LOKA

WORLD AND HEAVEN IN THE VEDA

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PREFACE

The aim of the present publication is to study, first and foremost, the meaning of the well-known Sanskrit word *loka-* and of some other expressions which are often but wrongly, considered more or less synonymous with *loka-*, as far as these occur in the Veda; and in the second place to classify, as far possible, some of the beliefs fostered by the ancient Indians in connection with what in the comparative history of religions is sometimes called "a position" and also the hopes and ideas nursed by them with regard to what may vaguely be indicated by the general term heaven. Although the great Petrograd Dictionary devotes almost three columns to *loka-* alone, distinguishing between "space, room", "world", "heaven" etc., its authors made hardly any attempt to describe or understand the relation between these meanings, the second of which has not rarely, as a sort of *passe-partout*, been preferred by some translators, who obviously do not object to extending the sense of English words or blurring out notional distinctions. Whereas nowadays it seems to be generally agreed that a thorough study of the vocabulary pertaining to the view of life of Vedic man is of fundamental importance for a right understanding of many aspects of the Indian culture in general, not all colleagues seem to be convinced of what in the eyes of the present author is a necessity, viz. to disregard, in studying this vocabulary, that is in interpreting the Vedic texts (and the commentaries) which are our only source of knowledge, neither the conclusions of the contemporaneous comparative study of religions and human cultures nor the (provisional, of course) results of that branch of linguistics which deals with the meanings of words. It would appear to him that a reconsideration of the 'meanings' of many ancient Indian words will show that many of these entries in our dictionaries owe their existence mainly to the fact that the modern languages of the West do not possess words which could cover the total semantic content of these terms, mere 'contextual variants' of which may impress us as 'different meanings' or even as special semantic developments 1). It may be true that in many contexts translations such as "space" or "world" (very often between inverted commas to indicate that this word is for

1) I refer to my paper, The study of ancient Indian religious terminology, in History of Religions, 1 (Chicago 1961) p. 243 ff. Professor Thieme (Z.D.M.G. 113, p. 888 f.) has understood the stand I take very well: the mere rendering of a Vedic text into German, French or English—irrespective of whether one prefers for instance for Vedic *yta-*, Wahrheit, or Ordnung, or loi, or justosse—without defining, explaining or paraphrasing the modern words used to 'translate' Sanskrit key-words does not give us an exact and reliable idea of what Vedic man meant. I would not however underestimate my readers' intelligence by refuting the unfounded exaggerations and generalizations in my colleague's emotional prose.
the sake of brevity used in a special sense which is in need of definition), 
there is on the other hand no denying that the connotations and emotional 
or intellectual implications and associations of loka- and the modern 
English world or space are far from coinciding and that they give no 
insight whatever into the main question: what exactly was a loka-, what 
the bhavana-, what the jagat- etc. for those who conceived, composed 
and studied these texts in Vedic antiquity 2)?

Although the argument which is to follow is based on full evidence, 
it has not been the author's endeavour to aim at anything like com-
pleteness in quoting texts-places, since this proceeding would entail much 
useless repetition. Quotations of dissentient views and polemical argu-
mentation have in many sections been deliberately avoided. It is however 
hoped that the discussion of the textual evidence and the conclusions 
drawn from it will be of some interest, not only to Indologists but also 
to the students of the comparative history of religion and to some scholars 
interested in Indo-European antiquity in general.

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2) "The common core of human experience and the relatable modes of speaking 
about it do not, however, eliminate the striking and fundamental differences between 
languages. Moreover, the divergences seem to be not only far more numerous than 
the similarities, but also to provide many more obstacles to understanding than 
the similarities are able to clear away" (E. A. Nida, Toward a science of translating, 
The history of the Sanskrit word *loka-* begins in Indo-European antiquity. Going back to *louko-* it is related to a number of well-known words in other IE languages: to Latin lācus (OLat. louco-) which, though generally meaning as a “terme noble” “a wood, grove or thicket of trees sacred to a deity” (cf. Servius, on Verg. Aen. 1, 310 lācus est arborum multitudo cum religione) must in prehistoric times have denoted “an open place in the wood, or a low, not dense wood—compare derivatives such as collucare (lucum, arborem); sublucare “to trim, cut away, thin out”; interlucare “to clear a tree of its useless branches, to lop or thin a tree” 2); it is worth noticing that these compounds, which are rightly considered to have been “termes techniques de la langue des forestiers”, may, generally speaking, be applied to the wood as well as to individual trees; to Oscean lēvēi = in lūcō 3); to the German *lōhā- “Gehölz mit lichten Stellen und Graswuchs als Viehweide und Versammlungsplatz” 4), that is to various German words such as OHG. lōh “an open place overgrown with shrubs and brushwood”—in Germany the usual sense is “niederes Gehölz oder Gestrüpp”, in the terminology of forestry also “Vorholz” 5)—; Dutch lo(o), surviving in many place-names of villages etc. in forest districts (Waterloo; Hoenderloo, etc., similarly the German Hohenlohe; Marienlohe etc.)—according to J. Trier 6) the German and Dutch words generally mean “ein Niederwald” 7) with Zwischennutzung als Weide”, but more often “ein kleineres Gehölz, das buschartig mit niedrigerem strauchartigem Baumwuchs bedeckt ist, mit Vorliebe zwischen Feldern sich hinzieht, zwischen den einzelnen Büschen oder Bäumen genügend Platz und Licht für Graswuchs freihält, und (wo) dieses Gras vom weidenden Rindvieh gefressen oder von der Sichel der Berechtigten gemäht wird” —; OEngl. lēah, Mod. Engl. (poet.) 8) lea “stretch of open grassy country:

2) Cf. also Festus 474, 28 quoted e.g. by A. Ernout et A. Meillet, Dict. étym. de la langue latine, Paris 1951, p. 656.
3) For the dialectic lēcar = lucus, cf. Ernout–Meillet, o.c., p. 655.
5) That is “ein unter besonderen Wirtschaftsbedingungen (oft auch Rechtsbedingungen) stehender Rand eines ausgedehnten Waldes, also ein sogenannter Waldmantel, eine Randhecke” (J. Trier, Holz – Etymologien aus dem Niederwald, Münster–Köln 1952, p. 115).
6) Trier, o.c., p. 116 f.
7) “Niederwald ist Ausschlagwald (das Holz wird durch Ausschlag aus dem Stumpf hervorgebracht, den man bei der Ernte stehen läßt)”, cf. Trier, o.c., p. 10.
8) “Die Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes auf englischem Boden zeigt, wie ein Niederwälzwert die Bedeutung “offene Weise” annehmen kann, wenn der ursprünglich als Nebennutzung auftretende Weidegang zur Haupt- und Dauernutzung
pasture, field, meadow, open space”, “originally a clearance, in a forest, or a land cleared of forest, contrasted with field” 9); ONo. lō “lowland used as pasture or grazing-ground”; to Lit. laukas “field, das Freie” (as distinct from the house and its enclosure) 10); “die Felder, für die zuerst die Benennung laukai “die Lichten” geschaffen wurde, sind . . . vermutlich dem Walde abgenommene Rodungen gewesen” 11)—in the Balto-Slav. languages it has ousted IE. agra- “field, plain” (Skt. ajra-, Gr. ἀγρός, Lat. ager)—; Lit. laukė, adv. means “outside, in the country” 12). The basic meaning of IE. louko- may therefore be assumed to have been “clearance; Lichtung, Waldblöse” 13).

The question as to whether the existence of this IE. word is of any consequence for the history of prehistoric IE. culture, and especially religion may, I believe, be answered in the affirmative. The term has, to begin with, since Roman antiquity, been regarded as closely connected with a very extensive word family which semantically speaking centres round “light” and various modifications and manifestations of that concept the religious significance of which — “die mächtigste Naturerscheinung des Göttlichen” — needs no comment 14): viz. the group of Lat. lūx “light (of the sun etc.), daylight”, lūceo, lūmen, Goth. liuhaþ “light”, OSlav. lučit “light” etc. 15); cf. e.g. Paulus e Festo 33, 21 conhucare dicebant cum profanae silvae rami deciderentur officientes lumini etc. 16). However, this connection, though almost generally adopted 17), may be ‘secondary’, i.e. due to so-called popular etymology. This it indeed is, according to J. Trier 18), although this scholar is also strongly inclined to admit a certain relation between what he calls the “Niederwaldbasis *leugh/louq-” and the “Leuchtbasis *leug-”. However, this relation, he argues, is not clear, the ancient popular etymology “hat den bedeutungsgeschichtlichen Weg doch verwirrt”, but after three pages he tentatively arrives at the conclusion that the usual explication— “loh, lucus, sind hellere leichter

9) See also N. Lindqvist, in Namn och Bygd, 21, p. 83 ff.
10) See also V. Bertoldi, in Bull. Soc. Ling. 30 (Paris 1930), p. 172 f.
13) Cf. e.g. also A. Waldo–J. B. Hofmann, Lat. etymol. Wörterbuch, I, Heidelbergs 1938, p. 828.
16) See Ernout–Meillet, o.c., p. 656. Among classical scholars the ancient lucus a non lucendo has long been replaced by lucus a lucendo.
17) See e.g. also Wald–Hofmann, o.c., I, p. 824; 828.
18) Trier, o.c., p. 122.
durchsehbare Waldstellen und heißen danach" — "in der Sachgrundlage viel für sich (hat)"), although it is in his opinion only possible, "wenn der Loh inmitten eines Altwaldes liegt, was vorkommt, aber nicht die Regel ist". Are we however sure that the sense of the IE. louko- was wholly and exactly identical with the typically (continental) German meaning of lőh? The Latin, Baltic and Indian representatives of louko- do not, as far as I am able to see, contradict the hypothesis that this word could in, say, the third millennium B.C. indicate any comparatively open space in a tract of tree-covered land.

If, what seems plausible, *louko- originally was a more or less open place to which the light of day had access, the rare Sanskrit rokā- (*louko- "light, lustre, brightness" (also a "hole" or "vacuity") may, to a certain extent, furnish a missing link: RV. 3, 6, 7 divas cid d te rucayanta rokā(h) "from heaven thy (Agni is addressed) light(s) shine(s)"; one might compare also rōka(s)- in RV. 6, 66, 6 where Rodasi, who is svāsocih, is said to mount a chariot like a rōkauh "a luminous body or radiant form": "Alors chez ces (dieux) impétueux Rodasî a pris place, (tirant) son éclat-brûlant d'elle-même, tel un luminaire". The very occurrence of these two words (in which r (l)) may be adduced in support of the hypothesis that in prehistoric times *lauka-, loka- (which in part of the Aryan community developed into roka-, to survive elsewhere as the term which is to be studied in the following pages) was semantically connected with the light of day. It is in this connection worth observing that there are indeed in the Veda some places where the idea expressed by loka- is more or less clearly associated with the light of heaven: AV. 13, 2, 10 (addressing the sun): udbhā samudraś krātanā vī bhāsi sāvāṃ lokān paribhārā bhrājmanāh "they illumine with ingenuity both oceans".

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19) Compare Ovid. Met. 3, 708 monte fere medio est, cingentibus ultima silvis, purus ab arboribus, spectabilis undique campus.

20) Trier, o.c., p. 125.

21) It should not be forgotten that this semantic connection is a hypothesis. As rightly, but sceptically and unsuccessfully argued by Trier, o.c., p. 124 f., there are other possibilities. In early times the Indians burned forests intentionally, either for slash-culture, or for making permanent clearings in the forest (cf. e.g. Mbh. 5, 72, 10 cr. ed.: 6, 45, 54; 6, 69, 28 f. etc.); for Vedic references see J. v. Negelein, in Wiener Zs. Kunde d. Morg. 17, p. 199 ff. and see D. H. H. Ingalls, An anthology of Sanskrit Court poetry, Cambridge Mass. 1965, p. 120.

22) Thus Sāyana (sārūṭ): not, with K. F. Gehrner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 343, "Dus zum Himmel sogar ..."


encompassing all lokas, shining (i.e. with thy light)"; 9, 5, 18 téna lokān sūryavato jayema "may we with it conquer lokas which have sun"; 13, 1, 16 ayām bradānāya viśāpi svar lokān vy ānade "this one (the sun), on the summit of the reddish one, has penetrated the heaven, the lokas" 28). In RV. 9, 92, 5 Soma is said to have erected for the day light and free room ("...qu'il a créé pour le jour la lumière ainsi que l'espace" 27: javitvā... dhne skṛto v ut lokam); Sāyuṣa's explication alokam prakāśam "light and brightness" is far from surprising. In connection with these places mention could also be made of AïB. 1, 8, 10 samyuñco vā ime lokāḥ, samyuñco 'smā ime lokāḥ sriyai dīyati ya evam vedaa "these lokas are turned together (or, combined cf. also 4, 25, 10), turned together towards him they shine for prosperity for him...". Although this passage is not wholly clear we may infer from the preceding part of the chapter which deals with the quarters of space that loka- here refers to real or imaginary provinces of the universe; anyhow their nature is conceived of as luminous.—In addressing the wood for the ritual fires one should express, inter alia, the following wishes: to live a hundred years, to be prosperous etc. (ĀpŚŚ. 5, 2, 1 ff.); the vikaṅkata wood is implored to shine, for those speaking, a wide 'Raum' (varuṇ no lokam anuprabhāhi, TB. 1, 2, 1, 7).

The question may also arise if there was, in common usage, some connotation of loka- which induced the author of ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 4 to argue that beyond the year (temporal existence) lies the wish-granting (kāmapra-) 'world', the wish-granting one being the immortal (element: amytyam), "which is that very light which shines here" (tad yad etad avcir dipyate).

It must however be readily admitted that this association may as well be of a secondary character. As will be shown further on the complex of ideas denoted by loka- might at any time be connected with what for the sake of brevity may be called the "light of heaven". If I am not mistaken it is not possible to show the existence of a direct semantic link between the IE. 'light-root' leuk/luk- and the term under consideration.

This seems however to be the right place to envisage another possibility of such a connection. As is well known, some words for the verbal idea of "seeing, contemplating" are in ancient IE. languages generally regarded as belonging to the same 'light-root' leuk/luk-: Gr. λέοσω (λευξω) 28), Lett. lāk-wot "look at, observe" etc.; the meaning "to see" must have developed from "to give light, to shine" thus reflecting the dependence of sight upon light; cf. e.g. Skt. locana- "illuminating; eye". Whereas, in Sanskrit, the rootform ruc- meaning "to shine, be bright or radiant"

28) Compare also places such as AV. 9, 2, 17.
27) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 41.
has retained the more original sense of the word family, the forms with l-, lūc- (lo-) and lok- express the ideas of “seeing, perceiving etc.”: locate, lokate \(^{29}\), the post-Vedic lokayati (especially frequent in compounds) etc. \(^{29}\). It does not, it is true, follow that there existed an intimate semantic connection between locate, lokate which must have developed from *leuketi etc. and the substantive *louko-s in the above sense of “open space, clearing”. What however may be supposed is the existence of a meaning “light” of the (, or a,) word lokā- which was already in the prehistoric period the phonetic variant of the above rokā-. It is difficult to decide whether the etymological connections assumed by commentators to exist between lokā- “‘world’” and the verb lokayati—e.g. Sāyaṇa, on RV. 10, 104, 10 (Indra, killing Vṛtra, made loka-): lokyata iti lokāḥ prakāsāḥ “open spot or air; clearness, light” ; comm. on AV. 18, 2, 20, loka: lokyaṁāna sthāne ; Mahīdhara on VS. 3, 21 loka: loky darśane, yajamāṇadhṛṣṭivāyaye ; cf. also comm. on AIB. 2, 9, 4 lokyam: prakṣaṇīyam—were based on real facts of language (i.e. on uses of lokā- which are not found in our texts) or were one of their favourite attempts to explain notional connections by means of quasi-etymological associations. Anyhow, it must be admitted that their explications are not always completely to be discarded. In connection with the milking of the Agnihotra cows VS. 3, 21 has the following mantra used révati rāmadhvam asmin yonāv asmin gośṭhe ‘smīthā lokē ‘smīn ksāye . . . “sport, wealthy ones, in this abode, this fold, this spot, this dwelling-place . . .” (Griffith). Uvaṭa explains: madīye asmin avalokane “field of view”, Mahīdhara: yajamāṇadhṛṣṭivāyaye “within the reach of the sacrificer’s eyes”, both of them connecting the noun with the root lok- in the sense of “to see”.

A few words more should be said on the religious significance of clearings and open space. Recently, J. de Vries \(^{31}\) made some observations in connection with sacred places in the forest regions inhabited by the ancient Celts, which are worth resuming here. The term nemēton \(^{32}\) which forms part of many place names such as Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand), Vernemetum in Nottinghamshire, Nemetobriga in Galicia, denoted a sanctuary, which seems in most cases to have been situated in, or consisted of, a clearing. The etymology of this term is disputed. Whereas Vendryes \(^{33}\) was inclined to regard nem- as a root for “sacred (sacré)” and other scholars \(^{34}\) connected the word with Irish nem “heaven”, interpreting it

\(^{29}\) See also Renou, Grammaire sanscrite, Paris 1930, p. 52.

\(^{30}\) It may be recalled that according to Dhātup. 33, 104 locayati was also used bhāsārtha, i.e. in the sense of “shining”.


as "a glade, an open place (not covered by foliage, so that the sky was visible)"—Guyonvare'h [35], starting from a sense "vault, arched roof (of heaven covering the sacred place)" and hence "the sacred open place in the forest"—, (there is in my opinion more to say for an etymological relation to Lat. nenus "a wood with open glades and meadows for cattle, a wood with much pasture-land", Gr. νέμος "wooded pasture, glade" [36], pointing to a word *nem-e/os in part of IE. antiquity "mit Bäumen bestandene Lichtung (Wald)" [37]. Apart from the etymology De Vries' remark [38] is worth quoting: "Es konnten sich also in diesem Begriff der Aspekt des Himmels und der der freien Stelle im Walde vereinigen. Wurde eine solche Lichtung nicht als ein kleiner Kosmos angeschaut, der sich unter dem hellen Himmel als heiliger Bezirk ausbreitete?" One might add that this sacred place, as was observed by Vendryes [39], was with the Celts considered a centre of the world, an ḏυραλός to use the Greek term [40], a place where a break-through from the celestial to the mundane plane has been effected by a hierophany, where heaven and earth are in direct communication, a place, therefore, where man could be sure of being in contact with the supraterrestrial world, where he experienced the presence of divine power and where he felt that he existed in a cosmos, a total and organized world.

While we need not repeat here what has been said on the religious significance of glades in general [41], some words may be added on the sacred places in the woods of the ancient Greeks, Germans and Balto-Slavs. With the Greeks the term τέμενος "a piece of land marked off from common use and dedicated to a god" could also apply to a sacred grove (Hom. h. Ven. 267); we know, moreover, that for instance in the course of festivities in honour of Asclepios on the isle of Cos a procession proceeded to a holy place in a cypress-wood [42]. As to the Germans,

36) See especially Schmidt, l. c.
37) Waldo-Hoffmann, o.c., II, p. 158 ff. (with literature and a discussion of etymological problems; cf. also E. Benveniste in Bull. Soc. Ling. 32, p. 79 ff.).
38) De Vries, o.c., p. 190.
39) Vendryes, o.c., p. 310.
Tacitus’ (Germania, 9) words “Lucos ac nemora consequent deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident” and (ibidem, 39) “stato tempore in silvam auguriis patrum et prisa formidine sacram” (cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 61) are corroborated by ample evidence derived from other written sources 43). That the Baltic peoples continued to revere the divine in open places far into the middle ages appears from a passage in Aeneas Silvius 44): “erant in ea regione plures silvae pari religione sacrae, ad quas dum Hieronymus (a Christian missionary) amputandas pergit, mulierum ingens numerus plorans ... Vitoldum adit, sacrum lucum succisum queritur et domum dei ademptam, in qua divinam opem petere consuessent ...” (15th cent. A.D.). As far as may be concluded from our sources sacred forests (“Lucos sive arbores, quas in multis locis celebat vulgus ignobile” 45)) were also in the regions inhabited by the non-christianized Slavonic peoples of great interest 46). It is moreover an established fact that part of these sacred localities were without any idol or temple. “Die heiligen Bäume haben nicht das Bild eines Gottes erforder, um geweiht zu sein. Das erforderte auch nicht der heilige Hain; er musste nicht für etwas angewendet werden, er dürfte auch nicht der Platz für einen Altar oder einen Gottesdienst gewesen sein, er war sich selbst genug, numquam violatus” 47). The deep respect entertained by these peoples for their sacred groves may be easily paralleled by a number of descriptions of the Roman luci by Roman authors who speak of the awe-inspiring presence and of the “fearful shudder which thrilled the wanderer who ventured near them” 48): Seneca, Ep. 41, 3; Lucan. 3, 411; Quint. Inst. 10, 1, 88; cf. also Verg. Aen. 8, 347 ff., etc.

There can therefore be hardly any doubt that the remark made by Ernout and Meillet 49), though not incorrect in itself, gives only an incomplete and one-sided idea of the significance of a prehistoric *loukos: “ce mot i.e. désignait l’espace libre et clair, par opposition à ce qui est boisé —le bois, le couvert, étant le grand obstacle à l’activité de l’homme”. It may indeed be taken for granted that open space and clearings often


44) Scriptores rerum prussicarum, ed. Th. Hirsch etc., IV, Leipzig 1870, p. 239; cf. also A. Brückner, in A. Bertholet und E. Lehmann, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, II, Tübingen 1926, p. 528 f.; 533. For Slavonic regions see also the same, o.c., p. 512 f.


47) Palm, o.c., p. 53.


49) Ernout–Meillet, I.e.
were highly valued as fields and pastures or also as sites for settlements, and it would no doubt be a hasty conclusion to suppose, on the strength of the etymology of louko- and the special connotation of Lat. lācus, that the IE. word was exclusively used in the religious sphere. I would even go further: the considerable variety of its uses in the Vedic texts seems to show that different ‘aspects’ of the word’s meaning (a neutral, a religious, an economic etc.) were, according to context and situation, common already in prehistoric times. And, on the other hand, the suitability of the word for the specific purposes of ancient Indian religion and view of life seems, to a certain extent, to be explicable from inherited connotations in the religious sphere. If the term “culture” is taken in a wide sense, comprising religion as well as economic activities, Meillet was no doubt right in observing that “quant au sens de ‘champ’, on n’en peut rendre compte qu’en se reportant au temps où la culture se faisait dans les ‘clairières’ des forêts” 50). This conclusion does not seem to be inconsistent with the hypothesis that loka-, like the Rigvedic words with l in general, was, though not unaryan, a ‘popular’ word or had belonged to the language of a former body of invaders which may have been concerned with agriculture 51).

II

Before we proceed, it might be useful to return once again to the IE. origins and to draw some conclusions from what has been said in the preceding pages. Whereas most ancient IE. peoples, as already observed, used to worship the divine powers in the open, there is in connection with the cult places much diversity of terminology. The ancient *louko- has, it is true, survived in the Latin lācus, which like its German relative *lauh- was not devoid of religious significance, but the Greeks preferred τέμεσις etc. In India, loka-, of numberless occurrences, does not appear to have any direct connection with the sacrificial place in the open, nor even with a clearing or open space in the forest, with a treeless meadow etc., although one might pour acquit de conscience perhaps ask oneself, if an occurrence such as the above VS. 3, 21 could not be regarded as reminiscent of the second application: “sport, O wealthy ones (the cows), in this abode, this fold, this loka, this dwelling-place” 1). This is not to say that “open space” in general and the term loka- in particular played no important part in the social and religious life of the ancient Indians, and in all probability already in that of their ancestors, the Indo-Iranians.

51) L. Renou, Histoire de la langue sanskrit, Paris 1956, p. 31; Ammer, o.c. (see n. 24).
1) It is in any case incorrect to start enumerating the ‘meanings’ of loka- (with V. S. Apte, P. K. Gode, C. G. Karve, Skt.-Engl. Dict., Poona 1859, p. 1372) with “world, earth, mankind etc.”.
Postponing an ample discussion of the relative terminology to the following pages—loka—which is very inadequately rendered by the usual Engl. "world" was, in the Veda, not any open space, place, or part of the universe, but a 'place' or position of religious or psychological interest, which distinguished itself from other (real or imaginary) 'localities' by a special value, function or significance of its own 2)—it may here be repeated that it cannot reasonably be maintained that the weltanschauliche importance of the ancient Indo-European (open) space complex should have exclusively, or almost exclusively, developed from the economic importance of clearings, fields and pastures.

However, at this point the question arises as to how far the importance of the Vedic loka-concept can be seen as a universalization of concrete social, economic, political and psychological situations in which either peaceful pastoral and cattle-breeding populations were threatened by inroads of nomadic tribes and deprived of their dwelling-places, or nomads did not in endless jungles, forests and mountains succeed in finding sufficient Lebensraum for their increasing numbers. Although it may be readily conceded that the incessant struggle for means of subsistence, and especially for a sufficiency of fields and pastures can hardly fail to leave its imprint on the view of life of a community, one should guard against any exaggeration 3). It can hardly be expected that only one aspect or implication of the ancient word should have survived in India. The difficult question as to how far a deficiency of pastures and habitable places, over-population or protracted calamities may have contributed to the special connotations and implications of many words for "space, broadness" and their opposites, must from lack of reliable evidence be left undiscussed. That is why I cannot offer an opinion on the influence of the periods of prolonged draught (2100–1800 B.C.; 1250–800 B.C.) and the ensuing economic collapse, which were recently adduced by

2) The substantive sthāna- which is not very frequent in the Veda is primarily "a place of standing or staying": SB. 1, 4, 5, 3 (with tīghati); RV. 6, 76, 4; 7, 70, 1; 3; 9, 97, 27; AīB. 7, 4, 2; SB. 11, 1, 6, 16 etc., although it may, interestingly enough, incidentally alternate with loka-: SB. 2, 6, 4, 9 paramāṇaḥ hy eva khalu sa sthānam paramāṇaḥ gatīṃ gacchati "... for verily he (the Aryan who performs the seasonal sacrifices) goes unto the highest place, the supreme goal", as against p. h. c. lokam p. jīvaṃ jayati "... he conquers the highest loka, the highest conquest" in the parallel passage of ŚBK. The term sthāna- is not rarely used in commentaries to explain loka-: it may, however, also mean "state, condition etc.". For pada- (cf. e.g. RV. 8, 13, 29; AV. 10, 7, 4; 13, 2, 28) see the brief remarks by L. Renou, Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda, Pondichéry 1958, p. 21 f. M. Ojha, Devāsurasakhyāti, Jaipur 1962, II, p. 82 (discussing the symbolical significance of devas and asuras in the Veda, with reference to prajā-, loka-, and dharma-) is not accessible to me.

3) Such as for instance R. C. Zaehner's apodictic explanation of the moral dualism in ancient Iranian religion: The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, p. 34.
Professor Hauschild 4) in explanation of some important migrations and alterations in the political structure of the Near East. Nor would I resort to the slippery path of one-sidedly psychological explication and attempt to explain the predilection of the Indians for the word loka- in various religious and philosophical contexts from an innate or acquired predisposition to argue with concepts and terminology of special kinds, however much I would welcome the result of a sound semantic investigation even if it should point in this direction.

Yet, it may safely be assumed that the difficulties and, in general the social and economic conditions, of the more or less nomadic life to which the ancient Aryans were accustomed before settling in their Indian abodes did in definite contexts and situations to a considerable degree contribute to the semantic development of the words constituting this ‘field’ 5). It can easily be imagined that the Ṛgvedic Aryans, who formed primarily pastoral communities and tilled tracts of fertile soil in a very uneconomic way 6), and who also were, moreover, often dislodged from their fields and pastures by those who came after them, eagerly longed for an opportunity to settle in a broad and fertile region where they would be free from narrowness and oppression in the various meanings of the terms and where they had free scope for their activities. There are more words of a related meaning which point to the geographic and economic contrast between the narrow, hostile and infertile mountains and virgin forests and the broad, inviting and productive plains. The Avestan rāvah- which may be translated by “clear space, open country” as well as “free scope, freedom, liberty”—an ideal so much desired that it is 7) significantly enough expected to be realized in paradise: Yt. 3, 4 8)—is, in the compound rāvas.čarāt-, also used to characterize those animals which move in the plains, not in the mountains (“die durch die Gefilde schweifen” 9): Yt. 8, 36) 10). It is worth while to dwell on the etymology of this word, which is generally considered to be related to the Latin rūs “open country (as opposed to the town or the house), land, fields” 11), to the Gothic rūms=

4) R. Hauschild, Die indogermanischen Völker und Sprachen Kleinasiens, Berlin 1904, p. 9 f.; 63 f.
5) For semantic fields see e.g. J. Trier, Deutsche Bedeutungsforshung, in Festschrift—O. Bohaghol, Heidelberg 1934, p. 173 ff.; S. Ullmann, The principles of semantics, Glasgow 1951, p. 75 ff.
7) If Geldner’s interpretation of this place is right.
εἴδεψαος “roomy, wide” (NT. Matt. 7, 13), German Raum, the first sense of which was “das Leere, Unausgefüllte” (“erst sekundär etwas Ausgedehntes von bestimmter Begrenzung”) 12), Engl. room i. a. “free, unoccupied, available or adequate space”; OChSlav. ravnə = πεδονός “of the plain, flat, level”; ῤος “even, flat” 13).

The thesis may indeed be defended that RV. 6, 73, 2 can hardly be understood otherwise: Bhūspati who, at the invocation of the gods, has made room (lokum) for the poet cemu suis is in the same stanza described as an irresistible conqueror of enemies, a destroyer of strongholds etc. This god is often concerned with liberation, expansion etc. In 1, 105, 17 it is he who set Trita who was buried in a narrow well at liberty; in 4, 50, 5 he released the cows who were locked up in the rocks. The mountain yielded to his splendour, when he opened the cowstall and let loose the flood of water (2, 23, 18). What was firm was loosened, what was strong yielded to him (2, 24, 3) 14). Extending himself and embracing all things (2, 24, 11) he also holds asunder the ends of the earth (4, 50, 1). The poet of 1, 106, 5 implores him to make a “good path”, or “successful course” (śuṣṭa marata) 15) and to give felicity and welfare. This god who is a promoter of sacrificial rites 16) and a pathmaker securing the access to the feast of the gods (2, 23, 6 f.) might therefore be expected to give the poets and officiants full scope for the exercise of their faculties.

Similar remarks might be made in connection with Soma who is 9, 97, 16 besought to grant good paths and good courses, i.e. easy access to well-being and happiness, and while clarifying himself to produce ample room 17) (varīvāmsi), and at 9, 96, 3 is implored to extend, while ‘clarifying’, for us space still wider (urvā ṅa varīusya) 18). Compare also places such as RV. 9, 92, 5 19).

It is therefore easily intelligible that a prayer addressed to Indra and Soma for assistance is followed by the request to make room (“a place free from fear”, Śāyaṇa; “freie Bahn”, Geldner) “in this perilous situation” (RV. 2, 30, 6 asmś bhayasthe kṛṣṇatam u lokām): the ideas of freedom and safety inherent in loka- are opposed to fear, danger and dismay (bhaya-). Nor is it surprising that Indra is in a general prayer for protection

14) For other particulars see A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 102.
15) For the signification of “path”, “way” or “course” in Indian religions see my relative paper in ‘Studies of Buddhism and Tantrism’, Koyasan University, 1965.
17) “… créant de larges-domaines”, Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 47.
18) Cf. also Geldner’s note, o.c., III, p. 92.
19) See above.
and benevolence also stated to give physical strength and “room”, that is, in my opinion, “sufficient room to live in, and freedom of action”, not, as was Sāyaṇa’s opinion “heaven etc.” (4, 17, 17 kārtiṃ u lokāṁ uktē savyadāḥ).—A place such as RV. 10, 30, 7 is in perfect harmony with the above connotation: yó vo vṛtāḥpya ākṛṣṇaḥ u lokāṁ “who made free room (Freiheit, Geldner 20) for you (i.e. the waters), when you were damned up (stopped)”; there can be no doubt whatever what is the sense of loka-: “free, unoccupied, adequate space to flow in and over”.

That loka- in the Ṛgveda could also denote the ample or sufficient room to use or handle a lifeless object appears from 8, 100, 12 where the sky is asked to make room for the vajra to be hurled; Sāyaṇa’s explication avukāṣam “place, space, room, opportunity” is quite to the point.—

Although, in the Ṛgveda, occurrences of the term loka- are comparatively few, they are generally speaking clear and may be supposed to give a fairly good idea of the semantic field and the contexts in which it could, in the Sondersprache of the poets of this corpus, be applied. This is however not to contend that Geldner 21 has always improved upon the translations given in Grassmann’s Dictionary 22. What strikes us is that the term is not rarely accompanied by the adjective uru- “broad, wide, spacious, extended”. As pointed out elsewhere 23 this adjective is opposed to the idea expressed by the word family anphās-, anphu- etc., viz. “narrowness, oppression, anxiety, distress”; it may also be remembered that this word group is etymologically related to Latin, Celtic, German and Slavonic words for “narrow, pinched, a narrow place, a confined space, closeness, oppression etc.”. In Kāṭh. 25, 9: 116, 21 variyasti “broader” and anphīyastī “narrower” are, for instance, opposites, both words to be taken in a literal sense 24. Compare RV. 1, 105, 17 kṛṣṇāṁ anphārapaṇaḥ uraḥ; 5, 65, 4 mitrō anphās cid da uraḥ... vanate=1, 63, 7. “Even from anphu- RV. 2, 26, 4 states, “Brahmapaspati, the marvellous one, is able to grant wide space, or freedom, relief” (anphās cid asmaḥ urucākriṇi ādhūtaḥ). In RV. 5, 67, 4 it is Mitra and Varuṇa who are said to give good guidance and good gifts, granting relief even from anphu- (anphās cid urucākruṇyaḥ). The same idea, relief from “narrowness, distress” is also 8, 67, 7 expressed by the term uru-. In 4, 55, 5 a powerful god (probably Varuṇa) is implored to protect (urugyey) those speaking against anphās “narrowness, distress, anxiety” originating with strangers; in 7,

20) Sāyaṇa’s explication (meghadarān nirgamanamārgam) which rests on the supposition that the combat between Indra and Vytra is a rain myth is to be rejected (See my book Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 56).
22) H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (21936), 1188.
24) See also AV. 6, 99, 1; AIB. 1, 25, 6.
1, 15 Agni is said to protect against the jealous enemy and to safeguard (urṣasyāt) against apnas 25).

In studying the meaning of a word we should not omit considering the connotations and contextual applications of its opposites and of the words which are allied to these. Thus it is worth noticing that RV. 8, 18, 6 the prayer for protection against the evil called apnas is accompanied by the wish to see the cattle in a well-preserved condition, that RV. 4, 20, 9; 6, 4, 8; 6, 11, 6 and elsewhere 26) wealth, happiness, well-being and similar highly appreciated conditions are stated to be opposites of apnas; that 4, 12, 6 apnas is adverse to continuation of life. That the idea of “distress” denoted by apnas sometimes had a rather serious character may appear also from 6, 16, 31 where it consists in immediate danger of life; from 10, 36, 2 where it is associated with riṣ- “injury” and Nirṛti “Perdition”, and is opposed to the inoffensive and safe light of the sun. The word may also refer to disease and develop into a general term for various manifestations of “evil” (pāra-, Śāyaṇa) 27).

Among the other words which may be used in contrast with uru- “broad, wide”, but also with room, freedom, wide or free space, are, on the other hand, nid- “mocking, contempt”; pariṣāti- “oppression, urging from all sides”; abhiṣaṭati- “imprecation, misfortune, defamation”; samṛṭi- “inimical conflict”; aghāya- “intending to injure” 28).

The adjective uru- occurs for instance also with karman- “protection”: RV. 4, 25, 5; 10, 63, 12, where it is associated with “well-being” (svastaye) and opposed to disease, envy, enmity; 2, 27, 16, where it is closely connected with arisṭa- “unhurt, proof against damage, safe”; 10, 131, 1, a stanza asking for enjoyment, protection and the expulsion of enemies. The same adjective was moreover used in connection with prosperity and material comfort: RV. 10, 47, 3; with liberality: 5, 38, 1; benevolence: 1, 24, 9. In 1, 102, 4 (=6, 44, 18) varivas- “room, width, space, free scope”, which is etymologically related to uru-, and suga- are coordinated: avasābhyan indra varivahi sugah krūhi “schaff uns Freibahn und gute Fahrt” 29). It is worth noticing that the adjective is also applicable to gods. Thus, RV. 2, 13, 7 Indra, said to have extended the seas, is called uru- himself; cf. 2, 22, 1; 6, 19, 1; 8, 65, 3; in 2, 27, 3 it qualifies the Ādityas; 5, 57, 4 the Maruts; 6, 75, 9 the Fathers.

Occurring as a substantive and expressing the general sense of “wide space or room” the term applies not only to the space between heaven and earth (cf. 4, 53, 2; 10, 127, 2), but also to that in which the soma is invited to clarify itself: 9, 97, 16 urau puvasva “clarifie toi dans le large” 30)

25) For other instances see my article on apnas, p. 40.
26) See Arphas, p. 41.
27) See Arphas, p. 41 f.
28) For particulars see Arphas, p. 50.
29) Goldner, o.c., II, p. 139.
(vīśīrnye dronakulaśe, Śāyaṇa), while doing so the divine draught is said to create wide spaces: vārvāṇai kṛṇāṇ; 9, 96, 3; to ‘free room’ in social and economical sense: 5, 65, 4 “Mitra procures ‘wide space’ out of distress³¹), a way for an abode”, or (Renou’s³²) felicitous interpretation) “M. gagne (pour l’homme) un large (espace au sortir) de l’étroit, une issue (heureuse), pour (gagner de là) une résidence”; 8, 68, 12 urū no yendhi jīrda “gewähre uns Weite zum Leben”³³); to “wide space or room” in a political sense: 6, 75, 18 urvār vārīgha vārṇas te kṛṇo jāyantam tvānā devā madantu “V. soll dir recht weiten Raum schaffen. Als dem Sieger sollen dir die Götter zujubeln”³⁴); one might compare Schiller, Maria Stuart 5, 12 Sie ist tot! Jetzt endlich hab ich Raum auf dieser Erde. A recapitulation of this brief survey of the connotations of uru- would be a superfluity; it is clear that the idea it expresses played a considerable part in the train of Vedic thought.

Passing mention may in this connection be made of word groups with pṛthu- “wide, extensive, spacious, large, ample” such as RV. 5, 12, 6 holding out a prospect of a kṣāyaḥ pṛthāḥ “une résidence vaste”³⁵) to the dutiful sacrificer; 1, 65, 5 kṣīyā nā pṛthvī “vaste comme la résidence (des hommes)”³⁶) rather than “wie ein ausgedehnter Wohnsitz”³⁷), of the important fact that the earth has made herself “wide and spacious”: 5, 87, 7 dirghāṃ pṛthū paurathe sādhaṃ pārthīvaṃ, and of the predilection for using “broad” in an extended sense to qualify ideas such as “wealth, possessions”: RV. 2, 1, 12 tvāṃ rajār bahułō visvātas pṛthūḥ “toi (Agni), la richesse massive, vaste de toutes parts”³⁸).

Proceeding now to discuss the occurrences of the phrase uru-loka-in the Veda I have, to begin with, my doubts about the correctness of Geldner’s³⁹) comment on the words RV. 1, 93, 6 . . . brāhmaṇaḥ vārdhaṇān vajāya ca kramatur u lokām⁴⁰) “fortified by brahman (i.e. by the fundamental power inherent in the ritual words formulated by the poets and pronounced by the officiants⁴¹) you (Agni and Soma, the two great gods presiding over the rites⁴²)) have made ample space for the sacrifice

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³¹) See above.
³²) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 80.
³³) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 392.
³⁵) Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 27.
³⁶) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 13.
³⁷) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 86 f.
³⁸) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 42; I also refer to Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, 887 f.
³⁹) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 120.
⁴¹) See my Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 14; ch. IV, etc.
(worship)”: “d.h. sie haben den arischen Kult ausgebreitet” (cf. also 7, 99, 4, where Indra and Viṣṇu are the gods addressed). As in 7, 99, 4 these words are followed by a reference to the creation of sun, dawn and fire—a well-known act of creation after Indra’s Vṛtra combat 43—which may be regarded as motivated by the event mentioned in the first pāda 44—and the preceding stanzas deal with the separation of heaven and earth as well as the creation of a world for human beings to live in; as, moreover, in ritual practice these stanzas 7, 99, 4–6 are to be pronounced before the concluding stanza of definite rites (ŚŚŚ. 12, 26, 4; cf. also the use of RV. 6, 69 in sūtra 5); and as, finally, the sacrifice is regarded as setting off to the heavenly regions 45) along paths or ways, the conclusion seems to be that the poets say that room, in a literal sense and with ‘positive’, auspicious implications, is made by the gods for the sacrifice so that it may reach its destination.

Making room is however one of the characteristic features of Indra’s activity. In combating and defeating the demonized power of obstruction—for that is the meaning of Vṛtra, “the power that surrounds, hinders, restrains, checks or suppresses”—Indra established a well-ordered and habitable world, a ‘cosmos’; he separated heaven and earth and opened the space between these up, so that the light and rain of the heavens could reach and fertilize the earth 46). Among the places referring to these important mythical events is RV. 10, 104, 10 irdayu vṛtrām ākṣnop u lokām “he wounded Vṛtra fatally and made room”: āvarakam asurāṁ hatvā prakāṣaṁ (“light, open place”) kṛtavāṁ ity artheḥ (Śaṇḍha). The god’s mythical feat is however re-iterated in history, hence the addition: “the powerful one has conquered in (the) battles”, which, if I am not mistaken, helps to understand 10, 180, 3 stating that the same god drove away the enemies and made ample room for the gods, that is, to live and work in: āpāne ājñam amitrayāntum urāṁ devāḥ ākṣnop u lokām; as the gods manifest their presence and power in the tripartite universe and often especially in the wide space between heaven and earth, we need not follow Śaṇḍha in restricting the sphere of their activity to heaven. Compare 3, 34, 7 “Indra has by fighting and by his greatness made free scope (vārīvaḥ) for the gods”.—“Space, free room to move in” is also the meaning of loka- alone in TS. 5, 7, 5, 3: when Prajāpati had caused the primordial waters to become the earth there was no loka for Viṣṇu-karman to come to him; thereupon he caused the atmosphere to come into existence, etc.—The fear of narrowness, of lack of room and its evil consequences is also apparent from mythical tales such as ŚB. 1, 4, 1,
22 f.: at the beginning these ‘Räume’ were well-nigh contiguous to one another; the gods desired that there would be more space for them (katham na idam variyā īva syāti); therefore they caused the lOKas to become far apart (vidāram) from one another. The man who knowing this recites a particular verse will have more space. Whether this ‘space’ or ‘room’ is in our modern eyes in one context of a cosmic, in another passage of a social, economic, psychological or eschatologic character is in view of the assumed parallelism between, and interdependence of, these spheres a matter of indifference.—In a prayer addressed to Indra, who is given the epithet jīradānu- “sprinkling abundantly” (=jīvanahetu-, comm.), this god is implored, not only to put an end to the speaker’s distress but also to make wide room for him (TB. 2, 4, 7, 3; cf. also 2, 7, 13, 3).

How are we to understand RV. 6, 23, 3 where Indra is inter alia implored to make room (sthānam, Sāyaṇa) for the hero who presses soma (kārtā vīrāya sāvanāya u lokām)? Since the other wishes expressed in this stanza do not concern specific boons (aid, furtherance, goods), it seems advisable to take loka- in the general sense of “room (to live in)” with the implication of “liberty of action and movement” and “comfortable conditions”. The same translation must no doubt be adopted in st. 7: “Sit down (O Indra), on the sacrificial grass and make wide room for him who longs for thee” (see above).

After having besought the god to be a saviour and a guide to happiness, and before praying him for aid, mercy and security (st. 12) the poet of RV. 6, 47, 8 implores Indra to conduct him and his patrons to (or, over) a broad place or space, to light consisting of the light of heaven, to safety and well-being (urāṇ no lokām ānu nesī vidvān svaraj jyotir abhayam svasti). Although Geldner’s translation “Geüßte” probably is an attempt to give an impression of the poetical sphere rather than an etymological translation it is rather acceptable. Sāyaṇa’s sthānam svargākhyam (“heaven”) is, in this context, not necessarily the right interpretation. I for one am rather under the impression that the wide room and the sunlight are to be sought on the earth, be it in a more or less ‘metaphorical’ sense. Compare also the context in which this verse occurs in AiB. 6, 22, 5; KB. 29, 4. Elsewhere however (e.g. TB. 1, 2, 1, 9; ĀpSŚ. 5, 3, 1) the same words occur in a long formula requesting Agni Jātavedas to conduct those speaking (safely) over broad space. When AV. 6, 26, 1 Evil (vīpaṃ)47) is implored to be gracious and to place the man speaking uninjured in the ‘world’ of that which is pleasant, happy and auspicious (bhadrāṇya lokā) I would here again not follow the commentary in explaining svargādau. The text being used in a healing rite against all diseases (Kauś. 30, 17) this ‘world’ seems to be the prosperous situation of the healthy.

47) See S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund–Copenhagen 1946, p. 33.
Thus the expression *urum lokam* kr- means “to make wide space, room” for a person or for something. When, in the battle of the ten Kings, the Tṛṣṇus were surrounded Indra answered Vasiṣṭha’s prayers and gave ample room to them (RV. 7, 33, 5 *urum tṣubhyo akṛṣṇod u lokām*): the meaning is perfectly clear. Whether Geldner ⁴⁵, according to whom 7, 60, 9 likewise refers to that famous battle, is right or not, it is room, and hence freedom of action and movement, room to live in that is asked for king Sudās: “(Give, O Mitra and Varuṇa,) abundant room to Sudās . . .”⁴⁶. In 6, 23, 7 Indra is requested to make room for his worshipper and in 7, 84, 2 the same wish is addressed to him (“qu’Indra nous fasse une large place (au soleil)”⁴⁷) after a prayer for safeguarding against Varuṇa’s anger or indignation; since the same stanza refers to the god’s ropeless bonds with which he binds his enemies, the expression *urum lokam* implies “freedom, liberty”.

The expression *urum- loka*- occurs in the AV. 7, 84, 2 ~ RV. 10, 180, 3 (see also TS. 1, 6, 12, 4; KS. 8, 16); 9, 2, 11 where it combines with “prosperity” (*edhatum*), following after the statement that Kāma has slain the speaker’s rivals; the sense obviously is that the god has given the man speaking free scope. The wish is added that the six wide directions of the universe may render homage to him. This expression which occurs also AV. 5, 3, 1 ~ RV. 10, 128, 1 and RV. 10, 51, 9 no doubt points to the quarter’s submissiveness to the person speaking and hence to his unlimited ‘horizon’ or expance. – In AV. 12, 1, 1 the earth is quite intelligibly besought to “make wide room for us”, a wish followed by a second one which is no doubt complementary in character: *asaṁbdādhāṁ madhyatāṁ mānaṇvānāṁ* “protection against oppression in the midst of men”, and by (2 d) *prthivī naḥ prathatāṁ rādhyatāṁ naḥ* “let the earth be spread out for us, be prosperous for us”. As is well known the expance of the earth enables man to live on her (*prthivi- : prath-*)⁴⁸. When, in the myth, king Pṛthu with his bow levelled hills and mountains, the Earth, made flat and broad, became the dwelling-place and nourishing Mother of all sorts of beings⁴⁹. The corresponding verses in MS. 4, 14, 11: 233, 9 ff. run as follows: *sa na bhūtasya bhūvahasya pitnya urum lokāṁ prthivī naḥ kṛpotu/asaṁbdādhaṁ yā madhyatāṁ mānarabhāṁ yasya uḍavah pravāhaṁ samāṁ mahāṁ/mānārūpā ṣaḍadhī yā bhiḥārti prthivī naḥ prathatāṁ rādhyatāṁ naḥ*.—AV. 18, 2, 20 has the deceased deposited in the unoppressive wide space (*urum lokād*) of the earth, intimating that it was hoped and desired that the body also after death was safeguarded against narrowness, confinement and oppression, obviously the Vedic variant of the thought ex-

⁴⁵) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 236.
⁴⁶) Otherwise, but not better: Velankar, o.c., p. 141.
⁴⁸) See also Rodho, o.c., p. 136.
⁴⁹) See e.g. G. Tucci, Earth in India and Tibet, Eranos-Jahrbuch 22, Zürich 1954, p. 350.
pressed on Roman tombstones: *sit tibi terra levis* or of John Fletcher’s “Upon my buried body lie/lightly, gently earth”. —RV. 10, 128, 2; AV. 5, 3, 3 the intermediate space is called *uráloka*-, i.e. “of wide space, ample, vast”.

The god who makes wide room gives full scope to beneficent powers: in AV. 7, 84, 2 Indra is said to have pushed away the enemies and to have made *urápya lokam* for the gods. Once again it does not seem necessary to explain this expression, with the commentary, as “heaven” (*avárga-*); *lokam*—rather is room to exist and to be active in. Cf. 9, 2, 11; 12, 1, 11.

The idea of room expressed by *lokam*- is sometimes by the author himself opposed to the condition of the man who is fettered, to confinement or bondage. AV. 6, 121, 4, used in a rite for release from various bonds (Kauś. 52, 3), a particular power (“the god who lays claim to binding”, comm.) is besought to go apart and make room (*lokam kṛpya, i.e. sthánam asya purusaasya bandhanārtasya kuru*, comm.); “that thou freest the bound one from the bond (*bandhát*)”. The simile added to this prayer is illustrative: “like young fallen out of the womb, do you (the man who is released) settle along all roads”.

Often however things are not so easy. From AV. 14, 1, 58 it appears that the bride is to be “released from Varúṇa’s fetter” —two hair-ribbons are to be untied (ĀśVGS. 1, 7, 16 ff.) to ‘symbolize’ her dissociation from her parents—, the text continuing *urámya lokam sugáma átra yánáhám kṛṇāmi tābhyaṁ sahápatnyai vadhu “wide space, an easy road here, do I make for you, O bride, with your husband”*. In AVPPp. (18) these words change place with AVŚ. 19 c d, expressing the same sense; being freed from her filial submissiveness the bride must, with her husband, be free and have Lebensraum; her ‘path’ must be easy, Bhaga (the god of conjugal bliss) must go in front, the demons be destroyed (st. 59) etc.; the young couple must be given full scope to start a new life and to realise their hopes and ideals in a state of safety and stability. The bride is now given an opportunity to develop her character and faculties in what is elsewhere called the *patúloka*—(RV. 10, 85, 43; AV. 14, 1, 64). Anyhow, the term under discussion is here again fraught with weltanschauliche implications: it is a special, safe, ideal and almost sacred situation. See also AV. 14, 2, 13 “Dhātar appointed this loka to her (the bride)”.

53) See Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 81.
56) For AV. 14, 1, 59 see further on (p. 142).
The text discussed last gives occasion to the question as to how far the idea expressed by the term loka- implied feelings of safety, well-being or felicity on a level transcending (in this case) the common human domestic or conjugal happiness. Here we are once again in the very heart of the problem: how are we to know exactly and completely what a term of weltanschauliches importance really meant to the poet and his hearers? The meanings which we would ascribe to them, the distinctions made by us when we try to render each occurrence as exactly as possible are no more than attempts to force facets of ideas which were characteristic of a view of life to which we are strange, into categories which are strange to the ancient Indian habits of thought and ways of contemplating the problems of life. Too often the different 'meanings' ascribed by translators and lexicographers to Sanskrit terms are no more than contextual aspects or variants of one and the same idea; too often the relations assumed to exist between these 'meanings' are dealt with as 'semantic developments' between the ideas figuring in our translations and subjected to the logical, quasi-psychological, or quasi-historical explanations of traditional semantics rather than considered, functionally and synthetically, in their cultural context1); too often it is forgotten that those who used these terms did not distinguish between 'different meanings', that for them such a term was a label for an idea or concept which they did not analyse but which showed in an endless variety of contexts and situations the wealth of its implications and the elasticity of its application.

It is on the other hand self-evident that those who resort to universal or passe-partout translations such as "world" not only tend to disregard the above problem and the ensuing practical difficulties but run also the risk of grafting modern, or western notions upon ancient Indian concepts. That the more or less stereotyped translation "world" blurs out various nuances and is therefore often unsatisfactory appears for instance from AV. 11, 8, 10 and 11 where the question is put, first where (in which loka-) the gods of old are after having given the (their) loka- to their sons and, in the second place in which loka- "he" (i.e. the creative spirit) entered after having formed the human body. In st. 10 the word denotes "place, room to dwell in" (svākhyānasthānam, the comm. adding: "just like people in this world who after having surrendered them their place, resort to another place to dwell in.") in st. 11 it refers to the human body itself (cf. TĀ. 8, 6, 1; ChU. 6, 3, 2) 2).—That in rendering the noun under discussion translators too often adopted the term "world" may also appear from the formula VS. 5, 26 and the parallels (see e.g. TS. 1, 3, 1, 1)

1) To avoid repetition, the reader may be referred to Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 52.

śāndhantāṁ lokaḥ pīṭāśdānaḥ . . . ("pure be the worlds . . ." Griffith 3) which are used in connection with the construction of the sadas or shed on the sacrificial place. A pit or hole is dug in which a post of udumbara wood is to be erected (see e.g. ĀpŚŚ. 7, 9, 8 ff.) and the remainder of the sprinkling water used during the ceremony is to the accompaniment of the above mantra poured into the hole. "For", ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 13, quoting the mantra, observes, "a pit which is dug is sacred to the Fathers: he thereby renders it sacrificially pure (medhyam)". Thus the term loka-refers to the space in the pit which is a seat, a position for the Fathers 4). Sometimes one might be tempted to adopt the translation "(infinite) space”. The statements in AV. 16, 2, 30 and 40 are to all appearance correlated: "The ruddy one (i.e. the sun) became (the fixed right or proper) time" (kūtah) . . .; the ruddy one became space (rather than "world", Whitney—Lanman: lokaḥ); the latter statement is followed by: "he went heating over the sky and goes with his rays over the earth and the ocean", the former by: "in the beginning he was Prajāpati". We may guess the meaning of these verses to be that the high being in order to become, in the beginning, the creator god had to be the fixed and decisive point or space of time, and in order to move everywhere, free space. Cf. 17, 1, 18?—Thus Caland was often inclined to translate by "Raum" instead of "Welt" in passages such as JB. 1, 214 ayam vai lokaḥ puruṣasyaku, 'smiṁ eva ital loke pratitiṣṭhati: "... dieser Raum, d.h. die Erde"; cf. also 1, 291 etc.

After prefacing the following semantic investigation by the above general remarks I now proceed to discuss a selection of texts exhibiting a variety of uses of loka-.

In the Vājasaneyi-Śaṁhitā (White Yajurveda) the more original sense of "open space, room (between places filled or occupied)" is quite evident in 12, 54; 15, 50 which is to accompany the placing of the lokamprāṇas, lit. "space-fillers", i.e. the bricks used in building the great fire-place 5) for filling the places left open by the main bricks 6). These bricks have no special mantras belonging to them, but are piled up with the common formula (VS. 12, 54; ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 1 ff.; ĀpŚŚ. 16, 14, 9) lokāṁ pṛṇa chidrāṁ pṛṇa "fill the space, fill the gap (void)". Cf. ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 6 and Mahīdhara’s comment: he lokamprṇeṣṭake, tvam lokam prṇa gṛhapatyacayanaśe pūrveśṭakābhir anākṛtīṁ sthānaṁ pūrṇa (= "fill the place which is not

3) Likewise Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 36.
4) Similarly, VS. 6, 1; ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 6 (setting up of the sacrificial stakes). pitarāḥ śaṁtvīṁ yeṣu lokaṁ te pīṭāśdānaṁ lokāḥ . . . (Mahīdhara).
5) I refer to Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 191 ff.
occupied by the former bricks...”). tatāḥ ciddrāṇa paṇa kimciṣa api
chiddrāṇ yathā na dr̥yate tatāḥ samāśiṣṭā bhavety arthāḥ 7).

There are on the other hand some places in which loka- refers to a
special though not clearly defined ‘place’, ‘domain’ or ‘sphere’ in which

7) An interesting case of reinterpretation is furnished by the discussion of the
ritual and ‘mystic’ significance of the space-filling bricks used in building the
sacrificial fire place. They are to begin with identified with the second or military
order as well as with the third estate, peasantry. “The lokamṛṇaḥ”, ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 2
says, “is the nobility, and the other bricks are the third estate: one thus places the
nobility as the eaten among the third estate” (cf. 9, 4, 3, 5). As in 8, 7, 2, 3 the
ritual acts to be performed are explained as conferring distinction upon a repre-
sentative of the second order, the conclusion may be ventured that the idea of
‘free room’ or ‘Lebensraum’, inhered in loka- has induced the author or his prede-
cessors to identify the space-filling bricks and nobility. A similar identification
—ascribed to Tāṇḍya—of these bricks and the third estate, the peasants etc. who
have settled on the soil (vidaḥ) is however in 8, 1, 2, 25 more explicit: the space-
fillers are the third estate, and the nobleman is the feeder, the third estate the
food; and where there is abundant food for the feeder, that realm is indeed prosperous
and thrives; let him therefore pile up abundant space-fillers. The meaning is clear:
nobility requires a numerous peasant class for its subsistence (cf. also Eggeling,
The identification of the lokamṛṇaḥ with the body (ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 8) may be due to
the same consideration that the body fills or occupies space. Vital air may on the
other hand be regarded as filling up the whole body; hence the identification
mentioned at 8, 7, 2, 14: the lokamṛṇaḥ is the same as the vital air (prāṇa-);
with it he fills up the whole body (of the fire-place: ātmānān); he thus puts vital
air into the whole body (ātmān). Elsewhere however this brick is explicitly
identified with the sun which “fills up these worlds” (eva hāṃ śa lokān pārayati,
ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 1; 7; 11; 8, 5, 4, 8) (cf. also ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 8 and 15). Therefore, it is
8, 7, 2, 1 added, “one lays down these bricks in all the layers of the construction,
because these layers are these (three) worlds (īmes lokāḥ) (cf. Eggeling, o.c., IV,
p. 132, n. 1). This identification which rests upon the belief that the idea expressed by
loka- whatever its meaning in a particular context is always the same (for the
ancient Indian ideas concerning ‘meaning’ now see also M. Biardeau, Théorie de
la connaissance et philosophie de la parole dans le brahmanisme classique, Paris-
Le Haye 1964) induced the ancient authorities to call these bricks virāj (ŚB. 9,
1, 2, 19), which is not exactly “widely-shining” (Eggeling), but “who whose illu-
strious, eminent, governing activities have a wide scope in all directions” (cf.
is a name for the sum of all existence or the hypostatization of the conception of
the universe as a whole. Knowledge and a supra-intellectual comprehension of
these identifications lead to a transmutation of the person of the sacrificer. The
lokamṛṇaḥ is ŚB. 10, 5, 4, 1 ff. declared to be Agni, the fire which is identical with
the sun (cf. also ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 8); “and, verily, whosoever knows this, thus becomes
that whole Agni who is the space-filler”. Significantly enough the commentator
(Sāyaṇa) is of the opinion that this person, like Agni, becomes “ruler of the world
(loka-): yā evaṁ bhūlokaṁ cityagnirūpaṁ vedā sa lokamṛṇābhūtaṁ evaṁ lokā
dheṣṭātāram agnim eva sampadyate tadātmakā bhavati. A connection between the
idea of loka- contained in the word for these bricks and space in which “everything
here” exists is obviously assumed in ŚB. 10, 5, 4, 17 “what are called ‘the gods’,
they are the space-filling (brick); therefore everything here is called “the gods”
(divine powers, devāḥ)"
some being may be, or is, or definite beings are, supposed to be or to exist. Thus RV. 3, 37, 11, requesting Indra to come near “from vicinity and from a distance”, i.e. from whatever place he may be in \(^8\)), an idea repeated in the second line: u lokā \(^9\) yās te . . . ihā tāta ā gahi “from whatever stay or abode you may (now) have” \(^10\) speaks, in general terms and in agreement with the above use of the term, of a god’s stay or sojourn. We are however reminded of the indraloka of later texts. The poet of 9, 113, 7 no doubt refers to a definite place in which the sun is placed and where is inextinguishable light: yātra jyótir ājasraṃ yāsmiṃ lokē stār hitām; here most translators are inclined to render loka- by “world”, although it is clear that a particular sphere or part of the universe is meant. It is this loka- to which, in the second half of the stanza, the person speaking wishes to be “placed”, and the adjectives amṛte and ukṣite show that this loka- is regarded as free from death and decay. In st. 9 this ‘place’ is, no doubt in agreement with the preceding mention of the threefold vault of heaven and the threefold heavens (trinākē tridivē dividh \(^11\)); referred to by a plural form: lokā yātra jyotismanaḥ. VS. 35. 6 (cf. ŚB. 13, 8, 3, 3) a dead person is placed in the deity Prajāpati, in the place (loka-) near water.

Sometimes loka- answers to the German “Stelle”: JB. 1, 287 (the triśṭubh having lost a syllable returned with the dakṣinā . . .) tasmāt triśṭubha loke dakṣinā niyante “deshalb werden die zum Opferlohn bestimmten Kühe an der Stelle der Triśṭubh herbeigeführt” (Caland: the dakṣinās are given after the mādhyaṇḍina pavamāṇa, the last verses of which are triśṭubhs \(^12\)).

In PB. 24, 1, 3 the phrase lokam āpadyatā clearly means “takes the place of . . .”: yad rathantarasya l. bṛhad ā. (sthānayayaye sati, comm.); cf. also places such as PB. 17, 13, 1 triyādagniṣṭomō vaiśvedasya lokes (thus instead of lokabh of the editions; sthāne, comm.) “a nine-versed a. replaces the v.”; ŚB. 3, 7, 8 jagatamaṇ lokes triśṭubhaḥ; PB. 13, 5, 7 \(^13\); 13, 9, 6; 13, 11, 7; 17, 13, 7; BṛhŚŚ. 5, 20, 9 etc.

The term loka- means, it is true, “place, room” in their normal acceptations in AV. 12, 2, 1 where the “flesh-eating” (i.e. crematory) \(^14\)) fire is

\(^8\) For the force of a “polar phrase” see Stylistic repetiion in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, p. 337 ff. etc.
\(^9\) Sāyaṇa, unconvincingly: uttama lokaḥ.
\(^10\) Similarly Giedon, o.c., I, p. 379 “als gegenwärtiger Aufenthalt”.
\(^12\) I refer to Caland–Henry, L’Agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906, § 178; 191.
\(^13\) Cf. also PB. 10, 5, 13 chawḍaṃsva eṣa anyonyasya lokṣaṃ abhyadhikyaṃ “each of the metres set their mind on the place occupied by the others” (Caland, sthānam, comm.). On the bahuḥris in ŚB. 10, 4, 3, 19 f. (“of these, 360, supplying the place of days—āharlokā—are made the means of gaining the days”) see H. Willman–Grabowska, Les composés nominaux dans le Saṭapathabrāhmaṇa, Krakow 1928, p. 84 ff.
\(^14\) See e.g. V. Henry, La magie dans l’Inde antique, Paris 1904, p. 217 ff.
asked "to ascend the reeds", "no place (lokaḥ) for thee is here"; but this dangerous fire should be kept within bounds. The stanza 11, 1, 31 enjoins to make room (lokān kṛṣṇahi) for the sacrificial butter on a rice-dish 15). TS. 3, 5, 6c prescribes the formula "Then I will . . . enter my own place (loke) here", to be said by the wife of the sacrificer as she goes to the gārhapatya fire where is her permanent place. Cf. AiB. 1, 28, 29 "the hotar of the gods is Agni; the navel of the uttaravedi is his own loka". — On a certain occasion the asuras sent Hunger to the gods; she did not however find a loka ("place") among them because they, having sacrificed, were satiated (TB. 1, 6, 7, 2); that means hunger could not take up its station — among them.

Just "room" is the meaning of loka- in ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 28 f. (agnicayana), the author arguing that if the initiation period were to last less than a year, one would not have had sufficient time to prepare the necessary room for the bricks: the bricks, he says, would exceed the spaces (lokān). Yet we should ask ourselves if these translations do not in definite contexts blur out delicate distinctions or special connotations. — Compare also JB. 2, 393 pūrṇa eṣa yat saṃvatsaras; tad yad pauramāśir utṣṛṇe, eva tal lokān kureṇti "das Jahr nun ist voll; dass man die Vollmondstage ausfallen lässt, dadurch macht man Raum für den Samen" (Caland 14)).

In reading places such as the following one should in any case remember that any deviation from the established order of things was considered dangerous and that a person or an object should be in, be put in, or be consigned to, its own place (ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 13; 12, 8, 3, 25; 13, 4, 4, 6 etc.) or its own region, "for one who is established in his own home suffers no injury" (ŚB. 13, 4, 2, 15; cf. 2, 3, 4, 29). While sitting down on his official seat which stands near two of the sacrificial fires 17) the chosen hotar has to pronounce a formula: (ŚB. 1, 5, 1, 25) "Do not ye two (fires) scorch me away (from this seat) . . .; this is your loka" ("sphere"; sthānāma, comm.). VS. 11, 35; ŚB. 6, 4, 2, 6 the black antelope skin is not only said to be the own place (loka-) of the hotar but also called the sukṛṣṭasya yoni- 18), the place from which the well performed (ritual) acts and the merit produced by them are believed to arise; cf. also BhāṛSS. 2, 5, 7.— Thus loka- may denote the right and proper place of an object. In VS. 6, 6 the sacrificial stake, called the son of heaven, which has newly been erected and fixed in a hole in the ground, is addressed as follows: esā te prthivyāṁ lokāh i.e. āśrayasthānam (comm.): "this is thy stand, station on the earth". In a similar way, the water is 8, 26 called the loka- (jala-lakṣaṇo lokaḥ, i.e. sthānam, Mahīdhara) of the divine soma. ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 43

17) The hotar's seat is about equidistant from the āhavaniya and gārhapatya fires (see e.g. W. Caland—V. Henry, L'Agniştorna, Paris 1906, pl. IV) which are propitiated by this formula.
18) See further on, p. 130.
“there he (the adhvaryu) makes a mark (on the ground) and lays down those (spoons); for that is the place (lokaḥ) of those two (arms, with which the sacrificer has touched the ground)”; 7, 5, 1, 28 “having put the fire-pan in its place, he throws (the pounded clay) in front of it, for that is its place (lokaḥ)” 19). The place in the earth conceded by Savitar for the bones of a dead person is likewise a loka-: VS. 35, 2 and SB. 13, 8, 2, 5 savitaiśvajyitāc charitébhyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ lokam icchatā, because, the comm. on VS. add, nobody can stay or abide without Savitar’s consent. Similarly, VS. 35, 1 (SB. 13, 8, 2, 3): by sweeping the site for the cremation one expels the evil spirits which haunt it, saying “it is the place of this soma-offerer” (asya lokaḥ sutāvataḥ). The commentaries explain by sthānam “position, place of staying, abode, site” 20). Cf. RV. 10, 14, 9. The sacrificial bed on which the gods are summoned to seat themselves (vedi-) is SB. 8, 6, 3, 6 called their loka-.

In RV. 10, 13, 2 the two chariots in which the soma-plants are conveyed to be pressed 21) are addressed as follows 22): ā sidamāṁ svām u lokāṁ vidāne “sit ye on thine own place having the correct notion, i.e. united (or, harmoniously 23))”. As the stanza is pronounced in connection with the preparation of these vehicles for their function (AiB. 1, 29, 7) or with the construction of the shed under which they are placed 24), the meaning “portion of space allotted for a specific purpose” seems certain. As far as I am able to see, the term loka-is, curiously enough, never used to denote the sacrificial place as such.

In RV. 5, 1, 6 Agni is said to have taken place as a rather good hotar on the womb of his mother, on the fragrant abode (upāśthe mātāḥ surabhāḥ u loké, “au séjour parfumé” 25)); the vedi, i.e. the sacrificial bank with receptacles for the ritual fire, is meant. The same god is RV. 3, 29, 8 in a similar way invited to sit down on his place (sīda hotaḥ svā u lokē); that is, according to the commentators Uvāta and Mahīdhara on VS. 11, 35 where these words recur, on the skin of a black antelope which—being an important implement 26)—is spread on the sacrificial place; see also SB. 6, 4, 2, 7 ni hotā hotrṇadane vidāna iti, agnir vai hotā kṛṣṇājīnām hotrṇadanaṁ 27).

19) See Eggeling’s note.
20) Incorrectly, Eggeling, o.c., V, p. 430 “world”.
22) See also Geldner, o.c., III, p. 140; and cf. AiB. 1, 29.
23) I take vidāne (see also Eggeling, on SB. 6, 4, 2, 7 and W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Sarphitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 859) as practically expressing the sense of samvidāne.
24) See also Renou, in Journal asiatique 1939, p. 491.
25) Renou, E. V. P. XIII, p. 18 and see his note, p. 104: “surabhā-, épithète de lokā- qui implique l’idée de ydā- (10, 107, 9) à la fois comme séjour (sacrificial) et sein (maternal)”.
26) See Tho Savayajīna, p. 124 f. etc.
27) Sāyāna: uttavasasyā nabhau. Geldner’s, o.c., I, p. 382 comment on the next
Translations such as “domain, territory, field, sphere to which one properly belongs” might to a certain extent serve in passages such as ŚB. 11, 8, 4, 5 “this (the earth) is the kṣatriya’s loka” (but here reference is also made to another loka 29) which is to be gained); cf. 12, 8, 3, 5 “it is for (the rule) of this loka that the kṣatriya is consecrated” (notice this context). Cf. also BĀU. 3, 9, 17 etc. Caland 29) translated PB. 14, 12, 5 yāraṇā ōmareṇān lokas ʾāmaṭuṣṇaṃ sṛṇyuḥām by “may I obtain as much dominion (the word is not paraphrased by the comm.) as the others possess”; here, “territory, Lebensraum” would be preferable, because Uśanas Kāvyā 30), who is the speaker, was an ancient seer, not a prince; the term may even have its spiritual implications.

Some passages may at first sight be regarded as reminiscent of the social and economic situation brought about by a steady increase in the population of a region. PB. 2, 10, 2 speaks of a younger son for whom there is no room left (alokṣaḥ): “there is no room left for one born long after his brothers, because he is surrounded by other people” (comm.). As however the text adds that by a definite rite one may make room (lokam: sthānam, comm.) for him and that in this room he may find support (tasmiṇi lōke pratīṣṭhāti), and that by means of the same rite offspring and cattle—the two main desiderata of the Vedie sacrificer—will be born to him, then we should remember that a pratīṣṭhā, a firm foundation, was, in the eyes of Vedic man, a most important concept 31). A pratīṣṭhā means stability and protection against the ever impending dangers and disasters of the unstable and transitory mundane condition, steadiness and stability which extend themselves into the transcendental sphere and are is indispensable for any form of well-being and happiness. This pratīṣṭhā, which in these texts is eagerly sought for, not rarely figures in enumerations of related power-concepts, of which sāṃti- “immunity from dangerous influences, appeasement, ‘peace’, the state of being faustus” 32) is not the least 33): AiB. 3, 8, 2 = GB. 2, 3, 5 tasya haitasya na sarena ieva sāṅtiṃ veda na pratīṣṭhām “hardly anyone knows the appeasing or the foundation thereof”; KB. 13, 6: 59; AiĀ. 1, 1, 3 etc. 34).

Here also it is apparent that Vedie man was wholly convinced of the necessity to ‘found’ the ‘world’ in which he would and must live, to place it on a firm foundation and to create himself a ‘place’ which was more

quarter of the stanza (“zu den übrigen guten Werken im Himmel”; cf. Śāyaṇa) is improbable.


31) I refer to my article on this term in Samśāvyākaraṇam, Studia Indologica Internationalis, I, Poona–Paris 1954.


33) S. Schayer, in Zs. f. Buddhismus, 6, p. 281.

34) See Pratiṣṭhā, p. 11 of the offprint.
than, and different from, "the chaos of the homogeneity and relativity of profane space". Taking this into consideration we are led to the conclusion that the loka which a younger son of a family wishes to acquire by means of a special rite was more than a patch of ground on which to start farming, or rather that this farm meant more than a mere means of subsistence.

That a loka was also conceived of as ‘something’ on which other things are established, as a firm basis or foundation, appears e.g. also from SB. 12, 1, 1, 1 usmin vai loka idam survena pratiśṭhitam. Hence also statements such as PB. 4, 7, 10 svargam eva tal lokam rūdhvāsmin loke pratiśṭhanti “having ascended unto the world of heaven, they thereby regain firm support in this world” (Caland). Or one might by definite ritual acts gain a pratiśthā—i.e. become from the religious and weltanschaulich point of view well established—in both lokāḥ, i.e. in this ‘world’ and in ‘yonder world’: PB. 16, 10, 8; 19, 12, 7 (8) 37).—For the man who in a particular manner makes oblation “there is left over in this world a support, seat, abode or resting-place (by these terms I attempt to give an idea of the meaning of āyatana)” (AV. 15, 12, 7).

IV

That the loka concept has aspects which from the modern point of view and for the sake of brevity may be called ‘immaterial’ becomes clearer from a variety of texts such as the following. Among the wishes formulated in the presence of the blazing ritual fire is also that for a life of a hundred years, well-being and a wide loka which is shone upon by the sun (TB. 1, 2, 1, 7; cf. ĀpŚŚ. 5, 2, 1 ff.). Whatever translation be preferred for AV. 11, 7, 1 so much seems clear that loka-, in this stanza stating that nāma rūpam as well as lokāḥ are set in the remnant of the obligation—which we know to be highly important because it guarantees the continuation of the ‘sacrificial power’—, cannot refer to heaven and earth because these are mentioned in the same connection (st. 2). If “name-and-form” means the psychical and physical components of any personality the term loka- may denote the ‘place’ or ‘room’ occupied

26) Caland, Pañcanātīpa-Bṛhadāraṇyaka, p. 61.
37) Cf. also PB. 8, 8, 13 yaḥ seṣaṅkātānaḥ syād yaḥ pratiśṭhākāmaḥ.
38) In the rather obscure passage ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 22 the southern quarter is said to have been made (a) loka- (“space”, Eggeling) and this loka- to have become the air or intermediate space, which is declared to be “the foundation (pratiśthā-) in yonder world (anuṣṭhitam lokes)” “even as the foundation in this world is clearly the earth”. So much is however clear that the idea of pratiśthā- is here also regarded as naturally associated with a loka, which in this context in the first instance might be translated by “open room”.
1) i.e. lacking concrete form or spatial existence.
by these, wherever a personality may be found\(^3\), the position (of safety) or situation in which it may be. — In view of the concepts with which the ‘heavenly world’ (svarga-loka-), as will be seen further on, is associated it is worth while to notice that TB. 2, 7, 13, 3 the uru-loka- figures among other highly appreciated concepts suvor, jyotih, abhayam, svasti, “the light of heaven, safety and well-being”. There can be no doubt that these terms are mutually complementary and that their enumeration serves to express the idea of an ideal situation. The combination of ideas occurring in AV. 13, 4, 53 is likewise significant: “We worship thee (the sun) as breath, width, expanse, loka”: prātho vāro vyādo lokā ṛti.—The man who lays violent hands upon a sacrificial cow forfeits his loka, i.e. his state of happiness and well-being, the condition of freedom providing abundant scope for an unimpeded realization of all positive possibilities\(^4\) (AV. 12, 4, 53 jihmā lokaṁ nir ṛchati)\(^5\).—One should therefore avoid translating loka- (with Caland) by “the world” in passages such as PB. 8, 2, 5f. relating that the Atharvans being lokakāminā saw a definite sāman (sacred text to be chanted) and by means of this they saw amartyaṁ lokas (divyam lokaṁ svargam, comm.) i.e. “that ‘place’ or ‘sphere’ which is free from death, or is not inhabited by mortal men”; “a ‘world’ ” (in the above sense) would be preferable. Here the remark does not seem to be out of place that gods and, following in their tracks, men, have the power ideally to transform any space or locality into a ‘cosmos’ or a sort of heaven. Superimposing the ideal plane upon earthly conditions the officiant makes the latter fit to give shelter to divine forces which will extend their protection to those concerned. The foregoing remarks may help to explain also a place such as ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 8 where the use of two verses to the sun is prescribed because ‘yonder world’ (asaw lokah) is shut off by darkness, “and dispelling that darkness by that light he reaches the heavenly ‘world’”. The whole passage is worth reading.

The man who, on the occasion of a definite sacrificial ceremony, gives a home-woven garment and gold will fully obtain the earthly as well as the “heavenly” (divyāḥ) lokas: AV. 9, 5, 14\(^6\): in any case these expressions meant to him spacious, free, safe and secure Lebenskreise: cf. 12, 3, 6; 15; 25, 36\(^7\).

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\(^3\) The commentary explains pythivyadirūpaḥ sarva lokaḥ\(?)\.

\(^4\) The Savayajnas, p. 375.

\(^5\) Ono may even appropriate the loka of an enemy or rival: TS. 6, 6, 11, 5 “in that he recites the larger metre with a smaller metre on either side, verily thus he appropriates the world of his rival” (bhṛṭīvyayajnaiva tāl lokaṁ vyākhaṇa).

\(^6\) I refer to The Savayajnas, p. 209. Obviously the latter by the gold (which represents ‘immortality’), the former by the garment (which is characteristic of earthly life).

\(^7\) I now do not feel completely certain about the exact connotations of loka- in AV. 4, 11, 9 where a prospect is held out of “both progeny and loka-”. Although at first sight “survival, continuance of life in this world and in the hereafter” (svarṇādi loka- comm.)—one might also supply “of religious merits”—seems to be
Not rarely it is not even possible to attach any definite local or spatial idea to the term. Among the ritual methods to injure a rival are also those taught at TB. 2, 2, 6, 4 to deprive him of (his) loka. As the moments at which, either by day or at night one breaks silence are left to one's rival, one should utter words only at the very short moment when the rays of the sun illuminate no more than the tops of the trees: then, the text says, one leaves one's rival as a remainder only this small loka, i.e., the comm. adds, only such a brief space of time (kālam). By meditating at daytime upon night, which belongs to one's rival, one may keep or withhold his loka from him; this loka is, the comm. says, the rival's rātrisvarāpam, i.e. "his peculiar form, night". "These are indeed the lokas, viz. the days and nights, the half-months, months, and seasons and the year" (ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 7). — That the periods of time (days and nights, fortnights, months etc.) may be regarded as lokas, since those who pass away in the years below twenty are consigned to the days and nights as their 'worlds', etc., and he alone who lives a hundred years or more attaining "to that immortal (life)" appears also from ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 7, f.: "those who pass away in the years below twenty are consigned to the days and nights as their 'worlds'".

Thus the word is also used 'in a temporal sense'. Once the gods had, in their endless conflicts with the asuras, recourse to the upasads (a complex of sacrificial rites between the end of the dīkṣā and the sutyā or pressing of the soma 8)), by which they succeeded in repelling their antagonists from the seasons, the months . . . , the day and night successively. "Therefore", AīB. 1, 23, 7 concludes, one should proceed with the first upasad early in the forenoon, with the second early in the afternoon; so much only of 'space' (in an apparently temporal sense tāvam... lokam) one leaves to one's enemy".

It is not surprising to find the loka concept associated with the possession of children, cattle, fame and the attainment of a great age. I for one am inclined to translate by "Lebensraum" in its special religious sense, a 'position' — a "resting-place in universal extensity" in a non-local sense 9) — in ChU. 2, 17, 2: "One who knows thus these śakvarī verses as strung on the lokā becomes possessed of a loka- (loki bhavati) 10), the obvious interpretation (see The Savayajñas, p. 297), the unqualified loka- may also imply 'Lebensraum' and a stable position in the sublunary world.

8) See e.g. Renou, Vocabulaire du rituel védique, Paris 1954, p. 45.
9) BĀU. 1, 5, 17 it is argued that just as all study is denoted by the comprehensive term brahman- (the Veda), i.e. any study is "brahman", and just as the term gajña- expresses the sum and unity of all acts of worship which are also called gajña-, i.e. of all acts of worship the identity is in the term gajña-, so loka- is a comprehensive term for all lokā (ye vai ke ca lokāh teśām sarvaśām loka ity ekatā), i.e. all states called loka- participate in the general idea 'loka'. — The term 'extensity' is used in J. E. Turner's translation of O. van der Looew's Phänomenologie (Religion in essence and manifestation, London 1938, p. 393).
reaches a full length of life, lives long, becomes great in offspring and cattle, great in fame’. The addition: “one should not revile (find fault with) the lokāḥ” (cf. also § 14 ff.; 18) is no doubt to enjoin the right mode of behaviour upon the adept, destructive criticism of powers, ‘concepts’ etc. which from the point of view of religion are important being dangerous and impedimental). Similarly, 4, 11, 2; 12, 2 etc.—The sacrificial horse being about to lay down its life is addressed “. . . sacrifice thyself, rejoice thou thyself” (svayam juwasva, VS. 23, 15). The latter formula is explained by svayam evadhirucitam sthānam kurvau or iṣṭāsthānam sevasva (comm.), by the author of the ŚB. 13, 2, 7, 11, by svayam lokāṁ rocayasa yaevaṁ icchasi, i.e. “find thou pleasure in room (a ‘sphere’) as large as thou wishest”, rather than “enjoy (rule) . . . the world” (Eggeling). The next mantras are to ensure an easy journey to the gods for the victim.

Interestingly enough the idea of oppression or of lack of room is sometimes, by way of contrast, expressed in the same context. AV. 18, 2, 25 “Let not the tree oppress you (the deceased), nor the . . . earth; having found a “place” or “situation” (loka-: sthānam, comm.) among the Fathers, thrive (there). . . .”; according to Kauś. 82, 32 these words are to accompany the deposition of the collected bones at the root of a tree.

Thus a loka is in the passages under discussion not the “world” or some arbitrary point in space, but a place with a specific and independent value. Often this ‘place’ is not locally or spatially definable. It is a position or situation which from the point of view of religion and view of life is important, safe, stable and steady, a resting-place in universal extensity towards which man directs himself. That is why I have my doubts about the correctness of the translations “world” (Whitney–Lanman) or “heaven(ly world)” in places such as AV. 15, 7, 4 and 5 where, in this order, a prospect is held out of “faith” (āraddhā), “worship” (‘sacrifice’: yajñāḥ), lokāḥ and “food” (annam). The man who possesses a definite esoteric knowledge—which we know to lead to results that are beyond ordinary technical skill—will obtain these. As “faith” (implying belief in the efficacy of the rites), sacrifice and food constitute, in this order, a regular succession of concepts, the sacrifice presupposing ‘faith’ and producing food in this world, lokāḥ—which is likewise a result of the correct performance of rites—may mean “free room and the safe position, the position of power and inviolability” (in this world or wherever it may be) rather than “world”. Here we are, no doubt, also at the root of a larger semantic development of the term which gave rise to the later interpretation of loka- as bheṣṭhetu—“cause of enjoyment” (see e.g. the comm. on AiB. 7, 13, 7). “By making mantras subject to a special disposition

11) I refer to The Savayajñas, p. 35. I cannot subscribe to Senart’s interpretation (locus citato): “ne pas se plaindre des choses (des gens)”; like other French authors Senart was sometimes too much disposed to detect puns.

12) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 43.
of the mind which tends to realize an ambition ritual works are ‘willed’, by subjecting ritual works to it, a loka is ‘willed’, by subjecting the loka to it, the All is ‘willed’ (mantrānaṁ saṃkālpyai karmāṇi saṃkālpante, etc.: ChU. 7, 4, 2).

Thus a loka may on the one hand be a ‘place’ of recognized sanctity. A text such as BAU. 3, 9, 8 is also from this point of view quite intelligible: katame te trayo devā iti : ima eva trayo lokāḥ, eṣu hime sarve devā iti “Which are the three gods? They are indeed the three lokas (the parts of the tripartite universe, for in them all these gods exist”. “Sacred space may be defined as that ‘locality’ that becomes a position by the effects of power repeating themselves there, or being repeated by man” 14). Being repeated by man: hence man’s endeavour to create, by a correct discharge of religious duties, by means of effective rites and (or) creative knowledge a position which will prove stable and safe. Hence the frequent mention of the necessity to gain or win a loka 15). “Verily, a loka is conquered by austerity (tapasā vai lokam jayanti). Now, one’s austerity becomes ever and ever wider, he conquers an ever and ever more excellent (parādparah śreyāṇam) loka and becomes better also in this loka (“world”), whosoever knowing this undertakes, (in a particular way, a definite rite)” (ŚB. 3, 4, 4, 27); JB. 3, 201 imam inam vai lokam iṣṭvā jayati “durch das Opfer ersiegt man diese Welt und diese” (Caland 16)); ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 19 “The fore-position is the loka” 17), and, verily, whosoever knows this secures for himself a loka (ava ... lokam rundāhe); and whatever is to be conquered (jayyam) by a (the) loka, all that he now conquers (jayati), and indeed he does not by ever so little fall from (lose) his loka ...”.

Thus PB. 18, 3, 1 “he who knowing thus performs this (rite) gains the luminous, pure (holy) ‘sphere’ (jyotiṣmantaṁ puṇyam lokam)”; 19, 11, 11; AiB. 3, 47, 9; 48, 4 the man who knows will conquer a loka which is not deficient (in happiness): anandaḥṣayinam lokam jayati, i.e. manasā dhyāyate anartham atyapāravasukhopetaṁ lokam pṛāṇāti, comm.; cf. also ŚB. 11, 5, 6, 3 “however great a loka he gains (jayati) by giving away (to the priests) this earth replete with wealth, thrice that and more—an imperishable (akṣayam) ‘world’ does he gain, whosoever, knowing this, studies day by day his lesson (of the Veda) ...”; TB. 1, 1, 4, 7 yathā pra prajāyā paśubhir mitumār janīṣyase, prayā asmiṁ lokāḥ śāśyati

15) Other effects of ritual effort in connection with a loka or lokas—e.g. PB. 7, 3, 9 “that they chant with united metres is for the continuance of these worlds”—will be considered elsewhere.
16) Caland, Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa, p. 272. The preceding words tan ha lokam lokam darsayam cakāra (see Caland, o.c., p. 274, n. 23) seem to mean that Upagro causes Indra to form an idea of the extraordinary efficacy of the sacrificial rite.
("you will have a firm foundation in this world"), abhi 
swargam lokam 
ijeyyati; ŚB. 12, 5, 2, 10 "that he has been foremost in conquering the lokas, and that those behind him will be foremost in this world"; AiB. 3, 18, 8 yāvantam ha vai 
swamyenaññavareśvā 
lokāṁ jayati, tam ata 
ekaikayopasadā jayati ya evam viśva yaś caivaṁ 
vivāṇā dhāyāḥ sāṃsāti 
"so much space as by sacrificing with the soma sacrifice he conquers, that he conquers with each upasad who knows thus and who knowing thus recites the inserted verses" (cf. e.g. also ŚB. 11, 8, 3, 5); AiB. 5, 28, 6 yāvantam ha vai 
sarvam idam daittvā 
lokāṁ jayati, tāvantam ha lokāṁ jayati ya evam 
vivāṇā 
agnihotram jujotī "the space which a man conquers by giving all this, that space he conquers who knowing thus offers the agnihotra." 18).

This idea that a loka must be selected from the vast extent of space, that it must be chosen, won or made a ‘position’ 19) by the man who knows how to occupy it is indeed elaborated with the consistency which is one of the characteristics of the trains of thought of these authors. That is to say, the loka to be gained may be qualified, or, to express myself otherwise, any loka may be conquered. Thus it reads for instance ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 19 "by offering with VS. 19, 45 ‘... may the loka of the Fathers ... prosper among the gods’, he commits the Fathers to Yama, and he also commits the loka of the Fathers”. By offering in a particular way facing the East one acquires the loka of the gods by conquest (devalokam abhikayet, TB. 1, 6, 3, 7; or one may win the earth which is the firm or immovable (dhruva-) loka (ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 4; cf. 7, 4, 1, 8 this earth is the most real and certain (addhātāmā) of these lokas; 9, 1, 2, 36 this earth is the most essential (rasatama-) of these worlds). Thus it is possible to conquer by ritual methods this (earthly) ‘world’, yonder world and the intermediate region (PB. 10, 12, 3; 4 etc.) 20); the ‘celestial world’ (swarga 
lokaṁ): PB. 12, 11, 10; 11 etc.; this ‘world’ and yonder world: ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 24; 26; cf. also AV. 12, 3, 6; TS. 6, 2, 6, 1; 6, 5, 11, 1; ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 15; 12, 8, 2, 2, etc.—From AV. 9, 5, 14 it does not only

18) Passing mention may be made of the frequent references to the rivalry of gods and asuras who, "contending for the possession of these worlds" (ēṣu lokāyam), tried "to drive each other away from these worlds" (e.g. PB. 8, 3, 1) and of the possibility of shaking off one's rivals by imitating them (8, 3, 2). In these cases the tripartite phenomenal universe is meant (8, 9, 2; 9, 2, 11; 16, 2, 2 f.).

19) E. Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen, II, Das mythische Denken, Berlin 1925.

20) It stands to reason that hero also the mythical prototype is not absent. From VS. 23, 17 it appears that on the occasion of the "creation sacrifice" performed, in the mythical past, Agni, Vāyu and Śūrya who successively were the victims, won the earth, the intermediate space and heavens, which since are their lokaṁ. In like manner the sacrificial horse will now “win” these spheres or realms, which will become its lokāṁ. “As great as Agni's conquest was, as great as are his ‘world’ and his lordship, so great shall be thy conquest...” (ŚB. 13, 2, 7, 13 in explanation). VS. 9, 31 “Viṣṇu won the three ‘worlds’; may I win these”.
appear that the author and his hearers assumed the existence of a plurality of celestial and earthly 'spheres', places or states called loka- (lokān . . . ye divyā ye ca pārthivāḥ), but also that it was the sacrificer's desire fully to obtain such lokāḥ (cf. also 12, 3, 6). Wide room, space enough to live and move in, on the earth as well as in heaven, that is one of the main objects pursued by the experts in sacrificial technique (cf. 12, 3, 15; see also st. 25 and 36). ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 3 informs us with all clarity desirable that the man who understands the signification of a particular ritual act, "thus gains all these lokas, traverses (anusāncaratī) all these lokas, thinking 'In me these gods reside' ".—When transcendent effects are ascribed to the right esoteric knowledge statements such as BĀU. 1, 5, 13 are not surprising: the man who concentrates upon important potencies, elements of his personality, as being finite wins (jayati) a finite loka; if he concentrates upon them as infinite, an infinite. Cf. 3, 2, 12. The verb jayati is in a similar context used in 5, 11, 1. Those who preferred to reach their goal by meditative concentration are PrU. 5, 1 ff. said to win the loka of men, that of the moon and the brahma-loka.

That this conquest—i.e. the transmutation of real or ideal space into a sacred place and a safe position—safe-guards those concerned against grave fear and serious disaster is apparent from ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 3 "by reciting, in a definite rite VS. 4, 30 'he has measured the compass of the earth' one gains (āsṛṣṇati) through Soma 'these worlds', for there is no slayer, no deadly shaft for him by whom 'these worlds' have been gained . . .".—It is however not always easy to say what exactly are the implications of a conquest of this 'world'. From the mantra prescribed ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 7 (VS. 5, 35 c d) one might conclude to protection against demoniac powers, the brāhmaṇa itself adding a firm stand on the earth; as for "conquering" the text has sprava “he saves, gains” — this verb may also have the abl.: RV. 10, 87, 7 etc. “deliver from demoniac power” — the idea of deliverance from evil and thwarting influences seems to be central here. The stanza quoted at ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 12 (VS. 5, 37) points to wide room (varīvaḥ), annihilation of haters and opulence, and if we may rely on the same source of information (VS. 5, 38 quoted at ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 15), the man who gains the world of heaven will have wide room (aruv) for his abode.

There is, it is true, evidence for the assumption that conquest of "these lokas" implies a defeat of one's enemies who are deprived of their share in these spheres: ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 14. This statement should not however create the impression that this "conquest of a (the) loka" is a political idea. In order to express such a thought, viz. military conquest and political sway, the verb jayati combines with bhuvana—21) which refers to this universe as a manifestation and a theatre of becoming and transfor-

21) See also W. Rau, Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien, Wiesbaden 1957. p. 102.—One might on the other hand win (jayati) 'immortality' (amṛtātvaṃ, AiB, 2, 14, 1).
mation as well as the living beings existing in it (cf. e.g. ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 3). This is not to preclude the possibility of the existence, in former days or in other milieus, of a more original use of the phrase *jayati lokam*: from the religious point of view the occupation or reclamation of new fields or places of residence is likewise a conquest. "The settlement in general... is a ‘selected’, sacred position; man forms his settlement and thus converts the discovered possibility into new powerfulness; his settlement then stands out from the surrounding extent of space; his tilled land from the uncultivated forest..."

Although the Vedic texts themselves do not in this connection point to a belief, in historical times, in a light myth, that is to say, although the expression *lokam jayati* does not mean "to win light", I cannot resist the temptation to recall here the ancient acceptation of *loka*- "a place accessible to the light of heaven" and in a way characterized by safety, inviolability and the possibility of living up to an ideal situation, and its many connections with light, the sun, concepts such as *svāh, svarga*- etc. which are discussed in other chapters of this publication. Man was, in ancient times, by no means certain about the daily return of the heavenly light; it was on the contrary the subject of perpetual fear and hope, and so were its implications, the eagerly desired triumph over the powers of darkness, including death and all powers of evil (cf. e.g. ṚV. 10, 107, 1). Knowing that the light of heaven was his salvation, and always aware of the light-creating (e.g. ṚV. 8, 89, 4) and light-bringing activity of Indra, Agni (e.g. ṚV. 7, 5, 6) and other gods, he deeply felt that his cooperation in winning and securing that light—which meant life and happiness—was urgently needed. Compare e.g. ṚV. 9, 4, 2 calling upon Soma (who 9, 78, 4 is called *swarjit*) "to win light and (the light of) heaven, all fortunate gifts, and to make us happier" (*sānā jyotih sānā svāhı́...*) 8, 15, 12 imploring Indra to win the light of heaven (*svar jaya, at the same time in a ‘metaphorical’ sense).

However frequent the phrase *ajapa lokaḥ* for "this world (in which we live)" may be (cf. e.g. AV. 9, 5, 7; 11 "... the goat given in this world by one who has faith", there can be no doubt of its ritual and religious connotations. It may refer to a particular position of security, of contact with protective power, an ideal situation in which man feels himself at home, sheltered from the vicissitudes of mundane life, integrated. Hence the intimate association of the loka idea with a complete life-time, continuance of life in offspring, the preservation of health and the fruits of religious merits. If a kṣatriya desires to win all victories, to find all *lokaḥ*, to attain superiority etc., to possess all the earth and enjoy a complete life-time he should say: "From the day of my birth to that

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23) See further on, p. 69 f. and Index a.v. this world.
of my death . . . my sacrifice and the merit accruing from gifts, my ‘place’ (loka-), my meritorious deeds, my life-time and mine offspring may you take, if I might play you false” (AiB. 8, 15, 3; similarly, 2). Such an existence is quite intelligibly described as “missing nothing” (AiB. 3, 47, 11; 48, 4; see above). Hence also statements such as AV. 5, 30, 17 ayaṁ lokāḥ priyātamo devānām āparājitaḥ which does not mean, with Whitney–
Lanman 24), “this (is) the dearest world of the gods, unconquered”, but “this (viz. a complete life-time of a full hundred years) is the dearest, not to be conquered even by the gods (i.e. not even the gods are able to deprive the person concerned of it)” The man who is in this condition may therefore be said to be safeguarded against the power of death, i.e. against a premature death 25). “To the terminator Death (be) homage” the poet of AV. 8, 1 begins (st. 1) “. . . ; let this man be here with his life, in the place of sunshine, in that particular situation in which he is free from death”: the phrase amṛtaśya lokā does not in my opinion mean “in the world of the immortal” 26), but rather “in the realm of life”. — In ŚB. 10, 2, 6, 6 it is clearly stated that the wish “May your life be long!; may you reach the full extent of life (sarvaṁ āyuḥ)’ is as much as to say: “May this loka, this (light; compare the context) be yours”. The loka meant is the immortal light; compare 5: “Now, that same boon (immortal light: amṛtam arcīḥ), bright with wealth, Savitar distributes among the creatures . . . and to whom he gives more of it live longest . . .”.

To wind up with a brief account of the few occurrences of the compound lokajīt- will not be out of place here. In AV. 4, 34, 8 it is significantly used: “I deposit this rice-dish in (i.e. “I offer it ceremoniously to) the brahmans, the viśāṁśā- (“the expanded one”) 27) which conquers a (the) loka (in the above sense of the term) and goes to heaven” 28). In a cosmogonic atharvaṇic account of the origin of the sacrifice it reads (GB. 1, 5, 24): “(Agni) Vaśvānara heated with tapas and desirous of offspring poured semen into Śraddhā (“Faith”); from this union the lokajīt- soma-toothed ṛṣi Aṅgirās 29) was born”. Aṅgirās, a mythic fire-priest of prehistoric antiquity and teacher of the Atharvaveda, found, of course, as a ṛṣi, a loka and heaven. This mighty figure is in 1, 5, 25 said to win lokas, the earth by means of the Rigveda, the intermediate space by means of the Yajurveda, and heaven by means of the Sāmaveda, the sacrifice protected by his descendants being the final outcome of the cosmogony. In BĀU.

24) Whitney–Lanman, o.c., p. 278.
25) For amṛta- see P. Thieme, Studien zur indogerm. Wortkunde und Religions-
geschichte, Berlin 1952, p. 15 ff.; Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 64.
26) Whitney–Lanman, o.c., p. 473.
1, 3, 28 the term applies to a chanted liturgical text, by chanting which the officiant who knows its meaning, obtains, either for himself or for his patron, any desire; meanwhile the patron should pronounce the formula: “from the unreal (i.e. death), lead me to the real (i.e. ‘immortality’)” and other texts of the same tenor. Finally, Manu 4, 8 deals with four classes of brahman householders, the last of which is the most complete lokajit-, i.e. svargadilokajitamañ (Kullika); “in the absence of qualifications, the term ‘worlds’ here [as often elsewhere] is taken as standing for the heavenly regions” (Medhātithi).20)

The phrase “to win a loka” occurs also, with the object in the plural and in connection with the ātman-brahman doctrine, in the early upаниshadic period. When the supreme happiness of man is no longer supposed to be exclusively dependent on the correct performance of the Vedic rites and an insight into their esoteric meaning, or on austerity (tapas) and a profound knowledge of the meaning of rites (ŚB. 3, 4, 4, 27), but on an existential experience of one’s own essence and nature, it reads (cf. BĀU. 5, 4, 1; ChU. 8, 12, 6): the man who knows, i.e. who identifies himself existentially with the truth, that brahman is reality or who realizes that brahman-ātman is the very kernel of his personality, will gain all lokas and all objects of desire (notice the combination). That means that he becomes, so to say, omnipresent (in the weltanschauliche sense of the term) and that all his ambitions are realized. He enjoys unlimited freedom, and being permanent himself he obtains the permanent lokas “which he has, by an impulse of his mind (saṃkula-) realized”, that is, he experiences the condition of being completely integrated in the totality of existence and transcending, for ever, all transitoriness (ChU. 7, 4, 3). Thus a loka is not only a manifestation of divine power (comm. on Gaṅgādāśaṅkī 5, 13), but also identical with the highest fortune-excellence-and-accomplishment (saṃpad-, idem on 5, 15).

V

At this point we must, for a moment, interrupt the discussion of Vedic texts in order to answer the question as to which background the above passages must be viewed against. It seems, to begin with, clear that the loka idea emerging in the course of the above examination of facts is a variant form—or, if one would prefer another term, a ‘development’—of what in the comparative science of religion is called a ‘selected’ or ‘sacred place’1), “a resting-place in universal extensity” which, being qualitatively different from any other place or from homogeneous space

20) The texts also use other expressions to express similar ideas, for instance: by means of definite chants one milks out of these lokas (i.e. obtains out of them as milk out of the cow) the fulfilment of all desires (PB. 21, 2, 5 f.); by musical instruments one gains that voice which is in these lokas (PB. 5, 5, 20).

1) See e.g. Van der Leeuw, o.c., esp. ch. 57; M. Eliade, The sacred and the profane, New York 1959, ch. 1; Heiler, Erscheinungsformen, p. 128 ff.
in general, has a specific and independent value of its own. Such a place or rather ‘position’, which is in contact with Power and hence is a centre of power, means a refuge and safety 8), a fixed point where to “found the world” and to live in a real sense, and whence to acquire orientation. For, although he does not accept the world in which he lives and which he experiences as alien and strange, religious man, while existing and participating in it, is seriously concerned with it. In earthly life, in which he does not straightway find himself at home, he perceives possibilities which demand his activity. “In order to dominate life for himself, to seize upon the possibilities concealed within it, man must force it into a fixed course of activity” 9). His sense of foreignness expands into a never-ceasing care, a ritual behaviour which, he feels, must accord with the powerful which reveals itself to him, and respond to his goal which is power 4), power to overcome the chaos of profane existence, to organize life, to exert influence upon his destiny 8).

One of the means of realizing this ambition—and a most important one—is the establishment or construction of a ‘home’, a settlement, a position, a place where one may be happy; a place with ‘virtue’ where salvation may be reached, because it is a break in the homogeneity of space in which ‘heaven’ and ‘earth’ are put in communication; a place which being a manifestation of the sacred ontologically founds one’s ‘world’; within the precincts of which the profane world is transcended, and in which communication with Power is possible. The foundation of such a place is considered a repetition of the creation of the universe in the divine sphere, that is to say, the consecration of a territory is equivalent to making it a cosmos 9). Such a ‘place’ may be a settlement of a clan, a village, a town, a temple. It may also be any other locality in which a break-through from the mundane to the higher plane is considered possible, for instance a sacrificial place. Thus the construction of a Vedic fire place, and also that of the “householder’s fire”, means settling on a place: ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 17) avasyati haitad yad gārhapatyam cinoti ya u vai ke cāṇmicito ‘syām eva te ‘vasītāh “when one builds a gārhapatyam (the house-holder’s fire) he settles on that place; and all builders of fire-places are indeed settled on this earth” 8).

8) Cf. BĀU. 1, 4, 15 atha yo ha ca cama lokāt svan lokam adṛṣṭa praste, sa evam avidito na bhanakī, from which it appears that one’s loka, provided it was well recognized, was supposed to be of use to or to protect a person.

9) Van der Leuw, o.c., p. 340.

4) Cf. also H. Usener, Heilige Handlung, Kleine Schriften, IV, Leipzig–Bonn 1913.

8) Cf. ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 14 śāktāh hi svargam lokam eti “with power (might, energy) one goes to the heavenly world”.


7) Cf. also TS. 5, 2, 3; KS. 20, 1 etc.

There can hardly be any doubt that the term loka- was, in daily usage, also applied to the selected place in which to settle. Accompanying the construction of the gārhapatya hearth which is the “domestic fire-place of the householder” who institutes sacrifices VS. 12, 45 (TS. 4, 2, 4, 1; ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 3; 4 etc.) invites the evil powers to go away, because “Yama has given a settlement (resting-place, also a place selected for being built upon) on the earth (viz. to the sacrificer); the Fathers have prepared (provided) for him this ‘position’” (ādād yamō 'vasānāṃ pṛthivyād ākram imāṃ pītāro lokāmaḥ asmai). That means, ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 3 f. explains, “Yama rules over the settling on the earth and it is he who grants a settlement...; for Yama is nobility and the Fathers and the third estate; and to whomsoever the chief, with the approval of the third estate, grants a settlement, that settlement (avasānam) is properly given” 9). It is clear that loka- 10) here again is a place selected as a position for a definite individual and serving an important religious purpose.

It seems warranted to recall in this connection the statement found in ŚB. 13, 2, 8, 5; 13, 5, 2, 2 (cf. VS. 23, 20) “for that indeed is ‘heavenly world’” 11) where they immolate the victim” (esa vai svargā loko yatru pāryam samātāpyantu); that means that the sacrificial place is in direct communication with the ‘world of the divine’. It is, according to ŚB. 6, 6, 3, 9 (“the place where Agni (the sacrificial fire) is kindled is the navel of the earth”) and VS. 23, 60 f.; ŚB. 13, 5, 2, 20 f. “the navel of this world” (asya bhavanasya nābhik), the centre in which a break-through from the celestial and the mundane plane is manifest 12), that very plane which with respect to the earth and the sacrificer is the source of real life 13), because it is the mystic point of contact with the high powers. Here the sacrificer is safeguarded against danger (ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 23: “the navel means the centre, and the centre is safe from danger”) 14).

However, the centre (maṁhyaṁ), the navel, is the place in which the axis mundi, the cosmic axis, the central pillar or “frame of creation” 15)

10) sthānam, comm.; not “world” (Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 312). Cf. RV. 10, 14, 9.
11) For the concept of ‘heavenly world’ (svarga- loka- ) see further on, ch. VIII; IX.
13) Cf. also S. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, Paris 1898, p. 81.
14) For the sacrifice itself as “the world of heaven” (AîB. 5, 24, 12; 26, 4) see further on, p. 89 f.
- which, putting the cosmic levels into communication, links heaven and earth and sustains the components of the universe—reaches the earth, constituting a means of communicating with or 'travelling to' heaven as well as a canal through which the heavenly blessings may penetrate into the abodes of men. Being believed to run through a 'centre' such an axis puts the inhabitants of that place, the worshipper in a temple or on a sacrificial ground, who is aware of the inadequacy of mere individual existence, into contact with the three spheres of being which in Vedic times were the inferior, the atmospheric and the celestial. Against the background of this belief it becomes intelligible that it was of great importance to Vedic man to have a loka not only in this world but also in the other cosmic levels; only the disposal of a well-founded starting-point and a reliable intermediate station in the second region (cf. e.g. also ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 4) could ensure him complete safety and success in his attempts to come into contact with, and to obtain a firm footing in, 'heaven'. "By means of the vaiśvādeva ceremony (the officiant) gives him (the sacrificer) a firm stand in this (terrestrial) world; by means of the varuṇapraghāṣa in the intermediate space; by means of the sākamedha in yonder world. He who thus knowing performs these rites becomes this All (i.e. the universe)” (TB. 1, 4, 9, 5). That means, ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 9 informs us, "he reaches the highest place (sthanam), the supreme goal", because indeed he has mastered the whole of the universe and thus transcended mundane existence. "They saw that great layer, to build upwards from hence, even the air: that loka "pleased them” (ŚB. 8, 3, 1, 2). “There are three victims, for three in number are these lokas: it is these lokas he thereby secures,—to wit, this (terrestrial) loka by that of the Aśvins, the intermediate space by that of Sarasvatī, and the sky by that of Indra: he thus wins and secures these lokas for himself in accordance with their (peculiar) form and deity” (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 32). “By quarters (pādas) he mounts first; thus they obtain this 'world'; by half stanzas for the second time; thus they obtain the 'world' of the atmosphere; by three quarters for the third time; thus they obtain yonder world . . .” (KB. 25, 7). From other texts 16 it likewise emerges that the three phenomenal divisions of the tripartite universe claim the attention of these authors first and foremost because of the rôle they play in the religious and soteriological theories of the period. Thus definite ritual performances enable the sacrificer to effect a gradual ascension from 'this world' to the 'heavenly regions': JUB. 3, 11, 5 the gāyatri chant should be sung in three turns; by the first turn one conquers this world and what there is in this world that space (āśā-) unto which one is born; by the second

theory and practice of the maṇḍala, London 1961, ch. II, esp. p. 25. See e.g. also Hir.GS. 1, 23, 1.

16) Cf. e.g. TS. 6, 6, 1, 1; AIB. 1, 5, 8; JB. 1, 105 and compare also passages such as JB. 2, 130; PB. 17, 13, 18; 17, 14, 4.
turn one obtains the intermediate sphere, and by the third "yonder 'world'" 17).

This background explains also the deeper sense of the threefold homologizations of important entities in the sacrificial sphere with the three divisions of the universe, which are explicitly declared to be co-extensive with the universe (ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 11): the three fires are identified with the terrestrial, the intermediate, and the celestial lokas (12, 4, 1, 3); "on the earth Viṣṇu strode by means of the gāyatrī metre, in the air by means of the triṣṭubh, in the sky by means of the jagati" (VS. 2, 25); "when", ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 10 observes in explanation of these words, "one has thus -i.e. by reiterating the divine creation of Lebensraum and of universal pervasive power—ascended these lokas (imāṃ śākān samārthyaḥ), that is the goal (gatiḥ), that the firm foundation (pratiṣṭhāḥ) . . ., the highest light there is, that is Prajāpati or the celestial world (svarga lokah). Having then in this way ascended these lokas, one reaches that goal, that firm foundation".

It would appear to me that the use of loka- which in these pages is under discussion is an extension of a more concrete meaning of a 'place' in the above sense, of a use of the word applied to definite concrete places, although it is interesting to observe that there are various other traces of this more 'concrete' use in connection with definite places. Thus a place which has come into contact with power is called a loka- 18) (not a deśa- or a sthāna-) in VS. 11, 22 referring to the ritual custom in connection with the erection of the great fire-place 19). VS. 11, 22 (see also TS. 4, 1, 2, 4 etc.) is related to the activity of a horse which is led to a loam-pit from which a lump of clay is to be fetched; after this has been trodden upon by the animal (cf. ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 9 ff.; ĀpŚŚ. 16, 2, 9 ff.; MŚŚ. 6, 1, 1, 19 etc.) the formula is recited: "he has stepped away, the wealth-giver, the bearer of vāja 20), the courser. He has made a good, 'well made'

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17) If the stanzas AV. 9, 6, 55–62 are arranged in such a way as to constitute what is generally called a climax—AV. Pp. 16, 117, 1–5 runs essentially parallel; st. AV. 6. 60–62 are however wanting—, a meritorious man may expect to food, successively, on what is on the earth, in the intermediate space, in the sky, among the gods, in the lokāḥ. It is, again, difficult to decide what is the relation between these lokāḥ in the plural and the tripartite universe. As it stands, after "among the gods" the lokāḥ impress us as a vague term for every possible or imaginable loka- apart from our world and all of the gods, and surpassing the latter; or it may be a recapitulation and generalization. The text (Śaun.) continues "... he obtains this 'world', yonder ('world'), he conquers 'worlds' rich in light...", or (Paipp. after emendation (L. C. Barret, The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, XVI and XVII, New Haven Conn. 1936, p. 116 f.) in a line which does not appear in Śaun.) "he shines (tapati : pratati ms.) in the lokāḥ, he is illuminant in the lokāḥ, the svarpa-loka- is his (adj., bahuvrīhi) who knows thus".

18) Not to be translated, with Griffith (White Yajurveda) and Eggeling (ŚB. transl.) by "room".


20) See Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 48 ff.
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(which must mean "full of virtue"; puṇyavantam: "auspicious", Mahidhara) 'place' (sulokāṁ sūkṛtam) on the earth". These words are, significantly enough, immediately followed by: "we might from there dig up the fair-looking Agni (i.e. the fire-pan to be made of the clay), (we) ascending heaven, unto the highest vault". It is clear that loka- here refers to the spot (pradesām, Mahidhara) which was regarded as sacred and auspicious because it has been touched and indicated by the horse, the text says (§ 9): "he makes (the horse) step on (that spot); for having discovered (anuviṣya) him (Agni), it (the horse) then indicated him to the gods as if (it or, one) meant to say: 'Just here he is' ". This is an instance of the well-known motive of the animal allowed to roam freely or led into a certain region until it stands still or lies down in some place or other: a method of finding or discovering a powerful spot, a selected place, an 'origin', the foundation of a 'position': 21) "having (in a particular way) proceed with the earth (yṛtvāya, yṛtvāya, which according to the commentators stands for sṛṣṭvā "having touched" 22)) tell us where we may dig him out" (VS. 11, 10 bhāmaya yṛt(ī)vāya no bhātī yātāh kāndena tām vayām bhāmaḥ pradesām sṛṣṭvā no 'smākam tvam brāhi ayaṃ pradeśo agniḥetvamādyogya iti kathaya ... , Mahidhara). That is, ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 11 explains, "by pointing out that (spot) of the ground tell us where we may dig him out". It might be remembered that Agni is not rarely associated, and even identified, with the navel of the earth 23); see e.g. RV. 1, 59, 2; quite consistently so, because he is established in that very navel, the piece of ground serving for the sacrificial place (RV. 1, 143, 4), on which he is kindled (VS. 11, 76). Needless to say that such a loka- is far from being always locally definable. One may for instance win (ji-) an excellent, agreeable or happy 'place' (kalyānām lokaṁ) by releasing a cow: ŚB. 4, 5, 11, 11. When in a definite rite a cow, being released, goes eastward, the sacrificer "has succeeded" (arāṣṭī) and "conquered such a loka" which must be that of the gods, who are believed to be closely associated with the East. If however the animal goes northward—the North being the region of men—, the sacrificer will be more glorious "in this world" 24).

When Agni (the repeller of demoniac powers, ŚB. 2, 4, 2, 15) is requested to drive away the asuras "who roam at will assuming various figures", and are attracted by the oblations, they are to depart "from this loka-" (VS. 2, 30). The translation "world" (ŚB., l.c.; Griffith) does not suit;

21) Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 82. As is well known animals, going where no human wisdom could ever reach, play a part in the foundation legends of many cities etc.

22) See also Eggeling, o.c. III, p. 208, n. 2.


24) A place such as PB. 11, 5, 25 making mention of a room-finding (lokavindu-) chant—"he who lauds it finds room" (lokaṁ: abhiśaḍāpy aññam "the position which he desires", Sāyaṇa)—, may therefore perhaps be supposed to reflect an extended use of an expression "to find a loka" with the help of an animal or other potent intermediaries.
"place" is better; Mahādhara is no doubt right in explaining by pṛtyajñasthānāt: the place where the oblations to the Fathers are presented is no arbitrary point in space, but a 'power-position'. So is the spot near water in which the collected bones and ashes of the deceased are laid down, which is likewise called a loka:- VS. 35, 6 prajāpatau tvē devatāyām āpādake lokē ni dadvāmy asu (sthāne, comm. 27)). This view is in agreement with BhārPaitṛms. 1, 9, 13: the bones should be placed on a sāmi tree (which is "for appeasement": ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 37) or at the root of a pālaśā tree (which represents brahman).

The ashes removed from the fire-pan (ukhā) in which Agni has been carried are put in a bag and then thrown into the water (ĀpŚŚ. 16, 12, 11) to the accompaniment of VS. 12, 35 (TS. 4, 2, 3, 2 f., etc.) "Receive these ashes, ye celestial waters, and lay them in a pleasant (soft, comfortable; "bringing pleasure", comm.) place full of fragrance (syone kṛṣṇudhavya surabhā u lokē)". The commentators think of a place made fragrant by flowers, incense etc. The author of ŚB. 6, 8, 2, 3, quoting these words, obviously regarded the statement as self-evident; that useless matter which has "run its course" should be disposed of. A fragrant place is, here also, no doubt a pure and purificatory (cf. e.g. AV. 8, 6, 10), if not a 'sacred' place: as is well known gods and saints are often believed to exhale a scent or "a breath of heavenly fragrance". Although the place meant is left undefined, we may suppose it to be a 'locality' with a specific value of its own and endowed with a certain effective power.

Ritual acts being a reiteration in phenomenal time of deeds performed in mythical "Urzeit", the yajamāna may also by the proper ritual methods "make" or "fashion"—i.e. consecrate— (karoti) this terrestrial loka, applying a definite mantra which was in the beginning for the same purpose used by the gods, in casu the Vasus (ŚB. 6, 5, 2, 3). The ritual by which man constructs a sacred space is efficacious in the measure in which it reproduces the work of the gods. From the subsequent part of the rite it may be concluded that the sacrificer makes this world a firm and habitable place for himself, where to become a begetter of offspring.

25) Thus W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana-śrautaśūtra, Nagpur 1953, p. 80. See also ĀpŚŚ. 1, 8, 7 and Caland's translation (Das Śrautaśūtra des Ṛpastamba, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 21); MŚŚ. 1, 1, 2, 8.
26) For the charred bones being deposited in or near water or being moistened see Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, Amsterdam Acad. 1896, p. 105 ff.
27) Eggeling’s note (o.c., V. p. 433, n. 3 "place") is to be preferred to his translation "world".
28) Rather than "in the fragrant region"  (Keith, Veda Black Yajus School, p. 311).
31) Eliade, The sacred and the profane, p. 29.
32) The verb kṛ may also mean "to prepare, elaborate".
and a wealthy owner of cattle. That is to say, the ritual act duly performed changes a place into a loka. "In this manner", the ŚB. continues, "does the sacrificer, having "made" this 'world' invoke this blessing on it" (tasmān etām āūśam āūjaste).

However, in ritualism—before the general acceptance of the transmigration doctrine—nothing was permanent, not even a loka. "Deaths—i.e. causes of deaths such as diseases etc. (comm.)—are connected with all the 'worlds', and were he (the sacrificer) not to offer oblations to them, Death would get hold of him in every 'world'" (ŚB. 13, 3, 5, 1).

What does the author of ŚB. 13, 5, 3, 10 mean by the expression tenā (viz. by the performance of definite ritual recitations) amun lokam rādhnoti? Is "he causes yonder (heavenly) world to prosper" (Eggeling) the right translation? I would prefer "brings about, succeeds in creating a prosperous situation (for himself) with regard to (i.e. in) yonder 'world'" (cf. § 11 "... thus it is for the sake of his obtaining and securing everything"). The verb occurs also to denote the successful performance of a rite (RV. 4, 10, 1 33)); and compare AiB. 2, 17, 12; 4, 9, 5 deva-lokeṣu rādhnoti. If one can make (consecrate) a loka in the terrestrial sphere, why not in heaven 34)?

Having now returned to lokas which are not spatially definable I subjoin some texts in illustration of some of the observations made in this section. In praising the study of the Veda and its good results the author of ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1 emphasizes that it is a source of pleasure and health; it causes "restraint of the senses, delight in only one object (cf. Yājñ. 3, 58), growth of insight, fame and perfection of one's loka". The term lokapaktiḥ is explained: tadyukto yo lokas tasya pakiḥ ("ripening, development, purification, respectability") paripāko bhavati (comm.). This paraphrase is as far as I am able to see in any case better than modern translations such as "das Angesechensein bei der Welt" (Petr. Dict.: pakiḥ: gaurava-, Lexx. etc.); "die Belehrung, Reifmachung der Leute (als Pflicht des Brahmanenstandes)" 35); "the mental evolution of the world" (Monier-Williams); "the (task of) perfecting the people" (Eggeling), which seem to have misunderstood the text. The man who applies himself to the study of the Veda, builds and 'develops' himself a loka. For pacati cf. Śvū. 5, 5.

An interesting expression occurs ŚB. 11, 6, 2, 4: in answer to a statement made by Yājñavalkya on the performance of the agnihotra king Janaka observes: "Not even you (know) either the ascension (utkṛṇātīm), or the course to the goal (gatīm), or the foundation (pratiśṭhām), or the satisfaction (tyātīm), or the return (punaraṃśītīm) or the 'world' which rises again (lokam pratyausthiṣṭīm, "renascent world"; Eggeling) of these two

33) See Geldner's note, Rig-veda übersetzt, I, p. 430.
34) For this idea see further on, p. 102 f.
35) A. Weber, Indische Studien, 10 (1867), p. 41; 120.
(libations of the agnihotra)". It seems warranted to interpret this expression in connection with the above belief. Each performance of the rite holding out a prospect of divinization or of winning a foundation or a residence in heaven, the rite may be said to promote a new 'rising' of a loka.

If an error is made in the choice of the officiants the rite is not successful, but the use of the vāmadeyva sāman may be an expiation for this ritual imperfection (AiB. 3, 46). May the statement that this chant is the loka of the yajamāna (yajamānalokaḥ), the loka of immortality (amṛtalokaḥ), the celestial loka (svargo lokaḥ) be taken to mean that the use of the vāmadeyva will bring the Aryan in that particular sacred position which is characteristic of the successful sacrificer and whence he hopes to gain access to 'heaven' and 'immortality'? Overcoming all errors in sacrifice, the text continues, "the sacrificer places himself in these lokas, viz. the loka of the sacrificer, that of 'immortality' and that of 'heaven'." The same compound recurs in the description of the rites to be performed on the viṣuvat day in the middle of the year sattra or gavāmayana.

After having prescribed as the last of a long series of stanzas ṛv. 6, 47, 8 urmā nokān ānu negi vidvān svāravaj yujātī dāhayan svatāt "lead us to (a) wide space knowingly, to the light of the sun, safety, successfully!" the author of KB. 25, 7 observes that together with the preceding fifty-one stanzas, a hundred and one have been made up, continuing: "Man has a hundred (years of life), a hundred limbs (divisions), forms, hundred-fold virility (satavirya-), a hundred psychical and physiological faculties (satanāḍriya-); the hundred and the first verse over is the yajamānaloka; thus here they consecrate (make perfect: samskuranti) the sacrificers ...". One hundred meaning the limit, the hundred and first not only exceeds the limit and the possibilities of man in normal profane earthly life, but also encompasses that totality. Just as Prajāpati, as the thirty-fourth, exceeds and encompasses the totality of the thirty-three gods (ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2) and the thirteenth month is the whole year, which is obtained in it (KB. 19, 2), so the loka of the sacrificer is, if I understand the author well, a starting-point from which not only to surpass, but also to secure, for good and all, the possibilities of mundane life. The same identification of the yajamānaloka with the number a hundred and one occurs KB. 8, 3: dealing with the pravargya rite which inter alia

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36) See further on, p. 94 f. etc.
39) Cf. also ŚŚŚ. 11, 14, 18.
41) I refer to Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965, p. 124; A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, II, Paris 1881, p. 123 ff. and text places such as PB. 20, 12, 4.
was to have the sacrificer participate in the glow of the sun \(^42\), the author observes that the mahāvīra, that sacrificial cauldron, which is the centre of interest, is the sun which gives heat at a hundred leagues and the self (soul) of the rite; “the hundred and first is the loka of the sacrificer; of this self the sacrificer becomes master; ... he attains identity of loka \(^43\) and union with all the deities”.

JB. 2, 238 informs us that Prajāpati—who as often elsewhere is identified with the year which consists of seven hundred and twenty days and nights—is by a definite rite performed with that number of verses “made accomplished and reached”; the one which exceeds that number is, here also, the yajamānaloka, and the man who performs this rite makes (a) loka for himself and frees himself of some serious causes of distress \(^44\).—The sacrificer is Indra (ŚB. 5, 1, 3, 4; 5, 1, 4, 2) and the ritual actualization of a defeat of that god by raising an enemy in his loka, so that he is thrust out of this Indraloka, means raising an enemy of equal power for the sacrificer and thrusting him out of the yajamānaloka (ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 8). It is interesting to notice that this loka occupies, in harmony with the above observations about the position of the sacrificial place, a central position: TS. 1, 7, 1, 1; and especially ŚB. 1, 3, 19 yajamānaloka eva su, madhye ki yājñasya yajamānaḥ “(the syllable which at the midday-pavamāna-laudent is wanting in the gāyatrī \(^45\)) is the loka of the yajamāna, for he is in the centre of the sacrifice”. He is indeed the pivot of everything.

As pointed out earlier the Aryan sacrificer believed he was able to identify himself by a definite ritual technique with the All (TB. 1, 4, 9, 5 eva ha trā vai tat survaṃ bharati ya eva vidvāṃs cāturmāsyair gajate; cf. e.g. also ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 14 survaṃ āpnoti). This technique was to realize his ambition to reach a condition of complete integration, in which everything transient and phenomenal has disappeared, to experience the ultimate unity of Totality. “Es ist der Zweck des Ritus, der somit auch Ausdruck einer spekulativen Theorie ist, die verlorengangene Einheit oder Totalität wiederherzustellen, das Auseinandergelegte wieder zu integrieren, die nicht-koordinierten Phänomene zu sammeln und, wenn auch nur zeitweise und in Beziehung auf eine bestimmte Person, zu einem soliden und organischen Ganzen zu verbinden” \(^46\). By performing definite rites the sacrificer, whilst identifying himself with Prajāpati, the Highest God who is the All (the undifferentiated Totality), the Creator as well as Creation (i.e. the differentiated totality \(^47\)) —and who is by the ritual

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\(^{42}\) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 153.

\(^{43}\) See further on, p. 113 f.

\(^{44}\) See W. Caland, Das Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam Acad., 1919, p. 186.

\(^{45}\) W. B. Rolle, Śaśvāsa-brāhmaṇa, Thesis Utrecht 1956, p. 27 f.

\(^{46}\) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 191; cf. also p. 194, 204 f. etc.

\(^{47}\) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 195.
act restored or re-integrated (e.g. ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 11; 7, 3, 1, 42)—, procures himself a sacral and integral personality, the condition of ‘immortality’, in which every desire is fulfilled (ŚB. 1, 3, 5, 10). Hence statements such as ŚB. 13, 3, 1, 1 “he who performs the āśvamedha makes Prajāpati complete (integral: sarvam), and he (himself) becomes ‘complete’ (sarvaḥ); and this, indeed, is the atonement for everything, the remedy for everything. Thereby the gods redeem all sin…” 48); 13, 6, 1, 1 “he who, knowing this, performs the āśvamedha surpasses all beings and becomes the All (integrated, complete)”:

\[\text{ātiṣṭhati sarvāṇi bhūtānādām sarvāṇ bhavati ya evaṃ vidvān āśvamedhena yajate; and in association with the conquest of the tripartite world ŚB. 13, 6, 1, 3 “...in like manner does the sacrificer, by the first decade 49) obtain this (terrestrial) world, by the second the air, by the third the sky, and by the fourth the regions—, and, indeed, all this (the universe, the All: idaṃ sarvam) is as much as these lokas and the regions 50) ... thus it is for the sake of his obtaining and securing (the) All” 51).

This is a convenient place to mention that the authors of the earliest upanisās, awakening to an insight into the inadequacy of ritualism, and shifting the emphasis on sacrificial technique in quest of a ‘heaven’ and of an integrated condition to a spiritual realization of man’s identity with the One and the All, came to consider “the conquest of the lokāh” (in the plural) a means of expressing the belief that the man who is realizing that identity by his meditative and identificatory knowledge of brahman, which is the All (sāraṁ 52)), rises for good and all above any spatial limitation, that is to say “becomes ‘All’ ” (BĀU. 1, 4, 9 f.). He is so to say omnipresent, because he knows that his identity merges in the All. Says BĀU. 5, 4, 1 “He who knows... that brahman is the real, conquers 53) these lokas”. The man who has found and understands the ātman will, like the gods in the brahma-loka, obtain all lokas and all desires 54) (ChU. 8, 12, 6; cf. also 8, 7, 1 ff.). Then we find statements such as ChU. 7, 4, 2 karmanāṁ sāmklpyai lokāḥ sāmkalpate, lokasya sāmklpyai sarvāṇ sāmkalpate “through the willed mental realization 55) of rites the loka is realized, through the willed mental realization of the loka the All is realized”. That is to say through a spiritual identification

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48) For sarva- see also my observations in Indian Linguistics, 16 (Festschrift S. K. Chatterji, Madras 1955), p. 58 ff.
49) In Vedic thought time and space are not differentiated; see e.g. J. C. Hoesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 29.
50) For the regions see further on, p. 113, n. 29.
51) Cf. also ŚB. 13, 6, 1, 11 etc.
52) Indian Linguistics, 16, p. 83; cf. e.g. BĀU. 2, 5, 10.
53) ātmastikṛtāḥ, vaśītyāḥ (Śāṅkara).
54) See further on, p. 104 f.
55) “Sāmkalpa- est le pensée braquée sur un but ... qui a son fondement dans le désir” (L. Siiburn, Instant et cause, Paris 1955, p. 202 f.).
with the Universe man is integrated into the All. In § 3 the same authority continues: he who concentrates upon samkalpa- as brahman obtains the lokāḥ which he has mentally realized, “himself being immovable (permanent: dhruva-), immovable ‘worlds’, himself being established established worlds”. The destiny-making power of willed mental realization is similarly expressed Pr.U. 3, 10 prānas tejasā yuktaḥ sahātmānā yathāsaṃkalpiṣṇ lokam nayati. It is worth noticing that in the parallel statement BhG. 8, 6 the term bhāva- is used for “mode of existence” or “state of being”: yaṃ yaṃ vāpi smaran bhāvanān tvayāty ante kulevaram tanm tam evaiti ... sadā tadbhāvabhāvitaḥ “calling to mind whatever bhāva-”, one at the end gives up one’s body, to that (bhāva-) he attains ... , always made to become (the word bhāvita- also means “moulded” and “purified”) in the condition (bhāva-) of that” 56 (or, simply, “in that condition or state of being”). An interesting passage which brings out an important aspect of the meaning of the term under discussion is Ch.U. 7, 25, 2. Here the author sets forth that the atman being everywhere and being idam sarvam, “this All”, the man who sees and understands this and who has delight in, and enjoys union with, the atman is sovereign or autonomous (svarāt) and has unlimited freedom to move (kāmacāra-) in all lokāḥ. This must mean that he is above any spatial limitation. “They who know otherwise are dependent on others; they have perishable lokāḥ (ksayalokā bhavanti); they have no freedom to move in all worlds (tesāṃ sarveṣu lokēṣu akāmacāru bhavati)”. Hence also the statements contained in Ch.U. 8, 1, 6 tad ya iḥātmānam anunwidyā vrujanty etāṃ ca satyān kāmān, for them there is no freedom (akāmacāru bhavati) in all the lokāḥ. atha ya iḥātmānam anunwidyā vrujanty etāṃ ca satyān kāmān, tesāṃ sarveṣu lokēṣu kāmacāru bhavati “but those who go hence having found here the atman (which, we know, is brahman) and those desires with respect to reality (satyān kāmān) — for them there is freedom (of movement) in all lokas”. That is, Śāṅkara observes, “he will be independent and be like a king who rules over this whole earth”. The man who secures such a position has made himself independent and autonomous, because he has based his existence on firm ground 57. The selected or ‘sacred’ place has indeed cosmic significance; being a centre of power in which a break-through from the higher plane has been actualized, it no longer belongs to the profane and mundane sphere; it is related to the whole universe, and may even transcend its limitations so as to assume an ultra-phenomenal character. The wise man realizing that no real and lasting happiness is possible without integration into the universe and

57 Cf. e.g. Manu 12, 91, quoted by S. Radhakrishnan, The principal Upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 493. —The same idea may of course be also expressed in a more mythological fashion: JB. 3, 270: “All these lokas are heaven and earth. He moved at will through these, in the morning he was in the assembly of the gods, in the afternoon in that of men ... ”.
without constant contact with the sacred, should therefore endeavour to obtain a loka in all three divisions of the tripartite universe.

The above considerations may also make clear that the term under examination is almost always used in connection with concepts which were decidedly ‘positive’, that is, which were characterized by valued qualities. Only incidentally — but on the other hand intelligibly enough —, the term is applied to a ‘place’ which was considered unpleasant, dangerous or inhospitable. Thus AV. 12, 4, 36 “they call hell (nārakam) the loka- of him who keeps her (a sacred cow) back when asked for”. The man who acts correctly with regard to the animal will obtain a loku-, hence the application of the term to the “hell” which is in store for the transgressor. Cf. also VS. 40, 3 where these worlds enwrapped in blinding gloom are said to belong to the asuras and BĀU. 4, 4, 11 where to those who have not the true ‘knowledge’ a post-mortem prospect is held out of lokas covered with blind darkness and called “joyless”. TB. 2, 2, 7, 3 relates that the gods after having gone to heaven were disturbed in that ‘world’.

—There are however also grounds for supposing that the well-known tendency of semantically ‘neutral’ words to be mainly used in a ‘positive’ sense (e.g. guṇa- “quality”, mostly “good quality”) has contributed to this result: cf. e.g. Ganeśāg. 5, 24 yogabhrasṭasya ko lokāḥ (ārākeṇa-loka- prāptaḥ, comm.) kā gatiḥ kīṃ phalum bhūvet.—When in the upaniṣadic addendum to the Vāj. Saṃh. it reads (40, 3) that those who kill the Self, i.e. who are ignorant and perform (ritual) deeds in order to have access to heaven depart to “asuric lokāḥ enwrapped in blinding gloom”, i.e. to ‘places’ (i.e. births or existences with the inclusion of those as stationary objects, Mahidhara) surrounded by ignorance (Uvaṭa), that means, in accordance with the commentary, that every existence as human being, animal etc. may be called a loka. From the point of view of the incarnated soul an embodiment is indeed a ‘place’ or ‘position’ to dwell in.—The pāpalokas ‘‘worlds of evil’’ (or, rather, “of demerit”) which AV. 12, 5, 64 are co-ordinated with “the distances”—a euphemism for Nirṛti “De- struction, Annihilation” 58)—and which are in store for those who forfeit their right to an abode in Yama’s realm (yathāyād . . . pāpalokān parā- vātāḥ) are a ‘situation’ rather than a locality: cf. PrU. 3, 7 puṇya- puṇyalokam nayati, pāpena pāram. The compound puṇyaloka- is in the comm. on AV. 2, 34, 2 an explication of gātu- “the successful progress” of the sacrificer.

VI

At this point the question of what for the sake of brevity may be termed the plurality and the localization of the lokas may call for closer attention. The term is often used in the plural, and that not rarely in a rather vague

way 1). Thus AV. 15, 6, 6 speaks of the seasons and the lokas without further particulars; AV. 4, 38, 52) the sun is described as “moving, from afar, around at once all the lokas, protecting (them)”: does the author mean the well-known visible divisions of the universe—to which the term in these texts often applies—or a more vague and general spatial concept, including also other lokas? There is in places such as the following something to be said for the hypothesis that all those parts of the universe are, in a general way, meant, which are from the religious point of view in a positive sense important, and access to which is granted to the blessed: AV. 10, 9, 10 “he obtains the intermediate space, the sky, the earth, the Ādityas, the Maruts, the quarters (regions), all the lokas, who gives…”; 12, 3, 15; 36; 10, 7, 7 3) Is Mahādhāra’s explication and Griffith’s translation of VS. 20, 32 yó bhūṭänām ādhīpatīr yāsmīn lokā ādhi śrītāḥ “The sovereign lord of living things, he upon whom the worlds, i.e. the earth etc. (bhūrādayaḥ, M.) depend” right? That is to say, does this comparatively early 4) text refer to a plurality of worlds which are each of them comparable to the earth? Or does it rather mean places, positions for the living beings to live in?

The term is in any case used in connection with the diversification 5)

1) When AV. 13, 1, 16 states that the sun has penetrated the lokāḥ this must mean “all places in the visible universe”. In 13, 2, 10 the same idea is expressed as follow: sārveṣāḥ lokāṁ pariḥkāra (encompassing) bhūrājāmantāḥ. Cf. also 13, 2, 42. AV. 9, 8, 18 tāṁ lokānti sārveṣāḥ jayaṁ may thencefore be translated (cf. The Savayajñas, p. 254): “May we with it (an oblation) win (secure) ‘worlds’ where is the sun” rather than “that possess suns” (Whitney—Laumman).—In ŚB. 7, 3, 2, 13 it reads: “...yonder sun strings these lokas on a thread”, i.e. “he passes a thread through them (as through pearls) fastened to himself” (Eggeling).—Although elsewhere lokāḥ seems at first sight to conclude and recapitulate a limitative enumeration: AV. 10, 6, 8 “...intermediate space, sky, earth, the quarters ..., so they shaped the lokāḥ”, the commentary may be right in observing that analogous ideas may be implied. Cf. also 9, 8, 59 lokāḥ in the last of five parallel sentences after earth, ‘atmosphere’, sky and gods.

2) The Savayajñas, p. 299 f.

3) There is no need to dwell on the possibility that in some cases the use of the plural is due to a stylistic factor: as is well known the plural may be used to create the impression of indefiniteness, emotional generalization, graphicalness (see e.g. W. Havers, Handbook der erklärenden Syntax, Heidelberg 1931, p. 287).—The question may also arise why sometimes the plural lokāḥ is used where we might expect the singular or where parallel texts actually exhibit the latter form. Compare e.g. VS. 5, 20; 6, 1 (MS. 1, 2, 11: 20, 14 etc.) sunhatāṁ lokāḥ pīṭṛpadanāḥ with TS. 1, 3, 1, 1; 8, 1 sunhatāṁ lokāḥ pīṭṛpadanāḥ.—Sometimes lokāḥ is without the numeral used for heaven, ‘air’ and earth (e.g. ChU. 4, 17, 1; but see 3, 14, 3).—For loka as a collective concept: BĀU. 1, 5, 17 ye vai ke ca lokāḥ teṣāṁ sarveṣāṁ loka iveryo. 4) See also Renou, in L. Renou et J. Filliozat, L’Inde classique, I, Paris 1947, p. 281 (§ 541).

5) Aiā. 2, 4, 1 when in the beginning the Ātman was alone and was “all this” he created “these lokas, water, lights, the mortal, waters”. Water is said to be
of the primordial cosmic unity (RV. 10, 90, 14 etc.) 6). Moreover, the idea of security and protection inherent in the loka idea is also emphasized in the enumerations of the cosmic provinces 7: RV. 4, 53, 5; AV. 19, 27, 4. The high valuation of the general plurality of the lokāḥ may appear from places such as AV. 19, 9, 12 (a text to be recited for weal and appeasement of evil): "brahman, Prajāpati, Dhātār, the lokas, the Vedas, the seven seers, the (ritual) fires—by them auspicious progress is made for me"; here the lokāḥ are not only put on a par with the highest and most influential concepts, but are also said to be able to achieve the speaker’s luck and well-being. I for one cannot feel an objection to regarding loka- as standing for any ‘space’, whether ideal or concrete and phenomenal 8), which may be of any interest for the worshipper 9). Cf. also BĀU. 2, 1, 20 "from the Ātman come forth all vital powers, all lokas, all divinities, all beings" 10); 2, 4, 6; 2, 5, 15; ChU. 4, 17, 8) 11) "so does one redress any injury to the sacrifice with the power of these lokas, of these gods, and of the three Vedas", from the context it appears that Prajāpati had extracted these deities and the Vedas from the three worlds, which are represented by the sacrificial formula bhūr bhuvāḥ svadb.

Three ‘worlds’ are clearly distinguished in AV. 6, 117, 3 (Ppp. 16, 50, 2); TB. 3, 7, 9, 8; TĀ. 2, 15, 4 etc.: this world, i.e. bhūloka- (comm.); the para-loka-, i.e. heaven etc., the ‘place’ where, or ‘state’ in which, to enjoy the fruits of the meritorious deeds after giving up this body and assuming a celestial body (dīnaviṣṭa-; comm.); and "the third ‘world’", the back of the firmament which is still higher than (or superior to) heaven (svargād apy utkṛṣṭe nākarpṛṣṭhādu, comm.). The AV. text and MSŚ. 2, 5, 5, 22 add, against the metre, a plurality of lokāḥ “traversed by (or, giving access to) gods and Fathers”, which according to the comm. are "places, stages or positions where to enjoy quite uncommon pleasures" (asādhāraṇaḥ bhogabhāmayaḥ).

above the sky, the lights are the intermediate space, the mortal is the earth, and the waters (I refer to Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Oxford 1900, p. 227) are under (the earth). Whereas the lokas must be the supposedly inhabitable divisions of the universe, their relation to the other entities is not completely clear.—For the compounds ending in loka- which are especially frequent in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa see H. Willman–Grabowska, Les composés nominaux dans le Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Krakow 1928, p. 45 f.; 79 ff.

6) See also M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943, p. 4.
7) For the tripartite heaven etc. see H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951, p. 57 ff.
8) In st. 1 heaven, earth and intermediate space combine, and are put on a par, with waters and herbs.
9) The commentator’s explanation “the seven worlds” is probably anachronistic; the seven levels of the universe of the classical system do not occur before the TĀ. (10, 10, 1; 10, 27, 28). See W. Kiefer, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn–Leipzig 1920, p. 24. Rāmaṇuja: pṛthivyādiloka-.
11) And ChU. 5, 24, 2.
The religious and soteriological importance of a plurality of lokas becomes clear from JB. 1, 333 f. stating the good effect of chanting the brahmaśāman when one unites with, obtains or partakes of (sāmpadya) "the brahma lokas". There is a loka in which Agni stays, a loka in which Vāyu dwells, an unconquerable loka which is the abode of Āditya, and there are lokas of Varuṇa, Death (Mṛtyu), and Hunger. Brahma (neuter) is in the seventh loka called "the height of heaven" (viṣṭapaṇaḥ). By chanting this sāman in a particular manner) one places oneself in that height of heaven, the brahma loka, which however in later texts (e.g. Yājñ. 3, 167) was to become the last station but one on the way to final emancipation. It was of course self-evident that these powerful beings of high rank, like successful divinized sacrificers, possessed, or resided in, lokas in which they had a well-founded position. A similar, but more circumstantial account of these lokas occurs in JB. 3, 341 ff.: Prajāpati after having created (by way of emanation) the gods and in order to elude them goes upwards to other lokas, one after the other, substituting Agni, Vāyu etc. in each of them; finally he decides to unite these 'worlds' so as to constitute one loka, which is called nāka- "the vault of heaven", or svargaloka "celestial world" or bradhnaśya viṣṭapam "the summit of the ruddy one" (a phrase which occurs already in the Rgveda: 8, 69, 7 etc.). Thus the different lokas of the gods are so to say 'partial aspects' of heaven, a concept which stands for bliss, euphoria, freedom from the limitations of normal earthly life, and in a way for infiniteness, powerfulness, transcendence.

Another important passage occurs KB. 20, 1 stating that the gods, mounted on the revolving wheel which is the year, move round all the lokas, viz. the devaloka, the pitīloka, the 'world of the living' (jīvalokam), this 'world of Agni without water' (īnams apodakam agnilokam), the 'world' of Vāyu which is the residence of order-and-truth (ṛtadāmānam), the unconquerable (aparājītam) 'world' of Indra, the 'world' of Varuṇa which is over the sky (adhitivam), the further or higher heavens (pradivam) which is the 'world' of death (mṛtyulokam), the bright or luminous sphere (rocanam) i.e. the 'world' of brahman, the vault of heaven (nākam) which is the most real (true, rather the best?: sattamam) of the lokas.

Similar lists occur ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 6; BĀU. 3, 6, 1; ŚB. 9, 5, 2, 8 stops short at

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12) Cf. e.g. also statements such as ŚvU. 4, 13 "God, in whom the lokas rest"; ibid. 3, 1 and 2.
13) See Caland, Das Jainimiyya-brāhmaṇa in Auswähl, p. 128.
14) For ṛtva- see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 77 ff. etc.
15) In the Ānand. od. and in a marginal note in O (from the bhāṣya) is read saptamam "the seventh".
16) Remember also the speculations about the journey of the 'soul' after death (e.g. BĀU. 6, 2, 15 f.) which, supposing the existence of a number of spheres (the text mentions the devaloka- and brahmalokāḥ), may represent an ancient conception: for the Iranian parallels see G. Widengren, Die Religionen Iran, Stuttgart 1965, p. 37 f.; 102; 195 f.; 298.
the statement that there are seven lokas of the gods (devalokāḥ). These speculations resulted, via MunḍUp. 1, 2, 3; TĀ. 10, 27, 28 etc. in the classical system of the seven lokas (bhūrloka, bhuvarloka, svarloka, maharloka, janarloka, tapoloka and satyaloka).

These lists may be regarded, on the one hand as attempts at turning, by means of ritual techniques, the supposed existence of lokas of divine powers to good account and at systematizing the pantheon, and on the other hand as a development of the tripartite visible world 27) in connection with the evolution of the cosmological and mythological ideas of the time and with the desire of harmonizing these: without an insight into the structure of the cosmos it was felt impossible to determine the place occupied by man and successfully to contrive methods of integrating oneself into the All. In a ‘position’, a sacred place, which shelters power there are ‘gods’; it has a cosmic significance 28) and thus the lokas, whether they are the well-known provinces of the universe, or other from the objective point of view imaginary ‘positions’ are, like the gods, the Vedas—which are another manifestation of Eternal Power—and the principles of life, indispensable factors in the process of integration. Compare e.g. ŚB. 12, 3, 4, 7 ff. 19) where the lokas (the well-known three and ‘what other lokas there are’), the gods, the Vedas etc. are “placed” in the person who wishes to conquer recurrent death and to attain a full measure of life, the self of that person being “placed” in these powers 20).

In the plural the term loka- may be used to denote more than one place on the earth—AV. 15, 13, 1 the man who receives a brahman in his house “secures those pure (holy: punyāḥ) lokāḥ which are on the earth”—as well as a plurality of indefinite spheres or places which are believed to belong partly to ‘heaven’ partly to the earth: AV. 10, 9, 6 sā—i.e. the man who offers a cow and a hundred rice-dishes—tāvāl lokānti sāmāpnoti yē divyāḥ yē ca pārthivāḥ 21). This must mean that this man

27) I refer to W. Kiefel, Die Kosmographie der Indier, Bonn-Leipzig 1902, p. 5.
28) In Buddhist texts tiloka- is a phrase meant to embrace all manifestation.
19) See Van der Leeuw, Religion, ch. 5, 2 and 57.
20) For a complete translation see S. B. E. 44, p. 173.
21) For another ritual technique in connection with the tripartite universe: TS. 7, 2, 4, 2; “by means of three nights one makes fit this world, by means of three the intermediate space, by means of three yonder loka. As a man casts thread on thread (to make a rope of three strands), so he casts loka on loka, for firmness, and to avoid looseness”.
21) There can be no denying that the number thirty-three added to the lokāḥ fashioned by Prajāpati (AV. 11, 3, 52) might lead us to assume the existence of a certain correlation between these ‘spaces’, ‘places’ or ‘spheres’ and the gods who are also said to be thirty-three in number: 10, 7, 13; 23; 27; 12, 3, 10 (For this number see e.g. Eggeling, in S. B. E. 44, p. 577; Die Religionen Indiens, p. 48; Tho Sāvyājīnás, p. 140). As however the gandharvas are in 11, 5, 2 also stated to be thirty-three, this number was no doubt characteristic of the divine sphere. From 11, 3, 52 it does not therefore follow that each lokaḥ was considered the ‘world’ of one individual god.
will never and nowhere be cramped for ‘room’, for a position, with all the implications which have already been noticed in the above pages. — The plural accompanied by the adjective sura- “all” (in the synthetic sense of totality) may after an enumeration of parts of the universe (sky, earth, the intermediate space, the quarters) be regarded as a comprehensive reference to the fact that the man who performs a definite sacrifice will have access to any sphere, any province of the universe, any mode of existence as far as it answers to the above description: AV. 10, 9, 10. Similarly, 10, 10, 33 and compare 11, 10, 12 (the gods won all the lokāḥ); 11, 3, 19. — The śoḍaśin—a particular form of soma ceremony, characterized by sixteen rounds 22)—is in AiB. 4, 4, 2 f. stated to have been “fashioned out of all the lokas”; one who knows this will prosper. These words can hardly be misunderstood: all the lokas in the whole universe are supposed to have co-operated in “fashioning” this ceremony. It is therefore interesting to realize its significance. TS. 6, 6, 11, 2 informs us that by means of it Indra attained the highest place amongst the gods and that it made the gods see the “world of heaven”; ŚB. 4, 5, 3, 2 that it is a means of surpassing “all (that is) here” 23.

From AV. 10, 7, 22 it may be inferred that sura lokāḥ are, in ‘space’ what “what has come into being” and “what is to be” are in time, and what the three groups of great gods are among the divine beings, that is, practically speaking, the totality: yatṛa (i.e. in the skambha- or frame of creation which supports heaven and earth 24)) ādityāḥ ca rudrāḥ ca vāsavaḥ ca 25) samāhitāḥ bhūtām ca yatṛa bhūyām ca sura lokāḥ pratishithāḥ ... Hence also the statements that the lokāḥ are set in the skambha- (st. 29) and that the lokāḥ are in Indra who is known as (the) all established in the skambha- (st. 30). Prajāpati maintained all the ‘worlds’ after having established them in that same frame of creation (10, 7, 7). Thus the statement that the gods conquered survāṁi lokän must mean that they subjugated the whole universe (10, 6, 16). Yet this identification should again be understood in a limited sense, for on closer inspection lokās is to all appearance here also a really inhabitable province of the universe. Says the poet of 10, 7, 10: “Tell me that skambha- where men know” lokāṁ ca kósāṁ ca ṛpo brahma ... āsac ca yatṛa sāc ca. That means that the frame of creation does not only comprise unorganized destructive

22) See e.g. ṚpS. 14, 2 and 3 (Caland, Das Šrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, Amsterdam Academy 1924, p. 367 ff.).
23) From ŚB. 14, 4, 3, 22; 8, 5, 1, 10 etc. it is evident that the sixteenth is an extra element added to a total made up of fifteen parts. (See Change and Continuity, ch. IV). By virtue of this quality the sixteenth not only exceeds, but also encompasses the fifteen-partite totality of the ukhya soma rite and so it represents the idea of completeness par excellence.
25) The repeated use of the particle ca shows that the proper nouns are regarded as constituting together one (exclusive) whole.
‘chaotic’ existence and the organized cosmos 25), but also the complementary pair (ca... ca) lokāḥ and kośāḥ. Now, the sense of kośa- is in our modern eyes at least as vague and indefinite as that of loka-. A kośa-is any receptacle, anything which may hold or contain something, as for instance a cask or vessel for holding liquids, a pail, a cup, a box, a drawer, a cover, a sheath, a store-room, flower-cup, bud, cocoon etc. etc. 27). Generally speaking the term stands for ‘cases’ of a large variety of forms and purposes, but mostly intended to keep, cover or contain lifeless (or at least non-human) objects, in contradistinction to a loka- which being primarily free room for living beings does not cover, surround or close in. The complementary pair lokāṁ ca kośāṁ ca may therefore be supposed to refer to all space outside the waters where animate beings may live safely and where various objects may be kept stored up, or simply be. This does not exclude that the lokāḥ (sc. sarve, comm.) are conceived of as being in time (AV. 19, 54, 4).

If however the lokas do not completely fill up the universe the question arises as to how they are separated, bounded, supported or arranged. In AV. 19, 54, 5 we apparently find a reflex of the speculations on this point: pāṇyāṁ ca lokāṁ vidhṛti ca pāṇyāḥ, vidhṛti- meaning a ‘separation, division, arrangement, boundary-line etc.’ 28). Prescribing the performance of a special rite (sava-) 29) for escaping death Kaus. 60, 11 has AV. 4, 35 recited in which the rice-dish which forms the oblation and by which the sacrificer is to overcome death is said to be a boundary-line between the ‘worlds’ (st. 1 lokānāṁ vidhṛtiḥ), because, I suppose, it is a means of transcending the ‘world’ in which the sacrificer has hitherto lived. The sanctity of boundaries is indeed as well known as the belief that it often is dangerous to cross them 30). Like bridges 31) they may be said to participate in two ‘worlds’ and although domains, settlements, spheres of influence are bounded and in a sense separated by them, so as to constitute ‘worlds’ in themselves, they allow the man who passes them to enter into another country or ‘world’. Thus BĀU. 4, 4, 22; ChU. 8, 4, 1 the atman is described as the ‘bridge’ (setuḥ) and the vidhṛtiḥ for keeping ‘these lokas’ apart. Here lokāḥ seems to denote the various forms

27) Hence no doubt H. Liéb, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–59, p. 382, n. 1 “... hier können die Welthüllen gemeint sein (vgl. AV. 11, 2, 11)”.
28) We need not follow the commentary: lokahākādān “props or receptacles of the worlds”.
29) See The Savayajñas, esp. p. 283 and add.
of existence of an individual which are kept apart, and at the same time connected by the ātman 22).

Although coupled together in places such as AiU. 5, 3 the terms sarvam tat “all this” and lokāḥ are not likely to be completely synonymous. Whereas the former expression denotes the universe as unity and totality, the latter emphasizes its being the space in which to live. Both of them are guided by and based on praṇāna- (“ce fonds éternel sur lequel reposent toutes les constructions de la vie: sagesse, conscience, intelligence” 23)) which is brahman.—Cf. also ŚvU. 3, 16 sarvataḥ śrutimal loke “it (the Highest) has an ear everywhere in the world”; 6, 1 devasya... mahimā... loke; 6, 9 na pariṣṭiṣti loka 34).—

Thus the term lokāḥ in the plural may, in a general way, denote the various states of existence in this world and that beyond, i.e. in the realm of saṃsāra, in contradistinction to the state of those who do not return to the human condition (or in general the condition of a being which is subjected to reincarnation): ChU. 4, 14, 3 lokān vā vo kīla saumya te vācma.

It is equally intelligible that these lokas in passages such as the following do not answer to any phenomenal space. Speaking about the man who is about to dream (svapnāyācarati, dat. finals) and “to become as it were a great king...” the author of BĀU. 2, 1, 18 calls these conditions lokāḥ—Śaṅkara and other commentators explain by karmaphalāṇi “the fruit or recompense of actions”—and in 4, 3, 20 he says that when the Person thinks that he is, so to say, a god or a king, or all this, that is his highest loka 25). That must mean the highest position in which he may spiritually exist.

In view of this character of the loka concept it is self-evident that the number of the ‘worlds’ is not fixed. Thus ChU. 2, 2, 1 ff. enumerates five of them, earth, fire, the intermediate region, the sun and the sky. These are said to accommodate themselves (be favourable) to, or fall to the share of, the man who meditates upon a fivefold Vedic chant in these five lokas in such a way as to distribute the five divisions of the chant over these lokas 26). One should in reading this place realize that

22) For another opinion see J. M. van Gelder, Der Ātman in der Grossen-Wald-Gesimlehrte, p. 103.—For a journey to heaven see also AiB. 4, 27, 4 and ch. IX.
34) It is difficult not to assume that in AV. 10, 7, 28 stating that the frame or support of creation (skambha-) (Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 181; S. Radhakrishnan, Indian philosophy, I, London 1927 (1948), p. 121; P. K. Acharya, in R. K. Mookerji Comm. Vol., I, Allahabad 1945; Keith, Religion and Philosophy, Index, p. 607) in the beginning poured forth the golden embryo within the loka-this term denotes “the (inhabitable) world” in general.
31) ... pūrvokāntā lokān aupaṇya paraṇāḥ pūrṇa loka vidyaṇā sarpaṇātāḥ svabhāv-vikaḥ pūrvam evakalekhaṇa-pabdāgacchad ity arthaḥ (Nityānanda, Ānandaś. 31, p. 176).
34) I do not understand E. Sonarte’s (Chand. Upan., Paris 1930, p. 17) note: “Les mondes sont infiniment nombreux, mais tous taillés sur le même modèle: c’est ce qui explique le pluriel”. 
according to the ancient Indian belief the universe, space and time organized themselves orderly and harmoniously for the benefit of the man who behaves correctly and fulfills his ritual obligations.

When loka—generally speaking is “room to exist in freely and without hindrance and obstruction” 37 and if the number of lokāḥ is indefinite the question put AV. 11, 8, 10 may indeed arise: “in what loka—(sthāne “place, locality, station”, comm.) do the gods sit?” That these powerful beings inhabited lokas was, as already observed, no less self-evident than the chances of a prosperous situation for those mortal beings who gained access to them (AiB. 2, 17, 12; 4, 9, 5).

Referring for a survey of the data concerning the bipartite (heaven and earth) and tripartite universe 38 to the works of my predecessors 39 it may be recalled here that heaven and earth play an important part in Vedic thought 40; they are inter alia stated to protect all beings (RV. 3, 38, 8), to bear all things (1, 185, 1), to expand themselves (10, 82, 1; 10, 149, 2), to be broad (1, 160, 2), well-founded (3, 54, 7; 3, 57, 4; 4, 42, 3 etc.), ‘immortal’ (1, 185, 6) and to safeguard against death (1, 185, 3). A large part of the frequent references to heaven, earth and intermediate space 41 can be left undiscussed here 42. The ritual and soteriological importance of the speculations in connection with these provinces of the universe 43, their identifications with ritual entities and correlations

37) Passing mention may be made here of the curious doctrine enunciated AiB. 1, 25, 6 (cf. the comm.): each higher ‘world’ is wider (vastagyānasaḥ) than each lower one (anaphtyagyānasaḥ). Whatever the origin and the implications of this view it is in harmony with the belief that a loka must furnish ample room and with the greater value attached to the higher regions.—It cannot be part of our task to enter into a discussion of the ritual symbolism in connection with the lokas if the relative places do not throw light on the loka concept itself.

38) The expression “the three lokāḥ” refers to heaven, earth and the intermediate space: in AV. 12, 3, 20 and similar texts these three names join the words tadb lokāḥ; but also when the names are omitted the meaning of the phrase is beyond doubt. In the course of time the phrase “the three lokas” tended to become a formula.—The plural “these lokas” occurs to denote these three divisions of the universe, e.g. AiB. 7, 26, 1.—We cannot enter here into a discussion of such ritual symbolism and cosmogonic speculation as for instance ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 1 “the fire-pan being these worlds”; PB. 8, 1, 9 etc.

39) Kirfel, o.c., p. 3 f.


41) In VS. 8, 60 heavens, atmosphere and earth are implicitly regarded as (and by the commentators explicitly said to be) three lokāḥ; in the fourth pāda mentioning yāṁ kām ca lokāṁ the poet obviously starts from the assumption that there are or may be more lokāḥ. Elsewhere mention is in a similar way made of a fourth loka in addition to the deva-, pītṛ- and manusyalokāḥ: ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 25 the loka of the Sādhyas (a special class of gods). VS. 31, 13 the quarters of space are included (: sarvaḥ lokāṁ, Uvṛṣṭa).

42) Cf. e.g. PB. 3, 10, 2; 7, 3, 18; 10, 1, 1; 21, 7, 3.

43) There are grounds for the assumption that the two other lokas were viewed as analogous to this terrestrial loka. By means of the eighty gayāstri tristichs which
with sacrifice and liturgy (e.g. AiB. 4, 15, 1 \(^{44}\)) have already been pointed out \(^{45}\). These identifications led the officiants also to manipulate them: one might for instance defeat an evil spirit by the three lokas (ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 20). One might secure (avarudh-) these three worlds by three victims (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 32); cf. also ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 13 ff. One should gain or secure all three of them (earth, intermediate space, heaven) successively (e.g. JB. 1, 146; ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 32). It would appear to me that passages such as the preceding may furnish us with a clue to the problem why these divisions of the universe should be called lokas. This term could become applicable to them as soon as they were in their entirety—i.e. generally and in a vague manner—considered ‘positions of safety ensuring a certain status’ in the above ritual and religious acceptance. “These ‘worlds’ are indeed the foundation and the moving-place” (ŚB. 8, 7, 3, 19 imā u lokaḥ pratiṣṭhā caraṣtram). As such they could be identified with the ādādāni divyānī (VS. 11, 5), i.e. with “locations’ or appearances of heavenly power” (ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 17) \(^{46}\).

When viewed individually these three provinces of the universe are likewise qualified as lokas: the earth which is “reality (truth) and the most certain of the lokas” (ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 8) and which is a good abode on which all creatures abide (14, 1, 2, 24), is indeed a foundation or resting-place (pratiṣṭhā: 6, 1, 1, 15; 6, 7, 3, 4), and it is broad, bearing even the name of the broad one (prthivī; ibidem). Sky and intermediate space are, like the earth, places of abode for all the gods (ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 6; 8), the former being the higher, the latter the lower abode (9, 2, 3, 35; 39). The close associations between the highest division of the universe and the idea of heaven—the svarga— which is a loka par excellence to which we will have to revert \(^{47}\)—may have substantially contributed to the application of the term to the higher regions.

It may, by way of addendum to this section, be recalled that there is another tripartition \(^{48}\): the pītyloka-, devaloka- and manusyaloka- \(^{49}\), all of which can by ritual techniques, be conquered (TB. 2, 1, 8, 1; BĀU. 3, 1, 8): JB. 1, 154. In arguing that there are three lokas, the author of BĀU. 1, 5, 16 intends to say that there are three ‘spheres’ in which

\(^{44}\) For upanisadic instances see R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal Upanishads, Oxford 1934, p. 587.
\(^{45}\) See p. 51; 57.
\(^{46}\) Cf. e.g. also ŚB. 10, 2, 4, 4 etc.—I also refer to my forthcoming publication on śāman.
\(^{47}\) See p. 30 ff.
\(^{48}\) A remarkable place exhibiting three lokas is ŚB. 13, 2, 11, 2 “he thereby gratifies those gods who are in this ‘world’ and those who are in yonder, and thus gratified, both these kinds of gods lead him to the ‘heavenly world’ “.
\(^{49}\) The loka of the gods and that of the Fathers only: ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 7.
life may be continued, the ‘world’ of men, which is to be obtained only through a son and heir; that means that the birth of a son and heir, i.e. continuation of the family, warrants a position in the earthly sphere; the ‘world’ of the Fathers which is to be obtained by ritual acts, that of the gods to be won by (higher, non-discursive) knowledge. Obviously, these lokas, of which the last-mentioned is the best are not mutually exclusive. Moreover, the very co-existence of several ‘tripartite’ systems shows the imperfect spatiality of these ‘worlds’.

This is a convenient place to deal with some lokas in particular.

The frequent compound *pitrloka* - ‘world’ of the Fathers ⁵⁰, i.e. the blessed dead ⁵¹, is AV. 18, 4, 64 (*pitrāhīr adhīṣṭhitam sthānam*, comm.) implicitly situated in, or identified with, ‘heaven’ (*svarga*) ⁵². Although regarded as opposite to the loka of the living (*ŚB*. 13, 8, 4, 6), and being “gloom”, to the light of the sun (ibid. 7), this svarga was no doubt conceived of as a pleasant ‘place’ or situation because the Fathers are invited to revel there. From KaU. 2, 3, 5 (6, 5) *yathā svapne tathā pitrāloka* we may understand that at least in some milieus the condition of the blessed was regarded as dreamlike. Not to see that loka is considered a severe punishment (TS. 2, 6, 10, 2), and special ritual techniques were developed in order to be successful (*rāhnoti*) in that ‘world’ (TS. 5, 4, 11, 3; cf. *TB*. 3, 1, 4, 8) — where the righteous deceased are also according to the Rām., BE 7, 21, 18 ff., happy —, or to preclude somebody from it (*TB*. 3, 8, 18, 4). GB. 2, 2, 1 deals with the man who desires to be free from disease in that loka. Like the lokas of the gods and of men, this loka might be won by special ritual acts (TS. 6, 6, 4, 1); interestingly enough similar acts might bring about power, support or cattle (*ibidem*); see also *TB*. 1, 6, 3, 7; *PB*. 5, 4, 11; *ŚB*. 3, 7, 1, 25; 5, 2, 1, 7. The sacrificer might also be consecrated for it: *ŚB*. 12, 8, 3, 6; or be given a share in it: 13, 8, 1, 7. — There are some indications in our sources of the situation of this loka ⁵³: according to *TB*. 1, 6, 8, 6 it is concealed from the loka of men; to KB. 5, 7 it is (the Fathers are) at a great distance. According to the more probable interpretation of BĀU. 3, 1, 8 the pitrloka is “over (*ati*) as it were”, i.e. “beyond” ⁵⁴. For the well-known relation with space (*ākāśa*) and the moon see BĀU. 6, 2, 16 ⁵⁵; ChU. 5, 10, 4. How-

⁴⁰) There is also a loka of the grandfathers and one of the great-grandfathers (VS. 19, 30; *ŚB*. 12, 8, 1, 7). — The transference of the term loka to the realm of the deceased is as intelligible as the belief of the cattle-breeding Zulu that their ancestors are, also in the beyond, herdsmen, etc.

⁴¹) See A. A. Macdonnell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 170.

⁴²) For which see p. 80ff. See also further on.

⁴³) The simplex *loka* - is also used for *pitrloka*-, e.g., in the plural, *Mbh*. 1, 220, 8 (cf. 7), cr. ed.

⁴⁴) The other explication “very (noisy)”—because of the lamentations of those who are punished for their crimes and wish to be delivered out of it (*Śaṅkara*) is less acceptable from the semantic point of view and probably anachronistic.

⁴⁵) See e.g. Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 575 ff.
ever, ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 7 states that the deva-loka is in the North, the pîtr-loka in the South; cf. 12, 8, 3, 6; or it is said to “incline towards that region” (13, 8, 1, 7). A relation to the South is implicit in TB. 2, 6, 2, 1; PB. 5, 4, 11; ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 18; 12, 9, 3, 15. ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 5 situates the pîtr-loka in the South-East. From places such as TB. 1, 6, 3, 7 describing various methods of winning the svarga-loka, the devaloka- and the pîtr-loka- it appears that the last ‘place’ was not always regarded as identical with the svarga-; cf. 3, 8, 18, 4. It was possible to ascend or go from the pîtr-loka- to the deva-loka- (KB. 5, 7). Interestingly enough, the Fathers and their ‘world’ are KB. 5, 7; GB. 2, 1, 25 explicitly identified.

These conceptions of a more or less vaguely determined ‘realm’ or ‘sphere’ of the deceased is in harmony with the ideas fostered by many other peoples, who believe in a ‘beyond’ which, it is true, is at a distance and far from the abodes of those alive, but is not explicitly localized in supramundane or subterranean regions ⁵⁶). It is on the contrary not rarely conceived of as part of the phenomenal world in which we live or it is in some way or other thought to be related to the earth. Examples of this distant realm of the deceased ⁵⁷) are the well-known islands of the dead of Celtic mythology ⁵⁸), the Greek Elysium ⁵⁹), the empire of the raingod, Tlaloc on the mount, in the mythological conception of the Aztecs ⁶⁰). Not infrequently this realm of the dead was—quite naturally—supposed to be in the West, the region of sunset ⁶¹). Thus, inter alia, the paradise Sukhāvatī of the Buddhists ⁶²), and the “towns of the dead” of the ancient Egyptians ⁶³). According to the Samoans the region of the dead, consisting of a greater and better part in which the chiefs and other prominent men were to be accommodated and of a smaller and less attractive part intended for the masses, was likewise situated in the West ⁶⁴).

The commentaries evince some uncertainty with regard to the interpretation of VS. 19, 45: “the loka- of the Fathers who in Yama’s realm are equal (in birth, figure etc.) and of the same mind, is svadhā namah” ⁶⁵). Whereas according to Uvaṭa this statement means either “their loka-, i.e.

⁵⁶) A Bertholet, Die Gefilde der Seligen, Tübingen 1903; F. Hommel, Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus and Sage der Vorzeit, München 1901 (for facts, not for the theory expounded).
⁵⁷) I also refer to The Savayajñas, p. 185.
⁶¹) Cf. The Savayajñas, p. 56; 129; 163; 184; 185; 230; addenda.
⁶³) See e.g. A. Erman, Die Religion der Aegypter, Berlin–Leipzig 1934, p. 17; 211.
āyudhānam ‘seat, support’ must be the food called svadhā (the libation offered to the Fathers)” or some modification of this idea, Mahādhara took it to mean either “in their world (the nominative being used instead of a locative 48)” there must be food, i.e. reverence denoted by the term svadhā”, or “food and homage”. It would appear to me that this authority did not understand the sense of loka-. Whereas, the text states, “the sacrifice must fall to the share of the gods (yajñē devēśu kaypatām), the loka- of the Fathers is svadhā and reverence, i.e. these ‘ritual entities’ constitute or create a sphere for the Fathers to exist in, they are transformed into a loka for the Fathers, become their mode of existence.

Although Yama was the ruler of the deceased (see also PB. 11, 10, 21) — in the earliest sources he is not called a god — and the Fathers are said to be in his realm (VS. 10, 45; cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 19), his ‘place’ bears the name Yamaloka (TB. 3, 9, 20, 1; JB. 1, 167; PB. 9, 8, 4 etc.) which does not always coincide with the pitṛloka 60); but RV. 10, 123, 6 it is called a “seat” (yoni-); 10, 135, 7 an “abode” (śādāna-), which is said to be the “house of the gods” (devamāna-); one of the three heavens mentioned in RV. 1, 35, 6 is said to be yamāsya bhūvane “in (sic) the world of Yama”. AV. 6, 118, 2 however it is described as a loka. From RV. 9, 113, 7—9 it appears that Yama is king in that loka where is light eternal, which is immortal and undecaying (aksita-), and where are the lokas (plur.) consisting of light — an interesting indication of the supposed presence of places or positions in one of the divisions of the universe called loka, or at least in another loka; this loka which is said to be in heaven (div-), and where one hopes to be ‘immortal’ or safeguarded against death, is the object of the poet’s desire. This text is addressed to Soma, who is besought to realize this desire and to enable the poet to go to the threefold firmament, the threefold heaven. For Soma as an intermediary see also TS. 2, 6, 2, 1; KB. 16, 5. Compare also ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 27 “he who sacrifices, sacrifices with the hope: ‘may there be (a place) for me in Yama’s ‘world’ (yamaloke me ‘py asad iti): the conclusion seems warranted that here also man had a desire for a loka in the above acceptance. Other references to Yama’s abode are 67): RV. 10, 14, 8 where Yama, the Fathers, the sacrificer’s ritual and other merits are said to be in the highest firmament (parvanē vyomana); 10, 64, 3 Yama in heaven(s) (divi); 1, 35, 6 stating that one of the three celestial regions (dyāvah) is in Yama’s world (bhuvana-), the two others being “Savitār’s lap”.

There is also a mrtyaloka- “sphere of Death” 68) which KB. 20, 1 is

48) This explication is approved of by R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Benares 1827, p. 212.
60) I refer to H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart–Berlin 41923, p. 533 ff.
67) Cf. also Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 167; Oldenberg, o.c., p. 533.
68) The term is to recur in the epics.
said to be the highest sky (nākam), Mṛtyu being mentioned elsewhere beside Yama.\(^\text{69}\))

The first stanza of a text to be recited in rites for continuation of life (Kauś. 58, 3; 11), after paying homage to Death expresses the desire that breath will abide here, and “that this man be here with his life (asu-), in the part (bhāge i.e. place, region) of the sun, in the ‘space’ or, rather, particular situation of that which is free from death” (auḥtasya lokē): AV. 8, 1, 1. It is perfectly evident that this phrase has in this context nothing to do with what a Christian would call immortality in a heaven, but indicates a ‘sphere’ or ‘realm’ in which the person concerned may enjoy the unimpeded continuation of his earthly existence\(^\text{70}\)). No translation can however claim to give an exact idea of the probably vague notions associated by the poet and his hearers with the phrase.

**VII**

It may therefore be emphasized that the texts make, in many cases, mention of lokas which are not spatially definable or do not coincide with any well-known locality. What is also important to notice is that in reading the relevant places we are under the impression that these lokas may largely overlap, that they may partly coincide, that it was considered possible to participate in more than one of them. Some examples may suffice.

The waters which in ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 9 are said to have been created out of Vāc (Speech) are in 6, 3, 1, 9 stated to have gone forth from the ‘world’ of Speech (thus Eggeling) or from Speech as a (or “their”) world (vāco lokāt); the latter translation would be in keeping with 6, 1, 1, 9 so ’po ’srjata vāca eva lokāt . . . Have these statements anything to do with the conviction that rushing rivers speak\(^\text{1)}\)?

ŚB. 10, 5, 2, 1 even distinguishes between the loka of the verses of the Ṛgveda, the loka of the songs of the Sāmaveda and the loka of the yajus-formulas. They are respectively identified with the shining orb of the sun, the glowing light and the man in that orb, which in their turn are homologized with the mahād uktham (a series of verses recited at the end of the agnicayana rite), the hymn of the mahāvratā ceremony and the great fire-place. This must mean that the spheres constituted by the sun and by the mahād uktham (which consists of reas) coincide and are at the same time to be regarded as the ‘sphere’ (loka-) of the Ṛgveda, etc.\(^\text{2)})

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\(^{69}\) Cf. Macdonell, o.c., p. 172.

\(^{70}\) For the auḥtasya idea see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 64.

\(^{1)}\) B. Essers, Vāc, Thesis Groningen 1952, p. 89.—Remarkably enough, BĀU. 3, 6, 1 while mentioning the lokas of gods, gandharvas, nāgastātras, moon etc. does not attribute a loka to the primordial waters.

\(^{2)}\) For the technical terms see also Eggeling, in S. B. E. 43, p. 110, n. 3.—We
There is a cāndramasa-loka-, a "lunar world" which is "won" by those who have, it is true, sacrificed and done meritorious works but are—according to the beliefs prevalent in the times in which these texts came into existence—to return to mundane life (PrU. 1, 9; cf. AV. 12, 2, 52 b "repeatedly he returns again")

There is also a sphere which is occasionally (KB. 20, 1) the loka of brahman, the most real of the lokas, the bright firmament, above which is heaven (in the religious sense of the term).

In this connection it is interesting to note that our sources sometimes speak of the loka- of trees or of cattle in a way which at first sight is strongly reminiscent of our expressions vegetable kingdom, animal kingdom (Fr. règne végétal, règne animal; Dutch plantenrijk, dierenrijk). Thus it reads ŚB. 11, 6, 1, 8 ff. "when one puts fire-wood from trees (on the fire) one secures the trees and conquers the loka- of trees . . .; when one makes offering with milk one secures cattle, and conquers the loka- of cattle . . .; when one illumines (the agnihotra milk) with a straw, one secures the herbs and conquers the world of herbs . . .; when one pours water into the (agnihotra) milk, one secures the water and conquers the loka- of water . . ."; (13) by offering the agnihotra one finally secures and conquers the All (sacrum) 4). Yet, it would be incorrect to regard these expressions as metaphors in the usual sense of the term. The author no doubt intends to say that one gains 'access' to the 'spheres'—to use this word for the sake of brevity—of the plants etc.

There even is a compound patiloka- obviously denoting, in the first place the house of a woman's husband and further his well-founded domain and secure sphere. In AV. 14, 1, 64 the bride while entering her new house is incited to rule in the patiloka-, but it is worth noticing, first that "brahman should be yoked before and after and accompany her everywhere"—the stanza is to be recited when the bride sets out to her new home—, and, in the second place that she is urged on to "proceed to an (the) impenetrable stronghold of the gods", words which are indicative of the author's belief that the patiloka- is, to use this term, a sacred position 5). It may be parenthetically observed that in RV. 10, 85, 20—AV. 14, 1, 61 the chariot mounted by Sūryā, i.e. the divine prototype of the bride—the stanza is Kauś. 77, 1 used when the bride is made to mount the vehicle which takes her to her new home—is called the "world of the immortal": d roha sūrye amṛtasya lokām (Geldner; not with Whitney—Lanman "to the world . . ."). The compound patiloka- recurs

are even informed of the curious fact that "the metres set their wishes on one another's loka" (TS. 7, 2, 8, 6).

3) It is clear that also in cases such as ŚB. 10, 2, 2, 1 (Prajāpatir) stavya lokams agraçchad yatraiṣa etat tepatśi "world!" (Eggeling) is not a satisfactory term for this division of the universe which is considered the proper place of the sun.

4) Not, with Eggeling, "everything".

5) Sāyaṇa's explication (on RV. 10, 85, 43): pativamāpam does not convince me.
RVkh. 2, 11, 3; RV. 10, 85, 43 = AV. 14, 2, 40 (marriage ceremonies); and also AV. 18, 3, 1 applying to the wife who, observing a time-honoured religious custom, wishes to follow her deceased husband: "This woman, choosing her husband's loka, lies down by you who have departed, O mortal". Sāyaṇa may be right in saying that the poet means 'heaven etc.' earned by sacrificing etc.; loka- has in any case its usual meaning. The counterpart of the pati-loka- is the piti-loka-, mentioned AV. 14, 2, 52 which the brides are said to leave: "the 'sphere' of their fathers'.

In AV. 4, 2, 13 (stanzas accompanying the marriage ceremonies) the god Dhātār, who is concerned with "placing" or "establishing" the phenomena of the world and with various creative activities, bestowing also length of days, granting offspring, and considered (Yāska, Nir. 11, 10) an "ordainer of everything", is said to have appointed to the married woman "this world (sphere)" 6: dhātā lokām asyai dīdesa; rather 7) "position, situation, place to live in and where to fulfill one's specific functions". Spatially speaking it must be the home of the married couple, mentioned in pāda a, but it seems clear that the pati-loka- is also the safe situation of the married woman where she belongs and discharges her duties.

There is also a bhu-dra-syu-lokaḥ, i.e. the good and favourable situation or condition of those who are happy and prosperous: AV. 6, 26, 1 imploring "evil" (pāpman-) to let the man speaking go and to be gracious: "set me uninjured in the 'world' of what is happy and prosperous". Here, I suppose. English phrases such as "the scientific world, the sporting world" could not unsuitably be compared; there is in view of the tenor of the sūkta in its entirety no need to follow the commentary: "heaven, as the fruit of good deeds".

Also in those cases in which the translation "world" is quite natural the positive evaluation of the connotations "room to live in, position of safety" implied by the term does not seem to be always absent. Thus when AV. 2, 9, 1 an amulet is asked to release a man from a demon and from disease and to conduct him to the 'world' of the living (jīvānām lokām), i.e. sthānaṁ bhūlokaṁ (comm.).

The compound jīvaloka- is RV. 10, 18, 8; AV. 18, 3, 2 used in urging the wife of a deceased Aryan who is to be cremated, to rise from the pyre unto (in order to go to) "the world of the living": jīvānāṁ putra-pauruśādīnaṁ lokāṁ sthānaṁ gṛham abhilakṣya (Sāyaṇa). Cf. also AV. 18, 2, 60; 18, 3, 4 (= bhūlokaḥ, comm.), and ŚB. 13, 8, 4, 6 "they (those present at a funeral ceremony, after bathing) thus return from the 'world' of the Fathers to the 'world' of the living". The North which is elsewhere "the region of men" (ŚB. 14, 1, 2, 2) is KB. 18, 14 called the jīvalokaḥ.

In KB. 20, 1 8) the jīvaloka- is put on a par with the loka of Indra, that

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6) Thus Whitney–Lamman, o.e., p. 755.
8) See above, p. 56.
of Vāyu, that of Varuṇa, that of death etc. The compound is not rare in post-Vedic literature, cf. e.g. BhG. 15. 7.—In AV. 5, 30, 17—a text prescribed in a ceremony for gaining a full life-time (Kauś. 58, 3; 11)—the words “this is the dearest ‘world’, not to be conquered even by the gods” (ayāṁ lokāḥ priyātamo devānāṁ aparājitaḥ) can hardly be taken to refer to some idea other than a safe condition in the ‘world of the living’, the more so as the wish is added “do not die before old age”.

For our purpose the combinations of the term loka- with demonstrative pronouns have special significance. With a pronoun indicating what is near or present the noun occurs AV. 8, 1, 4 “be not cut off (severed) from this ‘world’ (asmiṁ lokaḥ), from the sight of fire and of the sun”. These words, forming part of a prayer for some one’s continued life, no doubt mean, as was already observed by the commentator (asmiṁ lokāḥ: bhālokaḥ): “let him long see the sun...”. Cf. AV. 6, 122, 3 “to this loka-” 9).—The frankness of AV. 9, 2, 17 leaves nothing to be desired: “thrust (O god Kāma) my rivals far from this ‘world’”; the reference to the “lowest” darkness into which Indra thrusts his enemies makes it clear that here again the ‘world of the sun’ is opposed to darkness.—There can be no doubt whatever that “this loka-” refers to our terrestrial world, or to the present earthly existence, the normal abode of the living. Thus AV. 9, 5, 7; 11 in connection with an offering presented by one living asmiṁ lokaḥ; 12, 3, 3 in opposition to “the realms of Yama” (yamarājīṣṇu) and “the road leading to the gods”; cf. e.g. also ChU. 3, 14, 1 yathākratu asmiṁ lokaḥ puruso bhavati tattheh pṛetya bhavati.—One of the formulas for oblation and prayer to the Fathers, VS. 19, 46 runs as follows: “Their good fortune (śrī-, i.e. the welfare, prosperity, etc. of the Fathers which now has left them) be set on me during a hundred years in this ‘world’ (loke)’, which must mean in the world of those alive, the terrestrial world (bhāloke, Mahādhara).—In PB. 10, 5, 15 Caland 10) was, therefore, quite right in translating: “the deities... are comparable to men who have entered this world, i.e. earthly existence” (imaṁ lokam āviṣṭāḥ). However, in contexts such as AV. 9, 2, 17 and 18 asking Kāma to expel one’s rivals from “this world” the expression may also apply to a narrower ‘Lebenskreis’.

In AV. 19, 54, 5 a distinction is made between this (imaṁ) loku- and the paraṁ-, highest (or most distant, last, or most excellent, meanings which in this connection are usually neglected). Many centuries later the commentator explained: “the state (sthāna-) in which all karman is acquired, i.e. the earth” and “the state (sthāna-) in which the fruits are

9) From a comparison of AV. 8, 8, 8 (Paipp. 16, 29, 8) and st. 5 it may however appear that “this great ‘world’ was co-extensive with the intermediate space between heaven and earth resting on and bounded by the quarters. In the rite to be performed while reciting this text this ‘world’ is a “not” by which the operator “encircles all yonder men with darkness”.

10) W. Caland, Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa, Calcutta 1931, p. 239.
enjoyed, the _swargaloka_". Cf. AV. 11, 4, 11; 18. AV. 12, 5, 38 distinguishes in a similar way between this and yonder loka: _lokād . . . asmāc cāmāsmāc ca_ 11).

Yet "this ‘world’ " and “the earth” are not, or not always, synonymous: ŠB. 11, 1, 6, 22 "for even as this foundation (pratiṣṭhā-) here in this world is clearly the earth, so the foundation there in yonder world is clearly the intermediate space". However, the earth’s being a pratiṣṭhā qualifies her for being a loka 12).

Thus an interesting explication, or rather evaluation of the concept “this loka” occurs ŠB. 14, 1, 2, 24: _ayan lokāḥ sukṣitih_, i.e. “a good abode or secure dwelling”; “for”, the author adds, “it is in this ‘world’ that all creatures abide”. Thus it is also “this loka” in which, for instance, men produce offspring (ŠB. 1, 9, 2, 13) and plants are “established” (pratiṣṭhitāḥ: ŠB. 1, 9, 2, 29) 13). Cf. also AV. 15, 12, 11.

That loka- is a rather comprehensive term by no means coinciding with prthivī- “earth” may appear also from AV. 8, 9, 1 where the question is put as to the origin of two entities which are at last said to have arisen out of the sea: which side (part: _ardha-) was that, what loka, which earth (prthivī-)? We can only guess the exact relation between both concepts.

Returning now for a moment to the statement contained in BĀU. 1, 5, 16 “this world is to be obtained through the son alone” we must look more closely at some other places from which it appears that these circles which were obsessed by the idea that this life could and should be saved and continued by ritual means, were inclined to assume a close association between the possession of a son and the loka concept. That the possession of offspring and livelihood, i.e. of the double aspect of continuance 14)

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11) Cf. also places such as ChU. 4, 5, 3.
12) It is not to make out what were the implications of loka- in AV. 12, 5, 3 where it is held to be the residence (_nīdhana-) of the brahman’s cow which is highly extolled—"covered with truth, enclosed with fortune, enveloped with glory" (st. 2) (there is no commentary). Probably the term refers to the ‘world’ known to men, a sense which would fit in with the highly important concepts mentioned in the st. 1-4.
13) The question may arise why the term under discussion is so often added, for instance in a statement such as AV. 12, 4, 35: “the (highly potent sacred) barren cow approaches the one who has given her _loke_”? One answer is that _loke_ is not rarely used instead of _iha loka_ “in this world”, i.e. “in the sphere of the present existence”, or simply “among men” (e.g. Mbh. 1, 145, 20). The ‘meaning’ “people, le monde”, so frequent in later literature (_loka- sing. and plur._) does not, if I am not mistaken, occur before the upanisads of the middle period, Manu etc.: MaiU. 7, 8 _bhṛṣṭyaṁ loka na jānāti vedavyāntaranvam tu yat_; Manu 12, 117 _lokānāṁ hita-kāmaṁ śṛṣṭi “through a desire of benefiting mankind”; Mbh. 3, 50, 10 _lokeṣu yadh prāpa_. The semantic shift no doubt was “world” > “inhabitants of the world”. Hence also _loke-saṃstava_ (comm.): Manu 1, 11 _sa puruṣo loke brahmātā kāśiyate, and _loke “among men” or “in this world” (Manu 1, 84; 4, 157).
14) For the importance of an unbroken course of an action or a process (saṃstati-) see e.g. JB. 1, 85.
of life might be considered the essential elements of a loka appears from ThB. 2, 2, 3, 1 f. rīvahāh saṃvattasāraḥ; prajāḥ puṣkava ime lokāḥ “the year is (consists of) the seasons, these ‘Rāumes’ are (consist of) offspring (creatures) and cattle”. Still more instructive is AiB. 7, 13, 7 putram brahmāṇa ichadhāvāya sa vai loka (“avadāvakāḥ, a place which has given rise to some controversial discussion 15). Roth’s 16 translation “he is a blameless world” (“er ist die tadellose Welt”) is as far as I am able to see decidedly to be preferred to Keith’s: “this is the world’s advice”; compare also st. 8 jyotir ha putrāḥ prarama vyoman “a son is a light in the highest expanse of heavens” and Sāyaṇa’s interpretation of avadāvakāḥ (with u-): doṣārāhityān nindānarha ity arthaḥ. The tenor of these stanzas being the glorification of the son, the author emphasizes (4) that the father of a son attains ‘immortality’, (6) passing by means of him over the deep darkness. Remarkably enough, the comm. explains lokāḥ by bhogahetuḥ “cause of profit or pleasure”. An interesting light is also shed on the semantic possibilities of the term under examination in ŚB. 11, 6, 2, 10 “they (i.e. two libations) enter woman”, it is taught, “and make her lap their sacrificial fire . . . and the semen their pure libation . . ., and for him who, knowing this, approaches his mate, the agnihotra comes to be performed. The son who is born therefrom is the renascent ‘world’ (Eggeling: lokāḥ pratvayatuḥ): this is the agnihotra, there is nothing higher than this”. Translations such as “mode or form of existence”, though better than “world”, fail to express all the connotations of loka-. The idea of a “returning (“reborn”) world” (aṣṭam lokaḥ punah punah prajāyate) occurs also PB. 6, 8, 16: “in this world creatures procreate themselves again and again” (comm.) 17).

AiĀ. 2, 5 sheds some light on the expression “for the continuation of these ‘worlds’” (lokāṇāṁ saṁtatayai). Explaining the process of procreation from the point of view of the author’s Weltanschauung, this chapter expounds the following theory: “At first he (sic) is in man as a germ. When connected with a woman, who nourishes it, that germ is born. Before (and after) the birth of the child the man supports it 18. In doing so he supports in truth himself, for the continuation of these ‘worlds’. For thus these ‘worlds’ are continued. This is his second birth. This ‘self’ (ātman-, which must refer to the son) is appointed for sacral deeds. The other self (the father) having done its duty and attained old age departs, to be born again. That is his third birth”. – When an Aryan “who knows”, is about to die 19 he enters with his vital energies (“breaths”: prāṇaḥ) into his son, who—being instructed—preserves him from this world

15) See Keith, Rigveda brahmanas, p. 300.
17) Cf. Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 321 “. . . the earth is always the bestower of new life, while the heavens are unfruitful, a brilliant culmination . . .”.
18) See Keith, Aitareya Śrautasya, p. 232 f.
19) Cf. also KausBu. 2, 15.
(asmāl lokāt), is said to be lokyu- "procuring room to exist in" and is, in relation to his dying father, expressly described as the loka (BĀU. 1, 5, 17)²⁰. Here again it is clear that the universe and the phenomena of life organize themselves for the benefit of the man who behaves correctly and knows the deeper sense of his socio-religious conduct. Those however who go against the eternal law and infringe the rules of right conduct are liable to unchain serious repercussions, because man’s behaviour is indissolubly intertwined with the course of things in the universe²¹: according to PB. 8, 9, 21 Aṣṭādaṃśtra who had grown old without sons and progeny thought he had "torn asunder these ‘worlds’"; no continuity of race and hence a break in the cosmic continuity.

From the above text-places it appears that the Indians, also in Vedic times, understood very well that the earth, however dismal its habitations may be, is always the bestower of new life²²—in later times they would add that it is the only place where immortality or final emancipation may be gained—while the heavens are unfruitful, "a brilliant culmination, but not a rebirth"²²). Cf. e.g. SB. 1, 9, 2, 13 "Agni indeed is this world; hence it is for this world that he... produces offspring and that this offspring is produced".

We are now in a position better to understand the emphasis repeatedly laid upon the importance of the lokas in general. The sun is stated to shine upon all lokas; that does not mean upon any part of the universe, but upon those ‘places’, or ‘positions’ which are considered important, ‘positively important’ from the religious point of view (AV. 4, 38, 5; 15, 6, 6; TB. 1, 2, 4, 1), places, positions or states, where divine powers are believed to live and to manifest themselves and where man may be safe and happy (RV. 4, 53, 5; AV. 19, 27, 4; 6, 117, 3). It is therefore small wonder that the lokas are bracketed together with other high and important potencies, viz. the Vedas, the ritual fires, the creator god Prajāpati, the divine establisher Dhātar, being implored to give well-being (AV. 19, 9, 12). Compare also Mbh. 3, 29, 41. Hence the duty resting upon man to cooperate in maintaining, by ritual means, the continuity of the lokas (in the plural; PB. 7, 3, 9), which are identified with heaven and earth (JB. 3, 27). Commentators, writing in a later period,—from the point of view prevalent in Hinduism quite rightly—regarded this use of lokas in the plural as denoting positions in which

²⁰ See also Śaṅkara’s commentary (e.g. E. Röer, The twelve principal upaniṣads, II, Adyar 1931, p. 200 f.): “evam sādhya-lokārthātmakamprakārakham adhikṣeti viṁśatī bījaḥ tad sarvābhūtaḥ prakārāt putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñātānām tu prakārārthātmakānām adhikṣetānām viṁśatī bījaḥ putrāṇī prānātīḥ śūdraḥ sādhanāḥ ājñातानाम tu prakारार्थात्मकात् कौन प्रकारे? की गणये तस्य तत् काठनार्थम् धा..." (Nityānanda).


²² Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 321.

²² Cf. e.g. PB. 20, 16, 7 "cattle do not procreate in yonder world". (Compare Holy Bible, Mark 12, 25).
to enjoy the fruits of karman, i.e. the effects of former deeds. By performing deeds—which now are not only ritual acts—one creates a loka, that is to say one produces effects determining one’s future mode of existence; the situation in which these fruits are gathered in and enjoyed is a loka. Hence for instance the epic belief: through various meritorious acts one acquires various lokas, through misdeeds and wicked behaviour one loses them. As a rule however the term remains undefined: these lokas are positions, states or modes of existence which one has secured by one’s own behaviour (e.g. Mbh. 7, a. 29 cr. ed.).

VIII

It is time now to turn to a loka of special importance and frequent occurrence in a considerable number of contexts, viz. the svarga-loka. Generally speaking this term denotes the ancient Indian variety of what as a rule is known as “heaven” 1). Although it may be true that authors of books on the comparative study of religions have good reason to use this term and “paradise” promiscuously, the Vedic svarga loka is no Garden of Eden before the Fall, no ‘place’ where to return to innocence. It is neither exclusively an abode of the blessed after death nor the celestial model of terrestrial sanctuaries or sacred places created by God from the beginning of time 2). What it does on the other hand stand for, is Vedic man’s desire to live in a pure, strong and perfect ‘sphere’ or ‘world’, a desire which he endeavors to realize by periodical attempts at reactuarizing mythical reality and creating, by ritual means and the deeper knowledge of their import and effects, a sphere or condition of ‘sanctity’.

In the Rgveda, the term svarga-, usually translated by “heaven” or “heavenly, celestial” 3) occurs only once, 10, 95, 18, where it appears to be a ‘place’ of joyful existence (svargā u . . . mādayāse). The etymology, which for a right judgment of the oldest occurrences is no matter of indifference, is disputed. According to some scholars -ga- belongs to gam- “to go”, the word originally meaning “going or leading to light, or to heaven; being in heaven” 4), according to others 5) -ga- is a suffix.

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1) For the bahuvrhih svargaloka “belonging to, sharing in the ‘world of heaven’” see e.g. JB. 1, 87; PB. 12, 11, 12; ŠB. 11, 4, 4, 12 etc.—On the expression see also Willman-Grabowska, o.c., p. 80 f.
2) RV. 10, 121, 9 it is sky (dīv-), not heaven (svarga-) which is created by the great unknown God.
3) Often of course this term remains unexplained, e.g. svargakāsa “desirous of heaven” in texts on ritual.—I have not been able to consult M. Ojha, Svargasandeśa, Manavashram, Jaipur 1947, p. 31, who seems to have made an attempt to explain the concept of svarga in its adhikārelata- and adhikāhyāta-aspects, and other articles devoted to the same subject and published in India.
5) See e.g. R. Meringer, Wiener SitzB., 125, 2, p. 6; cf. also E. Renveniste,
However, both opinions are not mutually exclusive because in some cases the sense "going or leading to 'the light of heaven'" is undeniable, whereas elsewhere there can be no doubt about the meaning "heaven" or "celestial"; it is, moreover, not easy to see how one of these meanings would have developed into the other 8). For the former sense see e.g. AV. 9, 5, 16 (of a sacrificial goat which leads the sacrificer to the heavenly regions); 11, 1, 20 (of a sacred rice-dish: devaydnāh svargāh "leading to the gods, going to 'heaven'";); similarly, 11, 1, 35; 12, 3, 5; 42; 18, 4, 14 (of a road for the man who is about to fly up to heaven: svargāh pānthāk: sukhena gantavyah paramah svargaprāptisādhanaabhāto vā mārgāh, comm.); a road also 11, 1, 28; 30 pānthām svargām; 31; 12, 3, 41; 54, etc. We might compare the compounds svārjēt- "conquering the light of heaven" (AV. 13, 2, 30); svārvid- "finding the light of heaven" (AV. 19, 41, 1), etc. Elsewhere however the meaning "going to heaven" is impossible, because for instance the noun depends on a verb for "going": AV. 18, 4, 56 svargām yatāḥ pītāḥ "of (your deceased) father who goes to 'heaven'" 7); 2, 34, 5; 12, 3, 44; 18, 4, 3 or "flying": AV. 10, 8, 18; 13, 3, 14.

I for one would not follow Whitney 8) in translating AV. 10, 9, 5 56 svargām ā rohati by "he ascends the heavenly road"; here also svarga- rather refers to that "realm of celestial light" where is "yon triple heaven of heaven" (yātrādās tridivām dīvāḥ) as the same stanza has it. A place such as 18, 4, 64 where the Fathers are enjoined to revel in 'heaven' (svargē) is quite unequivocal. So are 19, 61, 1 "purifying thyself in heaven"; 6, 120, 3. The word is an adjective 9) in 12, 3, 34 svargām . . . āntum agnēḥ "the celestial end of fire" 10); 19, 3, 3 yās te devēṣu mahimā svargō . . . 11).

If (the non-compound) svarga- is related to svar- 12)—and there does not seem to be another possibility—the idea it expresses has developed from, or rather is a modification of, the central idea conveyed by svar-

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8) Whitney—Leaman, o.e., p. 602.
9) Cf. Bonvéniste, o.e., p. 28.
11) svarte Roth—Whitney—Lindenaun.
12) There is no need to polemize here with J. Hertel, Die Sonne und Mithra im Awesta, Leipzig 1927.
which like its etymological relatives stood for "the sun, the light of heaven". This meaning is unquestionable in AV. 4, 14, 3 "I have gone to svar, to light (jyotish)"; RV. 1, 71, 2; 1, 105, 3; 1, 112, 5; 1, 148, 1; 2, 2, 10; 2, 24, 3 vy acakṣayat svāḥ; 4, 3, 11; RV. 1, 50, 5 (=AV. 13, 2, 20) Śūrya appears in front of gods and men, that they may see (the light of) the sun: svar dyā. It can also denote the bright heavens, the celestial light: RV. 4, 16, 4; AV. 13, 4, 1; or what we call sunshine or the light of the sun: RV. 1, 168, 2; 4, 40, 2; 6, 72, 1; 10, 190, 3. This light may be won (RV. 1, 129, 2; 1, 131, 2; 3, 31, 19; 8, 46, 8); the conquest of the sun was indeed one of Indra’s great exploits: RV. 1, 10, 8; 3, 34, 8; 8, 89, 4 14); 10, 167, 1 (cf. svarjīt-). Vedic svar did not however necessarily denote the sun as the celestial body. The commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa not incorrectly observed that it was a “common name for the bright sky and sun” (divav ca añītasya ca sūdhāravan nāma, on AV. 2, 11, 5). In passages such as AV. 2, 11, 5 sukra- “bright”, bhrāja- “shining”, the meaning is “celestial brightness” rather than “sun”. This celestial brightness can be “ascended” (AV. 4, 11, 6; 14, 6); or one can go to it (4, 14, 3; 4; 6, 31, 1) 15; 11, 1, 37). One may reach it by austerity or asceticism (atṛpasā): RV. 10, 154, 2 = AV. 18, 2, 16. It can however also be looked at: AV. 6, 31, 2. It is also repeatedly said to have been brought (near): AV. 8, 9, 14; 10, 8, 21; 11, 5, 14; 13, 2, 39; 4, 23, 6 “by whom (Agni) the gods brought heaven”: yena uṣṇinā va jñādhanābhātena devāḥ devatvakāmāḥ yajamānāḥ stotāro vā (?) svāḥ svargam āharaṇ āharaṇ (comm.): the meaning rather is that the gods who also “discovered the ‘immortal’ ” (pāda a), made, in the mythical past (imperfect), the svar visible and accessible. In 11, 5, 19 Indra is related to have, by his brahmaçarya, brought near svar for the gods; that is, he won and conquered it and offered it to them, placed it at their disposal. The term may imply the celestial light as well as the bright heavenly abode. AV. 7, 110, 2 relates that in the beginning “they” (the gods) won, by (with the help of) Agni and Indra, that svar, no doubt just as a region or a plot of ground might be won or conquered. AV. 19, 13, 1 even speaks of the svar of the asuras which was conquered by Indra. The svar was fashioned by Savitar with 16 a beautiful appearance: 7, 14, 2; this seems to mean that it owes its beauty and splendour to the great divine “motor”, the light of heaven in its dynamic aspect which is also said to instigate the sun.

That svar could vaguely express the idea of “heaven” rather than “sun” appears also from AV. 5, 26, 12 where the act of worship (sacrifice) is said to be svar for the sacrificer. AV. 0, 5, 17 envisages the sacrifice

15) For an interpretation of this stanza see The Savayajñas, p. 301 ff.
as something intended to go to 'heaven' and to be among the gods (svar devēṣu gāntave). It is co-ordinated with div- (dhvanus) “the (bright) sky or heavens”: AV. 2, 5, 2; 4, 14, 2 divās praśhām svar gautāḥ where it may with the commentary (antarikṣasyā praśhavanyāśvedaṁ umunuteradesaṁ svargaīkhyayān lokam) be taken to be an explicative or complementary apposition.

From other evidence it would appear that the svar is on the one hand—as might a priori be expected—a form of “light” and on the other hand beyond the vault of heaven: AV. 4, 14, 3 “From the back of the earth I have ascended to the intermediate space (antarikṣam); from that to the sky (dīvam), from the back of the sky, of the vault of heaven I have gone to ‘heaven’ (svar), to (celestial) light (jyotiḥ)”; according to the commentary svar means āditya-, “the sun”, and jyotiḥ the “golden person” in that luminary 17). The poet of 6, 35, 3 expresses the wish “to extend to them ‘splendour, illustriousness, glory’ (ādīnnaṁ) and svar”: it is difficult to say whether the latter term refers to the realm of celestial light or to “light” in the sense of a ‘heaven on earth’. In 16, 9, 3—used in Kauśikasūtra 6, 16 while one has to look at the sun—the svar to which those speaking say they have gone and the light of the sun with which they have united (sāṁ sūryasya jyotiśāgamyānā) combine in an interesting way; whatever the relation to svar and sūrya-, those who have reached the svar have come into immediate contact with the light of the sun.

AV. 11, 1, 37 is a very instructive place, because it makes mention of a plurality of ideas which are, also elsewhere, associated with the concept under examination 18): “We shall with the light (jyotiśā) with which the gods..., went up to heaven (dyām), to the place of religious merit (sukṛsasya lokam), go to the place of religious merit, ascending the celestial region (svar) unto the highest vault (nākum)”. Compare also 19, 15, 4 (which is RV. 6, 47, 8 where śāvara jyotiḥ instead of svar yāj j.) interestingly enough those speaking pray Indra to conduct them to broad space (arām... lokām), light that is svar and well-being. It is clear that the term does not only denote the celestial light and the sphere of that light to which one may by a ritual or mystic way gain access, but also a state of bliss and well-being, a state which is also in other languages called “heaven” without being localized in a definite place. Thus the term svar is co-ordinated with svasti “well-being, fortune, prosperity” in such a way as to impress us as an explicative apposition: AV. 4, 14, 5 “let the sacrificers go to ‘heaven’ (svarganā karunaphalabhātām, comm.), to well-being”. Combining with ṛtam, tejāḥ, brahma-, sacrifice etc. it is in 16, 8, 1–27 no doubt a vague reference to “heaven” in a general religious sense of this expression. This sense must, I suppose, also attach to svar in the formula 18, 2, 45 “I have measured the measure; I have gone to

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17) See e.g. BĀU. 2, 3, 3.
18) See The Savayajas, p. 227 f.
svaret may I live a full life-time", to be recited by the man who has finished the elaborate measuring out of the place of interment of the bono-relics of a deceased Aryan, although of course the adhvaryu who recites the formula does not intend to say that he actually has reached ‘heaven’: the commentary may be right in observing that by his ritual act he earns ‘heaven’. Thus, the word does not mean “sky” (Whitney), but “heaven” in 12, 3, 34 “he shall reach heaven through this cooked food (offering)”. It is difficult to say whether in contexts such as AV. 7, 1, 2 “he enveloped the sky (dyām), the intermediate space, svaret,“ the last term refers to the sun or to the celestial realm of light. It may on the other hand be noticed that there is also reference in our sources to a private or particular svaret. AV. 19, 13, 1 informs us that Indra by his two stout arms succeeded in conquering the svaret which is, or was, the asuras’ (jítam ásurānām svaret yát).

In the Rohita hymn 20) 13, 1, 7 the Ruddy One, i.e. the Sun, described not merely as the heavenly body or its divinity, but also as the creator and preserver of the universe 21), is stated to have established svaret and the vault of heaven, to have fixed heaven and earth and to have measured out the space etc.; in st. 16 however the same high being is said to clothe himself in the sky and the intermediate space, and also to have “on the summit of the yellowish one”, i.e. surface of the vault of heaven where is the eternal light of the sun, penetrated svaret and the lokāḥ, which, of course, if svaret is considered a loka-, may mean, “the other lokāḥ”: it seems clear that the sun is here extolled, not only as the illuminator of the universe but also as the only source of light in ‘heaven’. – Where the brāhman speculation makes its influence felt, the svaret—whatever notions may attach to it—is conceived of as subordinate to that Highest Principle: AV. 10, 8, 1 where brāhman is described as he who is set over both what has come into existence and what is to come into being, and whose alone is ‘heaven’.

Apart from the above stray quotations from the commentary the following explications are worth mentioning 22): on AV. 6, 31, 2 svaret: svargopalakṣitam uparitanaṃ samastāṃ lokam, i.e. “the whole upper ‘world’ is, by implication, known as svarga-”; on 6, 47, 3 svargacāsopalakṣitāṃ devatvam, i.e. “divinity is implied in a reference to a residence in ‘heaven’”; on 7, 1, 2 svak: svargama purusahyogasthānam; on 19, 52, 3 svak: sukhām; 19, 56, 5 svak: svargē loke. The partly etymological explication given on 6, 33, 1 is of course unacceptable: svak: suṣṭha prāptavyam

19) For particulars see W. Culand, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungs-gebräuche, Amsterdam Acad. 1896, p. 145.
21) See M. Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha-brāhmana, Strassburg 1899, p. 87; 89; 93.
22) Meru nonsense (cf. e.g. the note on AV. 11, 5, 14) has however been passed over in silence.
niratisayasukhasudhanam vā tejaḥ (cf. on 6, 35, 3; on RV. 7, 90, 6 even sugha arapiyanam sukham).

Special interest attaches to the combination of svar and expressions such as "free scope etc." Thus RV. 1, 96, 4 Mātariśvan (i.e. Agni 23)) "a découvert une issue pour la descendance (humaine) en découvrant le soleil" 24) (viddā dātum tānayāṇa svarvita) : the light of heaven means "free space for moving" (cf. 3, 3, 10). Cf. also 9, 97, 39.

It is in the interests of our purpose of understanding the ancient Aryan concept of 'heaven' if we also notice such 'metaphorical' uses of the term svar as for instance occur in RV. 7, 90, 6 where the patrons are said to bring the svar to the poets: from the context it appears that this "sun" consists in the dakṣīṇā. However, the question arises as to how far, considering the nature of the dakṣīṇā 25) here (and 10, 107, 1 where the dakṣīṇā is a māhi jyotih) it is a metaphor. When on the other hand Indra is implored to win, together with the patrons, the svar, victory may be meant (RV. 8, 15, 12), but the fact remains that this victory is called svar. Elsewhere the term refers to the soma: RV. 8, 72, 15 26); 9, 86, 14, which (or who) is also believed to win light, sun and good fortune: 0, 4, 2; 0, 7, 4; 0, 9, 9 sānā medhān sānā svaḥ "acquire (and bestow to us) inspired wisdom and light (which may imply good fortune, happiness etc.)" 27); 9, 74, 1, and 76, 2 where Geldner's explication 28) "Sonne, d.h. Sieg oder Leben" may be taken to mean that these ideas are implied; cf. also 9, 59, 4.

The svar may be won, so there is also a compound svargjit- which is RV. 9, 27, 2 (: svargasya sarvasya vā ṣeṭā, Śāyana); 9, 78, 4 applied to soma (see above); 2, 21, 1; 10, 167, 2; AV. 17, 1, 1-5 to Indra; AV. 13, 2, 30 the sun is addressed as a mahāsūkha svargit.

From this attempt to survey the various contextual uses of svar, it may be inferred that no hard and fast lines between definite ‘meanings’ can be drawn. The ideas of sun, sunlight, celestial light are inextricably mixed up with those of well-being, good fortune, happiness, glory 29), the light of the sun meaning the possibility of life 30), of activity, of normal human existence. Thus it reads RV. 10, 170, 4 vibhrājaḥ jyotisā

23) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 125.
24) Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 27.
27) As far as I am able to see not necessarily "geistiges Licht", as is suggested by Lüders, o.c., p. 265 and Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 58.
28) Geldner, o.c., III, p. 71.
29) Cf. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1630 "Licht, Glanz [or "sun, celestial light"] = Herrlichkeit, Seligkeit, Glück". The classification of the 'meanings' given by this author is not in all respects tenable and in details often questionable.
30) To see the sun—to live, cf. e.g. RV. 9, 61, 18 (cf. Renou, E. V. P. VIII, p. 90 f.).
svar ágacho rocanám diváh / yénemá vísvá bhúvanágyá bhýrta “In Licht erstrahlend kamst du (Surya, the Sun) als Sonne (as the light of the sun), als Himmelslicht (cf. 8, 98, 3), von dem alle diese Geschöpfe erhalten werden” (Geldner) 31). Cf. also 10, 66, 9. The significance of these ideas is also apparent from texts such as RV. 9, 91, 6 (the soma is addressed) “purifying thyself give us water, the light of the sun (svar), cattle, many children and offspring, peace (śakam), a wide plot of ground (kyetram), lights, long to see the sun”; 4, 41, 6; children, fertile fields, the sight of the sun (life); 6, 47, 8 “conduct us to wide space (urám... lokám), to sunny light, or rather the light of the sun (svaraj jyótik), to safety (ābhayam)”. There can be no doubt whatever that an expression such as RV. 10, 36, 3 svaraj jyótir avrkám nadimah “we should like to reach the full light of the sun which is free from (wolves i.e.) danger, i.e. which is safe” could also be understood in a ‘metaphorical sense’ 32). The undecaying wealth consisting of men and cattle is called “sunny” or “pervaded by sunlight” (svarat-) 6, 22, 3. “Sunny splendour” (dvamudam śvarat) is 6, 19, 9; 6, 35, 2 a much desired good; Śāyaṇa’s explications “wealth with happiness” and “wealth with accomplishments” do not seem to be complete. In 8, 13, 5 the words rayin nas...ā bhārā ścarvamad, addressed to Indra, must mean “bring us wealth consisting in light (to live in)”. In this connection it may be noted that there is, in the RV., repeated reference to “those who see the sun” (śvarat-), that is “those who are alive”: 2, 24, 4; 7, 58, 2; 7, 83, 2; cf. also 9, 78, 4. – The “gift of Aditi”, i.e. the light of life, is RV. 1, 185, 3 quite intelligibly characterized as svarvad avadhām “sunny and free from murder, i.e. beneficent, protecting against death”; Aditi herself is 1, 136, 3 described as jyotismati and svarati. The conquest of water with the light of the sun is 5, 2, 11, no doubt as a repetition in phenomenal time of the god’s great mythical deed (1, 10, 8), “eine Redensart für alles Glück zum Leben” 33) (cf. 8, 40, 10; 11). The adjective svarat- “possessed of sunlight” – which RV. 10, 11, 3 is an epithet of Dawn – is among the epithets given to the gods in general: RV. 6, 50, 2: “lumineux” 34); vṛjāne svaratī in 10, 63, 15 “désigne le domaine céleste” 35).

Speaking about svar the ancient poets did not indeed limit the field of their concern to this world and to human life. In RV. 10, 124, 6 idām svar idām id ūd āsa vāmān ayām prakāśā vrā antārikṣam “this is the light of heaven, this is just the lovely (or splendid condition; “das Heil”, Geldner), this is brightness (“die Helle”), the broad intermediate space”

31) Compare also similes such as RV. 4, 10, 3; 4, 23, 6; 5, 54, 15; 9, 98, 8; 10, 123, 7.
32) Wolves are nocturnal. Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 114 rightly compares RV. 1, 55, 6 avrkāni jyótisā “les lumières qui protègent du mal”.
33) Geldner, o.c., II, p. 4 f.
34) Renou, E. V. P. V, p. 34.
35) Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 117.
the text no doubt refers to the realm of the gods which, in contradistinction to that of Vṛtra, is light and brightness. After the defeat of the great enemy "sind die Sonne, das Licht, der weite Raum wieder da" (3²). Cf. also 6, 72, 1 (3²). It is therefore not surprising to find the same terminology—exceptionally in the RV. it is true—applied to the conceptions which the ancient Aryans had formed of the hereafter: RV. 9, 113, 7 yātra jyotir ājasravya yāsminī lokā śvar hītām / tāsmin mānī dhēkā . . . lokā ākṣite. It is only the next stanza which helps us in identifying this loka with Yama’s kingdom.

Similar observations may be made in connection with svarga:- compare the only Rgvedic occurrence 10, 95, 18 svargā u tvām āpi mādayāse “in heaven you, too, will find happiness (from the context it appears, after death)”; AV. 6, 122, 2 “if they be able to give, that is very svargah” (happiness, bliss in a general sense); TB. 1, 2, 1, 21 yās te devēṣu māhinā svargāh (Agni is addressed). The phrase svarga-loka: (3³) is however much more common. Like śvar it is of course left undefined, but from a large number of contexts it is with all clearness desirable apparent that it oftentimes denoted “the other world”, conceived of as a state of bliss and happiness. In particulars there is however much diversity of ideas. There is for instance no unanimity with regard to the nature or the ‘position’ of that ‘world’ or to its exact relation to other ideas such as ‘immortality’ or the ‘fulfilment of all desires’. Some examples may follow here in illustration. AiĀ. 2, 6 sa evan prajānāṁ maṁśāṁ paścīd utkramyām śvarāṁ svargē loke sāvāṁ kāmāṁ āptēmaṁ tāṁ samābhavat: if this statement may be taken literally the state of immortality is not identical with residence in yonder loka: one leaves this world in an enlightened condition, obtains all objects of desire in the beyond and thereupon becomes ‘immortal’. Cf. 2, 5; AiB. 8, 14, 4; 8, 19, 2. According to 2, 1, 8 one becomes ‘immortal’ in yonder world, or one may experience ‘immortality’ in the svarga loka, both ideas being identified: TB. 1, 3, 7, 7; cf. PB. 8, 2, 6.

Light (śucī), “indefinable and uncreated, the perfect symbol of the pure

(3²) Gekkner, o.c., III, p. 354.
(3³) The words RV. 7, 66, 9 īṣāṁ śrāva ca dhāmaḥ “may we receive (acquire, store up) refreshing sap (“food”, Śāyana) and celestial light.” are AiB. 6, 7, 2 explained so as to refer to this world and the beyond respectively.—Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 530 ff. too onesidedly emphasizes the description found in RV. 9, 113, 7.
(3⁴) Cf. e.g. RV. 6, 47, 8 8c AV. 19, 15, 4 urāṁ no lokāṁ ānā negā vidēna śvaravaj jyotir dhāmaṁ suvaśi. The simple noun loka- not rarely occurs instead of the complete expression, e.g. SB. 11, 2, 7, 19; cf. also PB. 8, 2, 6 “desirous to reach the loka, they saw this sāman; by means of it they saw the world of ‘immortality’” (amātyāṁ dīyeyām lokaṁ svargam ity arthāḥ, comm.). Commentaries are sometimes too much inclined to translate loka- by “heaven”. We need not for instance follow the comm. in limiting the vague term loka- to the “heaven[ly world]” in AV. 11, 5, 7 where the extremely powerful brahmaicāṁ is stated to generate brahma, the waters, the loka (‘world’, space?), Prajāpāti etc. So much is clear, that loka- is here among the highest principles.
undifferentiated Being” 30, is sometimes explicitly characteristic of the loka-to which the purified sacrificer will, in boneless state, that is after death, go: AV. 4, 34, 2. As already pointed out in the preceding pages the idea of light, the ‘symbol’ of life and divine power 40), is also in the Veda frequently associated with the concept denoted by the term svarga.-Cf. e.g. AV. 9, 5, 6 jyotismantam abhi lokāṇaṃ jayantām; TB. 3, 12, 3, 4; PB. 18, 3, 4 “he who, knowing thus, performs this (rite), gains the luminous, holy (puṣyām) 41) lokam (: ādityalokam, comm.)” 42).—AiB. 5, 24, 7 the svarga-loka- is identified with the day (ahāḥ). The man “who knows thus”, i.e. who has acquired a profound insight into the esoterical meaning of the rites he is performing, will “conquer worlds rich in light” (Whitney’s translation of AV. 9, 6, 62: jyotismato lokān).—Compare also, at the end of the corresponding sūkta in AV.Ppp. lokeṣu tapati lokesu ā bāti svargaloko bhavati ya evaṃ veda (16, 117, 5). AV. 9, 5, 6 enjoins the victim to “conquer that luminous world” 43). For pāda d AV.Ppp. 16, 97, 5 however reads jyotismāṃ gaccha sakṛtāṃ yatra lokāḥ so that the qualification “luminous, possessed of celestial light” —appositely, it is true—applies to the victim which, being explicitly identified with Agni and called “light” (7), is divinized 44).—TS. 3, 3, 5, 5 informs us that the svarga-loka- may be conquered by the light of truth-and-order (ṛūṣya jyotik).—AiĀ. 2, 1, 3 hāryamayo ha vā amuṣmiṃ loke saṃbhavati hāryamayāḥ saṃbhavasya bhūtebhīyo dadṛśe ya evaṃ veda “he becomes golden in yonder world, he appears (as) golden to all creatures...” 45) means, according to Ānandatirtha’s anachronistic explication: nārāyanaṃ jānaṃ karmajan rūpam utṣrjya niṣānandakarūpako bhavati, i.e. “when he comes to know Nārāyaṇa” 46) he casts off his outward appearance which results from his acts and assumes

30) E. Underhill, Mysticism, London (1911) 1960, p. 115; for light see also P. D. Mehta, Early Indian religious thought, London 1956, p. 105. Cf. e.g. BĀU. 1, 3, 28; ChU. 3, 14, 2.

40) Holler, o.c., p. 64 ff.; M. Eliade, Traité d’histoire des religions, Paris 1949, p. 117 ff. “Light is ‘immortality’”: ŠB. 7, 4, 2, 21 etc.

41) As intimated elsewhere the occurrence of an apposition may help us in deepening our knowledge of the association of the ideas of Vedic man. PB. 12, 11, 12 deals with a man who by applying a definite ritual technique becomes svargalokāḥ puṣyālokaḥ, i.e. he “shares the ‘world’ of heaven, the ‘world of virtue’ (or ‘holy world’), i.e. the world of merit”.

42) The close connection between the beyond (avasāna lokāḥ) and heavenly light is also by way of an analogy between heaven and the sacrificial fire worked out in ChU. 5, 4, 1: what is fuel in the latter is the sun in the former etc. (See S. Radhakrishnan, The principal upanisads, London 1953, p. 428.).—For the Iranian parallel see Wิดkren, o.c., p. 37.

43) See The Savayajñas, p. 244 f.

44) Cf. also ŠB. 1, 9, 3, 10; 6, 5, 4, 8.

45) “No doubt originally as the sun”, Keith, Aitareya Āranyaka, Oxford 1908, p. 204, n. 7; “he appears as golden as the sun for the benefit of all creatures” (Śāyaṇa). Cf. ŠB. 13, 2, 2, 16.

46) I refer to Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 246 f. etc.
the homogeneous appearance of continuous bliss". As is well known gold means 'immortality' 47).

Or the underlying theory seems to be that 'heaven' is reached through, or beyond death: SB. 2, 3, 15 by a definite ritual knowledge (the officiant) "wins an invincible loka for himself and the sacrificer; he leads the sacrificer and himself away across (parāk) death to the svarga loka".

From AV. 6, 123, 2, which—with considerable variants it is true—recurs in VS. 18, 60; KS. 40, 13; TB. 3, 7, 13, 3 etc., it appears with all unambiguousness desirable that—at least in the eyes of this poet—the 'world' of the successful sacrificer was in these circles believed to be in the highest firmament: jānīta smainām parame vijomana dēvāḥ sādhashthā vidā lokām ētra "do you notice him in the highest firmament; O divine Seats, know (his) world to be there" 48); KS. 40, 13 tam anuprehi sukṛtasya lokām yataramayo jagmuḥ prathamāḥ purāṇāḥ. For lokām ētra VS. and TB. read rāpām asya "... know his shape (or form)", which also gives sense, not (as Whitney and Lanman opine 49)) a better sense. The AV. text serves to make an offering successful. There are other formulations, e.g. VS. 15, 10 (TS. 4, 4, 2, 3) nākasya prṣṭhe svargā lokē, explained by Mahīdhara: ... prṣṭhe svarāpe sukharāpe svargā loke (identity of 'heaven' and happiness) 50). Other circles however preferred associating the svarga idea with the brahman concept, attempting to systematize a number of power substances or power concepts (Daseinsmächte) which are of special interest for those who strive after perfection and integration. Thus Kauṭhāravya, quoted in AiĀ. 3, 1, 6 (cf. ŚāĀ. 7, 14), held that speech is united with breath, breath with . . . , the All-gods with the world of heaven, the world of heaven with brahman, calling this "the gradual union" (avaraṇa saṃkhitā).

Incidentally an author attempts to give an idea of 'heavenly life'—JB. 2, 160 "a draught of soma is, in heaven, the most exquisite drink"—and the circumstances of those who enjoy it by a synonym—PB. 5, 4, 5 svargam eva taḥ lokam āptā sīram vādante (sampadām abhivadante, comm.) "they declare (announce) their welfare, illustrious position, perfection"—or by references to the pleasures awaiting the blessed 51).

Whatever the ideas nursed in the Atharvaveda in connection with this 'place' or 'state' of supreme bliss, so much is clear that it was on the one hand considered the reward of ritual (religious) merits—hence also

47) I refer to Eggeling, in S. B. E. 44, p. 537; see o.g. also M. Eliade, Forgerons et alchimistes, Paris 1950, passim.—Cf. also ŚB. 10, 1, 4, 9.
48) For details see my note on Kauś. 63, 29 in The Savayajñās, p. 231 ff.
50) Cf. o.g. also TS. 5, 3, 5, 5; 5, 3, 7, 1 "the vault is the world of heaven".
51) There is no need to cite many examples of popular belief, metaphors, transference of terrestrial conditions etc., such as AīB. 3, 42, 1 where Agni, the overlord of the svarga loka, is said to close its door (other references to the gate of heaven: ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 7; JUB. 4, 15, 2; 5 etc.).
the commentary (e.g. on 4, 34, 5 phalubhūte svarga loka); it is even obtained by one’s own ritual works (svakarmabhītārjitaḥ, comm. on 18, 4, 4) —, on the other hand a position, state or condition consisting of happiness (comm. on 18, 4, 2 sukhamakṣaṁ sthānam: cf. also the notes on 18, 4, 5 and 13). Sometimes (e.g. 18, 3, 4, a funeral stanza) this condition is obviously to be reached after death. Elsewhere (on 11, 1, 7) however the same commentator furnishes us with an etymological explication: lokarṇīyam suktataphalopabhogapradēṣāh, i.e. “a place where to enjoy the fruits of the (religious) merits and which is worth seeing (perceiving)”, adding however that this is sthānaviśeṣa-, i.e. “a particular state or condition”. There is however no denying that this concept of ‘heaven’ did not exclude the occurrence of various processes and references to concrete objects. Thus it reads AV. 4, 34, 5 “all these streams (of the oblations) must come unto you (the sacrificer), honeylike swelling in the celestial world”. Obviously it is there that the successful sacrificer hopes to be united with his wife and children (12, 3, 17), a thought expressed also 6, 120, 3 (and cf. 9, 5, 27). Moreover, the svarga lokā—which are, no doubt on account of the indefinite and at the same time impressive and emotive character of the notions conveyed by this term sometimes referred to by a plural form —, being filled with “the draught of immortality” (amṛta-) will yield the sacrificer refreshment and strengthening food (śam ārjam: 18, 4, 4) as well as “every wish” (18, 4, 5). Of special interest is, in this connection, 4, 34, 2 where to those who “go, boneless, cleansed, purified . . . and undefiled . . ., to the undefiled (“luminous and full of light”, comm.) loka”, a prospect is held out of intercourse with women.

It is not surprising to find passages in which the nature and the properties of ‘this loka’ and the celestial sphere are contrasted. Thus Āruni and others spoke with appreciation of the ‘world of heaven’; JB. 1, 291 “on that highly placed ‘Raum’, where evil has been struck down, which on (every) following day increases in well-being they do not spit, they do not walk, they do not sit; many revile this ‘Raum’ (i.e. our world, the earth), many hold it in contempt, and both the performer of virtuous deeds and of evil deeds live in it; that ‘Raum’ on the other hand is highly placed, there evil has been struck down, and on (every) following day it increases in well-being; there does not live a performer of evil deeds”.

52) Among those places which show that the performance of rites was to provide the sacrificer with a loka is also AV. 12, 3, 39, but here it is prescribed that husband and wife should ‘pool’ their cooked oblations “providing together one ‘world’” (see my note on Kauś. 62, 11 (The Savayajñas, p. 196)); this seems to mean that they will secure one common ‘world’.

53) See further on, p. 85.

54) The commentary (on 18, 4, 5) explains: “plural because (heaven) consists of three enclosures or zones”, which is no doubt possible. For the tripartite heaven see Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 57 ff.

55) For amṛta- see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 64 etc.

56) For particulars I refer to The Savayajñas, p. 276 ff.
A clear case of identification of the ‘world’ called asau (lokaḥ) “yonder world” 57) and the “sphere of the gods” (devolokaḥ) occurs ŚB. 13, 2, 4, 1, the same text quite intelligibly identifying “this world” and manusyalokaḥ. Here again the parallelism between both ‘realms’ is obvious: when one seizes tame animals one takes possession of this ‘world’ and when wild beasts, of yonder (‘world’). See also PB. 18, 10, 5.—In fact there is nothing exceptional in passages such as the following found in the brāhmaṇa literature: PB. 6, 8, 15 sakṛt dhīto ’sau parān lokaḥ “for yonder world (explained in the comm. by svarga-) is once and for all away from here”; here Caland 58) observed: “There is no return from yonder world: once and for all they depart from hence thither, ...; cf. the well-known phrase sakṛt parāṇcaḥ pitarāḥ [e.g. ŚB. 2, 4, 2, 9]”. The above words should however be read in connection with ibid. 16 stating in connection with “this world” that it is (i.e. “that people living in it are”, comm.) again and again produced: pūṇah pūṇah praJayate. Similarly, PB. 9, 8, 6, the comm. explaining: asmāl lokāl āraḥbhīsausvarga lokaḥ parān hi parān-mukhaḥ parāyata ārdhva-pradesāḥvasthitā hi; the text does not however point to a ‘higher’ situation of the hereafter 59).

The phrase asau lokaḥ—like the corresponding amutra—does not however always denote the svarga loka as a state of happiness 60) (cf. e.g. AiB. 1, 13, 3; 6, 7, 2; ChU. 7, 3, 1). It is AiB. 6, 9, 10 explicitly distinguished from the svarga loka which is represented as higher: “by nine verses he carries him to the intermediate loka, by ten from that loka to yonder loka, with nine from yonder loka to the heavenly loka”. The phrase often refers to the beyond in the sense of “the realm of death”. It is hardly necessary to mention that to “go speedily to yonder loka”, like “to pass quickly away from this world” (ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 18), is opposed to “to live for a long time” (ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 17; 1, 8, 3, 16; 3, 1, 1, 2; 3, 5, 2, 8). Cf. also ŚB. 1, 4, 3, 21; 1, 8, 1, 31 61). Elsewhere again “yonder” (asau) ...
is a reference to the sphere of the gods (PB, 18, 10, 5). These uses—which from the linguistic point of view often represent cases of ‘euphemism’—no doubt also reflect differences of opinion (2) with regard to the relations between the sphere of the gods, that of the deceased (3), and that of those men who have gained a state of divinization or supreme happiness (4). Which the person concerned passes away. Cf. AiB, 4, 30, 6 pravayana svetamāl lokād gajamāndah, i.e. marīgyantī (comm.), as opposed to “remain in this ‘world’”.—From SB, 2, 6, 1, 1 ff., it may be inferred that there was not one single loka awaiting those who died, but more than one. (According to SB, 2, 6, 1, 7 there were three classes of Fathers: those who do not offer are consumed by the fire; those who offer cooked sacrificial food conquer a loka; those who sacrifice with soma are the pitrāh somavantāh [cf. 5, 5, 4, 28]). By means of the pitrāyja the gods reanimated those who had been slain in the Vṛtra combat; by performing this sacrifice one leads one’s own Fathers to a more excellent (fortunate; prosperous) ‘world’ (kṛṣṇāmānā lokām). The same expression (§ 3.) occurs SB, 3, 4, 4, 27, by a definite ritual practice one conquers an ever and ever more excellent (“more glorious”, Figelger) ‘world’ and becomes better (more opulent: vasiṣṭha) in this world.—Much has already been written (see e.g. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 197 and 206) on the belief in the repeated death (pramārvṛtya), mention of which is e.g. made SB, 2, 3, 3, 8 “whosoever goes to yonder ‘world’ not having escaped that Death, him he causes to die again and again (punādyunar eva pramārvṛtya) in yonder world”. See also SB, 1, 5, 3, 14: “he who knows this is indeed born again in this world”. See e.g. Heiler, o.c., p. 517 ff.

(2) That the deceased, the Fathers, go to a ‘world’ is also explicitly stated in AV, 5, 18, 13: the man who insults the gods and injures the brahman does not go to the loka to which the Fathers go (pitṛyānām); however, particulars are not given. Elsewhere the AV speaks of this ‘world’ as a ‘bright place’: 4, 34, 2 tācim ādī yanti lokām, the comm. explaining dṛṣyamānām īyātāmānām lokām.—According to PB, 9, 8, 5 the Fathers are in the third ‘world’ (from here).—The author of GB, 1, 2, 4 has them placed in the svarga loka.—It was not a matter of course that the deceased went pitṛyānām lokām, because AV, 12, 2, 45 implores Agni to let those who are dead go unto that ‘place’. As is well known it was the very raison d’être of the funeral rites to enable the person for whom they were performed to reach the realm of the dead (Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungs-gebräuche, p. 174 f.).

(3) “That ‘world’” is in AV, 9, 5, 12 clearly a reference to the world of those who have acquired religious merit, mentioned in the preceding part of the stanza. TS, 3, 3, 8, 5 “he who sacrifices while knowing the seer, the hearer, the reciter, is united in yonder world with what he has sacrificed and bestowed” (sam amunśmīnī loka īśāpūrtena gachate). Compare also AV, 12, 3, 19, exhibiting likewise the pronoun etam “the before-mentioned” (see B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, Halle a. S., 1888, p. 220) and no doubt referring to the “heavenly ‘world’” in 12, 3, 16 and 17. Yama, 18, 3, 13 informs us, died first of the mortals and went as the first to “that world”, that is, the commentary adds, “he first died and then obtained another loka”, both events being unknown before him. AV, 19, 56, 1 accordingly speaks of Yama’s ‘world’, stating that the dream comes from that loka.

The formula etā ma āgna āppakā dhenaśvam ante amātrānāmānī lokā VS, 17, 2 was not correctly translated by Griffith: “may these bricks be mine own milk-kine in yonder world and in this world”. The phrase amutra etc. no doubt is an instance of the well-known more or less tautological juxtaposition of two syntactically equivalent nominal cases or adverbial expressions of the type, in Latin, tum in
An interesting statement is found in AV. 12, 5, 57, from which it appears that asau lokaḥ could also be described as a ‘place’ of settlement or adjustment: the brahman’s cow is implored to take “what is oppressed for (i.e. for the good of, from) him who is oppressed” and “to present (it to him) in yonder loka”.

There are also texts which while speaking of the ‘world of heaven’

tempore, inde ab adolescencia, inde ab ineunte aetate; in Middle High German da zu Burgund etc. (W. Havers, Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax, Heidelberg 1931, p. 48). The second member of the phrase was to indicate the spatial or temporal relation somewhat more accurately (F. Wonde, Uber die nachgestellten Präpositionen im Angelsächsischen, Palaestra 70, Berlin 1915, p. 281 f.). The adverb amatra which was a vague reference to the beyond (“in the other world”) was elucidated by “in yonder loka”. From ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 17 which quoting the formula observes: “He thereby makes them his own milch cows in this world . . . and in yonder world; and thus they are profitable to him in both worlds, in this and in yonder” we need not infer that the author took amatra to mean iha, “in this world”. Uvajja was of another opinion (on VS., l.c.): amatra amasuṃОс loca: amatreti janaṃvaranirmidasiḥ, amasuṃOs loca ityayokanirmidasiḥ “amatra is an indication of another birth or future life, amasuṃOs loca of a wished-for ‘world’”. Mahādhara made a similar attempt to account for the expression: amatra anayajanaṃ vai kathāyarasya loca svarge . . .—AīB. 8, 2, 3 gives evidence of an interesting conviction on the part of the author and no doubt of many of his co-religionists: aya vai lokasyādasi loca ‘nārāpayo ‘muṣayya lokasyādasi loca ‘nārāpayo “yonder ‘world’ is analogous to (the counterpart of) this ‘world’; of yonder ‘world’ this ‘world’ is the counterpart”. Compare ŚB. 8, 3, 3, 5 asau vai lokaḥ pratimāsaḥ hy antarikṣalokaḥ pratimita īva “yonder 1. is . . . the counter-measure, for it is, as it were, counter-measured (i.e. made a copy of the earth) in the intermediate region”.

The interrelations between the realm of the dead and the residences of the gods, and, in general, the relation between the dead and the gods were made a problem in many religions. There are judges or rulers of the dead, kings of their abodes, judges deciding their fate and admission, but these more or less divine figures were, like the Indian Yama, not always gods from the beginning, or deities of a lower class, and their realm itself, though decidedly numinous in character, often is distinct from the world of the gods, who generally speaking are not, or only incidentally, concerned with the deceased. It seems that generally speaking both spheres, that of the dead and that of the gods proper tended, in the course of time, to draw near to each other to be combined, or even to be identified (K. Goldammer, Die Formenwelt des Religiösen, Stuttgart 1960, p. 479). Then the ruler of the dead becomes a god of high rank; and in ‘henotheist’ or monotheist religions his function is quite consistently taken over by the High God. An important factor in this process is no doubt the conviction of the faithful that full bliss after death can only be found in the presence of the godhead who was revered and worshipped in life. Moreover, the more the realm of the dead assumed a vague and distant character, the more it tended to become ‘transcendent’.—In the epics the idea is not absent that the blessed ones enjoy themselves together with the gods in the heavenly abodes of the latter: Rām. cr. ed. 1, 40, 892* (āruhya devaśīyaṃ ugrateṣād cikrīḍā devesu manorāṃṣu).

Before entering heaven (svarga-) one acquires—for instance by bathing in the Ganges (Rām. cr. ed. 1, 43, 939*) or by one’s own meritorious deeds (2, 58, 40)—a divine form (diyena rāpeṣa); one’s sins are shaken off (dhūtapayā-: 2, 98, 31) and one gives up one’s decayed human body (2, 98, 34): the well-known powerfulness of the dead (see e.g. van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 326 ff.).
explicitly distinguish it from the abode of the gods. PB. 12, 11, 10 it reads: anhipravos vai satrām āsata. teṣām āptaḥ sṛptaḥ svaro loka āsīt pun-
thānāṃ tu devyānāṃ na prājānām "the A. (once) performed a sacrificial
session, and (in consequence of it) they reached and gained the heavenly
loka, but they did not discover the path leading to the gods". Cf. ibid. 11.

Attempts to characterize 'heaven' or to form an idea of it, to determine
its nature as far as earthly concepts allowed speaking about it are of
course not wanting. A very noticeable feature of the beyond as viewed
by the authors of the brāhmaṇas is its being boundless; that is to say,
it cannot be spatially defined. This view led them to the logical conclusion
that ritual acts to be performed in order to "gain the beyond" should
in some way or other be "unlimited" also 68). Thus it reads PB. 9, 8, 14
asaṃmitaṃ stotraṃ syād asāṃmito hy asau lokaḥ "the hymn of praise is
unlimited, for unlimited (immeasurable, aparimitam, comm.) is yonder
world". See also AiB. 6, 23, 12 (aparimita-); GB. 2, 6, 5. Elsewhere the
term preferred to express this idea—which in any case implies contrast
with the mundane lokas not outside human experience—is ananta-
"boundless, endless, infinite": PB. 17, 12, 3 ananto (antarākṣitaḥ, ava-
sāṅkarākṣitaḥ, comm.) vai svaro 'nanto asau loko 'nantam evānaiṃ svargaṃ
lokaṃ gamayati.

Another qualification is anirukt-. ŚB. 12, 9, 3, 16 argues: "(Indra)
Vayodhas is the loka ("world"), Eggeling, whence he is ‘undefined’
(aniruktah), for the loka is ‘undefined’ "'. In an important study Renou
and Silburn 62) showed that a niruktta formula being “that one the meaning
or the use of which result ‘distinctly’ from its content alone, which is
‘explicit’ by itself, from the fact that it contains a characteristic element,
a liṅga”, it was tempting to ascribe as aniruktta not only an entity (deity
etc.) referred to only ‘cryptically’, but also a deity whose presence at the
rites was ardently wished for. Thus Prajāpati who is identified with most
of the great Vedic entities and, first of all, with a group of gods who
surpass all definition (among whom is Indra, TB. 1, 2, 2, 5), is the supreme
anirukt-. The same qualification applies to numerous entities or concepts
which have no definite shape or outline, or do not appear as an organized
body, or distinct structure, e.g. to brahman, manas, the prāṇāḥ, the
sarvam (ŚB. 1, 3, 5, 10). Thus it is used in connection with that ill-defined
space which is the antarikṣaloka-: ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 26 (cf. 4, 6, 7, 17), but
more particularly in connection with the world yonder. Cf. also KS. 28,
10: 164, 15; MS. 3, 8, 10: 111, 8; JUB. 1, 52, 6 aniruktaṃ... svaryyam.

PB. 8, 4, 1 seems to point to a certain relation between the heavenly
sphere and the idea of “wholeness” or “completeness” (cf. also 8, 3, 5;
4, 9): the Śāḍhya gods went with the whole (complete: sarveṣa) sacrifice

68) See also Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, p. 109.
62) L. Renou and L. Silburn, Nirukta and anirukta in Vedic, in Sarusa-bhārati,
to the svarga loka ⁶⁷). Elsewhere however the thought is expressed that one becomes ‘immortal’ after having obtained all delights in the ‘world of heaven’: AiĀ. 2, 6, 6 . . . anusmān svarga loke sarvān kāmān āptvāmaṇḍitaḥ samabhavat. Once again no unambiguous theory about the relations of yro, post and propter was, in this early period, established. The svarga loka, it reads TB. 1, 3, 7, 5, is amṛtam, “the immortal”; it obviously was enough to have suggested the practical identity of both concepts ⁶⁸). It is interesting to notice that there also is a relation between the number “thousand”—which means the All or Totality (sarvam: ŚB. 8, 7, 4, 11; 10, 2, 1, 11 etc.)—and the great beyond ⁶⁹). According to PB. 16, 8, 6 and 21, 1, 9 the sacrificer who gives a thousand daksiniṇas “will reach these lokāḥ (plur.)”. ŚB. 13, 1, 3, 1 “the heavenly world is equal in extent to a thousand” ⁷⁰).

It would be possible to marshal much evidence, even from ancient texts, to show that the content of the phrase svarga lokaḥ was not rarely interpreted in a more or less ‘abstract’ sense ⁷¹). Thus PB. 4, 6, 24 it reads: “this (sāman) is (chanted) on (verses) containing the words “universal sovereign” (sāmrāj); the heavenly ‘world’ is universal sovereignty (sāmrājya vai svarga lokaḥ); they are firmly established svarga lokes”. That is, the commentary explains: “they are firmly established in sovereignty, sāmrājya being tāvastasya karmāhyam ⁷²). There is no need to dwell here on the ritual identifications of the type: the svarga loka relates to the sāman brhat (GB. 1, 3, 18).

It is therefore not surprising to find the same terminology applied to the conceptions which the ancient Aryans had formed of the hereafter: RV. 9, 113, 7 yātra yātur ājasraṃ yāsmīnḥ lokāḥ sā karit hitāṃ i tāsmin maṃ

⁷¹) “Heaven, that is the fullness of pleasure and well-being” (van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 321).
⁷³) Cf. e.g. van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 321.
⁷⁴) According to a much later explication (Nilakanṭha on Mbh. 12, 68, 54) a samrāj (“universal king”) is “a King of kings”. For the implications of kingships see my article “Ancient Indian Kingship from the religious point of view”, in the periodical Numen 3 and 4 (Leiden 1956–57).
It is only the next stanza in which mention is made of Yama’s kingdom which helps us in ‘identifying’ this loka. Evidence may even be produced in favour of the thesis that sometimes the relevant terminology is used in such a general way as to refer to both this life and the hereafter.

IX

From part of the above quotations it may have become clear that the svarga-loka-1) was not, or not always, or not explicitly, identical with the abode of the blessed dead 2). One would indeed be in error when in interpreting the statements about the sacrificer’s reaching heaven (svarga-) one would always add a non-expressed “after death”. Many text-places are it is true vague. Thus PB. 21, 4, 3 says that the performer of the aśvamedha “joins” yonder world “with his body” (sukṣaritrāh). PB. 11, 8, 14 teaches that a definite sāman is “for beholding the world of heaven”. As however the ‘mythical prototype’ of this ritual act enabled its performer to see heaven straightway (aṇjasā) the inference that he died at once to go to the abode of the blessed is not probable. Similarly 12, 5, 16. When ŠB. 7, 3, 1, 12 a definite act should be performed on the āhavanīya fire which is explicitly identified with the svarga loka, the officiant who “causes the sacrificer—who is “really intended to be born in the svarga loka”—to be born in that svarga loka”, does not cause him to suffer a sudden death or ensure his post-mortem transference to ‘heaven’, but effects his ritual rebirth or divinization 3).—Thus the world of heaven conquered by a definite hymn, which is said to be a birth (jananam) of the sacrificer by which he is propagated from the sacrifice as the birthplace of the gods, is no doubt a ‘ritual heaven’ (AiB. 3, 19, 4). Cf. also AiB. 6, 4, 11; 6, 20, 2. This is also the explication of the adjective lokavindu- “room finding” applied to a chant (PB. 11, 5, 25) 4).

In this light one should view places such as ŠB. 3, 2, 8, 5 “that is heaven where they immolate the victim” and KB. 14, 1 svargo vai loko yaṣṭāḥ

1) It would be beyond the scope of this publication to collect the instances of ritual-mystical identifications as occur e.g. JB. 1, 285; 291 (Caland, Auswahl, p. 110 f.; 117 f.).

2) Clear instances of a post-mortem journey to the svarga loka are e.g. AV. 18, 3, 4 (see above section VIII): the cow which is sacrificed at a funeral ceremony is expected to make the deceased Aryan ascend, on the road of the gods, to the svarga loka. Cf. also 18, 4, 2 (this sūkta contains funeral stanzas). AV. 18, 4, 10 (likewise a funeral formula) is quite explicit: Agni will bring the sacrificer to the svarga loka where “they revel together with the gods”. It is the sacrifice (act of worship, yaṣṭa-) itself which is believed to bring the sacrificer to that loka (18, 4, 13).

3) I refer to S. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice, Paris 1898, p. 81 etc.; Hecosterman, Royal consecration, p. 6 etc.

4) Cf. e.g. PB. 22, 8, 3 etc. Definite recitations are on the other hand a manifestation of the svarga loka (GB. 2, 3, 23; cf. 2, 5, 15).
“the sacrifice is the celestial world”. The expression “heavenly world” is also ex tempore added to the sacrificial rite which leads to ‘heaven’. AIB. 4, 32, 7 tells that once the Aṅgiras were performing a sacrificial session in order to secure the ‘heavenly world’; by reciting a definite hymn they discerned the sacrifice, the ‘heavenly world’. Similarly, 5, 14, 4. (Cf. however also 1, 8, 16; 2, 1, 2; 4, 32, 7 etc. ... yajñasya prajñātīyai svargasya lokasyānukhyāatīyai). Hence also PB. 8, 4, 1 “together with the whole (i.e. complete, integral: sarva-) sacrifice they went to the ‘world of heaven’” 5). When the first queen of a king who has the aśvamedha performed, after saying “let us (the horse and she herself) stretch our legs”, is about to place the penis of the dead horse in her womb 6), the adhvaryu 7), while covering the queen and the animal with a linen cloth (ĀpŚŚ. 18, 6, 3), pronounces the formula svargé loké pṛōṇuvaṁhām (VS. 23, 20) “envelop yourselves in the heavenly world”. As the horse has been divinized (VS. 23, 16 f.) the coitus may be supposed to take place in heavenly regions; however, ŚB. 13, 2, 8, 5 — quoted also by the comm. on VS. 23, 20 — explicitly states that “heaven is where they immolate the victim” (esa vai svarga loko yatra padam samjñāpayanti). Mahidhara adding that the words svarga loka are synonymous with “this sacrificial place” (yajñabhūmana).—The localization of ‘heaven’ on the earth is also apparent from identifications such as ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 12 where one of the ritual fires, the āhavaniya, is said to be the svarga- loka—; when they anoint the sacrificer there, they anoint him in the ‘world of heaven’.

It is in this connection worth noticing that according to JB. 1, 11 the sacrificer who knowingly performs a definite rite is every day conducted, by the rising sun, to that loka which is beyond this (loka). What is beyond the sun is ‘immortal’ (without death), that is conquered by him; what is on this side of the sun is destroyed by day and night (i.e. by time).

Among those texts which leave no doubt whatever as to the mental or ideal—in any case, ritual 8)—nature of the heaven and of the arrival in it is PB. 10, 4, 5. “It is the gāyatrī with wings of light (jyotiḥpaksām) which they practise ..., by means of the lustre (bhāsā), having reached the heavenly world (svargam lokam), he eats resplendent until old age food suitable for brahmans”. From the words “until old age” it appears that the author does not describe the sacrificer’s residence in a ‘real’ heaven and the bliss enjoyed in that ‘world’, but his earthly welfare, after he has (ideally) reached the svarga loka and has returned to “this world” 9). Compare also 3, 6, 2 where mention is made of a return “to

5) Cf. TS. 6, 1, 5, 4 and 7, 3, 1, 2 “by that which was successful in the sacrificial rite the gods went to the world of heaven”.


7) Cf. the comm. on VS. 23, 20.

8) Cf. TS. 7, 3, 7, 3; 7, 3, 9, 3 “these are the quick paths of the sacrificer, by which they proceed to the svarga loka”.

9) See also Caland, Pañćaśīna-Brahmāṇa, p. 235.
this world”, and 4, 7, 10; 5, 5, 4; 11, 10, 22; 12, 3, 23 (“for beholding the ‘world of heaven’”); 12, 5, 16; 13, 9, 19; 13, 11, 22; 14, 5, 25; 14, 9, 16; 29; 14, 10, 9; 15, 3, 13; 15, 5, 11; 25, 10, 17 etc.\textsuperscript{10}); AiB. 1, 7, 1 etc.; GB. 1, 1, 13; 14.

It is also possible to see heaven (PB. 13, 9, 19), or to touch the svarga-loka (KB. 24, 8 prṣṭhaire ... asprkṣen, notice the similarity in sound and the quasi-etymological argumentation: “by the arrangement of sāmans called prṣṭha- they touched . . .” and to draw near to ‘heaven’ without ‘entering’ it: KB. 7, 9 “it is as if having advanced (upaprayāya) one should dwell in the vicinity of the celestial world” (svargaśya lokasya nediṣṭāyāḥ vasēti). Similarly, 8, 2\textsuperscript{11}).

The question which may present itself in this connection, viz. whether those authors had any exact idea of the implications of these phrases is no doubt too simplistically answered by a reference to analogous expressions in connection with journeys or movements to a definite locality (cf. the comparison SB. 13, 2, 3, 1 f.; and see 13, 2, 8, 1). They really intended to say that the ritual act was to bring the sacrificer into temporary, but salutary and blissful contact with Power, withdrawing him from the profane sphere of the changeful and transient.

That this process of divinization might also be regarded as complicated may appear from AiB. 6, 9, 10. Here no less than four lokas are distinguished in which the sacrificer is believed to be during the performance of a definite rite: from “this loka” he goes to the intermediate space, from that antarikṣa to “yonder world”, from there to the svarga-loka. According to the commentary “yonder loka” is the nākupṛṣṭha-, “the surface of the firmament”, that is, he adds, svarga-loka: no doubt that part of the universe of which the underside is visible as the firmament; and the fourth place is the upper (uparitanam) svarga-loka- “full of pleasures” (bahubhogayuktam)\textsuperscript{12}). We may notice that the process of ritual ascension is in this account made to harmonize, to a certain extent, with the three planes of the visible universe which are often called lokas also. This might attest to the existence of the belief that heaven (in the religious sense) was also a material or perceptible loka.

\textsuperscript{10} Similar remarks may be made in connection with the “world of the gods” (devaloka-), e. g. PB. 4, 6, 2.

\textsuperscript{11} Other terms used in this connection are “reaching” (āṣnutō: AV. 9, 5, 20); “being conducted to” (AV. 12, 3, 10 f.); “securing” (avu-rudhir: AV. 9, 6, 9); “to discern heaven” (pra-jñā: TS. 6, 5, 8, 2); “to approach or occupy heaven” (ā-krama:- PB. 4, 4, 6; 26, 2, 2); “to reach—” (sam-adhir: PB. 2, 6, 2); “to take hold of—” (ā-rābhir: PB. 4, 3, 5); “to turn oneself to—” (abhi-vrt: PB. 4, 3, 2). One may also run the risk of going beyond (ati-pad-) heaven (PB. 7, 3, 23); “falling from it”, i.e. “being deprived of it” (cyu:- PB. 2, 6, 2; ava-paṃd- “not reaching it”: PB. 4, 6, 24); “being held away from it” (ava-grha:- PB. 6, 7, 22).

\textsuperscript{12} We are for instance informed of a ritual technique to make the celestial world resplendent for the sacrificer (TS. 2, 5, 11, 7), or to exclude him from it (2, 6, 5, 6), or thrust him out of it (2, 6, 5, 4).
Allowing ourselves to dwell on this important point, it may be recalled here that the tripartite visible universe, sky, air and earth, is not only very often mentioned and, as already observed, called lokes, but also believed to be full of religious and soteriological import. The sacrificer who imitates Viṣṇu, i.e. who ceremoniously reiterates the mythical act of the god who pervades the universe and creates room (ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 9 ff.) by "mounting", first the earth, "the most certain of the lokes" (7, 4, 1, 8), which he successfully makes his loka, his well-founded basis, then the intermediate space, then the celestial space, reaches his supreme goal (also ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 12 ff.). "Viṣṇu's steps are these (three) worlds; thus having ascended these worlds, he is high above everything here" (5, 4, 2, 6)). This ritual ascension (cf. also JB. 1, 146 anantarhīṭān eva uṛdhvān lokān jayati "so erringt man von hierher in aufsteigender Reihenfolge die sich anschliessenden Räume") 14), which is believed to have been shown and instituted by the god of the axis mundi 15), cannot be disconnected from the well-known belief that a particular or sacred place may be a good starting-point for undertaking a journey to heaven or for leaving transitoriness behind in order to come into touch with eternity 16). That a firm basis in the intermediate space was, in doing so, as essential a condition as a pratisthā- on the earth, may be inferred from places such as PB. 17, 13, 18 "By the seasonal sacrifices of rice and barley the gods gained this world, by the same, combined with a victim, the intermediate region, by the same as some sacrifices, yonder 'world'. He who knows this reaches these lokas and is firmly established in them". Compare e.g. also TS. 3, 5, 4, 3; 5, 6, 8, 2; 7, 5, 24, 1 invoking Agni who dwells on the earth, Vāyu who dwells in the intermediate region, and Sūrya who dwells in the sky, as winners of room (lokaspr-), to grant room (lokav) to the sacrificer 17); 5, 6, 5, 3 "In that he keeps the fire ... he wins (sprut) this world, in that he piles the fire, he wins the intermediate region; in that he sacrifices, he wins yonder 'world' "; JB. 1, 146; ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 32; JB. 1, 5, 12–14 and see also places such as ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 3.

It is worth while to quote here part of the detailed discussion of the race in the vājapeya sacrifice 18) in the TB. (1, 3, 6, 5 ff.). In connection with the injunction "Run, O bearers of vāja (i.e. the horses) for vāja

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13) Cf. also AiB. 6, 15, 11.
14) Caland, Auswahl, p. 47.
15) See Aspects of early Viguism, Utrecht 1954, p. 81 ff. etc.
18) See e.g. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 159 f.
(the generative power ‘won’ by the race) 19), go to the goal (kāsthām)” (cf. TS. 1, 7, 8, 1; ĀpŚ. 18, 4, 18), the author observes that the kāsthā- (this term may also mean “the place for running, the whole course”) is the svarga loka, so that indeed “those who run a race go to the heavenly ‘Raum’”. They go, moreover, eastward, because this loka is in the East. They, the text consistently continues, depart from, or lose, (pra-cyuta-) “this ‘Raum’”. After the chariot has returned the mantra ā mā vājasya prasāvad jagannayād “may the stimulation (generation) of vāja have reached me” 20). That means, TB. § 6 says, “he secures food because vāja is food, adding; “(it is) as if they conquer a loka”. The custom to give to those who join in the race a small piece of gold (ĀpŚŚ. 18, 5, 4) is explained by the remark (§ 6) that one (the sacrificer) purchases the vāja, i.e. the loka which was conquered by them. The last statement (yam eva te vājaṁ lokam ujjayanti) is especially interesting because of the identification of vāja and loka. Cf. also § 9.—For the race see also PB. 18, 7, 9 f.; 13: “they run a race and make the sacrificer win; thereby they make him gain the ‘world of heaven’” ; “that is”, Caland 21) observed, “he mounts by means of a ladder to the top of the sacrificial post”. See also KB. 23, 5.

The details contained in ŚB. 5, 1, 5, 1 (vājapeya) may perhaps shed some more light on this question: When they run a race, they acquire by conquest this ‘world’; when the brahman sings a sāman on the cart-wheel set up on (a post), the antarikṣaloka-; when he climbs the sacrificial post, the devaloka-. As is well-known races were to a high degree sacred actions intended to set useful power in motion or to generate beneficial energy; they were to restore the productive power of the earth, to renew the world and to put those performing them into possession of vigour and energy 22). Another feature of this rite, the brahman’s singing the sāman of the strong steeds—bearers of vāja “which means food” (TB. 1, 3, 6, 2) which is thus gained—on the wheel of udumbara wood which—representing food or prosperity—is turned to the right, is in TB. 1, 3, 6, 1 associated with the Indra myth, that is to say, the wheel is said to be the vajra, by which the quarters of the universe are gained. By climbing to the top of the sacrificial post which is decorated by a wheel-shaped garland of meal the sacrificer solemnly mounts to the sun: when he has touched the wheat he says: “we have gone to the light, O gods” (ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 12); and as this wheat is food, he wins food and goes with that to the goal (13 gatim); rising by (the measure of) his head over the post he wins, with “we have become immortal”, the world of the gods (14); and he now lays within himself and makes his own the glory (yasaḥ) and the specific powers called indriya- and virya- of the All.

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19) For vāja- see ibidem, p. 63 etc.

20) For the force of the perfect see L. Renou, La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques, Paris 1925, p. 34.

21) Caland, Pañcaśāstra-Brahmāsūtra, p. 488.

22) Aspects of early Viṣṇuisms, p. 47 (with a brief bibliography).
Although all implications of the statement contained in AiB. 7, 10, 3—which according to the comm. was not read everywhere and was not commented upon by his predecessors—do not come to light, so much appears from this difficult passage that by performing the agnihotra together with his wife the sacrificer is said to win sons, grandsons and great grandsons in this and yonder ‘world’, and that yonder (‘world’) of heaven is in this ‘world’ (asmiṃl loke ’yām svargaḥ); by that which is not heaven one has mounted to the world of heaven (asvargena svargena lokam āruhoha). By performing the piling of the fire for a man whose wife has died or disappeared one helps him in attaining these aims. We know that “in the agnihotra is release from repeated death (in the hereafter)” (ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 9; cf. 10, 1, 4, 14). Thus “one maintains the continuity of—which here seems to mean “uninterrupted possibility of coming in contact with”—yonder ‘world’ (amucyayāva lokasya santātiṃ dhārayati) for him whose wife one does not require (i.e. one can dispense with)” 23). According to JB. 1, 338 24) Śyāvāśva was left behind by his companions with whom he was performing a sacrifice; they went to heaven and invited him to follow them.

Yet the vagueness of the texts does not always permit one exactly to understand the implications of the expressions used. Thus ŚB. 3, 4, 4, 27 it is stated that they conquer a loka (or the loka) by tapas. By making one’s tapas ever and ever wider (variyah), one conquers an ever and ever more excellent (dreyāṃsam) loka. From the next words (vastiyām u haiśmniṃl loke bhavati “he becomes better (more prosperous in this world”) one might infer that the former loka is not in the mundane sphere, but this conclusion is not cogent and the way out may be to assume that here also the temporary loka experienced in the ritual reality is meant.—Compare e.g. also JB. 1, 218: by means of a special ritual technique which “leads to heaven” (svargya-) the gods reached these lokas; the man who knows and imitates them will reach the svarga loka 25).

That the ‘world of heaven’ often was reached not actually, but in the

23) If this may be guessed to be the sense of these difficult words (yasyaiśām pataṁ naichet), for which see also Keith, Rigveda Brāhmaṇas, p. 297.


25) Although, for instance, the Rāmāyaṇa is quite definite that svarga is the highest form of bliss conceivable—a statement regularly made is that even life in heaven is without attraction when separated from the beloved (Ananda G urge, The society of Rāmāyaṇa, Maharagama 1960, p. 269 f.)—it cannot be known for certain from the data contained in this epic what the author and his hearers conceived to be the actual character of that svarga-, svarīloka-, or svarṣaloaka- (see e.g. the critical note on Rām. 1, 43, 15 cr. ed. (G. H. Bhatt, The Bālavāṇa, Baroda 1960, p. 281)). These terms and many other expressions are used promiscuously, cf. e.g. Rām. 2, 98, 31 ff. cr. ed.: gatah svargam, tridīvam gatah, brhamaloka-; 2, 48, 28 tapasā dīvam āruḍhāḥ; 2, 101, 29 tridīvam gataḥ; 1, 40, 26 dīvam gataḥ, side by side with dīyaloaka-, devaloaka- (devaloka gataḥ “died” Mbh. 13, 58, 25 vulg.; Rām. 1, 2, 3 cr. ed.); dēvalaya- (Rām. 1, 40, 392*); tridaśalaya- (Mbh. 3, 1852 C.) etc.
ideal sphere of the ritual reality appears not only from a statement such as PB. 14, 9, 32 "Dvigat, by means of this chant, went twice to heaven", but also from descriptions such as KB. 7, 8 śvargaṁ vai lokaṁ prāyaṁyena- bhūpraiti "he advances with the introductory libation (on the first day of a soma sacrifice) to the celestial world"; . . . imānṛ vai lokam udāyaṁyena pratyeti "he goes with the concluding libation to this world". The same chapter contains some particulars showing how the sacrificer may undertake this ritual journey safely; this result is attained by the occurrence of words for "safe", "bring across" etc. in the relative stanzas. Hence the ritual directions such as PB. 4, 7, 10 "as they climb from here (i.e. from the ground) a tree, thus they descend from it: having ascended to the 'world of heaven' they thereby regain firm support in this 'world' ". We may suppose this firm support to be due to his temporary sojourn in the svarga loka. Hence also the statement that the introductory offering of a complex rite is an approach to the celestial loka (AiB. 1, 7, 1), the concluding sacrifice a return to 'this world' (KB. 7, 8), and the remark TB. 1, 8, 8, 5 "in that he is consecrated in the rājasūya, he ascends to the heavenly 'world'; if he did not descend (again) to this (earthly) 'world', he would either depart to a (region) which lies beyond (all) human beings, or he would go mad". This conclusion is far from unwise, because man cannot with impunity remain for a long time in an abnormal condition. This fact is also explicitly emphasized at JB. 1, 89 where it is stated that those engaged in sacrificing should walk towards the North (cf. DrāhyŚŚ. 4, 1, 9 with the comm.) 26; thereby they convey the sacrificer to the world of heaven; they raise their arms; thereby they place him in the world of heaven. However, by causing someone who is mortal to become 'immortal' they contravene universal law and order (anṛtāṁ kurvanti), with the result that they are deprived of splendour and a (beautiful) outward appearance. — Cf. also TS. 6, 1, 5, 5 "if . . ., he would mount to yonder world away from this, and would be liable to die".

The process by which the contact between the sacrificer and the sphere of the gods in achieved is ŚB. 2, 5, 9 ff.; 2, 6, 4 ff.; 2, 7, 4 ff. described as follows: "they invite the above deities by way of the words of the priests; he (the sacrificer) invited by them (then partakes of the spoonful of soma) . . . (that is to say, he brings a communion about 27); the sacrificer is now invited to the loka of these deities" (cf. also 2, 2, 1). An interesting statement is made in ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 31: the dikṣita- (i.e. consecrated sacrificer) enters the lokas, making for the company of the gods; "he now has himself invited amongst them", and therefore he "arises (in the other world) complete, with a whole body, and with (all) his limbs". Elsewhere it is the ritual fires which propagate the sacrificer, in the celestial region, through offspring, cattle and brahmanic dignity (TB. 1, 2, 1, 14 f.; ĀpŚŚ.

26) See also Caland, Jaim. Br. in Auswahl, p. 19.
27) Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 366.
According to ŚB. 11, 1, 8, 6 the oblation and next the whole sacrifice should be "redeemed"; then the latter will become the sacrificer's self in the hereafter. The sacrificer who knowing this performs these prescribed rites will come into existence in 'yonder world' with a complete body.

As already stated the rite itself and the ritual fire, which are essential elements in the process of the sacrificer's transformation, are likewise indicated by the term 'celestial loka' (KB. 14, 1; ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 12). Or the substance with regard to which the ritual act is performed transforms itself or, rather, is transformed by the consecratory power of the formulas pronounced over it, into lokas and from these lokas high powers gained already in mythical prehistory those results which will hic et nunc fall to the sacrificer's share (AV. 12, 3, 45) \(^{28}\). As appears from AV. 12, 3, 42 and Kaush. 62, 10 where that stanza is used, the rice-dish, which is to be a heaven-going road to the realm of the Fathers, is divided into three portions; "with three divisions it has ascended to the three celestial regions" (AV. 12, 3, 42 d). Obviously these three portions of the sacrificial matter are transmuted into, or homologized with, celestial lokas from which high powers such as the Parameshthin may be said to have obtained (viz. that which the sacrificer desires to acquire).—According to ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 12 the man who is anointed on the ahavanīya fire is anointed in the 'world of heaven' because the ahavanīya is the 'world of heaven'.—

The expression "celestial" world may in these connections also be closely associated with other highly important and much desired ideals or entities which sometimes give us the impression of more or less explicative paraphrases of the idea 'heaven'. Thus KB. 6, 15 definite ritual proceedings are said to be "goings" or "departures" to every desire and (NB!) to the world of heaven. In ŚB. 12, 8, 1, 22 the heavenly world is explicitly said to be safety (abhayam): cf. VS. 19, 48—which is quoted here—where it is wished that the sacrificial substance may win, inter alia, "this world of ours and peace and safety (lokasany abhayasuni)"; Uvaṭa's explication: abhayam, i.e. apunarāyitih, "final exemption from transmigration", though anachronistic, is not incompatible with ŚB. l.c. "in the heavenly world he thus finally establishes himself" (antataḥ pratitiṣṭhati).

An interesting place is TS. 7, 4, 4, 1 f.: Prajāpati went to the 'world of heaven' \(^{29}\) (swargam lokam). By performing a definite rite the gods overtook him, mounted him and went also to that 'world'. Hence also men are able to go, by means of that rite, to prosperity (śrī-), "because the 'world of heaven' for men is welfare or prosperity" (śrī hi manusyaṣya swarga lokaḥ). See also PB. 5, 4, 5. In an expatiation upon the "wilds and ravines" of sacrifice the author of ŚB. 12, 2, 3, 12 asserts that those

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\(^{28}\) See The Savayajñas, p. 190 f.

who know pass from one safe place to another and obtain well-being (swasti), the heavenly world. Ibid. 11 the latter expression is coupled together with pratiṣṭhā- and ‘food’ (annādyā-). From ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 10; 12, 5, 2, 9 ff. it likewise appears that to be well established (have a firm foundation), being foremost and eating (plenty of) food were considered (among) the main privileges of the denizens of heaven. For the importance of a pratiṣṭhā- in heaven see also AiB. 1, 5, 8.

It has already been pointed out that gaining a loka is TB. 1, 3, 6, 5 ff. explicitly considered identical with gaining that most important generative power which was known as vāja 30), the production of which was one of the chief purposes of the sacrificer’s endeavour. See also GB. 2, 5, 8; PB. 18, 7, 12 “the svarga loka is vāja” (cf. 18, 7, 1). Elsewhere the highest loka, the highest goal (gati-), the highest bliss (ānanda-) and “the highest completion, perfection or fulfilment” (sampad-) are synonymous or complementary attempts to give an idea of the brahma-loka (BĀU. 4, 3, 32).

The attainment of the worlds of heaven (svargān lokān) means the fulfilment of all desires and “all attainments (svarā astiḥḥ), all immortality” (KB. 6, 15) 31). That is to say the man who knows how to enact the appropriate rites and to achieve effective ritual performances is able to secure the fulfilment of every wish and a ‘perfect or complete life’, which consists of earthly happiness and prosperity (ēri-; see above). An unmistakable association of the celestial sphere and what is, in translations, usually called “immortality”, but rather is “continuance of life, protection against death” 32) occurs also AiB. 8, 14, 4 and 19, 2 annuṣṭhām svarge loke sarvān kāmān āpteśūntaḥ samabhavat (sambhavati) “in yonder heavenly ‘world’, having obtained all desires he became (becomes) free from death”. One should however read also the preceding words: “(Indra, the ksatriya) ... having won the overlordship, the paramount rule ... in this world, independent (svayamabhāḥ), autonomous (svaṁ), free from death (umṛtaḥ), he became (becomes) in yonder ... ‘world’ ...” 33). That is to say, the condition which for convenience may be called ‘immortality’

30) See above, p. 93.
31) Even allowing for the unmistakable systematization and the incidental character of part of the identifications thought of for ritual purposes in the brahmanaś and allied texts it seems useful to draw attention also to the type of identification represented by ŚB. 14, 1, 2, 22: anna vai lokā rjaḥ, satyam rjaḥ, satyam eṣa yu eṣa tapati “yonder world is straight (right, sincere), (and) straight is the truth, and the sun is the truth”.—The intimate connection between heaven and the fulfilment of desires is also emphasized by later commentators, e.g. Nilakanṭha on Ganesāgītā 6, 19 who explains brahmanāya ... ādhyān lokān prāpya by -ādhyān sarvabhūmānampunnāmi lokān prāpya.—Other characteristics of the divinized are enumerated e.g. AV. Paipp. 17, 41, 3 “all-embracing, accomplishing everything” (vidvamsad videkārnavā); see The Savitṛṇās, p. 214.
32) For umṛta- see Four studies in the language of the Veda, The Hague 1959, p. 97 f.
33) For the relation between ‘heaven’ and ‘immortality’ see also p. 88.
belongs to the person concerned already in his earthly existence, before his removal to the svarga loka. Hence also the explicit statement that yonder ‘heaven’ (svargak)—which is gained by ritual effort (AV. 12, 3, 38)—is ‘in this world’ (asmiṇḍa loke: AiB. 7, 10, 3): “by that which is not svarga one mounts to the svarga loka”.

Notwithstanding this character of the svarga loka the texts not rarely resort to phrases which may have been borrowed from popular conceptions about a journey 34 to a ‘heaven’ situated on the same level as the abodes of those alive, or lying in higher spheres. “In the north-east is the gate of the world of heaven” (ŚB. 6, 6, 2, 4); “one applies the strongest stomas in order to reach heaven, just like noblemen who when undertaking a journey, yoke their strongest horses” (PB. 6, 3, 15); PB. 11, 5, 20. “With the chariot of the gods one attains the celestial ‘world’ in safety (prosperity: svasti)” (KB. 18, 4); cf. also TS. 5, 4, 10, 1; this chariot is the sacrificial fire (KB. 5, 10, in connection with the deceased sacrificer). PB. 11, 10, 16 and 14, 5, 17 speak of boats and of crossing the sea 35. Cf. also AiB. 4, 27, 4. In ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 36 the svarga loka is said to be the “mounting”, “ascension” or “height” (roha-) mentioned in VS. 13, 51 “those meet for worship (the gods) ascended to the height” (: rohanīyaṁ svargaṁ, Mahidhara; svargaṁ, Uvaṭa). The celestial world is accordingly mounted (TS. 6, 6, 1, 1; 7, 3, 5, 1) or entered from below: ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 23 36. Or “becoming a hawk one flies to it”: TS. 5, 4, 11, 127. TS. 6, 3, 4, 1 and other texts simply state that heaven is “upwards as it were”.

It is possible to obtain further data from the brāhmaṇas. In AiB. 4, 20, 1 ff. the ‘world of heaven’ (svarga-loka-) is said to be “the difficult mounting” (dārohaṇam): “as to its being the difficult mounting, he that gives heat yonder (the sun) is hard to mount, and whoever goes there . . . verily thus he mounts him” 38. In an interesting passage (ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 10) the highest light existing—which, as may appear from 16 must be the disc of the sun itself 39—is declared to be Prajāpati or the celestial world; if one “has ascended these—i.e. the well-known three—‘worlds’, one reaches that goal, that pratiṣṭhā”. Cf. also TB. 1, 4, 1, 3; 1, 6, 3, 7 yadv akarṣpālam āhareṇye juhoti, yajamānaṃ eva svargaṁ lokam gamati; yadv dhastena juhāta, svargaṁ lokād yajamānaṁ avaidhīyet (for depriving of

34 It is no need to dwell on mythical journeys or removals (such as e.g. TS. 3, 1, 9, 5; JB. 1, 121 f.).
35 It would be interesting exactly to know which was the connection between the statements “rich in honey he becomes; rich in honey become his provisions (āharīyaṁ) ; worlds rich in honey he conquers” (AV. 9, 1, 23); they may constitute a climax, “the provisions” being his victuals during the ‘journey’ to the lokas which he will win, wherever they may be.
36 It is “turned away, directed toward some place beyond” (TS. 6, 5, 11, 1).
37 Cf. also JB. 1, 86.
38 When there is a mounting there is also a descending: ŚB. 12, 4, 2, 7.
heaven and similar ideas cf. 1, 7, 9, 6). See e.g. also AiB. 2, 3, 7 ārdhvaḥ svargam lokam esyatā; 2, 13, 6; in KB. 22, 1 “the gods flew up to the world of heaven”.

In AV. 11, 1, 7 this loka- is localized: “Ascend upwards (so as to be) on the height of the firmament (or, on the summit of the vault of heaven: nākusya ... viṣṭāpaṁ), which they give the name of the ‘heavenly world’ ” 40). The commentator takes these words to mean: “go, at the end of this bodily existence, upwards and ascend the upper region (uparideśam = viṣṭāpaṁ) of the loka- which is free from contact with sorrow”. See also ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 1; 10; 21; 8, 6, 3, 19 “the firmament is the world of heaven”; 9, 4, 4, 3. ŚB. 14, 3, 1, 28 “Sūrya the highest light” is said to be “the heavenly world”. An interesting passage about heaven being beyond the atmosphere is JB. 1, 291. According to JB. 1, 224 heaven is the end, i.e. the highest of the lokas.

In commenting upon a series of acts to be performed as part of the ceremonies of the six days’ soma festival the author of JB. (2, 298) says also that those concerned should go against the stream (of the Sarasvatī), because heaven is so to say, “against the stream”; “thus they set foot upon heaven”. In AiB. 4, 17, 8 a distinction is made between two rites, the one being a path which leads straight to the heavenly world, the other a long circuitous route to the same destination.

Other places dealing with an ‘ideal’ or ritual—and temporary—departure for the ‘heavenly world’ are ŚB. 2, 3, 3, 16: when he walks up towards the east, he steers that (ship, i.e. the agnihotra, cf. § 15) eastwards towards the ‘heavenly world’, which he gains by it; 3, 7, 1, 23; 3, 8, 1, 16; 5, 4, 3, 23. Yet the “ship”—cf. also AiB. 6, 6, 6 nāvaḥ sampārīṇyaḥ applied to definite formulas; 7, 13, 4; ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 10; 11, 5, 3, 6 “I thereby settled myself in the heavenly world” (svargena loke dhām); JB. 1, 121 f.; 1, 334; GB. 2, 5, 12—may be a metaphor without any direct connection with popular belief.

It is worth observing that the ‘attainment’ 41) of the svarga loka is not always indicated by the same words and that moreover these words may occur cumulatively. Thus, a thousand verses 42) being recited serve “for the attainment of the svarga loka, the acquisition, the going to” (samaṣṭyaṁ sampattyaṁ sampatyaṁ, AiB. 2, 17, 8; 4, 30, 2). In contradiction to those places where one single term is used (e.g. 6, 8, 3; 6, 23, 12 āpiyai) one might perhaps suppose the author to have attempted to be as clear as possible, anticipating the critical remark that no verb is adequate to give an exact impression of what will happen 43).

40) See The Savayajñas, p. 146 (with references).
41) For “touching” see above and e.g. also GB. 2, 6, 2; for “securing” 1, 2, 4.
42) For a thousand see above, p. 88.
43) I have my doubts as to the correctness of Keith’s (Rigveda Brahmans, p. 274) interpretation of AiB. 6, 20, 14 para va asmiḥ lokāḥ svargo lokāḥ “the world of heaven is to come as compared with this world”. The verse RV. 3, 38, 1c abhi
A place in heaven may however also be produced or generated. Thus an at first sight curious use of the term occurs AV. 12, 3, 47 “I cook, I give; and also my wife at the religious work. A youthful (‘virgin’) world has been born as a son” (kaúmáro lokó ajāṇiṣta putrāḥ) 44). Bloomfield however completely misunderstood these words, which do not mean “with the birth of a son the world of children has arisen (for you)”, but rather express the thought that the (heavenly) world is the son produced by the ritual co-operation of the sacrificer and his wife. AV. 12, 3, 38, quoted Kauś. 61, 46 48) is of special interest because it admits of the inference that the svarga loka was something or some state which could be, or had to be, produced by the effects of the ritual acts of the sacrificer: “...you made this loka; let the broad unequalled heaven (svargāḥ) expand” (ākaro lokām etāṁ urāḥ prathatāṁ āsamaḥ svargāḥ). This consecratory formula is pronounced when the sacred rice-dish is furnished with an under-layer. Cf. also PB. 4, 1, 8 “in that..., they generate these lokas, they obtain firm support in these lokas”: these expressions obviously are complementary, or mutually explicative.

The pieces of wood used for kindling the sacrificial fires are addressed with TB. 1, 2, 1, 14 f. (ĀpŚŚ. 5, 8, 8): “Aus mir wendet ihr morgen in der Frühe fortgeplazt werden, und ihr beide wendet, ins Dasein getreten, mich fortplazzen (“procreated, reproduce me”), durch Nachkommen, Tiere und priesterliches Ansehen in dem Himmelsraume” (Caland) 46).

I must now leave this point to consider an identification which may at first sight seem incomprehensible, viz. that of the celestial loka and the year (TB. 1, 3, 7, 4; 2, 2, 3, 6). As is well known the authors of the brāhmaṇas made a practice of adusing identifications in support of their ritualistic theories, which not rarely tended to become rather complex 47). Thus ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 19 the man who by means of a definite rite “gains the year” enters it, “as the world of heaven”. This place and ŚB. 11, 1, 2, 12 furnish us with an explication: the gods did not become ‘immortal’ before they had gained the year, for the year is the counterpart of Prajāpati

priyāṇi māṁśat pariṣṭi which forms part of a stanza in which the poet expects an inspiration and starts composing a hymn (The Vision of the Vedic poets, p. 205) seems to mean “coming in contact with dear (things) which are far (beyond)”, i.e. with the transcendent reality where are the sources of his inspiration. AIB., i.e. supplies ahāni, observing that the pariṣṭi ahāni—which usually means “days to come”—are dear, and that the verse helps to lay hold of these, the allusion being to heaven. As pariṣṭi—means “the great beyond” the svarga loka may here likewise be said to be “far” or “beyond”.


48) The Savayajñas, p. 84; 176 f.

48) For other particulars concerning the sacrificer’s ascension to heaven see especially S. Lévi, La doctrine du sacrifice dans los brāhmaṇas, Paris 1898, p. 87 ff.; for the journey of the deceased, ibidem, p. 93 ff.

47) See e.g. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 177 f. etc.
(ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 13) 48) and the totality (sāram, i.e. the whole, that which is complete in itself, the totality of the universe viewed as a unity), and since the imperishable (akṣayam) means the totality, imperishable merit, (i.e.) the imperishable loka accrues to a person by that (i.e. by gaining the year). The last part of this argumentation recurs 11, 2, 3, 6. In reading this statement one should remember that the year is viewed here in the first place as a cosmological entity, the full time cycle, and that by winning the year one masters the whole of time (PB. 18, 9, 7 “in the year are contained the past and the future; he (the priest) makes him (the sacrificer) prosper with regard to the past and the future”). The officiant who by means of 362 formulas obtains the year provides his employer with a pratiṣṭhā-, “and he thus makes the sacrificer reach the svarga loka and establishes him (pratiṣṭhāpayati) therein” (ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 10); “Verily, whosoever thus knows this entering of the sacrificial rites into the year becomes a sharer in the svarga loka” (12, 3, 5, 11); TS. 2, 5, 11, 6 by performing a twelfefold action one makes twelve, i.e. the number of the months; thereby one delights the year and brings it up for the sacrificer, to gain the svarga loka. The year is moreover stated to be identical with aerial or heavenly space (vyomam- ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 11): PB. 18, 2, 4; 14; or with these worlds generally: ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 30; 8, 2, 1, 17; 8, 4, 2, 15. It is only after overcoming time that one gains access to ‘heaven’.

Whereas it cannot be said that these texts show a fairly correct cosmological and geographical knowledge, their authors could not always suppress an inclination to speculate concerning the distance from here to the celestial regions 49). An interesting place is AiB. 6, 9, 10 stating that the mutual distances between the three worlds are 9, 10, 9, the last distance being that between yonder loka and svarga loka. According to PB. 16, 8, 6 the svarga loka is as far removed from our world as a thousand cows standing one above the other (…tāvatpramāṇa unnate śhāne svargākhyo lokaḥ, comm.) 50); the ritual consequences of this assumption need not detain us here. See also PB. 16, 10, 3; 18, 2, 7, and 21, 1, 9, where however the distance of a thousand-day’s journey on horseback (or on a chariot), or a thousand-day’s journey (on foot) are given as an alternative. Cf. also AiB. 2, 17, 8: a thousand verses are recited for the attainment of the svarga loka. It may be remembered that a thousand “means (the) all (sāram)” (e.g. ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 6) and that the “heavenly world is equal in extent to a thousand”, so that by so many oblations (of drops) this loka may be obtained (13, 13, 1) 51). Elsewhere this distance is said to be as much as twelve journeys: KB. 8, 9 (“twelve journeys

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49) See Lévi, o.c., p. 93.
51) See also The Savayajñas, p. 168. For “a thousand” see above, p. 88.
away”). This number is likewise connected with totality, because it is the characteristic number of the year and the year is explicitly identified with the all (ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 5) 52). These speculations constitute the beginnings of a ‘cosmological system’ in which ‘heaven’ or heavens in the religious sense find a place.

From AV. 18, 2, 47 it appears that even when the text refers to heaven, the term loka- is not necessarily synonymous with that idea, but may indicate a ‘place’, ‘locality’ or situation in heaven for an individual to exist in: tē dyām udātāvidanta lokām nākasya ṣrṣṭē ādhi “having gone up to heaven, they have found a place... upon the back of the firmament”; the commentary explains: sukṛṣṭapalopakhogastānām which is essentially correct. In the next stanza it is the third heaven, called pradīvam where the Fathers are supposed to sit. Whereas RV. 9, 113, 9 uses, in this connection, the expression trinākāv tridivē dīvāḥ 53), MS. 1, 10, 18: 158, 1 speaks of a loka-: tṛṭīye hi lokē pītāraḥ, from which it appears that that “third heaven” may be called a loka-; similarly MS. 2, 3, 9: 37, 17; PB. 9, 8, 5 tṛṭīye hi loke pītāraḥ 54). AV. 18, 2, 25 it reads in a similar way: “let not the tree oppress you (the deceased), nor the... earth; having found a place (lokaṃ: sthānam, comm.) among the Fathers, thrive (there)...”. AV. 18, 3, 73 which is to accompany the deposition of the bones of the deceased in the ceremony of interment (Kauś. 85, 24) invites the dead man to go forth unto “the principal loka which is there”; “there” (atra) being opposed to “here” (iha) in the first line, must refer to the beyond. The comm. seems to be right in explaining prathamaḥ by mukhyayaḥ; loka- must denote a particular ‘space’ or sphere in the beyond. See also AV. 6, 123, 2 with the comm. PB. 21, 1, 9 is quite unambiguous in this regard: na vā amuṣṁin loke sahasrayaḥ aloko ‘sti “he who sacrifices with a thousand (cows as daksinā) is not deprived of space in yonder ‘world’”.

In a long enumeration of the results of definite oblations etc. (ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 12 ff.)—among which are past and future, brahmanhood, nobility, royal dignity, ‘asceticism’ (tapas) 55)—it reads (19): “the portion of the sacrificial cakes to be eaten by the brahman before the iḍā ceremony (prāśītram) is the loka, and whosoever knows this secures for himself a loka; and whatever is to be gained by a loka (up to this occurrence Eggeling translated “the place (in heaven)”), all that he now gains; and, indeed, he does not by ever so little lose his loka (“place”, Eggeling), for it is by ever so little that in yonder ‘world’ (amuṣṁin loke) men lose (their) place (lokaḥ); and whosoever knows this does not lose (his) loka however much evil he may have done”. The comm. explains loka- by lokyamānāt

52) For twelve as a cosmic number see Heiler, Erscheinungsformen, p. 171.
55) I refer to Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 184 f.
“the seen or perceived fruit of acts”.

An illustrative passage occurs JB. 2, 160 f.: a young man, who had fainted away went to the further (or other: para-) loka; there he met his father who, likewise in a swoon, had preceded him, and now had a nice place (kalyāṇa lokaḥ: “ein schöner Raum”, Caland). In answer to his son’s questions the father said that a still nicer loka belonged to the new-comer, because he had been more successful in a definite ritual detail.

That it is possible to have (or occupy) a loka- ‘place’ or to be in a definite state in the svarga or the other world (anusmṛti loka) appears also from ŚB. 12, 5, 2, 8 where a sacrificer is stated to pass on to that place which has been won by him in heaven (yo 'yā svarga loko jīto bhavati tam abhy atyetya)—notice also the instructive additions: “even as if one who fears spoliation were to escape it” and “the sacrificial fires... make everything ready (i.e. comfortable) for him”,—from 13 where he is said to arise immortal “from out of that place”, and from ChU. 1, 9, 3 f., where loka- in the former use alternates with jīvanam “life” (in this world): tāvād asmiṁl loke jīvanaṁ bhavisyati, tathā anusmṛti lokaḥ “and so will their state in that world be” (cf. Radhakrishnan’s translation).

The belief that heaven—whether attainable in life or after death—was not one homogeneous and undivided ‘abode’ but a complex or collective entity may have led to the conclusion that there also happiness and prosperity were relative, no absolute notions. One may for instance hope to “prosper” or “be successful” (rāh-) in heaven (TB. 1, 8, 8, 4 etc.). That the authorities to whom we owe the brāhmaṇas devised ritual techniques to ensure prosperity in heaven for their clients (PB. 18, 10, 5; 23, 15, 7; cf. 17, 12, 1; TB. 1, 3, 7, 3 “he makes yonder world rich in food for him”) is on the one hand perfectly intelligible, but shows also that this prosperity was not a matter of course. —The man who while sacrificing offers a thousand cows to the priests will “not be deprived of space in yonder world” (na aloko ‘sti), which of course would be a terrible prospect (PB. 21, 1, 9), but he who in a particular way overdoes his part in sacrificing will be obliged to sacrifice continuously in yonder loka, emaciated, shaggy and without success (JB. 1, 233). AiB. 6, 18, 9 gives rise to similar considerations: aṁśaṁ svargāṁ lokaṁ sarvarāpan sarvasamyddhdāṁ avāpavāma “let us obtain the worlds of heaven without defeat, with all forms, with all perfection” (Keith); the existence of a deficient and imperfect celestial abode obviously was not beyond possibility 56). TS. 6, 6, 9, 2 the question is raised: “What is it that the sacrificer

56) In contexts such as AV. 4, 35, 5 “for which (the) worlds rich in ghee flow (with ghee)” the term is used in a very vague way including any position to be gained by those who have a claim on it, wherever it may be (see The Savayajñas, p. 285).—When the officiating priests wear gold, one will secure splendour in yonder world, because gold is light (PB. 18, 7, 6 ff.).—It may be observed that health and prosperity were no more the only or normal state of affairs in the world of the Fathers: “may I be healthy in the pitṛloka” (GB. 2, 2, 1).
does in the sacrifice by which he goes alive to the world of heaven? (yena jīvan svārygaṁ lokam eti)".—Needless to say that also the conviction that the svarga loka is not common to all (avamāyī), is in harmony with the general belief about 'heaven': AiB. 6, 36, 15 “only certain people meet there” (kakṣaṁ vai . . . sameti).

An advance in the conceptions of the ‘celestial’ regions, at least in the clearness with which they are set forth, is made in ChU. 3, 13, 7 “the light (jyotiḥ) which shines higher than this heaven, on the backs above all things, on the backs above all (sarvatoḥ), in the highest lokāḥ beyond which there is no higher . . .” (cf. also 1, 6, 8), the more so as this “light” is stated to be identical with the “light” in the person.

It will however be well to remember that the idea of winning excellent lokas is often co-ordinated with coming into possession of the highest and the best in the terrestrial sphere. In ChU. 1, 9, 2 the text does not distinguish between rewards in this world and the conquest of lokas (para-varisyo hāsyā bhavati, para-variyaso ṣa lokāḥ jayati); from § 3 and 4 it appears that a life in this world and an existence in yonder world are meant. Similarly, ChU. 2, 7, 2. In this connection 8, 1, 6 is interesting in that it shows that the merit acquired by ‘work’ in this world may also be called a loka-, and that therefore there is no fundamental difference between a situation gained by the effects of meritorious acts in this world and the beyond: tad yatheha karmajīto lokāḥ (“advantages”, Senart) kṣiyate, evam evāmutra punajīto lokāḥ kṣiyate. One might indeed be inclined to translate again by “position, situation, state, status”. That is to say the good fruits of karman, whether they are gathered in this life or in the other world are not inexhaustible.

This explains the frequent references to the double effect of ritual effort: it leads to more or less defined well-being and prosperity in this world and in ‘heaven’. See e.g. ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 16 “for him, therefore, who knows this, there is unfailing food in this, and imperishable righteousness in yonder ‘world’”; TB. 1, 8, 4 yāni devaścājīnaṁ sāmāṇya tair ānuśmiṇuṁ loka rākhanti, yāni manuṣyashcājīnaṁ sāmāṇya tair asmiṁ lokā rākhanti (cf. 1, 2, 1, 15); 1, 2, 3, 4 “. . . they obtain a pratiṣṭhā in both lokas”; 2, 1, 8, 3 “he is pleased with offspring and cattle, he discerns the heavenly ‘world’”; GB. 2, 3, 21 so ‘śmiṁśa ca loka bhavati ānuśmiṇuṁ ca praṣajā ca paśubhide ca gṛheṣu (notice the materialization) bhavati ya evaṁ

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87) This explanation, “the (Leben)sraum, space to exist in” to be obtained by the correct and successful performance of rites occurs e.g. also BĀU. 6, 4, 3 yāvān ha vai vājapeyena yajamāṇasya loko bhavati, where Senart however translates "autant on obtient par le . . .". Hence also BĀU. 4, 4, 22 lokāiṣapā “endeavour to obtain a loka (after death)".

88) Otherwise e.g. PB. 21, 8, 6.

89) By intertwining invitatory and offering verses as stated in AiB. 1, 11, 11 one “intertwines for success and support in both lokas”, i.e. in this life and in the beyond. Cf. 4, 15, 5; 5, 31, 1.
veda. The frequent similarity of, or parallelism between, desirable results expected of ritual acts in this world and, in 'yonder world'\(^{69}\), the invisible loka called svarga is indeed among those points which in perusing brāhmaṇa texts will strike us ever and anon: PB. 18, 10, 5 "through the sāmans of the god-kings, he thrives in yonder world; through those of the men-kings, in this world’; 23, 15, 7\(^{641}\). "Heaven is the aim of, and is accessible by, those beings who have no body; others however desire good results (of ritual acts) which are of limited nature and duration, because they aim at prosperity" (Dārila on Kausīkāsūtra. 67, 6)\(^{48}\).

Thus the ritualists avail themselves of the possibility to assume the existence of a large variety of lokas in order to achieve some object or other. According to TS. 3, 1, 2, 1 the man who purchases King Soma after making it go to the 'world of lordship' (śāmṛāya-) becomes lord of his own (people). Notwithstanding the explication that this 'world' is the metres— one should utter some verses containing the names of the metres before the purchase—, we may suppose this act to be intended to bring the soma into contact with kingly power and to transfer, at the same time, this power to the sacrificer.

Attention may also be drawn to the fact that a correlation is sometimes explicitly supposed to exist between the main characteristics of the 'idea' or 'concept' with which one concentrating upon it identifies oneself, the status to be obtained in this world and the position (lokāḥ) to be won. Cf. ChU. 4, 5, 3 sa ya etam evam viśvaṃ catuskalanăr āpadya brahmaṇaḥ prakāśavān ity upāste prakāśavān asmiṃ lokāḥ bhavati, prakāśavato kā lokāḥ jayati. Similarly, 4, 6, 4; 7, 4; 8, 4.

Hence also the supposed 'existence' of, for instance, 'worlds of understanding' (Radhakrishnan's translation in ChU. 7, 2, 7): "he who mentally and reverentially approaches and identifies himself with (upāste) understanding as brahman attains (secures) the 'worlds of understanding, of knowledge' (vijñānavato ... lokāḥ jñānavato bhisidhyati)’. This must mean: the man who fully realizes that ‘understanding is identical with the eternal, fundamental, omnipresent principle which is also identical with his own 'soul' and essence, identifies himself with understanding, is so to say lost and absorbed in the sphere or realm of understanding. Hence the addition: 'As far as understanding goes, so far he is independent': mentally and spiritually he so to say coincides with understanding; as far as 'understanding' is concerned, no bounds are set to

\(^{69}\) The scope of this work does not allow to expatiate upon the distinction, made by later theorists, between pravṛttas and nivṛttas acts (see e.g. Manu, 12, 88; Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 280 ff.), the former procuring happiness and causing a continuation of mundane existence (manugyaloka-, PrU. 5, 3), the latter ensuring supreme bliss and causing the cessation of mundane existence; both categories of acts are regarded as prescribed by the Veda.

\(^{641}\) See e.g. also places such as ŚB. 12, 2, 4, 16; 13, 2, 4, 1.

\(^{48}\) Quoted by M. Bloomfield, in J. A. O. S. 14, p. 179, n. 3.
him. The same remarks may apply to the parallel statement 7, 5, 1 "He who ... thought (cittam) as brahman, he verily secures the lokas which he has thought (cittam ... lokam), himself being permanent (immovable: dhruva-) the permanent lokas, himself established the established lokas etc. etc."; 7, 6, 2 (dhyānam); 7, 8, 2 (balam); 7, 9, 2 (food); 7, 11, 2 (tejaḥ); 7, 12, 2 (ākāśam). These places are interesting, first in that they show that "heaven" is an inadequate translation of loka- and in the second place in that they constitute a link between the lokas "celestial spheres" to be obtained by ritual means and the lokas "the so-called provinces of the universe" of later cosmology which are "spheres of meditation".

An important passage in the BĀU., which though often misunderstood 83), sheds an interesting light on the meaning of loka- (1, 4, 15 f.) may find a place here. After the statement that brahman is represented under the gods by Agni, under men by the brahman the author concludes that that is why people seek in Agni a loka among the gods or in the brahman a loka among men. Translated by "place" etc., or by "Lebenskreis" 84) loka- here is a position or situation in which safely to exist, a form of existence in which it is possible to live in the real and ideal sense of the term. To the man who departs from this world (ūsmāl lokāt) without having seen (known) his own loka- "Lebenskreis, Lebensfeld" 85), i.e. without having recognized it as his own, it is of no service ... "One should consider the ātman alone as one's (true) 'Lebensfeld'... for out of that very ātman one creates whatsoever one desires". "Innerhalb der realen Welt, schon im konkreten Leben hier soll man bereits im Ātman leben" 86). The ātman, the author continues (16), is the loka of all beings87). "Wer versucht, den Individuationsweg zu gehen, das Selbst zu realisieren, lebt scheinbar noch in dieser Welt, aber tatsächlich im Selbst" 88). As a consequence this man has in the ātman entered into connection with all beings. "In so far as this integrated man worships and sacrifices he is the loka of the gods. He has become an 'open house' for them. In so far as he learns the Vedas he is the loka ("eine Stätte des Wohnens") of the ṛṣis; in so far as he offers libations to the Fathers... he is the loka of the Fathers ... In so far as beasts and birds ... find a living in his house he is their loka. Verily, as one would desire security for one's own loka, so all creatures wish security for him".

84) Miss van Gelder, o.c., p. 21.
86) Miss van Gelder, o.c., p. 21.
87) ayam ātmā does not mean here "the body, the human person" (Senart, o.c., p. 14).
88) Miss van Gelder, o.c., p. 22.
The possibility of participating in more than one loka, of gaining access to different lokas, is of special interest in connection with the lokas of the gods, some of which will be mentioned hereafter. That such powerful beings as the gods possessed, like the successful divinized sacrificer, 'worlds' of their own was obviously regarded as self-evident; that these spheres or 'worlds' should be called lokas is likewise intelligible: a position, a (from the point of view of religion) special, particular or sacred place is per se related to more or less definite divine power, shelters—as already observed—a divinity; it is divine: GB. 1, 4, 8 and 10 (svargo loko devo devatā bhavanti; ime lokā devā devatā bhavanti). Often it is even difficult to make out how far these lokas of particular gods should be conceived of as separate and independent concepts, what was the idea that Vedic man formed of them.

Sometimes however a text is more explicit and furnishes us with some useful information. At the end of an enumeration of ten “conquests” it reads (TS. 3, 3, 5, 5) “so many are the worlds of the gods (devalokāḥ), verily he conquers (jayati) them; they make up ten”. From the preceding enumeration it appears that expiration and inspiration, life, offspring, lordly power, cattle (the preceding entities are secured or gained: avarrudh-, the following conquered), the earth, the intermediate space, the sky, the quarters and the world of heaven obviously are “the worlds (lokas) of the gods”. It is clear that, in perfect harmony with the deva idea in general 1), a “god” is believed to be present in any power centre or manifestation of power. Such a power centre or phenomenon characterized by a specific power (breath, cattle etc.) obviously was a loka, abode or sphere of that power.

It is not my intention here to survey the data relating to the lokas of individual gods 2) in Vedic literature and to give details concerning

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1) C. W. J. van der Linden, The concept of deva in the Vedic age, Thesis Utrecht 1954; Gonda, Dio Religionen Indiens, I, 41 etc.

2) Cf. e.g. ŠA. 3, 3.—When gods, Fathers and men have divided the lokas (Räume) among themselves one Kali—who seems to have been a gandharva—conquered, by means of a sāman, a loka which was an intermediate region (avāntaradeśam). The man who now lauds with this sāman will find 'Raum', i.e. “a position”, but not more than the gandharvaloka (JB. 1, 155). The tendency to distinguish a variety of divine spheres accessible to different classes of men is apparent at an early date.—In JB. 2, 113 we are informed of the gosava-erata, the functional conduct (for the gosava- see also W. Gangelt, Die Sühnezeremonien in der althindischen Rechtsliteratur, Prag 1939, p. 272, s.v.; for erata- see The Savayajñas, p. 290) of the man who—cohabiting with his mother or sister, stooping when he is about to drink water etc.—behaves like an animal and so gains the ‘sphere’ of the draught-ox. In view of the existence of other lokas named after a deity or another powerful being the conclusion is warranted that the author refers to the loka- meant in AV. 4, 11: the draught-ox who is identified with Indra yields milk in the ‘world’ of religious merit (The Savayajñas, p. 97 f.; 287 ff. (AV. 4, 11; Kaus. 66, 12)).
the structure of the 'celestial world' in general\(^3\)). Suffice it to say that
even Indra may be "expelled" from the Indraloka\(^4\) and that the tendency
is to describe these spheres of existence as paradises (cf. e.g. KaṇḍU. 1, 3 \(^5\))
and celestial residences\(^6\). A point that is more pertinent to the matter
in hand is the possibility, attested to in the epos (Mbh. 1, 202, 7 cr. ed.)
'to conquer the Indraloka', not like a loka of the above description, it
is true, but by violence; as well as statements such as TS. 6, 6, 11, 4
"by means of a recitation containing the word "baj" (hari-, the colour
of Indra's horses) one obtains the dear loka of Indra" and Mbh. 13, 102,
4980 "Indra's regions (lokāḥ!), free from passion and sorrow, difficult
of access, and coveted by men . . . He who lives for a hundred years, who
is a 'hero'?\(^7\), who studies the Vedas and performs sacrifices with devotion,
goes to Śakraloka". From this view of the Indraloka it may be concluded
that it was, at least in certain milieus, regarded as a particular loka of
the above description. Although neither mythological features (ChU. 8,
5, 3 f.; KaṇḍU. 1, 3) nor references to a certain phenomenal existence
(BĀU. 16, 2, 15; MaiU. 6, 30) are, even in the upanisads, absent some
descriptions of the brahmaloka, which is related to be free from evil
(ChU. 8, 4, 1) and ever illumined (ChU. 8, 4, 2) lead us to the same
conclusion. It is "holy" (puṣya-) and can be won by good deeds (MuU. 1,
2, 6) or ritual methods (TB. 3, 1, 5, 6; PU. 5, 5). It is only found by
those who behave well and practise the disciplined life of a Veda student\(^8\)
(ChU. 8, 4, 3; 15, 1), by those who, shaking off evil, are of a perfected
soul (ChU. 8, 13, 1). Even those who attempt to form an idea of the
condition of the emancipated cannot do without imagery: according to
BĀU. 4, 3, 32 the brahmaloka is the condition of being formless and
unsteady like waves\(^9\), to be obtained by a seer without duality, to 4,
4, 23 it is the condition of being free from taint and evil, free from doubt
and being a true brahman. Elsewhere the impression is created of a realm
in which one may become great and honoured (KaṇḍU. 1, 2, 17). The gods
who are in that brahmaloka are said to have obtained all lokas by medi-
tating on the ātman (ChU. 8, 12, 5); cf. Mbh. after 3, 30, 40 cr. ed.
ksunāvatāṁ brahma-lokāḥ paramapājitaḥ, one of those places from which
it may be inferred that the lokas of the great divine powers were
believed to contain a, probably unlimited, number of 'individual' lokas

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\(^3\) I refer to Kirfel, o.c., p. 37 ff.
\(^4\) This term (cf. e.g. AśB. 8, 11, 4) is not very frequent in the Veda.
\(^5\) See e.g. also Jātaka, 541, p. 117 ff.
\(^6\) I refer to Hopkins, Epic mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 140 ff. etc.
\(^7\) i.e. an undaunted one who overcomes all risks and dangers; for a virāloka-
sac Mbh. 7, 54, 14 cr. ed. virālokān abhāpāśītāṁ, which obviously is
synonymous with virābhikālasītam gatim (ed.).
\(^8\) For brahmacarya- see Change and continuity, ch. IX. Cf. also PrU. 1, 15;
16. For puṣya- see ch. XI.
\(^9\) There are other interpretations of sañīla-, but see chapter XIII (cf. RV. 10,
129, 3).
of smaller compass, or to express myself otherwise, that there were in these celestial abodes lokas just as it was possible to conquer a loka in the visible world. In spite of the tendency to embellish their descriptions of the brahmaloka with motifs borrowed from popular mythology the authors of the epic have retained some of these facts and ideas. Being accessible to ṛṣis and siddhāh 10) (Mbh. 12, 306, 64 cr. ed.; 13, 62, 25 vulg.)—and in some cases even in one's lifetime and with a body (12, 324, 38) — the brahmaloka is to be won through severe asceticism and is unattainable by those whose minds are yet unformed, i.e. who have not yet realized their identity with the Supreme 11) (Rām. 3, 4, 24 cr. ed.).

"What the brahmaloka was like the Rāmāyaṇa does not indicate, but a verse in the Uttarakāṇḍa (book VII) states that it was free from hunger and thirst (BE. 7, 78, 12)" 12). It is not regarded as merely a part of the world of the gods but as a sphere beyond it (cf. Rām. BE. 3, 5, 41; GE. 3, 9, 36). A combination of a blissful human condition — bodily health, happiness, power, well-being etc. — with an attempt at systematizing in a certain order the lokas of the Fathers, gandharvas, Prajāpāti etc. is, to wind up with, presented by the author of BĀU. 4, 3, 33; here also the conquest of a world appears to be identical with a definite blissful state of prosperity.

What may interest us here in the many epic references to the "habitations of the spiritual beings" 13) is in the first place the vagueness of their localizations: "it is occasionally impossible to say whether the poet thinks of them as separate or as including one the other" 14). Besides, the gods and their lokas are not kept strictly apart, nor men and their world (cf. e.g. Rām. 3, 31, 26 Bo. where Rāma "destroys worlds" and "creates people"). Another indication of the occasional non-spatiality of the lokas occurs e.g. Mbh. 3, 30, 3 where anger is said to destroy one's lokas (ātmā svargya vā, Sāyaṇa); 11 to the man who does not control himself the lokas are lost (nādyanti); the raison d'être of passion is indeed to destroy man's lokas (22 lokanāśya vihitam). According to Nilakaṇṭha (on śl. 3) the term here means either ātmā, i.e. "one's self" or svargyāḥ, i.e. "heaven". The meaning clearly is "a prospect of a good position in another existence". The man who contains his anger will on the other hand be happy in the other (or future) 'world' (paraloke nandati. 12), and eternal lokas (lokāḥ saṁtaṇāḥ) await the mighty man (prabhāvavān). In the same chapter (38) mention is — without any further indication — made of the lokas (in the plur.) of those who are skilled in sacrifices, of

10) The successful, or perfected ones, who have gained 'immortality' and supernatural faculties; see e.g. E. W. Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 60 etc.
11) aumauṣṭhitabhagavatsyādānāṁ (Rāma).
13) I refer to the relative section of Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 58 ff.
14) Hopkins, o.c., p. 58.
those who know the Veda (brahma-vid-) and of ascetics. This use of loka-
is too common to be in need of further illustration. The tendency to-
invent special ‘worlds’ to be won by special classes of virtuous people
is on the increase. Thus we hear for instance also of daukitrajā lokāḥ “the
lokas produced by the son of his daughter” (notice the vague plural!) which
are the hope of a man who gets the benefit of sons through his
daughter’s sons; in this case also a loka- is hardly more than a ‘status’
or position in the future 13). The “bad or painful” lokāḥ mentioned e.g.
in Mbh. 7, 10, 72 cr. ed. (kṛchrān duryodhanāḥ lokān pāpaḥ prāpsyati)
are conceived of either as ‘hells’ or as rebirths in low forms, that is in
any case as particular modes of future existence 15).

This inherent vagueness was however already characteristic of the Vedic
use of the word. One of the striking features of the Vedic notions and
theories about all that they understood by the term loka—earth, sky,
sun, moon etc. excepted—is indeed their comparatively indefinite and
unsystematic character. Only sporadically do we find the initial stages
of something which could have developed into a ‘pseudo-cosmology’ 17).
Attempts to systematize part of the lokas 18) enter it is true into the
composition of part of the speculations of those who exerted themselves
to demonstrate the possibility of a gradual ascent to higher planes where
this world has been transcended, but on the whole these authors do not
seem to have felt the need of a coherent system or at least of some general
principles in explanation of the plurality of lokas or of their interrelations.

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13) Hopkins, op.cit., p. 60 f.

14) Among the formulas accompanying the slaying of the sacrificial horse is
TS. 5, 2, 12, 2 “The sky with the nakṣatras must arrange thy form aright”, the
fiction being that the animal is not injured. Instead of this probably more original
reading VS. 23, 43 has “The sun with the nakṣatras must prepare a loka- (sthānam,
Uvaṣa) for thee”, which may come to the same thing, since a being’s ‘form’, i.e.
his organic frame, physical organism or sensuous appearance may, like his loka,
be said to be indicative of his mode of existence.

17) The quarters are said to be both inside and outside these ‘worlds’ (ŚB. 6,
5, 2, 7), but elsewhere (7, 3, 1, 13) they are in these ‘worlds’ (cf. 6, 5, 2, 6), or between
them (7, 3, 1, 27); 8, 1, 2, 4 they are said to be “above everything here” and at
the same time to be identical with the svarga loka; according to ŚB. 6, 5, 2, 22;
13, 6, 1, 3 all this (universe) is as great as the lokas and the regions (dīkāh). Cf.
also ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 2; 6, 7, 1, 26.—Statements such as TS. 7, 5, 7, 4 “for the world
of heaven is as it were opposite from hence” (pratikāvan eva bītah svargā svargā lokāh)
are not, or not primarily, to be taken in the ‘literal’ sense, although the svarga loka
is quite naturally located “upwards as it were” (TS. 2, 6, 5, 4). However, beside
these statements we find identifications such as ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 18 “the highest sky
means these lokas”.—One need not attach any cosmological value to places such
as ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 3 “these three worlds and yonder sun”. See Kirfel, Kosmographie
der Inden, p. 2 ff.; and compare also A. Bertholet, Die Gefilde der Seligen, Tübingen–
Leipzig 1903.

18) Cf. also AiB. 1, 5; 4, 16; 4, 18. Notice however the tendency to correlate
numbers and structures of lokas with ritual entities etc., e.g. TB. 1, 2, 2, 1; ŚB.
10, 5, 4, 6.
Nor were they often tempted to establish the connections of the ‘minor’ lokus to earth, heaven, intermediate space, the ‘world’ of the Fathers etc. Theory apparently—and intelligibly enough—ended where the interests of religious men—who intuitively understood what was a loka—and of the ritualist experts—who tried to show the way to lokas—did not make higher intellectual demands.

This vagueness is reflected by the inconsistent use of compounds and qualifications and the variations in phraseology, attention to which has already been drawn in the preceding pages. Whereas for instance Prajāpati is JB. 2, 99 said to bring svarga loka near, the same god is 1, 139 described as bringing the lokas (in the plural) near. Beside usual expressions such as “going to” or “winning a loka” AV. 12, 3, 7 speaks of a loka to which one may “attach (suc-) oneself” or with which one may “associate oneself” 20), JUB. 3, 11, 4 of “being born into a loka”. Instead of the usual pīty-loku- VS. 5, 26 makes mention of the lokas, the dwelling-places of the Fathers. According to ŚB. 12, 9, 2, 8 Śūrya (the sun), the highest (most excellent) light is said to be the svarga loka, but 6, 3, 3, 14; 6, 7, 2, 4 firmament (nāka-) and svarga loka are identified, and in connection with VS. 12, 49 ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 24 declares the luminous sphere (rocana-) to be that ‘world’ (eṣa lokaḥ) where the sun is burning 21); TB. 1, 2, 4, 1 the sun, going between these worlds, is said to radiate heat in all heavenly lokas; KB. 11, 6 teaches us that by reciting the thrice seven metres, the twenty-first being homologized with the sun “one fixes the sacrificer in community of loka with the sun”, the inference being that the yajamāna and the sun henceforth are so to say loka-fellows 22).—Agni, the ritual fire and the light of heaven 23), is VS. 12, 13 said to fill, in the early morning, all sadmāni, which may mean “all abodes, houses, places (of sacrifice)”. The vagueness of the expression (“séjours”, Renou 24)) may be intentional, but is more probably due to the poetical jargon 25); it refers in any case to ‘seats’ for human (or divine) use, whether dwelling-places or sacrificial sites. However, ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 1 quoting these words explains ime vai lokā viśvā sadmāni “all the sadmāni are these lokas”.

19) One might, mutatis mutandis, compare the observations made by W. Thalbitzer, Les magiciens esquimaux, leurs conceptions du monde, de l’âme et de la vie, Journal de la Société des Américanistos (Paris), 22, p. 83 f. from which it appears that with the Eskimos of the American Arctic only the shamans are supposed to know the relations between the different provinces of the universe. (For Shamanism and cosmology cf. also M. Eliade, Le Chamanisme, Paris 1951, ch. VIII).

20) The Savayajñas, p. 140 f.

21) Similar variations occur, of course, in later attempts to describe the indescribable: “going to Viṣṇu’s world”, “being magnified in Viṣṇu’s world”, “becoming equal with Viṣṇu” are in Viṣṇuite texts interchangeable phrases.

22) See further on.

23) Cf. also Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 59.


It must on the other hand be admitted that varied repetitions and
identifications as well as the promiscuous use of the relevant terms not
rarely help us in arriving at a better understanding of their implications,
just as for the authors themselves and their pupils and auditors they
were a welcome means of forming an idea of the state of undiluted happi-
ness or of penetrating a little further into the unknown regions of the
beyond. Thus BhārPāitīS. 1, 10, 2 and 3 ananta-loka- and svarga- loka-
obviously are synonyms, that is "heaven" is described as "the boundless
or eternal loka". In AIi. 5, 30, 4 svarga-loka is an apposition to
brahmanya viṣṇapam "the surface of the tawny one", in ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 4
to nākam, and TS. 4, 7, 13, 3 uses the phrase nākam grīḥnānāḥ sukṛitasya
loke; TS. 5, 4, 2, 4 one goes "with golden light to the world of heaven".
In AV. 18, 3, 71 (formulas to be recited at the lighting of the funeral
pile) the ritual fire is implored to set the deceased in the world of the
sukṛtaḥ (cf. 18, 4, 1; 11; 44), in 18, 4, 14 the heavenly road, leading to
the gods, is said to shine from the firmament for the sukṛt-. AV. 4, 14, 6
it is the hope of the person pronouncing the stanza to "go to the sukṛitasya
loka-, ascending the luminous heaven (sva), unto the highest firmament
(nākam uttamām): it is clear that in the view of the poet this loka is in
the luminous celestial regions. In BĀU. 4, 4, 13 the sequence tasya
loke sa u loka eva is, in connection with the man who has awakened to
the atman, enlightening about the author's intentions.

Nor is there any difficulty in understanding why these authors— who
were obsessed by the hypothesis of the ritual-cosmical correlations 26)—
were tempted to transfer terminology applicable to mundane situations
to the state of divinization which was hoped for. Not only was the
'Mecostal effect' of the ritual acts believed to be a parallel of, and in
complete harmony with, the rites themselves and their mundane effects,
the very concept of loka was in these contexts so one-sidedly a religious
one that no thoughts of the different degrees of concreteness and of
reality could cross their minds. Thus it reads for instance JB. 1, 219
"we intend to obtain a firm foundation in all four quarters (of the sky)
in this loka (i.e. the earth), . . . in (those which are) in the intermediate
loka, . . . in (those which are) in yonder loka" 27). The pravṛjin- "religious

26) I refer to my article on bandhu- (with a bibliography), Adyar Library
27) For other references to mastering the universe: ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 26; 11, 2, 7, 8;
TS. 8, 1, 3 etc.—To add an example of correlation in structure: the seven layers
of the great fire-place, the so-called 'fire-altar', an elaborate structure, the erection
of which is a masterpiece of sacrificial mysticism and 'symbolism' are ŚB. 8, 7, 4, 12 ff.
and elsewhere (see S. B. F. 44, p. 544 ff) identified with this terrestrial loka, the
space between earth and air, the air, the space between air and heaven (8, 4, 1, 2),
the shining heaven, the heavenly 'world' inhabited by the gods and 'immortality'
respectively. These layers originally were "seen" in meditation (see ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 2;
8, 3, 1, 1; 8, 4, 1, 2 etc.) and part of the 'worlds' corresponding to these were
considered unfirm and unsettled by those who meditated, whereas other 'worlds',
mendicant who has adopted the ascetic life" is—to add another example—the man "who seeks a (special) loka": BĀU. 4, 4, 22 pravrājino lokam icchantah 28). In short, although it should not be forgotten that we know almost nothing of the 'meanings' and connotations of this term in daily or 'profane' usage, it may safely be contended that this term reflects an aspect of the view of the world of those who were alive to their higher interests and strove after a higher form of existence. They were inclined to understand every phenomenon from a religious standpoint 29) and to analyse the universe, to form opinions of its structure and operation in accordance with their theory of world and life. They were, moreover, firmly convinced of the truth of their axioms that the cosmos arranges and regulates itself for the good of those individuals who behave well and accumulate merit. Exact and clear-cut ideas of the relations between the religiously relevant lokas and objective cosmology were a superfluity, identifications such as "the world of heaven is the year" (TS. 7, 3, 7, 3), or the relations assumed to exist between this and yonder world with Vedic metres (TS. 2, 5, 7, 2), however strange in the eyes of modern man, were a religious necessity.

In reading the relevant passages we should indeed realize the religious importance of these lokas. When the sacrificer, by ritual means, secured a loka, or when he consecrated a loka, this fact was not only a ritual event or a matter of special interest for the sacrificer himself; it was also of cosmic consequence, first because the divine powers, the deva-functional or provincial gods considered to be active in the universe—, were concerned in it 30), and in the second place because a change in position, or transformation of a sacrificer who is engaged in integrating himself or in—temporarily or permanently—abandoning his profane status, affects in some way or other the whole of which he comes to form an integral part 31). Ritual techniques enable a sacrificer to become sa lokas-"of one loka with" a power, to gain access to lokas characterized by the 'presence' of a particular divine power, to enter into communion with that power, and henceforth to be a 'denizen of a heaven'.

Thus it reads, for example, GB. 1, 4, 8; 10 svargasya lokasya devasya

e.g. heaven, corresponding to the fifth layer, pleased them (8, 5, 1, 2). Other examples of this co-ordination of the three parts of the universe with ritual or sacred ideas need not detain us here.

28) "... leur lieu, leur vrai lieu, ce qui revient à salut, béatitude" (Senart).

29) The at first sight conflicting statements with regard to the quarters of space (see n. 17) become clearer and more consistent if we realize that the sacrificer may "from the quarters go to heaven" (MS. 4, 4, 4; 54, 3), that is to say that winning the quarters, mastering the universe is a method of reaching heaven.

30) I also refer to Van der Leuww, n.e. ch. 57.

31) Mention has already been made of the fear of interruption (discontinuances) of the lokas in case of childlessness (see p. 716); notice for instance also the supposedly decisive influence exerted upon the cosmos by the Vedic student (AV. 11, 5, 4 and 6).
(or: evāṃ devatānāṃ) sāyujyaṃ salokatāṃ yanti ya etad upayanti; that is to say, the man who betakes himself to, i.e. who performs, a definite rite experiences intimate union, or communion, 'residence' in the same 'world', sphere or 'heaven', with a definite divine being \(^{32}\); ŚB. 5, 2, 2, 14; AiB. 2, 24, 10; ŚB. 2, 4, 18 "whosoever, knowing this, offers the agnihotra, is produced in the same way in which they (the gods) were then produced, he gains the same victory which they gained; indeed, he shares the same world with them"; 3, 7, 1, 25; 2, 6, 4, 8; AiB. 1, 6, 3 "... with all metres". See also ŚB. 11, 2, 6, 12 "the perfection of the New and Full moon sacrifices consists in becoming a sharer of the same world with the sun"; 13, 2, 7, 12 "thereby (with VS. 23, 16) he makes it (the sacrificial horse) one who shares the same world with those who have acquired ritual merits"; 13, 4, 3, 3 by ritually praising the royal sacrificer and comparing him with the old righteons kings one makes him share the same loka with these kings; etc. etc. While sweeping the site of the sepulchral mound and thereby expelling "from this loka" the demoniac powers one recites (see ŚB. 13, 8, 2, 3) VS. 35, 1 "... it is the loka ("place") of this soma sacrificer, (an abode) distinguished by lights, by days, by nights". "He thereby", the ŚB. observes, "makes him to be of one 'world' with (or, of the 'world' of) the seasons, the days and nights (ṛtubhiḥ ... salokāṃ karoti)". Notice also formulations such as ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 8 "when he performs the vaiśvadeva he becomes Agni and attains to union with Agni and to co-existence in his world" (thus Eggeling: sāyujyaṃ salokatāṃ jayati); 11, 4, 4, 2; 11, 6, 2, 2 ("attains to the fellowship of those two deities, and to an abode in their world", Eggeling); 12, 1, 3, 1 etc. A lively description in JUB. 3, 22, 1 ff.: "It carries him forth to the quarters (of the universe); having come thus he is joyfully received by the quarters: 'Thine is this world; this world is ours in common'" \(^{33}\).

This idea, viz. the possibility of sharing the loka of a divine being whose presence is so characteristic of that loka that it is called after that deity, gained in importance. It is at the root of the doctrine \(^{34}\) according to which one may, after death, attain to communion of ‘world’ with that god with whom one has identified oneself in love and reverence; other possibilities are survival in his presence, being united with him,

\(^{32}\) Cf. also GB. 1, 4, 8 (p. 99, 1); 1, 4, 9 (p. 101, 2).

\(^{33}\) One might also read VS. 23, 17; TS. 5, 7, 26 where the sacrificial horse is addressed as follows: "Agni was the animal; with it they sacrificed; it won this world where Agni is (sic); this is thy world, thou wilt win it, and so snuff it..."

\(^{34}\) In a comparatively recent commentary (Nīlakaṇṭha on Gaṇeśagītā 6, 17) the text yāṃ yāṃ devaṃ suvarṇaṃ bhaktāḥ tu vajjati suvarṇaṃ kālevarṇaṃ / tattvādolokayā āyāti tattva-bhaktāḥ narottama is explained as follows: "One obtains after death community of loka (samānolokavāsan prāpnoti, lit. "attains abiding in the same loka") with any god, (meditating), with devotion, on whom one leaves this body. The term sālokya.-indeed implies this idea, and it is possible to attain also to the states of being in the proximity of these gods, of being of the same form, of being united with them (sāmīpyastra-śāpyasyādyādānām api prāpteḥ samāhavat...) . . ."
assuming his form. Post-Vedic religions have also retained these phrases: “One should give to brahmans as much land as one is able to, and in a mental state of intense devotion; then one becomes delivered of all evil (demerit), goes to Viṣṇu’s loka, and obtains communion (sānyāyam) with Viṣṇu” (thus Kāśyapaśamhitā, 17 35).

XI

It is necessary now to discuss an oft-mentioned loka- which may be briefly characterized as the sphere, situation or plane of existence in which the religious, i.e. first and foremost the ritual, merits of the Aryan who strictly and punctually discharges his sacrificial obligations are accumulated, or which may be said to be produced by the continuous and dutiful performance of the rites which are incumbent upon him. I have in view the phrases sukṛtām lokaḥ and sukṛtasya lokaḥ which, in my opinion, are mostly translated inadequately or even incorrectly. As is well known phrases consisting of a frequently used verb for “doing” or “making” and a common adverb for “well” occur, it is true, in many languages, but often with considerable semantic differences. For instance, the Dutch wel doen must be translated into English by “do good”, but the imperative doe wel (en zie niet om) answers to “do right (and fear no one)”; a weldoener is a “benefactor”, a weldaad a “benefit” or “benefaction”, weldađig must, as the context may require, be rendered by “benevolent, charitable, munificent, beneficial, or salutary”. The Greek εὖ ποιεῖν should not be translated by the Dutch weldoen, because this is associated with the idea expressed by the English charity. In Latin, benevolent means “generous, obliging, liberal, favourable”, and beneficentia “kindness, an honourable and kind treatment of others”. Nevertheless, Vedic scholars have often disregarded this fact and translated sukṛ-, for instance, by “Guttätter” (Goldsner, RV. 3, 31, 2) or by “wer frommes Werk tut” (the same, RV. 4, 25, 5), by “fromm” (1, 166, 12) or “Wohltdätter” (RV. 1, 31, 4); by “der gut handelnde, der Gute, Fromme” (Graßmann, Wörterbuch, 1527), by “Gutes tuend, —erweisend, rechtschaffen, gut, from” (Petrograd Dict. VII, 1028 f.), or “doing good, benevolent, virtuous, pious” (Monier-Williams, Dict., p. 1220). It may be conceded that in passages such as RV. 10, 63, 9 where the gods are invoked collectively (dāśyam jānam) 1) the adjective can only mean “doing good, acting well 2), benevolent” (“bien-faitrice” 3)) 4), but this is not to say

1) Not with Goldner, Rig-veda übersetzt, III, p. 234, to Indra alone.
2) The adjective in RV. 3, 54, 12 used to characterize the god Tvasťar, the skilful workman and artificer, the shaper of all forms: sukṛta svādānāh svādān rīded devas tvāsťavese tāṇi (i.e. yān yamākam apakṣitāni, Sāyaṇa) na dhat. Neither Sāyaṇa’s sukrtu jagataḥ kartā nor Goldner’s “Gutes wirkend” are completely convincing. The god simply does his work well (cf. svāpāḥ 1, 85, 9; apāśām apāstamaḥ 10, 53,
that it expresses this sense everywhere. The word must, in several places, simply mean "doing good, behaving well" from a religious or ritual point of view; cf. e.g. RV. 1, 166, 12 mentioning the gifts of the Maruts to the sukṛt-, but this sukṛt- is, as already observed by Sāyaṇa, "the sacrificer who performs the right (correct) or excellent 5) sacrificial ceremonies" (sobhanayāgādikūtṛre yajamāṇāya) 6). That is to say, this term also cannot in the Veda be disconnected from a correct ritual behaviour and the performance of sacrificial ceremonies 7). One should however avoid translations such as "pious" or "fromme Werke tuend, fromm, opfernd" 8) because of the different connotations and implications of these European and Christian terms.

Thus RV. 10, 122, 3 the god Agni is addressed: "when thou givest to the giver who performs (his ritual) work well (ddāsad ddāsē gye sukṛte), find pleasure in him who has approached thee with fuel". Sāyaṇa’s explanation is: suṣṭhu yāgaṁ kṛivavate 9). Inviting the Āśvins to approach the author of RV. 1, 47, 8 requests them to give plenty of food to the sukṛt-,

9).—When the goddess of the new moon, Kuhū, is in AV. 7, 47, 1 described as "well-doing, working with knowledge" (sukṛtam vidvamāṇapasm) and asked to grant wealth etc., this must mean that she is implored skilfully to bestow many advantages upon the person speaking.—In RV. 3, 38, 2 divine beings, addressed as seers, are said to have fashioned the sky, being manodhīṭaḥ sukṛtaḥ "prudent and performing their work well"; here again in connection with a good and useful achievement.—The above argument is of course not to deny that sukṛta- may refer to a deed which from the ethical point of view is good; for Buddhism see e.g. Dhammad. 314.

5) Renou, E. V. P. V., p. 54; sukarmāna (Sāyaṇa).

4) The words RV. 1, 31, 4 trām aqve ..., purūrāvasa sukṛte sukṛtāraḥ refer to an unknown legend or mythical tale: "thou Agni wast for Purūravas who did thee good (and this must mean "who made good sacrifices and offerings"); parivaraṇaṁ kurvate, Sāyaṇa) a still greater doer of good". It is not known for certain if here the name of the well-known hero is intended, who in 10, 95 carries on a dialogue with the apsaras Urvāśī. Nor can we understand from the text what good was done to him by Agni, but as the hymn commemorates several great merits and achievements of the god for the benefit of various other mythical or legendary personages and other people we may conclude that sukṛtāraḥ may be translated literally and refers to the god’s favours and blessings. In 1, 156, 5 Viśuṇ is described as a sukṛtāraḥ- while Indra whom he joins is called a suṣṭha-; he has, the text continues, refreshed or favoured the Aryans.

5) Implying the idea of "leading to auspicious results".

6) Sāyaṇa’s explications of the above occurrences are: RV. 4, 25, 5 sobhanayāgā- dīnāṁ kartā yajamānaḥ; 3, 31, 4 parivaraṇaṁ kurvate and sobhanaphalakāryabhbh; for 3, 31, 2 see further on.

7) The ritual sense is less evident, but not improbable in 1, 182, 1; 3, 31, 7; 5, 4, 11; 5, 62, 6; 6, 70, 2; 7, 79, 3. The same remark applies, at first sight, to 1, 117, 2; 1, 183, 1; 4, 13, 1 where the Āśvins are said to come to the house of the sukṛt-; however, the same gods are in 8, 5, 5; 8, 22, 3 explicitly stated to call at the house of the man who gives, in 8, 5, 33 at the house of him who performs his sacrifices well (scarāvaran).


9) Renou, E. V. P. XIV, p. 28 "qui... agit bien".
which must have the same meaning here, and to the hounteous one (sudāna), i.e., Śāyaṇa observes, sugūh karmākāriṇe śobhamānāyuktyāya yajamanāya (= 1, 92, 3 where the words yajamanāya sunvate are added and Geldner translates “dem Werkfrommen”).—In AV. 4, 24, 1, a praise and prayer to Indra, this god is said to come to the call of the worshipper who acquits himself well of his (sacrificial) duties: yō dāśūyaḥ sukṛto hāvom ēti.—Another illustrative passage is AV. 18, 3, 20 where the ancient ṛṣis and singers, viz. the Atris, Āṅgirases and Navagnas are addressed as having sacrificed (iṣṭāvantāḥ), dispensing gifts (rātiṣācaḥ), bestowing (dadhānāḥ), providing many dukṣiṇāḥ and being sukṛtaḥ (not, with Whitney, “well-doing”); “do ye revel”, the stanza concludes, “sitting on this bharis”.

In the conversation between the head of a family and the morning guest, i.e. the itinerant singer or reciter who tenders his services (RV. 1, 125) the latter says (st. 3) that he comes in search of the sukṛt- (i.e. the man who knows how to acquit himself of his social and ritual duties, the reception of a guest being a socio-religious affair by which one secured freedom from misfortune, and transcendent merit 10)), “who is the son (i.e. the materialization 11)) of his wish” (śobhamasya kartāraṃ, Śāyaṇa).
—From RV. 1, 147, 3 = 4, 13 it may be inferred that sukṛtaḥ are on the one hand compared to Dirghatamas Māmateya who is mentioned as a brahman in 1, 158, 6 and appears in the AiB. 8, 23 as the priest of Bharata, and on the other hand are contrasted with injurious rogues or adversaries. For their benefit Agni’s protection is implored, the sūkta being “eine Verwahrung gegen unredliche und übelwollende Opferherren” Śāyaṇa explains: sukha kartāṇ, Mādhava:  śobhamasya kartāṇ 12).—RV. 1, 48, 11 is perfectly clear: the goddess Dawn is besought to come to the sacrificial performances of the sukṛt-, i.e. of him who executes that work well, and to the conveyers (vahnavāḥ) who praise her.—The same meaning must be attributed to the adjective in 10, 17, 7 where the devaṇāntaḥ are said to invoke Sarasvatī when the sacrificial rites are being performed, where also the sukṛtaḥ invoked her (in the past) and the goddess is implored to grant objects of value to him who duly honours the gods,—I am afraid that I cannot agree with Geldner’s interpretation of RV. 5, 4, 8 “nimm, Agni, mit unserem Opfer fürliche, . . ., mit unserer Spende; wir möchten vor den Göttern rechtschaffen sein” ( . . .vayāṃ devaṃ sukṛtaḥ syāma) 13). Is not the most plausible interpretation: “enjoy our

10) See e.g. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmāśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 753 f.
11) For this idea see my treatise The relations between ‘gods’ and ‘powers’. . ., The Hague 1957, passim.
12) In RV. 9, 83, 4—the sūkta is devoted to Soma—the sukṛtemāḥ are said to have obtained the soma draught. Now Geldner translates: “die größten Meister”, whereas Grassmann explained by devaḥ; Renou (E. V. P. IX, p. 29) prefers “ouvriers (du sacrifice)”. It would appear to me that this sentence contrasts with the preceding one: the “rogue, adversary” (tīpah) is caught.
sacrifice, our oblation, may we acquit ourselves well of our sacrificial duties towards the gods”? Hence Sāyana: sōbhānāpūrvakārāḥ. —RV. 4, 25, 5 priyāḥ sukṛt priyā śākdej manāyāḥ priyāḥ supraśāh priyāḥ osya somā: in company with the possessor of soma and those who accomplish the ritual work the sukṛt- who is dear to Indra, must again be the one who performs the ritual acts well; cf. Sāyana: sōbhānāvādādiṃ kārtā. —From the Indra hymn 8, 46, st. 27 so much is clear that the poet or reciter, who received something excellent, applies to himself the adjective sukṛtārāya, inconsistently translated by Geldner “dem am besten Opfern den”.

In RV. 7, 9, 1 the exact sense of the term becomes in an interesting way clear from the context: the god Agni is said to convey the oblations to the gods and possessions to the sukṛtāḥ (havyā devēpu drāviniṃ sukṛt-su). As the gods are the givers of wealth to those who worship them and perform the rites, the sukṛtāḥ must be the men who sacrifice and execute the ritual acts yajamāṇeṣu (Mādhava and Sāyana). I would here also reject “pious” 14) or “Fromm” (Geldner) as well as “der gut Handelnde, Gute” (Grassmann). —In a sūkta addressed to a large number of gods and intended to obtain happiness RV. 7, 35 (ṣaṃ na indrāgni bhavatāṃ etc.) it reads in st. 4 also sāṃ naḥ sukṛtaṁ sukṛtaṁ sanv. In my opinion these words do not mean “Zum Glück sollen uns die Gotttaten der Gottätter sein”, but “the well-performed (ritual) acts of those who performed their (ritual) acts well must be conducive to our welfare”. “May the pious deeds of the Pious ones be good to us” 15) evokes, to my mind, a religious sphere which is foreign to the ritualism of these texts. In addition to many gods the poet invokes not only the mountains and rivers (st. 8), the plants and the animals (st. 5), which are also divine in nature, but also the pressing stones used in preparing the soma, the soma itself, the brahman and the act of worship (yajñāḥ), the sacrificial elevation (vedīḥ) etc. (st. 7) and, further, the word of truth (st. 2). The sukṛtāḥ do therefore not seem to be “benefactors” in a general sense of the term. —“When the sacrificial fire is generated”, the author of the difficult sūkta RV. 3, 31 says (st. 2) 16), anyāḥ kārtā sukṛtaḥ anyāḥ rūḍhāḥ. Geldner may be right in considering the two sukṛtau the sacrificial priest and the instituter of the rite. Then however his translation ‘Guttäter’ leads a modern reader astray. Those commentators who refer to sōbhānaṃ pīn-ğadānādi karma have no doubt come nearer to the point. Though considering the 12th stanza of the same sūkta a reference to the Aṅgirasas performing an enormous Soma-sacrifice Geldner translates sukṛtaḥ not, as would fit in with this interpretation, by “doing (sacrificial) work well”, but again by “Guttätter” 17).

In a series of prayers, mainly addressed to Pūṣan it reads, RV. 10,

15) Velankar, o.c., p. 93.
16) See above, p. 115.
17) Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, I, p. 366.
17, 4, also yātrdsate sukṛto yātra té yayās tātra tvā deviḥ savitā daṇḍātāu "where those who have acted well stay, where they have gone to, there god Savitar must assign you a place". Savitar is often said to allot or assign, e.g. immortality to the gods and (duration of) life to men (4, 54, 2). He is sometimes (cf. 5, 81, 5) identified with Pūṣan, who is also a guide of travellers. As such he is the god of the stanzas 3–6 which according to the kalpa on Taítṭār. 6, 1, 1 are addressed to the deceased when conveyed to the burning-ground, according to Áśvāsr. 6, 10, 19 likewise to the souls of the deceased at a later moment. Anyhow the sukṛtaḥ must be those who have acquitted themselves well of their ritual duties and now have reached the regions due to them.—The words satyāsyā naḥ sukṛtam apiṣtar in RV. 9, 73, 1 were translated, by Goldner "die Schiffe der Wahrheit (d.h. die Lieder der Sänger) haben den Frommen hinübergestzet", by Lüders 13) "...haben den Gtzwirkenden (d.h. auf den Soma, der durch die Kraft der wahren Lieder der Sänger in den Himmel befördert wird) hinübergesehenen", the latter interpretation may be adopted ("qui bien agit", Renou 20).

AV. 6, 124 is employed by Kauśika (46, 41) in an expiatory rite for the evil consequences of being touched by drops of rain from a clear sky; when one wishes to be delivered from these one should pronounce the formula "may I be joined with Indra’s power... with obliterations, with the work (kṛtena) done by the sukṛtaḥ" (st. 1). The meaning obviously is that a close contact with ritual achievements or 'ritual merits' annihilates the evil influences; that the virtue inherent in them is in this respect not essentially different from Indra’s power etc.—

The formula devēsu naḥ sukṛto brātāt (brāyāt, brāta) occurs TS. 1, 4, 45, 3 (VSK. 9, 6, 2; KS. 4, 13; MS. 9, 4, 1) in connection with the concluding rite of the bath to the agniṣṭoma: "O divine waters, this is your post, glad and well tended have we made it for you; proclaim us as doers of good deeds among the gods" (Keith) 21). The same formula follows, in PB. 20, 15, 15, a series of qualifications and epitheta directed to the cow: according to Lāṭyāyana the words are to be whispered in the right ear of the dakaṣṇā cow: kāmyāsi... ihe... etāni tē 'ghnye nāmāni "you are the desirable one... O Iḍā... these, O Inviolable one, are your names..." In the ŚB. 4, 5, 8, 10 the formula runs as follows: ...devēbhyyo mā sukṛtam brātād, being followed by the explanation: "whatever your names are with the gods, with these tell the gods of me as a sukṛt-". In TS. 7, 1, 6, 8 however the formula is followed by the

13) Rather than "pious" which is Atkins’ translation (S. D. Atkins, Pūṣan in the Rig-veda, Prinesten 1941, p. 85).
20) Renou, E. V. P. IX, p. 22.
21) See W. Caland–V. Henry, L’Agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906–1907, p. 399: "...ils chassent dans le courant les marcs de soma avec la peau d’antilope du sacrifícant en récitant TS. 1, 4, 45, 3 h".
author's note: "verily she proclaims him among the gods, and the gods take note of him". She makes, the text continues, the sacrificer go to the world of heaven, to the world of light. The chief connotation of sukṛt- must, if I am not mistaken, again be that of ritual achievements, that is to say the word denotes the sacrificer who has acquitted himself well of his duties and who may therefore claim a right to divinization\(^{22}\). Cf. also AV. 7, 79, 2 and also RV. 3, 60, 3 saudhanvandaso amṛtatvām eivre viśve sāṁihih sukṛtah sukṛtyaśaṁ yāti stating that the Rbhus, the sons of Sudhanvan, obtained 'immortality' by working with the utmost exertion, "doing their work very well"\(^{23}\). As is well known the Rbhus became gods mainly by five great feats of industry and dexterity\(^{24}\): they fashioned a horseless car, a cow and Indra's two bay steeds, they rejuvenated their parents and made one cup into four. There can be no doubt that sukṛt- refers to this ability, not to their "piety" (cf. also 10, 94, 2 and 7, 35, 12), but here also this quality entitles them to a divine status.

In discussing the significance of the three Viśṇu strides\(^{25}\) which are to be executed by the sacrificer—and by which he re-iterates the divine creation of Lebensraum and universal pervasive power—, ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 10 observes: evam imāṁ lokāṁ samāruḥyātmaṁ guṇir esa pratiśṭhā ya esa tapati lasya ye rudayasya tu sukṛtaṁ "when one has thus ascended these worlds, that is the goal, that the firm foundation\(^{26}\); the rays of him (the sun) who burns there, are those who have acquitted themselves well of their ritual duties"\(^{27}\). Here Eggeling incorrectly translated: "the righteous (departed)", rightly, it is true, referring to 6, 5, 4, 8 where the nakṣatras ('asterisms') are said to be "the lights of the puṇyakṛtaḥ (i.e. those who do right-good-pure deeds), who go to the heavenly world". Notice the parallelism between sukṛt- and puṇyakṛt-. The text 1, 9, 3, 10 continues: "the high light which there is, that is Prajāpati or the heavenly world". Compare also KB. 5, 10 "he ... goes to the 'world' of heaven, where is the 'world' of the meritorious"; TS. 4, 7, 13, 1 patema sukṛtāṁ u lokum "may we fly to the 'world' of those who have acquired merit" which must be identical with the "expanse of the ruddy one" mentioned in the preceding stanza; 1, 4, 43 n Keith incorrectly translated "the world of the righteous"; RV. 10, 16, 4 Agni Jātavedas is requested to convey the deceased to the sukṛtāṁ loka-.

\(^{22}\) That a sukṛt- (not exactly "homme aux actes pieux": Renou, E. V. P. XII, p. 31) approaches, or may approach, a god with wishes appears from RV. 1, 128, 6 viśvedaṁ id suktē vāram puṇyasy aṣṭiḥ ... (tobhanambaratras, Ṣāyaṇa).
\(^{23}\) The instrumental of the noun serves to emphasize the idea expressed by the adjective (Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam 1959, p. 240).
\(^{24}\) For particulars see A. A. Macdonell, Vedē mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 132 f.
\(^{26}\) For pratiśṭhā- see above.
\(^{27}\) i.e. "the former sacrificers, whose bodies now consist of brilliant energy" (tejaḥsarātraḥ, comm.).
In AV. 12, 3, 9, which according to Kauśika 60–63 was to be used in the sava ceremonies 28) it reads in connection with a reference to the western quarter in which Soma is ruler: “resort to it: attach yourselves to the sukṛtaḥ; then, O paired ones, shall ye come into being from what is cooked”. I would suppose the sense of the adjective to be identical. We cannot disconnect this use of the term from passages such as AV. 18, 4, 3 where the deceased is addressed as follows: “look thou straightly along the road of universal truth and order (pita-) by which go the Āṅgirases (i.e. semi-mythical ancestors of priests and eulogists), the sukṛtaḥ; go thou by those roads to heaven, where the Ādityas feed on honey . . .” 29). St. 7 of the same sūkta recurs to the road by which the makers of sacrifices, the sukṛtaḥ, go; “there did they set a world for the sacrificer . . .”. The difficult stanza 19, 56, 5, which according to the commentary forms part of a text belonging to a ceremony for getting rid of ‘evil-dreaming’ seems to point in the same direction. Anyhow, the term sukṛtaḥ is contrasted with duskrtaḥ, who in any case are demeritorious people who may be burdened with the sins and inauspicious deeds of the others 30), and refers to persons who by “non-sleep, shared the pure lifetime”. These examples may suffice 31).

28) I refer to The Savayāṇas, p. 129 f.
29) For “pāths” see my relative paper in ‘Studies of Buddhism and Tantrism’, Koyasan University, Japan 1965.
30) This seems to be the sense of the text: yāṣya krārāṁ abhaṇantu duskrtaḥ; compare KRV. 1, 4: one’s dear relatives may succeed to one’s sukṛtaḥ, those who are not dear to one’s duskrtaḥ, “the effects of one’s evil deeds, one’s demerit”. The possibility of transferring sukṛtaḥ is also faced in BĀU. 6, 4, 3. In this passage the sexual act is explained as a kind of ritual performance, the elements of the sacrificial ground being identified with parts of the woman’s body: her lap is a sacrificial bud etc. If a man practises sexual intercourse with the knowledge of this he gains a ‘world’ as great as he who sacrifices with the Vājapeya rite and takes to himself the ‘merit’ of the women (stirgaya sukṛtaṃ vrīkate); but if he practices it without this knowledge, women take his ‘merit’ to themselves (asya stirgaya sukṛtaṃ vrīkate). Hence the quotation (§ 4): “many mortal men, brahmans by descent, depart from this world, impotent (nirindrigātaḥ) and devoid of merit (visukṛtaḥ), namely, those who practise sexual intercourse without knowing this”. The very occurrence of the compound vi-sukṛt- corroborates the view that sukṛt- was a fixed, more or less technical term. After having taught a procedure to be adopted by a man who wishes to reclaim semen that has been spilt, the author prescribes for the case that one sees himself in water (§ 6): such a man should recite over it the formula “in me be energy (tajāḥ), potency (indriyam), dignity (yukāḥ), possessions and ‘merit’ (sukṛtaḥ)”: that is to say, “may they not be lost”. As is well known looking at the surface of water or of another liquid was a method of prognosticating death or continuance of life; cf. Śūrputa 1, 30 “he who cannot see his shadow in the moonlight or in hot water . . ., will die if he is ill or will fall ill if he is healthy”.

“Beim Tripiyasavana sollen die Sāmansinger in eine Schale mit flüssiger Opferbutter hineinschauen: wer sich selbst nicht erblickt, der gilt als ein gutāsah, d.h. als einer . . . der dem Tod nahe ist” (Caland, in Z. D. M. G. 53, p. 218). From BĀU. 6, 4, 6 it seems to appear that the image in the water might take away such important components of the integral personality as are enumerated in the text.—Manu 3,
It is worth while to examine also the application of the adjective sukṛta-, that is to say to consider some of the nominal concepts it qualifies. In RV. 10, 15, 13 it goes, for instance, with yaṣaṇa- “wohlbereitet” (Geldner; sādhu kṛtam, Śāyana); in 10, 100, 6 Indra’s overwhelming power (saḥaḥ) is qualified as sukṛtam (“schön geartet”, Grassmann; “wohlbeschaffen”, Geldner; indreuḥ khalu uṣṇhū samāpāditam, Śāyana). The horse which is led to the place where the clay is to be dug (agnicyanaya) is said to make that ‘place’ of the earth (lokam... pṛthivayaḥ) “(ritually, or from the ritual point of view) well made” (sukṛtam: TS. 4, 1, 2, 4). We may subjoin here MuU. 1, 2, 6 stating that the offerings carry the sacrificer by the rays of the sun, saluting him as follows: “This is your holy (or meritorious, puruṣaḥ) world of brahma, (“well made”, i.e.) fashioned (prepared, gained) by merits (sukṛtaḥ)” 33. St. 10 speaks of the “high place of heaven won by merits” (nāksasya pṛṣṭhe... sukṛte).

AiU. 1, 2, 1 ff. narrates how the divinities after having been created did not consider a bull and a horse a sufficient abode in which they might be established. When however a person (puruṣam) was presented to them, they said “well done” (sukṛtam), because, the author observes, “a person is a thing well done” (puruṣaṁ vāca sukṛtam). Thereupon the divinities entered their respective abodes; fire becoming speech entered the mouth; the sun, becoming sight entered the eyes etc. – The conclusion may be that among the creatures man alone is “well-made” and therefore a

100 “a brāhmaṇa who stays unhonoured (in the house), takes away (with him) all the sukṛtam (“spiritual merit” Bühler) even of a man who subsists by gleaning ears of corn, or offers oblations in five fires”; pāṇḍuḥnīhomārjitaṃpanuyam. (It is clear that sukṛtam may result from a perfect discharge of ritual obligations as well as a sober and ascetic manner of life).—In an exposition of the dharma of an ascetic Maṇu observes (6, 79) that on leaving this body the ascetic makes over the sukṛtam “merits of his good actions” (Bühler) to his friends and the duṣkṛtam to his enemies, and attains the eternal brahman. Kullūka quotes a śrutī of the same tenor in which the terms in question are replaced by sādhusukṛtyaṁ and pāpakṛtyaṁ. Polemizing against Medhātithi and Govindarāja the same commentator observes: visṛṣṭeyi kriyāyām sukṛtam duṣkṛtam iti karmadasyatyaśaṇaṃ tatrāh ity adruktarūṣyayādhyāhārāḥ, karmadāyā ca adruktarūṣyayādhyāya karanatyaṃ prakulpyate kāśyaṣaṃrūṣkṛtyayādhyāhārāḥ.—For a transfer of ‘merit’ see also Nāradap. Up. 3, 7 pṛiyasya aveṣa sukṛtam aprīyaḥ ca duṣkṛtam / visṛṣṭya dhāvanyayogena brahmāpy eti sanātanam.

21) The adjective sukṛta- may be regarded as expressing the same idea as sukṛ-. In RV. 8, 46, 27 it qualifies Nahuṣa (see A. A. MacDowell and A. B. Keith, Vedic Index of names and subjects, ṚVaraneśi 1958, I, p. 438 f.); in 8, 13, 7 Indra is said to have, for the benefit of, or on behalf of the sukṛtaḥ, that is to say of the man who worships him well, increased in size and strength in every case of intoxication. This may mean: every time the worshipper offered soma to the god, the latter would, for his benefit, increase. Śāyana: sōbhavakartra yajamāṇāya.

22) Places exhibiting the literal sense of “well made” are of course omitted here (cf. e.g. Potr. Dict., VII, 1030).

23) J. Maury, Mundaka Upanishad, Paris 1943, p. 9 preferred “parfait”. 
suitable abode of divine powers. The term no doubt implies the ideas of perfection and completeness 34).

The person who is to pronounce the stanza AV. 17, 1, 27 characterizes himself as covered by Prajñāpati's brahman as defence, as long-lived, of heroic power . . ., possessed of a thousand (i.e. divine) life-time(s), and sukṛtaḥ, i.e. suṣṭhu samskrtaḥ survasamprāṇaḥ san; athavā laukikāṃ vaidikāṃ ca yat kartavyajītam aṣṭi tad yena suṣṭhu kṛtya sa sukṛtaḥ, kṛtya ity arthoḥ . . .; yad vā sukṛtaḥ sukṛtavān sukṛtāṃ dharmāḥ (comm.). Notwithstanding the differences in grammatical interpretation these explications show that the idea of “being fully accomplished, of having acquitted oneself of all worldly tasks and obligations prescribed in the Veda, of having fulfilled one's dharma etc.” must have been present to the commentator's mind. Such a man is “bien façonné”; (by performing the rites well and realizing his identity with the Highest Principle) “il a atteint l'immortalité qui est l'apanage de ce qui est bien fait” 35).—Sometimes therefore one might be tempted to attribute some meaning like “blessed” to this noun. In JB. 2, 235 the story is told of the Āṅgirases Haviśmat and Haviśktṛ who were left behind when the Āṅgirases, the seers, their fathers and grandparents, went to the heavenly regions. By means of ‘asceticism’ (tapas) and of the two-day soma-rite they however succeeded in following their ancestors. Now the latter are, in this paragraph, qualified as sukṛtaḥ (“fromm”, Caland 36)). There is in the narrative an unmistakable opposition between the light-hearted H. and H. and the seers, their ancestors, who had no doubt been models of devotion to their ritual and religious duties. There is, however, also a contrast between the former two who are left in this world and their ancestors, who have gained access to heaven. It may be noticed that this passage 37) glides over the question as to whether the persons concerned are dead or still alive 38).

In tracing ‘semantic developments’ and connecting the ‘various meanings’ of a word—one of the favourite operations of lexicographers—one should proceed with the utmost caution. Not rarely indeed there is no

34) The adjective sukṛta- is in AV. 12, 3, 33 used in connection with the work of an artisan, but in 17, 1, 27 in a more interesting way so as to characterize the man who believes himself to be covered with the brahman of Prajñāpati as a defence and with Kaśyapa's light and splendour. He moreover considers himself to be a recognized hero, long-lived and sukṛtaḥ. Here Whitney—Lanman's “well-made” seems right. As the speaker who while addressing the Sun asks for safety hopes to be secure from death and evil (29), being “guarded by ṛta”, this may mean “complete, perfect”.

36) W. Caland, Das Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa in Auswah, Amsterdam 1919, p. 185.
37) Like the parallel texts TS. 7, 1, 4 and PB. 20, 11.
38) Ṛgveda 7, 95 is interesting because of the qualification anuśrūktṛkam added to the term under consideration: “whatever merit (s.) (a man) who is slain in flight may have gained for the next (world), all that his master takes".
case of ‘development’ at all, but only a number of contextual variants. Sometimes also a special or contextual use clarifies the deeper sense of a more frequent application or sheds light on that meaning which is most frequent in a definite body of texts. Thus the remarkable passage TU. 2, 7, 1, which seems to throw some light on the relation between the well-performed deed and the heavenly bliss which results from it, may help us in understanding the ideas associated with sukṛta-. It reads: asad vā idam agra āsit, tato vai sad ajāyata. tad ātmānāṃ svayam akuruta. tasmāt tat sukṛtan ucyate. yad vai tat sukṛtan, raso vai saḥ. rasaḥ ky evayam labdhvānāti bhavati “in the beginning this (world) was non-existent (i.e. ‘the chaos’) 39). Therefrom existence (i.e. ‘the cosmos’) was produced. That made itself a ‘soul’ 40). Therefore it is called the ‘well-made’. Verily, that ‘well-made’ is the rasa-. For truly on getting the rasa- 41) one becomes blissful”. The text continues: “For who, indeed, could live, who breathe, if there were no bliss in space (ākāse)?” While the first part of this argument reveals to us that only after having made itself an ātman the universe in which we live was “well-made”, the connecting link between sukṛta- and “bliss” is in the second part stated to be rasa-, which here may be a certain condition of the mind or an experience consisting in the consciousness of a certain condition of oneself, a ‘feeling’ raised to a state of euphoria enabling a person to apprehend the bliss 42).—The ideas attached to sukṛta- are closely related to the post-Vedic concept of adṛṣṭa- or apārrva. 43) When the sacrifice is performed, the action leaves such an “unseen” (adṛṣṭa-) or “causeless” (apārrva-: “without a perceptible cause” and hence “resulting in a remote and unforeseen consequence”) virtue, that by it the desired object (for instance heaven as the consequence of the right performance of a rite) 44) will be achieved in a mysterious manner, the modus operandi of this apārrva- which is due to dharma, i.e. to merit accruing from the performance of deeds enjoined in the Veda, being unknown 45).

40) See also Silburn, o.c., p. 145 (otherwise, p. 151!).
42) One might compare here the use of the technical term rasa- in Indian poetics; see e.g. S. K. Do, History of Sanskrit poetics, Calcutta 1900, passim.
44) This unseen power may also represent demerit and produce evil consequences.
45) It was, in the ‘orthodox’ systems of later times, believed that this potency of the ritual acts generally required some time before it could be fit for giving the sacrificer (or doer of the action) the merited enjoyment or punishment. These would often accumulate and await him after death.
As a substantive *sukṛtam* does not indeed express, in these contexts, such ideas as “good deed, benefaction” or “righteousness” (thus Egglæg, ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 16; 2, 6, 3, 1), but that of the lasting merit, the effective and positive result of the correct performance of ritual acts—cf. e.g. RV. 3, 29, 8; 10, 61, 1; ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 16 “having kindled it (that fire in his innermost soul), he makes it blaze, thinking: ‘Herein I will worship, herein I will produce ritual merit (īha sukṛtam karisyāmi, Egglæg translates “herein I will perform the sacred work”) and the dogma (quoted e.g. by Nilakanṭha, on Gaṇeśagātā 1, 32) aṅkṣayāyaḥ hu vai cāturmāśayā- jīnaḥ sukṛtam bhavati— and these merits accumulate for the benefit of the performer and await him, as will be shown further on, in yonder, or at least in a special, ‘world’. See also; 2, 3, 3, 11; 2, 6, 3, 1. This idea

60) This substantive is like *sukṛ- used in connection with the Rāhus: RV. 3, 60, 4 mentions their *sukṛtāni and their *vṛgyāni “Kunstwerke und Heldentaten” (Geldner), rather: “deeds (products) of extraordinary skill and energy”. Heroism is indeed not one of the most outstanding traits of the character of these mythological figures.—The general meaning of RV. 1, 162, 10 sukṛtā tāde chemitāraḥ kṛṣṇantu is clear: “‘qu’ils préparent comme il faut” où sukṛtā- (figé au pl. t.) supplée un *sā kṛṣṇantu qui manquait de corps” (Renou, Grammaire de la langue védique, Paris 1952, p. 323; see also my Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam 1950, p. 277. Geldner refers to Pāṇini 5, 4, 48 ff.).—For *sukṛtam* in the sense of “something well-made” AiU. 1, 2, 3.

67) This sense is of course not wanting: Kāl. Megh. 17 na kṣatra ‘pi pratha-maṇiṣukṛtāpiṣayāḥ... bhavati vimukkakā “even a base man, out of regard to previous benefits (favours: pārṇopakāraṇaparyālocanavyā, Mallinātha; similarly Vallabhadova) does not turn his back...”

68) “Righteousness” i.e. “state of conformity to moral and spiritual principles” is certainly not the meaning of the word. From texts such as ŚB. 2, 6, 3, 1 it is perfectly clear that an Aryan who performs for instance the cāturmāśya rites acquires special ritual merit; “for such a one gains the year, and hence there is no cessation for him”—ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 16 is an important place which, while discussing in connection with the establishment of the sacred fires the obligations to be made, teaches that when fire has been produced by friction one should make it blaze, thinking: īha yakṣayā īha sukṛtām karisyāmi “herein I will worship, herein I will perform the sacred work” (Egglæg), or “...the well-performed ritual work”, or “...herein I will perform my ritual work well”. The commentary explains: ...yāyāṃ karisyā tadphalaṃ sa samāpādayāyāmi, i.e. “I will execute the sacrifice and prepare (procurer) the good result of it”. This seems right, because sukṛtām kuroti no doubt implies more than the above translations: it also includes the ritual merit which is being gained by the sacrificer while performing the act of worship, the positive effects or results of the sacred act. Both sentences beginning with īha are in a sense complementary rather than tautological.

69) What is the rātiḥ sukṛtasya in RV. 10, 95, 17? After saying that no woman is worth that a man should commit suicide because of her, and asking Purūravas to be satisfied with the years he has had her, Urvaśi departs (st. 15 and 16). Then for the last time Purūravas attempts to call her back (17): upa tvā rātiḥ sukṛtasya tiṣṭhān ni varṣaeva. Does this sentence really mean: “Auf daß der Lohn der Gattat dir zuteil werde, kehre um!” (Geldner, who does not inform us about the nature of this “Lohn”), i.e. “Turn back! that the reward of this good deed may be yours!” or rather: “That the gift of the well-prepared offering reach you; return!”? (See
runs therefore in the ritual sphere of Vedism parallel with—or it is in this sphere the predecessor of—what in later times when the doctrine of transmigration has fully developed is, with a derivative of the same root \( k\)-, called a man’s good \( k\)arman- which, being the fruit of his deeds, i.e. of the correct performance of his socio-religious obligations 50), determines his future situation, viz. a sojourn in heaven and a rebirth in a good position. Just as the karman according to the late- and post-Vedic transmigration theory results in good consequences in earthly life as well as in the hereafter, the performance of rites and the esoterical knowledge of their meaning may for instance carry with them an abundance of food in this life and imperishable \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)tam in yonder world (SB. 1, 6, 4, 16), or—to give another instance—good eye-sight till old age in this world, and a start with (good) eye-sight in the beyond (1, 6, 3, 41). Just as in Hinduism those who have acquired good karman will go to heaven thus the \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)- is, as already observed 51), introduced as such (i.e. as a \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)-) to the gods and noticed by them (TS. 1, 4, 45, 3; 7, 1, 6, 8). Just as according to the convictions of the Hindus good karman 52) can be neutralized by the results of evil deeds, the Vedic \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)tam can come to nought through omissions, negligence or reprehensible behaviour 53) in

H. J. de Zwart, in Orientalia neerlandica, Leiden 1948, p. 371). In the light of the first half of the stanza where it is stated that the divine apsaras is already going through heaven the mortal man may be supposed to warn her; if she departs without more, the fruits of her deeds may not await her.

50) Mānu 3, 37 “if a son of a wife wedded according to the brāhma rite performs meritorious acts (\( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)tam-) he liberates from evil (sin: \( e\)nasah) twenty-one members of his family” (For parallels see G. Bühler, The laws of Mānu, in S. B. E. 25, Oxford 1886, p. 82). The text does not furnish us with a definition of \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)tam, but it is beyond all doubt that it is the dharma as taught by Mānu which is the standard.

51) See above, p. 119 f.

52) With regard to \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)man- it is worth noticing that in RV. 4, 2, 17 it qualifies the de\( \text{v}\)ayantāḥ who have come to kindle the sacrificial fire. Sāyaṇa is right: \( s\)u\( \text{g}\)h\( \text{w}\) a\( \text{n}\)ug\( \text{l}\)hit\( \text{a}\)y\( \text{g}\)ūd\( \text{i}\)k\( \text{a}\)rm\( \text{m}\)ā\( \text{n}\)āḥ; not, with Geldner: “die Guteswirkenden”. In 9, 70, 4 some is purified dasābhīḥ \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)mabhīḥ, i.e. by the ten (fingers) which know their ritual job very well. See also st. 8 (where Grassmann supplies \( v\)r\( \text{b}\)hīḥ, f). In 9, 98, 7 Geldner translates the words sā mṛ\( \text{y}\)yatā \( s\)uk\( \text{r}\)mbhīr de\( \text{d}\)īḥ by “der Gott wird von den Würdigtighen gepützt”, Sāyaṇa more correctly by “…\( t\)wēgniḥ…”, i.e. “the sacrificial priests”. The word occurs also in a more general sense: 4, 33, 9 where Vājś, one of the Rūbhus, is the sakarśā of the gods.

53) The offering of a barren cow for Mitra and Varuṇa leads the author of SB. 4, 5, 1 to a discussion in which it is argued that Mitra takes the well-offered (\( s\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m-) part of the sacrifice and Varuṇa the ill-offered part. Both gods surrender these parts to the sacrificer, Varuṇa however only after making the ill-offered well-offered. “This”, § 7 concludes, “is his own sacrifice, his own \( s\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m, i.e. ritual merit”.—The opposite of \( s\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m may, in these contexts, be called \( d\)u\( \text{s}\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m. In connection with the function of the purohita the author of SB. 4, 1, 4, 5 argues that a brahman should not desire to become the house-priest of any kṣatru; nor should a kṣatriya make any brahman he may meet with his purohita. In both cases sams hy e\( \text{m}\)h s\( r\)jītē \( s\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m ca \( d\)u\( \text{s}\)u\( \text{g}\)t\( \text{a}\)m ca. Eggeling’s translation “thereby righteousness and unrighteousness unite” is not satisfactory. The author’s pre-
scription is based on the consideration that the brhmans, representing the god Mitra, are the conceivers, the nobility, representing Varuna, the deers. A lsatriya succeeds only in his activities when those are “impelled” by a brhman. Therefore a king must not be without a brhman, whereas a brhman may be without a king. The sukrtam in all probability consists in having, or being, a (competent) purohit, the dusktam in making someone a purohit who may prove unfit for this profession or in serving an unworthy lasatriya. If this interpretation is not beside the mark the sukrtam results from the correct observance of the social and religious rules, of the dharmas, the dusktam from their disregard.—It may be worth while to add a note on duskt- and duskt-. According to RV. 6, 16, 32 the man who is aiming at the life of a fellow man is a duskt- against whom Agni’s aid is invoked. In 7, 104, 7 this term applies to those who treat others inimically and injuriously; in 5, 83, 2, being a general expression for “wretch” or “culpable”, it is opposed to antapus “sinless, blameless”. It could also be used in a general and commonplace way: 10, 86, 5: Indra’s wife qualifies the monkey Vrskapi as a duskt- because of his lack of consideration; in 7, 104, 3 it has the general meaning of “sinner” (“Obelii” Geldner); in AV. 8, 4, 7 likewise that of a “malevolent or criminal adversary”. In AV. 10, 1, 23 the duskt- is put on a par with the maker of magical contrivances and the evil-deer in general. From these places it also appears that the general meaning of a term may, in contexts of a pronounced character, tend to assume special connotations or to denote definite aspects of the general concept, in short that it is apt to specialize. The special sense is, generally speaking, in harmony with the character of, or with the subject matter preferentially dealt with in, the passage in which it occurs.—Thus a more specialized or technical sense appears in RV. 9, 73, 6 which, though obscure in some details, deals with people who recite religious poems. The last pada, rdaya pâthnâ na varatani dusktâh, was taken to mean “die Stirmper (d.h. die Verfertiger einer duskti: 7, 32, 21) legen nicht den Weg der Wahrheit zurück” (Geldner; cf. also pada ab) or—what seems preferable—“den Bosen nützen ihre Lieder nichts (auch wenn sie alles Wissen)” (Lüders, Varuna, p. 465, n. 1).

With regard to dusktam RV. 10, 104, 3 is instructive: yad áksata nihsávabhásas-párimá jágrata yat suvpántah / agnír tétvânya ápà dusktânya ájúsé áramad dadváttu “what we have done (committed) intentionally, unintentionally and by way of ‘imprecation’ (criminal intent), waking or sleeping, let Agni put far away from us all disagreeable ill-deeds”. In the corresponding stanza AV. 6, 45, 2 it reads avâksatâ nihsávastâ yat padâsà, words which, translated clumsily and mechanically by Whitney-Lanman, must denote variations of intensive and offensive speech. “Das Lied bezeckt allgemein die Abwehr und Vergebung der Gedanken-Sünden, bösen Absichten usw”, Geldner, o.c., III, p. 391). They obviously belong to the category of dusktâmi.—The author of RV. 10, 100, 7 speaks of bhâri dusktâm (“viele Sünde”, Geldner) secretly committed against the gods. In 8, 47, 13 the wish is expressed that “all dusktam (“Missetat”, Geldner), that performed publicly as well as that committed in secret should be removed to Trita Áptaya”, who is also in the AV. believed to be a remote god, to whom also dreams are transferred (AV. 19, 56, 4).—AV. 7, 65, 2 exhibits the verb apa-surjata “to wipe off” to express the idea of removing “sin”: “the sin (dusktam), the pollution (kâmava), or what we have done evilly (pápayâ), by you, O apâmarga (the plant achyranthes aspera, believed to have the special power of wiping off evil) we wipe that off”. “The sin, here called dusktâta- “evil deed” is just a pollution, a stain, kâmava, that can be wiped off” (S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 150).

The general meaning of dusktâta- in the AV. appears for instance from 11, 8, 20. Dealing with the constitution of man the text teaches that such undesirable functions, characteristics, possibilities, propensities etc. as sleep, old age, baldness, theft and ill-doing (dusktam) entered the body afterward. These ideas, all of them
the ritual or religious sphere). It might be remembered that also a loka could be diminished or destroyed by sins (theft, murder etc., KBU. 3, 1). Just as there existed rites to cause a man to prosper in a loka etc. (AiB. 6, 18, 9; PB. 18, 10, 5) it was possible to deprive him of his loka- (PB. 6, 7, 22 f.; 8, 3, 2); even Indra could be thrusted out of his ‘world’ (SB. 8, 5, 3, 8); one might also pass by one’s loka- (PB. 7, 3, 23).

The passage SB. 1, 6, 1 has been translated as follows: “... when being conceived as ‘Daseinsmächte’ (see H. von Glaser App, Entwicklungstufen des indischen Denkens, Hallo S. 1940, p. 9 ff.) or ‘power-substances’, obviously let themselves be put on a par with one another and were believed to get attached, in a material form, to a person. —In AV. 12, 2, 40 the term dusktym follows ripram and āhālam: “what impurity, what pollution (fault, blemish), and what wrongdoing we have committed (lit. ‘made’ caṇṭraḥ), let the waters cleanse me from that”. It is clear that here no distinction is made between deliverance from evil deeds and their results on the one hand and pollution on the other. The performance of evil deeds really is a sort of pollution. —In AV. 14, 2, 66 “the evil deed, the pollution (yad dusktarṃ gaṇe āhālam) at the wedding and on the bridal car—that mishap (durītam) we wipe off...” the dusktarṃ obviously is a sort of durītam, a term which impresses us as vaguely denoting “something that has gone wrong”. “In the word are included committed sin as well as outward disaster, evils not clearly distinguished” (Rodhe, o.c., p. 74). —In AV. 4, 25, 4 the dusktarṃ even combines with demons among whom is Śimidā: “drive, O Vāyu (Wind) and Savitār (Sun), away the ill-done, the rākṣāṇi and Ś.” “For”, the text continues, “you unite men with vigour and strength”. Obviously these are, in a way, opposed to the undesirable results of dusktarṃ and to the activities of demons, both of which are considered to be apalāṃ “distress”. —AV. 4, 9, 6 remains in the same sphere: “from wicked spells (evil mantras, malicious formulas), from evil dreaming, from the undeniable consequences of an evil deed (dusktāt), from pollution, from the terrible (‘evil’) eye of an enemy—from that protect us”, the text being addressed to a powerful protective ointment. —Among the formulae for the slaying of the victim (animal sacrifice) mentioned in AiB. 2, 7 it reads (§ 12) āsmitāro yād atra saktam kṛpayotkhaṇāsudād tad, yad dusktarṃ anyatra tad “O slayers, whatever shall here be well done, to us that; whatever ill done, elsewhere that”. From the context it appears that the reference is to the ritual killing and dissection of the animal. When “something is done to excess or defectively”, the text continues, the hotar is, by taking definite measures freed (from ‘sin’), being possessed of a complete life-time; and the man who knows thus lives a complete life-time. So much is clear that ritual correctness, the accurate performance of the rites, leads to “fullness of life”.

34) The man who has deserted a friend does not know the path of sukta- (RV. 10, 71, 6). Is it “der Weg der Tugend” (Goldner)? Or should here also “the way leading to the merit of (gained by) well performed rites” be preferred? (For pāya path-, see The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 197). We should remember that the author of this sūkta, the Jñānaśūkta (ibidem, p. 107 ff.), is occupied with the problem of sacred speech, its origin, meaning and mysteries. The reciter or priestly eulogist who has forsaken his colleagues is excluded from the circle of those who produce sacred poems, commit these to memory and pronounce these. As the experts had found sacred speech by means of worship (st. 3) and as sacred speech and worship are indissolubly connected, it would not be strange if such a man should, in st. 6, be said to be ignorant of the path leading to the correct performance of the sacrificial acts.

the priests practise deceit and sacrifice below the measure they exert themselves (in vain)… The good karma (sukṛtam) of those who exert themselves thus disappears, for in yonder world (anuṣṭimṇa loka) they cannot dispose of that which they had not made when passing away from this world.”

The commentary is no doubt right in explaining sukṛtam by pārvarjītam api puṇyaṁ, i.e. “the religious merit that had been acquired before” and the translation “good karma” may do duty for practical purposes. Hence also the explicit identification of the sukṛtasya loka- with puṇyaṁ karma (TB. 3, 3, 10, 2). The only question which is not explicitly answered is that as to the character of the “good karma”, how and by what activities it was acquired. The context itself points, of course, in the direction of ritual performances.

56) “Day and night” (i.e. “time”), we are told in ŚB. 2, 3, 11, destroy (kṛṣṇataḥ) while revolving a man’s sukṛtam in yonder world. Here also I would not adopt Eggeling’s rendering “(the fruit) of his righteousness”. After he has gone up to heaven day and night however discontinue doing so because they are on this side of the sun from him. In § 12 the author adds that day and night do not destroy the sukṛtam (here Eggeling translates by “reward”) of him who thus knows that release from day and night.

57) There is among those stanzas of the funeral hymn AV. 18, 3, which occur also in the Rgveda 10, 14-18, one (st. 54) that is without ritual use and according to Whitney–Lanman (Whitney–Lanman, o.c., p. 562) “plainly intrusive”: “in the bowl which Atharvana bore full to Indra…, he makes (food, or a draught) of sukṛtam; in that the soma ever purifies itself”. The commentary supplies gajñaya to sukṛtasya: “of the act of worship (sacrifice) which has been correctly executed”, considering rtvijāṁ gajñā “the collectivity of the officiants” to be the subject of kṛṣṇi. The reference is in any case to the ritual achievements. The bowl obviously is identical with that mentioned in st. 53 in which the immortal gods are said to revel. Is there room for the supposition that the results of the well-performed rite assume the form of a beverage to be drunk by the immortal?—The parties concerned should settle a boundary, Mana 8, 256 says, “being sworn each by the rewards for his meritorious deeds” (sukṛtaḥ dāpitabh svabh), i.e., Kullāka explains, yad asaṅkṣaṁ sukṛtasya tan nishphalay ati hiti. Rām. 2, 34, 48 refers to the same custom: satyena sukṛtsena ca te āśe “I vow by the truth and the merit acquired by me”.

58) It is worth while briefly to examine also the substantive sukṛtyā. In connection with the Rūtas (see my Epithea in the Rgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 121) it reads in RV. 1, 20, 8 that they acquired, among the gods, a share in the sacrifice by their sukṛtyā “skill” (not “good or righteous act, virtuous action”, Monier-Williams). Similarly, 3, 60, 3 (see above); 4, 35, 2 sukṛtyāyā… suṣṭhayeṣu; 7; 8. The phrase sukṛtyā sukṛtyāya is in 10, 94, 2 used in connection with the press-stones which fulfill an important function in the performance of the sacrificial ceremonies.—RV. 9, 47, 1 and 48, 1 furnish us with a striking example of the inconsistency which one regrets to signalize in Geldner’s translation. The words 9, 47, 1 ayā sāṁva sukṛtyāyā… abhy ārddhatā were translated: “durch diese geschickte Behandlung erstarkte… Soma noch mehr” 48, 1 cārtaḥ sukṛtyāyenaḥ: “dem Beliebten nahen wir mit frommem Werke”. According to Renou (Études védiques et pāṇinéennes, VIII, Paris 1961, p. 26 f.) the noun means, in both places, “bonne œuvre (poétique)”, a translation to which the sense of īmaha in 48, 1 is favourable. Bhave (S. S. Bhave, The Soma-hymns of the Rgveda, II, Baroda 1969, p. 98; 102),
As to puṇya- the term suktṛa- is indeed expressly put on a par with this adjective for “auspicious, propitious, good, right, meritorious, pure, holy, sacred” etc., which in its turn is an opposite of pāpu-. Cf. e.g. AV. 9, 5, 16; 15, 13, 1; 19, 54, 5; PB. 10, 19, 4; 19, 11, 8; ChU. 8, 1, 6; MuU. 1, 2, 6 esa vah puṇyas suktṛo brahma lokah “this is your holy loka-which-is-oneness-with-brahman, prepared by your merit”; comm. SB. 1, 6, 1 (see above).

And so we find e.g. AV. 6, 119, 1 (Agni is addressed); 6, 120, 1; TS. 5, 7, 24, 1 “do thou bear us to the loka- of the suktṛa-”, which in 1, 1, 10 g; 3, 5, 6, 2 seems to be identical with “the womb of the founder or establisher” (dhātus ca yonau suktṛasya loko; cf. RV. 10, 85, 24) and in 3, 5, 4, 1 seems to include the firmament (nāka-), being “on the third ridge above the light of the sky”; 1, 1, 11 r “these have sat down in the ‘world’ of suktṛa-”; AV. 7, 83, 4; 2, 10, 7 bhadre suktṛasya loko.

XII

Now the ‘place’—to use this word again—where this merit awaits the successful sacrificer is often called the suktṛām lokaḥ “the sphere or condition of those who have earned the rewards of well-performed rites (and hence are entitled to such a special loka)” or suktṛasya lokaḥ (e.g. AV. 6, 119, 1) “the sphere of ritual and religious merit”. In a reference to the deceased who have reached heaven AV. 6, 120, 3 says: yātra suhṛḍaḥ suktro mādanti “where the benevolent who (or: and those who) have acted well—and that seems to mean: have performed the rites well—revel . . .”. The same words occur AV. 3, 28, st. 5 which, in 6, is followed by the words: yātra suhṛḍaṁ suktṛām agnihotrabhaktam yātra lokāh (cf. TĀ. 2, 6, 2) “where is the ‘world’ of those who are of a good interior (heart), of the s., of those who offer the fire-offering”: there can be no doubt that we are in the ritual sphere and that reference is made to an ‘abode’ or state of extreme felicity. The ‘world’ of the suktṛāh is sometimes assigned to a particular region of the universe; thus in AV. 9, 5, 1 where the wish is expressed that the goat, being offered, goes unto that region, which appears to be situated across the great darkness in the third

following Śatya, is however of the opinion that the word meaning “by good preparation” refers to the skilful preparation (straining, cleansing etc.) of the soma juices which requires a special skill of the hands (cf. 9, 97, 37 adhevāryavo . . . suhāstabh). Inclined to follow Renou (notice also aya in 47, 1) I emphasize the ritual connotation of the noun. The same interpretation may apply to 8, 54, 2 where the eulogists, who are (in 1) said to glorify Indra with words of praise, turn to the god in order to obtain his aid and favour suktṛyāya: “mit ihrer Kunst” (Geldner). However “with their skill in preparing oblations” would be possible also, because the stanza continues “on whose soma juices thou dost thyself well”—In 1, 83, 4 the Agirases are stated to have kindled the sacrificial fire śāmya suktṛyāya “with effort and ritual skill”.
firmament 1). Here it is the obligation which goes to that 'region' to be at the sacrificer's disposal. See also st. 5; st. 8 which sheds light on this phrase: ijāndana sukṛtāṁ prabhī mādhyam "advance—probably the sacrificer is addressed 2)—to the midst of those who have performed the ritual work well, who have worshipped with offerings". Similarly st. 12 and, without the participle, st. 9. For another localization, or rather identification with a celestial region see also AV. 4, 14, 6 (svaṛ, nākam); 16, 9, 3 (svaṛ, the light of the sun). In AV. 11, 1, 17 the wish is expressed that the cooker of the rice-dish should go to the 'world' (loka-) of the sukṛtaḥ, that is, again, to the regions of those who have acquired ritual merits. Whitney–Lanman's 3) translation "well-doers" being too etymologically literal, is beside the mark. Similarly, in st. 18 "having cooked this (rice), go ye to the 'world' of the sukṛtaḥ". Compare also st. 35 āśeyāṁ gaccha / sukṛtāṁ lokā sūta. This plural shows that one may share this loka, like the other lokas, with others; cf. e.g. also ŚB. 13, 2, 7, 12. In the funeral stanzas of the 18th book (18, 2, 8) Agni Jātavedas is requested to convey the he-goat—which is tied fast to the pyre on which the dead body was to be cremated 4)—to the same regions (=RV. 10, 16, 4).

A very illustrative statement made in MuU. 1, 2, 6 may be quoted in full: eky ehiṁ tam āhutayaṁ sāvarcasāḥ sāryasya raksibhir yajjamānāḥ vahanti / priyām vācaṁ abhivadantya 'ravayantu esa vah purning sukṛto brahmālokāḥ "the splendid offerings invite him with the words "come, come" and carry the sacrificer by the rays of the sun, praising him and saluting him with pleasant speech: 'this is your pure ('holy', and meritorious) world of brahman, well made, i.e. gained by well performed deeds". Here the process, the mechanism, is explained with all desirable distinctness. But it is at the same time clear that it is ritual work which paves the way for the sacrificer. We are moreover reminded of ChU. 8, 6, 5 where the man who departs from this body is stated to ascend upward with the rays of the sun, that luminary being the gateway of the world for those who know.

Among the stanzas to be pronounced during the ceremonies subsequent to the return of the horse which is the victim of the Āśvamedha from his wanderings it reads VS. 23, 16 (cd: RV. 10, 17, 4 cd) "no, here you do not die, you are not injured; only by paths which are easily passed you go to the gods; may god Savitar place you in that 'world' where dwell the sukṛtāḥ ("pious" Griffith, Eggeling), to which they have gone" (cf. TA. 6, 1, 2). In explaining this stanza ŚB. 13, 2, 7, 12 observes "he

1) For comment see The Savayajñas, p. 241 f.
2) See The Savayajñas, p. 250.
4) I refer to W. Caland, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsübungen, Amsterdam 1896, p. 60.
thereby cheers the horse, and shows him the paths leading to the gods; he makes it one who shares the same ‘world’ with the sukṛtaḥ...’ The commentaries on VS. 23, 16 give: sādhukāraṇaḥ. – Thus the phrase “world of those who have acquitted themselves well of their ritual duties” in RV. 10, 16, 4 vakaināṁ sukṛtāṁ u lokāṁ must likewise refer to the abode of the blessed (not, with Geldner, “der Frommen”) which is, according to 1, 125, 5, open to the bounteous and liberal. The text being recited during funeral rites, this reference appears to be to the hereafter. – AV. 7, 80, 4 “they who, O (goddess of full moon) gratify thee with sacrifices (yaśācī), those punctual performers of rites (sukṛtaḥ) have entered into thy firmament (nāka)” is an unambiguous piece of evidence, the nāka—being the special loka.

It is in the same ‘world’ that the draught-ox which is extolled in AV. 4, 11 and is consecrated in the rite which runs parallel with the text, is believed to yield milk (st. 4). Kauṣīka informing us on the ritual use of the text says that it should be used in a sava 5). In st. 4 it is added that the milk of the animal is the sacrifice. The draught-ox which is made the exponent of sublime conditions, sustaining sky, earth and atmosphere and having “entered” all existence, was also considered a means of entering that world of sukṛtam: (st. 6) “by whom the gods ascended heaven leaving their body behind, the navel (i.e. centre or source of creation 6)) of immortality, may we go by him to the world of sukṛtam, by the vow of the hot-drink, by asceticism”. The two additions show that the ox is not alone in warranting access to that world. – The stanza AV. 11, 1, 8 forming part of a text which is to accompany the offering of a rice-dish, and which is almost in its entirety quoted by Kauṣīka (60–63 and 65) 7), is pronounced when the ox-hide 8) is spread out upon the ground (Kauś. 60, 30): “let the divine earth favourably accept the hide, may we then go to the world of sukṛtam”. The last words recur in the formula st. 19 “spread thyself broad and very great... in the world of s.”: to all appearance the swelling of the boiled mess (Kauś. 61, 37) is referred to. In the final stanza, 37 the expression occurs twice: “with the light with which the gods went up to the sky after having cooked the brahman rice-dish, to the world of the s., may we go with that to the world of the s., ascending the heaven, the highest firmament”.

It is clear that the correct performance of definite ritual acts gives access to the sukṛtasya loka-, which therefore is, here also, a ritual concept.

Among the stanzas prescribed by Kauṣīka (80, 35) in preparing the

6) Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 84 ff.
7) See The Savayajñas, passim.
body of a deceased person for the funeral pile is AV. 18. 2, 53 invoking Agni and Soma, the two great sacrificial gods 9), as makers of ways (pathikṛtap), i.e. of roads leading (the oblations and the sacrificer) to the 'worlds' of religious merit 10) (punyalokayannasādhanam, comm.), and stating that they have prepared for the gods (a term including also the deified deceased) a pleasant treasure (ratnam), i.e. the bliss and happiness, being the good results and effects of ritual and religious merits stored up and awaiting the sacrificer in heaven 11), and a loka 12). The commentary alternatively proposes to consider ratnam and loka as a hendiadys: ratnavad utkṛṣṭam lokaṁ svargākhyam. Finally these gods are implored to send Puṣan, the knower of the roads 13), to carry the deceased to that 'place' 14).—As to this treasure of merits, it may be recalled that the same belief was Buddhist as well as ancient Iranian. In Iran "(sind) die Taten der Menschen gewissermassen eine zweite Persönlichkeit, die dem Verstorbenen begegnet und ihm willkommen heißt; diese tritt . . . der Seele in Gestalt eines schönen Mädchens entgegnen . . ., das die Seele mit deren Vorrat an guten Taten empfängt (cf. KBU. 1, 4 relating that the deceased who enters the path leading to the gods meets five hundred celestial nymphs; later on he shakes off his sukraduṣṭe 15) "good and evil karman""); for Buddhism see e.g. Sutta-Nip. 285 (2, 7, 2) "no herds had brahmmins then, no gold or pelf; their wealth was holy lore and holy life"; Dhammap. 220 "... his meritorious deeds receive the meritorious man who has gone from this world to the next" 17). Being no doubt common to the Indo-Iranian Aryans in general 18), this conviction survives also in Hinduism. Any man must discharge his obligations which are his dharma; "one should accumulate dharma ("spiritual merit" Bühler) for the sake of acquiring a companion in the next world" (Manu 4, 238). "For in the next world"—here after death—"neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons . . . stay to be his relations, dharma alone remains" (4, 239). That is to say, the good consequences of the correct performance of a man's socio-religious duties accompany him in the beyond, when his body is left behind (st. 241); with the dharma as a companion he will

8) Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 69.
10) See my note on nidhi- etc. in The Savayajñas, p. 186 ff., and Change and Continuity, p. 225.
12) The sacrificer is supposed to follow the sacrificial gifts, the merit accruing from them awaiting him (cf. also VS. 18, 58 with the comm.).
14) For the text see Whitney–Lanman, o.c., p. 844.
15) Cf. also ChU. 8, 4, 1.
17) For other places see The Savayajñas, p. 192.
18) Compare also the belief evidenced in JB. 2, 182 (Caland, Auswahl, no. 144).
traverse a gloom difficult to traverse (242); it will efface his sins and clothe him in a radiant body (243).

Nor is the belief absent that the oblation offered by a sacrificer becomes his body in yonder world, and when he who knows this leaves this world then that oblation being behind him, invites him to come, saying “here I am, your body” (ŚB. 11, 2, 2, 6). According to Eggeling’s translation of ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 17 the sacrificer who builds a great fire place constructs for himself by the sacrifice a new body for yonder world; however, the expression amuṣmaṁ tal lokāya yajñenātmānam sanskrurute rather means “he makes himself completely fit, consacrates himself with a view to . . .” (cf. the ‘technical sense’ of the term sanskāra-19).

In the formula of the oath taken by the king to the priest occurring in the discussion of the union of the king the term under examination recurs in an interesting context: AiB. 8, 15, 3 (cf. 2) yāṁ ca rātrīṁ ajāye ‘haṁ yāṁ ca preṭāmi, tud ubhayam antareṇaśaṭāḥpūrtam ne lokāṁ sukṛtam dhūḥ prajāṁ vṛtāḥ yadi te druhṣyeyam “from the day of my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two you may take (the good results of) my offerings and presentations20, my ‘world’, my sukṛtam, my life and mine offspring, if I play you false”. Here sukṛtam may be taken to convey the more general meaning of “consequences of those deeds which are from the point of view of religion, ritual, dharma, meritorious”, in short “good karma”. Such terms as ‘merit’, success, fortune might serve as approximately correct translations.

Subjoining here ŚB. 11, 1, 2, 12 stating that the gods become immortal after gaining the year which is the whole, we see that to the sacrificer who performs the Full and New moon rites accrues imperishable ritual merit and an imperishable ‘world’ (akṣayaṁ sukṛtam bhavaty aksayyo lokaḥ). Again the combination sukṛtam and lokaḥ in the grammatical form of an apposition21. ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 6 holds out the prospect of the


20) For īṣṭāpūrta- see E. Windisch, in Festschrift-Böhtlingk (1888), p. 114 ff. (“what has been offered to the gods and presented to the priests”); Geldner, Der Rigveda in Auswahl, I, Stuttgart 1907, p. 31.

21) The terms sukṛtasya or sukṛtam may be omitted. From a comparison of AV. 7, 99, 1 and TB. 3, 7, 5, 13; ĀśŚ. 3, 13, 5 it appears that the phrase yajamāṇasya lokē (AV.; puryaḥghosathāna, comm.) could be replaced by bradvāns “in (the sphere of) the sun” (cf. Caland, Śravasātīra des Āpastamba, I, p. 92), because these terms are interchangeable. As the text refers to “jewels” (niśka-) in that loka, the expression may be taken to be synonymous with the ‘world’ in which the sacrificer’s merits await him.—As often Whitney’s translation, being too literal, has missed the point in AV. 12, 4, 53 jīhmd lokāṁ nṝre rucati. Whatever the exact meaning of these words which is a warning to the man who kills and eats the cow in private, it is not “he goes supine out of the world”, but rather “turned off from the right way, he forfeits the ‘world’, i.e. the ‘room’ in which he, in the future, may find a place and be happy, the state of happiness, whatever and whenever it may be”.—In AV. 9, 5, 16 it reads in connection with the Aṅgirases, sages and fire-priests of mythic antiquity with whom the AV. is especially
same good results to the man who makes the libation to Mind and Speech by which he obtains Form and Name and, in consequence, the whole—which extends as far as there is Name and Form—as, the whole (all) being the imperishable. In ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 19 the sacrificer who gains the year is said to enter that year as the world of heaven, "for the year is the whole (all) and the whole (all) is imperishable: his thereby becomes imperishable sukṛtaṃ, the imperishable world".

Mention may also be made of AV. 6, 120, 1 "if we have injured atmosphere, earth, sky, father or mother, let this house-holder's fire (agnir... gārhapatyaḥ) lead us up from that (ud... nayāti) to the 'world' gained by a correct performance of the ritual (and other religious) duties". Here it is the sacrificial fire itself which is expected to conduct the man speaking to the 'region of the blessed'. The text is silent about the moment of this event. In TS. 1, 8, 5, 3 the same reading is given of the first half-verse, but instead of the second line we find: "the h. h. fire must liberate me from that sin (enāk)". It may be assumed that the world of sukṛta- was conceived as an 'abode' or state of the pure and stainless. Anyhow those who do not sacrifice and maintain the gārhapatya fire will, in the view of the author of AV. 6, 120, 1, not be led to those regions. Cf. 6, 121, 2; 7, 83, 4.—That the loka where the results of the meritorious works done in this world are enjoyed might also be believed to be something analogous to this world may appear from BĀU. 4, 4, 6: the subtle self goes (eti) together with the deed and comes again from that loka when the results of the works are exhausted. Cf. also BĀU. 6, 2, 16.

Mention has already be made of localizations of this 'world or state of merit' in some particular celestial region. Besides, the belief is found

associated, claiming for them a special position as typical Vedics saints, that they "foreknow (their 1) loka- (which, as appears from the context was paśyati-) by the sacrificial goat, praised in this sūkta. As the person praying desires to have the same foreknowledge the term seems to refer to the 'world to come', the meaning being that he is prescient with regard to the 'world of merit' awaiting him.—The author of AV. 6, 120 deprecating the evil consequences of sin implores some divine powers to enable him to reach the sukṛtaṃ loka-, there to meet his relatives. The words meda patsi lokdī (2 d) do not necessarily mean "let me not fall down from (their, i.e. the relatives') world" (Whitney-Lamman), but rather "let me not be deprived of the world of religious merit" mentioned in 1 d. In reading the whole prayer one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the person speaking hopes to meet his relatives ("parents and children", 3 d) in the sukṛtaṃ loka-, where those who have earned religious merit (the sukṛtaḥ) revel in good health and bodily condition. It is however worth noticing, first that the text does not refer to death or the post-mortem situation, and in the second place, that according to the commentaries this poem belongs to a section (114–124) called devaḥēdana- "neutralization of the evil consequences of offence against the gods" (see S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund 1946, p. 136 f.; L. Renou, E. V. P. VII, p. 12; The Savayāhas, p. 118).

21) For this idea see M. Falk, Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa, Calcutta 1943.
22) See above.
that the nāka- “firmament” 24), which is often considered to be or to provide a sort of heavenly residence, is in the sukṛtasya loka:- VS. 15, 50
nākāṃ gṛbaṁ nādāḥ sukṛtāṃ lokaḥ trīṇya prsthē ādhirocane divāh, where the sukṛtasya lokaḥ (“which is the fruit of good and auspicious deeds”, Mahādhāra) is explained by, or identified with, “the third back (surface) of the sky and the luminous realm of heaven” 25). According to this commentator the sukṛtasya lokaḥ 26) has therefore a more or less material form: “the radiating realm of light”.—In opinions with regard to the fruits and rewards of deeds and with man’s destiny in the hereafter there always and naturally is a considerable latitude. For instance, the conception of the man who gains access to heaven because he had acquired sukṛtam is explicitly pronounced in post-Vedic times, e.g. by Kālidāsa: Ragh. 18, 22 tasmīn gate dyām (i.e. when he died) sukṛtopalabhām; Mallinātha rightly explains: suḥharmārjīlām; Renou 27): “que ses bonnes œuvres lui valurent”. Compare also Kāl. Kum. 6, 47 when the sages saw the city of the Himalaya they felt themselves deceived by those who taught that the heavenly abodes are gained by sukṛtam (svargasya punyaphalatvaṃ vadatā . . ., Mallinātha): svargāhāsamadhīsukṛtam vāīcaṇām iva menire; Mallinātha explains: svargābhisaṃbhīnā svargoddeśena yat sukṛtam jyootiṣṭomādyanugūḍānaṃ “merit with the aim to gain access to heaven, i.e. with regard to heaven, the performance of the soma rite called Jyotiṣṭoma etc.”

A similar difference of opinion exists with regard to details of the procedure by which the meritorious sacrificer actually gains or ‘reaches’ that loka. Here definite victims or sacrifices are said to be the means par excellence by which gods and men are enabled to go to that sphere (AV. 4, 11, 6) 28), the relevant rites bringing about the sacrificer’s divinization, there Agni, the god of the ritual fire who knows how to deliver man from his sins and imperfections, is stated to conduct, by accepting and transporting the oblations, him to the loka of the sukṛtam. Thus in AV. 6, 119, which being directed to Agni Vaiśvānara is to achieve relief from guilt or obligation, the god is (st. 1) requested to lead those speaking to the world of sukṛtam, (also) if they make debts or promise in bad faith. The meaning obviously is that the god notwithstanding the sinfulness of the speaker may conduct him safely, that he may purify him if he breaks his promise (st. 3). In st. 2 the god is stated to know how to detach from those speaking the evil consequences of debt to the deities, the last pāda

24) Cf. Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 73 ff.; The Savayajñas, p. 123; 220; 223 etc.
25) “for this is the third luminous back of the sky where this one (Agni, the sun) now glows” (ŚB. 8, 6, 3, 19 quoted by Mahādhāra).
26) Griffith translated by “virtue”, Keith (Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 281; 385; TS. 4, 7, 13, 3) by “good deeds or action”, Eggeling (ŚB. 8, 6, 3, 19) by “righteousness”.
28) See The Savayajñas, p. 293 f.
being a prayer for "being united with what is cooked" (pakrṇena). The commentary explains this expression by paripakrṇena svargādiphalaṇa which comes to "the ripened fruit of 'good works' consisting in a sojourn in the heavenly regions, etc."

Elsewhere an oblation the value of which is equal to the loka of the person concerned will achieve his ascension. Says AV. 3, 29, 3 "He who gives a white-footed ram which is commensurate with (his) loka, ascends unto the vault of heaven . . .". According to one of the explications given by the commentator this means: "the sacrificer who offers . . . commensurate with the fruit the dimensions of which guarantee the obtainment of a better world (lokyamānena phalena)" or, according to Whitney–Lanman 29), "proportioned in value to the place in the heavenly world sought by the giver". In reading these words one should realize the fact that the sheep when duly consecrated and offered is a Supreme Being able to bring about the sacrificer's deification. Cf. st. 4, where the sheep is said to be "an inexhaustible supply for the sacrificer's needs" (Whitney–Lanman): "undecaying in the world of the Fathers who have obtained the nature of the classes of gods called Vasu and so on", comm., which specifies that "place" or "state" as the 'world' of the moon (cf. st. 6): somalokākhye sthāne. This text is not alone in suggesting that there is a more or less fixed relation between the ritual acts and the merits gained by them on the one hand and the loka resulting from them on the other. AV. 9, 5, 22 holds out a prospect of an unlimited (aparimitam) loka to the man who performs a definite sacrificial rite. This man is also said to obtain an unlimited yajña- which seems to mean that the results of the act of worship performed are boundless.

Some of the interest of these places lies in their relation to the well-known classifications, casuistry and systematization of the post-Vedic (Hinduist and Buddhist 30) doctrines about karman and retributive justice. Those who always perform the cāturmāsyā sacrifices and also the agnihotras for three years, who bear well the yoke of duty, etc. will be admitted into Varuṇa's loka, whereas the Sun's loka is for those who are firm in truth, devoted to the service of their gurus, etc. (Mbh. 13, 102, 4874 ff.). The operation of karman, the relation between cause and effect in reincarnation as well as in the hells and heavens becoming the subject of elaborate speculations and tending to theoretic perfectionism, every thought, act, feeling, or behaviour was considered to result in some form of happiness or in some terrible mishap 31): study of the Veda, austerity, the acquisition of true knowledge etc. are the best means for attaining supreme bliss (Manu 12, 83): the man who sedulously performs acts leading to future births becomes equal to the gods (12, 90): "he

30) See also my article Karman and retributive justice in ancient Java, in Felicitation volume—B. R. Chatterjee.
31) Cf. e.g. Manu 12 and parallel texts.
who worships the átman, equally recognizing the átman in all created beings and all beings in the átman becomes sovereign (i.e. he realizes his identity with brahman, Kullűka)"; the man who steals green vegetables will be reborn as a peacock (Manu 12, 65 e.a.); for stealing fire one becomes a heron (12, 66); a vaisya who has neglected his duty will become a ghost of a special type and feed on pus (12, 72), a brähmana who commits the same crime, will eat what has been vomited etc. etc. 32).

Although the meaning of loka- is in VS. 30, 12 clear, this place attracts the attention because of the correlation of definite professions and some particular lokāḥ. Occurring among the formulas enumerating men and women of various characters, professions etc. who are regarded as nominal victims for a considerable variety of powers this mantra has a carver attached to the sacrificial stake for the devaloka- the 'world' of the gods—which here is the recipient of an oblation—, a person who strews or scatters for the 'world' of men, a sprinkler for all the worlds (sarvebhāya lokābhyāḥ). Mahādhara explains "carver" as a maker of statues or idols, obviously supposing these to have been known to the author of the formula, "scatterer" as "dispenser"—does it refer to a "sower"? Here again we are reminded of Hindu belief and systematization: potters, physicians and manufacturers of arrows will go to the hell called Viśāmsana, horse-dealers to the Taptaloha 33), whereas heroes stand a chance of getting a place in the Indraloka (Mbh. 13, 102, 38).

The view even obtained that it was possible to determine, by adequate ritual techniques, the circumstances in which one would enjoy the fruits or continue to exist: ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 41: possessed of eye-sight 34); ŚB. 4, 6, 1, 1 teaches how the sacrificer may "be born with his whole body (sarvatansāḥ) in yonder loka", and 9, 1, 2, 17 how one will possess milch cows in the beyond. "Like rulers shall we be in yonder world" (12, 8, 3, 7). By means of a special technique the perfect virāj (verse) "becomes a cow of plenty for him in yonder world" (4, 5, 8, 10). Cf. also 2, 3, 3, 2; 4, 3, 4, 5; 7, 3, 1, 12; 7, 3, 1, 20; 8, 6, 1, 4; 8, 6, 1, 10; 13, 8, 4, 2. "For him who knows this there is unfailing food in this, and imperishable sukṛtam in yonder world" (1, 6, 4, 16) 35).

32) See e.g. also E. Abegg, Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Berlin 1956, p. 82 ff.
34) See above, p. 38, 50 f. etc.
35) We find the term and its opposite in a more special and technical sense in Milindapañña, p. 5 T. where king Milinda puts the following question to Makkhali Gosāla: atthi bhante G. kusalākusalāni kammāni, atthi sukāsadukkāsanānāni kammānāna phalam viñāko ti "are there..., good and evil deeds?; is there such a thing as fruit, ultimate result, of good and evil acts?" If there might be any doubt about the application of the terms, the answer would be helpful: "those who are in the world nobles, will become nobles once more when they go to the other world". The same expression recurs p. 25 T. where Rhys Davids translates: "There is neither fruit nor result of good or evil karma" (T. W. Rhys Davids, The questions of king Milinda, Oxford 1890, p. 41).
Of special interest is the statement that one is born in the loka which one makes oneself. That is to say, definite acts of ritual and transcendent significance lead to access to a definite loka: SB. 6, 2, 2, 27 “When he performs the initiation he pours out his own self (ātmānam), as seed, into the fire-pan, the womb; and when he becomes initiated, he makes for it (i.e. for his self) that loka beforehand; and he is born into that loka made by him(self); hence they say ‘Man is born into the loka (“state, plane of existence”) made by him’”. That is, Eggeling observes, “man receives, in a future existence, the reward or punishment for his deeds during this life”. Although this, properly speaking, not the purport of the text, it must be admitted that, once the belief in transmigration had been generally accepted this general and unrestricted interpretation of this doctrine could easily arise and develop. Sometimes the texts are quite explicit with regard to the moment at which one may expect to “reach”, or to be conducted to, this loka, for instance in AV. 18, where the sacral fire (Agni Jātavedas) is expressly invoked to convey the deceased thither.

For practical purposes this special loka was identical with “heaven”. VS. 18, 58 yad akūtāt sāmasasrod dhīdvo vā manasō vā sambhṛtām ca vakṣyo vā / tad anu preta sukṛtām u lokān 38) yatra pūryaḥ jagañḥ prathamañāḥ purāṇāḥ “what has flowed from ‘purpose’ or from the heart or was gathered from ‘mind’ or from the visual faculty, follow that to the region of the blessed punctual performers of their ritual work where have gone the first-born ancient ṛgis”. Mahādhāra: punyavatām loke; svargam eva pretety amuṣanahāḥ: svargam gacchata.” “The priests are addressed and told to follow the sacrifice, from whatever source it may have originated, to heaven, where the first-born ṛgis, the earliest existences, are dwelling” 39). The stanza occurs also TS. 5, 7, 7, 1 40) as the first of the mantras accompanying ten libations made after the offering of the groats (piling of the fire place). In ĀpsŚ. 13, 24, 17 it is pronounced above the smoke “entweder des brennenden Grases oder des ins Feuer geworfenen Gerstenmehles” 41); anyhow, this use also may show the correctness of the interpretation svargam gacchata.

AV. 9, 5, 19 42) is of special interest because here the god Agni is requested to know “all that of ours in the world of sukṛtam, at the meeting of the ways”. The adverb “later” inserted in Whitney–Lanman’s trans-

35) For loka- see also Eggeling, The Šatapatha-brāhmana translated, III (S. B. E. 41), p. 180, n. 2, who should however avoid using the term “play (on the word loka-)”.
38) KS. 40, 13 sukṛtaṣya lokam.
40) Cf. also Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, p. 475, n. and cf. ĀpsŚ. 17, 23, 11.
43) For which see The Savayāñhas, p. 92; 254 f.
lation before "know" is implied in the form of the imperative. The hymn
is to accompany the offering of a goat and five rice-dishes and the words
"all that" refer to the animal and the scattered drops of the rice-dishes.
In st. 18 the goat and the rice are stated to drive off perdition and to
guarantee the sacrificer a place in the heavenly world (svarge loke), to
enable him to conquer the region where is the sun (lokän sūryavatāk̄).
The oblation will, moreover, give him a variety of valuable objects
(st. 24 ff.). It seems clear that here these three lokas are to be regarded
as identical, as three names for one and the same idea.—The general
impression we have after reading AV. 16, 9, when taken as a unity, is
that the sacrifice or ritual worship (yajñāk̄) is in a general statement
declared to be rich in good (vasumān) which the person speaking hopes
to acquire (st. 4)? Nay, "his is what has been conquered" (st. 1), words
which may be regarded as expressing the subjective opinion of the speaker
who anticipates what may be expected to fall to his share. Agni and
Soma, the two great gods of the ritual, affirm, according to st. 2, "that
Pūšan (the guide and god of the paths) will set one in the world of the
sukṛta". And in st. 3 the speaker imagines that he has arrived in heaven
(svah̄) and has been united with the light of the sun. It seems sufficiently
clear on the one hand that the sukṛta is ritual merit arising from the
perfect performance of sacrificial acts, and on the other that here again
the sukṛtasya lokañ is identical with "heaven" and "the light of the sun".

In the 18th book of VS. which contains the formulas for the performance
of the ceremony called Vasor dhārā, a sort of consecration rite of Agni
as king on the completion of the fire altar which is identified with him,
it reads (st. 52) tābḥyaṁ patema sukṛtaṁ u lokam yatṛṣya yo jagmuḥ
prathamaṁ pravasāṁ puṣyate "with these we should like to fly to the 'regions'
of the s. ("pious", Griffith)—an abode of the blessed—where the first-born
ancient ṛṣis have gone". Uvañā: sukṛtaṁ eva sthānam; Mahidhāra:
puṣyakṛtaṁ eva lokam. This stanza, 51, and 53 belong closely together.
In 51 it reads: tena vayaṁ ganeṁ brahmaṇaṁ viśtāpayan ā uryānaṁ adhi
nākam uttamam "through him we should like to go to the surface of the
ruddy one ascending to heaven, to the loftiest firmament". ŚB. 9, 4, 4, 3
underlines that it is the heavenly world that is meant; in § 4 VS. 18, 52
is quoted.—VS. 15, 50 nākam... sukṛtasya loke 44) was similarly explained
by the author of ŚB. (8, 6, 3, 19):... svargo vai loko nākah svargam
lokaṁ grhyāṇah sukṛtasya loke... etad dha triṣyaṁ pravṛttaṁ rocanaṁ dvo
yatrasya etat tapati "that is, the firmament verily is the heavenly
world: thus, 'gaining the heavenly world in the world of sukṛta...' for
this indeed is the third luminous back of the sky where this (Agni)
now burns". It must be understood that the sun burning over the heaven
and Agni on the fire-place are each other's counterpart.

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43) The word vasuḥ does not mean "better" (Whitney–Lanman) here.
44) See above, p. 132; 136.
From a plurality of texts it appears that the ideas associated with, or inherent in, the term *sukṛta*- were opposite to a variety of manifestations of evil, such as, for instance, malignity and "that which is unpleasant" (AV. 2, 10, 7); dishonesty and chicanery (6, 119, 1); injury (6, 120, 1); moral, mental and 'magic' defilement (6, 121); "difficulties" or "discomfort" (7, 83, 4), etc., in short from what may be indicated by the comprehensive term "evil". Hence also BhG. 5, 15 where it is explicitly contrasted with pāpu- "evil": nādatte kasyacit pāpuṇa na caiva sukritaṁ vikāh "the all-pervading one" does not take to himself the evil (sin) or the merit of any person. *Sukṛta*- and ruin, destruction, illness etc., in short any form of evil or consequence of demerit are mutually exclusive.

In this connection it is again interesting to ascertain that the loka of the *sukṛta*- which is the opposite of evil and implies complete deliverance from any defilement, is often implicitly regarded as being not outside or beyond the *hic et nunc* of the world in which we live. Thus the poet of AV. 7, 83 whilst imploring Varuṇa to release him (or his patron) from the fetters with which he has bound him—that is according to Kaūś. 32, 14, prescribing the use of this text in a remedial rite for dropsy—asks the god to release him from illness and to remove from him all difficulties, "that we may go to the 'world' of *sukṛta*". There can be no doubt whatever that this loka is identical with the "loka of health" (AV. 6, 26, 1), access to which the poet hopes, with the god's aid, to gain on account of his religious merit. The conclusion is also warranted that this condition of sinlessness was believed to be characteristic of the 'realm' of the ritual merits. This sinlessness is freedom from any deed and from any bad results of deeds which may cause mishap, disease, perdition, whether the 'sins' have been committed by the speaker or by somebody in his circle. No reference is in this text, which is used in a remedial rite (Kaūś. 32, 14), made to a *post-mortem* condition.


44) Intelligibly enough the same opposition exists between *svarga-* and *pāpmāna*: according to JB. 1, 362 one reaches the former after having driven away the latter (avā pāpmānam hate, gacchati svargam lokaḥ); cf. also 2, 82 "after having destroyed (avakālaya) all pāpmāna- he went upwards to the svarga loka".

45) The author of VS. 20, 25 and 26 (pāda c = AV. 9, 5, 16 c) expresses the wish to know that pure or holy 'world' (lokāṁ pāpyaṁ) where (the) gods with Agni, Indra and Vāyu, the brahman and the kṣatriya orders move in accordance, and where decay (want) is unknown. In explaining these stanzas Mahidhara uses the expression *svarlokayanmanaṁ pṛarthate*.

46) See above, p. 68.

47) That the *sukṛtaṁ* of a wife could, in later times, be the cause of her husband's admission to the celestial regions appears from Kāl. Ragh. 14, 16 where Rāma addresses Kaikēyē as follows: yad . . . satyaṁ nābhratyata svargaphalād gurur naḥ ! tac cintyamanānaṁ sukṛtanyā tava.

48) Cf. e.g. S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund 1946, p. 39; 62 ff.
From AV. 2, 10, 7, when read in connection with the context, it may be inferred that the idea of sukrtam is opposed to evil in general. "You have found what is pleasant, you have come to be in the excellent world of sukrtam; so from... perdition, imprecation... hatred do I release you". If its employment in a healing ceremony (Kausika 27, 7) is original, which is not certain, sukrtam is identical with a state of perfect health, including also freedom from evil other than illness proper. In any case the text does not refer to rites and sacrifices other than a healing ceremony or a rite for obtaining a release from evil. Sukrtasya lokaḥ therefore no doubt is, here and elsewhere, a more or less fixed phrase.

There seems even to be room for the contention that the term sukrtam may be equivalent to worldly happiness. Thus in AV. 14, 1, 59, a stanza to be addressed to the bride when she is setting out for her new home: "raise (your weapons), smite away the demoniac power; place this woman in sukrtam, ... Dhātar found for her a husband; let king Bhaga—i.e. the god who gives a human being his share of happiness—go in front..." Here the term practically comes to "happiness", at least to a term for a condition beyond the power of demons, beyond evil and mishap. Sukrtam used here without any reference to ritual activities and merits seems to have acquired a more or less fixed character, but we should remember that marriage too is a ritual act 81). It may also be noticed that it was possible to be "placed in sukrtam" without the addition of the term loka-. Attention may also be drawn to sukrtasya lokes in RV. 10, 85, 24. When the bride is made to take leave of her family she is addressed: ptasya yonau sukrtasya loker vriṣṭām tvā sāha patyā dadhāmi. Lüders 82), translating "An die Stätte des Rta ("in die Wiege des Gesetzes", Geldner), in die Welt der Guttat (thus also Geldner) versetze ich dich unverzüglich zusammen mit deinem Gatten" adds the comment: "Hier erscheint ptasya yoni-, wie das danebenstehende sukrtasya loker zeigt, einfach als eine poetische Umschreibung für "Himmelswelt". Without entering into a discussion of the aptness of the term "poetisch" which in studying Vedie texts is sometimes out of place, it must be maintained that the author has in view "the state of ritual correct behaviour and merit" which is here described as the womb of rta, i.e., in my opinion, the 'place' in which the supreme universal truth and order reproduces itself. Both expressions may, I suppose 83), refer to the married state regarded as a manifestation of rta and of (the merit gained by) right action. As, moreover, the term yoni- implies also the idea of "a safe place", where one is "out of harm's way" (RV. 10, 65, 8; 7, 53, 2 etc.) one of the main connotations of the term loka- is in my opinion intensified here. Compare also 10, 85, 20 ā roha... aṃptasya lokam and TB. 3, 7, 8, 2 svargye loke yajamānām

81) For AV. 14, 1, 58 see above.
hi dheki; Grassmann's translations: "Gutes Handeln, Tugend, Frümmigkeit" are not adequate. As to yoni- one might refer to SB. 6, 4, 2, 6 where the expression sukṛtaṣya yonau (RV. 3, 20, 8) is explained as "the black antelope skin" on the sacrificial place, which, according to the same passage, is the place of the hotar who is identified with Agni. The same explanation is given by Uvaṭa on VS. 11, 35 (vādhukṛtaṣya karmayāḥ sthāne kṛṣṇājīne) and is corroborated by a quotation from the Śruti: kṛṣṇājīnaṁ vai sukṛtaṇath; see SB. 6, 4, 2, 6. Here Griffith's 54) translation is "place of worship"; Geldner's 55) "Schoß der Guttat"; Renou's 54) "séjour-natal de l'acte pie"; I would prefer "birth-place of the meritorious act" 57).

XIII

It is clear that the evolution of ideas with regard to the position of man in the Universe, to his relation to divine ordinance, to his destiny and to the methods of exerting influence on his fate and his existence in the beyond did not fail to affect the loka concept and to modify it in particulars. It was first and foremost the belief in the repeated death in the hereafter, i.e. the fear of the menace of a death in that existence which was to follow the present span of life in this world, which led to the conviction that those who had not freed themselves from the power of death in this life must, in the beyond, die again and again. Says SB. 2, 3, 3, 8 "And whosoever goes to yonder world (āmanu lokam) not having escaped that Death (mṛtyum), him he causes to die again and again in yonder 'world', even as in this world, one regards not him that is fettered, but puts him to death whenever one wishes" 1). It may be remembered that the term loka- accordingly is, in later Vedic texts, applied to the different states of existence, in this world and elsewhere, in which a being which is subject to the samsāra may be (cf. e.g. ChU. 4, 14, 3 "they have indeed spoken to you about the 'worlds')

54) Griffith, White Yajurveda, p. 110.
55) Geldner, o.c., I, p. 362.
56) Renou, E. V. P., XII, p. 69.
57) Sāyaṇa however, explaining sukṛtaṇḍyaopabhogasya sthāne uttama-loke "on the place where the (fruits of the merits) arising from good deeds are enjoyed, i.e. the highest 'world' " takes sukṛta- in the sense of "the (effective) merit". Cf. e.g. 4, 2, 5 (the sacrifice as a treasure). The phrase sukṛtaṣya yonau recurs 10, 61, 6: after the incestuous intercourse of a father and a daughter (probably Heaven and Dawn), they left soma seed "on the surface" (sānu). The term sānu- generally indicating an unspecified elevation denotes in 5, 59, 7 the summit of heaven; if Lüders (o.c., p. 249) is right the words vāṁśīs ṛṇaṁ dāki sānu in 9, 31, 5 likewise refer to the 'surface' of heaven (cf. also 1, 54, 4 etc.). Is it not a plausible assumption that the father and daughter in 10, 61, 6 united somewhere in the higher regions? St. 7, stating that the father spilled semen on the earth, though not supporting this interpretation does not refute it. Otherwise Geldner, o.c., III, p. 228.
1) Cf. e.g. SB. 1, 9, 3, 1 ff.
one will receive that form of existence and those circumstances in life which one has gained or brought on oneself before that future birth may be understood from ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 27 kṛtaṁ lokaṁ puruṣo 'bhi jāyate “man (or the personal principle in him) is born into the existence made (by him)”. The desired spheres—for instance that of father(s), mother(s), brothers, sisters, perfumes and garlands, food and drink, song and music etc. (ChU. 8, 2)—are fashioned out of man’s own desires and formative mental tendencies. Those who were inclined to attach special transcendent value to esoteric wisdom and mystic insight became convinced that the man who had attained to such an insight could easily become eminent and illustrious. Thus in an interesting passage the AiĀ., 2, 3, 7, argues that he who knows a certain esoteric lore shakes off all ties while leaving this ‘world’, and then, having departed, having become Indra (cf. e.g. BĀU. 4, 1, 2), shines in these (esu) ‘worlds’ 2). JB. 1, 105 explains “these ‘worlds’ (imān lokaṁ) as earth, intermediate space and yonder ‘world’ (heaven)”. Here the question is put as to “the form” by and in which (kena rūpeṇa) one experiences this ‘world’, if “by and in the above form” one gains yonder ‘world’ 3). The answer comes to “by procreation”. The commentator (Śāyaṇa) quoting BrŚutra 4, 3, 15 takes the stand that this deification is not a hindrance to real mukti (final emancipation), which however is not clearly found in this āraṇyaka, but rather a step towards it.

Spiritual growth culminating in mental identification with provinces or aspects of material or immaterial reality leads to participation in the respective lokas, and to one’s becoming ‘sovereign’ within these ‘spheres’. Thus it reads ChU. 7, 5, 3 “He who mentally and reverentially concentrates himself upon (upāste) the faculty of observing or noticing (citram 4)) as brahman, he verily obtains the lokas which he has made the object of his cittam, himself being fixed (immovable, lasting: dhrvvaḥ), the fixed (lasting) ‘worlds’, himself established (pratiṣṭhitāḥ), the established ‘worlds’, himself unwavering, the unwavering ‘worlds’. As far as cittam goes, so far this man may move freely and unrestrained (kāmacura-)”, and § 7 contains a similar passage in connection with the one who reverentially concentrates himself on understanding (viśānam). It follows that a man wins such a loka as is in keeping with the object of his profound mental concentration, and thus it is taught (BĀU. 1, 5, 13) that he who reverentially concentrates upon his physical abilities and mental and

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3) See also Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 222 f.
psychical faculties (such as manas, breath etc.) as finite wins a finite loka, but he who concentrates upon them as infinite wins an infinite loka ⁵). It is therefore not surprising to read also that the spiritual realization of the essential unity of one’s own being with the universal ātman—which as is well known is from the epoch marked by the great upaniṣads onward in the opinion of prominent circles to become the decisive factor determining the destiny of man—makes a man independent and sovereign so as to enable him to move freely in all lokas: ChU. 7, 25, 2 “(the ātman is everywhere). The ātman is this All (i.e. the Totality of the Universe viewed as a unity). Verily, he who sees this, who makes this the object of his thought, who understands this, he has delight in the ātman . . .; he is sovereign; he moves freely and unrestrained in all lokas. Those however who know otherwise are not free (they are dependent on other powers); they live in perishable lokas; they cannot move at will in all lokas”.

This statement may be regarded as a re-formulation and adaptation to other lines of thought of the principle recognized by the ritualist authors of the brāhmaṇas, viz. the correct performance of definite sacrificial rites enables the sacrificer to win all lokas, to master the whole of the universe in order to integrate himself and to lose his individuality in the All. This principle was for instance clearly stated in the Atharvaveda which in these things breathes the same spirit as the brāhmaṇas: 10, 9, 10 “He obtains the intermediate region, the sky, the earth . . . the quarters, all lokas, who gives her (a cow) with a hundred rice-dishes” ⁶). The time-honoured phrase “the conquest of all lokas” henceforth becomes an expression to indicate that the person concerned has succeeded in rising above all limitation and all spatial relations and has realized his identity with the All. Says the author of BĀU. 5, 4, 1 “. . . He who knows that wonderful being, the first-born (i.e. also the first cause) as brahman which is Reality, conquers these lokas . . . Brahman indeed is the Reality”. ChU. 8, 12, 6 ascribes to Prajāpati, the Creator-god himself, the doctrine that the man who finds the Self (ātman) and understands it thoroughly obtains all ‘worlds’ and the fulfilment of all desires, just as the gods who are in the brahmaloka reverentially concentrate upon the ātman and consequently hold all ‘worlds’ and all desires. However, another passage

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⁵) It is one of the tenets of the ritual logic—which makes its influence felt here—that there exists a correlation between the ritual act and the results to be expected. This even led to curious consequences: one could for instance rush past one’s goal and “pass beyond the celestial world” if one should perform two ritual acts in the wrong order (ŚB. 9, 4, 4, 10). This conviction seems to furnish also the clue to passages such as ŚB. 9, 5, 2, 12: a sacrificer who performs some specified rites for another person causes the fire place, etc., the Vedie texts, his loka, his own self etc. to “dry up”. The systematization of various forms of demerit and the evil consequences entailed by them, especially in later casuistry, are too well known to be in need of comment.

⁶) See The Savayajñas, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 64; 94.
(BĀU. 4, 4, 13) emphasizes that the loka belongs to the man who has awakened to the ātman and that he is the loka: that must mean that he has become conscious of his identity with the Supreme Ātman, the Universal Self, the All, which is his true 'world' 7).

The same truth is expressed in various ways. Thus BĀU. 4, 3, 32 salīla eko draśādevaito bhavati, eṣa brahma-lokah samrāṭ... esāsya paramā gatiḥ... eṣo 'ṣya paramo lokaḥ the successful man is said to be "waving", a solitary seer 8), without a second; he becomes (appears to be) the brahmaloka—i.e. brahmā iva lokaḥ, i.e. the loka which consists in being (identical with) brahman, Śaṅkara, adding sue ātmajyotiṣi śāntasarvasambandho vartate—, sovereign 9)....; "this is his highest goal, this his highest loka". The adjective salīla- 10) seems to denote the formless condition of the man who has realized the state of oneness, "das Fließende, Unfassbare des ātman…, Symbol einer noch endloseren, tieferen Unbewusstheit als man sich beim gewöhnlichen Wort für Wasser vorstellt" 11).

Special attention may be invited to the Muṇḍaka-Upanisad, a text which makes a clear distinction between the lower knowledge of the empirical world, the ritualistic tradition and ceremonial religion on the one hand and the higher knowledge of brahman on the other. Although the importance of the rites is readily recognized, it is by higher knowledge and not by worship or sacrifices that one can reach brahman. In 1, 2, 1 it reads: "This is the truth: the works which the inspired sages (kavyāḥ) saw in the sacred verses of the Veda (māntresu) are manifoldly accomplished in the three sacral fires. Perform them constantly, O lovers of truth! This is your path to the 'world' of well-performed deeds (sukṛtasya loke)". These words are perfectly clear: the performance of the Vedic rites leads, through the merit called sukṛtam, to heaven. An imperfect performance of the prescribed rites even results in the destruction of one's 'worlds' (1, 2, 3) 12). However, there is one world which one cannot "make" in this way, viz. the uncreated brahman—'world' (1, 2, 12; cf.

7) The translation "le monde lui appartient..." (Senart) does not convince me. Compare Śaṅkara's comment: tasya sarva ātmā, sa ca sarvasya ātmā.

8) The vision which is identical with the light of the ātman is never lost (compare Śaṅkara's note).

9) samrāṭ is usually taken as a vocative.

10) Not a substantive ("an ocean", R. E. Hume, The thirteen principal upaniṣads, Oxford 1934, p. 138; "au milieu de l'océan", E. Senart, Brhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad, Paris 1934, p. 76), nor "he becomes (transparent) like water" (S. Radhakrishnan, The principal upaniṣads, London 1953, p. 286, following Śaṅkara). One might compare RV. 10, 129, 3 aprakṣetāṁ sāilāṁ sārvam ā idāṁ "(in the beginning) this all (i.e. the universe viewed as a unity) was indistinguishable, waving ("Gewoge")", that means "it was something formless, unsteady, movable, unsizable". See De cosmogenie van RV. 10, 129, to be published in Tijdschrift voor Philosophie (Leuven), 1966.


12) ChU. 4, 16, 3 "when the sacrifice fails (goes wrong) the sacrificer fails also".
It is only by higher wisdom to be obtained by the saṃnyāśin who has given up everything that one can 'reach' brahman which is beyond man's understanding (2, 2, 1) and in which are centred the lokas and their inhabitants (2, 2, 2). Then one has all desires fulfilled and has access to any 'world': "About whatever loka a man of purified nature forms ideas and whatever desires he entertains, all these lokas and all these desires he wins" (3, 1, 10). "This is the bridge to 'immortality' — fullness of life and happiness — (2, 2, 5), for "the ascetics who have ascertained the meaning of the Vedānta and have purified their natures, are, in the lokas of brahman, beyond death and liberated" (3, 2, 6); in short, they realize their being brahman (3, 2, 9).

That does not however alter the fact that other authors preferred to describe the brahma-loka to which the soul which has found ultimate release 'goes' very realistically as having a river, a tree, a city, a lake, mountains, nymphs and so on, and a hall with a throne (Kauś. 1, 3 ff.). The man "who knows" and comes to this loka is welcomed by Brahmā himself and five hundred apsaras etc. etc.: the well-known tendency to graphic description of the indescribable and to assume the material existence of that which is beyond mundane reality 13). As long as the state of release was considered a loka the struggle for dematerialization was almost hopeless.

It is on the other hand perfectly intelligible that those who placed all their hopes on the presumed possibility of a final conquest of death, i.e. on emancipation by way of the realization of their oneness with brahman-ātman, came to apply the term loka to what was, in their view, the safe and sacred position par excellence, the highest and unassailable 'Lebenskreis', 'immortality' or the supreme goal, i.e. brahman 14). "Religious mendicants (prārājinaḥ) wander forth desiring the ātman as their loka" 15)

13) In the remarkable stanza VS. 34, 55 "Seven ṗris (i.e. the vital breaths, comm.) are established in the body; seven (the faculties of perception etc., comm.) guard it...; there seven waters (explained as "the pervadors", comm.) seek the 'world' of him who lies asleep; two sleepless gods (inbreath and outbreath) are the companions of him who wakes", the term loka- is in both commentaries explained as follows: lokasadbena viśnādātman hi satyakāraṇarthika ucyate; tatra eva satyakāraṇaḥ; Mahādharmah however adds: ev saṃstāya svarūpa lokam ātmanam iyuh prāpaṇavatī. This identification of loka- with ātman- or with a modification of that concept which may tentatively be rendered by 'conscious self', is also interesting in view of PrU. 4, 9 ff.: "This seer, toucher, hearer, smeller... doer, the conscious self (viśnādātman-), the person (parāṣayuk-),—his resort is the supreme imperishable Ātman". For viśnāta, which may be translated by "consciousness", "faculty of discriminating between self and non-self", see H. G. Narahari, Ātman in pre-upanisadic Vedic literature, Adyar 1944, p. 21; L. Silburn, Instant et caesur, Paris 1955, p. 431, s. v.
14) Compare Senart, Brhad-āraṇyaka-ūpaniṣad, p. 83: "... un lieu (de sérénity, de bien-être, etc. ...), où, si l'on préfère, leur lieu, leur vrai lieu, ce qui revient à 'salut, beatitude'".
(BAU. 4, 4, 22), that is to say, as their 'Lebensfeld'. They desire exclusively to live in the ātman; only then they will feel well-founded, safe and out of harm's way. Hence, in the same paragraph, the exclamation "What shall we do with offspring, we whose is this ātman, this loka?" No position or situation on earth, no heaven, but only the consciousness of being founded on the only eternal principle and ultimate basis of all existence can set their minds at ease and make them feel safe because of the permanent contact with the sacred. Another instructive passage is MaiU. 6, 24: "That bliss which arises when the mind (mānasa-) has dissolved, which is experienced by the ātman, that is brahman, the immortal, the pure (bright). That is the goal! That indeed is the 'world'!" Here loka- is with every reason the sphere or state of freedom and unhindered movement. In contradistinction to those who sacrifice, perform tapas etc., of whom ChU. 2, 23, 1 says that "they gain access to the lokas of merit" (puruṣalokā bhavanti) 17), those who "stand firm in brahman" need no longer expect such a loka "because they have won 'immortality' " (amṛtavāṃ). They pass or go beyond all lokas, the brahmaloka included, in order to reach the highest goal (parām gatim, Yājñ. 3, 167).

The term under discussion now that the belief in recurrent death and transmigration has taken a firm root is used in passages dealing with the course of the soul in its various incarnations clearly to denote those 'places', 'states' or 'situations' in which to enjoy, while transmigrating from one existence to another, the fruits of merits—or to expiate the sins committed—until these are exhausted and, generally, the intermediate stations on the way from one rebirth to another in which karman is produced and cleared off. See e.g. BAU. 6, 2, 16 "But those who by sacrificial offerings etc. conquer the lokas pass into the smoke (of the cremation fire), from the smoke into the night..., from... into the loka of the Fathers... Then they (return to the earth)". Those however who have the correct insight and concentrate in profound meditation upon the truth will go to the loka of the gods ultimately to reach the 'lokas' of Brahman, from which there is no return (6, 2, 15). Parallel accounts of the soul are found in ChU. 5, 3–10 and KauśB. 1. "Having exhausted the results of whatever work he did in this world (īha) he comes again from that world, to this world (lokāya) for (new) action" (BAU. 4, 4, 6).

It is quite in tune with the traditional use of the term that it is also one-sidedly applied to those states in which the fruits of merits are enjoyed 18). Thus Rāmānuja, on BAU. 1, 4, 16 explains: loko hi nāma prāṇibhogasthānavideṣaḥ, i.e. "a particular state or condition for ex-


17) For puruṣakṛtām lokāḥ compare BhG. 6, 41 prāpya puruṣakṛtāṃ lokāṃ uśīva sākṣath samāh bhuinām... gehe... abhijñate; Mbh. 7, 54, 16 or. od. gataḥ p. 1. sarvakāmaduḥo kṣayaṁ, etc.

18) Cf. puruṣaloka- which occurs e.g. PB. 12, 11, 12.
periencing (the fruit of karman-) for the living beings”. It is moreover a matter of indifference whether in these passages a special ‘heaven’, a loka of a definite divine power or of a definite class of beings is meant or ‘heaven’ in a more general sense. “In so far”, BĀU. 1, 4, 16 teaches, “as a man offers oblations and worships he (becomes) the loka of the gods. In so far as he studies (the Veda), he becomes the loka of the seers. In so far as he offers libations to the Fathers and desires offspring he becomes the loka of the Fathers...” “Er ist ein offenes Haus geworden für alle Lebewesen, eine Stätte für sie alle” 19). Hence also such explications as are e.g. found in the commentary on AV. 18, 2, 47 “they going up to heaven have found a loka”, i.e. sukṛta-phalopabhogasthānam, “a ‘place’ where to enjoy the fruit of the meritorious deeds”; and see also the same commentator on 10, 54, 5 explaining imaṇṭ lokam as sarvakarmārjanasthānam “the place where all karman is acquired”, paramaṇṭ lokam as phalabhogasthānam svargalokam “heaven, the ‘place’ where the fruit is enjoyed” and punyāṇ lokāṇ as punyakarmabhīr arjūṇān lokāṇ “the ‘worlds’ acquired by meritorious (good, virtuous, puro) deeds”, “All worlds”, the AV. text adds, “are conquered by (means of) brāhmaṇ”, i.e. “the Highest Ațman which is its own cause, which is free from the distinctions of place and time and characterized by being, knowledge etc.” (comm.). Compare also the comm. on AĪB. 7, 13, 7 loko : bhogakhetuḥ 20); the comm. on ŚB. 11, 2, 7, 19 lokāt : lokyamānāt karmaphalāt – pointing to a pseudo-etymological explication “called loka- because there the fruit of karman is seen (lok-)”; Mahīdhara on VS. 40, 3 ye lokāḥ lokyante dṛṣṭyang būṣyantye karmaphalāni yateti lokā janmāṇī, also “existences in which to enjoy the fruits of karman” ; comm. on Gaṇeṣagitā 4, 31 lokān : bhogopadārthān dīvastraṭiyādīn “categories of enjoyments, such as celestial damsaṇ etc.” etc. etc. 21). The words VS. 15, 50 (nāmaḥ grbhnāṇaḥ) sukṛtasya lokā (tṛtīye prṛṣṭhe ādhi rocaṇe divāḥ) are explained, by Uvaṭa as sādhukṛtaḥ sādhānē “in the place of the rightly done”, by Mahīdhara as subha-karmāṇaḥ phalabhūte rocaṇe dīpyamāṇē “in the bright luminous sphere which is the fruit of splendid work (good karman)”.

19) Miss van Gelder, o.c., p. 23. Śaṅkara explains: bhogya ātmā.
20) See also the same on AĪB. 1, 8, 10 explaining saṃyajocāḥ by svacitābhogapravṛddḥ.
21) The mainly post-Vedic meanings “worldly affairs, ordinary life, common practice etc.” (cf. ŚAGS. 5, 19, 5 etc.), “common language, popular speech”, lokāḥ, “the inhabitants of the world, people etc.” are in this publication left out of consideration. The so-called polysemy of the substantive loka- is to a certain extent reflected by the derivative adjective loka- which ŚB. 9, 5, 2, 16; 10, 2, 6, 7 “conducive to a loka or to heaven” (cf. 10, 3, 2, 13 na hātṛṣya lokaṇaṭā daśir nāsti : punyalokāṣṭaye, Sāyaṇa; 11, 3, 3, 7; BĀU. 1, 5, 17, not “world-wise”, Hume; 2, 2, 3, 5 “leading to a conspicuous position or a good situation, a good loka”), cf. also RVKḥ. 3, 12, 1 and ĀśvGS. 4, 8, 35.
From the preceding pages it may have become clear that the term *loka*—which by its very origin and 'prehistory' was so to say predisposed to the important function which it has in the Veda, could because of the highly relevant implications of the idea of "free or open space", "a safe or sacred or in any case particular place", "power position, or position of safety and stability" indicate, not only the particular spheres or positions of this description\(^1\) in the phenomenal world and spheres or divisions of, or states or positions\(^2\) in, the universe which might be conceived as analogous to 'places' or 'positions' in the visible and knowable world; like the compound *svargaloka*—it could on the other hand also largely dematerialize and assume the character of a general name for a situation in which to earn the reward of meritorious deeds, the position in which to consume the fruit of *karman*\(^3\).

In view of this development definite opinions and interpretations of later philosophers and other theorists with regard to 'world' and 'heaven' and their mutual relations should not necessarily be considered an interruption of the continuous evolution of ideas, but rather be regarded as being rooted in traditions which tended to throw special facets of the old complex of ideas and concepts into relief and to leave other aspects and applications in the background. It is for instance quite in tune with the Vedic concept of *loka* that according to the Sāmkhya School of thought\(^4\) 'heaven' is a positive entity and a product, and also that the

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\(^1\) It is interesting to see that the Bhagavadgītā expounding the doctrine of *karmayoga*—life is work, unconcern for its results is needful—as a way to final emancipation, considers the performance of work a means of 'maintaining the world' (*lokaṃsyāgraḥ*—3, 20): that is to say, a perfect discharge of duties (*svadharma pravartana*—*Nīlakaṇṭha*); for other interpretations see W. D. P. Hill, The Bhagavadgītā, Oxford–London 1928, p. 131), social and economic action controlled by religious ethics, will prevent the world, the interconnectedness of society, man's 'Lebenssphäre' from decomposition and sinking into a condition of misery: man makes or wins his *loka*, if he does not act properly there will be no *loka* for him.

\(^2\) The formulation "all beings occupy their respective places according to their merit" (S. Radhakrishnan, Indian philosophy, II, *London* 1948, in connection with the Viṣṇisaka point of view) is in harmony with the Vedic belief that man had, by acquired merit, to win his loka.

\(^3\) Outside the ritualist circles no fundamental difference is made between the sources or origins of merit. "Religious merit (*puṇyasā*) resulting from the performance of *tapas* and gifts, produces happiness in the next world (*lokāntara*—)" (Kāl. Ragh. 1, 69). Good actions were always expected to gain *svarga* where sensual pleasures (11, 87; cf. 7, 53 etc.) and the company of gods (cf. 8, 96) were assured. It could however be destroyed: 11, 84 where *svarga* is called a *loka*—that is to say the merit (*lokaprāptīsādhanam dharmah*) could be annihilated. The above term is a synonym of *paraloka*—see e.g. Mallinātha on Kāl. Ragh. 8, 85. Bh. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, Allahabad 1947, p. 339 creates the incorrect impression that *paraloka* means the state of emancipation.

\(^4\) Cf. e.g. R. Garbe, Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie, Leipzig 1917, p. 192 f.; 250 f.; 360.
great sacrificial rites are it is true considered to be a means to the attain-
tainment of lokas, but not to the same loka: whereas for instance the
Jyotiṣṭoma is to win heaven, the Vājapeya leads to the attainment of self-sovereignty ⁵). In the Vedānta view of the world the loka concept comprises both the higher celestial spheres, presided over by phenomenal ‘divinities’ who are themselves but anthropomorphic superimpositions on the divine essence, and the ‘underworlds’ peopled by suffering sinners etc. However, all these ‘spheres’ belong to the ‘realm of māyā’; “they originate from the wishful-fearful thinking of deluded consciousness” ⁶); that is to say they are projections of its beclouded dynamism.

There were also in later times ‘orthodox’ authorities, such as the Pūrva-
Mīmāṃsā scholars Śabara (Vth cent.) and Kumārila (beginning of the
VIIIth cent.) who emphasized the purely eulogistic character of the de-
scriptions of heaven and other important lokas furnished by the Vedic
and epic authors, which might be adequately pictured with the mytho-
logizing imagery of poetical inventiveness ⁷).

Whereas those who believed in the efficacy of rites and ceremonies
and in conformity with the approved norms expected that their post-
mortem existence would be happy, continued bestowing substance on
what would, to modern men, appear to be abstract conceptions, and in
discussing the stations in the course of transmigration preferred to put
them on the same level as the material things in space—the Indian im-
jagination easily transcended the bounds of the perceptible reality—,
the idea of a post-mortem heaven in the sense of a definite place, which
is the abode of the blessed deceased is indeed often rejected by later
authorities ⁸). Both Śabara (on Pūrvam.S. VI, 1, 1, p. 1348) and Kumārila
argue that the opinions on this point found in the smṛti texts, such as
the Mahābhārata etc., being composed by men, need not be considered,
the Vedic descriptions of the svarga- being mere eulogies. What is called
svarga- is not a place (deśa-) of such a kind as is described in these works,
not a definite object or locality. According to the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras

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⁵) Which should not be regarded as the “kingdom of heaven” (S. Radhakrishnan
⁶) H. Zimmer, Philosophies of India, New York 1951, p. 453. Cf. e.g. also Roma
Chaudhuri, Doctrine of Śrīkanta (and other monotheistic schools of the Vedanta),
I, Calcutta 1962, p. 195 etc.
⁷) For the earlier Pūrva Mīmāṃsā thinkers final liberation is also life in heaven,
and not the state of ultimate release accepted by most other schools of Indian
thought. Heaven is happiness which is equally desirable for all; and because this
is also the common notion of people (PMS. 4, 3, 15 f.). Further, inasmuch the act
of sacrifice must be related to something, it should be taken as related to the desired
object (‘heaven’).
⁸) For a short survey, from which I borrow some particulars, see P. V. Kane,
History of Dharmaśāstra, V, 2, Poona 1962, p. 1212 ff. This point was recently
discussed also by M. Biardeau, Théorie de la connaissance et philosophie de la
(IIrd cent. A.D. or earlier; 4, 3, 13 ff., p. 1256) svarga- is the reward of all religious acts for which no express result is provided by the authoritative texts, Śābara observing “that pleasure-and-satisfaction (pr̥iti-), a state of undiluted bliss or happiness, is svarga- and that all men seek that”; sacrificial worship is the means of obtaining—or rather “realizing”—it 8). However, those who sacrifice may also have other objects in view; worship and sacrifice were also instituted in order to acquire such mundane possessions as cattle, wealth or a village. Here Śābara objects that there is a difference, cattle etc. are not merely objects to be realized, because they exist already; it is the possession of these goods which, being a matter for joy or happiness (pr̥iti-) is desired; svarga- on the other hand is only the state of joy (pr̥iti-) without any substratum except the atman of the one who acquires it 10). Notwithstanding the emphasis laid in the Vedic texts on “heaven” as the fruit of religious merits no inquiries are, it is argued, instituted into the nature of that heaven. “Nul besoin d’enseigner ce qu’il est pour le faire désirer, puisque tout le monde le désire d’avance et le met d’ailleurs en rapport avec toutes sortes d’actes” 11). People desire to ‘possess’ it without knowing what it is, and although it is invisible—and cannot even be perceptible—it is in daily life regarded and spoken of as if it were a fact based on experience, because people say “N. N. who has done meritorious deeds will certainly go to heaven”. Says an ancient stanza 12): “That state of happiness which is not mixed with pain and is not immediately overwhelmed by pain, which comes to one when one desires it, is called svarga-”. As this ‘heaven’ is by no means identical with the state called ‘final emancipation’ (mokṣa-), it neither transcends the possibilities of mundane life nor requires the assumption of another level of reality and hence is to be considered a sort of extension of human activity, although those who perform sacrifices know that heaven which is the result wished for does not fall to them immediately. In contra-distinction to other fruits of religious merits which may fall to a man in this very life or in the next mundane existence (the Veda being silent as to the exact moment, nor does it say that the result follows immediately), svarga- is in any case to be enjoyed after this life, in another existence (jannāntare), because svarga- means unequalled happiness and men experience in this world every moment both happiness and misery.

8) For “realizing” see e.g. Rāmānuja, Vedārthasaṃgraha 124 sīmādhyayiṣṭasvargoki svargakāmaḥ “desireous of heaven is someone who desires to realize heaven”.

10) I subjoin part of Milé Biardes’s translation (o.c., p. 89, n. 1) of Śabara on P. M. S. 6, 1, 1 f., p. 1345 f.) “... le mot ‘ciel’ s’applique à une substance spéciﬁée par la joie. S’il en est ainsi, il faut donc qu’il dénote premièremen la joie, car il n’est jamais là où la (joie) est absente, tandis que la substance, elle, existe (là où la joie est absente). La même substance qui est moyen de joie et qu’exprime (alors) le mot ‘ciel’, n’est plus exprimée par le mot ‘ciel’ quand elle n’est plus moyen de joie. C’est pourquoi ce mot dénote la joie...”.

11) Biardes, o.c., p. 89.

12) Quoted for instance by Nilakaṇṭha, on Mbh. 5, 33, 72 vulg.
For the enjoyment of perfect happiness the existence of another body (dehāntara-) is therefore an inevitable assumption, the more so as it is not the state called ‘immortality’ (amṛta-). It follows that ‘heaven’, a station in the round of rebirths, must be experienced in another corporeal existence (cf. Kumārila, Tūṭṭikā, on P.M.S. 4, 3, 28). It does not presuppose, like the state of final emancipation, a wholly different plane of existence.

It should be remembered that these authorities assumed the existence of the principle called āpūrva- “that which has not been before” to explain that the imperceptible reward, viz. heaven comes off only after a long time. It is this “facteur radicalement nouveau, que rien ne fait prévoir dans l’acte, sinon ce que nous en apprend la śruti” \(^\text{13}\) which is properly speaking to be attained or realized (sādhya-) by the act of worship, not ‘heaven’ which is realized only indirectly \(^\text{14}\).

 Whereas the duration of the reward called heaven is a matter for discussion—Medhātithi on Manu 3, 95 for instance explicitly states that the rewards differ in their duration—, the spatial nature of heaven is now denied. Kumārila declares that while some authorities opine that svarga- means priti- “happiness, satisfaction”, and others hold that it signifies the means for that which causes priti-, both groups are agreed that it is not some pleasure or other (Tūṭṭikā, on P.M.S. 6, 1, 1, p. 1348: ekasya pritiḥ svargabādayāyā, aparasya pritimad dravyam, viśiṣṭo deśa ubhayor apy avācyah) \(^\text{15}\). Nevertheless that svarga always remains a loka. Like the gods (devas) it assumes the character of something subservient to other concepts which in the views of these authorities is of primary importance. Thus according to the Mīmāṃsā scholar Śālikanātha (± 750 A.D.) the object to be realized (sādhya-) by the performance of religious injunctions is not primarily the svarga- but the mandate (niyoga-) itself. “(The mention of svargakāma- etc. serves only) to make known the prompted person who is agreeable (to performing the niyoga) because it serves his personal ends; for us the principal is kārya- (“the object to be done”) itself which also brings about such results as svarga- etc.” (Prakaraṇa prapañcikā, Ch. p. 190).

Whereas for the Mīmāṃsakas ‘heaven’ is the enjoyment of the pleasures of the hereafter which are made possible by a correct performance of rites and duties in this life, the unorthodox Lokāyatas who were convinced

\(^{13}\) Biardeau, o.c., p. 92.

\(^{14}\) The performance of the sacrificial acts produces in the performer a certain virtue, potency or capacity for svarga-, and it is this ‘capacity’ which either resides in the performer or arises from the act of worship which is called apūrva-. The modus operandi of this apūrva- is unknown. It exists until the desired results follow. See e.g. Gaṅgānātha Jīṇā, Prabhakara School, Allahabad 1911, and the texts quoted by Kane, o.c., p. 1211.

of the identity of ātman and body denied the validity of the brahmanal theories, the efficacy of their rituals and the authority of their Scripture, materialistically opined that ‘heaven’ consisted in worldly pleasures. The Cārvākas whose metaphysics is an unqualified materialistic monism likewise rejected the ideas of heaven and hell. “The world of Śiva and other such (worlds) are all invented by those who are (followers of) other (systems of thought) than that which is (followed by) ourselves and are (therefore) ignorant imposters”. Denying the existence of soul and future life these heterodox, philosophically sceptical and religiously indifferent currents of thought do not believe in heaven, ‘another world’ and final liberation. “There is no world other than this... the (so-called) enjoyment of heaven lies in eating delicious food, keeping company of young women—or sexual intercourse with girls of sixteen—, using fine clothes, perfumes etc. The pain of hell lies in the troubles which arise from enemies, weapons, diseases; while final liberation is death which is the cessation of life-breath”. According to their ‘orthodox’ opponents they do not perform actions which yield fruit in the paraloka because they are of the opinion that this would be useless. It may be noticed that the origins of these ideas may on the one hand be traced back to certain Vedic representations of heavenly pleasures (e.g. RV. 9, 113, 7 ff.) and on the other be related to the above views of the non-spatial nature of ‘heaven’.

For the heterodox Jains everything exists in the eternal, all-pervasive and formless ākāśa—“space”. This is of two divisions, lokākāśa- or loka- and alokākāśa- or aloka-. Thus everything existing consists of the universe (of our ordinary language) called loka- and comprising three divisions (the upper, inhabited by celestial beings, the middle occupied by men and other creatures, and the lower by the denizens of hell) and, beyond this, the eternal, infinite, formless, inactive ‘universe’ of aloka-, which while containing only one substance, ākāśa- (“space”) does not contain creatures of any kind. It is even called aloka- because no substance of the universe exists in it. The ‘realm’ of aloka is perceptible only by ‘omniscience’. The final aim of men is not to reach the celestial ‘sphere’.

19) I refer to H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, aStuttgart 1923, p. 531 f.
21) Mehta, o.c., p. 34.
but to perceive (sic, not to reside in) the eternal and infinite, outside the natural ‘universe’ of loka-. In this system a consistent logical conclusion is drawn from all inherent properties of the loka- concept, its a loka- concept being the opposite of everything which might be considered a loka.

It is interesting to remark that Viṣṇuism in the course of time rejected the term loka- as a suitable term for indicating Viṣṇu’s supermundane Vaikuṇṭha heaven— the highest loka also called by the Vedic name of Viṣṇupada— which is imperishable, eternal and unperceivable even by the gods (39), and is the abode, not only of God himself in his transcendent state, his spouses and the eternal souls, but also of those who have won final emancipation (39). Whereas the lokas and the talas “surfaces, bottoms”, i.e. “hells” constitute a ‘cosmological’ system, the Vaikuṇṭha is a transcendent dhāman. Now the term dhāman- which in the Rgveda was to denote the ‘seat’ or, rather, ‘location’ of Agni, of Soma, of the sacrifice, of the rta, of the gods etc.—with remarkable connotations, which are—in my opinion, not satisfactorily—defined by Renou as ‘lieu où prend naissance une ‘institution divine, où se développe une ‘fonction’’ (RV. 8, 41, 7 and 10) or “structure en profondeur, position-clef” (1, 152, 4) (39) implies also the idea of the divinity which was supposed to occupy such a ‘seat’ —“le dhāman- d’une divinité est cette divinité même, son essence ou sa nature” (39)—, seems so to say to have been predisposed to indicate an immaterial, conceptual transcendent sphere which while free from the implications of loka- coincides with the idea of the Highest Being himself. Hence the use of the term in MuU. 3, 2, 1 paramam brahmadāhāma “the supreme ‘abode’—but this translation is incorrect—of brahma”; compare also 4 tasayasa atmā visute brahmadāhāma with the continuation samprāpyainam . . . “having attained Him . . .” (39). Elsewhere—e.g. Kāl. Ragh. 11, 85 dhāman- is explained by teja- (Mallinātha): dhāma vaippavam “Viṣṇu’s energy”. The dhāman- “abode or residence” of the Bhagavat himself and of Viṣṇu’s avatāras is for instance according to Jīva Gosvāmin (XVIth cent.) (39) an expression of his divine power or selfhood, of his most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss; as an ‘abode’ it is the place

(39) It is my intention to deal with this term in another publication.—Like the mūrti- , vigraha- or rūpa- of the Bhagavat his loka is really a part of himself and consists of the three attributes of sat, cit and ānanda.

(39) See e.g. F. O. Schrader, Introduction to the Pāñcarātra, Madras 1916; Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, II, Stuttgart 1963, p. 122; T. Goudriaan, Kāśyapa’s Book of wisdom, Thesis Utrecht 1965, p. 198. —However the compound Viṣṇuloka is e.g. in the Mahābhārata frequently used.

(39) Renou, E. V. P. III, p. 59 (with a bibliography); IV, p. 16; 52; 76; VII, p. 30; 38; cf. VIII, p. 74; IX, p. 108 f.

(39) Renou, E. V. P. IV, p. 16. Cf. e.g. also Geldner, Rig-veda, II, p. 339.

(39) However st. 5 the brahmalokeṣu . . . pariṣvāveti.

(39) I refer to S. Dasgupta, A history of Indian philosophy, IV, Cambridge 1949, p. 396 ff. The term. dhāman- will be discussed elsewhere.
where there is only an excess of intrinsic divine bliss, it exists independently above and beyond the dhāmans of all other major and minor deities 28). However, like the deity itself the dhāman has also the power of pervading both the phenomenal and non-phenomenal objects and of appearing in diverse forms. The terrestrial Goloka or Vrndāvana is not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka or Vrndāvana, but the adjective “terrestrial” must not be taken to imply that the earthly residence is phenomenal; it is as much non-phenomenal as the celestial abode, only it makes its appearance in the phenomenal world. “In other words, there is a mystical interlapping (dovetailing) of the infinite and the finite, of the phenomenal and the transcendental” 29).

Dharma and ritual purity, merit and demerit, karman and transmigration, the requital of deeds, the structure of society, the system of heavenly lokas and hells, the theory of the great periods of time constituting one great structure, it is small wonder that the teachers of ‘Er-lösungslehren’ were also interested in ‘cosmology’. Their interest in these lokas is explained by the fact that they play a part in the theory of saṁsāra and ultimate release. Thus, according to Madhva (XIIIth century), not all those adepts who have succeeded in obtaining the aparokṣajñāna—

“the intuitive and immediate visionary ‘knowledge’ of God” are liberated in the same way. “Die, welche nur einen Teil des yoga zu verwirklichen vermochten . . ., gehen nach Maharloka—which is beyond the Svarloka—, die welche den ganzen yoga bewältigten, nach Janaloka—beyond Maharloka—; Seelen, die es noch weiter brachten . . . kommen nach Tapoloka. In diesen Welten bleiben sie bis gegen Ende des Brahmakalpa (a cosmic period), dann gelangen sie nach Satyaloka (the highest of the seven lokas) und von dort mit Brahmā zu Viṣṇu” 30). Although the higher spheres of existence essentially are stopping-places on the road to emancipation, inhabited by beings who are never to return to saṁsāra, they are, like


29) For other attempts at demonstrating the immaterial nature of the Highest Abode and of dematerializing the relative conceptions see e.g. Rāmānuja, Vedārthas. § 129 “in some texts the words (Viṣṇu’s) paraṁpara param refer to a supreme place, in other texts they refer to the proper form of the soul as separated from prakṛti; and in other texts again they refer to the proper form of the Venerable Lord Himself”. (For the migration of the soul: A. Hohenberger, Rāmānuja, Bonn 1960, p. 82 ff.; on the emancipated, p. 146 ff.).— Whereas the attainment of the complete bliss of final emancipation (nirvṛtti-) a prospect of which is held out to the successful yogin is e.g. in the commentary on the Ganesagītā 5, 15 identified with the highest success or accomplishment (sampad), the highest loka, others prefer other formulations, e.g. “The God-become, who is unique, associateless and alone, meets the Alone, which is the One Only, and realizes that consciousness of the Brahmaloka, the Heaven World, which, in our eyes, sets him apart from us” (P. D. Mehta, Early Indian religious thought, London 1956, p. 418).

these beings before attaining to emancipation 31), not completely devoid of materiality. It is interesting to add that here also no fundamental difference is made between a situation of beatitude in heaven or somewhere in this universe: "Bei der sālokya-mukti befinden sich die Seligen . . . in Vissūs Paradisessen oder im Milchozean oder an anderen Stellen in der Welt, auf Erden, im Lufttraum, im Himmel (svarga-), in Mahar-, Jana-, Tapo- oder Satyaloka" 32).

The system of lokas which forms an essential element of the so-called Hindu cosmology 33) may, it is true, have been represented as an aggregation of real worlds by the compilers of mythologizing compendia 34) intended to edify the masses, their reality may more or less 35) implicitly be assumed by those philosophers who tried to explain the origin and destruction of the universe 36), those Westerners who were for that reason tempted to give an unfavourable verdict on the scientific and intellectual achievements of the Indians overlooked the character attributed to these 'worlds' by authors of passages such as the above-mentioned 37).

The Buddhist views run largely parallel. As to the empirical world it is as an 'illusionary' correlate of the inner world the result of karman.

31) Von Glasenapp, o.c., p. 56.
32) Von Glasenapp, o.c., p. 111. For śālokya-, sāya-ya- and other 'forms' of final emancipation see also S. G. Kantawala, Cultural history from the Matsyapurāṇa, Baroda 1964, p. 225 f.
34) It may be remembered that besides the frequently mentioned and almost proverbial 'three worlds' of sky, 'atmosphere' and earth, and the seven worlds of the puranic system, there could—with an increasing tendency to casuistry—bo many 'worlds' of the blest, which in their turn were opposed to the painful 'worlds' (kṛcchā lokadā) of the wicked which are described as hells or as a rebirth in a low form (cf. (Mbh. 3, 178, 9 ff.; 7, 101, 72 cr. ed.); that those who sacrifice are, according to the epic poets, to go to other spheres of existence than the saints or the philosophers; that later authors accept even the existence of visionary 'worlds' beyond time (Mbh. 13, 73, 2 f.; 81, 18 f. vulg.),(Compare SB. 10, 2, 6, 4 "beyond this (year)—i.e. the full time cycle as a cosmological entity—lies the wish-granting (kāmapura-.) 'world', but this is the immortal . . ."); that specialists in some branch of brahmanical lore invent special lokas such as that to be won by those who may regard their daughter's son as their own (Mbh. 1, 145, 35 cr. ed.), and so on. (For other details see E. W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 60 f.). For various views and descriptions of life after death in celestial regions, heavens, lokas, see e.g. Kantawala, o.c., p. 227 f. (Matsyapurāṇa). Most of the beneficent and imprecatory verses at the end of land grants and similar inscriptions reveal a strong belief in heaven(s) and hell(s): V. Upadhyay, The socio-religious condition of North India (700-1200 A.D.) based on archaeological sources, Benares 1964, p. 184 f.
35) "Brahmen Himself (the Lord) is modified by all things . . . the Egg of Brahmā consisting of fourteen worlds (the puranic cosmological conception: hells, earth and heavens)" Rāmānuja, Vedārthas. § 69; see J. A. B. v. Buitenen, Rāmānuja's Vedārthaśāstra, Poona 1956, p. 231.
36) See e.g. Garbe, o.c., p. 284 ff.; Praśastapāda-bhāṣya, p. 48, 7 ff. (B. Faddichon, The Viśeṣika-system, Amsterdam Acad. 1918, p. 163 f.).
37) On the relative reality of the 'worlds' e.g. also MtPur. 101, 25 f.
It should not, Guenther observes [38], be forgotten that what we nowadays try to conceive as abstract ideas—functional gods, heaven, hell etc.—are essentially terms for the "psychic reverberations of strongly emotionally toned experiences which, when they appear reproduced, are so sensuous that we actually see or feel them...; we may at any time experience for ourselves the pains of hell and the bliss of heaven." [39].

The term loka- may therefore also in Buddhist works be translated by "plane of existence": as is well known the Buddhists regard the universe—which consists of innumerable world systems, each equipped with earth, heavens and hells—as theoretically divisible into the sensual plane (kāmaloka-) [40] which includes fully corporeal beings; the corporeal plane or plane of form (rāpaloka-) to be realized only in meditation and held to constitute the realm of gods which are visible and audible, but not tangible; and the still more refined sphere, the so-called incorporeal plane (arāpaloka-) which includes beings who have a mental, but not a physical, life [41]. The lower heavens (swarga-) belong to the second, the higher heavens to the incorporeal plane. These 'worlds' are all in the saṃsāra. Nirvāṇa [42] lies beyond even the highest loka in which there still is 'impermanence'. What is important is that this theory of lokas is intimately tied up with the Buddhist contemplative practices, the higher stages of meditation 'giving access' to the arāpaloka [43].

Thus for the Buddhists the celestial and infernal spheres, which are no doubt largely borrowed from popular belief, are within the categories of space and time, their inhabitants being subject to karman and rebirth [44]. The Brahmaworld (brahmaloka-) which, it is true, is the highest of the

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[38] H. V. Guenther, Philosophy and psychology in the Abhidharma, Lucknow 1957, p. 8.

[39] The difference between this emotional experience and the object, i.e. the triple realm of existence (heavens, human world, hells) was clearly brought out by the author of the Atīhasālinī (3, 26).

[40] For "Kāmaloka", "the 'realm' of desires and their fulfilments" regarded as a beautiful paradise of joys reigned over by the God of love, where men and animals dwell spellbound by the objects of senses, self-forgetful and fixed to the universal wheel of the round of time see H. Zimmer, Philosophies of India, New York 1951, p. 142 ff.


[43] The Buddha Gautama is represented as speaking of his own intercourse with the gods and visits to their heavens; all those spiritual exercises which do not lead directly to Nibbāna are specially commended as securing the lesser, but still very desirable, fruits of re-birth in the lower heavens, or in the Brahā-worlds of Form or No-Form (A. Coomaraswamy, Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism, New York (ed.) 1964, p. 110).

[44] For details see B. Ch. Law, Heaven and hell in Buddhist perspective, Calcutta-Simla 1925; Kūrfel, o.c., p. 178 ff.
seven [45], belongs likewise purely to their conception of the universe [46]. It is a definite region above the heavens of sense-pleasures and is ruled by Mahā-Brahmā, the god who thinks he has created the universe, but who actually is inferior to the Buddha. Every inhabitant of that loka is called a brahmā, or he is said to have attained to the companionship of Brahmā. Rebirth in this sphere is in any case the result of great virtue accompanied by meditation. The concept of the supramundane (lokottara-) Buddha, who is completely above the conditions of ordinary mundane existence—a transcendent being assuming a human guise to teach men—, which was already appearing among early Buddhist schools is only the extreme consequence of the doctrine of the fundamental difference between nirvāṇa and lokas [47].

It would take too long to quote more post-Vedie variants of the loka concept. Two Buddhist developments however deserve a brief comment, because they, secondary though they may be, are of some interest in connection with the implications of the term discussed in this publication. As stated above the Vedic lokas are generally speaking not considered to be 'spatially' exclusive. Now, the Tendai school of Buddhism sets forth a 'world-system' of ten realms; that is to say, the 'world' of living beings is divided into ten realms, the realm of the buddhas, that of the bodhisattvas ..., that of the superhuman beings, of the asuras, men, the deceased, the animals and the hell [48]. What interests us here is that these ten realms are believed to be mutually immanent and mutually inclusive, each one having in it the remaining nine realms. For example, the realm of men will include the other nine from Buddha to Hell, and so will any of the ten realms. Even the realm of buddhas includes the sphere of the hell (and the other 'worlds'), because a buddha, though not hellish himself, intends to save the depraved inhabitants of that 'world'.

"Kyōga in Japanese, and visaya- in Sanskrit, refer to a 'realm of life' or 'one's sphere of activity in which one is made to exist, from which one cannot escape'. It is in that sense a life-form, accepted in terms of activity or cognition. In illustration mention may be made of the case of man and frog living in the same world. This world in which they live is kisshō (ki "thing, utensil, etc. in which a thing could be held"; seken "realm", Skt. loka-, i.e. the world seen from the side of the constituent material or matter ...), i.e. the 'material world', or the 'objective world'

[45] Kiephel, o.c., p. 26*.
where living beings live, i.e. the world seen from the side of the elements that give living beings a world to live in, such as land, mountain, etc. Seen from the side of cognition, though both man and frog live in the same world, communication is almost barred . . . A strict wall of non-cognition sits in between. This is the wall of kyōgai or “life-form”. This is to say that this realm of viṣaya, i.e. cognition, cannot be unmade unless we are reborn” 49).

Up to the present day the age-old doctrine of karman and transmigration, of lokus or levels of existence, of “stages in one continuous movement” 50), and the possibility of union with the divine — “which may be either transcendent, or cosmic (universal) or individual, or, as in our Yoga, all three together” 51)— and final emancipation, though modified in particulars— for instance by emphasizing its social or psychological aspects 52) —, is upheld by the ‘orthodox’ Indian thinkers who reject the idea that man’s attempts to reach salvation should be confined to one single existence in one single mundane sphere 53).

Finally, a remark may be added on those words which belong to the same ‘semantic field’. It must be admitted that a study of the meaning of the term loka- in Vedic literature does not from the linguistic point of view form a whole in itself. In spite of the criticism to which field theories in semantics 54) may reasonably be subjected, the reality of more or less coherent groups of lexical entities, of more or less “closely knit and articulated parts” of the total vocabulary of a language in which the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours, “with their semantic areas reciprocally limiting one another and dividing up and covering the whole sphere between them” cannot be denied. In instituting semantic investigations and in tracing the development of ideas — and these two branches of philological endeavour are inseparable — one should not limit oneself to one single term however frequent and however important. One would on the contrary do well to examine carefully also its homoionyms (or pseudo-synonyms), its semantic neighbours, its opposites etc., in short the complete semantic field to which that word belongs. One should study that ‘particular vocabulary’ from the point of view of its conceptual content as well as from that of its symbolization by

51) Aurobindo, Lights on Yoga, Pondicherry 1953, p. 16.
52) “Heaven and hell are not external to the experiencing individuals” (Radhakrishnan, i.e.).
53) See e.g. Roma Chaudhuri, o.c., I, p. 291 f. For popular ideas in connection with heaven and hell in Rāmakrishna’s teaching see J. Herbert, L’enseignement du Rāmakrishna, Paris 1949, p. 369.
means of semantemes or lexicological units. That means that in the present case all words which are semantically related to loka—i.e. first and foremost bhuvana-, jagat- etc.—and all concepts which may somehow associate themselves with it should be systematically investigated into. It is only for practical reasons that I have not included the results of my researches into the semantic problems offered by some of these terms in the present survey of the semantic aspects of loka-. It is my intention to publish them separately and to add a short comprehensive survey of the whole field. One of the conclusions emerging from these researches 55) may, however, already find a place here: the time-honoured and often rather easy-going translations of these terms—for instance "world" as a common translation for loka-, jagat-, bhuvana- etc.—should, wherever possible, be revised. Wherever possible, because the Vedic language being the cultural property of Vedic man, his religious and philosophical vocabulary was the depository of centuries of early Indian speculative effort. It does not tally with our terminology which is closely associated with our analysis of reality and with distinctions made by the exponents of Western culture.

55) It is easy to visualize other possibilities of this approach, for instance in the study of the relations between, and influence of, distinctions existing in language on the one hand and perception, cognition, logic and epistemology on the other.
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