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SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY AND TEMPORAL POWER
IN THE
INDIAN THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

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The Circulation of the Shower of Wealth: a Cakravartin with the Umbrella of Dominion and the Seven Treasures. Jagayyapeta, 2nd century A.D. See p. 68 and note 50.

Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power
in the
Indian Theory of Government

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

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SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY AND TEMPORAL POWER

IN THE

INDIAN THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

- Purô . . . agnim . . . dadidheam, RV. VI. 10. 1.*
Tâdmai vîśaś svayâm evâ namante, yâmin brahmâ râjasi pâreva iti, RV. IV. 50. 8.
Bhadrâd abhî irêyah prêhi, brâhaspâtîḥ purastâ te astu, TS. III. 1. 1. 4.
Brahma purastân ma ugrasv râjâram svayathyam asat, AB. VIII. 1.
Predam brahma predam kṣatram . . . brahmakṣatrayoḥ samârityan, AB. III. 11.
Râjan, satyam param brahma . . . satyam saṃgatam astu te, Mbh. I. 69. 25 (Poona ed.).²

I

IT MAY BE said that the whole of Indian political theory is implied and subsumed in the words of the marriage formula "I am That, thou art This, I am Sky, thou art Earth," etc. addressed by the Brâhman Priest, the Purohita, to the King in AB. VIII. 27. This being so, and as it has been pretended that these words were addressed by the King

¹ "Make ye Agni your Fore-man" (Purohita); "To him in whose realm the High Priest goeth foremost, the people of themselves do homage"; "Go on thy way from good to better, Brâhaspati be thy forerunner!"; "The Spiritual-authority foremost, be my dominion dread and unassailable!"; "Forward the Spiritual-authority, forward the Temporal-power! unto their union"; "Truth, O King, is the Supreme Brahma; be the Truth thy consort."

Abbreviations: RV., *Rigveda Samhitâ*; TS., *Taittiriya Samhitâ*; AV., *Atharva Veda Samhitâ*; VS., *Vâjasaneyi Samhitâ*; AB., *Aitareya Brâhmana*; KB., *Kaustaki Brâhmana*; TB., *Taittiriya Brâhmana*; PB., *Pañcaviṃśa Brâhmana*; JB., *Jaiminiya Brâhmana*; JUB., *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brâhmana*; SB., *Satapatha Brâhmana*; GB., *Gopatha Brâhmana*; AA., *Aitareya Âraṇyaka*; BD., *Bṛhad Devatâ*; BU., *Bṛhadâraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; CU., *Chândogya Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; TU., *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*; MU., *Maitri Upaniṣad*; BG., *Bhagavad Gîtâ*; Manu, *Mânava Dharmaśâstra*; VP., *Viṣṇu Purâṇa*; Mbh., *Mahâbhârata*; A., *Ânguttara Nikâya*; D., *Dîgha Nikâya*; DA., *Sumaṅgala Vâlsinî*; M., *Majjhima Nikâya*; S., *Saṃyutta Nikâya*; Dh., *Dhammapada*; DhA., *Dhammapada Atthakathâ*; Sn., *Sutta Nipâta*; J., *Jâtaka*; Mhv., *Mahāvamsa*; Sum. Theol., *Summa Theologica*; SBE, *Sacred Books of the East*; HOS, *Harvard Oriental Series*; JAOS, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; JIOSA, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*; HJAS, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.

to the Priest,² it becomes desirable, if the theory is to be understood, to establish once for all that, as is explicitly stated by Sāyana, it is the Purohita that utters them. A comparative study of many other contexts will show, indeed, that it is inconceivable that they should have been spoken by the King, who is unquestionably the "feminine" party in the "marriage" of the Sacerdotium (*brahma*) and the Regnum (*ksatra*).

(We must premise that Mitrāvaruṇau, and likewise Indrāgni or Indrābhaspati, are syzygies or progenitive pairs (*mithunāni*): Mitra, Agni and Bṛhaspati being on the one hand the divine archetypes of the Sacerdotium or Spiritual authority (*brahma*) and Varuṇa and Indra those of the Regnum (*ksatra*).) We shall, for the most part, make use of the Brāhmayas, but it must not be overlooked that the institutions therein more fully described and explained are often referred to in the

² Evola, J., *Ricotta contra il mondo moderno*, Milan, 1934, p. 105. Evola's thesis, in his discussion of the Regnum, forces him to misinterpret AB. VIII. 27. Had it not been for this, his admirable chapter "Uomo e Donna" (of which an English version was published in *Vīśvabharati*, Feb.-April 1940), applied to the true relationships of the Sacerdotium and the Regnum (approximately "Church and State"), would have acquired a greater significance. As it is, Evola's argument for the superiority of the Regnum, the active principle, to the Sacerdotium, the contemplative principle, is a concession to that very "mondo moderno" against which his polemic is directed.

His argument is as much a perversion of the Greek as it is of the Indian doctrine. In the Greek tradition the heroic kind or caste (*γῆρος* = *jāti*), alike in the soul and the community,—that part of our soul which is endowed with bravery (*δολρεία* = Skr. *vīrya*) and courage (*θωμός*, Skr. *vdhā*), and which is the lover of victory" (*φιλόνικτος* = Skr. *jigṇu*) (Plato, *Timaeus* 70 A),—is the best part of the mortal or animal soul, superior to the appetitive and inferior to the spiritual and immortal part that lays down the law. As such its seat is in the heart, between the bowels and the head; it is the defender of the whole community; its function is to listen to the Voice (*λόγος*) from the Akropolis, to serve (*ἐργεῖται*) and cooperate in battle (*σύνμαχος εἶναι*) with the sacred principle against the mob of the appetites (within us) or of moneyed men (in the city). The three parts of the soul (or body politic) thus evidently correspond in hierarchy to the *brahmins*, *ksatras*, and *vis*, respectively the Sacerdotium, Regnum, and Commons of the Vedic tradition (in which the *sādva* is represented by the *Asuras*); and there can be no possible doubt of the superiority of the sacred to the royal character.

That the Spiritual Authority, Plato's *logos*, etc., is also the Ruler, Plato's *ἄρχων*, etc., just as the *brahmins* is "both the *brahmins* and the *ksatra*," means indeed that the Supreme Power is a royal as well as a priestly power, but quite certainly does not mean that the *ksatra* considered apart from the *brahmins* is itself the supreme authority or anything more than its agent and servant.

A. M. Hocart, in *Les Castes*, Paris, 1938, p. 65, repeats Evola's error, saying "L'homme et son épouse sont le ciel et la terre, de même que le roi et le prêtre" where he should have said "de même que le prêtre et le roi."

Rgveda. Thus in RV. X. 52. 5 "Into thy hands, O Indra, I (Agni) commit the bolt," cf. RV. II. 11. 4 "We have laid the bolt in thy hands"³—corresponding to the *Accipe sceptrum* of Western rites—is the making of the King in *divinis*. The relation of authorizing Mind or Reason (*krātu*) to the efficient Power (*dakṣa*), that of the inner to the outer man, is explicit in RV. VIII. 13. 1, "Indra, at the Soma pressings, cleanses (*puṇīte*, *Sāyana śodhayati* — *śodhapirai*, cf. MU. VI. 34. 5 f.) the enunciative Counsel (*krātum* . . . *ukthyam*); the Mighty wins increase of Power (*vidē vṛdhāsya dākṣasah*)"; cf. RV. X. 31. 2 and ŚB. IV. 4. 4. 1 discussed below. In RV. X. 124. 4 Agni, the Sacrificial Priest (*agnir brahmā* . . . *vidhartā*, RV. VII. 7. 5), is described as "choosing" (*vrñānāh*) Indra: it is interesting to observe that already the Commons play a part in this election (*viśo nā rājānam vṛñānāh*, *ib.* 8, cf. AV. III. 4. 2). The "marriage" of the Purohita (Saptagu, Brhaspati) to the King is referred to in RV. X. 47. 1 "We have taken thee by the right hand," spoken reproachfully with reference to Indra's arrogance and breach of the loyalty demanded by the marital relation of the Regnum to the Sacerdotium; as in BD. VII. 54 f. That the Purohita, as the designation itself implies, takes precedence of the King is explicit in RV. IV. 50. 7-9, "To him the people of themselves pay homage, in whose realm the Brahṁā goeth first" (*pārva eti*), quoted in AB. VIII. 27.⁴ The feudal relationship of the Regnum to the Sacerdotium is

³ The Bolt (*vajra*) being the most essential symbol of the Kingship as a delegated power (RV. as cited, and TS. II. 1. 3. 4, ŚB. I. 2. 4. 1, V. 4. 4. 15, XIII. 4. 4. 1). If we also find the royal "virility" (*vīrya*) equated with the bow (ŚB. V. 3. 5. 30), no antimony is involved, the bow being clearly analogous to the *vajra* (both are held upright and grasped in the middle), and the arrows discharged from it corresponding to those which are actually the penetrating points of the *vajra*, from which they are derived in TS. VI. 1. 3 and ŚB. I. 2. 4. 1. The bow is as much as the *vajra* a solar weapon; the bolt is a "shaft" of light, the arrows that the Sun discharges are "shafts" of light.

⁴ Brhaspati, whose identity with Agni, Priest and King, is unquestioned, is "seven-mouthed" and "seven-rayed" in verse 4 of the same hymn. He is regularly the Divine Sacerdotium (*brahma*), and High Priest (*brahmā*) of the Gods, as Indra is the Regnum (*krātu*). "Agni-Brhaspati" is the answer to the question asked in RV. VIII. 64. 7 *brahmākdātām (indrak) saparyati*. The verses of our hymn are quoted in AB. VIII. 26, describing Brhaspati as the archetype of the human Purohita and Brahṁā, who "takes after" him. The Brahṁā is, of course, the infallible Brāhman priest who does not take any active part in the Sacrifice, at which his presence is nevertheless indispensable. Himself remaining silent, his relation to the three other Brāhman officiants whose operation is active and vocal is precisely that of Director to Executive; he is thus Brahmagaspati and Vācaspati (the *brahma*, as *vc*, being precisely the vocalised *brahma*). This is the explanation of "the very close connection of *brahman* with *vāc*"

explicit in Agni's words addressed to Indra, "I in person go before thee . . . and if thou givest me my share (or due), then shalt thou through

(cf. AA. I.1.1 and 1.3.8 with Keith's notes); as *akṣara* is Brahmā, so *akṣara* (RV. VII.15.9 and 36.7) is Vāc; this connection is nothing other than that of Maṃsa = Prajāpati with Vāc, or than that of Brahmā with Sarasvatī-Vāc in the "later mythology." It is not altogether easy to understand why Brahmā, the God, has been regarded as the creation of the "later mythology" (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 118). It would rather appear that the Buddhists were essentially right in referring to Brahmā Saṃskumāra as the supreme deity of the Brāhmana and to Indra Sujampati as his vassal. For Brhaspati, who is at once the *brahma* and the *brahmā* of the Gods, is certainly himself a God, and why not, then, the God Brahmā, the person of Brahma? "Yonder Gods assuredly knew that Brahma of old" (AV. XIII.2.13). The most that could be said is that *brahmā* in RV. is more a title than a name, and only later on becomes a name; but this changes nothing in the nature of the Person to whom the name applies.

[It is only the actual iconography of Brahmā that is late, as is the Buddha's. In being "lotus-born" and therefor *padmānuja*, Brhaspati is still the Agni sprung from the "lotus" in RV. VI.16.13, and "Vasiṣṭha the child of Mitra-varuṇau, the Sacerdotium (*brahma*) born of Maṃsa and Urvaśi, whom the Viśve Devāḥ supported in the lotus," RV. VII.33.11, where the equation of Mitra with Maṃsa and Varuṇa with Urvaśi (f.) may be remarked. Vasiṣṭha, the Sacerdotium, is assuredly the Brhaspati who in RV. VIII.96.13-15 "assumes a body in the womb of Arisūmati" and enables Indra to overcome his godless foes "with Brhaspati as yoke-fellow" (*bṛhaspātina yujā*). We see now why Vasiṣṭha should be Indra's instructor (in the *śiṣy*, of which "he who gets the most becomes the chieftain," *śreṣṭhaś*), and why formerly none but a Vasiṣṭha (descendant of Vasiṣṭha) becomes a *brahmā*, i.e. "a Brhaspati" (AB. XII.6.1.38-41). RV. VII.33.14 *yuddhyate* addressed to Indra and his "Bulls" (Maruts) corresponds to BG. II.18 *yuddhyasva* addressed to Arjuna. In RV. V.48.5 Varuṇa "enduing the fair garment and operative with his tongue" (*jihvāyā . . . rājate cāru cāśaś*), i.e. Varuṇa proceeding as Agni the Priest "with his purifying ladle" (*pāśakāyā juhvā*, RV. VI.11.2), is already, like the iconographic Brahmā, "four-faced" (*caturāṅkaś*), Agni, the *brahmā* of RV. IV.9.4 and VII.7.5, himself explicitly "four-sighted" (*caturakṣaś*) in RV. I.31.13, which is rightly understood by Śāyana to mean "facing towards the four directions."

Now bearing in mind that "Arjuna" is Indra (VS. X.21, SB. II.1.2.12 and V.4.3.7), or, what amounts to the same thing, Indra's son (Mbh.), that Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, like Indragiri (RV. VI.59.5) and like Mātali (= Vāyu-Mātariśvān) and Indra (Mbh.), share a common car and that "where these are, Kṛṣṇa the Lord of Yoga and Arjuna the Archer, there are fortune, victory, security of being and governmental-science" (niti, BG. XVIII.78) it is clear that Kṛṣṇa is the Sacerdotium (*brahma*), as is Arjuna the Regnum (*rajatra*), and Kṛṣṇa therefore to be equated with the Agni-Brhaspati-Vasiṣṭha, *brahma* etc. of RV. It is just because Arjuna is Indra—that Indra who is *idāś-dra* because he alone saw Brahma (AA. II.4 = Ait. Up. I.1, similarly JB. III.203, cf. JUB. IV.20-21 = Kena Up. 14 f.)—that he alone is able to see Kṛṣṇa's "supreme form" (BG. XI.47-48). BG. is an Arthasāstra; its burden of the control of the senses and con-

me, O Indra, perform heroic deeds" (*ayām ta emi tanvā purāstād . . . yadā māhyam dīdharo bhāgām indrād in māyā kṛṇavo vīryāni*, RV. VIII. 100. 1).⁵ In RV. I. 18. 6 Sadasaspati (who must be Agni, cf. RV. I. 21. 5

quest of self is identical with that which Kauṭilya describes as "the whole of this science" of government (see p. 88, *infra*).

Why then is Kṛṇa "black," as the name implies, or "blue-black," and Arjuna, as again the name implies, "white"? In the first place, the "Drop" that in RV. VIII. 96. 13-15 takes birth (*avatiṣṭhati*, the regular expression used of the *ātman* when it mounts the bodily vehicle) as Indra's fellow, and for which he has been longing, is "Black" (*kṛṇa*): according to Sāyaṇa, this "Kṛṇa" is the name of an Asura, presumably "Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭr, a sister's son of the Asuras, who was the Purohita of the Gods" (TS. II. 5. 1. 1), i. e. Bṛhaspati, *asurya* son of Tvaṣṭr, RV. II. 23. 2 and 17, and/or that "Uśanas Kāvya of the Asuras" (TS. II. 5. 8. 5) with whom Kṛṇa identifies himself in BG. X. 37. Again because Agni and Indra are respectively the Golden Person in the Sun (Death in SB. X. 5. 2. 13) and the bright Sun itself (SB. X. 4. 1. 5), as in the eye, where the black (*kṛṇa*) represents Agni and the white (*śukla*) Indra (BU. II. 2. 2); "the blue, the deep black" (*nīlam paraḥ kṛṇam*), i. e. the pupil, of the solar and the microcosmic eyes corresponding to the masculine, spiritual power (*ama*, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya, *ātman*, *adman*, etc.) and "the shining white" (*śuklam bhās*) to the feminine, temporal Dominion (*as*, Earth, Air, Sky, vision, *re*, etc.), CU. I. 6 and 7. Cf. TS. III. 1. 1 where *nīla* is the proper color of the initiate, who would by no means turn pale. It is clear that Kṛṇa's *asurya* *vareṇa* is that of the Divine Darkness, and does not imply a local origin from any swarthy aboriginal people, except in the ontological sense that the Asuras are "aborigines."

*The reference is to the performance of the Sacrifice, which is the primary "work" of the King above (Indra as Viśvakarmā, RV. VIII. 98. 2) as it is of earthly Kings. Inasmuch as the King is the Executive (*kartṛ*), his is essentially the *karmamārga*, the "active life," as distinguished from the *jñānamārga*, the "contemplative life" of the Brāhman. Further, it will be seen that in giving Agni his "due" or "share" (*bhāga*)—from Agni's point of view *namasyantaś ca mām bhaktyā*, as in BG. IX. 14—Indra becomes a *bhaktṛ*, just as in RV. X. 51. 8-9 where Agni demands his "share of the oblation" (*haviṣo datta bhāgām*), the Gods who grant it are *bhaktṛs*. The like is implied for the human Sacrificer who gives his "portion" (*bhāga*) to Agni (RV. II. 10. 6) and "in appointing to each their share, endears the Gods" (*yathā bhāgaṁ tad devatāḥ priṣṭi*, AB. III. 4 and 38); cf. RV. IV. 2. 8-10, where the generous Sacrificer "in offering the oblation, endeareth Thee" (*priyām vā tvā kṛṇācate haviṣmān*) and ib. 14 where "dear to Thee be his invocation." So also in TS. V. 4. 5. 4 where Agni "endeared by the gift of his own portion (*arēna bhāgadhēyena priṣṭāḥ*), burns away the Sacrificer's evil" (*pāpmaṇam āpi dahati*); cf. TS. II. 1. 4. 6 where Indra approaches Agni "with his own share" and Agni then burns away the sixteen coils of Vṛtra in which Indra is wrapped, and in like manner in the case of "whoever approaches him with his own share (*arēna bhāgadhēyena paryataḥ*), Agni burns up his evil," and "approaches" might have been rendered by "takes refuge with"; the preceding texts from TS. are echoed in BU. VI. 3. 1 *bhāga-dhēyaṁ fuhomī*, etc., and the Gods having been thus "delighted" (*īṣṭāḥ*), "may they delight me" (*mā . . . torpayantu*), and a reciprocity is implied as much

sādaspatī indrāgni) is called "Indra's dear and lovable friend" (*priyām indrasya kāmiam*): in RV. I. 80, 1 it is the Brahman that "prosper" him (*brahmā cakāra vārdhanam*).

✓ Our starting point will be SB. IV. 1. 4, where the Mixta Persona of Mitrāvaruṇau is the "Counsel and the Power" (*krātūdāksau*) and "these are his" two (selves), (*asyaitāv almanah*).⁷ . . . Mitra is the

as it is in the older *bhakti* texts; it is never for nothing that a man devotes himself. The "sacrificial offering" (*yajñīyam bhāgam*) to which Agni moves in RV. X. 124. 3, in the same way implies a *bhakti*, here again doubtless Indra. That "Thou art ours and we are thine" (RV. VIII. 92. 32) implies no less a mutual loyalty, like that ofthane and earl or wife and husband (cf. the oaths in AB. VIII. 15), that belongs to the very essence of "Bhakti."

The *bhakti* "tone" of RV. V. 46. 1 (*hāyo nā videdu ayuṣi svayām . . . nā . . . vāmi*, etc., corresponding to I. 190. 4 *dyo nā yasaḥ yaksabād vicetāh*) and that of VII. 80. 7 (*droṣi dāso nā mīhāṣe karāṇy ahām*) is unmistakable. The Sacrificer is identified with the oblation (*havir vai dikṣitāh*, TS. VI. 1. 4. 5); it is himself that he devotes (SB. *passim*); the Sacrifice is a symbolic suicide (*ātmanam āśāhate*, AB. II. 3; cf. Eggeling's note on SB. I. 2. 3. 5, and the designation of the Sacrificer as *ātmayajī* in Maitri Up. VI. 10). AB. III. 8 combines the notions of the contemplation (*dhyāna*) of a deity, the offering of an oblation and that of sacrifice with an "endearment" (*yasyai devatāyai havir gṛhītam ayā tām dhyāyēd . . . sākṣād eva tad devatām priṇditi, pratyakṣād devatām yajati*). There is no real difference between the implications of these Vedic and Brāhmaṇa texts and that of, for example, BG. XII. 19 "He that hath 'devotion is dear to me" (*bhaktimā me priyo naraḥ*). It would be naive to maintain that the Vedic Sacrificer, who certainly performed "devotions" was not also "devoted," or that he never loved the "Friend" (Mitra).

⁷ Note the singular. The Mixta Persona of Mitrāvaruṇau, Supreme Identity of Conjoint Principles, is the same as that of the "One Akṣara that is both Agni the Sacerdotum and Indra the Regnum" (SB. X. 4. 1. 9); cf. RV. I. 108. 7 "Whether ye, Indrāgni, take your pleasure at home (*svā duroṣe*, i.e. *guhyaṃ*, *ab intra*) or in the Sacerdotum and the Regnum" *brahmadeṣi rājani vā*, i.e. *prādūr*, *ab extra*, in active administration). With *svā duroṣe* here cf. JB. I. 146 *yathāgṛham . . . yathājāṣṭi vā*, and KU. II. 25. The Vedic "dual" divinities imply, for the most part at least, a biunity (syzygy) of conjoint principles, active and passive in mutual relationship or both active in relation to things externally administered. The names of such dual divinities cannot always be adequately rendered by the simple use of an adjunctive particle. The resources of language and iconography are inadequate to the representation of an identity of contraries, such as *chāyā-tapeu* or *yin* and *yang*: we cannot think of contraries as coincident, but only as associated, and it may be, reconciled; in other words, the truth of this truth (*astyaṣya astyaṃ*) is paradoxical, *astyaṃ channam*. Thus Mitrāvaruṇau is not an aggregate or mere composition of an essence and a nature, but the one Mixta Persona of both: while at the same time they are Mitra and Varuṇa, and whatever is born of such a pair proceeds *ex principio conjunctivo*. The *devatābhāva* of MU. VII. 11 is by no means a contradiction of *advaita*, for just as in Christian doctrine, essence and nature, being and existence, mercy and majesty are one in

Counsel and Varuṇa the Power, Mitra the Sacerdotium (*brahma*) and Varuṇa the Regnum (*kṣatra*), Mitra the Knower (*abhiṅgatr*) and

God. Monophysitism would have been as much a heresy from the Indian as from the Christian point of view.

The priority of the Counsel (*kratu*) to the Power (*dakṣa*), i.e. of the contemplative to the active life, is already explicit in RV. VIII. 13. 1 where Indra purifies the former and so gains the latter.

It should be here noted that the order in which the component parts of a dual appear is purely grammatical (cf. Caland on PR. VII. 7): the form *Indrāgni*, for example, if taken literally to be "Indra and Agni" would be ineffective, it is "Agni and Indra" (RV. III. 25. 4) that is to be understood, for as AB. II. 37 remarks, "These two as *Indrāgni* were not victorious, but as *Agnendrau* they won."

"Regarded as paramount Lord, Agni is Indra" (*indrāḥ paramāśivaryo 'gnih*, Śāyana on RV. V. 2. 3); "Agni is Indra to the mortal worshipper" (RV. V. 3. 1). Literally, "these two are of himself," i.e. "these are his two natures."

"For we must distinguish two things, the will and the power" (St. Augustine, *De spir. et lit.*, 53). "Two powers are first distinguished (*εξιζεσται*) from the Logos, a poetic (= *kāvyā*), according to which the artist ordains all things and which is called God (= *brahma*); and the royal power (= *kṣatra*) of him called the Lord (= *īśvara*) by which he controls all things" (Philo as cited by Brehier, *Les idées . . . de Philon d'Alexandre*, 1925, pp. 113-114). "God was not Lord until he had a creature subject to himself" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 13. 7. ad 6).

The "two selves" are the "two forms" of Brahma (BU. II. 3, etc.), the "dual nature" (*dvaitābhāva*) of the "Great Self" (*mahātman*) in accordance with which he participates in both the "true" and the "false" (*satyāṅśtopahogārthaḥ*, MU. VII. 11. 8), or, as this might have been otherwise expressed, in virtue of which he is the common source of Devas and Asuras, that is, participates both in divine and human experience, the Gods being the Truth and men Untruth (SB. III. 2. 4. 1). The trace of the divine binunity appears in the two selves of the man who is *dyātmān* (JB. I. 17, etc., see note 54).

Thus the Purohita is "the half of the self of the Kṣatriya" (*ardhātmo ha vā eṣa kṣatriyasya*, AB. VII. 20), as are Sky and Earth (AA. III. 1. 2) and as is the man of the woman (SB. X. 5. 2. 8, BU. 1. 4. 4), and neither is complete without the other (SB. VIII. 6. 1. 12, cf. also V. 2. 1. 10), as also holds for Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (Mbh. II. 20. 3 and 14). Hence the use of *sārdham*, literally "plus a half," in connection with any complementary union, as in JUB. I. 48. 7 where Prajāpati *sārdham* *samait*, i.e. "coupled with" Vāc. It is thus literally true that "the Purohita was in religion and civil affairs the *alter ego* of the king" Keith, *Rel. and Phil. of the Vedas*, p. 292), or as we should rather say, the king the *alter ego* of the Purohita. For this does not mean that the two "halves" are reciprocally equal; on the contrary, the relation of one to the other is that of part to whole. The "only Vratya" (*Brahma, brahma*) is the source of the *brahma* and the *kṣatra* (AV. XV. 10. 3 as rightly understood by Aufrecht, pace Whitney), the *brahma* (Brahma) is both the *brahma* and the *kṣatra* (SB. X. 4. 1. 9), Agni is both (SB. VI. 6. 3. 5, IX. 4. 1. 16), Mitra and Varuṇa (RV. VII. 12. 3). In the case of Manas and Vāc, Vāc is the lesser, "for Manas is by far the

Varuṇa the Executive (*kartr*).⁸ Now at the beginning these two were distinct (*āgre nānā*).⁹ the Sacerdotium and the Regnum: then Mitra the Sacerdotium could subsist apart from Varuṇa the Regnum, but Varuṇa the Regnum could not subsist apart from Mitra the Sacerdotium.¹⁰ Whatever deed (*kārma*) Varuṇa did that was not quickened (*āprasūtam*) by Mitra the Sacerdotium, was unsuccessful (*nā . . . sām-ānrdhe*). So Varuṇa the Regnum called upon Mitra the Sacerdotium, saying: 'Turn thou unto me (*āpa māvartasva*) that we may unite (*sāmarjārahai*); I assign to you the precedence (*pūras tvā karavaī*); quickened by thee (*tvat prasūtāh*) I shall do deeds.' That is, therefore, the origin of the Purohita's office. . . . Whatever deed, quickened by Mitra the Sacerdotium, Varuṇa did thenceforth, succeeded (*sām . . . ānrdhe*). The choice is mutual; if either the Purohita or the King be ill-chosen by the other it is called a commingling of right and wrong (*sukrtām ca duṣkrtām ca*).

The expressions *pūras tvā karavaī* and *tvat prasūtāh* imply the technical terms Purohita, Purodhātṛ, Rājasū and Rājasūya. The Purohita,

more unlimited (*āparimitataram*) and Vāc by far the more limited" (*pārimitatarā*, SB. I. 4. 4. 7, cf. I. 4. 3. 11), and these are the two aspects of Prajāpati, who is "both the limited and the unlimited" (*parimitāparimita*, SB. VII. 2. 2. 14, etc.). The Infinite, in other words, always includes the Finite as "its own," of which it cannot be deprived, whether logically or really (cf. AV. X. 8. 29 and BU. V. 1): it is the Finite nature that can be logically, if not really, isolated from the Infinite, and therefore stands in need of a "completion." Cf. RV. III. 31. 2 where, of Agni's parents, "one empowers (*radhōa*), the other is the agent" (*kartā*).

⁸ The relation, in other words, is that of patron to artist, or in the artist that of art to operation, *actus primus* to *actus secundus*. And just as the King is only legitimately such to the extent that he does the will of a higher power—"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven"—so the artist as an efficient cause is only free to the extent that he agrees with the patron and is governed by his art, or, if not, is merely a "worker," a "hand," compelled by economic pressure or driven by his own sweet will or fancy.

⁹ *Agre*: not ante principium (where there is only the Supreme Identity, *tād ākam, yāthā sthāpamāṇau sampāriscaktau*, BU. I. 4. 3), but with reference to the separation of the male and female principles, Sky and Earth, etc., in *principio*, because of which they are alien to one another until reunited by marriage: *āgre* here and *arṣtaḥ* in SB. X. 4. 1. 5 imply "before the reign begins" or "at the beginning of the reign" (*pūrvakāle yasya rāṣṭrasya*, Sāyaṇa on AB. VIII. 1 and as in PB. VII. 6. 10); *arṣtaḥ* *edua* in SB. X. 4. 1. 5 corresponding to "twofold in the beginning" (*dwayam . . . āgre*).

Agre corresponds to in *principio* (Gen. I. 1), now rendered "in the beginning," but which almost all mediaeval commentators, from St. Augustine (*Conf. XII. 20, 27, 29*) onwards, have understood to mean "in the first principle," in *verbo*, in *sapientia*, etc., without reference to time.

¹⁰ *Etā* implies not only a spatial separation, but an opposition.

literally "one put in front," "one who takes precedence," like Agni or Brhaspati in *divinis*, is the King's Brāhman adviser and minister. The Purodhātṛ is the King himself, who appoints the Purohita or, more literally, "puts him in front." The Devasvāḥ are the deities—Savitṛ, Agni, Soma, Brhaspati, Indra, Rudra, Mitra and Varuṇa—by whom the King is "quickenened" through the Priest who invokes them as "King-quickeners" (*rājasvāḥ*), so that "It is these Gods that now quicken (*śvate*) him, and having been quickened (*śātāḥ*) by them, he is henceforth quickened" (*śvāḥ śvāyate*, SB. V. 3. 3. 11, 13).¹¹ He rules, then by "Divine Right." The Rājasūya, or alternatively Varuṇasava is, then, the sacrificial and initiatory ritual of the "King's Quickening"; the most essential part of this rite is an "aspersion" (*abhiṣeka*, *abhiṣecanīya*),

¹¹The root in *śvāyate*, *śvate*, *śātāḥ*, etc., is *śū*. Many scholars distinguish two roots *śū*, (1) to "impel" or "instigate" and (2) to "quicken" or "generate." The latter meaning is obvious in RV. VII. 101. 3 where *śāte* (begets) is opposed to *stariḥ* (sterile), in I. 146. 5 where Agni, the "Sun of Men" is *śūḥ*, i.e. *prasaśitā*, *utpādāyitā* (Śhīyana) in relation to all things, in RV. I. 113. where *śavitāḥ śvādya* is "for the birth of Savitṛ" himself, and in BU. VI. 4. 19 where Savitṛ, "He of true quickening" (*satyaśvasava*), is invoked in the marriage rite, certainly as progenitive deity, Gandharva and Divine Eros. In our contexts it is this Savitṛ that is the primary instigator or quickener (MU. VI. 7 *śavanti śavitā*). If in some contexts *śū* is rather to "instigate" than to "quicken" (cf. *śvāyate* = *anuśvāyate*, AV. IV. 8. 1. Comm.), and may be replaced by forms of *ī* or causative forms of *ṛ* (as in AB. II. 5), this is because it is only when Manas and Vāc are "personified" (as is usual in our texts, Manas being identified with Prajāpati, and Vāc as his daughter) that we realise that the consequence of an "instigation" of Vāc by Manas (or the *brahman*) is an embodiment of what has been "conceived" and is a "concept" (BU. II. 2. 3): the intellectual principle inseminating the mother of which it is to be born, just as in any other aspect of a Logos doctrine. To "instigate" or "set in motion" or "move" is thus only a weaker value of "quicken": the Purohita is really "fathering" his "Counsel" on the King who as the *kartṛ* is to give it effect by means of his fiat. And this is only an extension of the acts of aspersion, etc., by which the King has already been "begotten" (*śātāḥ*) and "brought to birth" (*prāsūtaḥ*)—for this distinction cf. KB. V. 3 *prajā . . . śṛṣṭā aprasūtaḥ* = *Avyakta* Up. VI. 1 *prajāḥ śṛṣṭv na jāyante*, and BU. I. 4. 11 where the *kātra* is *śṛṣṭam*, but evidently *aprasūtam* until the Rājasūya has taken place.

Eggeling discusses his translation of *śū* in *SBE*. XLI, p. 2, note 1. We adopt his usual rendering, "quicken." His occasional use of "spiriter," although true to the essential value, since here as in John VI. 63 *spiritus est qui vivificat*, is too awkward to be adopted. We have no doubt that the "two" roots *śū* are, or were originally, one.

The octad of King-making deities (Savitṛ, Agni, Soma, Brhaspati, Indra, Rudra, Mitra and Varuṇa) who endow the King with a variety of powers or virtues correspond to the "good fairies" of folklore who bring their gifts to the newly born solar hero.

cf. AV. IV. 8. 1, and this corresponds to what would now be called a "Coronation."¹² The "Quickening" refers to the fact that the rite is both initiatory and sacrificial; the King is brought forth, new-born from the initiatory death, by the officiating Priests who are, in this respect, his "fathers."¹³

¹²The word *abhiṣeka* is too often, and especially by translators from the Pali, rendered by "Coronation." It is true that Indra wears a crown and is *śiṣṭis* accordingly, that Rudra is turbaned (*uṣṭis*) and that the Mahāpurisa is *uṣṭiso*, but the putting on of crown or turban plays no important part in the early Indian rites, where it is an "Aspersions" rather than a "Coronation" that makes the King.

Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed King.

¹³For the Priest as the Sacrificer's "father in God" see JAOS 60, 1940, pp. 50-51. It must be understood that the Rājasūya is "a congruous rite" (*tāt sadoma kṛiyate*, SB. V. 3. 5. 26), so that all that is said elsewhere of the ritual death and rebirth of the Sacrificer can be applied to the King, *a fortiori*. Accordingly, "He who performs the Rājasūya becomes the 'Child of the Waters' . . . He (the Priest) brings him to birth" (*janāyati*, "delivers," in the medical sense and analogically); SB. V. 3. 5. 19-24—a generation that corresponds to that of Indra as King in RV. VIII. 97. 10 *itakṣur indram jajanūḥ ca rājase*, comparable to X. 61. 7 *ajanyan bṛhama devā vātaspatīm vṛatopān air atakṣan*. And this is why the Rājasūya is also the Varunasava, for the ritual employs the text of VS. X. 7 where Varuna, enthroned in the dwellings of men, is called the "Child of the Waters." If this is more often an epithet of Agni, it is in place here because the nascent Agni "is Varuna" and "becomes Mitra" only when "kindled" (RV. V. 3. 1), and the Sacrificer's regeneration is likewise a "kindling" (SB. IV. 4. 5. 23). The intention is to enthrone as King, not a "Varuna," but a "Mitra."

As Hocart has remarked with respect to rites of royal installation, "The theory is that the King (1) dies, (2) is reborn, (3) as a god" (*Kingship*, 1927, p. 70). In this sequence, however, he was unable to recognize the "death" in the Indian sources, chiefly SB., although he recognized that all regeneration necessarily implies an antecedent death. As to this, it must be remembered that any initiatory rebirth, or indeed a birth of any kind, implies a previous death; for initiatory death may be cited JUB. III. 9. 4 *enam etad dīkṣayanti . . . mṛtasya vācasiḥ tadā rūpam bhavati*. Any Sacrifice is a symbolic suicide; it is himself that the Sacrificer sacrifices to the Gods, to Agni (AB. II. 3 *ātmanam ālabhate*; and SB. passim); cf. my "Atmayajña" in HJAS. VI. 358-398, 1942. Moreover, the installation of a King parallels not only that of Varuna, but that of King Soma, and although it is for a "supreme sovereignty" and "not for slaying thee" that Soma is bought, nevertheless "when they press him they slay him" (SB. III. 3. 2. 8), saying: "Fear not . . . it is the evil that is slain, not Soma" and "Thereby he slays all his evil" (*śarvaṁ pāpmānaṁ hanti*, VS. VI. 35 and SB. III. 9. 4. 17-18). The beating of the King which puts him above the law, so that he can do no wrong (SB. V. 4. 4. 7) is analogous to the pressing of Soma by which "his evil" is removed. In the same way the expiatory bath with which a Sacrifice concludes, taken not in flowing ("living") but in Varuṇya (stagnant) waters, is a kind of death (cf. CU. III. 17. 5 *maraṇam cāśvadhīkṣaḥ*), and com-

"The Counsel and the Power" are the equivalents of Plato's essentials of good government, φιλοσοφία and δέσπαις,^{12a} of the Islamic "Mercy and Majesty" (*jalāl* and *jalāl*), in Christian theology of the spirit that giveth life and the letter that killeth (II Cor. III. 6), and of our "Right and Might." "Counsel" (*kratu*, *κράτος*) might have been rendered as "Will," in accordance with the definition in our text, ŚB. IV. 1.4.1, "Whenever with one's mind (*mānasā*) one wills (*kāmayate*) anything, such as 'This I want' or 'This I would do,' that is the 'Counsel';" cf. RV. X. 129.4 *kāmas . . . mānaso rētaḥ prathamām*, AV. XIX. 52, AA. I. 3.2 *manasā hi sarvān kāmān dhyāyati . . . vācā hi sarvān kāmān vadati*, and JB. I. 68 *mano ha vai prajāpatir devatā, so 'kāmayata:* or by "Authority," what we have a mind to do being the authority for what we actually do. The act expresses what was willed. This being so, we see that "the Counsel and the Power" correspond to Philo's poetic and ordaining "God" and controlling "Lord" (see note 7), or in other words to "his will" and "him" in Eph. I. 11 "the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his will." In TS. V. 2. 3. 5 where the "Counsel" is "the beginning of the Sacrifice" (*yajña-mukham*)

parable in this respect to a baptism; the immersion is for the sake of a liberation from all that pertains to Varuṇa, i.e. from evil, and by it "just as a serpent casts its skin, so is the Sacrificer freed from all evil (*sārvasmāt pāpmāno nirmu-cyate*), there does not remain in him even so much sin (*énaḥ*) as there is in a child" (*yadvat kumārē*, ŚB. IV. 4. 5. 23), words which, applied to a king, would mean "even so much evil as there was in him when a prince." Thus in various ways the King "dies" and is reborn; the old, Varuṇya, man is put off, and the new, Maitreya, man put on, a change that is reflected in the investiture with new garments which follows the immersion, cf. AV. XIV. 2. 44 "Clothing myself anew . . . as a bird from an egg, I am freed from all sin."

Such an absolution is essential. The King is, indeed, "another man" in the sense of I Sam. X. 6. Hocart cites the fourteenth century Jean Golein who held "that the king is as much cleansed of his sins" as one who takes orders (*Kingship*, p. 93). Charles I wore white robes at his Coronation "to declare that Virgin purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom" (Heylin, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, 1668, p. 145). "Espoused to his Kingdom," i.e. as *bhāupati*, "Husband of the Earth"; for just as the King is the "wife" of the Priest, so is the Earth in turn his "wife": just as Soma is united to "these quarters of space as his bride (*abhir digbhīr mithunēna*), with his dear domain" (*priyēna dādmanā*, ŚB. III. 9. 4. 20), so is the human king to his own land (*deśa*), the shooting of arrows to the four quarters in the *digvijaya* rite being evidently a symbolic demonstration of this relationship. The quarters are, of course, always feminine in relation to their centre and meeting point; e.g. RV. IX. 113.2 where Soma is *dīdām pati*, cf. AV. II. 10. 4, AA. II. 2. 3, ŚB. III. 9. 4. 21.

^{12a} "Apart from a coincidence of these two, political power and philosophy, there can be no cessation of evils, whether for the state or for the individual" (*Republic* 473 D).

and is deposited in the East (the place of origin of the *brahma*), Keith renders *kratu* by "inspiration," which is certainly a legitimate value when the application is to the individual realm, as in RV. X. 31. 2 *utā svēna krātunā sām vadeta*, *kratu* here representing the Synteresis. It is preeminently Savitr, Brhaspati, the *brahma* or *Brahma* (TS. V. 3. 4. 4) that "inspires" our contemplations (*dhiyo yō nah pracodāyat*, RV. III. 62. 10, the Gāyatri or Sāvitrī); the Priest at once inspires and inspires the King. When the Sacerdotium and the Regnum act together, then both possess the counseling power; in RV. I. 93. 5, for example, Agni and Soma are "of joint counsel" (*sākratū*), as must also be understood in the many contexts in which the Regnum (Varuna or Indra) are possessed of "counsel" or "counsels" — powers.

Thus *Manas*, "Mind," or rather "Intellect"¹²—regularly equated with Prajāpati (TS. and ŚB. *passim*), and often with the Breath—corresponds to *kratu*, the "Counsel" and to *abhiṅantṛ*, the "Knower": and Vāc, the "Voice"—the daughter, messenger, only property and bride of *Manas*-Prajāpati (ŚB. VIII. 1. 2. 8, TS. II. 5. 11. 5, PB. XX. 14. 2, AB. V. 23, etc.)—corresponds to *dakṣa*, the "Power" and *kartṛ*, the "Executive" or "Agent,"—"Brhaspati is the Spiritual power, Vāc the Royal" (*brahma vai brhaspatir . . . vāg vai rāṣṭrī*, AB. I. 19, cf. Vāc as *rāṣṭrī* in RV. VIII. 100. 10 and X. 125. 3). The Sacerdotium as Director corresponds to the *asabda* *Brahma*, and the Regnum as Factor to the *śabda* *Brahma*. It is with reference to the *śabda* *Brahma* (the "spoken Word") that it is said in JUB. II. 9. 6 that "Vāc is the *brahma* (*mantra*), and that this air" (i. e. a vibration), and with reference to the *asabda* *Brahma* that it is said in JUB. I. 43. 3 that "Vāc is whatever is on this side of *Brahma* (i. e. 'under the Sun'), and it is taught that what is elsewhere is *Brahma*." Brhaspati, Brahmanaspati, the silent *Brahmā*, is to Vāc as is the silent to the audible *Brahma*. She exists in him more eminently (silence is golden, speech is silver); but without her "support" no enunciation of his Will is possible.

¹² *Manas* in all our texts and as identified with Prajāpati, *passim*, is the Scholastic *intellectus vel spiritus*, the divine mind and will, and it is only later that *manas* in the sense of external mind or reason and modern "Intellect" is subordinated to *buddhi* as "pure intellect"; our *manas* in other words is *voēs*, as in Hermes I. 6, 11b where "The Father is *voēs*, the Mother *phōēs*, *lōēs* the Son." *Manas*, for ŚB. X. 5. 3. 1, is that Supreme Identity (*tād ekām*) that was in the beginning when "this" universe neither was nor was not (RV. X. 129. 1-2). As remarked by Keith, *manas* in the narrower sense of mental "organ" appears first in Kauṣ. U. III (AA., p. 46); this lower and merely rational "mind" is the seat of "opinion" rather than of knowledge (MU. VI. 30). The "two minds," pure and impure, are distinguished in MU. VI. 34. 6 and elsewhere, as in Plato and Philo. The word *perasoēs*, "to change one's mind" implies the replacement of the impure by the pure *voēs*.

In a traditional society, whatever is said by whoever "has the say-so" is "no sooner said than done." It is not with his hands but by his fiat or edicts that a King "works." He is the "Voice" that gives effect to the purposes of the Spiritual authority, and thus does the will of God on earth.¹⁴ "What is done vocally is done indeed" (*vācā kṛtam karma kṛtam, Mahānārāyaṇa U. IV. 7*). Just as in *divinīs*: "Indra, the Regnum, is the Voice" and it is by this voice that Agni performs the Sacrifice (*karoty eva vācā . . . gamayati manasā, JUB. I. 33.4*), so it is at the Royal Sacrificer's word of command that the "work" (*karma*, the sacrificial work essential to the welfare of the kingdom) is done (*ŚB. I. 9. I. 2*), "it is with the Voice that he says 'Do this,' and therewith the altar is built" (*ŚB. X. 5. 1. 1.*). The dual government "knows" all purposes intellectually (*manasā hi sarvān kāmān dhyāyati*) and announces them verbally" (*vācā hi sarvān kāmān vadati, AA. I. 3. 2*). Just as the Purohita is "preferred," so "Intellect takes precedence of Voice (*purastād vācā . . . carati*) . . . and were it not for Intellect, the Voice would only babble" (*ŚB. III. 2. 4. 11*, where for *manas* and *vāc* could be substituted *brahma* and *ṛatra*; cf. *I. 4. 5. 11*): even in the ritual, whatever is uttered by a Hotṛ that has not been prompted by the Maitrāvaruṇa (*Brahmā*) is *asurya* (*AB. II. 5*). We have seen that what the Purohita "knows" (*abhigantṛ*) the King performs (*karṣṇ*): in other words "the Voice speaks not but what is 'known' (*abhigatam*) by Intellect" (*ŚB. IV. 6. 7. 10*), and of this filial and wifely obedience we can say truly that "the discipline of Logos, caught up with the vision of Mythos, is a royal marriage" (L. F. Kinney, in *Journal of Philosophy*, XXXIV, 1937, p. 358).

When the royal "Voice" is thus informed, "what is done vocally is done indeed" (*yad vācā vācā karoti tad etad evāsya kṛtam bhavati, JUB. II. 2. 8*): Priest and King speak "with one voice," and just as it is only when instigated (*prāsūtaḥ*) by the Sacerdotium that the King is effective (*ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 5*), so in the same way "whatever the subject does uninstituted (*aprasūtaḥ*) by these two, the Sacerdotium and the Regnum, is

¹⁴ That it is the King's function by his Fiat to give expression to the spiritual Counsel, implies the traditional doctrine that human law echoes or reflects Divine Law. Thus, for example, the King, "who was to be a 'divine man' and so link the people with the spiritual order" is regarded as "the incarnate representation of supreme and universal Law. In him that Law, itself unformulated, could become vocal (*λογικόν*); that is, the ideal man had the power of taking a Law which was spirit and divine purpose, and of applying it to human problems. Through him the Law, or nature of God, could become statutory laws, and true laws for society could never, it was universally believed, be had in any other way" (Goodenough, *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, 1940, pp. 38-39).

misdone (*akṛtam*) and men belittle it, saying: 'Even what he does is un-done' (*akṛtam*)' (AB. II, 38).¹² It follows from the foregoing that

¹² Just as in SB. IV, I. 4. 3 "whatever the Regnum does (*yad dha kim ca . . . karma cakre*) unquickened (*aprasūtam*) by the Sacerdotium, therein it falls" (*na . . . samānydhe*) or conversely "succeeds" (*dadydhe*). We see from this collation that *kṛta* and *samānydha*, *akṛta* and *asamānydha* are equivalents: that what is "misdone" is really "not done" at all. Thus the privative *a* in *akṛta* does not deny an event, but asserts that the "event" was not an act but a failure to "act." The verb "to act" has strictly speaking only a good and positive sense, as when we speak of God as "all in act"; a sin is not an "act" but an "omission." St. Thomas Aquinas in the same way speaks of the sinner as "non-existent" (*Sum. Theol.*, I. 20. 2 *ad* 4), not meaning to say that no one sins. In the same way, too, *asat*, literally "not being" is also in many contexts "naughty," i. e. evil; not a mere nothingness, but a mere potentiality. All these propositions depend on the principle *ens et bonum convertuntur*, common to all traditional metaphysics. In BG. XVII. 27-28 *sat* and *asat* are in all cases categories of what the Nominalist would call "real" things. In JUB. I. 53. 1 the two worlds—Sky and Earth, with all their equivalents, *m*, and *f*,—are respectively *sat* and *asat*.

The question is of importance in connection with the so-called Vedantic doctrine of "illusion." It is evident that whatever is an "appearance" (*rūpa*) must be an appearance of something and that whatever "significance" (*nāman*) is attached to this appearance must involve a correct or an incorrect interpretation of its basis. It is by means of the intelligible and the sensible, "name and appearance" (*nāmarūpa*), that which is referred to by Vāc and recognized by Manas, that Brahma, *Deus absconditus* (*brāhmaṇo parārdhām āpocchāt*), "returued" (*pratyāvṛt*), "came down again," i. e. descended as *asatōra* to these worlds which are coextensive with what can be sensed and named" (SB. XI. 2. 3. 3-6, cf. BU. I. 4. 7, S. II. 101, D. II. 63, 64), becoming thus, and thus "enjoying," both what is "real" (*satya*) and what is "false" (*asṛta*, TU. II. 6, cf. MU. VII. 28. 8); it is, indeed, by a marriage of these two, *satya* and *asṛta*, affirmation (*an*) and negation (*na*), that man is propagated and multiplied (*tayor mitkandṛt prajāyate bhāgān bhavati*, AA. II. 3. 6). Our functional existence, unlike our being, is logical and analytical, determined equally by what we are not and what we are; we distinguish subject from object and content from form.

There are, of course, "true" and "false" names of things; the former correspond to their essences or formative ideas and the latter to our own thinking. SB. XI. 2. 2. 5, having in mind the latter and conventional nomenclature, remarks that of these two, "name and appearance," the latter is the "greater." From this point of view it is the appearance that is "real" and the name that is "false"; it is not our senses but our interpretations that are at fault; we do see the glitter (cf. BU. V. 14. 4), but are wrong in assuming that all that glitters is gold. An ascription of "unreality" to temporalia does not mean that appearances do not appear, but that we are mistaken in describing them as "things" and not simply as appearances, and misguided in trying to find out what they are instead of asking "of what?" are they the appearances (cf. SA. V. 8 = Kauṣ. U. III. 8); mistaken in assuming that these are the appearances of any thing, rather than of a protean no-thing "veiled in all things" (BU. II. 5. 18). It is

it is not for the King to say (command) or do anything or everything he likes, but only what is "ordered to the end" and thus "correct" (*sādhā*, ŚB. V. 4. 4. 5). The King, in other words, is a *sādhaka*, whose "art" is the science of government, the "King's leading" or "policy" (*rājanīti*, *nītiśāstra*), in which the Purohita has been his Master: for "science" (*vidyā*, i.e. truth as distinguished from opinion) is a combination, or ensemble (*samhita* = *sandhi*), or in other words the child, of Intellect and Voice, both of which are essential to an enunciation of truth, and just as in the case of the macrocosmic and microcosmic harps, of which the concert (*samhitā*) of the player with the instrument is the force (*trist*), so it is only the skilled speaker that "perfects the value of the Voice" (*kṛtsnam vāgartham sādhayati*), and it is especially pertinent that it is said of him who understands this doctrine of the wedding of sound and meaning that "His renown fills the earth, men hearken to him when he speaks in the assemblies, saying: 'Let this be done which he desires'" (ŚA. VII. 7, VIII. 9, 10, XIV). The essentially vocal character of government is well brought out in PB. XII. 10. 4, 5 where, when in the Rājasūya (quoting the text of RV. VIII. 70. 1, 2, "He who is the King of men, etc.") it is said: "At that very point they reach the reign of the Voice (*rājyam* . . . *vācaḥ*), and thereby they betake the royal Sacrificer to his reign" (*rājyam evaitayā yajānam gamayanti*).

remarkable that in discussing this very question of the reality of the world Sextus Empiricus makes use of the familiar Indian parable of the snake and the rope, saying that the Sceptics by no means "abolish phenomena" but only "question whether the underlying object is such as it appears . . . our doubt does not concern the appearance itself but the account given of the appearance" (*Pyrrhonism*, I. 227-228). So also Heraclitus (Ap̄. IV and XIII taken together). This is precisely the Vedantic position: the rope is not a snake, nor even "really" a rope, but "really" a manifestation of Brahma, "the Real who becomes whatever there is here" (TU. II. 6). In the same way, as we have repeatedly pointed out, *māyā* does not mean an "illusion" as distinct from a real phenomenon, but rather the means of creating any appearance whatever: that these worlds are *māyāmaya* does not mean that they do not "exist," but that they are quantitative, or "material" in the sense of the etymologically equivalent *mātrā*, "measure," to be understood in the sense of Heraclitus XX, "ever-living Fire, in measures (*μέτρα*) being kindled and in measures going out" (*ἀεὶ ὄντος πυρός = nirvāta*, as applicable to fire, wind and passion); to these "measures" of Heraclitus (cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 45B, C, where vision is a part of the internal fire) correspond the *tejomātrāḥ* of BU. IV. 4. 1 = *prāṇagnayaḥ* of Prākṣa U. IV. 3, i.e. the human elementals or "powers of the soul."

For *māyā*, from *√mā* and as denoting the principle of measurement and thus the means of creation see "Nirmāṇakāya" in *JRAS* 1938, pp. 81-84, and AV. XIII. 2. 3 and 5, *nānārūpe āhanti kārṣi māyā . . . divam ca sūrya pṛthivīm ca devīm ahorātrē vimimāno yād āpi*.

This is why the King cannot be allowed to talk at random, to say what he likes, but only to speak wisely; this is why the Kṣatriya, who is so much like a woman in other respects, is said to love wisdom (*paññā* — *prajñā*), where she loves ornaments (*ālamkāra*, A. III. 363). For the King is only a true King in so far as he is in possession of his royal art or science, in so far as he does not fail of the end (*na hiyate arthāt*), and does not miss the mark (*sādhū bhavati, nāparādhātī*); he is only a "right" (*sādhū*) ruler in so far as he is governed by his art, but "crooked" (*vṛjina*) if he is guided not by the truth but by his own inclinations: that *ars sine scientia nihil* is as true of the art of government as of any other.

If the Oriental and traditional Monarch is not a "constitutional ruler" whose actions merely reflect the wishes of a majority of his subjects or those of a secular minister, nor King by virtue of any "social" contract, but a ruler by Divine Right, this does not imply that he is an "absolute" ruler, but on the contrary that he is himself the subject of another King, as is explicit in A. I. 109, an echo of BU. I. 4. 14 where it is affirmed that the Law (*dharma*), than which there is nothing higher, is the very principle of royalty. We see, accordingly, what ultimate value attaches to the expression "King of Kings" (*adhirājo rājām*), and that while the "constitutional monarch" may be controlled by his equals, or even his inferiors, the ruler by Divine Right is controlled by a Superior.

Let us consider the marriage of Indrāgnī in ŚB. X. 4. 1. 5, where Agni is expressly the Sacerdotium (*brahma*) and Indra the Regnum (*kṣatra*). They say to one another: "So long as we are thus, apart, we shall be unable to bring forth offspring; let us twain become a single form" (*ekam rūpam ubhāv aśva — sambharāvahai* as in JUB. I. 54. 6 — *saha nāv astu* in PR. VII. 10. 1), i. e. as we should say "become one flesh." Accordingly, "They twain became one form" ¹⁸ (*ekam rūpam ubhāv*

¹⁸ "Became of one form" suggests the important problem, to what extent the Rājanyā endows the King with a priestly character, as in the Roman Imperial Rite in which the Emperor kneels before the Pope, who *facit eum clericum* and mitres as well as crowns him (Woolley, R. M., *Coronation Rites*, 1915, p. 50). The problem is not an easy one; but certainly the statement by Keith that "the connection of royalty with priestly rank, if it had ever been a motif of the growth of the kingship (in India), had long disappeared before the time of the Sāhittās" (*Veda of the Black Yajus School*, cxii-cxiii), is far too sweeping.

It must be borne in mind, again, that the Rājanyā is an "analogous" rite, and that every Sacrificer, being reborn of the Sacrifice, the Spiritual power (*brahma*), is born a Brāhman (*brāhmayā*, patronymic from *brahma*), and the initiate (*dikṣita*) is for this reason to be addressed as a Brāhman, whatever his caste may have been (ŚB. III. 2. 1. 40): "the Sacrificer is the Sacerdotium (*brahma*), the Initiate is born again of the Sacrifice . . . he attains to Priesthood" (*brāhmanatām upaiti*, AB. VII. 22-23).

abhavātām), that of the Fire itself, and thereby brought forth offspring. The verses following (5-8) explain that in the concrete symbolism of the

It is certain that Indra, the archetypal King, functions also as Priest (*brahmā*, RV. VIII. 16. 7, SB. IV. 6. 6. 5) and as Cantor (*udgātṛ*, JUB. I. 22. 2), that he is a Prophet (*ṛṣi*, RV. VIII. 6. 41) and that he is constantly identified with the Sun. King Keśin (the Keśin Darbhya of JB. II. 53, 54, JUB. III. 29, and KB. VII. 4; cf. RV. X. 136) functions as the Grhapati of a *sattrā* (SB. XI. 8. 4. 1); Weber thought this a survival from a former age (*Indische Studien*, X. 25, 94), but this is not acceptable, since whereas formerly only Vasiṣṭhas could function as the *brahmā* (TS. III. 5. 2. 1, SB. IV. 6. 6. 5), now anyone having the requisite knowledge can be a Brāhman and may be addressed as *Brahmā* (SB. IV. 6. 6. 5, XII. 6. 1. 10), the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads thus anticipating the supposedly Buddhist distinction of the "Brāhman by birth" (*brahmanabandhu*, CU. VI. 1. 1) from the Brāhman by knowledge, Brāhman as *brahmanit*. We learn, too, that "formerly, an inveterate king asperged his own son" (Comm. on SB. XIII. 8. 2. 19 where "the *kṣatriya* asperges the *kṣatriya*," cf. Mbh. I. 69. 44, Poona ed., where Duṣṣanta *bharatam* . . . *yauvarājye 'bhyasacayat*), a practise that seems to have survived in Siam in connection with the very important rite of the Tonsure of the Hair—apparent in which the King, impersonating Śiva, "poured the contents of the great chank shell upon the head of the prince" (H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies*, 1931, p. 130). In the *Mahā-Govinda-Satta* the King himself asperges the Purohita (D. II. 232); and it was probably by an aspersion that the King exercised his own powers of "quickenings" (*amsa*), when he bestowed accession honours on the eleven members of his court (*śeṣadai*, *purohita*, *mahīṣi*, etc.) who are called the "Recipients of Decorations" (*ratninaḥ*, SB. V. 3. 1. 12,—not to be confused with the "Seven Jewels," *saptā ratnā*, of a Cakravartin, RV. V. 1. 5, VI. 74. 1, BD. V. 123, although the categories partly coincide). Hocart points out that the "quickenings" of the Ratnins is a ritual defilection: it will be observed that excepting the Queen there are ten male Ratnins, and these with the King himself are presumably the "eleven Gods on earth" of RV. I. 139. 11.

Furthermore, in the Act of Homage, the King is addressed as *Brahmā* and identified with Savitr, Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa, i.e. priestly as well as royal deities, the Brāhman taking a seat below him (TS. III. 5. 2. 1, SB. IV. 6. 6. 5, BU. I. 4. 11): while according to Manu (VII. 2 f.) a *Kṣatriya* who has duly received the "sacerdotal sacrament" (*brāhmanam* . . . *sauśikāram*), i.e. has been initiated and asperged, is a substance compounded in some measure of Indra, Anila (Vāyu), Yama, Arka (Sun), Agni, Varuṇa, Candra (Moon), and Vitrtaśa (Kubera), and is like the burning Sun, so that "no one on earth can look at him who is a great God in human form" (*mahat devatā* . . . *nerarāpeṇa*).

On the other hand PB. XVIII. 10. 8 expressly reserves the Sacerdotium from the Regnum, and innumerable texts sharply distinguish the Sacerdotal from the Royal functions; it is much rather the Sacerdotium that exercises both (Brhaspati as fighting-priest, RV. *passiṣu*), than the Regnum. It is evident that the installation of a King does not dispense with his or the kingdom's need of a priesthood. That the King is the Sacrificer (*yajamāna*) and Lord of the Sacrifice (*yajñapati*) does not mean that he normally performs or conducts the rite, but that he is the patron who institutes, pays for and defends the Sacrifice on behalf of his people. He is "the Supporter of Rites" (*dhyatvata*), and as such he may not say or

Fire-Altar, Agni is represented by the Golden Person (*puruṣa*) and Indra by the gold plate (*rukma*) that were deposited, and which represent the

do anything or everything, but only what is correct (*sādhya*); he and the *śrotriya* (indoctrinated Brahman) are the two "Supporters of the Rite" (*dhyātvratatau*, SB. V. 4. 4. 5). Indra is typically *vratapā*, "Fidel Defensor"; cf. RV. X. 61. 7 where "the effective gods produced the Sacerdotium (*brāhma*), and made the Land's Lord (*vāstospātīm*), the Guardian of the Rite (*vratapādm*)."

The difficulties are best resolved by recalling that the Priesthood and the Kingship correspond to Sky and Earth, who were originally One, but departed from one another as soon as their unity had been consummated (RV. *passim*, TS. V. 1. 5. 8, V. 2. 4. 1, BU. III. 8. 9, etc.). In the same way the King is assimilated to and identified with the Priest (as Arjuna is sometimes identified with Kṛṣṇa in Mbh.) for the duration of the nuptial Sacrifice, but, just as in any other Sacrifice, "becomes again what he really is" when the rite is relinquished, thus returning from divinity to humanity, *satya* to *asṛta* (VS. I. 5 and II. 28, SB. I. 1. 1. 4-6, I. 9. 2. 23, III. 6. 3. 21, III. 9. 4. 1, IX. 5. 1. 12). It is, in fact, explicit, that having put off his Royalty and become a Brāhman, the King in turn abandons this Priestly character: "when he concludes, he assumes his Kṣatriya character, calling to witness Agni, Vāyu, and Aditya (the cosmic Purohitas) that 'Now I am he who I am'" (AB. VII. 22): it is then "not actually and evidently" (*na . . . pratyakṣam*) but only symbolically and in an occult manner (*parokṣam*) that "the Kṣatriya assumes the form of the Sacerdotium" (*brāhmaṇo rūpam upaṇiṣacchati*) and therefore only transubstantially that he can partake of Soma (AB. VII. 21); cf. JUB. I. 40. 3 where, notwithstanding that the Voice (*vāc*) is the indispensable support of the Sāman, "It is by no means by the Voice that the priestly office is performed, but in an occult way" (*parokṣena*), i.e. mentally, in accordance with the injunction *yajadhma . . . mānasa*, RV. VIII. 2. 37, cf. TS. VI. 1. 4. 5, KB. VII. 4. In any case, that the King does assume the Sacerdotal character, however temporarily and in whatever manner, makes it impossible to say that "the connection of royalty with priestly rank had long disappeared." All we can say is that hardly any trace of any actual exercise of Brāhmanical functions survives in the Brāhmaṇas.

Just as the King assumes a Priestly character which he again relinquishes, so "In that he is asperced (*abhiśiccyate*) in the Rājasūya, he ascends to the world of heaven, (but) if he did not descend again he would either depart thither beyond human beings (i.e. he would die) or would go mad" (PB. XVIII. 10. 10), a condition of equal application to any other Sacrificer (TS. VII. 3. 10. 3, VII. 4. 4. 2, AB. IV. 21, etc.); the ritual deification which prefigures an effective deification *post mortem*—cf. *Harṣacarita* 215, *devabhūyam gate narendre*, "Now that the King has assumed his Godhead," i.e. has died, and the representation of Kings as deities in funerary chapels—would be presently fatal, as is indeed implied by the rule: "No one becomes immortal in the flesh" (SB. X. 4. 3. 9). The royal Sacrificer's Himmelfahrt is nevertheless of profound significance: for the descent, a sort of *avataraṇa* comparable to the Buddha's at Saṅkisa, and to Plato's return of the Philosopher to the Cave, is "by that stairway which, save to reascend, no one descendeth" (Dante, *Purgatorio*, X. 86-87). It cannot be wondered at that in D. II. 227, where Brahmā Sanatkumāra ("The Eternal Youth," i.e. Agni-Brhaspati, *devānām brāhmā*, cf. AV. X. 8. 44 *śtmdnam . . . ajīraṇ*

Person in the Sun, and the Solar Disk itself, respectively (cf. BU. II. 2. 2 for an analogous distinction in terms of the "pupil" and the "white"

yāndam) appears in the Tāvātishā heaven amongst the Thirty-three Devas beside whom he takes his seat (and with whom he thus "consorts"), each of them experiences a beatitude which is compared to that of "a Kṣatriya King whose head has been aspersed (*muddhācasiito*,—aspersion beginning from the head, SB. IX. 4. 1. 15, etc.) and who as soon as he has been aspersed (*adhunā-dhisiito*) experiences a sublime enthusiasm and sublime contentment"; for the King's relation to his human *brāhmā* is precisely that of the several Devas to their common *Brahmā*, cf. note 4. That the Regnum is only temporarily set above the Sacerdotium in the Act of Homage (TS. I. 6. 16 and SB. V. 4. 4. 9-13) is also apparent from BU. I. 4. 11, where we are told that the Sacerdotium was one simply in the beginning, and as such did not manifest omnipotence (*nā . . . vy-ābhavat*, with implication of *vibhava* in the sense of "dominion," cf. note 28 and *vibhāti* in BG. X. 40). That (One) manifested a more resplendent form (*śreyo rūpam*, cf. RV. X. 31. 2 *śreyānāśh dākyam*, "power and glory"), that of the Regnum, even the Devas who are Dominions (*kṣatradai*, cf. TS. II. 3. 1. 4 *edruṇāśh vai rāśtrām*), viz. Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛtyu, Isāna.* There is, accordingly, nothing above the Regnum (*kṣatrāt pārām nāsti*): in the Rājāsūya the Brāhman pays homage to the Kṣatriya from a lower position; he expressly glorifies the Regnum (*kṣatrā eva tād yāo dadhātī*). But "the Sacerdotium is the source of the Regnum, so that even though a ruling King attains supremacy (*paramitām*, like Varuṇa's in SB. V. 3. 3. 9), he finally (*antatā*, i. e. when the Rājāsūya is ended) leans upon (*upenīrayati*) the Sacerdotium as his source, and if he (the King) injures him (the Brāhman), he is striking at his own source, and he becomes the worse (*pāpīyā bhavati*), having injured his superior" (*śreyāṅsam*). Sāṅkara is clearly right in saying that the "glory" and "supremacy" are references to the Act of Homage at the enthronement, but that when the rite is relinquished it is the King who "gives precedence" to the Purohita, whose designation itself purports "Praepositus."

Texts, of course, abound, in which the relative inferiority of the King to the Priest is affirmed. The Brāhmanas are not his subjects, "their King is Soma" (TS. I. 8. 10d, SB. V. 4. 2. 3): everything here is "food" for the King, but he himself is "food" for the Brāhmanas (SB. V. 4. 2. 3, Sn. 619; Kaus. Up. II. 9); Soma's throne is borne by four men, but the human King's only by two, since Soma rules absolutely all (*aspa sakṣī śirvayāṅste*) but not so the other (SB. III. 3. 4. 26); the Brāhmanas are not committed to the Kṣatra, whose "rod" (*danda*) is not for them, while they on the other hand have a "counter-rod" (*pratidanda*) that can be used against him or any of his subjects (PB. XVIII. 10. 8), i. e. the power of the curse or excommunication, the case of Nahuṣa, who was for a time the King of the Gods, providing an example (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 130).

That the King is inferior in hierarchy to the Priest is emphasized by Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, 1894, pp. 375, 376) and by Weber (*Indische Studien*, X. 160 and "Über den Rājāsūya," *K. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1893, p. 118). Oldenberg (p. 376) speaks of the "priesterliche Prestige, welches schwach ent-

* With some changes of name, this octad is doubtless to be identified with the octad of king-making deities mentioned in note 11.

The *āpōs yāpōs* is effected again in TS. V. 2. 4 where there is union (*samiti*, *samnicapana*) of the two Agnis, viz. "Agni that was before and

eyam) and "pierces him who hates" (*dripdntam*), AV. XV. 1. 5-8, XV. 3. 10, XV. 10. 3-6, cf. IV. 1. 3. Otherwise stated, the "only Vratya is Vāyu," is the Gale of the Spirit that blows from the four quarters as the Kings Indra, Isāna, Varuṇa and Soma and from above as Prajāpati (JUR. III. 21. 3); or Prāṇa-Prajāpati, the Breath (*Prāṇa U.* II. 7). Thus the unmanifested Brahma enters into the worlds as Priest and King, as Agni-Bṛhaspati and Indra; he is the archetypal "Guest" and King whom his satellites welcome with the cry "Here comes Brahma!" (BU. IV. 4. 37). His welcome is a kind of *Rājasūya*. It is natural, then, that the throne (*āsandī*) prepared for the Vratya in AV. XV. 3 should resemble Brahma's in Kauṣ. U. 1. 5 and Indra's in AB. VIII. 12, and likewise the Buddha's throne in the early iconography, for all these are "Guests" to be welcomed as Kings.

Vratya in the plural is, then, by analogy an epithet that can be applied to any Brāhman considered as a manifestation of Brahma, or equally to any alien guest who is qualified by nature to be received into the Aryan fold and inducted into the Aryan operations (*dryā eratā*, RV. X. 65. 11): we see that for the Aryan householder or King to address the stranger as a "Vratya" (AV. XV. 10. 1-2, 11. 1-2, 12. 1-2) is to pay him the highest honour and to say in effect: "We are altogether your servants." Thus the tradition of hospitality is based on metaphysical principles, hospitality is a rite, the guest is a living symbol of the deity. It becomes understandable, also, why it is that a guest may be feared as well as honored: it is an enemy that comes to be received as a friend, a Varuṇa whom one receives as a Mitra; the "welcome" is in any case a "pacification" (*śānti*, from *śam*) and is a "quieting" analogous to that of the *śamītya* who gives the quietus to the sacrificial victim,—it should not be overlooked that the proceeding deity is, in fact, himself the Sacrifice (RV. X. 13. 4, X. 81. 5, ŚB. *posim*, etc.). This is especially clear in KU. I. 7 where the Brāhman guest is called a "Fire" and *śāntya* . . . *śāntim* refers at the same time to the extinction of the "Fire" and the pacification of the "Guest," as in TS. V. 1. 6. 1 where "the waters are pacifications, and with these pacifications he quiets Agni's burning-anguish" (*āpo vai śāntāḥ, śāntāḥ air erāya śūcam śamagati, śūcam* corresponding to the "sharpness of the fire-flash" contrasted with the "meekness and light" in Behmen, *Three Principles*, XIV. 69-77); cf. the extinction or pacification (*śānti*) of the Fire in PB. VIII. 7. 8, and the value of *śānti* in Pali Buddhism where the extinction or pacification of the fire of life is the same as Nibbāna. *Śamāna* in Mbh. is both to "kill" and to "make peace with," since in "making peace" we put an end to the enemy and generate a friend; it is logically impossible to make "peace with an enemy," whom like Varuṇa we can only approach when we have "made him a friend" (*mitrakṛtya*), and this passage from enmity to friendship (cf. the double entendre of *hostis*), like all other transitions, is the death of what was and a birth of what is. In BG. VI. 7 where the empirical self has been "overcome and pacified" (*jita praśānta*), *praśānta* has all the values of "sacrificed," "made sacred," "made holy," as in the ritual Sacrifice itself, where the Sacrificer is identified with the victim and called a "self-sacrificer" (*ātmapāṇi*, ŚB. XI. 2. 8. 13, cf. I. 8. 3. 18, etc., and Mann, XII. 91).

This digression has been necessary to an understanding of *vratā*, a word that

the one (now kindled) in the Fire-pan, who hate one another" (*vi . . . drisāte*), incidentally a very significant statement of the natural opposition of the Conjoint Principles. Their union is effected with the marital formula of TS. IV. 2. 5. 1 "Be ye united, of one intention, loving one another (*sāmitam sāmkaupethām sāmprīyau*). . . . I have conformed your minds, operations and wills (*sām vām mānāsi sām eratā sām u cittāny d'karam*). . . . Be ye unanimous, sharing one home, for our sake" (*bhāvataṁ naḥ sāmānasau sāmokasau*), cf. RV. V. 3. 2b, X. 65. 8, X. 191, and AV. III. 8. 5. The last words "Be ye unanimous, etc" occur also in TS. I. 3. 7 where they are used for the union of the Fire-sticks, equated with Purūravas and Urvaśi as parents of Agni-Āyus. With this marriage of those "who hate one another," cf. RV. X. 191, and AV. III. 30 "Let not brother hate brother (*mā bhrātā bhrātaram drisat*) . . . an incantation (*brahma*) in virtue of which the Gods are neither sundered from nor hate one another" (*na viyānti nā ca vidviśāte mithāh*), of which the application is also to "husband and wife" (*pāti, jāyā*), i. e. Sky and Earth, the Father who separates from his Daughter (RV. X. 61. 6 *viyāntā*), these "Two worlds" that go apart from one another (AV. III. 31. 4 *vīmē dyāvāprthivī itāh*; TS. V. I. 5. 8 *imaṁ lokau vā aīlām*, V. 2. 3. 3. *dyāvāprthivī . . . viyātī*; AB. IV. 27 *tau vyāntām*; PB. VII. 10. 1 *tau vyāntau*, etc.).

This union of mutually antagonistic principles, the "former" and the "latter," i. e. elder and younger, is essentially that of Varuṇa with Mitra, for "Thou, Agni, art born as Varuṇa, and it is as Mitra that thou art

can only be rendered correctly by "operation," and equated with *karma*; it should be added that all occupations are traditionally sacrificial rites, cf. RV. IX. 112. 1-2 where the vocations of the priest, the carpenter, doctor, and fletcher are all equally *vrāṭinī*. We can now understand the full meaning of *sāmēratā* which is quite literally that of "cooperative," and that of *pativratā*, a "devoted wife"; to use a later word, the "wife," the "royal" partner, is to act as *suhadharminī*, a partner in the fulfilment of the Eternal Law, which as *svadharma* becomes the Law of his own Vocation; the analogous *anuvratā* in AV. XIV. 1. 42, TS. I. 1. 10, and JUB. I. 54. 6, and implied in the *Arthashastra* I, adhy. 9, "The King should obey (*anuvarteta*, i. e. should be *anuvrata* with respect to) the Purohita, as is a pupil to his master, a son to a father, or a serf to his feudal lord" (*svāmī*), and as might have been added, as is a wife to a husband whom she should "love, honor, and obey." Contrasted with these cooperations, the alternative of other and independent operation (*anyavratā*) would be satanic (RV. X. 22. 8, VS. XXXVIII. 20), cf. AB. II. 5 where "instigated by the Mind the Voice speaks (*manuṣā vā īpitā vāg vadati*), but what she utters absent-mindedly is of the Avuras and not acceptable to the Gods" (*yām hy anyamanā vācāṁ vadati anuvratā eā ad vāg adēvayujā*; the "Mind" here being the sacrificial Maitravaruṇa, i. e. the *brahmā*, and the "Voice" the *Asṛ*, functionally feminine).

kindled" (RV. 3. 1).¹⁸ It is the former, *chthonic* (*pṛtṣya* = *budhnya*)¹⁹ Agni that is Varuṇa, and "not Mitra," which is as much as to say *amitra*,

¹⁸ That the marriage of the two Agnis, *ksatra* and *brahma*, in TS. V. 2. 4 is a union of mutually antagonistic principles, reflects the natural opposition of Sacerdotium and Regnum and natural antagonism of the sexes. "What pertains to Mitra does not pertain to Varuṇa" (SB. III. 2. 4. 18): "The *ksatra* takes no delight in the *brahma*, nor does the *brahmarurvasu* delight in the *ksatra*" (SB. XIII. 1. 5. 2. 3); *amoris vice dilectionis radix et causa est similitudo* (Ecclesiasticus XIII. 19), and as Eckhart adds, *E converso vero dissimilitudo est cause odii*. The natures and functions of the Sacerdotium and the Regnum, like those of man and woman, are distinct: the marriage is a reconciliation that reflects their transcendental unity ("Agni is both Mitra and Varuṇa," RV. VII. 42. 3; "Brahma both *brahma* and *ksatra*," SB. X. 4. 1. 9; Christ "both King and Priest," St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* III. 31. 2 ad 2). Weber was thus essentially correct in speaking of the marriage formula with which the King and the Priest are united in AB. VIII. 27 as "eine alte, solenne Formel, welche die innige Zusammengehörigkeit der contrahirenden Theile zu maskiren bestimmt ist" (*Indische Studien*, V. 160; italics mine). The very word *mithunam* implies a "clash" of contraries, and *mithyā* is "false" as being "contrary" (to the truth).

For the marriage of mutually antagonistic principles cf. AV. III. 8. 5 "I bend together your minds, operations and intentions, ye who are of contrasted operation, these of yours I bend together" (*sam vo mānāsi sam vṛatā sam ākātī namāsi, amī yā vīratā sthāu, tā vo sam namayāmi*). This is primarily, no doubt, addressed to Sky and Earth; in a hymn "for supremacy" (*śraīṣṭhye*) it would be applicable to the analogous *brahma* and *ksatra*. The wording is closely related also to that of TS. IV. 2. 5. 1 and RV. X. 65. 8 and X. 191.

At the same time the kindling of Agni is the quickening and resurrection of Varuṇa: Agni becomes "his father's augments" (*vārdhanam pitṛā*, RV. I. 140. 3 and thus his "father's father," *pitṛs pitṛ*, RV. VI. 16. 35), the Son reproducing the Father whom he displaces. The two Agnis of our texts are the one that "falls" (dies) with Soma and Varuṇa (= Cyavana) in RV. X. 124 (*agnā soma vāruṇas tē cyavante*) and the one proceeding as God (*devā*) from the No-god (*ādevāt*, i. e. from the *asura* *pitṛ*, now *Deus absconditus*, *māra deva*, like Prajapati, *firgā mūrā* in PB. XXV. 17. 3) from the non-sacrificial to the sacrificial part (*ayajñyād yajñyam bhāgam amī*) and who with a view to immortality (*preṣāyamaṇo amṛtate*) abandons (*jāhāmī*) the Titan Father, choosing (*vyānā*) Indra; cf. RV. IV. 26. 7 where Indra abandons (*ajāhāt*) the senile deities (*mādevā*, *sc. devā*), VI. 47. 17 where Indra rejects his former friends, who do not follow him, and seeks others, VI. 59. 1, "Your parents, foes of the Gods, Indragṇī, are smitten down, and ye survive," and X. 69. 10 where Agni, the Youngest, vanquishes the Ancients, though they were friendly. The abandonment of the Father by Indragṇī corresponds to that of Cyavana in JB. III. 77. The reversal of the kingdom (*paridvār rāṣṭram*) in RV. X. 124 is reflected in TS. VI. 6. 5 where Varuṇa is the type of the banished king and Indra that of the one in power, and the offering is to free oneself from what pertains to Varuṇa, for as in RV. X. 124. 8 "the people who elect a King stand aloof in horror from Vṛtra" (*vīro nā rājanam vṛnāt bibhatsūvo śpe vṛtrād atīṣṭhan*), incidentally an interesting reference to the part of the people in the choice of the King: that the

"unfriend": "that which is of Mitra is not of Varuṇa" (SB. III. 2. 4. 18), "the Regnum takes no delight in the Sacerdotium" (SB. XIII.

reference of "Vṛtra" here is to a nature from which as regards its evil the King is to be purged, but which as regards its force is to remain in him (just as the gods retain the *ahimdyāś* of the Asuras), can be seen from PB. XVI. 4. 1-5 and XVIII. 9. 6, 7, where Indra puts on the lotus-wreath (*puṣkarakarajā*) which his father Prajāpati (i. e. Varuṇa now succeeded by his son) had had made for himself "for the sake of supremacy" (*īreṣṭhāyā*)—it is "wrought of the savor of the quarters and all his offspring," its twelve flowers are the months, it is the "royal force" (*indriyāś viryam*) of the Year, Prajāpati, Varuṇa—and "when he put on the lotus wreath, it is the Regnum, the very form (or aspect) of Vṛtra, that he puts on" (*vṛtrasyaiva tad rūpam kṣātram pratimūcate*), that Vṛtra whom, as we are reminded in the same verse, he has already slain. The Dragon-slayer assimilates the Dragon's power but not his malice, and inherits his treasure, so that Vṛtra says to Indra: "Thou art now what I was erst" (SB. I. 6. 3. 17).

Thus indeed Indra "supersedes" the father (Varuṇa, Dyaus, Prajāpati, or Vṛtra) whom he has overcome or more strictly speaking "sacrificed"; the pseudo-historical legend of his namesake Ajātasatru is another recension of the same story. But to think of this "supersession of Varuṇa by Indra" as the reflection of some doctrinal "evolution," or even to say that "Varuṇa was divested of his supreme powers by the time of the AV" (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 65, 66) is a misapplication of "historical method" and only displays the mythologist's ignorance of theology. For Indrāgni are liberators above all else: they bring forth their people from captivity into a promised land. And every such soteriology necessarily transfers the Kingdom, whether by conquest or by a sacrificial atonement, from a "wrathful Father" to a milder Son, from the God *as Indra* to the God *as extra*, in so far as a distinction can be made between them. So Christ says: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth" (Matth. XXVIII. 18). What is true for the *genealogia regni dei* is true in every human lineage; the Prince who comes to the throne "supersedes" his father (whether he has been ritually "despatched" or has died by natural causes) and inherits his power (SB. V. 4. 2. 10), but establishes a new order. In this connection it is highly significant that one of the first acts of a new King, celebrating his accession, is a release of prisoners from jail. It is thus that Varuṇa, when his ferocity has been appeased, releases Sunahṣepa (RV. I. 24. 11-13). It is also true for the "people" that the son "supersedes" the father and inherits his rank, as in Kaus. U. II. 15 (10) where if the father who has made the last "bequest" by which the transmission and delegation of all his powers to his son is effected should recover, he can no more resume these powers than if he were actually dead, but must live subject to his son, or as a religious mendicant. The "supersession" of Varuṇa by Indra, or rather by the twins (*yamaś*, RV. VI. 59. 2) Indrāgni, is an ontological, not an historical event.

The proceeding Agni in RV. X. 124 leaves *himself* behind at the same time that he goes forth, as also in RV. III. 55. 7 where "he proceeds in front and still remains within his ground" (*duc āgram cārati kṣēti budhāś*); "the Son remains within as essence and goes forth as Person . . . the divine nature steps forth into relation of otherness . . . other, but not another, for this distinction is rational,

1. 5. 2). The "two Agnis" are the same as those of TS. V. 2. 7. 6, AB. III. 4 and SB. II. 3. 2. 10, one whose form is that of Varuṇa and "deadly to be touched," and the other "whom one approaches, making him Mitra" (*mitrakṛtyevopāsate*).²⁰ They are the Agni "tied up," who as Varuṇa may attack the Sacrificer, and the Agni whose "unloosing" disperses the wrath (*meni*) of Varuṇa (TS. V. 1. 5. 9, V. 1. 6. 1). The two Agnis correspond not only to Indra and Agni, Regnum and Sacerdotium, but to the two possibilities of the Sacerdotium itself: for "the Purohita is (originally) Agni Vaiśvānara of the five wraths" (*pañcameni*),²¹ and if he be not "offered to, pacified and endeared" he repels the Sacrificer "from the world of Heaven, from the Regnum, might, realm and subjects," so that the King is well advised to make a Mitra, a "Friend," of him,—“He that is friendly with such an one, that King routs him who hates him” (*tasya rājā mitram bhavati dvisantam apabādhat*) (AB. VIII. 24, 25 and 27).²²

not real" (Eckhart, Evans ed., I. 268). Nor is there any inconsistency in that, having "chosen" Indra, Agni invites his father Varuṇa to "Come forth to be the ruler of my Kingdom" (RV. X. 124. 5), for Varuṇa is Indra (RV. IV. 42. 3) as much as he is Agni, and the Rājasūya is "Varuṇa's Quickening," or regeneration.

²⁰ Agni is Ahir Budhnya *ab intra* and Agni Gārhapatyā *ab extra* (AB. III. 36, KB. XVI. 7, cf. VS. V. 33). RV. abounds with references to Agni's chthonic origins from his "ground" (*budhna*, e.g. IV. 1. 11. *ad jāyata prathamāḥ . . . budhne* = V. 3. 1 *trām agne tāruṇo jāyase*)—a "ground" amongst the waters—or from the "rock" (*adri*), the "stone" (*āśman*), or "mountain" (*parvata*).

²¹ In connection with the "fear" and "love" of Varuṇa it should be remembered that "Nothing prevents one and the same thing being loved under one aspect and hated under another" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 20. 2. *ad 4*).

²² Or "five missiles" (Keith): to be identified, in the last analysis with the "five arrows" of Kāmadeva, bearing in mind that Love and Death, Kāma and Mṛtyu, are one and the same Person.

²³ It is not of his own power, but inasmuch as "God is with him" that the Kṣatriya is victorious; he says, accordingly: "I destroy the unfriends and lead forth my own subjects with the help of the Spiritual Power" (*kṣinōmi brāhmaṇa-mitrān annayāmi vdaḥ*, VS. XII. 82 and SB. VI. 6. 3. 15), of which RV affords innumerable instances in the cooperation of Agni-Bṛhaspati with Indra against the Asuras. We propose to show that the archetype of the Unfriend or Unfriends, so often referred to in the texts as "he whom we hate and who hateth us," and as the "loveless brotherhood" (*apriyam bhrātṛyaṃ*) are primarily and in most cases Vṛtra-Varuṇa-Mṛtyu and the Asuras generally. In SB. IV. 3. 3. 5 "the evil, hateful brotherhood" (*pāpmāne dvigatā bhrātṛyaṃ*) is explicitly Vṛtra; in JUB. I. 7. 2 the "evil brotherhood," to be excluded "mentally" from any share in these worlds, can only be, so to say, Satan. He has accomplished the purpose of the Sacrifice who "has slain his Vṛtra" (TS. II. 5. 4. 5). So that while it is beyond question that the Purohita sometimes assists, or rather enables, the King to overcome human enemies, the fundamental conflict is "not against flesh and

The marriage in JUB. I. 53-55 is not explicitly one of the Sacerdotium and Regnum, but of principles that are their equivalents in other contexts.

blood, but against the principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world" (Eph. VI. 12). When it is a question of human enemies, these are assimilated to the Adversary himself, and the weapons effective against him are turned against them: war, from the traditional point of view, being no more than any other vocational activity, a merely profane engagement (see note 72).

The "brotherhood" (*bhṛātṛya*) that is synonymous with enmity (and to be distinguished from brotherliness, *bhṛātṛya*, in a favorable sense, RV. VIII. 83. 8, cf. X. 23. 7) is, then, the relationship of the Asuras to the Devas, of the Varuṇa who is "not Mitra" but *amitra*, Unfriend, to Agni, *mitra*, the Friend. Varuṇa is Agni's "elder brother" in RV. IV. 1. 2: "Turn thou, O Agni, thine elder brother Varuṇa toward* the Sun, support of men, the King, support of men" (*sō bhṛātaraṁ vāruṇam agnaṁ d vasyeta . . . jyēṣṭham . . . ādityāṁ carṣapādhṛtāṁ, rājānaṁ carṣapādhṛtāṁ*, where *ādityāṁ* is the accusative of the person turned to, like *mā* in SB. IV. 1. 4. 4 *āpa mācartyasa*). This is only the special case of the general rule that the Asuras are the elder brothers of the Devas (BU. I. 3. 1 *kāniyāśā eva devāḥ, jyāyāśā asurāḥ*; Mbh. XII. 33. 25 *asurā bhṛātaro jyēṣṭhā devāśāśāpi yaciyasāḥ*), and of the principle that the "brotherhood" of "those who hate one another" is that of the Devas and Asuras (TS. VI. 4. 10. 1). It is significant that the root in *jyēṣṭha* is *jyē*, with the primary meaning to "oppress," distinctly preserved in RV. VII. 86. 6 *asti jyāyāṁ kāniyasa upārē*, "the elder is at hand to hurt the younger" (the reference being to Varuṇa himself, *āparyity* in SB. V. 5. 4. 31): it is, in fact, the rule in folklore that the elder brothers or sisters oppress the younger brother who is always the solar hero, or younger sister who is always the bride of a solar hero.

It will be noticed that RV. IV. 1. 2 cited above is rather "entropic" than apotropic, and that *d vasyeta*, like *āpa mācartyasa*, is essentially an invitation to union, *samārtityai*: the opposite of *dyē*, to "turn to," is *vyē*, to "turn apart," as in RV. VII. 80. 1 *vicartāyantiṁ rājāśā* "divorcing Sky and Earth," and SA. VII. 12 *samdhikā vicartayati*, "disjoins the grammatical fusion of syllables" (in a *samhitā* text, the marriage of words being thought of as analogous to that of Sky and Earth, and thus life-giving, *āyusya*, ib. VIII. 11). The "entropy" of our texts thus annuls the "divorce" of Sky and Earth, Essence and Nature, that takes places at the "creation," or rather manifestation or utterance, of the worlds, as in RV. VII. 80. 1 where the Light of Dawn "divorces the conterminous regions (Sky and Earth), makes manifest the several worlds" (*vicartāyantiṁ rājāśāśāntaṁ, āvīkṛyevāṁ bhāvānāni vīśā*), cf. RV. VI. 32. 2 and SB. IV. 6. 7. 9 (we remark in passing that the separation of the conjoint principles by Light, usually that of the early-waking or early-kindled Agni, is the motive in the equivalent story of Purūravas and Urvāśī, SB. XI. 5. 1. 4, and in that of Eros and Psyche). *d vasyeta*, then, is a prayer for the Asura's conversion (cf. W. N. Brown, "Proselytizing the Asuras," JAOS 39, 1919), as in RV. I. 25 where Varuṇa's wrath is deprecated and his mercy landed, and AB. III. 4 where Agni's Varuṇya form is "deadly to be touched" (cf. JUB. II. 14) and "one should

* Or possibly, "turn thyself toward."

The marriage is of the Two Worlds, referred to as "abodes" (*āyatānāni*): "In the beginning This (all) was twofold, Being (*sat*) and Non-being

approach him only having made him Mitra" (*mitrākṛtyevopāsate*, cf. VIII. 74, 1 *mitram* *iva* *prīyam*), which is possible inasmuch as "As one approaches him, so he becomes" (*yathā-pāthopāsate tād eva bhavati*, ŚB. X. 5. 2. 20). In the same way "Soma was Vṛtra" (ŚB. IV. 4. 3. 4),* "Soma when tied up is Varuṇa" and "saying, 'Come forth as Mitra' (*mitrō na dhi*) he (the Priest) makes what is of Varuṇa's nature to be of Mitra's" (*yad vāruṇām adutam mitrām karōti*, TS. VI. 1. 11. 1-2), as also in ŚB. III. 3. 3. 10, quoting VS. IV. 27, where Soma is besought to come forth as Mitra (*mitrō na dhi*); that is to say "Have mercy upon us, O Lord." In ŚB. III. 3. 4. 30 where "Soma is now of Varuṇa's nature," he is besought "not to slay our men (*devīrahā* as in RV. I. 91. 19) or do evil": the ritual slaying of Soma himself, essential to his kingship, is called a "slaughter of his evil, not of himself" (ŚB. III. 9. 4. 17-18). The Adābhya Soma draught, drawn "from the tied up Soma, for (his) liberation" is the symbol of "Prajāpati the Liberator" (*atimokṣiṇi*) and, by analogy, the human Sacrificer and Comprehensor, who is no less than Soma himself the victim and has died with Soma as such, "is wholly liberated from the evil brotherhood" (*āti pāpmanah bhṛdṛṣyam mucyate*, TS. VI. 6. 9. 2): and here it is unmistakable that the "evil brotherhood" does not refer to any human adversary but to the Vṛtra-Varuṇa nature that was in Soma and in the Sacrificer's "old man."

Soma is not destroyed by his "death," but "made to go alive to the world of heavenly-light," and in the same way the Sacrificer by his death with Soma goes alive to the world of heavenly-light (TS. *ib.*); furthermore, "he gains through him (Soma) this All, and there is no slayer, no deadly shaft for him by whom this All has been gained" (ŚB. III. 3. 4. 9), that is to say he wins the "human immortality" here and "incorruptible immortality" hereafter, as explained in note 35.

Although our immediate problem has been that of the identification of the "evil brotherhood," we cannot refrain from pointing out here that there are the closest possible parallels between the Indian and the Christian sacrifices, and that the Indian doctrine is not merely like, but, with only the substitution of the "Agni" for "Christ" (a merely nominal difference),** identical with that of Rom. VI. 5-9: "For if we have been planted together (*συνεσθωτες*, for which Liddell and Scott's first meaning is "born with one," i. e. *coborn*, *syjāta*, *syjont*, and of the same parentage) (with him) in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection: Knowing this, that our old man is crucified (sacrificed) with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we might not serve sin. For he that is dead is freed from sin. Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him: Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more (*jam non moritur = na punar mriyate*), death hath no more dominion over him." "Planted together" is of particular interest here, and might better have been rendered by "sown together"; we recognize the usual symbol of agriculture, in which womb is the field into which

* As "Prajāpati was Rohita," AV. XIII. 2. 39.

** In this connection the etymological equivalence of *χριστός* and *ghṛta* is not without interest.

(*asat*) both. Of these two, the Being is the Chant, the Intellect, Spiritation (*śīman*, *manas*, *prāṇa*); the Non-being is the Verse, the Voice,

the man, whether in natural or in supernatural generation, sows himself, and from which he springs up again (John XII. 24, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit"). Now, just as the natural insemination is a death and a regeneration (JUB. III. 8. 10 and 9. 1, etc.), so is the supernatural, where the sacrificial fire is the womb and it is inasmuch as the Sacrificer "inseminates himself" (*ātmanash śiścati*) therein that he comes to birth in yonder Sun and is possessed of two selves (*deyātman*, JB. I. 17. 6, cf. AB. VI. 29 and SB. VII. 2. 1. 6), of which the second is, of course, the "new man," the *anyatm ātmanam* of SB. IV. 3. 4. 5. And just as in natural generation the newborn son is a rebirth of the father, so here that "other self" of the "new man" is a regeneration of the "old man" that was sacrificed ("made holy") together with the deity, who is the sacrifice. It is the "old man's" evil, not himself that is slain; the "death of the soul" is not a destruction of anything but its evil, nothing but the annihilation of what is already negative; in the agricultural symbolism it is only the husk of the grain that is left behind, not the germ that springs up again. The new man that thus springs up is at once the son of the old man and a son of God; and it is with reference to the first of these affiliations (both implied by St. Paul's *εἰσέρχεται*) that Eckhart, distinguishing the accidental features of the natural man from the essence of the other and new man, says that "He who sees me, sees my child" (Evans, I. 408; Pfeiffer, p. 593). But to see that Self requires other eyes than those of the flesh (cf. Hermes, Lib. XIII. 3 and S. I. 23).

To return to "Varuṇa and what is Varuṇa": it is Varuṇa that seizes (*grāhāti*) the sick man (TS. II. 3. 11. 1, V. 2. 1. 3; AB. VII. 15), the Sacrificer's children (TS. VI. 6. 5. 4, MS. I. 10. 2, SB. II. 3. 2. 10) and "whatever is seized by the Evil One"—or "by evil"—(*yāḥ pāpmānā grāhito bhavati*, SB. XII. 7. 2. 17), i.e. Indra's mortal enemy, "the overweening foe" (*abhimati*)* of TS. II. 1. 2. 5, cf. RV. III. 51. 3: and it is inasmuch as he thus "seizes" that he is "the Sizer" (*grāha*, JUB. IV. 1. 7, etc.), an epithet of sinister connotation and a synonym of *makara* = *śūmāra* and *ghaṇa* (*Vijhaṇ*, to injure). It is with the "noose of Order" (*ṛtāsyaird pāśena*) that one binds (*prātimuñcati*) the sacrificial victim, and "that cord is Varuṇa's" *varuṇyā vā eṇā yād vājjuh*, SB. III. 7. 4. 1). The Vedas, e.g. RV. I. 24. 11, I. 25. 1. 2, abound with the fear of Varuṇa and the deprecation of his murderous wrath; the wages of sin is death and vengeance is his, to repay. In ŚA. XII. 21 and 28 we find an amulet worn by the Sacrificer "in order that the celestial Varuṇa (*diṇyo varuṇah*, i.e. *Dyaus*, *edruṇo dyaūr* for in RV. VII. 87. 6) may not strike fear into him (*nainah . . . hanti bhītam*) . . . and Varuṇa does not slay him in his pride, neither does the *makara*, or *graha* or *śūmāra* hurt him." On the other hand, when the peace-offering has been made, when the Asura has been "converted" and "made a Friend of," then it is not "Varuṇa" but the *miṣṭa persons* of *Mitravaruṇau* that accepts the Sacrificer (RV. I. 23. 6): "By means of Mitra he (the priest) appeases (*śamayati*, slays, sacrifices) Varuṇa for him (the Sacrificer) . . . sets him free (*muñcati*) from Varuṇa's noose, so that even if his life be almost gone (*yādī 'dau bhavati*, not Keith's "if his life be gone" but "if it be becoming gone") he verily lives" (TS.

* Cf. "*abhimāno devo varuṇah*," Sāyaṇa on RV. I. 89. 3. Agni and Indra, *per contra*, are *cumanas*, RV. passim.

Expiration (*rc, vāc, apāna*). . . . She, this Verse, desired intercourse with (*mīthunam*) with him, the Chant. He asked her: 'Who art thou?'

II.1.9.3); and in the same way that the royal Sacrificer himself, assimilated to Prajāpati (the *atimokṣiṇi* of TS. VI.6.9.2), and by means of the barley offering, "delivers his children (subjects) from Varuṇa's noose (*prajā varuṇa-pāśāt pramuñcati*), and those children of his are born sound and sinless (*id aśvinaśca dātibhīṣā prajāḥ prajāyante*), saying: 'It is in order that my children may be born sound and sinless that I would be quickened'" (*adhisūya*, SB. V.2.4.2; V.2.5.16), cf. RV. X.97.16 *varuṇyāt . . . yamāyā pādhibhāt sīrasamād deva-bhīṣāt*, where the assimilation of Varuṇa to Yama is unmistakable, and we see also why it is that the Prince must be reborn to the Kingship, and for what he aspires to dominion.

As to the "barley-offering" we learn from KB. V.3 that when Prajāpati's children "have been expressed" (*erṣṭāḥ*) but are still unquickened (*aprasūṭāḥ*, not viable, not alive, unborn, cf. *as jāyante* in *Ayākta U.*, VI.1, *JAOS* 60.349) but "are eating of Varuṇa's barley" (*varuṇasya yamāḥ cakṣuḥ*), it is Varuṇa that "restrains them with his nooses" (*varuṇo varuṇapāśaiḥ pratyamuñcat*), and that it is only when he has been "endeared" (*pritaḥ*, i.e. made a friend, *mītra*) that he frees them from these nooses of Varuṇa and all evil (*varuṇa-pāśebhyaḥ sarvasmāc ca pāpmanāḥ prajāḥ pramuñcat*). Varuṇa's barley is the "pasturage" (*yācass*) from which they who are like kine without a herdsman (*gāvo na . . . āgopāḥ*), yet are intent upon (or trust) the Friend (*abhi mītrāḥ cītāsaḥ*), escape (*tyāḥ*, RV. VII.18.5-10): these same "kine, led forth, eat of the Ari's (Indra's) barley (*gāvo yāvam prāputā aryā akṣan*); I have seen them as they came forth, (now) in a Herdsman's care" (*akṣagopāḥ*, RV. X.27.8). Varuṇa's barley, the food of the unborn, suggests the "flesh-pots of Egypt," a correlation that corresponds to that of Varuṇa-Vṛtra with "Pharaoh." (My suggested rendering of *cītāsaḥ* above by "who trust" depends upon the fact that *vicitra* is the contrary of *śraddhā*, from which it follows that to "trust in" or "trow on" is a meaning that pertains to *Veit*, cf. *cētyaḥ* in RV. VI.1.5.)

We have elsewhere (*JAOS* 55.409-410) identified Varuṇa and the Varuṇya Agni with Ahi-Vṛtra-Śuśna-Namuci, and these with the Pharaoh of Ezekiel XXIX. 3, "The great dragon that lieth in the midst of the rivers, which has said, My river is my own, and I have made it for myself." *Pitṛāḥ jahāmi* in RV. X.124.4 makes of the Asura Father, who is also the "elder brother" (*pitā, jyeṣṭho bhṛtā vā*, Śāyana on RV. X.20.7), an "Ahi" in the sense of JB. III.77 *yad ahiyā, tad ahinām ahiteam*: and actually, the prior and fiercer form, which Agni abandons when he is kindled, is an Ahi (Ahi Budhnya, AB. III.36, KB. XVI.7, Ahi Dhunt, RV. I.79.1).

Varuṇa and Vṛtra derive alike from *vr* to "cover" and "restrain" (*Nirukta*, X.3; Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*; and cf. RV. VI.75.18 *vrāc edriyo varuṇaḥ*, VII.82.6 where Varuṇa *prā vṛnoti*, Śāyana's gloss on RV. I.89.3 "*vṛnoti acakṣyaḥ pātair aśvinaḥ*, *vṛtrā abhimāno devo varuṇaḥ*," and GB. I.7, *varuṇa* as Varuṇa): i.e., inasmuch as Mitra is the Day and Varuṇa the Night, the Darkness (TS. II.1.7.4, TB. I.7.10, cf. Mādhava on TS. I.8.16.1), i.e. "Evil, Death" (TS. V.7.5.1, AB. IV.5). "Nous sommes ainsi amenés à assimiler Varuṇa, non pas aux vainqueurs des démons, mais aux démons eux-mêmes . . . c'est l'aspect sévère de la divinité, que son nom accuse par avance" (Bergaigne, *La religion védique*,

She answered: 'I am She' (*sāham asmi*). 'Then, indeed, am I He

III. 115): "The epithet *asura* is . . . specially applicable to Varuṇa" (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 23), as is that of Deva to Savitr.

It is in connection with the withholding of the waters by Varuṇa and their release by Indra that the assimilation of Varuṇa to Sūrya and Vṛtra is most apparent; we must not be confused by the fact that, when associated with Mitra, Varuṇa becomes a "rain-god." It is to Varuṇa that stagnant waters pertain, for they are "seized" (*grāhita*) by him as their *grāha*, while it is the flowing waters, "living waters," divine and fit for sacrificial use that Indra frees from Vṛtra (TS. VI. 4. 2. 3, SB. IV. 4. 5. 10, etc.). The opposition of Indra to Varuṇa and the assimilation of the latter to Vṛtra are conspicuous in AV. III. 13. 1-2 where the waters "go forth together (*samprapañāḥ*) when Ahi is smitten (*dhan . . . hantā*). . . . When sent forth by Varuṇa (*pāt prajāñāḥ varuṇena*) . . . then Indra obtained you" (*tad āpnod indro vaḥ*) and it is evident that Varuṇa only releases the waters when *he*, Ahi, has been smitten. Another, and rather remarkable evidence for the equation Vṛtra = Varuṇa is afforded by a correlation of SB. I. 6. 4. 18-19 (cf. KB. III. 5) with SB. II. 4. 4. 17-19. In the first of these passages the solar Indra swallows up the lunar Vṛtra on the "night of cohabitation" (*andhasya*, new moon night). In the last, the light Moon is Varuṇa, the dark Moon Mitra (so called by assimilation, in accordance with SB. X. 6. 2. 1 where, in connection with Sun and Moon, it is explicit that the eaten is called by the name of the eater); and these two, being a couple (*mithunam*), Mitra (the Sun) inseminates Varuṇa (the Moon). From this it follows also that Vṛtra-Varuṇa is Indra-Mitra's wife: a conclusion by no means at variance with Varuṇa's femininity elsewhere or with the equation of Vṛtra and *kyātra* in PB. XVIII. 9. 6, and notably in agreement with RV. X. 85. 29 "Potentiality (*krtyā*) hath gotten feet (i.e., put off her ophidian nature; cf. I. 152. 3 and III. 55. 14), and as a wife inhabits (*ś . . . vīśate*, cf. JUB. I. 33. 6 *śāḍityam praviśati*) her Lord" (the Sun). We see again that marriage is a reconciliation of hostile principles, involving the death (and regeneration) of the enemy as such; that there are more ways than one of "killing" a dragon; and that the *vajra* (thunderbolt) being a "shaft" of light, and "light the progenitive power" (TS. VII. 1. 1. 1; *principium motus et vitae*, Witelo, *Lib. de intelligentiis* IX, etc.), the piercing of Vṛtra is also a fertilisation, to be equated with that of the "lightning-smitten" Semele by Zeus.

The Varuṇa into whose maw the Seven Rivers flow (RV. VIII. 69. 12) is the Varuṇa that lies in wait against the current of the river, to seize the Sacrificer's children (the subjects of the King) (TS. VI. 8. 5. 4), the "Infanticide" (*śiśumāra* or *-māra*), Indra's enemy, who lies against the current with yawning jaws ready to seize the Sacrificer himself, and must be appeased (PB. VIII. 6. 8. XIV. 5. 15; JB. I. 174, III. 193): the dessication of this same *śiśumāra* by Indra, who forces him upstream (cf. the apotropaic *paṇṣṣarām* in AV. IV. 17. 2 *pratikṣram* in X. 1. 7 and *pratiśara* in SA. XII. 30) onto the dry land where he "is left, as it were" (*kina iva*, cf. JB. III. 77 cited above) and his subsequent resurrection when he praises Indra who then enables him to return to the sea (JB. III. 173), as in the "Flood Legend" Manu rescues the tiny Jhama and enables it to return to the sea (SB. I. 8. 1. 6), and as in the Alexander legend (see *Arx Islamica*, I, 1934, pp. 177-178), narrates in other words the inveteration and rejuvenation, death and resurrection, of Cyavana, Prajāpati, Varuṇa.

(*aham amo'smi*),¹ he replied. What 'She' (*sā*) is and what 'He' (*ama*),

Notable for Varuṇa's connection with death is the fact that the creaking of the axle of the bodily vehicle is a sign of death (BU. IV. 3. 35), and when the axle creaks, this "is Varuṇa of the evil voice" (*durdāk*, TS. VI. 2. 9. 1; cf. JUB. I. 52. 8); that he is addressed as "sweet-voiced" (*sundāk*) is "to pacify him" (*śāntyaśi*, *ib.*) and corresponds to the "making him Mitra" in other contexts. It is an Asura that speaks in the creaking axle (SB. III. 5. 3. 17), a Rākṣasa that infects the ear (TS. V. 2. 2. 3), whereas Agni's ear is silent (RV. I. 74. 7). It is repeatedly stated that what is "ill-sounding" (*apadhātum*, JUB. I. 52. 8, CU. II. 22. 1) pertains to Varuṇa; and this agrees with the distinction of *śāstra* from *brahma* as that of the toneless (cacophonous) *ṛc* from the chanted and harmonious *sāman*. Whatever is inauspicious, inadequate, or evil is referred to Varuṇa (TS. VI. 6. 7. 3; cf. VII. 3. 11. 1 *yō 'smān dōṣṭi*), or to Trīta (RV. VIII. 47. 13, 14) who as Agni *ah intra*, the Varuṇya Agni, is Varuṇa (RV. VIII. 41. 6).

If Agni and Soma "when constricted" (*upanoddha*) are of Varuṇa's nature, this agrees with the close connection of nooses (*pāśa*), bonds (*baddha*, *dāman*), and knots (*granthi*) with Varuṇa. Thus the knot is inauspicious and distinctively Varuṇa's (SB. I. 3. 1. 16, V. 2. 5. 17, etc.), the "untying of Agni" is a dissipation of Varuṇa's wrath (TS. V. 1. 6. 1); while on the other hand Indra is the archetype (cf. JISOA., Dec. 1935, pp. 5-6) of that Mahāvīra, Jina and Tīrthakara ("Great Hero," "Conqueror" and "Ford-finder": for the last epithet cf. RV. VII. 18. 5 where *indro gādhāny akṛṣot*, and further references in W. N. Brown, *Walking on the Water*) whose followers are expressly Nirgranthas, "Freed of the Knot," surely that "knot of Sūgṇa's that Indra resolves" (*vi sūgṇasya sūgṇ-grathitam . . . vidāt*, RV. X. 61. 13), the Gordian knot that Soma is enjoined to untie in RV. IX. 97. 18, and all those knots that are called "Knots of the Heart." Now what is it to be freed from the knot? In the first place, to be released from Varuṇa's noose so as to be born and to receive a name and shape (*nāmarūpa*). But this is only a loosening, not an unloosing of the knot; for names themselves are knots (AA. I. 6), and "everything here is gripped by name" (*nāmad . . . gṛhitam*, SB. IV. 6. 5. 3). To be wholly "freed of the knot" is to be released from "name and shape," and to have "gone home" (*Mund. U. III. 2. 8 nāmarūpād vimuktaḥ parātparam upaiti divyam*; Sn. 1074 *nāmakāyā vimutto attham paletī*).

The foregoing is far from exhaustive of the material relative to Varuṇa's evil nature, i.e. to the Divine Majesty, or Wrath of God, considered apart from the Divine Mercy, to the Divine Darkness considered apart from and as opposed to the Divine Light, to Non-being and Unreality as logically distinguished from Being and Reality. It has been shown what is the nature of the "hostile brotherhood" from which the Regnum in alliance with the Spiritual Authority redeems itself in the Sacrifice.

We must, at the same time briefly indicate that the whole conception is reversible, for what is "night" from the human point of view is "day" from that of the sage (BG. II. 61), what seems untrue or unreal to men is true and real to the Gods, the way to heaven is countercurrent, the *via affirmativa* in which the aspects of deity are distinguished must be followed by the *via negativa* in which they are all one. Love and Death are one and the same power, and to one who knows how to approach him, "making him a friend" (*mitrakṛtya*), he is the friend, Mitra as much as he is Varuṇa, and we can ask impatiently: "When at last shall we come again to be in Varuṇa?" (RV. VII. 86. 2); love casting out fear.

that makes 'Chant' (*sāman*), and this is the quiddity of the 'Chant.'²² 'Nay,' said he, 'for thou art my sister, forsooth.'²³ She then continues to woo her brother, who at last consents (which is, of course, the "happy ending" to the abortive wooing of Yama by Yamī in RV. X. 10).²⁴

²² This is the usual hermeneia of *sāman*. "That they (He and She, Sky and Earth) united (*sametya*) and brought forth the Chant is the quiddity of the Chant" (JUB. I. 51.2, AB. III. 23, etc.). "He" (*ama*) is in various contexts Agni, Vāyu, Aditya, Candra, *kyena*, *prāṇa manus, ātman, ant, sāman*; and "she" (*ad*), Iyam (Earth), Antarikṣa (Air), Dyauṣ (Sky)—the three "domains"—*nakṣatrāni, śukla, apāna, vāc, cakṣus, śrotra* (cf. BU. I. 4.17); *umat, ya* (JUB. I. 53, CU. I. 6.7, etc.); and all these are aspects of the Sacerdotium and Regnum respectively.

²³ JUB. in terms of Sky and Earth, brother and sister, supplies the "happy ending" to Yama's abortive wooing by Yamī in RV. X. 10, where, for example, *anyām icchasa* . . . *pātim* in verse 10 corresponds to *anyatra mithunam icchasa* in JUB. I. 53. 6. "Yama's" rejection of "Yamī" represents only one side of the mutual 'horror' of one another felt by the conjoint principles, divided *ab extra*, and because of which "she" shrinks from "him" as often and as much as he from her, at the same time that each desires the other. All this pertains to the archetypal "psychology of sex." The pattern of Indian ontology—*itihāsa* as *pūrveṇīpratipāḍakam* or *vyṭipratipāḍakam brāhmaṇam*, Sāyana on SB. XI. 5. 6.8, i.e. the *bhāveṇīya* hymns of RV.—is immeasurably less multifarious than has been supposed by those who consider "only the names" (S. I. 11). In the last analysis, "The Mother and the Father and the Child are this All" (SA. VII. 15), "this Earth is the womb of Everything" (SB. IV. 1.2.8), Eve is the "mother of all living" (Gen. II. 20). The stories of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Kumārāmbhāra*, and that of Purāṇava and Urvāś in the *Vikramorvaś* are just as much as the legend of Yama and Yamī versions of one and the same *Liebesgeschichte Himmels*.

Who then are Yama and Yamī? We propose to show that they are not *sui generis*, but Sky and Earth, Day and Night, Indrāgni, the Āsvin, the Sacerdotium and Regnum, *dampati* and all other *dravṇas*. As a preliminary to this argument we must point out that "Yama" alone means "twins" (*da*), i.e. Yama and Yamī, just as Sāma is Sāma and *Re*, Prajāpati *manas* and *vāc*, Agni both *brahma* and *kyena*, and *patipatā* one in the single androgynous Person before their schism: and that duals such as *pitareu, mātareu, vasaśā* are no more than *jāmyān* in RV. X. 10. 10 necessarily couples of one and the same sex but nearly always pairs of opposite sex, "father and mother" (cf. *dampati*), "brother and sister," etc. Thus in RV. III. 54. 7 where Sky and Earth are *vasaśā*, I. 185. 5 where they are *vasaśā jāmi pītṛ upātā*, and I. 159 where they are explicitly a Father and a Mother, whose respective natures are those of *manas*, "Intellect," and *vastava* = *lakṣa*, "Power," having a progeny (*prajā*), but also referred to as *mātā*, "parents," and as *jāmi sāyoni mithunā sāmokāśā*, "uterine twins, consorts cohabitant"; it is obvious that *vasaśā* and *jāmi* can only be "twin brother and sister," and at the same time impossible not to recognize the Yama and Yamī of RV. X. 10. 4, 5 *paramān jāmi tān auu . . . pītṛāś . . . dampati*. In RV. VIII. 60. 1 the reference of *mātṛāś* is not to Agni's "mothers" but to his "parents," the firesticks, which are always thought of as male and female and

When the consummation is about to take place, the well-known words of

may be addressed as Purūravas and Urvaśī, and similarly in RV. VI. 49. 2 that of *yuvatpōś* is not to "two young mothers" but to Father Sky and Mother Earth. In RV. VI. 59. 2 Indrāgni are *bārdtarā* . . . *yamaś* which can be taken to mean "twin brothers" from one point of view, but equally "twin brother and sister" when the relation of *brāhma* to *kṣatra* is emphasized; tho in the same verse the *īkṣhamātaraś* are not the usual "parents" but "two mothers, here and there" on whom Indrāgni are begotten by their one Father (these "mothers," Sāyana's Aditi and Earth, are Ekkhari's "Mary ghostly and Mary in the flesh"). It is strange that much of this should have been overlooked by Hopkins (JAOS 16. cxlvi) and others who, while always ready to render *pitarau* and *matarau* by "parents" (m. and f.) invariably render *saudrā* by "sisters," regardless of the fact that the relationship of Sky to Earth is never that of sister to sister or brother to brother, but that of brother to sister, father to daughter, and husband to wife.

Yama, who is regularly identified with Agni, may take Agni's place as coborn twin (*yamo ha jāta indreṣa saha*, Nirukta, X. 21), Indra then clearly replacing Yami, Earth, as Yama's bride (SB. VII. 2. 1. 10, "Yama is Agni, Yami the Earth"), quite in agreement with AB. III. 38 where "Indra is This (Earth) . . . the King of Beings is This (Earth)," and AV. XIV. 1. 48 where the Earth is Agni's bride.

The Aśvins, another pair of twins, may be only another form of the two pairs already mentioned and collated. It can hardly be doubted that the Aśvins, twins "born here and there, one of ye Sumakha's lordly conqueror, the other Subhaga, son of Sky" (*īkṣha jāta . . . jīgūr vām anyāś sūmākhasya sūrir, dīś anyāś subhagāś putrāś*, RV. I. 181. 4), must be identified with the twins Indrāgni "whose mothers are here and there" (*īkṣhamātaraś*, RV. VI. 59. 2), and of whom one in his capacity as Mahāvira and Jina is certainly "Good Makha's conqueror" (or Sacrificer, Makha being the Sacrifice, and *sūriś* implying Maghavan; see the fuller references in JAOS 55. 377-382), and the other as the Sun certainly "Good Bhaga." That the Aśvins ride in a common chariot (*rathgēra . . . yamā*, RV. II. 39. 2, *samānāyojanaś hi eām rathāś*, I. 30. 18) again suggests Indrāgni (*sarīthāś tathīdāś*, RV. I. 108. 1, *samānā . . . rathāś*, VI. 59. 5) and likewise Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (BG., cf. note 4). That the Aśvins are referred to in RV. II. 39. 1 and 3 as "two Brahmins" (*brahmāṇā*) and as "two Śakras" (*śakrā*, cf. Nirukta XII. 1, *rājānaś*) may well be an allusion to Indrāgni who are both "priests" (*indro brahmā*, RV. VIII. 16. 7, cf. SB. IV. 6. 6. 5, JUB. I. 45. 1) and both "kings" (*indro nu āgnī . . . vajrīnā . . . dād*, RV. VI. 59. 3, etc.); the enumeration *cakrā* for the *śakrā* of RV. II. 39. 3 is quite unnecessary, however plausible in view of RV. X. 10. 7 where Yama and Yami are "two wheels" (i. e. Sky and Earth, Day and Night, Manas and Vāc, as wheels of the cosmic and sacrificial chariot, cf. RV. I. 30. 19, VIII. 89. 4, AB. V. 36. 33, JUB. I. 20. 3, III. 16. 1-2, SB. II. 3. 3. 12, etc.). The Aśvins are again *śakrā* in RV. X. 24. 4-5, where Sāyana is absolutely right in referring *samīd*, "the conjoint" (Sky and Earth), to the Aśvins themselves and in saying that *sindimanthantam*, "ye churned" has for its object an implied *agnim*; that they thus bring Agni to birth is "at the prayer of the Joyless" (*vimadā*), i. e. "for the sake of Atri-Vimada" (*ātraye . . . vimadāya*, RV. I. 51. 3), cf. Trita's (Agni's, *trito gāhyena vratāna*, RV. I. 163. 3) appeals to

the marriage formula are uttered, "I am 'He,' thou art 'She'; thou

Sky and Earth in RV. I. 103, and Trita in the womb (RV. X. 48. 6): that is to say, then, at the prayer of Agni himself, as yet unborn but longing to be born, eager for the sacrificial role and choosing Indra for his ally, as in RV. X. 124. 3, 4. In RV. VI. 11. 1 where Agni is besought to "turn hitherward" (ā . . . *evartyāḥ*) Mitrāvaruṇa, the Aśvins, and Sky and Earth, these are not six different essences but three aspects of one pair: that the same deity may be referred to in one and the same context by different names, as was observed by Hopkins, *Ep. Myth.* p. 82, could be amply illustrated from RV., e.g. I. 32. 5 where *cytra*, *cyaman*, and *akṣi* are not three different persons, and X. 62. 11 where the name of a is the *ātcarpi* of b, the reference being to Vivasvat's son by Saranyū's *sacercp*, and by the same token to the Manu Vivasvati of RV. VII. 52. 1. If RV. III. 64. 7, speaking of Sky and Earth as "brother and sister" (*śvādātrā*—like Zeus and Hera—) goes on to say that "they call each other by conjugal names" (*bruvāte mithundmī nāma*)—*dvandvānāma*, as Sāyaṇa says—these can only be any or all of the names appropriate to any pair of "mates" (*mithund*) or any of the "pairs of opposites" (*dvandvānāma*) such as the two chariot wheels, or day and night, or well-done and ill-done of Kauṣ. U. I. 4; in other words, just such dual names as are descriptive of the Aśvins in RV. II. 39, names that are equally applicable to Sky and Earth, Yama and Yamī, or Sacerdotium and Regnum, or any other twin couples. In RV. II. 39 the Aśvins are compared to many such "pairs," of which some (*cakravāṇā, dāmpatī*) are expressly and others (*grādhā, akṣi, vātā, āpṣṭau*, and *kṛdmā* = *dyāvāpythī*) parabolically of opposite sex. *śakrī* can as well be "King and Queen" and "two Kings" (this holds equally for *vajāna* in RV. X. 61. 23, where the reference is to Mitra and Varuṇa who are, as we shall show, related to one another as man to woman). *akṣi* "two eyes," suggest the Sun and Moon, *divā* . . . *akṣi* in RV. I. 72. 10, respectively the god-world and man-world (JUB. III. 13. 12), or again Indra and Indrāṇī (SB. X. 5. 2. 11-16). *Grādhā* and *āpṣṭau*, "the upper and the nether millstones" and "upper and lower lip," are sometimes symbols of Sky and Earth; to which *kṛdmā* in any case refers. *Vātā*, "two winds" or "two breaths," corresponds to *prāṇā, i.e. prāṇāpānau*, in TS. VI. 4. 9. 4, the two breaths that are so often equated with Mitra and Varuṇa, Sky and Earth, and considered male and female; Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II. 543, speaks of a personification of the Aśvins as *prāṇa* and *apāna*. An equation of the Aśvins with Sky and Earth, Yama and Yamī, *brahma* and *kyatra*, suggests a sexual differentiation at least in principle. In this connection it may well be significant that the Egyptian Zodiacal "Twins," who correspond to the Greek Dioskouroi with whom the Aśvins have often been equated, are explicitly and iconographically of opposite sex (Wallis Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*).

That the Aśvins are regularly "saviours" (*mucan, rakṣitārā, tāruke*) from bonds and fetters (*baddhā, pāṇā*)—RV. II. 39. 6, AV. III. 7. 4, JB. III. 74, etc.—is their function as "physicians," because of which they are in need of purification (TS. VI. 4. 9. 12); just like the conjoint principles Sky and Earth, etc., whose elaborate purifications are described in JUB. I. 50-57 where it is impossible not to recognize that they are Yama and Yamī. RV. I. 109. 4 invokes Indrāṇī as "Aśvins," and we see no more reason to explain this away by saying that the word means only "horsemen" in this context than to argue that in RV. X. 61.

art 'She,' I am 'He.' She cooperating with Me (*sā mām anuvratā*

14-16, where Agni and Indra, Priest and King are called *ndastya*, anything but the "Aśvins" is meant. RV. VII. 72. 3 identifies the Aśvins with Sky and Earth by apposition (*rōdast dhiṣṣymē . . . ndastya*, cf. VI. 11. 1 *ndantya dyādā . . . pṛthivī*).

There is a side of the problem connected with the birth of the Aśvins, to which we have so far merely alluded. We must bear in mind that the word Yama means "twins," and therefore as Śaṅkara clearly states, means Yama and Yami. Now Yama is born of the Sun (Vivasvat; in Mbh. XII. 208. 17, Mārtanda) and Tvaṣṭr's daughter Saranyū, who forthwith made off (RV. X. 17. 1). This is evidently the same thing as the birth of Yama and Yami from their "parents" in RV. X. 10. 5, viz. from "the Gandharva in the Waters and the Maid of the Waters" (*dpyā . . . yōdā* = Apsaras = Saranyū) of RV. X. 10. 4. The Gods concealed the Immortal (bride) from mortals is another way of saying that she disappeared, as aforesaid; and they made her "like" or "double" (*śaranyā*) who bore the Aśvins, and we are told that Saranyū deserted "both mates" (*dad withand*, RV. X. 17. 2, an indication I think of the Aśvin's opposite sex, cf. RV. II. 39. 2 *dāmpatya*; but cf. Whitney on AV. XVIII. 2. 33 and Griffith's version of RV. X. 17. 2). In BD. VI. 162 Yama and Yami are twins, Yama the "elder" (*jyāyau*); Saranyū bears them, and then expressing (*śṛjā*) a woman "like" herself, entrusts the couple (*mitānau*) to this pseudo-Saranyū and herself makes off in the form of a mare; unaware of the deception, Vivasvat begets Manu (Manu Vaivasvata, RV. VIII. 52. 1; Manu Sāvarṇi, RV. X. 62. 9, 11) on the pseudo-Saranyū, and then, realising what has happened, pursues the mare and begets the Aśvins, whose equine designation is thus explained.

We have thus to do with two, or three, pairs of "twins"; for Manu, "Man," is as much as "Adam" a syzygy, and becomes the father of mankind by his "daughter" Parāu ("Rib," RV. X. 85. 23) or Idā (SB. I. 8. 10, etc.). The other versions of the story are discussed by Bloomfield (JAOS 15. 172 ff.); the most noteworthy point in some of these is the term "shadow" (*chāyā*) used instead of the word "likeness" (*śaranyā*); in VP. III. 2 also, this "shadow" is the mother of Manu Sāvarṇi.

The expression "Shadow" is significant, and enables us to make some interesting comparisons. In GB. I. 3 Brahma, having expressed the Waters, "sees his shadow in them" (*tāu vātā chāyām apāṣyat*), and his seed falls and is "supported" there; cf. the birth of Vasīṣṭha in RV. VII. 33. 11 and that of Vāmadeva in PB. VII. 8. 1, where *parapāṣyatām* corresponds to *chāyām apāṣyat*. The "Shadow" in the Waters is evidently the same as the Apsaras, "she who moves in the Waters." There are remarkable parallels in Egyptian and Greek mythology. The Egyptian Zodiacal "Twins" mentioned above are the children of the solar Śu or Tem (Amun-Rā), whose "Shadow," who is also Mother-Earth, is his wife (Budge, *op. cit.*, I. 87 f. and II. 315). The Greek Centaurs, who are certainly "horse-men," are the children of Ixion (whose solar and, like Vivasvat's, mortal nature, is indicated by the fact that he is bound to a revolving wheel,—a *dharmacakra*) by a "cloud" in the "semblance" (*simulacrum*) of Juno or Hera (see citations in Cook, *Zeus* III. 74 f., especially *Myth. Vet.* 3. 4. 6 *Ixion Junonis conjugum petiit; illa nubem in specie sua oravit, cum qua Ixion coeans centaurōs genuit*).

bhātva), let us twain generate progeny (*prajāḥ prajānāyārahai*); come,

Now it can hardly be doubted that all these births of different mothers, one immortal and the other a likeness or transformation of the first, are really the divine and human births that are predicated in various ways of every solar hero, e.g. Heracles, Agni, Buddha, Mahāvira, Christ; of whom Heracles, son of Zeus by Alcmena, was made a legitimate son of Juno; Agni is *devimātā* (RV. *passim*); Buddha was born of Māyā who had been made "in the likeness of the other" (*Lalitā Viśvata*, Lefmann p. 27, l. 12), i.e. born of "Māyā the daughter of Māyā" (AV. VIII.9.5), i.e. of Aditi (Mother Earth) daughter of Aditi (mother of Gods), RV. VIII.55.2, and it is to be noted that Māyā "like every mother of a Bodhisattva" died early, that is, deserted the child, who was fostered by Pajāpati; Mahāvira, conceived by a *bombhū* was born of a *khattiyō*; while, as Eckhart says of Christ, "his birth of Mary ghostly was more pleasing to him than his birth of Mary in the flesh." It will be observed that the temporal and eternal mothers are generally named alike, or in any case are alike. It is then in agreement with an established pattern that Saranyū, the daughter of Tvāṣṭr and to be identified with Sūryā, and her counterpart or transformation, are represented to be the immortal mother of Gods (Yama-Yamī) and the mortal mother of the *Āsvins* (who were "not originally" Gods) and of "Man." Considered from this point of view the births of Yama (Yama-Yamī) and that of the *Āsvins*, who are respectively Sky and Earth *ad intra* and Sky and Earth *ad extra*, are not really, but only logically, two different births.

The whole story of Vivasvat and Saranyū is thus only a specialised variant of that of the Spiritual Person (*ātman*, *puruṣa*) whose "two halves" (*pati-patni*) are to be equated with Yama-Yamī = Agni and Earth in SB. VII.2.1.10, and with the Egyptian Zodiacal "Twins" who are of opposite sex and are called the "two halves" of the one solar deity (Budge, *loc. cit.*), of which two halves the "wife" after giving birth to "Men" (*manuṣyāḥ*, patronymic of Manu and thus "the children of men") reflects that "He produced me from himself, forsooth" (*mātmānu eva jānyitva*, i.e. "I am his daughter"), conceals herself (cf. *Cypria* 8, where Nemesis "dislikes to lie in love with her father Zeus" and flies from him, assuming forms of fish and animals; and Heraclitus *Aph.* X, "Nature loves to hide"),* and becomes a cow, a mare, "and so on down to the ants," the Spiritual Person (*ātman*, *puruṣa*)—whom she cannot elude—assuming corresponding forms and engendering corresponding offspring (BU. I.4.1-4). The theme survives in folklore in ballads of the type of "The Two Magicians" (Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Boston, 1904, no. 44) in which there occur such lines as "Then she became a duck, And he became a rose-kaimed drake," and there can be no doubt that the "two magicians" are ultimately the Māyini (Sky and Earth, *māyā* and *māyā*) who couple and bring forth the Babe (Agni) in RV. X.5.3, and equally the Māyini Nāsatyau (*Āsvins*) who are Agni's kindlers in RV. X.24.4-5, cited above.

It will follow from all that has been said above that SB. IV.1.5.16 is essentially correct in saying that the "Āsvins are manifestly (or exoterically, *ad extra*) Sky and Earth." If Yāska in turn explains them in more than one way,

* Hence, as Meister Eckhart says, "to find Nature as she is in herself, all her forms must be shattered." An imitation of natural forms is not an "imitation of Nature."

let us consort" (*ehi sambhavarāyahai*).²⁵ They became the Virāj ("Who knoweth her *mithunatva*?", AV. VIII. 9. 10) and "brought forth (*prajāyātām*) 'Him who glows yonder' (the Sun, the Sāma; the "Golden Person" of JUB. 1. 48. 8);²⁶ they ran apart (*vyadravātām*—

as Sky and Earth, Sun and Moon, Day and Night, or as Two Good Kings (*Nirukta* XII. I, cf. XII. 10), this by no means implies, what Macdonell suggested, that "even the oldest commentators were puzzled" as to what the *Āsvins* were; on the contrary, the alternatives are valid examples of the "conjugal names" by which, as we have seen, the *Āsvins* can be "explained." If we too cannot distinguish sharply between the three pairs of conjoint principles that are born of the Sun and Saranyū, Gandharva and Apsaras, whether as reality or shadow, this is not because we are "puzzled" but because the distinction between the Twins in *divinitas*, the cosmic twins, and the parts of the human syzygy is one of nature and not of essence. All these pairs are types of the Sacerdotium and the Regnum.

²⁵ Cf. SB. X. 4. 1. 5, Agni and Indra, Sacerdotium and Regnum speaking, *ekam rūpam abhāte asau*, "let us twain become of one form" (with a view to procreation), cf. our "be made one flesh." *Sambhū*, like *eko bhū* is to "be unified"; hence both expressions have a marital significance, but can also mean to "die," marriage implying the transformation of the second party, by assimilation.

²⁶ The word *virāj* (from *rāj*, to "shine" and "rule," metaphysically coincident notions) is analogous to *vibhāsa*, "shining forth" and to *śri* "diffusing radiance"; any such shining being necessarily also a *vibhāsa*, i.e. an extension of being in various directions, and thus "omnipresence"; whence also *vibhāti* as "power" (cf. *ḥṣu*, "proceed" and *ḥṣvā*, "authority"). Furthermore, "light is the progenitive power" (TS. VII. 1. 1. 1 and SB. VIII. 7. 1. 10), cf. Witelo, *Lib. de intelligentiis*, IX, *Lux in omnes vivente est principium motus et vite*. There can be no wonder that it is said of the Virāj (to be equated with *śri* and Greek Hecate, *ἑκατα* meaning "far-shooting," certainly with reference to "shafts of light") that "he who gets the most thereof becomes the chief" (*śrēṣṭha*), also "most glorious," SB. XII. 6. 1. 40), cf. AB. VII. 15 "Behold the Sun's Fortune" (*sūryasya paśya śremāṇam*). *Śha* is "the kingdom, the power and the glory" by which a Ruler rules. Virāj, then, as *śri*, is identified with Indrāṇi "the Person in the left eye," Indra being the Person in the right eye (BU. IV. 2. 3); * their place of union is the heart (*id.*, and SB. X. 5. 2. 11), and it is there in the heart (whether in our own heart or at the heart and capital of the external kingdom) in "sleep," i.e. the restraint of the sense powers, which are thus "possessed" (as a King possesses his Fortune) that one becomes as it were a Great King and mover-at-will in his own realm (BU. II. 1. 17, 18, cf. BG. V. 13).

In our context, to which the text of AV. VIII. 9. 10 "Who knoweth her progenitive-duality (*mithunatvaṁ*)?" is so pertinent, cf. AV. II. 36. 3 where the wife "should rule" (cf. *vijetu*) her house, the Virāj is evidently (like *śri*) rather feminine than masculine, and corresponds to the Virāj of AV. VIII. 9 and

* And CU. IV. 15 etc. That in SB. III. 1. 3. 11, 14 *Sugra* or *Vṛtra* are the Person in the eye is to be understood in connection with the fact that Indra is now what *Vṛtra* was (SB. I. 6. 3. 17). For the Person in the eye cf. also Plato, *Alcibiades* I. 133 and Philo, I. 15.

ŚB. IV. 6. 7. 9 *vy dvā dravata*), (she) saying: 'He hath come into being from me' (*mad adhy abhāt*),²⁷—whence the expression 'Honey-son,'²⁸ (*madhu-putra*). In the preceding version of JUB. I. 50. 1, 2, the "Two Worlds" are explicitly Sky and Earth, and it is the Gods who call upon them to unite (*samelam*, cf. RV. X. 24. 5 *abruvan devāḥ pānar ā vahatād iti*), and the reluctance of the Sky is his "horror" of her (*so 'sāv asyā abibhatsata*), and it is only after elaborate purifications that they unite (*sametya*, converse of *vyantā*, etc., elsewhere), and engender the Solar Chant.

That the marriage of the two Agnis, the former and the latter, "who hate one another," should be that of Mitra and Varuṇa is in perfect agreement with the common doctrine that Mitravaruṇau form a progenitive pair (*mithunam*), a syzygy of conjoint principles, in which Mitra is the male and Varuṇa the female partner, an "opposition" or "polarity" which is that of Day to Night, of Light to Darkness (TB. I. 7. 10. 1 *maitrīm vā āhah varuṇī rātriḥ*, etc.). References to Mitravaruṇau as *prānapānu* (or *prānodānu*) and as *brahmapatrau* are too many for separate citation. More explicitly in PB. XXV. 10. 10 and ŚB. II. 4. 4. 19 "Mitra inseminates (*retāḥ sīncati*) Varuṇa," and in ŚB. XII. 9. 1. 17 Varuṇa is the womb (*yoni*), Indra the seed (*retas*), and Savitṛ the progenitor (*retasah prajāyati*), an obvious allusion to the Varuṇasava and the birth of Indra; Varuṇa, in other words, being Sāvitrī, and as such the mother of the solar Indra. In Mbh. XII. 319. 39 Mitra is

10 where she is at once "This" (Earth, World) and that Nature (*natura naturans*) from whom all things milk their specific qualities.

In TS. IV. 5. 4 Sky and Earth are respectively the *svarāj* and the *virāj* (cf. CU. VIII. 25. 2 *svarāj* and *anvarāj*), approximately Empire or Autocracy and "Vice-royalty" or "Kingship"; and it is, of course just in this sense that the supremacy of the *brahman* is related to that of the *kyatra*.

Our text may also contain an allusion to the Virāj which is the Nourishment (*anna*) produced by the Sacrifice (JB. I. 233, 234, cf. II. 82); and the probability of this is increased by the fact that JB. I. 233 speaks of an excess of the Yajña over the Virāj as a fault, the phrase *virājā nātipāpavya* suggesting the *tām sambhavanā styāyicpata* of JUB. I. 54. 7 where it is evident that it is only when this unconformity has been corrected that "they became the Virāj."

²⁷ I.e. "He has been born as my son"; whereas in BU. I. 4. 4 "He has begotten me of himself," i.e. "I am his daughter," cf. note 24. Both are correct propositions, and both serve as the ground for the mother's withdrawal. The rebirth of the father as the son is in accordance with the Indian and universal doctrine of progenitive reincarnation and consequent consubstantiality of father and son; the wife who bears a son becoming thereby the husband's "second mother" (*janani punah*, AB. VII. 13, cf. Mbh. I. 68. 47 [Poona ed.]).

purusa and *Varuṇa prakṛti*.²² The same relations subsist when the names of *Mitrāvaruṇau* are replaced by the terms *apara* and *para brahma* (*mahad-brahma, brahma-yoni*) as in BG. VII. 5-6 and XIV. 3-4 where Kṛṣṇa sets the embryo (*garbham*) in the Great Brahman, his own Higher Nature (*prakṛtim parām*, i.e. "Natura Naturans, Creatrix Universalis, Deus"), the womb (*yoni*) of all and whence is the becoming of all things, saying also that "I am the father that bestows the seed" (*hijapradah pitā*). It is accordingly quite in order that so many of the terms expressing the relations of *Mitrāvaruṇau*, should have a sexual connotation. *Abhigantṛ*, for example, like Latin *cognoscere* and Greek *γινώσκω*, Sanskrit *jñā* and English "know" ("Jacob knew his wife"), has an erotic value that is even more evident in SB. IV. 6. 7. 10 where what is uttered by Vāc is literally a "conception" fathered by Manas (*manasā abhigatam*). The invitation *ūpa māvartasva sāmsrjāvahai* (SB. cited above) corresponds to the marital *mām anuvrats bhūta* . . . *sambhavāvahai* of JUB. I. 54. 6 and the marriage formula of AV. XIV. 2. 71, "I am He, thou art She; I am the Harmony, thou the Words; I am Sky, thou art Earth. Let us twain here become one; let us bring forth offspring" (*āmo 'hām asmi, sā tvām, sāmā 'hām asmy' ik tvām, dyaur ahām, prthivī tvām; tāv itā sām bhavāva, prajām ā janayāvahai*), echoed in that for the marriage of Sacerdotium and Regnum in AB. VIII. 27, discussed below. In the same way in SB. X. 4. 1. 8, in connection with the union of Sacerdotium and Regnum, here represented by *Indrāgnī, ekam rūpām abhavatām* . . . *prājanayatah* corresponds to *tau virāḍ bhūtvā prājanayatām* with reference to the union of the Two Worlds.

Amongst the syzygies to which we have referred it is that of the Two Worlds, Sky and Earth (*dyāurprthivī*, Zeus and Gaia), the universal parents upon whose harmony depend the prosperity and fertility of the entire universe, which is chiefly taken to be the norm and archetype of all marriage. Thus the *samiti* or *sāmsrjā* of *brahma* and *ksatra* is, in

²² We have already (note 4) called attention to the assimilation of Mitra to Manas and of Varuṇa to Urvasī in RV. VII. 33. 11 where the designation of Vasistha as "the son of Mitra and Varuṇa" (*mitravaruṇau*) can only mean that a *mithunam* of Mitra and Varuṇa has taken place, as in PB. XXV. 10, 10, or in other words that Urvasī, thus *manasā abhigatā*, is Vāc. In PB. VII. 8. 1 it is equally clear that the birth of Yama "amongst the Gods," i.e. the birth of Yama-deva (the Bṛi of RV. IV. 1-40), implies that a conjugation of *Mitrāvaruṇau* has taken place, which indeed explains the special connection of the Yama-devya Sāman (Bṛhad Uktā) with sexual intercourse (*edmaderyam mithune protam*, CU. II. 13. 2); cf. BU. IV. 1. 6 where Brahma as Manas betakes himself to "the woman," i.e. Vāc, and a son like himself is born of her, as also in PB. VII. 6 where the father is Prajāpati; all these are versions of one and the same Ur-mythos.

the sense in which the Brāhmaṇas demand in every ritual operation, a conjunction (*mithunam*) of contrasted forms, apart from which contrast there would be no effective and productive coupling. The spark of life is only evoked, the sacrificial fire is only kindled, the music only illuminated when contact has been established between two oppositely charged poles, the two ends of the "Pole" that connects the Altar with the Sun, a pole that is "fired" from above and "lit" from below.

The relative femininity of Varuṇa will be all the more apparent if, in accordance with "the generally received opinion" (Macdonell) that Mitra is the Sun and Varuṇa the (dark) Sky, the solar "domain," we consider the relation of the Sun (*Āditya*) to the Sky (*Dyaus*): for there are many texts that refer to the Sun as the husband of the Sky, *pātir divāh*, as in AV. VII. 21. 1 and XIII. 3. 41,²⁸ and CU. I. 6. 3 where "He" (*ama*) is the Sun and "She" (*sā*) the Sky. That "The Sun inseminates the Sky" (*relaḥ kṛvoti . . . ādityo divi*, JB. II. 241), that He "forms his likeness in the womb of the Sky" (*sūryo rūpām kṛvate dyōr upāsṭhe*, RV. I. 115. 5), are no more than paraphrased in the words "Mitra inseminates Varuṇa," cited above from PB. and ŚB. It is as the Sun that Prajāpati unites with the Sky (*ādityēna divam mithunān sāmabhavat*, ŚB. VI. 1. 2. 4). Dyaus is conspicuously feminine in JUB. III. 4. 5 f. where "The Great with the Great, the God with the Goddess, Brahma with the Brāhmaṇī united" (*mahān mahyā samadhatta, devo devyā samadhatta, brahma brāhmaṇyā samadhatta*), the text (as in ŚA. I. 6) going on to explain that the reference is to the union of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya with Earth (*iyam eṣa mahī*), Air (*antarikṣa*) and Sky (*dyaus*; *brāhmaṇī* implying, of course, "daughter of Brahma"), and that Agni, Vāyu and Āditya are the "Threefold Brahma" (verse 11, *tad brahma vai trivṛt*, cf. MU. IV. 6). To this "Threefold Sovereign" correspond the "Threefold" (*trivṛtam*) World of RV. X. 114. 1, the "Three Bright" Realms (*usṛā . . . tisrāh*) that Bṛhaspati reveals in RV. X. 67. 4 — *usṛā tisrāh* in VIII. 41. 3, and the "One-syllabled" Voice

²⁸ As implied by the Anukramagī to AV. VII. 21, *mantrōktātmadevatyam*, the Sun is here the Universal Spirit (*ōtmā jāgatas tusthūgāt ca*) of RV. I. 115. 1, the Herdsman of RV. VII. 80. 2 (*sūryo . . . vīśvanya sthātūr jāgatas ca gopā*, cf. note 34), the Universal Lord and Husband (*isācām jāgatas tusthūgāt pātim, Sāyana sāmīnam*) of RV. I. 89. 3, the "multiple one" (*vīśvam śkam*) who "plays the man" (*patyate, Sāyana abhigacchati*, cf. Mitra, *brahma*, as *abhiṅgatr* in ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 1) to all that is in motion or at rest (*śjad dhruvām*, RV. III. 54. 8), and Parjanya of RV. VII. 101. 6: in other words, the divine Eros, Gandharva, Brahma to whom the whole creation is feminine, for "All of us are the wives of one Lord, it is for Him that we shall adorn ourselves" (*ham sām nārī eka bhātōra, sub koi tū karai singaro*, Kāhīr): just as considered individually the body is "the sensitive image, daughter and bride" of the soul (V. da S. Pinto, *Peter Sterry, Puritan and Platonist*, pp. 106-107).

whose three parts, distinguished by Prajāpati, are these worlds, as explained in PB. XX. 14. 2-5.

Dyaus is feminine in some twenty Vedic contexts: the apposition *dyaur aditiḥ* (Grassmann, "der Himmel bildlich als Mutter") may be noted in X. 63. 3, where Aditi is the "Vāc, Aditi by name, in whom may Savitṛ quicken the Law (*dhārma saviṣat*) for us" of TS. I. 7. 7. 1. This implied equation of Dyaus with Sāvitrī (the form again implying "daughter of," cf. the relation of Varuṇa to Savitṛ in ŚB. XII. 9. 1. 17 cited above) is explicit in JUB. IV. 27. 11, 12 "The Sun is Savitṛ, the Sky his daughter . . . this is one coupling" (*āditya eva savitā, dyaus sāvitrī . . . tad ekam mithunam*), as likewise in ŚA. 1. 5. Sāvitrī, "daughter of Savitṛ," is the same as the Sūryā Sāvitrī, the Daughter of the Sun, given to Soma the King in AB. IV. 7, and the Sūryā of RV. X. 85. 9, who is there and in AV. XIV. 2 the type of all brides. In AB. III. 48 Sūrya is Dhātṛ (m.) and Dyaus Anumatī (Gāyatrī, f.). Savitṛ is, again, Prajāpati (*bhūvanasya prajāpatiḥ*, RV. IV. 53. 2, etc.), the universal Progenitor, and it is as such that he unites with his own daughter "whom some call Sky and others Dawn" (*divam roṣṣām vā*, ŚB. I. 7. 4. 1; AB. III. 33):⁵⁸ while as Manas (TS. VI. 6. 10. 1, etc.) he unites

⁵⁸ The Two Worlds (*imau lokau, dyāvapṛthivī, rodasī, kṣamā, etc.*), celestial and terrestrial, essential and natural, were originally one, as is often explicit and still more often implied by their "separation." This separation from one another, which is in order that there may be "room" for a procedure from potentiality to act (TS. V. 1. 5. 8, ŚB. I. 4. 1. 22-23) is variously brought about: but that the worlds are separated by the birth of the Sun, by Agni, Indrāgni, Light or Lightning, the Axis Mundi (*akambha*) or the Bridge (*setu*), "by Varuṇa's operation" or "at the fiat of the Imperishable" (*akṣara*), or at Dawn, are only different ways of saying the same thing.

Their fear or shyness of one another is generally connected with the incest motif, presupposed by the fact of their common origin, which makes them father and daughter and brother and sister, like Zeus and Hera: where there is "no-duality" (*adeaita*), it is only with his own nature that the Deity can be united, and this could be avoided only at the price of dualism. It is, indeed, inasmuch as essence and nature are one in *divinis* that the act of creation has sometimes been thought of as auto-erotic.

We cannot deal at length with the incest motif here (cf. note 27), except to remark that the Theotokos is necessarily feminine to God in every possible relation, as daughter, sister, mother and bride; and to note the Christian doctrine as resumed in Dante's "O Virgin Mother, daughter of thy Son" (*Paradiso* XXXIII. 1) and "Bride of the Emperor of Heaven; and not bride alone but sister and most beloved daughter . . . existing in him in true and perfect fashion as if eternally wedded to him" (*Convito*, III. 12); that is to say, in the same way that Prajāpati, the Progenitor, "had Vāc alone as his own," whom he only separated from himself as a mother of whom to be born (PB. VII. 6; XX. 14).

In ancient Roman Law the wife was said to stand to the husband in *filiae loco*.

with Vāc (*passim*), who is again the daughter (VS. XV. 38, SB. VIII. 1. 2. 8) as well as the mother of whom he is born (PB. VII. 6).²¹ The Sun is thus beyond any question male to the Sky: Bergaigne's "Avant tout les autres éléments mâles il faut placer le ciel lui-même" is only true with the reservation "Le mâle du ciel est le soleil" (*La religion védique*, L. 4 and 6).

The relationship of Sun to Sky discussed above is the same as that of Vāyu to Air and Agni to Earth (which last is also that of Yama to Yamī, SB. VII. 2. 1. 10): the ratio is by no means peculiar to the "upper world," but to all "Three Worlds," and to all the pairs in any of these worlds; the relationship is "universal." As was also implied in JUB. III. 4. 5 f., cited above, the Three Gandharvas or Lights, Agni, Vāyu, Āditya (the "Persons" of the Vedic "Trinity," and the "Universal Lights" of the Fire-altar) form with their respective domains, "lots" or "participations" (*bhakti*), Earth, Air and Sky, three forms of Dawn (*usas*), three progenitive pairs or syzygies (*mithunāni*, PB. XX. 15. 2-4). The text of RV. VII. 33. 7 (followed in PB. *ib.* and JB. II. 241) is even

²¹ Vāc (Latin *vox*) as Theotokos is not the Logos (Lat. *verbum*), but the means or organ by which the Logos (*bṛhad uktha*) is uttered.

The solar Prajāpati's own child-bearing precedes and must not be confused with the giving birth to the child by his consort. The normal doctrine about generation applies in *divinis* as much as in the world: it is that the father of all "bears himself in himself" (*ātmany evātmānam bibharti*), and "when he pours it into the woman as seed (*taḍ yudā striyaṁ siṁśati*) then he propagates it" (*atthainaj janyati*) and her giving birth to it follows (AA. II. 5). In PB. VII. 6, accordingly, Prajāpati sees that the embryo is within him (*garbho . . . antarhitaḥ*, cf. RV. III. 37. 3 *garbham asmin*, with reference to Agni as embryo) and then separates Vāc from himself as a mother of whom to be born; just as also in SB. VI. 1. 2. 2. 6-11 he is specifically "pregnant" (*garbho antāḥ dāt . . . garbhy ābhavāt*) and then uniting with Vāc "expresses," *vyjati* those beings that he has conceived and of which she is to be the mother.

The same principles apply to the "second birth" in *upanayana*, where the spiritual father makes the disciple "an embryo within him (*garbham antāḥ*) and bears him in his belly (*udāre bibharti*) for three nights," after which he is born of Sāvitrī as his mother (AV. XI. 5. 3, Manu II. 38, 170), cf. Hermes Trismegistus, *Lb.* XIII. 2.

That both parents are thus thought of as child-bearing, i.e. "carrying," so that we can speak of them as "two wombs, one union" (*te dve yonī, ekam mithunam*, no more contradicts their sexual and functional differentiation (one only gives birth) than does the designation of the universal parents as *pitarā* or *matarā* in RV. *passim* imply that both are male or both female (their Supreme Identity, *taḍ ekam*, is of course androgynous), or than does the *couvade* (of which the father's child-bearing, as explained above is certainly the mythical basis) imply any distinctive femininity on the father's part, but rather that like the *brāhma*, that is both the *brāhma* and the *śvatra*, he is thought of still as a first principle in which both natures are combined.

more explicit: "Three foremost Lights, three Aryan children, inseminate the worlds (*kṛvanti bhūvaneṣu rétas*), three Heats (*gharmāsah — gharmā*, du. + *Mātariśvan* in RV. X. 114. 1 = *trīṇ gharmān* in AV. IX. 1. 8) ensue the Dawn (*usāsam sacante*); these the Vasiṣṭhas know full well"; cf. RV. III. 56. 3 "The mighty three-faced (*tryanikāh*) Bull is the husband (*patyate*), he the inseminator of the Everlasting Dawns" (*retodhā . . . śāsvatīnām*),²² the "Three Greats" (*tiśró mahīh*) of the preceding verse (= *Ilā*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Mahī*, III. 5. 8); RV. VII. 101. 6 "He (*Parjanya*), the Bull, the inseminator of the Everlasting-Dawns (*sā retodhā vṛzabhāh śāsvatīnām*), in whom is the Spirit of all that is in motion or at rest" (*tāsmīn ātmā jāgatas tathūśaś ca*); and RV. I. 115. 1 where "Earth, Air and Sky" (*dyāvāprthivī antārikṣam*) are filled by the Solar Spirit of all that moves or is at rest" (*sūrya ātmā jāgatas tathūśaś ca*). The King of Kings is thus the progenitive Solar Spirit, who takes the forms of *Agni*, *Vāyu* and *Āditya* in relation to the triple Dominion or Three Dominions which are so often spoken of as Dawn or Dawns, and are the Three Worlds of Earth, Air and Sky, the "Three Earths" (*prthivīś tiśrōh*) of which *Savitṛ* is the Mover (*īravati*) in RV. IV. 53. 5, *Savitṛ*'s "Three bright realms" (*trīr . . . rocanāni*) that his, the Asura's (*asya . . . āsurasya*, cf. RV. III. 53. 1), three Hero-sons (*trāyo . . . vīrāh* — VII. 33. 7, *prajā āryāh* — I. 105. 5 *amī yé devāh*) govern in RV. III. 56. 7, 8.²³

²² *śāsvatī* in Grassmann's sense 2. The designation of the Domains (Three Worlds) as "Everlasting Dawns" (*śāsvatīh*) corresponds to that of the "Three Realms of Light" as "indestructible" (*dāpātā*) in RV. III. 56. 8.

²³ In full agreement with the *Saṁhitā* texts cited above, BD. I. 71-73 explains that the "Three World-Overlords" (*lokādhipatayaḥ*) are not a plurality of principles but are distinguished only by their functions; there are not three distinct deities, but only "severally named in accordance with their spheres": "they arise from one another (*anyonyayonitāh*), all their 'participation' is in the Spirit" (*teṣām ātmaiva tai saccam yad yad bhaktiḥ*). This last is clearly an allusion to PB. XX. 15. 2, where the "participations" or "shares" of the Three *Gandharvas* are the Three Realms. It is with reference to these "shares" that we find in JUB. I. 7. 2 *manasā 'nam* (*pāpmānam bhādrēyam*) *nirbhajet*.

For SB. VII. 2. 1-4 *Agni*, *Vāyu*, and *Āditya* are the forms that *Prajāpati* assumes in relation to Earth, Air, and Sky. AB. V. 25 calls them the "house-fathers" (*gṛhapatayaḥ*) of the Three Worlds; CU. I. 6. 1-3 states the same relationships in terms of *Sāman* and *Rc*; the former as *Agni*, *Vāyu*, *Āditya* resting upon Earth, Air and Sky in the same sense that in AB. III. 23 the one *Sāman* unites with the triple *Rc*. MU. IV. 6, the *locus classicus* in the *Upaniṣads* for the *via affirmativa* and *via remotionis*, expands the *brahma vai triṣṭ* of JUB. III. 4. 11 and calls *Agni*, *Vāyu*, and *Āditya* (identified with *Brahmā*, *Rudra*, and *Viṣṇu*) "the foremost forms of the immortal, incorporeal *Brahma*"; to whichever one of these a man is attached, his fruition is of a corresponding

The knowledge of the Three Worlds and their Rulers is the "Triple Science" (*trayi vidyā*) of JUB. II. 9. 7. Of the *logoi* (*vyāhṛtayah*, JUB.

world (cf. BG. VII. 23), but though one should contemplate and praise these forms of Brahma, thereby rising higher and higher in the worlds (cf. SB. VIII. 7. 1. 23 where the Universal Lights are stepping stones or rungs of the ladder—*acm-yānyak*—whereby to ascend or descend in these worlds); one should finally deny them, in order to attain to the unity of the Person (*paraṇa*).

The citations from the Sāṃhitās amply suffice to show that these interpretations of the Vedic Trinity as a Triune Person are not the expressions of any "later" monotheistic tendency, but simple restatements of Vedic doctrine. They are, furthermore, in whole agreement with RV. V. 44. 6 "It is just in accordance with his aspect that he is given names" (*yādṛṣṇ eva dādṛṣe tādṛṣṇ ucyate*), cf. SB. X. 5. 2. 29 "As he is approached, even such he becomes" (*yāthā-yathopāste tād eva bhavati*).

It is evident that the "Three Gandharvas" are the "Three-headed Gandharva," the "Three-headed Sun," and that if three "Universal Lights" can be distinguished by the theologian, "there corresponds to all of them one single reality" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, 13. 4. ad 2), that of the unity of the Person, Brahma, Savitr, Prajāpati, Spirit, and Light of lights (*ātman, jyotiṣām jyotis, jyotis uttamam*, etc.); the Father, Mover, Pastor, and Emperor of all that is in motion or at rest. The customary distinction of "Hinduism" from "Brahmanism" is essentially fallacious; it rests on nothing more than the modern historian's sense of an obligation to demonstrate an "evolution" of thought.

The Hindu Trinity of Powers consists of a solar Father above, a fiery Son on earth (whence he ascends to heaven), and the Gale of their common spiration, and is thus indistinguishable from the Christian Trinity (it also corresponds to Plato's threefold constitution of the whole soul). It is even more exactly and in detail the equivalent of the Gnostic doctrine of the Three Christs or Triple-Power: "Viewing the cosmos as a tripartite unit (= *trīṣṭam*, RV. X. 114. 1) . . . they taught that the Saviour was manifested in the three divisions in a form and manner suited to the mode of being and needs of each. . . . In his capacity as *paroyērēs* (= one in nature) he is related to the cosmos as a whole, while the designation Triple-Power signifies his association with the universe as triply divided" (Baynes, *Bruce Codex*, pp. 64, 77). Cf. BD. I. 99, 100 and BU. I. 2. 3 on the three forms of Agni.

The Indologist's conviction of an Indian polytheism and pantheism is a residue of Christian prejudice surviving even in the rationalist. In a parallel connection Goodenough remarks: "Philo himself was fully aware of the universal tendency in paganism toward the doctrine of a single supreme deity. In one place he says: 'But if he exists whom with one accord all Greeks and barbarians acknowledge together, the supreme Father of gods and men and the Maker of the whole universe, whose nature is invisible and hard to grasp not only by the eye but even by the mind' . . . Coulsen in his note on this passage cannot believe his eyes that Philo thus ascribes monotheism to all pagans. So far as I can see Philo was telling the simple truth as he saw it, not as Christian propaganda has ever since misrepresented it" (*An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*, p. 105).

It was not, however, at any rate not in India, that "the approach to this monotheism had been by the reduction of individual deities to aspects of the

I. 23. 6, II. 9. 3, and IV. 4. 5, ŚA. I. 5, MU. VI. 6, etc.) in which it is expressed, the briefest form is that of the well known formula *bhūr bhuvā svar*. It is precisely this knowledge of the relations of the Three World-Overlords to their Domains that fits the Purohita for his office (AB. VIII. 27): the Vasiṣṭhas, its Comprehensors (RV. VII. 33. 7) are the "well-indoctrinated" (*sūśruddhīṣaḥ*) Brāhmins (JB. II. 241), and Vasiṣṭha (i. e. Agni, Brhaspati) having been Indra's Purohita in the beginning, one can say with TS. III. 5. 2. 1 "it is, therefore, a Vasiṣṭha that should be made the *brāhmā*," and JUB. III. 15. 1 that "The *brāhma* pertains to Vasiṣṭha . . . he is the *brāhmā* who is a Comprehensor thereof"; and assuredly, to have understood this doctrine of the Three World-Overlords fully would have been to have grasped the whole theory of government. Furthermore, the King who has for a Purohita to guard his kingdom (as its Pastor, *rāṣṭragopā*)²⁴ a Brāhman possessed of this

single divine power," as Goodenough assumes: on the contrary, it was precisely the universality of the supreme deity that made it possible for local deities to be accepted as forms of That One (*teḍ ekam*) who is of many aspects (*purvaṅka*) and polynominal (*bhūṛitī tava . . . nīma*, RV. III. 20. 3). It is only by a wilful disregard of Vedic dicta, an inadequate correlation of texts, and it must be added, a general ignorance of theology and of metaphysics, that any sort of plausibility can be given to the notion of a Vedic polytheism. Εἰ πῶλλαι θεοὶ εὐσεβεῖταις (Hermes Trismegistus, Lib. XI. 1. 11)

Cl. Plotinus, *Enneads*, IV. 4. 8; Dionysius, *De divinis nominibus*; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 13. 4 and especially I. 31. 2 "We do not say the only God, for deity is common to several"; also my "Vedic Monotheism" in the *Journal of Indian History*, XV, 1936.

²⁴In the Buddhist story of the Bodhisatta Jotipāla ("Protector of the Light," D. II. 220 f.) the Purohitaship to which he succeeds is referred to as the *govindiga* (not in the *PTS Dictionary*), and the Purohita is the Mahā-Govinda. This epithet does not mean "high treasurer" as rendered by Malalasekara, for it was not the Purohita's function to act as treasurer: nor does it mean "High Steward" in the special and literal sense of "Lord of the Herds" as is suggested in *Dialogues* 2. 226. It much rather means "Shepherd of the Flock" or "Pastor" in that sense in which the Sun, Agni, or Brhaspati is the "Herdsmen of the World" (*jagataḥ or bhūvanasya gopā*), and in that of John X. 14 "I am the good shepherd and know my sheep." The pastorate of a kingdom reflects the herding of the "unfaltering Herdsman" (*gopān*, RV. I. 164. 31, cf. JUB. III. 37. 1 and III. 29. 6), that of "the Herdsman of the world, the Knower, whose kine are never lost" (*videdā ānastapaśūr bhūvanasya gopāḥ*, RV. X. 17. 3, where *videdā gopāḥ* is just what *govit*, *govindu*, and *govinda* mean). That "his is a herdsman's tongue" (*gopājihvāsyā*, RV. III. 28. 9) is as much as to say that the flock knows his voice and follows him (as in John X. 4 and 27).

We digress to remark that the notion of a divine shepherd may well be of high antiquity, going back to the earliest pastoral times. The notion of a divine pastor and of an analogous human pastorate is one of the very many formulae common to Platonic and Vedic philosophy, nor is there anything in either of

these forms of the *Philosophia Perennis* that can be called unique. There is an art of herding human beings, royal and statesmanlike (*Statesman*, 267 C); at the beginning of a new "period" (= Skr. *kalpa* or *manvantara*), and during the rule of Kronos (the father and predecessor of Zeus), "God himself was the herdsman of men, watching over them" (ib. 271 E); "the type of the divine shepherd (*θεῖος ποιμήν*) is greater than that of the king" (ib. 275 E, cf. *Republic* 440D where the brave and eager principle, the lover of victory—i.e. the Kṣatriya and *jigya* part of the soul—is the ruling shepherd's "dog"). The royal art is one of "judgment and watching over" (*Statesman* 292 B). In all these statements, of course, we must not be misled by the word "royal," because Plato's conception of government is essentially theocratic (*Laws* 713E, cf. *Republic* 431B, *Meno* 99F), and by "king" he means priest- or philosopher-king, or in any case a government by both in complete agreement (*Republic*, 473 f., cf. *Statesman* 290E). In Christianity the Good Shepherd is "both king and priest."* The government and care of men is preeminently the sacerdotal function, but in so far as the royal function is delegated to a king the latter can also be called a shepherd of men, as in some of the Indian texts where the king too is a *gopā*. We need hardly add that Kṛṣṇa's epithet Govinda, and that he is the "Divine Cowherd," do not mean that he was in any historical sense a herdsman by caste but that he is a solar hero, and like the Bodhisattva a "descent of the Sun."

To return to India, Brhaspati is "our far-seeing Herdsman and pathfinder" (no *gopāḥ pathikīd vicakṣandh*, RV. II. 23. 6). Agni "Lord authentic (*rājast* . . . *tmān*) of Sky and Earth and as it were their Herdsman" (*paśupā iva*, RV. I. 144. 6), "Thou who at birth didst look about upon the worlds, even as a lively herdsman that goeth round about his kine" (RV. VII. 13. 3). The human *Purohita* is, as we know, the embodiment and representative of this Agni-Brhaspati, and naturally exercises similar functions: he is the Pastor of the Flock, or "Shepherd of the Realm" (*rāstragopā*); the marriage of the King to the Priest is the "restoration (*punardāya*) of the Brāhman's wife," and it is when this restitution has been made that "then the Kṣatriya's realm is warded" (*rāstrām gupitām kṣatriyasya*, RV. X. 109. 3).

A brief expansion of the last remark may be useful. Sāyana's explanation of RV. X. 109 (Griffith's "unintelligible fragment, and of comparatively late origin"!) is excellent. The Brāhmā's (Vācaspati's) wife is Vāc. Misled (*dē-duced* from her proper allegiance) by one "who can approach her only in sin" (RV. X. 71. 9) the royal Voice is no longer an expression of the Truth, but on the contrary subverts the whole cosmic order. This evil is corrected when "Agni as *Hutr* takes her hand and leads her" (*hoatagfhyā nindya*, i.e. marries her,—in the person of the King). It is precisely this *reductio regni ad sacerdotium* that is effected in the *Rājavedya*, in the ritual marriage of the King and the *Purohita*; and it is only when this marriage has been accomplished that "the realm is guarded" (*rāstrām gupitām*), i.e. by the Brāhmā as *rāstragopā*, as a wife is guarded by her husband. The reference to the "ladle" in X. 109. 5 is to the

* "Thy kingdom come" (Mat. VI. 9): "where the Priesthood and the Kingship move together in one accord (*yatra brahma ca kṣatrah ca sahyasau carataḥ saha*), that holy world I fain would know" (VS. XX. 5).

performance of the Sacrifice in which King Soma is now cooperative (*sacrats*) with Agni; the King whose open hand is as it were a sacrificial ladle (see note 50) is no longer one of "those who do not offer the libation" (*nā autākarṣaṇā*, RV. X. 71.9).

The marital values of *at* and *upast* (to lead, and to "lead up," "reduce,"* or "induct") will not be overlooked: the husband is in relation to the wife the "Duke" (*nāyaka*), she is the "Duchess" (*nāyaki*). The *upanayana* of a disciple by a master is an *audgrahana* or "lifting up" and "exaltation," and we have no doubt that the traditional marriage is really an initiation of the woman, comparable to that of a *brahmacārin* by the *śūrya*, or, that both "inductions" are "mysteries"; cf. *śūrya* etc., in the related senses to "perfect," "initiate," "be married," "die." Cf. note 25. It may well be asked whether *siti*, "leading" and *rājaniti*, "King's leading" as designations of the "Art of Government" do not contain an explicit reference to the discipular and marital relation of the King to the Purohita, his Guru. In our hymn, RV. X. 109.4b and 5a the reunion of the *ṛṣatra* and *brahṇa* is expressly assimilated to the *upanayana* of a *brahmacārin* by an *śūrya*, and this is in agreement with the disciple to master relationship of the King to the Priest explicit in the *Arthasāstra* (see note 17). We know already that the King's marriage to the Brāhman is part of a sacrificial rite and involves an initiation (*dikṣā*).

Now the induction of the disciple by the master is also an affiliation by which the former is made directly a foster-son of the master and his wife and by analogy a foster-son of God and his consort. "The mother is Sāvitrī, the *śūrya* the father" (Manu, II. 170, 171, cf. AV. XI. 15. 3). The parallel may be noted in Hermes Triamegistus, Lib. XIII where "the mother is Sophia . . . the will of God the inseminator . . . some man who is a son of God the mediator in this palingenesis." The master (*śūrya*) is a Brāhman, that is to say a "son of Brahma," "son of God" (as the patronymic *brāhmanya* states) and represents Sāvitrī, the *brahṇa*; in the same way the master's wife is the representative of Sāvitrī, Vāc, as *brahmanjyā*, "the Brāhman's wife" in our hymn. The pupil becomes a member of their household, in which he is fostered. In this connection it may be observed that there can be little doubt that the ancient European custom of "fostering" (of which our "boarding schools" are a late secular survival or superstition) originally involved an initiation. If marriage is also an affiliation we can see why it is that the wife has been traditionally said to stand to her husband, who is also her Guru, *in loco filiae*, originally a metaphysical and afterwards a legal formula; the fact of marriage making her a "daughter." These conditions are still reflected in the fact that a Priest addresses the members of his flock as "My son" or "My daughter," and is himself addressed as "Father," and why a nun is addressed as "Mother," or "Sister." And if the King's "marriage" to the Brāhman is strictly analogous to the induction of a disciple by a master, we can as easily see that his seduction of "the Brāhman's wife" (Vāc, Sāvitrī, Sophia) in RV. X. 109 is analogous to that of a master's wife by a disciple, for which such dire penance is imposed (Manu IX. 237, 238, XI. 104-107).

The word *govinda* is not (as inferred by the *PTS. Dictionary* and in the *Dialogues*) the equivalent of a Sanskrit *gavendra* but, in accordance with Pāṇini

* All re-ductions of effects to causes are marital reunions.

knowledge "dies no more" (*na punar mriyate*) but lives out his life to old age (AB. VIII. 25).²¹

(III.1.138, Vārtt. 2), of *govit*, "one who knows, or finds kine" and to be correlated with *pavey*, to "wish, or seek for kine": the word division is *go-vinda*, analogous to *go-pā*, *go-pati* and *paśu-pā*. Moreover, *go* and *paśu*, while literally "herd," "cattle," "flock," do not by any means always mean "animals" other than men, but often refer to "man" himself, the animal man, and are thus used as the equivalent of *prajā*, "children (of men)," as in AV. XIV. 2.25 where the children of the bride are referred to as *paśāraḥ*, in AA. II. 3.2 where *paśocā* denotes both animals in general and the animal man as distinguished from a "person," and in BU. I. 4.10 where the man who has not realised "I am Brahma," and therefore approaches some God as "another than himself," is called a *paśu*, an "animal" fitted only to be regarded as food for the Gods.

"Dies no more" corresponds to the "O king, live for ever" of several Old Testament contexts; cf. note 22. The present is one of the many passages (e.g. AB. II. 3.3.9) in which the connection of *punarṁryte*, "recurrent death," is not with a future but with this present life. The particular context is paralleled by that of SB. V. 4.1.1 where "He who performs the Rājasūya escapes all death (*adṛcān . . . mṛtyān ātimucyate*), all assaults (*sūrcān baddhān*), only old age is his death" (*īdāya jaraite mṛtyar bhavati*); cf. note 22. The deaths referred to are the same as the *sarve mṛtyarāḥ* (Caland, "Todesarten, Lebensgefahren," cf. *Iliad*, XII. 322, "the myriads of fates of death that beset us") of JB. II. 419, where they are to be avoided by "not deviating from the divine marriage, the sacrifice, etc." (*daicyāt ama viddhān meta . . . yajāt ama meta*). Thus one who is forearmed by initiation and sacrifice may be called "undying" (*amṛta*) "even though he has no hope of never dying at all" (SB. II. 2.2.14), a hope that he could not have, because "no one becomes immortal in the flesh" (SB. X. 4.3.9).

Where we speak nowadays of "surviving a mortal danger" the traditional philosophy sees an actual death and rebirth; thus in TS. II. 3.5.3 it is with the words "His birth is renewed again and again" (*naro-naro bhavati jāyamaṇaḥ*, RV. X. 85.19, etc.) that the life (*āyus*) of the sick man is restored. All life, as a "becoming" (*bhava*; *γένεσις*), involves the repeated death of what has been and birth of what is: reincarnation (in this legitimate sense of the word) belonging as much to this present life as to any other form of temporal existence. The application of the words "Sure is the death of what has been born, and sure the birth of what has died" (BG. II. 27, and the basis of Socrates' argument for the survival of the soul, in *Phaedo*) is as much to daily living as to the special cases of rebirth from a mother, initiatory palingenesis, and "death when the time comes." Living (*ex-istence*, *esse*) is a repeated resurrection; life eternal has neither rebirth nor recurrent death, because it is not a becoming, but an immutable being (*essentia*).

In all this there is nothing peculiarly Indian. The "immortality," or rather "not-dying," envisaged by the Indian texts in which it means "living out the whole of one's life" (*manuṣyāyāmītatvam yāt nāraṇ āyur īti*, AB. IX. 5.1.10), and which is to be distinguished from an "incorruptible immortality in the world of heavenly-light" (*amṛtatvam akṣitīm svargo loka*, KB. XIII. 9 and XIV. 4)—the two are analogous, but not to be confused—is exactly the same as the

We have seen that the triple relation of the Lights to their Realms is really the single relationship of the Light to the Cosmos, and since the Lights and their Realms, of which Savitr is the Prime Mover, are spoken of as "Three Skies" (*tisrô divah*) and "Three Earths" (*prthivîs tisrâh*, RV. IV. 53. 5), it is clear that the relationship of the Sacerdotium to the Regnum, or that of Man to Woman, or that of any Director to any Executive, can be more briefly expressed as that of Sky to Earth. Thus from one point of view the Sky is feminine to the Sun, but from another the Sky is no less male to the Earth (Zeus to Gaia, Europa, Danae, etc.) and literally "Lord and Master" of Earth,—Adhipati, Bhūpati, Kṣetrapati and Vāstospati.²⁸ Thus RV. V. 63. 3 (*divāspātī prthivyā mitrāvaruṇau*, "Ye, Mitrāvaruṇau, are (respectively) Lords-and-husbands of Sky and Earth" is as much as to say, "Thou, Mitra, art Lord of Dyaus (= Varuṇa), and thou, Varuṇa (= Dyaus), art Lord of Earth." It is in just the same way that while "the Regnum is dependent upon (*anuniyuktam*) the Sacerdotium, the Commons are dependent on the Regnum" (AB. II. 33); and that while the Sacerdotium is virile to the King and Commons (PB. II. 8. 2), the King, whose *vīrya* is analo-

"immortality" (not-dying) described to Socrates in the *Symposium* 207 D-208 B: "The mortal nature ever seeks, as best it can, to be immortal. In one way only can it succeed, and that is by becoming or generation (*γένεσις*); * since so it can always leave over a new creature in place of the old. . . . Every mortal thing is preserved in this way; not by keeping it exactly the same for ever, like the divine, but by replacing what absconds or is inveterated with something else new in the semblance of the original. Through this device, Socrates, a mortal thing partakes of immortality, both in the body and in all other respects; by no other means can it be done." Similarly Plutarch, *Moralia*, 302 D. This also represents the Buddhist conception of living: a repeated dissolution as one thing followed by reappearance as another (*tasmā rattipā divasaṃsa ca aññad eva upajjati aññath nirujjhati*, S. II. 96), thus overcoming recurrent death as in 8B. II. 3. 3. 9 cited above and in JB. I. 13 (cf. I. 5) *panarmetyā atimucyate yad ahoṛātre*, "he escapes recurrent death in that he (sacrifices) night and morning." The idea of a "participation" in immortality occurs already in RV. I. 164. 21; it is the same as that of the participation of existence in being, and that of the participation of the beautiful in beauty.

Thus, that the King is made "undying" is not merely a rhetorical and flattering expression, but has a meaning; it does not mean that he will never die, but that he will not die prematurely.

²⁸ The Vāstospati, who is *cratapā* and associated with the *brahma* in RV. X. 61. 7, is evidently the Indra of RV. VIII. 97. 10; and the same as the *kṣetrasya pāti* of RV. X. 66. 13, VII. 35. 10 and IV. 57. The Vāstospati of RV. VII. 54. 1 and 55. 1 may be Soma (though Śāyana equates *inda* in VIII. 69. 1 with Indra), but even so still represents the *kṣatra*.

* This may be intended to cover both ordinary "becoming," and also "progenitive reincarnation": both involve a kind of "never dying."

gous to Indra's, and is only properly to be regarded as a Dominion (*rāṣṭrā*) insofar as he generates (*prajāyate*, ŚB. IX. 4. 1. 5; cf. J. V. 279 where because the King has no son the people complain that the Kingdom will utterly perish), is preeminently virile to the Realm; so that while the virility (*virya*) pertains more eminently to the *brahma*, both *brahma* and *ksatra* are "virilities" (ŚB. I. 3. 5. 4-5). In the same way, too, the delegation of the sceptre, the *vajra*, as the token of dominion (ŚB. XIII. 4. 4. 1), by the Priest to the King, though it strengthens him with respect to his enemies, weakens him with respect to the Sacerdotium, just as when the King himself delegates authority to others they become his vassals (ŚB. IV. 4. 15). The people are subject to the King, but not so the Brāhmanas, "whose King is Soma" (ŚB. V. 4. 2. 3); the people are "food" for the King, but the King is "food" for the Brāhman (Kaus. Up. II. 9); while there is another for whom the Regnum and the Sacerdotium both are "food" (KU. II. 25). There is one, Bhaga (= Āditya), "to whom even the King says: 'Apportion me a portion'" (AV. III. 16. 2). The Regnum is not its own principle, but is controlled by another, the Eternal Law, the Truth (*dharma, satyam*), the "Kingship of the Kingship" (*ksatrasya ksatram*, BU. I. 4. 14). This, incidentally, provides the sanction for the well known Cambodian doctrine of the Dharmarāja, as the real and persistent Royalty, to be clearly distinguished from the King's own temporal personality; cf. "Le roi est mort, vive le roi." Even a righteous emperor is not without an overlord; and "Who is this King above the King? The Eternal Law" (*ko pana . . . rañño . . . rājā? dhammo*, A. I. 109), a Law that equally rules the Sage (*anudhammacāri na hīyati saccaparakkamo muni*, A. I. 149). And as is the King to his vassals, so are these to their own followers, so is the patron to the artist and the man to the wife, each in turn a servant and a master in a feudal hierarchy stemming from the King of Kings. That the King is feminine to the Priest but male to his own Realm is thus nothing strange, but only a special case of Order. In any Hierarchy, the individual is necessarily related in one way to what is above him, and in another to his own domain.

Amongst the syzygies to which we have referred it is, then, that of Sky and Earth (*dyāvāprthivī*), the universal parents upon whose harmonious cooperation the prosperity and the fertility of the Universe depend, that is chiefly taken to be the norm and archetype of all marriage, so that in the marriage rite the man addresses the woman with the words: "I am He, thou art She; I am the Harmony, thou the Words; I am Sky, thou art Earth."²⁷ Let us twain here become one; let us bring forth

²⁷ As was pointed out by Weber, *Indische Studien* V. 216, the formula *Ego sum Gaia, tu es Gaia* was employed in ancient Roman usage. Cicero, *Murena* 12 fin.

offspring" (*āmo 'hām asmi, sá tvām, sāmā 'hām asmy, āk tuām, dyauir ahām, prthivī tvām; tāv itā sām bhavāva, prajām ā janayānahai*, AV. XIV.2.71).³⁸ In the same way in China, Sky and Earth represent respectively the male, light and active, and female, dark and passive principles, *yang* and *yin*, and it is from this existence of the macrocosmic male and female principles that the distinction of husband and wife is derived; from the marriage of Sky and Earth "transformation in all its various forms abundantly proceeds" (*I Ching*, Appendix, III. 43, 45, and VI. 31). In the same *I Ching*, Appendix I (as cited by Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, I. p. 387) we find "Because of their union, Heaven (Sky) and Earth, though separate, have their common work, just as man and woman, though separate, have a common will," corresponding very closely to RV. III. 54.6 where Sky and Earth are *nānā . . . samānāna krātunā samvidānā*.³⁹

We are now at last in a better position to understand the mutual choice or wooing (*varāṇa*) of one another by the High-Priest and the King, and to understand the marriage formula with which the alliance of their "houses" is effected in AB. VIII. 27. The Purohita has been chosen as Guardian, or rather Pastor, of the Realm (*rāṣṭragopā*), and now addresses the King with the following mantram, wherewith he takes him to wife: "I am That (*ama*, 'He') thou art This (*sa*);⁴⁰ thou art This, I am

mentions the custom. Valerius Maximus, *De prænominibus*, has: *Ferunt enim Gaioem Cæciliam, Tarquini Prisci regis uxorem, optimam lanificam fuisse et ideo institutum, ut vocæ nuptæ ante januam interrogatæ quænam vocarentur Guisæ eas se dicerent. Cf. Plutarch, Quæstiones Romanæ, XXX, and the note in the edition by H. T. Rose, Oxford, 1924.*

³⁸ For references to all the parallel versions and variants see Whitney in *HOS*, XIV. 766-767.

³⁹ "Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. . . . Heaven and Earth shall be in those days as Husband and Wife, tho' one Principle, Nature and Shape; yet two Sexes, one the Image of the other; and two Persons, each having the entire Principle, Nature, and Shape, Distinctly, and Compleatly in itself," Peter Sterry in V. da S. Pinto, *Peter Sterry, Puritan and Platonist*, 1934, p. 200.

⁴⁰ *Sa* being masculine, we follow Keith in rendering *ama* and *sa* by "That" and "This" (which are often the terms in which Heaven and Earth are referred to). The marriage formula (see above, and note 38) elsewhere has *sā*, "She," and it may be that, as Keith suggests, *sa* is an error for *sā*; we are inclined, however, to think that the masculine *sa* is the result of an attraction to the actual and obvious sex of the person addressed, for we must not overlook that the marriage formula is here applied to the case of two persons both of whom are empirically male, and that the words are spoken here only "as if" by a man to a woman.

Sky (*dyaus*) and Harmony or Music (*sāman*) are always masculine to Earth (*prthivī*) and Words (*ye*). In 4B. IV. 6.7.11 for example, "There in the *audas* that male, the *Sāma*, approaches that female, the *Ṛc*" (*tād eā etād vṛpā sāmā*

Words (*re*).⁴¹ Let us twain here unite our houses (*saṁvāhāvahai pu-*

(Monster Slayer) and Holy Boy (Child of the Waters); Sun and Moon . . . Holy Woman and Holy Girl are pairs of this kind. These combinations seem to point to the emphasis that weaker, more gentle powers are as necessary to well-being as the stronger more forceful ones. This explanation is a religious one in the light of the Navajo effort to secure harmony. . . . Blue and black are 'males' or better 'dominating' colors in the Shooting Chant, white and yellow are the 'female' or 'submissive' colors" (Reichard, *Navajo Medicine Man*, 1939, p. 78).

"Here, and in the marriage formula of AV. XIV. 2. 71, we render *ādman* "chant," by "Harmony" (Attunement or Music), because "all chanting and singing is music" (AA. II. 3. 6 *ādmātha yo kas ca geyanāḥ saḥ svaranāḥ*, cf. CU. I. 6. 8 *śasya ṛk ca ādman ca geyanau*). *Svara* "note," "tone," or "music" is often rendered by "accent," but what is meant is really "tone" as in Chinese and early Greek, not "stress" as in English: stress is, in fact, not a poetical but a prosaic quality. The contrast of *ādman* and *re* is that of a Harmony that transcends Speech, and a verbal articulation on which the Music is supported as if in a vehicle (*vedo as rathantara*, PB. VII. 6. 3. 4 and 7. 13. 14). The Music is sung on words (*reś adma giyate*, SB. VIII. 1. 3. 3) and borne or supported (*adhy-āḍham*, CU. I. 6. 1-5, *pratiṣṭhitam* CU. I. 8. 7) on them as an earth; this relation of the Music to the Words being the same as that of the Sun to the Moon in AV. XV. 15. 4, 5, where the former is *prauḍhaḥ* and the latter *abhyāḍhaḥ*; in these words *vrak* has its marital significance, and it may be noted that *prauḍhā* can be applied to a woman only when she is a virago, a relatively masculine type. Thus the Harmony wedded to the Words is incarnated as if by a mother (SB. IV. 3. 2. 3), the *Re* is *Vāc*, and "the Great Litany (Agni) is her supreme adaptation" (*paramo rikāraḥ*, AA. II. 3. 6). It is in the same way that the King brings forth (enacts) what the Priest knows (cf. notes 14a, 15), and that the formation of a concept begotten by Manas or Brahma on *Vāc* is a vital operation (BU. II. 2. 3, IV. 1. 6, and Kana U. 30).

On the other hand, the Words considered apart from and in opposition to the Music (*sears*) are the "evil (*pāpman*) of the Chant, and whoever seeks to take refuge in such a toneless *Re* (*rey asvarāyām*) is found out by Death" (JUB. I. 16. 10, I. 18. 8; CU. I. 4. 3). It is because the words (*re*) are the physical and mortal "body" of the Music as distinguished from itself, and "the body is given over to Death to be his share, so that no one becomes immortal with the body," that Prajāpati tells the Gods to approach the world of heavenly light by means of the wordless Chant (*ādmanā 'nyena*) and so indeed they did, "shaking off these bodies, the verbal tracks (*etāny ṛkpadāni śarīrāni dhānanta*) that lay strewn (along their path) up to the Sky" (JUB. I. 15. 3 f. with SB. X. 4. 3. 9); this is the same as the "ascent on wings of sound" (*svarapakṣa*, JUB. III. 13. 10) or "wings of light" (*jyotiṣpakṣa*, PB. X. 4. 5), or "metrical wings" (*chāṇḍapakṣa*, AV. VIII. 9. 12). Thus the *devayāna* is thought of as the *via negativa* (for the "ways of excellence and remotion" see MU. IV. 6): "the angels have fewer ideas and use less means than men" (Eckhart); "Not what is uttered by *Vāc*, not what men worship here, but that by which *Vāc* is uttered, know only that as Brahma . . . it is the Unknown that should be remembered, methinks" (*mimāṃsyaṁ esa te munye 'viditām*, JUB. IV. 18. 5 and 19. 1).

But while that which can be tracked pertains to our mortality (*padena ka noi*

punarṁtyur anveti), and it is just because the Immortals have left their tracks behind them that these Gods, Agni, Vāyu, Aditya, Candramas are (like the Buddha) in themselves "trackless" (*na ha vā cīdāśā devatānām padam asti*, JUB. III. 35. 1; *apadam, kena padena nassutha?* Dh. 179), yet can be followed by their traces (*padāni*, scriptural, liturgical, iconographic, and reliquary). There could, indeed, be no other "ascent after Agni" (TS. V. 8. 8. 1) than by following up the road on which the tracks are strewn of those who have gone before, until these footprints end with the road itself, beyond which lies the Unknown *sumnum bonum* "from which words recoil" (Taitt. U. II. 4). A *via affirmativa* must precede the *via negativa*: "meanings" and images must not be discarded until they are no longer meanings to but meanings of ourselves, no longer figures of others but our own, who can then no longer see them over against "ourselves." The reader must not confuse the meta-physics of scripture with the "anti-intellectualism" of the modern mob. That the music of the spheres is "pure" of any objective sense is by no means a justification of our current love of fine sounds, mis-called "love of art"; when we say: "Leave it to pure sound when the meaning's almost nothing," this has nothing to do with the unintelligibility of the solar songs, but only commends the sensitive and aesthetic art of the charmer of snakes.

It must not be gathered from what has been said above that the Chant is a Music incomplete for lack of words. On the contrary, just as Agni is both Mitra and Varuna (RV. VII. 12. 3), "the great Brahma, one *ākṣara*, inexpressible *ātman*, is both the *brahma* and the *kaśira*" (SB. X. 4. 1. 9 with SA. XIII), *parāpara* (MU. VI. 23), *niruktānirukta*, *śabdāśabda*, etc., and can therefore as *brahma* stand alone, which is no more possible for the *kaśira* (SB. IV. 1. 4. 2. 3) than for a woman (Manu V. 148. cf. IX. 2), and just as the Spirit (*ātman*) is in itself an androgynous syzygy (BU. I. 4. 3, cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 189 E) and only by a schism of its two selves becomes a husband and wife, or *brahma* and *kaśira*, so the quiddity of the Chant or Harmony (*śāmanāś śāmatva*) is explained as the biunity of its logically differentiated elements, tone (*svara*) and words (*ya*); the congress (*samiti*, *samādhī*, *mithuna*, etc.) of the masculine and feminine principles, like that of their verbal symbols (*śā + ama = śāman*), making up the incomposite whole of the Harmony itself (a whole that had never been diminished by the differentiation of the words); it is only the mere words in themselves, and not the words as the support (*pratiṣṭhā*) of the Harmony, that are "evil"; and in the same way for the relationship of the Sacerdotium and Regnum, or Inner and Outer Man.

It has, of course, been generally overlooked that in KU. II. 23 where there is a "choice" of one self by the other; in BU. IV. 4. 23 where "the pacified and dompted (*śānto dāntaś*) and composed (*samāhitaś*, 'in *samādhī*') self sees itself only in the Self" (*ātmany evātmānam paśyet*, i. e. being in the spirit sees only the Spirit, sees itself not as it is in itself but as it is in God); in BU. IV. 2. 1 *samāhitaś* ("self-composed"), AA. III. 2. 1 *prāṇe . . . samāhitaś*, and AA. III. 2. 6 *ātmanam samudadhāt* (Keith, "put himself together"), *samādhī* implies the *ātmanamithunaś* of CU. VII. 25. 2, *samādhā* governing *ātmanam* always referring to the *lepos yāva* that is to be consummated within you, in the heart. In the arts, *samādhā* (cf. ἀρραχώ, ἀρραχία) has the analogous value to "fuse" or "weld" or otherwise "fasten together" two different metals, or such incongruous materials as wood and iron (in the latter case with glue, *śleṣmaṇa*, *Vallī*, to

"embrace," in the former by means of a "salt"), and "even so the Comprehensor heals everything" (*survam bhāṣayati*) by the utterances (*vyākhyāyoh*) *bhūr*, *bhuvos*, *svār* (the reference of which utterances is to the unions of Agni with Earth, Vāyu with Space, and the Sun with the Sky), JUB. III. 17, 2, 3.

The grammatical *samdhī* and *samhita* are, in fact, only a special case in the long series of analogous conjunctions discussed in ŚA. VII and VIII and corresponding passages of AA., and elsewhere. In the case of all these unions the end in view is an effective harmony and the reproduction of the higher of the two principles involved. In general the junction is a combination (*samhita*) of the parents in their child (ŚA. VII 15, cf. Taitt. U. I. 3), so that, for example, "science" (*vidyā*) is the conjunction of Intellect and Voice, *Manas* and *Vāc*, jointly necessary to the expression of any concept of truth (ŚA. VII. 7).

Now in the case of the macrocosmic harp (the seven-rayed Sun) and that of the analogous human instrument with its seven "breaths," AV. XV. 15.2, etc.), the man himself (cf. A. III. 374 f., where in the "figure," *śimittā*, of the harp, the right tuning of the strings to a mean that is neither too taut nor too slack corresponds to the proper adjustment of the man's force and faculties, *virya* and *indriyāni*: Plato, *Rep.* 349E, 412A), the combination (*samhita*) that is its "force" (*teṣi* = *bala* in Taitt. U. I. 2) is that of the skilled player with the instrument itself, these two being the formal and efficient causes of the audible harmony or euphony; we read that "Just as the harp struck by a skilled player accomplishes the last end (whole reason, *raison d'être*) of the harp, so the voice impelled by a skilled speaker accomplishes the last end of the voice" (*evam eva kulaena vaktṛā vāg ārabdhā kṛtsnān vāgarthān sādhayati*, ŚA. VIII. 10, cf. BG. II. 50, *yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam*), and it is certainly pertinent to the Kingship that we are told that "He who is a Comprehensor of this divine harp (the seven-rayed Sun) becomes exceedingly famous: his renown fills the earth; men hearken to him when he speaks in the assemblies, saying: 'Let this be done which he desires'" (ŚA. VIII. 9). The speaker, like the King and other artists, is thought of as a *sādhaka*, "one to hit the mark." Here then is a rhetoric of "the energising of truth, the bringing to bear of truth upon men" (Baldwin, *Mediaeval Rhetoric and Poetic*, p. 3). For it is clear that the "last end" of the musical speech is by no means one of fine sounds for their own sake (for which the voice alone, uninformed by any meaning would suffice; it has been remarked that "To exercise freedom of speech one needs only vocal cords"), but what the sense powers (*indriyāni*) have to offer, not amusement, but that "science without which art is nothing," that "science" (*vidyā*) for which the cooperation of *Manas* with *Vāc*, Inner Sage and Outer King, *φλοσoφία* and *βίσις*, is required, that "meaning of the Vedās" by which, if one understands it, the Summum Bonum (*sakalaṁ bhadrām*) is attainable (ŚA. XIV). We need hardly say that this is also precisely Plato's (and the universal) doctrine of the purpose of art: "we are endowed by the Gods with vision and hearing, and harmony was given by the Muses to him that can use them intellectually (*πρὸς λόγον* = *μαρτυρῶν*), not as an aid to irrational pleasure (*ἡδονῇ* *ἀλογος*), as is nowadays supposed, but to assist the soul's revolution (*ψυχῆς περιστροφῇ*, cf. *cittavṛtti* and *vṛate*), to restore it to order and concord with itself (i.e. the "Self," the Inner Man of *Phaedrus* 279 C). And because of the want of measure (*ἄμετρος*) and the lack of grace in most of us, rhythm (*ῥυθμός* = *numerus*, *samhityāna*) was also bestowed upon us by the same deities and for the same ends" (*Timaeus* 47 D, E): the composition of sounds

is the basis of an affect (*ῥέσθ*) that affords, indeed "pleasure (*ἡδονή*) only to the unintelligent, but to the intelligent (*ἡσυχία*, connected with *ἡσυχία* "heart," "mind" and = Skr. *śāhyā*) that heart's ease (*ἡσυχία*) also which is induced by the mimesis of the divine harmony made manifest in mortal motions" (ib. 80 B, echoed in Quintilian's *docti rationem componendi intelligunt, etiam indocti voluptatem*, IX, 4, 116, and in St. Augustine's deprecation of those "who enjoy what they should use"). Plato's conception of the "whole end of the voice," or more generally of the whole purpose of art (since he regards all craftsmen as "poets," *Gorgias* 503), is identical with that of the Aranyakas, and it is clear that his "delight," so carefully distinguished from "pleasure," is no more "aesthetic" than is the "savoring of the flavor (*rasadvādana*) that the *śāhitya Darpaṇa* (III.2-3) speaks of as an "intellectually beatific" (*ānandavin-maya*, cf. A. III. 354 *paramam ānānam . . . sukham anuttaram*) and as the "twin brother" of the "savoring of Brahman"; *rasa* corresponding to the "*sap*" in *sapientia*, "*cognitio cum amore*." In the present context the application is to the art of government, likened to that of music: the end of this art is not the King's pleasure, but his "children's" and his own good. As in any other vocation (*śradhdharma*) the King is to be governed by his art, not "expressing himself," the instrument, but voicing what has been dictated by the Intellect, *veś* (*manasā vā agre kīrtayati*, ŚA. VII. 2, cf. John VIII. 28 and Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIV. 52-54), and making the good of the work to be done his only concern (*karmāny eādāhikāras te*, BG. II. 47). In the last analysis, God is the skilled player and we the harp of which the "strings" or "senses" must be "regulated."

We begin to see now why the words (*re*) should be studied (*adhyāta*, i. e. like all other symbols, as supports of contemplation, *dhyāyāmba*) in their *samhitā* form, that form in which they are sung, and in which alone are they "life-giving" (*āyujya*, ŚA. VIII. 11), i. e. productive of *dirgham āyus* here (the life of 100 years) and hereafter (imperishable immortality). It is because the reconstitution (*ātmanasankīrti*) of the disintegrated and manifold self effected in the Sacrifice (for which the Chant is absolutely indispensable, TS. II. 5.8.4) is essentially metrical: "the sacrificer perfects himself as composed of the metres" (*chando-mayam vai . . . ātmānam samśkurate*, AB. VI. 27, Keith's rendering), and is thus a "perfected Self" (*sukṛtātman*, Taitt. U. II. 7); Prajāpati, broken up in the emanation of his children (cf. SB. X. 5.2.16 on the One and the Many) "unifies himself by means of the metres" (*chandoḥhir ātmānam samādadhāt*, AA. III. 2.6 and ŚA. VIII. 11), i. e. "synthesizes" the manifold self with the simple Self (the rebel with the rightful sovereign). Similarly, in the *samādhi* of the Yoga-śāstra where there is a reconciliation and "synthesis" of hostile selves, and in the *samādhi* of the Arthashastra where *samādhi-* or *samādhi-karṇa* is the making of a treaty of peace and alliance (also explained as a *samāharaṇa*, a term so often employed in connection with marital alliances) between two powers that have been at war, and the converse *samādhi-* or *samādhi-mokṣa* (= *samādhi-bheda*) is the dissolution or breaking of such a treaty and analogous to the grammatical *samādhi-veartana* = *padaccheda*, the "divorce" of fused words; it will be seen that I cannot wholly agree with Edgerton's rendering of *samādhi* by "hostage" (see his "*Samādhi*, 'Hostage' . . ." in *JAOS* 60. 208 ff.) but rather hold that the *samādhi* is a "treaty of peace" commonly ratified or secured by an exchange of gifts or "deposits" (*dāna*), not excluding those of persons such as a daughter given in marriage (rather as a pledge than as a hostage); the pledges or host-

ages are given when the peace is made, and there is nothing to show that any such hostages were held while the fighting was going on, which hostages could be "released." In any case all these "agreements" are analogous to that of the "two selves" of Mitravarunan and all those other aspects of the union of contrary principles, in which there is always an exchange of gifts, each giving something of its own to the other: all these *śaurā* are makings of harmony and order where discord had been, and we can say with Dionysius (*De die, nom.* IV. 5) that "all alliances and friendships are because of the beautiful"; this will apply, for example to the "alliance" of words in grammatical *sandhi*, for the metrical *sandhi* texts are assuredly beautiful, the mere words (*ro*) being the "evil" of the chant, and *kalyāṇa* the opposite of *pāpman* as is *puṣker* of *turpis*.

On the other hand, in *pada* texts the blank space (*śaśāśa*) or moment of time (*mātrā*) "divorces the conjunction" (*sandhiṁ vicartayati*, cf. RV. VI.9.1 *vicartete rājasi* and VII.80.1 *vicartayantīni rājasi*; and *vivarta*, "contrasted operation") and divides (*vibhajati*) or distinguishes (*vijāpayati*) the long and short syllables (*mātrāmdtram*) and tonic (in Webster's sense 4 b) from "atonic" (*svardīśvaram*), AA. III.1.5 with ŚA. VII.12. Such a formulation is certainly not meant to be understood *only* grammatically (grammar itself is a traditional "Way" and "Doctrine"; cf. CU. II.22.3-5, Tait. U. I.3.1, and Faddegon, *Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar*, 1936, pp. 67, 68): the "divorce" of the metrically fused syllables is, as much as the divorce of Sky and Earth, their discord and discord: *mātrā* is the quantitative "matter" that fills space, and *śaśāśa* (= *ākāśa*, *anturīkṣa*, Śāyana on PB. XVIII.9.6) the luminous sphere that intervenes between the Earth and Sky; *mātrā* and *amātrā* can be taken to refer to what has measure or number and what has not (the distinction of poetry from prose); while the distinction of *svara* (tone, tune, music, "the gold of the chant," BU. I.3.25, 26) from what is *asvara* (tuneless noise)—in ŚA. I. amend to *asvartīśvaram* to agree with AA. *svardīśvaram*—can be equated with that of the intoned (*erarya*) chant from the toneless libretto (*ro*, "the evil of the chant," JUB. I.16.10) and furthermore with that of solar light from mundane darkness (it can hardly be conveyed in English that *svara* implies both "tone" and "light," though we can speak of a "brilliant tone," and Dante spoke of "singing suns"). Strong confirmation of these interpretations can be found in a correlation of AA. II.3.6 where we are told that "vain talk is unmeasured" (*erthāś evā tad amitam*)—we understand this to mean at once "unmetrical" and "immoderate"—with JB. II.69, 70, 73 where in the sacrificial contest between Prajāpati and Death "what was sung or danced to the harp by way of mere entertainment" (*erthā* = *mōgham*, "vainly," in the corresponding text of ŚB. III.2.4.6) by Death is "un-numbered" (*asankhyānam*) and "deadly" (*martyam*), and what by Prajāpati "numbered" (*sankhyānam*) and "lively" (*amrtam*), and Death's music is now our secular art of the "parlor" (*patnīśālā*), "whatever people sing to the harp, or dance or do to please themselves" (*erthā*): and with ŚB. III.2.4.1-6 where the mundane Devas (*īdā devdā*) contest with the celestial (*dīrī*) Gandharvas for the possession of Vāc; the Gandharvas say to her: "We are declaring the Vedas, we know, indeed we know" (*vai vedyā vidma*, cf. ŚB. XI.2.3.7), but the mundane Devas: "We will amuse thee" (*tvā pramodayiṣyāmaḥ*); Vāc is seduced by the sensitive Devas, "and that is why even nowadays women are wedded to folly" (*mōghasankhītā*); but finally won by the Gandharvas from them. The word *pramodayiṣyāmaḥ* is reflected below (16) in the expression *prakāśādya*

"aesthetic, or appetitive conversation," evidently contrasting with *brahmodya*, "godly conversation" or "Brahmanical colloquy" (see Bloomfield in *JAOS* 15. 184 and Caland on *PB*. IV. 9. 12): the distinction of celestial Gandharvas from the mundane Devas is the same as that of the *brāhmagandhārōḥ* from the *devāḥ* in *TS*. VI. 1. 6. 5, 6, that of the *divikṣit* from the *lokaḥkṣit* Devas in *CU*. II. 24. 14, and that of the Devas whose spokesman is the Sacrifice from the Asuras—the unregenerate sense-powers, *prāpāḥ*, *indriyāṇi*—in *SB*. III. 2. 1. 18 where also the contest is for *Vāc*; the mundane Devas are of those who "can only approach *Vāc* in sin" in the sense of *RV*. X. 71. 9. The distinction of such an "unmodulated vain conversation" (*vr̥thā vāk . . . anītam*) from the "Chant commensurate with the spiritual-Self" (*ātmasammītam . . . sāma*, *CU*. II. 10. 1), "commensurate with the Imperishable" (*akṣarasammānas . . . ātmā*, *ŚA*. VIII. 5, l. c. with the syllable *Om*, with Brahma, not Keith's "letters"), is very evident. Śāyana's explanation of *vr̥thā vāk* in *AA*. II. 3. 6 is "non-Brahmanical interpretations (l. c. 'free examination'; *agata* is very literally "unauthorised," "not fathered by") and humorous anecdotes and so forth told at court or other such like places" (*brāhmanagatā yē'rthavedā yā ca rājasabhāḍau parikhaddirūpenocyate*).

The sacred "science of the celestial Gandharvas" (who know better than the Rishis what is too much or too little in the Sacrifice, *SB*. XI. 2. 3. 7) and "science" (*vidyā*) of *ŚA*. VII. 15, must not be equated with our profane science, but with "metaphysics" (cf. René Guénon, "Deux sciences" in *La crise du monde moderne*, 1927, and *La métaphysique orientale*, 1939; Gaigneron, *La connaissance interdite*, 1935). An accumulation of knowledge for its own sake, to satisfy a curiosity, is as much as gossip, vaudeville, or any merely sentimental art or "art for art's sake," a "profanity" (*vr̥thā vāk*): we say "profanity" here with reference to the opposition of profane to sacred (*lopā*, *brahma*), and the fact that *vr̥thā*, from *vr̥*, to "choose," is the semiotic equivalent of "heretical," from *alpe* (*alpipāḥ*), to "choose for oneself"; the man who can boast, or even admit that "I do not know what is right, I know what I like to do; I do not know what is true, but what I like to think; and I do not know anything about art, but know what I like" is in the strictest sense of the word a "heretic," one who however "well-intentioned" is nevertheless "opinionated" and "unprincipled."

Stated in other words, there is a distinction of a significant (*padārthabhīnaya*) and liberating (*vimuktīda*) art—the art of those who singing here to the harp are celebrating Him, the Golden Person, in both his natures, immanent and transcendent—from an in-significant art "colored by worldly passion" (*lokānu-rūḥjaka*) and "dependent on the moods" (*bhāvedārūpa*); the former is the "high-way" (*mārga*) and the later a "pagan" (*deśī*) art (*CU*. I. 7. 6-9 with *Saṃgīta-darpaṇa*, I. 4-6 and *Dakṣarūpa*, I. 12-14). The distinction of *mārga* from *deśī* is not, of course, one of fine from applied or of high from folk art, but of the traditional art that follows up the main track to its destination at "World's End" from a naturalistic art that wanders off the main road "in all directions"; the root meanings present in *deśī* are to "display," and "all directions" (*dīśi dīśi*, cf. *dīśo dīśas*, "hither and thither"), whence *deśa* "country" or "environment," "outlandish parts" as distinguished from the "heart" of the kingdom, while *pāgus* is also "country" and "pagan," "outlandish," and thus heterodox. The "pagan" art by which we are seduced, i. e. led off or led away from the relatively "narrow" Way is essentially feminine: cf. *SB*. III. 2. 1. 22 where the Devas (Gandharvas) remark that "Vāc is a woman" (*yōḡā*), and are fearful "lest she

ensnare" (*ad yuvitā*; cf. RV. I. 165.2 where Trita laments & *jāyā yuvate pātīm*) the Sacrifice, her suitor on their behalf. This fear is, of course, the basis of the Indian, Islamic, and Christian "puritanism," which must not be misinterpreted to the discredit of all art and is a disparagement only of the profane arts of amusement, of mere diversion, Plato's "art of flattery." There is obviously no disparagement of the Cantor who sings of the Sun on his harp by means of the "Thre-fold Science" (*trayi vidyā*, i.e. "bādhā bhuvāḥ svar," JUB. I. 53. 1, 2; II. 9. 7; III. 18. 4), the harpists whose song is "of Him," the Person in the Sun, the lord of these worlds thereunder and of men's desires, and so singing win both worlds (CU. I. 7. 6, I. 11), or of the art (*śilpā*) of dancing, singing, and instrumental music referred to in KB. XXIX. 5; no disparagement of scripture with its "figures of thought," but only of "literature" with its "figures of speech"; none of "poetry," but only an affirmation of its real values (*artha*), a justification of such "scientific" poets as Dante who, with his *dottrina che s'asconde sotto il velame degli versi strani*, and confessed amanuensis of Eros, was no more than any Vedic *Rishi* or *mantrakṛt* a litterateur, but a soothsayer, *satyaśāhin*.

And just as there is no disparagement of art as such, so in the so-called misogynism of the texts there is no more disparagement of woman as such than there is of kings as such; the disparagement is of an effeminacy to which both are liable by a perversion of their naturally and therefore properly "erotic" nature: a disparagement of monarchy, like that of the spiritual power, is an altogether modern development, essentially proletarian and "materialistic." It is not "this woman," but the feminine, or rather effeminate, principle which, when it follows its own devices, makes pleasure its end, is rejected, whether in woman or man, subject or king. We are all of us, like Aditi-Vāc, "double-headed" (*ubhayaśāśirṣā*), having one tongue "worshipful and regal" (*kaśtriṇā hy eṣā yajñaṇā*) that enunciates the Guerdon (*dāksinā*) of the Sacrifice, the wisdom (*vidyā*) by which the whole end of Speech, and immortality, are won; and another that perverts the Truth (SB. III. 2. 4. 16 with JUB. IV. 19. 4); the latter is condemned, but not the tongue as such.

We realise now that art can have, not only "fixed ends," but also "ascertained means of operation"; that it is not only for those who sing here to sing of Him, but to sing as He sings. On the one hand, a prosaic, historical and anecdotal, sentimental and humanistic interpretation of "scripture as literature," or of any traditional symbol, whether auditory or visual, is a deadly error (cf. S. I. 11), the defect of Plutarch's Greeks, who could not distinguish between Apollo and Helios, and because of which many learned Indians have thought of European scholarship as a "crime." On the other it is clear that our substitution of stress for tone, our "expressive" and informal manner of reading and singing—so different from the measured "singsong" of traditionally spoken verse—are essentially profane developments characteristic of an age that can no longer think of song as an evocative or creative (*poietikós*) art in any literal sense of the words, or of the Sacrifice as necessary for our daily bread. We realise the significance of the fact that prose has been a late development in literary history; ours is a prose style, while the traditional lore of all peoples—even the substance of their practical sciences—has been everywhere poetical. The prosaic and pedestrian language of the "pāda text" is the analytical language of fact, the intoned poetry or "incantation" the language of truth; *in-tonation* is analogous to *in-formation*. It can hardly be said of us that our music is "an earthly representa-

nāṇi).⁴² Thou art the body, protect thou my body from this Great Dread" (*arṁdā mahābhayāt . . . tanvām me pāhi*).⁴²

tion of the music that there is in the rhythm of the ideal world" or that our "crafts such as building and carpentry take their principles from that realm and from the thinking there" (Plotinus, *Enneads*, V.9.11), or that we "make all things according to the pattern that was shown thee upon the mount" (Exodus, XXV.40), or that "our songs are the same as His songs" (CU.I.7.5); for like all other animals, we know what we like; and over and above this, have invented a science of likes and dislikes—properly styled a "psychology"—and have substituted this "aesthetic" for the traditional conception of art as an "intellectual virtue." Thus when we said that *sandhi*, whether grammatical, erotic, or technical, was "for the sake of harmony, or euphony," this did not mean "for aesthetic reasons," for the love of fine sounds or the mere satisfaction of longings (the traditional union has other and practical ends in view, so that a man aims if he desires even his own wife "as a woman, and not because she is his wife," and it is not upon a "falling in love" but on qualifications that the marriage of king and priest depends). The point is that discord is sterile, preventing "good use," concord effective. If the texts are to be made "enchanting" (cf. Plato, *Laos* 639E), this is not in the modern sense of the word but in that sense in which the Cantor (the Uṅgātr, assimilated to the Sun, see JAOS 60, 1940, p. 49, note 12; the harpiat whose songs are a mimesis of the solar music of the spheres, CU.I.7.5) is strictly speaking an Enchanter, voicing words of power, a chanticleer announcing the morning. If the intoned (*avarya*) text is actually also more "charming" than the prosaic reading (this time "charming" in the modern sense), this charm was not their first intention or last end; the aesthetic value of the incantation, so artfully constructed, is indeed an undeniable value, not however the value of a *raison d'être*, but that of "the pleasure that perfects the operation." A good example of the principle can be cited in the case of the lotus wreath, called a "work of art" or rather "symbol" (*śilpa*), that Prajāpati wears "for supremacy" and which he bequeathes to Indra, who thereupon becomes an all-conqueror (PB. XVI.4.3-5); this wreath is assuredly an "ornament" in the word's original sense of "equipment"; it is not worn "for effect" but to be effective. Conversely, those whose language is arid (*anirṁdā*, in-explicit) are thought of as unarmed (RV. IV.5.14). Cf. my "Ornament" in *Art Bulletin*, XXI, 1939.

We find it strange that, with the exception of Gonda, students of Indian rhetoric have completely neglected the older and also the Buddhist material on the "purpose of speech."

⁴² For *purāṇi* Sāyana has *grāmaḥ* "villages," but this does not mean, as Keith suggests in a footnote, "villages in the kingdom"; the fact is that one of these "villages" is the kingdom, and that only the word "here" signifies "in this kingdom." The "villages" are those of Sky and Earth, as in CU. VIII.6.2 where the Two Worlds are *grāmau*, "two villages"; cf. SB. X.2.5.1 "These worlds, indeed, are cities" (*purāṇi*). In JUB. I.53.33 the Two Worlds are *dyatadāni*; in AB. IV.27 the Purohita is the King's *dyatadāna*. In TS. III.4.7.3 the Two Worlds are *upāri grāh* *itā* os, "the upper house and this one here below," the latter being the same as the *adharāḥ grāh* of AV. II.14.3 and the same as the one village in our text that is "here." In JB. I.145 (cf. PB. VII.10.3 and AB. IV.27) the effect of the "divine marriage" of the Two Worlds is that "now they

That these words, to which Sāyana refers as the *rājñah purohitavarāṇa-*

dwelt in one another's house" (*anyonyasau grāhe*), or "in the house that belongs to both," and it is as hard to see why Caland (*Das Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa in Auswähl*, p. 47) found the plural (*vaśanti*) so strange (what of the plural in "They twain shall be one flesh"? Cf. Vidyāpati's "Each is both") as it is to see why Keith (who ignores the marital force of TS. I. 3. 7 and IV. 2. 5. 1) should have thought that Sāyana had overlooked the marital force of the formula in AB. VIII. 27.

In TS. IV. 2. 5. 1 the formula for the marriage of the two Agnis (the *brahma* and the *ḷgatra*, JB. V. 2. 4. 1-2) concludes with the words *bhāratām aśvāśmānasaṁ** *śmōkasaṁ*, found also in TS. I. 3. 7 where they are addressed to the firesticks identified with Urvāśi and Purūravas as the parents of Āyu-Agni, and this reflects RV. X. 65. 8 where "Sky and Earth, environing parents, cohabit and co-operate" (*parikṣitā pitṛā . . . śmōkasaṁ dyāvāpythiś . . . sāvrate*).

There is a very significant parallel here between the Sanskrit and the Greek sources. In the first place the two words *pur* (or *pura*) "city," and *śmōkasaṁ* (*vac*, to "be apt for") "living in one house with" are the etymological equivalents of Greek *polis* and *συνεστιάς*. Both the Sanskrit and the Greek sources speak of man as a "city": for example, man's body is a "city indwelt by God" (*brahmapura*, CU. VIII. 1. 1, Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 7—the term also meaning "city of God," i. e. Heaven), the head is the body's *ἀσπέραλς* (*Timaeus* 70 A). Furthermore, just as Sky and Earth are to be "cohabitant" (*śmōkasaṁ*) "here," so the divine, daimonic, immortal part of the soul is said to "live in one house with" (*συνεστιάς*, *Timaeus* 90 A, C, etc.) the mortal part of the soul: and if Plato does not expressly interpret this to mean a cohabitation of male and female principles, such a distinction is certainly latent in the fact that the two principles are for him by nature respectively the dominant and the obedient.

To resume, there can be no possible doubt that in our context the *purāḥ*, "cities," Sāyana's *grāmāḥ*, are Sky and Earth, the city of God and the city of man.

✓ "The two "forms" or "bodies" (*tanu*) of the Purohita and the King correspond to the "two forms" (*edam . . . tandadam*) of Mitravaruna in RV. V. 67. 5, and to their "two selves" or "two persons" in SB. IV. 1. 4. 1. In PB. VII. 10. 3 it is by means of their "two dear bodies" (*prīte tanuau*), the *naudhas* and *śyōita* metres, that the divine marriage (*daivam mithunam*) of Sky and Earth (*bṛhadrathāntarau*) is consummated, the union being effected by an exchange of verse endings. For this kind of "transposition of forms" in marriage, comparable with the *Hissāpa* of the later rhetoricians, cf. PB. VII. 10. 3 *viparikṛmāti* = JB. I. 145 *vyacchetām*. In AB. VIII. 27 a reading of *samvāśāśai* (for *samvāśāśai*) would scarcely affect the meaning; cf. Caland on *vivāśāśai* in JB. I. 145 (*JB. in Auswähl*, pp. 46, 47). The transposition and mingling of hymns in the ritual (e. g. AB. VI. 28 *śukte paryasyati, sa eva tayor vivāśāś*) is always a commingling of contrasted forms with a view to a propagation; and there is something in the assimilation of the King and Priest to one another that is quite analogous to this.

* It is by a curious coincidence that this word *śmānasaṁ*, if analysed as *śmānasaṁ* would mean "sharing one vehicle," cf. *śam-śam* to "drive off together," with a view to "living together" (*śam-śam*).

mantram,** could only have been spoken by the Purohita to the King may

That *tandā* in our text refers to the King's person and *tanvam* to the Purohita's is paralleled in TS. VI.1.1.3 "Thou art the body of (King) Soma, protect thou my body." Just as Indra, King in *divinitas*, is *vratapā*, "Fidei Defensor," and becomes the Buddha's protector from the time of the Buddha's Awakening and Enthronement onwards, so the human King is *brāhmanādānā gopā* . . . *dharmasya gopā*, AB. VIII. 17. For an exchange of bodies and names, and transvestment, cf. TS. I. 3. 4. 3 and I. 5. 10. 1.

** Taken alone, this seems to mean "Formula for the King's choice of the Purohita," cf. RV. V. 50.1 "Let every mortal choose (*vrata*) the God's, the Leader's (i.e. Savitṛ's) fellowship," X.21.1 *agnā* . . . *hātārān teḍ vṛṇāhe*, and III.62.10 *vāreṇyam* "choice-worthy," qualifying Savitṛ's Splendor. In any case the choice is mutual (cf. SB. IV. 1. 4. 5, 6); each "takes" the other in the sense that "take" is used in the Christian marriage service. In RV. X. 124.4 where Agni "chooses" (*vṛṇāṣā*) Indra it is, of course, to be understood that Indra also "chooses" Agni, as in TS. II. 5. 2. 3. This reciprocal relationship is paralleled in the ambiguity of the much discussed text of KU. II. 23, of which the real theme is that of the sacred marriage to be effected within you (cf. BU. IV. 3. 21). In KU. II. 23 it is a matter of the "taking" (*vlāṣṭ*, which has also an erotic sense) of the Self by the self, but it is uncertain which "self" is the subject of "chooses" (*vṛṇate*, *√vṛ*, meaning also to "woo") in the third line. We assume, with most of the translators, that *esa* refers back to *āyam ātmā* (the Self) as subject. However this may be, the problem whether or not *esa vṛṇate* implies a "doctrine of Divine Grace and . . . personal God" (Rawson) does not depend on the grammar here. If we regard the choice or wooing of the lower principle by the higher as an "art of grace," then it goes without saying that a doctrine of "Grace" and a sense of personal relationship with the divine Eros had been taught and felt long before the time of KU. Nor is there any opposition between the doctrines of a personal and an impersonal deity: "personal and impersonal" (*pauruṣāpauruṣya*)—like *śabdāśabda*, *kālākāla*, *parimitāparimita*, etc.—is only one of the many ways of describing the divine *deśinbhāsa*.

In this connection it must not be overlooked that a doctrine of Grace implies also one of Disgrace: "He causes him whom he wishes to lead up from these worlds to perform right acts, and whom he wishes to lead downwards to perform unright acts" (Kaus. U. III. 8).* If this appears to deny our moral responsibility (the *akiriparāda* heresy, attributed also to the Amaurians, see *HJAS*. IV, 119 f., and cf. St. Augustine, *De spir. et lit.* 60), the answer is that the freedom of choice is ours to ask what boon we will (*varān vṛṇta yaṁ kāmān kāmāyeta tam*) and that whoever prays sincerely in the words of the "Elevation" (*edhyā-roha*), "Lead me from what is unright to what is right (*asato ma and gamaya*), from darkness to light, from death to immortality" assuredly obtains his desire (BU. I. 3. 28). In other words, the Lord bestows his Grace on those who "choose" his leading, and "disgraces" those who do not seek it. In the same way the King may or may not "choose" the guidance of a qualified Purohita; in our text it is clear that the choice has been made, and the spoken words are those of the Purohita expressing his acceptance of the King whom he will "cause to perform right acts," and therefore to prosper.

* Cf. Heraclitus, Fr. XLIV.

be said to have been proved by the already accumulated evidence of the masculinity of the Sacerdotium with respect to the Regnum. That *amo 'ham asmi* must have been spoken by the Priest is further confirmed by the fact that in CU. V. 2. 6 the would-be King addresses the Fire (the archetype of the Purohita) with the words *amo nāmā 'si*, "Thy name is 'That' (or 'He')," cf. CU. VI. 1. 1 "Sā is This (Earth), *ama* is Agni." That it is the Purohita that utters the words "I am That (or He)" is stated explicitly by Sāyana (AB. VIII. 27, Commentary, *Bib. Ind.*, 1896, IV. 288, line 8, *purohitaḥ aham amah*). Sāyana also makes it clear that the whole of the rest of this section, beginning *yā ośadhi . . .*, is likewise spoken by the Purohita, who thus consecrates the seat given to him by the King and at the same time blesses the realm. The Purohita is the "man" and the King the "woman." Observe that it is to the King that the words "Bear thou rule" (*tvām vi rāja*) are addressed in AV. III. 4. 1, and that it is with reference to a wife that the words "let her bear rule" (*vi rājatu*) are spoken in AV. II. 36. 3.

The essential purpose of the Divine Marriage, in which the Priest and King are the representatives of Sky and Earth, is apotropaic of Death, and especially Famine (cf. BU. I. 2. 1, *āśānyā hi mṛtyūh*).⁴⁴ The words of the text reflect the refrain *rākṣatam . . . na ābhvāt* of RV. I. 185, addressed to Sky and Earth, Day and Night. It is by means of the Divine Marriage and the Sacrifice that Death is averted from the kingdom, as we saw in note 34, citing JB. II. 419. The marriage is an insurance against the Privation (*abhava*) of RV. I. 185, "the Great Dread, the uplifted bolt" (*mahadbhāyam vajram udyatam*) of KU. VI. 2, the uplifted bolt (the millstone), dreaded by Sky and Earth, SB. III. 9. 4. 18, the Great Fear of BG. II. 49, the "fear" (*bhaya*) of Taitt. Up. II. 7, cf. Sn. 1033 "the Great Dread, the woe of this world" (*duḥkham aśa mahabbhāyam*): just as Sky and Earth (where they have been reconciled) are not afraid, nor are hurt, so the *brahma* and the *kṣatra* are not afraid nor are hurt, and one says: "Be not afraid, O thou breath-of-my-life" (AV. II. 15. 1, 4). The congress of Mitrāvaruṇau, Dyāvapṛthivī, *brahma-kṣatrau* is an aversion of the "wrath" (*manyu*) of Varuṇa, or rather a conversion by which he is made a Friend (Mitra).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Cf. TS. I. 6. 7. 4 "The sacrificer is a bolt (*vajra*), the enemy (*bhṛātreyam*) of man is want (*ksudra*); in that he fasts and does not eat, he straightway smites with a bolt, the enemy, want"; similarly II. 5. 6. 6.

⁴⁵ In an analysis of the ruling passions of the various human kinds or castes in A. III. 363 it is interesting to compare those attributed to the Kṣatriya with those attributed to women: both lists of qualities end in the same way, "his vocation is to rule" (*ksatriya pariyoṣāna*), and "her vocation is to rule." The word *pariyoṣāna* (Skr. *pari-ṛ-ṣu*), almost literally "tie-up" or "connection,"

The primary expression of the "wrath" is in drought, the precursor of famine. Prior to the marital reunion of Sky and Earth "there was

means vocation, function, entelechy, goal, as may be seen from the fact that in the same context the Samanā's *paripōṣana* is *nibbāna*, and the Householder's (whose "support is an art") is "perfected work." It is not meant that it is the Kṣatriya's and woman's mere ambition to rule, but that it pertains to them to do so. In other words, the characteristically royal and feminine function is that of administration; the one administering a kingdom, the other a household (cf. Proverbs, XXXI. 10 f.); it is well known that the Indian woman, in fact, "rules" the house. In both cases, of course, the administrative function implies the presence of another and authoritative principle, on behalf of which the administrator acts.

There is another way in which the King and the woman correspond: both are "devoted." We have already seen that the King's patronage of the Brāhman corresponds to Indra's bestowal of his "share" (*bhāgam*, RV. VIII. 100. 1; cf. note 5) on Agni, and that this offering makes the King a *bhaktā*; it is in the same way that the wife offers his share of the meal to her husband before partaking of what is left, the remains of her sacrifice. It would be as "incorrect" for her to eat with him as it would be for the King to eat with his Parohita.

It is by no means an accident, or merely historical "development" that "the doctrine of *bhakti*" should have been so little emphasized in the Upaniṣads and so much in BG. For it is the Way of Gnosis (*jñānamārga*) that pertains to the Brāhman, and the emotional Way of Devotion (*bhaktimārga*), which is also a Way of Sacrificial Action (*karmamārga*), that pertains to the King. The relation of a vassal to a feudal lord, which is also that of the Regnum to the Sacerdotium, is essentially one of "loyalty" (a word that better than "devotion," perhaps, conveys the meaning of *bhakti*), and that is precisely the relation of the woman to the man, her "lord"; there is a real equivalence of the Japanese *Asakiri* and the Indian *raṭi*, and it is in the same way that the "soul" (always f.) must "put itself to death" for the sake of the spirit to which it owes allegiance.

We can see all this as clearly in the connection of European Chivalry (*knight*) with a devotional mysticism, and in the corresponding Sōfi devotional literature, with its "Fidèles de l'Amour," as in India. As has been pointed out by René Guénon, "Nous ne pouvons que signaler . . . le rôle important que joue le plus souvent un élément féminin, ou représenté symboliquement comme tel, dans les doctrines des Kṣatriyas. . . . Ce fait peut s'expliquer, d'une part, par la prépondérance de l'élément 'rajasique' et émotif chez les Kṣatriyas, et surtout, d'autre part, par la correspondance du féminin, dans l'ordre cosmique, avec Prakṛiti ou 'La Nature primordiale,' principe du devenir et de la mutation temporelle." (*Autorité spirituelle et Pouvoir temporelle*, 1930, p. 93, note 1).

The Sacerdotium and the man are the intellectual, and the Regnum and the woman the active elements in what should be literally a symphony. Over against the intellectuality and continence that are proper to the former, the emotional and erotic qualities of the latter are, in due proportion, necessary and indispensable to society; for without the softer wool to be combined with the harder web, the social tissue could not be woven at all. But it must also be realized that in any normal decadence (such as that of the last centuries in Europe),

no rain, no warmth, the Five Folk were at variance" (*na samajānata*, AB. IV. 27); it is a consequence of the marriage of the Purohita and the King that the people are unanimous (*viśāḥ samjānate*, AB. VIII. 27). So when the separation of Sky and Earth, the act of "creation" essential to life but also involving death, had first been effected, "The Gods all wailed, and called upon the Aśvins to 'Reunite them' (*pūnar ā vakatāt*, RV. X. 24. 5): so "the Gods led them together (*samanayan*, as the Queen is 'led' in the Aśvamedha), and coming together, they performed this Divine Marriage" (*samyanatāḥ etam devavivādham vyavahetām*, AB. IV. 27) and as in VS. II. 16 "Consent ye together (*samjānathām*), Sky and Earth; aid ye us with rain."

For if Varuṇa is, in himself, a god of drought and privation (see note 22), on the other hand Mitrāvaruṇau jointly are typically "rain-gods," as in RV. V. 63, 68, and 69; and if their cosmic and earthly equivalents, Sky and Earth, Priest and King, are likewise jointly rain-givers, this too depends upon the marital association and cooperation of the contrasted principles: the King, in other words, is directly responsible for the fertility of the land; the fall of rain in due season depends upon his righteousness or default.

SB. I. 8. 3. 12 adds to VS. II. 16 cited above, "for when Sky and Earth consent (or 'know' one another), then indeed it rains," explaining that Mitrāvaruṇau as *prāṇāpānu* are the same as that Vāyu, the Gale, "who is the ruler in the rain" (*yō varṣasyēste*): similarly AA. III. 1. 2 where "the conjunction (*samdhī*) of Sky and Earth is rain, Parjanya the conjoiner" (*samdhātṛ*); cf. RV. VII. 101. 6 where Parjanya, identified with the solar Ātman, is the inseminator of the (three) "Everlasting-Dawns" (*retodhā . . . śāśvatīnām*), and Taitt. Up. I. 3. 3 where Vāyu is the conjoiner (*samdhā*) of Sky and Earth; just as the Priest, by means of the sacrificial ritual "conjoins" (*samdadhātī*) Earth, Vāyu, and Āditya with Earth, Air, and Sky (SA. I. 5), which is "a coupling of three with three for progeny" (*tiarās trivīdhibir mithundh prajātyai*, TB. I. 2. 1. 8). With reference to all these marriages, and their reflection here (*tasmād idānim puruṣasya śarīrāṇi pratisamhitāni*, JUB. III. 4. 6; *pravasiyān sam vivāham āpnoti ya evaṁ veda*, PB. VII. 10. 4), one may well say "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

the progressive "emancipation" of the less intellectual and more emotional elements in the community will mean the gradual substitution of feeling for knowing as a basis for judgment in conduct or art. In ethics, the notion of altruism will take the place of that of justice; in literature, words will more and more be used for their emotive effect than treated as the vehicle of thought. We ultimately reach just such a condition of sentimentality as is characteristic of modern societies; and it need hardly be pointed out that if the social tissue is to be woven entirely of the softer elements, it cannot be expected to wear well.

Thus, while "there was no rain" so long as Sky and Earth were estranged, the text goes on to say that, when the marriage has been made, "they enliven (*jīvantī*) one another; with the smoke (of the Sacrifice) this world enlivens that (world), with rain that (world) enlivens this" (AB. IV. 27); the seminal union is effected with RV. I. 159, wherewith the Priest fertilises Sky and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivyo rāsam dadhāti*, cf. *rasa* in RV. I. 105. 2) and "it is upon these two, thus saturated (*rāsavatyāḥ*, that these children live (*upajīvanti*) as means of subsistence" (*upajīvanīye*, ŚB. IV. 3. 2. 12). So in TS. III. 5. 3. 1 "Quicken the Sky," he says; verily, to these worlds he announces the Sacrifice . . . verily, he wins rain." Similarly in PB. VII. 10. 3; and in JB. I. 145 where because of the separation of Sky and Earth "Gods and men hungered" (*asandāyan*): for the Gods live by what is given hence, and men by what is given thence." . . . "Let us be wedded" (*virahāvakhai*), they said. . . .

"O Agni, the wise one, do thou avert for us the anger of Varuṇa, the God" (RV. IV. 1. 4, TS. II. 5. 12. 3); "May he (Agni) save us from the overwhelming duress, the curse, the overwhelming wrong . . . from Varuṇa's craft" (RV. I. 128. 5-7); "Thou, Agni, hast freed the Gods from their curse" (RV. VII. 13. 2), and similar texts. By the same token, Bṛhaspati is the "remitter of debts."

"JB. III. 200 "The Gods to whom no offering is made do not eat"; PB. XIV. 6. 8 (Indra addressing Kutas) "Offer a Sacrifice to me, for I am hungry."

As Keith has pointed out (*HOS XXXI*. 259) the basis of the Sacrifice is an exchange of gifts. We find the Sacrificer saying: "Give thou to me; I shall give to thee. . . . Accept my offering, I shall accept thy offering" (TS. I. 8. 4. 1), and "With what goods (*dānena*) I barter, seeking goods with goods, may that become more for me, not less" (AV. III. 15. 5. 6); "What the Sacrificer does for the Gods here, that they do for him there" (JB. I. 233); "Indra does not rob his worshipper, but returns his gifts more abundantly" (RV. VI. 28. 2), cf. AV. III. 15. 1 where Indra is called a "trader" (*vanijam*) and as such contrasted with the "miser" (*drāṣṭm*). This is, indeed, a commerce of man with God, but in the primary sense of the word, that of establishing personal relationships (Webster, 2), rather than in that of our modern "business." Even today the Indian shopkeeper is apt to ask: "Do you think I am in business only for profit?" The transaction is paralleled in the lavish exchanges of useful gifts which we meet with as a worldwide practise in "primitive" societies where, at the same time that the actual benefits of a "trade" are secured, the main purpose is that of the cementing of friendly and reciprocal relations. An enduring friendship, all on one side and without reciprocity of any kind, would be unreal.

The commerce of the *Do ut des* texts is, moreover, identical with that implied by the term *bhakti* = *bhāgo*, literally "share" or "portion," from *Vākaj* to "apportion." Thus in RV. X. 51. 8 Agni only consents to conduct the Sacrifice on condition of receiving his "portion" of the oblation (*haviṣo datta bhāgam*), cf. II. 10. 6 where the Sacrificer thinks of himself as winning "wealth" (*dhanasādh*) by his invocation. As we have seen (note 5, *q. v.*), and as is also evident from the fact that the sacrificial commerce is really an exchange of wedding gifts, the implied agreement or mutual understanding (*samijāna*) has as much to do with

Yonder world thence gave the Dawn to this world as a marriage gift, and this world hence the Smoke⁴⁸ (of the morning Sacrifice); yonder

love as with advantage. A man does not "love" his wife the less because he "provides for" her and she "serves" him or his, as we are God's, to "love, honor and obey him." It is the same in feudal relations, where the "devotion" of thane to Earl (as in *Beowulf*) is of just the same sort as that of the woman to the man or the man to God. If love be literally a "lik(en)ing," we cannot really love anyone, other than one whose will we do, or one who does our will.

The Sacrifice is a "devotion," and that is as much as to say a self-sacrifice; and in fact, while the God is archetypally the victim, in the ritual mimesis the Sacrificer identifies himself with the actual victim, as is often explicit: "the Fire knows that he has come to give himself to me" (*paridāśa me*, SB. II. 4. 1. 11, cf. IX. 3. 2. 7 *yajāś caī dardāśm ātmā, yajāś u ced yajamdnasya*), and hence the "self-sacrificer" (*ātmayajī*) from the mere "sacrificer," SB. XI. 2. 6. 13-14, cf. Eggeling's note on SB. I. 2. 3. 5. In the last analysis, the Sacrificer is exchanging or, if we prefer to say so, "bartering" his own eye for the Sun's, his own for the divine substance.

The language of commerce, in fact, survives in the most characteristically devotional contexts, for example in Mīrā Bāī's well known song:

Kāñh have I bought. The price he asked, I gave.
Some cry, "Tis great," and others jeer "Tis small"—
I gave in full, weighed to the utmost grain,
My love, my life, my self, my soul, my all.

It would be very difficult to show that it was in any other spirit that the Sacrificer made himself over to Agni. It is only our own bias that stands in the way of a realisation of the real content. If the virtue of self-sacrifice is, no more than any other virtue, "its own reward" but is with a view to results ("Thine may we be, for thee to give us treasure," RV. II. 2. 1), the last end in view being that of a rebirth from the Fire in an immortal body of glory, this consciousness of ends, whether here or hereafter (metaphysical rites have always in view to secure both of these ends), no more implies a "loveless" relationship than does a feudal or marital "contract."

We must not be distracted from a realisation of this by the unquestionable fact that, as Keith has rightly pointed out, the sacrificial gift is by no means a thank-offering, or by the fact that there is no word in Hindi for "thanks." The Indian point of view is that we do not say "thanks"; we do something about it. The beggar who receives alms offers no thanks; he has favored the giver with an opportunity to be generous. The whole stress, indeed, is upon the aristocratic virtue of generosity, not on the servile expression of gratitude. Our notion that "Virtue is its own reward," so far from being admirable, is only the expression of a cynical disbelief in an ultimate order and justice, a distrust in man's or God's magnanimity. In any interpretation of the Vedic Sacrifice by European scholars there must always be discounted their (often unconscious) anti-traditional, and especially anti-feudal and anti-clerical, prejudices.

⁴⁸ Caland, in annotation of PB. VII. 10. 3 renders *dhūman* by "fog" and so misses the whole point. It is because all gifts are essentially sacrifices that "A gift is given with the words 'This is smoke'" (JUB. I. 58. 6). Nothing more profound than this has ever been said about giving.

world thence gave the Rain to this world as a marriage gift, and this world hence the Divine Service (*devayajanam*, the Sacrifice to the Gods) to that world." So when it rains hard all day and night men say: "Earth and Sky have united" (*samadhātām*, AA. III. 1.2).

We can understand better now the traditional and world-wide doctrine that the very life and fertility of the realm depend upon the King,⁵⁹ to whom accordingly it is said: "For our bread (*arjé*) art thou, for rain unto us art thou, for our paternity of offspring (*prajānām* . . . *ādhipatyāya*; *pati* here as in 'Prajāpati'), . . . for all this have we aspersed (*abhyāsicāmahī*) thee" (SB. IX. 3. 3. 11). For unless the King fulfills his primary function as Patron of the Sacrifice (*yajamāna*) the circulation of the "Shower of Wealth (*raśor dhārā*), the limitless, inexhaustible food of the God" that falls from the Sky as Rain and is returned from the Earth to the Sky in the smoke of the burnt-offering will be interrupted (SB. IX. 3. 3. 15, 16):⁶⁰ that man's offerings are transmitted to

"It is upon the observance of ritual that the governance of a State depends" (Confucius, *Analecbs*, XI. 25). "Wherever the idea of divine kingship prevails we find coupled with it the conviction that upon the correct performance of kingly ritual depends the whole welfare of the State, the fertility of its lands, the fruitfulness of its trees, the fecundity both of its women and of its herds and flocks" (Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, p. 65). Waley further points out that the "power that enabled Divine Kings to deal with all things under Heaven" depended not only upon the correct performance of the rites but also upon an understanding of them; this is just as it is in the Indian texts where it is only to the Comprehensor (*evameit*; *ya evam veda*) that the ultimate benefits of any given rite really accrue.

⁵⁹ In SB. IX. 3. 2. 1 and 4 the Shower of Wealth (*raśor dhārā*) is both "Agni's Shower" inasmuch as he is the Vase, and also the "Shower of Wealth" with which he is aspersed (*abhiśikta*) as Emperor. SB. IX. 3. 3. 15-19 explains its nature: "its self or body (*dāman*) is the sky, the cloud its udder, lightning its teat, the shower the shower (of rain); from the Sky it comes to the cow (i.e. from the Sky as archetypal cow to the earthly cow, so that on earth), its self or body is the cow . . . its shower the shower (of milk); and from the cow it comes to the Sacrificer. He (in turn) is its self or body, his arm its udder, the offering ladle its teat, the shower the shower (of *ghī*). From the Sacrificer to the Gods; from the Gods to the cow; from the cow to the Sacrificer; thus circulates this perpetual, never ending food of the Gods. And, verily, whosoever is a Comprehensor thereof, for him shall there be thus this perpetual never-ending Food" (the Bread of Life). See also TS. V. 4. 8 and 7. 3.

This same "circulation" is more briefly formulated in BG. III. 10-14; the successive terms of the endless series being *karman* (acts of the Sacrificer), *yajña* (the Sacrifice), *parjanya* (rain), *bhūtāni* (creatures), *anna* (food), and then again *karman*, and so without end. In MU. VI. 37 the application is made to the inferior Sacrificer: here the rain from above is the Chant (*udgītha*) "whereby living beings here on earth live."

Thus again we find that the performance of the Sacrifice is the basis of the

the Gods in the smoke of the Sacrifice is, of course, implied in the fact that Agni is the missal-priest (RV. VII. 10. 3 and *passim*); it is indeed in the same way that the spirit of the deceased, whose body is offered up on the funeral pyre, ascends thence.

It is, then, only when the Priest and the King, the human representatives of Sky and Earth, God and his Kingdom, are "united in the performance of the rite" (*savrate*, etc.), only when "Thy will is done on Earth as it is in Heaven" (implying a mimesis of the Heavenly "forms," cf. AB. VI. 27), that there is both a giving and a taking, a taking and a giving, not indeed an equality but a true reciprocity. Peace and prosperity, and fulness of life in every sense of the words, are the fruit of the "marriage" of the Temporal Power to the Spiritual Authority, just as they must be of the marriage of the "woman" to the "man" on whatever level of reference. For "Verily, when a mating is effected, then each achieves the other's desire" (CU. I. 1. 6); and in the case of the "divine mating" of the Sacerdotium and the Regnum, whether in the outer realm or within you, the desires of the two partners are for "good" here and hereafter. The needs of the soul and the body are to be satisfied together.

γ But, if the King cooperating with and assimilated to the higher power is thus the Father of his people, it is none the less true that satanic and deadly possibilities inhere in the Temporal Power: when the Regnum pursues its own devices, when the feminine half of the Administration asserts its independence, when Might presumes to rule without respect for Right, when the "woman" demands her "rights," then these lethal possibilities are realised; the King and the Kingdom, the family and the house, alike are destroyed and disorder (*anṛta*) prevails. It was by an assertion of his independence and a claim to "equal rights" that Lucifer

prosperity of the realm: it is from this point of view that in Mbh. (Vana Parva, XXV) Bhīma addresses a king with the words, "Thy hand can rain gold." The source is inexhaustible; but the stream is not a stagnant one, only by the Sacrifice can it be kept in circulation.

The *rasadhāra* doctrine outlined above explains the iconography of the series of representations of the Cakravartin Emperor at Amarāvati, of which I republished several in an article entitled "A Royal Gesture" in the *Festschrift v. d. K. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Weltevreden, Pt. 1, 1929; and republished here as Frontispiece. In these representations the Cakravartin, surrounded by his "Seven Treasures," is raising his right arm to the clouds, from which a shower of coins i. e. "wealth," (*śau*) is falling. It is manifest that the Emperor's hand is the "ladle" of the Sacrifice, and that it is raised in accordance with SB. VII. 2. 3. 9 where the offering of *ghṛi* is fivefold, to agree with the five strata of the altar and "when he offers, he raises (the ladle) and so builds Agni up with his five strata."

(to be distinguished from the Lux, as the solar disc is distinguished from the "Person in the Sun") fell headlong from Heaven and became Satan, "the Enemy": and by a like paranoia that Indra, "when maddened by pride in his own heroic-power" (*svena viryena darpitah*)^{20*} became their oppressor (*devān bādhitum ārebhe*), and could only be reawakened (*buddhvā*) from his stupor by the Spiritual-Power, by Saptagu-Bṛhaspati (BD. VII. 54 f., RV. X. 47). We have also the case of King Soma, who oppressed Bṛhaspati but was afterwards reconciled to him (SB. IV. 1. 2. 4), and that of Nahusa, who in the Epic replaces Indra for a time but is ruined by his arrogance; cf. SB. V. 5. 1. 2 where if the King should be "intoxicated" (*ūd vā ha mādyet*) by his ritual exaltation, "let him fall down headlong" (*prā vā patet*). A self-assertion on the part of the Regnum is at the same time destructive and suicidal.²¹

In a traditional society the oppressor is excommunicated and legally deposed; this may be followed by a submission and apokatastasis, as in Indra's case and as foreseen in Islam for Iblis, or by the installation of a more regular successor in whom the Kingship is reborn. In an anti-traditional society, when the oppressor has been removed by a popular revolution, those who have been oppressed propose to govern in their own interests, and become oppressors in their turn. The majority oppresses the minority. The rise of a plutocracy undermines what is still in name a majority rule. The inefficiency and corruption of the plutocracy prepares the way for the seizure of power by a single proletarian who becomes a Dictator, or what is called in more technical terms a Tyrant, who no longer pays even lip-service to any power above his own, and even if he has "good intentions" is nevertheless "unprincipled." This caricature of monarchy in turn prepares the way for a state of disorder (*anṛta*) such as may well be realised in the world in our own times. It is, indeed,

^{20*} Unlike Agni, the Sacerdotium, "not vain-glorious because of his Counsel" (*kraved . . . apradyitah*, RV. I. 146. 2).

²¹ "All political systems which directly contravene the law of nature and the liberties of the spiritual power, are necessarily short-lived" (George Avery, SSM, in *New English Weekly*, July 25, 1946). "Division between Church and Lay, that is what shall subsist now . . . Church shall be enslaved by State . . . evil shall overtake the State. . . . By perfidy of all men the fruits of the earth shall perish, the mast of trees and the produce of the waters" (from the interpretation of Dermot's dream, Standish H. O'Grady, *Silen Gadelica*, II, p. 84).

"Verily, so long as Indra knew not that Self, so long the Titans overcame him. . . . When he knew, then striking down and conquering the Titans, he compassed the chieftaincy, autonomous rule and overlordship of all Gods and all beings" (Kauṣ. U. IV. 20). In Platonic terms, there can be no stability where there is no agreement as to which shall rule, the better or the worse part. "Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to a desolation" (Luke XI. 17).

already apparent that "what we call our civilisation is but a murderous machine with no conscience and no ideals" (G. La Piana in *Harvard Divinity School Bulletin*, XXXVII. 27). Such is the final consequence of the divorce of the Temporal Power from the Spiritual Authority, Might from Right, Action from Contemplation.

We have so far discussed only the cosmic (*adhidēvatam*) and political (*adhirājyam*) aspects of the science of government and with reference to the individual as a subject. But this doctrine has also a self-referent (*adhyātmam*) application; the question is not only one of a universal and a national or civic order, but also one of an internal economy. In the last analysis the man himself is the "City of God" (AV. X. 2. 30, BU. II. 5. 18) and it can as well be said of him as of any other city that "The city can never otherwise be happy unless it is drawn by those painters who copy a divine original" (Plato, *Rep.*, 500 E, cf. KU. V. 1). Here also, then there must exist a government in which the factors of disorder must be ruled by a principle of order, if the goals of well-being in this world and the other are to be reached. That man has two selves is a universal doctrine; these are respectively natural and supernatural, the one outer and active, the subject of passions, the other inner, contemplative and serene. The problem of the internal economy by which the man's ends (*puruṣārtha*) can all be attained is one of the relationship of the psycho-physical Ego to the spiritual Person, the Outer King to the Priest within you:⁴² for as Plato so often puts it, the welfare of "the entire soul and body" depends upon the unanimity of the mortal and immortal selves within you as to which shall rule.⁴³ That the Purohita

⁴² "Most Chinese philosophic schools have taught the way of what is called the 'Inner Sage and Outer King.' The Inner Sage is a person who has established virtue in himself: the Outer King is one who has accomplished great deeds in the world. The highest ideal for a man is at once to possess the virtue of a Sage and the accomplishment of a Ruler, and so become what is called a Sage-king, or what Plato would term the Philosopher-king" (Fung Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, translated by Derk Bodde, Peking, 1937, p. 2). The Inner Sage, the *prajñātman*, is the Emperor, or King of kings, the *Hoṭtman* the Viceroy, and it is for the latter and active self to do what the former and contemplative self enjoins, not to "do as he likes."

⁴³ *Republic* 432 C, etc. Plato's doctrine of the individual "city" is exactly paralleled in the Indian *brāhminapura* ("City of God") contexts. For example, "(This body) with its eight 'circles' and nine apertures is Ayodhyā ['Unconquerable'], the City of the Gods, its golden treasury [heart] enfolded by the light of heaven; he who is a Comprehensor of that City of Brahma, by immortality enfolded, him Brahma and Brahmā (Comm. Paramātmān and Prajāpati) dower with life, renown and progeny (AV. X. 2. 29-31)." "The Puri and Mathurā is in every man, the kingdom of his own mind, where the personal self is to be put down . . . the Kāṁsa in each of us" (P. N. Sinha, *A study of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, 1901, p. 300). "One who has slain his Vṛtra" (TS. II. 5. 4. 5) has done this.

is the instigator and the King the agent, reflects the individual constitution in which the Inner Person is the *kārayitṛ* and the elemental self (the Outer Man) the *kartṛ* (MU. III. 3, Kauṣ. U. III. 8, BG. XVIII. 16).

These two selves of the man, who is *divyātman* (virtually at birth and actually by a rebirth), are respectively human, born of woman, and divine, born of the sacrificial fire (JB. I. 17, see JAOS 19. 2, p. 116; AB. III. 19 *yajñād devayonyai prajānayati*, etc.).²⁴ The two selves correspond

²⁴ The distinction of births in JB. I. 17 corresponds exactly to that of John III. 6 *quod natum est carne, caro est; et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est*, and Gal. VI. 8 *Qui seminat in carne auis, de carne et metet corruptionem; qui autem seminat in spiritu, de spiritu metet vitam aeternam*.

The "two selves" of the Sanskrit texts, Plato's "mortal and immortal parts of the soul," are the Outer and Inner Man, *is qui foris est* and *is qui intus est* of II Cor. IV. 10: of which St. Thomas Aquinas remarks *In homine duo sunt* (an echo of Plato's *ἡς ἑαυτῆς αἰσῶς ἀνθρώπου αἰσῶς*, Republic 604 B), *scilicet naturam spirituales et naturam corporales*. *Per hoc autem homo dicitur diligere seipsum, quod diligit se secundum naturam spiritualem* (Sum. Theol., II-II. 26. 4, as in BU. IV. 5, etc.).

It is with reference to the corporeal self or "life,"—the Buddhist "petty self" (*appātuma*) "which is not my (real) self," as *me so ātta, paṇṇam*—that Christ says *Si quis venit ad me, et non odit . . . suam animam, non potest meus discipulus esse* (Luke XIV. 26), and with reference to their division (Plato's *katharsis*, the "separating of soul from body, so far as that is possible," *Phaedo* 67C) that St. Paul affirms that the Word of God (see all *Aratti*) extends to the sundering of soul from spirit (Heb. IV. 12). The distinction is that which is drawn by Philo (*Questions in Genesis*, II. 59 and *De Cherub*, 113 f., as cited by Goodenough, *By Light, Light*, pp. 374, 375) between "us" and "that which was before our birth" and will be (cf. BG. II. 12) "when we, who in our junction with our bodies, are mixtures, shall not exist, but shall be brought into the rebirth," i.e. "born again" of the Divine Womb in the sense of JB. I. 17 and John III. 3.

The "two selves" are, again, the *proprium* and the *sum* (*le moi* and *le soi*) of St. Bernard. We "naturally" identify "ourselves" with the *proprium*, "our" individuality as known by "name and aspect" (*nāmarūpa*), "this man" to which we return from the sacrificial deification thinking: "Now am I he who I really am" (*aham yā eṣāmi aṣāmi*, SB. I. 9. 3. 23), and to which the King returns with the same words at the end of the Rājasūya in which he had been made a Brāhman (AB. VII. 24); which comings back to one self are in the most technical sense of the word "desecrations." In thus returning we are forgetting that the *proprium* to which we return is not our real Self, not really an essence at all, but only a process. It is, on the other hand, with reference to our essence, St. Bernard's *sum*, that it is said "Thou art thou" (CU. VI. 8. 7 f.), and with reference to that Self, "the Overlord and King of all beings" (BU. II. 5, 15), that the Oracle enjoins, *γῶθι σεαυτόν*. When *Philosophia* enquires of Boethius what he is, and he answers "a reasoning and mortal animal," she tells him that he has "forgotten" who he is and warns him: "If thou knowest not thyself, depart" (*De consol.*, *prose vi* and *Conf. I. 8*).

The injunction "Know thyself" is paralleled in the questions of the Brāhmagas

to (are the trace of) those of Mitravarūṇa, Sacerdotium and Regnum (*tāc ātmanah*, ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 1), and to the two natures of the Brahma, respectively mortal, concrete and vocal, and immortal, discrete and silent, etc. (BU. II. 3. 1, MU. VI. 3. 15, 22, 36), whereby he is *dvaitbhāra* ("of one essence and two natures") (MU. VII. 11. 8). That the inner and the outer man are the trace of the two natures, Sacerdotal and Royal, in *divinis* can be shown as follows: it is as the Truth or Reality (*satya*) and as Untruth or Unreality (*anṛta*) that Brahma enters into these worlds nominally (*ndmnā*) and phenomenally (*rūpēṇa*, ŚB. XI. 2. 3. 3-6),²⁸ in other words both as Affirmation (*om*) and as Negation (*na*, AA.

and Upaniṣads, "Which self?" (*katarah sa ātmā*, AA. II. 6; *kutasmā ātmā*, BU. IV. 3. 7, MU. II. 1; and similarly *ken'attamā*, Sn. 508) and "In whom, when I go forth hence, shall I be going forth?" (*kasmin . . . utkrānto bhaviṣyāmi*, Praśna U. VI. 3) with the answer in CU. III. 14. 4 "in Brahma." The true answer to the question "Who art thou?" (*ko team aṣi*), viz. "What thou art, that light am I" (*ko 'ham aṣmi evaṣ team*), is the password that opens the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven and wins the welcome "Come in, O myself" (JUB. III. 14. 1-5; Kaus. U. I. 5-6; Rāmī, *Mathnawī*, L. 3062 f.). Incidentally, I am convinced that the Delphic *γῶδῃ σεαυτός* and E are a question (*signum*) and an answer (*responsum*) asked and given at the door (certainly a "Sundoor") of Apollo's shrine: "Know thyself" implying "Who art thou," and E = EI meaning (1) Apollo and (2) "thou art" (these are two of Plutarch's interpretations, *Moralia* 392 A), the answer to the question "Who art thou" (seeking admittance) taking the form "The Sun thou art" (that am I). "That thou art, thus may I be," he says in effect. . . . Verily, he invokes this blessing" (TS. I. 5. 7. 6). Cf. my "The 'E' at Delphi" in *Review of Religion*, Nov. 1941.

²⁸ Hence in order to reach their source "Both that truth and that untruth are to be penetrated" (*tad etat satyaṣ tad anytaṁ veddhavyam*, Mund. U. II. 2. 2). The world of pairs of opposites, affirmations and negations, good and evil, is a theophany. It has not been said that "the invisible things of him" (Rom. I. 20) are only to be known by those of the things that were made that seem to us "good"; the obvious answer to the question "Did he who made the lamb make thee?" is affirmative. The problem of evil ("Can a good God have permitted this?", cf. JUB. I. 18. 2) can only be posed by a monophysite or a dualist. The Muslim sees in Heaven and Hell the "reflections" of the divine Mercy (Sacerdotium) and divine Majesty (Regnum). In That One (*tad ekam, ekam aci-vikṛtam, cīvaṁ ekam, adeaitam, ekatvam*) Mitra and Varuṇa, male and female, lamb and lion "lie down together." To blame Him for the existence of any one of these pairs is to blame him for that of the other, because each presupposes the other, to blame him for making a world at all, for a world-picture can only be painted in chiaroscuro, not all in white or all in black. Yet it is our ends that the world of good and evil serves, for without it there would be no way of procedure from potentiality to act. It is not the First Cause, but our knowledge of good and evil that is the occasion of our mortality. This First Cause, which we cannot call either good or evil in any human sense, is the cause of our existence, but we ourselves the cause of our manner of being.

II. 3. 6); the distinction of *satya* from *anṛta* is that of the Devas from the Asuras (ŚB. III. 9. 4. 1, cf. IX. 5. 1. 12), that of *om* from *na* is that of the Devas from others, whether men or Asuras (AB. I. 16 and II. 2), as, for example in RV. I. 164. 19, cf. BG. II. 61 and Sn. 724 f.; the distinction of *satya* from *anṛta* is also precisely that of the temporarily superhuman (deified) and priestly person of the initiated Sacrificer from the secular So-and-so to which he returns when the sacred operation is relinquished (ŚB. I. 9. 3. 23 with VS. I. 5 and II. 28, cf. AB. VII. 24 where the King is similarly desecrated at the conclusion of the rite where he calls upon the Trinity to witness that now once more "I am who I am"); and this is the distinction between the two selves of the Sacrificer, one the natural man and the other the second and divine Self to which he is sacrificially reborn (JB. I. 17, AB. III. 19, etc.); while finally, just as it is by a marriage of Mitra and Varuṇa, the Deva and the Asura, *brahma* and *ṣaṭra*, that the Kingdom is maintained, so it is by a marriage of Truth (*satya*) to Untruth (*anṛta*) that man himself is propagated and increased (*tayor mithunāṭ prajāyate bhūyān bhavati*, AA. II. 3. 6). That the relationship is thought of as that of Outer King and Inner Sage is also clear from the actual wording of the texts; e. g. RV. X. 31. 2 where "one should speak according to one's own Counsel, and by the Intellect handle the more glorious Power" (*svēna krātunā sān vadeta śrēyāṁsaṁ dākṣam mānaś jagrbhāt*), and it is obvious that *krātu* and *manas* are the interior *brahma* and the *samvadana* and *dakṣa* the external *ṣaṭra* (we

It does not follow that the distinction of good from evil and truth from falsehood lacks validity here and now, as though both could be called good. The way to the Unity of Brahma leads from the Darkness, Untruth, and Death to the Light, Reality, and Life (BU. I. 3. 8); it was by following this "Ancient Path" (RV. IV. 18. 1, BU. IV. 4. 8, S. II. 106, IV. 117, etc.) that the Devas separated themselves from the Asuras and became what they are (ŚB. IX. 5. 1. 12). "by qualification" (*arhād*) that they (who with exception of Agni were originally mortal) became Immortals (RV. X. 63. 4), assimilated to him "whose name is Truth" (CU. VIII. 3. 4, I John V. 20, etc.). By this *vis* affirmation one rises higher and higher in the hierarchy of degrees of reality or truth (MU. IV. 6) until we reach the Sun, who is the Truth absolutely (JUB. I. 5. 3 and *passim*) but through whom the Way leads on to Brahma; to reach that Unity, the ultimate reality that was "hidden by the Truth" (BU. I. 6. 3), we must deny the names that have been given to God, to know him only as unknown (MU. IV. 6). In other words, the end of the road (*adhevaṇa pāram*) and summit of contingent being (*bhacāgra*) bring us to a wall through which the only way is by the strait gate of the Sundoor, that bars the way to anyone who still is anyone. What lies beyond is "other than Law or lack of Law, other than our well- or ill-done, other than past or future" (*anyatra dharmād anyatrādharmaṁ anyatrasamāṁ kṛtākṛtāṁ anyatra bhūtaṁ ca bhavyaṁ ca*, KU. II. 14); there, as Eckhart expresses it, "neither vice nor virtue ever entered in" to Him who is "neither good nor true."

say "handle" to suggest "handfasting," because the wording could also be applied to the "taking" or "marriage" of *kratu* to *cāc*, *manas* to *dakṣa*, contemplation to action), and CU. VII. 25. 2 where the application of the political terms *svarāj* and *anyarāj* is to the man himself.

Of the two selves, one is the psycho-physical individuality (*bhūtātman*, *śarīra ātman*, *dehika ātman*, *jīvātman*, etc.), this man So-and-so, the other the spiritual Person (*paramātman*, *prajñātman*, *jñānātman*, *aśarīra ātman*, *sarvabhūtānām ātman*, *vaiśvānara ātman*, *ātmā sarvāntaraḥ*, *antarātman*, *mahātman*, etc.), the solar Ātman of RV. I. 115. 1⁴ and related texts, the pneumatic Daimon (*ātmanvat yakṣa*) of AV. X. 2. 32 and 8. 43, the "contemplative, uninveterated, ever-youthful Spirit, knowing whom none is afraid of Death" of AV. X. 8. 44: in Buddhism, the one the Great or Fair (*mahattā*, *kalyāṇattā*), the other the petty or foul self (*appātumo*, *pāpattā*), A. I. 149, 249. The former is "this self," the latter "that," "yonder," or "the other" self (AA. II. 3. 7, *ayam ātmā . . . asāv ātmā*; *ib.* II. 5 *itara ātmā*; ŚB. I. 8. 3. 17 and 19 *itara ātmā*, and *ib.* IV. 3. 4. 5 *anyām ātmānam*; D. I. 34 *añño attā*). That "Self of (this mortal) self (*ātmano 'tmā*) is called its Immortal Guide" (*netā amṛtaḥ*, MU. VI. 7, cf. RV. V. 50. 1); this self is passible, "its immortal Self (*amṛto 'syā 'tmā*) as is the drop of water on the lotus leaf" (MU. III. 2), i. e. unattached, imperturbable.

"That art thou" (*tat team asi*, CU. VI. 8. 6, etc.). In other words, this outer, active, feminine and mortal self of ours subsists more eminently in and as that inner, contemplative, masculine and immortal self of ours, to which it can and should be "reduced," i. e. "led back" or "wedded" (*nīta*, *upanīta*).⁵⁶ Our existence (*esse*, *Werden*) is contingent, our consciousness of essence (*essentia*, *Wesen*) is valid and indefeasible, *ex*

⁵⁶ See note 34. Just as in Christianity, all creation is feminine to God, and in the same way the body feminine to the Spirit. All birth depends upon the conjugation (*samyoگا*) of the "Knower of the Field" with the "Field" (BG. XIII): as a wife to a husband, so is the body (*tanu*), which is for the sake of good works (*śukṛtāya kām*), to the Spirit (*ātman*, TS. I. 1. 10, 1-2); the Sun is our real Father (JUB. III. 10. 4, etc.). All this must be taken for granted if the theory of government is to be understood.

It may be added that there is nothing so strange about the relation of Kṛṣṇa to the *gopīs*, his *bhaktas*, as is often supposed: Peter Sterry, for example, writes "The Lord Jesus hath his Concubines, his Queens, his Virgines; Saints in Remoter *Formes*, Saints in higher *Formes*, Saints unmarried to any *Forme*, who keep themselves single for the immediate embraces of their Love" (V. da S. Pinto, *Peter Sterry, Platonist and Puritan*, p. 25). It should be noted that these are the words of a Puritan divine.

Irenaeus (I. 13. 3) quotes the gnostic Markos, "Prepare thyself as a bride to receive a bridegroom, that thou mayest be what I am and I what thou art."

tempore. But our awareness of our own essence is obscured by our conviction (*abhībhūtatva* as in MU. III. 2) of being essentially, and not merely accidentally, "this man." So-and-so, our fond belief "that 'I' am the doer" (BG. etc., *passim*). That other, Inner Man, the Self "that has never become anyone" (KU. II. 18, cf. *Hermes, Asclepius* II. 14b, *Deus . . . nec nasci potest, nec potuit*), meanwhile remains unknown and incredible to us so long as this outer man asserts its independence, so long as "thou knowest not thyself" (Cant. I. 8, *si ignoras te*): the stupefied *bhūtātman* "fails to see the generous author of existence (*bhagavantam prabhum — mahātmanam*), the (real) cause of actions (*kārayitāram*, cf. JUB. I. 5. 2, BU. I. 6. 3, John VIII. 28, etc.), within himself" (*ātmanstham*, MU. III. 2, cf. BG. XVIII. 16). Thus to have forgotten what one is, "know oneself" only as a "reasoning and mortal animal" (Boethius, *De Consol.*, prose VI) is the greatest of all privations. The distinction is sharply drawn in Kauṣ. U. IV. 20 (cf. CU. VIII. 7 f.) where "so long as Indra knew not this spiritual-Self (*ātman*), so long the Asuras (the extroverted powers of the soul, cf. Śaṅkara on BU. I. 3. 1) overcame him. . . . When he knew it, then striking down and conquering the Asuras, he compassed the chieftaincy, autocracy and overlordship of all Gods and all beings, as may he likewise do who is a Comprehensor thereof."⁵⁷

To "want" and to "will" are incompatible; the one implies a privation, the other implies an abundance: "the Spirit is *willing*, but the flesh is *weak*" (Math. XXVI. 41); so that, as Rūmī says, "Whoso hath not surrendered will (self-will), no Will (free will) hath he" (Ode XIII in Nicholson, *Shams-i-Taḥrīz*). The mirage of an individual "liberty" is the direct antithesis of the dogmatic *summum bonum*, which "highest good" is indeed a liberty, but a liberty from oneself, not of oneself (the So-and-so), the freedom of those who can say with the Comprehensor "'I' do nothing" (BG. V. 8), with Christ that "I do nothing of myself" (John VIII. 28), with the Buddha that "I wander in the world, a veritable Nemo" (Sn. 455-6) and are "free as the Godhead in its non-existence" (Eckhart); "Were it not for the shackle, who would say 'I am I'?" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I. 2449).

To "do as one likes" is by no means synonymous with "liberty," but much rather a subjection to the "ruling passions" (*indriyāṇi*) that one calls "one's own."⁵⁸ Those who are dominated by their own inclinations

⁵⁷ The passage is pertinent both to the story of Indra's enlightenment (CU. VIII. 7-11) and to that of his fall and apokatastasis (BD. VII. 54 f.).

⁵⁸ Plato recognizes two kinds or parts of the "soul" in us, or two lives or selves, mortal and immortal; with one or the other of these we identify "ourselves." The man governed by his desires is *ἑρως ἑαυτοῦ*, "subject to himself,"

are "free men only in name" (Plato, *Republic*, 431c). We are much more the creatures of our thoughts than their author. The man who does not know, "thinks" what he likes to think. Where we ought to like what we know, we actually "know what we like"; which is to say that liking and disliking are our masters, rather than our servants. There is accordingly no greater lesson to be learnt than *not* to think for oneself, but by the Self, *ātmatas* (CU. VII. 26. 1) = *κατὰ λόγον*.

What, then, is meant by "autonomy"? In the case of a King, to rule and not be ruled by the multitude of those who should be vassals and subjects; at home, to rule and not be ruled by one's family; and within you, to rule and not be ruled by one's desires. "He whose pleasure is in the (spiritual) Self, whose love-sports are with the Self, he whose bridegroom is the Self, and whose bliss is in the Self (*ātmaratir ātma-kriḍa ātmanīthuna ātmānandaḥ*) becomes autonomous (*svarāj*) and a mover-at-will (*kāmācārīn*) in every world: but those whose knowledge is heterogeneous become heteronomous (*anyarāj*), and do not become movers-at-will in any world" (CU. VII. 25. 2):⁴² for "Here on earth the children of men dwell in subjection to command, since whatever it be that they desire, whether a kingdom or field (i. e. whether it be a King or any other man), it is on that very thing that they base their life" (CU. VIII. 1. 5),⁴³ and "Why then," as St. Augustine exclaims, "should miserable

i. e. to the self that says "I want"; one who governs his desires is *upairrao jāvroḥ*, i. e. "master of himself," i. e. of the self that says "I want" (*Laos* 645, *Republic* 431, etc.). In the first case he (the subject predicated by *ḥīrao* and *upairrao*) identifies "himself" with the *śarīra ātman* (*bhātātman*), "overcome" by likes and dislikes (MU. III. 2), in the second case with the imperturbable *asārīra ātman* (*prajñātman*). The former condition is one of "ignorance," the latter one of "wisdom" (*Protagoras* 358). The welfare of the "whole soul" depends upon the harmony of its parts and their "unanimity as to which shall rule" (*Republic* 432 C). All this is the same for the State and in the individual economy.

⁴² Cf. Mund. U. III. 1. 4. The language is equally applicable to the political economy of Regnum and Sacerdotium, and to the individual economy of the "two selves," Outer King and Inner Sage.

For the *kāmācārīn* cf. RV. IX. 113. 9; JUB. III. 28. 3; CU. VIII. 5. 4; Taitt. U. III. 5; D. I. 172; John X. 9; and HJA. IV. 1939, p. 35.

As it is primarily the Gale of the Spirit that "moveth as it will" (*pathānām*, RV. X. 168. 4; *anilo vira pathā kāmam*, J. V. 418; John III. 8), so it is only one "gone with the wind" (Kaus. U. II. 12, etc.) in the sense of the the requiem *gacchati vātam ātmā* (RV. X. 16. 3) that can be called "free"; or to use the language of NT., only those who are "in the spirit" (*ἐν πνεύματι*) that can "pass in and out."

⁴³ Similarly the Buddhist D. I. 172, forming part of the instruction of a King in the "Advantages of the Monastic Life": the servant of desire is his own

men venture to pride themselves on their freewill before they are set free? . . . For by whom a man is overcome, to him he is assigned in slavery" (*De spir. et lit.*, 52, cf. MU. II. 1-2).⁴¹ When this mystical union (*ātmanithūnam*) of the inner and the outer man has been consummated, when the two fires that hated one another (TS. V. 2. 4. 1-2) have been made one (*ekam bhavanti*), in this affectionate, unanimous, and cooperative marriage, then it can be said that "This self offers itself (*ātmanam samprayacchati*)" ⁴² to that Self, and that Self to this self. They unite with one another (*tār anyonyam abhisambhavataḥ*). By this (earthly, feminine) form, he (the aforesaid Comprehensor of Indra as Overlord) unites with yonder world (*anenāha rūpenāmum lokam abhisambhavati*) ⁴³ and by that form with this world" (AA. II. 3. 7); thus both worlds are gained for both selves, this world without and that other within you. We say "within you" here, because it is at "World's end" that Sky and Earth embrace (*samśliṣyataḥ*, JUB. I. 3. 5); that World's end, beyond which there is no more grieving, is at the core of our own being, and that is the Wayfarer's goal.⁴⁴

On the other hand, we are naturally at war with ourselves, and often not merely at war with "what is divine in us," but ignorant of it because of our "notion that 'I' am the doer" (*ahaṁkāra*), and so effectively

slave, not his own master nor able to go where he will (*na yena kāmāḥ gomo = na kāmadoṣin*), while the man "the doors of whose senses are guarded (*indriyeguṭta-dvāro = atṭa-gutto*, Dh. 379) is his own master, freed from his slavery (*dāsaṃgā mutto*) and able to go where he will."

In almost identical language Plato describes those who are "subject to themselves" (see note 58) as "freemen only in name" (*Republic* 431 C). He tells us also regarding the education of Persian princes, that they had four tutors, respectively most wise, most just, most temperate, and most brave. The first taught him the Magian lore of Zoroaster, the second always to be truthful, the fourth to be fearless, and the third "not to be mastered even by a single pleasure, in order that he may acquire the habit of being a free and real King, one who is first of all the ruler of whatever (powers) are in himself, and not their slave" (*Alcibiades* I, 122). We can readily believe that the Persian and Indian conceptions of Kingship were indeed alike.

"The 'free-will' that Christian doctrine asserts for all is evidently not the 'self-will,' but rather a freedom to resist or consent to the higher will, that of the spirit ('the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak,' Math. XXVI. 41). To do our own will is to be passive: to cooperate with the spirit is to be in act. Cf. note 44.

That the natural man is an automaton is admirably demonstrated in S. III. 66-67 (see *HJAS* IV, 1939, p. 135).

⁴¹ *Samprayat*, to "profer," correlative of *vy*, to "woo."

⁴² I. e. *parum jyotiḥ . . . svena rūpeṇa abhinipadyate* (OU. VIII. 12. 3).

⁴³ AB. VII. 15, S. I. 61-62, A. II. 48-49, see my "The Pilgrim's Way" in *JBORS* XXIII and XXIV, 1937, 1938.

"one-selfed" (*ekātman*) and "Selfless" (*anātman*), although potentially possessed of both natures (*deyātman*), this born of the flesh and that born of the spirit. Our house is divided against itself. In this state of disorder "Man's self (the Tyrant) has no other foe than the Self (the legitimate King): that Self is a friend to the self that hath of itself vanquished itself, but a foe at war with one who lacks the Self" (*anātmanah . . . śatruvat*, BG. VI. 5, 6). Such a privation of Self, and corresponding mortality, was the original condition of both the Gods and Titans: Devas and Asuras were in the beginning equally *anātman*, and only Agni *amṛta* (ŚB. II. 2. 2. 8, cf. XI. 1. 2. 12 and XI. 2. 3. 6), and "As are men now (i. e. Self-less and mortal), so were the Gods in the beginning" (TS. VII. 4. 2. 1). The Gods, however, "desired: 'Let us do away with the privation (*āvaritam*), the evil (*pāpmānam*), death (*mṛtyūm*)'" (TS. VII. 4. 2. 1), "They longed for the world of heavenly-light" (JUB. I. 15. 1), the Sun himself "desired: 'Let me, indeed, cut off all the evil, so that I may ascend to the world of heavenly light'; he saw the sacrifice, grasped it and sacrificed therewith; thus he cut off all the evil and ascended to the world of heavenly light, and he, it is that having put off the evil, now shines" (JB. II. 82): it was, in fact, only "by qualification" (*arhāṇā*), "by Agni's counsels" (*krātubhiḥ*), by the Sacerdotium (*brāhmaṇā*) that the Gods attained their immortality (RV. X. 63. 4, VI. 7. 4, ŚB. XI. 2. 3. 6). And as did the Sun, so may now the man who is a Comprehensor of the sacrifice, cut off all evil and rise above himself (JB. II. 82): it is only in finding him-Self that a man is beatified, for "All that is other than the Interior Self of All, other than thy Self, is an affliction" (*eṣā ta ātmā sarvāntarā 'to anyād ārtam*, BU. III. 4. 2).

The answer, then, to the question "Who is worthy (*arhātī*) to enter into union with that Sun?" (JUB. I. 6. 1), i. e. "to break out of the universe,"⁶³ is that he is able, he is an *arhat*, who can answer to the question "Who art thou?" "I am thyself" (JUB. III. 1. 6, Kauś. Up. I. 2, etc.): it is to him that the welcome is addressed, "Come in, O myself" (Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, I. 3063). But if he has not verified the words "That art thou," if he does not know who he is, but speaks of himself by his own or a family name, he is driven or dragged away from the Door and excluded from the Marriage (JUB. III. 14. 2 — JB. I. 18, Rūmī I. 3057, Cant. I. 8, Math. VII. 21, 23, XXV. 10, Rev. XIX. 9, etc.). "Woe unto him who departs from this world, not having known that Imperishable" (BU. III. 8. 10).

⁶³ The whole of this symbolism recurs in Plato (*Phaedrus* 246, 247, etc.) and Hermes Trismegistus (I. II f., etc.).

Thus the first and last of all man's needs is to "know himself" (*ut sciat seipsum*, Avencebrol, *Fons Vitae*, I. 2): the "science of the Self" (*ātma-vidyā*) is the final term of all doctrine (CU. IV. 14. 1, Śvet. Up. I. 16, etc.). The ancient and timeless oracle, "Know thyself" (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*), resches throughout the *Philosophia Perennis*. The doctrine of the Self is thus appropriately introduced by such questions as: "Which is the Self?" (*katarah sa ātmā*, AA. II. 6, *katamā ātmā*, BU. IV. 3. 7, MU. II. 1), "Who is our 'Self,' what is 'Brahma'?" (*ko na ātmā, kim brahma*, CU. V. 11. 1), and "In whom, when I go forth hence, shall I be going forth?" (*kasminn aham utkrānta utkrānto bhaviṣyāmi*, Prāśna U. VI. 3), i. e. When I "give up the ghost" (*Sanctus Spiritus*), shall I be in that immortal Spirit, or, in the words of Blake, "seiz'd and giv'n into the hands of my own selfhood?" What the answer to this last question shall be depends upon the degree of our Self-knowledge now: "Whoever departs from this world without having found the Spirit, there is no freedom for him" (CU. VIII. 1. 6), but "The Comprehensor of the common Person of all, the Comprehensor of the logos 'That is my Self,' he when he goes forth falls in with the incorporeal Self, and leaves behind him the other and corporeal self" (*sarveṣāṃ bhūtānām āntarah pūruṣaḥ sa na ātmeti, vidyāt sa utkrānta evaitam āsarīraṃ prajñātmānam abhisampadyate vijahātītarāṃ daihikam*, ŚA. VIII. 7): "there can be no doubting for him who is assured of this, that 'This Self of mine in the heart, is Brahma; coessential with him am I (*tam . . . abhisambhavitāsmi*) when I go forth hence'" (CU. III. 14. 4); "Who knoweth Him, knoweth himself, and is not afraid to die" (AV. X. 8. 44). Thus the dust returns to earth and the spirit to him who gave it (Eccl. XII. 7). We need only add that these doctrines of man's two selves and of their composure (*samādhī, samādhi*) are as much Buddhist as Brahmanical, and as much Platonic and Christian as either of these.

The "composure" of the *yogin* in whom the habit of *samādhi* persists is in fact the same as his "self-possession," the possession of and by one's Self in that deathlike "sleep" that is the entelechy of the beatific conjugation of the conjoint principles, Indra and Indrāṇī, described in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 11-17 in explanation of the notions "one and many, far and near": "So let the Comprehensor 'sleep' (*tāsmād evaṃvīt syapyāt*): He who with love leadeth forth (*prajāyati*, cf. MU. VI. 7 *khalv ātmano 'tmā neta amṛtākhyah*: *√ nā*, "to lead, control, marry") all his children, He is verily the Breath (*prāṇāḥ*, i. e. *Ātman*, *Vāyu*, *Prajāpati*, *Sūrya*, *Agni*, *Brahma*, and here in particular *Mṛtyu*) and these breaths or lives (*prāṇāḥ*, i. e. sense-powers) are his own 'subjects' (*śrāḥ*, cf. VS. XII. 82, BU. IV. 4. 37, etc.), and when one sleeps (*śrāpiti*), then these breaths,

his subjects, go in unto him (*enam . . . āpiyanti*, cf. JUB. I. 15. 8 *prānam apyati* . . . *sarvam prānam abhisameti*); this 'sleep' (*svapna*) is verily 'coming into one's own' (*svāpyaya* = *sva-āpi-aya*, cf. CU. VI. 7. 8 *svam apita*), as it is expressed metaphysically (*ity ācakṣate parōkṣam*). . . . Thus it is that He is not merely 'One' (*ekah*) but also 'Several' (*ēkūh*)—"as what is *one* in the whole, and *many* in its parts . . . absolutely, and *many* accidentally" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, I. 11. 1 *ad* 2)—and thus both *akala* and *kala* (MU. VI. 15). Now just as in English "coming into" is "taking possession of," so here there is play on the words *api* (*api-i*) "to go in unto" and *ap* "to take possession of," suggested by the likeness of *svāpyaya* to *svāpi* (whether *sv-āpi* = "loyal intimate or ally," or *sva-āpi*, "own intimate or ally") in AB. III. 16 "the Maruts, those good allies, are the breaths" (*prānā vai marutaḥ svāpayah*), Indra's allies in the battle with Vṛtra when all other Gods desert him (ib. and III. 16); and by such expressions as *āptakāma* (BU. IV. 3. 21, cf. CU. I. 1. 6), *kāmasyāpti* (KU. II. 11), *sarvāpti* (Kauṣ. U. III. 3), and *tē brāhmanāpuk āthāmītā śauh* (ŚB. XI. 2. 3. 6). This relationship of the loyal breaths to the Breath, their first principle, can also be stated as that of the sensitive selves (the "seeing man," *cākṣasapurusa*, GU. VIII. 12. 4, the "hearing man," etc.; collectively the man himself—*prānā u ha vāva, rājan, manusyasya sambhūtiḥ*, JUB. IV. 7. 4, *akṣara-sammānāś cakṣurmayah śrotramayaś chāndomayo manomayo vāñmaya ātmā*, AA. III. 2. 2; cf. Hermes. *Lib.* XI. 2. 12a) to the central Self, as in Kauṣ. U. IV. 20 where on the one hand the foreknowing-Self (*prajñāt-man*) enters into the body, and on the other "these (sensitive) selves depend on that Self as retainers on their chieftain" (*tam etam ātmānam ste ātmano 'nuvāsanti yathā śreṣṭhīnam svāh*): he for them and they for him, "For thou art ours, and we are thine" (RV. VIII. 92. 32).⁴⁴ It is when a man is "asleep" in the sense intended above, and more briefly in CU. VI. 8. 1, where "what is called 'being asleep' is really, 'coming into one's own'" (*svapitity ācakṣate svam hy apito bhavati*), and it is clear that *svapna* as a technical term really means the mastery of the senses and effectively *dhyāna*, as also in BU. II. 1. 17 where (just as in Hermes Trismegistus, *Lib.* I. 1) "a man is said to be 'asleep' when he curbs the senses" (as horses are curbed),⁴⁵ and only when he

⁴⁴ Plato, "God is our guardian, and we are his possessions" (*Phaedo*, 80 D).

⁴⁵ An identical interpretation of "sleep" will be found in Hermes Trismegistus, *Lib.* I. 1. The Outer Man, whom we think of as "awake" is really asleep and dreaming; the Inner and contemplative Man whom we think of as "asleep" when we fail to understand the metaphysical "inaction" is really awake and in act, in the sense that the Buddha is literally the "Wake" and the analogical (*paramārthika*) sense in which Agni is "wakened at daybreak" (*uṣar-budh*).

is thus "asleep," that he is really empowered and really free. "When he 'sleeps' these worlds are his, then he becomes as a great King or a great Brāhman; likewise he attains to the high and the low. Even as a great King, taking with him his people, so also 'this man,' reigning in his senses, drives about in (the chariot of) his own body at will" (BU. II. 1. 18). The only royal road to power is to become one's own master; the mastery of whatever else follows. This is the traditional "secret of government," Chinese and Platonic as much as it is Indian.

The whole point of the injunction "Let the Comprehensor sleep" (*tasmād evamvīt svapyāt*) in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 12 will be lost if we think it is opposed to the "Let him fight" (*tasmād yuddhyasva*) or "Act" (*kartum arhasi*) of BG. II. 18 and III. 21. These are no longer conflicting, but coincident imperatives for what is now the *mixta persona* of Kṛṣṇārjuna rather than the single and hesitant person of Arjuna only. The "sleep" intended is the having the sense powers in hand and under one's control and thus really possessed (as is explicit in BU. II. 1. 17), and this is the "autonomy" of the King who is free to move-at-will in his own realm (ib. 18); while the "action" intended is the activity of one whose actions are not reactions to pleasure and pain but only such as are "correct." To combine and paraphrase BG. II. 69 and IV. 18, "He who sees inaction in action, and action in action, sleep in waking and waking in sleep, he is wise, he is awake, he is all in act." "Yoga is skill in works" (*karmasu kauśalam*, BG. II. 50,—it will be recalled that the original value of σοφός, "wise," is precisely that of *kuśala*, "expert"); the kingly art is precisely *karma yoga*, "and it need but little of this lore to save from the great fear" (BG. II. 40). The *dharana*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi* of *yoga* (Christian *consideratio*, *contemplatio*, and *excessus* or *raptus*) are so many degrees of self-possession," consummated in a going out of or being emptied of oneself and a finding of one's real Self, which is also the "Self" of the immanent Spirit: "When the rider in the (psycho-physical) vehicle is liberated from all these things with which he has been stuffed (*paripūrṇa*) and by which (sense perceptions) he has been overcome, then indeed he proceeds to union with himSelf" (*ātman eva sūyujyam upaiti*, MU. IV. 4; cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 66 C, 67 A). We are thus brought back to the deepest values of "self-possession": "When thou art rid of self, then art thou self-controlled (*dīneṣ selbes gewaltig* — *σβαρῆς ἑαυτοῦ*), and self-controlled art self-possessed (*dīneṣ selbes eigen*), and self-possessed possessed of God (*ist got dīn eigen*) and all that he has ever made" (Eckhart, Pfeiffer, p. 598), a passage that reads like a literal translation from an Upaniṣad: *prasannātmātmani sthitvā, sukham avayam aśnute*, MU. VI. 20! By the same token a deeper sense emerges in the expression

"All alone by himself"; in the conflict with Death, in which the issue is literally one of "victory or death," we are "all alone"; but "by oneself," that means side by side with our very Self, *ātmanaiṣa sahāyena* (Mann, VI. 49), the "Inseparable Companion" of BU. II. 1. 11 and Kauṣ. U. IV. 12.

There remains then to be effected in Everyman, who is still a kingdom or house divided against itself, such a marriage of selves as we have spoken of, and as in CU. VII. 25 and AA. II. 3. 7. We have already alluded to the consummation of this divine marriage (*daivam mithunam*, *ἱπὸς γήινος*) described in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 11-16 as the beatific union of Indra and Indrāṇī, "the Persons in the right and left eyes."** These two are respectively the King and Queen on the right and on the left; what we have elsewhere called the Inner Sage and Outer King are here, then, thought of in accordance with the functional symbolism with which we are now familiar, the King and the Queen; they represent in fact the *brahma* and *kṣatra*, and just as we saw in ŚB. IV. 1. 4. 1 f. that the success of whatever is undertaken by either depends upon a marital consent of wills—a special case of the general principle enunciated in CU. I. 1. 6-8—so here the union of Indra with Indrāṇī "makes them successful" (*samardhayati*). The holy marriage, the synthesis (*sandhi*) of the conjoint principles, immortal and mortal "selves" implied in CU. VII. 25. 2, is even more poignantly described in BU. IV. 3. 21: "That is his hypermetrical form,"⁶⁹ from which all evil has been struck away, free of all fear. As a man embraced by a darling bride (*priyāyā striyā sam-*

** For the "person in the (right) eye" see BU. IV. 2. 2, 3 and IV. 4. 1, CU. I. 7. 5, MU. VII. 11. 1-3. This image seen in the pupil of the eye is the form of our real being and that of the "Person in the Sun" who is called variously Death, Breath, and usually Indra; the "Person in the Sun" being "Indra, Prajāpati, Brahma" (Sacerdotium) (KB. VIII. 3). In ŚB. III. 1. 3. 15 it is *śuśra* that becomes the pupil of the eye.

The symbolism of the "person seen in the eye" is probably ancient. Plato (*Alcibiades* I. 133) uses it in a slightly different way, but for him also it is a form analogous to what in us is most like God.

⁶⁹ *Aticchanda*, usually interpreted to mean "beyond desires," but really with more direct reference to the *chāndāsi* which are the means of our metrical re-integration and the wings on which the Spirit ascends to the Sun (AV. VIII. 9. 2, AB. VII. 27, etc.). "Yonder Sun is the Disposer; and it is inasmuch as he hath gone unto the uttermost of the Quarters that there he stands and glows. . . . The Metres are the Quarters" (*dīśo hy ṛtā chāndāsi*, ŚB. IX. 5. 1. 37, 39). *Aticchanda* (for *aticchandaṁ*) in BU. IV. 3. 21 is, according to Saṅkara, "beyond desires"; but I think that the reference is to the "whole and completed" form, like that of the Fire-altar, *aticchanda* in ŚB. X. 5. 4. 8, where the meaning of the word is certainly "hypermetrical" or "super-metrical."

pāriṣvaktā) is conscious neither of a within or without, so this man embraced by the foreknowing-spiritual-Self (*prājñātmā*) knows naught of a within or a without; that is verily his (real) form, in which he is possessed of his desires, the Spirit being his desire, so that he is undesirous (*ātmakāmam āptakāmam akāmam*) and is excepted from sorrow." This is manifestly a return to the primordial state of the Spiritual Person (*ātman, puruṣa*) "as it were that of a man and a woman embraced" (*gāthā śrīpāmāṇsau sampāriṣvaktāu*, B.U. I. 4. 4): "In dem unbegriffen der hohen einekeit, diu alle dinge vernihtet in ir selbesheit sunder sich, ist sünde ein āne underscheit. . . . Ein und ein vereinet dā liuhtet blōz in blōz. . . . Also wirt diu sēle got in gote" (Eckhart, Pfeiffer, pp. 517, 531). The man is no longer this man So-and-so, but dissolved in himSelf. The outer man has been "crowned and mitred above himself" (Dante, *Purgatorio* XXVII. 182). It is precisely such a crowning and mitring that is ritually enacted in the Rājasūya: the King's "divinity" is not "his own," not "this man's" who sits upon the throne, but that of the principle that overrules him and of which he is, not the reality, but the living image, instrument and puppet. In this experience, the Outer King is merged in the life and being of the Inner Sage, this man in the real Self, *geworden was er ist*: the words "That art thou" have been verified; the longing, "What thou art, that may I be" has been satisfied.

Like the King's attainment of Brahmanhood (AB. VII. 23) and like all the sacrificial Himmelfahrten this is, of course, an experience inevitably followed by a return to oneself, the man So-and-so. But like any other marriage, the nuptial coronation rite marks the beginning of a new order. It is a new man that ascends the throne: an outer man in operation, but now the legitimate agent of a higher than his own will. As the individual is assimilated to the Self, the woman to the man, so is the Regnum to the Sacerdotium: the consorts are unanimous, so that what the one enjoins the other performs. The individual is no longer enslaved by his own desires, but has found an infallible guide and mentor in the person of the Daimon or Indwelling Spirit (*ātmanvat yakṣa, antaratman*), Hegemon (*antaryāmin, netṛ*), Synteresis⁷⁸ as Shepherd and Guardian (*rāstragopā, gopṛ, ārakṣha devatā*) and "correction du

⁷⁸ On the Synteresis (essentially the same as Plato's immanent *λόγος, λόγος*, and *ἐνυμνός*, and/or "con-science" but with far more than the merely moral values that this latter word now implies for us) see O. Renz, *Die Synteresis nach dem hl. Thomas von Aquin*, Münster, 1911. "Synteresis" is etymologically Skt. *śāntīśraka* (*śr*), "one who enables another to cross over" (to the farther shore), and so "savior" or "deliverer."

savoir-faire" (*pramāṇa*); "the Inner Sage who may be called the Chaplain" within you, and to whom the Purohita, who is the Chaplain of the King's house, corresponds in the civil realm. The artist is no longer "expressing himself," but can say with Dante that "I take note, and even as He dictates within me, I set it forth" (*Purgatorio* XXIV. 52). The married woman is no longer at large, but now in charge of a kingdom, that of her household. And all of these agreements are analogous to the agreement of an Emperor who makes a treaty of peace with a rebellious vassal or would-be independent ruler who, in accordance with customary Indian policy, explicit in the *Arthashastra*, is now restored to his throne and empowered to govern, but now as the Emperor's friend. It is the same for the Inner and Outer Man.

There is now a state of peace, where there had been one of anxiety. The composure (*samādhi*) of the outer rebel and inner leader enables the whole man to rise above the battle even while participating in it. The King is now in reality a "Highness"; his actions are no longer determined by the likes and dislikes of his sensitive part (*necessitas coactionis*), but inwardly instigated, and being thus strictly speaking "inspired," participate in the "infallibility" of whatever proceeds *ex cathedra*, "from the tripod of truth"; the burden of responsibility transferred to other shoulders (*BG. III. 30 mayi sarvāṇi karmāṇi samnyasya*) no longer adds to the sum of his mortality and we can say: "O King, live for ever." When we speak of a King as "His Serene Highness" we are speaking precisely of the truly royal quality of self-possession by which a King, if he be really a King, is indeed "exalted."

Thus from the standpoint of Indian sociological theory and that of all traditional politics, an individual tyranny, whether that of a despot, that of an emancipated artist, or that of the self-expressive man or self-sufficient woman, effects in the long run only what is ineffectual (*akṛtāni*, "misdeeds"); all self-importance leads to the disintegration and finally the death of the body politic, collective or individual. The essence of the traditional politics amounts to this, that "Self-government" (*svarāj*) depends upon self-control (*ātmasamyama*), Rule on ruliness. One may say that this conception of government survives even in modern India, since the political victory foreseen by Gandhi is assuredly one that can only be achieved by a self-conquest.

The King is such by Divine Right and Appointment, and by the same token the Executive of a higher than his own will; or if he rules only by might and does his own will, he is a Tyrant and must be disciplined.

"For this expression see Masson-Oursel, "Une connexion dans l'esthétique de la philosophie de l'Inde," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, II, 1925.

The same applied to the individual who, if only concerned with the good of the work to be done and not with himself, and if he thinks of "himself" only as an instrument governed by his art, is worthy of all honor, but if he asserts and seeks to express himself, worthy of all dishonor and shame.

The Kingship envisaged by the Indian and traditional doctrine is thus as far removed as could well be from what we mean when we speak of an "Absolute Monarchy" or of "individualism." The supposedly "Machiavellian" *Arthasāstra* flatly asserts (I.6) that only a ruler who rules himself can long rule others: "Whatever Sovereign, even one whose dominion extends to the ends of the earth, is of perverted disposition and ungoverned senses (*viruddhir vrttir avasyendriyah*)" must quickly perish," going on to say that

"THE WHOLE OF THIS SCIENCE HAS TO DO WITH A VICTORY OVER THE POWERS OF PERCEPTION AND ACTION."¹²

¹²The *indriyāṇi* are the five organs of sense, the five corresponding internal faculties, and the mind (*manas*); these correspond to what are called by Christian writers the "powers of the soul." They are properly called *indriyāṇi* because of their belonging to Indra, whose they are (cf. TS. I. 6. 12. 1). They are, in fact, the "powers" (*śaktiḥ*) by which Indra is "empowered" (*śacīśat*) and is the "Lord of Power" (*śacīpati*), as he is of *Indrāṇi* (*indrāṇīm . . . pādā*, RV. X. 86. 11, 12). Taken together, the *śaktiḥ* are *śaci*; the *indriyāṇi*, *Indrāṇi*; the powers of the soul, the soul herself. The marriage of Indra and *Indrāṇi* is that of the Sun and Moon, Eros and *Psyche*.

Rightly curbed, the *indriyāṇi* are "powers of rule," but allowed full rein, are the "ruling passions" to which we are subjected.

¹³*Ayatanam hi śāstram idam indriya-jayah.*

The concept of "Victory" is of the utmost importance in the traditional theory of Kingship. Exoterically it is by an actual or implied victory over others that a King obtains the throne, but esoterically he is the true Victor who subdues his own passions, allying himself with the Self against himself. In Islam this becomes the concept of the "Holy War" (*jihād*) as distinguished from mere wars of conquest. The "heroism" (*vīrya*, *śrēṣṭhya*) expected of the Knight (*kṣatriya*), whether as King or as the Mortal Soul and Outer Man, is then no longer a matter of merely physical courage (such as animals also possess), but a symbol and evidence of self-conquest and self-knowledge; autonomy, as we have seen, being the outward tally of an inward Self-control. Whoever has thus found Himself is necessarily both fearless and "invulnerable" (AV. X. 8. 44, BG. II, etc.). When the martyr says: "I have fought the good fight," this good fight is the Holy War. This does not mean that the two wars must be separately fought; the man-at-arms may be waging a war that is humanly speaking "just," and, if he be a Comprehensor, at the same time one that is "holy." In the latter case the battle itself becomes a sacrificial rite. It is in this way that it can be said of War that "Some he has marked out to be Gods, and some to be men, some to be enslaved and some to be set free" (Heraclitus, Fr. XLIV). It is one

The application is to the "King," the "man of action" and "artist" in any domain whatever; there is nothing that can be truly and well done or made except by the man in whom the marriage of the Sacerdotium and the Regnum has been consummated, nor can any peace be made except by those who have made their peace with themselves.*

ŚUBHAM BHAVATU

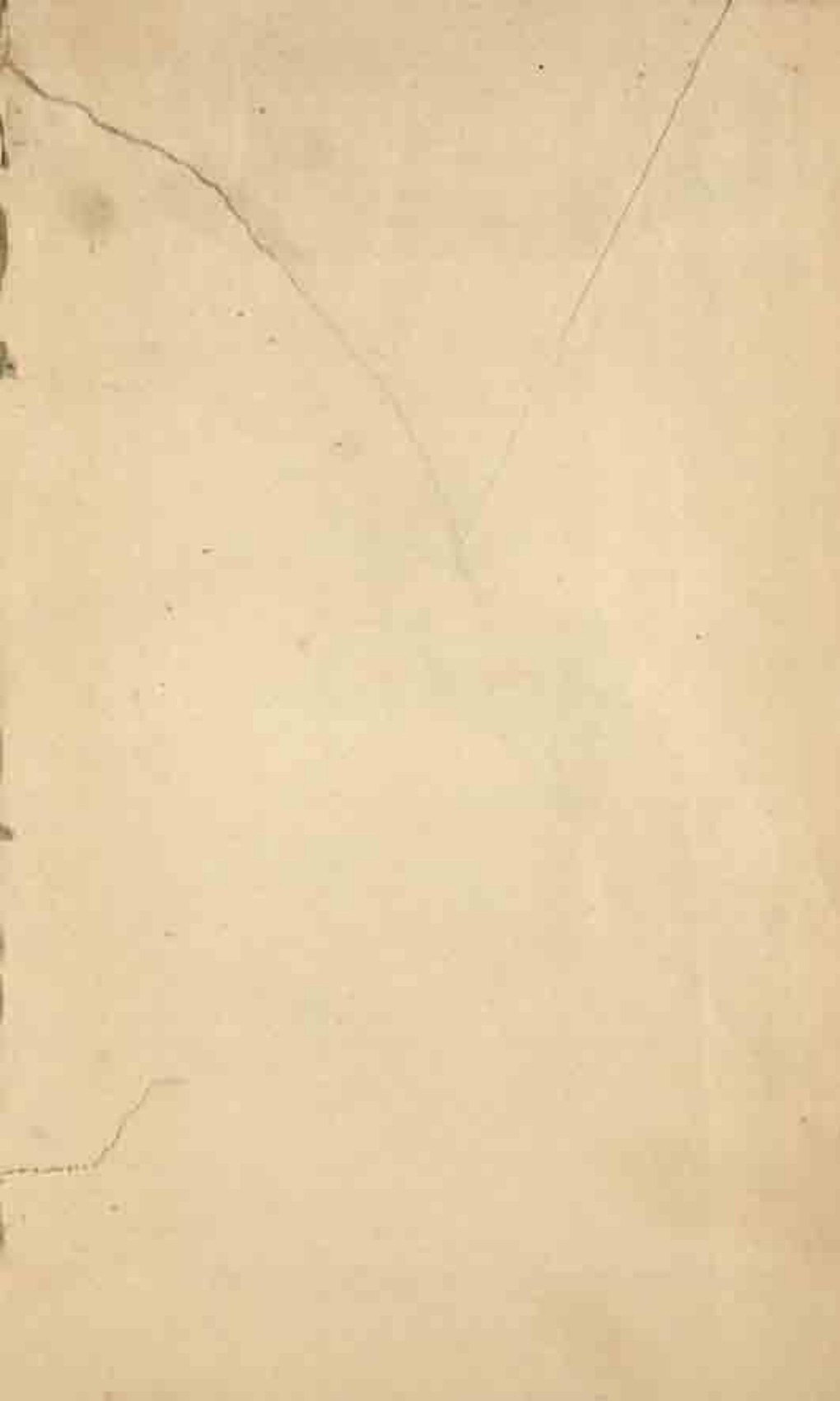
thing to be "free" to do what one likes; only to have the "Victory over pleasures" (ἡ τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκη, Plato, *Lysis* 840 C) is to be really free.

It is clear from the great king Asoka's Thirteenth Edict that he had understood the real meaning of "Victory"; for after recounting his political victories and expressing his deep regret for them, because of the suffering inflicted on the conquered, he continues (line 7), "And this is the foremost Victory, the Victory of the Dharma," while (line 10, 11) he enjoins upon his successors to "regard as 'Victory' the Victory of the Dharma, which avails for this world and the other."

In the beginning, it was the Brahma-Yakṣa that won the Victory (over the Asuras) for the Devas, and it is asked: "Can he be conquered who is a Comprehensor of that Great First-born Yakṣa, who knows that Brahma to be the Truth?" (TS. VI. 5. 7. 4, JUB. IV. 21, Kena U. 14 f., etc.).

* "What is the best thing of all for a man, that he may ask from the Gods?
'That he may be always at peace with himself' "

Contest of Homer and Hesiod, 320.



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