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HISTORY OF INDIAN ASCETICISM IN PRE-BUDDHISTIC TIMES

By

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ABSTRACT.

This study is concerned with the origins and the development of Indian asceticism before the time of the Buddha. In the first chapter we have tried to define the concept of asceticism and fix its typology. We have included the practices of Upāsanā and Yoga in asceticism.

The second chapter is devoted to the study of asceticism in the Indus Civilisation and in the Samhitas. We have taken each Samhita separately and studied tapas. vrata, śrama and other terms which may have a bearing on the subject in the context of the cultural material as revealed in that particular samhitā. We have studied also such personalities as the muni, yati and vrātya. In dealing with the vrātya we have concentrated only on the book XV of the Av, leaving aside the materials found in the Brāhmaṇas for the second chapter. This has involved a general criticism of the views of the scholars who have worked on the subject, and a re-appraisal of the AV.XV. which has led to quite different results. In the third chapter we have again dealt with the terms seen in the Brāhmaṇas. Along with this we have studied the sacrificial practises involving austerities such as fasting, dietary regulations, keeping vigil and so forth. These regulations are not only observed separately but are gathered together in the Diksa ritual which has been treated exhaustively. We have suggested that the dīkṣā was the arche-type of later austerities. In this period new ascetic personalities such as the Carakas, and

the Vaikhānasas appeared. The Vrātyas have been again dealt with exhaustively and have been found to be an organised community containing shaman-like priests. It has been tentatively suggested that they might be identified with the people of the copper hoards of the Gangetic valley.

In the fourth chapter we have treated the material found in the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads together. We find new developments in the ascetic mode of living. Asceticism comes predominantly to mean self-discipline, beside the earlier conception of asceticism as self-mortification. Though the ascetic mode of living was accepted in later Vedic society, it had not been integrated as a social institution in the framework of the Āśrama system. The practices of Upāsanā and Yoga are seen to be well-developed by the end of this period.

The fifth chapter gives a short summary of the views put forward in the earlier chapters and a short comparison of the conclusions arrived at with the Jaina and the Buddhist evidence.

ABBREVIATIONS OF THE JOURNALS

AI	Ancient India
AIOC	All India Oriental Conference
BDCRI	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
BI	Bibliotheca Indica
CR	Calcutta Review
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anziegen
HJOS	Harvard Journal of Oriental Studies
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
IA	Indian Antiquery
IC	Indian Culture
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
IIJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IS	Indien Studien
JA	Journal Asiatique
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBBRAS	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
JAOS	Journal of American Oriental Society
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
NGGW	Nachrichten Gottingischer Gesellschaft der Wissenschafte
RO	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgen-Landes (= VOJ = Vienna Oriental Journal)

ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen Ländischen Gesellschaft
ZII	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik

PREFACE.

This is the first full-length study of Indian asceticism as reflected in the Vedic literature before the time of Buddha.

We have confined ourselves primarily to the Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. However, we have sometimes had to refer to the Sūtras for the purposes of understanding certain vedic passages or rites. The problem before us has been to determine the origins and nature of ascetic practices, ideas and persons in the Vedic literature and to indicate similarities between this Asceticism and that of the Buddhists and Jainas and other ascetic sects. Secondarily, we have attempted to indicate the generic relationships between this vedic and prebuddhistic asceticism and the ascetic movements of the sixth century B.C. in India. To determine the nature of asceticism of this period we have attempted the study of certain key-concepts such as tapas, vrata, śrama, and other related ethical terms. We fully agree with Whitehead's dictum that, "the fate of a word has to the historian the value of a document!"[1] A comprehensive study of the term vrata has already been attempted by Apte[2] and in more details by Schmidt.[3] They have paid detailed

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1. A.N.Whitehead. Religion in the making (1925) pp.114.
2. V.M.Apte "APP about vrata" in the Rgveda B.D.C.R.1.III.
3. H-P.Schmidt. Vedische Vrata und Awestisch Urvatha.
4. See.ERE.2. (1908).Article on Hindu Asceticism. pp.87-88.

terms as muni, yati, vaikhanasa, vratya, who appear in later literature as types of ascetics. Hauer tried to derive Yoga from the community of the Vrātyas whom he regarded as non-aryans.[1] We have tried to re-study the problem of the Vrātya and have arrived at different conclusions. The problem of the origins of Yoga, which we have included in our definition of asceticism,[2] is still quite controversial. Jacobi[3] tried to establish that Jaina ascetics derived their practices from the Brāhmana ascetic, while Basham[4] derived asceticism from non-aryan sources. Chanda[5] saw in the Yati and Vrātya non-aryan ascetics with the developed techniques of Dhyana-Yoga surviving from the Indus Civilisation. We have had to take into account, therefore, together with actual physical austerities, dietary regulations, modes of mental discipline and special techniques to induce mystical experience and spiritual realisation, as reflected in the Vedic literature. Yoga, in its later development, is primarily introspective and its essence does not lie in shamanistic ecstasy. We believe that even in our period it contained an element of psychological analysis. Falk[6] has detected a type of Yoga psychology in the Vedic literature, while Mrs.Rhys Davids has painted out the growing importance

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1. J.W.Hauer: Die Anfange der Yogapraxis.(1922)pp.172; Der Vratya.
2. See below Chapter I.
3. SBE.22 pp.XXlll-XXX.
4. The Ajēvikas, pp.4-5. cf.G.C.Pande. Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, pp.321-22 ff.
5. MASI.41.pp.25-26.
6. M.Falk. The oldest Psychology: Terminus a quo and aspects. Indian Journal of Psychology XVlll(-3-4).

of mental principles such as manas citta or samkalpa in the Vedic literature which was developed further in Buddhism and Yoga texts.[1] We have devoted less attention to the analysis of these psychological concepts, leaving this to the philosopher, and have concentrated rather on the practices of Upāsanā which seem to be directly connected with those of Yoga - a fact which has already been noticed but not studied in detail.[1] We have also tried to trace the origins of the Āśrama - system and its implications insofar as it involves an open acceptance of the Mokṣa-ideal. We have briefly considered the Vedic and non-vedic influences at work in the sixth century B.C., which led to the various new ascetic movements. The problem here was posed by the contention of Basham[3] that these were mainly non-vedic in origin while Jacobi put forward the view that the Jainas and the Buddhists patterned themselves after the Brāhmana ascetic.[4] Asceticism is a socio-ethical phenomenon and therefore in the treatment of ascetic tendencies we tried to study it within the famework of the historical conditions of the times.

We would here express our deep gratitude, regard and affection to Professor A.L.Basham who has supervised the whole of our research work and by his constant assistance and encourage

1. C.A.F.Rhys Davids The Birth of Indian Psychology.1936.London. Chapters II.VII.
2. M.Falk.R.O.I.I.4 on Upasana; Pandey.G.C.op.cit.pp.303-04; also. K.Narayanaswami Aiyar. The Thirty two Vidyas.Madras.(1916) p.p.1-6.
3. The Ajivikas pp.4-5 See also Pande.op.cit.pp.321-22 ff.
4. SBE.22.pp.XXIII-XXX.

ment has laid us under deep obligation. We must also thank Dr.D.Friedman, Reader in Indian Philosophy, and Dr.J.G.de Casparis, Lecturer at the department of History who helped in many ways when Professor Basham was on leave to India. We would also thank Mr.C.A.Rylands, Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, who helped us with some knotty problems of Vedic exegesis, Mrs.J. Makowiecka, who translated some French and German works for us, and Mr.N.K.Wagle for assistance in preparing the typescript.

CHAPTER I. ASCETICISM - AN INTRODUCTION.

The word "asceticism" comes from the Greek word askesis, which means training. The metaphor is taken from the wrestling place or palaestra wherein victory awards thosewho had best trained their bodies.[1] The word ascetic, therefore, has come to be associated with a person who undergoes physical austerities to train himself like the wrestler or the athlete. In Sanskrit, however, the phenomenon of asceticism is called generally tapasyā from the root /tap - (to heat). This referred to the practice of the austerity in which the ascetic (tapasvi) underwent the practice of beating himself before the fire. The other terms used for asceticism are samnyāsa, vairāgya, and by a further extension of the term asceticism which is not general, we may include yoga also. Samnyāsa refers to an attitude of life which aims at non-possession and poverty. The word is derived from the root as - to throw.[2] The word does not occur at all in the early Vedic literature and not even in the early Upanisads.[3] The term Vairāgya refers more to a mental detachment and isolation and is also found in very late Upanisads. In early Vedic literature another term "śrama", which means "Effort" "striving", is also used and may be taken to refer to ascetic practices. Thus, in early Indian asceticism, the

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1. E.B. article on "Asceticism" eleventh edition. ERE.vol.II.pp.73.ff. relates the term to the greek verb "askein" which means"to exercise or practise".
2. PW.7.pp.654; Monier-Williams. Sanskrit-English Dictionary. s.v.
3. PW.6.pp.1410.

attitude towards asceticism is more physical, than mental. consists of physical austerities rather than of mental austerities. Asceticism, as these terms indicate, is usually rather negative in outlook, especially in early tribal societies. Durkheim[1] treats it as "the negative cult". Physical austerities in the early societies may consist of abstentions, and what Durkheim calls "a whole system of interdictions", and positive acts of self-mortification and self-torture. Pain and suffering are essential elements in any ascetic practices which are of various kinds. But asceticism proper contains the ethical element of self-discipline and self-isolation from everything profane which is generally identified with the world. This leads to a formulation of two types of asceticism - one of them can be called "primitive asceticism" and the other, as "mystical asceticism". Primitive asceticism can be differentiated from "mystical asceticism" by a reference to the ends for which they are practised. The continuity between the two, which leads us to call them by the common name "asceticism", is provided by the austerities, painful practices which are indulged in in both, and which led Durkheim to call "mystical asceticism" a "hypertrophy of the negative cult".

Primitive asceticism is universal in that the austerities such as fasting, mutilations, flagellations, chastity and other types of painful privations are found in most of the primitive tribal societies. These austerities are of various kinds and

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1. See below.
2. Durkheim. op.cit.pp.311.

"take the place in the social, moral, magical, and religious life of savages which asceticism (i.e.mystical asceticism) holds in that of more advanced peoples!" These austerities are divided into ten types by MacCulloch: Adolescence iniation ceremonies, admission to ecret societies, initiation to priesthood, flagellation, fasting, mourning ceremonies, tabuing, medical austerities and self-restraint which includes continence. The first three of these types can well be reduced to a single type, that is, initiation austerities. Iniation ceremonies concerning the adolescent and the would-be priest include many practices such as fasting, keeping vigils, silence, eating special type of foods, and chastity.[2] It is noticed among most of the societies and even in the advanced societies. The purpose of these austerities undergone during the initiation ceremony, is to bring about a complete change in the character of the initiate.[3] He becomes divine and has a sacred character; he is reborn through it. In the Vedic context the initiation ceremonies were of two types; for the student and for the sacrificer.[4] The initiation of the student called the Upanayana had already come into existence and bears a remarkable similarity to the ascetic mode of life which was formulated by the end of the Vedic period into the fourth āśrama. After the performance of the Upanayana the initiate is called the "twice-born" (dvija).[5]

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2. See ERE.Vol. Article on Initiation; P.Radin.Primitive religion pp.84-101; 111-31;
3. See below. Chap III. on "Dīkṣā" Cf.Durkheim.op.cit.pp.309-10; notices the character of initiation in the Australian societies the features similar to the Vedic diksa. The initiate is called as "that which is from the forest".
4. R.B.Pandeya.Hindu Samskaras.pp.
5. CF.ERE.Vol.II.227.

Beside the elaborate initiation austerities for the student, we find the ascetic practices in the sacrificial consecration, which is similar to the initiation ceremonies.

Fasting as an austerity forms a part of initiation ceremonies. But it may be practised independently also. Tylor[1] noticed that "fasting accompanied with other privations and prolonged contemplation in the desert or the forest" are practised among the primitive tribes.[1a] "It maybe an act of penitence or of propitiation; a preparatory rite before some act of sacramental eating or an initiation; a mourning ceremony; one of a series of purificatory rites, a means of inducing dreams and visions; a method of adding force to magical rites".[2] Voluntary fasting entered into by the ascetic-mystic is not very different from the fasting done by the primitive man except in the defined ideology which was put forward by the ascetic-mystic. This ideology of the ascetic-mystic was dualistic; it shunned the world regarding the body as evil, and mortified it. In primitive asceticism the purpose of fasting is regarded as a practice which may make the body fit for the reception of the sacred in the form of food.[3] Fasting was a good means of procuring ecstasy and exaltation for religious ends.[4] Huxley[5] gives the scientific explanation for the ecstasy generated through fasting.

1a. Cf.ERE.Vol.5. PP.75,9 ff.article on "Fasting".
2. ERE.Loc.cit.
3. Radin op.cit.pp.16; 111-12;
4. Tylor.Loc.cit.
5. Doors of perception. Penguin Series. pp.119-20.

Flagellation was common in primitive asceticism as well as in mystical asceticism. Among primitive people it was probably employed to drive away the "malignant presence of demoniacal powers", or to bring back the ecstatic person to his normal condition. Flagellation was institutionalised among the medieval christian ascetics.[1] It was a sort of "surgical operation". The pain is inflicted rather as a means of hurting the evil powers than of making the victim suffer and thus frightening the evil powers to make them depart. Sometimes it was done in the height of religious exaltation or to evoke religious ecstasy through the poisonous juices of the plants or through the disturbance of the enzyme system of the brain through festering wounds.[1a] It was moreover regarded in primitive asceticism as procuring magical productivity and fertility.[2] In mystical asceticism it was the effective means of subduing the "soul's evil-yoke-fellow" the body and of inducing visions by casting out evil. Connected with flagellation and scourging is mutilation of bodily organs. In primitive asceticism the practice of continence and self restraint was prevalent but that was from no high idealsitic and spiritual reasons but for the sake of "food supply" and "tribe supply".[3] But later in mystical asceticism it was thought of as essential for the spiritual life.

Besides these physical austerities, a type of austerity

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1. Cf.The Flagellants, but this is of a different kind in the later Indian Asceticism.
1a. Huxley op.cit.pp.120
2. ERE.vol.2. PP.228-29; Vol.6.pp.49-50. article on "Flagellants"
3. G.Murray.Five stages of Greek religion.p.5.Cf.Frazer.Golden Bough Abridged Edition.1925.London.--.139. says that it was practised for the sake of food and "victory in war". and not for "moral purity".

may be seen in sacrifice, in the course of which "something is forfeited in order to establish a right and beneficial relationship with a transcendental source of strength and vitality"[1] Whatever may have been the original motive of the sacrifice, the gift,[2] the sacramental feast,[3] self-denial and self-sacrifice plays an important part in it.

The practice of physical austerities thus in primitive asceticism is motivated primarily by the desire of power and vitality, success, long life, and children, which could be attained through other types of activity such as prayer[4] and sacrifice. Primitive asceticism is a means of persuasion as prayer is,[5] but prayer generally persuades the god while asceticism may not. It may persuade the power which is conceived magically as inherent in an object. The nature of power which such asceticism may try to induce ~~the power~~ to be in the hands of the ascetic is difficult to determine. This supernatural power was regarded as "a force altogether distinct from physical power which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess and control"[6] This was the definition, of Mana, given by Codrington, and this mana has been conceived in personal and impersonal terms. The same power is conceived of as of an impersonal character and also as a personal being endowed with power or

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1. E.O.James. The origins of religion. pp.84.
2. Tyler PC.ii.pp.376-91.
3. R.Smith. Religion of the Semites. 1901.pp.338 accepted by Murray. Five Stages.pp.36.
4. Heiler. Prayer. pp.19.
5. Heiler. Prayer. pp.29 ff.
6. R.H.Codrington. The Melanesians. Oxford. 1891.pp.118-19 See P.Radin. Primitive Religion. pp.12-14.

capable of successfully performing arduous acts. This magical aspect of the power seems to pass into mystical asceticism too, and is met in Vedic thinking. The power can be generated by the activity of the persons concerned through the agency of elemental forces such as fire or the sun.[1]

The other result of the various austerities is visions and intense experiences which are thought to have a liberating influence and which probably deepen the personality of the primitive. These visions and new perceptions could be induced through drugs such as peyotl and mescalin.[2] The visionary experiences induced by austerities are of praeternatural light and colour, and involve the perception of certain subjective forms, and ordinary humdrum objects assume a new significance.[3] The visionary experience, however, may not be happy and cheerful. The shamans have been noticed to have "terror-visions".[4] Huxley himself speaks of the experience of fear of "being overwhelmed, of disintegrating under a pressure of reality greater than a mind accustomed to living most of the time in a cosy world of symbols could possibly bear".[5] This experience may be due to the feeling of 'Tremendum' of which Otto speaks and which leads to a feeling of helplessness, powerlessness and insignificance.[6] In primitive asceticism and in mystical asceticism such visionary experiences have been encountered, and in the early Vedic literature the experiences of the Muni may be referred to;[7] the pattern included certain hallucinatory experiences such as that

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1. Gonda. "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda. pp.41-ff.
2. Cf. A.Huxley. The Doors of Perception.Zaehner. Mysticism. Appendices.A.and B. and also Chapter I.
3. Huxley. op.cit.pp.80-81.

p.t.o.

4. P.Radin. Primitive Religion. pp.164-65.
5. Huxley.op.cit. pp.46.
6. R.Otto. The idea of Holy pp. 22 bb.
7. RV.X.136.

flying in the air.

In these experiences the shaman, the Muni, the primitive ascetic find their liberation and the experience of expansion which is so much referred to by the mystics.[1] The visionary experience induced by fasting and other austerities may be akin to the madness, insofar as madness has any religious quality.[2]

The primitive ascetic, who has these visionary experiences, is found in almost all societies and has been regarded with respect and awe, as nearer, than the ordinary man, to the supernatural. He is called "primitive" because his experiences still have an aspect of neurosis and mania. The shaman is the prototype of such ascetics and he is thought to be a victim of epilepsy, catalepsy and various other psychological maladies. Asceticism therefore might be regarded as a social structure, the function of which is to absorb such neurotics who are religious minded and are thought to possess special power.

Different from primitive asceticism is mystical asceticism which has a definite philosophy of the world and the self. Mystical asceticism has a complete distrust of the world and it regards body as an evil adjunct which has to be ultimately annihilated but during life, has to be purified so that the contact with the supernatural force or the deity may be established. It is quite likely that the mystical ascetic may not believe in any deity as such and regard the world as dualistic as consisting of matter and spirit, and the state which he

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1. Zaehner. Mysticism. pp.90-98.
2. Zaehner. op.cit. pp.XVI.

wants to attain, maybe simply the isolation of the spirit from the matter through austerities and purification. Such dualistic philosophy, if atheistic, aims at "disunion, isolation" "unity" which has been lost due to some corruption. Most of the Indian philosophical systems have such an aim.

The way of Purification which is adopted by these mystical ascetics, is one of suffering, undergone through various austerities which are common to "primitive asceticism and mystical asceticism"[1] That suffering, has a sanctifying power, has been accepted by most of the mystical religions.[1] James thinks that asceticism in general may be due to six reasons: it may be an "expression of organic hardihood disgusted with too much ease" It may be undertaken for the love of purity, or as an act of service to the deity. Asceticism, moreover, may be due to pessimistic feelings about the self and combined with theological beliefs concerning expiation." "The devotee may think that he is buying himself free, or escaping worse suffering hereafter, by doing penance now" Asceticism maybe due to moreover "genuine perversions of bodily sensibility" which may be masochistic. Asceticism, which means suffering, in this context, is not to increase power or to induce visions, which must be rather ancillary results, but is born of a deep religious pessimism about the fallen soul. Asceticism then

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1. Durkheim. op.cit. pp.209.10;
2. W.James. Varieties of religious experience pp.296-97.

becomes a technique to give freedom to the imprisoned soul from the evil body, to enable it to achieve the isolation from the corrupting matter or union with the deity. Mystical Asceticism thus could be divided into theistic and atheistic types. In mystical asceticism therefore, the condition, on this earth would be regarded as a fall; What the ascetic tries to do is "a systematic letting die of all the propensities of life",[1] "annihilation". As the terms Samnyāsa and vairāgya show, the attitude is one of withdrawal, detachment. The end of life as conceived in a theistic mysticism postulating the duality of the soul and the deity,[2] would be to achieve the unity of the soul with the deity, inwhich the soul still exists, as in the system of Rāmānuja. The non-dualistic end of life is regarded as the realisation of the complete identity of the self with the Absolute, the single unity which alone exists. The technique of this type of realisation is especially developed into the Yoga System. In dualistic mysticism it is possible to find room for emotional worship and erotic attitudes. Ultimate happiness is realised through suffering by a "deliberate disorientation"[3] of the individual soul. This disorientation is achieved through his voluntary privacy and solitude, which involves a "process of desocialisation"[4] leading to the unification of one's inner life, by a conscious withdrawal from the community. This isolation and withdrawal into oneself, shunning

1. Heiler. Prayer. pp.138.
2. Zaehner. Mysticism. pp.149.
3. Cf.Radin.pp.106-07.ff.
4. The concept is borrowed from P.Holmes. Solitude and Privacy. but we do not take his view that this aspect of cultural delineation of one's bio-social participation in the community is an index of the declining nature of a culture.

the world of sensuous life is what is called in Christian mysticism the via purgativa. By this withdrawal asceticism asserts an individualism, which it would be difficult to find in a tribal society where such a close communinion exists between the individual and the community. In the tribe the individual in a way exists because of the tribe, so that any such world-renouncing and life-denying movement, concerned primarily with the individual and his salvation, would find no favour with the tribal society. This means that individualistic mystical asceticism can only be a feature of an advanced society where the necessities of life are ample and where the society is able to sustain a considerable number of non-productive members. Asceticism, moreover, may be regarded as an institution to resolve the conflict in a social system where the hierarchy of the classes is fixed and unchanging, and social mobility is virtually non-existent. However, extreme individualism which is the result of asceticism may turn into what the psychologists, call, the "autarchic fantasy".[1]

The psychic experience which is invoked by mystical ascetic practices, is in itself a reward and an end. As the mystical experiences are transitory and do not last for long,[2] it becomes incumbent to go on performing the practices which induce them. Mystical experiences may not last more than half an hour, at most two hours. Drugs such as mescalin may prolong

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1. See Holmes. P.op.cit. See the Ideology of Privacy.chap.Vl. pp.102.ff
2. James. The varieties of religious experience pp.381- notices four characteristics of mystical experience: ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, and passivity.

such experiences. Mystical experience is rather intuitive and non-intellectual than rational, and it may be that most of the immense literature of Indian philosophy is but an attempt at rationalizing such experience. The ascetic's is primarily an introvert mode of living, of quietude and silence. Mystical experience itself is one of profound stillness. This mode of living emphasizes this contemplation, meditation, suspension of volitional and emotional life, which would lead to psychological investigations, self-analysis and self-exploration, which ends in the realization of an inexpressible reality. Silence is both the means and the end of such an ascetic life.

CHAPTER II

ASCETICISM IN THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILISATION AND THE SAMHITAS

India, since the dawn of her civilization, has been the house of diverse races and cultures. In attempting to reconstruct a history of pre-buddhistic asceticism we must start with the Indus Valley Civilization where this fact of diversity and unity is already in evidence. From the discovery of this culture a different notion of the course of the Indian history has come about. Where once early Indian history was looked on as the "progressive intermingling of the cultured Aryans with savage aborigines"[1], the Aryan invasion of India now suggests "the arrival of barbarism in a region already highly organized into an empire based on a long-established tradition of literate urban culture"[2]. The Indus Valley Civilization has been found over a large tract from Rupar to Sutkagendor[3], a distance of 1,000 miles. It has been found eastwards up to Ukhi 19 miles west of

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1. Bloomfield. Atharvaveda p.2.
2. Piggott. Prehistoric India pp. 257-58.
3. Wheeler. Indus Civilisation p.2. Early India and Pakistan pp. 94-95.

Meerut, and in the south in Kathiawad and Gujarat (Rangpur[1], Lothal[1], Somnath, the Hālāi district) and also in Mehgam, Telod, and Bhagataron[2]. The Indus Civilization exemplifies the vastest political experiment before the advent of the Roman Empire[3], covering about half a million square miles, with probably two capitals. The chronology of the Indus Civilization has not yet been settled. Wheeler dated it from 2,500 B.C. to 1,500 B.C.[4] but lately has accepted the view that it might have emerged "probably a little before 2,500 B.C." [5]. Indian scholars are prone to think that this gives too little time to the Vedic culture for full evolution and is incongruous with the evidence of the Boghazkoi inscription (C1,400 B.C.), which seems to refer to Vedic Indian deities, rather than to Indo-Iranian deities[6]. Taking

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1. Indian Archaeology. A Review 53-54; for Lothal. S.R. Rao. "The excavations of Lothal" in Lalit Kata No. 3-4 (1956-57); quoted in Wheeler EIP pp. 97-98.
2. Ind. Archaeology. 1957-58.
3. Wheeler. EIP p.98. Also Indus Civilization p.2.
4. Wheeler. Indus Civ. p.5, pp. 84-93. Piggott. p.211 pp. 240-41.
5. Wheeler. Early India p.94.
6. Winternitz History of Indian literature IP. 305. HIL pp. 72-73. Keith RPVU p.32; Vedic Age p.20 also G.C. Pandé Studies pp.252.

the main date of 2,300 B.C. when the Indus culture was at its height of glory and power[1], they arrive at the dates of 2,800 B.C. - 1,800 B.C. It seems probably that the Harappans started their career early in the first half of the third millenium B.C. [Some scholars have, however, tried to prove that the Harappan culture is antedated by the Vedic culture[2], but this view is too absurd to merit any argument[3].] The Indus Civilization owed nothing to the Aryans. The population of the Indus Civilization was very mixed and varied. In the twelve skeletons, examined by Sewell and Guha, four races are represented, the Proto-Australoids, with flat nose and thick lips, related to the Australian aborigines and modern Indian tribes; the Mediterraneans, with long heads and narrow noses and tall, related to the Middle Eastern types; Mongoloid and Alpines[4]. It has been put forward that the Indus Civilization is Dravidian in origin[5];

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1. Vedic Age. pp. 194-95. L. Samp ICIV.
2. Wheeler EIP. pp.102.
3. Marshall has conslusively proved the earlier date of the Indus Civilization and its non-aryan character. MIC (1.p.110) See K. Chatto padhyaya for the criticism of the view of L. Sarup the 9th AIOC (Vedic section) Trivendrum. Basham. The Wonder p.24-25.
4. Marshall op.cit. Basham op.cit. pp. 24-25; Wheeler pp.51-52; Vats 1.238.
5. S.K. Chatteiji Vedic Age. pp.156-58; C. Kunhan Raja. History of Philosophy (Eastern and Western).

on the basis of religious similarities and the existence of the breed of Mediterranean and Proto-Austroloid in South India and also the survival of a Dravidian language in Brahui in the North-west. Father H. Heras has claimed to decipher the Indus script and to find in it an archaic Tamil[1]. [Where it survives well in the first millenium B.C. the drift of the Indus culture on the west coast towards the south may be regarded as another argument.] But these theories are little more than conjectures and in no way proved[2]. Wheeler has seen a Mesopotamian origin of the Indus culture through the dispersal of the idea of civilization[3], but he himself recognises the fundamental difficulties in ceramics and political structure tending towards unity. "But this Civilization though contrasted to the Egyptian and Sumerean as specifically Indian, rests upon the same fundamental ideas, discoveries, and inventions as

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1. Heras Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture vol.I chapI.
2. Basham op.cit. p.25.
3. Wheeler Indus Civilization pp.93. EIP pp.100-ff104 he gives two very strong arguments, the use of the timber in the tower construction at Mohenjodaro (p.102); the developed idea of town planning (p.105)

they do"[1]. Wheeler himself regards this culture as "too exotic to be regarded merely as a Mesopotamian Colony" ....."a parallel product of similar stimuli at a somewhat later date."[2] However there exist local cities "of Pre-Indus date with a strongly walled citadel armed with Rectangular towers of stone and mud-brick"[3] like Kot Diji which provide a pattern of local development.

The high material culture of the Indus Civilization is well attested by the remains of the handicrafts, artifacts, pot sherds, seals, and art-objects. Trade and commerce were vigorously carried on with foreign countries[4] from the coastal towns like Lothal.

The religious beliefs and rites of the Indus people cannot be as definitely known and elaborated as the material culture because of the 'notorious incapacity' of the surviving material objects to give definitive expression to the thoughts of their makers. Our

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1. Childe. New light. pp.222 (ed. 1934).
2. Wheeler. Indus Civ. pp.93; Cf. Basham op.cit. p.15.
3. Wheeler. EIP pp.106-07.
4. Wheeler. EIP pp.108-09ff.

ignorance is enhanced by the paucity of decipherable written records. However, the Indus religion seems to have been a curious and fascinating medley of many religious beliefs and observances[1]. It is polytheism pure and simple. The religion consisted in the worship of the Great Mother-Goddess and the Male God, many smaller Goddesses and "Kouros" male gods; of the Phallic symbols - yoni and linga; and probably of the Proto-Śiva. It incorporated a belief in, and worship of, Animals-mythical; like the Unicorn, natural, like the Ram, and the Bull, and mixed, as representations of five animal heads in one body; of trees and tree deities, of snakes and of water and probably of the River Indus. It believed in the efficacy of human sacrifice and animal offerings. All this must have involved a separate class of supervising priests who might have been invested with political authority[2], representing a Temple-autocracy of the Mesopotamian type. Madame Van Lohuizen

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1. Marshall 1. pp.82ff.; Wheeler. the Ind. Civ. pp.84ff. Vedic Age. pp.185ff.
2. Wheeler. A.1. No.3; 1946.

de Leeuw has tried to identify a room in the HR area house as that of a priest[1].

How far did asceticism exist in this civilization? And if so of what type? The social and economic conditions were favourable for the ascetic movement, not only because of a prosperous economy and rigid social classes, stratified hieracarchically, probably involving social oppression and economic exploitation of the lower classes. Whatever revolts against the extreme uniformity and conformism there may have been, we shall never know of them.

Scholars have tried to find some evidence of ascetic practices, resembling later yoga and connected austerities. This evidence consists of three steatite seals and one cult-object in steatite - the image of a priest or king, or a priest-king, probably a mongol-Alpine-type[2]. The white steatite image with head and bust, seven inches in height, with eyes half-closed and centred on the tip of the nose, suggests, according to Chanda[3], "a form of dhyāna yoga", known as

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1. J.E. Van L. de Leeuw. Notes sur un groupe de constructions se trouvant dans la zone HR de Mohenjodaro. In Arts Asiatique II. 2. 1955. pp.145-49.
2. Basham. The Wonder pp.24
3. MASI. No.41.

'Sāmbhavī-mudrā'[1]. This evidence is however, doubted by MacKay[2] who compares it with the tradition of "narrowed eyes" in the clay figures of Kish and Ur. But the trefoil showing the religion nature of the Art-object suggests it to be a religious posture. Chanda sees in this art object the representative of the Yatis and the Vrātyas of the later times[3].

The three seals which bear the iconographic conventionalized representation of the Male God, conspiciously add to our knowledge about yogic and ascetic practices. One seal[4] shows a three-faced God, seated on a low throne, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched his hands resting on the knees. The arms are covered with bangles but the lower limbs are bare and the phallus (ūrdhva-meḍhra?) seemingly exposed but it is possible that it may be the end of cincture. On his head is a pair of horns; surrounding him are four

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1. Pande. G.C. op.cit. pp.256 n.20.
2. MacKay. Early Indus Civilization. 1948 p.53; Cf. Wheeler (The Ind. Civ. p.64) too doubts it.
3. Loc cit.
4. Marshall. MIC I. Pl. XII. 17.

animals, the bull being conspicuous by its absence. Marshall has identified this figure with 'Proto-Śiva', in his Paśupati and Mahāyogin aspects[1]. On two other seals[2] he is depicted with snakes in the same "ritualistic posture" but with only one head. It seems quite likely that this person of the seals might be a prehistoric form of Śiva. Yoga seems to have its origins in the Indus Civilization[3]. A french scholar has suggested that Yoga, owes its origins to the Mongols[4], and if any relationship of a yogic mudrā with the steatite image with mogoloid features is accepted, there might be some basis for this view. But this seems very conjectural. Another important fact is the association of Yoga with a particular deity.

These all too few but remarkable indications of the religious practices, especially ascetic ones of the Harappa culture, suggest the origins of Yoga.

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1. MICI p.80 B.A. Saletore identifies the Yogin as the figure of Agni (N.R.10 July 1939); controverted by G.M. Moraes (NR. 10 1939); cf. Aiyappan JASBL , 1940.
2. MIC III. PL. C X VI. 29, CXVIII. II.
3. R.P. Chanda. Indo-Aryan Races pp. 99ff; 148ff; K. Chattopadhyaya Pravasī. Bhāga 37, Khanda 2. pp.557 ff.
4. Mousson-Cursel. See below

Other types of ascetic practices might have been prevalent but we do not know of them. The nature of prehistoric ascetic practices was not necessarily negative and other-wordly. It seems that the yogic practices might have been practised to get power and prosperity as a form of magic.

The Indus Civilization did not suddenly disappear. It had to undergo its death agonies through "long drawn-out and progressive" decline, visible in the deteriorating standard of living, weakening of the civic authority[1] and finally of political authorities. The final blow was dealt with by the invasion of the Aryan barbarians[2] with little respect for organized city life like the latter-day Mongols under Changez Khan. The Indus culture, destroyed in the centre, survived, however, in its far flung coastal towns[3].

The Harappa culture came to an end as a supreme power by the time the Aryans came in India. Various

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1. Wheeler. The Indus Civ. pp.91-92; EIP pp.111-12.
2. Wheeler. The Indus Civ. pp.92-93; EIP 113-14. Other causes like the annual Indus floods and the wide-spread deforestation (EIP pp.112-13) must have contributed to the weakening of the Indus people.
3. S.R. Rao. Lalit Kala. Nos. 3-4. (1956-57).

cultures such as the Cemetery H.culture, and the Squatter cultures known as Jhukar and Jhangar, have been found overlying the Harappa sites[1]. They have been linked with Aryan activities and movements from Iran and Afganistan[2]. Heine Geldern has ascribed the celebrated bronze dagger of about 12th cent. B.C., found at Fort Munro in the Suleiman Range west of the Indus, and a copper trunnion-axe from the Kurram Valley on the Afgan border to the Aryans[3]. It has been suggested that the fight of Indra with the dāsas and dasyus may represent the struggle of the Aryans against the non-Aryans, presumably the Indus people[4]. The reference to the Purs has been taken to be to the walled cities of the Harappa culture[5]. Piggott takes the exploits of Indra in releasing the waters as

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1. Wheeler. The Ind. Civ. pp.52; EIP pp.114-16. S. Piggott ~~P~~.pp.
2. Wheeler. EIP pp.115
3. R. Heine Geldern. "The Coming of the Aryans and the End of the Harappa Civilization". Man LVI (1956) p.151; quoted in Wheeler also. EIP pp.115.
4. CHI I pp.84-86; Keith RPVU I p.234; Macdonell VM 157; Wheeler. Ind. Civ. pp.90-91.
5. Wheeler loc. cit.

referring to the Aryan destruction of the Baluchi bunds, built to protect the settlements from floods[1]. This view has been, however, controverted by a few Indian scholars, who take the words dāsa and dasyu to be mere demons as traditionally portrayed, as "foes of Rite, dark, and mis-shapen, of strange speech and evil"[2]. The reference to the Purs is regarded as nothing but a "poetic and fanciful representation of clouds in the interests of myth"[3]. It seems, however, that dāsas and dasyus were probably human beings[4] and various physical epithet like "of unintelligible speech" ("noseless" (anāsa) and "bull-lipped" (vṛṣaśipra)[5], and also the cultural terms like "not observing vows" (avrata)[6] suggest that they represent pre-aryan and

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1. Piggott ~~P~~ loc. cit.
2. See K. Chattopadhyāya: Dāsa and Dasya in the Ṛgveda (Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Orientalists. Rome) - quoted in G.C. Pande Studies. pp.253-54.
3. Pande loc. cit.
4. R.S. Sharma. Śūdras in Ancient India. pp.8-9, ff; See also Ved. Ind. S.V., On Dāsa - Dasyu
5. RV VII. 99. 4. For a struggle of the Aryans against them see R.S. Sharma. Loc. cit. Winternitz. HIL. I pp.63-64. ff.
6. See No. 2 following page.

and non-vedic peoples.

The history of the earliest Aryans may be gathered from the Ṛgveda, - which is found only in one recension - that of Śākala, consisting of 1028 hymns divided into ten books. The composition of the book must be placed in the earliest times of the Aryan settlement, not only on account of language[1], but also on the grounds of cultural development and geographical horizon[2]. The upper limit of the Vedic composition could not be earlier than the first half of the second millenium B.C., probably seventeenth sixteenth centuries[3]. We do not accept the astronomical datings attempted independently by Tilak and Jacobi[4]. The upper limit being thus provided by archaeology, it can not be said whether the Ṛgveda was composed in India. Theories have been put forward that it was composed outside India, for instance

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1. J. Wackernagel Altnidisches Grammatik. I. pp.xiii ff.
2. Ludwig. Der Ṛgveda. III. 3; also pp.183; Winternitz HIL I pp.57-58 ff.
3. For various views see Winternitz. HIL pp.290-91; Max Muller. HASL 1859. 1200 B.C. - 600 B.C. the period of the whole vedic composition. See HIL pp.292-93. for his later views; cf. Schroeder L.von.: Indiens Litterattin und Kultur pp.291 ff.
4. B.G. Tilak (1) The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas Bombay 1893; (2) The Arctic Home in the Vedas. H. Jacobi. his paper in Festschrift au R. von Roth. 1893 pp.68-73. See also H. Bühler Ind. Ant. XXIII. 1894. pp.238 ff; Whitney W.D. Ind. Ant. XXIV. 1895. pp.361 ff; a fuller bibliography in HIL pp.295-96.

by J. Hertel[1], by Hillebrandt[2] and Ludwig[3]. Hillebrandt has tried to show the close connection of the Indians and the Iranians by equating certain geographical names like that of the river Saraswati with the Iranian Harahvaiti, the Hariyupīyā[3] with the Iryāb or Haliab, the tribal names like Dasa with the Iranian Dahae and so on. These identifications have been doubted by Keith and Macdonell[4] but accepted by Ranade and Belvalkar[5]. It seems that this view can neither be proved nor disproved because there is nothing conclusively against the view of Hillebrandt. We feel, however, that it may be reasonable to suppose a close relationship between the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians, both inheriting common culture[6]. But the composition of the Veda should be put in India in which the remembrances

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1. IF XLI. 1923; 188; criticised by Winternitz. HILI pp.317.
2. Ved. Mythologie. i. 83-116; 5. Der Ṛigveda. III. 196.
3. Wheeler sees in this the survival of the name Harappa; EIP pp.113. N.1.; See also A.A. Macdonell HSL London 1900 p.12; Keith. RPVU. 1. pp.3-4; See also JRAS. 1909 pp.721-6; 1910 pp.456-64; See also the fantastic dates given in A.C. Das. Ṛgvedic India. 1. 356ff.; HIL. pp.294-98 ff.
4. Keith. RPVU. 1. p.7-8; also p.7 n.6.
5. Ranade and Belvalkar. See Creative Period pp.10-11. R.G. Bhandarkar JBARS. XXV. 1918 pp.76ff.
6. Keith op.cit. pp.8.

of earlier associations are hinted at[1]. The great majority of geographical names mentioned in the hymns may be easily identified with places and rivers in the Indian sub-continent. The lower limit of the RV is quite indefinite in point of time, but all the other Samhitas, relatively speaking, presuppose it. Macdonell[2], basing his conclusion on the simularities between the Veda and the Avesta, both in language and religious ideas, suggests a late date. But there are a great many differences in religious ideas as well as cultural set-up. Doubt has been expressed about taking language in this case as decisive[3]. It seems that roughly speaking the composition of the latest of the Rgvedic poetry should be taken to lie about 1100-1000 B.C., to allow time for the many linguistic and cultural changes before the time of the Buddha. It has been suggested that the Ṛgveda contains materials from the earliest to (almost) the latest period of Vedic literature[4]. This view would be going too

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1. A. Hillebrandt. Aus. Alt-und Neu indien, Breslan 1922 pp.1 (quoted in Winternitz I.H.I&L. pp.306) also ZII. III. 1924. pp.1 ff. shows the traces of relations with the Western countries especially in the 8th mandala; (In GGA. 1894. pp.648 ff.) the VIth mandala is regarded as an earlier book by him.
2. A.A. Macdonell ERE VII. 1914. pp.49ff. H.[illegible] p
3. H.I.L. pp.308. B.V.Kameśvar Aṇyar. Quarterly Jour. of the Mythic Society. XII. 1.p.4.
4. K. Chattopadhyaya. The place of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā in the Chronology of Vedic literature. VIII. AIOC Mysore. 1935. Also see IC3. July 1936.

far in one direction.

The relative chronology of the RV within the text itself is another matter. The evidence could be provided by the absence of the Padapāṭha on a hymn of three verses 1.190; and three verses of three other hymns RV. VII 59. 12; X. 20.1; X. 121. 10. Śākalya was earlier than Yāska who refers to him in the perfect tense[1]. Various methods have been applied for the purpose of relative chronology[2]. The family maṇḍalas are composed of tristichs (trcas) - "evidently because in ritual, as a rule, groups of three verses, and not whole hymns or single verses, are used"[3]. The eighth maṇḍala is known as the "Pragātha-maṇḍala", for the udgātr Priest needs invariably the Pragātha verses, which are drawn from this maṇḍala. The ninth maṇḍala is devoted to Soma Pavamāna[4].

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1. See B.K. Ghosh in Vedic Age. p.227; p.237. n.6a. cf. Husing quoted in HIL pp.307-08 - who brings down the final redaction to second century B.C.
2. Bloomfield. JAOS. XXI, 2nd part. 1901. pp.42-49; also JAOS XXXI. 1910. pp.49ff. The test of the Metres - see E.V. Arnold. Vedic Repetitions. pp.535 -ff; 640. 687; for the use of linguistic i.e. grammatical, lexical, metrical, ritual, meaning and so forth to decide the relative chronology of the repeated passages; also JAOS 1901. pp.46-47.
3. Vedic Age. p.228.
4. HIL. I. p.58. Note. 12. in Vedic Age. p.238.

The first mandala falls into two parts: The first fifty hymns were composed by the Kāṇvas, who were the authors of the eighth mandala also, and these fifty are arranged on the same principles as those of the eighth book; the rest of the hymns are arranged on the principles of the family books. The tenth mandala is of late character[1] containing Atharvanic material[2]. Its 191 hymns equal those of Book I in number, but parts of it are not very late for some of the hymns/addressed to Soma Pavamāna. This book is virtually repeated in the Book IX[3].

The principles on which the family mandalas have been arranged with regard to deity, metre, and the number of verses contained in the hymns have been summarised by Ghosh[4]. "Each family-mandala opens with a group of hymns dedicated to Agni, immediately followed by another group addressed to Indra. Then follow in each family-mandala groups of hymns dedicated to various gods, the relative positions of these groups being determined on the whole in the descending order according to the number of hymns

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1. Keith. RPVU - I p.2.
2. See Bloomfield. JAOS XXI. 1901. pp.43-44.
3. Oldenberg. Prolegomena. pp.252-53.
4. Vedic Age pp.228; See Oldenberg. Prolegomena. p.192.

contained in each or, when such groups contain each an equal number of hymns, in the descending order according to the number of verses contained in the first hymn of each group. It follows as a necessary corollory to this rule that if in a family-mandala several deities have as their shares only one hymn each, then these single hymns should be put at the end of the Mandala and arranged in descending order according to the number of verses contained in each. Within each deity-group the order of hymns is determined chiefly by metre, again in the descending order, the hymns in Jagati coming first and those in Gayatri coming last". The principles governing the composition of the eighth mandala was "to group together all the hymns of each individual author, and then to arrange the hymns of each such group into subgroups of hymns addressed to particular deities, and that in such a manner that the verse-numbers of the first hymns of these subgroups would be in a descending order"[1]. The Vāla Khilya hymns, have been added at the end of the VIII[th]

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1. B.K. Ghosh. Vedic Age. pp.229.

mandala. They are regarded as late[1] and it has been suggested that because the Vālakhilya hymns are inserted at the end of the eighth mandala this may well have been regarded at some time as the last mandala[2]. This is also indicated by the fact that the ninth mandala consisting exclusively of Pavamāna hymns, collected out of the other mandalas, which shows that the ninth mandala is a later collection. Hopkins[3], however, contends that the eighth mandala has no claim to antiquity. However, the ninth mandala is generally more archaic in language and metre than the eighth[4]. The reason of this collection of Pavamāna hymns was suggested by Oldenberg to be for the convenience of the Udgātr priests[5]. The tenth mandala is the latest of all[6]. The growth of philosophical

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1. 1. Scheftlowitz. Die Apokryphen des Rgveda. Indogermanische Forschungen I. Breslau. 1906; also in ZDMG. 73., pp.30ff; 1919; 74. 1920. pp.192ff; 75. 1921. pp.37ff; Oldenberg. Die Hymnen des Rgveda I. Berlin. 1888. pp.56n ff; GGA. 1907. 210ff; A.B. Keith. JRAS 1907 pp.224ff; see also Ghate's lectures pp.63-64.
2. Vedic Age pp.229.
3. JAOS. XVII. pp.23ff., Keith (RPVUI. p.2 n.1) Confirms this quoting Bloomfield Rigveda-Repetitions. pp.640ff, based on the evidence of repetitions.
4. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.644.ff.
5. Prolegomena. pp.250.
6. Oldenberg. Prolegomena. pp.263ff.

conceptions, and abstract deities, the atharvanic material, the linguistic peculiarities, like the disappearance of the old particle sūn, the rare occurrence of hiatus, the developments in metre, all confirm this view[1]. What all this evidence points to is only the relative chronology of the collections, not the relative chronology of the hymns, which is difficult to put in any order, based on one criterion[2].

The composition of the Ṛgveda should be attributed both to natural poets and to priests. That there is a ritualistic bias in not only the hymn-collection of the family books,—the principle of putting Agni before Indra, who was in the Ṛgveda the predominant God, proving this — was noted by Oldenberg[3]. Winternitz appears right, however,

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1. Keith. RPVU. 1. P.2.
2. Cf. Arnold's attempt. Vedic Metre. 1905. Criticism by Keith. JRAS 1906. pp.486-90; 718-22. 1921. pp.726-29; see Bloofield JAOS. 21. pp.42-43ff; Wüst's Stilgeschichte und Chronologie des Ṛgveda. Leipzig. 1928; Cf the use of the statistical method used by Lanman: Astatistical accound of Noun-Inflection in the Veda; The conclusions on dating pp.577-78ff. JAOS X.PP; Hopkins Pragāthikāni. I. JAOS. XVII. pp.22-92 esp. concerned with the examination of the wad-occurrences.
3. Prolegomena. p.367. Rel des Veda. 1894. p.3. - A theory of completely ritualistic tradition of the RV Samhita put forward by Hillebrandt. Z DMG. XL. 708; GGA. 1889. pp.418ff. Bezzenbergers Beitrage. vol. VIII p.195. has been repeated by Oldenberg. Prolegomena p.519; GGA 1907 pp.211ff.; Keith. RPVU. 1. p.1. But B.K. Ghosh supports him pp.227. The ritualistic role of the sacrifice in the RV times has been justly appreciated by K.R. Potdar. The Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda 1953., who justifiably belittles its importance in the Ṛgvedic context.

in emphasizing the relative lateness of such conceptions[1], which must have arisen at a time, when the ritual would have begun to assume greater importance, which is reflected in the Yagur veda Samhitās.

Accepting, therefore, the priestly hand in the organization of the hymns of the Rqveda of the later date, we suggest that there was an earlier stage in the Rqvedic religion when it was more natural and less ritualistic[2].

Before plunging into the study of the Rqvedic asceticism we may outline in short the nature of the Rqvedic religion. The Rqvedic religion was neither a sophisticated product of priestly machinations, encumbered with ritualism and sacredotalism, nor a simple, primitive nature-worship. It was neither a primitive and vague monotheism[3], nor a henotheism[4]. There is, however, a henotheistic tendancy to be noticed in the Vedic religion. It was "an appearance rather than a reality produced by the indefiniteness due

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1. HIL. pp.73-74.
2. Keith RPVU. 1. pp.12-14ff.; also see a useful summary of the discussions on the arrangement in Ghate's lectures on the Rqveda. pp.58-82.
3. Schimdt. W. The origin and growth Religion pp.172ff.
4. M.Muller. HASL pp.526, 532, 546; see Bloomfield The Religion of the Veda. pp.199.

to the undeveloped anthropomorphism, by the lack of any vedic god to exaggerate his own greatness and to ignore other gods, and by the growing belief in the unity of gods (....) each of whom might be regarded as a type of divine"[1]. Vedic religion is primarily polytheistic involving a belief in many gods and a few goddesses and a host of minor deities and their worship with a simple ritual and hymnal prayer for basically secular benefits. The gods have generally close connection with natural phenomena but they were probably not themselves the natural phenomena. Most of the gods have an arrested anthropomorphism and lack of individuality due to "unforgetting adherence to and constant presence of the natural phenomena"[2]. Some gods like Mitra and Varuna and Aryaman[3] have been regarded as personifications of ethical concepts and by the end of the Ṛgvedic period we see the rise of abstract deities such as anger (Manyu) Faith, and devotion, Creator, and supporter[4]. Few of the main gods of the Vedic religion

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1. A.A. Macdonell. VM pp.17. cf. Whitney PAOS. Oct. 1881; Oldenberg Rel. des Veda. pp.101; Keith RPVU. I. pp.88-89.
2. Cf. Macdonell VM pp.15-18ff.
3. P. Thieme Mitra and Aryaman. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. No.41. Nov. 1957 pp.72-73; Dumézil. Mitra-Varuṇa. 1948; both against the view of Macdonell. VM. pp.29-30.
4. Macdonell. op.cit. pp.119.

are Indra, Varuna, Agni, Soma and other solar and abstract deities.

For the study of RgVedic asceticism, we shall have to, first, consider certain words which have come to be closely associated with ascetic practices in later times, and examine them in a socio-religious and ethical contexts of which asceticism is a phenomenon. The type of asceticism prevalent in Rgvedic times was quite different in conception than the later types of asceticism which appear at the end of the Vedic period. The fact is reflected not only in the changing significance of the terms but also in the appearance of new ascetic personalities.

Tapas is the first term which catches our attention. It occurs as a substantive only twelve times throughout the RV. The word is derived from the root tap- which has the primary significance - to burn, make hot, and also, to cause pain[1]. The heating of the life principle (vāyu) of a person is mentioned, which shows the incipient connections between life and warmth, reflected in tapas[2]. The yelling of Angiras makes both the worlds hot[3]. The

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1. RV. II. 23. 14; II. 24. 9; III. 53. 22; I. 105. 8; III. 53. 14; VIII. 18. 9.
2. RV. VII. 104. 15.
3. RV. III. 31.10.

sun and fire are called upon to burn the demon[1]. The heating of the earth and Heaven is accomplished through speech[2], and speech is a burning weapon[3], like fire. The root tap has a sense of a moral pang too; on the commission of an immoral act[4]. There is a reference to burning in the head[5]. The root tap, however, acquires an ascetic nuance only in the latest sections of the RV. Indra conquers heaven only after performing tapas[6].

There are derivative words like tapus occurring in compounds like tapurjambha, tapuragra, and tapurmūrdhāna, generally used as epithets of Agni, or singly[7], which has the significance "hot, burning". Similarly the words tapana and tapayiṣṇu, occurring together only once, have the sense of physical pain and moral suffering[8].

Tapas, a neuter derivative, has various shades of meaning. Agni, tapasvān, is asked to burn and torment

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1. RV. VI. 59. 8.
2. RV. III. 31. 10.
3. RV. X. 68. 6.
4. RV. X. 95. 17. The Purūravas hymn; also X.34.11. The Gambler hymn.
5. RV. IV. 2. 6.
6. RV. X. 16.7.1; see L. Renou. Études sur le vocabulaire du Rqveda Première Serie. Pondicherry. 1958.
7. RV. II. 34.9; VI.59.2; etc.
8. See Geldner. vol. III. p.184. The Gambler hymn.

(tap-), the demons with his tapas[1]. Tapas, it seems, is the power which is behind the burning; without tapas there would be no burning. Agni with his tapas, breaks down the mountain[2]. Soma is brewed with faith, right-speaking (ṛtavāka)truth, and tapas[3]. Geldner[4] has taken tapas to mean ardour, fervour (in prayer). We think that here tapas may just stand for the physical exertions and processes involved in the pressing of the Soma. Tapas is the ritual austerity. In the Xth maṇḍala it occurs more frequently. Manyu is asked to protect the ṛṣis and kill the enemies with tapas[5]. Agni is prayed to kill the demons (yātudhāna) with tapas[6]. The relations of tapas with creative activity become more manifest[7]. "That one was born through that power of Tapas", from the waters. The relationship of tapas with waters is carried on throughout the Vedic period. In the famous "Hymn of Creation" it

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1. RV. VI. 5.4 See Geldner Vol. II. pp.98.
2. RV. VIII. 6016. Geldner. II. p.380. "Glut".
3. RV. IX. 113.2.
4. RV. uber. Vol. III. p.119. "Inbrust".
5. RV. X. 82.2; 3. Cf. Geldner's this "ardour, der Feuerreifer, die gluhende Begierde".
6. RV. X. 87. 14a. Geldner. III. p.279, gives the sense of Glut".
7. RV. X.129.3d. tapasastan mahinājāya-taikam. See Geldner. Vol. III. p.360. n.4a.; Macdonell Vedic Reader. pp.209. "Heat".

is conjoined with desire (kāma)[1] which is noticed again in the Brāhmaṇas[2]. In another cosmogonic hymn tapas is the Primeval Power from which ṛta, and truth, are born and then night and the ocean (samudra)[3]. The cosmic heat, is only one of the hypotheses put forward by the Vedic philosophers, as the origin of the Cosmos, from a single principle. Other Cosmological principles like water and ether, were also put forward[4]. This represents only one of the many attempts to discover the one principle of creation.

In one passage at least of the tenth maṇḍala Tapas has the definite sense of ascetic practices[5]. "Those who are invincible through tapas, those who have gone to heaven through tapas, those who have made tapas as (their) power, (or dominion - mahaḥ), let him go to them." Later in the hymn, the fathers[6] are called tapasvat, (full of

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1. RV. X. 129.4.
2. Cf. Ait. Br. IV. 23.1; V.32.1 etc.
3. RV. X. 190.1. Ṛtam ca satyam cābhiddhāt tapaso'dhyajāyata tato ratry ajāyata tataḥ samudro arṇavaḥ.
   See Geldner. III. p.404., L. Renou. Hymnes Spéculatifs du Veda. Paris 1956. pp.137; 257.
4. B.M. Barua. Pre-Buddhistic Philosophy, pp. 1 - 38 ; Keith.
5. RV. X. 154.2. Tapasā ye anādhṛṣyās tapasā ye svaryayuḥ tapo ye cakire mahas taṁ's cid evapi gacchatāt.
   See Geldner III. p.384; Griffiths. trans. Vol. IV. p.394.
6. RV. X. 154.4

tapas), and the seers[1] are said to be born of tapas (tapoja) and full of tapas (tapasvat). Angiras is said to create the cows through tapas[2]. The wife of the sacrificer, says of the newborn-babe that it is "born of tapas, existent through tapas"[3]. In the Vālakhilya hymns[4], it is said that the seers while performing the sacrifice, saw those places, which the contemplative (dhīra) had created; and that Indra and Varuna had given hearing, thinking, speech, and reflection.

Thus the etymological meaning of the root tap- to burn; is extended to the sense of to cause pain. Together with the substantive tapas the phrase has the sense "to do penance", which occurs only once, and that in the Xth book. The root may have the sense "to torment oneself", but this sense is not very definite in the Rqveda. A different meaning has been taken by Bhattacharya[6]

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1. RV. X. 1545.
2. RV. X. 169.2. Geldner. III. p.394. "Bemühe".
3. RV.X.
4. RV. VIII. 59.6; See Geldner. II P.380; "Bemühe"; L. Renou: Etudes. loc. cit.
5. Grassman Wörterbuch zum Rqveda. pp.521, Mayrhoffer A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary pp.477; PW 3 pp.245-46.
6. I. H.Q.9. March 1933.

based on the later meaning of the root tap in the sense of thinking (ālocana)[1]. Griffiths too took such a view[2]. As far as the Ṛgveda is concerned, there is no justification in this interpretation, except in the case of the valakhilya hymn VIII. 59.6. Sūryakāntaś attribution to the root of only one sense - that of heat[3], is too narrow to be acceptable. Tapas has definite ascetic significance in the VIIIth and the Xth books. In other books it has merely the notions of power and heat. Tapas however seems to be a concept which comes into prominence in later that in the earlier portions. It has its obvious connections with Agni, who is the only god to be designated as tapasvat. The use of tapas in the service of mythology is already laid down which paves the way for greater elaboration in the Prajāpati myths of the Brāhmaṇas. Tapas is thought to be an activity which is fruitful in the attainment of heaven and supernatural. Thus we find, in the RV, very little in the nature of asceticism and ascetic

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1. Sāyaṇa too notices this, and Śamkara; esp. on the Muṇḍaka up. See below.
2. Hymn of the Ṛgveda. on X.154.2. IV. p.394. - Tapas Fervour - "lit. warmth, heat, religious fervour, asceticism, austerity, selfdenial, and abstracted meditation".
3. A grammatical dictionary of Sanskrit (Vedic). Delhi 1953. pp.118.

personalities. This comparative absence of ascetic practice within aryan circles, however, does not prove that it was non-existent outside them. It seems that this slight emphasis on asceticism as a mode of religious behaviour is connected with the socio-economic conditions of the times. Tapas was performed to get power and achieve heaven. It was thus a this-worldly ascetic practice which was favoured in so far as asceticism was favoured at all. It seems to have been a comparatively new innovation towards the end of the RgVedic period. The term tapas is already an ethical concept as well as a "power-concept"[1] and the latter usage probably led to the former. At this period tapas has still to be put in relationship with other "power concepts" like tejas, OJAS, and VARCAS, and with ethical concepts like VRATA, ṚTA, and DHARMAN. The word Vrata has been used in the classical sanskrit in the sense of "religious observance" and "vow" which stands for occasionally ascetic vows too. In the RV it occupies a very important place, which is

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1. The term "power concept" is used by Gonda: "Gods and Powers" in the Veda. pp.58.

indicated by its frequent occurrence. The derivation of a term from a verbal root may sometimes give an important clue to the meaning of the concept or the term. But it is primarily the context and the use which must decide the meaning. The term vrata has been derived in many ways by various scholars. Max Muller[1] derived it from the root vṛ - to protect and then goes on to show the development of the meaning as "what is enclosed, protected"[2], "what is fenced off", what is determined, what is settled, and hence like dharman, law, ordinance"[3], "laws or ordinances of gods". Bergaigne[4] offers a similar etymology and suggests a parallel in varūtha and varman and defines the concept as "protection". He offers the whole vedic conception of law in four terms rta ("adaptation") dhāman ("institution") dharman ("conservation") and vrata ("protection"). The root /vṛ has rarely the sense - to protect.

The other etymology suggested by Whitney[5] is

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1. Rqveda translation vol. I. pp.225-28; SBE32: pp.236-40.
2. He sees this meaning in RV. V.46.7.
3. esp. in RV. 1.25.1; 11.8.3; III 32.8 etc.
4. La Religion Vedique Part III pp.210-71. Chapter on "idée de Loi".
5. Pr AOS JAOS. 11. pp.CCXXIX ff.

from the root vṛt - to proceed and the imagery involved is that of the path, the way. This is thought to be confirmed by the connection of vrata with the verbs of motion[1]. Keith supports this etymology[2], and Apte has attempted a very detailed examination of most of the Ṛgvedic passages to fit them in his elaborate semantic scheme[3], which seems to be superfluous, and his "divine and human phases"[4] of the meanings are true only in a phenomenological sense.

The third group of scholars has suggested the derivation from the root vṛ- to will, to choose. The PW, Grassman, and Kane and others follow the ancient etymology of Yāska[5], who gives three meanings of vrata as action, vow and food[6]. The PW gives nine meanings - will, command, law, prescribed order; subservience, obedience, service; domain; order, realm; calling, office, custom; religious duty, worship, obligation; any undertaking; religious or ascetic performance or observance,

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1. Cf. Hopkins. Ethics of India pp.34-35; Rhys Davids and Stede Pali-Text Society Dictionary. s.v.
2. TS translation HOS 18 pp.30. n.2.
3. Apte: "All about Vrata" B.D.C.R.I.3 pp.408-480.
4. Apte op.cit. pp.409-10 ff.
5. Nirukta. II. 13. on RV. 1.24.15. See H. Sköld. The Nirukta pp.331-32.
6. Cf. S. Varma. The Etymologies of Yāska. (1953) pp.58.

vow, sacred work; vow in general, fixed purpose; other specific senses[1]. Kāṇe[2] tries to give a semantic evolution from the original meaning of vrata as will, to the will of the person in power, to a "command or law made into others", law or obedience"; "when commands are obeyed or duties are performed in the same way for long they become the patterns of obligation, i.e., customs or practices. "When persons believe that they must perform certain acts as ordained by gods, then arises the sense of religious worship or duties. If a man imposes upon himself certain restrictions as to his behaviour or good to win the favour of the gods that becomes a sacred vow or religious observance". Thus Vrata has, in his opinion, many meanings starting from command or law, obedience or duty, religious or moral practices, religious worship or observance, sacred or solemn vow or undertaking, then any vow or pattern of conduct. Kāṇe seems to bring out the semantic evolution of the term through a logical process of deduction, assuming that the will is the will of the god - a higher being - which becomes

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1. cf Kāne. The word Vrata in the Rqveda JBBRAS 29. (1954). pp.1-28; also in H. of Dh.S. Vol. 5. pt.I. pp.2 ff.
2. Kane H. of Dh.S. Vol. 5. pt. 1. p.5 ff.

a command and so forth. In the later half of the passage he turns from the divine will to the human will. He does not finally choose either alternative neither does he cite any Rgvedic passages to illustrate this duality. Starting with the meaning of "command" he may have to concede the etymology to the Indo-European verb Ver - to speak, which he does not take into account. Starting with Meillet[1] most of the European philologists such as Oldenberg[2], Wackernagel[3], Schmidt and Thieme[4], Thieme explains the word vrata in terms of Proto-Indo-European and finds parallel in the Russian word Rota - "oath" and maintains that vrata and varuṇa come from the same root. He thinks that the neuter plural vratā reflects a Proto-I.E. collective stem vr-otā (from ver "to speak"), formed like r-otā "wheel". He finds the nearest formal relation of vrata with the nouns like uc-atha vidatha, which have some difference in accent from vrata but that difference, he thinks, can be explained by observation of similar change in greek words. It is quite difficult to

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1. Quoted in Hans-Peter Schmidt. Vedische Vrata und Awestisch Urvata pp.9 ff.
2. Olden berg. Die Weltanschauung der Brahmana texte (henceforth WB) pp.188 ff.
3. Quoted in Schmidt Loc. cit.
4. Indo-Iranian Journal vol. 3. pp.144-51.

pronounce any judgement on Thieme's scheme. The evolution of meaning on this etymology would start from speech, command[1], rather than vow which Schmidt[2] has championed as the single meaning of the term.

The word vrata occurs about 220 times in the RV and has been found in association with many gods. In RV[3] it is said that the vratas of Varuna are inviolable (adabdha) and that the constellations disappear by day and the moon goes on shining through the night. It is difficult to see how vrata can have the sense of "vow" here. Law is followed by the moon and the constellations. Vrata of RV. (1. 25.1 - 2) could be construed as vow[4]. "Whatever vow of yours, O God Varuna, we violate, human as we are, do not give us as a prey to death, to be destroyed by your, to your fierce anger when displeased." It seems quite odd that the vow of one person should be violated by another. Vow is primarily made by a person to oneself and if broken by him he suffers from the guilt

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1. Cf. Pokorny. Indogermanisches Etymologisches Worterbuch. 13. pp.1162-63. (1959).
2. Schmidt op.cit. pp.146-47.
3. RV. 1.24. 10 See Apte. B.D.C.R.I. 3 pp.430. section 37; Schmidt op.cit. pp.46.
4. YACCIDDHI TE VIŚO YATHĀ PRADEVA VARUṆA VRATAM. MINĪ MASI DYAVI DYAVI etc. See Griffith trans. Vol. I. p.42. Apte. op.cit. pp.450 ff.

or sin of breaking hiw own vow. It seems quite likely that the phrase which has such a form as this verse has, may have the sense as the "vow made to the God" instead of the "vow of the God". But this twist in the phrase is quite rare and has not been noticed by Schmidt who regularly translates such occurrences as to break the vow of the God. There are passages where the translation of vrata as vow seems inapplicable[1]. "Why has the King (varuṇa) caught us, what vrata have we trangressed. Who knows."[2] This seems to show again that vrata here as vow would be inapplicable. The laws of the king have to be followed by men or they are punished. The vratas of Mitra and Varuṇa are spoken of together[3], and it is said that Aditi summons the kings Varuna and Mitra to the birth of Dakṣa and Vrata[4]. The word occurs once in connection with the Varuṇa, Mitra, and Savitṛ[5], and with the Ādityas[6]. About nine times the vratas of Savitṛ are

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1. RV. VIII. 25.16; VIII. 41.10.
2. RV. X. 12.5 ab. KIMSVINNO RĀJĀ JAGṚHE KADASYĀ' TI VRATAM CAKṚMĀ KOVIVEDA".
3. RV. III. 38.6; 55.6; V. 63.7; VIII. 25.17.
4. RV. X. 64.5.
5. RV. X. 36.13.
6. RV. 1. 136.5; II. 27.8; VII. 66.6.

mentioned[1]. The sun guards the vrata of everyone[2]. Here Vrata seems to mean "vow" rather than law because it is observable in the Vedic religion in which men ask the gods to help them in the performance o f the vows which they undertake to please the gods. Reference is made quite often to the vratas of Varuṇa[3], vratas of Indra[4] and of Indra and Agni[5], of Agni[6], of Soma[7]. The vratas of the All-Gods too is quite frequently referred[8]. The word is found thus more frequently in association with the Solar deities than with other gods. Agni seems to have as close relation with vrata as the solar deities have. The vratas created by Gods are in Agni[9], and the gods are said to be the followers of vratas, probably of Agni[10]. None breaks the vratas of Agni when he has

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1. RV. 1.22.6; II. 38.2;3;6;7;9. IV. 13.2; IV.53.4;5; X.10.5.
2. RV. X. 37.5 ab. VIŚVASYA HI PREṢITO RAKṢASI VRATAM AHELAYANN UCCARASI SVADHĀ ANU.
3. RV. 1.24.10; 15; 1.25.1; 91.3; II. 28.2;8; III. 54.18; VIII. 25.16. VIII. 41.3;7; VIII. 42.1; etc.
4. RV. 1.62.10; 183.3; 84.12; 101.3; II. 24.12; III. 32. 8; VII. 31.11; 47.3; VIII. 1.27; 32. 28; IX 9.5.
5. RV. VIII. 40.8.
6. RV.1.31.1; 12; 69.7; 128.1; 144.1; II. 5.4; 8.3; III 3.9; 6.5; 30.4; VI. 7.5; 8.2; 14.3; VII. 5.4; 6.2; X. 12.5. 122.2.
7. RV. VIII. 48.9; IX. 35.4; 6; 53.3; 61.24; 69.1; 70.4; 82.5; 86.37; 102.5; X. 25.3; 57.6.
8. RV. 1.31.2; 36.5; 90.2; III. 4.7; 7.7; 56.1; 60.6; VI. 15.9; VII. 76.5; VIII. 103.1; 94.2; X. 2.4; 65.11; 33.9;66.9; 166.4.
9. RV.1.36.5.
10. RV.1.65.2.

granted an audience to the chieftains present[1]. Earth and heaven follow the threefold (tridhātu) vrata of Agni[2], and all the gods are seed to be born according to the vrata of Agni[3]. The seers call themselves the upholders of the vratas of Agni (tasya vratāni bhūri poṣino vayam)[4]. Vrata seems to be religious observances in accordance with the laws of Agni. The vratas of Gods are spoken of collectively[5]. Agni is called the knower of the divine vratas[6]. The goddess Uṣas does not break the divine vratas[7]. The general treatment of the passages seem to indicate the sense of law in vrata though they might be explained, though less adequately, in the sense of vows, and the context and use which should be the primary criterion of meaning[8] suggest law than vow.

The word vrata occurs with various verbs specially of observance or of breaking. Vrata occurs

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1. RV.1.69.4 ab. NAKIṢTA ETĀ VRATĀ MINANTI NṚBHYO YADEBHYAḤ SRUṢṬIM CAKARTHA.
2. RV. VII. 5.4.
3. RV. X.122.2.
4. RV. III. 3.9.
5. RV. 1.70.1; 92.12. 124.2 - as DAIVYĀNI VRATĀNI; III. 606 as VRATĀ DEVĀNĀM; VII. 76.5 cd.
6. 1.70.1 cd.
7. RV.1. 92.12; 124.2.
8. Cf. J.R. Firth. The technique of Semantics. Transactions of the Philological Society. England (1935) pp.36-72.

with the root mī[1], with ā + mī[2], and with pra + mī[3]. The meaning of the verbal root is to break, violate[4], and the verbal root occurs about fifty times. Apte[5] relying on the interpretation of RV (1.124.3) takes it as a verb of motion and derives the meaning of "to deviate" or "to miss". But Apte already presumes what he has to prove, that mī has a verb of motion, contrary to all the instances. The sense of mī "to break" fits in well with the meaning of vrata as vow or law. The goddess Uṣas never breaks the divine laws. The gods do not break the law of Indra[6]. "The vipras have composed prayers and praises for Indra, pervading and great. The wise sages never violate his vratas"[7]. The other root dabh, occurring specially in the phrase Adabdham vratam, comes with vrata four times[8], and mostly refers to the sense of vrata as

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1. RV. 1.69.7; II. 8.3; 38.7;9; III. 32.8; 56.1; VII. 31.11; 47.3; 76.5; X.III.4.
2. RV. V.69.4.
3. RV. 1.25.1; II. 24.12; VIII. 48.9; X. 2.4; 25.3.
4. See Monier-Williams. Sanskrit-English Dictionary s.v.
5. Apte op.cit. pp.411.
6. RV. III. 32.8.
7. RV. VII 31.11; cf. VIII. 48.9; X.11.4.
8. RV.1.24.10; III. 54.18; VII. 66.6.

law and With verbs of motion such as sac[1] and anu + sac[2] - "to follow" too. The wise are said to follow the vratas of Indra to get eminence[3], and many gods, such as Varuṇa and the sun and also the rivers, follow Indra's vrata[4]. Vrata occurs with the verb "i" "to go"[5]. Varuṇa and Mitra follow the vrata (vow) and thereby make the sune rise in the sky[6]. Vrata similarly occurs with gam together with anu[7]. The gods are said to follow the vratas of Ṛta. (Ṛtasya devā anu vratāgur.) The gods follow the vratas of the gods (devā devānām anu vratāguḥ). The two passages are very significant apparently implying that they follow the order, the right and their own law. It is comparatively rarely that we find the gods referred to as following their own laws or the laws of another gods. This may imply a general belief in the independennce and sovereignity of each god.

The verb "car" together with anu occurs with vrata only twice[8]. Human beings follow the vrata of

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1. RV. 1.84.12; 1.101.3; V. 67.3; VII. 5.4.
2. RV. IX. 82.5; VIII. 25.17.
3. RV. 1. 84.12.
4. RV. 1.101.3. Cf. VII. 5.4; VIII. 25.12.
5. RV. IV. 13.2; VIII. 40.8.
6. RV. IV. 13.2.
7. RV. 1.65.2; III. 7.7.
8. RV. III. 61.1; VIII. 25.16.

Viśpati[1]. With the root vṛt[2], vid[3] "to know", cit[4] together with "ā" and "abhi", spaś "to perceive",[5] and bhūṣ[6], upa + kṣi[7], and dhā[8] and vaś vrata occurs. Vratas are protected (the roots pā[9] and rakṣ[10]) by gods. Agni and Soma guard the vrata of the sacrificer[11], and in this context the word cannot but mean the vow of the sacrificer. Varuṇa guards the everlasting vratas[12]. The Vratapā Agni guards the vratas[13]. Varuna is given the task of protecting the vrata in distinction to Indra who kills Vrtra[14]. It is said that, "no one, not even one with a hundred Ātmans shall live beyond the vrata of the gods"[15]. Law seems plausible. Dīrghatamas

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1. RV. VIII. 25.16.
2. RV. 1.183.3.
3. RV. II. 5.4
4. RV. 1.70.2; VIII. 32.28.
5. RV. 1.22.19.
6. RV. 1.136.5;31.2; III. 3.9.
7. RV. III. 59.3.
8. RV. V. 66.2.
9. RV. IX. 70.4.
10. RV. 1.62.10; 90.2; 93.8; V. 63.7; VI.8.2; VIII. 67.13; X. 37.15; with abhi in RV. IV. 53.4; VII. 83.9; and anu in RV V.69.1.
11. RV. 1.93.8.
12. RV. V.69.1; VIII. 67.13.
13. RV. VI. 8.2.
14. RV. VII. 83.9.
15. RV. X.33.9.

says to the horse, that "you are Yama, Āditya, Trita though the secret (guhya) vrata"[1]. Besides the vratas of the gods, there is a reference to the Aryan vratas[2], and it is said that the gods have spread the aryan vratas over the earth[3]. It may mean here the religious and culture.

Related to this verse rather negatively are those verses which contain the expressions anya-vrata, apavrata, and avrata. The word anyavrata is a compound meaning "one who has a different vow" or "one who follows other religious observances". The anyavrata incurs the hatred and anger of God Agni[4]. The anyavrata is more precisely defined later[5] where he is said to be inhuman (amānuṣa), non-sacrificing (ayajvan), godless (adevayu), a dasyu. Vrata thus, by negation has relationship with sacrifice, belief in god, and the Aryan way of life. The same impression is gathered from another verse where the dasyu is again said to be anyavrata[6]. The Dasyu-riteless, (akarmā)

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1. RV. 1.163.3 ab. Cf. Schmidt op.cit. pp.88-89.
2. RV. X. 65.15.
3. Vrata has been taken here to mean as realm in the PW and Apte. cf. Hopkins. Ethics of India pp.34-35.
4. RV. V.20.2. See Apte op.cit. pp.478-79; Schmidt op.cit. pp.93.96.
5. RV. VIII. 70.11.
6. RV. X. 22.8.

unthinking (amantu), inhuman (amānuṣa) and anyavrata - dwells beyond the pale of the aryans who pray the god Indra to destroy the dasyu, who is evidently in close contact with them.

The word avrata occurs eleven times in the RV. The avrata is differentiated from the sacrificer and is probably identified with the dasyu[1]. He is brought under the subjection of those who press the soma[2]. Soma Pavamāna puts the hated avratas in the pit[3]. Indra hurls down from heaven and ~~hell~~ earth, the non-sacrificing avratas, who are competing with the sacrificers[4]. The avratas are described as dark-skinned, hated by Indra[5]. The avrata is godless and sleeping (anuṣvapam)[6]. Sleeping and laziness are considered as characterisitic of those who are more full of āsurī-sampatti[7]. Indra kills the avrata for Manu and tears down the black skin[8]. An avrata dasyu named Pipru is mentioned by name[9]. ~~While~~

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1. RV. 1.53.8.
2. RV. 1.132.4.
3. RV. IX.73.8.
4. RV.1.33.5.
5. RV. IX.73.5.
6. RV. VIII. 97.3.
7. Gitā. XVI. 4 ff.
8. RV. 1.130.8 ab.
9. RV. 1.101.2.

The dasyus are generally identified as avratas[1]. The Aryans want to defeat the "avrata" dasyus with their vratas.

These passages show that the avrata is primarily the dasyu. Vrata has here come to have the sense of law, and secondarily of rites and religious vows. The dasyus donot seem to be imaginary devils but they seem to be aboriginal peoples of pre-Aryan India. Avrata is a stronger term than the word anyavrata as it negates the very existence of the "other" way of life and religious life.

Another term showing the ethnocentric contempt of the aryans for the dasyus' way of life is apavrata which occurs only three times through the RV. Indra lays low the apavratas for the sake of the anuvratas[2]. The seers Atris found the sun which had been clouded over by the Apavrata darkness with the help of the fourth (turīya) brahman[3]. Elsewhere the seer prays the god

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1. RV.1.175.3; cf. IX. 41.2.
2. RV.1.51.9.
3. RV. V. 42.9.

Bṛhaspati: "Make their wealth flee, who enjoy it without being pleased by the Ukthas; keep them away from the Sun who are apavrata, haters of the prayers (or brahmāṇas) (brahmadviṣ) and yet prospering in their vocation (prasava)"[1]. It is quite likely that the word was applied to both fallen aryans and non-aryans[2].

Another phrase śucivrata occurs eighth times in the RV, invariably as an epithet of a God or Gods. The word śuci is derived from the root śuc - to shine. The phrase would mean then - "one of shining laws" or "of pure vows"[3]. It occurs as an adjective with the Aśvins[4], with Mitra and Varuṇa[5] and Agni[6]. Mahivrata occurs five times as an adjective to Agni[7], Varuṇa[8] and Soma[9]. The compound consists of "Mahi" and vrata, the former occurring more than hundred times, qualifyinng words like sravas, kṣatra, Karman. Schmidt makes it

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1. RV. V.42.9.
2. Cf. Kane. op.cit. pp.11-12. Apte op.cit. pp.479; 483.
3. Schmidt. op.cit. pp.98-99.
4. RV. 1.15.11; 183.1.
5. RV. III. 62.17; VI. 16.24.
6. RV. VIII. 43.16; X. 118.1 and the superlative form sucivratatama in VIII. 44.21.
7. RV. 1.45.3; X. 115.3.
8. RV. VI. 68.9.
9. RV. IX. 48.2. IX. 97.7; IX.100.9.

synonymous with Mahikṣatra[1], which is doubtful. It may be taken to mean simply "one whose laws are many or whose vows are great". Puruvrata is used once as an epithet of Soma meaning "whose vratas are many or numberous"[2]. Vṛṣavrata occurs twice as an attribute of Soma[3]. The word vṛṣa means bull and would mean "one who has the vrata of the bull"[4]. Soma is compared sometimes with the bull in the RV. The Soma offers closer parallelism with the bull in its "wavy-twisted leaves looking like the horns of the bulls", "the four sounding holes made during the Soma-sacrifice which sounded like the bellowing of the bulls"[5]. The word dhunivrata occurs only twice as an adjective of the Maruts[6]. The word dhuni occurs about ten times in the RV, sometimes as a name of a demon[7] and as an adjective of Indra[8] and of Agni[9]. The Nirukta[10] derives dhuni from dhū "to shake". The word occurs once with the Muni in the seventh maṇḍala. It would be translated

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1. Schmidt op.cit. pp.100-101.
2. RV. IX. 3.10.
3. RV. IX. 62.11; IX. 64.1.
4. Cf. Apte op.cit. pp.485; Kane pp.18-19.
5. Cf. Kane loc. cit.
6. RV. V. 87.1; V. 58.2.
7. RV. VI. 18.8; VII.19.4; X.113.9.
8. RV.1.174.9; V.34.5;8;VI.2012.
9. RV.1.79.1.
10. Nirukta V. 12. on RV. X. 89.5. It could be derived from the root DHVAN to sound, roar, but dhū seems better.

as "one who has the vow of trembling (or shaking)"[1]. Madhuvrata (RV. VI. 70.5) and priyavrata (RV. X. 150.3) are similar in import. Similarly iṣṭavrata[2] may mean as "one whose vratas are desired". Another term is harivrata, used once in the RV[3], and the word hari, having the sense of yellow, or green, comes to mean "who vows is to be yellow". Suvrata occurs five times. In one of them, which is a gift-praise (dānastuti) of Svanaya, the poet prays to the gods not to make the suvrata heroes decay[4]. Suvrata is contrasted to Apavrata and avrata. The gods themselves are suvrata[5] and Soma is composed with a Suvrata king[6]. The epithet dhṛtavrata occurs about nineteen times in the RV as an adjective to the gods Indra[7], Agni[8], Savitā[9], the All-gods[10], Varuṇa[11], Mitra and Varuṇa[12], and Indra and Varuṇa[13]. Schmidt calls the term an āditya-word because it occurs twenty-two times out of

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1. Cf. Kane op.cit. pp.15.
2. PW.1. pp.831.
3. RV. III. 3.5.
4. RV. 1.125.7.
5. RV. VI.49.1.
6. RV. IX.20.5; IX.57.3.
7. RV. VI. 19.5; VIII. 97.11.
8. RV. VIII. 44.25.
9. RV. IV. 53.4.
10. RV. X.66.8.
11. RV.1.25.8; 10; 44.14; 141.9; II. 1.4; VIII.27.3; X.66.5.
12. RV.1.15.6; VIII. 25.2.;8.
12. RV. VI.68.10.

eighty-four passages with the Adityas[1]. It may be translated as "an upholder of laws or vows". With regard to one verse of the RV. (1.25.6) Apte[2] has wrongly interpreted the verse by taking the phrase "dhṛtavratāya dāśuṣe" as not referring to the human worshipper and translating as "who makes a gift to (Varuṇa) him that is dhṛtavrata". But this is unacceptable because in the main clause there are two deities and the word dhṛtavrata, if referring to the gods, should be dual. Here the word seems to refer to the human worshipper who has kept his vow. Similar expressions like "sutasomāya dāśuṣe"[3] or "sudevāya dāsuṣe"[4] lend support to this view.

Another epithet vratapā is used nine times, as an adjective to Agni[5], Indra[6] and Vāstoṣpati[7]. Two more words savrata and vivrata are the last terms to be examined. Vivrata occurring seven times. In six verses it occurs as an epithet of the horses of Indra[8]. Grassman takes it

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1. Schmidt op.cit. pp.16. But see L. Gerschevitch JAOS 79 (1959) pp.196 ff. Who criticises this notion.
2. Apte op.cit. pp.430.
3. RV. 1.142.1.
4. RV. VIII. 5.6.
5. RV. 1.31.10; VI.8.2; VIII. II.1
6. RV. V.2.8. Devanam vratapa; cf. X.32.6.
7. RV. X.61.7.
8. RV. 1.63.2; VIII.12.15; X.49.2; 105.2; 4; 23.1.

to mean as "nach vershiedenen seiten strebend", "sich nach verschiedenen Richtungen verbreitend". Schmidt takes it to mean as "of divergent vows"[1]. But the horses are called "well-yoked" (Suyuj) and "vivrata"[2]. Why should the horses be of divergent vows, meaning thereby disobedience, and also "well-yoked" not obeying commands.? So Thieme[3] ingeniously suggests another meaning - "to be of bird's vow", formed by joining vi meaning bird with vrata, which may be compared with vṛsavrata.

The meaning of savrata is not to be determined by contrasting it with vivrata but in the context of its own occurrence. In one verse[4] the poet says that, "From you both (Heaven and Earth) are born things of diverse forms and savrata". In another verse Heaven and Earth are themselves called savrata[5]. In both cases "possessing, performing, or maintaining vratas" seems to be better than the meaning "of similar vows". An examination of of the Ṛgvedic passages in which Vrata occurs has shown that in this Samhita vrata has several meanings but not

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1. Schmidt op.cit. 97.
2. RV. X.105.2.
3. Thieme. ~~I.I.~~ Journal 1959. pp.149-50
4. RV. VI.70.3.
5. RV. X.65.8.

as many as the PW., Kane, Geldner and Apte, have suggested. It ~~often~~ seems not to imply especially the meanings of realm, surroundings, and culture pattern.- Whitney's single interpretation of the word as meaning "procedure" or "course" is quite inadequate; similarly unsatisfactory is Schmidt's suggestion that the word has the single meaning of vow. It has a few inter-related meanings in which vow (which includes religious observance and behaviour), and law provide the main themes. Which of the two is the "single abstract centre, one unambiguous notion that is named by the term"[1] is very difficult to decide. Neither the etymology nor the context helps us to determine this and it is largely a question of subjective bias whether we take one or the other. In the RV all the passages could be explained on this supposition. It is hardly possible to find any associations of ascetic concepts in this word. Vrata is primarily an ethical term in the Ṛgveda. Asceticism too, being primarily an ethical activity, might be expected to have a relationship with this term.

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1. Thieme. IIJ. 10. p.144.

There is no obvious connection between vrata and tapas in the RV. The association of the word vrata with asceticism must have developed when the proper and persistent performance ~~of~~ according to the law of the Gods or the vow undertaken by the religious man himself developed into the ascetic psychology, which derives so much satisfaction from the persistent performance of arduous self-imposed tasks. A vow has an intimate connection with the will. Thus it may be connected with asceticism proper. However it has also close connections with rta and dharman, terms which we shall briefly examine.

The ascetic notions in the RV are ~~thus~~ not very well developed and defined, so far as the term tapas is concerned. Allied ethical concepts like ṛta, vrata and dharman have to be looked into discover any associations. Ṛta is the most important ethical concept in the early Vedic period. It occurs about 290 times in the RV. Etymologically the word is traced to the root 4. ṛ. The word is closely connected with the Avestan aša and Old Persian Arta[1].

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1. Macdonell. VM. pp.7. "Order, rite"; RPVU. 1. p.83, also n.8. Lüders. Varuna. II p.652-53; See C.D. Buck A Dictionary of selected synonymns in Indo-European languages Illinois. pp.1180-81. Ilya Gerschevitch. The Avestan Hymn to Mithra (Hence forth AHM) Cambridge (1959). pp.6-7; pp.153-55.

The poets speak of the "womb" of Ṛta[1], of the house (sadana) of Ṛta[2], the stream of Ṛta[3], the milk of Ṛta[4]. Ṛta is considered as great[5].

The gods and goddesses in the Ṛgveda follow the path of Ṛta. Saramā and Uṣas follow the path of Ṛta[6]; Indra and Agni too do the same[7]. The gods and goddesses are born in ṛta[8] and are guardians of ṛta[9], the charioteers of ṛta[10], observers of ṛta (ṛtavan)[11]. This last form of the word may well be compared the the Avestan ašavan-

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1. RV. III. 62.13; 18; V.21.4; VI. 16.35; IX. 8.3; X.65.7; 8; X.68.4; 85.24. See Lüders op. cit. pp.599-601 ff.
2. RV. VII. 53.2; IV.21.3; IV.42.4; II.34.13; X.100.12; cf. The Sadana 1.84.4; IX.12.1; dhama 1.43.9; 1.123; 9; VII.36.5; X.124.3; Lüders op.cit. pp.584-85ff; also 605; ff. 608; 610.1ff.
3. RV. 1.67.7; VII.43.4 (X.43.9), VIII.6.8; IX.33.2; IX.63.4; 14.21. Lüders pp.473 ff.
4. RV.1.77.3; III.55.13; VII.84.5. Lüders. pp.616 ff.
5. as brhat. RV.1.75.5; 151.14; IX.108.5; Mahat X.66.4; cf. the greatness of Ṛta II.23.17; VI.49.15; VII.65.2; X.8.5; cf. Lüders op.cit. pp.580-81 ff.
6. RV. V.45.8; 1.124.3 respectively.
7. RV. III. 72.7; III.31.5; VII.44.5; IX.7.1.
8. RV.III. 54.13; VI.10; X.138.2; See Gonda Epithets in the Ṛgveda. p.104 - ṛtgaḥ used for Uṣas.
9. RV.1.1.8; III.10.2; X.118.7 ṛtapā for Uṣas in I.113.12. Soma IX.48.4; IX.73;8; Mitra. Varuṇa. VII.64.2; Adityas. V.151.3.
10. RV.III.2.8. IV.10.2; VI.51.9; VI.55.1; VII.66.12. Varuna Mitro asyama-yaṣain ṛtapā rathyaḥ. ab. VIII 72.3.
11. RV.III.6.10; IX.96.13; II.35.8; IV.73.7; VII.3.1; VIII 75.3; III.538 (too Gods) used as epithets for men in X.154.4; See Lüders. Varuna. II pp.545 ff.

(Old Persian artāvan) and thus it goes back to Indo-Iranian times[1]. The word has been translated as "owning, possessing, truth"[2]. The Gods are the knowers of ṛta (ṛtajña)? The fathers too are called "the knowers of ṛta"[3]. The Gods are given other epithets such as ṛtāvṛadh which has been translated by Roth[4] "an Gerechtigkeit - Frömmigkeit sich erfreuend, eifrig gesinnt", and by Geldner[5] "fromme Werke mehrend", 'die Wahrheit -, den wahren Glauben Stärkend, Glaubenseifrig, den rechten Wandel fördernd". The Maruts[6], and the Goddesses[7] are increasers of Ṛta[8]. Similar are the epithets rtasāpa connected with ṛta[9] and rtasprs (connected with ṛta)[10]. The Gods become skilful (dakṣa) through ṛta[11], and ṛta keeps them together[12].

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1. Gershevitch op.cit. pp.156.
2. Cf. Lüders. Varuna 1.15. "der Wahrheit besitzende".
3. Rs. V.58.8; VII.35.15; 38.8; 1.72.8; IV.19.7; V.43.6;58.8.
4. RV. X.15.1; 64.16.
5. PW. I. pp.1051-52.
6. Glossar. pp.40. Cf. Monier Williams. pp.224. increasing or fastening truth or piety; cf. Lüders op.cit. "durch die Wahrheit Wachsend".
7. RV.1.44.14.
8. RV.1.13.6, 1.142.6; also See VI.15.18; VIII.66.10.
9. Cf. Lüders (Varuna II555-69(.
10. 1.179.2; X.668; V.41.6; V1.21.11; 50.2; VII.56.12.
11. V.67.4 (the Adityas), 1.2.8. (Mitra + Varuṇa) IV.56.3. (others).
12. RV.V.68.4.

Rtapeśas which occurs only once, as an epithet of Varuṇa, means "one whose adornment is ṛta"[1]. Mitra and Varuṇa rule over the world according to ṛta[2]. The rivers follow the ṛta of Varuṇa[3]. Mitra and Varuṇa are the lords (pati) of ṛta[4], which expression again occurs only once. Agni is said to become Varuṇa, when he strives for Ṛta[5]. There is special relationship of the God Varuṇa, and of the Adityas, with ṛta[6].

Various views have been held about the meaning of ṛta. Roth[7], gave its various senses as an adjective, "according to law", "orderly", "right","honest", etc; as adverb, "properly", "rightly"; as a substantive (a) Compact Order; Rule (bestimmung); Ordinance (satzung), sacred work; retena he interpreted as "according to form and rule" (in Form und Regel); (b) The Order in holy things, sacred customs (Brauch); rule, pure work; divine

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1. RV. V.66.1. cf. Geldner. s.v.
2. V.63.7. ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam vi rājathaḥ.
3. II. 28.4. Ṛtam sindhavo varuṇasya yanti.
4. R.V. 1. 23.5. S.V; also Lüders Varuṇa II p.402.
5. RV.X.8.5. bhuvas cakṣam maha ṛtasya gopā bhuvo varuṇo yad ṛtāya veṣi; See Oldenberg. Rel.des Veda 199; Keith pp.84-85
6. Bergaigne. III. 24,9; Oldenberg loc. cit. Keith pp.84-85.
7. PW. S.V.

Order (Gesetz); belief as essence (Inbegriff) of religious truths; (ṛtasya sadanam, sadaḥ, sadma, yoniḥ, padam, nābhiḥ;) not only of the central concept (mittelpunkt), of belief and cultus on this side; of Altar and similar conceptions, especially also of the sumpremely holy (allerheiligsten) on the other side; (c) Right; truth; esp. the religious Truth; =satya, etc. Roth thus considered the idea of Order to be the central conception of Ṛta, which virtually agrees with Geldner's view[1]. Oldenberg throught that ṛta stood for "World order"[2], which could be applied in natural, ritual, and moral spheres and this idea of order had concept of Right inhering in it. Both these concepts, together explain the whole phenomenon later on, for linguistic reasons, he also accepted the meaning of the word as truth[3].

Bergaigne[4], on the other hand, thought that the

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1. Glossar. pp.39-41 ff; also in his translations of the Ṛgveda HOS. 30-34.
2. Rel. des Veda. pp.197.
3. NGGW. 1915 167-180. Zur religion und Mythologie des Veda. 1. ṛta.
4. Rel. vedique. III. pp.210 ff.

that the concept of law was the intrinsic meaning. Lüders[1] following von Andreas and Wackernagel[2], insisted on interpreting ṛta throughout as truth, a meaning which has been accepted by most scholars, as one of the meanings of ṛta in the RV. His view has been confirmed by the Avestan evidence[3]. It seems, however, difficult to accept this view in toto. Firstly, the uses of ṛta are so various that it is difficult to explain the RV. passages, by this single meaning. For instance in the RV. ṛta is used many times together with satya[4]. Both satya and ṛta are said to be born from tapas. There must be some difference in the formal concepts for them to be used together as two different principles. Lüders himself notes a large number of such passages where satya and ṛta occur but he dismisses them as nothing more than "stylistic variations"[5]. There seems however to be no doubt that the word anṛta in the RV. has not as yet acquired

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1. Varuṇa II pp.415 ff.
2. Lüders SPAW 1910. 931; Wackernagel and Andreas. NGGW. 1911. pp.28.34.
3. Gerschevitch. op.cit. pp.153 note aŝavan. But Cf. W. Geiger. WZKM. 41. 1934. who sees in the term - the senses- "right" and "justice".
4. RV. X.190.1. See Lüders. pp.641-42.
5. Luders. op.cit. II p.641; on RV. 1.105.12. IX.113.4; X.85.1. Geldner, however, translates ṛtaspati vāya in VIII. 26.1. as the lord of truth, ~~Weid~~, Wind.

the sense of falsehood. It can mean "unrighteous", "not right"[1], therefore, "not true", "falsehood". It may be true to say that anṛta comes to have the sense of non-ṛta after satya has replaced ṛta, and then the linear development of the term starts, as Satya itself has the sense of reality[2]. Indra is called the son of Satya[3], and there is a prayer to the lords of Satya in which many powers are invoked[4]. It seems that the idea of existence and reality was the primary element in the concept and what was existent was regarded as the true, and the good. Both the senses are common in the Ṛgveda. It seems, therefore, that ṛta has the primary senses of Order, and right and truth[5] which could explain almost all the Ṛgvedic passages. Linguistically, however, it seems that the significance of ṛta as truth is Indo-Iranian, as the combined testimony of Lüders and Gerschevitch[6] seems to indicate; but in the Ṛgveda, ṛta has a wider cosmic sweep than is attributed to the word

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1. Cf. RV. VII. 86.6; X.10.6. RPVU.1. pp.248-49.
2. See PW; Grassman S.V.
3. PS.VIII. 69.4.
4. RV. VII. 35.
5. Cf. Hopkins. Ethics of India pp.2-3. notes that "it countes a certain "harmony"....between ideal and practice", and compares the Chinese concept of Tao, which is in itself a cosmic power, while ṛta is regarded by him as the order instituted by the Wise Spirit as regulator of the world".
6. Gerschevitch. The Avestan Hymns.

by Lüders. These neatly defined three fold meanings of ṛta in natural, sacrificial and moral spheres[1] are merely critical explanations of the occurrence of the term in its contexts. It may very well be doubted whether it is necessary to give this threefold meanings when a simpler and more etymologically and contextually better rendering of the concept could be given. Ṛta, the order, is attributed to particular gods[2]. According to Ṛta Gods sacrifice[3]. Thus ṛta appears in two aspects, as instituted by the Gods and as observed by the Gods. This duality of the concept is quite obvious in other instances, when it is said that according to the ṛta of Varuṇa, the rivers flow[4] and that in accordance with ṛta both Mitra and Varuṇa reign[5]. This means that we cannot speak of the right or order, being established by the Gods. It is both self perpetuating and preserved by the Gods. At least it is possible to find statements in support of both the views. The Ṛgvedic aryans were

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1. Hopkins loc. cit; RPVU pp.83; Bloomfield. Religion of the Veda pp.220.
2. RV. 1.105.12; II. 28.4; III. 54.3.
3. RV. IX. 8.1.
4. RV. II. 28.4.
5. RV. V. 63.7; also see 1.85.6; VI2.1; VI. 68.2; VII 75.1; VII. 34.8. VII. 56.12; X.108.4; X. 123.4.

themselves not certain which view to adopt and allowed such fine points of theology to remain uncriticised.

Ṛta occurs with tapas only once in the Ṛgveda where Ṛta is said to be born from tapas[1]. But tapas here evidently implies creative power and has little to do with asceticism. The concept of ethical virtue, as embodied in ṛta, may have suggested that ascetic activity was to behave in accordance with ṛta. Tapas was still a new concept in the Ṛgveda. Ṛta has its vows (vrata) which are followed by the gods[2]. The commission of incest was not only against ṛta, but also against the vrata of Mitra and Varuṇa[3].

Another term which is important for the study of asceticism, is dharman, derived from the root dhṛ, with the suffix=man. It occurs both in the masculine and the neuter genders, "the former being agent nouns and the latter, verbal abstracts"[4] like similar words such as karman and brahman occurring in compounds and in

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1. RV. X.190.1.
2. RV. 1.65.3.
3. RV. X.10.
4. Macdonell Sanskrit Grammar. pp.206-10 on stems in - man; Cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner. Altindisches Grammatik II. 2.p.754.

"transfer stems" in -ma, which have been regarded as "of late occurrence"[1].

The masculine "dharman" occurs as an epithet to the Gods[2] and also pious people[3]. But this is of rare occurrence. The neuter dharman occurs about 70 times in the RV. Etymologically it has the sense of "that which supports", from which the meanings of law, characteristic (svabhāva of later philosophical significance) and custom may be deduced. The use of the term with the meaning of "characterisitc" seems widespread[4], while "custom" seems to fit in many cases[5]. Indra makes the streams flow and the trees blossom and bear fruit according to dharman[6]. Heaven and Earth stared apart according to the dharman of Varuṇa[7]. The Soma is invoked to flow in accordance with the dharman of Varuṇa and Mitra, furthering ṛta[8]. In such places the concept of dharman seems to be law. Dharman, however, differs from other words for law in one important respect, that

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1. Macdonell op.cit. pp.207.
2. Agni X.92.2; Soma IX. 97.23; Sūrya X. 170.2; Food in the Food hymn 1.18.7.1;
3. RV. X.21.3.
4. RV. 1.53.4; V. 81.4; IX. 97.12.
5. RV. 1.164. 43; 50; V. 26.6; IX. 64.1; VIII. 43. 24.
6. RV. II. 13.7 ab: Yaḥ puṣpiṇīś ca prasvaś ca dharmaṇā dhiṣe dāne vyavaniradhārayaḥ.
7. RV. VI. 70.1 cd.
8. RV. IX. 107. 15.

dharma keeps up the customary practices and traditional roles in accordance with which the Gods rule the world. The sense of "duty" seems not to be involved in its use in the RV., though this meaning has been accepted by Geldner[1]. This conservative element in dharma is quite patent in the phrase - tāin dharmāṇi prathamāny āsan"[2]. The sense of dharma as law is also visible elsewhere[3]. Agni is called the inspector (adhyakṣa) of dharma[4], and Indra is called its maker (dharmakṛt)[5]. The wise Mitra and Varuṇa protect the vratas (laws) with the Māyā of the Mysterious, in accordance with dharma, and in accordance with ṛta you both govern all the world". This defines the respective meanings of the three terms dharman, ṛta and vrata. Dharma taken as customary law, vrata as the divine law and ṛta as the natural law seem to satisfy the requirements of the context[7]. Elsewhere reference is made to a Dharmaṇaspati

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1. Trans. of RV. VIII. 52.3; (Vol.II. p.374) also cf. V.814d, 1.14.10c. the dharma of Mitra.
2. RV. X.90.1b.
3. RV. III. 3.1.cd. IX. 64.1; X.56.3; X.149,3.
4. RV. VIII. 43.24.
5. RV. VIII. 98.1.
6. RV. V.63.7 ab Dharmaṇā mitrāvaruṇā vipaścitā vratā rakṣethe asurasya māyayā See Geldner II. 72. Ṛtena viśvam bhuvanam virājathaḥ.
7. See Geldner. translation S.V; Glossar p.90 as "nach dem Gesetz, nach vorschrift"; Bergaigne. Les Dieux Souverains pp.221.

and his vratas, which seems to conform to the above views[1].

Dharma has little ascetic association in the RV, and it rarely occurs with tapas. There are two substantives - muni and yati - which stand in later times for ascetics. Muni occurs three times in the RV. The word has been derived from the root √man -"to think"[2], connected with μονος[3], from which the English word monk is derived. Muni is a holy man endowed with divine inspiration who has attained a more or less divine nature by his spiritual activities which include contemplation, drinking intoxicating potions, and going into trances. In later times he is primarily celebrated for his vow of silence. He is, in the RV., a person of magical powers and of abnormal actions. In the VIIIth book of the RV Indra is called on to be the friend of the Munis[4]. The poet refers to the trembling of the Muni, in a hymn to the Maruts[5], which reminds one of the epithet

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1. RV. IX. 35.6. Dharmaṇaspati seems to be Soma.
2. Uṇādi Pāṇini. IV. 122. See also Pw. Vol. V. s.v; Grassman WR pp.1050.
3. Monier-Williams. Sans. Dictionary. p.785.
4. VIII. 17.14. ḍrapso bhetta puraṃ śasvatīṇaṃ Indro muninaṃ sakhā. See XXXII. 376. Geldner. RV. translations. II. p.37; Grassman translates the word muni as "Begeisterter".
5. RV. VII. 56.8.

"dhunivrata"[1], with reference to the Maruts, which may be applied to the Muni also. The word "dhuni" has been derived by Grassman[2] from the root dhvan, and taken to mean "roaring" (rauschend, bransend)". But a better derivation is from the root "dhū" or "dhu" to tremble, shake; thus 'dhuni" would mean shaking. This meaning is compatible with the character of the Maruts, who shake trees and vegetation, as they pass by.

This trembling of the Muni might have been a result of the ecstatic trance which is described in greater detail in another hymn called the keśin sūkta[4]. Sāyaṇa describes Keśin as the God Sūrya, which view is supported by Bloomfield, who regards this hymn as the "glorification of the sun as a muni, a solitary ascetic".[3] On the other hand, the hymn seems to us to imply the exact opposite —— it is the muni who is glorified and compared with the Sun. The word keśin simply means "one having long hair". Keśa, however, can have the sense of

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1. See above p. 2. Grassman WR pp.687; PW3. p.969-70.
2. Monier Williams. s.v. pp.517.
3. JAOS. XV. 167ff; SBE 42. pp.626. In the same way he interprets the Brahmacārin hymn (X1.5) of the RV.
4. RV. X.136.

rays if it is used in connection with the Sun or flames, in connection with fire[1]. It is, however, quite likely that kesin was used as an epithet of Indra[2]. Here, however, it seems simply to mean the muni, with his long hair, which is referred to as munikesa in the AVP[3]. The kesin is said to bear and uphold Agni, heaven and earth, and is identified with the sun (idam jyotih)[4]. In the next verse the description of the muni is given, which makes it certain that the hymn is in glorification of the muni, rather than of the Sun or Rudra. "The wind-girdled Munis, wear dresses, saffron-coloured and dirty (mala)[5], and go the gliding way of the wind on which the Gods have gone before"[6]. This journey through the air refers to the miracles performed by the muni. His association with the wind is more specifically emphasized in subsequent stanzas - 3b; 4a; and the 7th, where he is said to go through the atmosphere, or to be established

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1. RV. 1.140.8; 164.44.
2. Grassman WR., s.v. on kesin pp.352.
3. See below. AVS. VIII. 8.17.
4. PV. X. 136.1. Cf. AVP. V.35.5.
5. Grassman WR p.1011. Translates it as Schmutziges or Ait. Br. VII. 13.7. Kim nu malam kim ajinam. Cf.
6. RV. X. 136.2. Munayo vatarasanah pisanga vasate mala vatasyanu dhrajim yanti yad devaso aviksata.

on the wind. The Wind is said to have churned the world for him. The Muni is the friend of the Gods[1] and is striving after the Gods (devesita)[2]. He has crossed over both the oceans. He is a friend, sweet and most friendly (sakhāsvādur madintamah)[3]. This emphasis on the friendliness of Muni seems only to indicate comparative ~~ignorance about~~ fear of him. The kesin drinks some intoxicating potion (or water)[4] with the god Rudra[5], which explains his ecstatic or intoxicated (unmadita) state[6].

Thus the picture which we get of the muni from the hymn is that he stands in special relation with the Gods, the Wind and Rudra. He drinks an intoxicating potion and becomes ecstatic, in which state he thinks of himself as going through the air, carrying earth and heaven and seeing the whole of creation. He thus presents a picture of some sort of a shaman who has

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1. RV. X. 136.4.
2. RV. X. 136.5.
3. The word "madintamah" is used generally for the Soma. See Grassman WR. pp.982; PW. s.v.
4. The term visa has the sense of poison in the later classical literature. Grassman. WR. pp.1307 takes it to be water. But it is here some sort of potion made out of herbs. (566.3 =).
5. X. 136.7.
6. X. 136.3.

mystic visions. He seems to combine the shaman, and the mystic[1]. There is no reference to any physical austerities undertaken by him, and he is still in no way connected with tapas. Otto has tried to give an interpretation of the figure of kesin in accordance with his theory of the holy[2] where ~~he~~ the divine is experienced by a person by a prior faculty of apperception and the divine is expressed in terms of a power, termed by Otto numen which is variously characterized: by terror, a sense of otherhess, wonder, a consciousness of power and a feeling of the presence of power[3]. This feeling is expressed within man himself, and Otto refers to the muni of the RV. X.136[4], as a typical example of the primitive practitioner of the Numinous. Whatever may be the validity of the Otto's idea of numen, it does present a neatly defined concept of religious feeling. The muni of the RV evidently feels himself to be a powerful being, in tune with the divine. This feeling of power is a characteristics of the mystical

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1. Ved. Index p.167.
2. The idea of Holy. Penguins.
3. Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier. pp.1-15. criticised by W. Printz. ZDMG. 87. 1933; Keith JRAS 1933 p.813 ff.
4. Op.cit. pp.82.

experience. But we cannot find in the Muni all the ideas of Otto's numinous quality, such as terror.

It is a difficult problem to determine his origins and his relationship with a particular society. Hauer[1] thought him to be the prototype of the later yogins and connects him with the vrātyas, whom he believed to be outside the pale of orthodox Vedic society. Chanda[2] regarded him as an outsider and an intruder into Vedic society from the disorganised and defeated Harappan culture[3]. A similar view has been supported by Keith and Macdonell[4]. But is there anything that is essentially non-vedic about him? There is nothing to suggest that he is non-aryan except the "comparative rareness of the mention of the muni in the Vedic texts"[5], but how many other types of religious persons have been described in the Vedic texts? Where is there any description of religious ecstasy in the Samhitas? The element of wonder

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1. Die Anfange der Yogapraxis. p.170.
2. Indo-Aryan Races. pp. 149 ; MASI 41. Calcutta 1929.
3. Cf. Pande. Studies in the origins of Buddhism. Ghurye Indian Sadhus. pp.12-13 ff.
4. Vedic Index pp.167-168; cf. Oldenberg. Das Rel. des Veda p.404.
5. Vedic Index loc.cit.

at the feats of the muni is quite natural and would be expressed by the aryans and the non-aryans alike? The existence of Shaman-like figures within Vedic society is not an impossibility. He may have had some affinity with the seated god of the harappan seals but it is wrong to posit any generic relationship between them. The arguments are not conclusive. Such a person as the muni, a wizard and medicine-man, would be an outsider in any community, but such persons must have existed within both vedic and non-vedic societies. The muni is a type which might well have synthesized some religious ideas of the non-vedic groups and the process of synthesis between the aryan and non-aryan cultural elements would thus have started with him. However, the repeated assertion that the muni is a friend of the Gods Indra, Rudra, and Vāyu, and of the people, may simply be an expression of an attempt of assauging the awe and uneasiness felt by the people at the expression of the sacred which, in the person of the muni, can turn dangerous. The comparison of the muni with the sun might be in part due to penances carried in connection with the sun and the fire. The other figure of the Yati will be

discussed later[1]. The slight importance of asceticism in the Rgvedic culture seems to have been due to two factors —— religious and social. The religious factor is that the relationship between man and the god was achieved through sacrificial ritual which was of a simple nature[2]. The God was pleased through the performance of the ritual and prayer, who gave a fulfilment of desires of the worshippers. The values of life were primarily utilitarian and this-worldly[3]. The idea that suffering pleases the god, was not prevalent.

The social condition, moreover, was not congenial for the development of the world-denying asceticism. The type of asceticism which was prevalent, was that by the practice of which one may attain power. The society in this early period was primarily a pioneering society and mobile group which has to fight its way through hostile aliens which conditioned the mentality and attitudes of the people, and gave a direction to all energy for the preservation of their own skin. The tribal solidarity

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1. See below. Chapter III.
2. Keith RPVU1. 25.3. ff; Bloomfield: Religion of the Veda. pp.31,65, 182.
3. RV. IV. 32.4; II.1.6; VII.59; VII.24.6; VII.67.16. X.47.1.

and unity was more in accordance with the situation of war and struggle[1]. The state of economy was undeveloped. The Vedic Indians were primarily pastoral and agricultural. The little community of the Rgvedic aryans could not but have the type of asceticism which would help them in their success in war[2] and acquisition of wealth. The Atharvaveda, connected with the mythical fire priests Atharvan and Angiras[3], had other names also[4]. It is completely different from the other Vedic Samhitas in giving importance to the magical and grhya rites in contrast to the Soma rites. It contains "holy charms" and "witch craft charms". The priests connected with this Samhitas are three- Atharvan, Angiras, and Bhrgu, and they have been compared with the shamans, magicians and witch doctors of the primitive religion.

The A.V. consists of songs intended to "appease, bless and curse" (the demons, the friends, and the enemies, respectively)[5]. It was connected with the

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1. For Social and Political Conditions see Vedic Age. Chap. XIX and XVII; Keith in CHI. 1. pp.89 f.
2.
3. Winternitz HIL 1. pp.119-20. This relationship has been doubted by Weber (IS. 1. pp.295 ff.) Whitney (OSL 1. 18); but has been conclusively shown to be true by Bloomfield. SBE 42. pp.XXI; XXX ff; Atharvaveda p.1 f.
4. Bloomfield. Atharvaveda. pp.7-9.
5. Madhusudana. 1S.1.16.

exorcism of hostile magic and the expurgation of evil influences, for the amelioration of material conditions and the promotion of worldly welfare. The AV originated probably in the gṛhya sacrifices, which are quite atharvanic in spirit in their inception, but were later thoroughly "Rishified and Brāhmanised" "which estranged them from the AV"[1]. But the AV contains independent priestly materials also[2].

The Saṃhitā of the AV is available in two recensions[3] — the Śaunakiya and the Paippalāda. The AVŚ and the AVP each contain twenty chapters[4]. The AVŚ is said to contain 5038; (Whitney) 6000, (Bloomfield) 6015 (S.P. Pandit) 6680 (Geyarat) mantras[5]. There is no reason to think that the text ever contained less than books 1-XVIII[6]. Book XXth is a collection of RV passages, and book XIX has the character of "an after gleaning"[7]. The prapāṭhakas end at the book XVIIIth, and the kauśika ignores the book XXth. Lanman[8] divides the AVŚ into

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1. Bloomfield. Atharvareda. p.24.
2. Bloomfield. op.cit. p.50.
3. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.97-100; for other non-available reccusions. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.12.
4. Bloomfield. op.cit. 34-35.
5. R.G. Trivedi. Vaidika Sahitya p.113.
6. HOS7. p.cXLI.
7. HOS 8. pp.895-8.
8. HOS 7. pp.CXXVII ff.

three parts: books VIII-XII, distinguished by the heterogeneity of subject and probably of Brahmanic origin; books XIII-XVIII - each book marked by the unity of subject dealt therein. The first division is the most atharvanic in character, abunding in magic and witchcraft, charms and spells. It has been suggested that it was the "original nucleus" of the Saṃhitā[1] but this is in no way proved. The internal ordering of the books has been carried out without any principle[2].

The relation between the AVS and the AVP has been summarised by Bloomfield[3]:

AVŚ I-V = AVP I-IX

AVŚ VI-VLL = AVP XIX. XX.

AVŚ VIII-XI = AVP XVI

AVŚ XII = AVP XVII

AVŚ XIII, XIV
XVI, XVII = AVP XVIII

Of the AVŚ book XV there is only the beginning in the AVP. In general, perfect textual correspondence is rare; about one-eighth or one-ninth of the AVP is original.

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1. HOS 7 pp.CXLII.
2. Cf. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.36-40.
3. HOS P.LXXIX; Bloomfield op.cit. pp.14-15.

In the AVP there is extreme irregularities of the metre and predominance of the anuṣṭubh[1].

The extant reductions of the AV are indisputably of later date[2]. It probably belongs to the early Brāhmaṇa period. The widening geographical horizon attests to this. The mention of the rivers Yamuna and Varaṇāvatī and the regions of Aṅga and Magadha indicate that the North eastern part of India was coming under aryan colonization[3]. The tiger is mentioned which was found in the swamps of Bengal[4]. The knowledge of anatomy is comparable to that of the Brāhmaṇas[5]. The development of the Prayaścitta literature (AV VI. 110-121) has its parallel only in the Kuṣmāṇḍa hymns of the TĀ (II. 3-6) and the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa (1.5). The extraordinary exaltation of the Brāhmaṇas, and the clear recognition of the four castes also point to the lateness of the text. The monotheistic tendencies of the AV are comparable to the Brāhmaṇas' exaltation of

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1. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.41.
2. Bloomfield op.cit. pp.2-4. Winternitz HILI. pl.23-126.
3. S BE 42. p.376.
4. Macdonell. SL. pp.146-147. Ved. Index. II.244.
5. Hoernle Osteology. pp.109 ff.

Prajāpati.

This proves only the late character of the AV samhita as it is found today. It means merely that "the latest hymns of the AV are later than the latest hymns of the RV"[1]. The Brahmanic features of the AV must be explained as an attempt to give it a respectable character so that it might be acceptable to the followers of the Soma cult. It has been suggested that while the priestly religions of the three vedas joins the Avestan -worship, the Atharvanic charms and practices are rooted in an I-E antiquity, on the basis of the remarkable similarity between Indian and Germany magic charms[2].

Tapas in the AV occurs more frequently than in the RV. The root tap- has primarily the sense of "to burn, to blaze" and in that sense it occurs many times[3]. It has further the sense of giving physical pain[4]. The sun is prayed not to burn. The blaze of the sun can be harmful as well as propitious. The idea is that the

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1. Winternitz op.cit. 1. p.127.
2. A. Kuhn KZ XIII. pp.749-774 - quoted in Winternitz HIL. 1. p.132.
3. AV. VI 91.2; VII. 69.1 (=72.1), X.8.19; XII. 1.20.
4. AV. XII. 3.43. Agni rakṣas tapatu; VIII. 2.14. Śam te sūrya ātapatu.

power can be both for good and evil. A form like "taptah"[1] has merely the sense of "being heated". Similarly tapuh[2] might be interpreted in terms of heat only, but this heat, with the power inherent in it, is invoked to destroy enemies through the agency of gods such as Agni and Indra and Soma. The word tapurvadha comes as an epithet of the disease takman[3] and has been translated by Bloomfield as "takman with the burning weapons"[4], and by Whitney "as heat-weaponed"[5]. Heat as a weapon against demons is recognised in the RV also[6]. Tapūragra is an epithet of flames (arcis) and has been translated as "heat-pointed"[7], and Agni is prayed to smite the demons (rakṣas).

The verbal participle tapyamānaḥ has some ascetic association in the ekāṣṭakā hymn and elsewhere[8], and has

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1. AV. IV. 11.3; VII. 73. 1.2.4.5 (= VII. 77); IX. 5.6; XII. 3.29.
2. AV VIII. 4.2; 1.13.3; tapurisi II. 12.6.
3. AV. VI 20.1.
4. SBE42. p.3; 469. cf. Monier-Williams Sans. Dictionary. p.437.
5. HOS 7. p.295; cf. RV. VIII. 4.50.
6. RV. VII. 104.
7. Whiteney HOS 8 p.485 on VIII 3.23.
8. AV III. 10.12; XIX. 56.5 (Dream or sleep hymn). HOS 8. p.995.

been translated as "practising fervour"; but it seems that it is better translated as "practising austerities". A dream is said to be "born from the mind of one heated (tapyamānasya)". The root can have both senses- to practise austerities or to practise fervour, but the first is better for "austerities" being a wider term includes the latter; After the performance of various nerve racking practices it is quite likely that bad dreams would arise.

Tapas occurs only once in the AV book I[1] where it means simply heat and its power. In the second book tapas occurs in association with the gods Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Candra and Āpaḥ[2]. "O Agni that tapas of yours, with that burn him, who hates us and who we hate." Whitney translates it as "heat" which may be quite plausible in the case of the Gods of-fire and the sun,but is inadequate in the case of the waters and wind. Tapas must connote power and potency, but does not exclude the aspect of heat, which is exemplified in the terms associated with it,

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1. AV. 1.13.2. HOS. 7. p.14. Hymn to lightening.
2. AV II. 19.20; 21; 22. Agni yat te tapas tena tamprati tapa yo' smān dveṣṭi yam vayam dviṣmaḥ. also in MS 1.5.2.1; Weber IS XIII. 181; Whitney p.62.

arcis (flame) and śocis (light) while the aspect of power is exemplified in terms haras ("rage" Whitney; "flame", or "fury" Monier Williams[1] better form "power of seizing") and tejas (fiery energy)[2]. The hymns show only the tendency to call down the Vedic pantheon to take part against the hated enemies and abhorrent wizards and look on all the Gods as equal powers. The association of tapas with other Gods like the wind and the waters indicates the independence of the concept as power from the concept of fire.

In the third book the personified Ekāṣṭakā ceremony, undergoing austerities, bears Indra as Son[3]. Indra is the lord of strength (śacīpati) and power[4]. Tapas as a power concept therefore should have relationship with Indra. The cosmological aspect of tapas is also brought out in a passage comparable to RV. X. 129.

In the hymn extolling the Draught Ox it is said that people go to the world of good deeds (sukṛtasya lokam)

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1. Monier Williams p.1289.
2. Gonda. "Gods and Powers" p.43.
3. AV. III. 10.12 Ekāṣṭakā tapasā tapyamānā jajāna garbham mahimānam indram.
4. Keith RPVU. 1. p.124 ff; K. Chattopadhyāya, quoted in G.C. Pande Studies. pp. 266-67

through tapas and observance of the vrata of gharma[1]. Manyu "Anger" is prayed to protect the poets and to kill the demons with tapas[2]. In another hymn in praise of the "rice-mess offering" (odana) it is said that Prajāpati "the first born of Righteousness cooked the rice-mess (odana) with tapas"...and "with this which (odana) they discovered with tapas and toil (śrama)"[3] the being makers (bhūtakṛta) went beyond death. Here occurs the first association of tapas with Prajāpati, which is so much emphasized in the Brāhmaṇas. Tapas coming in association with Śrama (physical effort) begins to take an undertone of mental austerity and devotion, which is emphasized in the Muṇḍaka up[4].

In the hymn about the wife of the Brāhmaṇa, Mātariśvan is described as "of stout rage and mighty tapas"[5]. Mātariśvan is "the personification of a celestial form

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1. IV. II.6. Cf. RV. X.154.2. = AV. XVIII. 2.15; Whitney HOS. 7. p.164. "penance", Weber IS XVIII. 39. Deussen. Geschichte 1. 1.232.
2. AV. IV. 32. 2;3. Cf. RV. X.83. Weber ISXVIII. 129; Whitney HOS. 7. p.203. "fervour".
3. RV. IV. 35. 1. ab; 2 ab. Weber ISXVIII. 139; Whitney HOS 7 p.208.
4. See below.
5. AV. V. 17.1c. vīḍuharās tapa ugram mayobhuḥ... Weber 15. XVIII. 222; Whitney p.248.

of Agni"[1], and this explains his relationship with tapas. Here tapas should mean power. The brāhmaṇa, who destroys the hater of the gods, has his teeth "smeared with tapas" (tapasā bhidi gdhāḥ)[2]. The Brāhmaṇas themselves kill the hater of the gods, who steals the cows of the Brāhmaṇa with tapas and rage (manyu)[3]. Tapas again stands for a power used as a weapon against any enemy, directed through charms and spells. The used tapas as a weapon is quite magical in character. The idea that a person is filled with power, generated through various ascetic practices, which can be used by him for or against any other person, is quite prevalent in magical belief in many ancient and primitive cultures. Tapas in such cases is pure magical power, which envelops even a magical amulet of three metals[4]. In another magical charm Indra "sharpens" the tying-up of a girdle with tapas. This presumably implies that magical power is infused into the girdle so that Agni

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1. Macdonell VM p.72; Macdonell thinks his basis in nature as the "lightening", but the wind aspect of his personality too is clear cf. AV. XII. 1.51.
2. V. 18.8. Bloomfield SBE 42. 1 p.432. "Holy Fire"; Grill. p.43.49 "Glut".
3. AV.V. 18.9.
4. AV. V. 28.1. cd. tapasā-viṣṭitam. Whitney p.272.

may tie up the enemies[1]. Tapas also has associations with sacrifice, which, in the A.V., is quite magical in character. In a charm, recited at the offering for a son, the sacrificer performs the sacrifice with tapas[2] "of like origin ascend the great sacrifice, as it is performed, with mind, with tapas". Again tapas, coming together with a mental principle (manas), has the sense of physical, in contrast to mental, austerity. The girdle (of the student) which is said to be "born of tapas, daughter of faith"[3], is tied by the student with brahman, tapas and toil (srama)[4]. The girdle is prayed to give him thought (mati), wisdom (medhā), tapas, and power (indriya)[5]. Tapas in this hymn, appears in both the senses which has been noticed elsewhere - physical austerities, and magical power of a special type. Tapas as physical austerity is thought so important that a hymn is produced praying Agni to make ones tapas successful. "O Agni, penance with penance, we perform penance. May we be dear to what is heard (śruta), long-lived and wise".

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1. AV. VI. 104.2b. tapasendreṇa saṃsitam.
2. AV. VI. 122.4 ab yajñam yantam manasā bṛhantam anvārohāmi tapasā sayoniḥ. Whitney HOS. 7. p.122-23. "fervour".
3. AV. VI. 133. 4a. śraddhāyā duhitā tapaso'dhijātā.
4. AV. VI. 133.3.
5. AV. VI. 133. 54. cd.

Similar is the incantation in the next verse. This charm was employed on the occasion of the upanayana ceremony, in a medhajanana rite.[1] The period of studentship was considered as one of practising austerities. Tapas was necessary to acquire knowledge and wisdom and even long life. This tendency was further developed in the Upaniṣads.[2] By undergoing tapas one acquired knowledge as well as power.

The association of tapas with the Maruts[3] who use this weapon to destroy "the enemy who wears the fetters of hates," is explained because the Maruts, being the followers of Indra, are regarded as warriors.

In the VIIIth Book tapas occurs three times, one of which is in a Rv. verse.[4] The other two verses are from the two mystic hymns, extolling the Virāj.[5] "What three great ones there are, the fourth one separate as speech - the wise priest (brahman) may know it by tapas in which one is joined, in which one is." The priest has

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1. Kauś.S. 10.22. Quoted in Whitney. HOS 7 P.430; Henry 24.87 "austerité".
2. See below.
3. Av. VII.77.2.(= 82.2). Henry p.31.99; Whitney. HOS 7 pp.443.
4. Av. VIII.3.13 = RV. X. 87.
5. AV. VIII. 9.3.

to undergo penances to know about the secrets of the mystic Virāj. In the following hymn, the poet speaks of the journeys of the Virāj. "She ascended, she approached the seven sages, the seven sages called to her; O brahmaṇvatī, come! King Soma was her son; metre, vessel; Bṛhaspati, son on Augiras, milked her; and milked from her, brahman and tapas; upon that brahman and tapas the seven seers subsist"; he subsists on brahmavarcas who knows this."[1] The metre Virāj is represented as a cow here. Brahman and tapas seem to be two modes of religious behaviour practised by the sages. Tapas leads to brahma splendour. Tapas probably includes devotion and faith, a mental conviction, which is not generally given in the AV but is necessary for the success of any magical activity.

In the Xth book there is a prayer to Agni to kill the demons with tapas.[2] In the skambha-hymn[3] tapas occurs four times, together with vrata, faith, right (ṛta) and truth (satya) and in the first verse a question is asked

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1. AV VIII.10.25. A prose hymn; in Paipp. XVI; Henri.29.71 Whitney HOS 8 P.514.
2. AV. X 5.49. Henry 14.62. also Calaus Altindisches Zauberritual p. 171.
3. AV.X.7.

"in which organ of skambha, was tapas existent?"[1] The question is not answered and instead we hear, in the eleventh verse, that tapas keeps up the vow (vrata).[2] Skambha is the cosmic principle identified with brahman and the Adityas,[3] and it is said that all the worlds are in skambha and tapas is in skambha too.[4] Whitney translates tapas as "penance"[5] and Henry,[6] as "l'ascetisme", which is hardly admissible. Tapas is here rather a comsological power which is fiery in nature, and boon of penances. Skambha itself is said to be born from toil (śrama) and tapas.[7]

In the hymn to the Cow, brahman, tapas and ṛta are said to be established in the Cow,[8] and the gods subsist on the Cow.[9]

The seers, sons of seers, born of tapas, are invited to eat the brahma-rice dish.[10] This relationship between the seers and tapas is already noticed in the RV (X.154).

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1. AV.X.7.1. Henry p.22. "l'ascetisme". Whitney HOS 8. p.589. "penance", Deussen Geschichte 1.1.310.
2. AV.X.7.11 ab.
3. AV.X.7.22,23. On the nature of Skambha. see Henry p.68. Shende. The Foundations of Atharvan Religion. p.125-26; Whitney translates it as "frame of creation" but better is "support" from the root -skambh- to support, see Bloomfield. Atharvaveda. p.88.
4. X.7.29; Cf. X.7.30. Where the same is said about India too.
5. Whitney HOS. 8. p593.
6. Henry: op.cit. p. 25.
7. AV X.7.35a yaḥ śramat tapaso jāto...
8. AV.X.10.33. Deussen Geschichte 1.1.234; Henry.35.85. Whitney HOS 8. p.605.
9. AV.X.X.10.34.
10. AV X.L.L.26.cd.

This is similar to the relationship with the student which is emphasized in AV. XI.5 - a hymn praising the student,[1] who is said to protect (pṛ.) the teacher, uphold heaven and earth with tapas.[2] Tapas has here the sense of ascetic practices which exalt the student to the company of greater beings. Whitney translates the sentence: "he fills the teacher with fervour," but the root pṛ which is associated with maintenance and protection seems more appropriate in this context than pṝ to fill.[3] The student is said to have been "born of brahman, and clothing himself with heat (gharma) to have stood up with tapas. The student protects heaven and earth with tapas.[5] Later it is said that he exists with the rays of the two fires (i.e. the sun and the terrestrial fire) and with tapas.[6] It seems that fire austerities of some sort are alluded to here. The stage of studentship is regarded as tapas (austerity) and it is

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1. Deussen Geschichte 1.1.277, entitles the ~~begum~~ hymn as "the Brahma pupil as incarnation of Brahma." Hillebrandt (VM.1.p.471) basing himself on XI.5.3., thought that there is a reference to the relationship of the sun and the moon in the relations between the teacher and the pupil. But this is too farfetched. Whitney is right in thinking that this is in praise of the Vedic student (HOS 8.p.636). See Bloomfield Atharvaveda p.89. and SBE 42 p.626. also Henry 114;150.
2. XI.5.1.2.4.
3. See Monier-Williams sv.PW sv.
4. AV XI 5.5.ab.
5. AV XI 5.8.10.
6. XI.5.11.

said that the King protects this country (rāṣṭra) and the gods kill death (mṛtya) with brahmacarya which is tapas.[1] "The student shaping these things (i.e. the bodily organs enumerated in the verse 25) stood performing tapas on the back of the water, in the ocean; bathed, brown, ruddy, he shines much on the earth."[2] Bloomfield[3] has suggested the brahmacārin extolled in this hymn is the Sun, who as a student is engaged in the performance of his vows and "by an easy transition, all the functions and powers of the Brahmacarin are made the basis of a momentary cosmogonic and philosophical account of the origin and the existence of the universe."

There is no doubt that there are various stanzas of this hymn in which the physical nature of the sun seems to be alluded to,[4] and the student has much to do with both fire worship and sun-worship. The hymn however is primarily a glorification of the student rather than of the sun.[5] Tapas being the chief characteristic both of the student, with sense of austerity and of the

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1. XI.5.17, 19.
2. XI.5.26 Whitney's translation p.640.
3. SBE. 42 p.626.
4. XI.5.1,5,6,11,23,26.
5. Cf. Bloomfield's views on RV.X.136.in JAOS XV.p.167ff.

sun in the sense of heat, must have facilitated the identification.

In a hymn extolling the ucchiṣṭa (the remnant of the offering)[1] right (ṛta) truth, tapas, country, law (dharma) and action (karman) are said to be in the ucchiṣṭa.[2] Karman is action, and is thus connected with austerities, both of which are said to be in the sea (arṇava),[3] and the proper generic relationship between the two is established later, where it is said that tapas (penance) is born from action (karma).[4]

In the XIIth book tapas occurs in three hymns. In the very first hymn of the book extolling the earth, it is said, that "great truth, formidable right, consecration, penance (tapas) brahman, and sacrifice sustain the earth."[5]

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1. Deussen Geschichte 1.1.305.10. regarded it as the "residuum in general" beyond the cosmos. That is to say, the Brahman; but see Bloomfield SBE 42 p.226; 629; Henry, 120.156. ~~See Shende~~.
2. XI.7.17.
3. XI.8.2. Deussen Geschichte 1.1.27 on 77; Henry 123.160. Whitney p.4058,p.647.
4. XI.8.6. cd. tap'o by jajñe karmaṇas tat te jyeṣṭham upāsate.
5. XII.1. lab. satyam bṛhad ṛtam ugram dīkṣā tapo brahma yagñah pṛthivīm dharayanti. trans. Henry 17a,215; Bloomfield SBE 42, 199.6.39. Whitney HOS 8, p.661.

Later, the seers are said to fashion (lit. sing out-ud-arc) the Cow, by their sacrificial session, sacrifice and tapas.[1] The cow seems to represent the earth. The importance of the verse is in its putting an equal premium on the value of sacrifice and austerity. The poets pray that their austerities and truth may be known to the rice (odana).[2] Tapas probably connotes the physical austerities connected with the cooking of the rice.

In the hymn to the Cow of the Brahmaṇa, it is said to be "created with toil (śrama) and tapas, acquired by brahman, and established in ṛta".[3] Tapas is the creative heat generated by austerities of fire.

In the hymns to "Rohita"-the "ruddy sun", and Rohiṇī,[4] their people are said to be born of tapas.[5] In the next hymn Rohita is called a tapasvin and it is said that "he mounts the sky with tapas, he comes to the womb and is born again; he has become the overlord of the

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1. XII.1.39. The significance of this statement is quite unclear. The relations of tapas and water are noticed in the RV, but their phrase appears to be a magical formula, and perhaps has no logical meaning.
2. XII.3.12. Bloomfield p.186 "shall take note of our religious fervour and our truth", Whitney HOS 8.p.169. "know our penance and also truth.".
3. AV.XII.5.1. śraṁeṇa tapasā sṛṣṭā brahmaṇā vitte ṛte śṛtā.
4. AV.XIII.1. which probably has "an allegorical exaltation of the king and the queen" too (Bloomfield SBE 12 p.661)
5. AV.XIII.1.10.

gods."[1] The sun here is expressly compared to an ascetic, allusion to which has been noticed elsewhere.[2] One who knows this god Rohita possesses brahma, tapas, fame and brahma-splendour.[3] Later, it is said that "this sun (ādityа) has risen with all tapas, subduing the rivals to me; may I be not subject to the rival" (sapatna) Tapas must mean here power and heat, which seems also to the sense elsewhere, when Ekavrātya is said to become brahman, tapas and truth.[5] Tapas occurs three times in the XVIIIth book but all three citations are Ṛgvedic repetitions;[6].

In the XIXth book the goddess ~~who~~ is prayed ~~to~~ "not to injure wisdom, consecration and tapas".[7] This reveals an important aspect of the Vedic gods who are regarded as powerful enough to be able to violate the austerities of the human beings. The damage which they could do would be to put obstacles in the way of their proper performance, as in later classical literature,

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1. AV.XIII.2.25 Rohito divam aruhat tapasā tapasvī. sa yonim aiti sa u jāyate punaḥ sa devanam adhipatir babhuva. Whitney p.719.
2. Cf. XI.5; RV.X.136.
3. AV.XIII.4.22. in Prose. Whitney HOS.8.p.732.
4. AV.XVII.1.24. Corresponding to RV.1.50.13. except the variant sahasā in place of tapasa. Also in TB III.7.6.
5. AV.XV.1.3.
6. XVIII.2.16;18 = RV.X.154; XVIII.2.8. = RV.X.164 except the variant tapasaḥ in place of the RV. tapasa.

rather than to withhold the fruits of the ascetic practices undertaken. Generally the Gods are thought to be helping human beings and protecting them.[1] But soon tapas was to be elevated to a higher sphere where it achieved its independence of the gods.

Tapas yielded sovereignty. "Desiring the auspicious, heaven-knowing sages did penance and consecration, and from that is boon, sovereignty, strength and ojas (virility)."[2] In another hymn the gods Agni, Vāyce, Sūrya, Candra, Soma, Indra, the waters and brahman are prayed take the worshipper "where the brahma-knowers go by consecration and tapas. (austerities)"[3]

In the AV.[4] Time is personified as a cosmogonic principle. Tapas, as in the skambha hymn, is said to be existent in Time,[5] and born of it.[6] Kāla, conceived as the year (samvatsara) is identified with Agni and the sun, in the Brāhmanas, and can thus have a direct relationship with tapas. Tapas, coming together with brahman, is here a fiery power-pervading the universe.

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1. AV.1.6.1; 111.12.5, 20.5; VI.108.2; VII.40.1. See Linden Concept of Deva p.58 ff.
2. AV.XIX.41.1. Bhadram icchantā ṛṣayaḥ svarvidas tapo dīkṣām upaniṣedur agre/tato rāṣṭram balam ojaś ca jātam tad asmai deva upasamramanti. Cf. TA.111.11.9; TS V.7.4. Whitney HOS.88 p.963.
3. XIX.43.1. Yatra brahmavido yanti dīkṣayā tapasā saha. Agnir mā tatra nayatu. etc. in XIX.43.2-8. Whitney HOS 8 p.965
4. XIX.53.54. See Macdonell VM.pp120; cf. The Conception of Zurvan. R.C. Zaehner, Zurvan. (Oxford 1954).
5. XIX.53.8. 6. XIX.53.10 also in XIX.54.

In the Paippalada recension, most of these passages containing tapas occur, and a few others are also to be found. The AVP XVI.72.3-4 text is very corrupt, muddled, and obscure. The only important point to be noticed is that in it tapas and brahman occur together.[1] Another hymn - one of the abhicārikāṇi[2] or charms for the destruction of enemies runs:

> "those who have performed tapas and are tapojiṣṇu for them, the tapas-doers, the tapas-performers, this (this woman's son I destroy)".[3]

Tapas is here connected with magic and sorcery as elsewhere in the AVŚ. Tapojiṣṇu is a word not occurring elsewhere and evidently means "one who has won (jī) tapas." or "one who excels in tapas". Similar words are tapasvin[4] tapasvān[5] which have been noted in the RV. too.

Tapas in the AV. has thus three meanings, "heat", "ascetic practices" and "spiritual (or magical) power and energy". Heat or fiery energy is here generally connected

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1. Cf. X. 11.6.7.
2. Cf. Bloomfield Atharvaveda p.66.
3. AVP XVII. 22.8. ye tapas cakrur ye tapojiṣṇavas te(bhyo) tapaskṛdbhyas tapaskarebhyo amum (amuṣyayaṇam anuṣyaḥ putram a veścami).
4. AV.XIII.2.25.
5. AV.V.2.8 = XX.107.11 = RV.X.120 with a variant.

with Agni and the Sun, enabling them to destroy demons and kill enemies. In the sense of "ascetic practices" it denotes sometimes the performance of sacrificial duties which meaning is further elaborated in the Yusamhitas and the Brāhmaṇas. It has a magical connotation too, which seems to be the main aspect of tapas as an activity. Tapas includes in the AV, the hard life led by the student, in his quest after knowledge and wisdom. For the same reason tapas is closely connected with the ṛṣis.[1] The ṛṣis are said to be born from tapas.[2] They attain heaven through tapas and consecration and bence obtain their wisdom and spiritual power. Similarly the gods in the AV, use tapas as a weapon against the demons and to bring victory. Various Gods, Agni,[3] Aditya,[4] Rohita,[5] Brahmacārī as the Sun[6] Prajāpati and other gods abstract deities like skambha[7] and Ucchiṣṭa[8] are said to have tapas as their essence of their being. This must imply that a fiery energy and spiritual power is regarded as the basis of the whole cosmos, which idea is a legacy from the Rgvedic times. This cosmogonic tradition has a subsequent history in Vedic

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1. AV.V.17.6; VIII.10.25; XI.1.26; XII.1.39; XVIII.2.15.16. 18; XIX.43.1.
2. AV.XIX.41.1; VI.61.1;
3. For instance in AV: VII.77.2; VIII.3.13;
4. AV.XVIII.2.
5. AV.XIII,1.
6. AV.XI.5.
7. AV.X.7.
8. AV.XI.7.

literature. But we have to distinguish another type of spiritual power which is born of ascetic practices. This idea has a wide acceptance in the magical weltanschauung of the AV, but a clear ambivalence is to be detected in regarding tapas of an individual as being successful both through the goodness of the gods and also independently. The former view is generally incompatible with magical practices, Where the correct performance of the required actions should lead automatically to the desired result.[1] Therefore in spite of tapas having generally a coercive aspect, which was growing predominant, the gods are still generally its overlords. Tapas is not purely magical.

Tapas is an activity which becomes comparable to sacrifice (yajña).[2] Sacrifice is said to be born of tapas.[3] Viṣṇu is prayed to sacrifice with tapas.[4] Dīkṣā as a symbol of sacrifice as well as an activity, pure and powerful, in itself, is closely connected with tapas. The Dīkṣā occurs about eleven times,[5] quite frequently with tapas.[6] These facts seem to indicate an acceptance of ascetic and sacrificial modes of religious activity which yield similar

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1. See Macdonell. ERE 8. pp311-321 "Vedic Magic",on asceticism and magic. p.313-14.
2. AV. XII.1.39. 3. AV. IV. 34.1.
4. AV.V.26.7.
5. AV.VIII.5.15; VIII.9.17; XI.7.8; XII.1.1,5,3;XIV 2.52; XIX 40.3; 41.3, 43.1-8; XV.16.5.
6. AV.XII.1.1;5.3; XIX.40.3; 41.1; XIX.43.1-8.

results.

Tapas as austerity, is related with śrama in many AV. passages. Śrama occurs about eight times[1] in the AV, with tapas about five times.[2] Śrama has the sense of effort and the root śram- has the connotation of being wearied and tired,[3] which is visible in the term śrānta also[4] Tapas has a connotation of devotion and an ascetic nuance, which is absent in śrama. Śrama is any kind of activity, which is arduous and religious.

Tapas as a power concept is akin to Brahman, which occurs about 200 times in the AV. This has various meanings - as speech, power of speech, the priest etc.,. With tapas it occurs in the sense of the power of speech and speech itself about 17 times.[5] Both have magical connections and both have cosmological extensions. Brahman skambha, however, is said to be born from tapas and śrama.[6]

Like tapas, there are other terms, such as ojas, tejas, which are connected with fire and have the sense of power and fiery energy. Tejas occurs about 72 times in the AV, excepting its occurrence in compounds and is primarily

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2. IV.35.2; VI.133.2; X.7.36; XII.5.1; XI.7.17.
1. AV.VIII.8.9; XI.7.17; X.7.36; IV.11.10; 35.2; VI.133.3; XI.54; XII.5.1.
3. AV.VI.50.2; VI.74.2; XI.1.30.
4. AV.IV.20.3.
5. AV.IV.35.1.2; VI.133.3; XII.51; V.6.9; VIII.10.25; X.7.33; XI.7.17, XII.1.1; XIII.4.22; XV.1.3; XIX.40.2.3; XIX.43.8; 53.8; 54.1;
6. AV.X.7.36.

connected with Agni and Indra. It rarely occurs with tapas. The reason probably is that tejas and tapas both have the sense of fiery energy,[1] splendour, vital power, efficacy, and if one term is used in any context, the other becomes superfluous, though sometimes both are used together.[2] Tejas however is more closely connected with fire than with any other activity or principle which might generate it. It is a power born of the fire, residing in any human body.[3]

When a reference is made to the tejas of the year,[4] one is reminded of tapas as existent in Time (Kāla)[5] Tapas only rarely occurs with ojas or bala (physical power) in the AV.[6]

Tapas as an action is related to ethical principles of conduct. Tapas and truth occur twice together,[6] as principles of action. It occurs with ṛta about seven times.[7] Ṛta is used about 70 times excluding the compound words like ṛta-jāta, (AV.V.15.1-11, XVIII.2.15); ṛtasāta, ṛtasthā (IV.1) ṛtāvāna, ṛtāvṛdh. Ṛta has not as yet acquired the exclusive

1. PW.s.v.; Monier Williams p.454; also Gonda "Gods and Powers", p.58;
2. Look above AV.II.19; also cf. V.19.
3. Filliozat J. La doctrine classique de la médicine indienne. Paris,1949, p.135; 136. Tejas is called "un rayonnement calofique d'activité". See below Chapter IV.
4. AV. III.5.8; 5. See above XIX.53;54.
6. AV.XI.7.17; XII.3.12.
7. AV.X.7.1; 11; 29; 30; 10.33; XI.7.17; XII.5.1.

meaning of Satya; both terms are used together,[1] making it certain that ṛta has not the sense of satya alone. However, anṛta is opposed to satya, which indicates the growing predominance of satya over ṛta.[2] Tapas occurs with dharma which is acquiring the sense of duty [3] and law.[4]

Vrata appears rarely with tapas in the AV. The word vrata has lost the importance which, relatively speaking, it enjoyed in the RV. It occurs about 70 times throughout the AV. Many of the phrases used in the Ṛg Vedas, such as madhuvrata, puruvrata, priyavrata, iṣṭavrata, harivrata and sucivrata have disappeared. The verbs with which it generally occurs are car,[5] i (to go),[6] dhṛ (to uphold),[7] and in a new collocation with the verb aś (to eat).[8] which becomes more frequent in the Brāhmaṇas as it is primarily used in a ritualistic context. The collocation of this verb and Vrata became common because vrata came to stand for certain types of food or even milk or water, as

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1. cf. AV. X.7.17; XII.5.10; XV.6.2.
2. AV.II.15.5; IV.9.7 etc. cf. XIV.1.1.
3. AV.XVIII.3.1. Whitney HOS 8. p.848; V.1.2;
4. AV.VII.5.1; 26.5; IX.10.25; XII.1.17; VI.132 1-5 VII 25.2.
5. AV.VII.40.1.
6. V.27.7.
7. V. II.3. also in the word dhṛta vrata in VII.88.1. VII. 62.1. XX.54.2.
8. VI.133.2.cd.

the Niruhta shows[1].

The meaning of the word has still the same duality which was noted in the RV. In various places ~~it~~, vrata, has the sense of law. The draught/ox is said to follow the law of all the gods,[2] while later there is a reference to the "vow" (vrata) of the bull, and the verse runs: "twelve indeed, they declare those nights of the vow (vratya) of Prajapati; who knows the brahman within them - that verily is the vow of the draught-ox."[3] Similarly people are said to be "of the same vows."[4] But the Yakṣa,[5] is said to follow the "aminating, exciting vrata" of Viraj[6] and Henry[7] is right in taking it here as law." But it is said that "the eating of food by the householder after the guest has eaten is vrata".[8] Vrata has thus a moral aspect. The proper service of the

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1. See above.
2. IV. 11.2. Deussen 111.232; Whitney. HOS 7 p.163.
3. Whitney's translation. HOS. 7 p.166. on IV.11.11 cf. IX.1.8 the cow is said to follow the vrata.
4. VI.74.1. Bloomfield SBE 42 p.35. "purpose". Whitney HOS 7. p.336. "Courses", Cf. VI.64.2 (=RV.X.191.3).
5. On his nature see Geldner. Ved. Stud. III. 126 ++. A.K. Coomaraswami, the Yakṣas. 2 vols.
6. VIII.9.8.
7. Henry p. 27. cf. Whitney p.508. "Courses".
8. AV. IX.6.38.

"guest",[1] has been a customary duty laid on the house-holder by the scriptures. Vrata comes as a principle of activity, together with tapas, effort, brahman, faith.[2] The period of studentship is regarded, it seems, as one of vows. The girdle (mekhalā) of the student is said to be "eater of the vow".[3] The metaphor is not only that of the eating of vrata, but also of being dressed in vrata. Idā, in whose domain the godly-minded are purified, is asked to dress the worshipper in vrata.[4] Vrata seems to acquire here a sense of power, produced after the observance of the vow. The lord of vrata Agni, adorned (samakha) by vrata is prayed to shine forever.[5] Vratapati and Vratapā,[6] are used exclusively for Agni. Varuṇa and Adityas have lost the close association with the concept, As is to be expected if it has come within the sacrificial circle of thought.

Avrata is used as an epithet of the disease takman[7]

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1. N.J.Shende (The Foundations p.105 ff.). gives a misleading term "the social deity" for him.
2. X.7.; VI.133.4.
3. VI.133.4.
4. VII.27.1.ab.
5. VII.74.4.
6. It occurs only twice AV.XIX.59.1 (=RV. VIII.11.1;) AV.XX.25.5.
7. AV.VI.20.1.; also cf. VII.116.2 (=VII.121.2). Bloomfield on takman. SBE 42. p.451; Ved index 1 p.294-96.

which may mean "lawless" which is better than Henry's "impious" [1] and Whitney's "ill-behaved one".[2] Similar in import is "apavrata" which is used as an epithet of darkness with which the Maruts are prayed to pierce the enemy's army. Anuvrata occurs four times out of which three times it is as an epithet to characterise the wife obedient to her husband[3] and once for the son in relation to his father.

With tapas, vrata comes only twice and in both cases it is uncertain in its meaning.

This survey of ascetic and ethical concepts shows a development in their meaning and associations, which have magical overtones and religious bearings. In some cases it is quite difficult properly to indicate their inter-relationship, because of the inherent difficulty in getting an exact verification of their meanings. The picture to be drawn from their study, in the AV., is quite different from that of the RV, which might be expected as due to changes from religious to more magical and superstitions beliefs and actions. This picture has to be supplemented

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1. Henry p.46 cf. Bloomfield SBE 42. p.3. 468.
2. HOS 7 p. 295.
3. III.2.5.4. Grill p.54. "Gefüg" Whitney HOS 7.p.131 "submissive"; XIII.122; Rohini is obedient (anuvrata) to Rohita; XIV, 1.42. (The earth).

by the study of the ascetic personalities which appear in the AV. The figure of the Yati, whom we examined in the RV, remains unchanged.[1] But we find a new legend, which is repeated many times in the Brāhmaṇas,[2] about Indra killing the yatis. The verse runs:[3] "Indra a swiftly overcoming friend, who slew vṛtra like the yatis and (who) split vala like the Bhṛgus".[4] Whitney takes "yatīr na" as meaning "like moving", but Ṣāyaṇa takes it as "parivrāgahāḥ" or "āsuryāḥ prajāḥ" (the children of the Asuras). It seems that the word "Yatīr na" is a mistake for "yatīn na".[5]

The Muni, another figure of ascetic significance, is noticed in the Av, as in the RV. The RV X.136 is found in the AvP,[6] with an additional verse. There is no indication that a particularly magical use was to be made of this hymn but in the AVP a singular and unique hymn about the Muni is to be found. As the hymn has not been noticed before, we give a full translation. It shares some repeated lines with another hymn of the AVŚ,[7] which

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1. See AV.XX.49.5. See below Chap. III.
2. See below Chap. IM.
3. AV.II.5.3. Indras turāṣān mitro vṛtram yo jaghāna yatīr na. Bibheda Valam Bhṛgur na...
4. Based on Whitney's translation. HOS 7. p. 44.
5. Vedic Index II. p.185, n.4. MuirOST. 5. 49. n.92.
6. AVP. V.38.
7. VI. III.

is a charm for relief from madness and spirit-possession, which seems to be the aim of this hymn also.

Vs.1. May the gods release you, crazed (or intoxicated unmattam) from the demons, from the imprecations (śapatha), organic disease, and sin committed against the gods.[1]

Vs.2. O powerful, Vājin (Indra), serving the mortal, bending the demons, chopping off the owl; protect him (who is) becoming a muni for us for the sake of the great battle.[2]

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1. AV.P.V.17.1. devainasād unmeditam kṣetriyāc chapathād uta. Muñcantu tasmāt tvām devā unmattam rakṣasas pari. V.17.1a= AVS VI.III.3a; V.17.1.d= VI.III.3b; V.17.1.= VIII.2.27c. devainasa = devakilbiṣa in RV.X.9.7.16. Where śapatha also occurs compare sapatha in RV. X. 87.15; AV II.7.2; 5; IV.9.5. Comp. Kṣetriya in AVS. II.8.2-5; II.10.1. It does not occur in the RV. Devainasa is comparable to devahedana in AVS VI.114. Both meaning "sin against the gods; see Bloomfield SBE.42 p.520; Pro. AO.S. March 1894. JAOS XVI.

2. Munim bhavantam maryāṇi_vāvṛto sakṣāṇoy_aknu ulākanikṛṭi. Atas tam no adhi pahi vajin indreṇa medi bṛhate raṇaya.

   A. The first line is hopeless, unless the proposed reading is accepted: instead of ulakanikrati we read "ulūkanikṛti." The owl (ulūka) has magical connections; the word uluka occurs twice in the AVS VI.29.1; VIII.4.22; and in AVS VIII.4.22. Indra is prayed to kill the ulūkayātu (the owl-demon).

   B. Vāvṛto may be vā + āvṛt = turning towards.

   C. Aknu = probably from the root añc. to go. The verse does not occur in the AVP.

   D. Vājin = an epithet of Indra(RV.VIII.52.4.Vālakhīlya hymns).

   E. Indreṇa = a variant of Indriyeṇa (the special power of Indra). cf. RV.1.104.6; 1.165.8; X.16.1.

Vs. 3 As, O Agni, the Gods, the wise Ṛbhus, released this crazy (or intoxicated) person far from sin (enas); (so may you do); so śakṣa (Indra) may create fearlessness for you; release you from sin (enas) and subdue the devils.[1]

Vs. 4 As the cows are the refuge, the aśvīnīs for men, on the earth; O muni, so you (are) of this crazy person; may he come down to the earth.[2]

Vs. 5 The earth upheld the muni, the heaven protects him; and all the beings too (protect) the muni; and Indra upheld the muni.[3]

Vs. 6 O Agni, Release this man for me, who, well bound by Grāhi, prattles senselessly; so make a fortune for him, that he may be free from disease and not crazy.[4]

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1. Yathāgne devā ṛbhavo manīṣiṇo (amu)m unmattam asṛjann āra enasah.
   Eva te Śakro abhayam kṛṇotu muñcasvainaso vinayāsi rakṣaḥ.
2. Yathā gāvaśca bhūmyām puruṣāśvinya Okasaḥ.
   Evon mattasya te mune sa gṛhṇātu pṛthivini anu. A. Aśvinī, the mother and wife of the Aśvinis, here of men. Cf. AVP VII 49. 2.
3. Munim dādhāra pṛthivī munim dyaur abhi yakṣati.
   Munim hi viśvā bhūtāni munim Indro adīdharat parā rakṣas suvāmi te.
   This verse does not occur in the Av'Ś; except the AVP V.17. 5e: a superfluous addition metrically and semantically from AV'Ś IV. 13.5. with the variation that instead of rakṣas "Yakṣam" occurs.
4. Imam me Agne puruṣam mumugdhi Yo Vibaddho grābyā lālapīti.
   Ato'dhi te kṛnavad bhāgadheyam anunmadito agado yathāsat.
   (a) Found in AV's also; A.V.P. V.17.6 ab; AV'S VI. III.1 ab; with variants. (b) Grāhi is a female spirit of evil, a fainting fit. AV'S VI.112.1,2. speaks of the pāśas of Grāhi (Cf.RV. X. 161.1.) Grassman W.R.P419. P.W. SV.

Vs. 7 May Agni quieten you, you whose mind is disturbed; I, the wise one, sacrifice for you; that you may not be crazy.[1]

Vs. 8 May the Apsaras give thee again (the mind or normal health?), so the wind and the quarters again; again Yama, and the messengers of Yama, may release you again from sin (amhas), for life, not for death, rather for security.[2]

This hymn is comparable to AV'S VI.III; which has many similar expressions and it seems that both hymns are meant for the same purpose,[3] the cure of spirit-possession. Spirit-possession can be of two types - possession by a good spirit; or by a bad one.

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1. Agniṣ ṭe niśamayatu yat te tan mana uddhṛtam juhomi vidvāṁs te havir yathānunmadito bhavaḥ.
This is comparable to AV'S VI.III.2. but there are variations. AVP has "uddhṛtam"; and the "c" of AVP is completely different from "C" of AV'S.
2. V.17.8. Punas tvā dur apsarasas punar vāta punar diśah. Punar yama punar yamasya dūtās te tvā muñcantu amhasaḥ. Jīvātave na martave atho ariṣtatātaye.
A. AVP V.17.8 ab= AV'S VI.III.4ab. See Bloomfield. SBE.42 P.33. Whitney HOS7P.361; V.178 cf. RV. X.60.8.
3. See Whitney HOS 7.P.361. notes that kauṣika regards it as one of the matrīnāmāni hymns, and uses it in a rite to cure the possession by demons.

In this charm the possession is thought to be due to sins committed against the gods, and maledictions by others and devils. How does the muni come in here? The muni is also a person who is intoxicated and possessed, a phenomenon noticed in the RV;[1] but he is possessed by the gods and not by evil spirits. The muni is rather mystic than a madman, though both share common physical characteristics at the time of the trance and ecstacy; the prattling of the muni, the intoxicated (unmatta) condition (in RV.X.136. due to the drink of the poisonous portion) and so forth. The reference to the "scattered brain" (uddhrtam manah) may be apt for both. The phenomenon of possession has been connected here with the Apsaras.[2] The character of the Apsarases is not very definite, but they are called the wives of the gandharvas[3] and also "mind-confusing" (manomuh). In the RV they are called upon to protect the mind.[4] Bloomfield connects them with madness through the madness of love which they evoke.[5] The association

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1. Cf. RV X.136.2.
2. See AVP.V.17.8.
3. AV'S 1.7.5., II.2.5, the latter is another of the Mātrnāmāni hymns together with VI.III.
4. RV X.II.2; Pischel. Ved. Stud. 1.188.
5. RV X.95.14. the Puru-Uravaśī story; also TS.III.4.8.4. the Gandharvas and Apsarases made him made that is mad; also III.4.8.8. See Bloomfield SBE 42 P.520-21.

of the muni with the cure of madness, must indicate that it was believed that the muni could cure it. This shows the magic-doctor aspect of the muni's function which is revealed in another charm where the medicine-man is said to kill the disease apacit with the root of the Munideva.[1] There is probably a veiled reference to the visions of the muni in the term "municakṣu".[2] There is little description of the dress of the muni but there is a reference to munikeśa[3] referring to the copper coloured dishevelled hair.

Different from the muni is the character of the student (Brahmacārin), who has a whole hymn in his praise as other beings such as skambha, rohita.[4] The stage of studentship (Brahmacarya) is by now well established.[5] The youth goes to the teacher, is initiated by him in various subjects, and leads an arduous life. He is long-haired, wears a black deerskin, brings fuel for the teacher;[6] begs,[7] and does penance. The latter function included tending the fires of the teacher. This exposure to fire is an essential part of his penance. He is compared with the sun in the hymn. Sun-worship too was

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1. AV'S. VII.74.1. Cf. AVP XIX.36.2; on Apacit see Bloomfield. J.A.O.S. XIII. P.CCXVIII. Pr.AOS Oct.1887.
2. AVP, V.34.5. Cf. the incomprehensible. AVP XIX.48.8.
3. AV'S VIII.60.7; AVP. XVI.80.8. Weber IS V.25.
4. AV'S XI.5. also see AV'S V.175; VI.133.3; VI.108.2; XIX.19.8.
5. Cf. AV'S VII.109.7;
6. AV'S XI.5.6.
7. AV'S XI.5.9.

probably a part of his daily life. He observes chastity. All this has a generic similarity to the life of the ascetic, who also begs, does fire-penances, and observes chastity, and has long hair. This can mean two things: one that the stage of studentship is either modelled on the pattern of an ascetic life, which was already existent; or that the ascetic life was patterned on the pattern of the student life. It seems that the former hypothesis is more likely.

Another enigmatic person, about whom much has been written, is the Vrātya, to whom a whole book in the AVS has been devoted. The word Vrātya has been derived either from Vrāta or Vrata, both from the same root "vṛ" to choose.[1] Vrāta has the sense of "multitude, assemblage" in the RV,[2] but does not seem to have the sense of guild as Zimmer suggested.[3] It occurs only once in the AV'S [4] in which too it has the sense of multitude. The word Vrātya is derived from the word vrāta and means "one of a group".

The Vrātya book is a part of the third grand division of the Atharvanic collection.[5] It is mainly in Brāhmaṇa-like prose but has sometimes metrical rhythm.[6] Hauer thinks that the

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1. PW. Sv. VI.1502. Hauer Der Vrātya p.179f. Monier Williams s.v. from Vrata or connected with the root vṛ; Macdonell. Sanskrit Dictionary. s.v. "Vrāta".
2. RV.III.26.6; V.53. II. V.75.9. IX.14.2; X.34.12; Cf. Pañca-vrāta in RV. IX.14.2; it occurs with "gaṇa" and śardha" in RV V.53.II; with "gaṇa" in RV III.26.2.
3. Zimmer. Allindisches leben p.162; See Ved.Index. II. p.341-42; Grassman. WR s.v.
4. II.9.2. cf. Whitney. HOS7 P.50 "troop".
5. Whitney- Lanman. HOS8 p.769.
6. Cf. XV. 17.8.

AV XV is a survival of a vast Vrātya literature glorifying the Ekavrātya, as the divine original of the earthly Vrātya.[1] But this is in no way proved. Some indirect proof of the existence of a Vrātya Brāhmaṇa is provided by the similarity of the XV. 10-13 to the Āp. Dh. Sutra. II. 3.7. 12-17,[2] on which Haradatta, the commentator, notes that this portion of the Āp. Dh.S. is from an Ātharvaṇa Brāhmaṇa. But no such brāhmaṇa is at present in existence.

Haradatta may have been misled by the prose-like character of the A.V. XV. and the Brāhmaṇa-like identifications of the Prāṇas, Vyānas, and apānas of the Vrātya,[3] into thinking it to be a Brāhmaṇa. Already in the AV'S[4] the Vrātya-book is invoked as two books, and the old anukramaṇi as Lanman already noticed,[5] divided the book into two - the first from XV. 1 to 7 and the second, from the 8 to the 18. This shows the changed character of the book, but does not prove the existence of any AV brāhmaṇa. Bühler is correct in holding the view that Haradatta was mistaken in taking the AV XV as a brāhmaṇa.[6]

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1. The Comm. Vol. 13.; Der Vrātya pp.298-99. He thinks that the AV VIII-XIII are of the Vrātya tradition; based on the comparisons with the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇas 1.10; J.UB. 1.34; and AV X.8; 35; 36; VIII. 6; IX. 6. This is however unproved, as it is based only on the evidence of the similarity of style which is too subjective a proof.
2. Buhler. SBE. 2. trans. p.118 n.15.
3. AV'S XV. 14-18.
4. AV'S XIX.
5. HOS. 8 p.770.
6. SBE. 2. Intro. p.xxv-xxvi.

The AV XV is typically athawan in style and composition, comparable with the Brahmacarin hymn[1] and the Atithi hymn.[2] The Vrātya, the student and the guest are all praised, as human beings and also as divine persons, both aspects interchanging without any consciousness of disparity or contrast. Both aspects - human and divine - interpenetrate and are intermixed. So it is correct to say, on the one hand, that the Vrātya book is an exaltation of the Brahman, as Bloomfield,[3] Weber,[4] Lanman[5], and Sampūrṇānanda,[6] hold, but it is doubtful whether Vrātya should be taken for Śiva; as Charpeutier thought.[7] In the opening paryāyas, it is said that the Vrātya gave an impulse to Prajāpati and that he (the Vrātya)[8] became Mahādeva, Iśāna, and the rkavrātya.[9] In the later sections he is conceived in the aspect of the Cosmic person.[10] Hauer thinks that the secret tradition of the Vrātyas was a theistic mysticism with the Puruṣa as the central conception.[11]

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1. AV XI.5
2. AV IX.6
3. Atharvaveda p.94.
4. Indian literature p.112.
5. HOS 8 p.769-70.
6. Vrātyakhaṇḍa of the AV. Banaras. 1955.
7. J. Charpentier. WZ KM.25.
8. It is not absolutely certain whether the second sa refers to the Vrātya or to Prajāpati, but in our view the former is the more natural interpretation.
9. AV XV.1. 1-7
10. AV XV. 3-7; 14-18.
11. Der Vretya p.301.

Such a monotheistic conception was already known in the RV.[1] and is not out of place here in view of the recurrence in the AV, of the glorification of a single principle as the Brahman, such as the Skamkha, the ~~Pabta~~ and, Kāla. However it is quite likely that the Vrātyas had a developed monotheism, of their own, without any borrowing from the aryans. But here we are already assuming that the Vrātyas are different from the aryans, which will be discussed below.[2] Basing ourselves only on the AV XV.We cannot say much about the identity of the Vrātyas. It is certain however that, they were a group of tribal people, who were the worshippers of Ekavrātya. Charpentier thinks that they were the originators of the Rudra-Śiva cult, and were connected with a religion looked down upon in the RV.[3] Bloomfield too sees a "Śivaitic influence" in the AV XV[4] and regards the gods Śarva, Iśāna, etc. as the forms (mūrti) of Rudra. There is no doubt that there is a strong current of Rudra worship in the AV XV. The Vrātya becomes Mahādeva, and Iśāna.[5] The archers Bhava, Śarva, Iśāna, Paśupati, Ugra, Rudra and Mahādeva are said to be his attendants.[6] But this

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1. Cf. RV X.90; Macdonell. VM p.4.
2. See Chap. III section on the Vrātyas.
3. W.2. KM 23. pp.151 ff; W2 KM 25 pp.335ff.
4. Atharvaveda p.94.
5. AV XV. 1.4.5 cf. XV. 1. 7. where there seems to be a veiled reference to Nīlalohita. Cf. VS XVI.7.51. 2-4 also Keith RPVU 1. p.142.
6. AV XV 5; Arbman Rudra, p.29 thinks Bhava and Śarva to be non-aryans without any proof. See Keith RPVU p.144 n.6.

in no way justifies the identification of the God of the Vrātyas with Rudra-Siva.[1] Rudra, no doubt in the course of time, absorbed some non-vedic elements in his character,[2] and the Vrātya-god may have contributed some of these.

There is a close relationship of the Vrātya with Prajāpati;[3] Prajāpati and Parameṣṭhm follow him in his journeys to all the intermedial quarters,[4] and when he goes towards the people (prajā), he does so in the role of Prajāpati.[5] This relationship of the Vrātya with Rudra and Prajāpati is very similar to that in the Brāhmaṇas. However the Vrātya has some relationship with other gods too such as the All-Gods,[6] Varuṇa[7] and Soma.[8]

The Vrātya in the AV, seems to be more closely connected with the Rājanyas, than with any other class. It is said that "the Vratya became excited (arajyat) and from that the rājanya was born. He moved towards the people, the kinsmen, the food and the proper food (annādya). He, who knows this, the beloved abode of both the people and other kinsmen; the food and the proper food."[9] Later it is said, that he moves towards

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1. See Keith JRAS.1913. pp.155-60; RRVII. II p.338; Winterintz Zeitschrift für Buddhismis VI pp.48-60.
2. Keith. RRVU 1 p.148;
3. AV XV 1.1.
4. AV XV 6.9; 7.1.
5. AV XV. 14.11.
6. AV XV 2.1.
7. AV XV 2.3; XV 14.3.
8. AV XV 2.4; XV 14.4.
9. AV XV 8. 1-3.

the peoples followed by sabhā, samiti, the army and the wine (surā).[1] Further the Vrātya "remained standing for a year. The Gods asked, Vrātya, why do you remain standing? He replied, fetch me a throne (āsandī). They brought for that Vrātya a seat."[2] This association of the Vrātya with the throne may indicate his loyal aspirations. The Āsandī is the symbol of royal power in the rājasūya.[3] Later, the householder is told to regard him as auspicious guest and welcome him, or the former would (harm wound) the Kṣatra and the kingdom (xāṣtra).[4] The retinue of the Vrātya is quite regal. It includes the prostitute (pumścalī), the bard (māgadha) attendant (pariṣ-kanda), chariot horses (vipathavāha), chariot (vipatha), with a charioteer (sārathī) and the forerunner (purahsara).[5] The journeys of the Vrātya over-shadow his all other activities.[6] He goes to all the four quarters to the end of the earth[7] and across the ocean, which reminds one of the journeys of a king in the royal ceremonies. But these evidences do not prove that the Ekavrātya was the "prince of the Brahmavids" and the

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1. AV XV 9.
2. AV XV 3. 1-3.
3. Beni Prasad State in Ancient India pp.50 also see Renou Vocabulaire du Rituel Védique pp.32.
4. AV XV 10.1,2.
5. AV XV 2.1.
6. AV XV 2.1-4.
7. AV XV 7.

"emperor of a far larger world" than that comprised by the Aryan settlements".[1] This view is based on a false identification of the "virāj" of the AV XV. as the kingdom described in the AV Bhūmisūkba,[2] which is supposed to be the kingdom of Pṛthu Vainya described in the Harivamśa and the Purāṇas. The attempt to establish a relationship of these journeys of the Vrātya with the Mahāvrata ceremony and hence the attribution of the Mahāvrata ceremony to the Vrātyas, is far-fetched.[3]

The wanderings and journeys of the Vrātya have led to the view that the Vrātya was a member of a group of roving men, a member of a fellowship that was outside the Brahmanical pale.[4] They have been regarded as "non-brahmanical outlaws, vagrants who wander about in a sort of gypsy wagon".[5] There is nothing in the AV XV to support the view that they were outlaws. They might have been vagrants, as their wanderings show. The picture of the Vrātya is one of a respected and respectable man who is regarded as a guest. It is said that "if a thus-knowing (evamvidvān) vrātya comes to whosoever's houses as a guest, himself approaching him he should say: Vrātya, where do you live, Vrātya (here) is water; Vrātya, let them (i.e. the

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1. N.N. Ghosh Indo-Aryan literature and Culture (Origins): pp. 17 ff. pp.23-27.
2. AV XII.1.
3. Hauer Der Vrātya on Mahāvrata pp.250-66 ff.
4. PW. SV.
5. Hopkins. Transactions. Connecticut Academy XV.

servants) satisfy you; as you please, let it be so, as your will (vaśa), let it be so; as your desire (mikāma), let it be so."[1] It goes on, "then to whosesoever's houses if a thus-knowing vrātya comes as a guest, when the fires are taken up and the Agnihotra established, himself approaching him he should speak, Vrātya, please permit, I am about to make an oblation.(2) If he permits, then he should sacrifice, if he does not permit, one should not perform the oblations."(3)[2] Later, the act of taking the Vrātya inside the house and giving him shelter is eulogised as a virtuous deed.[3] This shows that the Vrātya was positively a homeless wanderer, and a pious man, quite likely a monk. But an Avrātya, bearing the name of Vrātyabruva, was not to be hospitably received,[4] The word Vrātyabruva may indicate that the person named Vrātyabruva, was to talk and preach about the Vrātya - the divine person. From the fact that the householder has to ask the permission of the Vrātya to perform the agnihotra, it does not follow that he was against sacrificial ritualism.[5]

The ascetic associations of the Vrātya are seen in the wanderings of the vrātya and the ascetic practice of standing for a year on his foot in the worship of the gods. Hauer has

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1. AV XV. 11. 1,2.
2. AV XV. 12.
3. AV XV. 13.
4. AV XV. 13. 6;7.
5. Cf. K. Chattopadhyaya. Calcutta Review 1924, p.287 ff.

thought that the Vrātyas were kṣatriya yogis.[1] This view cannot be decided on the evidence of the AV XV. Yogic connections, if any, can be discerned only in the importance given to the seven Prāṇas, seven apānas, and seven Vyānas, identified with various gods and goddesses, consecration, year, seasons, stars and so forth,[2] which is similar to the identifications attempted in the Brahmaṇas.[3] The conception of the Vrātya as the Cosmic person whose right eye is the sun, and the left eye, the Moon; whose right ear is Agni, and left ear is Pavamāna; whose two nostrils are the night and day, and whose head is the year;[4] has little to do with the God of the yoga system. The Vrātya, however, is identified with tapas, satya and Brahman.[5] He becomes mahat[6]. It is difficult to say whether the word mahat here stands for the sāmkhya-principle or is just an epithet meaning great. The latter seems to be the possible sense.// The Yajurveda consists of "liturgical stanzas and formulas"[7] that is the utterances, accompanying the sacrifice, in verse or prose, and the term yajus stands for both. The text is primarily concerned with sacrificial theology and sacrodotal ritualism. This is the veda of the Adhvaryu priest.

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1. Die Aufänge der Yogapraxis im Alten Indien pp.172 ff.
2. XV 15-18.
3. See below.
4. XV 18.
5. XV 1.3.
6. XV 1.3.
7. Bloomfield. Rel. of the Veda p.33. Vedic Index II. 183.

Patañjali[1] remarks that the Yajurveda has one hundred and one schools, which is thought by some to be probable.[2] The five schools, which are extant at the present times, are, (1) the Kāṭhaka Saṃhītā. (2) the Kapiṣṭhala-katha. (3) the Taittirīya . (4) the Maitrāyaṇī. (5) the Vājasaneyi. The five have been divided into Śukla and Kṛṣṇa, already noticed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[3] referring to the Śukla-Yajūṃṣi. The cause of this differentiation is sought by Indian commentators in the pure well-arranged text of the Vājānsaneyī Saṃhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda in which the Mantra portions are separated from the Brāhmaṇa portions, and the mixed character of the kṛṣṇa yajurveda.[4]

Winternitz[5] and the Vedic Index[6] doubt this opinion, the former thinking that the Vāj. Saṃhitā was first named ādityāni in the Śat. Br.[7] as noted above, and the other Saṃhītas were called Kṛṣṇa by contrast. How far this view is correct is very difficult to say, but it is quite obvious that the texts of the Black Yajurveda present a very mixed mosaic of the Mantas and the Brāhmaṇas, and it is quite likely

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1. Introduction to his Bhāṣya.
2. Winternitz HILI p.169.
3. ŚB XIV 9.4. 33; cf. IV 4.5. 19. Later B.A.U. ~~Br.Ar.Up~~. VI.4.33. Ait. Br. V.10.
4. Sāyaṇa Introduction to the YV.Saṃhīta; HASL. P. 350-51
5. HILI p.172 note.
6. Ved.Ind. II. 183 note.
7. The Purāṇas too have the story that the Yajña-valkya received the mantras from the God Sun.

that this distinction impinged on the minds of the later compilers of the Vajasaneyī Samhītā, and, fortified with this, the Pauranic legend may have helped them in naming it thus.

The four Samhītas of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, universally regarded as earlier than the Vajaneyi Samhita, have a generic similarity and material identity, excepting the various forms of grammatical cases, words, phrases, and the different borrowings from and approximations to the Rgveda. Yet they draw upon the same pool of the Common Vedic Concordance which differs from the Vājas Sam. and Sat. Br.[1] The Maitrāyaṇī, Kaṭhaka-Kapiṣṭhala and the Vājasneyī have been regarded by Keith as derived from one source, while the Taittiriya springs from another derivative form of the original YV.[2] The relative date of the various schools has been a point of controversy. That, the Samhita mantras are later than the RV, has been proved by Oldenberg,[3] and they may be dated after the Sāmaveda, but before the AV and the VS.[4] ~~the~~ Attempts have been made to argue for an earlier date for the Kaṭhaka and Maitrāyaṇī Samhitas than for the Taitliriya,[5] but this

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1. Eggeling SBE. XII. P. xxvii
2. Keith. HOS 18 pp. lxxxix; xc.
3. Prolegomena pp. 296 ff.
4. Keith. HOS 18 pp. clxv. ff.
5. L. von Schroeder

view has been criticised by Keith,[1] who argues for the same date for them all. Their relative chronology does not however affect the views expressed about asceticism, for generally, they are of the same opinion with regard to tapas and other related concepts. Tapas in the Yajurveda Samhitas comes to acquire a new significance, besides that connected with the sacrificial ceremonies. Most of the passages in which tapas is observed, are common to all the branches of the YV. In the TS it occurs about twenty-three times. Tapas is closely allied with dīkṣā and Agni,[2] together with mind (manas) and understanding (medhā). This tendency to associate tapas with sacrificial activities has been noticed earlier. The sacrificial goat is identified as "the bodily form of penance, the lustre of Prajāpati."[3] The Lord of Penances (tapasaspati) is invoked by the seer to approve of his penance and his consecration, so that he may speedily attain fortune and the truth.[4] The title Lord of Penances may be applicable to Agni or Prajāpati. Tapas, as a potent power derived from the essence of Agni, who was

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1. HOS 18 p.xci-xcvii.
2. TS. 1.2.2. dīkṣāyai tap'ase 'gnaye svāhā. cf. KS II.2. Kaps. 1.14; MS. 1.2.2; VS IV.7.
3. TS. 1.2.7; KS II.6; Kaps. 1.19; MS 1.2.5; VS. 26. HOS.18p.26. It is a hymn in connection with the purchase of the Sama.
4. KS 11.8. Kaps II.2; MS.1.26. Keith. HOS 18 p.29.

closely connected with sacrificial ritualism, was thus linked with sacrificial processes, which yielded to the sacrificer, similar types of power. This potent power, tapas, has been identified with the Vajra.[1] The legend is related that Tvaṣṭṛ, when his son was slain,[2] offered Soma to all the deities except Indra; Indra then forcibly drank the Soma and disturbed the sacrifice. On this Tvaṣṭṛ sacrificed in order to produce an enemy of Indra, when Vṛtra was born. Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra both became afraid at his birth. Viṣṇu gave his strength (virya) to Indra, which enabled him to lift the weapon; and Indra was requested to grant his power (indriya) to human beings, which he does, when given a sacrifice. In the story it is said that Tvaṣṭṛ sprinkled the Vaja with water (asiñcat) and then the Vaja became tapas which indicates that somehow tapas and water have close connections. The Angirasas are said to have placed their consecration and penance in the waters, while going to the heavens. The sacrificer bathes in the waters and this secures consecration and penance.[3] The origin of this relationship must go back to the idea of the water-worship. Water is thought, here, to have power and purificatory value.[4] The waters (āpaḥ) are

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1. TS.II.4.12. KS.XII.3. MS II.4.3. with variations. ŚB V.5.4.7.8. Tapo vai sa vajra āsīt.
2. Similar legend in TS II. 5.1 where the name of Tvaṣṭṛ's son is given as Viśvarūpa; also II.5.1,2; VI.5.1,1;2.
3. TS. VI.1.1; KS XXIII.1; Kaps. XXXV.7; MS II.6.1.2.3;
4. Cf. AV VI.91 as a medicine.

invoked "to cleanse from moral guilt, the sins of violence, cursing and lying".[1] Besides this, agni is closely associated with the waters. The waters are said to produce Agni.[2] Agni is the embryo (garbha) of the waters.[3] This provided another link between tapas and the waters. Besides in the cosmoganic hymns, the ocean, representing the waters, is said to be born from the tapas,[4] or tapas existing in the waters.[5]

Another type of cosmological speculation with which tapas became consistently connected, was the story of creation by Prajāpati. It is said that "Prajāpati desired (akāmayata): may I produce (sṛj) progeny. He practised penances (tapo 'tapyata). He produced the snakes. He desired: may I produce progeny. He practised austerities a second time. He produced the birds: He practised austerities a third time. He saw this speech of the consecrated (dīkṣita vādam). He spoke it. He produced progeny. If after practising tapas, one speaks the speech of the consecrated, that sacrifice produces progeny."[6]

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1. RV. 1.23.22: X.9.8. See Macdonell VM p.85; also VI.5. 7; X.95.7; 1.23. 19-21.
2. AV. 1.33.4; Cf. Apām Napāt. Macdonell. VM p.69.
3. RV. III.1.12-13; also RV X.45.1; XIII.1.50. See Macdonell op.cit. p.92.
4. RV X190; See Barua B.M. Pre-Buddhistic Philosophy pp.8-9 ff.
5. RV.X.129.
6. TS III.1.1. a Brāhmaṇa on the Mantras- concerning the consecrated. ŚB III.1.2.11. Keith HOS pp.223.

Here there is no reference to sacrifice performed for creation. Praesting auterisites is sufficient. This suggests the growth of belief in some circles in the priority of tapas over sacrifice. Speaking the "speech of the consecrated" (dīkṣita vādam) is significant. The speech of the consecrated has to be, disconnected prattle[1]. It may suggest that the performance of tapas leads to prattle i.e. ecstasy, which will yield the desired result.

In another cosmological story it is related that[2]: In the beginning the waters, the ocean alone existed. Prajāpati becoming the wind, moved in them. There he saw her[3], and becoming the boar he took her away. She extended, and became the earth. On her Prajāpati made effort (śram) and produced the gods, Vasus, the Rudras, the Adityas. "They spoke to Prajāpati: "may we produce (progenies)." He replied, "As I have produced you with tapas, desire progeny in tapas"[4]. He gave them Agni as a support (āyatana) and said, "Make efforts with this

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1. See below. Chap. III, on consecration.
2. Ts. VII. 1.5. The story is to explain the Gargatrīṣātri rite.
3. It is not said, whom he saw.
4. TS. III.1.5. Yathāham yuṣmāṃs tapasā'sṛkṣyevam tapasi prajananam ichadhvamiti.

support", and they made efforts with that Agni, and produced many things; the cow, ~~and~~ the sacrifice ~~etc~~ etc. Here the creation of the gods is through the efforts of Prajāpati who gives them Agni as a means of creation. This definitely shows that tapas as a creative power was imbibed from Agni after ascetic practices.

The sacrificer says "O Agni, tejasvin, may you be tejasvin among the gods; may you make me, full of tejas, varcas, and long living among men; I sacrifice, to you, for the tejas of tapas, for consecration"[1]. The Tejas of Agni is furthered by the sacrifices and Agni is prayed to impart to the sacrificer similar powers. Tejas is born out of tapas. Tapas occurs very rarely with tejas in the Y V Samhitas though in the KS alone tejas occurs about 120 times. In the YV Samhitās tejas generally has the sense of brilliance and it occurs, also, in general with the "brilliance or light concepts" like sukra, and jyoti[2]. Tejas as power implies rather spiritual power and ojas, physical power[3]. It is moreover,

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1. TS. III. 3.1. Cf. VS. VIII. 38.39 where the terms tejas, varcas, and ojas are prayed for; Keith HOSI8p.255.
2. Cf. KS.1.10; VI.9.
3. KS. V.2.

connected primarily with Agni[1]. One prays to become full of tejas with the tejas of Agni[2]. Tejas, seems to be thus connected with Agni and tapas. Agni is not only the giver of tapas, but it itself waxes with the tapas of other gods[3]. The sacrificer tries to increase his tapas, consecration, and vrata through sacrifice[4]. Similarly the seers undergo penance to get knowledge and the truth. The legend is told that Prajāpati saw the metre virāj and through it he produced the past and the future and hid it from the seer Jamadagni, who saw it through tapas[5]. This idea has a long history. The seers are said again to strive and practise austerities to see those metres with which the gods had gone to heaven[6]. Again, it is repeated that, looking auspicious, heavenknowing seers practised (upa-sad) tapas and consecration, and then the kingly

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1. KS. VIII.12; VIII.1; X.2; XI.1.
2. KS. V.5.
3. TS. V.1.11 KS (ASV). V.6.2. MS. III.16.2; VS. XXIX.1.
4. TS. IV.7.9. KS. XVIII.11; kaps. XXIII.11; Ms.II.11.5; VS. XVIII. 19.2.
5. TS. III. 3.5.
6. TS. V. 3.5 this is the Brahmana on TS. IV.3.12. Keith p.424.

power, might, and strength (ojas) were born[1]. This passage ~~is~~ clearly shows the importance of the practice of austerities. This association of tapas with the seers is quite natural and helps to explain certain other passages where the potsherds are wished "to be heated" with the tapas of the Bhṛgus and the Angiras[2]. The Bhṛgus and the Angiras were the fire-priests[3], and therefore this may have special significance that tapas has the duality of meanings - heat and power. Elsewhere there is a prayer: "that which is your tapas, may I not be excluded from that"[4]. Tapas is like a pod from which everyone wants to share.

Tapas in the sense of an ascetic practice is clearly used in the Kadrū-Suparṇī story[5]. Kadrū defeated Suparṇī in a dispute about each other's form (rūpa).

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1. TS. V.7.4.6. Bhadram pasyanta upasedur agre tapo dīkṣām ṛṣayaḥ suvar vidaḥ. tataḥ kṣatram balam ojaśca jātāni.....
2. TS. 1.1.7. KS.1.7; kaps. 1.7; MS.1.1.8; VS.1.17.18.
3. RV. X.14.6; VIII.43.12; Bloomfield. SBE. XLii. p.xxvii. Atharvaveda p.9-10.
4. TS.1.17.6. KS. XXXII.5; MS.1.4.7; This is a comment on yat te tapas tasmai te mā'vṛkṣi in TS.1.6.6. KS V.5.6; MS.1.4.2-4. Keith p.89.
5. TS VI.1.6. KS. XXIII.10; XXIV.1; Kaps. XXXVII.2; MS. III.7.3.4; SB. III.2.4. 1-6; See the story: Oldenberg. ZDMG XXXVII. 67 ff.

Kadru is identified with the earth and Suparnī, with heaven, whose children are Jagatī and Triṣṭubh. The story goes on, "this indeed is tapas when a man gives away his wealth"[1]. This is the first instance of tapas being equated with giving one's wealth away as gift (dakṣiṇā). Dakṣiṇā must be held to be the origin of the idea of dāna which is so much eulogised in Indian tradition and is praised in the Upaniṣads[2]. This idea in this period was primarily confined to liberality to the priests, who performed the sacrifices for the house-holder and brought him health, happiness and heaven. The priests praised this act of giving ad nauseam and they had to do so, because it was the means of their subsistence. But the moral valuation which might be inherent in such judgements must not be lost sight of, for charity and liberality need considerable self-denial, howsoever much they may be assured of increasing returns in a hypothetical

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1. TS. VI. 1.6; Etat khalu vāva tapa ityāhur yaḥ svam dadāti...
2. Cf. BAU V.2.3. Chup. III.17.4. Cf. KS XIII. II the sacrifice of the goat is the offerings of tapas.

hereafter[1]. Liberality is however a part of the sacrificial religion. Consecration is thought to be tapas[2], an idea which is typically that of the Brāhmaṇas. The text runs: "One should be consecrated for twelve nights, twelve months are the year; the year is Prajāpati; this Prajāpati indeed is he who is born from tapas". The importance of the nights, in the performance of the consecration, and the elevation of the doer to a divine rank are very important points to be noticed in this passage[3].

The Lord of Tapas, and the Lord of consecration are prayed to acknowledge the penances done by the sacrificer[4]. The collocation of tapas with the root man is new. Here still the complete sacrifical and later Mimānsaka indifference to the Gods is not recognised. The Gods are still prayed to to reward the performers, and have power over human activities. This attitude

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1. Hopkins. Ethics of India. pp.60.117. Compare a popular verse which runs as follows: An orator may be found in ten thousand men, but a giver (dātā) may not exist at all. vaktā dasasahasreṣu, dātā bhavati vā na vā.
2. TS. VII.2.10.3. Cf. KS XXXIV.12.
3. On Conscration, see chap. III.
4. KS. II.2; MS.1.2.2.1 Kaps.1.14.

is still valid in the AV[1].

Tapas is regarded as "the phlegm of the sacrifice" a s it is of a warrior (ratha). This seems the only feasible interpretation. In its usual meaning of 'chariot' ratha here makes no sense at all. "He is the tapas of the sacrifice, who becomes a tapasvin[2]". Tapas obviously means here "power" and is thought to be as fundamental in sacrifice as phlegm is thought to be to the human body[3], the ~~fire~~ fiery form of energy which together with the aerial and liquid forms maintain life. The sacrificer is thought to be a tapasvi, which implies that tapas includes exposing oneself to fire. It is so to say, a fire austerity. Fire is said to be born of the tapas of Agni, and through him viśvakasman produced all the creatures[4].

Tapas thus in the YV Samhitās has changed its character. It is more closely connected with consecration, which is itself thought to be tapas. The sacrificial objects and processes have been identified with tapas.

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1. Linden pp.66-67.
2. KS. XXXIV.9. tapo vai yajñasya śleṣma yathā vai rathasyaśleṣma ivam; yajñasya tapo, yo tapasvī bhavati.
3. Zimmer. Hindu Medicine. on phlegm pp.136-37.
4. KS. XVI.17. Yo gnir agnes tapaso 'dhi jātas. Cf.

Liberality is considered as tapas. However the primary meaning of tapas is still twofold: ascetic practices and power. In the Yajurveda, however, tapas is more closely connected with sacrifice than with ethical concepts such as dharma, or ṛta. "Through tapas, through consecration one attains the sacrifice, one gains sacrifice"[1]. Tapas is scarcely seen in collocation with brahman. It is still a weapon of great potency, used against enemies[2]. Occasionally tapas occurs with tejas[3] and indriya[4]. Tapas is regarded as a necessary act for creation and we already find the legends of Prajāpatis austerities. The Gods are called "born of tapas" (tapaja)[5], which is comparable to the term sahoja[6].

Vrata, though it occurs rarely with tapas, depicts another aspect of Brahmanic asceticism. It has little to do with fire or fire-austerities but is connected with sacrificial processes. Various gods are

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1. Cf. KS. XXIII.2. dīkṣayā vai tapasā yajñam prāpnoti. Yajñam eva avarundhe. Cf. Kaps. XXXV.8; MS.III.6.4.5. TS.VI.1.2.
2. KS. XXXIV.9.
3. TS. III.3.1.
4. KS. XXXVI.1; MS.1.10.6; TB.1.6.2.
5. KS. XL.9. cf. XV.6. MS.11.6; 8;
6. See Gonda. "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda p.47.

associated with it[1], but primarily Agni and the Aditya gods. The epithets vratapa[2] and vratapati[3] are exclusively used for Agni. Dhṛtavrata is still used only for Varuna[4]. The Brāhmana is called a "vow-upholder" (vratabhṛt)[5].

The meaning of "vrata" as vow is focal in the yvsamhitas. A fervent prayer to Agni to come to the aid of those who have undertaken a vow is made: "O Agni, Lord of vows, you are the "vow lord" of the vows, may this my body, be in you, that your body may be in me; together, O Lord of vows (protect) the vows of us two, practising the vow"[6]. Another type of the prayer is: "O Agni, Lord of vows, I shall perform the vow, may I be able to do it; make it agreeable to me"[7]. Vows are

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1. Varuṇa in TS.1.2.8.5 = RV. VIII.42.1; III.4.11.18 = RV.1.25.1 Viṣṇu TS.1.3.6.12 (= RV.1.22.19); Aditya 1.5.11.10 (= RV.1.24.15 = TS. IV.2.1.10); Pūṣan 1.5.10.11 (a new verse); Sarasvanta III.1.11.13 (= AV. VII.40.1); Sūrya (IV.3.11.7 a new verse); Indra II.5.4; Agni 1.1.10.7; 1.2.11.3; 4; 1.3.4; 1.5.10.8; 1.6.7; 1.7.6; II.2.2.
2. TS.1.1.14.13 (= RV. VIII.11.1); VI.1.4.5.6.
3. TS.1.11.3; 1.2.11.3; 4; 1.3.4.16; 1.5.10.8; 1.6.7.5; 6; 1.7.6.15; II.2.2.2; II.5.4.11; VI.1.4.5-6.
4. TS.1.2.10.9; 1.8.16.7 (= RV.1.25.10).
5. TS.1.6.7.6; KS. XXXI.15. MS.1.4.5.
6. TS.1.2.11.3; KS 11.8; Kaps. 11.2.3; MSI.2.7; VS.V.6. together with tapas and dikṣa; or in TS.1.3.4; KS.III. 1. Kaps II.8; MS. I.2.14; VS.V.40; Keith HOSI 8.p.40
7. TSI.5.10.8, KS VII.3; Iv.14; MS.I.5.4; KS. VII.3; Keith HOS. 18 p.79. n.3.

generally sacrificial rituals, such as the upasthāna[1], which the sacrificer performs in the night. Worship in the night is thought to be more efficacious than worship in the day time. Agni is respected (medhya) through the performance of vows (vrata)[2]. But vrata in the context refers to fasting, which may be regarded as an austerity but which is also a part of sacrifice. A person who puts forth eight potsherds for Agni is vratya[3]. Vrata is regarded as the food to be eaten during sacrificial ceremonies, as in the Tanūnaptra rite when one drinks warm milk"[4]. During the upasads, which are a part of the jyotiṣṭoma ceremony and continue for several days[5], the sacrificer eats a particular kind of food which is described as "full of tapas, heavenly named sujaghana"[6]. "Gruel is the vrata of the rājanya."[7]

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1. TS.1.59. Cf. KS. VII.10. Kaps. V.6; MSI.5.12.
2. TS.1.5.9; 1.6.7. cf. KS. XXXI.15; XXXII.72. MS.1.4.5.10.
3. TS.1.1.14.9; also II.2.2.2; 1.1.14.9; cf. KS. XXXII.5. MS.1.4.7.
4. TS. VI.2.2. See Keith p.503. Cf. KS XXIV.9; Kaps. XXXVIII. 2; MS III.7.10.
5. Keith RPVU. II. p.492.
6. TS. VI.2.5 "Sujaghanam nāma vratam tapasyam suvargyam" Keith p.506.
7. TS. VI.2.5.

There are various regulations about eating food in the YV Samhitās. There is an injunction against eating the flesh of the bird, because in the agnicayana the altar is built like a bird. "The bird is fire; if the agnicit (piler of fire) easts the bird, he would eat the fire; he will go to evil. He should, therefore, observe the vow for a year, for the vow does not extend beyond the year"[1]. Such vows might have an ascetic significance, but it is more sacrificial and magical than ascetic. Sacrificial ideas are predominant. The performance of an isti to get rid of a sin, as Indra did after slaying viśvarūpa, is a vow[2].

Vrata thus has some conceptions of moral acts and sacrificial vows, but it scarcely comes together with other ethical terms such as dharman. Dharman in the yvsamhitās occurs in not more than twenty passages, especially with Mitra and Varuṇa. The sense of dharman is generally "law" of Varuṇa or Mitra and Varuṇa, which upholds the earth and heaven[3]. Idaīs supported by

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1. TS. V.7.6.1.
2. TS. II.5.1; also TS. 11.5.4.
3. KS. 13.15. p.133; 25.10; 2.12 p.12.

the fixed law of Mitra and Varuṇa[1]. The Gods are said to be firm through dharman[2]. Ethical ideas stand apart from tapas. Ṛta similarly occurs throughout the Samhitas many times[3], but is rarely related with tapas or even with dharma. Generally Ṛta occurs only in Rqvedic verses.

Thus in the YV Samhitās ascetic practices as connoted by tapas are allied with sacrifice. Tapas becomes a principle of liberality and generosity. Primarily, however, tapas stands for fire austerities which are thought in the YV to be part of the sacrifice. The notion is that as one exposes oneself to fire, he heats himself, and thereby he performs an austerity. Tapas is considered as a means to certain ends. Tapas itself becomes an end; as a power which can be very potent and beneficial. Tapas is a means to achieve knowledge and wisdom. It leads one to heaven. Tapas gives one tejas, and power. As an activity tapas is undertaken by Prajāpati to create the world and the gods too are exhorted by Prajāpati to act similarly[4]. But tapas has

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1. KS.1.11.
2. KS.35.7. p.348 (= RV. X.173.4).
3. KS.11.12 p.108 (= RV II. 278); 15.8 p.146 (RV.14.40.5); KS.35.6. p.347 (= RV.IX. 74.4); 39.10 (TS.IV.3.11.5); etc.
4. Look above.

not achieved a complete independence of being because the Lords of penance is prayed to acknowledge the tapas undertaken by men. Here the idea of Tapaspati might be similar to that of Karmādhyakṣa (superintendent of Action)[1]. The idea still lingers that the Gods have to be genial and predisposed towards a particular activity for it to be successful. This indicates another tendency, which is towards the creation of gods connected with special activities. Agni is the god who is connected with tapas. Asceticism in the Samhitās remained still primitive and undeveloped. It was primarily denoted by the term tapas and secondarily by śrama. Tapas must have included practices which involed fire-austerities, some sort of solar penances. Its character has not remained unchanged, but in the Samhitās it was primarily thought to achieve power, energy, health, happiness, and heaven. It pleased the gods, who themselves practised it. The practice of tapas was completely Vedic and seems not to have been due to any aboriginal influence. Tapas is comparatively rare in the RV, but it is favoured in the yvsamhitās and the AV Samhitas.

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1. Cf. Śvet. up. 6.11.

In the YV it becomes closely associated with the sacrifice, and its primacy over sacrifice is seen in the creation legends where Prajāpati practises tapas before creation. It has given rise to a theory that tapas must have some close relationship with Yoga or might have been Yoga itself[1]. Yoga itself is thought by modern practitioners to generate heat or electrical energy in the body. It seems probable that in these early times a similar view was held. Tapas is one of the constituent factors of the Yogic practices. The creative aspect of tapas is noted in its earliest occurrences. Tapas as a power has connotations similar to those of tejas, ojas and so forth. As an independent method of achieving the desired goal, it must have proved competitive to the sacrificial method, so much so that the priests included it within the sacrifical theology and called tapas the "phlegm of sacrifice"[2]. The Gods, Agni, the sun, and Prajāpati are most closely connected with tapas in the Samhitas. This connection is natural

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1. K. Chattopadhyaya. Presidential Address (Vedic Section) Ninth All-India Oriental Conference. 1937. p.165.
2. Look above; section on the YV.

and gave to tapas most of the qualities and powers of Agni. Tapas, of all the terms for power such as tejas, ojas etc., is the term closest to Agni. Agni is closely connected to both sacrifice and magic. Therefore we find tapas so much invoked both in the AV and in the YV. Fire as such has been the object of worship and philosophical speculation among many communities[1]. Tapas as the symbol of Agni comes to have all the importance of the god. Tapas, however, is still within the control of the gods who are entreated to make it successful. This was due to the character of the Vedic religion where the gods are thought to be omnipotent. As a religious act it is connected with vrata, dharman and ṛta, which are primarily ethical terms and change their significance in varying contexts.

The ascetic personalities like the muni, yati, brahmacārin, and the vrātya, are well-known in the Samhitās. They are definitely ascetics. The vrātya seems to be, however, a member of a tribal group with its own cultus. The muni, and yati seem to include both

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1. Keith. RPVU 1. ; Gonda "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda pp.38-39 ff; M. Eliade: L'Chamanisme pp. 369 ; Yoga pp. 107 ff.

aryan and non-aryan ascetics. They are the outsiders, the mystics, living on the fringe of the Vedic Society and not fully integrated with it. We do not find any trace of any organisation among them. They must have formed classes by themselves with individual differences within each class. They do not seem to have had any special association with any particular deity except that the Vrātya seems to be definitely related in some way with Rudra deities[1]. The Brahmecārin has to be included as an ascetic for, to all intents and purposes he lives like one. The student, Brahmacarya, as an āsrama, occurs only in late verse[2]. The student's life began at an early age and by the end of this period, he was sent to the teacher's house and studied the sacred texts while practising tapas[3]. Tapas thus had a very wide application. Asceticism was prevalent, but the ascetic tendency predominantly was not other-wordly or life-denying. It had not been exclusively given to the torture of the body and mortification of the flesh. There is no

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1. See Above.
2. RV. X.109.5. See Vedic Index. ll. p.75.
3. R.K. Mukherji Ancient Indian Education pp.34 ff; Vedic Age pp.391-92, 454-55 ff.

consciousness of any evil as embodied in the human body. There is no dichotomy between spiritual and human values and no denigration of the one in comparison with the other.

This undeveloped state of asceticism was due to thus a philosophy of life which was not conducive to the growth of the life-denying world-negating mode of life. This state of affairs was also a produce of the social conditions in which the Vedic aryans found themselves. The early immigrants found themselves constantly encountering enemies, who resisted to their colonization. This meant that the Vedic aryan had to arm himself with all the physical and spiritual powers to fight for his very existence. Therefore they could not but think of this world and live here happily if allowed to exist. The social organisation of these aryans accordingly put emphasis on martial qualities and success. This outlook expressed itself in the values of life which were of this world. Vedic Society at this early period was primarily a pastoral society but agriculture became increasingly important, indicated by the recognised sacredness of the cow[1], which must have coicided with the territorial

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1. Vedic Index. 1.231-33. CHI i p.102. Cf the hymn of the cow in the Av X.9.

settlement of the Vedic tribes[1]. The social organisation was patriarchal and hence the importance of the birth of a son who gave homage to the dead fathers and kep them fed in the kingdom of Yama. The growing specialisation of occupations like that of the priest, racial conquest and intermixture, and absorption of non-aryan peoples contributed to the rise of the caste system, which was not so rigid and oppressive in the Rqvedic times but came to be so by the end of this period. The non-aryan elements in the Vedic society are noticed[3], the harappans and other tribal peoples must have had to come to an accommodation with each other. The geographical horizon in the RV is primarily north-weatern parts of India[4] but by the end of this period the aryans were thrusting themselves into the gangetic valley[5] from the brahmāvarta region. The frontier had still not been fixed and settlements were still temporary. In the early Vedic texts we hear of so many fights and battles

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1. Vedic Index. 11. p.590-91 - the names of various tribes are given.
2. CHI. 1. p.92-93; 127-29; Vedic Age pp.386-87.
3. R.S. Sharma. The Śūdras in Ancient India Chap. II.
4. CHI 1.p.79; Vedic Age. pp.241-42.
5. Bloomfield. Atharva veda p.4.

with the Dāsas and Dasyus and among the aryans themselves but in the later Samhitas the fights and battles are scarce and the enemies in the AV are primarily personal enemies rather than tribal enemies. The AV is full of battle charms[1] and shows that the fights are not over as yet. The trend is still towards colonization and movement towards the east[2]. Under such circumstances the position of the king became strengthened. The ṛgvedic society organised into villages (grāma) headed by village-leaders (grāmaṇī)[3] was ruled by a king (rājā) with the assistance of Sabhā and Samiti[4]. By the end of this period the power of the king was considerably enhanced[5].

Thus by the end of the Samhita period asceticism could not but have been conceived in terms of success and power. In terms of eschatology too asceticism was deployed to go to heaven[6], but ritual in the early Vedic period was predominant but in later times asceticism comes to vie with it as an equally powerful means of achievement and fulfilment.

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1. AV. XIX.20; VI.13; XIX.13 (= RV. X. 103); VII.86;91; 92; 93; 108; 110.
2. Cf. G.C. Pande. Studies in the Origins of Buddhism p. 264. compares it with a frontier civilisation with its characteristics - sense of insecurity and robust optimism, its premium on success, and its reliance on religion as means unto that.
3. RV. X.62.11; 107.5. 4. Vedic Age. p.352-53 ff.
5. Bloomfield. Atharvaveda p.73-74 ff. 6. VM p.165 ff.

Chapter III: Asceticism in the Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas, primarily ritual texts devoted to the description and explanation of various sacrifices, are of various dates and it is difficult to put them in relative chronology. Some of them are very late and differ considerably from the usual Brāhmaṇas. Such are the Sāmaveda Brāhmaṇas, Sāmavidhāna, Ārṣeya, Mantra Devatādhyāya, Vaṁśa, and Saṃhitopaniṣad, which have been put into the sixth group in the Chronology by Ranade and Belvalkar.[1] The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa is also of very late character and Bloomfield thinks it to be later even than the Vaitāna Sutra,[2] though Caland[3] and Keith[4] contend against this view and put it earlier. In the earliest group of the Brāhmaṇas have been put the AB, PB, and TB, along with the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Yvsamhitas.

1. Creative Period. pp. 36; Weber Indian literature. P.74. does not consider some of them as Brāhmaṇas. See also Macdonell HSL P.210-11; Winternitz. HIL. p. 189.

2. Atharvaveda P.102; Creative Period loc.cit; Winternitz HIL. P.190.

3. Vaitana Sutra. P.IV. WZKM.18. 1904 191.ff.

4. JRAS. 1910. 934 ff; Ait Āranyaka PP 25.26

Macdonell thought that PB and TB are the "most archaic of the Brāhmaṇas" next to the YV prose portions, on the evidence of syntax and vocabulary and also from the fact that the TB is accented, and PB is known to have been accented in its original form.[1] Keith[2] has ably demonstrated however, that the AB (1-V) too must be regarded as belonging to the earliest group, and he traces borrowings from the AB by PB and TB.[3] The perfect in its original present sense occurs quite regularly in the first five chapters of the AB, as it is used in the earliest portions of the Brāhmaṇas,[3a] while the perfect tense is used as a narrative tense in the AB (VI-VIII) showing its late character. PB is universally regarded as one of the oldest Brāhmaṇas, and uses the imperfect generally for narration as the AB does.[4] But Caland doubts whether the use of the imperfect can be regarded as "pointing to an older stratum of language."[5] which argu-

1. HSL.P.203.Cf.Creative Period. P.36; AB (I-V) and PB are put in the first group while TB and KB, and the Brāhmaṇa portions have been put together in the second group, accepting Keith's view that AB is older than the Br.

2. RV Brāhmaṇas pp.45.46 RPVU 1.P.19ff.

3. Contrast the view of Wackernafel. Altindische Grammatik 1. XXX; 11.1.189. who regards it later than the TB; PB and the JB. similar is the view of Macdonell probably HSL P.205. 3a. R.V.B HOS. 25. PP. 86-87.

4. RV Brāhmaṇas HOS.25.P.85.

5. Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa trans Calcutta 1931.P. XX.

ment is hardly admissible. The imperfect is overwhelmingly the tense of narration in the first five sections of the AB but in VI it becomes less prominent and in VII and VIII it yields to the perfect.[1] This change from the use of imperfect to the perfect for the purpose of narration is not seen in the PB. But the suggestion of borrowing by the PB (IV.1.1) from the AB (IV.17) to which Keith alludes[2] without giving any proofs, might well be reversed. Moreover, the relevant passages in the PB and AB differ from each other considerably. The TB, a continuation of the TS, belongs to this early group, without a single voice demurring in its attribution.[3] But there is a further problem which is connected with this one. If the AB is earlier than the Brāhmaṇa portions of the TS and if the TB is just the continuation of the TS,[4] then

1. Keith. HOS.25. P.85.
2. Keith. HOS.25. P.209-10.
3. HSL. P.211; Weber Indian literature (trans). pp. 92.
4. HOS. 25. P. 45 ff.

the AB should be earlier than the TB. Ranade and Belvalkar have therefore, put the TB later than the AB and the PB. But this is against the opinion of Macdonell[1] and Keith himself is not at all definite about it.[2] It is clear however that all these Brāhmaṇas should be put in one group for all practical purposes.

The next and later group of texts consists of the AB (VI-VIII), the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (JB) the Sadviṁśa Br., the Śatapatha (henceforth ŚB) and the Kauṣitaki Br. The JB has been thought by some to be earlier than the PB,[3] and has been so dated by Caland.[4] But only the JB and the SB possess a fully developed literary style.[5] Keith too has argued against the JB being put before the AB.[6] Ranade and Belvalkar put it in the fifth group along with the JB, the Mantra Brāhmaṇa, and ŚB (X-XIV), later than the TA (excluding the Upaniṣad) and Ait. (1-111 in-

1. HSL loc.cit.
2. RPVU. 1. P.19.
3. Winternitz; HIL P.191.
4. Caland. Pañcaviṁśa Br. P. XVIII ff. Over

5. Vedic Age. P.416.
6. HOS.25. P.46-47. Cf.

cluding the Upanisad); and Śāṁkhāyana Āraṇyaka (excluding the Up.). This seems to be a lower place in the chronological scale than is indicated by the subject matter dealt with in the JB. Wackernagel has shown quite Primitive features in the language of the JB.[1] It must be put next to the early group of the Brāhmaṇas. AB (I-V); PB; and TB; and earlier than the KB and the ŚB. The KB borrows heavily from the AB (I-V) and is more systematised and richer in content than the AB.[1a] ŚB is regarded as one of the latest productions.[2] But this book too contains early and late materials and may be divided into two parts. books I-IX and X-XIV.[3] The latest texts in the Brāhmaṇas group consist of the JUB and other Brāhamaṇas.

The centre of Brahmanic culture was situated in the Kuru-Pancala Country.[4] and the chief focus of activity must have been Hastinapura, as archaeology has shown. This has been identified with the city Āsaudivant, the capital of Janamejaya Pārikṣita;[5] The Aitareya contains

1. Altindische Grammatik. I. XXX; Whitney JAOS.11. P.CXLVII.
1a. Keith HOS 25 P.36 H; 26-27ff.
2. Keith HOS.18 p.Cii t; Wackernagel. 1.P.XXX; Winternitz HIL. P.1923 also n. 4.
3. Weber Indian literature; P.119-20; HSL P.213; HIL.I.P.194.ff.
4. HSL.P.207; PB deals with the sacrifices performed on the banks of the rivers Saraswati and dṛṣadvati see HSL.P.210.
5. Vedic Age. 251-52 Cf. Ait. Br. VIII.21.

the first reference to the Andhras and other southern or eastern tribes, outside the Aryan sphere of activities.[1] The AB divides the country in five parts.[2] The Colonization of the East beyond the Sadānīra is related in the SB. Māṭhava, the king of Videgha (the older form of Videha), whose family priest was Gotama Rahugana, was living on the Saraswati when Agni Vaiśvanare went burning to the earth towards the east, up to the river Sadānīrā, followed by Māṭhava. The Brāhmaṇas never crossed the river in former times but then they crossed it and the land was highly cultivated and fertile for the Brāhmaṇas caused Agni to taste it through sacrifice.[3] Weber[4] interpreted the story as telling of three stages of Aryan colonization of the East, first from the Panjab, to the Saraswati, from the Saraswati to the Sadānīra, and in the latest Brahmanic period, beyond the Sadānīrā in the Videha

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1. AB. VII.18.
2. AB. VII.14.
3. ŚB. 1.4.1.
4. Ind. Stud. 1. P.170 f.

country.[1] Fick showed that even in Buddhist times the people looked to the north and the north west as preserving the right culture. So the age of pioneering and colonization in the north seems to have been at an end. The Vedic aryans were coming into contact with various peoples. Society had become settled and there was an intensification of the social tendencies which were noticed in the early Vedic period. The Caste system had become rigid and the ranks and roles of various social classes were clearly defined. The Śūdra was the member of the lowest of the classes, born without god and sacrifice but owning many cattle,[2] and his position was not so hopeless as was thought by Keith and Macdonell.[3] Undoubtedly he was the most hard pressed and exploited class. The Vaiśyas, engaged in agriculture, and trade and industry[4] were above the Śūdras but below the upper two classes of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas. The AB gives three attributes of the Vaiśyas - as "tributary to another", (anyasya balikṛt) "to be lived upon by another

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1. SBE.12. P. XLi.

2. PB. VI.1.11.

3. Ved Ind. ii.256. based on AB.VIII.29. which is interpreted differently and quite correctly by Sharma: 'Śūdras in Ancient India'. p.59-60; which is against Vedic Age.Pp 451-52.

4. Ved Ind. ii. P. 333-34.

(Anyasyādya) to be oppressed at with (Yathākāmajyeyaḥ).[1] Economic activities at this period were considerably diversified. Various trades and industries and occupations could be inferred from the reference to the professional names drumbeater (āḍambaraghāta), grinder at a mill (upalaprakṣiṇi), worker in thorns (kaṇṭakakārē) Smith (karmāra), herdsman (gopā), fisherman (Kaivarta), ~~Kulāla~~, potter (Kaulāla), huntsman (govikartana), bowmaker (jyākāra), carpenter (takṣan), musician (talava), gatherer of wood (Dārḍavāhāra), charioteer (Dhūrṣad), smelter (dhruātṛ), carver, fireranger, basketmaker (bidalakārē), jeweller (maṇikāra), washerman (malaga), potter (mṛtapaca), Charioteer (yantṛ, rathin, ,rathakāra), slaughterer (śastṛ), luteplayer (vīṇāgāthin), seller of dried fish (śauṣkala), weaver (sirē), winebrewer (surākāra), elephant keeper (hastipa), etc. Most of these names have been noticed in the accounts of the Puruṣamedha,[2] Sreṣthins or wealthy traders are referred to. Currency of a type was making its appearance.[3] And the Sea was known. Thus society was

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1. VII.29. Translations are of the Ved. Ind.
2. VS. XXX. T.B III.4.
3. Vedic Age. p. 461. but Cf. CHI 1. p. 137.

~~4. TB.III.4.~~

economically much more advanced and settled than that of the earlier period. Occupations had come to be graded as lower and higher. The Vaiśyas and Śūdras both adopted many occupations.[1] The Kṣatriyas consisted of the king and the nobility around him. The king was unpunishable (adaṇḍya),[2] and was regarded as "devouring the people".[3] Larger kingdoms existed at this period, than before, as the royal sacrifices show.[4] There was a definite increase in the royal power, which was secured rather by the impending fear of anarchy[5] than by the divinity of the person of the king. The increase in the royal power, and the consolidation of the position and power of the Kṣatriyas in general must have threatened the position of the Brāhmaṇas as a class, who, however, had, through the development of ritualism, and the right to drink the Soma, secured their ritual predominence. Sides were taken for or against this. The AB was definitely for the King[6] while elsewhere it was said that the Kṣatriya could not

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1. See R.S Sharma. Śūdras. Chap III.
2. SB. V.4.4.7.
3. Ait Br. VII.29. VIII.12.17. ŚB.1.8.2.17. IV.2.1.3.17; XIII.2.9.6.
4. CHI.1.p. 130-31 ff. Vedic Age. p.p. 430-31.
5. Cf. The "state of nature" as described in the SB.XI.1.6.24. Ghosal. A history of Hindu Political Theories.1923.pp.41-42.
6. AB. VII.29. also ŚB.

exist without the help of the Brāhmaṇa.[1]

There seems to have been clear rivalry between the two classes, which was ultimately more or less solved by an equitable distribution of spiritual and politico-economic power, thus avoiding a clash of interests.

Asceticism developed in these fairly settled social conditions, which became the norm of later times. The principle that the Gods of a particular society tell us as much about its condition as any document seems valid in this instance. Their personalities tell us much about religious conceptions. In the Brāhmaṇas an 'ad hoc mythology' had grown which is fruitful in our investigations. It is said that 'in the Vedic hymns man fears the Gods, in the Brāhmaṇas man subdues the Gods; in the Upaniṣads man ignores the Gods and identifies himself as the God.'[2] Like all general statements this is only a half-truth. In the period of Brāhmaṇas the influence of the Gods in general had declined, giving prominence to ritual acts on the one hand and such principles as tapas manas, and brahman on the other. Moreover, one supreme unifying principle is sought for throughout - and is found

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1. VS. XXI.21; Sec.Ghoshal op.cit. 41-42; Beni Prasad: State in Ancient India. Chap. III pp 53-54.

2. K.S. Macdonald. The Brāhmaṇas of the Veda (BV) p. 102.

monotheistically in the figure of Prajāpati. Most of the other vedic deities have been pushed into the background.

Prajāpati[1] is many things at the same time. He is the father and the son.[2] He created the beings,[3] the Gods,[4] and the sacrifice,[5] sometimes after practising tapas and sometimes without doing so. He gets rid of the evil Death (pāpmam mṛtyu) through tapas.[6] He is identified with the Year (Samvatsara),[7] and with Brahman.[8] Prajāpati is very closely related to mind (manas), and is identified with it.[9] This connection is made clear through the act of creation, which is closely related to desire (kāma) and resolve (samkalpa) which is made through mind. Mind is declared by Prajāpati to be prior to

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1. Keith. RPVU II P.442-44; Levi La doctrine. pp. 13 ff; Macdonald. BV p.112; Oldenberg. W.B.; Creative Period. pp. 343 ff.
2. ŚB. V.1. 2. 26-27.
3. PB XVI 4.1-3. TB.1.1.5.4; 1.2.6.1.; MS.1.66. Gopatha II. 3-9.xx1.2-1.
4. See below.
5. TB.1.7.1.4; TS.III.3.7.; MS.1.6.9.
6. ŚB. X.4.4.1.
7. ŚB.1.2.5.1,3; XI.1.6.13.
8. ŚB. VII.3.1. 42. 9. TS.II.5.11; TB.II.2.9. 1-10.

speech (vāc).[1] In creation tapas too is needed, and seems to have an element of meditation about it. Meditation was becoming more important, and the mental heat of tapas was furthered by such psychic activities. Thus Prajāpati was becoming more of an ascetic in the Brāhmaṇas, in spite of his identification with sacrifice. In the PB, we are told, how Prajāpati, keeping silence, meditates (dhyā),[2] with his mind, and what was in his mind, became big. In the MS we are told that he meditated with his mind and became pregnant.[3] These stories have a generic similarity to the creation-myths in which tapas is the central concept.[4] We would not unduly emphasise this point of his connection with mind and tapas, however, as he is also as closely connected with speech and Brahman.[5] This relationship of tapas with Prajāpati must have been facilitated by the relationship of Prajāpati with the sacrifice, whose symbol was fire, and his connection with the Year which had such close relationship with the Sun.

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1. SB. 1.4.5.8-11.
2. PB. VII.6.1.
3. MS.IV.2.1.
4. See below.
5. PB. XX. 14.2. ŚB. V.1.3.11; VIII.1.2.9.; XI.1.6.18.

Another God, who is prominently connected with tapas and yoga in Classical times, is Rudra-Śiva. One element in the personality of Śiva was probably contributed by the Harappan seal deity,[1] and another element by Rudra.[2] Whatever may have been his original nature, Rudra is connected very closely with Agni in the Brāhmaṇas, and even earlier, in the AV and YV Saṁhitās.[3] In the Brāhmaṇas Agni is given the names of Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, and Mahān Deva.[4] In the Vrātya book of the AV there is a strong Rudra influence,[5] so much so that Charpentier thought that the Vrātyas worshipped him,[6] though this view is not convincing. His associations with ascetics is not made very explicit in the Brāhmaṇas. The Muni in the RV is said to drink a poisonous potion with Rudra,[7] a fact which had already

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1. See above.
2. Macdonell. VM P.76-77. RPVU IP.146-47 f.
3. AV. VII.87.1; TS.V.4.3.1; SB.VI.1.3.10.IX.1.1.1.
4. SB. VI.1.3.7; Cf.1.7.3.8.
5. Look above.
6. WZKM.23.151 ff; 25.355 ff.
7. X.136.

been noticed by Arbman.[1] This seems to be quite significant in that Rudra is closely connected with herbs and medicine;[2] and Oldenberg makes him the God of mountain and forest.[3] In the TS[4] Rudra is given the epithet of VYUPTAKEŚA (with disordered hair). Keith is correct in pointing out the danger of putting any undue emphasis on this, but it is not to be brushed aside in view of later history, where various elements of diverse origins go to make up the personality of Śiva. The relation of Rudra is frequently with wierd personalities and actions and thus it is probable that his personality contains elements associated with ascetics of a strange types. This is quite clear from his association with robbers, thieves, forest-dwellers and other social malcontents.[5] But curiously enough Rudra's name never occurs in connection with tapas or with "light-terms". Rudra, however, does not seem to be a completely non-aryan God,[6] but is a god who contains many non-aryan elements.

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1. Rudra. P. 297 H.
2. VM. pp. 75-76. RPVU 1. loc-cit.
3. Rel-des Veda. p. 216-27.
4. TS. IV.5.5. - RPVU 1.P.150; Arbman Rudra. loccit.
5. In the Śatarudriya Section of the VS XVI; TS.IV.5.
6. Cf. Creative Period. P.79; RPVU.1.P.148.

The Gods, in general, have been brought into definite relationship with asceticism and tapas becomes an established mode of practice for them, as will be seen below.

The sacrificial ritual in the Brāhmaṇas is of more importance than the worship of the Gods, and in a way overshadows all other ways of thinking and behaving. It developed from a simple ritual[1] offered to a deity through the medium of the fire (or fires)[2] in the early vedic times. It was not essentially an act of magic though it had the same sort of compelling power to please the Gods

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1. Keith.RPVU.1.pp.252-56.HOS.18.pp.C.iii H; K.R. Potdar: Sacrifice in the Rgveda. pp. 284-290 traces four stages of the development of Vedic sacrifices: first stage being characterised by the worship of the individual deities by individual efforts; the second of joint divinities by co-operative efforts, with the help of the priests, third, development in the mode of the sacrifice; and fourth transition to the Brahmanical aspect of the sacrifice. Chronology is arbitrary.
2. Macdonell. ERE. XII. P.6.11; Potdar op.cit.PP. 45-48; 121 - 22; use of three fires in pre-Rgvedic times. Oldenberg. SBE. 30 P.IX. Rel des Veda. P.348.2.

who granted men's wishes.[1] In the Rgveda the priests do not claim to control the Gods and the sacrifice has not become an autonomous mode of religious life.[2]

Anthropologists have put forward various theories on the origin of sacrifice, such as ancestor worship, gift-offerings, fertility-rites, or communion with a deity.[3] The idea of sacrifice is quite complex already in the RV, not to speak of the Brāhmaṇas. In the Brāhmaṇas the ideas of ~~the ideas of~~ the various sacrifices— assistance to the sun in his daily work of rising by the Agnihotra,[4] the help given to the moon to be reborn and wax through the New Moon-offering,[5] ancestor worship in the Pitṛyajñas,[6] the fertility rites in the

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1. Macdonell. ERE.VIII. PP.311-12. Vedic Magic "Cf. Keith RPVU.p.379.." We cannot believe that there was ever a time when the Vedic sacrifice was not filled with magic elements." For a different view. Potdar op.cit Chap X; ritual based on the concept of "devotion" developed by Velankar. RBV.1952. cited by Potdar which seems more correct.
2. Keith RPVU.1.P.260. 3. E.O. James. ERE XI.PP.5-7.
4. Oldenberg. Rel.des.Veda p.439.
5. M. Muller. ASL P.259. on RV.1.94.4.
6. Oldenberg Op.cit. P.442; Potdar. Op.cit. P.128.29.

Caturmāsyāni,[1] the gift offering idea in the animal sacrifices,[2] victory in war in the Vājapeya - show only a variety of reasons of the origins of the sacrifices. Another idea which has been put forward as the origin of Vedic sacrifice is that of self-redemption (ātma-niṣkrayaṇa)[3] supported by Eggeling,[4] but this idea is fairly late.[5]

But sacrifice, has also an ascetic element in its origin - a self denial, a purposeful destruction of important things in life to please a deity by undergoing the pain of deprivation. In sacrifice one gives away

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1. Keith. RPVU..11..322.; On the Śunāsīrīya. op.cit.ii. P.323. TS. pp. CV.
2. Schwab Das altindisches Thieropfer pp.XV.XX; supported by Oldenberg. Rel des Veda pp.355-59; emphasises the point that the animal might have been sacrificed to secure strength for the sacrificer, as in the horse sacrifice or in the sacrifice of an ass to Nirṛti by him who has broken the vow of chastity, and desires to regain what he has lost.
3. S.B. XI.1.1.2.; 1.2.3.6.; XI.22.5.TS.VI.1.116.
4. SBE. 44 P. XVII-VIII; XXXIII.
5. Keith. TS. pp. CVI.

something dear to oneself, to a deity. This giving away (tyāga) needs considerable self restraint and moral courage on the part of the sacrificer and exercises a drain on the economy which, in effect, should breed a spirit of frugality and puritanism. Sacrifice is accepted as comparable to tapas. It will be shown later how the Gods were believed to attain immortality through tapas. This ascetic element in sacrifice is emphasised in its comparison with tapas, with which it has many points of contact. As in tapas, so in sacrifice fire plays the all-important part, and so also the God Prajāpati. The sacrificers were also occasionally the seers who now consciously thought tapas to be efficacious. Moreover, philosophy of sacrifice, as it developed, brought into prominence the theory of self-sacrifice (ātma-tyāga) which came nearest to the ascetic ideal of self renunciation.

In a completely different way sacrifice contributed to the development of ascetic and yogic practices. The inevitable accompaniment of hymnal praise together with the ritual offerings necessitated the regulation of the breath and it occupied much of the thought of the Brāhmaṇas.[1] There was an intense development of sacrificial symbolism[2] in the latest period of the Brāhmaṇas which it

1. See below. 2. Keith. RPVU.II.P.465-66.

was absolutely necessary to understand and realise through mental concentration and meditation, together with faith (Śraddhā). Symbolism in sacrificial philosophy is connected with the development of the piling-up ceremonies (citis) which have not been much studied.

Faith was thought to be very necessary for the fulfilment of the sacrifice. Faith is the form of consecration as Satya is of the vow.[1] It is thus of as much importance as is consecration. "One who sacrifices with faith, never becomes sinful."[2] Faith is not a mere mechanical conviction in the efficacy of the ritual but something deeper, and more devotional.[3] Yājñavalkya thought that the sacrifice of "truth in faith" would

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1. ŚB. XII.8.2.4. VRATASYA RŪPAM YAT SATYAM ETAD DĪKSĀYA. YAC ŚRADDHĀ Cf. ŚB. XII.1.2.1. ŚRADDHĀYĀ VAI DEVĀH DĪKSĀM - NIRAMIMATA.
2. ŚRADDHĀM ĀLABHYA YAJATE NA PĀPĪYĀN BHAVATI. TS.1.6.8. MS. IV.1.4.
3. S. Levi. La Doctrine du Sacrifice. pp. 108-09. 114.15.

suffice in place of the sacrifice of food material.[1] It contained elements thus which were not mere acceptance of a tradition, or belief in the ancient seers, but also an individual experience through consecration. It was a mental attitude, intuitively induced.[2]

The idea that there was an experience of ecstasy produced from the sense of union with the deity in the ritual, akin to the yogic ecstasy, is plausible,[4] but these two types of ecstasy belong to completely different spheres of religious activity and even the experience of ecstasy as induced in the vedic ritual is difficult to substantiate.[3] Keith, however, has pointed out that another type of ecstasy was produced by soma-drinking, which was already systematised in the Indo-Iranian period.[5] Soma is some kind of a plant, which yielded an intoxicating juice which was pleasing to the Gods,[6] "and was praised as the God Soma (i.e. Moon) in the RV.[7]

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1. SB. XI.3.1.1.
2. See Chap. IV. on the Up. Compare. Faith in Buddhism. G.C.Pande' Studies in the origins of Buddhism PP. 521-522.
3. Keith. RPVU. I pp.274-75; Eggeling. SBE.26. Introd. P. XI ff.
4. Hauer Die Anfange der Yogapraxis in alten Indien pp. 116 ff.
5. Cf. Soma - Haoma complex in M. Haug AB Introd. P.61-62.
6. Keith. RPVU.1.p.166-67; Macdonell VM PP.107 f.
7. Winternitz. HIL.1.P.58-59.

It has not been possible to identify the plant[1] and it is quite possible that it is now extinct. Soma is intoxicating,[2] and exhilarating.[3] It is called amrta. Soma stimulates the voice[4] and impels the Fathers to perform great deeds.[5] Various mythical stories are woven round Soma, its purchase by the Gods at the price of Vāc,[6] its being brought from heaven by an eagle[7] or by Gāyatri[8] in the shape of a bird. By the time of the Brāhmaṇas the Soma sacrifices were considerably elaborated and are described in detail.[9] The Drinking of Soma evoked mystical experiences and was said to make

1. Vedic Index.II.P.475.
2. RV. 1.125.3; VI.20.6.
3. Cf. P. Thieme P.52. St>Udien Zur Indogerm. Wortkunde Und Religion ge-schicht. Berlin. 1952, On this word who thinks that amṛta means vitality, as Leben, Lebenskraft, rather than Unsterblichkeit." on RV.1.23.19. RV. IX.74.6; VII.76.1;
4. RV.VI.47.3; IX.84.4. cited in Macdonell VM.P.109.
5. Macdonell loc.cit.
6. Weber 15. X. 360.
7. RV. IX.68.6 etc.
8. SB. XI.7.2.8. Keith RPVU.1. P.169. AB.III.25-27 - The Suparna Story.
9. See Keith HOS.25. P.53 f; RPVU II. P.326-27 H.

one's mind quite acute. Already in the RV Soma is extolled as "the mind of the seers, the maker of seers".[1] One realises the God after taking the Soma.[2] This fact, apart from the elaborate ritual built around the Soma, is quite interesting because of the similarities to the practice of many ascetics and mystics in drinking various types of potions and drinks[3] to achieve experiences similar to those hinted at in the Samhitas. This reminds one of the potion drunk by the Muni,[5] and his mystical visions as well as his experience of self extension. In the Brāhmaṇas these experiences are not the main feature, but they become part of the whole ritual philosophy with different aims in view. In the Brāhmaṇas Soma is said to be the drink of the Brāhmaṇas alone[4] and also to be their king.[6] It came to be a factor in the political philosophy of the times with which we have no concern here. It is still said that it gives joy[7] and

1. RV. IX.96.18.96.6.
2. RV.VIII.48.3.
3. J.H. Leuba Psychology of Religion.pp. 11-16 ; compare R.C. Zaehner. Mysticism sacred and profane.
4. ŚB. XII.& 7.2.1.
5. RV. X.136.
6. K.P.JAYASWAL. 'HINDU POLITY' pp.204-05.
7. ŚB. XII. 7.3.12.

power.[1]

However, the most ascetic in character in the sacrifices was the rite of consecration undergone by the sacrificer for the Sorna-sacrifices. Dīkṣā makes its appearance in the YV Samhitas but the word is not seen in the RV. The purpose of the rite is quite clear - to make man completely pure through rigorous practices, which are ascetic in character.[2] Oldenberg sees in the word dīkṣā, the desire to serve the God, deriving the word from the root DĀS - to serve. Weber,[3] on the other hand, interprets it as the desiderative of the root DAS or DAKṢ "to make oneself fit for a thing". Hillebrandt relying on the derivation of the word from the root DAH "to burn" gives a completely different interpretation.[4] He thinks that the ceremony was a ritual preparation for death by fire to reach the heaven of VIṢNU and refers to the incident of sage KALANOS of TAKṢASILĀ and cites other references[5] to show that the consecration was followed by an offering

1. ŚB. XII. 7.2.1-4.
2. Rel. des Veda P.398. ZDMG.49. 176; GGA 1917. pp.328 ff.
3. 15 X. 357-58.
4. RL P. 125; Ved. Mythologie. i. 482 ff; compare dhīkṣati referred to in the ŚB.III. 2.23.
5. Cf. MS.III.7.8; AB.II.3.11; KB X.3.

to Agni and Soma, which was to free the sacrificer from the obligation of dying by fire and, therefore, the offering was not eaten. But this is untenable, not only on linguistic grounds but also on ideological ones.[1] Keith did recognise that the loss of 'h' in a word quite possible, but that too need not be conceded if the word could be derived from dās or daks, as favoured by Oldenberg. Moreover the etymology of the word is no clear evidence of its content or of its usage in the language of the period. The idea of religious suicide, moreover, is quite foreign to the whole body of the Brāhmaṇa philisophy. Life for the Brāhmaṇas in general, is good and full of happiness. There seems to be no strain of such pessimism, as might induce one to give up one's life.[2] We hardly find any reference to suicidal attempts, though the philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas does by implication suggest a self-destruction by Prajāpati in order to create, to resuscitate life, the sacrificial ritual being one process by which to compose the organs of

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1. In DAKSI and DAKṢAT in RV. 1.141.8; 130.8; See Keith in HOS. 18 T.S (Trans) Introd. PP.cxiv

2. Keith RPVU.1.P.302-03; Eggeling. SBE.44 P.XXXVI fn.1.

Prajāpati and recreate him.[1] The sacrificer himself is identified with Prajāpati and so has to destroy himself symbolically, and to recreate his own body as he would the body of Prajāpati through the AGNICAYANA. Thus though a philosophical argument could be found for the incorporation of a rite of self destruction in the sacrifices there does not seem to be any evidence that this end was perceived in this rite. Moreover, though the idea of redeeming oneself by offering a substitute does not seem to be the dominant note of the vedic sacrifice, we have instances of such substitute sacrifices, as in the ŚUNAḤŚEPA story.[2] However, these ideas are too scanty to support the argument of Hillebrandt. The sanctity of the offerings in the sacrifice is to be held as the reason for not eating them.[3]

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1. Eggeling. SBE.43. Introd. P. XIV.XV.H. Keith RPVU II pp. 454-55. Cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy: Ātma-Yajña: Self Sacrifice HJOS. 6. Feb. 1942.
2. AB VII.17; 18; See Keith. HOS. 25. P. 61-62 ff.
3. Oldenberg Rel. des Veda. P.336; Keith RPVU.1.P.303; JRAS. 1907. P. 940-41; Compare it with the offerings given to Rudra which are not eaten because of the sacredness of the sacrificial objects. It is an idea of taboo.

Thus the purpose of dīkṣā seems to be to purify oneself rather than to immolate oneself in fire symbolically or to worship the deity by undergoing such austerities as are involved in this rite. Keith, however, thought[1] that the chief purpose of the rite was to evoke ecstasy and religious exaltation and compared it with the exaltation of the Bacchants produced by their wild running and tossing of the head and also with the exhaltation of the Muni of RV. It is difficult to accept this interpretation for various reasons. First, there is a total absence of any allusion to an ecstatic frenzied state in the descriptions of the rite. Secondly, the explicit purpose of the rite is said to make one pure by making him like a new born babe, sinless and blissful,[2] as is accepted by Keith himself.[3] This embryonic state brought about through the rite of consecration, was thought by Oldenberg to be only a primitive feature, gone out of fashion from the Brahmanic speculation. But this aspect is not to be neglected because the Brāhmaṇas themselves emphasise it consistently, and this ideal of

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1. TS. (trans) HOS. 18. p. CXIII. RPVU. 1. P. 301.
2. See below.
3. RPVU. 1. PP. 302-03.

becoming like a child again, is quite common in religious practices. The generation of religious ecstasy and frenzy, in the course of the rite is quite possible because the austerities involved in the consecration rite are very rigorous. But that would be only an incidental effect rather than the chief end.

Descriptions of the dīkṣā ceremony are scattered throughout the Brāhmaṇas and the hymns employed are taken from the KĀTHAKA[1], KAPIṢṬHALA[2], Maitrāyaṇī[3] VĀJASNEYĪ[4] Samhitās. The AB version[5] seems to be older than the mystic version of the KB[6] or ŚB[7], but seems similar to the JB versions. To be eligible to perform dīkṣā one had to be a Brāhmaṇa, Rājanya, or a Vaiśya.[8] When one has started the performance of the dīkṣā, he should not converse with

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1. KS. II. 2; 3.
2. Kaps. 1.14; 15.
3. MS. 1.2.2.
4. IV. 7-10.
5. AB. I.1-6.
6. KB.VII.4.
7. ŚB.III.2.1-2. Compare the GB 1.3.17-23; I.4. which Bloomfield (Atharvaveda P.114-15) regards as based on the vaitāna sūtra.
8. ŚB. III.1.1.10.

a Śūdra except through someone else.[1] Its duration is variable, for seven days at the Aśvamedha[2], for twelve days[3] or for twenty three days as at the Puruṣamedha,[4] or for one year as at the Agnicayana.[5]

The story of the consecration of Keśin Dālbhya is related in two Brāhmaṇas - KB and JB.[6] In the KB version, it is said that Keśin Dālbhya was not consecrated. A certain Yājñasena in the form of a golden swan (Yājñasena hamso hiranmayo)[7] flew to him and said, "You have not been

1. Cf. the exclusion of the Śūdra from other rituals, not only in performance, as of agnihotra but even participation in it. TB. III. 2.3.9-10. See R.S.Sharma. Śūdras pp. 77-78. Similarly no contact with the Śūdra in the Pravargya ceremony. ŚB. XIV.1.1.31.etc.
2. ŚB. XIII.1.7.1.
3. ŚB. XIII.4.4.1; JB.II 373 (in the Gavamayana).
4. ŚB. XII.6.1.2.
5. ŚB. VI.2.2.28 for the reason of this long time See SBE. 41. P.181 n. JB.II.55-56 Pracīnayoga also recommends the same period.
6. KB.VII.4. HOS. 25. pp. 385-86.
7. This might be the Sun who too regarded as a golden bird. See Macdonell. VM. pp. 31-32.

consecrated. I know the consecration", and told it to him. We are further told that a certain sage, whose identity was not known to the author but who, it is said, was either Ula Vaiṣṇevṛdh or Itanta Kāvya or Śikhaṇḍan Yājñasena said that, "bodies are consecrated by that sacrifice but that man is consecrated indeed whose gods within are consecrated. The sacrifice has to be done with faith, then it perishes not." The phrase "gods within" stands for the breaths,[1] Dīkṣā is actually identified with the breaths elsewhere.[2]

The hut of the man to be consecrated is called his "womb"[3] and is built near the fire. The sacrificer takes a bath,[4] gets his hair cut[5] and is anointed. Then he puts on a new dress[6] and sits on a black antelope skin.[7] This

1. See below.
2. ŚB. XIII.1.7.2.
3. ŚB. XIII.1.7.2.
4. ŚB. III.1.2.11.12.
5. ŚB. III.1.2.2.3.
6. ŚB. III.1.2.2o.
7. ŚB. III.2.1.1.

idea of the sitting on a black antelope skin is important, as we find in the Harappan seals, too, that there are a pair of antelopes beneath the sitting God.[1] Antelope skin was probably thought to give power. Antelope horns are tied to his dress,[2] with which he is to scratch himself when he itches. He is not allowed to eat beef[3] though Yājñavalkya had different opinions about it and says that he does not mind eating it if it is tender. He drinks milk only.[4] The consecrated person is enjoined not to speak during the daytime[5] but if he has to speak he should stammer. He is also asked to keep his fist clinched all the time. It is said that if he speaks a lie or does something sinful, while he is consecrated, he must worship the Sun with Japas.[6] The consecrated person must have his emotions under restraint.[7] He must not become angry. During the night he should not sleep, but if he cannot keep

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1. Look on previous page.
2. Cf. the horns tied on the head of the Harappan Seal God, but with a different purpose.
3. ŚB. III. 1.2.21.
4. ŚB. III.1.2.1.
5. ŚB. III.2.2.1; III.2.1.36.
6. JB.II.63.
7. ŚB. III. 2.2.24.

awake, he should do so only after commending himself to Agni. He has to abstain from casual relations during the period of consecration. Before the final bath (Avabhṛtha) "he speaks his speech falteringly, and not effusively after the manner of ordinary speech."[1] Thus what we have in the dīkṣā is rigorous asceticism. Fasting, vegetarianism, purification by becoming as a child again, keeping vigil, silence, meditation, abstinence from sexual intercourse and tapas - All are the parts of the dīkṣā rite. With tapas the term occurs many times throughout the Samhitas and the Brāhmaṇas.[2] The interpretation of the clenched fist, stammering speech, and the use of milk as signifying childhood is quite obvious.[3] The Brāhmaṇas themselves say that "he becomes an embryo who is consecrated."[4] In the AB[5] it is said that, "with a garment they cover him; the garment is the caul of the consecrated."

Though, as we have seen, there is no evidence of this rite being based on actual suicide, it seems to have con-

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1. ŚB. III.2.2.27-29. SBE. trans.
2. See below.
3. Cf. Keith. TS (trans) HOS.18. pp. CXIII - CXV.
4. ŚB. III.2.1.6;31; AB.1.3. Punar vā etam ṛtvijo garbham kurvanti yarn dīkṣayanti...."
5. AB. 1. 3. See Keith HOS.25. P. 108.

tained another idea, that of "ritual death", otherwise there would be no sense in making a man an infant again. But this is quite different from the theory of Hillebrandt.[1] In the JUB[2] it is clearly stated that the dīkṣā is a second death. "They consecrate him, that is the second death; shave his hair, and the beard, and the nails, clean his bodily organs; he clenches his fingers; remains covered and dressed. He does not pour libations, and does not sacrifice; does not copulate with a woman; speaks non-human speech and then he becomes the form of death." But this consecration is not suicide; on the contrary, it prolongs life.

Dīkṣā thus does not seem to be meant to evoke religious ecstasy either of the Bacchant[3] or of the Shamamstic type[4] though one of the basic elements of Shamamsin is a type of

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1. See above.
2. JUB.III.9.4. Atha Ya enam dīkṣayanti tad dvitīyam mṛyate. Vapanti Keśaśmaśrūṇi nikṛntanti nakhān. pratyañjanty aṅgāni pratyacaty angulīḥ, apavṛto (a) paveṣṭhita āste. na juhoti. na yajate. na yoṣitam carati. amānuṣīm vācam vadati mṛtasya vāvaiṣa tadā rūpam bhavati. Cf. JUB III.10.6.
3. Keith. RPVU. 1.P.301-02; TS. HOS.18.P.CXIII.
4. Eliade. L'Chamanisme. P.371.

initiation rite, widely prevalent in many tribal communities.[1] This experience of frenzy cannot be seen in the phenomenon of stammering, alluded by Oldenberg. It is better explained on the basis of the theory that the person consecrated is trying to speak like a baby. Eliade has suggested that dīkṣā is a form of the techniques of sweating, which is widely noticed among the I.E. peoples.[2] This again is unproved by the descriptions of the consecration rite in the Brāhmaṇas. It has been rather suggested that this ceremony is not known to the Vedic Hymns[3] and by implication suggesting that it is of completely Indian origin, and priestly elaboration. This seems to be the correct view. The word dīkṣā never occurs in the RV. The allusion to a rite in order to make the sacrificers born again in the RV[4] cannot be taken to refer to the Dīkṣā. It seems to us that Dīkṣā might have developed in relation with the Agni-Cayana ceremony and it seems to have borrowed

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1. See ERE. article on 'Initiation'.
2. Yoga. Freedom and Immortality p. 385.
3. Barth. quoted by Eliade. pp. 385.
4. RV. VII. 33.13 Cf. Hauer. (Die Anfange der Yogapraxis un alten Indien. p.68 H.) thinks that the frog-hymn (VII.103) alludes to Dīkṣā, but this is hardly tenable. He finds a reference to the stammering speech in RV X. 106.5.

the idea of a "ritual death" and the idea of self sacrifice and re-integration and rebirth from the Agnicayana. Thus it seems to have a completely Indian origin.[1]

The result of the performance of the dīkṣā is that the man becomes a god; According to the ŚB he becomes Viṣṇuahi,[2] while the KB declares that he who consecrates himself consecrates himself as Agni."[3] In the JB there is quite a mystical conception, which seems to be later origin, which identifies the consecrated person with "the person in the eye", the breath, Indra, and Prajāpati.[4] This concept of "the person in the eye" is developed in the Up.,[5] as the Brahman. Dīkṣā itself is identified with the breath.[6] If one of the consecrated persons dies during the sacrificial session, he has to be appeased and the defilement is purified.[7]

Thus we find that the Dīkṣā is primarily a purificatory rite with a good deal of obstetric symbolism,[8] employing

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1. Cf. La Vallee Poussin. Indo Européans. pp. 368 H.
2. SB. III.2.1.17.
3. KB. VII.3.
4. JB. Ayam eva dīkṣito yo'yam cakṣuṣi puruṣaḥ... sa prāṇaḥ sa Indro Prajāpatis, sa dīkṣitaḥ.
5. See below.
6. SB. XIII.1.7.2. Cf. KB.VII.1. Consecration offerings are done with the breaths.
7. PB. VI.10.1-3; IX.8.See Caland trans.pp.127-28; 219.20 ff.
8. Eliade: Yoga: Freedom and Immortality p.110.

completely ascetic methods - tapas, fasting, vigil, vegetarianism, loneliness, meditation, chastity, and silence. One has to observe silence because then he restrains his speech and keeps it to himself and thereby appropriates the sacrifice to himself.[1] This leads to a quite mystical and profound conception about silence.[2] Dīkṣā is regarded as a vidyā knowing which one lives a long life and afterwards goes to heaven. It assists one to reach the purity of childhood. One is 'reborn' through it. Many of these elements go to make up the whole complex of ascetic activities which were carried on in later times.

The other term standing for a complex of ascetic activities is tapas which occurs extensively throughout the Brāhmaṇas. It occurs in most of the creation stories in these texts. In the AB tapas occurs about twelve times. In relation with the Ājya Śastra, the passage reads "Prajāpati was here one only in the beginning. He desired (akāmayata): May I be propagated and become greater. He practised tapas[3]; he restrained his speech. After a year

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1. SB. III.2.1.36-38; III.2.2.1.
2. See below. Chap IV.Cf. A.K. Coomaraswamy: The Vedic doctrine of Silence. IC 3, April 1937.
3. translated by Keith as "He practised fervour", Hang "He underwent austerities".

he spoke only twelve times. Twelve padas has the Nivid; he uttered that Nivid. After it all beings were produced."[1] The story reveals that Prajāpati in order to produce the world practised tapas and the vow of silence (mauna), that is, meditation. The age old association of tapas with Kārma is also noticeable, but creation is not directly through tapas, but through a sacrificial process. It seems that tapas must be akin to some sort of Yogic activity.

A similar legend is again related where Prajāpati is said to want to propagate (pra-jan) and to see the twelve-day rite (dvādaśāha) through tapas, "in the limbs and breaths of himself (dvādaśāh-am apaśyad ātman evāngeṣu ca prāneṣu ca). He measured the rite out from the limbs and the breaths, and produced the progeny (prajā) and cattle (paśu).[2] The vision of the rite attained by Prajāpati through tapas is very like a Yogic vision.

There is a more cosmic account of creation by Prajāpati in a later passage.[3] Prajapati desired to propagate himself and be multiplied. He practised tapas and then created the

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1. This transaltion is after Keith with variations. See Keith. RVB.HOS.25.P.158.Cf Haug. trans. AB.vol.II.P.143. on AB II.33.
2. AB.IV.23. Keith op.cit. P.214
3. AB V.32. Keith. op.cit. P. 256.

worlds, the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky. "He heated (abhy-atapat)[1] these worlds; from these heated worlds these luminaries (jyotis) were born: Agni from earth, wind from the atmosphere, and the Sun from the sky. These were heated again and from them the vedas were produced: the Rgveda from the fire, the Yajurveda from the wind, and the Samaveda from the sun and from the heated vedas were produced the three letters AUM." Here the essence of the whole creation is shown to be tapas. The connection of the letters of A U M with tapas as an ascetic practice might be one of meditation or of japa.

In a different type of cosmological myth the dependence of the ultimates is shown to be on tapas.[2] Hiraṇyadān, the son of Baida, said about the vaṣaṭkāra that by it the HOTAR establishes six things: the sky on the atmosphere, the atmosphere on the earth, the earth on the waters, the waters on truth, truth on Brahma, and Brahma on tapas.[3] Haug takes the sense of tapas as the "concentrated heat of meditation", while Keith[4] takes it as "fervour". The meaning of Brahma has been taken in the Brāhmaṇas to be a power connected

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1. Abhi-tap. This root occurs many times in the Brahmanas. Keith translates it as "brooded over".
2. AB.III.6. Haug. trans II.vol.II.pp.167-68. Keith opcit. pp. 168-69.
3. Haug. loccit.
4. Keith. loc.cit.

with speech,[1] and tapas, a power born of fire and austerities connected with it. The connection of tapas with Brahma is quite familiar in the Brāhmaṇas.

Similar creation legends are interspersed throughout other Brāhmaṇas. In the TB, the legend is related that Prajāpati produced (sṛj) progeny. He felt himself emptied. He practised tapas and he saw his power (vīrya); it grew and suddenly went up and became the virāt.[2] In the Brāhmaṇas the power is derived from the austerities (tapas). Tapas seems to have the power of giving one a vision which increases the power. Prajāpati is said to produce the Asuras and the devas after practising tapas[3] and the gods, following advice of Prajāpati, practised tapas and through tapas saw Indra. In this passage Prajāpati advised the gods to produce (jan) Indra and they are said to have seen (apaśyan) him and to have asked him to be born.* Earlier Prajāpati in order to create, practises tapas and produces the tṛvṛt stoma and then the gods and the Asuras are born.

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1. See below. Chap. IV.
2. TB.1.1.10.1.
3. TB.II.2.32.34.

* These references to "seeing" the Gods, hymns etc. in the course of tapas seem significant.

The sacrificers, desirous of wealth are asked to perform the sacrifice in the first half of the month (pūrva paksa) when the gods were born. Human beings are invariably to act as the gods have done, and thus become worthy of the results which the gods themselves have reaped from acts. Prajāpati desired to create and he saw the DAŚAHOTṚ and with that dividing himself tenfold with the DAŚAHOTṚ he practised tapas (atapyat).[1] The ladle of that sacrifice was its mental act (citti)[2]; its melted butter was the Citta; its speech (vāg) was this much (etāvatī) and this much was the Yajñakratu.[3] These various identifications in the Yajñakratus - which are known as the Catur -, Pañcha - Ṣaḍ, - Sapta - and Daśa - hotṛs are very important for here in the sacrifice psychical elements become identified with physical objects and psychical activities with physical activities. These led to the emergence of the later Upāsanās.[4], and the virtual elimination of the Brahmanical sacrifices.[5] The association

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1. TB.II.2.4.1.
2. See Sāyaṇa's Comm - "antaḥkaraṇa vṛtti."
3. Cf. Ait Br. V.25; Cf. Keith. RPVU II. P. 356. on the Hotṛ formula.
4. See below.
5. See Creative Period P. 51.

of tapas with creation, through mental sacrifices led to the development of the meditative elements in the meaning of the word. Creation through meditation is thus an important contribution of Brāhmaṇa speculation to later Yogic ideas.[1] Creation stories in the Brāhmaṇas is closely connected with these Yajña-kratus. More important is the story of creation in the TB.[2] "At first there was Nothing. There was neither sky nor earth nor air. Being non-existent (asat) it resolved (manoakuruta) let me be. It became heated (atapyati).[3] From that heated one (tepāna) smoke was produced, and then Agni, light (jyoti), rays (arcis), blazes (marici) and it became condensed like a cloud, and it clove its bladder and it became the sea. The passage goes on "He becomes that, who thus knowing the power (vīrya) of tapas, practises tapas."[4] Here tapas is not merely physical austerity, but also the fiery energy which gives power (vīrya). Vīrya and tejas

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1. Cf. TB III.3.6.
2. TB. II.29.
3. Sāyaṇa takes "atapyat" as "tapo'kuruta" and tapas as not the kṛcchracāndrāyaṇa and so forth but meditation (paryālocana), see. TB.1.P.431.
4. Ya, evam tapaso vīryam vidvāms tapyate bhavaty eva.

and other power concepts are thus dependent upon the practice of tapas. Virya and tejas are embodied symbolically in a gold plate[1] and the golden plate, when worn, gives the power to him who wears it.[2] But here one has to practise tapas to get the power (vīrya). In the same passage the story of creation goes on to show how from the waters Prajāpati was born, who wept (arodīt)[3] at his ignorance of his being born and from whose tears the waters (i.e. the ocean) were born, which solidified into the earth, and became the atmosphere and the heaven (dyans).[4] Prajāpati practised tapas and became pregnant (antarvān) and created the Asuras and other beings (prajā) from his thighs. The story goes on in the vein of the RV (X.90) with variations on the same theme.

In the Horse sacrifice Prajapati is said to practise tapas and bear seven goddesses who become the consecration.[5] All these creation myths a uniform character, a model type,

1. ŚB. VI.7.1.4; 9.
2. Cf. ŚB.III.4.1.7.
3. Cf. the word Rodasī which stands for the heaven and the earth and this seems to have been the reason of its use here.
4. TB. II.2.9.4.6.
5. TB.III.8.10.1.

according to which Prajāpati practises tapas, generally, though not invariably sees some sacrificial procedure and creates the beings, who too are admonished to do likewise to get the desired results. Tapas does not seem to be a mere physical austerity, but mental direction and control through which one "sees" and has a "vision". This model of the story is continued in other Brāhmaṇas.[1]

The concept of tapas is further magnified in the TB. "Through tapas the gods attain godhood (devata); the ṛsis go to heaven; and through tapas we may destroy enemies. With that this whole world is conquered." Svayambhu BRAHMAN is identified with the highest (param) tapas, and the tapas became the first Yakṣa.[2] The concept of SVAYAMBHUBRAHMAN is quite theistic. Tapas is closely related faith (ŚRADDHĀ). Prajāpati is asked by tapas to toil with tapas, to sacrifice him (tapas) and then tapas of Prajāpati will become true[3] and he will attain heaven. Tapas itself is thus transmuted in divinity. To perform this tapas one has to sacrifice with the CARU.[4] The same thing

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1. See below. 2. TB.III.12.3.1. See PP.1405-06.
3. TB.III.12.7.5.
4. "An oblation of rice, barley, and pulse, boiled with butter and milk for presentation to the gods or manes" Monier-Williams. s.v. pp. 318.

is said by Faith, truth, mind (manas) etc. Tapas which had been shown to be closely related with the Yajñakratus, is also closely related to the Iṣṭis.[1] In the piling-up ceremonies (citis) the bricks are identified with truth, faith, tapas and self restraint (dama) and also with the name (nāma) and form (rūpa) of the beings.[2]

Elsewhere in the TB, the interdependence of cosmic principles is expounded and in connection with the SĀVITRĀGNICAYANA, the teacher says to the pupil that the SĀVITRĀGNI is (dependent) on the highest sphere (paro rajas), the latter on the sun; the sun on truth (satya); what is that satya? That satya is ⟨tapas⟩; tapas is strength (bala); and strength is breath (prāṇa)." When the inquisitive student wanted to ask more, the teacher forbade him saying "do not ask beyond the breath (prāṇa), or your head will fall apart."[3] Such identifications are more frequent in

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1. Iṣṭis are sacrifices which are performed for specific ends. The model for them is the New-Moon and full-Moon offerings. See Hillebrandt. Neu-und Vollmondsopfer (Jena 1880). Also Keith. RPVU II. P.319;20.
2. TB. III. 12.7.5.
3. TB. III. 10.9. 4-5. Compare below the style of this dialogue with the YAJÑAVALKYA-ARTABHAGA dialogue in the BAU.

later Upanisadic literature. In the TB itself tapas is identified with the householder (grhapati) and Brahma with the Brāhmana and truth with the HOTAR.[1] The meaning of such identifications is mystical and obscure. What, however, is interesting is the close connection of tapas with the piling-up ceremonies (citis) and the Yajña-Kratu which have become very philosophical, meditative and symbolical. The third part of the TB contains quite late material which is conterminous with the ŚB.

In the ŚB similar creation stories abound in which Prajāpati practises tapas and the whole creation starts. Prajāpati was alone and then he reflected on how he might be reproduced. He toiled (śram) and practised tapas.[2] He produced Agni from his own mouth. This Agni was Death, and wanted to devour Prājapati. Prajāpati gave him some offering of butter milk and so forth and thus saved himself.[3] Tapas here seems to have the significance of some type of activity which generates heat in the body which is identical with Agni. In the beginning, it is said, Prajāpati existed alone (or Prajāpati alone was this universe).[4] He toiled and

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1. TB.III.12. 9.3; 7.
2. SBE.12. P.323. Eggeling takes it to be "penance".
3. SB. II. 2.4.1. ff.
4. Muir OST. P.70.

practised tapas and then created living beings, which passed away: these were birds. Then he created reptiles and these too passed away "for want of food" but they survived after Prajāpati had made breasts in the forepart of their body.[1] The knowledge of the cause of the destruction of these beings came to Prajāpati through effort (śrama) and tapas. Tapas gives power and energy to everyone and Prajāpati was no exception. Prajāpati, while creating the creatures, practised tapas,; from him, practising tapas (tepāna) and tired (śrānta) ŚRĪ[2] went away, elsewhere, he is said to have felt himself empty.[3] But he regained his vigour (vīrya) through tapas. Prajāpati, through his tapas, heated the three worlds and then the three lights were produced - Agni - Vāyu, and Sūrya.[4]

A very different type of story is narrated in the ŚB. Evil Death (pāpmā mṛtyuḥ) smote Prajāpati, as he was creating the living beings. Prajāpati performed tapas for a thousand years, to shake off this misery. When he was practising tapas,[5] lights went upwards from his "hair-pits" and those

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1. SB.II.5.11 H. 12. P. 384.
2. SB XI. 4.3.1; For the concept of Śrī. See XI.4.3.2-3.
3. Cf SB.III.9.1.1; X 4.2.2.Cf.TB.1.1.10.1;1.2.6.6;II.3.6.1; II.2.4.4.
4. SB.XI.5.8.1-4. The story is noticed in the TB.
5. SBE.43 P.362.n4."religious fervour (meditation) "austerities'

lights were the stars. In the thousandth year he cleansed himself throughout. The cleanser was the Wind, and the evil cleansed was this body.[1] This seems to suggest that the cleansing process was some sort of breathing exercise (probably prāṇāyāma) and was efficacious enough to stave off the coming death for an indefinite period of time. Later it is said[2] that tapas is knowledge, and that "let him who knows the secret doctrine of these bricks (iṣṭikās) practise tapas and even who knows this tapas, and abstention from sexual intercourse, has a full share in the world of heaven." Tapas here is closely connected with vidyā and upāsanā, and it is enjoined that it should be performed with knowledge of the sacrificial philosophy. Sexual abstinence is regarded as efficacious for success in one's tapas. The student similarly asked to practise continence for the acquisition of knowledge.

Such creation stories are related in the GB too. It is "an atharvarnic cosmogony[3] in upanisadic manner."[4] Brahma svayambhuva practised tapas, and became heated; this produced sweat (sveda) on his brow and then he knew the great Yakṣa. He practised tapas again and a stream of sweat flowed

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1. SB. X.4.4. 1-2.
2. SB.X.4.4.4. Tasmād evam vit tapa eva tapyeta yadu ha vā evam vit tapas tapyata āmaithunāt sarvam hāsya tat svargam lokam abhisambhavati.
3. Bloomfield Atharvaveda.P.107-08. See R.L. Mitra GB pp.12-17.
4. GB.1.1.1-2.

from his pores; he was pleased and thought that he would support and sustain all, create all and obtain all. The story goes on to tell of the birth of Bhrgu and other beings.[1] The interesting feature of the story is the reference to the sweating of the God. Tapas may have in its complex purposes, that of sweating also, as has been noticed in certain shamamistic circles.[1] But this is the single reference to sweating in the Brāhmaṇas and does not justify the view of Eliade that tapas is a technique for "magical sweating", and Prajāpati undertook in order to produce "creative sweating".[2] Tapas is energy and power which can take various forms. It is also a technique of producing such primordial power in gods and men. But this aspect of sweating is of minor importance. Tapas occurs again in the so-called Praṇava-up,[3] which is probably a later cosmogony written by a different author, deriving the creation from the letter AUM.[4] "Brahman (neuter) produced Brahman (masculine) on a lotus leaf. He began to think, "How could I relish (or experience) all the moving and not moving (sthāvara-jangama) things, all the VYUSTIS, all the words, all the sacrifices, all the Vedas, all the worlds (lokas), all

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1. Eliade. Le Chamanisme pp. 302.
2. Eliade. Yoga. pp. 106-108.
3. GB.1.1.16-30. Cf. ŚB.VI.1.1.8 ff. where Prajāpati creates Brahma and the Vedas.
4. Bloomfield Atharvaveda pp.108-109; R.L.Mitra op.cit pp.17-18.

the desires with one syllable (AKṢARA)." He practised BRAHMACARYA[1] and saw the syllable AUM with two letters (DVIVARṆAM) of four matras - all-pervading (SARVAVYĀPI), all-mighty (SARVAVIBHU) etc. And from which all the sense organs and knowledge and sciences were produced. But that one-letter RG was produced out of the tapas of Brahman.[2] The cosmogony ends with the glorification of the duties of the Atharvanic priest. Later the idea is put forward that if the Sāvitrī verse is repeated mentally or orally in a vow (vrata), then the vow is established in reality (SATYA). The passage goes on to describe a sort of causal dependence of persons and practises, which is quite familiar in the early Brāhmaṇas. "KARMAN is praised (ŚAṂSITA) through the cattle (i.e. sacrifice), tapas, through KARMAN - truth through tapas, BRAHMAN through truth, Brāhmaṇa through Brahman, and through the Brahmana, the vow, and through the vow the Brāhmaṇa becomes praised, voidless (ASŪNYA) and unbroken (AVICCHINNA)."[3]

The passage is very important in showing the inter-

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1. Bloomfield p.109 takes it to mean "penance", but precisely it should be "chastity" which has come to be the general significance of the term. This shows the premium put on chastity for a student.
2. GB. 1.1.21. (R.L. Mitras ed.)
3. GB.1.1.34. Cf. II.3.2.

dependence of vow, act, truth, tapas and brahman, which is emphasised in other texts too.

Prajāpati Atharvan[1] practises tapas to fashion the CĀTUHPRĀŚYAM BRAHMAUDANA. The god VAIŚVĀNARA produces Angiras through the pouring of his semen in ŚRADDHĀ with tapas.[2]

Tapas, as a power personified and praised as such, thus occurs very frequently. The tapas of the Bhṛgus and the Angirases is referred to together with their tejas.[3] Tejas seems to be a product of tapas and means simply brilliance, indicative of power. The cow becomes the form (rupa) of consecration and tapas.[4] Oblations are poured forth for consecration and tapas and Agni,[5] as for mind (manas) and for understanding (medhā). The sacrificial goat too is regarded as the form of consecration and tapas.[6] Dīkṣā, tapas and Agni again come together and tapas seems to be equated with the other two.[7] "Tapas is agni, tapas is madantī,"[8] so it is said in the course of the intermediary

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1. GB.1.2.16.
2. GB.1.2.24.
3. ŚB.1.2.1.13.Cf. GB.1.
4. ŚB.III.1.2.20.
5. ŚB.III.1.4.8.
6. ŚB.III.3.3.8.Cf.III.6.3-11.
7. ŚB.III.4.3.2.
8. ŚB.III.4.3.10. Madantī is the boiling lustral water.

consecration (AVĀNTARADĪKṢĀ). This is only one of those symbolic identifications which are supposed to give the power of the one substance to the other, based on the principle of BANDHUTĀ.[1] Ranade and Belvalkar think this relationship of Bandhutā to be primarily "magical and not logical" but in this case the logic of the identity of the power known as tapas inherent in two substances can hold good. Tapas is identified with various sacrificial processes and elements. Tapas is all powerful. The world is won through tapas, which is the Upasads,[2] and the alter is piled up with tapas. Tapas is the NAVADAŚA STOMA.[3] The giving away of the grass (KUŚĪ) to the gods is regarded as tapas.[4] Similarly the taking of milk as the food during the initiation period is regarded as tapas. The story is related[5] that once vitality (amṛta) went away from the gods, who wanted to get it through tapas and toil (śrama) and then they heard the sound (ghoṣa)[6] of it. But they could not get

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1. CP.pp.62-63 H; Oldenberg. WB.pp.110-111 ff.
2. ŚB.III.4.4.27 Cf.ŚB.X.2.5.3. ETADUHA YAJÑE TAPAḤ YAD UPAṢADAS TAPO VĀ UPASADAS....
3. ŚB.VIII.4.1.14.
4. ŚB.III.6.2.19. the KADRŪ-SUPARṆĪ Story.
5. ŚB.IX.5.1.1. ff.
6. It might be an "audile" type of mystical experience, evoked through tapas.

hold of it unless they underwent the whole tapas, which is non-eating (anāśaka) during the UPAVASATHA.[1] This AMṚTA was the Soma which was given to Agni, who is the body (ātmā) of all the gods. Thus fasting is regarded as an important aspect of tapas, which is here asceticism in the sense of physical austerity. Similarly, it is related in the AB[2] that the Ṛbhus[3] obtained the right of Soma drinking through tapas. In the SAUPARṆA story (AKHYĀNA) the Jagati metres becoming SUPARṆAS (birds) go to heaven and bring back tapas and DĪKṢĀ[4] with which the gods and the seers got King Soma. Tapas becomes thus an important aspect of the Soma Sacrifices and is thought to yield wealth. Tapas is even identified with wealth (VITTA).[5] Thus tapas is practically integrated in the sacrificaial method. In the AŚVAMEDHA[6], after the evening offering of the Agnihotra is performed, the King lies down with his favourite wife (vāvātā) in her lap behind the GĀRHAPATYA fire without indulging in sexual intercourse,[7] and this is regarded as tapas which is efficacious for his

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1. ŚB.IX.5.1.6. From the word Upavasatha is derived the Buddhist word Uposatha.
2. AB. III. 30. Cf. AB.IV.13 too tells of persons practising tapas and partaking of Soma reciting the metres.
3. VM. pp. 131-32 ff.
4. AB. III.25.
5. AB. III.25.
6. ŚB.XIII.4.1.9. 7. SBE.44. P.349.n.4.

life. In the performance of the MAHĀVRATA rite, the object of the desires is attained not alone through sacrifice and oblations but together with truth, toil, tapas and faith.[1] Then one became tejasvin and truthspeaking. Tapas is SVIṢṬAKṚT and who knows this that tapas is sviṣṭakṛit wins all that can be won through tapas.[2] This meant that knowledge of the identity of tapas with the SVIṢṬAKṚT is as efficacious ~~than~~ as the actual performance of tapas. This sacrificial association of tapas is quite a natural growth in its meaning, due to the influence of the situation. In the PB the stories are generally connected with Soma. Soma itself is said to be a mere herb (oṣadhi) among the herbs, but through tapas it saw the Soma-chant and achieved supremacy (ādhipatya), and royalty (RAJYA), and became honoured.[3] Yuktāśva of the Aṅgirasas did tapas to recover the Veda which had gone away from him, because Yuktāśva, the younger brother of VAŚIṢṬHA, exchanged the two newly born children of the mares of SUDĀS PAIJAVANA, the king of the IKṢVĀKUS. Another story is related in connection with the ARIṢṬA-SĀMAN. The Gods and the asuras contended with each other. The Gods who were slain by the Asuras, did not come to life but the Asuras, slain by the gods, came to life again. The gods then

1. ŚB.XII. 1.3.23.
2. ŚB. XI.2.7.18.
3. PB. XI.3.9.

performed tapas and saw this saman and how the slain Asuras could not be enlivened again but the slain gods could be brought back to life.[1] VĀTSAPARĪ performs tapas to find faith through the Vātsapara-Sāman,[2] which was seen through tapas. In most of these cases tapas seems to be more than mere physical austerity. It must include meditation, which yields a vision. In some places tapas has the power to obviate the sin of killing. SUMITRA KAUTSA[3] killed together with INDRA killed the female, sacrifice destroying Asura, DIRGHAJIHVĪ, and an "inauspicious speech" (AŚLĪLĀ VĀK) pursued him[4] and said "Being Sumitra you have done an evil deed." Grief (śuc) tormented him but it was washed away through a sāman after the performance of tapas.

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1. PB. XII. 5. 23. A similar legend about bringing back to life of the slain Gods is related in the ŚB.II.6.1.1. See Caland PB trans. P. 284.
2. PB. XII.11. 25. See Caland op.cit. p. 301.n.1.
3. PB. XIII.6.9.10. The same legend in JB.1.161-163 treated by H. Oertel in: Actes du onzième Congrès International des Orientalistes Paris, 1897. Section arienne pp. 225 ff. See Caland PB. (trans) pp. 328-29.
4. When he strikes against Indra in JB III.159-60. JAOS XXVI P.63. Cf. PB. XVIII.1.9-10 Indra is reproached by "Evil Repute" when he gave the YATIS to the hyenas; XIV.ii.28; VI.10.7 etc. See Keith RPVU.II.PP.477; also Cf. PB XIII. 11.10. Vidanvant does the same.

Agni wanted to become the eater of food and he became this through a sāman, seen through tapas.[1] Indra desirous of tejas, and of haras practised tapas.[2] The seer Uśanas Kāvya wanted to get as many worlds (loka) as the other kāvyas had, and he got this desire through a sāman, seen through tapas.[3] Tapas is identified with Dīkṣā.[4] The practice of tapas produced langour (śuc) in the Angirasas.[5] Tapas is equated with the householder because it is he who practises it.[6] In the Puruṣamedha, however, it is the Śūdra who is identified with tapas.[7] The PB speaks of the form (rūpa) of tapas, which is identified as the sāman.[8] The concept of form is fairly common in the Brāhmaṇas.[9] The form exists as a living symbol of the existent reality.[10] The living visible symbol of tapas is sāman. This term is more con-

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1. PB.XIV.3.19.cf.XIV.11.37. Agni does the same to get hospitality (ĀTITHYA) everywhere.
2. PB. XIV.9.34.
3. PB.XIV.12.5.
4. PB. XXV. 5.2.
5. PB. XV.9.9.
6. PB. XXV.18.3.
7. See above.
8. PB.1.5.10.
9. Oldenberg WB.pp.102-08 ff; RPVU II. pp.486-87. P.W.sv.
10. JUB.III.32;Cf.WB.pp.104-05.~~Cf.M.Falk.NĀMADHĀTU and RŪPADHĀTU (Calcutta).~~Cf. the Name and form of Brahman in ŚB.XI.2.3.1-4.

ceptical[1] than and abstract than TANU.

Thus in the PB tapas is treated in a quite different way than in comparison with the other texts. Tapas here is undertaken only to see and visualise a sāman which yields the desired result. In such a case meditation seems to be an essential part of tapas. There are no creation stories told in the PB connected with tapas. The vision of a sāman through tapas reminds one very much of the story of the Muni ETAŚA of the AB,[2] who in a state of ecstasy, sees hymns. The PB is so schematically organized that it gives an impression of being quite late. There are no variations in the treatment of the concept of tapas. In the JB, however, a less schematic and structurally loose appearance of the various stories is observable. The means of attaining heaven is tapas. The gods desirous of heaven perform it.[3] KĀKṢĪVAT,

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1. Oldenberg. Buddha pp.445-46 ff. translates rūpa as "corporeal frame. compare AB.VIII.7.10 where the brāhmaṇa and royal power, the essence of food, water and herbs are called the form of KṢATRA (KṢATRARŪPAM TAT). also SB.VII. 2.4.30 refers to the "defined form" (NIRUKTAM RŪPAM) of Prajāpati. See also Gonda Gods "and Powers".P.97-98 takes rūpa as "manifestation" or "representation".
2. AB.VI.33.
3. JB.III.T.8; 79. I. 182; III. 258.

desiring cattle undergoes tapas.[1] The Angirasas, while practising tapas, are said to fall into grief which was removed through a sāman.[2] The gods have recourse to tapas and faith and attain tejas, power (bala), strength (indriya), and vigour (vīrya).[3] The Angiras attain however, form (rūpa) and brilliance (Varcas) through tapas.[4] Prajāpati creates the seasons through tapas.[5] Prajāpati was aggrieved and he practised tapas. The breaths told him about the sacrifice which he performed.[6] Prajāpati, moreover, practises tapas to assist the gods in their fight against the Asuras.[7] Tapas is resorted to by the Angirasas desirous of supernatural power (RDDHI).[8] The PB already had said that[9] "as he practises tapas, with that he attains that prosperity which

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1. JB.III.198.Cf.I.217; also 1.1.60.
2. JB.III.53.Cf. I.224.
3. JB.III.117.
4. JB.III.223.Cf. III.219.
5. JB.III.1.Cf. II.252.
6. JB.II.261.
7. JB.1.104.
8. JB.II.14.
9. PB.XXV.14.3. Caland's trans. pp. 640. "Atha yat tapas tapyate yā daivī tām tena.

is of the gods."[1] Tapas is identified with mind. Tejas is closely related with tapas.[2] Tapas as an act is conjoined with good action (sukṛta) and Iṣṭapūrta..[3] This connection with Iṣṭapūrta adds an important dimension to the conception of tapas. The central idea of Iṣṭapūrta is that the acts of rituals and charity yield results in the other world, without any divine interference.[4] The results of these actions are imperishable[5] which also seems to be implied in the case of good works (sukṛta).[6] Both these concepts are used here too together. They share many common characteristics. All of them are parts of the general concept of Karman. But the idea of Karman was still different from the Upanisadic conception of an irreversible moral law which guided the destiny of a man beyond this

1. JB.III.360.
2. JB.III.373; TB.III.11.1.2.3.
3. JB.1.97.
4. Cf. RV.X.14.8.
5. Cf. KB.VII.4. JB.11.53. quoted by Keith op.cit. pp.478 n.5.
6. Cf. TB.III.10.11.3.

world and his rebirth. All spheres of activity have their deities and we hear of the lord of tapas and the lord of consecration. But we do not read of any lord of Iṣṭapūrta. Tapas too most often seems like an independent principle yielding results but the god Agni or the Sun is prayed to favour it or accept it. The doctrine of the imperishable character of the results of Tapas is still in its infancy[1] but the foundation of this doctrine is already laid.

Tapas is also identified with truth (satya)[2]. Man is regarded as untruth (anṛta) and the gods as truth.[3] Truth speaking is thus to behave like a god and this is regarded as performance of tapas.[4] Tapas, therefore, is regarded as the upholding principle. Tapas has close relationship with Brahman. Brahman generally occurs in the Brāhmaṇas in the sense of the power of speech, tapas becomes a power born out of ritual acts, fire austerities and meditation, and identifications with such psycho-physical entities such as the mind and the breath. In one passage tapas is regarded as the womb (yoni) of brahman.[5]

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1. Compare. Geldner (in Lindenau ZII.i.49n.) thinks that The result of tapas persists and tapas itself is imperishable esp. in AV.X.7.11;
2. TB.III.10.5.1.
3. ŚB.1.1.1.1.
4. TB.III.7.1.10.
5. TB.III.7.7.1.

The epithets tapasvin and tapasvat[1] occur mainly as epithets of Agni. Tapasvin is used sometimes for the sacrificer also.[2] Tapoja is used sometimes for the seer[3] or for the sacrificial strainers (pavitra).[4] Tapaspati is primarily Agni.[5]

Thus there is a considerable development in the ideas about tapas which competes with sacrifice in importance and efficacy. Tapas is prior to the majestic sacrifices, the rituals of which were first intuitively discerned in a vision produced by tapas. Tapas itself is identified with sacrificial processes and the sacrifices seem to appropriate to themselves the cosmic power and pretensions of tapas. Tapas as a sort of yogic practice has to be undergone by Prajāpati, Brahman, Mṛtyu etc. to create the world, to produce children or to satisfy their desires. Tapas included in one complex concept many activities which were regarded as austerities in later times - such as fasting, vegetarianism, keeping vigil, meditation, even a technique of sweating, and abstinence. In the Brāhmaṇas there is a growing association

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1. TB.III.10.1.2; AB. VII.8.
2. ŚB.XIV.1.1.29; TB.III.7.6.3.; GB.1.5.24.
3. AB.II. 27.
4. VS. X.6. ŚB. XIV.1.4.8. Cf. V.3.5.16;17.
5. ŚB.III.4. 3.9.; 6.3.21; GB. II.2.3.

of tapas with mind. It seems to assume the garb of an independent moral act which has an irresistible result. Tapas, however, cannot be dissociated from its magical associations and its inherent connections with fire.[1] Tapas is used in the sense of mana or psychic power, magical in content, and philosophical in tone, such as can be found in one form or other in any religious society. The type of asceticism denoted by tapas is still not disruptive of the social organism; rather tapas is utilised to give an added strength to the social bonds. Many of the "power concepts" such as virya, bala, tejas, etc. are all dependent on tapas which is a term closely associated with Agni, from whose domain all the other "light terms" denoting power have sprung up. The cosmological dimension of the tapas concept is also important. But it cannot be accepted that tapas was thought of as the basis of all creation, though it contributes one of the most important elements of it. This aspect must be connected with fire worship and sun worship.

The idea of Śrama is closely connected with the idea of tapas. The verbal root ŚRAM has two meanings - to toil, strive, and to be wearied.[2] It seems that the second sense is an outcome of the first. It seems to be primarily concerned

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1. See above Chap. II.

2. P.W. s.v. Monier-Williams. Sanskrit - Dictionary sv.

with physical effort, connected probably with the activities of worship. In many of the creation stories Prajāpati undertakes śrama and tapas to create living beings,[1] the triple sciences,[2] and the waters.[3] Through the tapas and śrama of Prajāpati the seven goddesses came out of the consecration.[4] Agni is only the brilliant essence (tejo hasa) of the heated and wearied (śrānta) light Arka which is identical with the waters.[5] Similarly the three lights are born out of the tapas and śrama of Prajāpati.[6] "Creative sweating" is produced out of tapas and śrama.[7] Śrama is also regarded as a power like tapas, which has a protective capacity[8].

The hymn-creating (mantrakṛt) and wise seers and the gods attain the goddess speech through tapas and śrama.[9] Quite

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1. ŚB.II.2.4.1. 5.1.1.
2. ŚB.VI.1.1.8.
3. ŚB.VI.13.1.
4. ŚB.XIII.1.7.1.
5. ŚB.X.6.5.2.
6. ŚB.XI.5.8.1.
7. GB.1.1.2.;1.12.
8. TB.II.4.1.11.
9. TB.II.8.8.5. Cf. ŚB. XII.1.3.23. IX.5.1.2.; AB.II.13; VII.15.

unintelligible is the statement in the Horse-sacrifice that srama is evil (pāpmā)[1], and that it should be killed. It is quite likely that this may be the expression of hostility towards the technique of śrama, or that śrama, being identified with the potter (KAULĀLA) in the PURUṢAMEDHA,[2] incurred the stigma of being an inferior type of activity and, therefore, one that should be abandoned. Tapas too in the Puruṣamedha, is given over to the Śūdras.[3] This may indicate that these lower classes were taking to ascetic practices.

Another characteristic association of śrama with the root "ARC", pray, worship. The story is told[4] about the struggle between the gods and the Asuras for superiority in which the gods were defeated. The Asuras then began to divide the earth among themselves. When the gods heard of it, they too wanted a share and placed in the sacrifice Viṣṇu, who was a dwarf (vāmana). The Asuras agreed to give only that much of earth to the gods as was occupied by Viṣṇu. The gods enclosed him (Viṣṇu) on all the three sides and put Agni on the altar and "went on worshipping and toiling (arcantaḥ śrāmyantaś ceruḥ)[5], and got the whole earth, which is identified with the altar. The gods do the same

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1. SB. VI.3.3.7.
2. TB.III.4.3.1.
3. loc.cif.
4. SB. 1.2.5.1 - 7 ff.Cf.TB.III.2.9.7. See SBE 12.P.59 n.
5. This must be regarded as the origin of the Dwarf incarnation legend.

to win the seasons, the year, and food through the PRAYAJA[1]. It is said that "the gods win that through śrāma which is worth winning for them."[2] The gods "see" the sacrifice through srama and praising as through tapas,[3] or they see the AGNYĀDHEYA to overcome their mortal enemies the Asuras.[4] The idea in general is similar to tapas. Śrāma, however, seems to be rather a physical than a mental activity. On the whole tapas and srama lay down the basic foundations of the typically vedic austerities which are as effective and potent as any other variety of ascetic practice. Śrāma as a primarily physical austerity becomes a complementary concept to tapas.

The other important word is vrata which occurs in the sense of vow beside other senses. The various usages of vrata remind one of the usages in the Yvsamhitās from which they do not differ much. The word as used in connection with ritual involves both sacrificial objects and materials like milk and food and processes such as any of the sacrifices themselves. In the Nirukta the term is interpreted rather narrowly as the offering and eating of milk and other food in sacrifice.[5] But elsewhere the sense of vow is predominant.

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1. ŚB.1.5.3.3.
2. ŚB.1.6.2.3.Cf.7.3.2.IV.2.4.12;5.4.2,6.4.1;X.4.3.6;XI.5.9.4; XIV.1.1.17;2.2.44.
3. Cf.ŚB.I.7.2.23;
4. II.2.2.9.
5. See above.

The sacrificer,[1] in the Upasads, goes to the four teats of the cows for the sake of the vrata, which means here milk, used during the sacrifice. Again in the DĪKṢĀNĪYA IṢṬI[2] (one of the PĀKAYAJÑAS) vrata stands for milk. But it could be explained as an extended significance of the term only. Still phrases reminiscent of the Samhita are used. There is a reference to the vrata of the Sun, while dealing with the NIVIDS.[3] Vrata probably means here the law, which is followed by the NIVIDS. In the AB[4] the term vrata is applied to the king's vow before the battle - "he should not sleep before the enemy; if he thinks him to be standing, he should remain standing; he should not lie down before the enemy." Vrata here is applied to a code of martial conduct. While discussing the prāyaścitti with regard to the weeping after the establishment of the fires[5] on the fasting day (UPAVASATHA) it is said that sacrifice should be made to Agni, the Vratapati, vratabhṛt and vratapā and the

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1. AB.1.25. Keith.RVB.p.126.TS.VI.2.3.1.SB.III.4.4.14.
2. AB.III.40.
3. AB.III.11.Keith opcit pp.171 takes it to mean to follow "the course of the sun". "ĀDITYASYAIVA TADVRATAM ANU PARYAVĀRTANTE".
4. AB.VIII.40. Keith opcit pp. 343.
5. AB.VII.8.Cf. KB. XXXII.7.

phrase "YAD VO VAYAM PRAMINĀMI VRATĀNI", is repeated. The term AVRATYA is used in the Samhitā sense of "breath of the vow".[1] In the TB the AGNIHOTRA is the vow.[2] There is more efficacy in the vow (vrata) protected (gupta) by the year (SAMVATSARA), i.e. the Sun.[3] This is a new collocation of the word with the root GUP. But the vow has to be performed by a "thus knowing" (EVAM-VIDVĀN) person. The Ceremony of VRATOPANAYANA is regarded as efficacious in the production of children.[4] Similar is another passage, which says, "He puts all the desires (KĀMA) in the fire who observes the VRATA after establishing the fire."[5] The contexts are completely sacrificial and vow becomes the dominant sense.

The gods are prayed to in very heartfelt terms to enable persons to fulfil their vows.[6] Vrata seems to be sometimes a sort of a personified power. It is said that one attains (LAMBHAYATI) the VRATA after sacrificing to Agni, the lord of vows.[7] VRATA also seems to continue in the old sense of "law", when it is said that "we could not grasp the VRATA of those two gods (the Sun and the Moon).[8] The ascetic import of

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1. SB.III.3.3.13.III.4.3.2.
2. TB.1.4.4.2;5.
3. TB.1.5.3.4.
4. TB.III.3.3.2.3.
5. TB.III.7.1.1. SARVĀN VA EṢO'GNAU KĀMĀN PRAVEṢAYATI YO 'GNĪ ANVĀDHĀYA VRATAM UPAITI.
6. TB.III.7.11;2. 7. TB.III.7.3.5. 8. TB.II.8.9.1.Cf.11 8.7.5. the VRATA of the Sun (ADITYA).

VRATA comes out when DĪKṢĀ done in the night is regarded as VRATA.[1] In the PB, Caland interprets the word in the sense of "direction",[2] which could better be translated as "observance". The ŚABALI rite which is described in this section is enjoined for those who, though qualified to get food, do not obtain it. It prescribes certain austerities such as drinking only hot milk and sleeping on the bare ground. In the prayer to ŚABALI the sacrificer exclaims: "May I among the beings perform the mightiest vow".[3] In another section dealing with the MAHĀVRATA rite, it is related that when Prajāpati created the creatures, out of himself, he was emptied, and he fell down. To him the gods brought the great VRATA, which restored him.[4] VRATA is taken by Sāyaṇa as KARMAN, in the sense of duty, but in the PB elsewhere, it is taken as food (anna),[5] which seems to be more apposite in the context. URATA, however, stands for the Mahāvrata rite in the PB.[6]

In the ŚB there is a greater proliferation in types of expression and more occurence of the term. Fasting (ANASANA) is regarded as VRATA,[7] in connection with the Full Moon

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1. TB.III.10.11.2.
2. On PB XXI.3.7. Caland. pp.552.
3. Cf. Caland's trans. loc.cit. "May I among the creatures go along the mightiest direction."
4. PB.IV.10.1;2. Caland's trans. pp.68-69.Cf.TB.1.2.6.1. JB.II.409.
5. PB.XVI.7.5. 6. PB.XXI.15.2;4;XXII.9.5. 7. ŚB.1.1.1.7.

sacrifices. Speaking the truth is the vow taken by the gods and one who enters on the VRATA (i.e. the sacrifice) is "non-human" (amanuṣa)[1], and "approaches the gods".[2] In the consecration for the AGNIṢTOMA the word Vrata occurs in the old sense of milk prepared with rice and barley, vegetables and fragrant things.[3] The ritualistic interpretation of the Samhitā words is observable when the SB, quoting the RV (1.22.19) identifies the word VRATA with food.[4] VRATA is equated with the food of the Great One, Agni.[5] VRATA as fasting is eulogised and it is said that fasting is the "head of the sacrifice", and the "fast observance" is the DĪKṢĀ.[6]

The term AVRATYA sheds more light on the nature of the term VRATA. One has to perform prāyaścitti in the Intermediary consecration if he speaks or performs that which is "AVRATYA".[7] Avratya comes to have a sense of sin or error, that which is against the law, for which expiations have to be performed.[8]

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1. ŚB.1.1.1.5.
2. ŚB.1.1.1.11.
3. ŚB.III.1.2.1. Cf.III.2.2.7.10,14;16-19;24;III.3.3.15.IV. 6.4.2.
4. ŚB.VII.5.1.25.
5. ŚB.X.4.1.4.
6. ŚB.XII.8.24.Cf.XIV.1.1.28.
7. PB.III.3.4.2.
8. See Keith. RPVU.11.P.356-57 on Expiations.

Anyavrata occurs only once in the whole of the Brāhmaṇa literature,[1] where men and the Sun are said to be "anyavrata". One becomes victorious with tapas and truth.[2] The vratas of BHṚGUS, the Brāhmaṇas RĀJANYA, VAIŚYA, RATHAKĀRA, and of the gods VARUṆA, INDRA, and the Ṛbhus are referred to.[3]

The verb vratayati too occurs, as in the YVSAMHĪTĀS, and means to "follow the law or observe the vow."[4] Another term "VRATYAM" is used in the sense of "in accordance with the vow".[5] The poet prays to be "vratya" to the shining"Mitra."[6] VRATYA seems to mean"to be obedient to the law of". A further term "avrata" means a condition in which one does not perform the duty imposed on one, for instance, of fasting.[7] A consecrated person should not become angry, or speak anything which is vowless (avrata).[8] Vivrata has disappeared, while

1. See V.P.A. Kośa. vol. LP.81.
2. GB. 1.4.13.
3. TB.1.1.4.8.Cf.SB.III.2.2.15.
4. SB.III.2.2.10;18;III.2.2.19;
5. KB.XXVII.3.TB.1.7.4.3.JUB.11.5.3.2.
6. TB.1.7.4.3.Cf.GB.II.1.14; TB.III.7.1.9 refers to a VRATYĀ PATNĪ.
7. AB.VII.II.
8. SB.III.2.2.24.Cf.III.4.3.2.AA.V.3.3.V.2.2.

savrata[1] and Suvrata[2] come quite infrequently, in the Samhitā sense. The term "vratacaryā" is very frequent in the ŚB,[3] and reminds one of the later classical Tapaścaryā.

The term Vratapati[4] in the Brāhmaṇas is in most cases applied to Agni, the pre-eminent god of these texts, though other gods too share this honour, esp. Vāyu and Aditya.[5] Vratabhṛd[6] is another epithet used for Agni, and so is the case with the epithet VRATAPATI[7].

Thus Vrata now appears in a completely different atmosphere, where action and devotion combine to denote the initial activity followed under the benign guidance and protection of the God Agni. Like tapas it is chiefly under the supervision of Agni, which provided a connecting link with tapas. It is an ethical term and, therefore, its relationship with tapas becomes more significant. As in the sense of vow, vrata includes tapas itself. As vow, VRATA has intimate connection with the will of the man. It has, in sacrificial contexts,

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1. TB.1.2.1.18.
2. AB.1.9;V.8.
3. SB.II.1.4.2;7;V.5.3.2.7;XI.1.4.2; XIV.1.1.33;XIV.1.2.26; XIV.2.1.22;II.2.55; III.3.1.38;3.2.31.
4. AB.VII.8. TB.III.7.3.5.;ŚB.1.1.1.2:III.2.2.22;24;III.4.3.9; 6.3.21.
5. TB.III.7.4.7; TA.IV.41.3.4.6.
6. AB.VII.8.TB.II.4.1.11; GB.II.1.15.
7. AB.VII.8;TB.11.4.1.11.ŚB.III.2.2.24;4.3.9;6.3.21.

such senses as milk, and water, but that is only a derivative sense. Used for "fasting" it has more definite ascetic nuances. Vrata inculcates proper behaviour in accordance with the laws of the gods,[1] in the breach of vrata one commits sin for which expiations are necessary. Dharman and Ṛta recede in the background in face of Vrata. As an ethical and ascetic activity it persists in the Upaniṣads.[2] As in the Samhitās, we think Vrata continues to have the basic dualism in significance - that of vow and of law.

Morality as depicted in the Brāhmaṇas centres round certain concepts like satya and Anṛta, and pāpa and puṇya. The gods are said to be true. They are true to their compacts but man is not. The eye is the truth and if a man sees a thing with his eyes, that is the truth. The God Prajāpati is said to have created the Gods with Satya and the Asuras, with Anṛta.[3] The relationship of Gods with truth and the Asuras with untruth is clear in another passage[4] in which the Gods, who speak truth consistently, are reduced to poverty in the beginning but prosper in the end. This idea of suffering hardship in the beginning and enjoying happiness in the end, is quite familiar in Indian thoughts.[5]

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1. Cf. Oldenberg. WB.pp. 124-26.
2. See below.
3. MS.1.9.3. Satyaṃ Devāḥ asrjantānṛtamasurāḥ.
4. SB.IX 5.1. 13-18.
5. The Gita: Chap XVII.

Truth is the pain conquering utterance;" was the teaching given to Śaṇceya Prācīnayogya by uddālaka Āruṇi[1], and, therefore, it should be always spoken. Yajñavalkya said to Janaka that the sacrifice of Agnihotra is to be performed with truth (satya) in faith (śraddhā).[2]

There are some confusions about the duty of truth speaking, vitiated by the considerations because of reverence shown at the sacrifice,[3] but power of śraddhā, japas and satya is as efficacious as the knowledge of the Agnihotra and its performance. But in another passage Aruṇa Aupavési is quite definite about speaking the truth. A person who has established the fires must not speak untruth. Rather he should be a restrainer of speech, or speak not at all.[4] Truth speaking is made equivalent to Agnyādheya. Satya is thus very closely connected with speech, but in the Brāhmaṇas it, More or less, assumes the importance of Ṛta and replaces the latter and takes the idea of "Order" as it should exist; which is implied in the term itself[5]. The sacrificer, moreover, brings himself in relation with truth by the use of the right words from the trayi vidyā. Truth is identified with the Āpaḥ, "through its connection with Varuṇa"[6] who is

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1. SB.XI.5.3.13.

2. SB.XI.3.13.

3. KS.II.8. See Keith P.365. RVB.

4. Kaura ed adds emphatically "speak ye not". See SBE.12. P.312-13. Keith misquotes him.RPVU.PP.473 SB II.2.2.19.20.

5. Cf.Oldenberg.GN.191.5.PP.177ff. 6. See S.Levi.La Doctrine pp. 152 ff. the relation with water.pp.155-60.

both the God of water and the guardian of morality. Satya's connection with tapas has been dealt with elsewhere (AB.III.6. JB.II.278 - Hiranyadant Baide). Levi translates satya as exactitude[1] and anṛta as inexactitude; but that does not cover the idea of satya and anṛta.

But we must look to a different aspect of the problem of asceticism - that is, of yoga. In the yoga of the Upaniṣads and of the classical times Prāṇa is of immense importance, which is already reflected in the Brāhmaṇas. There is great uncertainty about the number of prāṇas. Sometimes they are thought to be nine[2], seven[3], six[4], five[5], three[6], one[7], ten[8] and then it is said that there are one hundred and one[9] Prāṇas in the body. Prāṇas are in each limb of the body. Prāṇa is identified with the gods, savitā[11], Agni[12] and the

1. op.cit. P.158.
2. AB.1.20. ~~SB~~.
3. SBE 41.P.93.196,268,296,etc. JB.II.57.
4. SBE.41. P270.
5. ŚB.VIII.1.3.6.
6. AB.II.4.
7. ŚB.VIII.1.1.6.
8. ŚB.XI.1.2.3.JB.II.58.
9. ŚB.X.2.6.15.
10. ŚB.VIII.3.4.5
11. AB.1.19.

~~10. ŚB.VIII.3.4.5.~~

12. AB.II.4.II.39. ŚB.II.1.4.20.

Lord of the forest, Vanaspati.[1] Prāṇa is regarded as the sacrificial offerings,[2] which must have led to the conception of self-sacrifice as one lives one's daily life. It is regarded as the enlivening principle of the Soma-sacrifice[3] because of the importance of long breath in singing. Prāṇa is vigour and power (RETAS).[4] Prāṇa in man is regarded as the same as the wind. White wind is the breath of Prajāpati, Prāṇa is that of man. The story is related that when Prajāpati produced creatures his Prāṇas went out from him,[5] and that these are the wind (vāyu).[6] In the Agnicayana section the story is related how in the beginning there was non-existence (asad) and the seers were the Asad; but the seers were the Prāṇas which they got with tapas and toil. Prāṇa is thought to have been produced from speech[7], and is said to have practised tapas to obtain an ātman, perhaps here a subtle body. This relationship of the breath with the speech is quite obvious. It is said that Prāṇas leave him who speaks

1. AB.II.10.
2. AB.II.29.V.25.
3. PB.1.6.16.
4. AB.II.38.III.2.
5. ŚB.VII.1.2.1-5.
6. ŚB.VI.1.1.1-5.
7. ŚB.X.5.3.5.

impurity. Prāṇa is said to be the "immortal element"[1] according to one opinion, but the ŚB controverts it declaring that Prāṇa is life (āyus)[2].

Speculation on Prāṇa is quite well developed and the obvious identification of Prāṇa with the wind[3] gave to the Brāhmaṇas a good subject of symbolism and a basis on which to discover unity in the world. Prāṇa is the individualised aspect of the cosmic wind. It is sometimes recognised as ātman.[4]

There are various types of breath and Prāṇa is only one of them. Prāṇa, Apāna, Vyāna, Udāna and Sāmana, are already noticed in the YV Samhitās, but not in the RV, where Prāṇa seems to indicate "breath in general"[5] A clarification of these terms has been attempted by Ewing[6] who thinks that Prāṇa is the breath that moves upwards from the umblicus or the heart - including both inhalation and exhalation; apāna, he thinks, has several meanings, like the breath of the anus and the scrotum and of the large intestine; while the vyāna is the breath permeating all the limbs; and the udāna is the

1. ŚB.IX.1.2.23.
2. ŚB.VIII.7.3.20.
3. JB.II.54.
4. ŚB.VIII.4.3.8.
5. JAOS.22 (1901). pp. 254. A.H. Ewing. "The Hindu Conception of the Functions of Breath". pp. 249-58.
6. Loc.cit.

breath that carries the soul to the head in the Samādhi; and the Sāmana is the breath of the abdomen specially connected with digestion. These interpretations, however, seem to be based on much later physiological ideas and may not be correct.[1] Brown, however thinks that Prāṇa is the thoracic breath, and the apāna, the abdominal one. On the other hand, Filliozat has a very generalised viewpoint.[2] He thinks that Prāṇa is the breath of the upper part of the body and that apāna has connections with the lower part, while vyāna is the air of the middle part of the body. The vedic translators are not very decided and change their translations of the same term. But Bloomfield consistently regards Prāṇa as "inbreathing" and apāna as "outbreathing".[3] Sāyaṇa in his commentaries takes the opposite view and describes Prāṇa as being breath that goes out,[4] Apāna as breath coming into the soul,[5] and the Udāna as breath without the body elements and therefore more brilliant.[6] This only shows the variety of the opinions held about these various psycho-physical entities. In the Brāhmaṇas they are so confusingly interchanged that it is anybody's guess what they may mean. In the Brāhmaṇas there

1. G.W. Brown. Prāṇa and Apāna. JAOS 29 (1919)pp.104-12.
2. La Doctrine Classique pp.142 ff; 148 ff.
3. SBE.42. Hymns of the Atharvaveda; Cf.the trans. of Hang in the AB too.
4. BAHIḤ SAÑCĀRĪRŪPA PRĀṆAḤ on TS.IV.3.3.
5. PUNARANTAḤ SAÑCĀRĪRŪPA, or BAHIRNIRGATASYA VĀ YOR ĀTMĀBHIMUKHIVṚTTI.
6. DEHASYOTKṢEPAṆĀDADHIKATEJOYUKTAḤ.

is an insistance on the purification of the breaths,[1] generally through restraint of speech or through sacrifices but not through any technique of Prāṇāyāma. The development of the practice of Prāṇāyāma however must have been assisted from the idea of the holding of the breath in speech. Speculation on Prāṇa gave another direction in the search of the self. In the RV ātman has the sense of "breath, life".[2] During the later Brahmanic period Prāṇa is regarded as a different principle from the body and as its "immortal element".[3] It is a force which perculates each limb of the body.[4] The length of life depends on the Prāṇas. The eleventh (i.e. the chief) Prāṇa is regarded as the Ātman.[5] Prāṇa is identified with the fire,[6] which might have provided a basis for linking tapas with breath control to increase the power of the body. In late times, the practice of yoga was supposed to make the body "full of fire".[7] Prāṇa was closely connected with the other organic functions, which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

1. AB.II.40.
2. VM. P.166.
3. SB.X.2.6.18.
4. SB.X.2.6.15.
5. SB.III.8.1.3.
6. SB.X.2.6.18.
7. Śvet.up II.12

We must however turn our attention to the ascetic personalities which are noted in the Brāhmaṇas. The first striking figure is that of the Muni, who is mentioned many times. We find several references to the celebrated Muni ETAŚA whose story is dealt with, in the AB[1], KB[2], GB[3], and also in many of the ŚRAUTA SUTRAS.[4] Etaśa is already mentioned in the AV.[5] Among all the versions of his story the longest is that of the AB and the shortest that of the KB. The other versions seem to be derived from the AB which seems to be the oldest.

The story is related that ETAŚA Muni, saw the life-energy of Agni, the unwearied one of the sacrifice. He said to his sons "Sons, I have seen the life power (āyus) of Agni. I will chatter (abhi-lap-), whatever I speak, do not disregard it (MĀ PARIGĀTĀ)[6]". As soon as Aitaśa started speaking A-BHYAGNI AITAŚĀYANA, coming at a wrong moment, heard the mouth of his father saying that, "our father has gone out of his mind (ADRPAM NAH PITĀ)". His father said to him, "Go away, become a lazy sluggard, who has killed my speech." He cursed the sons of Abhyagni who are said to be the most sinful among

1. VI.33.
2. KB.XXX.5.
3. GB.II.6.13. See Bloomfield. Atharvaveda. pp. 124.
4. Ap. Śr.s. VIII.3.14. Ś.Śr.S. XII.18.2.1-19.
5. AV.XX.129.1.
6. GB. "I will talk about it but pray do not scorn me for anything I might speak".

the AURVAS. The AITAŚA PRALĀPA is said to be very beneficial for prolonging life.[1]

Another interpretation of this section given in the Br. is that "it is the essence of the metres; by repeating it the reciter puts speech into the metre."[2] So while the sacrifice is spread with the Aitaśapralāpa it is spread with the essence of the metres. The Aitaśapralāpa is fit for removing defects in the sacrifice and for restoring its entirety for it is imperishableness (AYĀTĀYĀMĀ AKṢITI). The Brāhmaṇa refers to the Ājyasenyā verses[3] and the Pratirādha verses,[4] and Ativāda[5] and the Pravalhya verses,[6] with the help of which the gods defeated the Asuras, outspoke them and confounded them. A similar effect can be achieved by the sacrificer himself against his rivals.

The Muni in this stage of the evolution of Vedic society is regarded as a seer of hymns (MANTRADRASTRĀ). He is more or less on a par with the other Rqvedic seers.[7] The KB regards

1. Aitaśapralāpa āyur eva.
2. CHANDASĀM HAISA RASO YADAITAŚAPRALĀPAH CHANDA HSVEVA TADVĀCAM DADHĀTI.
3. Identified by Keith with AV XX.134.1-4; Śāmkhāyana Śr.S. XII.23.1. See RVB.pp. 285.
4. Identified with AV.XX.135.1-3.
5. Identified with AV.XX.135.4.
6. Identified with AV.XX.133.1-6 etc. Sāyaṇa takes it to mean ascheating with fair words, but Keith, as the riddle verses.
7. KB. XXX.5.

them as the descendants of the Bhrgus. They are said by the KB to be the "worst of the Brhgus, because they were under a curse by their own father, their own deity, their own Prajāpati." This incidentally underlines the importance of the father in the Vedic Society, who is regarded as a god. As in the RV or the AV, the Muni is regarded as primarily religious and spiritual, but here he is thought to be able to see the hymns in ecstasy. He seems to be integrated within the Vedic Society. A similar acceptance is visible in the AV but he is looked upon as a person possessed with madness.[1] A similar reaction is that of the son of Etaśa. The purpose of the story seems to be to indicate that such ecstasy is not a sign of madness but is a spiritual phenomenon which is productive of hymns. The story illustrates the attitude of the common people, but it also instructs them to regard the Muni's ecstasy as Divine Frenzy and Enthusiasm: This probably gives an interesting side-light on the method of hymn creation. The empirical and sceptic attitude of Abhyagni is scouted by the religious persons of the time and he is laden with the grievous burden of deadly sins. This also gives interesting evidence of the beginnings of disbelief and philosophic doubt, which might be regarded as foreshadowing the comparative rationalism of the Buddhists and the Jainas.

A new word Munimarana (Saints' death)[2] refers to a place where the Munis used to die. In the PB this is connected

1. See above.

2. Caland trans. on PB.XIV.4.7.

with the Vaikhānasa Sāman.[1] The story[2] is told that the Vaikhānasas were dear to Indra and they were killed at the place called Munimaraṇa by Rahasyu Devamalimluc (Rahasyu, the "God-robber"). The gods asked Indra about these seers. Indra went in search of them but could not find them. He then cleansed these worlds with one stream[3] and found them at Munimaraṇa and revived them by means of this sāman called the Vaikhānasa sāman.

In the JB[4] the story is also told, but some differences. Rahasyu is called here the son of Malimluc, and Indra, while searching for the seers, asks Rahasyu about them. He replies that he has killed them. Indra then says that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa is difficult to confess[5] and he has confessed it. Rahasyu answers that he has taken on himself (the guilt of) falsehood and Brāhmaṇa-killing, and that falsehood has gone away from him and he has come to truth. Indra then rewards him with a boon for his truthfulness, that he may have as his progeny Brāhmaṇas who are identified with the Takṣus. Then

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1. See Caland. trans. P.358.
2. PB. XIV. 4.7.
3. nadi - perhaps this refers to an early version of the myth of the birth of the Ganga.
4. JB.III.190. See also Caland's JB In Auswahl No. 193.
5. Because the killing of the Brāhmaṇa meant death. The killing of the Brāhmaṇa is a graver sin than all types of murders except the killing of an embryo.See. Ved. Ind. II. P. 84.

Indra revived the Vaikhānasas, through this sāman which because it was seen by Indra Vikhānas is called the "Vaikhānas" sāman. The JB version does not refer to the Munimaraṇa. There is more moral consciousness in the JB and the sense of guilt is greater but the importance of the saman is more in the PB than in the JB. The importance of confession, as a remedy against sins too is acknowledged in the JB. The etymology of the term Vaikhānasa is related to Indra in the JB, but is not referred to in the PB. Moreover, the JB refers to the Vaikhānasas as the Brāhmaṇas, as the Muni is called a Bhṛgu in the KB. The killing of the Vaikhānasas by Rahasyu reminds one of the legend of the killing of the Yatis by Indra, who is asked by the gods about the condition of the Vaikhānasas.[1]

In the KB[2] there is a reference to a sacrifice called MUNYAYANA, during which one "sacrifices to Agni and Visnu every time save at the Parvan, i.e. the new and full moon offering, the four monthly offerings, the Ayana (animal), and the Year (Soma) offerings."[3] There are two different Munyayanas given by Baudhāyana.[4] This is a sacrifice for one who desires everything. It is difficult to understand the reason of its relation with the Munis. It is likely that some Muni like Etaśa initiated it.

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1. On the Vaikhānasas; see below.

2. KB.IV.10.

3. This is according to Ś.Śr.S.III.11.7-10.quoted in Keith RVB.P.368.n.1.

4. B.Śr.S. XVI.30.

Similarly while treating the "Turāyaṇa" sacrifice, the PB[1] refers to Tura the deva-muni who obtained all his desires by making this sacrifice. The KB[2] says that the sacrificer puts on a black antelope skin, while the PB refers to the fact that he is performing tapas and attains "that welfare that of the gods."[3] This further shows the new special sacrifices associated with Munis within the Vedic ritualism. The black antelope may refer to a consecration ceremony as Śāmkhāyana states.[4] The name Tura might be related to Tura Kāvaṣeya[5], who is mentioned by the ŚB[6] in the list of the teachers in succession to Śāṇḍilya, and who taught the science of Agnicayana, and who in the AB, is the purohita of Janamejaya Parīkṣita.[7] Oldenberg regards him as a later Vedic teacher.[8] This Tura Kāvaṣeya might be

1. PB.XXV.14.5.
2. KB.IV.II. Keith RVB.pp. 368-69.
3. Caland's trans. pp. 640.
4. ŚŚS.III.II.11-15; which gives two processes in this - one cake for Agni and Viṣṇu and a pap for the All-Gods, which, the latter, is regarded as including an imitation of the Dīkṣā, see Keith. RVB.pp. 368.n.1.
5. Cf. See Weber. Ind. Stud.ii.P.312, quoted by Keith also (loc.cit); also Ved. Ind. IP. 314.
6. X.6.5.9.
7. AB.IV.27; VII.34.VIII.21.
8. ZDMG.42. P. 239.

one of the descendants of the seer Kavaṣa Aitūṣa, who was the son of a slave girl, and was therefore debarred from joining in the sacrifices, performed on the Sarasvati,[1] but was sent by the seers to the desert, where he suffered from thirst and "saw" a hymn.[2] Then the seers accepted him in their midst. Kavaṣa seems to have performed austerities in the desert, which makes him acceptable to the community of the seers. The genealogy shows some non-aryan blood in the veins of Tura, the deva-muni.

Different from these seers were the Yatis, who already occur in the RV, as a tribe or mythical beings. The word Yati may be derived from the root "yam"[3], It means probably "to attach, to join", but also "to attach oneself to".[4] Yati occurs in the RV together with the Bhṛgus[5] and seem to refer to "real persons".[6] Praṣkanva asks for that strength (vīrya) with which Indra brought wealth to the

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1. AB.ii.19;KB.XII.3; See Keith. RVB.pp. 25-28; Ved Ind I.P.143-44.
2. RV.X.30.
3. P.W.sv. Monier-Williams takes the original meaning to be "to stretch" (based on Dhātupāṭha II.29).
4. RV.VII.79.2;X.13.2;5;esp. in "Yatamānāh" in RV.VIII. 43.4; X.18.6; 77.2; See also Ved. Stud III.P.11-12; Renou Etudes Sur le Vocabulaire du Rgveda. Premiere Serie (Pondicherry 1958) pp. 44-46.
5. RV.VIII.3.9. A Hymn to Indra; and also in VIII.6.18.
6. Ved.Ind.II.P.185.

Bhṛgus and the Yatis,[1] while in another hymn the Yatis and the Bhṛgus are said to have praised Indra.[2] In another hymn however, the Yatis, together with the gods, are said, to fashion the world.[3] The picture which one gets from the RV about the character of the Yatis, is that they were allied to the Bhṛgus and that they worshipped Indra, who brought wealth for them. This does not show in any way their non-aryan character. The references to their nationality are not very definite. Indra is a friend to the Munis, as he is to the Yatis.

In the AV, there seems to be only one reference to the Yatis together with the Bhṛgus.[4] In the SV,[5] the Yatis and Bhṛgus are again mentioned together but with different readings. The AV has the word Yatīr while the SV has the word Yatīr. In the YV Saṃhitās the story is already told about the violent death of the Yatis when Indra gave them to the hyenas. There are various versions of the story. In one version,[6] it is said that the Yatis were eaten and their

1. RV.VIII.3.9.
2. RV.VIII.6.18.
3. RV.X.72.7.
4. AV.II.5.3. Yatirna, Bhrgurna, which is interpreted differently by Whitney.
5. SV.II.304.
6. KS.XI.10; TS.II.4.9.10;MS.I.10.12;13;II.4.8. XXXVI.7.

heads fell off and became the KHARJŪRA trees. Their sap rose upwards, and they became the KARIRA trees, and the KARIRA trees are connected with Soma. The offering connected with Soma makes rain fall from the sky. In this version there is no reference to Indra's giving them to hyenas to be eaten. Here, the Yatis seem to be connected with Soma and the rains.[1]

In the other version Indra is said to have given the Yatis to the hyenas (Śālāvṛkeya) who ate them on the right side of the altar, and, therefore, the right side of the altar is said to be defiled and an appeasement is made necessary.[2] In most of the Brāhmaṇas these stories are repeated, but with different purposes. In the AB[3] a different version is told by Rāma MĀRGAVEYA to VIŚVANTARA SAUṢADMANA about the exclusion of the Kṣatriyas from the right of the soma drinking. Viśvantara Sauṣadmana, hating the ŚYĀPARṆAS, performed a sacrifice without them. The Śyāparṇas, hearing this, went there without being invited, but Viśvantara got them evicted from the altar for being doers of evil deeds and speakers of impure speech. But Rāma Mārgaveya,[4] the hero

1. This relationship is quite clear from the RV.X.72.7 so much so that Sāyaṇa interprets the word Yati as clouds, Cf. Keith.HOS.18 p. 182.n. sees some connection with the "Eastern Monsoons".
2. KS.XXV.6. Kaps.XXXIX.3.4; MS.III.8.5. TS.VI.2-7.
3. AB.VII.27-28. based on Keith's trans. RVB.pp.314-15; See also Hang. trans.II.pp.483-84;Cf.KB.XXXV.1.2.
4. DD.Kosambi "Early Brahmins and Brahmanism" pp.43-44. (P.T.O.

4. (contd.) (1947) identifies this Rāma with Paraśurāma who annihilated the Kṣatriyas twenty one times. Kosambi further proposes to emend the word MARGAVEYA into "Bhargaveya". Another Rāma as "wise" (asura) king is referred to in the RV. (X.93.14).

of the Syāparnas, challenged this decision of the King, by telling the story of Indra and the Yatis and similar legends. He said that the gods excluded Indra from the right of soma drinking because he had misused Visvarūpa, son of Tvastr, laid low Vrtra and had given the Yatis to the hyenas, and had killed the ARURMAGHAS, and therefore, Rāma said, that the Kṣatriyas too were deprived of their right of soma drinking. Then he tells Visvantara that the proper food of the Kṣatriya is the fruits of NYAGRODHA, UDUMBARA, AŚVATTHA, and PLAKṢA trees, which are mysteriously identified with Soma. The killing of the Yatis by Indra is regarded as an evil deed, the guilt of which is borne on the earth by the kṣatriyas, who, being excluded from the right of soma drinking, are regarded as lower than the Brāhmanas.[1] This ritual inferiority of the Kṣatriyas is derived from such a mythological story.

In the PB there are five versions of the Yati-story.[2] Indra gave the Yatis to the hyenas and only three of them were left: PṚTHURAŚMI, BṚHADGIRI, and RĀYOVĀJA. These said, "who will support us as sons". Indra replied: "I will", and having put them on (his back) he roamed about tending them. Having tended them he said, "Boys, choose you all a boon". "Might (KṢATRA) for me", said Prthuraśmin, which he got through the Pārtharaśma sāman; brahmavarcas was asked for by Brhadgiri, which he achieved through the Brhadgiri Sāman, and

1. See Keith. RVB.P.316.n.1.

2. PB.VIII.1.4:XIII.4.17;Cf.JB.1.185 in H. Oertel (JAOS.XIX.P. 125) has translated this story; see also Caland's translatio

cattle were desired by Rāyovāja, which he obtained through the Rāyovajēja Sāman.

The story seems to suggest the extermination of the Yatis, some members of whom survive. Indra is shown as tending and looking after them and roaming about, probably to mitigate the sin of killing them. Wandering seems to have been an established method of getting rid of one's sins. In the Śunaḥśepa story[2] too, wandering is hightly praised by Indra,[1] as mitigating sins. Whether the Yatis were aryans or non-aryans is not definitely stated. The desire for brahmavarcas may indicate a longing for inclusion in the priesthood. Moreover, Indra seems to be at pains to redress the wrongs of the Yatis by looking after them and granting them boons.

In the other version of the story, it is said that, Indra, after giving the Yatis to the hyenas, was reproached by an inauspicious speech;[3] he felt himself impure and purified himself through the Śuddhāśuddhīya sāman.[4] In another different version of the same story, Indra, reproved by the

1. AB.VII.15.Cf. KB. XXXiii.3. See below.
2. AB. VII.13-18.
3. See Keith.RPVU II.P.477 who translates it as "Evil Repute" but it seems to contain the idea that if something is predigated of someone that comes to be effective in a good or bad way, "Evil Speech" must have given rise to the idea of Śrāpa, which was delivered by the seers.
4. PB. XIV.II.28.; XIX.4.7.

inauspicious speech, resorted to Prajāpati who gave him the Upāhavyarite.[1] This Upāhavya made him fit for living in society because the gods invited (upāhavayanta) him. The Yatis, from these accounts, appear to be holy men who are the seers of Sāmans. Though they are never said to be non-aryans, they seem to be so. The KB version of the story makes them Bhrgus. But this does not preclude them from being non-aryans. The Bhrgus appear as a historical people in the RV and are firepriests.[2] Kosambi has shown that the Bhrgus have assimmilated non-aryan elements[3]. The Yatis were thus accepted as Brāhmanas. Kosambi however goes further in his hypotheses and makes the Brahmins as a whole group to belong to an older society than the Aryan Ksatriyas and says that "a Brāhmana means a follower or descendant of Brahmā and the entire cult is pre-āryan."[4] The facts do not support this contention.[5] His evidence, however, does indicate that

1. XVIII.1.9.
2. Bloomfield Atharvaveda pp. 9-10. Ved.Ind.II.pp.109-10. Cf. P.L. Bhargava India in the Vedic Age pp.103-05 ff. on the Bhrgu family based on a comparison of the Vedic and Puranic account.
3. DD.Kosambi. "Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern India". pp.41-42. JBBRAS 1946.
4. Kosambi "Early Brahmins and Brahminism".pp.42 JBBRAS 23, 1947.
5. See below chap. IV.

the Brāhmaṇas as a priestly class do include non-aryan priesthood, who must have been the surviving elements of the Harappan culture. This hypothesis was already made by Chanda,[1] and on this hypothesis Indra's killing of the Yatis as the leaders of a different system of religious ideas and practices, becomes quite plausible. Their character as ascetics is also blurred because we do not find in any of these stories any reference to their practice of tapas or any other austerity. However, connected with the Bhṛgus, they must also have been connected with fire-worship and, on the evidence of the PB, with the Soma cult too. A more definite allusion to their religious character is in the Up.[2]

Another type of ascetics, referred to in the Brāhmaṇas are the Carakas.[3] The word is derived from the root 'car'- to observe, to wander, to move. There are two types of Carakas. One comprised the followers of a school of the Black YV Saṃhitā, to whom belong the two groups of the Kaṭhas and the Maitrāyaṇiyas.[4] In the ŚB the opinions of the Carakādhvaryu are referred to but only to be refuted. They, however, seem to be specially concerned with the problem of breath in the sacrificial ritual. In the offering of Omentum (vapā)[5] the

1. Chanda. Indo-Aryan Races. pp. 99; 148 ff. MASI.
2. See below.
3. Cf. Basham. The Ājīvikas. pp. 169-70.
4. SBE.12.pp.XXVI; Weber IL.pp.87; Vedic Index I.pp.256.
5. SBE.12pp.197 (ŚB.III.8.2.24) Cf.IV.1.2.19;IV.2.4.1.

Carakas suggest that the clotted ghee should be basted first, and then the omentum; because the clotted ghee is the breath, and they cursed Yājñavalkya for doing it the other way round. Similarly in the Agnicayana, the laying down of the Prāṇabhṛt is done differently by the Carakādhvaryu.[1] In other sacrificial matters too the ŚB controverts the Carakas,[2] but also sometimes favours their views.[3] But the hostility is carried on by the TB, which mentions Carakācārya as a sacrificial victim for evil doings (duṣkṛta)[4] which may mean the irregular acts performed by the Carakas in the sacrifices. Though this Carakācārya seems to be connected with the other type of Caraka, who was a wandering ascetic. This Caraka has no interest in the sacrificial ritual. It is quite likely that the Carakas as a whole may have taken to a completely ascetic wandering mode of ascetic life. That would explain the disappearance of their school. The Caraka-brāhmaṇa, quoted by Śāyaṇa,[5] is already lost. In the BAU[6] Bhujyu Lāhyāyani informs Yājñavalkya that he together with others,

1. ŚB.VIII.1.3.7.
2. Cf.VIII.1.14;24;IV.2.3.15.
3. ŚB.VI.2.2.1.10.
4. TB.III.4.16.1. Cf. VS.XXX.18.
5. On AV.VIII.66.10. Macdonell.VM.PP.41; Ved.Ind.1.P.256. See
6. III.3.1.

travelled (parya vrajāma) among the Madras as wanderers (carakas), and came to the house of Patañcala Kāpya.[1] His daughter was possessed by a Gandharva and Bhujyu asked him about the ends of the earth. The story seems to suggest that the Carakas were concerned with spirit-possession and phenomena of mediumship. The Carakas confess themselves to be wanderers and in the course of their travels they may have tried to learn various occult arts. The origin of these Carakas may be traced to the AB.[2] In the Śunaḥsepa legend, King Hariścandra Vaidhasa Aikṣvāka is said to have no son; advised by Nārada, he worships Varuṇa for a son, whom he promises to sacrifice to Varuṇa. The son Rohita is born but King Hariścandra does not sacrifice him to Varuṇa immediately. When the son grows up Hariścandra tells Rohita about his promise to Varuṇa and asks him to be sacrificed. But Rohita runs away to the forest. Then Varuṇa seizes Aikṣvāka, and his belly swells. When Rohita hears this, he goes to the village from the forest. Then Indra comes to him in human form and says,[3] "O Rohita, we have heard that manifold ŚRI is for him who has toiled (Śrāntāya). He is an evil (pāpa) person who stays among men. Indra is the friend of the wanderer

1. Kosambi JBBRAS.1947.pp.41-42.compares the names of Pantañcala with Patañjali;"Patañjali himself warns against the mispronunciation as mañjaka for mañcaka."
2. AB.VII.13-17.
3. AB.VII.15.

(PĀPO NṚṢADVARO JANA INDRA ICCARATAḤ SAKHĀ); so wander, wander (CARAIVETI, CARAIVETI)." Rohita wandered for a year on his advice and started to come back again. Indra again approached him in a human form and said, "two legs (JAMGHE) of the wanderer are like flowers; his ātman is well, and fruitful; all his sins killed by toil (śrama), disappear; so go on wandering, go on wandering." Rohita again wandered in the forests for the third year, and while coming back to the villages was accosted again by Indra, who again praised the value of wandering which aidsin building a fortune. After the fifth year of wandering Indra said to Rohita, "while wandering, one obtains the honey, while wandering one gets the tasty UDUMBARA; consider the pre-eminence of the Sun who is never tired of wandering."[1] Then in his seventh year of wandering in the woods, Rohita finds the seer Ajīgarta with his son Śunaḥśepa, whom Rohita buys for "a hundred".

This praise of wandering as a cure for evil deeds is typically ascetic. The ideal of the wanderer is the Sun, the unwearied wanderer. The Sun has also a close connection with the Muni and the brahmacārin. The Carakas seem to have led an ascetic life which seems to involve sun-worship as one of their many religious acts. The ideal to these wandering ascetics may have originated in the nomadic way of life, which was pursued at an earlier period of aryan society. This

1. AB.VII.15. See Keith. RVB.pp.302-303.

section of the AB has been thought to be among the latest productions of the Brahmanic literature.[1] This is also proved by the hostility shown towards asceticism[2] where the futility of tapas, beard, black antelope and dirt is indicated and the importance of the son is praised. It seems that by implication that there were by this time people who doubted the efficacy of the ritual in attaining heaven, and had no desire for sons. This reminds one of the attitude adopted by Yājñavalkya.[3]

Another person who has been connected with Asceticism is the Vrātya.[4] We found in the AV that he was a religious person with ascetic tendencies and leading a sort of nomadic life, worshipping the god Ekavrātya, who has assimmilated many Rudra Śiva elements. Further, we found that they were spoken of in terms which reminded one of the Kṣatriyas.

In the VS the term Vrātya occurs in connection within the Puruṣamedha,[5] where he is given over to the gandharvas and the Apsarasas, as the Carakācārya is sacrificed to Evil deed. It is very likely that the ritual human sacrifice in the Vedic literature is only symbolic and reminiscent of an

1. Keith. RVB.pp.29;32-33H.
2. AB.VII.13.
3. See below. Chap. IV.
4. See above.
5. VS.XXX.8.

actual human sacrifice in a remote past.[1] The commentator, Mahidhara, quoting Manu,[2] explains Vrātya, as one who is excluded from the Sāvitrī. But this is only a later idea which does not explain the situation. The relationship of the Vrātya with the gandharvas and the Apsarasas is more revealing in the light of the fact that the latter are connected with spirit-possession and mediumship, and madness,[3] and so are related with the Muni in the RV.[4] and the AV.[5] The Vrātyas, as will be indicated later, have certain Dionysian characteristics. Though it must be admitted that the Puruṣamedha list is not systematic, it does not logically preclude the possibility of the Vrātyas connections with these deities. In the Puruṣamedha list, the reference to "DURMADA" ("the fiercely intoxicated one") before the Vrātya and the reference to "unmatta" after him may support this contention. The Gandharvas have definite relationship with Soma.[6] A

1. Keith. HOS.18.pp.CXXVii.
2. Manu II.39.40.Cf. Yājñavalkya. 1.37.
3. See above. Chap.II. also.
4. RV. X.136.6.
5. AVS.VI.III; AVP.V.35.
6. Macdonell. VM.pp.136-37 ff.

second common feature of the Gandharvas and the Vrātya is their licentious-ness.[1] Already in the RV, the unmarried girls are said to belong to them.[2] Their love for women is alluded in the later Samhitās.[3] The only references to the libertine aspect of the Vrātyas are in the PB, where they are said to be "not observing chastity", and are described as "Samanīcamedhra".[4] The connection of the Vrātya with the Pumścali in the AV is not very revealing. ?

In the Brāhmaṇas we come across texts called the Vrātyastomas, which were connected with special sacrifices concerning the Vrātyas. We find them only in three Brāhmaṇas - the PB and the JUB, and the JB, and it is difficult to establish their relative chronology. Hauer thinks that the JB version is closer to the AV tradition because it mentions Prajāpati and Iśāna.[5] Keith regards the JB version[6] as later.[7] The purpose of the Vrātya-stomas[8] is obviously to admit into

1. Macdonell. loc.cit.
2. RV.X.85.40.41.
3. MS.III.7.3.;TS.VI.1.6.
4. See R.R. Bhagavat. JBBRAS. Vol.19.357 ff.
5. Hauer. Der Vrātya pp.117 ff.
6. JB.II.222;(JB.II.221. in Lokescandra's edition).
7. RPVU.II.P.337.n.2.
8. I stomas;Cf.LŚS.VIII.6;BŚS.XVIII.24-26;KŚS.XXII.4.1-28; AŚS. stomas;Cf.LŚS.VIII.6;BŚS.XVIII.24-26;KŚS.XXII.4.1-28; AŚS. IX.8.25;AP.ŚS.XXII.5.4-14; ŚŚS.XIV.69-73.

the Brāhmana Community persons who are non-Brahmanical and, in our view, non-aryan. The seventeenth chapter of the PB, the oldest version, starts with a legend in which it is related that the gods went to heaven, but the "Daivas" among them, leading the life of the Vratya were left behind. The Daivas are regarded as those who are the worshippers of "the God". Caland points out that Rudra is quite often not mentioned by name, but by the words "this God".[1] Charpentier[2] points to a legend in the SB[3] in which the gods go to the sky and Rudra is left behind. This shows that the Vrātyas had some connections with the God Rudra which relationship has been already pointed out.[4] These daivas could not find the metre nor the stoma by which they might reach the gods. Then the Gods asked the Maruts to reveal to the Vrātyās, the metre "anustubh" by which they could reach the gods.

The story goes on to say that "Those, the deprived ones (hīna), who lead the Vrātya life, who do not practise Brahmacarya, nor agriculture, nor trade, are left behind."[5] This passage definitely shows that the Vrātyas led a nomadic life and that they were a sort of food-gathering tribe.[6] The

1. Cf. AB.III.34; PB.XIV.9.12;XXI.2.9.
2. WZKM.25. pp. 355 ~~seq~~.
3. SB.1.7.3.1.
4. See above Chap II.
5. PB.XVII.1.2. See Caland's translation opcit pp.455.
6. See Keith. JRAS.1913. pp. 156-57.RPVU.II.pp.337.

reference to their non-practice of brahmacarya may refer to their licentious character or their lack of education among them. But Lāṭyāyana mentions scholars among them[1], which may refer to the Vedic learning of the converted vrātya. The second sense seems to be better in view of the fact that Brahmacarya refers to a particular system of education. Moreover, the fact that the vrātyas led a nomadic life would support this view.

Later in the same section of the PB[2] it is related that, "swallowers of poison eat food, to be eaten only by a brāhmaṇa[3], are those who speak easy sentences (adurukta vākyam) as difficult[4], beating the unpunishable with the stick, and while consecrated utter the speech of the initiated."[5]

Ghosh[6] suggests emendations in the text "CARANTAH" for "Caranti" "dīkṣita" for "adīkṣita" and thinks that the sentence "ye brahmādyam janyaṁ annam adanti" is "mutilated". The addition of a "na" either between "ye" and "brahmādyam" or between "janyam" and "annam" is, in his opinion, necessary. Bu these various suggestions are unnecessary, as the sentence could be understood without these changes.

1. LŚS.VIII.6.2. Cf. Mukherji JASB.21. "The Vrātyas and their sacrifices.
2. PB. XVII.1.9.
3. "who eat foreign food as Brahmin's food" Caland's translation loc.cit.
4. "who call good words, bad" Caland. 5. Cf.BŚS.XVIII.24.
6. Indo-aryan Origins.

Mukherji[1] suggests that the word "gargiro" should be taken to mean that the Vrātyas were the "drinkers of Sura". Hauer[2] suggested that the "garagir" is the poison-eater, the heretic, and quotes the example of the poison-eaters among gods in TA[3] and the story of UŚANASKAVYA, who takes poison among the Asuras and has to perform the Punaḥ-stoma and the two seers GAUSŪKTI and AŚVASŪKTI, as "two poison-swallowers"[4]. Hauer's interpretation seems correct and this instance is quite suggestive of the poison (VIṢAM) of the RV.X.136. We may allude to the fact that Rudra-Śiva of Classical times is referred to as a poison-eater.

The phrase"BRAHMĀDYAM janyam annam" has been taken by Mukherji as the food eaten by the Brāhmaṇas after purification, and cooked in the market. This view is quite unconvincing. Hauer[5] draws three possible inferences from this sentence. The Vrātyas eat the food eatable by the Brāhmaṇas, without performing the proper ceremonies and here Hauer[5] quotes the example of the two magicians Kilāta and Ākuli, who eat "odana" boiled without fire. A second interpretation is that they eat "janya" food, which is throught by Hauer to be the family food

1. JASB.23.loc.cit.
2. Der Vratya pp.156-57 ff.
3. TA.1.9.3.
4. PB.XIX.4.10.
5. Hauer. op.cit. pp. 163 ff.

in the sacrifices to the Fathers, not to be eaten by the participants. The "janyam annam" may be the "guest food". It seems that the phrase simply refers to the food eatable by the brāhmaṇas. The technical nuance brought out by Homer, indicates food of a type which is distributed to beggars and to pious men. The character of the vrātyas as a nomadic people justifies this supposition. Moreover being food gatherers some of their diet would be of a type legitimately consumed by the Brāhmaṇas.

The phrase "a durukta-vākyam duruktam āhuḥ" has been interpreted by Homer, "they declare a curse, an abusive word, as not for a curse". Caland's translation is much better,[1] and has been supported by Keith,[2] which regards "aduruktavākya" as "good word". Better than this would be a more literal translation "easy speech", which is regarded by the vrātyas as difficult for linguistic and phonetic reasons. "Durukta" no doubt has a sense of curse in the RV, but here it does not fit in the context. The passage may refer to the abusive character of their speech, and has been so regarded by Mukherji,[3] who finds support from the dialogue between the student and the prostitute, referred to by Kātyāyana.[4]

The phrase "adaṇḍyam daṇḍena ghnantaṣ caranti" has been variously interpreted. Mukherji has taken it as a reference

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1. Caland loc.cit.
2. RPVU.II.pp.337.Vedic Indexii.ff.PP.343; JRAS.191.2.PP.159.
3. JASB.23.loc.cit.
4. KŚS.XIII.3.4.Cf.LŚS.VIII.6.9.Mukherji quotes LŚS.IV.3 where obseene passages are given.

to the "striking of the Brāhmaṇas" who according to the Vedic tradition are unpunishable. Keith takes it to mean that they have "a different code of law".[1] Chattopadhyaya thinks that it means that "they walk about behabouring persons least deserving the rod".[2] Homer's interpretation[3] that it refers to a religious custom of the Vrātyas seems nearer the truth. The correct view seems to be that they had the notion of driving away spirit possession by beating the possessed person. However, this may also be interpreted as a sign of ritual flagellation among the Vrātyas.

The reference to "dīkṣitavāc" is more intriguing. Literally Keith and Macdonell are right in translating "though unconsecrated, they spoke the tongue of the consecrated".[4] Charpentier[5] compares it with the Dikṣitavāda of the ŚB.[6] Keith's objection[7] to it should not be upheld for ~~in~~ the BŚS[8]

1. JRAS.1913.P.159.Cf.RPVU.II.P.337.
2. CR. May 1924.PP.289.Cf. Hillebrandt. RL.P.139.
3. Op.cit.pp.172-73.
4. Ved.Ind.II.pp.343.See other translations in Homer op.cit. pp.173.n.316.
5. WZKM.25.pp.363.
6. ŚB.III.2.1.40.
7. JRAS.1913.pp.159.
8. BŚS. XVIII.24.

refers to the Dīkṣitavāda." The real significance of this phrase seems to be in the fact that the speech of the consecrated is regarded as faltering and halting,[1] and the speech of the Vrātya is regarded by the Brāhmaṇa as of that type.

This passage is thus a very important document on the religious practices of the Vrātya. Hauer sees in this passage, a reference to all the Vrātya ceremonies: (a) a sacred meal; (b) cursing and fertility rites which are inferred from the solitary reference to "durukta" interpreted as abuse, and referring to the Mahāvrata ceremony; (c) expulsion of the spirit possession through beating; (d) and initiation. This interpretation of the passage is too extensive and thus difficult to accept in entirety. The sacred meal is an unjustifiable extension of the meaning of the phrase. The word brahmādya which occurs in the PB[2], in connection with the Atirātra ceremony, and in the AB[3], in connection with the Vaṣat call, means nothing more than "sacrificial" or ritual food, or at best, the food eaten by the Brāhmaṇas. There is nothing to point its identity with the Brahmaudana referred to by Hauer.[4] Hauer's interpretation of "janyam annam" as the

1. See above.
2. PB.X.4.5.
3. AB.IV.11.
4. look above.

Atithi-meal" is only reading the AV in the PB. Brahmādya may simply refer to the sacredness and purity of the food. The relationship of "durukta" with the Mahāvrata again, seems unconvincing. "Durukta" can be differently interpreted and may be compared with the JB phrase "avratam amedhyam vadanti".[1] This may be compared with the mumbling in the Aitaśaprat[2]āpa.

It seems that the passage describes a Vrātya-mystic who, like the Muni, drinks poison, becomes intoxicated, and speaks phrases easy to pronounce with considerable difficulty. His faltering speech is the result of spirit-possession, to get rid of which, he is beaten with sticks. This fits in with the practices of the many early and primitive tribes.[3]

Different from this Vrātya-mystic is the Vrātya-gṛhapati. Dyutāna, one of the Maruts, is said to be the householder of the Vrātyas.[4] The Gṛhapati of the Vrātyas, is identified by Charpentier[5], with Śiva himself, based on the similarity of their dress and apparatus, which interpretation is highly dubious and uncertain. A turban, a goad, a JYAHNODA, a VIPATHA covered with boards, a black garment, two skins,

1. See below.
2. See above.
3. Cf. V. Elwin. The religion of ~~the Saoras~~ an Indian Tribe PP.469
4. Ved. Index.I.pp. 382.
5. WZKM.23.pp.151 ff; 25. 355 ff.

black and white and a silver niṣka, are among the property of the GṚHAPATI.[1] It is said that these articles are the "wealth of the Vrātya."[2] In the KŚS, LŚS it is said that this wealth should be given to those Vrātyas, who have not left their vrātya way of life, (vrātya-caryā) or to the Brahma-bandhus who are from Magadha. All these facts are too human to be assimmilated in a divine personality as that of Rudra.[3] Moreover, Rudra and the Gṛhapati do not share the same outfit. But Keith's argument that the lack of the practice of agriculture and trade cannot be upheld if it is taken to refer to the followers of Rudra, rather than to Rudra himself. Rudra and his followers, however, may be thought to have been invested with the Vrātya outfit and dress.

The various technical terms are not very clear. Jyahṇoda is interpreted by lāṭyāyana,[4] as a kind of "bow without arrow", by Baudhāyana,"a bow with leather quivers" and by Kātyāyana as "the rod of the bow without the string". The variety of opinions shows the uncertainty of meaning but they agree on one point that it is a kind of bow. Vipatha is

1. PB.XVII.1.
2. PB.XVII.1.16.Cf.LŚS.VIII.6.18;Ap.ŚS.XXII.13.
3. Keith JRAS.1913.pp.157-58.
4. Quoted in Hauer. Der Vrātya pp.88-115.

a kind of chariot. Lāṭyāyana thinks it "an Eastern Chariot" (Prācya-ratha), driven by horse and a mule with varied pace (according to Śāṇḍilya) or driven by two horses and two mules (according to Dhanaṇjaya). Baudhāyana regards it as "a dilapidated worn-out carriage".[1] At the most, thus, Vipatha can be regarded as a type of chariot, prevalent in the east. Two more articles, mentioned in the Vrātya-wealth are dāma tūṣa, and valūkānta. Lāṭyāyana[2] thinks that the passage describes the dress of the vrātya and therefore, takes VALŪKĀNTA as a woollen garment, interpreted by commentators as made of sheep's wool, and dāma-tūṣam as a type of "garment with a knot on one side and a fringe on the other". Kātyāyana[3] takes them to be woollen garments having two protuberances with red or black seams."

Sections II-IV of the seventeenth chapter of the PB deal with the Vrātya-stomas to be performed by special personalities. The second vrātya-stoma, the PB says, is to be performed by those who lead the Vrātya life. Hauer[4] has taken the sense of Nṛśaṃsa as "magically potent invokers of curses", deriving it by taking the sense of śaṃsa as "curse".[5] But śaṃsa has the sense of "praise" "blessing" also.[6] Nṛśaṃsa coming together

1. PB. Caland's translation.pp.458.
2. loc.cit; Hauer op.cit.pp.95.
3. Loc.cit.
4. Hauer op.cit.155.
5. Hauer op.cit. pp.152.53.
6. RV.IX.81.5;II.26.1.Compare PW.4.P.316.on RV. V.46.3.

with Nindita which means "reviled," "ill spoken" must be a pejorative word. Monier-Williams[1] takes it to mean "base" as Caland[2] does. Winternitz translates it as "grosste Ubeltater"[3]. Nṛśaṁsa, however, may have the sense of "the cursed among men".[4] The third vrātyastoma was to be performed by those who were the youngest or of no importance (kaniṣṭha)[5] among the vrātyas and the fourth, by those who are the oldest (jyeṣṭha) and "having a quiet down hanging penis" (śamanīcamedhra).[8] Lāṭyāyana thinks them to be those "who, through old age are incapable of procreation."[6] Bhāgavat thinks them to be those who have made themselves impotent by undue intercourse with women.[7] But this is nowhere mentioned in the text. The simple view would be to take the epithet together with the other one, that is, the oldest (jyeṣṭha).

We are not told about the particular stomas of the Sāmaveda which were to be recited in these rites of Vrātya

1. Sanskrit - Dictionary. S.V.;
2. PB. translation pp. 458.
3. Quoted in Homer opcit pp.155.
4. Cf.KSS.XXII.4.7. where the Gṛhapati is described as the Nṛśaṁsatama.
5. PB.XVII.3.
8. PB.XVII.4.1. See Caland. PB. translation pp.459.n.1;
6. LŚS.VIII.6.4.
7. JBBRAS.19.P.360.

conversion. Some indication of the stoma is given in the PB,[1] but it is obscure.

In the PB[2] we are informed that "this (rite) was performed by those (Vrātyas) who were precluded from sexual intercourse. Their Gṛhapati was Kuṣitaka, the son of Samaśravas." There is in this section a polemic against the Kuṣitakins, who are shown to be associated with the Vrātyas. The JB[3] too shows this. Kuṣitaka is mentioned as the Gṛhapati of the AIṢĪKAPĀVAS and it is said that their stoma has a pavamāna laud of 16 verses. Caland[4] refers to the Nidāna Sūtra (VI.11;12) which mentions two types of vrātyas: the sīrṣādis and the Aiṣīkayāvins, but these, as he points out, are the two kinds of verses handed down for the Agnistoma.[5] The 'sīrṣādins are called the elder ones. The Aiṣīkayāvins and the Aiṣīkapāvas seem to be identical. This reference to Kuṣītaka led to Hauer to identify him with the founder of the KB branch of the RV, but it is possible that they are quite different.

In the JB[6] it is said that "the heavenly Vratyas led a

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1. PB.XVII.4.2; See Caland note on it. PB trans.pp.459.
2. PB.XVIII.4.3.See Caland's translation pp. 460.
3. JB.II.226 (Lokescandras ed.II.227) See Caland.PB Translation p.460.N.3.
4. Loc.cit.
5. The Satobrhati of the PB XVII.1.10; and the Pragathabrhati of the PB XVII.1.11.
6. II.221.(II.222.of Caland.JB in Auswahl;Section 146.pp.183) Divyā vai vrātyā vrātyām adhāvayan budhena sthapatinā.

vrātya life with Budha as their leader." Homer translates this as "the divine Vrātya were once on their vrātya wanderings, under sthapati Budha." Sthapati has the sense of "chief".[1] The phrase "Vrātyam adhāvayan" is very significant. The phrase occurs in the PB[2] differently. The verb "adhāvayan" seems to refer to a nomadic way of living. The passage further runs "these Vrātyas worshipped this, that blows or God Iśāna."[3] Homer amends the text, putting "eka-vrātyam" in place of "vā devam". The vrātyas are said not to have known heaven. They desired to know it and went to Prajāpati who gave them this vrātyastoma sacrifice, through which they sacrificed. The JB adds that "those who lead the life of vrātya-wandering are as if deluded." (MUHYANTĪVA VĀETE YE VRĀTYĀM DHAVAYANTI). They are deprived of (VĀG-DHYANTE) of speech, who lead the life of vrātya wandering.

This confirms the view expressed in the PB that the Vrātyas have assimmilated Rudra-Iśāna elements in their worship and that they lead a nomadic life. The passage contains an

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1. SB.V.4.4.18:XII.8.1.17;9.33;PB.XXIV.18.2;TA.IV.36.1.
2. PB.XVII.1.1.
3. JB.II.221. Ta Ete Vrātyā aicchan imam vaiva yo'yam pavata vā devam. This is the version accepted by Caland also (loc.cit).

implicit glorification of Prajāpati and the aryan way of life, while condemning the vrātya way of life.

In the JB[1] again the vrātyas are said to speak an impure speech, that which is against sacrifice. The Brāhmaṇas notice many types of speech. The ŚB[1] refers to four types of speech,[2] of men, animal, birds, and of small creeping animals. There is a difference between the divine and human speech,[3] and Aryan[4] and brāhmaṇa speech[5]. Like the Asura speech,[6] the speech of the vrātyas is regarded as profane. Later in the same passage, it is said that the vrātya speaking the anuṣṭubh becomes powerful and the enemy of the snake Arbuda, the son of Kadru.[7] It is said that those who lead the vrātya life are like "dying persons (mṛyanta iva)". The vrātyas are said to speak obscurity, like old persons (sthavira). In a later passage, the vrātyas are said to be Rājaputras and are referred to as injuring the brāhmaṇa.[8] The vrātyas seem to be thus associated with the

1. JB.II.222.
2. ŚB.IV.1.3.16.KS.XIV.5;MS1.11.
3. KS.XIV.5.
4. AA.III.2.5.SA.VIII.9.
5. AA.1.5.2: On Vāk. see FatehSingh. Vedic Etymology. pp. 196-213.
6. ŚB.III.2.1.23:24.
7. SEE AB.VI.1; as a priest in the snake festival. PB.XXV.15; KB.XXIX.1; Ved. Ind. 1.P.37.
8. JB.II.223.

nobility which also seems to be indicated in the AV.[1]

In the JB[2] and JUB[3] Prthu Vainya asks the divine vrātyas various questions. He[4] asks about the secret domain of the sacrifice. Prthu is a Ksatriya[5] and the "first among the consecrated." This further shows the royal relations of the Vrātyas.

The Vrātyas thus seem to form a distinct community with their own religious ideas and practices. We must here investigate whether they were aryans or non-aryans. Weber regarded the vrātya as the member of a community of unbrahmanical Aryans of the West.[6] Zimmer[7] referred to him as belonging to one of the mixed castes forming a distinct social order, with allegiance to the Brahmanical order. Roth[8] considered him to be one "belonging to a roving band or a vagrant" "one moving about" or a member of a fellowship which was outside the Brahmanical Order."[9] Hillebrandt similarly

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1. look above.
2. JB.1.77. 3. JUB.1.2.3.9;10;11;I.11.2.6.I.14.4.1.
4. Also in RV.VIII.9.10.PB.XIII.5.20.ŚB.V.3.5.4.Ved.Ind.II. pp.330. Geldner Ved.StudII.184.n.3.
5. ŚB.V.3.5.4.
6. Weber.IL ppl12.Thomas Aufrecht gives no specific opinion but probably regarded him as non-aryan.See IS.1.139.
7. AL.p.216. 8. PW.sv.
9. RL.pp.139. on the Ekāha-sacrifices.

thought that the Vrātya was a member of non-brahmanical group of tribes. Bloomfield regarded him as an aryan student or one "who has entered the Brahmanical community after having been converted from an Aryan but non-brahmanical tribe".[1] Hopkins was of the opinion that the Vrātyas were "a host of still non-brahmanised outlaws, vagrants who wander about in a sort of gypsy-wagon".[2]

Chanda thought that the Vrātya was the "wandering or the religious mendicant".[3] Keith and Macdonell[4] maintained that the Vrātyas were aryans, allowed to become members of the Brāhmaṇa community after the performance of the Vrātya stomas. Chattopadhyaya however regarded them as Aryans wandering in the regions of Asia Minor (2000 BC - 1500 BC) entering India in the Brāhmaṇa period with a distinct religion, which contained no sacrifices.[5] Winternitz[6] regarded the Vrātyas as non-aryan, and considered that the vrātyastomas incorporated them not into the Brāhmaṇa class, but in the aryan community.[7] Hauer regarded them as wild ecstatics and the ancestors of the later Yogins.[8] B.K. Mukherji holds a

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1. Atharvaveda.p.94.
2. TCA.XV."On the gods and saints of Great Brahmana"
3. MASI 41. "Survival of the Pre-historic Civilisation of the Indus Valley".
4. Ved.Ind.II.P.342 ff.
5. CR.192.4.pp.287 ff.
6. HILIP.154. 7. Z.fur Buddhismins. VI.
8. B.K. Mukherji JASB.23. pp. 151-179.

completely different opinion held about the Vrātya, and sees in him the glorification of the principle of disorder.[1]

The examination of the texts relating to the Vrātyas seems to indicate that they were probably non-aryans. Keith and Macdonell[2] think that the word "hīna" refers to a "depressed" class which might be non-aryan. The ~~fact~~ that the Vrātyastomas led to the incorporation of the vrātyas in the Brāhmaṇa caste seems very doubtful. None of the Sūtras refer to their definite Brahmanization. As Chattopadhyaya noted, they seem to have had a different religious complex. They seem to have practised some sort of fertility rites in which indulgence in sexual activity and cursing had an important role. They had some connection with serpent worship. Their non-aryan characteristics have been noticed by Muir also.[3] Chanda tried to see the representatives of the Vrātyas in the Gayalas of Gaya in modern Bihar.[4] Moreover, it seems that the Vrātyas were related with the East or the modern U.P. and Bihar, i.e. the gangetic valley. The belongings of the Vrātya have to be given to a brahma-bandhu of Magadha. In the AV his associations with the Magadha are quite clear.[5] The

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1. B.K. Mukherji JASB.23.pp.151-179.
2. Ved.Ind.II.P.242.
3. OST.1.P.481: SBE.Vol.25.pp.37;405-07;7.p.115.20.P.406 etc. Kane. H.DL.S.Vol.II.p.385.
4. Indo-Aryan Races. p.164.
5. See above.

Vipatha is regarded by Lātyāyana as the special chariot of the East (Prācya-Ratha)[1].

The Vrātyas thus seem to be a whole non-aryan nomadic community with an advanced knowledge of metal and cloth, who are worshippers of Ekavrātya. The worship of Ekavrātya suggests a monotheism among them, which is quite possible even in primitive tribes as Lang has shown.[2] The vrātyas have among them ecstatic priests and shaman-like characters. They appear to have been very numerous in the Brāhmana period. Archaeology has recently made us familiar with a culture in the gangetic valley which may be regarded as representing the Vrātya culture. This gangetic culture is represented by copper hoards which have been found in more than thirty four sites between the Upper Ganges and Orissa,[3] over an area of 800 miles. The copper hordes have been divided into eight main types having flat axes, shouldered axes, barcolts, rings, harpoon leads, spearheads, swords, and anthropomorphic objects.[4] None of these objects have been found in any stratified deposit. The association of the Ochre Ware with these copper and bronze objects, though not proved, is plausible,[5] which has been found beneath the Painted Gray Ware at Hastinapur[6]. The Grey Ware has been associated with the Aryans,[7] and thus the Ochre ware represents

1. See above. 2. Lang The Making of Religion pp.187-293 ff. ; Radin. op.cit Chap. Durkheim op.cit. 288-89 ff.

3. B.B.Lal "Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and a Review of the Problem". A.I. No.7 (1951) 20ff; Wheeler. EIP. pp.126-27.

4. See Wheeler EIP pp.123.ff. (P.T.O.)

5. Lal.op.cit.pp.27,37,38; Wheeler op.cit.pp.124-25.
6. A.I. No.10-11;(1950-52),
7. B.B.lal. "The Painted Gray Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin: an approach to the Problems of the Dark Age." J.A.S.B. N.S.XVI. (1950) pp. 89 ff.

a pre Aryan Culture. Wheeler has rejected any suggestion of the association of these hoards with the Indus Civilization or with the Aryans.[1] The predominance of swords, spearheads, harpoons, indicates that "the hoards represent semi-nomadic food gathering communities, capable of clearing patches of jungle and perhaps (though this we do not know) of some sort of garden agriculture, but living mainly by hunting and fishing."[2]

The area of 800 miles is quite a large one and for these artifacts to be spread so widely there must have been considerable wandering of the craftsmen who made them, who may have been "whole time experts". Thus they may have travelled in some sort of cart or chariot, such as that which Lātyāyana associates with the east (Prācya-ratha), and is called Vipatha in the PB.[3]

The deposition of the hoards may indicate "a time of insecurity and economic instability", which may indicate the subjection of these people by the incoming aryans and the aryan hostility to the Vrātya way of life seems to indicate the opposition of the Vrātyas to the aryans. The martial character of the Vrātyas, as indicated in the Vedic literature, also seems to be suggested by these various weapons found in the Copper hords.

Thus the description of the Vrātyas as found in the Vedic literature fits very well with the Copper hoard culture

1. EIP.pp.125.26. 2. EIP.pp.126. 3. See above.

of the Gangetic Valley. The Aryan penetration in this area took place during the Brāhmaṇa period, which would explain the non-occurrence of the Vrātya in the RV, and only once in the YV Saṃhitās. The references to the wholesale incorporation of the Vrātyas into the Aryan community indicates the processes through which the aboriginal tribes of India were incorporated in the Aryan society. The god of the Vrātyas, their ascetic-shamanistic personalities, and religious behaviour was synthesized with the Brahmanic system. Lal[1] suggests that the people originating this culture of the copper hoards were Nisadas, referred to in the Vedic literature.[2] But Niṣādas were probably settled aborigines. There is hardly any evidence of the nomadic or martial character of the Niṣādas in any of the few references to them in the Vedic literature.

Thus we see that asceticism in the Brāhmaṇas is of the primitive type. Its nature is primarily of the type of restrictions on the behavious of the individual, another definite practice of physical austerities like fasting, keeping vigil, vegetarianism, and the keeping of vows made to gods. This type of asceticism is regarded as a part of the sacrificial religion of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brahmanic asceticism accepted some non-vedic elements through the incorporation of non-vedic and non-aryan personalities,

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1. A.I. No. 7. pp. 39.

2. Weber. Ind. Stud.IX.340. supported by Ved.Ind.1. p. 454.

giving to their practices and ideas a Brahmanic colour. This process of cultural assimmilation is still operative in Indian society. The ideas of and practices of the aborigines were sanskritised by the Aryans at this period. Many non-aryan elements were being adopted and assimmilated, as the aryans penetrated deeper in the Gangetic Valley. They had contempt for the way of life of the Aboriginal tribes, which shows only the ethnocentrism of the aryans. Asceticism was thought to achieve all desires and fulfil all expectations. It was a method, a technique toachieve the Values of life, which were to have along life on this earth, to have a large number of sons and to achieve heaven. "Kāma, bhoga, bhūti - these expressed Values."[1] "This world is good, better would be the other world", said the AB[2]. The Brāhmaṇas thought it possible to achieve everything through asceticism, as through sacrifice. The attainment of cattle, progeny, victory over enemies, wealth, and villages, however were not the only aims to be achieved through asceticism which was also practised in order to "perceive" certain rituals, metres and samans. Prajāpati, and following him the gods and the Asuras and men, did tapas to achieve their desires. Prajāpati practised tapas to create the world, to produce progeny and to achieve his food. His archetypal ascetic activity was repeated by men.[3] Men through these

1. Pande G.C. Studies in the origins of Buddhism.pp.278.
2. AB.1.5
3. Cf.Eliade.The myth of Eternal Return.pp.34.

activities wanted to feel a religious ecstacy, probably to be in the company of the gods.[1] The drinking of poisonous potions made from plants and herbs brought about the same result. There was felt to be no dichotony between secular and spiritual values. To have long life and to be in the world of gods were the result of the same activity.[2] So all these objects were the proper ends for which asceticism could be performed.[3]

Many Yogic ideas too are foreshadowed in this period. The importance of psychological categories, like manas, and speculation on psycho-physical entities like the breaths, the sense-organs, and the heart have assumed greater importance. But the Yogic elements are still within the ascetic fold. Silence, meditation and concentration are important elements in the performance of sacrifices.

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1. Cf. Creative Period. pp. 75 ff.

2. SB.1.9.1. 12-15.

3. Cf. S. Lévi. La Doctrine du Sacrifice pp. 9; 164 ff.: complains of the crass materialism of the Brāhmaṇas.

CHAPTER IV.

ASCETICISM IN THE ĀRAṆYAKAS AND THE UPANIṢADS.

The next group the Vedic texts with which we have to deal, is the Āraṇyakas, which traditionally are extant only on three schools - Aitareya, Śāṁkhāyana, and Taittirēya. There are some āraṇyaka - like texts, such as the BAU and JUB. The reason for these texts being called the Āraṇyakas is in itself revealing. Sāyaṇa[1] gave two reasons for this name: One reason, he thought, was that they are the "form of the vow of the forest", (Araṇyavratarūpam). This was supported by Weber[2] and Deussen[3], who thought that it was the duty of the Vānaprastha (hermit) to read these texts, but this view seems inadmissible for this system of the Vānaprastha is later in origin. But the reason given by Deussen, that the purpose of the Āraṇyaka was to supply a substitute for the sacrificial rites to be read by the Vānaprasthen seems to be correct[4], but again this is a later development. The second reason given by Sāyaṇa was that these texts are so called because they were studied in the forests. This has been supported by Oldenberg[5], Macdonell[6], and Keith[7].

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1. See Keith. AĀ.pp.15-16
2. IL. pp.48.
3. Quoted by Keith.Loc.cit.
4. Cf Winternitz. HIL.I.pp.233-34.
5. Prolegomena. pp.291 ff.
6. HSL. p.34.
7. Keith. AĀ.Loc.cit, RPVU.II.PP.489-90.

This seems to have been the primary reason for the use of this term, but in the later times the texts must have provided for the brahmanical aryan, who has retired to the forest, a symbolic performance of the ritual and its understanding. The texts however, prove the fact that forest-going has come into existence though it was primarily to study and meditate on the various sacrifices, so much so that study of the Vedic texts was regarded as tapas,[1] and many regulations about their study are given in the Āraṇyakas themselves.[2] The AĀ, consisting of five books contains the AU and early and late materials. Books I, II, 1-3,[3] and II. 3-6, and III have been regarded as earlier than the books IV th[4] and V th[5]. The ŚĀ also contains the Kauṣītaki Up, and early and late materials,[6] and is definitely later than the AĀ.[7] The TA similarly is an amalgam of early and late material. The X th book is the Mahā-nārāyaṇa - Upaniṣad, which is very late,[8] and books vii-ix of the TĀ are the TU. The remaining six books (i-vi) of the TĀ are quite early in character and comparable to the oldest portions of the AĀ. The allegorical interpretation of the sacrifices forms the main theme of the Āraṇyakas, and it seems that the Āraṇyakas assume that the sacrifice could be performed by mere study of

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1. See below.
2. Cf.AĀ.v.33.
3. Cf.Creative Period pp.99.100.ff.Keith.AĀ.pp.17; 73-74.
4. Oldenberg. GN.1915.pp.375-81; Scheftlowitz. ZII.i.58-68. Keith.RPVU.II.490 n.6.
5. Keith AĀ.p.25.
6. Keith.JRAS.1908.363ff;
7. Keith AĀ.pp.31.
8. Keith. RPVU.II.499.

the text and be meditation.[1] They therefore, deal with the Sacrifices[2] without assuming the[3] necessity of the actual performance of the ritual. y deal with the Mahāvrata, the Pravargya; and various types of mantras. MAHAVARTA

The ascetic practices shade off into the Upaniṣadic gnosis and have therefore been dealt with together.

The Upaniṣads, which form the last part of the Vedic literature with which we are concerned, are numerous and of various dates. Various attempts have been made to stratify them in relative chronology. We have to deal primarily with the pre-Buddhistic Upaniṣads. It is very difficult to find any reference to any Upaniṣads in the Buddhist literature or to the Buddhist literature in the Upaniṣads[4]. However, many principles have been put forward for a relative chronology. The most comprehensive attempt has been made by Ranade and Belvalkar[45] who give a resume of the principles for such a relative chronology. The first principle was that the older upaniṣads are named after some school of the Saṃhitās and the newer ones are named after the initial word of the Upaniṣad or the teacher, or the theme, or a fictitious school of the Av. The newer Upaniṣads are similar to the classical Sanskrit in language, vocabulary, and style, while the older ones still preserve the inflection, syntax, of the Brāhmaṇas. The third criterion is the similes, symbols, and illustrations are more ritualistic in the older texts than in the

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1. Keith. RPVU. II. P.490.
2. ŚĀ.I-II.AAI. Keith. ŚĀ.pp.73-ff.
3. TĀ.IV-V.
4. Cf. Walleser. Die Philosophische Grundlage der Alteren Buddhismus pp.67. thinks that the Tevijja Sutta refers to the Ait-Up., theCh.Up; and the TU.
5. CP pp.87-88. ff; Cf. Ranade - CSUP.pp.13-15.

newer ones. One comes across the fanciful etymologies of the Brāhmaṇas and their mystical identifications. The older texts assign priority to the sacrificial Gods Agni and Indra. Deussen proposed that the older Upaniṣads were written in prose, and in irregular and archaic metres.[1] The geographical content and reference to social conditions and peoples too provide some basis for relative chronology. Similarly interquotation, cross references, the treatment of the same stories, and the interpretation of certain terms can help in this direction.[2]

The result of these various tests has led scholars to different conclusions and it has been found necessary to regard each Upaniṣad as not belonging to one period of time and thus containing early and late materials. Ranade and Belvalkar have divided the whole Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣadic texts into four main groups - Brāhmaṇic, Brāhmaṇo-Upaniṣadic, Upaniṣadic and Neo-Upaniṣadic and have divided each group into either early and late or into early, middle and late, and have found it necessary to distribute the various parts of the same Upaniṣad, such as the BAU,[3] among all the four groups. There is great danger of the subjective opinions creeping into any such consideration. But their results seem to coincide with the opinions of other scholars. The BAU has been

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1. Philosophy of the Upaniṣads. pp.22-23ff. criticised in C.R pp.89, but partially accepted by Keith. RPVU.II.pp.499.
2. Pande. Studies in the Origins of Buddhism pp.27ff.
3. CP.pp.135. the table of their results; Cf.Ranade.CSUP.pp.15.

broadly divided by Keith[1] into three parts, books, I-II: III-IV: V-VI; but by Ranade and Belvalkar, it has been broken into many isolated sections: I. 1-3 come together in the group one; and BAU I. 4-6, in the early period of the group two; BAU VI.1,3 in the middle section of the group two.[2] The BAU and the Ch.Up, AU, TU, Kaus.Up, 1 sa, Kena have been regarded as to be pre-Buddhistic. Keith has tried to prove that the AU is the oldest Up,[3] refuting the opinion of Deussen who regarded it as late.[4] The TU is later than the BAU and the Ch Up, but TU book I has been regarded by Ranade and Belvalkar as earlier than the AU but later than the AA II. 1-3,[5] and the first book of the TU is "more an Āranyaka than an Upaniṣad,"[6] and has been regarded as earlier than BAU (I.4,5,6). Ch.Up. (III.1-11, 12, 13;) but TU (II.1-5,- 9) has been regarded by Ranade and Belvakar[1] as contemporaneous with Ch.Up.(111.14; v.1-2,) BAU (V1.113) and similarly early date is assigned to TU (III.1-6).[7] There seems to be ample justification for taking TU as earlier than the KAUS.Up.[8] Kena, a part of the JUB, consisting of prose and metrical sections, has been regarded as "the last of the older Upaniṣads,[9] but Kena III-IV which is in prose, can

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1. Keith RPVU.pp.498.
2. CP.Loc.cit.
3. AA.pp.45 ff; RPVU.II.pp.498.
4. Philosophy of the Upamishads pp.23,24.
5. CP.pp.135.
6. CP.pp.97.
7. CP.pp.135; See also on TU.pp.97-98.
8. Cf.Keith. RPVU.11. 498. JRAS. 1908. pp.363 ff.
9. Keith. RPVU.II.499.

be regarded as earlier than the metrical sections of the Kena (I-II), where the philosophical treatment is more developed. Īśa should also be regarded as one of the earliest Upaniṣads,[2] though again there is considerable difficulty in putting it in relative chronology. Keith thinks that Īṣa Verse 8 is dependent on Kaṭha. v.13.[3] which has been regarded as an unidentifiable quotation by Ranade and Belvalkar.[4] But a close examination of Īśa and Kaṭha does not bear out the statement of Keith. Vocabulary, and content, both are different in the Īśa and Kaṭha. But a definite approach to compromise between the sacrificial situation and the path of renunciation may suggest a later date than the BAU, ChUp, TU and Kena.[5] The small Upaniṣads have been discovered by Schrader, though they were known through their Latin translation by Anquetil-Duperron and later translated into German by Deussen. These are Bāṣkala, Chāgaleya, and Ārṣeya Upaniṣads, which have been accorded a high antiquity by Ranade and Belvalkar.[6]

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1. See CP.pp.91.
2. It is extant in two recensions Kāṇva and Mādhyandina, see CP.pp.90-91.
3. RPVU. pp.500.n.3.
4. CP.Loc.cit.
5. Barua. A history of Prebuddhistic Indian Philosophy. pp.259, 424. thinks that Īśa answers Muṇḍaka which does not seem plausible. Īśa seems to be earlier than the Muṇḍaka; See.Hertel. Die Weisheit. der Upanischaden. pp.25 ff, Baynes. 1A, 26. 1897.213 ff.CP.pp.94-95.
6. Published in "Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads" ed.by Limaye and Vadekar, Poona. 1958. pp.358-372; See on their structure and text CP.pp.130-132.
7. See CP.pp.132.

Bāṣkala has been regarded by them as early as the AU, but Chāgeleya, as later than the Bāṣkala but contemporaneous with Ch UP (III.15; 16, 17; - 19; IV.16-17). Ārṣeya is regarded by them as later than Kaṭha, (I.1-iii), Muṇḍaka and certain parts of Ch.Up. and BAU. However, Chāgaleya seems to be quite late, as the style shows. The whole story of the Upaniṣad is summarised in the end in two verses, which remind one of the Pāli texts.

The Kaṭha Śvetāśvatara, Muṇḍaka, Mahānārāyaṇa Praśna, Maitri and the Māṇḍūkya have been subject to many divided opinions.[1] However Mahānārayaṇa,[2] Maitri,[3] and Māṇḍūkya must be regarded as very late, and have been left out of our study. The date of Kaṭha is also quite uncertain.[4] Oldenberg thought that it is pre-buddhistic, because it contained the story of Yama-Naciketas which reminded one of the Buddha-Māra legend. However Keith is quite sceptical, pointing out that the story is already found in the TB.[5] This Upaniṣad is earlier than the Maitri Up. As the ideas about Yoga in the Kaṭha are not so developed as they are in the Maitri Up. The Śvet.Up. has been regarded as post Buddhistic,[6] and Walleser makes it much later, based on the argument that the illusion theory as found in the Śvet.Up. and the Muṇḍaka and the Māṇḍūkya is later

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1. R.Zimmerman IA, 44. pp.130ff.179; Winternitz HIL.I. pp.238; Keith. RPVU. II.PP.499 ff.
2. HIL.1.pp.238; Pande. studies in the Origins of Buddhism pp.575-76, Hopkins JAOS.22.pp.336n.1.
3. H.Baynes. IA 26 (1891) PP169ff; Winternitz, HIL.pp238-39; n.4;
4. Buddha pp. 54 ff. 6. Hopkins. JAOS.22.pp.336n.
5. RPVU.II.pp.502.

and derived from the Buddhist nihilism.[1] But this argument is not all conclusive and is refuted by Keith[2] and Ranade.[3] We have taken it to be pre-buddhistic.[4] The Muṇḍaka is composed in prose and irregular metres, and its philosophical thinking is not very consistent,[5] Hertel shows its dependence on the AV(X.7.8) and sees some similarities with the Jaina practices and ideas - shaving of the head, approval of asceticism, and the concept of release.[6] Some parts of the Muṇḍaka have been regarded as later than the Kaṭha.[7] It is quite late as Keith shows, because it mentions the seven worlds by name, has a list of Vedic sciences including the Vedangas, though that term is not used there.[8] Certain Muṇḍaka terms such as Cyu, nirveda, rāja, Vītarāga, samyagjñāna, granthi have been used in the Jaina literature. Keith is quite sceptical about the priority of the Muṇḍaka over the Kaṭha. The grammatical inaccuracies of the Muṇḍaka have been taken by Keith[9] as due to "careless composition" rather than to the early composition of the text.

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1. Der Altere Vedanta pp.5.
2. Keith RPVU.pp.503; 529 ff;
3. CSMP.pp.54; 226-27 ff.
4. See.CP.pp.119.ff.
5. See CP.pp.94-95 ff.
6. Hertel.Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad 1924.
7. See CP.pp.95.
8. Keith RPVU.11.pp.503-4.
9. Keith op.cit.pp.504.n.2.

But the "loose metrical structure" and "inconsistent freedom of thought" and "halting and hesitating fulfilment of a half-conceived unity of plan and purpose" which Ranade and Belvalkar notice,[1] suggest an early date.

Praśna is more organised than Mundaka and, in Keith's opinion, quotes Mundaka.[2] Deussen[3] assigned it to a quite late period which Ranade and Belvalkar push back, and put it together with Ch.Up (IV.1-15, V.11-24; VI). BAU (II.1;4; III; IV.1-2) and Aitareya earlier than even Kaṭha (II) TB (II.6-8) and Śvet. (V-Vi),[4] because of the admixture of Vedic quotations and ritualistic images and identifications,[5] and eschatological ideas.

Ranade and Belvalkar have taken all these Upaniṣads to be pre-buddhistic and regard the Jaina and Buddhistic developments as post-Upanisadic phenomena.[6] But different opinions have been held about this.[7] It seems quite probable that the Upanisadic doctrines had developed before the Buddha. Who were the authors of these Upanisadic doctrines and what aryan and non-aryan elements were introduced in ascetic thinking and practice, will be discussed later.

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1. CP.pp.94.
2. Keith op.Cit. pp.500.n.9. CP.pp.94.
3. Philosophy of the Upaniṣhads pp. 24
4. CP. pp.135.
5. CP.pp.93.
6. CP.pp.443-44 ff.
7. Keith RPVU. pp500-501 ff.

Tapas in the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads occurs as frequently as in the Brāhmaṇas and more or less, in similar contexts. In the Ait.Āraṇyaka the root /tap - occurs only in one cosmological story, in which creation is said to proceed from the self,[1] 'but that is only apart of the Ait-Upaniṣad. In the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka tapas occurs more frequently - the root /tap as well as the substantive. Prajāpati is said to have practised tapas, and after practising the tapas shook his body*. For the Rṣis. Vātaraśanā, Vaikhānasa, and VālaKhilya were formed from the various parts of his body.[2] This reference to the trembling of the body by Prajāpati reminds one of the Muin of the RV and the AV. The story seems to be invented to give the ṛsis vātaraśanā (a term occurring in the RV) Vaikhānasa (the name used by Gautama, to designate the fourth stage of life) an air of sanctity and full incorporation in vedic society.

In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Tapas is identified with the Puṣkaraparṇa, in which Prajāpati was born,[3] and Brahmacarya is identified with tapas.[4] Vedic study, too, is called tapas.[5] Tapas is said to be of gold, which is the symbol of fire, and the sun[6] and this gold is meditated upon and prayed to to save the earth and heaven from tapas. This implies that here tapas has still the sense of burning and physical pain. This burning is thought to consist of intense power, which is sacred and

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1. Ait.Ar.II.4.
2. Taitti. 1.23.2.
3. TA.1.23.1.
4. TA.II.1.1.
5. TA.II.14.1.
6. TA.Iv.5.2.4. also. V.4.5; 1oo.

potent. In the similar vein, the tapas or beat, of the Sun is spoken of.[1] The Mahāvīra cup is given in the sacrifice for light, brilliance and tapas.[2]

Tapas is closely related to speech also. With tapas one obtains (anu + vind) the power (vīrya)[3] of speech. To Gharma (i.e. Pravargya) ceremony is sacrificed the speech born of tapas.[4] Tapas thus need not mean only austeritics but might stand for a whole complex of religious actions including silence, meditation, physical austerities. The same deity - who is the Lord of brahman (prayer) and speech (vac) is also the Lord of tapas (power, heat, and austerities).[5] This might explain the frequent occurrence of tapas in association with truth(satya). The pairs of truth and tapas brahman and brilliance (tejas) and kṣatra and glory are described in the TA.[6] In another passage tapas occurs in conjunction with faith, truth, support and other terms connected with welfare and prosperity.[7] Here tapas seems to have the sense of power. In a symbolic interpretation of sacrifice, the sacrifice is done with tapas (austerity) with the priest as speech(vāc).[8]

This idea of tapas is consistently put forward as a noble concept by the T.A. The difficulty here is that being rather a classificatory than a descriptive term, the word tapas does not give a very definitive picture about the practices sub-

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1. TA.V.7.7.
2. TA.IV.3.1.
3. TA.III.11.2.
4. TA.IV.7.3.
5. loc.cit.
6. TA.IV.21.1.
7. TA.IV.42.5.G.IV.1.1. Tapas comes with brilliance (tejas) truth, and prayer (brahman).
8. TA.III.6.1.

sumed under the notion. By pointing out that the study of the Veda is regarded as tapas, we might draw the conclusion that in the Āraṇyakas the study of the Vedic Saṃhitas has an ascetic implication for the seeker after truth and power.[1] We generally find these practices of tapas referred to as performed by the Gods and aryan men. We also read, however, that the demons (raksas) performed a severe austerity (ugra tapas)[2] to get a boon, that the Sun might become their opponent in a battle. The story goes on to justify the practice of the sandhyās by the Brāhmaṇas to help the Sun in his fight against the demons.

In the Kauṣitaki Āraṇyaka, the word tapas occurs twice.[3] Both passages appear to be late interpretations. Tapas in the BAU occurs at least seven times and with the ofs Jan (to produce)[4] and tap.[5] The story is related that there was nothing in the beginning. By death indeed was this covered, by hunger, hunger indeed is death. He made up his mind,[6] maybe with a self. He moved about, worshipping, and created

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1. On the study of the Veda regarded as dharma - see below.
2. TA.11.2.1.
3. IIIrd - which the Kaus.Up; XIIIth Chap: Composite and eclectic in content, and refers to various theories of Yājñavalkya etc.
4. BAU.1.5.1;2;
5. BAU.BAU. 1.2.6. 111.8.1o.
6. BAU.1.2.1. Cf.Radhakrishnan's trans.P.15.1. He takes "tan manas kuruta", as he created the mind" which is hardly justifiable; ~~the theories~~ -"manas kṛ" has the sense to make up one's mind; which is proved by the context that Death made a saṃkalpa.

water and fire (arka). Water is identified with fire, and water became solidified as the earth, on which he toiled (śram)[1] From him, weary (śrānta) and heated (taptā) a bright essence came forth as fire(1.5.2) This fire became threefold - the fire, the sun and the air. In the sixth section he is said to have desired to sacrifice with a greater sacrifice. He toiled and practised austerities. From him - toiled and heated, fame and power (virya) went forth. Fame and power are the breaths. When the breaths went forth, the body began to swell but mind was still in the body" His body then became the horse, identified with all the cosmic realities.

This story is very much in the Brāhmaṇa- style of the cosmogonic narration. Tapas and toil (śrama) are regarded as the prime method for the creation. Another important and completely novel feature of the story - not mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas - is the reference to the tejo rasa, produced from the heated body, which becomes the substratum of Creation. We shall see the importance of this principle in our discussion on the nature of Brahman. Moreover, this is one of the few cosmological stories left in the Upaniṣads.[2]

In another section,[3] in metrical verses it is said , the father (i.e. Prajāpati) created the seven kinds of food with

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1. Radhakrishnan trans.P.151.śram - in the sense of "forest" - which again is wrong.
2. Cf.Ait.Up.1.1.
3. BAU.1.5.1.2.

tapas and mental vigour (medhā)".[1] Thus, tapas is exalted as the prime method of creation. The significant absence of tapas in the earlier parts of the BAU and its inclusion in later passages, seem to suggest that the Upaniṣad did not hold tapas in much regard. The principle of tapas had to be included because it was the established mode in the Brāhmaṇas. This conservative tendency makes the BAU put tapas together with the sacrifice as unhelpful to full realisation of the Ātman. In conversations with Gārgi[2] Yājñavalkya says "Who O Gārgi, without knowing this imperishable (i.e. ātman) pours oblation, sacrifices, performs austerities for a thousand years, this (work) of his comes to an end; who goes away from this world without knowing this imperishable is pitiable O Gargi. O Gārgi, who departs from this world after knowing this imperishable he is a Brahmana." Sacrifice and tapas yield only perishable and limited results and the nature of such acts is ephemeral. In conversations with Janaka, Yājñavalkya recognises that tapas, along with sacrifice, charity and fasting, and the study of the veda are the modes of knowledge of the self, great, unborn, and consisting of knowledge(vijñana) - knowing him one becomes a muni; and desiring the same world the wanderers (i.e. mendicants) go forth." Tapas and fasting are only the lower

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1. Medhā occurs in other Upaniṣads more or less in the same sense. In Kaṭha 1.2.23. Self cannot be known by mental vigour nor by much learning. Also Mund. 3.2.3; Ait.5.2. Taitti 1.4.1. is more akin to the BAU sense, which indicates the early date of the T.Up.

2. BAU. III.8.1o.

stages in the hierarchy of the means of self-realization. In another passage[1] Pravāhaṇa Jaivali says that sacrifice, charity and tapas conquer only the lower world, the world of the fathers, from where men are born again. Similarly, the interpretation of supreme tapas in the BAU, to the effect that, death, illness, and burning the dead person on the fire are the supreme austerities,[2] denies the efficacy of all other austerities. This tapas is conceived in the manner of a sacrifice of one's own body. The whole life of man is regarded as tapas, which means that there is no necessity of performing physical austerities. Moreover, the Upaniṣad adds that "who knows this, wins the supreme world", which again emphasizes that knowledge is better than all other acts. There is one obscurity in this passage, where it is stated that the supreme austerity is regarded as carrying a dead person into the forest. Śaṁkara took this as retirement to forest from the village. We know from later sources that the person who becomes an ascetic, regarded himself as dead to the world. This passage might refer to the astrial carrying of such a person, regarded as dead into the forest and leaving him there. For otherwise, there is no sense in such a statement when after this, the passage refers to the burning of the dead person on the fire.

In the Chāndogya, the word tapas occurs in the often -

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1. BAU.VI.2.16.
2. BAU. V.11.1. Cf.with the Buddhist tradition.

quoted passage[1] in which, some see the reference to the four stages of life. "There are three branches of duties: sacrifice, study, and charity is the first; Austerity (tapas) is the second; the student living in the house of the teacher, absolutely controlling himself in the house of the teacher, is the third. See these attain to the pure worlds; (But) he who stands in the Brahman goes to immortality".[2] Tapas here seems to have then the sense of going to the forest referring to those who are the forest dwellers. In another context Ghora Anginas teaches Krsna Devakiputra that man's whole life is sacrifice. "When one hungers and thirsts and does not enjoy himself(i.e. abstain from pleasure) - that is his consecration"[3] "Austerity, charity, uprightness (arjava), non-violence (ahimsā)truthfulness (satya-vacana) - these are his gifts".

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1. Ch.Up.II.23.1.
2. Cf.the translation of Radhakrishman "There are three branches of duty, sacrifice, study and almsgiving - Austerity, indeed as the first, the second is the pursuit of sacred wisdom"etc, which is inadmissible as it does not accommodate the phrase "sacrifice, study, and charity" well. On this interpretation these are equated with tapas, and thus refers to the householder, the student and the Brahma-Samstha. P.374. We follow Samkara in this, who thinks that. See CSUP.P.5859, Hume also PP.220-201, Creative Period P.216.
3. Ch.Up.111.17.1;4;

Procreation is his new birth and his death, the final bath. When Ghora Angirasa told this to Kṛṣṇa, the latter became desireless (a pipāsa eva).[1] In the Pravāhaṇa Jaivali - Śvetaketu episode, the two paths - devayāna and Pitṛyāna are discussed[2] as in the BAU, but the reading of the Ch Up V.10.1 is different from the BAU VI.2.15. The Ch.Up, says that - "those who know this and those who meditate on faith as austerity go to light," the day and to the year and the world of the Gods.[3] The phrase "faith as austerity" (śraddhā tapa iti) gives tapas a completely different sense and therefore gives it a higher value than that which had been given to it in the BAU. This is contrasted with the life of sacrifice, public activity, and charity, as lived in the village.[4] which yields only the world of the fathers.

In the Ch.Up, the root √tap - occurs generally in the sense of "to shine".[5] The word "tapta" occurs as an epithet of the student Upakosala Kāmalāyana dwelling with Satyakāma Jābāla,[6] tending his fires for twelve years, so well that the wife of Satyakāma Jābāla asked her husband to teach him, but Satyakāma went away (pravāsāṁ cakre)[7] without teaching him. The fire recognised his penance and gave him sacred wisdom.

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1. ~~R.G.Bhandarkar~~. Creative Period P.220-21, the problem of the identity of Kṛṣṇa, the only argument being the words - Tapas, dāna,etc, occurring in the 16 chap, of the Bh.G, but that is a weak argument.
2. Cf.Muṇḍ 1.2.11.
3. See Ch.Up.IV.15.5.
4. Ch.Up.V.1o.3.
5. Ch.Up.1.3.1; 11.14.2; 111.18.3; 4,5,6;
6. Ch.Up.IV.10. 1-5.
7. Ch.Up.IV.1o.2. This may well suggest that the teachers spent time in wandering about the country,probably teaching the people

that "breath is brahman, joy (kam) is brahman, ether is Brahman". This shows that penance had to be undertaken before the student was given the sacred wisdom.[1] In the studentship period one had to tend the fires. We are told the fires said that this student has been well heated (tapta) and this might have significance in actual practice implying that fire played an important part in the austerity, not only as giving pain to the physical body but also as irradiating the student with power.[2] The period of studentship here appears to foreshadow the third and the fourth stages of life, where again one finds the tending of the fire as one of the chief duties of the ascetic.

A cosmological story is related in which Prajāpati is said to have heated the worlds,[3] and from these heated worlds, he extracted their essences (rasa), fire from the earth, air from the atmosphere, the sun from the sky." Then from these Prajāpati, after breathing on each, goes on to extract the Rk, the Sāman, and the Yajus; bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ; similarly now the root abhi-tap, occurs many times in the Ch.Up in the same sense.[4]

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1. But Maitreyi was instructed by Yājñavalkya ~~in~~ without any such requirement;
2. Cf. with later practices.
3. Ch.Up. V.17.1.
4. Ch.Up. III.1.3; III2.2. III 3.2; 111.4.2; 111 5.2; 1v.17.2. v11.11.1; II.23.3.

In the Ait. Upaniṣad, a different cosmogonic story is told with the self as the one existent being in the beginning. "The self verily, was this, one only. Nothing else He thought let me produce the worlds." He produced these worlds, water, Light says, death, and the waters, (salilāni) beyond the heaven. The sky is its support; atmosphere is light rays the earth is the death; what are beneath, are the waters.[1] The self created the worlds, then the guardians of the worlds and from the waters drew forth the person (puruṣa) and "brooded over" him and of that person, heated and brooded over, the mouth, broke open like an egg. From the mouth, from speech, fire". The nostrils were separated out: from them the breath, from breath, air. The eyes were separated out; from them the sight, from the sight, the sun. The ears were separated out; from them hearing and the quarters; the skin, from it the hairs, thence the plants and trees; the heart, from it the mind, thence the moon; the navel, from it the outbreath, thence death; the generative organ; from it semen, thence water. Later on, it is related that (puruṣa) fire entered the mouth of the person becoming the speech; air as breath, in the nostrils; the Sun as sight, in the eyes; and the quarters, as hearing in the ears; plants and trees as the hairs with skins etc.[2] All these are subsumed in the

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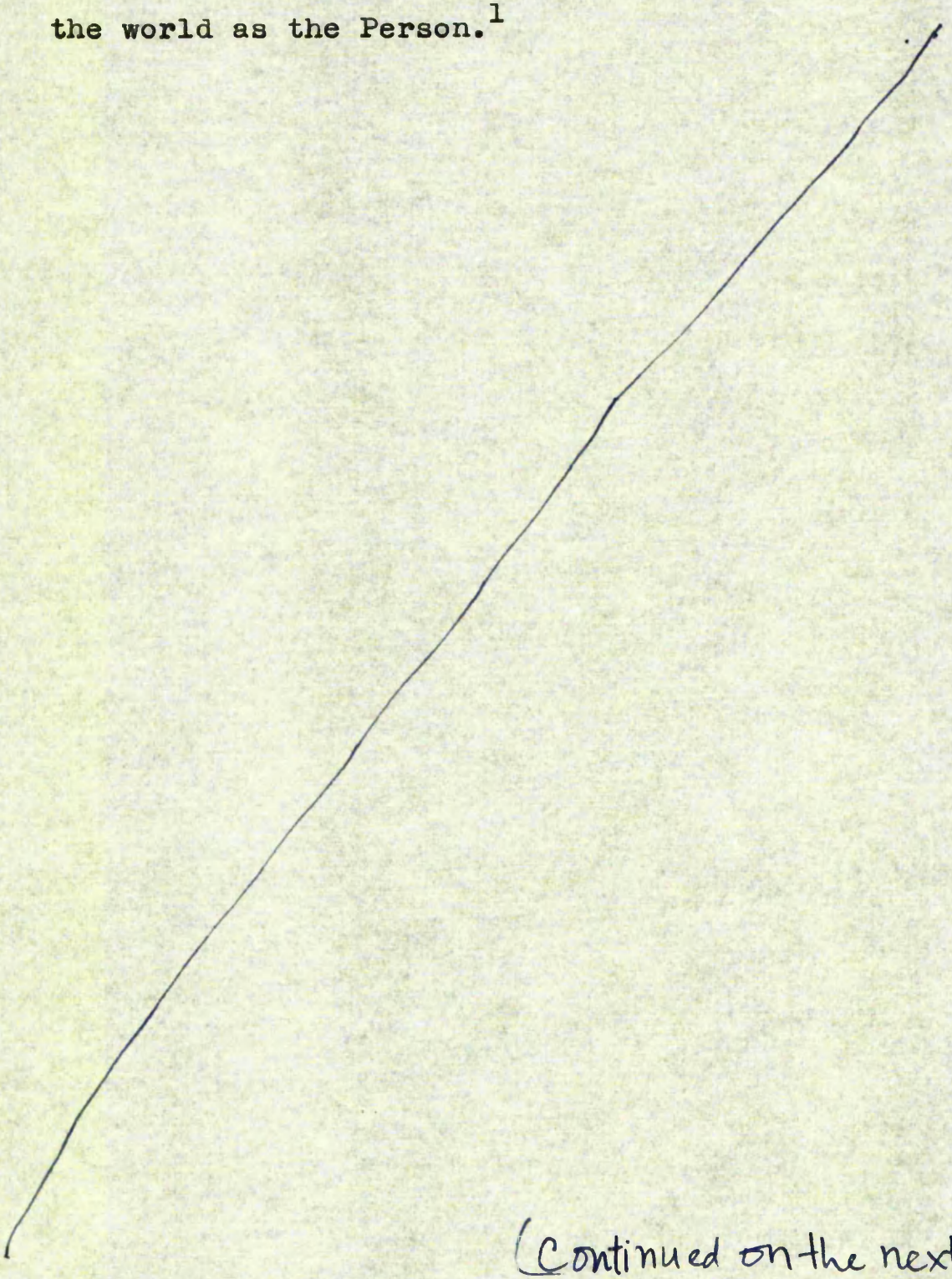
1. Ait. Up. 1.1.1 - 4.
2. Ait. Up. 1.2.1 - 5.

Person, which idea only underlines the unity of the microcosm and the macrocosm; and also the conception of the world as the Person.[1]



(Continued on the next page)

1. Cf. RV.X.90., X 129.

The Ait.Up. takes only the cosmological aspect of the word tapas and plays down the ascetic aspect. In the Kausitaki, the story is related, that Citra Gāngāyani, wishing to perform a sacrifice chose Āruṇi who sent his son Śvetaketu. But Śvetaketu was put out by Citra's eschatological question, after which Citra expounded the doctrine of the two paths.[1] The seasons are prayed to bring one to immortality through this truth (i.e. the identity of the seasons and the self, which takes rebirth according to its action, and its knowledge) and tapas. In the Kena[2] tapas, along with self-control and work (Karma) is regarded as the support of the Upaniṣad expounded, "the Vedas, and their "limbs" and "truth its abode". This example only emphasizes the relation of tapas with truth, and self control. It is, at least, regarded as an important mode of conduct to realise the Brahman regarded as (tadvana) as such.[3]

Tapas is regarded as much more important in the Taitt.Up. than in all the other Upaniṣads. Study and teaching is regarded as the most important duty and moral virtue, together with right, truth, tapas, self control, tranquility, fires, agnihotra, guests, children,[4] propogation of the race, and producing the children. It quotes the opinions of Satyavacas (the man of true speech) the son of Rathitaa who regarded speaking the truth as austerity (tapas). Taponitya the son of

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1. Kaus. 1.1-4. ~~Belvalkar.~~ Cf. BAU.VI.1; Ch.Up.V.2. ~~From Unpublished texts Upanishadic texts and the Paryairha Vidya (1925); edited E~~ Translation.
2. Keha IV.8 (-33) Radhakrishnan P.592 of the 1st Chapter.
3. Keha IV.6 (-31).
4. Tait.Up. 1.9.1. Cf. T.A. ~~Bee Up~~.

Paurusiṣṭi, said that tapas was most important, while Nāka, the son of Maudgala, supported study and teaching alone. In the Bhṛguvalli Bhṛgu goes to Varuṇa to know the Brahman. Varuṇa after giving the definition of Brahman asks him to perform tapas, and to know Brahman with tapas, for tapas was Brahman.[1] Bhṛgu practised tapas[2] and successively realised that Brahman was food (anna), Breath (prāṇa), mind (manas), intelligence (vijñana), bliss (ānando). So this Bhārgavī, Vāruṇi Vidyā, which procured offspring and cattle, brahmavarcas, and great fame, was to be known through tapas, but, as in other places, the Upaniṣad recognises knowledge of the Vidyā as giving all these.

We have a cosmological story also in the Taitti.Up.[3] where it is said, that "Those who regard Brahman as Non-existent (asad), become non-existent". Brahman is existent. He desired[4] "let me become many, let me be born" (bahu syām iti prajāyeyeti) He performed austerity. Having performed austerity he produced all this whatever there is.[5] Having

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1. Tapasā brahma vijijñāsasva tapo brahmeti. III.2.1; III.3.1, III.4.1; III.5.1;
2. Taitt.Up. III.1;1; 2.1; 4.1; 5.1;
3. T.U. 11.6.1. Saṃkara thinks that tapas is called knowledge (Jñāna); is thought (paryālocana)
4. Kāma is the basis of creation. Ch.Up. VI.2.1.
5. Cf. BAU.I.4. 8-10.

Having created it he entered it and became.

In the Kaṭha Upaniṣad; the conception of tapas is not very different from that of the Taittiriya. The austerities seem to involve knowledge of the syllable a-u-m.[1] The self is regarded as born from creative heat, from waters.[2] In the Śvetaśvatara Up.[3] it is said "as oil in sesamune seeds, as butter in curd, as water in riverbeds, as fire in the fire-sticks, in the same way the self is grasped in the self, (by him) who looks for it with truth and austerity." The universal self can be thus known as immanent in the individual self with austerity and discipline. The same point is made by saying that "the root of self-knowledge and austerity" is the Self.[4] In the Muṇḍaka, Brahman is thought to expand by tapas,[5] from that food is produced, from food, breath, mind, truth, the worlds; (from that the works), in the works, immortality. These various categories of creation came one after the other, rather than at once. The next verse defines the tapas of Brahman as consisting of knowledge.[6] This is

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1. Kaṭha. 1.2.15. Aum-occurs first in TS.III.2.9.6. in Ait.Br. v.32.
2. II.1.6 (=4.6)
3. Śvet.Up.1.15.CSUP.P.342.
4. Śvet.Up.1.16. ātma-vidyā-tapa-mūlam.
5. Muṇd.1.1.8. tapasā cīyate brahman.
6. Mund.1.9. Yasya jñāna-mayaṃ tapaḥ.

~~This is~~ obviously a later conception. In another cosmological section, tapas, works, faith, truth, chastity, regulations are said to be born from brahman.[1] This constant relation of tapas with karma (probably with rituals) is emphasized again, when the Person is regarded as "all this, work, austerity, and brahma beyond death".[2] In the third section of the Muṇḍaka, the self is said to be known through truth and tapas.[3] But soon the self is said to be transcendental[5] which "cannot be grasped by the eye nor even by speech, nor by other sense organs, nor by austerity, nor by work; being of nature purified by knowledge, then, meditating, he sees Him[4], without part" In the Śvet.Up. however, the wise Śvetāśvatara is said to have spoken about the Brahman, by the power of tapas and the grace of God, to those beyond the stages (āśramas). Later, in the Muṇḍaka, a qualification is introduced, that this self cannot be attained by one without strength, nor through heedlessness (pramāda) nor through tapas without an aim[5]". (linga). So, thus, we find that in the Muṇḍaka there is contradiction in respect of tapas. At one place it says that the self can be known through tapas[6] and at another that it cannot be known[7]. ~~This~~

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1. Muṇḍ II.1.7ab. Puruṣa evedam sarvam karma tapa brahma Parāmṛtam parāmṛtam)
2. Muṇḍ II.1.10.
3. Muṇḍ.III.1.5. Satyena labhe jas tapasā hyeṣa ātmā Cf.Śvet. Up.1.1.5. Śamkara says that tapas is to concentrate the mind and sense organs on one point.
4. Cp.Kaṭha. 1.2.23. also Muṇḍ.Up.III.2.3.
5. Muṇḍ. III.2.4 Linga is taken by Śamkara as renunciation.
6. Muṇḍ.III.1.5.
7. Muṇḍ.III.2.4.

This may be reconciled by postulating that the immanent and transcendental selves are spoken about in two places, but it is of course possible that the text is a conflation from two different sources.

In the Praśna Up, the six questioners, sukeśa, son of Bhāradvāja, Satya-Kāma, son of Śibi, Gārgya, Kauśalya, son of Aśvala, Bhārgava of the Vidarbha country, Kabandhū son of kātya, went to Pippalāda to know about Brahman. Pippalāda asked them to stay with him for a year with austerity (tapas) chastity, (brahma carya) and faith (śraddhā).[1] This relationship of austerity, chastity and faith, in pursuance of the knowledge of Brahman is quite familiar from the Muṇḍaka,[2] and Chandogya,[3] where faith and austerity and faith as austerity are solicited and practised.[4] But in the Praśna tapas, chastity, and faith are contrasted with the conventional piety and good works and are said to lead a man to immortality, through the northern path; to the Sun, to the Fearless, to the stopping (nirodha) (of rebirth).

Later in answer to the question of Kabandhī Kātyāyana, interested in cosmology, Pippalāda says that, desiring children Prajāpati practised tapas and produced wealth (rāyi) and breath (prāṇa)[5], that is the "material" and "the informing principle".

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1. Praśna Up. 1.2.
2. Muṇḍka. 1.2.11.
3. Ch.Up.,
4. Cp.Praśna.Up.1.1o. see Creative Period.P.289.90. compare the attitude of the BAU - against tapas.
5. Praśna Up.1.4. Both are comparable to the idea of the duality of form and matter in Aristotle. see CSUP. P92-93; Creative Period. P.289-90.

Replying to the question of Satyakāma, about the meditation on A.U.M. Pippalāda says that he who meditates on one letter, that is "a" only comes back to the earth. With chastity, austerity and faith one experienced greatness (mahimānam)[1]. This experience of greatness through tapas shows that tapas is closely connected with the ideas of the expansion of the ego, an extension of the being.[2]

In the Maitri Up. the conception of tapas is more definite. Bṛhadśratha stands, "with uplifted arms, gazing at the sun", performing the extreme austerity in the forest, for a thousand days. For the first time in the Upaniṣads such austerities are referred to. But all this is of no avail for Bṛhadratha does not discover the nature of the self. But the Maitri Up. in the IV section deals with the problem of the duties of the stages, and thinks that one becomes sinless through tapas[3] and that one realises the Brahman through tapas, thinking (cintā)[4] and knowledge.[5] In the Mahānārayaṇa Up, right and truth are regarded as tapas; and the upasana of Brahman is regarded as austerity.[6] There is no higher tapas than fasting, and renunciation (nyāsa).[7]

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1. Praśna. Up.V.1-3.
2. Cf.Zaehner.Mysticism. Sacred and profance. P.128. Creative Period interpret: the term "mahiṃmānam" in terms of earthly prosperity. Cf.CSUP.P.335.
3. Maitri IV.3.t. Only shows that it could have been pre-Buddhistic.
4. Maitri.IV.4.
5. Mahānārayaṇa. 8.1,913.1;
6. Mahānārayaṇa 21.2.
7. Mahānārayaṇa loc.cit.

All this extensive study of the uses of the word tapas shows that it has two meanings in the Upaniṣads; (1) asceticism i.e. discipline of the body, (2) the power produced from these practices. But tapas as we have seen is not a descriptive term but rather a classificatory term, subsuming many practices varying from bodily torture, to mental concentration and pure gnosis(jñāna) sometimes. It is difficult to determine the precise significance of the term. In the BAU, where it is compared with sacrificial practices, it might simply mean physical austerity as carried on for gross materialistic gains. It might be suggested that this odium towards tapas came about because of the close connection of tapas with the Brahmaṇic theology.[1] In the Ch.Up and the Muṇḍ and the Praśna, tapas is being refined to include faith and knowledge. Tapas is regarded essential to achieve the knowledge of Brahman and its realisation. So we find that the stage of studentship is identified as tapas.

These tendencies led to the threefold classification and systematisation in the Gitā, which divides tapa in physical, vocal and mental. In the yoga-sūtras, there is quite close connection between tapas and the study of the Veda.[3] The yoga sūtras put forward the view taken from the upaniṣads that through tapas impurity vanishes, which results in a perfection

1. The same idea is existent even in the Gita. VIII.28; XI.48, 53, XV1.1.XVLL.27, XVIII.3.5; where tapas occurs with sacrifice.
2. XVII.14-16, Relation with faith. XVII.17.
3. YS.II.1: II.32; IV.1. three times out of four occurrences of the word it comes with study of the Veda.

of the body.[1] Tapas in the Ys. is primarily physical, which is obviously different from the views of many of the Upanisads, and also from the views of Śamkara.

Tapas is closely related with satya, which in turn is closely related with speech as in the Brāhmaṇas.[2] Truth as a moral virtue is repeated again and again in the Upaniṣads. Speech is called a tree "whose blossom and fruit is truth, whose roots are untruth".[3] He who speaks the untruth, exposes the roots and the tree withers away; whosoever speaks truth, wins the blossom and fruit of the tree, and becomes famous and glorious. Satya is identified with aum and falsehood (anṛta) is that which is not-aum. A man has to learn when to say "yes" and when to say "no". A man has to mix both truth and falsehood (satyānṛte mithunīkṛtya)[4] to prosper in this world.

In the BAU truth is equated with dharma.[5] Again consecration is said to be established in truth, so the concentrated never speaks untruth.[6] In the forest the forest-dwellers observe faith and truth.[7] In the Taittirija, Satyavacas, the son of Rathītara regards truth as the supreme austerity.[8]

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1. YS.II.43.See.Wood.trans.P.149.
2. KAUS.1.6; Ch.Up. 1.2.3; III.11.2; IV.4.5; VLL.2.1; 7.1; 16.1;
3. Ait.Ar.II.3.6. Cf.MS.IV.8.3; KS XXVIII.5: TB.II.8.8.1; Keith op cit.II:P480: Creative Period PP158-59.
4. This pragmatic approach is already foreshadowed in the ŚB. 11.2.2.20. Ait.Br.1.6.6. in the story of Aruṇa Aupaveśi but the only notices the impossibility of speaking always truth, human nature being what it is, that is false (anṛta)cf. ŚB.1.1.1.4.
5. BAU.1.4.14.
6. BAU.III.9.23.
7. BAU.VI.2.15.
8. Taitt.Up.1.9.1.

The teacher gives advice to the outgoing student to speak truth, and observe his duties.[1] The Taittireya alone among the Upaniṣads, keeps the relations of Ṛta and Satya. Truth made ineligible candidates eligible to learn the secret wisdom, as is illustrated by the story of Satyakāma Jābāla and Hāridrumata.[2] Speaking the truth is one of the cardinal virtues according to Ghora Āṅgirasa.[3] In the Muṇḍaka satya alone is said to win, not untruth[4] and through it one achieves the devayāna. But satya has another ontological aspect, which is noticed already in the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Satya is that which exists. In the Ch.Up. earth and iron are called satya[5]. The self is satya (existent).[6] With truth (satya) one makes his self existent (satya).[7] The city of Brahman is existent.[8] Satya sometimes means the existent in the empirical sense, that is, the world (nāma-rupa) which covers the immortal.[9] Brahman is truth, existent[10]. The satya is the eye.[11]

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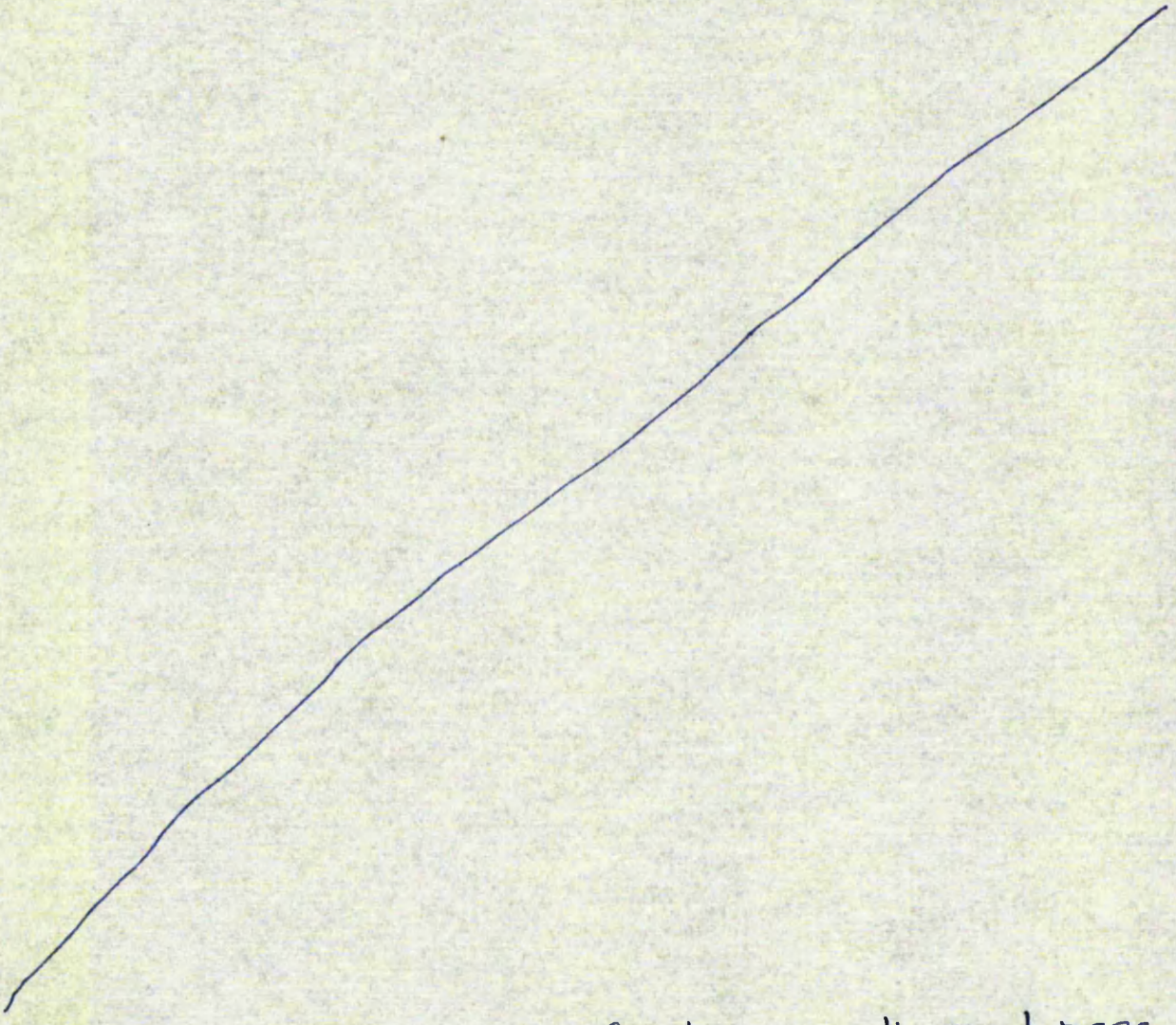
1. Taitt.Up. 1.11.1.
2. Taitt.Up. 1.1.1; 1.12.1.
3. Ch.Up. IV.4.1-5. CP.P.222; CSUP.P.312-13.
4. Ch.up. III.17.4.
5. Muṇḍaka. III.1.6.
6. Ch.Up.VI.1.4.5; Cf.VI.1.6.
7. Ch.Up.VI.8.7. tat satyam sa ātmā. VI.9.4. vI.10.3; VI.11.3; VI.13.3;vI.14.3: VI.15.3, 16.3.
8. Ch.Up.VI.16.2. Satyam ātmānam kurute..satyenātmānam antardhāya.
9. Ch.Up.VIII.1.5.
10. BAU.I.6.3.
11. BAU.V.4.1.

The Taittiriya gives the famous definition of Brahman. "Brahman is existent, gnosis, endless".[1] Satya appears in the Kauśitaki Up.[2], in conjunction with tapas and in the Chandogya[10] and Muṇḍaka[11]. The Yogasūtra[12] gives the result of truth speaking (as Yama - "abstinence from falsehood") as kriyāphalāśrayatva - (dependence of the result of the action).



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1.Taitt.Up. II.1.1; Cf.II.6.1.
2.Kauṣitaki. 1.2.
3.Ch.Up.111.17.4.
4.Muṇḍaka 111.1.5. Cf.Mahanārāyana.8.1; 13.1;
5.YS.11.36.

VRATA IN THE UPANISADS.

With the change in the religious and philosophical ideas and practices vrata too comes to be differently interpreted. The central conception of vrata now is that of "vow". In the BAU it occurs only twice. A new term "vratamīmāmsā" is introduced.[1] Śamkara interprets it as upāsanā. The story is told that Prajāpati produced the active senses (Karmāṇi). They began to quarrel among themselves. Speech said that it will go on speaking and the ear said that it will go on seeing, and so also said the other organs. Death becoming effort (or weariness ŚRAMA), caught hold of them and held them back from work but the middle breath (Prāṇa) alone remained. The other senses wanted to know him and having known said that "he was the best among them all". "Whether moving or not moving it is not pained, is not injured. Let us all assume his form (rūpa)", All the other sense-organs are therefore identified with breath. It seems that a reference to Prāṇayāma is alluded.[2] In the Ch.Up. there is a symbolic identification of the chant of Gāyatri with the various breaths. The "Gayatra is woven (protam) in the breaths".[3] Here mind, eye, ear, breath are all regarded as breaths, and it is said that who knows that

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1. BAU.1.5.21.
2. Cf.CP.pp.112.See also. BAU.1.5.23.
3. Ch.Up.II.11.1;2.

that the Gāyatrā chant is woven in the breaths becomes one as possessing breaths (prāṇē). The vow is, it is further said, that one should be great thinker (mahāmánā). Vrata includes various moral and ritual rules. One should not spit before the fire,[1] during the Rathantara chant, nor sip from the water. Comparing the process of the Vāmadevya chant to the sexual act, it is said, that one should not shun any woman.[2] One should not abuse the burning one (i.e. the sun)[3], nor the seasons,[4] nor the rains,[5] not even the worlds, the animals.[6] One should not eat of marrow for a year, or not at all, because marrow is the death (nidhana) of the Yajñāyajñiya chant.[7] One should not deny a brāhmaṇa[8], that is the vow. Similar instructions are given in the TU too about not abusing the food[9] and producing more food. It is further regarded as an act of virtue not to deny residence to any one.[10] The highest conception of vrata merges in upāsanā, which is put forward in the Ch.Up.[11] where it is said, that One should meditate (upās) "I am all", that is the vrata.

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1. Ch.Up.II.12.2.
2. Ch.Up.II.13.2.
3. Ch.Up.LL.14.2.
4. Ch.Up.11.16.2.
5. Ch.Up.II.15.2.
6. Ch.Up.II.17.18.
7. Ch.UP.II.19.2.
8. Ch.Up.II.20.2.
9. TU.III.7.1.8.1; 9.1.
10. TU.III.10.1.
11. CH.UP.II.21.4.

THE CONCEPT OF UPĀSANĀ IN THE UPANIṢADS.

The idea of upāsanā goes back to Ṛgvedic times. The word itself is derived from the root √ās - to sit down, or as - to throw, with the prefix upa, but the former etymology is obviously the better one and favoured by most scholars. The root occurs about twelve times in the Ṛgveda.[1] Grassman gives six meanings: (1) to worship, (2) to wait upon; (3) to pay attention to; (4) to be occupied with, (5) to remain true, with dative; (6) to be put in possession of (besitzen), to have the benefit of or to enjoy. St.Petersburg lexicon[2] gives fourteen meanings, (as a mark of subordination and service) - dienstbereitbeit) - (2) to sit (3) to halt at; (4) to attend to, (5) to feed oneself, (6) to besiege, (7) to practise, to perform (8) to suffer, to undergo, (9) to endure to the end, to persevere; in an undertaking, (10) to wait for, to sit nearby waiting, (erwartend dabeisitzen) etc. It seems that the original meaning of the verb must have to sit near, which was extended to further meanings in course of time. In the RV.persons are described as sitting for and soliciting the alms of the flesh of the horse.[3] It seems that the idea of sitting and

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1. Grassman WR.P.189-90.
2. S.V.1. P.732.34.
3. RV.I.162.12.Geldner 1.P.223. "to wait for". PW. takes the same sense. Cfs.Schayer. Uber die Bedeutung des wortes Upaniṣad. RO.III.57-67.1925, who takes it to mean to press for "unwerben".

soliciting silently might have been further promoted by the association of the word with ritual and sacrifice, in which the sacrificer sits down and performs the sacrifice, intensely soliciting and desiring the desired object. People solicit and propitrate Agni.[1] and Nirṛti solicits and propitiates the three Gods for sacrificial offerings,[2] and the Gods are said to know it. This relation between two verbs upāsate and vi-jānāti, to know has a continuous history up to the Upaniṣads. Soma is propitiated by the wise ones with speech[3] and in the same way Indra too is solicited and propitiated.[4] Gods while sacrificing solicit faith,[5] and with faith win wealth.[5] The departed fathers are described as soliciting melted butter.[6] The Gods solicit the instruction of the Hiraṇyagarbha.[7]

The idea of Upāsanā in the RV, seems therefore, one of intense solicitation of a desired object through a mental concentration and through speech and prayer. The idea of worship is vaguely hinted in the hymn to faith.

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1. RV.1.36.7. Sayana takes it in the sense of "performing sacrifices", but it does not seem correct for later on in the verse, the sacrificers are definitely said to be as "kindling the fire" with oblations.
2. RV.X.114.2.
3. RV.IX.86.39.
4. RV.X.153.1.
5. RVX.151.4.
6. RV.X.154.1. in the later verses, 2 and 3, the fathers are described as performing tapas. Cf. AU.X.631.
7. RV.X. 121.2 = AV.Xiii.3.24. see Henry V.P.19 "to revere" is taken the meaning of the verb /upās. Also compare RV.X.191.2. (= AV.VI.94.1.cd).

The chief idea is thus of sitting down in thought of the desired object and it is assumed that the object will be attained. The same tendency is continued in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharvaveda. A man fixes his attention on the object and directs his will towards that object or God. Thus upāsanā is a sort of mental austerity as tapas is rather a physical austerity. The idea is similar to the later one of adoration and devotion (Bhakti) but with important differences, which will be discussed later.

In the Atharvaveda an amulet (maṇi)[1] is thus solicited for its powers of healing and so is breath[2] by Gods and all other persons. A type of symbolic solicitation and meditative adoration is alluded to in the AV, which might[3] is worshipped and solicited as the model (pratimā), for the year. The cow, identified with death, and the immortal, is adored. The sacrificial objects too are solicited and adored.[4] These upāsanās seem to be carried out to get the powers and qualities of the objects solicited and meditated upon. The Brahmanical doctrine of symbolic identifications is still rudimentary in the AV. The meditative solicitation of the Rk was coming into existence, and he who knows not

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1. AV.X.6.31. This word throughout the present section is regularly used to translate/upas
2. AV.XI.4.11.12.- -similar to the Upanisadic Upasanas (see below)
3. AV.III.10.3. Whitney p.100.
4. AV.XVIII.4.36.Cf.also AV.XI.5.9. III.10.3. X.7.27. ~~Te Kṛtvā samidhāmupāsate~~ X.8.22.

that, what will he do with the verse? They who know that sit together yonder"[1] Further, upāsanā is to be carried on together with faith,[2] an idea already familiar to the RV. The ideas of the meditative solicitations and adorations of the Gods and the physical objects, which are thought to be filled with power and qualities, are more developed in the Brāhmaṇas. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[3] the priests are asked to solicit in meditation (upās) the Gandharvam in whatsoever form, for Gandharva will be able to assume that form, and he who knows this (ya-evam veda) should solicit him with yajus, sāman, uktha, and magic power (māyā). Meditative solicitions on the uktha are recommended with the SB,[4] but one has to know the various elements of the uktha, which is expatiated on in the text. UK is the Sun and "thane" is the moon (8) "loka" is the Agni and thane is the oblations, and uk is the breath "thane" is the food. When one solicits meditatively this, he solicits and adores the Person (puruṣa), Agni-like, Arka-like and Uktha-like.

The stage of upāsānā reached in the ŚB is higher than this.[5] One is asked to perform upāsanā on the Brahman. The upāsanā of breath, often identified with fire, and with "the

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1. AV.IX.10.18. Tekṛtvā samidhāvupāsate. X.8.22. which might be taken to mean that after assembling the words, theybsolicit" which shows that upasana has to do rather with the worshipping and soliciting aspect than the sacrificial aspect of Vedic religion.
2. AV.XII.2.51. Agni should be solicited not without faith. Whitney.P.681.
3. SB.X.5.2.2o SBE43.P373, translates it with "to serve" but that does not bring out the essential significance of the term.
4. SB.X.6.2.8-1o.
5. SB.X.6.3.1.2. Śāṇdilyavidyā. Cf.Ch.Up.III.14.

immortal" has also become widespread.[1] Śākāyanin thought that wind is fire and so solicited and meditated on him.[2] Brahman is the truth (satya). But these concentrated adoration and meditative solicitations are later in time and more developed than the upāsanās, as mentioned in the śatapatha and in the other Brāhmaṇa texts. The Fire is solicited as the symbol of the east.[3] The King in the Rājasūya is solicited by the people standing beneath his throne,[4] and even the Brāhmaṇa does the same.[5] The ŚB. gives the instruction to the adhvaryu to do the meditative solicitation while awake.[6]

In the Tāṇḍya only a special type of Upāsanā is prevalent. The various sāmans are to be meditatively solicited and adored. The sage Abhipratārin[7] becomes the most powerful (ojiṣṭha) among his kinsfolk as a result of this practice. The Bhallaveyas too did the same solicitation on another saman and they too do not fall from return.[8] These upāsanās were undertaken for the purpose of obtaining long life[9] and on one occasion to obtain a house-chaplainship. This meant that the

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1. ŚB.X.X.6.19.X.3.4.5.
2. ŚB. X.4.5.1; X.5.2.20; 6.3.1.2; XI.4.4.9-12, XII.2.3.
3. ŚB.III.2.3.16.
4. ŚB.I.3.4.15.
5. ŚB.IV.4.2.23.
6. ŚB.III.9.3.11. jāgrad haivādhvaryur upāsēta.
7. Tāṇḍya II.9.4. Caland translates the verb, as "to practise" which is only a derived sense. The solicitation and meditation on the sāman was to be carried on by recitation probably but it is never expressed.
8. Tāṇḍya II.2.4. Cf. II.8.3.
9. Tāṇḍya II.15,4 Cf. II.16.4

mastery over the sāman was to come through concentration of attention and meditative solicitation. This tendency led to the meditations on the Udgītha as practised in the Ch.Up.[1] through the phase of the study of the Vedas which is so much extolled in the Āranyakes.

Thus in the Brāhmaṇa period upāsanā has acquired the basic characteristics which predominate in later times. Faith was thought to be necessary from the very beginning. In meditative adoration one had to realise the various symbolic identifications of the symbol - which might bethe uktha, or the fire, and this led to the achievement of the powers and qualities of the object meditated on, by the person who did this upāsanā. As we saw, generally this meditative adoration was not of a high order, the terms of later in religion. It was more magical than religious, in tune with the spirit of the magico-ritualistic conception about the potency of the sacrifice. The symbolism of this period was philosophically higher than that of the Ā, but only in certain later portions of the ŚB.

The problem of upāsanā in the Upaniṣads where it overshadows all other methods of religio-philosophical enquiry, attracted the attention of Oldenberg.[2] He thought that the verb upās meant "to worship, to adore", and the upaniṣad

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1. See below.
2. Vedische Untersuchungen P.6.ZDMG.Vol.50.P.457.Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfange des Buddhismus.1915.P.37.348.

was the "formula of adoration". Keith[1] criticized him on the ground the verb Upa-ṣad has already lost the meaning to "worship" long before the upaniṣad period and he further attacked the idea that the concept of worship and reverence was possible in the Upanisadic philosophy. It is quite true to say that the Vedic upāsanā has not the sense of "worship"[2], as we have seen in the Brāhmaṇas, that it is more of a solicitation of the God or the object for the psychic absorption of its powers by the subject through concentration of mind and meditation. But there is a basic similarity in the concepts of the Upaniṣad and the Upāsanā. The process of the realisation of the reality, as preached by the Upaniṣads is upāsanā, and Oldenberg was right in so far as he saw this identity. Senart[3] thought the verb originally meant "to know" and upāsanā therefore stands for knowledge. Keith[4] rejects the interpretation, but Senart was, we think, in one way right. As we saw the object of upāsanā was a symbol, a symbol with a meaning, which was to be known in all its various elements to get the desired result. But that aspect of intellective gnosis was the part of knowledge (vidyā) which was systematised in vidyās, for instance, Śāṇḍilyavidyā, Madhuvidyā, Savitravidyā. The process of upāsanā started with knowledge but ended in an emotional, intuitive realisation of the identity of the ego with the objects of meditation. This will become clearer later.

In the Upaniṣads there are still various ends of life, which are sought after, and aspired for. All persons do

p.t.o.

1. RPVU.II.P.492.
2. Cf.Schayer.RO.IV.157.58.1925.
3. Upās-Upaniṣad Florile-gium Melchon de Vogue.P.575, quoted in Keith loc.cit.u.2. also in Maryla Falk. RO13-14. Upāsana et Upaniṣad.P.128.129.
4. Loc.cit.

not want liberation from life and its pleasures. Only a few desire the highest brahma. So the objects of these upasanas are material objects, psychological entities, physiological organs and metaphysical realities like Brahman and Ātman.

In the Chandogya Up., the first chapter is devoted to the Udgīthavidyā. The Udgītha, identified with the letter aum, is to be meditated on and solicited.[1] The explanation given is that the essence of being is the earth; the essence of the earth is water; the essence of the water is plants; the essence of plants is a person; the essence of a person is speech; the essence of speech is the Ṛk. the essence of the Ṛk is the sāman; the essence of the saman is the Udgītha".[2] The udgītha is therefore, the quintessence of the essences" the supreme, the highest"[3] The Udgītha is the symbol of speech and of the vedas. The result of this upasana is the fulfilment of all desires.[4] The meditation of the letter aum should be done with knowledge (vidyā), faith, and upaniṣad.[5] The Udgītha was not to be identified with the breath in the nose, or speech, or the eye, or the ear, or the mind, but with the main breath.[6] Then it yields immense

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1. Ch.Up.1.1.1. Om ity etad akṣaram udgītham upāsīta.
2. Ch.Up.1.1.2.
3. Ch.Up.1.1.3.
4. Ch.Up.1.1.7.
5. Ch.Up.1.1.10.

power and nobody can do anything against the man who attains it, or he himself will be destroyed.[1] We are further informed that the Angirasas, Bṛhaspati, Ayāsya and Baka Dālbhya, all performed upāsanā on the Udgītha.[2] The Udgītha-vidyā goes further than those identifications. The Udgītha is identified with the Sun[3] and it is said, that as the rising sun dispels fear and darkness, one who knows (vid-) this becomes the dispeller of darkness and fear. The word Udgītha itself was meditated on, by identifying the three syllables ud-gi-tha, with breath, speech, and food, heaven, the atmosphere, and the earth. The symbol of the udgitha Upasana might have been thus either the syllable AUM or Udgitha. The process of Upāsanā, involved identifications, their knowledge (vidyā) faith and intense contemplation to realise the unity of the diverse elements, which might have produced an "audible" mystical experience, when it is said, that "the sun goes continually sounding aum"[4] The ends of such a contemplative adoration of the Udgitha are materialistic. Meditation on the udgitha, identified with space (ākāśa) the source and end of all beings, the final goal (parāyana) gets one the highest and the best of the worlds.[5] This was what Atidhanvan Śaunaka taught Udara Śāṇḍilya.

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1. Ch.Up.1.2.7.8.
2. Ch.Up. 1.2.10.13.Cf.1.8.1-8. the discussions of Śipaka Śālāvatyan Caikitāna Dālbhya and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, on the Udgītha.
3. Ch.Up.1.3.1.Cf.1.5.1.
4. Ch.1.5.1.
5. Ch.Up.1.9.1.4. In Ch.Up.1.5.2.4. Kauṣitaki says to his son that if he solicits and adores the rays of the sun he will have as many sons.

Later in the Ch.Up.[1] five types of Sāman are mentioned as symbols of earth as himkāra, fire as the prastāva, the atmosphere as the Udgītha, the sun as the pratihāra, and the heaven as the Nidhāna. These were only symbolic upāsanās, which were to yield one the consciousness of the unity of the cosmos, the cosmic elements being present in the saman, which was therefore to be solicited meditatively.

Besides these, another type of upāsanā dealing with the ritual has come into existence. In the BAU,[2] the horse sacrifice is given a cosmic interpretation[3] and is made to account for the creation of the cosmos.[4] Instead of doing the sacrifice formally, the symbolisation of the organs of the horse as the elements of the universe makes it a knowledge,[5] which when meditated upon, yields full benefit to the thinker. In effect the necessity of performing the sacrifice is obviated, but its benefits are gained through meditative contemplation. This is the same idea as is found in the citis (piling up ceremonies),[6] and is quite prevalent in the Āraṇyakas.

The Uktha, too, as "the most beautiful, the most famous, most potent among the śatras"[7] is meditatively solicited and

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1. Ch.Up. II.2.1. also in 3.1; 4.1; 5.1; 6.1; also in II.3. II.7.1., and in II.8.1. seven types of Sāman.
2. BAU.1.1.
3. SB.XIII.1-5 deals extensively with the horse sacrifice.
4. This idea of sacrifice as a means to explain the creation goes back to the Purusa Hym RV.X.90.129.
5. TS.VII.5.25. the same sort of allegorical interpretation of the Horse sacrifice is found.cf.Taitt.Up.15.
6. See below.
7. Kaus.II.6.

adored. It again is identified with various forms of Prāṇa[1] and even with Brahman.[2] These three symbolic upāsanās in which there is also a symbolic interpretation of the ritual as well as the exercise of mental concentration, are, so to say, sectarian, i.e. they belong to three different schools; the udgitha, to the Samavedins, treated in the Ch.Up; the Horse sacrifice, to the Yajurvedins, treated in the BAU, and the Uktha of the Ṛgvedins, treated in the Ait.Āraṇyaka and the Kauṣitaki Upaniṣads. These are the only type of the meditative solicitations, which form the base for the later Brahman and Ātman-upāsanās as the most fundamental reality in the universe. There are various tenatative and limited conceptions of the Brahman. In the BAU[3], the story is told that Yājñavalkya goes to the court of Janaka, who wants to know the nature of the Brahman. Yājñavalkya starts with the definitions of the Brahman taught to him by various marters; and shows the benefit of meditating on them. Jitvan Śailini[4] taught Yājñavalkya that 'speech is brahman', and this speech was

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1. Ait.Ār.II.1-3.
2. Kaus.Up.II.6.
3. BAU.IV.1-7.
4. BAU.IV.1.2. Cf. Ch.Up. VII.2.1.2. by speech all the vedas, history, ancient love, vidya, the upanisads, verses, aphorisims, explanations, commentaries, various sacrifices food and drink, this world and the other are known. Cf.Ch. UP.III.13.8. dṛṣtam ca śrutam ca ity upāsīta.

identified with intuitive knowledge (prajñā).[1] Yājñavalkya says that one who meditated, adores such a Brahman, becoming a God, goes to the Gods, but he remarks that this Brahman is only one-footed (eka-pād). Brahman then is identified with breath, a doctrine taught by Udarka Śaulbāyana[2], regarded as the "dear one" (priya) but Yājñavalkya commented that this upāsanā is done out of love for "breath" (i.e. life). From the sake of the breath, one offers sacrifices for him, for whom one should not sacrifice, one accepts gifts from one from whom they should not be accepted. One has the fear of killing (vadhāśaṅkam) for this breath (i.e. life). So he meditates on breath (prāṇa) to get a full life. If one identifies the Brahman with the eye and worships him, as theseer Barku Varsnya teaches[3], then his eyes do not leave him and he becomes as a god, goes to the world of the Gods. But Yājñavalkya again regards it as one footed (ekapād - i.e. partial) definition of the Brahman.[4] Gardha vipīta Bhāradvāja

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1. Radhakrishnan (Trans.P.247:) thinks that his conception is related to the Greek concept of prognosis and is different from Samjñā (or knowledge by observation) which seems quite plausible. Cf.Taitti.Up.II.5.1. Vijñānam..Brahmaveśtham Upāsate.
2. BAU.IV.1.3. Cf.Taitt.Up.II.3.1. Prāṇa as the udgītha in the Ch.Up.1.5.83.
3. BAU.IV.1.4. The eye is regarded as the source of the knowledge of truth. It is therefore identified with truth.
4. BAU.IV.1.5. Cf.Ch.Up.1.9.2. The Udgītha identified with the space is called the endless. Taitt.II.1.1. Kaṭha.1.315. Śv.Up.1.9.

taught that the Brahman is the ear and the endless (ananta) because it is identified with the quarters (dik) and that if one meditatively solicits this brahman, his ears never leave him, and all the beings come to him. Yājñavalkya again adds that this is only a one-sided definition. Satyakāma Jābāla taught that Mind (Manas) is Brahman; and the mind is bliss (ānanda)[1]. Vidagdha Śākalya taught that the heart (hṛdaya) is the Brahman,[2] and is regarded as stability (sthiti). In each case Yājñavalkya thus gives only a limited encomium to the principle propounded as the highest and regards these upāsanās as yielding only the powers of those organs and objects and giving the person who meditates on them a stay in the heaven of the gods - a very Brahmanical conception of eschatology. It seems, that these inadequate and partial definitions of Brahman were solicited and meditatively adored to get these benefits and powers attributed to them, in spite of the fact that the higher definitions of the Brahman may have been known. In another section of the BAU[3]

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1. BAU.IV.1.6. Cf.Kauṣītaki. Up.I.8. BAU.111.9.23. Vijñānam ānandam Brahma, Cf.TU.II.5.1; III.6.1. Mind as brahman - in II.2.7.
2. BAU.IV.1.7. Cf.BAU.V.3.1. Prajāpati is the heart. Cf.Muṇd. II.1.4. hṛdayam viśvam. There is a very close relationship between heart and mind. Ait.5.2. The Moon becoming the mind entered the heart. 2.4. The self is in the inner heart (antar.hṛdaya) Ch.Up. III.14.3. Heart is the world. BAU.III.9. 11; One knows the forms through the heart BAU.III.9.20. One knows faith through the heart. BAU.III.9.21. and so also the faith is in the heart. The self is said to be in the truth. III.9.23.
3. BAU.II.1. Cf. Kauṣ. Up. IV.

the story of Ayātaśatru Kaikeya and Gārgya Bālāki is related. Bālāki said to Ajātasatru that he would tell the latter the nature of Brahman. He said[1] that he meditated and adored

Continued on the next page

1. BAU. II.1.2. Cf. Ch.Up. III.19.4. Ādityam brahma ity upāsita.

the person in the sun. Ajātaśatru replied that he regarded that person as"the head and king of all the being" and who worships and adores him as such becomes the king of all. Bālāki then said that he adored the person in the moon; whom Ajātaśatru identified with Soma declaring that who meditated on him, got libations of some every day.[1] Bālāki then went on to say that he adored and meditated on the person in the lightning who was said by Ajātaśatru to be the brilliant one (tejasvī), and he who meditates on him, becomes himself the brilliant person.[2] The meditative adoration of the person in space[3] as the Brahman yielded are only children, in the opinion of Ajātaśatru, while the adoration of the person in the mind only made one victorious, for thatBrahman was only Indra.[4] The person in the fire,[5] in the water,[6] in the mirror,[7] the person who produces sound while going,[8] the person in the quarters,[9] and the person with[10]

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1. BAU. II.1.3.
2. BAU. II.1.4.
3. BAU.II. 1.5.
4. BAU.II.1.6. Cf. Kauṣ.Up. VI.1-18.
5. BAU.II.1.7 - who is only the forbearing and one who meditates on him, has forbearing children.
6. BAU.II.1.8. who is regarded by Ajātaśatru as likeness (Pratirūpa)
7. BAU.II.1.9. identified as the shining one and one who meditates on him, outshines all others.
8. BAU.II.1.10. he is the "Asu" (life) and one who meditates on him gets a full life (āyu).
9. BAU.II.1.11. he is regarded by Ajātaśatru as the second who does not leave us"
10. BAU.II.1.12. he is identified by Ajātasatru as the Death.

a shadow are all regarded by Ajātaśatru as inadequate and partial. He repudiates the person in the self (or body) (ātman) as only self-possessed and not the real Brahman. He himself maintained that the Brahman was the person consisting of intelligence" who rests in the space within the heart, taking within himself even the consciousness of the dream-world in dreamless sleep. He has reached then the summit of bliss (vātighnīm ānandasya) like a great king or a great brāhmaṇa. The purpose of the story is, it seems, to show the primacy of a psychological principle over cosmological and physical forces.[1] But it seems that these different conceptions of Brahman were employed pragmatically to win the particular purposes, which are indicated so profusely by Yājñavalkya and Ajātaśatru, So on this view we come to a striking conclusion that in spite of there existing a higher conception of Brahman, people knew of the Upāsanās of different types which gave control and power over certain spheres of reality, which, though not regarded as the highest, were productive of earthly benefits and prosperity. This at least disposes of the accusation of wanton pessimism directed against the Upaniṣads.[2]

Besides this we have another type of the Brahman-upāsanā, in which the Brahman is identified with Satya.[3] The

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1. Cf. The Constructive Survey. P.187-88.
2. Cf.Radhakrishman. IPI.P.146-47.
3. BAU.V.4;5.1.

philological nature of Satya is enquired into and it is identified with the person in the Orb, the Sun, and the man in the right eye.[1] This person consisting of mind, is the nature of light and is the ruler of all, the Lord of all, and governs all this whatever there is.[2] By meditating and soliciting Brahman in the form of mind, we attain him in that form. The Gods are said to meditate on that round which the year revolves with the days "the light of lights, as immortal life".[3] This Brahman is regarded as "the breath of the breath, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, and the mind of the mind".[4] In the following verse it is emphasized that the Brahman can be perceived by the mind. There is no diversity in this Brahman (neha nānāsti Kiṃcana).[5] This higher type of Brahma-Upāsanā allowed very deep extension of his individual ego, and made him as a part of the single whole.

In the Chāndogya too, similar tentative identifications of and meditations on, Brahman are made, especially in the third and the fourth chapters. Here, the taj-jalān doctrine of Brahman is put forward to be meditated on and is one of the deepest pantheistic conceptions of the Upaniṣads. This all, indeed, is Brahman from which he comes forth, without

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1. BAU. V.5.2;3;4.
2. BAU. V.6.1.
3. BAU. IV.4.16.Cf.Maitri VI.14. The time is brahman and is so meditated on by persons, but the source of the time is the sun (sūryo yoniḥ kālasya).
4. BAU.IV.4.18.19. This upāsanā is thought to give a long life. Cf.BAU.II.1.10.
5. Cf.The statement in the RV. Ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti.

which he will be dissolved and in which he breathes"[1]. A person is asked to be tranquil and to meditate on it. One is again enjoined to meditate on mind as Brahman with regard to the self; and on space (ākāśa) with reference to the divinities.[2] Again we see that meditations and adorations of Brahman are conditioned by interests in physical existence and we think that this tendency must have tended to perpetuate lower levels of metaphysical thinking, turning the thought of certain groups of religious peoples away from the supreme principle of existence. Brahman is regarded as the four-footed one (catuṣkalam pādam)[3] and is solicited as the shining one(prakāśavān) and one who meditates on such a Brahman wins the shining worlds.[4] The Fire told Satyakāma that the four feet of the endless (ananta) Brahman are the earth, the atmosphere, the sky, and the ocean. One should know this and perform meditation and solicitations and thus one wins endless worlds.[5] The swan taught him that the fire, the sun, the moon and the lightning formed the four parts of the Brahman[6] and upāsanās on him win luminous worlds. The diver bird told that the breath, the eye, the ear and the mind were the four parts of the Brahman and one wins a support who, so knowing, meditates and solicits this Brahman.[7]

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1. Cp.Maitri Up. IV.6.
2. Ch.Up. III.18.1.
3. Ch.UP. 1V.5.3.
4. Ch.Up. 1V.5.1.2. This was the teaching of the Bull to Satyakāma Jābāla - the four quarters were the four parts of the Brahman.
5. Ch.Up. 1V.6.1.2.
6. Ch.Up.1V.7.1.2.
7. Ch.Up. 1V.8.1.2. Cf.St.Bernard "What I know of the divine sciences and Holy Scripture, I learnt in the woods, and fields, I have had no other masters than the beeches and the oaks" quoted in Radhakrishnan trans(P.411.12). Cf.Ch.UP.III.18.1. mano brahma ity upāsīta) also Ch.UP. VII.3.1.2.

All this extensive investigation has proved only that the Upāsanā of Brahman existed at different levels. It mainly consisted in a sort of mental austerity - the sheer direction of one's will to a particular object and identifying the object asBrahman. This has two results in effect. One is that the man extends his intuitive knowledge of the hidden mystery of the world and realises the immanence of the supreme principle. The other result is that in making symbolic identifications and meditative solicitations he achieves the powers and the qualities of these particular objects. Sometimes one feels that these upāsanās on Brahman as the various organs of the body, as natural phenomena such as the sun, the moon, etc, and as psychological entities were systematised in order to wring out of these principles their magical power. But at the same time one cannot help feeling that the highest mystical realisations and psychical experiences were also being realised through the upāsanās.

The Upāsanās on the ātman as found in the earliest Upaniṣads show the same tendencies. In the Chāndogya the story is told that Prāchīnaśāla Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Pauluṣi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākṣya and Budila Aśvatarāśvi - great householders and deeply learned, wanted to know the self, the Brahma and went to Uddālaka Āruni who directed them to Aśvapati Kaikeya.[1]

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1. CH. Up. V.11. 1-7.

Aupamanyava meditated and adored the "heaven" as the self, which Aśvapati identified as the self called the good light (sutejas)[1] saying that the upāsanā on him yielded food to him and his family. Satyayajña Prācina Yogya (the man of the old Yoga) meditated on the sun as the self, but that was only the Universal Form (viśvarūpa) self, in Aśvapati's opinion[2] and yielded only chariots, female slaves, etc. Indra dyumna meditated and adored the Air (Vāyu) as the self which was only the universal self of varied courses (Pṛthag-Vartmana)[3] and so it goes on that adoration of space, (ākāśa) which is the self called the Many (bahula), yields only children and wealth.[4] Adoration of Water as the Self called the wealth (ravi) yields only wealth.[5] But Uddālaka meditated on the earth as the self which is called the support (pratiṣṭha) and it yielded him only material prosperity.[6] Aśvapati takes an eclectic and pantheistic view of the self and recommends one to meditate on such a self.[7] This self is "of the measure

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1. Ch.Up. V.12.1.2.
2. Ch.UP. V.13.1.2. Cp. the wealth with the wealth promised by Yama to Naciketas. Kaṭha. 2.23.24.
3. Ch.Up.V.14.1.2.
4. Ch.Up.V.15.1.2. the doctrine of Janam Sārkarakṣya.
5. Ch.Up.V.16.1.2. Budila's doctrine.
6. Ch.Up.V.17.1.2.
7. Ch.Up.V.18.1.2.

of the span or as identical with the self" (prādeśamātram abhivimānam)[1]. This atman is later, in the second passage, conceived as a cosmic Person. This story shows only how the Upāsana on the self as the being of a span's measure existing in the heart as to be done. This conception was higher than the previous conceptions and more subtle. In the Ait. Upaniṣad too the solicitation and meditation on the Ātman are described. The fifth section starts with the query "who is this one, whom we worship as the self"[2] and the analysis shows that the self is to be identified with all the mental operations, all the deities and beings and is identified ultimately with intelligence (prajñānam).[3]

In the Chāndogya another type of upāsanā - nāma-upāsanā, is briefly touched upon but is given only a limited value Name (Nāma) is identified with the Brahman and one is asked

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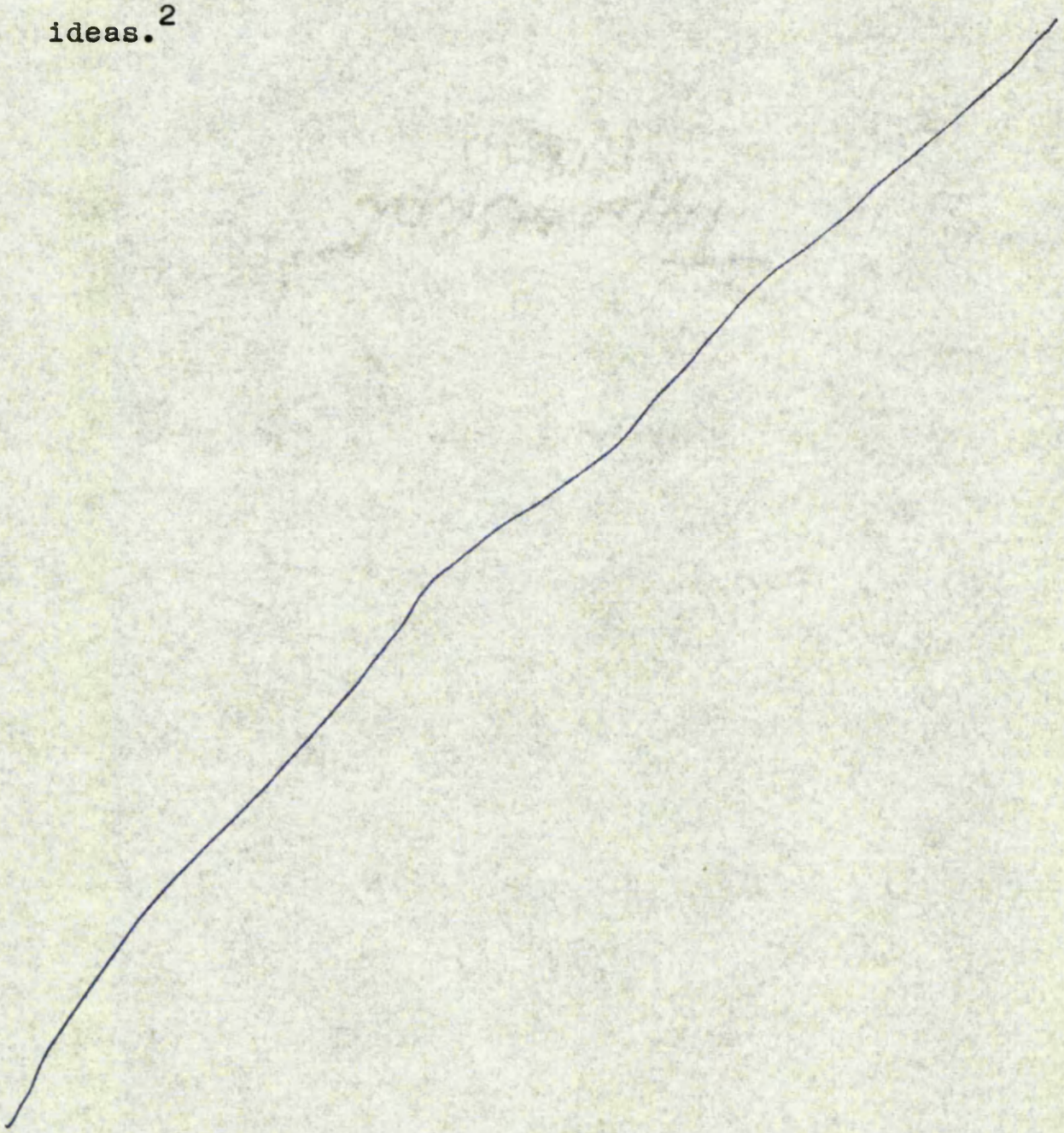
1. Brahma Sūtra (BS). 1.2.30 thinks that the Supreme Being is being described as of the measure of a span because he is adored by the mind as situated in the heart as of a measure of a span. "Jaimini holds that prādeśa-mātra is intended to teach sampatti or sampad-upāsanā, i.e. the realization of the non separation of God from the objects of sense". Cf.Samkara gives five explanations and says this is to realise the non duality between the perceived world and the absolute through meditation. Cf. Anguṣthamātrah puruṣo madhya ātmani tiṣṭhati.
2. Ait. Up. v.1. Ko'yam ātmeti vayam upāsmahe.
3. Ait. Up. V.2.3.

to meditate on it.[1] Nama generally stands for the existent world. Another type of upāsanā was the sexual intercourse with a woman, which must have given rise to the later tantric ideas.[2]



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1. Ch.Up. VII.1.4.5. This must have given rise to the Nama-japa of later mystical practices.
2. BAU.VI. 4.2.3.

Besides these ~~insignificant~~ upāsanās comes the highest conception of upāsanā in the Chāndogya, in which one is to extend one's mystical vision through one's upāsanā as to include the whole (Sarvam asmi ity upāsīta fad vgatam iti[1]") This is the acme of the Upaniṣadic mystical realization through Upāsanā of the self (ātman) This is very much the Yogic type of self-realization.

In the slightly later Upaniṣads, the word Upāsanā is prevalent. In the Taittrīya Prācīnayogya is advised to contemplate the Brahman, who is the Person consisting of mind, immortal and golden (manomayaḥ, amṛto hiranmayaḥ) within the heart,[2] identified as Bhūḥ in the fire and as Bhuvaḥ in the air, as suvaḥ in the sun, as mahaḥ in the Brahman (prayer). Other inferior types of Upāsanās of Prāṇa[3] as brahman, and of food[4] as brahman are referred to. Brahma is identified with intelligence (vijñāna) too, and thus meditated on and adored. [Muṇḍaka recommends the Upāsanā of the person without desires (kāma).[5] Śvetāśvatara Up, is more devotional in its attitude and recommends one to adore and worship the God within his intellect.[6]] The Kena is quite contemptuous of the adorations of the false brahman[7]

1. Chāndogya. II.21.f. Cf.BAU.1.4.8. Ātmānāmeva priyam upāsīta that is the best conception of Upāsanā of the self in the BAU.
2. Aristotle too thought the seat of the soul is in the heart. Aristotle's Psychology. Ranade. CSUP.P.131. Cf.Ch.UP.VIII. 1-6. III.14.
3. TU.11.3.1.
4. II.2.1. 5.Muṇḍaka. III.2.1.
5. V1.5. Cf. Ch.UP.V11.5.2. Cittam Upāssa.iti.
6. I.5.Kena.5.6.7.8.

and says that "That which is not expressed through speech but that by which speech is expressed; know you that as the Brahman; not that which (people) adore". That Brahman cannot be thought by the mind nor seen by the eye nor heard by the ear, nor breathed by breath, that is Brahman, that one should know. Here we should note that this absolute brahman is distinguished from the general brahman which people adore and meditate on. This seems to be a description of the Nirguṇa-Brahaman of Śaṅkara.[1] This Brahman is to be known (vid) and not solicited (Upās) and meditated on. This leads to a very important distinction in the Upansadic method of religious and mystical life. In other places too this distinction between knowledge (vidyā) and meditative adoration (upāsanā) seems to be maintained when the concept of the highest characterless(nirguna) brahman is discussed. In the BAU, when Yājñavakya[1] defines the self in terms of Pure consciousness, the Pure Subject, in conversation with Maitreyi he says that "there is no knowledge(samjñā) after death" and remarks "when there is a duality, as it were there one smells another, there one sees another, there one hears another, there one speaks to another, there one speaks of another, there one thinks of another, there one knows of another, but where everything has become the Self, then by what and whom should one smell,...see,...speak,...think,...and know. By

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1. Cf.Samkara on 'śloka 5.

By what should one know the knower?[1] The verbs used are, in this connection man (to think), and vi-jñā (to know). There is no reference to upāsanā. It seems that upāsanā is of the conditioned Brahman (in the later Vedantic terminology) of the Saguna Brahman).[2] The mystic starts with a duality but by meditating on the conditional Brahman knows (√vid) the unity - that is the Brahman and in that condition nothing else exists. This realisation is the result of upāsanā - which is knowledge (vidyā). Knowledge was not something which was purely intellectual;[3] moreover, the knower (vidvān) has a very close relationship with upāsanā.[4] Śaṁkara thinks that there is no difference between dhyāna and upāsanā and that both are different from knowledge. While knowledge yields immediate release, the other brings about only release by stages (kramamukti).[5] Meditation was regarded by him as one pointedness (ekāgratā) and he does not remark on the nature of this meditative practice.[6] Rāmānuja Rāmānuja

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1. BAU. II.4.14. Cf. Ch.UP.VII.24.1.
2. Ch.Up.VII.24.1. The Same Absolutist position regarding Bhūman the Infinite. also cp.Ch.Up. VLL.25.1.
3. Cp.BAU.III.5.1. also BAU.1.4.1o. ya evaṁ vedāham brahmāsmiti - In the Kaṭha 1.3.6.-9 on Vijñāna, also 1.2.9. naiṣā -tarkeṇa matir āpaneyā.
4. Cf.Ch.Up.I.9.2.3.4. II.2.3; III.19.4; BAU. 1.4.7; More intellectualistic interpretation of vidyā in Maitri. iv.4.
5. Comm.on B.S.IV.1.8.
6. On BS.III.4.26. (Śrībhāṣya P.696.ed.by V.S.Abhyankar 1914 Bombay)

though distinguishing between knowledge (vidyā) on the one hand and dhyāna and upāsanā on the other, interpreted the latter in terms of devotion (bhakti)[1]. He implies that dhyāna is pure meditation while Upāsanā is meditation with a worshipful attitude. It seems to us that in the Upaniṣadic context Rāmānuja's interpretation is correct. The upāsanā though meditative, is emotional in its nuances in spite of its 'active'[2] and mechanical aspect as revealed in the Upasanas of Mind, Breath, etc, as Brahman. We are not told anywhere in the Ups. how to perform the Upāsanā, but we only gather the inadequate information that it should be done with faith. The main upāsanās are the symbolic ones and the Upāsanās of self knowledge. In the symbolic upāsanās we meditate on a symbol (pratīka)[3], like the syllable 'aum'[4], or the fivefold sāman[5], which was identified with various cosmic forces of the world. In the upāsanās of self knowledge, we take the symbols like Breath, Mind, thought, the sun, the other natural symbols[6], and identify them with the self. But the Brahmasūtra[7] lays down that only those who meditate on

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1. Cp.M.Falk ~~1914. Bombay.~~ RO 13-14. note on the bhaj. as it occurs in the Bhagadvadgita [P. 153.n.2.]
2. Cp.S.Schayer op.cit. the translation of the very upas - as "umwerben".
3. The word pratika.
4. Ch.Up. 1.1.1.
5. Ch.UP. II.2.1.
6. BS.III.4.44.615. gives regulations regarding the upāsanās on the sacrificial objects to be done by the priest and not by the sacrificer, that is another type of upāsanā different from the two discussed above.
7. BS.IV.3.15. "Apratīkālambanān nayatīti bādarāyaṇaḥ," why? because both the one meditating (jīva) and the other, meditated on (i.e. Brahman) are pure (adoṣa) Cf.IV.3.16, says that meditations on different symbols yield different results. cf.Ch.Up. VLL.1.5; V11.1.2.

Brahman without a symbol attain the Brahmabha. This aspect seems to be a systematisation of the concept of the syllable AUM in the Mandakya, where the brahman is regarded as the fourth beside the three letters a-w-m.[1]

Upasana contained originally the idea of sitting down and then adoring, as we saw earlier. It seems that this idea of sitting might have continued. The Brahma sutra too gives the regulation that one should meditate while sitting because, thus the state of trance is more easily induced. There seems to be the idea of mentally muttering the symbol (japa) involved in the Upāsanā.[2] Tapas also was involved in Upāsanā.[3]

Thus Upāsanā seems to have completely evolved within the Vedic circles and there seems to have been no outside non-vedic influences introducing this idea of meditative adoration and worhsip. Starting with the simple notion of meditating on the desired deity to get his or grace and kindness in the earlier period, the practice develops into a meditation on certain forces principles objects to obtain for oneself their powers and qualities. But this magical conception was superseded by the mystical experiences of the Cosmos by the extension of the self or the realization of the

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1. Mandukya 12, Amatras caturtho vyavahasyah prapancopasamah, suo dvaita evam aumkara atmaiva samvisaty aturarua tmanaru ya eva veda.
2. Cf. Ch.Up. 1.5.1. The Sun goes continually sounding A.U.M.
3. Cp. Ch.Up.V.10.1; BAU. V1.2.15. Prasna 1.9. Istaputra as Upasana

immanence of the transcendental Brahman. This transition was bridged over by the Āraṇyaka and later Brāhmaṇa practices of the Cayanas (piling up) and the study and thought on the sacred vedas, of which, the latter figures so much in the earliest of the Upaniṣads.

The origin of Yoga and its relation to Upāsanā will be dealt with in the following pages.

YOGA IN THE UPANIṢADS.

The word "yoga" is used in the Samhitās in the sense of "yoking" or harnessing.[1] In the Brāhmaṇas too more or less, the same sense predominates.[2] By the time of the Upaniṣads the very "yuj" comes to have a technical sense and is used generally as a past participle. "Yukta"[3] in the sense of "attached firmly".[3] In the Taittiriya[4] the brāhmaṇas are described as "controlled" (yukta), who are to decide in cases of doubt about deeds (karmavicikitsā). The same sense of attachment is predominant in the kaṭha, and the Śvetaśvatara. In the Kaṭha, he who has no understanding (vijñana) with undevoted (ayukta) mind, and with unrestrained (avaśya) sense organs, is compared to wicked horses harnessed to the chariot.[5] In the śvet mind and thought have to be concentrated for truth being (satva)[6] even by God Savitā.[6] This idea of attachment and union which seems to be the dominant note in the word Yoga, gives

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1.5.3. 1.30.7.

1. RV.1.34.9; VII.67.8; X.30.11; X.114.9; 111.67.8; 1V.24.4.
2. Tandya V1.5.21; 8.6; V11.6.9; 1o; TB.111.4.1o; Gopatha. 1.1.28; SB.V1.3.2.4.
3. Ch.Up. V111.12.3. BAU.II.5.19. V.13.2.
4. T.U. 1.11.4; 5.
5. Kaṭha. 1.3.5.
6. Śvet.Up. II.1. from TS.1V.1.1.1. VS.X1.1.SB.V.3.1.1.2. In Svet II.2-5 various forms of the very occur in clear technical sense. Yuktamanas in SB.X1.5.7.1.

way to "concentration" and "control" clearage in the idea. This was recognised by Pāṇini[1] in giving two roots 'yuj samadhau' (yuj in the sense of concentration) and the root "yujir" in the sense of connecting (yoge). This symbolic development may already be noticed in the Upaniṣads, if not earlier.[2] Etymologically, therefore, the word yoga has the sens of 'union'; attachment, control and concentration. In the Upaniṣads, especially the later ones, we find a sort of classification of these yoga - samnyāsayoga as practised by the yatis in the Muṇḍaka[3]; adhyatma yoga in the Kaṭha,[4] dhyāna yoga in the śvet.[5] The term yoga, as used in the Upaniṣads, is primarily, the adhyatma-yoga of the Kaṭha, the purpose of which was to make an intuitive realisation of the self possible. This yoga was completely different in purpose from the practices of previous times, which were primarily intended to attain heaven, miraculous powers and other mundane ends..[6] The way to this intuitive realisation involved bodily purification, austerity, intense mental discipline, direction of the will-power(kratu), and

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1. S.N. Dasgupta Hist.of Ind.Ph.vol.I.P.226. also in v.6.
2. Dasgupta notices the same duality of the sense in the Bh Gita.p.cit.P.227.
3. Mund. 111.2.6. Cf. Bh.Gita. 1X.28. In the Maitri.V1.1o. One has three persons. Samnyāsi, Yogi, and Ātmayāgis.
4. Kaṭha. 1.2.12. Cf.Ātmayoga in the Gita.X1.47.
5. Svet.Up.1.2.
6. Creative Period. P.606. N.

and concentration, but the term yoga is not very precise and its content is not specified in any of the earlier upanisads.

Dhyāna in the Upanisads.

The root "dhyāi" to meditate(from which the word "dhyāna" is derived,)occurs through the Brāhmaṇas. In the Ait.Up[1] it is said that "(the person) desired to seize it (i.e. the food) by the mind. He was not able to take hold of it by the mind. Had he indeed, grasped it by the mind, meditating (dhyātvā) he would have been satisfied with food". Food coult not be had by mind (manas)-thinking faculty). In the Ait.Up.[2] as seeing is through the eye, so hearing is through the ears, speaking is through the speech, touching is through the skin, dhyāna (i.e. dhyātam, thinking, meditation = does not seem to be the meaning still) - is through the mind (manas) breathing is through the outbreath; the author then concludes, "who am I" (Atha Ko'ham iti). In the next passage it is said he (Prajāpati) breaking open (vidārya) the very end (sīmānam)[3] of the head, by that way reached; that is the opening known as vidṛti. This is the pleasing (nāndanam), three states of him; three dreams; this is the place, this is the place

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1. I.3.8.
2. I.3.11. Manasā dhyātam.
3. Cf.the Sahasrā, the thousand petalled lotus - situated in the brain-centre. see Śamkara's Comm.

(āvastha' yam): this is the place". This passage described the intense mental activity by which a seer practically "breaks open" into the highest ~~position~~ point of awareness! This is a new birth for him, ... he has seen this person brahman, all pervading "I have seen this",[1] This is a highly mystical yogic condition, which is beyond thinking and meditation, where one only sees. In the Chāndogya dhyāna has to be performed "entering into one's self, without any pramāda (forgetfullness apramattah) thinking of the desire one should sing (stu).[2] The Sāma-chant is sung, thinking (dhyāyan) with mind (manas) on these (immortality, for gods, offerings for the fathers, hope (āśā) for men, grass and water for the cattle, the world of bea n for the sacrifice, food for myself").[3] In the Mund,[4] the Self is to be reflected upon as the syllable a-u-m. Reflecting on the Partless (niṣkala) one sees him (i.e. the self).[5] In the Kauṣitaki it is said - that this Brahman shines forth, as one reflects with mind.[6] There is a superior excellence in the vital breaths (prāṇa) as compared with the mind, for when mind thinks the vital breaths also think.[7] The root dhyai, thus it seems has the

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1. Ait.Up. 1.3.13.
2. Ch.Up.1.3.12. Ātmānam anveṣṭa Upasṛtya stuvīta kāmeam dhyāyam apramatto
3. Ch.Up.11.22.2. etam manasā dhyāyam apramattah Cf.V.1.8. Mind reflects (dhyāy) in the dispute of the sense organs. the Ch.Up.Mund thinks; 9;10, Cf.Kauṣ.II.14.
4. Mund.11.2.6.
5. Mund.111.1.8.
6. Kauṣ.Up.II.13.
7. Kauṣ.III.2.

sense of "thinking" and "reflecting" and "concentrating", but it has still not evolved into the fullfledged intuitive practice. It is primarily mental and intellectual. This is proved by the association of the verb and the substantive dhyāna with manas - which is a cognitive faculty. Dhyāna appears to be a concept, a thought, which is thought by mind after achieving a unity, with the breaths,[1] and mind goes to the Prajñātman (conscious self)[2] with all its concepts (dhyāna) after one dies.[3] Controlling the mind by consciousness (prajñā) one obtains all thoughts (dhyāna). But soon dhyāna begins to acquire the technical sense of contemplation and intuitive activity with intellectual elements and the aspect of thinking is given to the term 'citta', a word which occurs only in later passages of the Upaniṣads.[4] In the Chāndogya, dhyāna (contemplation) is regarded as higher than the citta (thought).[5] This yogic aspect of dhyāna is more definitely recognised in the śvetaśvatara,[6] which refers to dhyānayoga. Again it says "by making one's body the lower friction stick and the syllable aum the upper friction stick, by practising the drill or friction (nirmathana) of contemplation, one may see the God, hidden as it were (nīgūḍhavat)".[7] In the Maitri dhyāna is used in very advanced terms.

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1. Kauṣ.Up. III.2. The Conscious Self is identified with Breath by the Kauṣ. The relationship of Prāṇa and Prajñā.
2. Kauṣ.UP.III.3. see CP.P.276.77.
3. Kauṣ.Up.III.6.
4. Ch.Up.VLL.5.1-3; Muṇḍ. lll.1.9. Prasna. lV.8. Maitri. Vl.19.2.
5. Ch.Up. dhyānam hi cittāt bhūyah.
6. Cf. the Gitā. XVlll.52.
7. Śvet. Up. 1.14. cf. Ait. Up. III 11;12.

"The wise are said to praise the mind absorbed in practice and in meditation" - when one meditates on the breath and the sun as in the self and sacrifices in his self.[1] It enumerates the <u>six fold yoga</u> - prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhyāna, dhāraṇā, tarka, samādhi.[2]

The significant term "<u>nididhyāsitavya</u>" occurs only once in the BAU[3] where Yājñavalkya instructs Maitreyi "The Self should be seen, heard, reflected and meditated on by the seeing, hearing, reflecting, and by intuitive awareness (vijñāna) all this is known". Here the "<u>Nididhyāsana</u>" is noteworthy. "Vijñāna" the process of intuitive awareness, seems to be the closest concept to the Buddhist Jhāna and the highest Upaniṣadic Upāsanā. It is important to investigate in the nature of this concept.

The root "<u>vi-jñā</u>" occurs as many times as does the root upās. Vijñā means to know with the mind. In the BAU it is said that one knows with the mind, when touched on the back.[4] Again it is said that "whatever is to be known, that is the form of the mind, the mind itself is to be known".[5] This shows that the mind is only an active element in knowledge which is intellectual but mind itself is to be known, by the

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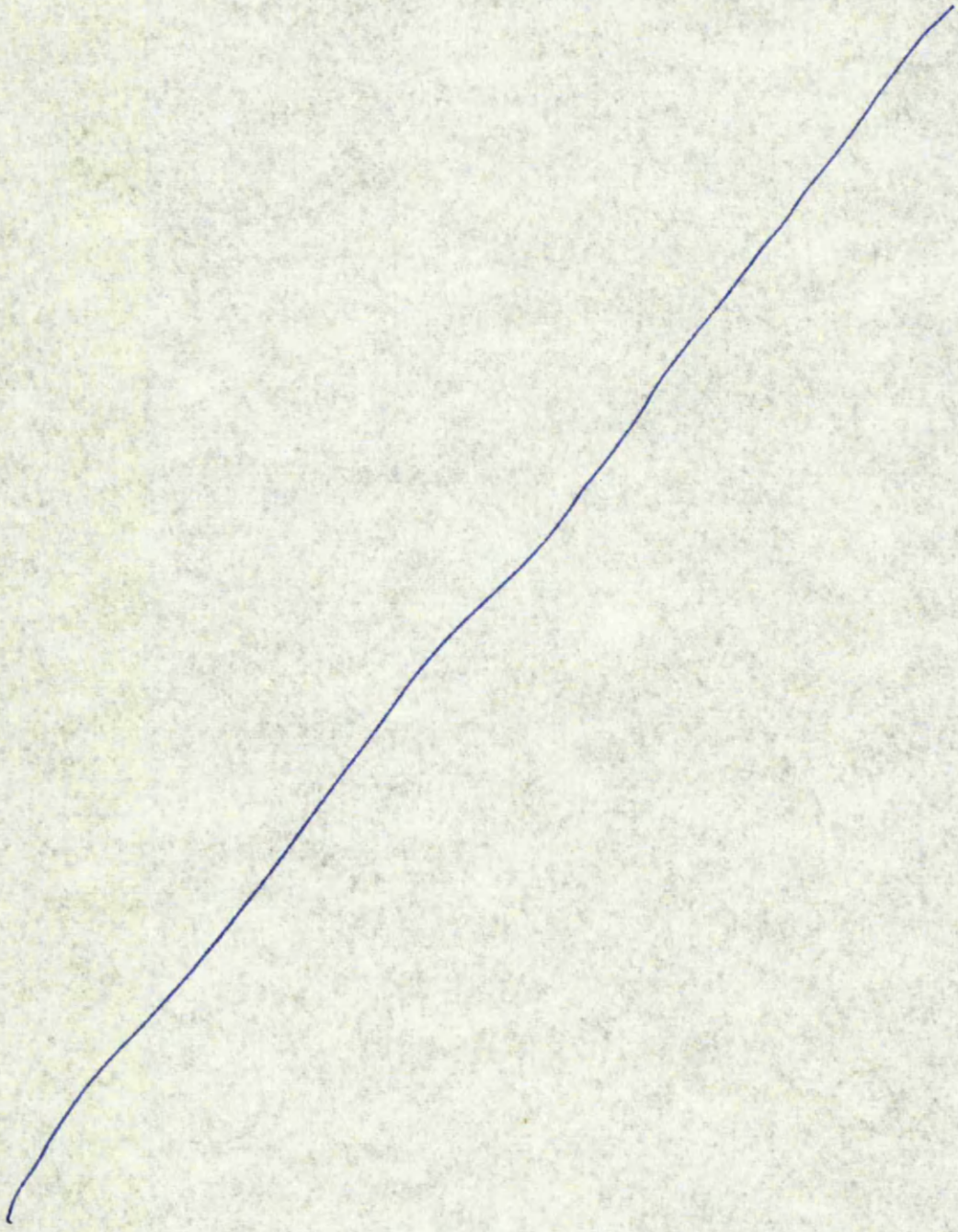
1. Maitri. VI.9. 2. Maitri VI.18 Cf. Yoga Sūtra II.29.
   BAU. II. 4.5.
   BAU. 111.2.4; Ch.Up. 1.29; 111.93.7; Ait.Ar.V.1.
   Ch.Up. V.111.6.3.11.1.
   BAU. 1.5.3; without the mind one cannot see, cannot hear.
   BAU. 1.5.8.

self. The self itself is to be realized, not known. Therefore yājñavalkya says - that with which all this is known, how will one know that - the knower.[1]



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1. BAU. II.4.14. IV.5.15.

In the Ch.Up. Upakośala "knows" that Prāṇa is Brahman.[1] But the fires told him that he did not "know" the Ka and the Kha Brahman and the fires explained it to him and he knew.

Uddālaka Āruṇi emphasizes the importance of the knowledge of the self "to know" the unknowable and to bear the unbearable.[2] Śvetaketu asks him to go on instructing him about the nature of the ultimate being,[3] and Uddālaka asks him to know (id-)[4] it. Manana and Vijñāna seems to go together but it seems that this immediate direct knowledge comes after thinking and contemplation. Vijñāna is better than contemplation[5] and with vijñana one "knows" the Rqueda etc. This vijñāna is thought to lead to power (bala).[6] Bala is akin to Indriya which occurs in the sense of sense faculties,[7] and power of the sense organs.[8] Breath is regarded as bala.[9] Food is regarded as higher than power.[10] Sanat Kumāra says that "one must desire to 'know' the truth".[11] and one who does not know the truth will not be able to speak the truth.[12]

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1. Ch.Up.IV.10.5.
2. Ch.Up. VL.1.1-7.
3. Ch.Up.VI.11.3.13.3.
4. The verb vid is identical with vijña. Cf. in Ch.Up.VI.3.4: 4.7 v1.8.1:3.
5. Ch.Up.V11.7.1.
6. Ch.Up. VII.8.1.
7. Kaṭha. 1.3.4.5; 6. Kaus. 11.15: Śvet UU.8.
8. Ch.Up. 111.1.3; 111.2.2; 3.2; 4.2; 5.2; BAU.V1.4.7;8.1o;
9. BAU.V.14.4.
10. Ch.Up. V11.9.1.
11. Ch.Up.V11.16.1.3. ~~Ch.U. V11.17.1.~~
12. Ch.U. V11.17.1.

Sanatkumār says that "when one sees nothing else, hears nothing else, understands nothing else, that is the "Bhūman".[1] Vjñāna, therefore, seems to be not merely an intellectual knowledge or understanding, but has together with this an immediate intuitive awareness. To achieve this one must have to undergo penances, as Upakośala did for twelve years.[2] Pippalāda asks the questioners to stay with him observing tapas faith and charity.[3] Indra and Vairocana lived for thirty-two years at his teacher's house.[4] Svetaketu lives for twelve years at his teacher's house.[5] It is believed that "No one can attain to the knowledge of the Self through intellect (Prajñāna) who has not desisted from evil conduct who is not tranquil, who is not concentrated, who has not a composed mind".[6] Therefore cultivation of moral qualities are preliminary to spiritual cognisance.[7] But the process of vijñāna was to be preceded by seeing, thinking (manana).[8]

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1. Ch.Up. Vll.24.1.
2. Ch.Up. lll.10.1-3.
3. Prasna. 1.2.
4. Ch.Up. V.lll.7.3.
5. Ch.Up. Vl.1.2.
6. Katha. 1.2.24; 1.3.7.
7. Radhakrishnan. P.223.24. Cf. Keith. P.587. n.5. speaks of "fundamental moral indifference" of the Upaniṣads.
8. Ch.Up. VII.15.4. VII.25.2; 13.1; 18.1; In the BAU. 15.3 One knows with mind (manas); II.4.14. IV.5.15; III.4.2. IV.3.30, 31; IV.4.2. IV.5.6; Taitt. III.2.1. One has to know Brahman with 'tapas' also in lll.3.1; 5.1, 5.1.

Faith too is essential in the process of understanding and this intuitive gnosis. In the Chandogya it is said that when one has faith, then he thinks "One who has no faith, does not think".[1] Faith requires steadfastness (niṣṭhā)[2] and work (karma). The connation of the word śradhā was not emotional in tone and faith it seems was in the nature of intuitive and intellectual conviction,[3] as its seat is said to be in the heart.[3]

This enquiry has attempted to show that vijñāna is not simply intellectual knowledge but has intuitive import; it is a faculty to be achieved after the cultivation of faith (śraddhā), charity, calmness, austerities and goodwill. The BAU says one who calm (śānta)[4] controlled (dānta) withdrawn (upacate), patient (titikṣu) collected "(sam āhita) sees the self in the self, sees all the self".[5]

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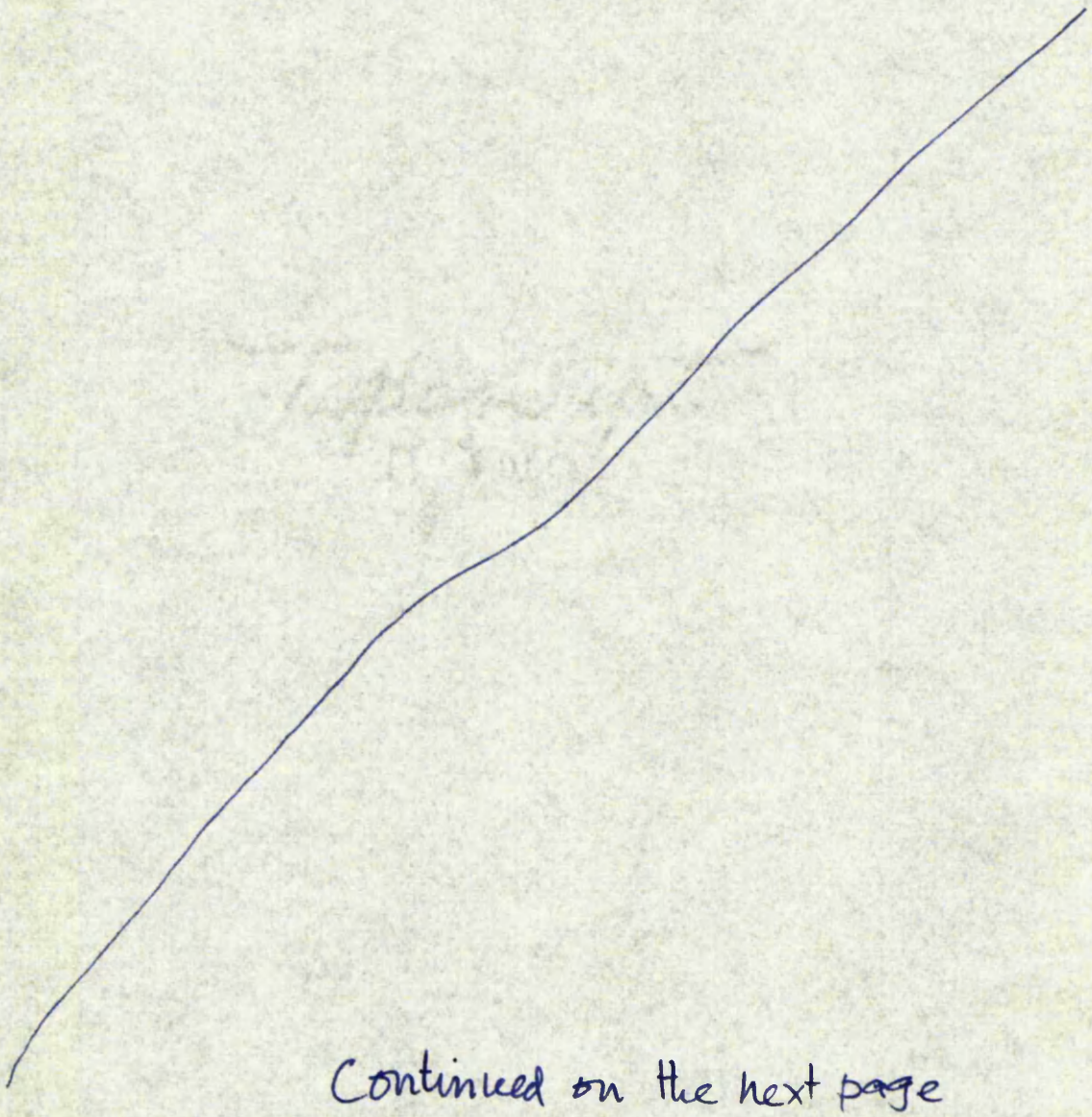
1. Ch.Up. V11.19.1.
2. Compare Brahmanistha in the Muṇḍaka. 1.2.12. 111.2.10; Praśna. 1.1. Cf. Gita, two types of niṣṭhā. Chap. III.3; XV11.1.XV111.40.
3. BAU.111.9.21. but its relations with mind in BAU 1.5.3. One practises faith in the forest. V1.2.15.Mund.1.2.11.Ch. Up.v.10.1. It comes together with chastity, truth, regulation TU.II.1.7; 1.11.3. Charity should be given with Faith. Cf. Ch.Up.1v.1.1. śraddhādeyo bahudāyi. The place of faith in the interpretation of ancient philosophies - in Burnet Greek Philosophy pp.1-2; Radhakrishnan pp.679.690-91.
4. Cf. śama in TU.1.9.1; also Mahānārāyāna 21.2; 22.2, śānti is the desired goal kaṭha.1.1.17. śvet Up.1V.11; 14:111.12.
5. BAU.1V.4.23.

This intuitive knowledge, which comes after intellectual efforts, requires yoga for its achievement. The later Upanisads, Katha, Mundaka and Svatasvatara, have referred to systematic Yogic practices, while in earlier Upanisads, Yoga is dealt in an unsystematic way.

Breath-control in the Upanisads is not very clearly referred to though the breaths (prana) are very important, as we shall see. We are given, however some ideas about the process of breath control in the Katha.[1] "He leads the out-breath upward, he casts inwards the inbreath (apana). The Gods solicit (upas) and meditate on that dwarf who is seated in the middle". In the Mundaka Up breaths are thought to enter in the cetas "The subtle self is to be known by Cetas in which breaths of five kinds (prāṇa, apāna, vyāna, samāna, udāna) have entered. The whole thought of men is pervaded by (etam) by breaths, after whose purification this self becomes powerful".[2] Thus purification (viśuddhi) of thought through the purification of breaths is already a fact known to the Upanisads. This purification is different from the purification attained by gnosis (jñāna).[3] In the śvetaśvatara

1. Katha. 11.2.3. It is quite likely that this might be simply referring to mere physical fact of inbreathing and out-breathing "Urdvam pranam unnayaty apanam pratyag asyati" (ab). But this phrase "pranam unnayati" occurs only once in the Upanisads, it lends support to interpret it in a technical sense. The other expressions with Prana are "pranam pranantam" "pranantah pranena" Kam III.2. Ch.Up.V. 1.8. BAU.V11.8-12; "pranesu utkrantesu BAU.1.28.
2. Mundaka.111 1.9. Eso nu atma cetasa veditavyo yasmin pranah pancadha samvivesa pranais cittam sarvam otam prajanam, yasmin visuddhe vibhaty esa atma.
3. Mundaka 111. 1.8.

the practice of Yoga is more developed and the instruction about Yoga exercise the most detailed to be found in the Upaniṣad "Repressing his breathings hard, let him, who has controlled all movements breathe through the nostrils, with attenuated breath.[1] While doing this breath control the wise man must hold his mind without forgetfulness.



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1. Śvet Up. Prāṇan Prapīḍyeha Samyukta ceṣṭaḥ kṣīṇe prāne ᾱṣikayo 'cchvasīta.

In this idea of breath control, the ~~minor~~ inner Agnihotra must have played an important role. The ~~minor~~ inner Agnihotra is called self-restraint (sāmyamanam) "As long as, a man is speaking he is not able to breathe. Then he is sacrificing breath in speech. As long as a person is breathing so long he is not able to speak. He is then sacrificing speech in breath. These two endless immortal oblations, one is making continually, whether waking or dreaming". Knowing that all other oblations consist of works (karma) and therefore must come to an end, they did not offer the actual Agnihotra.[1]

Eliade has attributed this "ritual ~~interrogation~~ interiorisation" as due to yogic influences[2] and this tendency, as "a pattern for comprehending the process of assimilation by Brāhmaṇic Orthodoxy of alien ideologies and practices." But the idea is as old as the earliest period of Vedic thinking. These assimilations and homologations were inherent in the philosophy of the sacrifical rite, especially in the piling up ceremony(citis). We do not think that this was due to an outside influence but believe that it is essentially vedic. It might have worked as a mode of assimmilation. A similarity has been noticed between the "inner Agnihotra"

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1. Kaus. II.5. Pratardana's teaching, see CP.PP.2.75-76. one of those free thinkers who disbelieved in external ritualism".
2. Yoga - Freedom and Immortality; PP.110-11; So in Sarokin P.A.: Forms and techniques of altruistic and spiritual growth. (Eliade) in: "The Problems of the origins of the Yoga".P.66-67.

and the theory of "Ajapājapa"[1], be>the being based on the central idea that "one might be automatically performing a spiritual act with each breath". This means that breathing interpreted in this way becomes a sacrifice. [This idea is touched on in the Praśna, where "the inbreathing (ucchvāsa) and the out-breathing (niḥśvāsa) become two oblations and the mind as the sacrificer. This leads the sacrificer to Brahman 2. This is quite similar to the idea of Prāṇagnihotya, as advocated in a later text, the Vaikhānasa Dharma Sūtra-sūtra[3]. Thus it seems that the idea of respiratory exercises and breath control was becoming important. } But it cannot be traced to the earlier vedic sources where in spite of the extensive speculation on breath and its identification, the idea is not carried forward. Though it should be insisted upon that the idea of sacrificing breath in speech and speech in breath must have given a great fillip to the practice of breath-control.

Concentration of mind was practised as we have seen in our discussions of Upāsanā. The (Nāḍīs) are spoken of in the Upaniṣads. Physical speculations on them had mystic and yogic imports. In the BAU[4] they are said to number seventy two thousands, called hitā, extending from the

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1. Pande. P.301.h.305. On Ajapajapa.
2. Praśna Up.IV.4; In IV.3. the three breaths are identified with the sacrificial fires.
3. II.18.
4. BAU. II.1.19. Kauṣ. IV.19 Ajātaśatru - Bālāki dialogue - deep sleep phenomena.

heart to the pericardium. In deep sleep the man sleeps in the pericardium, which is similar to the repose experienced by the great brāhmaṇa, reaching the summit of bliss. These veins are the paths for the movement for the male person of the right eye and the female in the left eye. The vein is the Channel (samcaraṇī) which goes upward from the heart; like a hair divided a thousandfold, so are the veins (nādis) called hītā, "established in the inner heart" (antar-hṛdaya); through these that flows, which flows (etad āśravad āśravati)".[1] They are filled with white, blue, yellow, green and red (fluids).[2] They are connected with the Sun, who also is regarded as of these varied colours and both are connected with each other through the rays of the Sun.[3] In dreamless sleep one enters in these channels. Later it is suggested that there are only one hundred nāḍis and one of them goes up to the crown of the head. Going upward through that, one becomes immortal; the others serve for going in various directions.[4] [These

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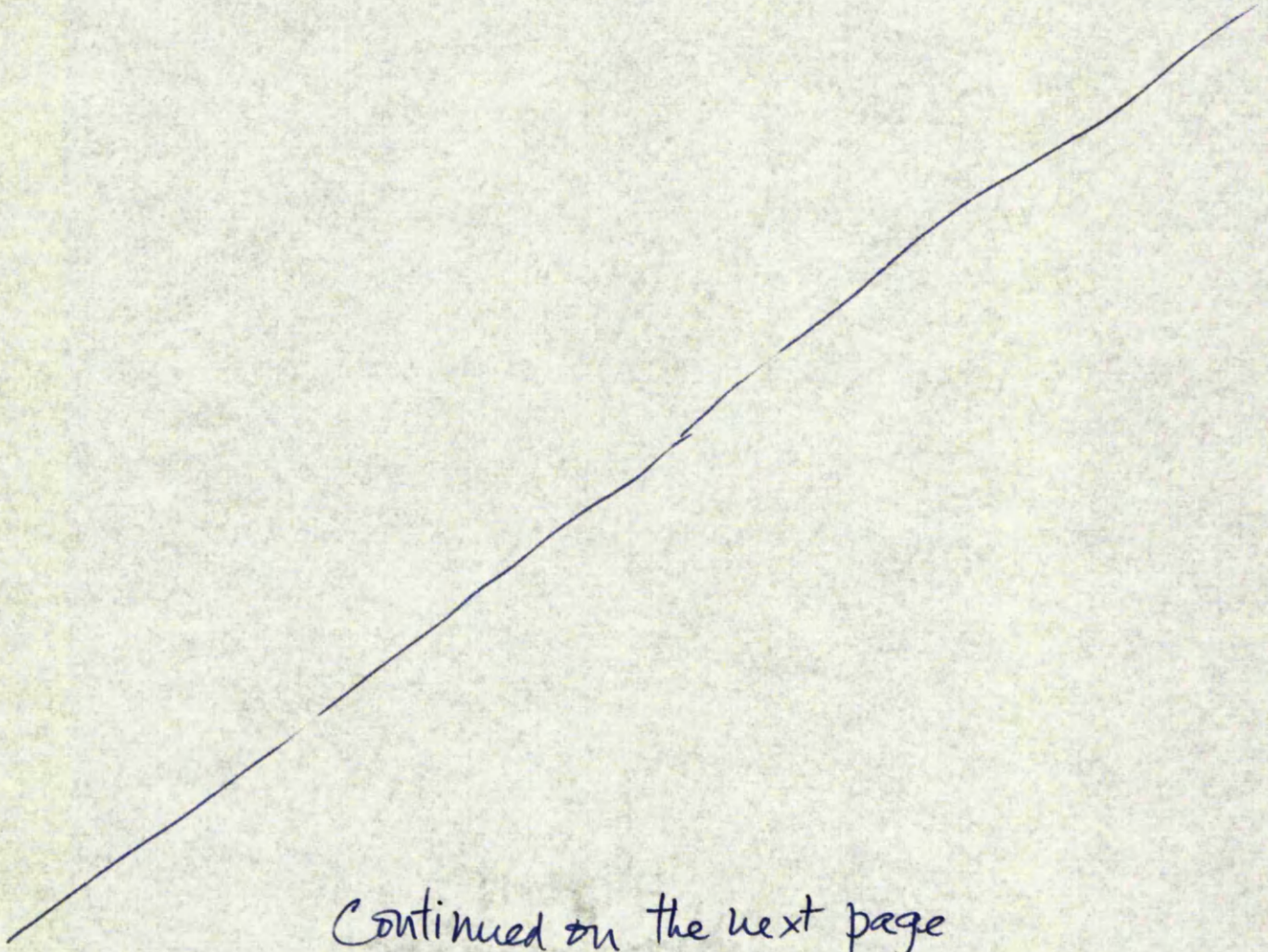
1. BAU. IV.2.3. Yājhāvalkya to Janaka. This idea of flowing Āśrava in the philosophical systems - esp. in Janism - the process of "flowing" the course of the "binding" influx of the soul.
2. BAU.IV.3.20. Cf. Ch.Up.VIII.6.1. Odds yellow (pīta) colour.
3. Ch.Up. VIII.6.233.
4. Ch.Up.VIII.6.6. This reference to the crown of the head refers to the suture, the brahma-randhra of the Ait.Up. 1.3.12. through which Brahman entered in the body as spirit.

nāḍis are centred there (within the heart) like the spokes in the centre of a wheel, and he (i.e. the self) moves about, manifold in his birth, who should be meditated on as aum.[1]



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1. Muṇḍaka. II.2.6. Arā iva ratha-nābhau samhatā yatra nādyāh sa eṣo ntascarate bahudhā jaāyamānaḥ.
Maitri Up. refers to the Suṣumnā nāḍīas going up (ūrdhvagā) VI.2.; VII.11)

In the Praśna[1] the hundred and one nāḍis are said to be in the heart; to each of these belong a hundred smaller arteries and to each of these belong 7200 branching nāḍis.

In all these descriptions the heart plays a central role, which was emphasized by the Yoga. In the Chāndogya, this heart is said to consist of an inner space (ākāśa).[2] The self(ātman) is in the heart.[3] The heart is identified with Brahman.[4] The heart is the seat of the person as the light.[5] The same person - as the inner self (antarātman) is spoken as of the size of a thumb.[6] We already saw the close connection between the nāḍis and the heart. This physical heart is called a red ball, covered with a net.[7] In the Ait.Up, mind is said to be born from the heart.[8] Therefore, mind and heart are one.[9] This meant that the mind was to be centred in the heart[10] for yogic purposes, which the Śvetāśvatara reccomends: "holding the body steady with the three erect, causing the sense organs (indriya) and the mind to enter into the heart, the wise man should cross all the fearful streams on the boat of Brahman"[10A]

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1. Praśna Up.III.6.
2. Ch.Up.111.12.9. V11.1.3. In the BAU. II.1.17.1V.23. Ya eṣo 'ntara hṛdaya ākāśaḥ; T.U 1.6.1. Cf.Maitri.V1.27.
3. Ch.Up.V111.3.3. 111.14.3. eṣa ma ātmā antarhṛdaye:
4. BAU.1V.1.u. Muṇḍ.11.1.4. hṛdayam viśram; BAU.V.3.1. Prajāpati is the heart.
5. BAU.1V.3.7. hṛdy antar jyotiḥ puruṣaḥ.
6. Kaṭha.II.3.17.ab. Aṅguṣṭha-mātraḥ puruṣo 'ntarātmā sadā janānām hṛdaye samiviṣṭaḥ. also see the Śvet Up.V.8;9.
7. BAU.1V.2.3. 8. Ait.Up. I.1.4. 9. Ait.Up.1.2. 4.Cf.Kauṣ.II.8. 10.
10. Ait.Up.111.1.2.(=5.2):

10A. Śvet. Up. II 8.

In the Kaṭha the self is said to be known through heart, thought and mind.[1] The heart is the abode of all vidyās.[2] It contains all the forms (rūpa), faith, truth, semen(retas) speech.[3]

All these physiological and metaphysical conceptions give an inkling of things to come. The Yoga in the Upaniṣads, esp, the later ones, was becoming systematised. This Yoga of breath-control, of concentration and meditation was to be done at a place, which according to the śvet - should be "level (sama)clean, free from sand, fire and gravel, favourable to thought by the sound and water and other features, not painful to the eye, in a hidden place, free from the world "[4] This passage might explain the reason of going to the forest, away from the world. This Upaniṣadic yoga leads to experiences of forms, lights sounds and colours, the redirection of the Self and the God. The Upaniṣads speak of the mystical experiences of lights, sounds colours and forms'[5], as produced from yogic exercises. "Fog, smoke, sun, wind, fire, fireflies, lightning, crystal, moon - these are the

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1. Kaṭha. V1.9.
2. BAU.II.4.11. Sarvāsāṃ Vidyānām hṛdayam ekāyānam.also 1V.5.12.
3. BAU.111.9. 20; 21; 23; 23, also BAU.111.9.11; 14.16.17, heart is the world.
4. Śvet.II.11.Cf.BHG.V1.11; Maitr. V1.30.
5. Ranade. CSUP. pp.34;3-4.

preliminary forms - which manifest (abhivyakti) Brahman in Yoga".[1] All these various sights are thought to manifest the absolute in various forms. The mystical experiences were primarily morphic or photic. There are a few references to 'audile' experiences also, especially in the BAU[2] but they were regarded as the result of the process of digestion and assimilation, such as could be heard by closing one's ears.[3] But this "audile" experience seems to be only natural without any systematic striving after it. Probably, as Ranade observes,[4] the sounds heard by the mystics were wrongly explained by these mystics as dependent upon physiological processes.

The photic mystical experiences were more vivid than the audile experiences and are described in various Upaniṣads. The golden person with golden beard, with golden hair, is seen within the sun. All is gold up to the tips of the nails.[5] Similar experiences described in the Muṇḍaka. Up. "brahma, painless, stainless (viraja) in the highest golden sheath, that is pure, the light of the lights".[6] The sun is generally the vehicle of such experiences. In the Chāndogya the white form (śukla RŪPA) of the Sun is related to the brooding on (abhi-tapas) the Yajus, which produced the

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1. Svet. II.11.
2. BAU.V.9.1.
3. Cf.CH.Up.III.13.8. speaks of the hearing (śruti) experience; like the roar (ninada), the peal (nadatnu) of thunder, the burning of the fire; the seeing (dṛṣṭi) and asks (usto) meditatively worship and solicit (upās) this - what has been heard and seen.
4. Loc.cit.P.344.
5. Ch.UP.I.6.6.
6. Muṇḍaka. II.2.10.

essence, uniting both.[1] In the Chāndogya Up another mystical experience, a result of Brahmarya is described in which" on crossing the bridge (i.e. the self), if one is blind, he becomes no longer blind, if wounded, he becomes no longer wounded, if afflicted he becomes no longer afflicted; therefore, on crossing that bridge night appears as day for that Brahman - world is always shining".[2] Again it is said, that the Sun does not set there, nor does he ever rise, and for him who knows this sun neither ever rises nor sets; it is always day for him.[3] After saying that there are two forms of Brahman, the formed (mūrta) and the formless(amūrta), the mortal (martyam) and the immortal (amartya), the moving and the unmoving; the existent and the true, the BAU goes on to describe the form of this person (puruṣa)as" a saffron-coloured robe, like yellowish (pāṇḍu) white wool, like the Indragopa, insect, like a spark of fire, like a white lotus, like a sudden flash of lightning"[4] and his name is the "truth of the truth"(satyasya satyam) and he is also "not this,not this(neti neti).

[In the Kaṭha similar mystical experiences are expressed. "The person of the size of a thumb resides in the middle of the body, like a light (jyoti) without smoke. He is the Lord of the past and the future and he is the same today as tomorrow. This indeed is that".[5] In the Kaṭha instead of

1. Ch.Up. III.2.2-3. Cf. The dark form (kṛsna rūpa) of the Sun in Ch.Up.III.4.2-3; III.3.3.
2. Ch.Up. VIII.4.2.
3. Ch.Up. III.11.2-3.
4. BAU.BII.3.6.
5. Kaṭha II.1.13. This speculation on the size of the antarātman. See in Kaṭha, II.1.12; In BAU V.5.1. the self as small as a gram of rice or barley"; and in ch.up. v.18. as pradeśa mātra. Cf. a later version in Maitri

P.T.O

Vl.38. Cf. Svet.Up.111.13. Similarly in Katha, II.3.17.
Taitti. Ar.X.38.1. (or PP.183-85)

Upāsana, the properly formulated system of Yoga is thought to be the mode of realisation and experience. This yoga is defined as "the steady control of the sense organs. Then one becomes undistracted (apramatta) because Yoga comes and goes."[1] This verse gives two points to discuss about the notion of Yoga in the Katha. Dhāraṇā in the Yoga-Sūtras,[2] is called that practice by which the mind is bound to one place, but in the Katha this practice is rather different and one in pursuance of this practice has to restrain one's sense organs. It is quite likely that the mind might be regarded as one of the sense-organs and so it may be construed as comprising thepractice of concentration and restraint of mind.[3] Pramāda (heedlessness, inattentiveness) is uniformly condemned in the Upanisads as later on in the buddhist texts and in the Yogic ones. Meditation should be carried on without heedlessness[4] and chanting of the Sāman - together with mental meditation should be carried on without heedlessness.[5] In the Yoga-sūtras pramāda is regarded as one of the obstacles of the mind,[6] together with langour, doubt, worldiness, and so forth. In the Śvetā mind is to be concentrated and restrained (dhṛ) without heedlessness.[7] The self cannot be

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1. Katha II.3.11. Tam yogam iti manyate sthirām indriya-dhāraṇām. Apramattas tadā bhavati yoga hi prabhavā-pyayau.
2. YS.III.1.Deśa-bandhas cittasya dhāraṇā Cf.
3. Dhāraṇā occurs in T.U. 1.4.1. also but there it has completely different sense. In Maitrei VI.18;20, the idea of dhāraṇā is completely yogic, See Deussen PU.389-90.
4. Ch.Up. 1.3.12.
5. Ch.Up. II.22.2.Cf.Muṇḍaka II.22.2. Brahman the target should be bet by the arrow of one's self on the bow of the syllable aum, without heedlessness. Then one becomes united with him (tanmayo)

p.t.o.

6. Yoga-Sūtra. 1.30.
7. Svet.Up. II.9. The rise of the root √dhṛ is connected etymologically and semantically with the word dhāraṇā as used in the Kaṭha II.3.11. which, both the cases, foreshadow the Yogic definition.

realised through pramāda, or through austerities with practical aims.[1] The Yoga as portrayed in the Kaṭha, is better defined in another verse. "When the five knowledges (i.e.senses) together with the mind stand still, and the intellect (buddhi) does not stir, that is the highest state".[2] This highest state (parama gati) seems to be the state of Samādhi where there is a complete suspension of "thought" and "feeling".[3] This verse alludes to the practice of "withdrawal" (pratyāhāra).[4] This shows that this "parama gati" is akin to the conception of "Jhāna" as put forward by Mrs.Rhys Dairds.[4a] The nature of the sense organs was to be understood by the contemplative (dhīra).[5] The person is beyond all the psychological principles, mind, intelligence, the (empiral) self, the great immanifest,[6] and could not be seen by the eye and apprehended by heart, thought or mind.[7]

This state of mental inactivity is one of non-discursive clear consciousness. This has nothing to do with ecstasy,

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1. Muṇḍaka. III.2.4. Cf. the Gita. XIV. 8.XI.41.
2. Kaṭha. II.3.10.
3. Cf.the Bh.Gita. VI.24-25. describes the highest state of Yoga which culminates in the 'non-thinking" state of yoga. Cf.Maitrei. VI.30.
4. Cf.Yogasūtra.II.54. Cf.Ch.Up. VIII.15, refers to the "establishing (or concentrating of all the senses in the self". (ātmani sarvendriyāṇi pratiṣṭhāpya")

4a.Sakya P.166.

5. Kaṭha II.3.6.
6. Kaṭha.II.3.7.8.
7. Kaṭha II.3.9.

frenzy or comma.

The yogic states as described in the Muṇḍaka are similar in nature. The samādhi - awareness of the all-wise - all knowing self-established in the ether (vyoman)[1] of the vast divine, subtlerthan the subtle self - of unthinkable form (acintya-rūpa)[2] is felt by the contemplative and meditating persons. Thought is to be purified from the breaths so that the self might shine forth.[3] In the Muṇḍaka too the fire breaths are to be stilled in the self and then by consciousness the latter is known. The character of the culminating awareness is again senseless, thoughtless, and non-discursive. (The Muṇḍaka[4], it seems, has emphasized the doctrine of Grace also but it is rare). This state of samādhi comes after the purification (viśuddhi) of the nature (sattva)[5] through saṁnyāsa-yoga[6] (the yoga of the renunciation). The contemplatives after realising (prapya) the self become passionless (vītarāga), tranquil (praśānta),

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1. Muṇḍaka II.2.7.
2. Muṇḍ. III.1.0.7.
3. Muṇḍaka. III.1.7.9. This importance of 'citta' as a limiting principle is seen in Buddhism too. The stillness of the citta in the fourth Jhāna in AN.III.98.100; MN.III. 111-112; (quoted in Pande P.534 n.128). In the Upaniṣads citta and buddhi are separate principles of mental activity.
4. Muṇḍaka, III.2.3;4; Cf.Kaṭha I.2.23.
5. Cf.Sattva in Kaṭha. II.3.7.
6. Muṇḍaka. III.2.5.

(prasanta)[1], satisfied with gnosis.

His deeds and his self, consisting of consciousness only (vijñāna maya) become one (ekībhavanti) in the Supreme Immutable, and all his senses and fifteen parts dissolve into their elements.[2]

In the Śveta Up, the doctrine of Yoga is more developed than either in the Katha or in the Muṇḍaka. It prescribes for the place and atmosphere of the Yoga practices (prayoga)[3] and also the processes.[4] The senses (indriyas) have to be put in the heart with mind.[5] The result of the yogic exercises is described on physical and mystical planes. Physically one attains lightness, diseaselessness, desirelessness (alouptva) clearness of complexion, pleasantness of voice, pure smell, slight exretions, these are regarded as the first results of the yogapravṛtti.[6] There are five qualities of yoga in accordance with the five elements - earth, water, fire, air and ether, and then there is no sickness, no old age, no death to him who has a body consisting of the fire of Yoga.[7] What this shows is that Yoga must, in the śvet up, have definite relations with the elemental fire which is

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1. Muṇḍaka. III.2.6.5.
2. Muṇḍaka. III.2.7. Cf.III.2.8. the image of the rivers going into the sea, leaving behind their name and form. Cf.Praśna.VI.5.
3. Śvet.II.10.Cf. Bh.Gitā.VI.11;
4. Svet.II.8;9. sitting posture, and breath-control.
5. loc.cit. The simily of the horses and the chariot is used in II.9. Cf.Katha.I.3.
6. Śveta. Up. II.13.
7. Śvet.Up. II.12.

increased by the practice of yoga.[1] On the mystical plane the yogi experiences various visions[2] as manifestations of Brahman. It has been suggested by Radhakrishnan[3] that the Śvet.Up, has given four stages of the Yoga practices, as described in the Chap.II.13-16. In the Thirteenth verse (and also the twelfth) the beginning of the Yogic process is described, resulting with a physical fitness, and health, and the body being purified one becomes without sorrow (vītaśoka)[4] realising the nature of the self - this is the second stage called exertion (ghaṭa). In the third stage called cognition (paricaya) the nature of Brahman is known by realising the nature of one's own self,[5] and the person is released from all fetters (pāśa). In the fourth stage the identity of the self with Brahman is realised. The God is known through Sāmkhaya and Yoga.[6] We are not satisfied that these four stages represent a formal division of the yogic practise of the time of the Upaniṣad and can be regarded as a later development.

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1. The idea that tapas too increases one's power as described in the section on tapas. This idea of physical effects of Yoga survives in later times too.
2. Śvet.Up.II.11.
3. Radhakrishnam op.cit.P.723.
4. Śvet.II.14, the simile of the mirror (bimba) is used which, when cleansed of the stairs, shines brightly. Cf. the simile in Kauṣ.IV.2; Kaṭha. II.3.5. Gitā.III.38. The person of themirror as a metaphysical entity in BAU.II.1.9; III.9-15.
5. Śvet Up.II.15. the simile is used as one sees by a lamp (dipopama).
6. Śvet.Up.VI.13. Sāmkhya is mentioned for the first time in the Upaniṣads.

This discussion on Yoga in the Upaniṣads leads us to certain conclusions on its nature. The processes of Yoga are known to the Upaniṣads but not schematically in the earlier texts, such as Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, where the practice of Upāsanā predominates. In the verse Upaniṣads - Kaṭha, Śvet: and Muṇḍaka, one finds a more systematic account of a yoga closer to the classical type. The processes of dhyāna, pratyāhara and samādhi seem to be known to them. The idea of āsana[1] must have been known to them and so also of breath control. Speculations on the sense organs and their control, and their submersion in the heart as in yoga[2] have been noticed in the Upaniṣads. The samādhi - consciousness is similar to the buddhist Jhāna.[3] This state seems to be divided into two categories - that in which the consciousness of duality exists and that in which there is no awareness of the subject or the object. The latter is one such as that which Yāyñavalkya[1] described to Maitreyi.[4] Zaehner[5] has tried to equate the mystical experience derived from Yoga to "praetesnatural experience akin to manic condition", which

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1. The definition of Āsana should be that of the Yoga-Sūtra, II.46. The idea of Āsana must have something to do with practice of Upāsanā but the idea of āsana became confined to the idea of sitting down in later times and the idea was also to wait upon a deity and thus to worhsip the deity as well.
2. YS.II.41; III.47; II.55; II.54;
3. Paṇde op.cit.535.
4. BAU.II.4.13;14.
5. Mysticism sacred and profane P.128 also PP.97 that it resembles acute mania.

does not seem to be the case in the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣadic yoga seems to be primarily directed towards union of the individual with the Cosmic self, which begins to take a theistic tinge in the Śveta Up.[1] This was done through the proper discipline of the Will and control of mental activities. The attainment of "supernatural powers" of which Belvalkar and Rawade speak,[2] may have been one of the incidental results rather than the whole motive of the Upaniṣadic Yoga. There seems also to be the same cathartic effects believed to result from yogic practices.

The origin of yoga is a knotty problem which cannot be decided unless the ends of Yoga are decided. There some purificatory and cathartic practices were also advocated by Patañjali,[3] together with ascetic practices. They were likewise ethical practices and mental discipline. The relationship of all these practices was emphasized in the classical Yoga. The aim of this system was far removed from that of the magical practices[4] and shamanistic ideas[5] of earlier times, though the historical relationship of the two has been pointed out by many scholars. The connection

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1. Cf. R.C.Zaehner (PP.97) ~~no question of mind mystica~~; thinks that the goal of Yoga is 'isolation', better expressed as "Enstasis" - by Eliade. Yoga freedom and immortality PP This is the "state of pure intelligence", S.N.Dasgupta. Hist.of Ind.Phil.1.P.272, but Hauer die Anfange der Yogapraxis. PP1-2 "ecstatic practices are Yoga and ecstasy as an abnormal mental condition".
2. The Creative Period. P.405.
3. YS.II.1,32.
4. Garbe ERE.XII.pp.832-3.
5. ~~Eliade L'Charmanisme~~ ; Oldenberg LU.259.
~~Yoga:~~

of the Upāsanās which we surveyed above, with the Yogic meditation seems very close. The Upāsanās were not only intellectual but also mystical and astonishingly close to developed yoga. The yogic tradition has been noticed in the Harappan civilisation,[1] which is pre-aryan and non-aryan. The term Yoga never occurs with its later technical connotation in the pre-Upaniṣadic period. So it seems that Yoga should be derived from a non-aryan source.[2] But Upāsanā did largely contribute in the later repertoire of Yoga, ~~as it was practised even by Buddha~~. Preparatory Ascetic ~~prahees~~ practices, as subsumed under the classificatory term tapas[3] were incidental to yoga as was the acquisition of supernatural powers. For the Yogic practice ethical practices were essential, as for vijñāna and upāsanā. In some passages there seems to be some sort of a formulation of four stages of Yoga, but the idea was not very well developed. All this leads to peace (śānti) and gnosis (vijñāna).

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1. look above.Chap.I.
2. A suggestion is made by Paul Masson-Oursel in "Forms and techniques of Altruistic and Spiritual Growth (ed.P. Sorokin) = The origin of Yoga is not Brahmanic, not Indian, but Mongoloid"(P.57) and points to the resemblances between the respiratory exercises of Taorsin and the breath-control of Yoga: About the respiratory exercises in Taoism - See Fung-yu-lan Hist.of Chinese Philosophy I.P.242.n.2; A.Waley. The Way and its power P.67-69 ; Three ways of thought in China p.
3. Śvet up. II. 13-16. which is comparable to the Buddhist Jhānas, but with obvious differences.

THE ĀSRAMAS THEORY NOT IN THE UPANISADS.

The word Āśrama does not occur in the Samhitās or in the Brāhmaṇas. But the root Śram from which the word is derived, occurs many times in the Atharvaveda, and in the Brāhmaṇas, in the sense to exert, to labour, and sometimes to wear oneself out.[1] So the word āśrama comes to mean the stage where one exerts oneself. The idea behind the āśrama theory was to come to terms with asceticism culminating in the complete renunciation of social life with all its pleasure in pursuit of the higher goals of life (as may be conceived by the person). We already have the Student's stage and the householder's stage in the Saṃhitās and in the Brāhmaṇas. The third and the fourth stages are the post-Brahmaṇic conceptions. By the time of the growth of the texts and the regulations enjoined in them to read those texts in the forests, the third āśrama - that of the forest dwellers, may have been virtually recognised. As we said earlier, there seems to be no definitive formulation of the four stages theory but the practices of the four stages were in existence, as were the people who would have been predisposed to the systematic social theorising which we witness in the Gṛhya and the Dharmasūtras.

In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka[2] there is a whole passage breathing of a noble ideal of asceticism. Kahola Kauṣītakeya asks Yājñavalkya the means to know Brahman who is the "soul in all"

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1 BAU.1.2.2. 1.5.21; IV.3.19.

2 BAU III.5.1.

(sarvāntara ātmā), present and not hidden, who goes beyond hunger, thirst, sorrow, delusion, old age and death". "The Brāhmaṇas knowing this self, overcoming the desire for the world, desire for wealth, the desire for sons, live on alms".

In another passage[1] Yājñavalkya repeats the same ideas about the complete voluntary renunciation of all desires by one who knows the self and lives on alms.

The root Bhikṣ - to beg occurs in the Kauṣitaki and the Chāndogya. In the Kauṣitaki[2] it is said that one who meditatively worships (Upās) the breath as brahman, does not need to beg, for as the divinities (i.e. mind, eye, ear, speech) bring offerings to the breath without being asked by the breath, so men bring alms to him. So the Upaniṣad (the instruction) is "do not beg" (na yāced iti)". "As a man who has begged through a village and sits down without getting anything saying: I will not eat anything given from here" then those who in the beginning refused him invite him". This becomes the dharman of him who does not beg (yāc). The givers of food then invite him saying "let us give to you".

This shows two ideas - that the ascetic should not beg but should pass through a village without asking food.[3] The proper practice of one's religious meditations will make people themselves respect him and give food to him.

This begging was different from the begging done by the student,[4]

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1. BAU. IV.4.22.
2. KAUS.Up.II.1.2.
3. A code of conduct practised by the Buddhists too. See
4. Cf.Ch.Up.IV.35.

though both these personages, the student and the mendicants led the same type of life. This similarity is more than accidental.

Ideas of wandering and "going forth" too seem to have come to be recognised. The root pra-vraj - to wander forth occurs a good many times in the Upaniṣads. It is found on the Chāndogya[1], though, it does not seem to have acquired any technical significance, or even in the Praśna[2]. But in the BAU it appears in its technical ascetic significance, which is taken over in the Buddhist texts too.[3] The wanderers "go forth"[4] desiring only the self and the Brahman. Yājñavalkya had two wives Maitreyi and Kātyāyanī. Of these Maitreyi was a discourser on brahman (brahmavādinī) while the latter had the knowledge as possessed by women (strī-prajñā). Yājñavalkya thought to go on another mode of life (anyad-vṛttam). He said to Maitreyi. "I am going forth away from this state"[5] (sthāna) The following conversations established that the whole earth filled with wealth (vitta) would not make one immortal. "There is no hope of immortality through wealth". (amṛtatvasya tu nāśāsti vitteneti).[6] [Naciketas[7] too has the same view about the worldly possessions and worldy pleasures.

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1. Ch.Up.VIII.8.3. In the Prajāpati-Indra-Vairocana story.
2. Prasna. VI.1. VIII.9.2; 10.3; 11.2.
3. B.C.Law Comm.Vol.1930.
4. BAU.IV.4.22;
5. BAU.IV.5.2. Pravrajiṣyan vā are'ham asmāt sthānād asmi
6. BAU.IV.5.3.
7. Kaṭha.1.1.26-28.

"Man is not to be contented with wealth". "Worldly possessions are ephameral (svobhāva)."[1] Having given a long monologue on the nature of the self and recommending the method to realise and know the self[2] Yājñavalkaya went away. This going away and wandering, was the precursor of the Buddhist pabbajjā. This disgust with material wealth, non-attachment to anything which is not self, formed the core of the supreme religious consciousness in the age of the Āraṇyakas and the Upaniṣads. We do not here have any consciousness of the misery and pain of life, which became the motive force of the development of the Jaina and Buddhist ethics. We find reference to the fact of renunciation (sam-nyāsa) in terms different from those of the BAU. The verb nyas-does not occur ~~seem~~ in any of the early Upanisads but in the late Mahānārāyaṇa Up.[3] The substantive nyāsa occurs three times. In the Mahānārāyaṇa[4] Nyāsa (renunciation) is identified as the Brahman; and said to be better than all the other tapas.[5] In the earlier Upaniṣads this idea of renunciation was equalled in the idea of charity (dāna) which figures quite prominently. In the Taitti.Up.[6] the teacher urges the outgoing student to give with faith, and not to give without faith, to give ~~with~~ in plenty,

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1. BAU.IV.5.6-15.
2. BAU.IV.5.6. Ātmā vā are draṣṭavyaḥ śrotavyo.mantavyo, nididhyasitavyo (Ātma should be seen, heard, reflected on, and meditated on).
3. It constitutes the Xth Chapter of the TĀ; very developed ideas about tapas and bhakti but Included by Keith in his list of the 14 Upaniṣads. RPVU.II.P. 499.
4. 21.2.
5. Cp.Mahānārāyaṇa. 23.1; 24.1.
6. TU.1.11.3. CSUP.PP.310.11.

(śrI)[1], with modesty, (hrI), and with fear, with sympathy (sam-vid). In the Chāndoyga[2], it is said that those who in the village observe (Upāsate) sacrifice, works of public utility and almsgiving", go to the smoke, onwards on the path of the fathers and do not reach immortality and are reborn again. This path is contrasted with austerity and faith, which leads man to the path of the Gods. Giving of food to men was regarded as meritorious, but it led to material prosperity only.[3] Men praise those who give.[4] Prajapati, after the completion of the studentship of his three offspring, gods, demons, and men, lettered three syllables, da da da, which meant that they should control themselves, give and be compassionate.[5] All men are asked to practise self control (damana) giving (dāna) and compassion (dayā).[6] This triad may be compared with other similar triads as in the Chāndogya, sacrifice, study, and austerity.[7] But charity and almsgiving were primarily the duty of the householder. The Katha relates the story of Vājasravas, who gave away all his wealth.[8] But this idea of charity and almsgiving was still short of absolute renunciation, which Yājñavalkya performed

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1. Cf.Radhakrishnan Trans.P.538; Hume. p.283.
2. Ch.Up.V.10.3. Atha ye ime grāme iṣṭāpurte dattam ity upāsate.
3. BAU. 1.4.16.
4. BAU.111.8.9.
5. BAU. V.2.1-3. CSUP.P.308.
6. Ch.Up.11.23.1.
7. BAU.IV.4.22; VI.2.16. Cf.Mahanarayana 8.1; Gita.II.48. XVII.7.27,XVIII.5.
8. Katha.1.1.1.

But ~~at times~~ such absolute renunciations must have been in process of becoming an established custom among religious people.

This idea is quite akin to the idea of Vairāgya, which word does not occur in the early Upanisads but appears first in the Maitrāyaṇa Up,[1] where, it is related that King Bṛhadratha, reflecting that this body is non-eternal, reached the state of non-attachment (vairāgya) and went forth into the forest. The story is very similar to the story of Yājñavalkya, and Maitreyi,[2] both of whom are completely detached from the desires of the wealth-filled earth. Yājñavalkya even interprets all human relations on the hypothesis that "not for the sake of the husband is the husband dear but a husband is dear for the sake of the self".[3] This detachment from the world is the precursor of the later ascetic developments. Desirelessness was prized as a supreme virtue because if the mind is attached to a particular object, the subtle self goes together with the deed, being attached to it. Exhausting the result of the deeds which he has done, aman's self comes back again to the world for work.[4] This means that the cause of rebirth is desire (Kāma).[5] So it is said that a man not desiring, who is desireless (akāmaa), has banished all desires. (Niṣkāma), whose desires are realised, and who desires only the self; his breaths do not depart, being brahman he goes to Brahman".[6]

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1. Maitri. 1.2. Vairāgyam Upeto 'ranyam nirjagāma.
2. BAU. II. 4. 3. BAU. II.4.5. Cp.Kaṭha. The Naciketas story.
4. BAU. IV.4.6. CSUP.P.303.
5. Cf. the Buddhist ideas of rebirth, taṇhā (attachment) the cause in the twelve nidānas.
6. BAU. loc.cit.

This desirelessness of the worldly things, and desiring only the self is illustrated by an analogy elsewhere[1]. -"That is his this form, of past worldly desires (aticchandas) free from evils, free from fear. As a man, embracing his beloved wife knows nothing about outside or inside, so the person when embracing the intelligent self knows nothing about outside or inside. That, verily, is his this form, in which his desire is fulfilled, in which the self is his desire, in which he is without desire, without sorrow".[2] Yājñavalkya, in conversation with Janaka says that "when all the desires of that dwell in the heart, are cast away, then does the mortal become immortal, and attain Brahman here".[3] This state of desirelessness is compared with the condition of the snake which has cast off its slough, lies on the anthill as dead, and then this disembodied body is immortal, And light (teja), is Brahman.

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1. BAU IV.3.21.

2. Compare the erotic element in mysticism in Radhakrishnan Trans (P.263) quotes Richard of St.Vicar - who speaks of four phases of spiritual marriage - espousals, marriage, wedlocks, child-bearing; Ruysbroeck's work - "The Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage".

   CSUP. P.348-49, argues against the identity of the both experiences of bliss, the erotic one, being thought justifiably to be of an inferior type. But this is an expressive analogy only comparable to the late vaiṣṇavic and sufi ideas too.(Cf. His vehement attack on erotic mysticism in 7th vol of the Indian Philosophy - The Mystics of Mahārāṣṭra.Introduction).

3. BAU.IV.4.7. Cf.Kaṭha.VI.14. Radhakrishnan Trans.P.273. also.Cf.BAU.IV.4.12.

THE ASCETICS IN THE UPANISADS.

There are four terms which are used to designate an ascetic in the Upaniṣads: Muni, yati, Śramana, and parivrājaka. Muni occurs twice in the BAU, used by Yājñavalkya. Replying to Kahoḷa Yājñavalkaya says that having know the self that is beyond hunger, thirst, sorrow and delusion (moha), the Brāhmaṇas transcend the desires (eṣaṇā) for sons, for wealth and for the worlds,[1] and go about begging. Then having done away (nirvidya) with learning (panditya)[1a] the Brāhmaṇa should live like a child; having done away with learning and the state of childhood[2]; (he becomes) a muni; and having done away with silent meditation (mauna) and non-silence (amauna), he becomes a Brāhmaṇa. How does theBrahmana behave? Howsoever he may behave, he is so; everything else is full of suffering". The muni seems to be one who leaves behing the state of learning and the state of childhood and probably becomes a contemplative meditator. But the brahmana is better than the muni. Wisdom is regarded as superior to meditation. But meditation leads to knowledge. In a similar context Yājñavalkya again says that "knowing the self one becomes a muni".[3] In the Kaṭha Upaniṣad[4] it is said that "just as

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1. The root nirvid in the RV.X.129.4. has the sense of "finding out".
1a. Panditya obviously means sacrificial learning which yields one various heavenly worlds and long life which is useless as one transcends these desires. It is the only occurrence of the word in the Upanisads. See Radhakrishnan.trans. P.222.Deussen Phil of the Up.P.58 = Cf.(VIV.4.21; Kaṭha. 1.2.23.
2. "It is a question of becoming as children". Radhakrishnan loc.cit.
3. BAU.IV.4.22.
4. Kaṭha II.1.15.

pure water poured forth into pure becomes just the same (tadrg eva bhavati); in the same way, O Gantama, the self of the knowing muni (munier vijānatas) becomes". This verse again emphasizes that the muni has to know the identity of the self and the self.[1] This shows that the Upaniṣads have changed the connotation of the term muni completely in comparison with the Brāhmaṇas, which still preserve the Shamanstic aspects of the term. But as we see, the Upaniṣads narrow down the sense of muni to a silent contemplative. The terms maunna, occurring in the BAU,[2] is simply muni-hood. The Chāndogya, dealing in the importance of the period of student-ship,[3] says that "what people call manna, is really the period of studentship, for only by knowing the self through brahmacarya does one meditate.(manute).[4] This shows that the idea behind maunna is silence and meditation. This further shows the close patterning of brahmacarya on the ascetic mode of life. The importance of silence in the Upaniṣads is reflected in the corresponding importance of the Brahma priest who does the sacrifice mentally and silently.[5] As speech was

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1. Saṁkara holds the complete identity between the individual soul and the cosmic self while regards the individual as similar (samana) to the Universal Self.
2. BAU.111.5.1. See A.K. Coomaraswamy. The Vedic doctrine of Silence. I.C.3. P.563-63. He interprets this passage in terms of "neti, neti", formula.
3. Ch.Up.V111.5. 1-4.
4. Ch.Up.V111.5.2. Saṁkara too, takes "manute" as "dhyāyati".
5. In the Ch.Up.1V.17 -1-1o.

important in the sacrificial religion, in the Upaniṣads the vowof silence comes to have the same position. In the ritual sitting silently, restraining one's speech (vācamyamaḥ) the sacrifice was to release his speech, expressing his desire.[1] There were many "silent prayers"(tuṣṇīm-śaṁsa).[2] Coomaraswamy[3] draws one's attention to the significant terms - Upāṁśu (secretly; silently) and tūṣṇim (silently)[4], and connects it with the problem of "divine nativity" in the Vedic and the Gnostic (i.e. Upaniṣadic) works, and thinks that silence represents the unmanifested, unspoken (anirukta) aspect of the supreme reality which goes even beyond silence and speech.[5] So far as we are concerned with the practical application of the doctrine, silence had to be imposed over oneself because of meditation; because the restraint on speech was thought to increase the power of speech. It must be noted that silence was thought to be the best expression of the supreme reality, even by the Buddha.[6] Silence and - not-silence (mauna and amauna) are left behind by the Brahmana.[7] But in its practical aspect, silence has to be cultivated by the seeker after truth.

The word Yati occurs in the Kausitaki and the Muṇḍaka

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1. SB.IV.6.9.24. Vācamyamaḥ.
2. Kauṣītaki Br.XIV.1; Cf.Ait.Br.II.31-32.
3. loc.cit.PP.559-69.
4. Colours on PB.VII.6.1. takes it as Vācamyamaḥ. Vācamyama occurs in the Kaus II.3. Ch.Up.v.2.8.
5. Coomaraswamy. loc.cit.
6. See Radhakrishman. IPIP. 378-79 ff.
7. BAU.III.5.1. Cf.Coomaraswamy.Loc.cit.

Upanisads. In the Kauṣītakī we find the old story of the Yatis being given to the Āyanas,[1] told by Indra himself to Pratardana, and referred to as an act of evil consequences. But Indra adds that he who knows him in this light, will be free from sins(pāpa). In the Muṇḍaka the yatis, with attenuated imperfections see him (the self) who is within the body, consisting of light, and pure"[2] In the first line it is said that this self is seen through truth, austerity, chastity, and right knowledge. This means that the Yatis must be practising all these acts. Later on the Yatis are regarded as "of pure nature" (śuddhasattva)[3] through the yoga of renunciation (samnyasa-yoga). This shows that the concept of yati has come back to its etymological sense "one who is restrained". But the word Yama does not occur in the Upanisads except in compounds Vacam-yama. The root yam - to restrain - occurs in the Kaṭha, which says that the intelligent person should restrain his speech and mind,[4] and should be restrained in the self.[5] In the BAU, Uddālaka Āruṇi talking about the thread (sūtra) of the world, which is the air, the inner controller (antar yāmin), "who, the inner one, controls all the beings(sarvāṇi ca bhūtāni yo'ntaro yamayatīti)". The sense of controlling is quite common in the Upanisads.

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1. Kauṣ. III.1.
2. Muṇḍaka. III.1.5.cd.
3. Muṇḍaka III.2.6. see Deussen PU.P.361. sees in this verse the doctrine of Kramamukti.
4. Kaṭha. 1.3.13.
5. BAU.III.7.1, Cf.Ch.Up. VIII.3.5.

Śramaṇa occurs in the BAU only. This is the first time that this term is used. Etymologically it should mean "a person who toils". The ascetic toiling (śrama) is already referred to in the Atravaveda and the Brāhmaṇas. The same sense is repeated in the BAU also.[1] In that state when a man has realised Brahman he transcends all relations and designations, then "A father is not a father, a mother is not a mother.... a śramaṇa (toiler) is not a śramaṇa".[2] There is no indication whatsoever that this śramaṇa is an outsider, an intruder in the Upanisadic world, except his rare appearance in the Vedic literature. This term was later championed by the Buddhists and Jains who use it to designate their own associates.[3]

The last term is tāpasa or tapasvī. Tapasvī occurs in a later Maitri passage,[4] where it is defined as one who is not attached to the stages. Tāpasa is referred in the BAU[5] and probably implies the older type of the traditional ascetics. [The Samnyāsin and the Yogin are also met in the Maitri.[6]]

There were another type of ascetics who were wanderers (in later terminology - parivrājin or parivrājaka - which word does not occur in the Upanisads) who were not interested in wealth or sons or worlds; who went about begging and preaching the doctrine of the self. These are called in the BAU

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1. BAU.1.2.2; 6; 1.5.21; 1V.3.19.
2. BAU.1V.4.22.
3. Buddhist references in Pali Dictionary s.v. It is quite likely that this term might have been used first by the Buddhist than by the BAU. But this section seems to be one of the earliest Upanisadic passages and pre-buddhistic.
4. Maitri. 1V.3. Aśrameṣu evānavasthas tapas-Vl. vety ucyate.
5. BAU. 1V.3.22.
6. Maitri. Vl.lo (post Buddhistic Upaniṣad)

pravrajin[1] (wanderers). There were forest dwellers the hermits who had their āśramas in the forests, where the students of Brahman flocked to sit near the master and learn from him the secrets of sacred gnosis. They practised faith and truth[2] or austerities and faith.[3]

This habit of going to the forest and living there is given in technical terms in the Chandogya - that is āraṇyāyana.[4] But (āraṇyāyana) - forest dwelling - is thought by it as identical with Brahmacarya. The word is divided into two elements - Ara and nya, regarded as two seas in the Brahmaloka in the third heaven above the earth, where are the lake Airammadīya and the tree showing soma, the city of Brahma Aparājita and the Golden Hall built by the Lord (prabhu). This passage might imply that the Brahmaloka may be achieved through going to the forest.[5] The importance of going to the forest became greater in course of time, as a place of right and befitting to the ascetic, away from the worldly relations and entangling connections. It afforded one an opportunity to live at unity with nature. This must have excited a powerful romantic influence on imagination, which, disgusted with the degeneration of things, would have

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1. BAU. 1V.4.22; the root vraj with pra - in Kaus.1V.19; Cha.Up.V111.8.3; 9.2; 11.2; in BAU. 1V.4.22; 5.2; Prabua; with pari-Kaus II.15; BAU. the Carakas wandering going forth in the BAU.111.3.1.
2. BAU.V1.2.15.
3. Ch.Up.V.10.1; Muṇd.1.2.11. Cf.Mahānārāyaṇa Up.21.2. which records the muni's as practising tranquility (śama) in the forests.
4. Ch.Up.V111.5.3.
5. Kauṣ.Up.1.3. Ara is the sea; Śaṁkara regards Aparājita as a resting place. (Āyatana.) seeRadhakrishnan trans. P.499.

started the cry - Back to Nature" like Rousseau.[1]

Thus we already have the materials of the Āśrama - theory. It is very difficult to prove that the Āśrama theory already existed in the Upaniṣads. The word āśrama does not occur in the Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇas;[2] except in the Śvetaś.Up. in the compound "atyāśramibhyaḥ".[3] But the word "atyāśramin" implies that the person referred to is outside the aśramas. This means that the mendicant is regarded as outside the āśrama system existing at that time.[4] Kane believes that the Ait.Br.[5] refers to the four aśramas in the passage "What is the use of dirt, of antelope skin, of the beard, and of tapas? O brāhmaṇas, desire a son he is the best praised world". Kane takes "ajina" to refer to Brahmacarya, "śmaśrūṇi" to Vānaprasthas, "malam" to the householder and 'tapas' to the Samnyāsin.[6] This is a completely mistaken interpretation, though based on Sāyaṇa, and many objections could be raised against it. The householder's stage is never regarded as "dirt" in the Samhitas or in the Brahmanas and not even in the Upanisads.[7] How could one condemn the householder's stage when one wants children?[8] Identification

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1. Cf. the story of Bṛhadratha in Maitri. 1.2; also in VI.8. quite late passages.
2. Cf.Kane. Hist. of the Dh.S.II. Pt.I.P.Ui8.
3. Svet Up.VI.21.
4. Kane op.cit.P.420.
4. Ait.Br.VII. Kiṁ nu malam kim ajinam kimu śmaśrūṇi kim tapaḥ...Putram Brahmāṇa icchadhvam sa vai loko vadadadah.
5. Kane loc.cit.P.420.n.1. malam as referring to sexual intercourse, tapas either to a Vānaprastha or a (Gautam. III.25), a Samnyāsin (basedon Manu VI.75.) Sayana too takes the same view.
6. Cf.Taitt.Up.I.11.1.Prajātantum ma vyavacchetsīḥ.
7. Children regarded as bliss even in the Upanisads.Taitt.Up. III.10.3; Kaus.Up.I.7; II.15.III.15. But in the BAU. I.4.8. 8. See Pande PP.323. n.69.

of tapas with the stage of the Vānaprastha again is fanciful and the same thing is true about the term "ajina" which could be explained differently. The order of the aśramas is not correct.[1] We think that the whole passage should be regarded as a polemic against the ascetics and asserts the importance of the householder in the Brahmanical tradition. Actually, we have here for the first time in Vedic literature, a description of an ascetic. He wears, or sits on an antelope skin (ajina),[2] is dirty (mala)[3] grows a beard and practises austerities. This further proves that within Brahmanical circles there were ascetics who were against the Brahmana theology and eschatology which put such a premium on mens' going to heaven and remaining there without hunger and thirst, fed by their sons.[4] These ascetis must have been regarded as a threat to the social order. These ascetics have their direct descendant in Yājñavalkya, who regards with contempt the desire for son, wealth and world.[5]

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1. But in the BAU 1.4.8.
2. Cf.RVX.136. Muni is also described as dirty.
3. This practice might have been the origin of the injunctions given by Manu, quoted by Kane.
4. See Keith, RPVU.1.P.283.
5. BAU.1V.4.22; BAU thinks that only the world of man is won through a son (BAU 1.5.16), But the desire for sons in BAU.V1.4.14.20. 17. III.5.1.

The four āśramas are also thought to be referred to in the Chāndogya.[1] The passage runs - "there are three branches of duty (dharma): sacrifice, study (adhyayana) charity, that is the first; austerity is the second; the student, living in the house (kula) of the teacher, restraining himself to the utmost, in the house of the teacher; all these go to the meritorious world. But he who stands firm in Brahman (brahmasamstha) attains immortality".[2] Ranade,[3] and the Creative Period,[4] think that the passage refers to the four aszanas, but that is inadmissible. The Brahmasamstha is beyond the three aszanas which are listed. He is probably the atyāśramin of the Svet.Up. who has nothing to do with the systems of āśramas at all. He is simply the grower of brahman, who has no father, no mother, no relations and cannot be categorised among men at all.[5] The passage may be taken to mean three orders of people - the student, the householder, the ascetic, but there is no ground to suppose that there is any differentiation between the third and the fourth asrama here. And moreover the three are not in the correct order of the later system.[6] Beyond these three is the Brahman-Knower. As we saw earlier, the ascetics included

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1. Ch.Up. II.23.1. see a different interpretation by Radhakrishnan trans.P.374, who regards the three branches of duty as sacrifice, study and charity and then tapas as the first, studentship as the second and controlling oneself in the house of teacher, as the third, but then there is no real difference between the second and the third, and there is no correlation with the part of the statement and the third and the first come to have the same meaning.
2. CSUP. P.60. 4. CP.P.216. 5. Cf.BAU.IV.3.22.
6. Cf.Kane.Bp.cit.P.419.16;II.pt.2.P.930.

various types - the wanderers (pravrajin), the forest dwellers, the shaven-heads (muṇḍakas), the persons who had renounced everything.[1] But all this does not imply any fixed scheme of the four aśramas. It seems that even in the Dharmasūtras the idea is a new one and it is difficult to say whether the sūtras are pre-buddhistic.[2] Any process of systamatisation must have taken notice of these ascetics, the study of the forest texts, deemed so important, as to be read so secretly, might have induced them to categorise this stage as of the forest dwellers. But there is no indication of the existence of the Vānaprastha stage in the Upaniṣads. The Vaibhānasaśāstra is said to be read by the Vānaprasthas, by Baudhāyana.[3] On this basis, Kane takes it to stand for the forest dwellers.[4] Baudhāyana, however, states that these four stages have been divided by Asura Kapila, the son of Prahlada,[5] and it may not be kept up by the wise for this scheme of four stages as not seen in the Vedas. Kapila is mentioned in the Śvet.Up.[6] Perhaps only an eponym for the Kapilas or the tawny coloured (or clad) ascetics.[7] through it might have been a name of a particular person also. It is doubtful whether Vaikhānasa was ever really the name of the forest dwellers, but some support is lent to it by Gautama's nomenclature - of the four āśramas -

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1. Muṇḍaka. III.2.6.
2. Cf.Hopkins (in CH.I.1.p.249 dates them between 7th Cent and 2nd C.B.C.
3. Baudhāyana II. 6.16.
4. Kane. op.cit.part II.P.917.18.
5. Baudh. Dh.II.6.30-31.cf.Gautama. 1.3.3.
6. Śvet.Up.V.2. Cf.
7. Cf.BAU.VI.4.15. It is desired that a son - Kapila or pingula may be born.

Brahmacārin[1], Gṛhastha, Bhikṣu, and Vaikhānasa. Vasiṣṭha[2] and Baudhāyana[3] have - Brahmacāri, Gṛhastha, Vānaprastha, and Parivrājaka[4], Āpastamba gives a completely different terminology in a different order, gārhasthya, ācaryakula. mauna, and vānaprasthya. The discussion only proves that the four - āśrama theory had still not evolved in the time of the Upaniṣads. There was a practice of going to the forests, often noticed in the Upaniṣads. But the systematisation and classification came later.

Continued on the next page

1. Gautama. 1.3.2.
2. Vāsiṣṭha. V11.1-2.
3. Baudhāyana 11.6.14.
4. Āp.Dh.Su. II.9.21.1.

THE CONCEPTION OF BRAHMAN AND ATMAN IN THE UPANISADS.

To understand the nature of Yogic practices, the development of Upāsanās and Vidyās, and the growth of the ascetic ideas of renunciation, detachment and desirelessness, it is necessary to know the philosophical background and to correlate this with the yogic and ascetic ideas prevalent.[1] We must first examine the Concepts of Brahman and ātman.

Brahman is the supreme cosmological principle, accepted by the Upanisadic philosophers.[2] But there is a good deal of controversy about the original sense of the term and its derivation. Böhtlnigk-Roth,[3] regarded the original meaning of the term as (1) "the godward striving devotion that appears as a passionate longing and as an exhuberance of spirits, particularly that pious expression of it in the service of the divine;"[4] (2) So the term came to mean the holy symbol or formula; the potent word of magic, (3) the sacred learning or theology embodying the same. Max Muller derives it from √vṛh in the sense of "grow", that which expresses itself in speech or as force in nature,[5] against Deussen's[6] view of Brahman as "prayer" giving it a ritualistic origin. But this prayer is "the human will striving upwardss towards the holy or the divine. This view has been criticised by Keith[7] though it seems that the psychological

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1. Cf.Keith RPVU.11.P.594. on the correlation of the philosophy of Yajuaralkya and "foolish asceticism".
2. See below.
3. St.Petersburg.Lexicon also ~~Roth. Z.D.M.6.1.PP.~~
4. translation quoted from the Creative Period, PP.346. Compare Geldner's view which is similar. Glossar.PP.122 H.

p.t.o.

5. Six.Systems. PP.68.ff.92.
6. All.Ges.den.Phil.l.l.PP.239-41. Cf.the views of Bergaigne La Religion Vedique i.P.273;
7. Op.Cit.pp.445.ff.

element in prayer may have something to do with it. But it is doubtful whether it had the sense of prayer originally. Hang[1] derived the word from the root √bṛih - to grow or to be strong, and so brahman coming to mean growth or upward extension. This may have been connected with a sacrificial object such as the sacred twigs of the Zoroastrion (barezman) or the objectified prayer.[2] Charpentier[3] later produced the view of Hang in identifying Brahman with the Iranian Barsoiu. Brahman and Baghis were derived from the Indo-traman bharzh-man and bharzh-is. The meaning of the term was, in his opinion,[4] "spell", from which the idea of "Holy word" developed. Oldenberg put forward the idea of magical fluid as being the original sense,[5] but he later changed his view and thought that it meant originally "Holy word".[6] Similar is the view of Keith[7] who thinks that it

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1. Brahma und Brahmanen Munich.1871.
2. This view was followed by Hillibrandt. ERE Z.P.796-99. Pischel Gottingemsche Gelchrte Auzregen. V1.1894. PD.419H. Griswold attempted a detailed examination of Brahman based on the views of Haug, in his Brahman, a study in the History of Indian Philosophy, N.Y.1900 he differentiates between "objective" prayer as developing into the subjective Brahman as holy wisdom and the latter developing into the immanent power which produces the world order.
3. Brahman 1932.
4. Cf.Bloomfield rejected the original meaning being "spell" (in Rel. of the Veda.P.273) and regarded it as a secondary sense. Keith too rejected this view (see Jha Comm.Vol. P.202-03).
5. LU. P.49. He compares (LU P46.n.1) with (Irish bricht. Cf.WB.P.133. the magical interpretation of Brahman in the RV and AV contexts; also Noten. on RV.1.82.6; II.2.7; 24.3; V.40.6.
6. NNGW. 1916.pp.715.ff.
7. RPVU. 11.P.450.

meant, in the Rgveda, prayer and its development in later texts was due to the importance of this conception in the ritual and religion, but not as a psychological principle. This view is substantially similar to the later view of Oldenberg. But in a later article, Keith seems to accept the "psychological element", which is inherent in prayer.[1] A completely different view has been taken by Hertel who derives the word from the root bhrāj - to shine[2] and brahman, therefore based on certain indo-European similarities, was taken to mean all fiery substances, force or power. Brahman is identified with the bodily warmth of the human body,[3] which is identified with the self and with tapas (the cosmic light),[4] the latter being very closely connected with tapas. Brahman has associations with the fire and the Sun. Hertel has done an important and useful service in pointing out the significance of the Sun and the fire-worship and its legacies

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1. Jha Comm. Vol. PP.207ff. He thinks that in the Brahmanas it might have a sense of "Holy Power" in contrast to "Royal Power"(Kṣatra), even in the RV.X.61.7. Hopkins. Ethics of India. P.85, taken its original sense as "Holy Power" while Oldenberg (WB.PP.49.ff) denies the existence of any term which may stand for supernatural power immanent in the universe comparable to the idea of "mana", but Keith contests, and we think rightly, this view. (RPVU.II.P.446).
2. IF.XLi.1923.PP.185ff (BP.229); See.esp.P.206.Cf.Henry. Introduction to his trans. of the AV.(Les Livres X.Xl.Xll. Parés 1896 P.Vll)gives the same idea (quoted by Hertel)
3. Cf.Ch.Up.III.13.7.8; III.19.1; Vlll.3.4; Mund.II.2.8. Katha. II.2.15. Prasna 1.6. BAU.lV.3.1: Mund.III.1.5.
4. Cf.Ch.Up.Vll.11.2. BAU.lV.4.7. Kaus.II.6. tapas as Brahman; II.12. the tapas of Brahman in the Sun, the Moon etc. II.13 (=Cf.Katha. 1.1.26) in the human organs.lV.2. (Ch.Up.vLL.11.1; Vll.12.1) tejas in the waters; also Kaus. lV.lo. connection with the self. Tejas is identified with breath in Praśna III.9; with space in Ch.Up.Vll.12.1; Tejas has a metaphysical basis as an element Cf.Śvet.II. 12 also Praśna III.lo. Cf.the idea of iyotis as in BAY. lV.3.2.A. The dialogue between Janaka and Yājñavalkya about the Kaim-iyotis person.

the concept of Brahman. But this in no way justifies either the impossible etymology or the different senses in which it has been used in the earlier texts. Brahman, in the Ṛgveda, has undoubtedly the sense of prayer or holy word.[1] Moreover the idea of power as born from brahman took shape in the concept of brahma-varcas.[2] Bṛhaspati, as the Lord of Speech, who is so closely connected with Brahman, is quite dissociated from the fire or the Sun.[3] He is himself identified with Brahman, in the Brāhmaṇas.[4] Moreover, it is quite improbable that this scythe concept could explain the complex concept of Brahma.[5] In this connection it must be said that the tapas carried on by Prajāpati, to produce the world, has associations with fire and when Brahman came to be the first cosmological principle, the association of tapas and fire was further strengthened. Thus fire asceticism can be regarded

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1. RV.1.82.6; 113.19; 124.13; 165.2; 4; 14; II.12.14: 16.7; III.18.3; 52.12; 13; 1V.4.6; V.31.1o; 40.6; Esp.V1.38. 3.4. Brahman owes its origin to the Gods. RU.1.37.4; I. 105.15. X.b1.7; to the seers. 1.165.14; 177.5; v11.22.9; I.105.15. X.b17; to the seers. 1.165.14; 177.5; v11.22.9; I.105.15. X.b1.7; to the seers. 1.165.14; 177.5; v11.22.9; 28.2; 31.11; X.89.16. It originates from the seat of the Rta (ṛtasadana) RV.V11.36.1. Kṛtabrahman may refer to some sort of theological riddle of later texts like the brahmanodyas. The verbs associated with Brahman in the RV. are √arc" to praise, "√ir to incite, √taks "to cut", √kṛ to make, √jinv, to impel, √pra bhṛ, to deliver, √yuj, to yoke, √śaṁs, to recite; √hu, to sacrifice.
2. AV. XIX.71.1. Cf.Brahman tejas. SB.1V.2.2.16.;X1.2.7.1o, X1.4.33; Brahma varcaskama. TB.II.1.3.2; AB.1.5.4.11; SB.II.3.1. 31; 1V.1.1.14. also Kaus 11.15.1V.8; Ch.Up. 11.16.2. 111.13.3. 111.18.3.V.12.2; BAU.V1.4.28.TU.III.6.1.
3. RPVU.P449.5o.
4. TS.111.1.1.4. AB.1.19.1; SB.111.9.1. 11;
5. See further criticisms.Keith RPVU.P.447; Jha Comm.Vol. PP.199-201. 1937. Poona. CP.PP.348-49.

as giving this element in the Brahman complex and an emphasis which it would not have received otherwise.

Another improbable theory is that of Dumézil,[1] who tries to establish the existence of a root 'bhelgh' from which he derives the words brahman, barbis, baṣha (tail of a peacock) and upabaṣhaṇa (mattress), latin flamen, Greek pharmabos and pharmabon.[2] Keith however objects to the equation of brahman and flamen, saying that if flag-men gives flamma, then flag-men would not be represented by flamen but by flammen. Dumézil attempts to establish the relationship of both the concepts - Brahma and flamen by a reconstruction of religious beliefs, by interpreting the liquid of Śunaḥśepa[3] as implying the former practice of slaying the son of the king or a substitute,[4] referring to the accounts of victims treated as kings before sacrifice.[5] But there is nothing in the Śunaḥśepa legend to show that the son was to be sacrificed as a royal victim to revive the life of nature.[6] Dumézil puts the view that owing to this practice of slaying a victim for this

1. Flamen-Brahman. A nuales du Musee GuimetLi.1935.
2. This comparison is supported by Kretschurer - see Keith. The Comm.Vol.P.208 n.15; Keith quotes Meillet Historic dela Langue Latine.P.78, as a support, but Keith entices the Greek equivalents.
3. Dumezil. op.cit.pp.21-26.
4. He draws on Frazer's investigation about the conversation between the king and vegetation, and the ritual death of the king to revive life in nature each year.
5. He quotes the Puruṣamedha. But no evidence of an actual offering of a Brāhmaṇa or kṣatriya see. Keith.RV.Brāhmaṇas. I.PP.347-48.
6. See also Keith, Jha. Comm.Vol.PP.210-11.
7. ~~For this he quotes the Puruṣa sukta PP.86-96.~~

purpose the Brāhmana came to be regarded as the highest caste and they achieved their high ritual position.[1]

This variety of opinions shows only the complex problem of the original sense of the word. It seems that Brahman originally did denote prayer or holy word and the mental attitude that induces prayer. In the RV. it has the sense of holy prayer. But soon it came to stand for the Veda, the totality of all prayers.[2] Brahma came to be identified with speech[3] and its various parts.[4] Brahma had already acquired the cosmological sense which led to the conception of brahman as absolute in the Upanisads. In the Śatapatha Brāhmana it is identified with sacrifice.[5] Brahman by the end of the Brāhmana period comes to have the sense of First Cosmic Principle[6] In the Āranyakas Brahman is extolled to the skies. The Atharvaveda already considers Brahman to be the source of Sat and Asat, the bearer of the earth, the atmosphere, and the

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1. For this he quotes the Purusasukta Pp.86-96.
2. TS.V11.3.1.4. Pairmitā vā ṛcah parimitaru Sāmāni parimitaru yajūrmsy athaitasyaivānto nāsti yad Brahma .Cf.M.Muller. Six systems pp.85.also n.i. PP.85-86.
3. Ch.Up.V11.2.2. BAU.1.3.21; 1V.1.2. speech as the one fourth part of Brahman Ch.Up.111.18.3.
4. As Catṛhotṛs TB.11.1.4.1o; as Vyāhṛtis SB.II.1.4.1o; as Uktha Kaus Up II.6; as aum in TU.1.8.1;
5. SB.111.1.4.15; also in the AV.1X.6.1. See Bloomfield (Athanraveda. pp.88-89) correlates Brahman with the Brahman-Prajāpati- Samvatsara continuum.CF.Creative Period.P.353.
6. F.Oldenberg. LU.PP.407-52. TA.1.23; 27; II.9; VII.5. Oldenberg LU.P 47-52.

heaven.[1] Brahman is identified with wind and breath,[2] with the Sun[3] and the fire.[4] The connection between the Sun and the fire is quite clear in the Upanisads.[5] Brahman, having close connection with the fire and the sun, and therefore with tejas, comes to be regarded as immanent in all elements.[6] Brahman is food.[7]

Other cosmological principles such as space[8] are identified with Brahman. Psychological principles like unide (manas), intellect, (prajnana) and consciousness too are regarded as Brahman.[9]

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1. AV.1V.1; also x.2; x8
2. Ait.Br.V111.28. the Brahmaṇah parimara section.Cf.Kauṣ. II.12; BAU.II.1.2; for breath Praśna. 1.5; 111.8.Ch.Up. 111.16.
3. SB.V11.4.1.14; X1v.1.3.3; BAU.11.1.2.(= Ch.Up.1.6.6.Kaus. 1V.2;3;) Ch.Up.V111.5.3.7, 111.19.1.4; Kauṣ.II.12. The Sun is identified with breath Praśna 1.5. Ch.Up.111.16.6. III.13.1.SB. X.3.5.11.
4. Cf.Kauṣ II.12.1V.4.BAU.II.1.7; Svet.II.17.Mund.II.1.4, BAU.1.4.15; tad agninaiva deveṣu brahmābhavat.
5. Ch.Up.11.21. TU.1.7.1. Svet.1V.2. Prasna II.15; BAU.1.2.2.
6. The tejas of Brahman, Kauṣ.Up.II.12-13.tejas going to the son, the moon, lightening, the eyes, etc, in Kauṣ LV.2; also Ch.Up.111.13; tejas in food ch Up.111.13.1; ~~xxxxxxx~~ the form of tejas Ch.Up.V1.4.1; tejas born of the waters, tejas is brahman v11.11.2. (tejas as one of the five elements); Cf. the concept of light (śukra) as Brahman Katha. II.2.8.3; 3.1; Svet.1V.2.
7. Ch.Up.V11.9.2. (BAU.1.3.18 etāvad vā idam sarvam yad annam) BAU.v.12.1.TU.II.2.1; III.2.1. The foodeater is tejas = Ch.Up II.14.2; III.13.1;
8. Ch.Up.1.9.1; 111.12.7.9. Kauṣ 1V.8; II.1.5; II.5.1o, 111.18.1; Praśna II.2.
9. Mind, Ch.Up. 111.18.1; V11.3.1; TU.III.4.1; Vijñāna BAU. 111.9.28.Tu.II.5.1. III.5.1; intellect.Ait.Up.V.3.Kena.1.2.8

Thus Brahman appears as the source of the energy by means of which the fire burns, the wind blows and all cosmic activities take place. We have numerous dialogues and texts[1] which examine a large number of incomplete views about Brahman and reject them as inadequate. But these various categories defined as Brahman are meditated on and realized to gain results arising from these principles.[2]

The absolute Brahman, however was regarded as immortal, fearless,[3] blissful,[4] immortable.[5] There were lower and higher forms (rūpa)[6] of Brahman which were meditated on. The ultimate Brahman is regarded as beyond all qualities, infinite,[7] and as is expressible only in negative terms.[8]

Another stream of philosophical thinking culminated in regarding atman as the highest principal. The etymology of the term is again a matter of controversy. Böhtlingk - Roth[9] derive the word from the root an - to breathe, and Grassman, from the root ∫av -to blow, and Weber, from the root ∫at - to wander[10] - the last one probably having a reference to transmigration and having relationship with the

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1. Bālaki-Ajātaśatru BAU.II.1.1-20; Kaus.IV.1-20; Janaka - Yājñavalkya BAU IV.1-2; Śākalya - Yājñavalkya dialogue. BAU. III.1o.1o-11, the Vaiśvānara vidyā Ch.Up.V.11; the Ārṣeya Up.
2. See the sec.on Upāsanā; also Creative Period 355-56.
3. Ch.Up.IV.15.1; VIII.3.4; VIII.7.4. VIII.8.3.
4. BAU.14.9.28. Tu.III.6.1.
5. Mund.II.2.2. Katha. 1.2.16. Ch.Up.II.23.3; VIII.3.5.,
6. BAU.II.3.1-6.
7. Katha. 1.3.15. Śvet.V.11.19.
8. BAU.II.3.6.
9. PW.s.v.
10. quoted by Deussen. see below.

germanic atum. It seems that the etymology of Böhtlingk is correct.[1] Deussen has suggested that the grammatical form ātman refers to "one's self" i.e. "this 1" (dieses Ich) by taking the ātman as t which means "this" and ma as me, and thus atman becomes only an extended form of this reflexive pronoun. This is quite an ingenious view and may indicate influence of the language on thinking. But this concept "one's self" as a linguistic form in the term "tman" would be helpful only when the idea of the abstract innermost being residing in the body is arrived. So the origin of the concept, of the self should be traced, as Keith does[2] from the "wind", the "breath" and the "self", which is identified with the body, specially in the Brāhmaṇas. In the RV. Ātman has the sense of wind.[3] In the Brāhmaṇas the atman is definitely a psychic principle opposed to the physical elements. Ātman is regarded as necessary for life.[4]

Prajāpati desires to be the self of all creatures.[5] There is a definite separation between the divine self and the human body.[6] It may also have the sense of body, and life,[7] and of "one self".[8] The idea of "making up" or "purification" (samskāra)[9] of the ātman is familiar. The

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1. Deussen All.Gesch.Phil.1.1.285; also His article on Ātman in ERE II.P.195-97; Creative Period pp.357-58, Keith RPVU. II.pp.450-51.
2. Keith RPVU.II.PP.450-51.
3. RV.V11.87.2; 1.34.7; X.93.13; 168.4.
4. ŚB.1X.1.33.
5. ŚB.X.4.2.3;
6. ŚB.V1.6.4.5.
7. ŚB.111.8.3.37; x1.2.26; 1X.5.2.16. the ātman (body) of the sacrifice - See TS.V.5.8.3.
8. TB.1.7.1.5; III.1o.11.1; Ait.Br.II.3.9; V1.27.5.SB.X.4.2.22. 9. Ait.V1.27.5. Ātmasamskṛti. ŚB.X.5.1.5. agmayam

p.t.o.

yajurmayam sāmamayam ātmānam samskurute.[1]

atman of the horse is thought to be the atmosphere.[1] Sacrifice is thought to be the self of all persons.[2] Atman however is regarded as breath;[3] as established in the mind.[4] The Fire was regarded as the self of all the Gods.[5] The self has close connection with the eyes.[6] People despair of knowing the self; who knows how many are these breaths in the self"[7] But the ātman has also close relationship with the body in most references[8]. Ātman, however, has by now shed its earlier bodily connections and comes to be regarded as breath. (Already in the Brāhmaṇas[9]) This led to an intensive speculation on the nature of breath,

In the Upaniṣads, Prāṇa forms a party with mind, speech, the eyes, another ear.[10] The supremacy of breath over other organs of body is described in detail[11]. Breath is for the human beings as the hub is for the spokes.[12] Prajāpati after

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1. Vaj.Sam.XI.26.
2. ŚB.X.IV.3.2.1.
3. ŚB.VI.2.1.24. Ātman is in the middle arount it are the breaths (madhye hi ~~again~~ ātmā abhitaḥ prāṇāḥ) Cf.also ŚB.VII.3.1.2. ayam
4. ŚB.vL.7.1.21.
5. ŚB.SLV.3.2.5.
6. AB.VI.53.2; XIX.51.1.Cf.ŚB.X.3.5.7; XIII.3.8.4. Ātman moves about through the eyes.
7. ŚB.VII.2.2.20. ko hi tad veda yāvanta ime antar ātman prāṇāḥ.
8. Cf.ŚB.XII.2.3.6.
9. See above.
10. Ch.Up.II.7; II.11.III.18; IV.8.T4.1.7. Oblations to Prāṇa as the real sacrificing Ch.Up.V.19.24; CSUP.P.7.
11. BAU.VI.1.1-14; Kauṣ.III.3. Ch.Up.V.1-4. Praśna.II.1-12; AU.II.4; Prāṇa in the A.V.XI.4. might have inspired the Praśna version; Prāṇa identified with the Vrātya in Praśna II.11;
12. Ch.Up.VII.15.1; Cf.Praśna II.3; identified with Indra the Sun, the fire,etc.Praśna. 1.5;6.

practising penance, creates Prāṇa, as the enlivening formal principle of the cosmos.[1] Breath is regarded as the life (āyu).[1a] Prāṇa was identified with intelligence (Prajñā).[2] Some ideas about the relationship of the breath with the mind are put forward. Speech is merged in the mind, and the mind in the breath at the time of death.[3] Mind, is bound to the breath and the breath is its resting-place. This led to the ideas of breath-control, the purpose of which was to steady the mind. Elsewhere the mind is regarded as basis of the breath,[4] but it is also thought that the senses together with the mind have their basis in breath.[5] Ātman is identified with the uktha and the uktha is identified with the breath in man.[6] Prāṇa and Apāna then are identified with various entities. Soon Ātman is substituted for the breath and is identified with earth, wind, ether, water and the lumineries, of which each one is the food of that which follows it.. Ātman is exemplified progressively in plants, trees, animals and man. This is quite a developed viewof the self. In the Ait.Up.[7] a boldly original cosmogomic story is related, in which atman is regarded as existing alone in the beginning and creating the whole universe from itself. Here ātman

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1. Praśna. 1.1:4.
1a. Kauṣ.III.2;9.
2. Kauṣ.3.1;4.
3. Ch.Up.VI.8.6.Cf.BAU.1.5.3.
4. Ch.Up.VI.8.2. Prāṇa-bandhanam hi saumya manaḥ.
5. Kaṭh.S.284.85. SB.I.275.6. II.1424.Manovai prāṇānam adhipatiḥ.
6. BAU.1.5.21.
7. Ait.Ār.III.1-3.See CP.PP.154.55 ff

transcends the sense organs but is seen to have the closest connection with the outgoing breath (apāna)[1]. The self concerned as breath is thought to be the substratum of the food.[2] In the Taitt[3] from the self conceived as the zeal Gnosis(jñāna) the infinite (ananta) Brahman - placed in the highest secret space - the sky is born, from the sky, wind is born, and so on, till the person is born.[4]

These and other cosmological ideas disappear in later Upaniṣads as soon as the self was recognised as the arché of the cosmological process. This ultimately led to the postulation of the identity of ātman and Brahman. The self, primarily an internal principle, had primary relation with self-knowledge and vigorous investigations identified the self with various cognitive principles. This development was due to the introspective tendencies, inculcated by ~~the~~ Upāsanā and yogic practices. Mind[5] was thought to be the Self,[6] and so also awareness (cetta). In the individual the self is thought to be in the inner heart (antar hrdaya)[7]. It is regarded as being of minute size (aṇu)[8] of the size of the human thumb, or of one span

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1. Ait.1.3.1o. This disproves the point made by Belvalkar and Ranade that ātman transcends the breath here. See CP.PP.361.
2. Kaus.Up.IV.4. The self of food is identified by Ajātaśatru with the moon; For the connection of the food philosophy with the ātman philosophy. See Ait. Ar.1.3.11-12.
3. T.Up.II.1.1.
4. Cf.T4. II.2.1.2. different from this person, consisting of the essence of food, is the self within consisting of breath.
5. Ch.Up.VII.3.1.
6. Ch.Up.VII.5.2.
7. Ch.Up.VI1.14.3;4. VIII.3.3.4; VIII.8.3; Katha 1.2.20, Śvet.Up.III.20; Praśna III.6.

(prādeśamātra). This self is thus identified with the empirical individual self.[1] It is thought that the real nature of this self is known in the state of the dream-consciousness[2] but it is realised that it is only the individual empirical self. The individual soul and Brahman merge together in the state of deep sleep.[3] In this state it is said that the soul rests willing the space in the heart which is covered by seventy two thousand arteries called the hita. Indra described this state as annihilation (vināśa).[4] When, thus, the duality of subject-object disappears, how can there by self-consciousness? How can one know that by which all the other things are known? But Yājñavalkya himself admits that even in that state there

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1. Mund. III.2.7. distinguishes vijñānamaya, from the Parāvyaya; and Praśna (IV.9) distinguishes him from the Paraksara; Cf. T.U.II.1.5.
2. Ch.Up. VIII.10. Indra-Prajāpati Dialogue Svapne muhyamānaś caratyeṣa ātmā.
3. Ch. Up. VIII.11.1. Cf. BAU.IV.3.21. Prājñenātmanā Sampariṣvakto na bāhyam kimcana veda nāntaram; see also IV.3.19. Cf. also the view of Ajātaśatru Bau. II.1.Kaus IV. See also Uddālaka - Svetaketu dialogue. Ch.Up. VI.8.1.2. "Yatraitat puruṣah svapiti nāma, satā saumya tadā sampanno bhavati." Cf. Praśna. IV. 2. Pippalāda - Gārgeya dialogue: "In mind all activities become one (ekībhavati) as all the rays of the setting sun become one in that circle of light. In that state of sleep the person hears not, speaks not, takes not, rejoices not, emits not, moves not, (then) they say he sleeps. Cf. BAU. IV.3.23.3.1H.
4. Ch.Up.VIII.7-121 esp.VIII.11.2. Vināśam evāpīto bhavati, Cf.Maitreyi - Yājñavalkya diologue, esp BAU.II.4.14. also sanat kumaraś. characterisation of Bhūman in Ch.Up.VII.24.1. also BAU.III.7.23. Isa.1o; Kena.1.4. thinks that the self is other than the known (vidita) and also beyond the unknown (avidita) cf.Yajñavalkya - Gargi dialogue.BAU.III.8.11.

is consciousness and knowledge, because of the non-cessation of the knowing of a knower, as the knower is imperishable.[1] This is the state of the "objectless gnosis which is realised through the yogic practices and which is not derived and given different names.[2] This is called later the fourth state (turīya) in the Māṇḍūkya[3]. In this highest state Ātman is identified with Brahman.[4] The self is regarded as "all this" (idaṃ sarvam).[5] This concept of the self cannot be expressed in plain language, and is, therefore, expressed by analogy,[6] by negation[7] and by Paradoxes[8] dialectically said to be the juncture of all opposites.[9]

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1. BAU.IV.3.30. vijñater avināśatvāt Cf.Kena. 1.5.9.
2. Kaṭha. II.3. 12.13. Kau.II.4. This state of self cognition is called Pratibadhavidita, which is knowledge of the self by the self. One finds the self and is awakened (pratibuddha) to the self: see. BAU.IV.4.13.
3. Naṇḍūkya. 7.12. In the SB.1.624. In the fourth world only silence is acceptable (tūṣṇīm caturtham)
4. Ch.Up. V111.14.1. BAU.11.5.19. Ayam ātmā brahma sarvānu bhūḥ; TU.1.5.1. BAU.1V.4.5.
5. Ch.Up. V11.25.2; Ch.Up.V11.26.1. Praśna 1V.7. Cf.BAU.11.4.6. The self is all-pervading śvet up.1.16.
6. BAU.1V.3.7.
7. BAU. 11.3.6. iV.4.22.V.2.4; 5.15. 1.3.15. Tu.II.7.
8. Iśa. 4.5.9.10. 12-14; kena II.1-3; Kaṭha 1.2.21; Śvet III. 19.6.
9. (III.9.26) BAU IV 3-22. IV.4-5; TU II.6. Isa 5 Kaṭh. 1.2.20.

Going beyond all contrary and contradictory characterisations.[1] The Upanisadic absolute is therefore, the unity of Brahman and atamn expressed in aphoristic sentences like tadvana, taj-jalān or phrases as long as in the Tait,[2] which are cosmological. Psychologically it is called the irreducible subject, as pure consciousness.[3] It is considered as bliss.[4] These discussions on the nature of Brahman and ātman suggest that there were varieties of opinions held about them based on personal experience through yogic exercises and upāsanās. It was suggested earlier these highest conceptions were not achieved suddenly and might have been gradually acquired, suggesting a "sort of a ladder of spiritual experience",[5] but it is hard to determine that was the order of such mystical experiences. It was suggested [6] that the prevalence of various limited cosmological conceptions of Brahman were meditated on not only as

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1. BAU.111.8.8; Ch.Up.111.14.3. II.1.1o; 11.Kena 1.3, Iśa. ja.13; Kaṭha 1.2.14. Svet. 1V.18.
2. TU. III.1.Cf. BS.1.1.1. also III.1.2.
3. as un BAU the terms Vijñānaghana BAU.II.4.12; Prajñānaghana in IV.5.13; prajñā ātman. IV.3.21; Brahma also is said as vijñāna BAU.111.9.28. II.4.11; III.4; 8.11; the self as consciousness Ch.Up.II. 11; VIII.304. 12.3.4; Ait. Av.III; Kaus. III.IV.
4. BAU.III. 9.28., T4. II.III.6; Ch.Up.IV.10.5.
5. CSUP.
6. See above.

a mode to realise the highest reality, but also to gain the particular gains, if someone so wished, arising from that ~~so~~ meditation. But with the development of the Upaniṣadic psychology this tendency must have deteriorated as the most important and became the realisation of the self and so therefore, the development of the various mental faculties through yogic exercises. In the Upaniṣads, as we saw earlier, there is little speculation on the waking consciousness or even on the dream state. The deep sleep state must have so become so important because of the yogic experiences which are akin to it in which there is no subject object consciousness, identified by the Upaniṣadic yogins is the state of the union of the Ātman and Brahman. In this yogic epistemology tapas, or physical austerities can only help as a purificatory process but will not yield the ultimate gnosis. This was the attitude adopted by the BAU[1] while the Ch.Up tried to explain the concept of tapas away as faith.[2] It is quite likely that this attitude was due to a hostility against the orthodox Brahmanic morality which admitted asceticism freely. But there still lingered the Brahmanic tradition making tapas a prime principle in cosmological stories.[3] It could, however, be explianed in two ways; either that these cosmological stories are earlier, belonging to the Brahmanic times, or that the tradition of telling a particular cosmological story in a

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1. Cf.BAU.III.8.1o. IV.4.22. See above.
2. Ch.Up.V.10.1.
3. Cf.BAU.12.2;6; 1.5.1; Cf.TU.II.6.1.

certain way was so strong that it could not be done away with. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive and may be true at the same time. But the Taittiriya up, puts a premium on tapas and the study of the Vedas[1] as cardinal virtues leading to knowledge of Brahman and self-realization. The Kena[2] seems to be in agreement with the Tu. The Muṇḍaka has two different traditions about tapas. In accordance with one it interprets tapas as knowledge,[3] which is comparable to the attitude taken by the Ch.Up, but it also takes the other view, in which tapas is physical austerity.[4] It is however quite likely that the Muṇḍaka suggests that the word tapas, in connexion with Brahman means "knowledge, while in connexion with human beings it has the sense of austerity. This, however, does not seem to be the case. Tapas has a very wide connotation, as we have already notices. In the Muṇḍaka it is crystallized into two meanings.[5] The Prasna also regards tapas as preparatory to Brahman-knowledge and

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1. TU. 1.9; III.1 etc See above.
2. Kena IV.8.
3. Mund.1.2.11; II.1.7; 10; III.1.5; 2.4.
4. Praśna. 1.2;10; v.3.
5. Praśna 1.15.

continence as regards tapas.[1] Thus it seems that in the earlier Upaniṣads, with the development of the techniques of Upāsanās, together with Yoga in association with the deeper philosophy of the self, in which the prime goal was to realise the self and experience it, austerities were thought to be futile and useless. Physical asceticism was[2] as little value as the sacrificial path. But the later Upaniṣads, like the Muṇḍaka, while decrying the sacrifice as "rickety boats"[3] and as "inferior act"(avaram karma) - recognised the Cathartic efficacy and purificatory value of asceticism. This was quite a different conception from that which was prevalent among the Brāhmaṇas, where asceticism was primarily intended to achieve the material goods and pleasures of life.

The new ideas in the complex of asceticism were those of "going forth"[4] renunciation,[5] and mendicancy,[6] and spending the whole life as an eternal student, which state was regarded as supreme asceticism.[7] The means of subsistence for the mendicants was begging.[8] There is no particular

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1. Praśna. 1.15.
2. Cf.BAU.1.4.10: III.9.6; 1.5.16.
3. Mund. 1.2.7. (plavā hy ete adṛḍha yajñarūpā)
4. BAU.IV.4.22; IV.5.2.
5. BAU.II.4.1; III.5.
6. BAU.III.5.1.
7. See above. on the stages of life.
8. See above.

description of the dress of the ascetics, but probably one group of them were clad in tawny garments,[1] and some were shaven headed.[2] These ascetic ideas of non-attachment (nirveda) desirelessness (niskāmatā), and detachment (vairāgya) were given a depth by the doctrine of transmigration (samsāra). This involves two fundamental conceptions: the one, the doctrine of an immortal self which is pure and different from the human body, free from all taints and evils; and the other, the doctrine of karman. The concept of such a self is for the first time visualized in the Upaniṣads. The concept of Karman too is a new development in the Upaniṣads. It is the corrupting principle which infects the self, resulting in the enchainment of the self to the continued process or rebirth from which one has to find release(mukti).

The idea of transmigration does not exist in the Rgveda.[3] Some have tried to see the origins in the Brahmanic speculations about the after-life,[4] which regarded the birds as the forms of the fathers who move about in those forms; Further, it was thought that the dead pass into an insect that buzzes round the last resting place of the bone[5]; that the fathers creep about the roots of the plants. That human souls may assume animal and plant forms, is a plausible view among a people of this stage of development;[6] but it is quite

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1. See above.
2. Cf.the word ~~of~~ Mundaka.
3. Keith. RAVU.II.P570-71. See.esp.RV.I.4.1o; I.164.30;38; V11.33;
4. Oldenberg. Rel des Veda. P.563.581; LU 27~~6~~ 105 ft; see Bloomfield pp.252 ft; CP.P.82. ~~(Rel of the Veda)~~

p.t.o.

5. These interpretations have been rejected by Deussen. PU.P.316; but accepted by Keith.loc.cit.
6. See RV.X.163. See.Keith Loc.cit.

different in character than the idea of transmigration. The doctrine of repeated death (punar mṛtyu) has been respected as the possible source of the doctrine Saṃsāra.[1] There are however a few Tandya M.br.passages which seem to be familiar with this. "Now it is said that by means of six mouths they come back (punar āyanti). Where, then, is the world of heaven, for the desire (Kāma) of which they hold the Sattra."[2] Again, "As they climb on a tree from here, so they come down; similarly having ascended the world of heaven they find support in this world".[3] In the TB there seems to be an awareness of the concept.[4] These ideas, however, are not taken in the Upaniṣadic sense and do not induce any pessimism towards the world. The predominant note of the Brahmanic eschatology is long life in this world and heaven in the next. Asceticism was therefore for that purpose. In the Upaniṣads the doctrine of Karman was associated with the doctrine of transmigration, as is clear from the BAU[5] where Yājñavalkya explains that after death Karman alone remains. Just as a man acts, just as he behaves, so will he be born. He who does good will be born good and he who does bad will be born bad. The

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1. Poussin. L'inde. jusqu'ai 300 avant JC.pp.282 ft; but also Keith. RPV.11.P.573; See also Garbe.ERE.X11.P.434.
2. Tandya. 1V.6.17. Cf.1V.3.4.-9; also 1V.3.10.
3. Tandya. 1V.7.10. Cf.V1.8.15.16. The ideas are not clear in Tandya X1V.9.31-32. See Catand trans.pp.376-377; but clearer in Tandya XV111.10.10.
4. TB.111.9.15. Cf.T.A.1.8; This may lend much support to the theory of Oldenberg that transmigration doctrine was evolved in the Brahmanic circles if it is taken that the passages are of the Brahmanic times and are not due to the outside influence
5. III.2.13.

self makes for itself more and more beautiful (Kalyāṇa) forms like that of the fathers, or of the gandharvas, of the Gods, or of Prajāpati or of Brāhmaṇa or of other beings.[1] The self at the time of death becomes one with intelligence and intelligence, knowledge, work and past knowledge[2] "take hold of" the self. The Iśa commits those who have destroyed their selves to demoniac regions, as a result of evil deeds and evil knowledge.[3] The doctrine of the two paths - that of the fathers and of the Gods leads to the idea of punishment or reward in the next world and then of rebirth in this world, for those who are still ignorant.[4] In the opinion of the BAU, the way of the fathers is the destiny of those, who perform tapas and sacrifices; in the opinion of the Ch.Up, (V.1o.3-4) it is for those who do the works of public utility and sacrifice; (in the opinion of the BAU) the path of the Gods is attained by those who practise truth and faith in the forest, but in the opinion of the Ch.Up, by those who practise faith as austerity in the forest, and in the opinion of the Muṇḍaka,[5] by those who practise both:

The doctrine of Karman was thus the keynote of the

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1. BAU.1V.4.3.4. Keith (RPVU.II.P.573n.11) compares this with the doctrine of Kaṇmadevas - of BAU 1V.3.33; TUII.8.
2. BAU. 1V.4.2. also in BAU.III.9.28; Deussen Seehzig.P.475. on the root"anvārabh".
3. Iśa. 3; also 9; cf.BAU.1V.4.11.
4. Cf.Deussen. P4.PP.334-37H; CSUP.P.519-60 ft; Keith.PP.575-76. Devāyāna in the Ch.Up.1V15.5.6, the path of the fathers in Ch.Up.V.1o.1-6; the path of the fathers in Kaus 1.3; that of the fathers in Kaus 1.2; see also Prasna 1.9-1o; BAU.vL.2; the Five Fires doctrine; esp.V1.2.15; 16.
5. Muṇḍaka. 1.2.11.

Upaniṣadic ethics. Austerities (tapas) yoga and upāsanā were acts (karman) in the widest sense of the term, as was sacrifice an act. But the ultimate values of life had changed. The goal of life was immortality (amṛtatva), which, it was thought, was to be attained by knowledge of the pantheistic unity of the individual with the absolute. In such a case all acts were useless except those which could be of assistance in gaining knowledge. So knowledge is exalted and asceticism is put on a lower level[1], and all these acts were regarded impermanent(adhruva)[2]. However, this extreme love for immortality and therefore for the self incalcated the spirit of desirelessness and renunciation, until the rhetorical question was asked - "of what use is progeny, if it does not lead us to immortality" Yājñavalkya gave a very eloquent expression to this philosophy of life.[3] There were,however, other doctrines, like that of the Isa, which tried to synthesize this attitude of non-attachment with full participation in life. However this was only the beginning of the course leading to salvation which was to be achieved only through knowledge.

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1. See Keith op.cit.PP.578.
2. Kaṭha. 1.2.10.
3. BAU.II.4., and elsewhere in the IVth Chapter; IV.2;3;4; the ideal of desirelessness; See Keith.RPVU.II.P.582; See above.

The end of the Brahmanic period saw the emergence of various diverse philosophies, which were subversive to the path of the sacrifice, and chief among them was the path of knowledge which was to be accommodated in the Brāhmaṇas. The Āraṇyaka and the early Upaniṣads tried to do this more successfully by developing the symbolic sacrifices, the piling-up ceremonies (citis) which had internalized the sacrifice and freed the individual from society to pursue his non-religious ends.[1] The whole life is thought to be allegorically a sacrifice of which sceticism is the fees.[2] An eternal sacrifice was thought to be contained in the sacrifice of the speech in the breath,[3] which is the internal agnihotra. But this could not satisfy the Upaniṣadic philosophers. The concepts of higher (parā) and lower vidyās were developed.[4] The lower vidya consisted of (apara) the study of the Vedas etc,[4] "mere name" as sanatkumāra designated it.[5] Nārada himself confesses thathe is only a knower of the hymns (mantra-vit) not a knower of the self (ātma-vit). However, the study of the Vedas was one of the fundamental duties for which the stage of studenship was formulated and which called for rigorous discipline (niyama).[6] The whole life of the student was to be one of strict

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1. See.Agnicayana Chap.III.compare also the Nāciketāgni-cayana the Aruṇaketu cayana in T.A.I.Section.Savitrāgni-cayana.
2. Ch.Up.III.1.6.1.
3. Kaus.II.5.
4. Mund. 1.1.5.
5. Ch.Up.VII.1.3. See R.K.Mukherji. Ancient Indian Education. PP.110-11. see The futility of traditional learning - in the case of Śvetaketu.Ch.Up.V.3-10; BAU.VI.2; Kaus I,
6. GB.II.1.2.1-9.

austerities.[1] The student was to spend, twelve,[2] thirty-two, or hundred and one[3] years, to attain the knowledge of the scriptures as well as self-knowledge. For this Tapas was a necessity[4] together with self-restraint (dama) and sacrifice. He had the duties of begging,[5] of tending the fires which were at the harth of the Master[6] and tending his cattle.[7] [Tapas and continence are the means to the knowledge of the syllable aum.[8] The Muṇḍaka recommends faith, tapas, truth, continence and rules (vidhi).[9] Pippalāda asks his pupils to observe austerity, chastity and faith for one year.[10]] Sometimes however, the doctrine could be given without this preliminary discipline as in the case of Maitreyi, Janaka, Gargi, and Artabhāga in the BAU[11] or the five householders taught by Aśvapati in the Ch.Up.[12] But it must be remembered that in each case the person was devoted to the knowledge of the self or Brahman. [The teacher was a necessity, and had himself to be a "knower".[13]] Together with the external, physical

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1. Ch.Up.VI.1; Śvetaketu; Ch.Up.IV.10 Upakosala; TU.1.9.
2. Ch.Up. VIII.7.3. Nārada.
3. Ch.Up.VIII.11.3.Indra.
4. Kena.IV.8.
5. Ch.Up.IV.3.5. Kauṣ.IV.Cf.SB.XI.3.3.5.
6. Ch.Up.IV.10.1.2.
7. Ch.Up.IV.4.5. ŚAVII.19; Ait.Ār.III.1.6.3-4.
8. Kaṭha 1.2.15.
9. Muṇḍaka II.1.7.
10. Praśna. 1.2.
11. II4: IV.1-2; 3-4; III.8. 2.13.
12. Ch.Up.V.11; See.R.K.Mukherji.op.cit.PP.88-89
13. Kaṭha. 1.2.7-8.

austerities carried on by the student, a type of internal austerity was to be practised, which meant self control, imperturbability, self denial (uparati) patience (titikṣa) and collectedness.[1] Non violence was preached. The realisation of the "internal" self and immortality was achieved by the "contemplatives" (dhīra) "with eyes turned inwards"(avṛtta-cakṣu) which suggests meditation with closed eyes.[2] A man should be "without will" (akratu) with the tranquility of the elements (dhātus); and of pure nature (viśuddha-sattva),[3] purified through the light of gnosis (jñānaprakāśa).

Desirelessness, however, was the main theme of the Yājñavalkya passages. The"desirous of the soul "(ātmakāma) man was desireless (akāmayamāna). When the self became the most prized of all entities, the inevitable logical conclusion[4] was to desire nothing but the Self. The self could be realised only when all the desires (kāma) of the human heart were cast away.[5] This complete negation of desires should be viewed in the background of the Brahmanic values where desires predominated.[6] This desirelessness, therefore was not a result of morbid pessimism, and the consequent attitude of world-negation, but in part at least reaction to the stronger aims of the Brāhmaṇas. There is of course, a

1. Cf.BAU.IV.4.23; Kaṭha, 1.2.24. Muṇḍaka 1.2.23.Śvet.VI.22.
2. Kaṭha. II.1.1.
3. Muṇḍaka III.1.8;9.
4. BAU.I.4.8. IV.4.6; IV.3.21; (niṣkāma) Kaṭha 12.11; Cf.Muṇḍaka III.1.6.
5. Kaṭha II.3.14.
6. See above.

consciousness of the impermanence and evanescence of worldly pleasures.[1] Isa[2] forcefully advocated the detached fulfilment of one's duties. Ghora Angiras[3] preached the same view, while the BAU[4] emphasized the importance of dharman. This shows the eclectic nature of the Upanisadic prescriptions.

The ideal ascetic was not one who was bent on torturing himself by all sorts of physical austerities. His duties and acts were begging, poverty, self restraint, continence, truth speaking, wandering, fasting, dwelling in the forest; the study of the Vedas, inner purification through various mental exercises, especially, concentration, and Upāsanā "introversion" withdrawal from sensuous experiences, inner calm and spiritual honesty. Truth speaking, non violence (ahimsā)[5], non-possession are universal values, which would characterize any morality. These various ethical virtues were systematised by later Gṛhya and Dharma Sūtras.[6] Jacobi[7] thought that the Brahmana asketic provided the archetype on which the Jaina and Buddhist ascetics modelled their lives. It must be admitted that it is difficult to decide the archetype of the Aryan ascetic as there is no evidence of developed asceticism among

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1. Kaṭha. 1.1.28; 1.2, Cf.Maitri.1.2.
2. Isa. 2; Cf.TU.1.11; Kena. IV.8.Ch.Up.II.23.1.V.24.
3. Ch.Up.III.17.4.
4. BAU.1.4.
5. It occurs only once in Ch.Up.III.17.
6. See Baud Dh.S.II.10.1.8; 1-2, SBE, 22.XXIII-XXX.also Max Muller.Hibbert Lectures.P.351.
7. Opst.22. Loc.cit.
   SBE.

the Aryans when they entered India. Asceticism is generally a phenomenon of settled societies but not of nomadic groups. So the development of asceticism has been autochthonous and native to the Indian soil. We do not find in the Brāhmaṇas the ascetic mores - of non-violence, voluntary poverty, desirelessness for worldly goods, and so forth. By the Upaniṣadic times the non-vedic influence has come in full force so that we could not gather from the Upaniṣadic evidences whether the main impulse to asceticism was Aryan or otherwise. Jacobi believed[1] that the Jainas and the Buddhists were contained in the fourth stage, which as we showed above,[2] did not exist. The argument of Jacobi is based on the similarity of the moral virtues inculcated by the Jainas, the Buddhists, and the dharmasutras. But generally they are of general character and of universal validity. The ten vows given by Baudhayana:[3] are five great ones - abstention from injuring living being, truthfulness, abstention from appropriating the property of others, continence, and liberality; and five minor ones: abstention from anger, obedience towards the guru, avoidance of rashness, cleanliness, and purity in eating. These could well be compared with the Jaina and the Buddhist vows.[4]

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1. Op.cit.PXXX.11.
2. Look above.
3. BAUd.Dh.Sūtra.II.10.18.1-2-3. SBE.22.XXIII - XXX.
4. See Jacobi.loc.cit.

There are differences in moral codes, among them, on the point of liberality,[1] regulations about begging,[2] and on the problem of nudity.[3] But these in no way prove the borrowing by the Jainas, from the Hindu ascetic type. The ascetics were divided into many classes,[4] as is shown by the existence of various terms - muṃi, yati, tapasa, sramana, pravrajin, Bhikṣu, Vaikhānasa, so categorised either from their mode of life and habits, or from their particular associations.[5] In the Dharmasūtras there are discussions about the position of the ascetic in society, which is not dealt with elsewhere. Baudhāyana says that the ascetic cannot be a witness in any legal case.[6] Vaśiṣtha exempts the ascetic from the payment of tax to the king.[7] About his eating food there were a few regulations. Baudhāyana thinks that his food should consist of daily of eight mouthfuls, while that of a hermit, sixteen mouthfuls.[8] The Ascetic was fed on śrāddha days[9] and he should not refuse even meat when invited to eat at the house of a layman, or he

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1. Op.cit.pp.xxlv.
2. OP.cit.ppxxv.See 14-15.
3. Op.cit.pxxvll.See 22.
4. Look above.Cf.Rhys Davids. Buddhist India.pp.144-6; B.C.Law.India as depicted in Early texts of Buddhism and Jainism. pp.229.30; also Jaina Sūtras.SBE.22.P.128.f.n.i.
5. Cf. Baud.Dh.S.III.1.1.1-2.
6. Baud.Dh.S.1.10.19.13.
7. VAS. XIX.37.
8. Baud.Dh.S.II.13.7. Vas.Vl.19-20.
9. VAS.Xl.17.

would go to hell.[1] His other duties are discussed in detail elsewhere in connection with the fourth stage.[2]

These various types of ascetics, however, were, by the end of the Upaniṣadic and the use of the Buddhistic period, mainly divided into two classes - Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas[3] - those who followed the Vedic and the Upaniṣadic traditions and those who followed the heterodox traditions.[4] These two words generally occur together. The orthodox ascetics may be divided into the ritualistic and the non-ritualistic. The ritualistic ascetics must have continued the sacrificial religion in its actual and symbolic forms and it is quite likely that the emergence of the symbolic-forms of sacrifice were due to them.

The non-ritualistic ascetics must have been an upholder of the Brahman-ātman philosophy, despising the sacrifical path - Rhys Davids[5] regarded "the intellectual movement before the rise of Buddhism" as a "lay movement not a priestly one" and thought that this resulted in the growth of wandering bodies of religieux, the Paribbājakas of the Pali Piṭakas.

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1. Vas.XI.34.
2. Baud.DL.S.II.6.15-26. Gaut.III.26-35.
3. The "Samana" see S.k.Dutta EBM.PP.41-42. Pande op.cit. p.328.29.
4. Sāmañña - phala - sutta 14; Jaina Sutras.SBE.Pt.II.P.39. Part I.P.92.
5. Buddhist,India. PP.159.

It is hypothetical to speak of a lay or a priestly movement. This movement does not seem to have any such character.[1] That there was a bursting forth of intense intellectual life at this time is doubtless true and it led to intense philosophical activities.[2] But it has no class character as such. Deussen regarded it as the practical results of the metaphysical teachings of the Upaniṣads. Deussen's argument holds true, it seems, at least with a class of ascetics whose representative was Yājñavalkya.[3] He realises the pantheistic unity of all beings in the Absolute, the love of which is so intense that one leaves the world in search of it. Knowledge of the Ātman, where there is no consciousness because of the absence of subject and object, is of course essential, but asceticism and desirelessness prepare the ground for the realisation of this knowledge. The Upaniṣads have been thought to be primarily intellectualistic and theoretical in their approach to reality. This seems to be true but, at the same time, they also emphasize ethical virtues and asceticism as preparation for it. But this alone cannot explain the whole phenomenon of asceticism.[4] The doctrine of Māyā, in the classical vedanta sense which could have given a pessimistic outlook, and bred asceticism) had not yet gained ground in the Upanisads. No doubt idealistic absolutism is one current of the Upaniṣadic

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1. See Dutt. EBM.P48ff.
2. PU.P.361. also PP.411-12.
3. For a contrary view see Keith RPVU II.P.594-95.
4. Cf.CP.P.401; EMB.PP.49-50

thought[1] The world however, was still a reality.[2] Any such world-renouncing movement must involve deep social distress and considerable social change. By the end of the Middle Vedic Period there were various changes in the political set-up of the country and the tribal unities were breaking up.[3] "The feeling of group solidarity which the tribe gave was removed, and men stood face to face with the world, with no refuge in their kinsmen. Chieftain were overthrown, their courts dispersed, their lands and tribesmen absorbed in the greater kingdoms. A new order was coming into being."[4] The complete assimilation of nomadic tribes like those of the Vrātyas[5] must have created considerable social tensions and such groups, unused to living a settled life, must have sought an opportunity to lead the good life as they conceived it. Asceticism thus became a mechanism for resolving social and individual conflicts. Nomadism involves generally an equality of persons which is denied in an agricultural economy under a hereditary king.[6] The caste system had sufficiently evolved to make matters worse for such assimmilated aboriginal tribes. We find intense intellectual activities carried on in the eastern parts of India.

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1. See BAU. II.4.14; IV.3.31; IV.4.19.(Cf.Katha II.1.10)IV.5.15. Ch.Up.V1.1.3; Deussen TU.Sechzig UP.156; Isa 1.12-14.Svet. IV.10; (Deussen's Comment Sechzig P.527) Oldenberg.LU.343. 44.H.; Keith RPVU.II.P5.29-30; CP.P.359.66.386.
2. Radhakrishnan IP.1.PP.
3. Basham. The Wonder.pp.246.
4. Loc.cit.
5. See above.
6. Vedic Age pp. ; N.N.Duff.Caste Systems.

The geographical centre of the main religious developments of the times is the East. The land between Kuruksetra and Mithila saw the re-affirmation of the equality of all individuals in the metaphysical sense which might be expected to influence social thinking. The emphasis on the unity of all beings foreshadowed the emergence of the great unifying empires of the later times. Already in the Ait.Br.[1] the country was divided into five parts. The Kaus.Up is cognisant of the northern and the southern mountains,[2] and the SB, of the "eastern and the western oceans"[3] Some of the tribal movements and assimmilations may be delineated. The Bharatas of the Rgveda (of IIIrd and the VIIth mandalas) had come on bad days and in their land the Kurus and the Pancalas were reigning; it has been suggested that the Kurus assimmilated the Bharatas.[4] The vasas[5] and the usinaras occupied the Middle Country along with the srnjayas, who were closely associated with the Trtsus.[6] Geldner suggested that Trtsu of RV.VII.18.13 is sudas and that he concquered the Bharatas.[7] The Kurus,however, do not appear in the RV, but their King Pariksit[8] and his son Janamejaya[9] appear. They

1. Ait.Br.VIII.14; anticipated in AV.XIX.17.1;9.9.SB.XIII.5.4.
2. Kaus.II.8.
3. SB.I.t.3.11.
4. Keith.Ancient India (Cambridge) P.118.
5. AB.II.7.5. VI.63.9; X.91.14. See also Ved.Ind.
6. RV.VI.47.
7. Ved.Stud.II.136.RV.Glossar.
8. AV.XX.127.See Ved.Ind.1.PR.167.
9. SB.XIII.5.4.

are thus a new tribe emerging in the Middle Vedic Period, conquering the old-established tribes, and assimilating them. They being firmly established in the Middle Country, must have, sooner or later, conquered the Vaśas and the Uśīnaras and sṛñjayas.[2] The Kuru-Pāñcalas are constantly referred to together, which again suggests some sort of unity or coalition.[3] The Pāñcalas themselves were a conglomeration of tribes and it has been suggested that they might represent five (pañcajana) tribes of the RV,[4] but this does not seem correct.[5] The Pāñcalas, however, seems still to be existing in the time of the Upaniṣads,[6] but the Kurus seem to have suffered a terrible calamity. In the Chāndogya there is an obscure reference to their being saved by a mare; it is said that a hailstorm or a shower of locusts afflicting them, and there is a prediction in an old sūtra that they will be driven away from Kurukṣetra.[7] In the BAU[8] a riddle is made

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1. Cf. Oldenberg Buddha. PP40304. Ved.Index. 1.P.167-68.
2. The Srṃjayas and the Kurus had a common purohita, which shows some unity of the two tribes. see SB.II.4.4.5.
3. Ved.Ind. 1.PP468-69 Kings of the Kuru-Pāñcalas in Ait.Br. V111.14.
4. Weber Ind.Stud.1.202.Goldner Ved.Stud III.108.11.1.
5. Ved.Index.s.v.
6. BAU.V1.1.1; Ch.V.31.
7. Jacobi JRAS.1911.P.510.
8. BAU.III.3.

on the disappearance of the descendants of the Kurus. These people must have perished in some great calamity.[1] Such terrible happenings must have led many people to despair of the ephemeral nature of the social life and inducing the particular attitude of the times toward the world and life. By the end of the Vedic period, organised kingdoms must have engaged in bloody wars, battling against each other, involving terrible upheavals and disorders. That these wars occurred, seems a certainty in view of the ideals of Universal Kingship, as put forward in the Royal sacrifices.[2]

These political changes must have been a result of economic changes, which would have occurred during the Middle Vedic Period. The appearance of various towns like Āsandīvant, the Kuru capital, kāmpīla, the Pañcāla capital, Kauśāmbi, Kāśī, Mithilā, the town of Vinaśana, presage the process of urban-growth which was to come and indicate the high development of agricultural economy to give a surplus production which could support a large population including numerous wandering monks and ascetics. The introduction of a money-economy may already have begun at the end of one period, bringing with it considerable social distress.[3]

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1. Cf. the excavations at Hastināpur Ancient India No.5 lo-11.
2. Beni-Prasad state in Ancient India PP.49 ff. K.P.Jayaswal. Hindu Polity. pp.195 ff.
3. Cf.N.C.Bandopadhyaya. Economic life and Progress in Ancient India. 1.PP.2610.ft; 254 ft.285 ft. CH1.PP.205H; 21.11; see also D.R.Bhandarkar. Ancient Indian Numismatics (Lect II)traces the use of coined money to the earliest vedic times. The introduction of the money economy results in considerable social change and distress. Sec.Sansom.G.B. Japan.PP47 o (quoted by Pande.op.cit.P.314.11.27).

All these various happenings must have awakened the interests of all classes in the problems of life and death, such as would have given rise to asceticism. As far as the Upaniṣadic doctrines are concerned it has been suggested that Kṣatriyas formed the main authors, supporters and patrons of this philosophy.[1] No doubt Pravāhaṇa Jaivali of Pañcāla, Asvapati of Kekaya, Ajātaśatru of Kāśi and Janaka of Videha are not only patrons of philosophy but are themselves philosophers. Pravāhaṇa, moreover speaks of a special kṣatriya-vidyā.[2] But this does not support any such theory as that of Garbe.[3] Formici,[4] on the other hand, puts forward a theory of an opposition to the Brahman-doctrine by the Kṣatriyas simply because the word Brahman does not occur in any of the lengthy discussions of Ajātaśatru or Aśvapati. The Ātman theory, in his opinion, was developed in the Atharvan circle and was given a rational treatment which caught the imagination of the laity and thus became a popular doctrine.[5]

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1. Garbe, Beitrage zui Ind.Kulturgeschichte pp.3H; Winterintz. HIL.Vol.I.PP.
2. BAU.V1.2.8.Cf.Bh.Gitā.1V.1-2.
3. See Keith.JRAS.1908.Bloomfield Rel.of the Veda PP220 ft; Oldenberg`Buddha' pp.73.u.i.LU.PP.166.ft; The question of Drairdrain Influence - G.W.Brown: Studies in honour of Bloomfield. PP.75
4. Journal of the Department of Letters. XV.P.106.
5. Loc.cit.

A theory, supplementary to this theory, is that of Kosambi,[1] who puts forward the view that the Brāhmaṇas were non-aryan priests with the cult of a pre-aryan and non-vedic deity - Brahma.[2] Both the theories are unacceptable in their extreme forms. As is clear from the story of Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, the Kṣatriyas were adept in the philosophy of the sacrifice.[3] Yājñavalkya, on the other hand, discourses on the Self.[4] Gārgya Bālāki and other Brāhmaṇas are concerned about the problem of Brahman-ātman. No doubt, Kṣatriyas appear as great philosophers. Brahman cannot be accepted to be a non-aryan deity. Henning has tried to prove its relation with the Iranian Barezman.[5] The Upaniṣadic philosophy can only be regarded as a synthetic product of combined labours of the members of the most classes of the society - non-aryans included. Similarly, the ascetic movement included members of all classes and cannot be regarded as only aryaṇs or non-aryaṇs. Religious movements do not accept any such racial distinctions.

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1. JBRAS 23. 1947 pp.39 ff.
2. Kosambi repudiates any distinction between Brahmā (masculine) and Brahman (neuter). op.cit. pp.44. but this cannot be accepted linguistically.
3. Ch.Up. v.3.7. BAU. VI.2.8.
4. BAU. IV.4.
5. Transactions of the Philological Society 1944 pp.108 ff. Cf. Renou and Silburn: Sur La Notion Brahman JA. 1949. pp.7 ff.

CHAPTER V - CONCLUSION.

In the preceding pages we have attempted to reconstruct the history of Indian Asceticism up to the early Upaniṣads. In the Indus valley civilization we found certain traces of asceticism as represented on the seals but owing to extreme rarity of such records and materials as may throw some light on this problem, we could not say much about it in the context of the Indus Society and its religion. The most that we can say is that there were probably ascetics in the Indus cities of both of the two types - primitive and mystical. The fierce onslaught of the aryan warriors resulted in the destruction of the organised urban culture and its lingering existence in peripheral regions until the aryans assimilated it. The aryans themselves had ascetics in their society, but these were of the type of the shaman and magician-priest.[1] The character of the Muni, whether originally aryan or non-aryan, testifies to this.

Vedic asceticism has been studied linguistically by examining those passages where tapas, śrama, vrata, and other related ethical terms occur and thus see the whole complex of ascetic ideas and practices.

Vedic Asceticism as exemplified by the term tapas shows

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1 Cf.Oldenberg. Rel.des Veda. pp.404; 406, Arbman Rudra pp.297. Keith RPVU.pp.402.

an obvious connection with the God Agni. In the beginning tapas was regarded as an activity in which the ascetic exposed oneself to the fire and imbibed the power which radiated from it, which could be used by the person as a weapon. Tapas therefore came to stand both for this practice and for the power developed by it. The exposure to fire - whether the four fires of the sacrifice, or the fire which is the Sun, has been regarded as power-giving in other societies as well. Tapas as an ascetic activity within Vedic society must be regarded as completely aryan because the fire cult is Indo-european. In the beginning, therefore, Vedic asceticism was self-mortification such as was Jaina asceticism,[1] or Ajuika asceticism.[2] The Ājivikas too performed the penance of the five fires (pañca-tapana). Tapas was closely connected with the fire-austerities even in the early Vedic times and cannot be dissociated from Jaina tapas.[3] Tapas as a power was later connected[4] with the magic heat which could destroy an enemy and we hear many times the aryans praying to Agni to destroy the asuras with tapas. But the idea of tapas developed along with the fire-philosophy in the Brāhmanas.[5] It was not only thought of as destructive but was also regarded as a creative force and stories are told that Prajāpati undertook tapas to produce the whole creation.

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1. Jacobi. SBE.22.pp.xxiii ff; Cf.Winternitz. HIL.vol II. p.452. Pande op.cit. pp.366-67.
2. Basham. The Ajivikas. pp.104-15.
3. Basham. op.cit. pp.110.
4. Cf.Pande op.cit.365-66.
5. Basham op.cit.pp.60-61.ff.

Tapas was regarded not merely as self-mortification in pursuance of certain material ends, but in the Upaniṣadic literature as self discipline,[1] much as in Buddhist literature.[2] The ascetic way of life thus in the early Upaniṣads foreshadows the trend given to it by Buddha, by his rejection of physical mortification and his insistence on self-discipline.[3] This aspect of self-discipline is more strongly emphasized in Vedic religion in such concepts as vrata, and dharma which show the importance of action in accordance with one's own will as well as of acts as done according to the will and commands of the Gods which are laws to human beings. Vrata in vedic literature continues to have a wide prevalence and is regarded as efficacious as tapas. As the meanings of a term change according to historical situations Vrata displays a variety of meanings which are of great help in understanding the later usages of this term in Jaina and Buddhist literature. These two aspects of self mortification and self-discipline were related to moral behaviour and were gradually more and more dissociated from material to specifically spiritual and mystical ends. Asceticism in the Vedic period, seems to assume a form which develops into Yoga. This consisted primarily of mental discipline through contemplation and inner purification through breath-control and food-purity. The ideas and practices concerning dīkṣā in relation with sacrifice helped to a great deal towards this end. Diksa, as an ascetic activity, arrived at

1.ERE.2. PP.70.
2.N.Dutt EMB.II.pp.20-21.

purification.[1] In Vedic circles the dīkṣā was a necessary rite performed before the performance of the ritual. It is quite likely, as judged from the sources, that the dīkṣā was performed for its own sake when it was realised that the dīkṣā itself could yield all the gains-spiritual as well as material - which are yielded by the performance of the full sacrifice. The dīkṣā itself was felt to be tapas. Sacrifice itself involved many austerities which helped towards providing the repertoire of asceticism. Silence is an important element in many ritual activities.[2] The sacrifice itself became symbolic and could be performed mentally.[3] The ideal of self-sacrifice itself may have prompted even actual religious suicide which is not noticed in the vedic literature, except simply as interpreted symbolically as "death to the world".[4] The mental sacrifice thus materially aided in the development of the practice of meditation. But knowledge through meditation of the realities of the world schematically enumerated[5] which are recognised as a unity through the citis - sāvitra, āruṇaketu, nāciketa - comes to have growing importance and these practices led to the development of the practice of Upāsanā and Yoga, in which meditation, intuition and intellect play an important part. Here we may reject the suggestion made by Masson-Oursel that Yoga should be derived from Mongolian sources. No doubt in the

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1. See Chapter 3; Cf. the Ajevika initiation. Basham op.cit. pp.104-105.ff.
2. Cf.Coomaraswamy. The Vedic doctrine of Silence.IC3.April. 1937.Pande.op.cit.pp.509-10.
3. Cf.Coomaraswamy. Ātma-yajña: Self sacrifice HJOS6.1942.
4. Basham. The Ajīvikas. pp.106.
5. Nadel.Nupe Religion.pp.265-67. on schematic enumeration of the objects of the world and their understanding.

Taoist literature breath-control, physical exercises, and dietary regulations are recommended to "maturing life",[1] but this literature is generally regarded as later. The physical exercises - such as the bat-penance - are found in early Indian literature.[2] The importance of the breath and of its control, developed not only because of empirical observations of its physiological functions but also along with the singing of the sāmans.[3] There is only a gradual awareness of the importance and functions of breath, and especially in the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads.

The ascetic personalities make only a gradual appearance on the Vedic scene. Yati and Muni, occur very infrequently in the Samhitās but in the AV and the Brāhmaṇas they occur frequently and we know more about them. The Muni occurs as a medicine man especially in the AVP. This character of the ascetics continue even in the Jaina literature.[4] In the Upaniṣads the muni has a more chastened and spiritual character as has the yati. New types of wandering ascetics such as the carakas appear during the Brāhmaṇa period, and are referred to in the Jaina Canons also.[5] A very infrequent term, śramaṇa

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1. A Waley. The way and Its Power pp.67-69.
2. Basham op.cit. pp.110.
3. Fung.Yu-Lan. History of Chinese Philosophy Vol.I.pp.242-n.2.
4. J.C.Jain. History of Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons. pp.192 ff; Cf.R-C.Brown. The Andaman Islanders pp.176-77. the shaman has magical powers to cure diseases.
5. Jain. op.cit. pp.203-04.

occurs as an appellation of an ascetic only once in the Upaniṣads, as does the term "Pravrājin". This shows an undoubted ascetic movement by the time of the Upaniṣads (sixth century B.C.) which is amply evidenced in the Jaina and Buddhist literatures. This ascetic movement was on a quite large scale. Forest-going had come into prominence with the development of the Vedic studies and symbolic sacrifices during the later Brāhmaṇa period. Already in the R.V. there is a hymn on the Goddess Araṇyāni seen by a muni.[1] Otto[2] attributes the practice of forest-going to the feeling of terror and of the uncanny in the wood. Wandering was another mode of living as practised by the carakas, which Yājñavalkya attributed to the love of the self.

It has been suggested that the origins of asceticism are pre-aryan and non-vedic,[3] coming down from the Indus Culture. No doubt we find many traces of incorporation of non-aryan peoples who had shamans and a type of ecstatic ascetics such as the vrātyas. We also find that the Vaikhānasas and other ascetic persons are treated as a novelty. Jainism of a sort already existed, probably a hundred years before Buddhism.[4] No doubt the non-vedic sources contributed much to the making of the Indian culture at this period. But most elements of the

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1. RV.X.146.
2. Otto. Gottheit und Gottheiten der Arier.pp.22-24.
3. G.C.Pande.op.cit. pp.326-27.
4. Jacobi. SBE22 pp. Intrd.

ascetic complex existed already in the Vedic austerities. The great religious movements of the sixth century B.C. were largely the product of the impact on Aryan culture of non-aryan influences which were already operative from the earliest period, and not simply a new cultural "item" added to the Vedic religion. Moreover, as "the clash and interplay of two cultures produce new things",[1] the situation in the sixth century B.C. cannot be attributed merely to the impact of the non-aryan culture. Over the years the values of the aryans were themselves changing, towards a religious attitude such as that eloquently put forward by Yājñavalkya. These values of life included a redemption from the saṃsāra and the realisation of the ultimate reality through mystical experiences. As if by logical consistency asceticism was put forward in a new key and this "end-state" was a novel situation. During the course of its development it has been suggested that asceticism might have been an instrument of the cultural integration of alien elements. Mystical experiences as felt by the aryans through their own ascetic techniques would have psychologically conditioned them to incorporate other non-aryan techniques of evoking these mystical experiences.[2] Asceticism came to serve, a / social purpose, besides the intrinsic purposes of evoking mystical experiance and of successful self-destruction and subordination of the evil that is body or karma. This was especially the case in the sixth century B.C., by which time the class system had become

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1. B.Malinowski. the Dynamics of Culture Change. 1945.pp.21;25.
2. Cf.Nadel. Nupe Religion. pp.256-57 who speaks of three reasons of cultural integration: utility, logical consistency, and psychological fitness. see also op.cit.pp. 217-18 where he argues that any adoption of alien observances must satisfy some pre-existing need and musthave novelty(pto

and congeniality also.

more or less rigid, by providing an outlet for more sensitive beings, during this period of social dislocation, break-up of tribal unity, and major wars. It fulfilled an important function at this period.

With this we must end this study of Indian asceticism, conscious of the tenatative conclusions arrived at. Asceticism, as a part of religion, is primarily adopted to satisfy human needs[1] at particular periods of time, and its practice waxes and wanes, as the historical conditions require. As a technique of mystical experience it will however ever retain its fascination and charm for individuals of a certain psychological type.

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1. Cf.Nadel.op.cit. PR.259-60.

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