all its peoples (*nrpati*, *višpati*), self-emperors, world-emperors, not as the Titans strive to be in the falsehood and the division, but because they are kings of the Truth. For their mother is Aditi "in whom there is no duality", Aditi "the luminous undivided who upholds the divine habitation that is of the world of Light" and to her her sons "cleave ever waking". They are "most straight" in their being, will, thought, delight, action, movement, they are "thinkers of the Truth whose law of nature is the law of the Truth", they are "seers and hearers of the Truth". They are "charioteers of the Truth, whose seat is in its mansions, purified in discernment, unconquerable, the Men wide-visioned". They are the "Immortals who know the Truth". Thus free from the falsehood and the crookedness, these inner divinities rise in us to their natural level, home, plane, world. "Of a double birth they are true in their being and lay hold on the Truth, very vast and one in the Light and are possessed of its luminous world."

In this upward movement they cleave away from us the evil and the ignorance. These are they who "cross beyond into the sinlessness and the undivided existence". Therefore they are "the gods who deliver". For the enemy, the assailant, the doer of harm their knowledge becomes as if snares widespread, for to him light is a cause of blindness, the divine movement of good an occasion of evil and a stumbling-block; but the soul of the Aryan seer passes beyond these dangers like a mare hastening with a chariot. In the leading of the gods he avoids all stumblings into evil like so many pitfalls. Aditi, Mitra and Varuna forgive him whatever sin he may have committed against their vast oneness, purity, harmony so that he can hope to enjoy the wide and fearless Light and the long nights shall not come upon him. That the Vedic gods are no mere physical Nature-powers, but the psychic conscious forces behind and within all cosmic things, is made clear enough by the connection between their cosmic character and this deliverance from sin and falsehood, "Since ye are they who rule over the world by the power of their mind of knowledge, thinkers of all that is stable and mobile, therefore, O gods, carry us beyond the sin of that which we have done and

that which we have not done to the felicity” (X.63.8).

There is always the image of the path and the journey, the Path of the Truth on which we are led forward by a divine leading. “O Sons of the Infinite, effect for us the fearless peace, make us good paths of an easy going to the felicity” (X.63.7). “Easy of going is your path, O Aryaman, O Mitra, it is thornless, O Varuna, and perfect” (II.27.6). “They whom the Sons of Infinity lead with good leadings pass beyond all sin and evil to the felicity” (X.63.13). Always that goal is the felicity, the wide bliss and peace, the unbroken Light, the vast Truth, the Immortality. “O ye gods, put far from us the hostile (dividing) force, give us wide peace for the felicity” (X.63.12). “The Sons of Infinity give us the imperishable Light.” “Create the Light, O ye minds of knowledge of our sacrifice.” “That increasing birth of you we would know today, O Sons of the Infinite, which creates, O Aryaman, even in this world of fear the beatitude.” For it is the “fearless Light” that is created, where there is no peril of death, sin, suffering, ignorance, — the light of the undivided, infinite, immortal, rapturous Soul of things. For “these are the rapturous lords of Immortality, even Aryaman and Mitra and Varuna all-pervading”.

Still, it is in the image of Swar, the world of the divine Truth that the goal is concretely figured. “Let us reach,” is the aspiration, “the Light that is of Swar, the Light which none can tear asunder.” Swar is the great, inviolable birth of Mitra, Varuna, Aryaman which is contained in the luminous heavens of the soul. The all-ruling Kings, because they grow perfectly and there is no crookedness in them, hold our habitation in heaven. That is the triple world in which the uplifted consciousness of man reflects the three divine principles of being, its infinite existence, its infinite conscious-force, its infinite bliss.¹ “Three earths they hold, three heavens, three workings of these gods in the Knowledge within; by the Truth, O Sons of the Infinite, great is that vastness of yours, O Aryaman, O Mitra, O Varuna, great and beautiful. Three heavenly worlds of light they hold, the gods golden-shining who are pure and purified in the streams; sleepless, unconquerable they close not their lids, they express the

¹ *Tridhātu.*

wideness to the mortal who is straight" (II.27.8,9). These all-purifying streams are those of the rain, the abundance, the rivers of the heaven of Truth. "Charioted in light are they, aggressive in knowledge, sinless and they clothe themselves in the rain and abundance of heaven for the felicity" (X.63.4). By the pouring out of that abundance they prepare our souls to ascend to its source, the higher ocean from which the luminous waters descend.

It will be seen how largely the great triad, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman figure in the hymns to the All-Gods and to the Sons of the Infinite Mother. With Bhaga as a consummating fourth they dominate the thought of the Rishis in their culminant aspiration to the mass and apex of the perfect truth and infinity. This pre-eminence they owe to their particular character and functions which appear, not often indeed with any great prominence, but as a background to their common action, their united nature of light, their undifferentiated achievement. For they have one light, one work, they perfect in us one indivisible Truth; and it is this union of all the godheads in our consenting universality¹ that is the objective of the Vedic thought in these Aditya hymns. Still the union comes about by a combination of their powers and therefore each has in it his own proper nature and function. That of the Four is to build up the whole divine state into its perfection by the natural interaction of its four essential elements. The Divine is existence all-embracing, infinite and pure; Varuna brings to us the infinite oceanic space of the divine soul and its ethereal, elemental purity. The Divine is boundless consciousness, perfect in knowledge, pure and therefore luminously right in its discernment of things, perfectly harmonious and happy in its concordance of their law and nature; Mitra brings us this light and harmony, this right distinction and relation and friendly concord, the happy laws of the liberated soul concordant with itself and the Truth in all its rich thought, shining actions and thousandfold enjoyment. The Divine is in its own being pure and perfect power and in us the eternal upward tendency in things to their source and truth; Aryaman brings to us this mighty strength and perfectly-guided happy inner upsurging.

¹ *Vaiśvadevyam.*

The Divine is the pure, the faultless, the all-embracing, the untroubled ecstasy that enjoys its own infinite being and enjoys equally all that it creates within itself; Bhaga gives us sovereignly that ecstasy of the liberated soul, its free and unfallen possession of itself and the world.

This quaternary is practically the later essential trinity of Sachchidananda, — Existence, Consciousness, Bliss with self-awareness and self-force, Chit and Tapas, for double terms of Consciousness; but it is here translated into its cosmic terms and equivalents. Varuna the King has his foundation in the all-pervading purity of Sat; Mitra the Happy and the Mighty, most beloved of the Gods, in the all-uniting light of Chit; many-charioted Aryaman in the movement and all-discerning force of Tapas; Bhaga in the all-embracing joy of Ananda. Yet as all these things form one in the realised godhead, as each element of the trinity contains the others in itself and none of them can exist separately from the rest, therefore each of the Four also possesses by force of his own essential quality every general attribute of his brothers. For this reason if we do not read the Veda as carefully as it was written, we shall miss its distinctions and see only the indistinguishable common functions of these luminous Kings, — as indeed throughout the hymns the unity in difference of all the gods makes it difficult for the mind not accustomed to the subtleties of psychological truth to find in the Vedic divinities anything but a confused mass of common or interchangeable attributes. But the distinctions are there and have as great a force and importance as in the Greek and Egyptian symbolism. Each god contains in himself all the others, but remains still himself in his peculiar function.

This nature of the difference between the Four explains their varying prominence in the Veda. Varuna is easily the first and most considerable of them all, for realisation of infinite existence is the basis of the Vedic perfection: the wideness and purity of the divine being once attained, all the rest comes inevitably contained in it as possession and power and attribute. Mitra is seldom hymned except in union with Varuna or else as a name and form of the other gods, — oftenest of the cosmic worker Agni, — when arriving in their action to the harmony and the light they

reveal in themselves the divine Friend. To the twin-power Mitra-Varuna the greater number of the hymns to the luminous Kings are addressed, a certain number to Varuna separately or to Varuna-Indra, one to Mitra, two or three to Bhaga, none at all to Aryaman. For the infinite wideness and purity being founded, the luminous harmony of the workings of the gods by the correlated laws of the different planes of our being from the spiritual to the material has to be realised in that continent and on that foundation; and this is the combination Mitra-Varuna. The power of Aryaman is hardly viewed as an independent principle, — just as force in the world is only a manifestation, movement or dynamic value of existence, is only a working out, a liberation of consciousness, of knowledge, of the inherent Truth of things into stuff of energy and form of effect, or is only the effective term of the self-discovering and self-seizing movement by which Being and Consciousness realise themselves as Bliss. Therefore Aryaman is invoked always in conjunction with Aditi or Varuna or Mitra or in the great realising Triad or in the realised quaternary or in the general invocation of the All-Gods and the Adityas.

Bhaga on the other hand is the crown of our movement to the possession of the hidden divine Truth of our existence; for the essence of that Truth is beatitude. Bhaga is Savitri himself; the All-Enjoyer is the Creator fulfilled in the divine purpose of his creation. Therefore he is the result more than the agent, or else the last agent of all, the possessor more than the giver of our spiritual plenitude.



The hymn of the Rishi Vamadeva to the All-Gods shows with a clear lucidity the high-aspiring hope which these Vedic deities were invoked to favour and bring to a happy culmination:

“Who of you is our deliverer? who our defender? O Earth and Heaven, free from division, deliver us; rescue, O Mitra, O Varuna, from the mortality that is too strong for us! Who of you, O gods, confirms for us the supreme good in the march of the sacrifice? They who illumine our high original seats, they

who limitless in knowledge dawn out putting away our darkness, it is they, imperishable all-ordainers, who order them for us; thinkers out of the Truth, they shine forth in light, achievers. I seek for my companion by the words illumining the flowing river Aditi, she who is the divine felicity. O Night and Dawn unconquerable, so do ye make it that both the Days shall utterly protect us. Aryaman and Varuna distinguish the Path, and Agni lord of the impulsion, the path of the happy goal. O Indra and Vishnu, affirmed, extend to us perfectly the peace in which are the Powers, the mighty protection. I embrace the increasings of Parvata and of the Maruts and of Bhaga, our divine deliverer. May the master of things protect us from the sin of the world and Mitra keep us far from the sin against Mitra. Now shall one affirm the goddesses Earth and Heaven with the Dragon of the foundation by all the things desired that we must obtain; as if to possess that Ocean by their wide ranging they have uncovered the (hidden) rivers that are voiceful with the burning Light. May goddess Aditi with the gods protect us, may the divine Deliverer deliver us, unremitting; let us not diminish the foundation of Mitra and Varuna and the high level of Agni. Agni is the lord of that vast substance of riches and perfected enjoyment; he lavishes on us those abundances. O Dawn, voice of the Truth, queen of plenitude, bring to us the many desirable boons, thou who hast in thee all their plenty. To that goal may Savitri, Bhaga, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Indra, move aright for us with riches of our felicity" (IV.55).

VARUNA

We have the word Varuna from a root which means to surround, cover or pervade. From these significances of the name there emerged before the poetic eye of the ancient mystics the images that are our nearest concrete representation of the Infinite. They saw God as a highest covering Heaven, felt divine existence like an encompassing ocean, lived in its boundless presence as in a pure and pervading ether. Varuna is this highest heaven, this soul-surrounding ocean, this ethereal possession and infinite pervasion.

The same root had given them an appellation for the dark Coverer, the adversary Vritra; for to obstruct and resist, screen or hedge, besiege and hem in are also some of its many kindred senses. But dark Vritra is the thick cloud and the enveloping shadow. His knowledge — for he too has a knowledge, a Maya, — is the sense of limited being and the hiding away in subconscious Night all the rest of the rich and vast existence that should be ours, and for this negation and contrary power of creative knowledge he stands up stiffly against the Gods, — his undivine right against the divine right of God and man. Varuna by his wide being and ample vision rolls back these limits; surrounding us with light his possession reveals what dark Vritra's obsession had withheld and obscured. His godhead is the form or spiritual image of an embracing and illuminating Infinity.

For this reason the physical figure of Varuna is much less definite than the burning Fire or the radiant Sun or the luminous Dawn. The old commentators thought strangely enough that he was the God of Night. In the Puranas he is the deity of the waters and his noose, which in the Veda never pretends to be anything more than a psychological metaphor, has become the violent lasso of the ocean-god. European scholars have identified him with the Greek Uranus and perceiving something of his original ethereal nature have supposed a conceptual transference, a sort of fall or even a deposition from azure above to azure below. Indra, perhaps, becoming master of the skies and king of the gods, Varuna the original King had to be satisfied with the dominion of the waters. If we understand the symbolic method of the mystics, we shall see that these suppositions are unnecessary. Their method is to combine various ideas and images contained together in a general conception which gives all the links. So, Varuna of the Veda is at once King, — not of the heavens as such, for that is Dyaushpita, nor of the heavens of light, for that is Indra, — but of the highest covering ether and all oceans. All expanses are Varuna's; every infinity is his property and estate.

Ether and ocean meet together and become one in the mystic conception; and the origin of this unity is not far to seek. The ancient concept of creation, held all over the world from the Himalayas to the Andes, conceived of the stuff of things as a

formless expanse of waters covered over in the beginning by darkness out of which day and night and heaven and earth and all worlds have emerged. "Darkness," says the Hebrew Genesis, "was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved on the waters." By the word he divided the waters with Heaven, the firmament; so that now there are two waters, one earthly below the firmament, the other heavenly above. The mystics seized on this universal belief or this universal image and crowded into it their opulent psychological values. Instead of one firmament they saw two, the earthly and the celestial; instead of two oceans, three spread out before their unsealed vision.

What they saw, was what man will ever see when he changes the physical for the psychical vision of Nature and the world. Below them they looked down on an unfathomable night and surging obscurity, darkness hidden within darkness, the inconscient waters from which by the mighty energy of the One their existence had arisen. Above them they beheld a remote ocean of light and sweetness, a highest ether, the supreme step of all-blissful Vishnu to which their attracted being must ascend. One of these was the dense dark ether, an unformed material inconscient Non-existence; the other a luminous ethereal All-conscient and the absolute of existence. These two were the dark and the shining extension of the One.

Between these two unknown infinities, infinite potential zero and infinite plenary x , they saw around them, before their eyes, below, above, a third sea of ever-developing conscious being, a sort of boundless wave, which they spoke of by a hardy metaphor as climbing up or flowing up beyond heaven to the supreme seas. It is this perilous ocean which we have to navigate. There Bhujyu, the seeker of enjoyment, son of King Tugra the Forceful-Hastening, was about to sink, cast in by his false companions, souls of an evil movement; but the marvellous chariot-ship of the Ashwins came hastening to his succour. Varuna must teach with his vast Right and Truth our limited will and judgment, if we would escape such perils: we must embark in no human galley, but "ascend the divine ship, the blameless and well-oared vessel that sinketh not, by which may we voyage safe beyond sin and evil". Into this intermediate ocean, *above* our earth,

we have seen the sun of Knowledge rise out of the inconscient cave and voyage led by the seers. For this too is an ocean-ether. Or, let us say, it is a tier of ethers. To follow the Vedic imagery we must suppose ocean superimposed upon ocean. This world is a series of heights that are depths and a mutual involution and evolution of vastnesses that have no ending: ether below rises to ever more luminous ether above, every stratum of consciousness rests upon many inferior and aspires to many higher strata.

But beyond our farthest skies in the supreme ocean of light and expanse of the highest superconscient ether our heaven awaits us in a Truth hidden by lesser truth, even as in the inconscient Night darkness is enwrapped and protected by an ever greater darkness. That is the truth of King Varuna. Thither the Dawns shining arise, the rivers travel and the Sun unyokes there the horses of his chariot. And Varuna contains, sees, governs all this in his vast being and by his illimitable knowledge. All these oceans are his, even to the Inconscient and its nights so opposite in their seeming to his nature which is that of the extended radiance of one eternal, vast sun of happy light and truth. Day and Night, light and darkness are symbols in his infinity. "Luminous Varuna has embraced the nights; he holds the Dawns within him by his creative knowledge; visioned, he is around every object."

From this idea of the oceans arose naturally the psychological concept of the Vedic rivers. These rivers are everywhere. They are the waters which flow down from the mountain and ascend the mind ranging through and illuminating with their flow the dark subconscious secrets of Vritra; they are the mighty ones of Heaven whom Indra brings down on the Earth; they are the streams of the Truth; they are the rain from its luminous heavens; they are the seven eternal sisters and companions; they are the divine waters who have knowledge. They descend upon the earth, they rise from the ocean, they flow to the ocean, they break out from the doors of the Panis, they ascend to the supreme seas.

Oceanic Varuna is king of all these waters. "In the uprising of the rivers," it is said, "he is a brother of seven sisters, he is in

their middle" (VIII.41.2). And another Rishi has sung, "In the rivers Varuna is seated upholding the law of his works, perfect in will for empire" (I.25.10). Vasishta speaks with a more explicit crowding of psychological suggestions, of "the divine, pure and purifying waters, honey-pouring, in the midst of whom King Varuna marches looking down on the truth and the falsehood in creatures" (VII.49.3). Varuna too, like Indra with whom he is often associated, releases the waters; sped from his mighty hands they too, like him, become all-pervading and flow to a limitless goal. "The Son of Infinity the wide upholder, has loosed them forth everywhere; the rivers journey to the truth of Varuna" (II.28.4).

Not only the goal, the march too is his. "Varuna of the puissance and the thousandfold vision beholds the goal of these rivers; he is the king of the kingdoms, he is the form of the rivers, for him is a strength supreme and universal." His oceanic movement envelops all the kingdoms of being and ascends to the Paradise of the heaven of heavens. "He is the hidden ocean," it is said, "and he climbs passing beyond heaven; when he has set the sacrificial word in these dawns, then with his luminous foot he tramples asunder illusions and ascends to Paradise" (VIII.41.8). Varuna, we see, is the oceanic surge of the hidden Divine as he rises, progressively manifested, to his own infinite wideness and ecstasy in the soul of the god-liberated seer.

The illusions which he shatters with his tread are the false formations of the Lords of Evil. Varuna, because he is this ether of divine Truth and ocean of divine being, is what no personified physical sea or sky could ever become, the pure and majestic King who strikes down evil and delivers from sin. Sin is a violation of the purity of the divine Right and Truth; its reaction is the wrath of the Pure and Puissant. Against those who like the Sons of Darkness serve self-will and ignorance, the king of the divine Law hurls his weapons; the cord descends upon them; they fall into the snare of Varuna. But those who seek after the Truth with sacrifice are delivered from bondage to sin like a calf released from the rope or a victim set free from the slaying-post. The Rishis deprecate frequently the retributive violence of Varuna and pray to him to deliver them from sin and its wages,

death. "Repel the Destruction away from us," they cry, "loose from us even the sin that we have done;" or, always with the same sense of a chain and a bondage, "Cleave away sin from me like a cord."

The crude conception of sin as a result of natural wickedness found no place in the thought of these deep thinkers and subtle psychologists. What they perceived was a great insistent force of Ignorance; either a non-perception of right and truth in the mind or a non-seizing of it in the will, or an inability of the life-instincts and desires to follow after it, or the sheer inefficiency of the physical being to rise to the greatness of the divine law. Vasishtha cries to mighty Varuna in a passionate litany, "It is from poverty of the will that we have gone contrary to thee, O pure and puissant One; be gracious to us, have grace. Thirst found thy adorer though he stood in the middle of the waters; be gracious, O puissant Lord, have grace. Whatever this be, O Varuna, that we human beings act, a treason against the Divine Birth, wheresoever by the Ignorance we have put away thy laws, smite us not for that sin, O God" (VII.89.3-5).

Ignorance, this matrix of sin, has in its substantial effect the appearance of a triple cord of limited mind, inefficient life, obscure physical animality, the three ropes with which the Rishi Shunahshepa in the parable was bound as a victim to the sacrificial post. The whole result is a struggling or inert poverty of being; it is the meagreness of a mortal undelight and the insufficiency of a being that collapses at every moment towards death. When Varuna the Mighty comes and sunders this threefold restraint, we are freed towards riches and immortality. Uplifted, the real man arises to his true kingship in the undivided being. The upper cord flies upward releasing the wings of the Soul into superconscient heights; the middle cord parts both ways and all ways, the constrained life breaking out into a happy breadth of existence; the lower cord collapses downward taking with it the alloy of our physical being to disappear and be dissolved in the stuff of the Inconscient. This liberation is the purport of the parable of Shunahshepa and his two great hymns to Varuna.

As ignorance or falsehood in the being — the Veda prefers usually the less abstract phrase — is the cause of wrong and

suffering, so Knowledge or Truth is the agent which purifies and liberates. It is because of the eye with which he sees, — the luminous symbolic Sun, — that Varuna is the purifier. And unless he governs the will and teaches the judgment while the divine Thought is being learned, we cannot ascend on to the ship of the gods to be borne by it over the life-ocean beyond all this stumbling and evil. Dwelling in us as the thinker with knowledge Varuna cleaves away the sin that we have committed; he abolishes by his royal power our debts of the Ignorance. Or, using a different image, the Veda tells us that this King has in his service a thousand physicians; it is by their healing of our mental and moral infirmities that we get a secure foundation in Varuna's wide and deep right-mindedness.¹

The Kingship of great Varuna is an unbounded empire over all being. He is a mighty world-ruler, an emperor, *samrāṭ*. His epithets and descriptions are those which a mind at once religious and philosophic could apply with little or no change to the supreme and universal Godhead. He is the vastness and the multiplicity; among his usual epithets are vast Varuna, abundant Varuna, Varuna of whom wideness is the habitation, Varuna of many births.² But his puissant being is not only a universal wideness; it is a universal force and might. The Veda says of him in words that both have an outward and an inward significance: "Thy force and might and passion neither these Birds in their travelling can attain, nor these Waters ranging sleeplessly, nor they who hedge in the hugeness of the wind" (I.24.6). It is a force of universal existence which is active around and in all that lives. Behind this vast universality of force and being there watches and acts a vast universality of knowledge. The epithet of kingship is constantly coupled with the epithet of seerhood, not otiosely but in the strong, pregnant antique style. Varuna has a manifold energy, — the hero's, and wide expression, — the thinker's; he comes to us as a godhead of the glory of force and in the same movement we find in him a soul of wide vision.

The full significance of this constant coupling of epithets appears in the double character of his sovereignty; he is *svarāṭ*

¹ I.24.9. ² *Viśvāyu* (IV.42.1).

and *samrāt*, self-ruler and emperor. They are the two faces of Aryan kingship. In man they are a royalty of thought and action and the plenitude of wisdom and will; the King-Sage, the Hero-Thinker. In the Godhead, in Varuna “almighty, omniscient, thousand-visioned, whose form is the Truth”, they lift us up to supreme and universal principles; we see revealed a divine and eternal majesty, the plenitude of consciousness and the plenitude of Force, Wisdom omnipotent, Power omniscient, Law justified, Truth fulfilled.

Varuna, the Vedic symbol of this grandiose conception, is described finely as a vast thinker and guardian of the Truth. In him, it is said, all wisdoms are lodged and gathered up into their nodus; he is the divine Seer who nurtures the seer-knowings of man as if heaven were increasing its form. We find here the key to the symbol of the luminous cows. For it is said of him that, upholder of the worlds, he knows the hidden names of these shining ones and the thoughts of the seers go beyond like cows to the pastures desiring the wide-visioned. It is said of him too that he guards for the Maruts, greatened in knowledge, the thoughts of men like the cows of a herd.

That is the side of thought; there are parallel descriptions for the side of action. Great Varuna is the continent and nodus of the world's uplifted puissances no less than of its arising thoughts. The unconquered workings that fall not from the Truth are established in him as upon a mountain. Because he thus knows the things that are transcendent, he is able to cast his majestic eye of sovereignty upon our existence and see there “the things that are done and those that remain to be done” (I.25.11). The things that remain to be done — and also to be known. The wisdom of Varuna shapes in us the divine word which, inspired, intuitive, opens the doors to new knowledge. “We desire him,” cries the Rishi, “as the finder of the Path because he unveils the thought by the heart; let new truth be born.” For this King is no whirler of a brute and stupid wheel; his are not the unfruitful cycles of a meaningless Law. There is a Path; there is a constant progress; there is a goal.

Varuna is the leader on this path. “Perfect in will,” cries Shunahshepa, “let the Son of Infinity make us by the good path

and carry our life forward. Varuna puts on his golden robe of light and his scouts are all around" (I.25.12,13). These detect the ambushed foes of the Light, the piercers of our hearts — who would prevent, it is to be supposed, the unveiling of the Truth-thought by the heart. For this journey which we saw as a march of the waters, we see also as a journey of the sun with the all-wise and all-powerful King for its Guide. In the vast, where there is no foundation, Varuna has built a high pyramid of the fuel of sacrifice for the fire that must be the blazing material of a divine Sun. "Its rays are directed downward, their foundation is above; let their perceptions of knowledge be established in us within. King Varuna has made a wide path for the Sun to follow; where there is no footing he has made places for him to set his feet. He shall make manifest too those who pierce the heart" (I.24.7,8). His purity is a great devourer of the hurters of the soul.

The Path is a constant making and building of new truth, new powers, higher realisations, new worlds. All heights to which we can climb from the basis of our physical existence are described in symbolic figure as mountain summits upon the earth and Varuna of the vision holds them all in himself. World after world is reached as level and ever higher level of a great mountain; the voyager in the forward march of Varuna is said to lay his grasp on all things that are born in all the statuses. But his final goal must be the highest triple world of the Deva. "Three delightful Dawns increase according to the law of his workings. He of the all-seeing wisdom dwells in three 'white-shining earths; three are the higher worlds of Varuna whence he rules over the harmonies of seven and seven. He is the builder of the original seat, 'That Truth' of Varuna; and he is the guardian and the mover" (VIII.41.9,10).

In sum then, Varuna is the ethereal, oceanic, infinite King of wide being, wide knowledge and wide might, a manifestation of the one God's active omniscience and omnipotence, a mighty guardian of the Truth, punisher and healer, Lord of the noose and Releaser from the cords, who leads thought and action towards the vast light and power of a remote and high-uplifted Truth. Varuna is the King of all kingdoms and of all divine and mortal beings; earth and heaven and every world are only his provinces.

MITRA

If the purity, infinity, strong royalty of Varuna are the grand framework and majestic substance of the divine being, Mitra is its beauty and perfection. To be infinite, pure, a king over oneself and a master-soul must be the nature of the divine man because so he shares in the nature of God. But the Vedic ideal is not satisfied simply with a large, unfulfilled plan of the divine image. There must be noble and rich contents in this vast continent; the many-roomed tenement of our being contained in Varuna has to be ordered by Mitra in the right harmony of its utility and its equipment.

For the godhead is a plenitude as well as an infinity; Varuna is an ocean no less than an ethereal heaven. Pure and subtle as the ether, his strong substance is yet no serene void or easy vague of inactive peace, but rather we have seen in it a surging march of thought and action; he has been described to us as a nodus in which all wisdom is upgathered and a hill upon which the original, unfallen workings of the gods are supported. King Varuna is one who sleeps not, but is awake and mighty forever, eternally an effective force and worker for the Truth and the Right. Still he acts as the guardian of the Truth rather than constitutes it, or constitutes rather through the action of other godheads who avail themselves of his wideness and surging force. He keeps, drives even the shining herds, but does not assemble them in the pastures, an upholder of our powers and remover of obstacles and enemies much more than a builder of our parts.

Who then gathers knowledge into this nodus or links divine action in this sustainer of works? Mitra is the harmoniser, Mitra the builder, Mitra the constituent Light, Mitra the god who effects the right unity of which Varuna is the substance and the infinitely self-enlarging periphery. These two Kings are complementary to each other in their nature and their divine works. In them we find and by them we gain harmony in largeness: we see in the Godhead and increase in ourselves purity without defect basing love faultless in wisdom. Therefore these two are a great duo of the self-fulfilling godhead and the Vedic word calls them together to a vaster and vaster sacrifice to which they arrive as the

inseparable builders of an increasing Truth. Madhuchchhandas gives us the keynote of their united divinity. "Mitra I call, the pure in judgment, and Varuna, devourer of the foe. By Truth, Mitra and Varuna, Truth-increasers who get to the touch of Truth, you attain to a vast working of the will. Seers, dwellers in the wideness, born with many births they uphold the judgment at its works" (I.2.7-9).

The name Mitra comes from a root which meant originally to contain with compression and so to embrace and has given us the ordinary Sanskrit word for friend, *mitra*, as well as the archaic Vedic word for bliss, *mayas*. Upon the current sense of the word *mitra*, the Friend, the Vedic poets continually rely for their covert key to the psychological function of this apparent sungod. When the other deities and especially the brilliant Agni are spoken of as helpful friends to the human sacrificer, they are said to be Mitra, or to be like Mitra, or to become Mitra, — as we should now say, the divine Will-force, or whatever other power and personality of the godhead, reveals itself eventually as the divine Love. Therefore we must suppose that to these symbolists Mitra was essentially the Lord of Love, a divine friend, a kindly helper of men and immortals. The Veda speaks of him as the most beloved of the gods.

The Vedic seers looked at Love from above, from its source and root and saw it and received it in their humanity as an outflowing of the divine Delight. The Taittiriya Upanishad expounding this spiritual and cosmic bliss of the godhead, Vedantic Ananda, Vedic Mayas, says of it, "Love is its head." But the word it chooses for Love, *priyam*, means properly the delightfulness of the objects of the soul's inner pleasure and satisfaction. The Vedic singers used the same psychology. They couple *mayas* and *prayas*, — *mayas*, the principle of inner felicity independent of all objects, *prayas*, its outflowing as the delight and pleasure of the soul in objects and beings. The Vedic happiness is this divine felicity which brings with it the boon of a pure possession and sinless pleasure in all things founded upon the unfailing touch of the Truth and Right in the freedom of a large universality.

Mitra is the most beloved of the gods because he brings

within our reach this divine enjoyment and leads us to this perfect happiness. Varuna makes directly for strength; we discover a force and a will vast in purity; Aryaman the Aspirer is secured in the amplitude of his might by Varuna's infinity; he does his large works and effects his great movement by the power of Varuna's universality. Mitra makes directly for bliss, — Bhaga the Enjoyer is established in a blameless possession and divine enjoyment by the all-reconciling harmony of Mitra, by his purifying light of right discernment, his firmly-basing law. Therefore it is said of Mitra that all perfected souls adhere or are firmly fixed "to the bliss of this Beloved in whom there is no hurt", for in him there is no sin or wound or falling. All mortal delight has its mortal danger; but the immortal light and law secures the soul of man in a fearless joy. That mortal, says Vishwamitra (III. 59.2), who learns by Mitra's law, the law of this Son of Infinity, is possessed of *prayas*, the soul's satisfaction in its objects; such a soul cannot be slain, nor overcome, nor can any evil take possession of it from near or from afar. For Mitra fashions in gods and men impulsions whose action spontaneously fulfils all the soul's seekings.

That happy freedom of all-possession comes to us out of this godhead's universality and his reconciling luminous embrace of things: Mitra's is the principle of harmony by which the manifold workings of the Truth agree together in a perfectly wedded union. The root of the name means both to embrace and to contain and hold and, again, to build or form in the sense of linking together the parts or materials of a whole. Adorable Mitra is born in us as a blissful ordainer of things and a king full of might. Mitra holds up heaven and earth and looks sleeplessly upon the worlds and the peoples, and his vigilant and perfect ordinances create in us a happy rightness of mind and feeling, — *sumati*, a state of grace, we might almost say, — which becomes for us an unhurt abiding-place. "Free from all undelightfulness," says the Vedic verse, "rejoicing with rapture in the goddess of the Word, bowing the knee in the wideness of earth, may we attain to our abiding-place in the law of working of Mitra, son of Infinity, and dwell in his grace" (III.59.3). It is when Agni becomes Mitra, when the divine Will realises the divine

Love that, in the Vedic image, the Lord and his Spouse agree in their mansion.

The well-accorded happiness of the Truth is Mitra's law of working; for it is upon Truth and divine Knowledge that this harmony and perfect temperament are founded; they are formed, secured and guarded by the Maya of Mitra and Varuna. That well-known word comes from the same root as Mitra. Maya is the comprehending, measuring, forming Knowledge which whether divine or undivine, secure in the undivided being of Aditi or labouring in the divided being of Diti, builds up the whole scene, environment, confines and defines the whole condition, law and working of our existence. Maya is the active, originative, determinative view which creates for each being according to his own consciousness his own world. But Mitra is a Lord of the Light, a Son of Infinity and a Guardian of the Truth and his Maya part of an infinite, supreme and faultless creative wisdom. He builds, he joins together in an illuminated harmony all the numerous planes, all the successive steps, all the graded seats of our being. Whatsoever Aryaman aspires to on his path, has to be effected by the 'holdings' or laws of Mitra or by his foundations, statuses, placings, *mitrasya dharmabhiḥ*, *mitrasya dhāma-bhiḥ*. For *dharmā*, the law is that which holds things together and to which we hold; *dhāma*, the status is the placing of the law in a founded harmony which creates for us our plane of living and the character of our consciousness, action and thought.

Mitra, like the other sons of Aditi, is a master of Knowledge. He possesses a light which is full of a varied inspiration, or, to keep closer to the Vedic term, a richly diversified hearing of the knowledge. In the wideness of existence which he enjoys in common with Varuna, he acquires possession of heaven by the greatness of the being of the Truth and enlarges his conquering mastery over the earth by these inspirations or hearings of its Knowledge. All the five Aryan peoples labour therefore and travel for this bright and beautiful Mitra who comes into them with his luminous force and bears in his wideness all the Gods. He is the great and blissful one who sets and leads creatures born into the world upon their path. The distinction is drawn in one verse that Varuna is the masterful traveller to the

soul's supreme seat, Mitra makes men advance in that march. "Even now," says the Rishi, "may I attain the movement to the goal and journey on Mitra's path."

Since Mitra cannot fulfil his harmony except in the wideness and purity of Varuna, he is constantly invoked in company with that great godhead. Theirs are the supreme statuses or planes of the soul; it is the bliss of Mitra and Varuna that has to increase in us. By their law that vast plane of our consciousness shines out upon us and heaven and earth are the two paths of their journey. For Aditi of the Truth, their mother, has borne them omniscient and great for almightiness; and it is luminous Aditi, the undivided being, whom they, wakeful from day to day, cleave to, she who holds for us our habitations in that world of light and they attain to its luminous forcefulness. They are the two Sons perfect in their birth from of old who support the law of our action; children are they of a vast luminous power, offspring of the divine discerning thought and perfect in will. They are the guardians of Truth, possessed of its law in the supreme ether. Swar is their golden home and birth-place.

Mitra and Varuna have an unwounded vision and are better knowers of the Path than our sight; for in the Knowledge they are seers of Swar. They take by the passion of their discerning thought the concealing falsehood away from the Truth to which the path has to lead. They proclaim the vast Truth of which they are possessed. It is because they possess it and with it the perfection of the will which is its effect, that they are seated in us for empire and uphold our action as the masters of might. By Truth they come to the Truth, nourishing in their lordship of things our thoughts, and in their purified judgment they open the eye of consciousness to all wisdom by the perception in men. Thus all-seeing and all-knowing they by the law, by the Maya of the mighty Lord, guard our actions, even as they govern the whole world in the power of the Truth. That Maya is established in the heavens, it ranges there as a Sun of light; it is their rich and wonderful weapon. They are far-hearers, masters of true being, true themselves and increasers of truth in each human creature. They nourish the shining herds and loose forth the abundance of heaven; they make heaven to rain down by the Maya

of the Mighty Lord. And that celestial rain is the wealth of the spiritual felicity which the seers desire; it is the immortality.¹

ARYAMAN

Aryaman, third of the four great solar godheads, is the least prominent of them all in the invocations of the seers. No separate hymn is addressed to him and, if his name occurs not unfrequently, it is in scattered verses; there is no strong body of Riks from which we can construct firmly our idea of his functions or recompose his physiognomy. Most often he is simply invoked by his bare name along with Mitra and Varuna or in the larger group of the sons of Aditi, almost always in adjunction to other kindred deities. Still there are half a dozen or more half-Riks from which his one chief and characteristic action emerges accompanied by the usual epithets of the Lords of the Truth, epithets expressive of Knowledge, Joy, Infinity and Power.

In the later tradition the name of Aryaman is placed at the head of the Fathers to whom as their appropriate offering is given the symbolic food, the *pin̄ḍa* of the Puranic funeral and memorial rites. In the Puranic traditions the Fathers are of two classes, divine and human, the latter being the ancestors, the Manes. But it is in connection with the Fathers as the souls who have attained to heaven, to immortality that we must think of Aryaman. Krishna in the Gita, enumerating the chief powers or manifestations of the eternal Godhead in things and beings, speaks of himself as Ushanas among the seers, Bhṛigu among the Rishis, Vyasa among the sages, Vishnu among the children of Aditi, Aryaman among the Fathers. Now in the Veda the Fathers are the ancient illumined ones who discovered the Knowledge, created and followed the Path, reached the Truth, conquered Immortality; and in the few Riks in which Aryaman's separate personality emerges, it is as the God of the Path that he is hymned.

His name Aryaman, kin etymologically to the words *arya*, *ārya*, *ari*, by which are distinguished the men or peoples who

¹ *Vṛṣṭim vām rādho amṛtatvam imāhe* (V.63.2).

follow the Vedic culture and the Gods who assist them in their battles and their aspirations, is similarly indicative. The Aryan is the traveller on the Path, the aspirant to immortality by divine sacrifice, one of the shining children of Light, a worshipper of the Masters of the Truth, a fighter in the battle against the powers of darkness who obstruct the human journey. Aryaman is the godhead in whose divine power this Aryahood is rooted; he is this Force of sacrifice, aspiration, battle, journey towards perfection and light and celestial bliss by which the path is created, travelled, pursued beyond all resistance and obscuration to its luminous and happy goal.

In consequence, the action of Aryaman takes up the attributes of Mitra and Varuna as leaders of the Path. This Force fulfils the happy impulses of that Light and Harmony and the movement of infinite knowledge and power of that pure Vastness. Like Mitra and Varuna he makes men travel on the path; he is full of the perfect happiness of Mitra; he is complete in the will and the works of sacrifice; he and Varuna distinguish the path for mortals. He is like Varuna a godhead manifold in his births; like him he oppresses the wrath of the hurter of men. It is by the great path of Aryaman that we shall cross beyond the souls of a false or evil thought who obstruct our path. Aditi, mother of the Kings, and Aryaman carry us by paths of a happy travelling beyond all inimical powers. The man who seeks the straightness of Mitra's and Varuna's workings and by the force of the word and the affirmation embraces their law with all his being, is guarded in his progress by Aryaman.

But the Rik most distinctive of the function of Aryaman is that which describes him as "Aryaman of the unbroken path, of the many chariots, who dwells as the sevenfold offerer of sacrifice in births of diverse forms" (X.64.5). He is the deity of the human journey who carries it forward in its irresistible progress which the attacks of the enemy cannot overcome or successfully interrupt so long as this divine Force is our leader. The journey is effected through a manifold movement of our evolution, the many chariots of Aryaman. It is the journey of the human sacrifice which has a sevenfold energy of its action because there is a sevenfold principle in our being which has to be fulfilled in

its integral perfection; Aryaman is the master of the sacrificial action who offers this sevenfold working to the godheads of the Divine Birth. Aryaman within us develops our various forms of birth in the ascending planes of our existence by which the Fathers climbed, travellers on his path, and by which it must be the aspiration of the Aryan soul to climb to the highest summit of Immortality.

Thus Aryaman sums up in himself the whole aspiration and movement of man in a continual self-enlargement and self-transcendence to his divine perfection. By his continuous movement on the unbroken path Mitra and Varuna and the sons of Aditi fulfil themselves in the human birth.

BHAGA

The goal of the path is the divine beatitude, the illimitable joy of the Truth, of the infinity of our being. Bhaga is the godhead who brings this joy and supreme felicity into the human consciousness; he is the divine enjoyer in man. All being has this divine enjoyment of existence for its aim and end, whether it seeks for it with knowledge or with ignorance, with the divine strength or the weakness of our yet undeveloped powers. "On Bhaga the strong calls for his increasing, on Bhaga he who has not the strength; then he moves towards the Delight" (VII. 38.6). "Let us call in the Dawn on Bhaga strong and victorious, the son of Aditi who is the wide-upholder, on whom the afflicted and the fighter and the king meditate and they say to the Enjoyer, 'Give us the enjoyment' " (VII.41.2). "Let it be the divine Enjoyer who possesses the enjoyment and by him let us be its possessors; to thee every man calls, O Bhaga; do thou become, O Enjoyer, the leader of our journey" (VII.41.5). An increasing and victorious felicity of the soul rejoicing in the growth of its divine possessions which gives us strength to journey on and overcome till we reach the goal of our perfection in an infinite beatitude, this is the sign of the birth of Bhaga in man and this his divine function.

All enjoyment comes indeed from Bhaga Savitri, the mortal

as well as the divine; “creating a wide and vast force he brings forth for men their mortal enjoyment”. But the Vedic ideal is the inclusion of all life and all joy, divine and human, the wideness and plenty of earth and the vastness and abundance of heaven, the treasures of the mental, vital, physical existence uplifted, purified, perfected in the form of the infinite and divine Truth. It is this all-including felicity which is the gift of Bhaga. The Enjoyer is to be called on by men because he has many riches and ordains perfectly all delights, — the thrice-seven delights upheld by him in the being of his mother Aditi. It is by creating in us “the wide and vast force”, it is when the Divine as Bhaga, Pushan, Aditi, the infinite, the undivided puts on the radiances of the infinite consciousness like a robe and distributes without division all desirable boons that divine felicity comes to us in its fullness. Then he gives to the human being full enjoyment of that greatest delight. Therefore Vasishta cries to him (VII.41.3), “O Bhaga, our leader, Bhaga who hast the wealth of the Truth, giving unto us, raise up and increase, O Bhaga, this thought in us,” — the Truth-thought by which the felicity is attained.

Bhaga is Savitri the Creator, he who brings forth from the unmanifest Divine the truth of a divine universe, dispelling from us the evil dream of this lower consciousness in which we falter amidst a confused tangle of truth and falsehood, strength and weakness, joy and suffering. An infinite being delivered out of imprisoning limits, an infinite knowledge and strength receiving in thought and working out in will a divine Truth, an infinite beatitude possessing and enjoying all without division, fault or sin, this is the creation of Bhaga Savitri, this that greatest Delight. “This creation of the divine Creator goddess Aditi speaketh forth to us, this the all-kings Varuna and Mitra and Aryaman with one mind and heart.” The four Kings find themselves fulfilled with their infinite Mother by the delightful perfection in man of Bhaga the Enjoyer, the youngest and greatest of them all. Thus is the divine creation of the fourfold Savitri founded on Varuna, combined and guided by Mitra, achieved by Aryaman, enjoyed in Bhaga: Aditi the infinite Mother realises herself in the human being by the birth and works of her glorious children.

Hymns to the Lords of Light

THE FIRST HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.62

THE LORDS OF THE THOUSAND-PILLARED HOME OF TRUTH AND BLISS

[The Rishi hymns the eternal and immutable Truth of which the Truth in mutable things is the veil; that is the goal of the journey of the manifested Sun of divine knowledge; it is the eternal unity of all things that are and the supreme Divine of which the Gods are various forms. Into it unite all the wealth of being and knowledge and power and bliss won by the sacrifice. It is the large vastness of the wide purities of Varuna and of the shining harmonies of Mitra. There, eternally stable, dwell the herds of the divine radiances of knowledge; for that is the happy field to which they here are travelling. The Impeller of the cosmic movement and journey pours out knowledge in us, the milk of the herds, by the dawns of the inner light and there descend the streams of the immortal existence followed by the single and perfect movement of Mitra-Varuna, the Light and the Purity, the Harmony and the Infinity. It is the rain of heaven which these two Godheads pour down, upholding the physical existence in its fruits and the celestial in its herding radiances of illumination. They thus create in man a force full of divine knowledge and a wide being which they guard and increase, a strewn seat for the sacrifice. This thousand-pillared force of knowledge they make a home for themselves and dwell there in the revelations of the Word. It is luminous in its form and its pillars of life have an iron strength and stability. They ascend to it in the dawning, in the rising of the Sun of knowledge and look with that eye of their divine vision on the infinite existence and the finite, the indivisible unity of things and their multiplicity. It is a home full and large with the sweetness and ecstasy of the supreme and inviolable peace and bliss which by their cherishing and fostering protection we seek to conquer and possess.]

ऋतेन ऋतमपिहितं ध्रुवं वां सूर्यस्य यत्र विमुचन्त्यश्वान् ।
 बस शता सह तस्युस्तदेकं देवानां श्रेष्ठं ऋषामपश्यम् ॥१॥

1. By the Truth¹ is veiled that ever-standing Truth of yours where they unyoke the horses of the Sun;² there the ten hundreds³ stand still together; That One, — I have beheld the greatest of the embodied gods.⁴

तत्सु वां मित्रावरुणा महित्वमीर्मा तस्युषोरहश्चिर्बुद्धे ।
 विश्वाः पितृव्यः स्वसरस्य घेना अनु वामेकः एविरा ववर्त ॥२॥

2. That is the utter vastness of you, O Mitra and Varuna; there the Lord of the movement milks the herds of his stable rancians by the days. Lo, you twain swell all the streams of the Blissful One and your one wheel⁵ moves in their path.

अधारयतं पृथिवीमुत द्यां मित्रराजाना वरुणा महोभिः ।
 वर्षयतमोषधोः पितृवतं गा अव वृष्टिं सृजतं शीरवान् ॥३॥

3. You uphold earth and heaven, O Mitra King and King Varuna, by your greatneses; you increase the growths of earth, you nourish the shining herds of heaven, you pour forth the rain of its waters, O swift in strength.

आ वामश्वसः सुयुजो बहन्तु यतरश्मय उप यन्त्वर्वाक् ।
 घृतस्य निष्णिगन् वतंते वामुप सिन्धवः प्रदिवि शरन्ति ॥४॥

4. Let horses perfectly yoked with their well-governed reins of light bear you down to us; the form of the clarity follows in

¹ The áctive cosmic Truth of things diffused and arranged in their mutability and divisibility of Time and Space veils the eternal and unchanging Truth of which it is a manifestation.

² The eternal Truth is the goal of the divine Light which arises in us and journeys upward into higher and higher heavens through the shining upper ocean.

³ The entire plenitude of the divine wealth in its outpourings of knowledge, force and joy.

⁴ The One, the Deva veiled by his form of the divine Sun. Cf. Isha Upanishad, "That splendour which is thy fairest form, O Sun, that let me behold. The Purusha who is there and there, He am I."

⁵ The unified movement, when the lower wheel of the Sun is struck away: the inferior truth is taken up into the unity of the higher truth from which it now seems to be separate in its motion.

your coming and the Rivers flow in the front of heaven.

अनु श्रुताममति वर्षदुर्वी बहिरिव यजुषा रक्षमाणा ।

नमस्वन्ता घृतबक्षाधि गर्ते मित्रासाथे वरुणेऽस्वन्तः ॥५॥

5. Increasing the strength that comes to our ear of knowledge, guarding by the sacrificial word¹ your wide realm² as if our seat of sacrifice, bringing obeisance, holding fast to judgment, you take your seat in your home, O Mitra, within the revealings of knowledge, O Varuna.

अरुविहस्ता सुकृते परस्या यं त्रासाथे वरुणेऽस्वन्तः ।

राजाना अशमहृणोयमाना सहस्रस्युणं विभूयः सह द्वौ ॥६॥

6. With hands that spare not, protectors of the beyond for the doer of perfect works whom you deliver and he dwells within the revealings of knowledge, kings free from passion, together you uphold a thousand-pillared strength.

हिरण्यनिर्णिगयो अस्य स्थूणा वि भ्राजते दिव्यदवाब्जनीव ।

भद्रे क्षेत्रे निमिता तिल्विते वा सनेम मध्वो अधिगत्यस्य ॥७॥

7. Its form is of golden light, iron is its pillar and shines in heaven as if the swift lightning;³ in the happy field⁴ it is shaped or in the field of the gleaming.⁵ May we win possession of the sweet honey⁶ which is in that home.

हिरण्यरूपमुषसो व्युष्टावयःस्थूणमुविता सूर्यस्य ।

वा रोह्यो वरुण मित्र गर्तमतश्चक्षाथे अदिति विरिति च ॥८॥

8. To that home whose form is of the gold, whose pillars are of the iron, in the breaking of the Dawn, in the uprising of the

¹ Yajur. The Rik is the word which brings with it the illumination, the Yajur the word which guides the sacrificial action in accordance with the Rik.

² Or, "increasing and guarding the wide strength".

³ Or, "the Mare", the energy of the Horse of Life.

⁴ The Ananda, the Bliss-World.

⁵ The field of the gleaming of the Dawns, the world of the Light.

⁶ Madhu, the Soma.

Sun you ascend, O Varuna, O Mitra, and thence you behold the Infinite and the Finite.¹

यदृंहिष्ठं नातिविधे सुरान् अजिष्ठं क्षमं भुवनस्य नोपा ।
तेन नो मित्रावरुणावबिष्टं सिवासन्तो जिगीवांसः स्याम ॥९॥

9. That bliss of yours which is most large and full and without a gap, O strong guardians of the world, so that none can pierce through and beyond it, by that cherish us, Mitra and Varuna; may we be victorious, who would take possession of that peace.

¹ Aditi and Diti.

THE SECOND HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.63

THE GIVERS OF THE RAIN

[Mitra and Varuna are by their united universality and harmony the guardians of the divine Truth and its divine Law eternally perfect in the ether of our supreme being; thence they rain down the abundance of the heavens and its bliss upon the favoured soul. Seers in man of that world of Truth, as they are, by their guardianship of its law, rulers of all this becoming, they give us its rain of spiritual wealth and immortality. The Life-powers range with the voice of the truth-seeking thought through earth and heaven and the two Kings come to their cry with the brilliant clouds full of the creative waters. It is by the Maya, the divine truth-knowledge of the Lord, that they thus rain down heaven; that divine knowledge is the Sun, the Light, the weapon of Mitra and Varuna ranging abroad to destroy the ignorance. At first the Sun, the body of the Truth, is concealed in the very storm of its outpourings and only the sweetness of their streaming into the life is felt; but the Maruts as Life-Powers and Thought-Powers range abroad seeking in all the worlds of our being for the brilliant rays of the concealed knowledge to be gathered as a shining wealth; the voice of the Rain is full of the flashings of the Light and the movement of the divine Waters; its clouds become robes for the Life-Powers. Through it all by the formative knowledge of the mighty master of Truth and by the law of the Truth, the two kings maintain the divine workings in us, governing by the Truth all our being, and finally set in its sky the Sun, now revealed, as a chariot of the richly varied splendours of the knowledge, the chariot of the journey of the spirit to the highest heavens.]

ऋतस्य गोपावधि तिष्ठयो रयं सत्यधर्मान् परमे व्योमनि ।
यमत्र मित्रावरुणावयो युवं तस्मै दृष्टिर्भृशुमत्पिन्वते दिवः ॥१॥

1. Guardians of the Truth, you ascend your car and the law of the Truth is yours in the supreme ether.¹ He whom here you cherish, Masters of the wideness and the harmony, for him increases full of the honey the rain of heaven.

सम्राजावस्य भुवनस्य राजसो मित्रावरुणा विद्ये स्वर्वा ।
वृष्टिं वां राधो अमृतत्वमीमहे छावापृथिवी वि चरन्ति तन्यवः ॥२॥

2. Emperors², you rule over this world of our becoming, O Mitra and Varuna, in the getting of knowledge you are seers of the realm of Light; we desire from you the rain, the felicitous wealth, the immortality, and lo! the Thunderers³ range abroad through earth and heaven.

सम्राजा उग्रा वृषभा दिवस्पती पृथिव्या मित्रावरुणा विचर्षणी ।
चित्रेभिरभ्रैरप तिष्ठस्यो रवं छां चर्षयस्यो असुरस्य मायया ॥३॥

3. Emperors, strong Bulls of the abundance, Masters of earth and heaven, O Mitra and Varuna, universal in your workings, you approach their cry with your clouds of varied light and you rain down Heaven by the power of the knowledge⁴ of the Mighty One.⁵

माया वां मित्रावरुणा दिवि भिता सूर्यो ज्योतिश्चरति चित्रमायुषम् ।
तमन्नेण वृष्टया गूह्यो दिवि पर्जन्यं व्रप्सा मधुमन्त ईरते ॥४॥

4. This is your knowledge, O Mitra and Varuna, that is lodged in heaven; it is the Sun, it is the Light; it ranges abroad as your rich and varied weapon. You hide it in heaven with the cloud and with the raining. O Rain, full of the honey start forth thy streamings.

¹ The infinity of the superconscient being.

² *Samrāj*, having perfect kingship over the subjective and objective existence.

³ The Maruts, Life-Powers and Thought-Powers who find out the light of truth for all our activities. The word may also mean formers or builders.

⁴ *Maya*, the creative knowledge-will of the Deva.

⁵ *Asura*, a word used in the Veda as in the Avesta for the Deva (Ahuramazda), but also for the gods, His manifestations; it is only in a few hymns that it is used for the dark Titans, by another and fictitious derivation. *a-sura*, the not-luminous, the not-gods.

रथं युञ्जते मरुतः शुभे सुखं शूरो न मित्रावरुणा गविष्टिषु ।
रत्नासि चित्रा वि चरन्ति तन्यवो दिवः सम्राजा पयसा न उक्तम् ॥५॥

5. The Life-Powers yoke their happy car for the bliss, even as might a hero for battle, O Mitra and Varuna, in their seekings for the herds of Light; thundering they range the varied worlds, and you pour out on us, rulers imperial, the water of Heaven.

वाचं सु मित्रावरुणाधिरावतीं पर्जन्यश्चित्रां बधति त्विषीमतीम् ।
अन्ना वसत मरुतः सु मायया ह्यं वर्षयतमरुणापरिपसम् ॥६॥

6. O Mitra and Varuna, the Rain speaks its language¹ rich and varied and full of the light and the movement; the Life-Powers have put on your clouds for raiment. Utterly by the knowledge you rain down Heaven ruddy-shining and sinless.

धर्मणा मित्रावरुणा विपश्चिता व्रता रक्षेथे अमुरस्य मायया ।
ऋतेन विद्वं भुवनं वि राजयः सूर्यमा घृत्यो विवि चित्र्यं रथम् ॥७॥

7. O Mitra and Varuna illumined in consciousness, by the Law, by the knowledge of the Mighty One you guard the workings;² by the Truth you govern widely all the world of our becoming; you set the Sun in heaven, a chariot of various splendour.

¹ Here we see the subjective sense of the thunder in the symbol of the storm; it is the outrashing of the word of the Truth, the Shabda, as the lightning is the outflashing of its sense.

² *Vratāni*, called the Aryan or divine workings, those of the divine law of the Truth to be revealed in man. The Dasyu or un-Aryan, whether human or superhuman, is he who is void of these diviner workings, opposes them in his darkened consciousness and tries to destroy them in the world. The Lords of Darkness are therefore called Dasyus, the Destroyers.

THE THIRD HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.64

THE LEADERS TO THE BLISSFUL HOME

[The Rishi invokes the Lords of the infinite wideness and harmony whose arms embrace the soul's highest plane of the Truth and Bliss, to extend to him those arms of awakened consciousness and knowledge, so that he may have their all-embracing delight. He aspires by the path of Mitra to the joy of his harmonies in which there is no wound nor hurt; conceiving and holding the highest by the power of the illumining word, he would aspire to an increase in that plane, the proper home of the gods. Let the two great gods create in his being that wide world of their divine strength and vastness; let them bring to him its plenitude and felicity in the dawning of the divine light and the divine force.]

वरुणं वो रिशादसमुच्चा मित्रं हवामहे ।
परि व्रजेव बाह्वोर्जगन्वांसा स्वर्णरम् ॥१॥

1. Varuna, destroyer of the foe, and Mitra we call to you by the word of illumination; their arms encompass the world of the power of Light¹ as if cast around the pens of the shining herds.

ता बाहवा मुचेतुना प्र यन्तमस्मा अर्चते ।
शेषं हि जार्यं वां विदवासु सासु जोगुषे ॥२॥

2. Stretch out your arms of awakened knowledge² to the human being when he chants to you the illumining word; your bliss adorable shall reach through all our earths.³

¹ Swarnara. Swar is the solar world of the Truth and the herds are the rays of its solar illuminations, therefore it is compared to the pens of these shining Vedic cattle.

² The epithet shows how entirely symbolic are the bodies and members of the Gods as well as their other physical belongings, weapons, chariots, horses.

³ All the planes of our being.

यन्मूनमश्यां गतिं मित्रस्य यायां पथा ।
अस्य प्रियस्य शर्यञ्चहिंसानस्य सदिचरे ॥३॥

3. May I go by the path of the Friend¹ that even now I may attain to the goal² of my journey; so men cling firmly to the bliss of that Beloved in whom there is no wounding.

युवाभ्यां मित्रावरुणोपमं धेयामुवा ।
यद्द क्षये मघोनां स्तोतृणां च स्युषंसे ॥४॥

4. O Mitra and Varuna, may my thought hold by the illuminating word that highest which is your possession, so that it shall aspire³ to the home of the masters of plenitude for them and for men who affirm you.

आ नो मित्र सुवीतिभिर्वरणश्च सप्तस्य आ ।
स्वे क्षये मघोनां सखीनां च वृषसे ॥५॥

5. O Mitra, come to us with thy perfect givings and Varuna in the world of our session, for increase in their own home of the masters of plenitude⁴ and for increase of your companions.

युवं नो येषु वरण क्षत्र बृहत्त्व विभूयः ।
उरु णो वाजसातये कृतं राये स्वस्तये ॥६॥

6. For in them you twain bring to us, O Varuna, the might⁵ and the vastness; form in us the wide world for the conquest of our plenitudes, for bliss, for our soul's happiness.

¹ Mitra, who creates the perfect and unhurt harmonies of our higher, divine existence.

² *Gati*. The word is still used for the spiritual or supraterrrestrial status gained by man's conduct or efforts upon earth. But it may also mean the movement to the goal or the way, "May I even now attain to the Way, go by the path of Mitra."

³ That is, manifesting in men it shall strive to raise them up to its own proper station, the Truth-plane.

⁴ The gods. *Swar* is the "own house" of the Gods.

⁵ The divine force of the Truth-conscious being, called in the next verse "the force of the gods"; the *Vast*, *brhat*, is the constant description of that plane or "wide world", — the Truth, the Right, the *Vast*.

उच्छ्रव्यां मे यजता देवसत्रे दशदृगधि ।

सुत सोमं न हस्तिमिरा पदिभर्षावतं नरा विभ्रतावर्षावसम् ॥७॥

7. To me, O lords of sacrifice, in the breaking of the dawn, in the flashing of the ray, in the force of the gods, to my wine pressed out as if¹ by men with hands come racing with your trampling steeds, O gods who bring, — to the pilgrim of the Light.²

¹ "As if", —showing, as often, that the wine and its pressing are figures and symbols.

² *Arcandras*, he who travels to the illumination created by the word, the significant name of the Rishi of this hymn, one of the line of *Atri*.

THE FOURTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.65

THE LORDS OF THE JOURNEY

[The Rishi invokes the two great increasers of the truth in our being to lead us in our journey to the plenitudes, to the vastness of our true existence which they conquer for us out of the narrow limits of our present ignorant and imperfect mentality.]

यद्विचकेत स सुक्रतुर्वेवत्रा स ज्ञवीतु नः ।
वरुणो यस्य दर्शतो मित्रो वा वनते गिरः ॥१॥

1. He who has awakened to the knowledge, becomes perfect in will; let him speak for us among the gods: Varuna of the vision and Mitra take delight in his words.

ता हि श्रेष्ठवर्चसा राजाना दीर्घश्रुतमा ।
ता सत्यती ऋतावृष ऋतावाना जनेजने ॥२॥

2. They are the Kings most glorious in light and most far in their hearing;¹ they are the masters of being in creature and creature and the increasers of the Truth in us, for the Truth is theirs.

ता वामियानोऽश्वसे पूर्वा उप ब्रुवे सचा ।
स्वश्वासः सु चेतुना वार्जा अभि प्र दाधने ॥३॥

3. Travelling on the path I call to them, the twain together, the ancient and first; with perfect steeds² as we travel we call to them, the perfect in knowledge, for the giving of the plenitudes.

¹ They have the divine sight and the divine hearing, the Light and the Word.

² As usual, the symbol of the dynamic energies, life-powers, etc., by which our will and works and aspiration proceed.

मित्रो अंहोश्चिदादुरु क्षयाय गतुं वनते ।

मित्रस्य हि प्रतूर्वतः सुमतिरस्ति विधतः ॥४॥

4. Even out of our narrow existence Mitra conquers for us the vastness, he conquers the path to our home; for the perfect mind¹ is of Mitra when he harmonises all and hastens forward through to the goal.

वयं मित्रस्यावसि स्याम सप्रयस्तमे ।

वनेहसस्त्वोतयः सत्रा वदणसेषसः ॥५॥

5. May we abide in the increasing of Mitra which gives us our perfect breadth; then are we free from hurt and sin, fostered by thee, children of the Lord of Wideness.

युवं मित्रेणं जनं यतयः सं च नययः ।

मा मघोनः परि ख्यतं मो अस्पाकमृषीणां गोपीषे न उरुष्यतम् ॥६॥

6. You twain, O Mitra, set this human creature travelling on your path and wholly you lead him. Set not your hedge around our lords of plenitude and our seers of the truth. Guard us in our drinking of the light.²

¹ *Arihoh*, the narrowness full of suffering and evil, is the unenlightened state of our limited mentality; the perfect mentality, *sumati*, given by the grace of Mitra admits us to the wideness.

² *Go*, the Light or the Cow, meaning here the "milk" or yield of the Mother of Light.

THE FIFTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.66

THE GIVERS OF SELF-RULE

[The Rishi invokes Varuna, the vast form of the Truth, and Mitra the beloved, godhead of its harmonies and large bliss, who conquer for us the perfect force of our true and infinite being, to change our imperfect human nature into the image of their divine workings. Then the solar Heaven of the Truth is manifested within us, its wide pasture of herding illuminations becomes the field of journeying of our chariots, the high thoughts of the seers, their purified discernment, their rapid inspirations become ours, our very earth becomes the world of that vast Truth. For then there is the perfect movement, the transcendence of this darkness of sin and suffering. We arrive at self-empire, a rich, full and vast possession of our infinite being.]

आ षिकितान सुक्नु देवौ मर्त रिशादसा ।
वरुणाय ऋतपेशसे बधीत प्रयसे महे ॥१॥

1. O mortal who awakenest to knowledge, call to thee the two godheads who are perfect in will and destroyers of thy enemy. Direct your thoughts to Varuna of whom Truth is the form and to the great Delight.¹

ता हि क्षत्रमबिहृत्तं सम्यगसुर्यभासाते ।
अथ चतेष मानुषं स्वर्णं चायि दर्शतम् ॥२॥

2. For it is they who attain to the undistorted force and the entire mightiness. Then shall thy humanity become as if the workings of these gods; it is as if the visible heaven of light² were founded in thee.

¹ The satisfaction given by Mitra, founding the large bliss of the Truth-plane. Varuna of the infinities gives the wide form, Mitra of the harmonies the perfect joy of the energies of the Truth, its complete mightiness.

² Or, "Swar of the vision", the world of light where is the full vision of the Truth.

ता वामेवे रथानामुर्वी गच्छतिवेषाम् ।
रातहृद्यस्य सुष्टुतिं दधुस्तोमेर्मनासहे ॥३॥

3. Therefore you, O gods, I desire, — for the rushing of these chariots your wide pasture of the herds. Forcefully by our hymns our minds seize on his perfect affirmation when the god receives our bounteous offerings.

अथा हि काव्या युवं दक्षस्य प्रभिरद्भुता ।
नि केतुना जनानां चिकेथे प्रतदक्षसा ॥४॥

4. Then indeed, O transcendent godheads, you conquer the seer-wisdoms by the full floodings of the illumined discernment; you perceive knowledge for these human creatures by a perception in which the judgment is purified.

तदुतं पृथिवि बहुच्छ्रवण्य ऋषीणाम् ।
अयसानावरं पृष्वति क्षरन्ति यामभिः ॥५॥

5. O wide Earth, that Vast, that Truth for the movement of inspired knowledge of the sages! Widely the Twain speed with full capacity, our chariots pass streaming beyond¹ in their travellings.

आ यद्वासीयक्षसा मित्र वयं च सूरयः ।
व्यचिष्टे बह्वपाभ्ये यतेमहि स्वराज्ये ॥६॥

6. When, O Mitra, you have your far-voyaging vision and we are the illumined seers, may we arrive in the effort of our journey to a self-empire² spread out widely open and governing its multitudes.

¹ Beyond the darkness and the enemies, the suffering and evil of the lower existence.

² *Svārājya*. *Svārājya* and *sāmrajya*, perfect empire within and without, rule of our inner being and mastery of our environment and circumstances, was the ideal of the Vedic sages, attainable only by ascending beyond our mortal mentality to the luminous Truth of our being, the supramental infinities on the spiritual plane of our existence.

THE SIXTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.67

THE TWIN UPHOLDERS AND PROTECTORS

[Mitra and Varuna perfect the vastness of the superconscient being which is the object of sacrifice; they possess the full abundance of its force. When they reach that luminous origin and home, they give men, labourers in the sacrificial work, its peace and bliss; on the way to it they protect the mortal from his spiritual enemies who would stand in the way of his immortality; for they keep firm to their higher workings and to the seats of the higher consciousness to which those workings belong and to which man rises in his ascent; universal and all-knowing they destroy these enemies who are the forces of egoism and limiting ignorance. True in their being, they are the powers that possess and touch the Truth in each individual being; leaders of the journey and the battle they create the wideness of that higher consciousness even out of our narrow and distressed mortality. It is that highest which the thought in the Atris desires and reaches to by affirming Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman, the god-heads, in the "bodies" inhabited by the human soul.]

बळित्वा देव निष्कृतभावित्वा यजतं बृहत् ।

वरुण मित्रार्यमन्वषिष्ठं अत्रयासाथे ॥११॥

1. In truth, O godheads, ye two sons of the infinite Mother, rightly perfected by you is the Vastness for which we sacrifice. O Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, you possess its most abundant force.

आ यद्योनि हिरण्यं वरुण मित्र सवयः ।

धर्तारा चर्षणीनां यन्तं मुष्मं रिशावसा ॥२॥

2. When you enter into your original home of golden light, O Varuna, O Mitra, upholders of men in their labour, des-

troyers of the enemy, reach for them the bliss.

विद्ये हि विश्ववेदसो वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा ।
 व्रता पदेव सविषदे पान्ति मर्त्यं रिषः ॥३॥

3. Universal and all-knowing are Varuna and Mitra and Aryaman; they keep firm to the law of their workings, even as to the seats to which they arrive, and guard mortal man from his foes.

ते हि सत्या ऋतस्पृश ऋतावानो जनेजने ।
 सुनीयासः सुदानवोऽहोविचदुदच्यः ॥४॥

4. For because they are true in their being, they touch the Truth and hold the Truth in creature and creature; perfect leaders in the journey, perfect in force for the battle, they create the wideness even out of this narrow being.

को नु वां मित्रास्तुतो वरुणो वा तनूनाम् ।
 तत्सु वामेषते मतिरत्रिभ्य एषते मतिः ॥५॥

5. Which of you, O Mitra, is unaffirmed, thou or Varuna, in our bodies?¹ Wholly our thought seeks That from you, That for the Enjoyers² our Thought desires.

¹ Not the physical body only; the soul dwells here in five sheaths or embodyings.

² The *atris*, — literally, eaters; the word may also mean travellers.

THE SEVENTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.68

THE LORDS OF THE GREAT FORCE

[Because they hold the great battle-force of the Truth, Mitra and Varuna lead us to the vastness of that Truth. By that force they rule all imperially, contain the Truth's clarities and their powers are manifested in all the godheads. Therefore should they put forth their power in these godheads for the human possession of the great felicity and wealth of the Truth in earth and heaven. They reach the Truth by the Truth; for they have its discernment full of the impulsion that goes straight to the knowledge; therefore they increase divinely without falling into the harms of the Ignorance. As lords of that powerful impulsion they bring down the heavens in a luminous rain upon the mortal and take possession of the vast as a home.]

प्र वो मित्राय गायत वरुणाय विषा गिरा ।
महिष्मत्रावृतं बृहत् ॥१॥

1. Sing ye to Mitra and Varuna with the word that enlightens; because they have that great force, theirs is the Truth, the Vast.

सम्राजा या घृतयोनी मित्रश्चोभा वरुणश्च ।
देवा देवेषु प्रशस्ता ॥२॥

2. All-rulers are they, yes, both of them, Mitra and Varuna, homes of the clarity, gods, manifested by the word in the gods.

ता नः शक्तं पश्यिष्यस्य महो रायो दिव्यस्य ।
गहि वां सत्रं देवेषु ॥३॥

3. Therefore put forth strength for our great felicity¹ heavenly

¹ The felicity or happy wealth of the wide Truth-Consciousness manifested not only in the

and earthly; for great is your force in the gods.

ऋतमृतेन सपन्तेचिरं वसन्माशाते ।
अग्रहा देवो वर्धते ॥४॥

4. By the Truth you attain knowledge of the Truth, you possess a judgment of impelling force;¹ O gods, you grow and come not to hurt.

वृष्टिञ्चावा रीत्यापेषस्पती वानुमत्याः ।
बृहन्तं गर्तमाशाते ॥५॥

5. Turning heaven to rain, winners of the streaming movement, masters of that forceful impulsion, you take possession of your vast home.

higher mental planes of our consciousness, but in our physical being.

¹ The straight impulsion which the gods possess; man, moving from the ignorance to the Truth by the ignorance, follows a crooked and wavering movement, has a judgment distressed by the falsehood and in his growth stumbles constantly into sin and suffering. By the growth of the gods in him, he is able to move without stumbling and suffering from Truth to greater Truth, straight, felicitously.

THE EIGHTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.69

THE HOLDERS OF THE LUMINOUS WORLDS

[The Rishi invokes Mitra and Varuna as the upholders of the worlds or planes of being, especially the three luminous worlds in which the triple mental, the triple vital, the triple physical find the light of their truth and the divine law of their powers. The strength of the Aryan warrior is increased by them and guarded in that imperishable law. From the luminous worlds the rivers of the truth descend with their yield of bliss. In each of them a luminous Purusha fertilises a form of the triple thought-consciousness of the Truth; these, which make the luminous day of the soul, found in man the divine and infinite consciousness and in that the divine peace and the activity by which in the extended universality of our being there is the rich felicity and the creation of the godhead. The divine workings are impaired and restricted by the gods in the ordinary life of the vital and the physical being, but when Mitra and Varuna uphold in us the luminous worlds in which each of these finds its truth and power, they become complete and firm for ever.]

त्री रोचना वरुण त्रीरुत द्युन्त्रीणि मित्र वारुणयो रजांसि ।
वावृषानावमतिं क्षत्रियस्याऽनु व्रतं रक्षमाणावजुष्यम् ॥१॥

1. Three worlds of the Light you two uphold, O Varuna, three heavens, three mid-worlds, O Mitra, and you increase the might of the Warrior and guard him in the imperishable law of your working.

इरावतीर्वरुण घेनवो वां मधुमदां सिन्धवो मित्र कुहे ।
त्रयस्तस्युर्वृषभासस्तिसृषां षिषणानां रेतोषा वि द्युमन्तः ॥२॥

2. Your fostering cows¹ have their streams, O Varuna, O Mitra,

¹ *Dhenavah*, the rivers of the Truth, as *gāvah*, the luminous cows, are the rays of its light.

the rivers milk out their honeyed yield. There stand wide three luminous Bulls¹ and cast their seed into the three Thoughts.

प्रातर्दयोमर्दिति जोह्वीमि मध्यंदिन उबिता सूर्यस्य ।

राये मिश्रावरुणा सर्वतातेळे तोकाय तनयाय शं योः ॥३॥

3. In the dawn I call to the divine Mother infinite, in the mid-day and at the rising of the sun. I desire of Mitra and Varuna the peace and the movement in the forming of the all² for felicity and for the creation and the begetting.³

या घर्तारा रजसो रोचनस्योतादित्या दिव्या पार्थिवस्य ।

न वां देवा अमृता आ भिनन्ति व्रतानि मिश्रावरुणा ध्रुवाणि ॥४॥

4. Because you are the upholders of the luminous sphere of the mid-world and the luminous sphere of the earth, O divine Sons of Infinity, O Mitra and Varuna, the immortal gods impair not your workings which are firm for ever.⁴

¹ The Bull is the Purusha, soul or conscious being; the Cow is the Prakriti, the power of consciousness. The creation of the godhead, the Son, comes by the fertilising of the triple luminous consciousness by the triple luminous soul of the Truth-being so that that higher consciousness becomes active, creative and fruitful in man.

² The action of the sacrifice consists in the formation or "extension" of the universal being, *sarvatāti*, and of the divine being, *devatāti*.

³ Of the Son, the godhead created within the humanity.

⁴ That is, in the ordinary workings of the life-plane and the material plane, because they are unilluminated, full of ignorance and defect, the law of our divine and infinite being is impaired or spoiled, works under restrictions and with perversions; it manifests fully, steadfastly and faultlessly only when the ideal, supramental truth-plane is upheld in us by the pure wide-ness and harmony of Varuna and Mitra and takes up the vital and the physical consciousness into its power and light.

THE NINTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.70

THE INCREASERS OF BEING AND DELIVERERS

[The Rishi desires the wide and multiple fostering of our being and its powers which Varuna and Mitra give and their complete impulsion of our strength towards the perfect foundation of the divine status. He prays to them to protect and deliver him from the Destroyers and prevent their adverse control from impairing the growth of the godhead in our various sheaths or bodies.]

पुरुषा चिद्वचस्त्यबो नूनं वां वरुण ।
मित्र वंसि वां सुमतिम् ॥१॥

1. Multiple indeed by the wideness¹ is now your fostering of our being, O Varuna. O Mitra, I would enjoy your perfect-mindedness.

ता वां सम्यगद्रुह्णाणेषमश्याम धायसे ।
वयं ते वरा स्याम ॥२॥

2. You are they who betray not to harm;² may we enjoy your complete force of impulsion for our founding; may we be they, O you violent godheads.

पातं नो वरा पायुभिस्त त्रायेथां सुत्रात्रा ।
तुर्याम वस्पून्तनूभिः ॥३॥

3. Protect us, O violent ones,³ with your protectings and deliver

¹ The wideness of the infinite Truth-plane with the manifold wealth of its spiritual contents. Its condition is the perfection of the thought-mind and psychic mentality proper to a divine nature, which comes to man as the grace of the gods, *sumati*.

² The harms of the *dasyus*, destroyers of our being and enemies of its divine progress, the sons of Limitation and Ignorance.

³ Rudras. Rudra is the Divine as the master of our evolution by violence and battle,

us with a perfect deliverance. May we in our embodyings break through the Destroyers.

मा कस्याद्भुतश्च यज्ञं भुवेमा तनूमिः ।
मा श्लेषता मा तनस्ता ॥४॥

4. O transcendent in will-power, let us not in our embodyings suffer the control of any,¹ nor in our begetting, nor our creation.

smiting and destroying the Sons of Darkness and the evil they create in man. Varuna and Mitra as helpers in the upward struggle against the *dasyus* assume this Rudrahood.

¹ That is, any of the Destroyers.

THE TENTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.71

AN INVOCATION TO THE SACRIFICE

[The Rishi invokes Mitra and Varuna to the Soma-offering as destroyers of the enemy and greateners of our being and as helpers of our thoughts by their mastery and wisdom.]

आ नो गन्तं रिशादसा वरुण मित्र बर्हणा ।
उपेमं चारुमध्वरम् ॥१॥

1. O destroyers of the Enemy, come with your greatenings,¹
O Varuna, O Mitra, to this our delightful sacrifice.

विश्वस्य हि प्रचेतसा वरुण मित्र राजस्यः ।
ईशाना विप्यतं विष्यः ॥२॥

2. O Varuna, O Mitra, you govern every man and are the wise
thinkers; you are the rulers, nourish our thoughts.

उप नः सुतना गतं वरुण मित्र दाशुषः ।
अस्य सोमस्य पीतये ॥३॥

3. Come, O Varuna, O Mitra, to our Soma-offering, to the
sacrifice of the giver, that you may drink of this wine.

¹ By destroying the enemy, the hurters, who pervert and diminish our being, will and knowledge, they increase in us the largenesses proper to the "vast Truth". When they govern, the control of the *dasyus* is removed and the knowledge of the Truth increases in our thoughts.

THE ELEVENTH HYMN TO MITRA-VARUNA

V.72

AN INVOCATION TO THE SACRIFICE

[The Rishi invokes Mitra and Varuna to the sacrifice as the godheads who lead man on the path according to the law of the truth and confirm our spiritual gains by its workings.]

आ मित्रे वरुणे वयं गीमिर्बहुमो अत्रिवत् ।
नि बहिषि सदतं सोमपीतये ॥१॥

1. With the words we sacrifice to Mitra and to Varuna as the Atri.
Sit on the seat of the largeness for the drinking of the wine.

व्रतेन स्वो ध्रुवलोमा धर्मजा यातयञ्जना ।
नि बहिषि सदतं सोमपीतये ॥२॥

2. By your working you keep firm the gettings of good and you make men to walk the path by your law.
Sit on the seat of the largeness for the drinking of the wine.

मित्रश्च नो वरुणश्च बुषेतां यज्ञमिष्टये ।
नि बहिषि सदतां सोमपीतये ॥३॥

3. May Mitra and Varuna take delight in our sacrifice that we may have our desire.
Sit on the seat of the largeness for the drinking of the wine.

PART FOUR

OTHER HYMNS

HYMN IN PRAISE OF INDRA

I.5

आ त्वेता नि षीदतेन्द्रमभि प्र गायत । सखायः स्तोमबाहुसः ॥१॥

“But approach, but sit down, sing out towards Indra, O friends who bear the burden of the psalm.”

स्तोम (*stoma*). From स्तु (*stu*) to establish firmly. *Stoma* is the psalm, the hymn of praise; it is the expression in the potency of speech of those qualities in the Lord of Mental Force, — or whatever other Master of being is praised, — which the *sadhaka* is either calling to his aid or aspires to bring out in his own being and activity. The expression of a quality in inspired and rhythmic speech tends by the essential nature of Mantra to bring forward and establish in habitual action that which was formerly latent or vague in the nature. For this reason the psalm is *stoma*, that which establishes or confirms, as the prayer is *uktha*, that which desires or wills, and the simple hymn is *gāyatra*, that which brings up and sets in motion, or *śamsa*, that which brings out into the field of expression.

पुरुतमं पुरुणामोशनं वार्याणाम् । इन्द्रं सोमे सखा सुते ॥२॥

“When the nectar has been distilled, then it is Indra I take for friends, the mightiest of all that is mighty, the lord of all highest desirable things.”

पुरुतमं पुरुणाम् (*purūtamaṁ puruṇām*). Sayana’s far-fetched and violent gloss, “waster of many (foes), lord of many possessions”, is an entirely needless violation of the plain sense of the words. पुरुतमं पुरुणाम् (*purūtamaṁ puruṇām*) can have only one meaning and grammatical connection, “most पुर (*puru*) among all that are पुर (*puru*)”, just as ईशानं वार्याणाम् (*īśānaṁ vāryāṇām*) means “master among all that is supreme”. वार्य (*vārya*) may indeed mean “desirable”, very much in the underlying sense of वर (*vara*), a boon but “supreme”, rather than “desirable” chimes with ईशान (*īśāna*) and suits the balance of the phrases.

सच्चा (*sacā*) is accepted invariably by the grammarians as an adverb in the sense of “together” formed from root सच् (*sac*) to adhere, to accompany. But is it certain that the word has no other sense in the Veda? The arrangement, if not the construction of the words in this line calls imperatively for a verb to connect इन्द्र (*indra*) with सोमे सुते (*some sute*). To read in प्र गायत अभि (*pra gāyata abhi*) from the first Rik, is intolerably clumsy. Now in form सच्चा (*sacā*) may be the Active imperative of सच् (*sac*) — the singular would then be addressed to one of the company and replace...the collective plural of the first and fourth Riks — as सचस्व (*sacasva*) is its imperative Middle; or it may be more naturally, if my suggestion in connection with पृच्छा (*prcchā*) (see Hymn 4) is accepted, the first person indicative present of the verb used in the Active Mood and with a transitive effect. If सचस्व (*sacasva*) can mean “to consort with, always dwell with as a friend” (see Hymn 7), सच्चा (*sacā*) in the Active may very well mean “I keep with me as a friend or comrade”. The sentence then becomes natural, straightforward and simple and the sense perfect and appropriate not only to the present verse, but to the preceding Rik and to the Rik that follows. It provides us with the perfect logical connection and transition which is a perpetual feature of the Vedic style. In the first verse the Rishi invites his “friends” or “life-companions” to sing the psalm of Indra; the second states the object and purpose of their singing which is to have this mighty and supreme Master of things as a friend, — the peculiar purpose of Madhuchchhandas as the acknowledged head of this group of sadhakas, यस्ते सखिभ्य आ वरम् (*yaste sakhibhya ā varam*); the third justifies the choice of the forceful God by affirming Indra’s faithful friendship and his perfect helpfulness.

स घा नो योग आ भुवत् स राये स पुरंध्याम् । गमद्वाजेभिरा स नः ॥३॥

“It was he that was ever present to us in the union (with our desire), he ever for our felicity, he ever in the holding of our city; ever he comes to us with gifts of substance (in his hands).”

The emphasis is on सः (*sah*) which is, therefore, repeated with each case of application, स योगे, स राये, स पुरंध्याम् (*sa yoge, sa rāye, sa purandhyām*), and घा (*ghā*) serves to bring out the

intention of the Rishi to emphasise the word. He is explaining why it is towards Indra, इन्द्रमभि (*indramabhi*), that the psalm must be upheld; for it is Indra that is there always in the getting of our desire, Indra always when felicity is the result of our active consciousness, Indra always when our getting and our felicity are attacked and our city has to be held against the Dasyus, the robbers, the foes. He comes to us always bringing fresh substance to our mental faculties, increased resources of mental force for our active consciousness. भुवत्, गमत् (*bhuvat, gamat*) — the habitual past, formed direct from the proper stem भू, गम् (*bhū, gam*). I accept राये (*rāye*) as the usual dative, although I do not feel at all certain that we are not sometimes in the presence of a form रायः (*rāyah*) and this राये (*rāye*) like योगे (*yoge*) and पुरंध्याम् (*purandhyām*) a locative.

योग (*yoga*). The idea of Yoga in all its Vedic senses is the reaching out of the being in us to unite itself with being expressed in other persons, objects or forces, whether in the form of application of effort, contact of consciousness or acquisition of things desired.

पुरंध्याम् (*purandhyām*). I can accept neither Sayana's योषिति (*yoṣiti*) nor his बहुविधायां बुद्धौ (*bahuvīdhāyām buddhau*); his construction of पुरम् (*puram*) — बहु (*bahu*) with धि (*dhi*) — बुद्धि (*buddhi*) is almost grotesque in its violence. पुर (*pur*) is that which is filled or that which contains and protects, the city, the *ādhāra*, this nine-gated city of ours in which we guard our gettings and enjoy our felicity; धिः (*dhiḥ*) is holding, supporting. Always attacked by spiritual enemies, Dasyus, Rakshasas, Daityas, Vritras, Panis, it has to be maintained and upheld by the strength of the gods, Indra first, Indra always, Indra foremost.

यस्य संस्थे न वृष्वते हरी समत्सु शत्रवः । तस्मा इन्द्राय गायत ॥४॥

“Sing to that Indra whose steeds no foeman in our battles can withstand in the shock.”

संस्थे (*samsthe*). Sayana's construction यस्य रथे (युक्तौ) हरी (*yasya rathe [yuktau] harī*) seems to me in the last degree forced and impossible. If संस्थ (*samstha*) means रथ (*ratha*), and वृष्वते (*vṛṣvate*) means संभजन्ते (*sambhajante*), the only sense can be that

Indra's enemies in Indra's chariot do not approve of his horse! We must find more possible sense for संस्थ (saṁstha). In connection with battles, it may well mean the meeting and locked struggle of his enemies, and वृष्वते (vr̥ṣvate) well having the sense which we find so often, of checking, obstructing or successfully opposing. When Indra and the enemy stand struggling together in the shock of battle, they cannot succeed in restraining the progress of his car; it forces always the obstacle and moves forward to its goal. The verse following on the आ भुवत् पुरंध्याम् (ā bhuvat purandhyām) of the last Rik and ending in the resumption of the first idea closes appropriately in the word गायत (gāyata) and with true Vedīc perfection of the minutiae of style, the train of thought started by प्र गायत (pra.gāyata) and brought out by इन्द्रं सचा (indram sacā).

सुतपावने सुता इमे शुचयो यन्ति वीतये । सोमासो दध्याशिरः ॥५॥

“Distilled for purification are these juices of the Soma; pure, they are spent for thy manifestation, able then to bear their own intensity.”

सुतपावने (sutapāvne). सोमस्य पानकर्त्रे (somasya pānakartre), says Sayana, and he is well within his rights, for पावन् (pāvan) would undoubtedly be in later Sanskrit a noun of the agent and so taken in this passage, it makes good sense. “Here are these Somas distilled for the Soma drinker.” But, as European scholars have discovered, in the old Aryan tongue the dative अने (ane) was used verbally to express the action, no less than the agent, and appears disguised in the Greek infinitive *nai*, *enai* while the shorter form अन् (*an*) dative or nominative appears as the ordinary Greek infinitive *ein*. Old Aryan असन् (*asan*) for being remains in Greek as *einai* to be; दावन् (*dāvan*) for giving as *dounai* to give; भुवन् (*bhuvan*) for becoming as *phuein* to become; श्रुवन् (*śruvan*) for hearing as *kluein* to hear. Can we hold that this ancient Aryan form persists in the Veda, in such forms as पावने, दावने (*pāvane*, *dāvane*)? The hypothesis is tenable. In that case, however, we should land ourselves in our passage in a piece of grotesque bathos, “these Soma-juices have been distilled for the purpose of drinking Soma”! If we have to accept the idea of drinking for पावन्

(*pāvan*), Sayana's interpretation is infinitely to be preferred. But although पावन् (*pāvan*) occurs to us naturally as of the same form as दावन् (*dāvan*), by the addition of अन् (*an*) to the root पा (*pā*) to drink, with the intercalary euphonious व (*va*) which we find established in Tamil and surviving in Sanskrit forms like ब्रुवन्, स्तुवे (*bruvan, stuve*), yet पावन् (*pāvan*) may equally derive from the root पू (*pū*) to purify by modification of the root vowel, as in पावक (*pāvaka*) and पावन (*pāvan*) before the termination अन् (*an*). If we accept this account of *sutapāvne*, we get a deep and fruitful significance thoroughly in harmony with the subtle, suggestive and pregnant style of the hymns of Madhuchchhandas. The nectar juices are distilled for the primary process of purification of what has been distilled, सुतपावने (*sutapāvne*); when they are purified, शुचयः (*śucayah*), they then come into use यन्ति वीतये (*yanti vītaye*), because they are then दध्याशिरः (*dadhyāśiraḥ*). The presence of the epithet शुचयः (*śucayah*) becomes at once intelligible; otherwise an ornate epithet, not without meaning, but not really needed, it becomes in this rendering a word of capital importance, logically accessory and indeed inevitable in the context, दध्याशिरः (*dadhyāśiraḥ*), led up to naturally by शुचयः (*śucayah*), and comes with equal inevitability as the climax of the sentence and the thought.

वीतये (*vītaye*). Sayana says भक्षणार्थे (*bhakṣaṇārthe*), but he gives other significances also for वी (*vī*) गतिव्याप्तिप्रजानानाकान्तिवहादनेष्विति (*gati-vyāpti-prajanana-kanti-asana-khādaneṣviti*). In the sense of going, as in the familiar classical वीत (*vīta*), वी (*vī*) is sometimes the compound of वि+इ (*vi+i*) to go, but the verb we have in वीतये (*vītaye*) is rather the long form वी (*vī*) of the primary root वि (*vi*) to manifest, open, shine, be born, appear, produce, grow, spread, extend, move, still surviving in वयस्, वियत्, वयुन्म्, (*vayas, vīyat, vayunam*). The rendering खादन (*khādana*) strikes me as an additional sense forced upon it by the ceremonialists in order to bring this crucial Vedic term within the scope of their ritualistic conceptions. I take it, in the Veda, in its natural sense of manifestation, appearance, bringing out or expansion. The word वीति (*vīti*) describes the capital process of Vedic Yoga, the manifestation for formation and activity of that which is in us unmanifest, vague or inactive. It is वीतये (*vītaye*) or देववीतये (*deva-*

vītaye), for manifestation of the gods or of the powers and activities which they represent that the Vedic sacrificer is initiated and conducted internally in subjective meditation and surrender, externally in objective worship and oblation. The Soma juices purified यन्ति वीतये (*yanti vītaye*) go to manifest, are spent for manifestation, — in this case, as we see in the next verse वृद्धो अजायथाः (*vṛddho ajāyathāḥ*), — of Indra, the god of the hymn, Master of mental force.

दधि — आशिरः (*dadhi — āśiraḥ*). This expression must either consist of two separate words दधि (*dadhi*) and आशिरः (*āśiraḥ*) wrongly combined in the Padapatha or it is a compound — as Sayana takes it — epithet, of सोमासः (*somāsaḥ*). In the first case, दधि (*dadhi*) may mean curd and आशिरः (*āśiraḥ*) milk, used in the plural to express several helpings of milk; we shall have then to translate ritualistically, “here are (Somas) distilled for the Soma drinker and here, purified, go Somas, curd and milks for eating.” Let those take it so who will and reconcile as they may its puerility with the loftiness of the verse that precedes and subtlety of the verse that follows. But it is clear from the construction and arrangement of words that दधि-आशिरः (*dadhi-āśiraḥ*) is an epithet of सोमासः (*somāsaḥ*). Sayana’s explanation is too wonderfully complex for acceptance; nor can दधि-आशिरः (*dadhi-āśiraḥ*) mean दधि-आशिर-युक्तः (*dadhi-āśira-yuktaḥ*), one of the two factors in the compound may have a verbal force, the other of the governed substantive; nor in the older terms of Vedic language is there any insurmountable objection to the verb in the compound preceding the word it governs. दधि (*dadhi*) will then be a verbal adjective formed by reduplication from धि (*dhi*), cf. दधिष्व (*dadhiṣva*), the adjective दद्धि (*daddhi*) upholding, able to uphold and आशिर (*āśira*) a noun expressing devouring heat, force or intensity akin to the other Vedic word आसु (*āśu*) more than once used adjectively in this sense by Madhuchchhandas. We get therefore the sense “able, being purified, to sustain the action of their own intensity”, — not, therefore, rapidly wasted so as to be unable to supply the basis of delight and force necessary for Indra’s action.

“Thou for the drinking of the Soma-juice straightway onward didst appear increased, O Indra, for supremacy, O great in strength.”

अजाययाः (*ajāyathāḥ*), didst appear; again the habitual past.

The idea of the verse follows in logical order on the suggestions in the last. The Rishi has devoted his four verses to the reasons he has to give for the preference of Indra and the hymning of Indra. He then proceeds to the offering of the Soma, the wine of immortality, Ananda materialised in the delight-filled vitality; it is first expressed in the terms of joy and vitality; it is next purified; purified it is spent in the putting out of mental force for the manifestation of divine Mind, Indra; Indra manifests at once, सद्यः ...अजाययाः (*sadyaḥ...ajāyathāḥ*), but he manifests increased; a greater mental force appears than has been experienced in the past stages of the Yoga or the life. Indra appears thus increased सुतस्य पीतये (*sutasya pītaye*) and ज्यैष्ठ्याय (*jyaiṣṭhyāya*), primarily for the drinking of the joy and vitality that has been distilled, secondarily, through and as a result of the taking up of that joy and vitality in the active mental consciousness for supremacy, ज्यैष्ठ्य (*jyaiṣṭya*), that is to say, for full manifestation of his force in that fullness in which he is always the leader of the divine war and king and greatest of the battling gods. Therefore is the appellation सुक्रतो (*sukrato*) placed at the end in order to explain ज्यैष्ठ्याय (*jyaiṣṭhyāya*). The Lord of Mental Force is a very mighty god; therefore, when he appears in his fullness, it is always his force that takes the lead in our activity. We have in these two verses a succession of symbolic concepts in perfect logical order which express stage by stage the whole process of the divine manifestation in this lower material activity, *devavīti*, in Adhwara Yajna.

आ त्वा विशन्वाशवः सोमास इन्द्र गिर्वणः । शं ते सन्तु प्रचेतसे ॥७॥

“May the fiery Soma-juices enter into thee, O Indra, thou who hast delight in the Word; may they be peace to thee in thy forward-acting awareness.”

आशवः (*āśavaḥ*) व्याप्तिमन्तः (*vyāptimantaḥ*), says Sayana; but the epithet is then inapposite. आशु (*āśu*) like आशिर (*āśira*) means

devouring, fiery, intense, impetuous, swift — cf. the senses of आशिर (āśira), fire, the sun, a demon. The joy and vitality are to pervade the mental force and, because this is to be done in the force of the word, the mantras, गिरः (giraḥ), therefore Indra is addressed as गिर्वणः (girvaṇaḥ), the word, besides, preparing after the fashion of Vedic interlinking the transition of the thought to the subject of the next verse.

प्रचेतसे (pracetase). The epithet is not here merely ornamental or generally descriptive; if it were, the vocative would have been preferred. The use of the dative indicates clearly that प्रचेतस् (pracetas) is meant to express the condition in which the peace is desired. The most serious obstacle of the sadhaka is the difficulty of combining action with a basis of calm; when intense force enters the system and is put out in activity, it brings eagerness, disturbance, trouble, and excitement of activity and exhaustion of relapse. There is अज्ञान्ति (asānti), absence of शम् (śam). It is easy to avoid this when there is quietude and the Ananda is merely enjoyed, not utilised. But Indra, as mental force, has to be प्रचेतस् (pracetas), consciously active, putting his consciousness forward in thought and action, he has to absorb the Soma-wine and lose nothing of its fire, yet preserve the peace of the liberated soul. The Soma-juices have to bring added peace with them to the active mind as well as an added force.

त्वां स्तोमा अबीवृषन् त्वामुक्त्वा शतक्रतो । त्वां वर्धन्तु नो गिरः ॥८॥

“Thee the hymns of praise have increased, thee, the hymns of prayer, O Indra of the hundred might; thee may (let) our Words increase.”

अबीवृषन् (avīvr̥dhan). The habitual past. In the past and as a rule, praise of Indra and prayer to Indra have increased and increase the mental force; let the words also of this mantra now increase it.

गिरः (giraḥ) takes up the गिर्वणः (girvaṇaḥ) of the last line. It is the mantra that has to make the Soma effective in increasing Indra. The thought, therefore, takes up the प्र गायत (pra gāyata) of the first Rik and applies it to the office which is asked of Indra, for which he has been given the Soma-wine, the general purpose

of the invocatory chant and the utility of this divine increase in the fiery strength of the Soma offering.

अक्षितोतिः सनेदिमं वाजमिन्द्रः सहस्रिणम् । यस्मिन्विश्वानि पौंस्या ॥९॥

“Unimpaired in his expansion may Indra safeguard this myriad wealth (of mind) on which all our strengths are established.”

अक्षितोतिः (*akṣitotiḥ*). The ritualistic interpretation of the ninth Rik is not unworth noting for its unadulterated clumsiness and unconvincing pointlessness. Sayana takes वाजम् (*vājam*) in the sense of food and supposes it to allude to the Soma. “Let Indra,” he renders it, “whose protection is undamaged, enjoy this food thousand-numbered, in which food are all strengths.” Nothing is clear here except the working of a mind ignorant of the meaning of the text and compelled to hammer out a meaning in harmony with tradition and ritualistic prepossessions. In the light of the symbolic interpretation, the verse like every other becomes both in sense and construction simple, straightforward, logical, well-ordered and full of subtle purpose and consummate dexterity. ऊतिः (*ūtiḥ*) is expansion. Indra is supposed to have increased mental force in accordance with his experience, वृद्धो अजाययाः, अवीवृषन् (*vṛddho ajāyathāḥ, avīvṛdhan*), and in answer to the prayer त्वां वर्धन्तु नो गिरः (*tvām vardhantu no girah*) he is वृद्धः (*vṛddhaḥ*); the Rishi prays that that increased mental force may remain unimpaired, अक्षित (*akṣita*), and that the Lord of the Force, thus preserved in the expansion of his power, may safeguard, preserve or keep safe, सनेद् (*saned*), this substance of mind, this rich mind-stuff full of the force of Indra, सहस्रिणम् (*sahasriṇam*), in which all human strengths repose for their effectiveness and stability.

सनेद् (*saned*). The group of words, साः, सातिः, सन्, सनयः, सनः, सनिः, सानसिः (*sāḥ, sātiḥ, san, sanayah, sanah, saniḥ, sānasiḥ*), are of great importance in the Veda. Sayana is not consistent in his interpretation of them. He applies to them his favourite ritualistic ideas of giving, favour, progeny, eating, etc. I attach to them invariably the sense of substance, permanence, safety, preservation, safeguarding. The basic sense of the roots of the *sa* (स) family is substance, steadfastness, stability, solidity. साः (*sāḥ*)

is the Greek *sws*, safe, सक्तिः (*sātiḥ*) the Greek *sisis*, safety, salvation, preservation. सन् (*san*) is the basis of the Latin *sanus*, sound, sane, in health which rests on the fundamental sense “well-preserved, safe from harm”, and of the Sanskrit सनत्, सना, सनात्, सनातनः (*sanat, sanā, sanāt, sanātanah*), perpetual, eternal, and सनयः, सनिः, सनः, सानसिः (*sanayah, saniḥ, sanah, sānasih*) are its derivatives in this fundamental significance. We shall find that this interpretation will illuminate the sense of every passage in which the words occur, need never be varied and never lead to either straining of sense or awkwardness of construction.

सहस्रम् (*sahasram*) means “a thousand”; if that be its only significance, सहस्रिणम् (*sahasriṇam*) must mean, myriad, thousand-fold, infinitely numerous or varied. I am convinced, however, that सहस्र (*sahasra*) meant originally as an adjective plentiful or forceful, or as a noun, plenty or force; सहस्रिणम् (*sahasriṇam*) would then mean “abundantly plentiful” or “rich in force”. In any case, it describes well the myriad-shaped wealth of mind-stuff and mind-force which is the basis of all our masculine activities or practical masteries, यस्मिन् विश्वानि पौस्या (*yasmin viśvāni paunsyā*). We may, if we choose, take the phrase to mean “wealth counted by thousands” of gold pieces or of cattle in which, says the Vedic Rishi, reside all forms of human strength and greatness. But I am not disposed to lend the sentiment of Mammon worship to men of an early age in which strength, skill and mental resource must have been the one source and protection of wealth and not, as falsely seems to be the fact in a plutocratic age, wealth the source and condition of the rest. The Vedic Rishis may have been primitive sages, but primitive savages did not hold sentiments of this kind; they valued strength and skill first, wealth only as the reward of strength and skill.

मा नो मर्ता अग्निं द्रुहन्तनुनामिन्द्रं गिर्वणः । ईशानो यद्यथा वषम् ॥१०॥

“Let not mortal men (or, let not the slayers) do hurt to us, O Indra who delightest in the mantra; be the lord of our bodies and give us to ward off the stroke.”

मर्तः (*martāḥ*), Greek *brotos*, mortal. The Rishi has already prayed for protection of his spiritual gains against spiritual

enemies; he now prays for the safety from human blows of the physical body. But I am inclined to think that मर्ताः (*martāḥ*) here has an active rather than a passive sense; for the termination त्त (*ta*) may have either force. मर्तः (*martah*) undoubtedly means mortal in the Veda, but it is possible that it bears also the sense of slayer, smiter, deadly one like मर्त (*marta*) in the Latin *mors*, like the transitive sense in mortal, which means either subject to death or deadly. In any case I cannot follow Sayana in taking तनूनाम् (*tanūnām*) as subject to अभि (*abhi*). I take it only set to ईशानः (*īśānaḥ*) which is otherwise otiose and pointless in the sentence. The significant use of गिर्वणः (*girvaṇaḥ*) indicates that the safety from mortal strokes is also claimed as a result of the Vedic mantra. "Let not those who would slay, do harm against us (अभि [*abhi*] in our direction); do thou Indra, lord of mental force, in the strength of the mantra, govern our bodies and when the blow comes in our direction ward it off or enable us to ward it off (यवय [*yavaya*], causal)." The reference seems to me to be to that power of the mental force in which the Indian yogin has always believed, the power which, substituting a divine mental action for the passive helpless and vulnerable action of the body, protects the individual and turns away all attempts physical or otherwise to do him hurt. If I am right in my interpretation, we see the source of the Tantric idea of the *stoma* or *stotra* acting as a *kavaca* or mental armour around the body which keeps off the attacks of suffering, calamity, diseases, wounds or death. We may note that if मर्ताः (*martāḥ*) be slayers, तनूनाम् (*tanūnām*) may be governed by मर्ताः (*martāḥ*); "let not the slayers of the body do hurt towards us, O Indra who delightest in the mantra; govern them (our bodies with thy mental force) and give us to ward off the stroke." But, in any case, whether we associate तनूनाम् (*tanūnām*) with अभि (*abhi*) or मर्ताः (*martāḥ*) or ईशानः (*īśānaḥ*), ईशानः (*īśānaḥ*) must refer back to तनूनाम् (*tanūnām*). Sayana's "ward off the blow, for thou canst", is a pointless superfluity, one of those ideas which seem right and ingenious to the scholar, but would never suggest itself to the poet; least of all to a master of style like Madhuchchhandas.

HYMN TO INDRA

I.7

इन्द्रमिद् गाथिनो बृहदिन्द्रमकथिरकिणः ।
इन्द्रं वाणीरनुषत ॥१॥

1. Indra the Udgathins, Indra the masters of Rik with their thoughts of substance, Indra the voices desired.

इन्द्र इन्द्रयोः सचा संमिश्र आ वचोयुजा ।
इन्द्रो वक्षी हिरण्ययः ॥२॥

2. Indra is made one with our being by the love of the two Bright Ones yoked to speech, Indra of the brilliance, the wielder of the thunderbolt.

इन्द्रो दीर्घाय वक्षस आ सूर्य रोहयद् विवि ।
वि गोथिरद्विमैरयत् ॥३॥

3. Indra for far vision ascends in Heaven up to the sun, he manifests the mountain to all sides with those lustres.

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रघनेषु च ।
उग्र उपाभिरुक्तिभिः ॥४॥

4. Indra protect us in our store of strength and in our strong possessions, fierce with fierce raptures.¹

इन्द्रं वयं महायन इन्द्रमर्भो हवामहे ।
युजं वृत्रेषु वञ्चिणम् ॥५॥

5. Indra we call in great wealth, Indra in little, the thunderer assailing the Vritras.

स नो वृषस्रमुं चरं सत्रादावक्षपा वृषि ।
वत्स्यभ्ययतिष्कृतः ॥६॥

¹ pulsations of being.

6. Therefore do thou, O Supreme, remove this film from our being and be to us unconcealed.

तुच्छोतुच्छं य उतरे स्तोमा इन्द्रस्य वशिष्णः ।
न विन्वे अस्य सुष्टुतिम् ॥७॥

7. The praises of Indra the thunderer which rise from layer¹ to higher layer,² in all I find not his perfect praise.

वृषा यूषेव वंसगः कृष्टोरित्यर्थावसा ।
ईशानो अग्रतिष्कृतः ॥८॥

8. As a yoked bull with its mate he in his might goeth to the power that work upon us and rules unconcealed.

य एकश्चर्षणीनां वसुनाधिरण्यति ।
इन्द्रः पञ्च क्षितीनाम् ॥९॥

9. Indra who alone disposes all actions and possessions of the five planes.

इन्द्रं वो विश्वतस्परि हवामहे वनेभ्यः ।
मस्याकमस्तु केवलः ॥१०॥

10. Indra for the people we call in everything that concerns you; may he be to us absolute and free.

HYMN TO INDRA

I.8

एन्द्र सानसि रयि सजित्वानं सवासहम् ।
वर्षिष्ठमूतये मर ॥१॥

1. O Indra, fill us with soundness and a movement¹ — victorious and of enduring force, utterly abundant to our desire.²

नि येन मुष्टिहत्यया नि वृत्रा ऋणवामहे ।
त्वोतासो न्यर्बता ॥२॥

2. O thou by whose strong action we through the destruction of their limiting hold encounter successfully³ the obstructing gods, O Hammerer of the foe.⁴

इन्द्र त्वोतास आ वयं वज्रं घना बभौमहि ।
जयेम सं युधि स्पृशः ॥३॥

3. O Indra, O Hammerer, smiting we hurl abroad the Vajra; may we wholly conquer in fight our jealous foes.

वयं शूरेभिरस्तुषिरिन्द्र त्वया युजा वयम् ।
सासह्याम पृतन्यतः ॥४॥

4. We, O Indra, by the armed gods and by thee joined to us in Yoga, put forth constantly our strength in war.

महीं इन्द्रः परश्च नु महित्ववस्तु वशिष्णे ।
द्यौर्नं प्रथिना शवः ॥५॥

5. Mighty indeed is Indra and supreme, may the strength of the Mahat be with the wielder of the lightning as the sky is variedly brilliant with the wideness⁵ that fills it.

¹ Or, delight ² Or, for our expansion. ³ Or, stay the activity of

⁴ *Trotāsah* — provisional. ⁵ Or, wide one.

समोहे वा य आशत नरस्तोकस्य सनितो ।
विप्रास्तो वा विषायवः ॥६॥

6. For he enjoyeth alike whether in the safe keeping of one little among men or of the thoughtful wise.¹

यः कुक्षिः सोमपातमः समुद्र इव पिन्वते ।
उर्वोरापो न काकुबः ॥७॥

7. He that is a swallowing gulf devouring freely the nectar, and like a sea he drinketh these wide waters as if they were pools.²

एवा ह्यस्य सूनृता विरप्सो गोमती मही ।
पक्वा शाखा न दाशुषे ॥८॥

8. Therefore is the soul's brilliant strong-acted laud of truth like a ripe branch to the giver.

एवा हि ते विभूतय ऊत्तय इन्द्र भावते ।
सद्यश्चित् सन्ति दाशुषे ॥९॥

9. Therefore do thy puissances, and the expansions of thee, O Indra, become active at once in awareness to the giver that hath the power to contain them.³

एवा ह्यस्य काम्या स्तोम उक्थं च शंस्या ।
इन्द्राय सोमपीतये ॥१०॥

10. Therefore are the soul's desirable (and noble things) and its praise and adoration (to be declared to) for Indra that he may drink the nectar-juice.

¹ Or, strong in thought. ² *Kākudāḥ* — doubtful. ³ *Māvate* — provisional.

HYMN TO INDRA

I.9

इन्द्रेहि मत्स्यन्वसो विश्वेभिः सोमपर्वभिः ।
महीं अभिष्टिरोजसा ॥१॥

Come, O Indra, thou takest rapture by all the bodily parts of this Matter; full of the great, setting thyself to it by thy force.

एमेनं सृजता सुते मन्दिमिन्द्राय मन्विने ।
चर्कं विश्वानि चक्रये ॥२॥

Increase thy strength, and do ye when the nectar is expressed create rapture for Indra the taker of joy, activity for the doer of our actions.

मत्स्वा सुशिप्र मन्विभिः स्तोत्रेभिर्विश्वचर्षणे ।
सर्वेषु सवनेष्व्या ॥३॥

Rejoice, O swift of mood, with praises that awake delight, O thou all-doer; attach thyself to these outpourings.

असुप्रमिन्द्र ते गिरः प्रति त्वायुवहास्त ।
अजोषा बृषभं पतिम् ॥४॥

When thou comest not to them, O Indra, thy voices laugh up to thee seeking unfulfilled satisfaction to their lover and lord.

सं चोदय चित्रमर्वाग् राघ इन्द्र वरेष्यम् ।
असवित् ते विभु प्रभु ॥५॥

Excite entirely, O Indra, that manifold highest ecstasy below, — that is of thee which is universal being and supreme.

अस्मान्तु तत्र चोदयेन्द्र राये रभस्वतः ।
तुविद्युम्न यज्ञस्वतः ॥६॥

6. Us too in that, O Indra, wholly excite to bliss; make us full of strong ecstasy and victorious strength, O thou brilliant in steadfast force.

सं गोमदिन्द्र वाजवदस्मे पृथु भवो बृहत् ।
विश्वायुर्षोऽहमितम् ॥७॥

7. So do thou dispose to us, O Indra, wide knowledge full of light, full of substance, in nature of that greatness, enduring all our life unimpaired.

अस्मे षेहि भवो बृहद् द्युम्नं सहस्रसातमम् ।
इन्द्र ता रथिनीरिषः ॥८॥

8. Dispose to us knowledge of the large, a brilliance of utterly forceful steadfastness and, Indra, those rapturous masteries.

वसोरिन्द्रं वसुपतिं गोभिर्गृणन्त ऋग्मियम् ।
होम गन्तारमृतये ॥९॥

9. Declare ye with your words Indra of the Substance, lord of substance, full of the rik (knowledge); as he goeth we call on him for expansion of our being.

मुतेषुते न्योकसे बृहद् बृहत एवतिः ।
इन्द्राय शूषमर्चति ॥१०॥

10. In every pouring of the nectar for capacity, of the large and increaser of the large, for Indra proceeds.

HYMN TO INDRA

I.10

गायन्ति त्वा गायत्रिणोऽर्चन्त्यर्कमर्कणः ।
ब्रह्माणस्त्वा शतक्रत उद् वंशमिव येमिरे ॥१॥

1. Thee the Gayatrins¹ chant, the Arkins² begin their action; the mind movements, O Shatakratu, strive up by thee as they that climb a trunk.

यत् सानोः सानुमारुहद् भूर्यस्यष्ट कर्त्तवम् ।
तदिन्द्रो अर्यं चेतति यूयेन वृष्णिरेजति ॥२॥

2. When one climbeth from plateau to plateau, a rich activity expresses itself, then Indra bringeth the substance of thought into consciousness, he moves a lover³ with his mate.⁴

युष्वा हि केशिना हरी वृषणा कश्यप्रा ।
अथा न इन्द्र सोमपा गिरामुपश्रुति चर ॥३॥

3. Yoke thou thy maned steeds, covering with mastery fill the containing soul, then, O Indra, drinker of the nectar, respond with the Sruti to our words.

एहि स्तोमां अभि स्वरा ऽभि गुणीह्या ख्व ।
ब्रह्म च नो वसो सचेन्द्र यज्ञं च वर्धय ॥४॥

4. Come, vibrate⁵ to our songs of praise, speak them out as they rise, cry out thy response; attach thyself to our mind, O King, O Indra, and increase in us the Yajna.

उक्थमिन्द्राय शंस्यं वर्धनं पुरनिष्पिषे ।
शक्रो यथा सुतेषु जो रारणत् सख्येषु च ॥५॥

¹ Or, 'Devatas of mind' ² Also, 'Devatas of mind' ³ Or, 'master'

⁴ Or, 'vibrates with the force and mastery of his action'. *Yūtha*, joining, mate, that to which one is yoked, also force, strength.

⁵ Or, 'answer'

5. I form fully the prayer I have to declare towards Indra, the prayer that giveth increase, that potent Indra may have ecstasy in our nectar-yieldings and in our friendlinesses.¹

तमित् सखित्व ईमहे तं राये तं सुवीर्ये ।
स शक्र उत नः शक्रदिन्द्रो वसु दयमानः ॥६॥

6. Him we desire in comradeship, him in delight, him in strong energy; therefore this puissant Indra in his kindness hath power to give us his substance.²

सुविदुतं सुनिरजमिन्द्र त्वादातमिच्छतः ।
गवामप न्नजं वृषि कुण्ड्व राघो अद्विषः ॥७॥

7. O Indra, wide and untroubled³ success has been won, remove the veil⁴ over these rays, create delight, O dweller on the hill.

नहि त्वा रोदसी उभे ऋघायमाणमिन्वतः ।
जेषः स्वर्वतीरपः सं गा अस्मभ्यं धनुहि ॥८॥

8. Over thee the two obstructing firmaments have no power when thou goest stiffly upward⁵; victorious pour down for us on our earths the waters of heaven.

आशुत्कर्णं धुषी हवं नू चिद्दृषिष्व मे गिरः
इन्द्र स्तोममिमं मम कृष्या युजश्चिदन्तरम् ॥९॥

9. Lend attentive ear and hear my call, now uphold⁶ my words; O Indra, draw this my song of praise into Thy innermost part of the state of Yoga.

विद्या हि त्वा वृषन्तमं वाजेषु हवनश्रुतम् ।
वृषन्तमस्य ह्रमह ऊर्ति सहस्रसातमाम् ॥१०॥

¹ Or, 'acts of friendship'. ² Or, 'hath power to distribute to us of his substance'.

³ Or, 'undarkened' ⁴ *vraja* doubtful — perhaps 'reveal the multitude of those rays'.

⁵ Or, 'when thou goest straight'; ⁶ Or, 'heed'

10. We know thee most supreme in the substantial strengths of being, a hearer of our call; because thou art thus supreme we call to thee for expansion of being strong in stability.

आ तू न इन्द्र कोशिक मन्वसानः सुतं पिब ।
नव्यमायुः प्र सृ तिर कृषी सहस्रायुषिम् ॥११॥

11. O Indra, of the sheaths, drink then the Soma, be steadfast in delight, give us wholly a new being and create for us the Knowledge that preserveth utterly our force.

परि त्वा गिर्बन्धो गिर इमा भवन्तु विद्वतः ।
वृद्धायुमन् वृद्धयो ऋष्टा भवन्तु ऋष्टयः ॥१२॥

12. O delighter in our words, may these our words be all around thee; may all increase follow the increase of our being and all love cling to it.

HYMN TO INDRA

I.11

इन्द्रं विश्वा अबोधुषन्त्समुद्रथ्यचसं गिरः ।
रथीतमं रथीनां बाजानां सत्पतिं पतिम् ॥१॥

1. Indra, cleaver of the ocean, all words increased, most rap-
turous of the blissful master of being and lord of stable
strengths.

सख्ये त इन्द्र बाजिनो मा भेम शवसस्पते ।
स्वामभि प्र षोनुमो जेतारमपरजितम् ॥२॥

2. In thy friendship, who art stable and strong, we have no
fear, O Indra, lord of the various light, towards thee we
move forward the conqueror unconquered.

पूर्वीरिन्द्रस्य रातयो न वि वस्यन्त्युतयः ।
यदी वाजस्य गोमतः स्तोतुभ्यो मंहते मघम् ॥३॥

3. The first delights of Indra, his former expandings are not
destroyed because, for his praisers he collects fullness of
luminous strength.

पुरां भिन्दुर्युवा कबिरमितौजा अजायत ।
इन्द्रो विश्वस्य कर्मणो मर्ता वज्री पुरुष्टुतः ॥४॥

4. He that breaketh the gate, the young, the seer, appeared
immeasurable in force, Indra, that holdeth up all action, the
thunderer wide-praised.

त्वं बलस्य गोमतोऽपावरद्विवो बिलम् ।
त्वां देवा अबिभ्युषस्तुज्यमानास जाविषुः ॥५॥

5. Thou wert the uncoverer of luminous Vala's lair, O dweller
on the hill; into thee the gods without fear entered forcefully
protected.¹

¹ Or, 'impelled'.

तवाहं शूर रातिभिः प्रत्यायं सिन्धुमावदन् ।
उपातिष्ठन्त गर्बजो विबुधे तस्य कारकः ॥६॥

6. Voiceful with thy ecstasies, O mighty one, I went towards the sea; the doers of action approached¹ in the knowledge of that delighter in my speech.

मायाभिरिन्द्र मायिनं त्वं शृण्वन्वातिरः ।
विबुधे तस्य मेघिरास्तेषां श्रवांस्युत्तिरः ॥७॥

7. By thy containing mighty thou camest down to the mighty and containing (Shushna); do thou in his revelation fulfilled in completeness lift up their inspirations.

इन्द्रमीशावयोजसाधि स्तोमा अनूषत ।
सहस्रं यस्य रातय उत वा सन्ति भूयसीः ॥८॥

8. Towards Indra who rules in his force our praises yearned, he who hath a thousand delights, ay, they are even more.

¹ Or, 'resorted to me'

HYMN TO INDRA

VIII.54

एतत् त इन्द्रवीर्यं गीभिर्गुणन्ति कारवः ।

ते स्तोभन्त ऊर्जमावन् घृतश्चुतं पीरासो नमन् धीतिभिः ॥ १॥

1. This is that might of thee, O Indra, which doers of the action speak of in their Words. They praise and guard thy energy dripping with light; the people of the city come (reach) to thee by their thinkings.

नमन्त इन्द्रमवसे सुकृत्यया येषां सुतेषु मन्वसे ।

यथा संवर्ते अमबो यथा कृश एवास्मे इन्द्र मत्स्व ॥२॥

2. They by their good action come (reach) to Indra and have his guard, they in whose wine-offerings thou hast delight: even as I approach thee empty of delight, even as I come to thee in my leanness, so in us take thy delight, O Indra.

यदिन्द्र राघो अस्ति ते माघोनं मघवत्तम ।

तेन नो बोधि सघमाद्यो वृषे भगो दानाय वृत्रहन् ॥५॥

5. With that opulent pleasure which is thine, O Indra most full of the plenitudes, awake in us as our companion of the delight for our growth, for the giving of the enjoyment, O slayer of the Coverer.

आजिपते नृपते त्वमिद्वि नो वीज आ वसि सुक्ते ।

वीतो होत्राभिरुत देववीतिभिः सवांसो वि शृण्विरे ॥६॥

6. Lord of battles, king of the Gods, prosper in us, bring us plenitude, O hundred-willed. By the path, by the offerings, by the bringing into being of the gods, we have become full of peace and won inspired knowledge.

सन्ति ह्ययं आशिष इन्द्र आयुर्जनानाम् ।

मस्मान् नमस्व मघवन्नृपावसे घृक्षस्व पिप्युषीमिषम् ॥७॥

7. For these are his warrior blessings: Indra is the life of men. Come to us, O master of plenitude and guard us: milk out for us a nourishing force.

HYMN TO INDRA

X.54

[Hymn of Brihaduktha Vamadevya to Indra, Master of Mental Force, when he exceeded Mind and entered Mahas, yet maintained the lower firmaments, — realising his unity with Sah the supreme Purusha.]

तां सु ते कीर्तिं मघवन् महित्वा यत् त्वा भीते रोदसी अह्वयेताम् ।
प्रावो देवा आतिरो वासमोजः प्रजायै त्वस्यै यदशिक्ष इन्द्र ॥१॥

1. When thou hadst given wholly the fullness of the ideal to thy fame, O Maghavan of the fullness, when both the firmaments cried to thee in their terror, thou didst protect the gods, thou didst transfix the Enemy, by teaching the strength of the Spirit, O Indra, even for this creation.

यदचरस्तन्वा वावृषानो बलानीन्द्र प्रब्रुवाणो जनेषु ।
मायेत् सा ते यानि युद्धान्याहुर्नाथ शत्रुं ननु पुरा विवित्से ॥२॥

2. When thou didst range abroad increasing in thy force of substance and progressing strength to the people, that force was sufficient for thy battles of which they tell, but for thee, thou knowest today no enemy nor before thou knewest.

क उ नु ते महिमनः समस्याऽस्मत् पूर्वं ऋषयोऽन्तमापुः ।
यन्मातरं च पितरं च साकमजवयथास्तन्वः स्वायाः ॥३॥

3. Who were the sages before us that came to the end of thy greatness equal-souled? Didst thou not give being to thy father and thy mother together out of thine own body?

चत्वारि ते असुर्याणि नामाऽदाभ्यानि महिषस्य सन्ति ।
त्वमङ्गा तानि विश्वानि वित्से येभिः कर्माणि मघवञ्चकथं ॥४॥

4. Four, verily, are thy untameable mightinesses when thou

dwellest in the Vastness; all of them thou knowest and by them thou hast done thy works, O Maghavan.

त्वं विश्वा दधिषे केवलानि यान्यादिर्या च गुहा वसूनि ।
काममिन्ध्रे मघवन् मा वि तारोस्त्वमाज्ञाता त्वमिन्द्रासि दाता ॥५॥

5. Thou holdest all these that are absolute existences, thou makest known the objects that are hidden in the Secret Places of Being; smite not asunder my desire, O Maghavan, thou art he that commands it and thou art he that giveth.

यो अदधान्ज्योतिषि ज्योतिरन्तर्यो असृजन्मधुना सं मधूनि ।
अथ प्रियं शूषमिन्द्राय मन्म ब्रह्मकृतो बहुबुध्यादवाचि ॥६॥

6. He who placed light in the heart of other light and joined sweetnesses to sweetness, to that Indra this love, this force, this thought was spoken from Brihaduktha when he fulfilled in himself the Brahman.

A VEDIC HYMN

I.3

अश्विना यज्वरीरिषो ब्रवत्याणो शुभस्यतो ।
पुरुभुजा वनस्यतम् ॥१॥

1. O Ashwins, to him who striveth¹ towards Yajna² swift-footed lords of bliss,³ O much-enjoying Ashwins, become⁴ delight.

अश्विना पुढ्वंससा नरा शबीरया धिया ।
धिष्ण्या वनतं गिरः ॥२॥

2. O strong, much-destroying⁵ Ashwins, with the firm and brilliant⁶ understanding take⁷ joy in my words.

वज्रा युवाकवः सुता नासत्या वृक्तबर्हिषः ।
आ यातं स्रवर्तनी ॥३॥

3. O wasters,⁸ O sons of Nasata, arrive, ye fierce of deed, for I have put myself in Yōga,⁹ I have manifested the flame.¹⁰

इन्द्रा याहि चित्रभानो सुता इमे त्वायवः ।
अण्वीभिस्तना पूतासः ॥४॥

4. Come, O Indra, of manifold brilliance, here are these vital juices¹¹ put forth, extend them with the Powers of being, O thou of purified strength.¹²

इन्द्रा याहि धियेषितो विप्रजूतः सुतावतः ।
उप ब्रह्माणि वाघतः ॥५॥

¹ *Riṣ* is either to strive, to injure, to speed or to thrill, quiver or writhe with ecstasy.

² Yajna may mean (1) Lord (2) Yoga (3) action (4) sacrifice. ³ Or, good, ⁴ Or, take

⁵ *Puru*, Gr. *polus*, much — or, freely giving. ⁶ *Savrayā* — *hailos* (Gr.). ⁷ Or, accept

⁸ Or, givers, ⁹ *Yuvāku*: *yu+aku* like *yuvan*: *yu+an*.

¹⁰ *Vṛktabarhiṣah*: *vṛkta*, spread or opened and *barhis*, light, force, fire.

¹¹ *Āyavaḥ*: a clear proof that the Soma of the Veda is not primarily the Soma-juice, but Amrita.

¹² Or, come with Powers of being and with material Force.

5. Come, O Indra, commanded by the understanding and forcibly impelled to the soul-movements of the full of substantial strength,¹ the joyously expanding in soul.²

इन्द्रा याहि त्तुजान उप ब्रह्मणि हरिवः ।
सुते वधिष्व नश्चनः ॥६॥

6. Come, O Indra, with force of impulsion³ to the soul movements, O dweller in the brilliance,⁴ uphold our delight in the outpouring of the Soma.

ओमासश्चर्षणीधृतो विश्वे देवास आ गत ।
दाश्वासो दाशुषः सुतम् ॥७॥

7. O loving⁵ ones, O upholders of our activities,⁶ ye general gods, approach, divide the giver's outpoured Soma.

विश्वे देवासो अप्सुरः सुतमा गन्त तूर्णयः ।
उत्ता इव स्वसराणि ॥८॥

8. O general gods, ye active ones,⁷ full of substance,⁸ come with speed like lovers to their stalls.

विश्वे देवासो अग्निष एहिमायासो अद्रुहः ।
मेघं जुषन्त बह्वयः ॥९॥

9. O general gods mighty in force,⁹ who stumble¹⁰ not, neither to hurt, cleave to the fullness of my capacity,¹¹ O ye who support.

¹ *Sutāvataḥ*: Either *suta+van* or *su+tavan* (cf. *revān*); I take the latter.

² *Vāghataḥ* — a doubtful word. The rendering given is provisional, deduced from the original force of *vā*.

³ Or, force of excitation or, confirmative, protecting force. ⁴ For *harivaḥ* cf. *adrivaḥ*.

⁵ *Omāsaḥ*: *ūmāḥ* from *um* to love, foster (cf. *Uma*), *u* to be in width between imperfection+completive or fulfilling *m* or, kindly.

⁶ *Carṣaṇt*: either (1) vision (2) movement (3) action.

⁷ *Ap* to act and *tur* expressing the agent or else meaning swift.

⁸ Or, most blissful or auspicious. *Sutamā* cf. *tamisrā* (dense), *tanū*, *tanva* etc.

⁹ *Māyāsaḥ*: Lat. *majores* but not in comparative sense.

¹⁰ Stumble for *sridh* is provisional.

¹¹ *Medham*: either (1) sap (2) brain (3) capacity. (cf. *medhā*).

पावका नः सरस्वती वाजेभिर्वाजिनोवती ।

यज्ञं वष्टु धियावसुः ॥१०॥

10. Let purifying Saraswati plentiful with floescence of being dwell in Yajna,¹ rich with the understanding.

चोदयित्री सूनृतानां चेतन्ती सुमतीनाम् ।

यज्ञं दधे सरस्वती ॥११॥

11. Inspirer of true intuitions, awakener of right thoughts, Saraswati supporteth the Yajna.

महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना ।

धियो विद्वा वि राजति ॥१२॥

12. Saraswati awakeneth to consciousness by force of will² Mahas the ocean and shineth out this way and that in all the movements of the understanding.

FROM A VEDIC HYMN

I.15

इन्द्र सोमं पिब ऋतुना ऽऽ त्वा विज्ञान्तिवन्धवः ।
मत्सरासस्तदोकसः ॥१॥

1. O Indra, drink according to the law of truth the Soma-wine; let the nectar-sweetnesses enter into thee, rapturous, that have there their home.

मस्तः पिबत ऋतुना पोत्राब् यज्ञं पुनीतन ।
यूयं हि ष्ठा सुदानवः ॥२॥

2. O Maruts, drink according to the truth, purify the Yajna by the process of purification for ye are steadfast and very bold.

अभि यज्ञं गृणीहि नो ग्नावो नेष्टः पिब ऋतुना ।
त्वं हि रत्नधा अस्ति ॥३॥

3. About the Yajna utter for us thy cry, active and exhilarated drink thou by the truth for thou art the disposer of delight.

अग्ने देवां इहा बह सावया योनिषु त्रिषु ।
परि भूष पिब ऋतुना ॥४॥

4. O Agni, bring hither the gods, make them to sit in the three wombs, surround all and drink by the truth.

बाह्यजादिन्द्र राघसः पिबा सोममूर्तूरनु ।
तवेदि सस्यमस्तुत्तम् ॥५॥

5. O Indra, drink thou the Soma of the soul's bliss according to the truths of things, for it is thy friendship that never sinks.

युवं वक्षं धृतव्रत मित्रावरुण कूळभम् ।
ऋतुना यज्ञ माशाथे ॥६॥

6. Do you, O Mitra and Varuna, whose function it is to uphold Daksha, ... enjoy the Yajna by the truth.

ऋविणोदा ऋविणसो घावहस्तासो अप्यरे ।
यज्ञेषु देवमीळते ॥७॥

7. The lord of substance laden-handed in the sacrifice propitiateth the god in the Yajnas.

ऋविणोदा वदातु नो वसूनि यानि शुण्डिरे ।
देवेषु ता वनामहे ॥८॥

8. May the lord of substance give to us the riches of which 'tis told; for these we pray the gods.¹

ऋविणोदाः पिपीषति जुहोत प्र च तिष्ठत ।
नेष्ट्रावृतुभिरिष्यत ॥९॥

9. The lord of substance would drink, make the offering and stand forward ye subject to the laws of truth by the process of...

¹ Or, desire in the gods.

HYMN TO BRAHMANASPATI

I.18

MASTER OF THE SOUL

सोमानं स्वरणं कृणुहि ब्रह्मणस्पते ।
कक्षीवन्तं य औशिजः ॥१॥

1. O Master of the Soul, make Kakshivan, Son of Ushij, a sweet soul and a good fighter.

यो रेवान्यो अमोबहा वसुवित्युष्टिबर्धनः ।
स नः सिषक्तु यस्तुरः ॥२॥

2. May he who is bold and impetuous, who slays all unfriendly things, the knower of substance of being, the increaser of fullness, cleave to us, he who is strong and swift.

मा नः शंसो अरक्षो धृतिः प्रणङ्ग मर्त्यस्य ।
रक्षा णो ब्रह्मणस्पते ॥३॥

3. Let not the aspiration and the eagerness of mortal man in his struggle perish in us, O Master of the Soul, protect us.

स घा वीरो न रिष्यति यमिन्द्रो ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ।
सोमो हिनोति मर्त्यम् ॥४॥

4. That hero smites and is not hurt, whom Indra and Brahmanaspati and Soma befriend, a mortal man.

त्वं तं ब्रह्मणस्पते सोम इन्द्रश्च मर्त्यम् ।
दक्षिणा पात्वंहसः ॥५॥

5. Him mortal, O Brahmanaspati, let Soma protect from harm and Indra, both auspicious grown.

सदसस्पतिमद्भुतं प्रियमिन्द्रस्य काम्यम् ।
सर्ति मेधामयासिषम् ॥६॥

6. I have laboured for¹ the wondrous master of the house, the beloved, the desired of Indra, for steadfastness in weal I have laboured and for capacity of soul.

यस्माद्भुते न सिध्यति यज्ञो विपश्चित्तश्चन ।
स धीनां योगमिन्वति ॥७॥

7. He without whom the Yajna comes not to fulfilment, even of the man of discerning heart, he hath power over the Yoga of the movements of the understanding.

आद्भुनोति हविष्कृतं प्राञ्चं कृणोत्यध्वरम् ।
होत्रा देवेषु गच्छति ॥८॥

8. He confirms the offering of the oblations, he carries forward the work of the sacrifice, by the priest of the offering he moves with the gods.

नराशंसं सुषुष्टममपश्यं सप्रथस्तमम् ।
दिवो न सद्यमसत्सम् ॥९॥

9. I saw One, strong of aspiration, utterly audacious, wide and expanding besieging as it were the seats of heaven.

¹ Or, towards.

HYMN TO THE DAWN

▲ V.79

[The Rishi prays for the full epiphany of the Dawn of the light of Truth in all its lavish splendour, with all the bountiful companies of its gods and seers, the shining herds of its thought, the rushing steeds of its force, the luminous impulsions with which it comes — companioned, as they are, by the burning rays of the Sun of gnosis. Let the Dawn arrive and the work will no longer be long and tardy.]

महे नो अद्य बोधयोषो राये दिवित्मती ।

यथा चिन्तो अबोधयः सत्यश्वसि वाय्ये मुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥१॥

1. O Dawn, come with all thy splendours of heaven, awaken us today to the great felicity, even as once thou awakenedst us, — in the sonhood of the birth of knowledge, in the inspired hearing of the Truth.¹
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

या मुनीये लोचद्वये व्योच्छो दुहितविवः ।

सा व्योच्छः सहोयसि सत्यश्वसि वाय्ये मुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥२॥

2. Thou who breakest forth into dawning, O daughter of heaven, in him who has the perfect leading of the flaming chariot of light,² so break forth today, — O greater still in thy force, in the sonhood of the birth of knowledge, in the inspired hearing of the Truth.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

सा नो अद्याभरद्वसुर्ध्वच्छा दुहितविवः ।

यो व्योच्छः सहोयसि सत्यश्वसि वाय्ये मुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥३॥

¹ The name of the Rishi is here a covert figure for the characteristics of the Sun-birth in man.

² The same figure, with another name; it gives the result of the Sun-birth.

3. Break forth into light a bearer of treasures, O daughter of heaven, as once thou brokest forth, — O greater still in thy force, in the sonhood of the birth of knowledge, in the inspired hearing of the Truth.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

अग्निं ये त्वा विभावरि स्तोत्रैर्गृणन्ति बह्वयः ।
मधैर्मघोनि मुश्रियो दामन्वन्तः सुरातयः सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥४॥

4. There are bearers of the sacrifice¹ who bring thee out in their speech, by their hymns they manifest thee, O wide and lustrous Dawn; they are glorious with thy plenty, O queen, their gifts are lavish, their boons are full.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

यत्स्विद्धि ते गणा इमे छदयन्ति मघत्तये ।
परि चिदृष्टयो वषुर्ददतो राषो अह्वयं सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥५॥

5. When these companies of thy godheads seek to pleasure thee in hope of thy plenitudes, they set their desires all around, they lavish thy undeviating felicity.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

ऐषु धा वीरवसश उषो मघोनि सूरिषु ।
ये नो राधांस्यह्वया मघवानो अरासत सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥६॥

6. These are thy seers; O Dawn, queen of plenty, set in them the splendour of thy heroic powers; lords of thy plenty, they shall lavish on us thy undeviating riches.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

¹ Not human priests, but divine powers, the hosts or companies of the Dawn, "gaṇāḥ", at once priests, seers and patrons of the inner sacrifice, winners and givers of the celestial wealth.

तेभ्यो द्युम्नं बृहद्यज्ञ उषो मधोन्या वह ।

ये नो राधांस्यश्व्या गव्या भजन्त सूरयः सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥७॥

7. O Dawn, our lady of plenty, bring to them thy illumination, a vast glory; they shall give us enjoyment of the felicity of thy steeds and the felicity of thy herds.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

उत नो गोमतीरिष आ वह्य द्रुहितविषः ।

साकं सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिः शुक्रैः शोचद्भिरश्मिभिः सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥८॥

8. Bring to us too, O daughter of heaven, powers of impulse full of the troopings of thy light; let them come companioned with the rays of thy Sun, linked with the purity of his bright and burning light-givings.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

व्युच्छा द्रुहितविषो मा चिरं तनुया अपः ।

नेत् त्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपाति सूरौ अचिषा सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥९॥

9. Break forth into light, O daughter of heaven! And spin not out too long the work. For thee thy sun afflicts not with his burning ray as he afflicts the foe and the thief.¹
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

एतावद्देवुषस्त्वं भूयो वा वातुमर्हसि ।

या स्तोतृभ्यो विभावयुच्छन्ती न प्रमीयसे सुजाते अश्वसूनुते ॥१०॥

10. So much thou shouldst give or more than this; for to thy adorers thou breakest forth into the full wideness of thy glories and thou art not limited in thy dawning.
O, thy birth is complete! O, truth is in the tramp of thy steeds!

¹ The labour towards the being of the Truth is long and tedious, because the powers of darkness and division, the lower powers of our being, seize on and appropriate, keep idle or misuse the gains of the knowledge. They are not bearers of the sacrifice, but its spoilers; they are hurt by the full ray of the sun. But this Dawn of knowledge can bear the full illumination and bring to a rapid conclusion the great work.

HYMN TO THE DAWN

V.80

[The Rishi hymns the divine Dawn, daughter of Heaven, as the bringer of the Truth, the bliss, the heavens of light, creator of the Light, giver of vision, maker, follower, leader of the paths of Truth, remover of the darkness, the eternal and ever youthful goddess of our godward journeying.]

सुतघासानं बृहतीमृतेन ऋतावरौमरुणस्सुं विभातीम् ।
देवीमृषसं स्वरावहन्तां प्रति विप्रासो मतिभिर्जरन्ते ॥१॥

1. Dawn of the luminous journey, Dawn queen of truth, large with the Truth, how wide is the gleam from her rosy limbs, — Dawn divine who brings with her the heaven of light! Her the seers adore with their thoughts.

एषा जनं दर्शता बोधयन्ती सुगान्यथः कृष्वती यात्यथे ।
बृहन्नया बृहती विश्वमिन्वोषा ज्योतिर्यञ्छत्यथे अह्नाम् ॥२॥

2. This is she who has the vision and she awakens man and makes his paths easy to travel and walks in his front. How large is her chariot, how vast and all-pervading the goddess, how she brings Light in the front of the days!

एषा गोभिररुणेभिर्वृजानाञ्छेधन्ती रथिमप्रायु चक्रे ।
पथो रवन्ती सुविताय देवी पुरुष्टुता विश्ववारा वि भाति ॥३॥

3. This is she who yokes her cows of rosy light; her journey does not fail and such is the treasure she makes that it passes not away. She hews out our paths to happiness; divine is she, far-shining her glory, many the hymns that rise to her, she brings with her every boon.

एषा व्येनी भवति द्विबर्हा आविष्कृष्वाना तन्वं पुरस्तात् ।
ऋतस्य पन्यामन्वेति साधु प्रजानतीव न विशो मिनाति ॥४॥

4. Behold her in her biune energy of earth and heaven, how she comes into being in her whiteness and discloses her body in our front. She follows perfectly the paths of Truth, as one who is wise and knows, and she hedges not in our regions.

एषा शुभ्रा न तन्वो विद्वानोर्ध्वेव स्नाती दृश्ये नो अस्थात् ।
अप द्वेषो बाधमाना तमांस्युषा विवो दुहिता ज्योतिषागात् ॥५॥

5. Lo, how brilliant is her body when she is found and known! How she stands on high as if bathing in light that we may have vision! Driving away all enemies and all darknesses Dawn, the daughter of Heaven, has come with the Light.

एषा प्रतीची दुहिता विवो नून्योषेव भद्रा नि रिचोते अप्तः ।
भ्यूर्ध्वतो दाशुषे वार्याणि पुनर्ज्योतिर्युवतिः पूर्वथाकः ॥६॥

6. Lo, the daughter of Heaven like a woman full of happiness moves to meet the gods and her form travels ever nearer to them. Unveiling all blessings for the giver of sacrifice the goddess young for ever has created the Light once more even as in the beginning.

A HYMN TO SAVITRI

V.81

[The Rishi hymns the Sun-God as the source of divine knowledge and the creator of the inner worlds. To him, the Seer, the seekers of light yoke their mind and thoughts; he, the one knower of all forms of knowledge, is the one supreme ordainer of the sacrifice. He assumes all forms as the robes of his being and his creative sight and creates the supreme good and happiness for the two forms of life in the worlds. He manifests the heavenly world, shining in the path of the dawn of divine knowledge; in that path the other godheads follow him and it is his greatness of light that they make the goal of all their energies. He has measured out for us our earthly worlds by his power and greatness: but it is in the three worlds of light that he attains to his real greatness of manifestation in the rays of the divine sun; then he encompasses the night of our darkness with his being and his light and becomes Mitra who by his laws produces the luminous harmony of our higher and lower worlds. Of all our creation he is the one author, and by his forward marches he is its increaser until the whole world of our becoming grows full of his illumination.]

युञ्जते मन उत युञ्जते धियो विप्रा विप्रस्य बृहतो विपश्चितः ।
वि होत्रा दधे वयुनाविदेक इन्मही देवस्य सवितुः परिष्टुतिः ॥१॥

1. The illumined yoke their mind and they yoke their thoughts to the illumined godhead, to the vast, to the luminous in consciousness; the one knower of all manifestation of knowledge, he alone orders the things of the sacrifice. Great is the praise of Savitri, the creating godhead.

विश्वा रूपाणि प्रति मुञ्चते कविः प्रासादीद् भद्रं द्विपदे चतुष्पदे ।
वि नाकमस्यत् सविता वरेष्पोऽनु प्रयाणमुषसो वि राजति ॥२॥

2. All forms are robes the Seer puts on that he may create the

good and bliss for the double and the quadruple¹ creature. Savitri describes by his light our heavenly world; supreme is he and desirable, wide is the light of his shining in the march of the Dawn.

यस्य प्रयाणमन्वन्य इद् ययुर्वेवा देवस्य महिमानमोजसा ।

यः पार्थिवानि विममे स एतशो रजांसि देवः सविता महित्वना ॥३॥

3. And in that march all the other gods in their might follow after the greatness of this godhead. This is that bright god Savitri who by his power and greatness has measured out our earthly worlds of light.

उत यासि सवितस्त्रोणि रोचनोत सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिः समुच्यसि ।

उत रात्रीमुभयतः परोयस उत मित्रो भवसि देव षर्मभिः ॥४॥

4. But also thou goest, O Savitri, to the three shining worlds of heaven and thou art made manifest by the rays of the Sun, and thou encirclest on both sides the Night, and thou becomest Mitra, O god, with his settled laws of Truth.

उतेशिषे प्रसवस्य त्वमेक इदुतं पूषा भवसि देव यामभिः ।

उतेदं विश्वं भुवनं वि राजसि इयावाश्वस्ते सवितः स्तोममानशे ॥५॥

5. And thou alone hast power for the creation and thou becomest the Increaser. O god, by thy marchings in thy path, and thou illumines all this world of the becoming. Shyawashwa, O Savitri, has found the affirmation of thy godhead.

¹ Literally, two-footed and four-footed, but *pad* also means the step, the principle on which the soul finds itself. The esoteric meaning is four-principled, those who dwell in the fourfold principle of the lower world, and two-principled, those who dwell in the double principle of the divine and the human.

HYMN TO VARUNA

V.85

[In this hymn there is throughout a sustained double sense. In the exoteric Varuna is hymned as the Asura, omniscient and omnipotent lord and creator, the Godhead in his creative wisdom and might forming the world and maintaining the law of things in the earth and mid-air and heavens. In the esoteric in which the physical phenomena of the exoteric become symbols, the infinite Godhead is hymned in his all-pervading wisdom and purity opening the three worlds of our being to the Sun of knowledge, pouring down the streams of the Truth, purifying the soul from the falsehood of the lower being and its sin. The hymn is rendered here successively in its exoteric and its esoteric significance.]

(1)

TO THE OMNISCIENT CREATOR

प्र सद्भाजे बृहदर्वा गभीरं ब्रह्म प्रियं वरुणाय श्रुताय ।
वि यो जघान शमितेव अर्धोपस्तिरे पृथिवीं सूर्याय ॥१॥

1. Sing thou the word vast and profound and dear to renowned Varuna, the All-ruler, to him who clove away, even as the cleaver of beasts a skin, that he might spread out the earth under the sun.

वनेषु व्यन्तरिक्षं ततान वाजमर्बन्तु पय उन्नियासु ।
हत्सु क्रतुं वरुणो अप्सस्वग्नि दिवि सूर्यमवशात्सोममदो ॥२॥

2. He spread out the mid-air on the tree-tops, he put strength in the battle-steeds and milk in the cows; in hearts he put will, the fire in the waters,¹ the sun in heaven and the Soma-plant on the mountain.

¹ Sayana explains, either the electric fire in the water of the clouds or the submarine fire in the ocean.

नीचीनवारं वरुणः कवन्धं प्र ससर्ज रोवसी अन्तरिक्षम् ।
तेन विश्वस्य भुवनस्य राजा यवं न वृष्टिर्व्युनक्ति भूम ॥३॥

3. Varuna poured forth over earth and heaven and the mid-air the holder of the waters whose windows open downward; by him the King of all the world floods the earth as the rain floods a field of barley.

उनक्ति भूमि पृथिवीमुत छां यवा दुग्धं वरुणो वृष्ट्यादित् ।
समन्त्रेण वसत पर्वतासस्तविषीयस्तः श्वयन्त वीराः ॥४॥

4. Varuna floods the wide earth and heaven, yea, when he desires the milk of heaven, he pours it forth; the mountains are clothed utterly with cloud, the heroes of storm¹ put forth their strength and all is cast down before them.

इमाम् प्वासुरस्य श्रुतस्य महीं मायां वरुणस्य प्र वोचम् ।
मानेनेव तस्थिर्वा अन्तरिक्षे वि यो ममे पृथिवीं सूर्येण ॥५॥

5. I have declared this vast creative wisdom² of the famous and mighty One, even Varuna, he who stood in mid-air as with a measuring-rod and wide he measured out the earth with the sun.

इमाम् नु कवितमस्य मायां महीं देवस्य नकिरा दधर्ष ।
एकं यदुव्ना न पुणन्त्येनीरासिञ्चन्तीरवनयः समुद्रम् ॥६॥

6. Vast is this wisdom of the divine and the greatest of seers and there is none who can do violence against it; therefore the Ocean is one, yet all these rushing rivers pour themselves into it and cannot fill it.

अर्यम्यं वरुण मिथ्यं वा सलायं वा सदमिद् भातरं वा ।
वेशं वा नित्यं वरुणारणं वा यत्सीमागश्चक्रुमा शिम्भयस्तत् ॥७॥

7. Whatsoever sin we have done against the law of Aryaman

¹ *Virāh*, the Heroes, here the Maruts as storm-gods.

² *Māyā*, with a strong sense of its root-significance, to measure, form, build or plan out.

or the law of Mitra, against brother or friend, against constant neighbour or enemy,¹ cast it away from us, O Varuna.

कितवासो यद्विरिपुर्न वीवि यद्वा घा सत्यमुत यन्न विष ।
सर्वा ता वि ष्य शिथिरेव देवाऽवा ते स्याम वरुण प्रियासः ॥८॥

8. The sin we have done like cunning gamesters who break the law of the play, or have done against the truth or what we have sinned in ignorance, all these cleave far from us, O god, like loose hanging fruits: then shall we be beloved of thee, O Varuna.

(2)

THE MIGHTY MASTER OF INFINITE WISDOM

[The Rishi hymns Varuna as the Lord of infinite purity and wisdom who opens our earthly being to the unclouded light of the sun of knowledge, pours out the waters of the Truth upon all our triple existence mental, vital and physical and by its power removes all sin and evil and falsehood from our lives. He creates the free wideness of our vital being above our broken search for the delightful objects of our desire, sets the plenitude in our battling life-forces, the yield of heaven in the shining herds of thought; he has put will in our hearts, Agni the divine force in the waters of existence, the Sun of divine knowledge in the highest heaven of mind and the plant that yields the wine of delight on the many-plateaued mountain of our being. All these are the means by which we attain to immortality. He plans out all our physical existence by his wisdom according to the truth-light of the sun of knowledge and creates in us the unity of his own infinite existence and consciousness with all the seven rivers of the Truth-plane pouring their streams of knowledge into it without filling its infinity.]

1. To Varuna of the far-heard inspirations, the all-ruling,² sing

¹ Or, "stranger",

² The two epithets are intended to give the two sides of the divine being, all-knowledge

bright the inspired word of the soul in its vastness and depth and delight; for he has cloven wide away the darkness, as the one that cleaves away a skin, that he may spread out our earth under his illumining sun.¹

2. He has spread wide the mid-world above the forests of earth-delight;² he has put his plenitude in our battle-steeds of life³ and their heavenly milk in our shining herds of knowledge.⁴ Varuna has put the will⁵ in our hearts, the divine fire⁶ in the waters,⁷ the Sun of Light in our heavens, the plant of Delight on the mountain of our being.⁸
3. Varuna has poured forth over our earth and heaven and mid-world the holder of wisdom with his doors opening downward,⁹ with him the king of all our being floods our earth like rain flooding the barley.
4. He floods our earth in its wideness and our heaven, yea, Varuna when he desires that milk,¹⁰ pours it forth; the mountains are covered with the cloud, his heroes¹¹ put forth their strength and cast it away.

and all-power; *māyām āsurasya śrutasya*. Man divinising himself has to become in the image of the godhead seer and king.

¹ The limitations of the physical mentality are rolled away and it is spread out in a great wideness to receive the revelations and inspirations of the light of the gnosis.

² The forests or delightful growths of earth (*vana* means also pleasure) are the basis of the mid-world, the vital world in us which is the realm of *vāyu*, the Life-God. That is the world of the satisfaction of desires. This also is spread out in its full wideness, free from limitation, to receive the Ananda or divine delight by means of the knowledge and law of the Truth.

³ *Arvatsu*, meaning both "battlers, strivers" and "horses".

⁴ *Usriyāsu*, meaning both "bright ones" and "cows".

⁵ *Kratu*, the will to the divine work, the sacrificial will.

⁶ *Agni*, the fire of the divine Will which receives the sacrifice and becomes its priest.

⁷ The ocean of being or else the waters of Truth which descend from above.

⁸ Our existence is compared always to a mountain with many plateaus, each a level or plane of being.

⁹ The gnosis opens upward to receive the Infinite in its will and knowledge; here its doors open downwards to flood the lower being.

¹⁰ The milk of the Cow *aditi*, the infinite consciousness.

¹¹ The Maruts as life-powers attaining to full thought-knowledge; they help Indra to break the cloud or coverer, Vritra, and pour out the waters of Truth and also to bring the light hidden by Vala, that of the hidden sun. Here the two ideas are combined in another image.

5. Vast is this wisdom which I declare of Varuna the far-heard, the mighty Lord, for he stands in our mid-world as with a measuring rod and wide he measures out our earth with his illumining Sun.¹
6. Vast is this wisdom of the godhead greatest in seer-knowledge and none can do violence to it; for into him, the one, the ocean, the bright fostering rivers² pour their waters, yet they cannot fill him.
7. All the sin that we have done against thee in thy power of Aryaman or thy power of Mitra or as brother or friend or the eternal indweller or the warrior,³ that cast away from us.
8. The sin we have done as cunning gamesters offend in their play, our sin against the truth and our sin by ignorance, all these cleave away like loosened things; then may we be dear to thee, O Varuna.

¹ Man lives in the physical being; Varuna brings the light of the gnosis into it and measures it out, that is, shapes and plans out our earth-existence in the measures of the Truth by means of the mind enlightened by the sun of gnosis: he takes his stand as the Asura in our vital plane, the link between mental and physical, there to receive the light and pass it on to the earth as a creative and determining force.

² The seven rivers that descend from the Truth-plane, here called *avanayah* which has the same root-sense as *dhenayah*, the fostering cows.

³ Against the *dasyus*.

A VEDIC HYMN

VII.60

O Sun, O Light, because today blameless in thy rising thou hast declared the Truth to the Lord of Love and the Lord of Purity, so may we abide in the godhead, dear to thee, O Mother infinite, dear to thee, O Lord of Strength, in all our speaking. O Mitra, O Varuna, this is he that seeth for the soul, the Sun that rises over earth and heaven in the pervading wideness, and he guards all that is in motion and all that is stable; for he beholds the straight things and the crooked in mortals. Seven shining energies has this Bright One yoked today in the world of our achievement and they bear him on in their clarity, and he beholds the homes of the soul and the places of its birth like a herdsman who watches over his herds.

Upward rise your honied satisfactions; for our sun has climbed into the ocean of pure Light and for him the Children of the Infinite hew out his paths, even the Lord of Love and the Lord of Strength and the Lord of Purity in one harmony. These are they that discern and separate all the much falsehood in us; they the Lords of Love and Strength and Purity. These grow in the house of Truth, puissant and unvanquished Sons of the Infinite. These are the Love and the Purity hard to repress who by their discernings give knowledge to him who has no knowledge; they bring to him their impulses of a will that has right vision and they lead him by the good path beyond the evil. These with sleepless eyes see and know in his earth for man that is ignorant and lead him: in his forward faring he comes to the fathomless pit in the river, yet shall they bear him across to the other shore of this wideness. The peace and the protection and the happiness which the infinite Mother and the Lords of Love and Purity give to the servant of the sacrifice, in that let us found all our creation and building, let us do no violence to the godhead, O ye swift Wayfarers.

He whom the Lord of Purity upholds, puts away from his altar by the powers of sacrifice whatsoever hurters: cut away,

O Lord of Strength, from the servant of the sacrifice the hurt and the division, form in him that vast other world, O givers of the abundance. A blazing strength and a world of illumination is the coming together of these Godheads and they overcome by their near and approaching force. Lo, we quiver with the fear of you; set us at ease by the greatness of your discerning. For when a man by sacrifice wins right-mindedness in the getting of the plenitude, in the conquest of the supreme Felicity, the strong Warriors, the Lords of the Treasure cleave to his heart of emotion and they form there the Vast for his dwelling-place making it of a perfect temper. For you we have made in front this work of the divine representative in our sacrifices; lead us safe through all difficult places. Keep us always with constant felicities.

यदद्य सूर्यं ब्रवोऽनागा उद्यन्मित्राय वरुणाय सत्यम् ।
वयं देवत्रादिते स्याम तव प्रियासो अर्यमन् गुणन्तः ॥१॥

एष स्य मित्रावरुणा नृचक्षा उभे उदेति सूर्यो अभि ज्मन् ।
विश्वस्य स्यातुर्जगतश्च गोपा ऋजु मर्तेषु वृजिना च पश्यन् ॥२॥

अयुक्त सप्त हरितः सषस्याद्या ईं वहन्ति सूर्यं घृताचीः ।
धामानि मित्रावरुणा युवाकुः सं यो यूयेव जनिमानि चष्टे ॥३॥

उढां पृक्षासो मघुमन्तो अस्युरा सूर्यो अरुहच्छुक्रमर्णः ।
यस्मा आदित्या अध्वनो रदन्ति मित्रो अर्यमा वरुणः सजोषाः ॥४॥

इमे चेतारो अनुतस्य भूरेमित्रो अर्यमा वरुणो हि सन्ति ।
इम ऋतस्य वाक्पुधुर्दुरोणे शग्मासः पुत्रा अदितेरदग्वाः ॥५॥

इमे मित्रो वरुणो वृळभासोऽचेतसं चिच्चितयन्ति दक्षैः ।
अपि क्रतुं सुचेतसं वतन्तस्तिरविचबंहः सुपया नयन्ति ॥६॥

इमे दिवो अनिमिषा पृथिव्यादिविकित्वांसो अचेतसं नयन्ति ।
प्रत्राजे चिन्नद्यो गाधमस्ति पारं नो अस्य विष्पितस्य पर्षन् ॥७॥

यद् गोपावदितिः शर्म भद्रं मित्रो यच्छन्ति वरुणः सुदासे ।
तस्मिन्ना तोकं तनयं दधाना मा कर्म देवहेळनं तुरासः ॥८॥

अथ वेदि होत्राभिर्यजेत रिपः काश्चिद्वरुणधृतः सः ।
परि द्वेषोभिरर्यमा वृणक्तूरं सुवासे वृषणा उ लोकम् ॥९॥

सस्वश्चिद्धि सप्ततिस्त्वेष्येषामपौच्येन सहसा सहन्ते ।
युष्मद्भिया वृषणो रेजमाना वक्षस्य चिन्महिना मृळता नः ॥१०॥

यो ब्रह्मणे सुमतिमायजाते वाजस्य साती परमस्य रायः ।
सोक्षन्त मन्युं मघवानो अर्यं उरु क्षयाय चक्रिरे सुघातु ॥११॥

इयं देव पुरोहितियुवभ्यां यज्ञेषु मित्रावरुणावकारि ।
विश्वानि दुर्गा पिपृतं तिरो नो यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ॥१२॥

THE GOD OF THE MYSTIC WINE*

I

IX.42

जनयन् रोचना दिवो जनयन्नप्सु सूर्यम् ।
वसानो गा अपो हरिः ॥१॥

1. Giving birth to the luminous worlds of heaven,¹ giving birth to the Sun in the waters,² the Brilliant One clothes himself with the waters and the rays.³

एष प्रत्नेन मन्मता देवो देवेभ्यस्परि ।
षारया पवते सुतः ॥२॥

2. He by the ancient thought flows pressed out in a stream, a god around the gods.

वावृषानाय तूर्वये पवन्ते वाजसातये ।
सोमाः सहस्रपाजसः ॥३॥

3. For one increasing and swiftly advancing⁴ there flow for his winning of the plenty the Soma-juices with their thousand strengths.

बुहानः प्रत्नमित्ययः पवित्रे परि विच्यते ।
ऋन्दन्देर्वा अजीजनत् ॥४॥

4. Milked out, the ancient food, he is poured into the strainer that purifies and shouting he brings to birth the gods.

* These two hymns are rendered as literally as possible so as to show the original symbolism of the Veda untranslated into its psychological equivalents.

¹ The three worlds of Swar.

² Agni, Surya and Soma himself are said to be found in the waters or seven rivers.

³ *Gāh*, meaning both cows and rays.

⁴ On the path, through all obstacles; the sacrifice is figured both as a growth of man and as a journey.

अभि विश्वानि वार्याऽभि देवां ऋतावृषः ।
सोमः पुनानो अर्षति ॥५॥

5. Soma, purifying himself, travels to all desirable boons, to the gods who increase the Truth.

गोमस्रः सोम वीरयदशवावद्वाजवत्सुतः ।
पवस्व बृहतोरिषः ॥६॥

6. Stream on us, O Soma, when thou art pressed out, that in which are the Cows, the Heroes, the Steeds, the Plenty; stream impulsions vast.¹

II

IX.75

अभि प्रियाणि पवते चनोहितो नामानि यद्भो अधि येषु वर्धते ।
आ सूर्यस्य बृहतो बृहन्नधि रयं विश्वस्वयदहद्विचक्षणः ॥१॥

1. Placed in delight he flows to the pleasant Names in which he increases; vast and wise he ascends the chariot of the vast sun, the chariot of a universal movement.

ऋतस्य जिह्वा पवते मधु प्रियं वक्ता पतिषियो अस्या अवाभ्यः ।
वधाति पुत्रः पित्रोरपीष्यं नाम तृतीयमधि रोचने दिवः ॥२॥

2. Tongue of the Truth, a pleasant honey,² he flows speaker and lord of this Thought and invincible; the Son places the third hidden Name of the Parents³ in the luminous world of Heaven.

¹ "Large foods", according to the ritualist-commentator; as there are here two words meaning food in his usual rendering, *iṣ* and *vāja*, he gives another meaning to *vāja* and explains the verse "give us a wealth along with which there are cows, men, horses and battle and give us plentiful food".

² The sweet wine of the Soma.

³ Heaven and Earth; there are three heavens and three earths and at the summit is the triple luminous world of Heaven called Swar and described lower down as the triple back or threefold level in the Dawn. That is the world of the "vast sun" and is itself described as the Truth, the Right, the Vast.

अव क्षुतानः कलशां अचिच्छन्नुभिर्येमानः कोश आ हिरण्यये ।
अभोमृतस्य दोहना अनूषताऽपि त्रिपृष्ठ उषसो वि राजति ॥३॥

3. Breaking into light he cries down into the jars, guided by men, in the golden sheath; in him the milkings of the Truth dawn out,¹ he shines wide on the triple back of the Dawn.

अद्विभिः सुतो मतिभिश्चनोहितः प्ररोचयन् रोवसो मातरा शुचिः ।
रोमाष्यध्या समया वि धावति मशोर्षारा पिन्वमाना दिवेदिवे ॥४॥

4. Pressed out by the stones, placed in delight by the thoughts, pure, making to shine out the two mothers, Earth and Heaven, he runs evenly through all the hairs of the Sheep;² his stream of honey goes on increasing day by day.

परि सोम प्र षन्वा स्वस्तये नृभिः पुनानो अभि वासयाशिरम् ।
ये ते मदा आहनसो विहायसस्तेभिरिन्द्रं चोदय दातवे मघम् ॥५॥

5. Race everywhere, O Soma, for our happiness, purified by men clothe thyself with the mixings; with those thy raptures that are smiting and wide-extended, impel Indra to give his plenty.³

¹ Or, "to him the milkers of the Truth cry out the chant."

² The strainer in which the Soma is purified is made of the fleece of the ewe. Indra is the Ram; the Ewe must therefore be an energy of Indra, probably the divinised sense-mind, *indriyam*.

³ The Soma was mixed with water, milk and other ingredients: Soma is said to clothe himself with the Waters and with the "cows", that is, the illuminations or yield of Dawn, the shining Cow.

A HYMN OF THE THOUGHT-GODS

Based on V.52-58

The shining host has arisen in my soul, the host of the Thought-gods and they sing a hymn as they march upward, a hymn of the heart's illumination. March thou on, O my soul, impetuously to their violent and mighty music. For they are drunken with the joy of an inspiration that betrays not to falsehood, because the truth of eternal Nature is its guide. They are the comrades of a firm and blazing Light and in the force of the Light they work out their lofty aggressions; conquerors, violently they march on their path, self-protecting they guard of themselves the soul against falsehood; for they are many and march without a gap in their brilliant ranks. Violent are they as a herd of rushing bulls; the nights come against them, but they overleap the nights; they possess the earth in our thoughts and they rise with them to the heavens. No half-lights, no impotent things are they, but mighty in aggression and puissant to attain. Spears of light they hold and they loose them from their hands at the children of Darkness; the flashing lightnings of the Thought-gods search the night and the light of heaven rises of itself on our souls at their battle-call. Truth is their shining strength; the hosts of the Thought-gods are the artificers of the soul and they fashion its immortality; themselves they yoke their coursers to the chariot of our life and they drive galloping to the joy that is its goal.

They have bathed their limbs in the waters of Parushni, in the stream that has a multitude of currents, they have put on their divine raiment and now with the wheels of their chariots they break open all Nature's secret caves. Sometimes they march on a thousand branching paths, sometimes they rush direct at their goal; sometimes their paths are within, sometimes they follow outward Nature's thousand ways; the world-sacrifice fulfils itself by the many names of their godhead and by their ever-widening march. Now they make themselves as galloping forces of our life, now they are gods and powers of the soul; at

last they put on forms of a supreme world, forms of vision, forms of light. They have attained to the goal, they support the rhythms of the world, chanting they weave their glorious dance round the very fountain of things; they are creators of supreme forms, they expand the soul in vision and make it a divine blaze of light. For these are rushing seekers of the Truth; for the Truth their lightnings stab and search; they are seers, they are creators and ordainers; their aggressions are inspired by the might and force of heaven, therefore affirmed in our thoughts they speed carrying us confidently on their way. When the mind is full of them, it is borne on towards godhead, for they have the radiant inspiration of the path.

Who has known the place of their birth or who has sat in their high beatitudes? Who desires and seeks his Friend beyond? A Mother bore them many-hued in her soul and of her they tell him; a Violent One was their Father whose impulse drives all beings that are born, and him they reveal. Seven and seven the Thought-gods came to me and seven times they gave a hundred-fold; in Yamuna I will bathe the shining herds of my thoughts which they have given, I will purify my swiftnesses in the river of my soul.

Lo, they march on in their cohorts and their companies; let us follow in their steps with the pace of our thinkings. For they bear with them an imperishable seed of creation and the grain of immortal forms and this if they plant in the fields of the soul, there shall grow as its harvest life universal and bliss transcendent. They will put by all that derides our aspiration and pass beyond all that limits us; they will destroy all fault and dumbness and the soul's poverties. For theirs is the rain of the abundance of heaven and theirs the storms that set flowing the rivers of life; their thunders are the chant of the hymn of the gods and the proclamations of the Truth. They are the eye that leads us on a happy path and he who follows them shall not stumble, nor have pain nor hurt, nor decay nor die; their plenitudes are not destroyed nor their felicities diminished; they make of man a seer and a king. Their vastness is the blazing of a divine Sun; they shall place us in the seats of Immortality.

Of all that was of old and of all that is new, of all that rises

from the soul and all that seeks expression they are the impellers. They stand in the upper and the lower and the middle heaven; they have descended from the highest supreme. They are born of the Truth; they are luminous leaders of the mind; they shall drink the sweet wine of delight and give us the supreme inspirations. The Woman, the Divine is with them who shall put away from us hurt and thirst and desire and refashion man's mind in the form of the godhead. Lo, these are knowers of the Truth, seers whom the Truth inspires, vast in expression, vast in diffusion, young for ever and immortal.

Interpretation of the Veda

A REJOINDER TO AN EARLY CRITICISM*

While thanking you for the generous appreciation in your review of the "Arya" may I also crave the indulgence of your columns, — if indeed you can spare so much space at such a time when the whole world is absorbed in the gigantic homicidal conflict convulsing Europe, — for an answer to your criticisms on my "Secret of the Veda", or rather to an explanation of my standpoint which the deficiencies of my expression and the brief and summary character of my article in the "Arya" have led you, in some respects, to misconceive?

Surely, I have nowhere said that "knowledge of which no origin can be traced to previous sources must necessarily be disregarded or discarded!" That would indeed be a monstrous proposition. My point was that such knowledge, when it expressed a developed philosophy and psychology, stood in need of historical explanation — a very different matter. If we accept the European idea of an evolving knowledge in humanity, — and it is on that basis that my argument proceeded, — we must find the source of the Brahmavada either in an extraneous origin such as a previous Dravidian culture, — a theory which I cannot admit, since I regard the so-called Aryans and Dravidians as one homogeneous race, — or in a previous development, of which the records have either been lost or are to be found in the Veda itself. I cannot see how this argument involves a *regressus ad infinitum* except in so far as the whole idea of evolution and progressive causality lies open to that objection. As to the origins of the Vedic religion, that is a question which cannot be solved at present for lack of data. It does not follow that it had no origins or in other words that humanity was not prepared by a progressive spiritual experience for the Revelation.

Again, I certainly did not intend to express my own idea in the description of the Upanishads as a revolt of philosophic minds against the ritualistic materialism of the Vedas. If I held

* A letter published in *The Hindu* (Madras) on August 27, 1914. - Ed.

that view I could not regard the earlier Sruti as an inspired scripture or the Upanishads as Vedanta and I would not have troubled myself about the secret of the Veda. It is a view held by European scholars and I accepted it as the logical consequence, if the ordinary interpretations of the hymns, whether Indian or European, are to be maintained. If the Vedic hymns are, as represented by Western scholarship, the ritualistic compositions of joyous and lusty barbarians the Upanishads have then to be conceived as “a revolt...against the ritualistic materialism of the Vedas”. From both premise and conclusion I have dissented and I have finally described, not only the Upanishads, but all later forms, as a development from the Vedic religion and not a revolt against its tenets. An Indian doctrine avoids the difficulty in another way, by interpreting the Veda as a book of ritual hymns and revering it as a book of Knowledge. It puts together two ancient truths without reconciling them effectively. In my view that reconciliation can only be effected by seeing even in the exterior aspect of the hymns not a ritualistic materialism, but a symbolic ritualism. No doubt the Karmakanda was regarded as an indispensable stepping-stone to the knowledge of the Atman. That was an article of religious faith, and as an article of faith I do not dispute its soundness. But it becomes valid for the intellect, — and in an intellectual inquiry I must proceed by intellectual means, — only if the Karmakanda is so interpreted as to show how its performance assists, prepares or brings about the higher knowledge. Otherwise, however much the Veda may be revered in theory, it will be treated in practice as neither indispensable nor helpful and will come in the end to be practically set aside — as has happened.

I am aware that some hymns of the Veda are interpreted in a sense other than the ritualistic; even the European scholars admit higher religious and spiritual ideas in the “later hymns” of the Veda. I am aware also that separate texts are quoted in support of philosophical doctrines. My point was that such exceptional passages do not alter the general tone and purport given to the hymns in the actual interpretations we possess. With those interpretations, we cannot use the Rig-veda as a whole, as the Upanishads can be used as a whole, as the basis of a high spiritual

philosophy. Now, it is to the interpretation of the Veda as a whole and to its general character that I have addressed myself. I quite acknowledge that there has always been a side-stream of tendency, making for the Adhyatmic interpretation of the Veda even as a whole. It would be strange if in a nation so spiritually-minded such attempts have been entirely lacking. But still they are side-currents and have not received general recognition. For the Indian intellect in general, there are only two interpretations, Sayana's and the European. Addressing myself to that general opinion, it is with these two that I am practically concerned.

I am still of the opinion that the method and results of the early Vedantins differed entirely from the method and results of Sayana for reasons I shall give in the second and third numbers of "Arya". Practically, not in theory, what is the result of Sayana's Commentary? What is the general impression it leaves on the mind? Is it the impression of "Veda", a great Revelation, a book of highest knowledge? Is it not rather that which the European scholars received and from which their theories started, a picture of primitive worshippers praying to friendly gods, friendly but of a doubtful temper, gods of fire, rain, wind, dawn, night, earth and sky, for wealth, food, oxen, horses, gold, the slaughter of their enemies, even of their critics, victory in battle, the plunder of the conquered? And if so how can such hymns be an indispensable preparation for the Brahmavidya? Unless indeed, it is a preparation by contraries, by exhaustion or dedication of the most materialistic and egoistic tendencies somewhat as the grim Old Hebrew Pentateuch may be described as a preparation for the mild evangel of Christ. My position is that they were indispensable not by a mechanical virtue in the Sacrifice but because the experiences to which they are the key and which were symbolised by the ritual are necessary to an integral knowledge and realisation of Brahman in the universe and prepare the knowledge and realisation of the transcendent Brahman. They are, to paraphrase Shankara's description, mines of all knowledge, knowledge on all the planes of consciousness, and do fix the conditions and relations of the divine, the human and the animal element in the being.

I do not claim that mine is the first attempt to give an Adhy-
atmic interpretation of the Veda. It is an attempt — the first or
the hundredth matters little — to give the esoteric and psycho-
logical sense of the Veda based throughout on the most modern
method of critical research. Its interpretation of Vedic vo-
cables is based on a re-examination of a large part of the field
of comparative Philology and a reconstruction on a new basis
which I have some hope will bring us nearer to a true science of
language. This I propose to develop in another work, “The Ori-
gins of Aryan Speech”.¹ I hope also to lead up to a recovery of
the sense of the ancient spiritual conceptions of which old symbol
and myth give us the indications and which I believe to have
been at one time a common culture covering a great part of the
globe with India perhaps, as a centre. In its relation to this
methodical attempt lies the only originality of the “Secret of
the Veda”.

¹ A draft of a chapter (the only one written) on “The Origins of Aryan Speech”,
found among the MSS. of Sri Aurobindo, has been appended here. - Ed.

THE ORIGINS OF ARYAN SPEECH

The Origins of Aryan Speech

INTRODUCTORY

Among all the many promising beginnings of which the nineteenth century was the witness, none perhaps was hailed with greater eagerness by the world of culture and science than the triumphant debut of Comparative Philology. None perhaps has been more disappointing in its results. The philologists indeed place a high value on their line of study, — nor is that to be wondered at, in spite of all its defects, — and persist in giving it the name of Science; but the scientists are of a very different opinion. In Germany, in the very metropolis both of Science and of philology, the word philology has become a term of disparagement; nor are the philologists in a position to retort. Physical Science has proceeded by the soundest and most scrupulous methods and produced a mass of indisputable results which, by their magnitude and far-reaching consequences, have revolutionised the world and justly entitled the age of their development to the title of the wonderful century. Comparative Philology has hardly moved a step beyond its origins; all the rest has been a mass of conjectural and ingenious learning of which the brilliance is only equalled by the uncertainty and unsoundness. Even so great a philologist as Renan was obliged in the later part of his career, begun with such unlimited hopes, to a deprecating apology for the “little conjectural sciences” to which he had devoted his life’s energies. At the beginning of the century’s philological researches, when the Sanskrit tongue had been discovered, when Max Müller was exulting in his fatal formula, “*pitā, patēr, pater, vater, father*”, the Science of Language seemed to be on the point of self-revelation; as the result of the century’s toil it can be asserted by thinkers of repute that the very idea of a Science of Language is a chimera! No doubt, the case against Comparative Philology has been overstated. If it has not discovered the Science of Language, it has at least swept out of existence the fantastic, arbitrary and almost lawless Etymology of our forefathers. It has given us juster notions about

the relations and history of extant languages and the processes by which old tongues have degenerated into that detritus out of which a new form of speech fashions itself. Above all, it has given us the firmly established notion that our investigations into language must be a search for rules and laws and not free and untrammelled gambollings among individual derivations. The way has been prepared; many difficulties have been cleared out of our way. Still scientific philology is non-existent; much less has there been any real approach to the discovery of the Science of Language.

Does it follow that a Science of Language is undiscoverable? In India, at least, with its great psychological systems mounting to the remotest prehistoric antiquity, we cannot easily believe that regular and systematic processes of Nature are not at the basis of all phenomena of sound and speech. European philology has missed the road to the truth because an excessive enthusiasm and eager haste to catch at and exaggerate imperfect, subordinate and often misleading formulae has involved it in bypaths that lead to no resting-place; but somewhere the road exists. If it exists, it can be found. The right clue alone is wanted and a freedom of mind which can pursue it unencumbered by prepossessions and undeterred by the orthodoxies of the learned. Above all if the science of philology is to cease to figure among the petty conjectural sciences, among which even Renan was compelled to classify it, — and conjectural science means pseudo-science, since fixed, sound and verifiable bases and methods independent of conjecture are the primary condition of Science, — then the habit of hasty generalisation, of light and presumptuous inferences, of the chase after mere ingenuities and the satisfaction of curious and learned speculation which are the pitfalls of verbal scholarship must be rigidly eschewed and relegated to the waste paper basket of humanity, counted among its necessary toys which, having now issued out of the nursery, we should put away into their appropriate lumber-room. Where there is insufficient evidence or equal probability in conflicting solutions, Science admits conjectural hypotheses as a step towards discovery. But the abuse of this concession to our human ignorance, the habit of erecting flimsy conjectures as the assured gains

of knowledge is the curse of philology. A Science which is nine-tenths conjecture has no right at this stage of the human march, to make much of itself or seek to impose itself on the mind of the race. Its right attitude is humility, its chief business to seek always for surer foundations and a better justification for its existence.

To seek for such a stronger and surer foundation is the object of this work. In order that the attempt may succeed, it is necessary first to perceive the errors committed in the past and to eschew them. The first error committed by the philologists after their momentous discovery of the Sanskrit tongue, was to exaggerate the importance of their first superficial discoveries. The first glance is apt to be superficial; the perceptions drawn from an initial survey stand always in need of correction. If then we are so dazzled and led away by them as to make them the very key of our future knowledge, its central plank, its basic platform we prepare for ourselves grievous disappointments. Comparative Philology, guilty of this error, has seized on a minor clue and mistaken it for a major or chief clue. When Max Müller trumpeted forth to the world in his attractive studies the great rapprochement, *pitā, patēr, pater, vater, father*, he was preparing the bankruptcy of the new science; he was leading it away from the truer clues, the wider vistas that lay behind. The most extraordinary and imposingly unsubstantial structures were reared on the narrow basis of that unfortunate formula. First, there was the elaborate division of civilised humanity into the Aryan, Semitic, Dravidian and Turanean races, based upon the philological classification of the ancient and modern languages. More sensible and careful reflection has shown us that community of language is no proof of community of blood or ethnological identity; the French are not a Latin race because they speak a corrupt and nasalised Latin, nor the Bulgars Slavs in blood because the Ugro-Finnish races have been wholly Slavonicised in civilisation and language. Scientific researches of another kind have confirmed this useful and timely negation. The philologists have, for instance, split up, on the strength of linguistic differences, the Indian nationality into the northern Aryan race and the southern Dravidian, but sound observation shows a single

physical type with minor variations pervading the whole of India from Cape Comorin to Afghanistan. Language is therefore discredited as an ethnological factor. The races of India may be all pure Dravidians, if indeed such an entity as a Dravidian race exists or ever existed, or they may be pure Aryans, if indeed such an entity as an Aryan race exists or ever existed, or they may be a mixed race with one predominant strain, but in any case the linguistic division of the tongues of India into the Sanskritic and the Tamilic counts for nothing in that problem. Yet so great is the force of attractive generalisations and widely popularised errors that all the world goes on perpetuating the blunder talking of the Indo-European races, claiming or disclaiming Aryan kinship and building on that basis of falsehood the most far-reaching political, social or pseudo-scientific conclusions.

But if language is no sound factor of ethnological research, it may be put forward as a proof of common civilisation and used as a useful and reliable guide to the phenomena of early civilisations. Enormous, most ingenious, most painstaking have been the efforts to extract from the meanings of words a picture of the early Aryan civilisation previous to the dispersion of their tribes. Vedic scholarship has built upon this conjectural science of philology, upon a brilliantly ingenious and attractive but wholly conjectural and unreliable interpretation of the Vedas, a remarkable, minute and captivating picture of an early half-savage Aryan civilisation in India. How much value can we attach to these dazzling structures? None, for they have no assured scientific basis. They may be true and last, they may be partly true yet have to be seriously modified, they may be entirely false and no trace of them be left in the ultimate conclusion of human knowledge on the subject; we have no means of determining between these three possibilities. The now settled rendering of Veda which reigns hitherto because it has never been critically and minutely examined, is sure before long to be powerfully attacked and questioned. One thing may be confidently expected that even if India was ever invaded, colonised or civilised by northern worshippers of Sun and Fire, yet the picture of that invasion richly painted by philological scholarship from the Rig-

veda will prove to be a modern legend and not ancient history, and even if a half-savage Aryan civilisation existed in India in early times, the astonishingly elaborate modern descriptions of Vedic India will turn out a philological mirage and phantasmagoria. The wider question of an early Aryan civilisation must equally be postponed till we have sounder materials. The present theory is wholly illusory; for it assumes that common terms imply a common civilisation, an assumption which sins both by excess and by defect. It sins by excess; it cannot be argued, for instance, that because the Romans and Indians have a common term for a particular utensil, therefore that utensil was possessed by their ancestors in common previous to their separation. We must know first the history of the contact between the ancestors of the two races; we must be sure that the extant Roman word did not replace an original Latin term not possessed by the Indians; we must be sure that the Romans did not receive the term by transmission from Greek or Celt without ever having had any identity, connection or contact with our Aryan forefathers; we must be proof against many other possible solutions about which philology can give us no guarantee either negative or affirmative. The Indian *surāṅga*, a tunnel, is supposed to be the Greek *surinx*. We cannot, therefore, argue that the Greeks and Indians possessed the common art of tunnel-making before their dispersion or even that the Indians who borrowed the word from Greece, never knew what an underground excavation might be till they learned it from Macedonian engineers. The Bengali term for telescope is *durbin*, a word not of European origin. We cannot conclude that the Bengalis had invented the telescope independently before their contact with the Europeans. Yet on the principles by which the philologists seem to be guided in their conjectural restorations of vanished cultures, these are precisely the conclusions at which we should arrive. Here we have a knowledge of the historical facts to correct our speculations; but the prehistoric ages are not similarly defended. Historical data are entirely wanting and we are left at the mercy of words and their misleading indications. But a little reflection on the vicissitudes of languages and specially some study of the peculiar linguistic phenomena created in India by the impact of

the English tongue on our literary vernaculars, the first rush with which English words attempted to oust, in conversation and letter-writing, even common indigenous terms in their own favour and the reaction by which the vernaculars are now finding new Sanskritic terms to express the novel concepts introduced by the Europeans, will be sufficient to convince any thoughtful mind how rash are the premises of these philological culture-restorers and how excessive and precarious their conclusions. Nor do they sin by excess alone, but by defect also. They consistently ignore the patent fact that in prehistoric and preliterate times the vocabularies of primitive languages must have varied from century to century to an extent of which we with our ideas of language drawn from the classical and modern literary tongues can form little conception. It is, I believe, an established fact of anthropology that many savage tongues change their vocabulary almost from generation to generation. It is, therefore, perfectly possible that the implements of civilisation and culture ideas for which no two Aryan tongues have a common term may yet have been common property before their dispersion; since each of them may have rejected after that dispersion the original common term for a neologism of its own manufacture. It is the preservation of common terms and not their disappearance that is the miracle of language.

I exclude, therefore, and exclude rightly from the domain of philology as I conceive it all ethnological conclusions, all inferences from words to the culture and civilisation of the men or races who used them, however alluring may be those speculations, however attractive, interesting and probable may be the inferences which we are tempted to draw in the course of our study. The philologist has nothing to do with ethnology. The philologist has nothing to do with sociology, anthropology and archaeology. His sole business is or ought to be with the history of words and of the association of ideas with the sound forms which they represent. By strictly confining himself to this province, by the self-denial with which he eschews all irrelevant distractions and delights on his somewhat dry and dusty road, he will increase his concentration on his own proper work and avoid lures which may draw him away from the great dis-

coveries awaiting mankind on this badly explored tract of knowledge.

But the affinities of languages to each other are, at least, a proper field for the labours of philology. Nevertheless, even here I am compelled to hold that the scholarship of Europe has fallen into an error in giving this subject of study the first standing among the objects of philology. Are we really quite sure that we know what constitutes community or diversity of origin between two different languages — so different, for instance, as Latin and Sanskrit, Sanskrit and Tamil, Tamil and Latin? Latin, Greek and Sanskrit are supposed to be sister Aryan tongues, Tamil is set apart as of other and Dravidian origin. If we enquire on what foundation this distinct and contrary treatment rests, we shall find that community of origin is supposed on two main grounds, a common body of ordinary and familiar terms and a considerable community of grammatical forms and uses. We come back to the initial formula, *pitā, patēr, pater, vater, father*. What other test, it may be asked, can be found for determining linguistic kinship? Possibly none, but a little dispassionate consideration will give us, it seems to me, ground to pause and reflect very long and seriously before we classify languages too confidently upon this slender basis. The mere possession of a large body of common terms is, it is recognised, insufficient to establish kinship; it may establish nothing more than contact or cohabitation. Tamil has a very large body of Sanskrit words in its rich vocabulary, but it is not therefore a Sanskritic language. The common terms must be those which express ordinary and familiar ideas and objects, such as domestic relations, numerals, pronouns, the heavenly bodies, the ideas of being, having, etc., — those terms that are most commonly in the mouths of men, especially of primitive men, and are, therefore, shall we say, least liable to variation? Sanskrit says addressing the father, *pitar*, Greek *patēr*, Latin *pater*, but Tamil says *appā*; Sanskrit says addressing the mother *mātar*, Greek *mēter*, Latin *mater*, but Tamil *ammā*; for the numeral seven Sanskrit says *saptan* or *sapta*, Greek *hepta*, Latin *septa*, but Tamil *eḷu*; for the first person Sanskrit says *aham*, Greek *egō* or *egōn*, Latin *ego*, but Tamil *nān*; for the sun, Sanskrit says *sūra* or *sūrya*, Greek *helios*, Latin *sol*, but

Tamil *ñāyir*; for the idea of being, Sanskrit has *as*, *asmi*, Greek has *einai* and *eimi*, Latin *esse* and *sum*, but Tamil *iru*. The basis of differentiation, then, appears with a striking clearness. There is no doubt about it. Sanskrit, Greek and Latin belong to one linguistic family which we may call conveniently the Aryan or Indo-European, Tamil to another for which we can get no more convenient term than Dravidian.

So far, good. We seem to be standing on a firm foundation, to be in possession of a rule which can be applied with something like scientific accuracy. But when we go a little farther, the fair prospect clouds a little, mists of doubt begin to creep into our field of vision. Mother and father we have; but there are other domestic relations. Over the daughter of the house, the primæval milk-maid, the Aryan sisters show the slight beginnings of a spirit of disagreement. The Sanskrit father addresses her in the orthodox fashion, *duhitar*, O milkmaid; Greek as well as German and English parents follow suit with *thugather*, *tochter*, and *daughter*, but Latin has abandoned its pastoral ideas, knows nothing of *duhitā* and uses a word *filia* which has no conceivable connection with the milk-pail and is not connected with any variant for daughter in the kindred tongues. Was Latin then a mixed tongue drawing from a non-Aryan stock for its conception of daughterhood? But this is only a single and negligible variation. We go farther and find, when we come to the word for son, these Aryan languages seem to differ hopelessly and give up all appearance of unity. Sanskrit says *putra*, Greek *huios*, Latin *filius*, the three languages use three words void of all mutual connection. We cannot indeed arrive at the conclusion that these languages were Aryan in their conception of fatherhood and motherhood, but sonhood is a Dravidian conception, — like architecture, monism and most other civilised conceptions, according to some modern authorities; for Sanskrit has a literary term for child or son, *sūnuh*, with which we can connect the German *sohn*, English *son* and more remotely the Greek *huios*. We explain the difference then by supposing that these languages did possess an original common term for son, possibly *sūnu*, which was dropped by many of them at least in a colloquial expression, Sanskrit relegated it to the language of high litera-

ture, Greek adopted another form from the same root, Latin lost it altogether and substituted for it *filius* as it has substituted *filia* for *duhitā*. This sort of fluidity in the commonest terms seems to have been common — Greek has lost its original word for brother, *phrator*, which its sisters retain, and substituted *adelphos*, for which they have no correspondents, Sanskrit has abandoned the common word for the numeral one *unus*, *ein*, *one* and substituted a word *eka*, unknown to any other Aryan tongue; all differ over the third personal pronoun; for moon Greek has *selene*, Latin *luna*, Sanskrit *candra*. But when we admit these facts, a very important part of our scientific basis is sapped and the edifice begins to totter. For we come back to this fatal fact that even in the commonest terms the ancient languages tended to lose their original vocabulary and diverge from each other so that if the process had not been arrested by an early literature all obvious proof of relationship might well have disappeared. It is only the accident of an early and continuous Sanskrit literature that enables us to establish the original unity of the Aryan tongues. If it were not for the old Sanskrit writings, if only the ordinary Sanskrit colloquial vocables had survived who could be certain of these connections? or who could confidently affiliate colloquial Bengali with its ordinary domestic terms to Latin any more certainly than Telugu or Tamil? How then are we to be sure that the dissonance of Tamil itself with the Aryan tongues is not due to an early separation and an extensive change of its vocabulary during its preliterate ages? I shall be able, at a later stage of this inquiry to afford some ground for supposing the Tamil numerals to be early Aryan vocables abandoned by Sanskrit but still traceable in the Veda or scattered and imbedded in the various Aryan tongues and the Tamil pronouns similarly the primitive Aryan denominatives of which traces still remain in the ancient tongues. I shall be able to show also that large families of words supposed to be pure Tamil are identical in the mass, though not in their units, with the Aryan family. But then we are logically driven towards this conclusion that absence of a common vocabulary for common ideas and objects is not necessarily a proof of diverse origin. Diversity of grammatical forms? But are we certain that the

Tamil forms are not equally old Aryan forms, corrupted but preserved by the early deliquescence of the Tamilic dialect? Some of them are common to the modern Aryan vernaculars, but unknown to Sanskrit, and it has even been thence concluded by some that the Aryan vernaculars were originally non-Aryan tongues linguistically overpowered by the foreign invader. But if so then into what quagmires of uncertainty do we not descend? Our shadow of a scientific basis, our fixed classification of language families have disappeared into shifting vestibules of nothingness.

Nor is this all the havoc that more mature consideration works in the established theory of the philologists. We have found a wide divergence between the Tamil common terms and those shared in common by the "Aryan" dialects; but let us look a little more closely into these divergences. The Tamil for father is *appā*, not *pitā*; there is no corresponding word in Sanskrit, but we have what one might call a reverse of the word in *apatyam*, son, in *aptyam*, offspring and *apna*, offspring. These three words point decisively to a Sanskrit root *ap*, to produce or create, for which other evidence in abundance can be found. What is there to prevent us from supposing *appā*, father, to be the Tamil form for an old Aryan active derivative from this root corresponding to the passive derivative *apatyam*? Mother in Tamil is *ammā*, not *mātā*; there is no Sanskrit word *ammā*, but there is the well-known Sanskrit vocable *ambā*, mother. What is to prevent us from understanding the Tamil *ammā* as an Aryan form equivalent to *ambā*, derived from the root *amb* to produce, which gives us *amba* and *ambaka*, father, *ambā*, *ambikā* and *ambi*, mother and *ambarīṣa*, colt of a horse or the young of an animal. *Sodara*, a high Sanskrit word, is the common colloquial term in Tamil for brother and replaces the northern vernacular *bhāi* and classical *bhrātā*. *Akkā*, a Sanskrit word with many variants, is the colloquial term in Tamil for elder sister. In all these cases an obsolete or high literary term in Sanskrit is the ordinary colloquial term in Tamil, just as we see the high literary Sanskrit *sūnuḥ* appearing in the colloquial German *sohn* and English *son*, the obsolete and certainly high literary Aryan *adalbha* undivided, appearing in the colloquial Greek *adelphos*, brother.

What are we to conclude from these and a host of other instances which will appear in a later volume of this work? That Tamil is an Aryan dialect, like Greek, like German? Surely not, — the evidence is not sufficient; but that it is possible for a non-Aryan tongue to substitute largely and freely Aryan vocables for its most common and familiar terms and lose its own native expression. But then we are again driven by inexorable logic to this conclusion that just as the absence of a common vocabulary for common and domestic terms is not a sure proof of diverse origin, so also the possession of an almost identical vocabulary for these terms is not a sure proof of common origin. These things prove, at the most, intimate contact or separate development; they do not prove and in themselves cannot prove anything more. But on what basis then are we to distinguish and classify various language families? Can we positively say that Tamil is a non-Aryan or Greek, Latin and German Aryan tongues? From the indication of grammatical forms and uses, from the general impression created by the divergence or identity of the vocables inherited by the languages we are comparing? But the first is too scanty and inconclusive, the second too empirical, uncertain and treacherous a test; both are the reverse of scientific, both, as reflection will show, might lead us into the largest and most radical errors. Rather than to form a conclusion by such a principle it is better to abstain from all conclusions and turn to a more thorough and profitable initial labour.

I conclude that it is too early, in the history of philological research, we have made as yet too crude and slender a foundation to rear upon it the superstructure of scientific laws and scientific classifications. We cannot yet arrive at a sound and certain classification of human tongues still extant in speech, record or literature. We must recognise that our divisions are popular, not scientific, based upon superficial identities, not upon the one sound foundation for a science, the study of various species in their development from the embryo to the finished form or, failing the necessary material, a reverse study tracing back the finished forms to the embryonic and digging down into the hidden original foetus of language. The reproach of the real scientist against the petty conjectural pseudo-science of philology

is just; it must be removed by the adoption of a sounder method and greater self-restraint, the renunciation of brilliant superficialities and a more scrupulous, sceptical and patient system of research. In the present work I renounce, therefore, however alluring the temptation, however strong the facts may seem to a superficial study, all attempt to speculate on the identities or relationships of the different languages, on the evidence of philology as to the character and history of primitive human civilisations, or any other subject whatever not strictly within the four walls of my subject. That subject is the origin, growth and development of human language as it is shown to us by the embryology of the language ordinarily called Sanskrit and three ancient tongues, two dead and one living which have evidently come at least into contact with it, the Latin, Greek and Tamil. I have called my work, for convenience's sake, 'The Origins of Aryan Speech'; but I would have it clearly understood that by using this familiar epithet I do not for a moment wish to imply any opinion as to the relationship of the four languages included in my survey, or the race origin of the peoples speaking them or even of the ethnic origins of the Sanskrit speaking peoples. I did not wish to use the word Sanskrit, both because it is only a term meaning polished or correct and designating the literary tongue of ancient India as distinct from the vernaculars used by the women and the common people and because my scope is somewhat wider than the classical tongue of the northern Hindus. I base my conclusions on the evidence of the Sanskrit language helped out by those parts of the Greek, Latin and Tamil tongues which are cognate to the word-families of Sanskrit, and by the origins of Aryan speech I mean, properly, the origin of human speech as used and developed by those who fashioned these word-families and their stocks and off-shoots. The significance of the word Aryan, as I use it, goes no farther.

In such an enquiry, it is obvious that a kind of science of linguistic embryology is the first necessity. In other words, it is only in proportion as we get away from the habits and notions and apparent facts of formed human speech in its use by modern and civilised people, only in proportion as we get nearer to the first roots and rudiments of the structure of the more ancient

and primitive languages that we shall have any chance of making really fruitful discoveries. Just as from the study of the formed outward man, animal, plant, the great truths of evolution could not be discovered or, if discovered, not firmly fixed, — just as only by going back from the formed creature to its skeleton and from the skeleton to the embryo could the great truth be established that in matter also the great Vedantic formula holds good, — of a world formed by the development of many forms from one seed, in the will of the universal Being, *ekam bījaṃ bahudhā yaḥ karoti*, so also in language; if the origin and unity of human speech can be found and established, if it can be shown that its development was governed by fixed laws and processes, it is only by going back to its earliest forms that the discovery is to be made and its proofs established. Modern speech is largely a fixed and almost artificial form, not precisely a fossil, but an organism proceeding towards arrest and fossilisation. The ideas its study suggests to us are well calculated to lead us entirely astray. In modern language the word is a fixed conventional symbol having for no good reason that we know a significance we are bound by custom to attach to it. We mean by wolf a certain kind of animal, but why we use this sound and not another to mean it, except as a mere lawless fact of historical development, we do not know, do not care to think. Any other sound would, for us, be equally good for the purpose, provided the custom-bound mentality prevailing in our environment could be persuaded to sanction it. It is only when we go back to the early tongues and find, for instance, that the Sanskrit word for wolf means radically “tearing” that we get a glimpse of one law at least of the development of language. Again, in modern speech we have fixed parts of speech; noun, adjective, verb, adverb are to us different words even when their forms are the same. Only when we go back to the earlier tongues do we get a glimpse of the striking, the illuminating fact that in the most fundamental forms a single monosyllable did service equally for noun, adjective, verb and adverb and that man in his earliest use of speech probably made in his mind little or no conscious difference between these various uses. We see the word *vrka* in modern Sanskrit used only as a noun signifying wolf; in the Veda it means simply tearing or a

tearer, is used indifferently as a noun or adjective, even in its noun-use has much of the freedom of an adjective and can be applied freely to a wolf, a demon, an enemy, a disruptive force or anything that tears. We find in the Veda, although there are adverbial forms corresponding to the Latin adverb in *e* and *ter*, the adjective itself used continually as a pure adjective and yet in a relation to the verb and its action which corresponds to our modern use of adverbs and adverbial or prepositional phrases or subordinate adverbial clauses. Still more remarkable, we find nouns and adjectives used frequently as verbs with an object in the accusative case depending on the verbal idea in the root. We are prepared, therefore, to find that in the simplest and earliest forms of the Aryan tongue the use of a word was quite fluid, that a word like *cit* for instance might equally mean to know, knowing, knows, knower, knowledge, or knowingly and be used by the speaker without any distinct idea of the particular employment he was making of the pliant vocable. Again, the tendency to fixity in modern tongues, the tendency to use words as mere counters and symbols of ideas, not as living entities themselves the parents of thought, creates a tendency to limit severely the use of a single word in several different senses and also a tendency to avoid the use of many different words for the expression of a single object or idea. When we have got the word 'strike' to mean a voluntary and organised cessation of work by labourers, we are satisfied; we would be embarrassed if we had to choose between this and fifteen other words equally common and having the same significance; still more should we feel embarrassed if the same word could mean a blow, a sunbeam, anger, death, life, darkness, shelter, a house, food and prayer. Yet this is precisely the phenomenon, — again, I suggest a most striking and illuminating phenomenon, — we find in the early history of speech. Even in later Sanskrit the wealth of apparently unconnected significances borne by a single word is phenomenal, but in Vedic Sanskrit it is more than phenomenal and offers a serious stumbling-block to any attempt by moderns to fix the exact and indisputable sense of the Aryan hymns. I shall give evidence in this work for concluding that in yet earlier speech the licence was much greater, that each word, not only exceptionally but ordi-

narily, was capable of numerous different meanings and each object or idea could be expressed by many, often by as many as fifty different words each derived from a different root. To our ideas such a state of things would be one merely of lawless confusion negating the very idea of any law of speech or any possibility of a linguistic Science, but I shall show that this extraordinary freedom and pliancy arose inevitably out of the very nature of human speech in its beginnings and as a result of the very laws which presided over its pristine development.

By going back thus from the artificial use of a developed speech in modern language nearer to the natural use of primitive speech by our earlier forefathers we gain two important points. We get rid of the idea of a conventional fixed connection between the sound and its sense and we perceive that a certain object is expressed by a certain sound because for some reason it suggested a particular and striking action or characteristic which distinguished that object to the earlier human mind. Ancient man did not say in his mind as would the sophisticated modern, "Here is a gory carnivorous animal, with four legs, of the canine species who hunts in packs and is particularly associated in my mind with Russia and the winter and snow and the steppes; let us find a suitable name for him"; he had fewer ideas about the wolf in his mind, no preoccupation with ideas of scientific classification and much preoccupation with the physical fact of his contact with the wolf. It was this chief all-important physical fact he selected when he cried to his companion, not "here is the wolf", but simply "this tearer", *ayam vrkah*. The question remains, why the word *vrkah* more than another suggested the idea of tearing. The Sanskrit language carries us one step back, but not yet to the final step, by showing us that it is not the formed word *vrkah* with which we have to deal, but the word *vrca*, that root of which *vrka* is only one of several outgrowths. For the second obsession it helps us to get rid of is the modern connection of the developed word with some precise shade of an idea that we have accustomed it to convey. The word *delimitation* and the complex sense it conveys are with us welded together; we need not remember that it comes from *limes*, a boundary, and that the single syllable *lime*, which is the backbone of the word, does not carry to us by

itself the fundamental core of the sense. But I think it can be shown that even in the Vedic times men using the word *vrka* had the sense of the root *vr̥c* foremost in their minds and it was that root which to their mentality was the rigid fixed significant part of speech; the full word being still fluid and depending for its use on the associations wakened by the root it contained. If that be so, we can partly see why words remained fluid in their sense, varying according to the particular idea wakened by the root-sound in the mentality of the speaker. We can see also why this root itself was fluid not only in its significances, but in its use and why even in the formed and developed word the nominal, adjectival, verbal and adverbial uses were, even in the comparatively late stage of speech we find in the Vedas, so imperfectly distinguished, so little rigid and separate, so much run into each other. We get back always to the root as the determining unit of language. In the particular inquiry we have before us, the basis for a science of language, we make a most important advance. We need not enquire why *vr̥ka* meant tearer; we shall enquire instead what the sound *vr̥c* meant to the early Aryan-speaking races and why it bore the particular significance or significances we actually find imbedded in it. We have not to ask why *dolabra* in Latin means an axe, *dalmi* in Sanskrit means Indra's thunderbolt, *dalapa* and *dala* are applied to weapons, or *dalanam* meaning crushing or *delphi* in Greek is the name given to a place of caverns and ravines, but we may confine ourselves to an enquiry into the nature of the mother-root *dal* of which all these different but cognate uses are the result. Not that the variations noted have no importance but their importance is minor and subsidiary. We may indeed divide the history of speech-origins into two parts, the embryonic into which research must be immediate as of the first importance, the structural which is less important and therefore may be kept for subsequent and subsidiary inquiry. In the first we note the roots of speech and inquire how *vr̥c* came to mean to tear, *dal* to split or crush, whether arbitrarily or by the operation of some law of nature; in the second we note the modifications and additions by which those roots grow into developed words, word-groups, word-families and word-clans and why those modifications and additions had

the effect on sense and use which we find them to have exercised, why the termination *ana* turns *dal* into an adjective or a noun and what is the source and sense of the various terminations *ābra*, *bhi*, *bha*, (*del*)*phoi*, (*dal*)*bhāh*, *ān* (Greek *ōn*) and *ana*.

This superior importance of the root in early language to the formed word is one of those submerged facts of language the neglect of which has been one of the chief causes of philology's scientific abortiveness as a science. The first comparative philologists made, it seems to me, a fatal mistake when, misled by the wider preoccupation with the formed word, they fixed on the correlation *pitā*, *patēr*, *pater*, *vater*, *father* as the clef, or the *mūlamantra*, of their science and began to argue from it to all sorts of sound or unsound conclusions. The real clef, the real correlation is to be found in this other agreement, *dalbhi*, *dalana*, *dolabra*, *dolon*,¹ *delphi*, leading to the idea of a common mother-root, common word-families, common word-clans, kindred word-nations, or, as we call them, languages. And if it had been also noticed that in all these languages *dal* means also pretence or fraud and has other common or kindred significances and some attempt made to discover the reason for one sound having these various significant uses, the foundation of a real Science of Languages might have been formed. We should incidentally have discovered, perhaps, the real connections of the ancient languages and the common mentality of the so-called Aryan peoples. We find *dolabra* in Latin for axe, we find no corresponding word in Greek or Sanskrit for axe; to argue thence that the Aryan forefathers had not invented or adopted the axe as a weapon before their dispersion, is to land oneself in a region of futile and nebulous uncertainties and rash inferences. But when we have noted that *dolabra* in Latin, *dolon* in Greek, *dala*, *dalapa* and *dalmi* in Sanskrit were all various derivatives freely developed from *dal* to split, and all used for some kind of weapon, we get hold of a fruitful and luminous certainty. We see the common or original mentality working, we see the apparently free and loose yet really regular processes by which words were formed; we see too that not the possession of the same identical formed words, but the selection of a root word and of one among

¹ *Dolos*, fraud; *dolon*, dagger; *doulos*, slave.

several children of the same root word to express a particular object or idea was the secret both of the common element and of the large and free variation that we actually find of the vocabulary of the Aryan languages.

I have said enough to show the character of the enquiry which I propose to pursue in the present work. This character arises necessarily from the very nature of the problem we have before us, the processes by which language took birth and formation. In the physical sciences we have a simple and homogeneous material of study; for, however complex may be the forces or constituents at work, they are all of one nature and obey one class of laws; all the constituents are forms developed by the vibration of material ether, all the forces are energies of these ethereal vibrations which have either knotted themselves into these formal constituents of objects and are at work in them or else still work freely upon them from outside. But in the mental sciences we are confronted with heterogeneous material and heterogeneous forces and action of forces; we have to deal first with a physical material and medium, the nature and action of which by itself would be easy enough to study and regular enough in its action, but for the second element, the mental agency working in and upon its physical medium and material. We see a cricket ball flying through the air, we know the elements of action and statics that work into and upon its flight and we can tell easily enough either by calculation or judgment not only in what direction it will pursue its flight, but where it will fall. We see a bird flying through the air, — a physical object like the cricket ball flying through the same physical medium; but we know neither in what direction it will fly, nor where it will alight. The material is the same, a physical body, the medium is the same, the physical atmosphere; to a certain extent even the energy is the same, the physical Pranic energy, as it is called in our philosophy, inherent in matter. But another force not physical has seized on this physical force, is acting in it and on it and so far as the physical medium will allow, fulfilling itself through it. This force is mental energy, and its presence suffices to change the pure or molecular Pranic energy we find in the cricket ball into the mixed or nervous Pranic energy we find in

the bird. But if we could so develop our mental perceptions as to be able to estimate by judgment or measure by calculation the force of nervous energy animating the bird at the moment of its flight, even then we could not determine its direction or goal. The reason is that there is not only a difference in the energy, but a difference in the agency. The agency is the mental power dwelling in the merely physical object, the power of a mental will which is not only indwelling but to a certain extent free. There is an intention in the bird's flight; if we can perceive that intention, we can then judge whither it will fly, where it will alight, provided always that it does not change its intention. The cricket ball is also thrown by a mental agent with an intention, but that agent being external and not indwelling, the ball cannot, once it is propelled in a certain direction, with a certain force, change that direction or exceed that force unless turned or driven forward by a new object it meets in its flight. In itself it is not free. The bird is also propelled by a mental agent with an intention, in a certain direction, with a certain force of nervous energy in its flight. Let nothing change in the mental will working it and its flight may possibly be estimated and fixed like the cricket ball's. It also may be turned by an object meeting it, a tree or a danger in the way, an attractive object out of the way, but the mental power dwells within and is, as we should say, free to choose whether it shall be turned aside or not, whether it shall continue its way or not. But also it is free entirely to change its original intention without any external reasons, to increase or diminish, to use its output of nervous energy in the act, to employ it in a direction and towards a goal which are quite foreign to the original object of the flight. We can study and estimate the physical and nervous forces it uses, but we cannot make a science of the bird's flight unless we go behind matter and material force and study the nature of this conscious agent and the laws, if any, which determine, annul or restrict its apparent freedom.

Philology is the attempt to form such a mental science, — for language has this twofold aspect; its material is physical, the sounds formed by the human tongue working on the air vibrations; the energy using it is nervous, the molecular Pranic

activity of the brain using the vocal agents and itself used and modified by a mental energy, the nervous impulse to express, to bring out of the crude material of sensation the clearness and preciseness of the idea; the agent using it is a mental will, free so far as we can see, but free within the limits of its physical material to vary and determine its use, for that purpose, of the range of vocal sound. In order to arrive at the laws which have governed the formation of any given human tongue, — and my purpose now is not to study the origins of human speech generally, but the origins of Aryan speech, — we must examine, first, the way in which the instrument of vocal sound has been determined and used by the agent, secondly, the way in which the relation of the particular ideas to be expressed to the particular sound or sounds which express it, has been determined. There must always be these two elements, the structure of the language, its seeds, roots, formation and growth, and the psychology of the use of the structure.

Alone of the Aryan tongues, the present structure of the Sanskrit language still preserves this original type of the Aryan structure. In this ancient tongue alone, we see not entirely in all the original forms, but in the original essential parts and rules of formation, the skeleton, the members, the entrails of this organism. It is through this study, then, of Sanskrit, especially aided by whatever light we can get from the more regular and richly-structured among the other Aryan languages, that we must seek for our origins. The structure we find is one of extraordinary initial simplicity and also of extraordinarily mathematical and scientific regularity of formation. We have in Sanskrit four open sounds or pure vowels, *a* (अ), *i* (इ), *u* (उ), *r* (ऋ) with their lengthened forms, *ā* (आ), *ī* (ई), *ū* (ऊ), and *ṛ* (ॠ) (we have to mention but may omit for practical purposes the rare vowel *ṛ*, ठ), supplemented by two other open sounds which the grammarians are probably right in regarding as impure vowels or modifications of *i* (इ) and *u* (उ); they are the vowels *e* (ए) and *o* (ओ), each with its farther modification into *ai* (ऐ) and *au* (औ). Then we have five symmetrical Vargas or classes of closed sounds or consonants, the gutturals, *k* (क्), *kh* (ख), *g* (ग्), *gh* (घ), *ṅ* (ङ्), the palatals *c* (च्), *ch* (छ), *j* (ज्), *jh* (झ), *ñ* (ञ्), the cerebrals, answer-

ing approximately to the English dentals, *t* (ट्), *th* (ठ्), *d* (ड्), *dh* (ढ्), *n* (ण्); the pure dentals answering to the Celtic and continental dentals we find in Irish and in French, Spanish or Italian *t* (त्), *th* (थ्), *d* (द्), *dh* (ध्), *n* (न्) and the labials, *p* (प्), *ph* (फ्), *b* (ब्), *bh* (भ्), *m* (म्). Each of these classes consists of a hard sound, *k* (क्), *c* (च्), *t* (ट्), *t* (त्), *p* (प्), with its aspirate, *kh* (ख्), *ch* (छ्), *th* (ठ्), *th* (थ्), *ph* (फ्), a corresponding sound *g* (ग्), *j* (ज्), *ḍ* (ḍ्), *d* (द्), *b* (ब्) with its aspirate *gh* (घ्), *jh* (झ्), *ḍh* (ḍ्ह्), *dh* (ध्), *bh* (भ्), and a class nasal, *ñ* (ञ्), *ṅ* (ङ्), *ṇ* (ण्), *n* (न्), *m* (म्). But of these nasals only the last three have any separate existence or importance; the others are modifications of the general nasal sound, *m* (म्), *n* (न्), which are found only in conjunction with the other consonants of their class and are brought into existence by that conjunction. The cerebral class is also a peculiar class; they have so close a kinship to the dental both in sound and in use that they may almost be regarded as modified dentals rather than an original separate class. Finally, in addition to the ordinary vowels and consonants we have a class composed of the four liquids *y* (य्), *r* (र्), *l* (ल्), *v* (व्), which are evidently treated as semi-vowels, *y* (य्) being the semi-vowel form of *i* (इ), *v* (व्) of *u* (उ), *r* (र्) of *r̥* (ऋ), *l* (ल्) of *l̥* (ऌ), — this semi-vowel character of *r* (र्) and *l* (ल्) is the reason why in Latin prosody they have not always the full value of the consonant, why, for instance, the *u* in *volueris* is optionally long or short; we have the triple sibilation *ś* (श्), *ṣ* (ष्) and *s* (स्), *ś*, palatal, *ṣ* cerebral, *s* dental; we have the pure aspirate, *h* (ह्). With the possible exception of the cerebral class and the variable nasal, it can hardly be doubted, I think, that the Sanskrit alphabet represents the original vocal instrument of Aryan speech. Its regular, symmetrical and methodical character is evident and might tempt us to see in it a creation of some scientific intellect, if we did not know that Nature in a certain portion of her pure physical action has precisely this regularity, symmetry and fixity and that the mind, at any rate in its earlier unintellectualised action, when man is more guided by sensation and impulse and hasty perception, tends to bring in the element of irregularity and caprice and not a greater method and symmetry. We may even say, not absolutely, but within the range of the linguistic facts and

periods available to us, the greater the symmetry and unconscious scientific regularity, the more ancient the stage of the language. The advanced stages of language show an increasing detrition, deliquescence, capricious variation, the loss of useful sounds, the passage, sometimes transitory, sometimes permanent of slight and unnecessary variations of the same sound to the dignity of separate letters. Such a variation, unsuccessful in permanence can be seen in the Vedic modification of the soft cerebral *d* (द) into a cerebral liquid *ḍ* (ड). This sound disappears in later Sanskrit, but has fixed itself in Tamil and Marathi. Such is the simple instrument out of which the majestic and expressive harmonies of the Sanskrit language have been formed.

The use of the instrument by the earlier Aryans for the formation of words seems to have been equally symmetrical, methodical and in close touch with the physical facts of vocal expression. These letters are used as so many seed-sounds; out of them primitive root-sounds are formed by the simple combination of the four vowels or less frequently the modified vowels with each of the consonants, the two dependent nasals *ṅ* (ङ) and *ṅ̄* (ञ) and the cerebral nasal *ṇ* (ण) excepted. Thus with *d* (द) as a base sound, the early Aryans were able to make for themselves root-sounds which they used indifferently as nouns, adjectives, verbs or adverbs to express root-ideas, — *da* (दा), *dā* (दा), *di* (दि), *dī* (दी), *du* (दु), *dū* (दू), *dr* (द्र), and *dṛ* (दृ). All these roots did not endure as separate words, but those which did, left an often vigorous progeny behind them which preserve in themselves the evidence for the existence of their progenitor. Especially have the roots formed by the short *a* (अ) passed out of use without a single exception. In addition the Aryans could form if they chose the modified root-sounds *de* (दे), *dai* (दै), *do* (दो), *dau* (दौ). The vowel bases were also used, since the nature of speech permitted it, as root-sounds and root-words. But obviously the kernel of language, though it might suffice for primitive beings, is too limited in range to satisfy the self-extensive tendency of human speech. We see therefore a class of secondary root-sounds and root-words grow up from the primitive root by the further addition to it of any of the consonant sounds with its necessary or natural modification of the already existing root-idea. Thus on

the basis of the now lost primitive root *da*, it was possible to have four guttural short secondary roots, *dak* (दक्), *dakh* (दख्), *dag* (दग्), *dagh* (दघ्) and four long, *dāk* (दाक्), *dākh* (दाख्), *dāg* (दाग्), *dāgh* (दाघ्), which might be regarded either as separate words or long forms of the short root; so also eight palatal, eight cerebral, with the two nasal forms *daṅ* (दङ्) and *dāṅ* (दाङ्), making ten, ten dental, ten labial liquid, six sibilant and two aspirate secondary roots. It was possible also to nasalise any of these forms, establishing for instance, *dank* (दङ्क्), *dankh* (दङ्ख्), *dang* (दङ्ग्) and *dangh* (दङ्घ्). It seems not unnatural to suppose that all these roots existed in the earlier forms of the Aryan Speech, but by the time of our first literary records, the greater number of them have disappeared, some leaving behind them a scanty or numerous progeny, others perishing with their frail descendants. If we take a single example, the primitive base root *ma* (म), we find *ma* (म) itself dead but existing in the noun forms *ma* (म), *mā* (मा), *man* (मन्), *mataḥ* (मतः), *matam* (मतम्); *man* (मन्) existing only in the nasal form *mank* (मङ्क्) and in its own descendants *makara* (मकर), *makura* (मकुर), *makula* (मकुल) etc., and in tertiary formations *makk* (मक्क्) and *makṣ* (मक्ख्); *makk* (मक्क्) still existing as a root-word in the forms *makh* (मख्) and *mankh* (मङ्ख्); *mag* (मग्) only in its descendants and in its nasal forms *mang* (मङ्ग्), *magh* (मघ्) in its nasalised form *mangh* (मङ्घ्); *mac* (मक्) still alive, but childless except in its nasal disguise *manc* (मङ्च्); *mach* (मछ्) dead with its posterity, *maj* (मज्) alive in its descendants and its nasal form *manj* (मङ्ज्), *majh* (मङ्) wholly obsolete. We find in the long forms *mā* (मा) and *mākṣ* (माक्ख्) as separate roots and words with *māk* (माक्), *mākh* (माख्), *māgh* (माघ्), *māc* (माक्), and *māch* (माछ्) as their substantial parts, but more usually deriving, it would seem, from a lengthening of the short root, than from the long form as a separate root. Finally, tertiary roots have been formed less regularly but still with some freedom by the addition of semi-vowels to the seed-sound in either primitive or secondary root thus giving us roots like *dhyai* (ध्यै), *dhvan* (ध्वन्), *sru* (स्र्), *hlād* (ह्लाद्), or of other consonants where the combination was possible, giving us roots like *stu* (स्तु), *ścyu* (श्च्यु), *hrad* (ह्रद्) etc., or else by the addition of another consonant to the final of the secondary root, giving us

forms like *vall* (बल्), *majj* (मज्ज्) etc. These are the pure root-forms. But a sort of illegitimate tertiary root is formed by the vowel *guṇa* or modification, as for example, of the vowel *r* (ऋ) into *ar* (अर्), and *ṛ* (ठ) into *ār* (आर्), so that we have the alternative forms *rc* (ऋच्) and *arc* (अर्च्) or *ark* (अर्क्); the forms *carṣ* (चर्ष्) and *car* (चर्) replacing *crṣ* (चृष्) and *cr* (चृ) which are now dead, the forms *mrj* (मृज्) and *marj* (मर्ज्) etc. We find too, certain early tendencies of consonantal modifications, one has an initial tendency to get rid of the palatal *c* (च्) *ch* (छ्) and *j* (ज्) *jh* (झ्), replace them by *k* (क्) and *g* (ग्), a tendency entirely fulfilled in Latin, but arrested in the course of half fulfilment in Sanskrit. This principle of *guṇa* is of great importance in the study of the physical formation of the language and of its psychological development, especially as it introduces a first element of doubt and confusion into an otherwise crystal clearness of structure and perfect mechanic regularity of formation. The vowel *guṇa* or modification works by the substitution either of the modified vowel, *e* (ए) for *i* (इ), *o* (ओ) for *u* (उ), so that we have from *vi* (वि) the case form *ves* (वेस्), *veḥ* (वेः), from *janu* (जनु) the case form *janoh* (जनोः), or of the pure semi-vowel sound *y* (य्) for *i* (इ), *v* (व्) for *u* (उ), *r* (र्) for *r* (ऋ), or a little impurely *rā* (रा), so that from *vi* (वि) we have the verbal form *vyantah* (व्यन्तः), from *śu* (शु), the verbal form *aśvah* (अश्वः), from *vr* (वृ) or *vrh* (वृह्) the noun *vraha* (व्रह्), or else of the supported semi-vowel sound, *ay* (अय्) for *i* (इ), *av* (अव्) for *u* (उ), *ar* (अर्) for *r* (ऋ), *al* (अल्) for *lr* (लृ), so that we have from *vi* the noun *vayas* (वयस्), from *śru* (श्रु) the noun *śravas* (श्रवस्), from *sr* (सृ) the noun *saras* (सरस्), from *klṛp* (क्लृप्) the noun *kalpa* (कल्प). These forms constitute the simple *gunation* of the short vowel sounds *a* (अ), *i* (इ), *u* (उ), *r* (ऋ), *lr* (लृ); in addition we have the long modification or *vrddhi*, an extension of the principle of lengthening which gives us the long forms of the words; we have *ai* (ऐ) or *āy* (आय्) from *i* (इ), *au* (औ) or *āv* (आव्) from *u* (उ), *ār* (आर्) from *r* (ऋ), *āl* (आल्) from *lr* (लृ), while *a* (अ) has no *vrddhi* proper but only the lengthening *ā* (आ). The principal confusion that arises out of this primitive departure from simplicity of sound-development is the frequent uncertainty between a regular secondary root and the irregular

gunated root. We have, for instance, the regular root *ar* (अर्) deriving from the primitive root *a* (अ) and the illegitimate root *ar* (अर्) deriving from the primitive root *r* (ऋ); we have the forms *kala* (कल) and *kāla* (काल), which, if judged only by their structure, may derive either from *klr* (क्लृ) or from *kal* (कल्); we have *ayus* (अयुस्) and *āyus* (आयुस्) which, similarly judged, may derive either from the root forms *a* (अ) and *ā* (आ) or from the root forms *u* (उ) and *i* (इ). The main consonantal modifications in Sanskrit are structural and consist in the assimilation of like consonants, a hard sound becoming soft by association with a soft sound, as soft sound hard by association with a hard sound, aspirates being replaced in conjunction by the corresponding unaspirated sound and modifying their companion in return, e.g. *lapsyate* (लप्स्यते) and *labdhum* (लब्धुम्) from *labh* (लभ्) substituted for *labh-syate* (लभ्-स्यते) and *labh-tum* (लभ्-तुम्), *vyūḍha* (व्यूह) from *vyūh* (व्यूह्) replacing *vyūhta* (व्यूहृत). Beyond this tendency to obey certain subtle but easily recognisable tendencies of mutual modification, which in themselves suggest only certain minor and unimportant doubts, the one really corruptive tendency in Sanskrit is the arrested impulse towards disappearance of the palatal family. This has gone so far that such forms as *ketu* (केतु) can be considered by Indian grammarians, quite erroneously, to proceed from the root *cit* (चित्) and not from the root *kit* (कित्) which is its natural parent. In reality, however, the only genuine palatal modifications are those in *sandhi*, which substitute *k* (क्) for *c* (च्), *g* (ग्) for *j* (ज्) at the end of a word or in certain combinations, e.g. *lagna* (लग्न) for *lajna* (लज्ज), *vaktr* (वक्त्) for *vactr* (वक्तृ), *vakva* (वक्व) for *vacva* (वक्व), the noun *vākya* (वाक्य) from the root *vac* (वक्), the perfect *cikāya* (चिकाय) and *cikye* (चिक्ये). Side by side with these modificatory combinations we have regular forms, such as *yajña*, (यज्ञ), *vācya* (वाक्य), *cicāya* (चिकाय), *cicye* (चिक्ये). It is even open to question whether the forms *cikāya* (चिकाय) and *cikye* (चिक्ये) are not rather from the root *ki* (कि) than actual descendants from the parent root *ci* (चि) in whose nest they have found a home.

These elements of variation noted, we are in a position to follow the second stage in the flowering of speech from the root-

state to the stage in which we pass on by a natural transition to the structural development of language. So far we have a language formed of the simplest and most regular elements. The seed-sounds, eight vowels and their modifications four in number; five classes of consonants and the nasals; one quaternary of liquids or semi-vowels: three sibilants; one aspirate based on each of these; their first developments, the primitive and parent roots, as from the seed-sound *v* (व्), the primitive root-group *va* (व), *vā* (वा), *vi* (वि), *vī* (वी), *vr* (वृ) *vṛ* (वृ) and possibly *vu* (वु), *vū* (वू), *ve* (वे), *vai* (वै), *vo* (वो), *vau* (वौ); round each primitive root its family of secondary roots, round the primitive *va* (व) its family, *vak* (वक्), *vakh* (वक्ख), *vag* (वग्), *vagh* (वग्घ); *vac* (वच्), *vach* (वच्छ), *vaj* (वज्), *vajh* (वज्झ); *vaṭ* (वट्), *vaṭh* (वट्ठ), *vaḍ* (वड्), *vaḍh* (वड्ठ), *vaṇ* (वण्); *vat* (वत्), *vath* (वत्थ), *vaḍ* (वड्), *vaḍh* (वड्ठ), *van* (वन्); *vap* (वप्), *vaph* (वप्फ), *vab* (वब्), *vabh* (वब्भ), *vam* (वम्); and possibly *vay* (वय्), *var* (वर्), *val* (वल), *vav* (वव्); *vaś* (वस्), *vaṣ* (वष्), *vas* (वस्), *vah* (वह्); — the eight or more families of this group forming a root-clan, with a certain variable number of tertiary dependents such as *vañc* (वञ्च्), *vaṅg* (वङ्ग्), *vand* (वन्द्), *valg* (वल्ग्), *vaṁs* (वंस्), *vaṅk* (वङ्क्), *vraj* (वज्), etc. Forty of these clans would constitute the whole range of primitive language. Each word would in the primitive nature of language, like each man in the primitive constitution of human society, fulfil at once several functions, noun, verb, adjective and adverb at once, the inflection of the voice, the use of gesture and the quickness of the instinct making up for the absence of delicacy and precision in the shades of speech. Such a language though of small compass would be one, it is clear, of great simplicity, of mechanical regularity of formation built up perfectly in its small range by the automatic methods of Nature, and sufficient to express the first physical and emotional needs of the human race. But the increasing demands of the intellect would in time compel a fresh growth of language and a more intricate flowering of forms. The first instrument in such a growth, the first in urgency, importance and time, would be the impulse towards distinguishing more formally between the action, the agent and the object, and therefore of establishing some sort of formal distinction, however vague at

first, between the noun-idea and the verb-idea. The second impulse, possibly simultaneous, would be towards distinguishing structurally, — for it is possible that the various root forms of one family were already used for that object, — between the various lines and shades of action, of establishing in modern language, tense forms, voices, moods. The third impulse would be towards the formal distinction of various attributes, such as number and gender, and various relations of the subject and object themselves to the action, of establishing case forms and forms of singularity, duality, plurality. The elaboration of special forms for adjective and adverb seems to have been a later, the latter in fact the latest of the operations of structural development, because in the early mentality the need of these distinctions was the least pressing.

When we examine how the old Aryan speakers managed the satisfaction of these needs and this new and rich efflorescence of the language plant we find that Nature in them was perfectly faithful to the principle of her first operations and that the whole of the mighty structure of the Sanskrit language was built up by a very slight extension of her original movement. This extension was reared and made possible by the simple, necessary and inevitable device of using the vowels *a* (अ), *i* (इ), *u* (उ) and *r* (ऋ) with their long forms and modifications as enclitic or support sounds subsequently prefixed sometimes to the root, but at first used to form appendage sounds only. The Aryans by the aid of this device proceeded, just as they had formed root-words by adding the consonant sounds to the primitive root-sounds, by adding for instance *d* (द्) or *l* (ल्) to *va* (व) had formed *vad* (वद्) and *val* (वल्), so now to form structural sounds by adding to the developed root-word any of the same consonant sounds, pure or conjunct with others, with an enclitic sound either as the connective support or a formatory support or both, or else by adding the enclitic sound alone as a substantial appendage. Thus, having the root *vad* (वद्), they could form from it at their will by the addition of the consonant *t* (त्), *vadat* (वदत्), *vadit* (वदित्), *vadut* (वदुत्), *vadr̥t* (वदृत्) or *vadata* (वदत), *vadita* (वदित), *vaduta* (वदुत), *vadr̥ta* (वदृत), or *vadati* (वदति), *vaditi* (वदिति), *vaduti* (वदुति), *vadr̥ti* (वदृति) or *vadatu* (वदतु), *vaditu* (वदितु), *vadutu*

(वदु), *vadr̥tu* (वदृत्), or else *vadat̥ri* (वदत्रि), *vadit̥ri* (वदित्त्रि), *vadut̥ri* (वदुत्त्रि); *vadr̥tri* (वदृत्त्रि) or else they could use the enclitic only and form *vada* (वद), *vadi* (वदि), *vadu* (वदु), *vadr̥* (वदृ), or they could employ the conjunct sounds *tr* (त्र्), *ty* (त्य्), *tv* (त्व्), *tm* (त्म्), *tn* (त्न्), and produce such forms as *vadatra* (वदत्र), *vadatya* (वदत्य), *vadatva* (वदत्व), *vadatma* (वदत्म्), *vadatna* (वदत्न्). As a matter of fact we do not find and would not expect to find all these possibilities actually used in the case of a single word. With the growth of intellectual richness and precision there would be a corresponding growth in the mental will-action and the supersession of the mechanical mind processes by more clearly and consciously selective mind processes. Nevertheless we do find practically all these forms distributed over the root-clans and families of the Aryan word-nation. We find the simple nominal forms built by the addition of the sole enclitic richly and almost universally distributed. The richness of forms is much greater in earlier Aryan speech than in later literature. From the root *san* (सन्) for instance, we find in Vedic speech all the forms *sana* (सन), *sani* (सनि), *sanu* (सनु) (contracted into *snu* स्नु), but in later Sanskrit they have all disappeared. We find also in Veda variants like *caratha* (चरथ) and *carutha* (चरथ्), *raha* (रह) and *rāha* (राह), but in later Sanskrit *caratha* (चरथ) has been rejected, *rah* (रह्) and *rāh* (राह्) preserved but rigidly distinguished in their significances. We find most nouns in possession of the *a* (अ) noun form, some in possession of the *i* (इ) form, some in possession of the *u* (उ) form. We find a preference for the simple hard consonant over the aspirate and the soft *p* (प्) is more frequent in structural nouns than *ph* (फ्) or *bh* (भ्) but both *ph* (फ्) and *bh* (भ्) occur, *p* (प्) is more frequent than *b* (ब्), but *b* (ब्) occurs. We find certain consonants preferred over others, especially *k* (क्), *t* (त्), *n* (न्), *s* (स्) either in themselves or in their combinations; we find certain appendage forms like *as* (अस्), *in* (इन्), *an* (अन्), *at* (अत्), *tri* (त्रि), *vat* (वत्), *van* (वन्), formalised into regular nominal and verbal terminations. We see double appendages, side by side with the simple *jitva* (जित्त्व), we may have *jitvara* (जित्त्वर), *jitvan* (जित्त्वन्) etc. Throughout we see or divine behind the present state of the Sanskrit language a wide and free natural labour of forma-

tion followed by a narrowing process of rejection and selection. But always the same original principle, either simply or complexly applied, with modification or without modification of the root-vowels and consonants, is and remains the whole basis and means of noun-structure.

In the variations of the verb, in the formation of case we find always the same principle. The root conjugates itself by the addition of appendages such as *mi* (मि), *si* (सि), *ti* (ति), etc., *m* (म्), *y* (य्), *h* (ह्), *ta* (त्), *va* (व्), (all of them forms used also for nominal structures), either simply or with the support of the enclitic *a* (अ), *i* (इ), or rarely *u* (उ), short, lengthened or modified, giving us such forms as *vacmi* (वक्मि), *vakṣi* (वक्षि), *vadasi* (वदसि), *vadāsi* (वदासि), *vadat* (वदत्), *vadati* (वदति), *vadāti* (वदाति). In the verb forms other devices are used such as the insertion of an appendage like *n* (न्), *nā* (ना), *nu* (नु) or *ni* (नि) in preference to the simple vowel enclitic; the prefixing of the enclitic *a* (अ) or augment to help out the fixing of tense significance; the reduplication of the essential part of the root in various ways, etc. We notice the significant fact that even here Vedic Sanskrit is much richer and freer in its variations. Sanskrit is yet more narrow, rigid and selective, the former using alternative forms like *bhavati* (भवति), *bhavaḥ* (भवः), *bhavate* (भवते). The latter rejects all but the first. The case inflexions differ from the verb forms only in the appendages prefixed, not in their principle or even in themselves; *as* (अस्), *am* (अम्), *ās* (आस्), *os* (ओस्), *ām* (आम्) are all verbal as well as nominal inflexions. But substantially the whole of the language with all its forms and inflexions is the inevitable result of the use by Nature in man of one single rich device, one single fixed principle of sound formation employed with surprisingly few variations, with an astonishingly fixed, imperative and almost tyrannous regularity but also a free and even superfluous original abundance in the formation. The inflexional character of Aryan speech is itself no accident but the inevitable result, almost physically inevitable, of the first seed selection of sound-process, that original apparently trifling selection of the law of the individual being which is at the basis of all Nature's infinitely varied regularities. Fidelity to the principle already selected being once observed the rest results from the

very nature and necessities of the sound-instrument that is employed. Therefore, in the outward form of language, we see the operation of a regular natural law proceeding almost precisely as Nature proceeds in the physical world to form a vegetable or an animal genus and its species.

We have taken one step in the perception of the laws that govern the origin and growth of language; but this step is nothing or little unless we can find an equal regularity, an equal reign of fixed process on the psychological side, in the determining of the relation of particular sense to particular sound. No arbitrary or intellectual choice but a natural selection has determined the growth and arrangement of the sounds, simple or structural, in their groups and families. Is it an arbitrary or intellectual choice or a law of natural selection that has determined their significances? If the latter be true and it must be so, if a Science of Language be possible, then having this peculiar arrangement of significant sounds, certain truths follow inevitably. First: the seed-sound *v* (व्), for example, must have in it something inherent in it which connected it in man's mind originally in the first natural state of speech, with the actual senses borne by the primitive roots *va* (व), *vā* (वा), *vi* (वि), *vī* (वी), *vu* (वु), *vū* (वू), *vr̥* (वृ), *vr̄* (वृ̄), in the primitive language. Secondly, whatever variations there are in sense between these roots must be determined originally by some inherent tendency of significance in the variable or vowel element, *a* (अ), *ā* (आ), *i* (इ), *ī* (ई), *u* (उ), *ū* (ऊ), *r̥* (ऋ), *r̄* (ॠ). Thirdly, the secondary roots depending in *va* (व), *vac* (वच्), *vakh* (वक्ष्), *vañj* (वञ्च्), *vam* (वम्), *val* (वल्), *vap* (वप्), *vah* (वह्), *vas̥* (वश्), *vas* (वस्), etc. must have a common element in their significances and, so far as they varied originally, must have varied as a result of the element of difference, the consonantal termination *c* (च्), *j* (ज्), *m* (म्), *l* (ल्), *p* (प्), *h* (ह्), *s̥* (श्), *s* (स्), respectively. Finally in the structural state of language, although as a result of the growing power of conscious selection other determining factors may have entered into the selection of particular significances for the particular words, yet the original factor cannot have been entirely inoperative and such forms as *vadana* (वदन), *vadatra* (वदत्र), *vada* (वद), etc. must have been governed in the development of their sense

dominantly by their substantial and common sound-element, to a certain extent by their variable and subordinate element. I shall attempt to show by an examination of the Sanskrit language that all these laws are actually true of Aryan speech, their truth borne out or often established beyond a shadow of doubt by the facts of the language.

THE END

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Sri Aurobindo's various writings on the Veda and his translations of some of the hymns, originally published in the *Arya* between August 1914 and 1920, were brought together and published in book-form in 1956 under the general title ON THE VEDA. They were reissued in 1964. The title of the volume, however, has now been changed to the more significant, THE SECRET OF THE VEDA.

For the purposes of the Centenary Edition the same arrangement as in ON THE VEDA has been maintained except for the following additions and alterations in Part III and Part IV.

In Part III a number of translations of Hymns to Indra, found in his manuscripts and later published in *The Advent*, an Ashram journal, have been included.

Three Hymns to the Fire have been shifted from Part IV to Volume 11, HYMNS TO THE MYSTIC FIRE.

A letter addressed to *The Hindu* of Madras and published in its issue of August 27, 1914, in answer to a criticism of his interpretation of the Veda, is also appended here.

"The Origins of Aryan Speech", mentioned by Sri Aurobindo on page 548, is reproduced here as found in his manuscripts.